Abbreviations

1 Thess	1 Thessalonians
1-2 Cor	1-2 Corinthians
BDAG	Bauer, Danker and Gingrich Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament
CCR	Chart of Correlated References
Gal	Galatians
L-N	Louw and Nida Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament
LSJ	Liddell, Scott and Jones Greek-English Lexicon
NE	Nichomachean Ethics
Phil	Philippians
Rom	Romans

Key to Rhetorical Terms

The *Exordium* is the beginning part and is aimed at making the audience open and indeed well-disposed toward what follows.

The *Narratio* then explains the nature of the disputed matter.

The *Partitio* or *propositio*, which follows the *narratio* or is included in it, is where the essential proposition of the speaker, and perhaps also of the opponent, is laid out.

The *probatio* brings in arguments to support the speaker's case.

In the *refutatio*, which is often included in the *probatio*, the opponent's arguments are disproved or weakened.

The *peroratio* recapitulates the main points of the *probatio*, attempting the audience's emotions in favour of the speaker's viewpoint by amplifying what has been said before.

ABSTRACT

In the 1980s, in the discipline of Classical studies in the field of Greco-Roman philosophy, the scholars showed renewed interest in the subject of the emotions. The outcome of their research reinstated the cognitive function in emotions. The research also recognised that the values and beliefs in the emotions are culturally conditioned. This outcome opened the possibility of discovering the values of a culture by analysing the emotions. Another outcome of the research showed that the interpretation of a lexical term, designating an emotion, did not necessarily imply the same meaning universally.

The knowledge of the emotions in this discipline influenced numerous branches of academic study. It was noted that this did not apply to New Testament studies and therefore became an opportunity for a research subject, namely: An *Analysis of Emotions of Anger and Fear in the Undisputed Pauline letters.* The purpose was to determine their meanings within the context of Imperial Roman values. The analysis was based on Aristotle's definition of anger and fear. This approach also required a study of social conditions in the provincial Roman cities in which Paul had formed communities.

The study was dependent on the emotional language used by Paul in his undisputed letters. Louw-Nida *New Testament Greek-English Lexicon based on Semantic Domains* was used to locate the words that expressed the emotional concepts of anger and fear.

The essence of the research problem was to discover the meaning of the emotions in the undisputed Pauline letters in the first century CE.

KEY WORDS

Emotion; anger; fear; awe; retribution; punishment; Paul; cognitive function; imperial ideology; social status.

DECLARATION

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Exact wording of the title of the dissertation or research as appearing on the copies submitted for examination:

AN ANALYSIS OF THE EMOTIONS OF ANGER AND FEAR IN THE UNDISPUTED PAULINE LETTERS

I declare that the above dissertation/thesis is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

SIGNATURE

DATE

29 June 2017

AN ANALYSIS OF THE EMOTIONS OF ANGER AND FEAR IN THE UNDISPUTED PAULINE LETTERS

by

ROSE MAISY
ROWE

submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of

**Doctor of Literature and
Philosophy**

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE EMOTIONS OF ANGER AND FEAR IN THE UNDISPUTED PAULINE LETTERS

CHAPTER ONE: RESEARCH PROBLEM AND METHODOLOGY

The emotions are all those affections which cause men to change their opinion in regard to their judgements, and are accompanied by pleasure and pain; such are anger, pity, fear and all similar emotions and their contraries. (Aristotle, *Rhetoric* II.i.1378a 8).[1]

1.1   Introduction

The primary purpose of this chapter is focused around the disciplines of Classical and New Testament studies, in which the subject for further research was identified. Features of both these disciplines are initially described in order to clarify the rationale supporting the proof of the research problem.

The identification of the research problem is but the initial step. This needs to be supported by a description of the steps taken to prove the research. Therefore, this chapter also includes an outline of the steps, which are discussed fully in the chapters following. Each chapter will be relevant to the research problem.

An outline of these chapters is also described in this chapter.

1.2   Identifying the Research Problem

In the discipline of Classical studies, in the field of Greco-Roman philosophy, about thirty years ago, there was a renewed interest in the subject of the emotions.[2] The research questioned the traditional view that emotions were universally experienced in the same way, irrespective of language.[3] The outcome of that study also dispelled the view that emotions are reactions without intelligence or discrimination, namely without

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[1] Freese 2006: 173
[2] Konstan 2004: 8
[3] Konstan 2004: 1

the facility to decide what is and what is not important.[4] The most influential aspect that emerged from this research was that of the cognitive function in the emotions. Aristotle and the Stoics held the same view.

The emotions are a cultural evaluative response to an outer cognition of an object or situation. The response identifies and distinguishes one emotion from another.[5] For example, an insult, according to Aristotle, would provoke anger.

Modern scholarship opened a dialogue with ancient philosophy by recognising the importance of the cognitive element inherent in emotions.[6] The values of what is believed to be important is formed by the cultures that generated them.[7] This supposition opens a window directly onto the emotional experiences at any given historical time, providing information on the cultural values of that time. The result of this research by the Classicists in the field of Greco-Roman philosophy presented an opportunity to examine the values in the emotions of first century Imperial Rome in the undisputed Pauline letters.

This research opportunity was clarified further by Konstan 2007 in his work *The Emotions of the Ancient Greeks: Studies in Aristotle and Classical Literature* when he introduced a semantic element to the scholarship. He poses the question whether, for example, the Greek word for anger had the same meaning in Classical Greece, as it does in our society. He pursued the question by using Aristotle's definition of anger, and a survey of Classical Greek literature.

His additional dimension framed the initial insights of my research, providing an opportunity to apply this body of knowledge to the undisputed Pauline letters. This excludes modern disciplines such as psychology, neurology, evolutionary biology and economics, but focuses on Aristotle and his definitions of the emotions.

New Testament studies, with special reference to the undisputed Pauline letters, were a natural extension from my Masters subject: *The Concept of Compassion in the Authentic Pauline Letters.*

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[4] Nussbaum 2005: 11
[5] Konstan 2004: 9
[6] Konstan 2004: 9
[7] Konstan 2004: 9

The initial aim was to study all the emotive terms used by Paul in his letters, but that proved too big a task. Therefore, the decision was made to choose anger and fear because of the numerous references to them. The larger the sample, the better the opportunity to study the nuances in the use of the words in first century CE in Imperial Rome.

The outcome of the research by some classicists in the field of Greco-Roman philosophy reinstated the cognitive function of the emotions. This outcome established a link with ancient philosophy where this function had initially been recognised. The philosophers who acknowledged this fact were Aristotle and the Stoics. They also acknowledged that the values in the emotions were culturally conditioned.

Out of this research arose the purpose of the study, which is to analyse the emotions of anger and fear in the philosophical context of Aristotle; the influence of Imperial Rome in provincial cities where Paul had formed communities; the words available to express these emotional concepts; the final context in the undisputed Pauline letters.

This analysis allows for the appreciation of the meaning of the two emotions in the context of Imperial Rome CE, which are quite different to our modern era.

Therefore, it would be apposite to describe the steps which enabled the purpose to be actualised. These steps are explained in the Methodology below.

1.3   Overview of the Steps in the Methodology

A brief overview of the four steps to be followed in proving the research subject follows in sections 1.3.1-1.3.4.

1.3.1   Greco-Roman Philosophical Context: Aristotle

Aristotle's definitions for the two selected emotions, anger and fear, are used as points of interaction with relevant Pauline textual references to open a window onto the conditioned social values in the emotions at that time. This influences the interpretation of the meaning of the text.

1.3.2   Cultural Context: Imperial Rome

The social conditions are considered in order to understand whether the values of the first century CE held in the society of Imperial Rome, are reflected in the emotions of anger and fear; as postulated in the hypothesis statement in 1.3.2.

1.3.3. Lexicography

Louw-Nida *New Testament Lexicon based on Semantic Domains* (subsequent use will be indicated by L-N) is used to establish the vocabulary available to Paul to express the emotions of anger and fear.

1.3.4 The Undisputed Pauline Texts

Seven letters have been accepted as authored by Paul: 1 Thessalonians, 1 & 2 Corinthians, Philemon, Philippians, Galatians and Romans. Only six of the seven are used in this research as there are no lexical references to anger and fear in Philemon. Further reference to the undisputed letters means the six letters as named above.

These letters become the context for understanding the social values inherent in the emotions of anger and fear in Imperial Rome CE.

1.4 Methodology

1.4.1 Greco-Roman Philosophy: definitions of anger and fear in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*.[8]

The former is defined as:

> Let us then define anger as a longing, accompanied by pain, for a real or
> apparent revenge for a real or apparent slight, affecting a man himself
> or one of his friends, when such a slight is undeserved. (Aristotle,
> *Rhetoric* II.1378b ii. 2).[9]

Aristotle reveals in his definition that the cognitive value of the emotion of anger is a judgement of value of what is good and what is bad.[10]

In a society in which honour is valued, honour would appear to be a good. Belittlement, in such a society, would be valued as bad. The ability to differentiate between who can and who cannot belittle indicates a stratified society. These values are socially conditioned and this conditioning enables the complex judgement, as described above, to be made. The cognitive function, in the emotion, is able to distinguish between who is fit to slight and who is not.

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[8] Konstan 2007: 43
[9] Freese 2006: 173
[10] Konstan 2007: 45

Anger may be represented simply as a 'desire for revenge'.[11] If the belittlement was not deserved, the response is ὀργή, if deserved, it would be accepted. The cognitive function in the emotion determines whether the belittlement was valid or not. Although anger is provoked by belittlement, in that age, some people were not allowed to belittle an other. Aristotle defines a slight as the activity of a belief about something seeming worthless.[12] The word for slight or belittlement is ὀλιγορία. There are three classes of a slight: καταφρόνησις - contempt; ἐπηρεασμός - spite; ὕβρις – arrogant abuse.[13]

This understanding is essential to the interpretation of anger in the research. The information concerning the cognitive value of the emotion of anger was used as a yardstick for the use of the word anger in the Pauline texts.

The link between the time of Aristotle and the time of the Pauline letters is through the writings of Seneca, a contemporary of Paul. Although Seneca held different values concerning anger, his work was underpinned by the identical definition of anger as that used by Paul. Seneca uses the same social criteria as Aristotle, thus, the validity for the use of Aristotle's definitions is in relation to anger.

The latter is defined as:

> Let fear be defined as a painful or troubled feeling caused by the impression of an imminent evil that causes destruction or pain; for men do not fear all evils, for instance, becoming unjust or slow-witted, but only such as involve great pain or destruction, and only if they appear to be not far off but near at hand and threatening, for men do not fear things that are very remote; all know that they have to die, but as death is not near at hand, they are indifferent. (Aristotle, *Rhetoric* II.v.1).[14]

In this definition, there is no reference to merit, who deserves or does not deserve to be afraid. In this respect, social stratification is not evident. The response of fear arises out of a direct impression of something harmful.

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[11] Konstan 2007: 43
[12] Konstan 2007: 45
[13] Konstan2007:45
[14] Freese 2006: 201-202

The cognitive function, here, is discerning what is harmful and what is not. What is not harmful would be valued as good, what is harmful would be valued as bad. Fear has the capacity to discern who has the power to inflict harm or pain.[15]

Fear also makes a social judgement on who has the capacity to inflict harm or pain.[16] This indicates the awareness, in fear, of the distribution of power in a stratified society.

In summary, Aristotle's definitions of fear and anger are described, providing the information on the influence on the cognitive functions of these two emotions. This is the manner in which the cognitions operate in anger and fear and the different social values that are present in them. A close examination of Aristotle's definitions of anger and fear disclosed how the values were conditioned by social influences.

A fuller discussion follows in Chapter Three.

1.4.2 Cultural Context in Imperial Rome First Century CE

The next step required an understanding of the cultural context of the provincial Roman cities in which Paul formed his communities. The general cultural conditions would influence the values in those communities and be reflected in their emotional experience. This information was generally accessed in scholarly commentaries on the undisputed Pauline letters.

An example of social conditions prevailing at the time of Aristotle was the stratification in society. Every aspect of life was influenced by this stratification. In the same way, in Imperial Rome, the stratified society was arranged around patronage and positions of power.

In Jones' article, 'The social structure of Athens in fourth century BCE', it describes how the economic situation unfolds in different layers of Athenian society.[17] In a similar way, this situation existed in the provincial cities in which Paul had his communities.

In an article concerning the legal aspect of social stratification, Todd illustrates how pervasive were the ramification of social status. Even in death, status was affirmed. This example clarifies why status was so closely guarded, and any breach in acknowledging a

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[15] Konstan 2007: 132
[16] Konstan 2007:132
[17] Jones 1955: 142

person's status required the appropriate retaliation to re-establish the status quo.[18] This was operational in the areas where Paul worked.

A fuller discussion follows in Chapter Four.

1.4.3   Lexicography

The word for anger, taken from Aristotle's definition, is ὀργή. In Volume II of L-N, we look at the word to define anger, as used by Aristotle. This indicates into which Domain the word has been classified. A Domain consists of a number of words with a common semantic feature. In the Domains each word is given a definition, not a gloss, to further understand the meaning of that word.

For example, in the Domain are listed all the words that express anger. Of the range of words given by L-N only the words used by Paul were selected for analysis. This relates to the research subject. The critical use of L-N reveals that ὀργή is not classified as an emotion.

A fuller discussion follows in Chapter Five.

1.4.4   Undisputed Pauline letters.[19]

Paul's undisputed letters are the context in which the emotions of anger and fear are analysed. The words were found by using Young's *Analytical Concordance* and references given by L-N. The Greek text was used for analysis and the translations are my own.

A full exposition of the analysis is given in Chapters Six and Seven.

1.5   Outline of the Chapters

The structure of the argument is contained in the following chapters.

Chapter One

Research problem and methodology are discussed in this chapter. The research problem: emotions are culturally conditioned and, therefore, the words anger and fear did not convey the same meaning to Paul's audience as they do today. The steps in the methodology to prove the research are Greco-Roman philosophy, cultural context of

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[18] Todd 200: 54 in Hunter (ed.) and Edmondson (ed.)
[19] Crossan and Reed 2005: xiii

Imperial Rome, lexicography using Louw-Nida and six undisputed Pauline texts where the words for anger and fear are analysed.

Chapter Two

Consists of aspects of the works of classical scholars Martha Naussbaum, David Konstan, Richard Sorabji, and New Testament (NT) scholars Stanley Stowers, John Dominic Crossan and Troels Engberg-Pedersen. Their works are summarised in order to emphasise aspects of their work pertinent to the research subject.

Chapter Three

A presentation of the Greco-Roman philosophical tradition of the emotions. These are represented by a general overview of the emotions represented by Plato, Aristotle, Philo and the Stoics, including the Roman Stoic, Seneca. There is a philosophical appraisal of anger and fear by these philosophers where information was applicable, with special emphasis on Aristotle and Seneca.

The research problem was identified in the discipline of Greco-Roman philosophy. It will be within the philosophical tradition that the value of emotions having a cognitive function will be discussed. This is the essence of the research subject emphasising Aristotle's contribution.

Chapter Four

A brief historical overview of the Roman provincial cities. in which Paul formed his communities, is followed by a discussion on the influential cultural values present in each city. The order of the discussion follows the possible chronological sequence of his visits to Thessalonica, Corinth, Philippi and Galatia. Paul was not a founder of the Roman community, but there is an extant letter written to them which is considered as well.

Chapter Five

The importance of this chapter is that it provides the words to express the concepts of anger and fear. In the words are discovered the cultural influences, the cognitive functions and the social values in the emotions. This involves consideration of the principles on which the L-N *Greek-English Lexicon of Semantic Domains* are arranged.

A description of the Domains and Subdomains is included in 'How to use the L-N'. L-N do not classify ὀργή as an emotion.

BDAG was used as a valuable companion, as it provides additional references to the use of the words ὀργή and φόβος, relating them to Greek literature of all periods, not limiting them to the time of the New Testament, as happens in L-N.

It is necessary to establish how extensive the Greek vocabulary was to express anger and fear at the time of Paul. Having gathered this information, the words are then analysed in the context of the undisputed Pauline Letters in Chapter Six.

Chapter Six

In Chapter Six is an analysis of the emotion of anger as a further step in the proof of the research subject. The purpose of the initial chart is to assist in following the references of ὀργή and related words as identified in the relevant undisputed Pauline letters. It shows the appropriate lexicon domain and Pauline letter.

Particular passages are set out as follows: an introduction to the letter; the relevant pericope in Greek; translation into English; the textual analysis. The word for analysis is written in bold, both in the Greek pericope and in the translation. The textual analysis is to establish how the emotion functions in a particular pericope and the overall argument.

Reference is made to L-N's classification of the word and then referred to Aristotle's definition of the emotions. In this act of referral, insights are revealed into the meaning of anger and related words in the undisputed Pauline letters, thereby indicating the import of this word in the first century CE in Imperial Rome.

Chapter Seven

The process used in Chapter Six is to refer lexical terms for anger and related words to Aristotle's definition of anger and, then, to relate the insights of this referral to the meaning of the words in the undisputed Pauline letters. This act indicates the relationship of the emotions to the social values of that era, which is the core of the research subject.

In Chapter Seven, the procedure for the emotion of fear and related words is repeated. Particular passages are set out as follows: an introduction to the letter; the relevant pericope in Greek; translation into English; the textual analysis. The word for analysis is

written in bold, both in the Greek pericope and in the translations. The textual analysis is to establish how the emotions functions in a particular pericope and the overall argument.

Again, in this act of referral, insights are revealed into the meaning of φόβος and related words in the undisputed Pauline letters, thereby indicating the import of this word in the first century CE in Imperial Rome.

Chapter Eight

The purpose is to present all the findings summarised in the conclusions from Chapter Three to Chapter Seven. These findings will prove the research subject, that the emotions of anger and fear convey a different meaning in the undisputed Pauline letters in the first century CE. They had different meanings because of the different social values of that time.

CHAPTER TWO : CONTEXT AND HISTORY OF RESEARCH

2.1   Introduction

The purpose of the literature review is to locate the research subject that was identified in Chapter One. In this chapter, the discussion is centred on works that have shaped the approach and thinking in the analysis of the emotive terms of anger and fear in the undisputed letters of Paul. The work of the following scholars, distinguished in the discipline of the classics and of the New Testament, was chosen to support the research for this thesis.

2.2   Classical Scholars

2.2.1 Martha Nussbaum

Martha Nussbaum's investigation in the field of emotions has influenced the understanding of the value of emotions and their contribution to moral social interaction. This is not to imply that all emotions contribute usefully, for example, envy and *Schadenfreude* have badness built into them. Emotions have been spoken about in Chapter One in relation to the words that stand for the emotions, for example, ὀργή and φόβος, but there has been no discussion as to what they are. It would be best at this point to address this question to Martha Nussbaum's work *Upheavals of thought: The intelligence of emotions.* The question that is addressed to her work is, 'What is an emotion?'

Emotions have a cognitive dimension, one sees things in a particular way. Emotions involve thought, the thoughts are about the situation, an internal process. Emotions are capable of judgement, the judgements are made on the basis of the beliefs that are held. The beliefs may be false, the beliefs are essential to the identity of the emotion. Emotions evaluate; the value placed on the object or event and its relationship to the viewer.

The first two descriptions describe their character; the latter two describe their judgement aspect.[20]

This shows the Stoic influence in Nussbaum's work, that emotions are judgement of value, but she differs from the Stoics' negative appraisal of emotions. Nussbaum refers to

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[20] Nussbaum 2005: 24-29

this aspect of the Stoic teaching on emotions as their normative approach, which she rejects, but she is in agreement with the descriptive part.

Nussbaum concedes that some emotions may involve involuntary movements such as trembling in the hands, the heart leaping, and fluttering in the stomach, but she does not find that these external movements are necessary to the internal emotion.[21]   In this respect she differed from Seneca and Philo in their reinterpretation of emotions as having an involuntary aspect and a cognitive aspect. This in practice meant that if a fluttering of the stomach occurred, it provided for an opportunity of choice whether to accept the validity of judgement of the emotion.

Nussbaum agreed with Aristotle that good habits of action and emotions can develop virtuous character and this should be supported by the State through good education, instilling habits of virtue and promoting the good life. However, she disagrees with the mean in emotions, as suggested by Aristotle, being the appropriate response to the occasion, as she finds the concept of the mean impractical and doomed to failure.[22]

Another characteristic Nussbaum attributes to emotions is that they are concerned with a person's flourishing; that is, they appear to be *eudaimonistic*.[23] Solomon presents a different evaluation to Nussbaum on the function of emotion. He says that the goal of emotion is always 'to maximise personal dignity and self esteem'.[24] Nussbaum contends that this makes the emotions too egoistic. Therefore, according to Nussbaum's perspective as illustrated by the footnote, a person's flourishing is not connected to their sense of personal esteem and dignity. Whatever a person considers to be of essential value to a complete human life, that is the value placed on the elements that make up that life, this is εὐδαιμονία.[25] This concept is further expanded in order to illuminate the error in thinking that has occurred due to the mistranslation of εὐδαιμονία as 'happiness'. The elements that make up the life may be represented as actions, people or relations and these are not the only way in which the life is enriched. It is also the value

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[21] Nussbaum 2005: 57
[22] Nussbaum 2005: 234
[23] Nussbaum 2005: 31 Nussbaum prefers the term εὐδαιμονία, an ancient Greek concept which is more expansive in respect of the concept of what is good; it is not restricted to the idea of happiness or pleasure.
[24] Solomon 1976: 160, 181
[25] Nussbaum 2005: 32

which the agent gives to participating in life.[26] 'This, it seems, is what emotions are like. They insist on the real importance of their object, but they also embody the person's own commitment to the object as part of her scheme of ends.'[27]

Upheavals of Thought is a comprehensive work, including topics not pertinent to this research. From this, examples of anger, ὀργή and fear, φόβος have been selected, describing Nussbaum's own experience.

Firstly, there are a few more general observations given by Nussbaum and then she gives more specific examples.

Emotions are about something, they are not just random. If we take the example of fear, φόβος, there must be an object of fear. Without the object, it is simply a response to something which holds no intrinsic value to the viewer. The something is internal, it is a way of seeing value. In the case of φόβος, it is seeing danger.[28]

The following are Nussbaum's personal examples of φόβος and ὀργή.   These emotions were aroused because of her anxiety about her mother, who was in hospital. She experienced hope because she saw in her mind an image of health; fear because the image of death appeared more frequently; anger at the doctors for allowing her condition to deteriorate; anger at the flight attendants for smiling as if everything was normal; anger at herself for not being able to stop the event from happening.

Thought was given as a constituent of emotion. Nussbaum illustrates how this functions from observation of her own experience. She illustrates how a change of thought changed the emotion.[29]

Martha Nussbaum's fear would have turned to relief had she received medical news that her mother's condition had improved.

In like manner, her anger dissipated when she realised that the flight attendants had no ill-intent towards her.[30] Again, this is an example of how change of thought changed the emotion.

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[26] Nussbaum 2005: 31-32
[27] Nussbaum 2005: 32-33
[28] Nussbaum 2005: 27
[29] Nussbaum 2005: 20
[30] Nussbaum 2005: 20

Anger and fear are socially taught and may vary from society to society.[31] For example, a stratified society in which status, that is honour, was greatly valued, presents opportunities for objects of anger. We have examples from the philosopher, Seneca, recalling his experiences of anger every day.[32] He would recall the anger he felt at a slight at a dinner party for being put in the wrong seat.[33] Seneca's treatise *On Anger* is full of such examples, which society teaches as being acceptable. In Imperial Rome anger is looked on as manly pride.[34] Seneca was a contemporary of Paul, which gives a glimpse of the challenges which he confronted.

There are additional features of fear that Nussbaum speaks of. The bad event that arouses fear is not trivial, but seriously bad.[35] The belief that our valued relationships and plans may be harmed by the event arouses fear.[36] Our values that give us a sense of well-being are linked to the emotions.[37]

2.2.2   Summary of Martha Nussbaum

Although Nussbaum offers an extensive account of compassion in *Upheavals of Thought: the intelligence of emotions,* the focus for this research is her account of the general cognitive structure of emotions.

Nussbaum disentangles the various strands that constitute the cognitive function to enable the reader to appreciate how the emotion functions. The process begins with an appearance of a person or event, something exterior to the experience. This appearance is seen in a particular way, this is the cognitive function. Emotions involve thought and Nussbaum illustrates from her own experience how the emotion changed when the

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[31] Ekman 1983: 384-392 Ekman's research on facial expression, following Darwin, suggests that certain facial expressions are cross-culturally recognised as signs of anger, fear, disgust, surprise, joy, or sadness. Less conclusively, he also shows a cross-cultural tendency to display such expressions, in the appropriate circumstances. (For example, even Japanese subjects, who quickly inhibit manifestation of one of the classic expressions, showed, when observed without their knowledge, a momentary tendency of the mouth toward making expression). What precisely does this research show?' As we see, this is quite a contrary view to the one expounded by Nussbaum.

[32] Nussbaum 2005: 163

[33] Nussbaum 2005: 163

[34] Nussbaum 2005: 163 cites Sorabji 2002: 358-359 'Father Evagrius of Pontus (345-99 CE) wrote how to work on emotions towards the Stoic ideal, freedom from emotions. Speaking of bad thoughts of the emotions and anger is listed as a bad thought of the emotion.' In the example cited by Nussbaum 2001: 20 that thought and the emotion are the same; change the thinking and the emotion changes. So by the fourth century the assessment of emotion has changed.

[35] Nussbaum 2005: 28

[36] Nussbaum 2005: 31

[37] Nussbaum 2005: 43

thought changed. Judgements are based on beliefs that are held, and these may be true or false. Her personal account illustrates this. The evaluation process shows whether it is good or bad. According to Nussbaum's *eudaimonistic* theory, the value is based on the impact on the goals and projects of the person.

Consequently, due to Nussbaum's exposition of the emotions, a step has been taken away from the mere terminology to an understanding of the function of an emotion.

In order to get another view on the subject of the research problem, the works of David Konstan are to be considered.

2.2.3   David Konstan

The Emotions of the Ancient Greeks: Studies in Aristotle and Classical Literature. As the title implies, Konstan is following Aristotle's cognitive approach. This book differs from Nussbaum in that the emotions discussed are those found in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*.

'The premise of this book is that the emotions of the ancient Greeks were in some significant respects different from our own, and that recognising these differences is important to our understanding of Greek literature and Greek culture generally.'[38]

Konstan identifies the differences in emotions as they function in ancient Greek literature and centres his discussion on this.[39] Our modern appreciation of love does not differ that greatly from the ancient emotions, but there is a great difference in our appreciation of anger.[40] His study has also shown that there are occasions when there is apparently no term equivalent to a basic modern emotion, such as romantic jealousy.[41] Aristotle also omits to discuss the emotion of grief which Konstan has included.[42]

The Greek word πάθος, or πάθη, in the plural, is translated into English as emotion.[43] In classical Greek, the word πάθος may be understood as that which befalls a person, for example, in a negative sense, an accident. In philosophical language πάθος sometimes

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[38] Konstan 2007: ix 'Catherine Lutz (1988: 8) has remarked that the 'process of translation involves much more than the one-to-one linking of concepts in one language with the concepts of another. Rather, the process ideally involves providing the context of use of the words in each of the two languages between which translation is attempted'.'
[39] Konstan 2007: xi
[40] Konstan 2007: xi
[41] Konstan 2007: xi
[42] Konstan 2007: xi
[43] Konstan 2007: xi

signifies a secondary quality as opposed to the essence of a thing.[44] So far, the examples of the use of the word πάθος do not present a clear definition of the word as it will be considered, as a reaction to an impression of an event or circumstance external to itself.[45]

According to Konstan, there is a serious train of thought in emotion studies that maintains that certain emotions are innate and therefore universal. Konstan argues against this view, and, in order to illustrate that emotions are culturally linked and dependent on the lexical terms available to a specific culture, he uses the visual experience of colour. Drawing on scholarship in the field of colour, Konstan provides lexical evidence to illustrate cultural differences in the identification of colour.[46] For example, a modern Welsh dictionary defines the word *glas* as (amongst other things) blue, pale grey, green and silver.[47] In ancient Greek the word γλαυκός is translated as gleaming, blue-green, pale blue and grey.[48] In Homer we find the colour of the sea described as grey, that is when it is not wine dark. It would not be the standard description of the sea in another part of the world. The point made is that the description of the experience is determined by the availability of lexical terms. It is these terms that reveal the cultural difference. Accordingly, it is this aspect that is essential to the interpretation of anger and fear in this research.

Aristotle offers no direct indication of how emotions affect judgements, but his cognitive approach to emotion implies beliefs arouse emotion, for example, she insulted me, he intends to do me harm.[49] The belief in the emotion contributes to its expression which, in turn, confirms the belief. It is possible to understand from this mechanism why it can be so difficult to eradicate an emotion, because it can become a self-validating circular system.[50]

In his treatise *Rhetoric*, Aristotle arranges his definitions in the following order:

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[44] Konstan 2007: 4
[45] Konstan 2007: 4
[46] Konstan 2007: 6
[47] Konstan 2007: 6
[48] Konstan 2007: 6
[49] Konstan 2007: 37
[50] Konstan 2007: 37

Anger   Calmness

Friendship   Enmity

Fear   Confidence

Shame   Shamelessness

Kindness   Unkindness

Pity   Indignation

Envy   Emulation

Konstan examines most of the emotions that Aristotle analyses in his treatise, *Rhetoric*, although not in the same order. Where possible, he takes Aristotle as a point of departure for his own discussion.[51] For example, he has placed the chapter on Shame immediately after that on Satisfaction, since both involve a positive sentiment analogous to pride. Konstan has also postponed the chapter on Love and Hatred, since they both have a problematic status as emotions on Aristotle's definition.[52]

These are the emotions that Konstan analyses in his book, *The Emotions of the Ancient Greeks: Studies in Aristotle and Classical Literature*: anger, satisfaction, shame, envy and indignation; fear, gratitude, love, hatred, pity, jealousy and grief.

The importance of Nussbaum's and Konstan's approach to the emotions is that emotion is not set in opposition to reason. Their assessment of emotion differs totally from the post-Cartesian philosophy, still prevalent today,[53] in which the cognitive aspect of emotion is totally ignored and is looked at purely in physical terms.[54]

For Aristotle, emotions like anger, hatred, shame, envy and fear were not involuntary reactions to situations, but socially conditioned responses in which the values of a stratified society play a vital role.

Konstan does question the narrow sphere of operation that Aristotle allows ὀργή, and whether the distinction Aristotle draws between anger and hatred can be verified in

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[51] Konstan 2007: xi
[52] Konstan 2007: 263
[53] Konstan 2007: 43
[54] Konstan 2007: 43

Greek literature.[55] From the list of eleven emotions only two are directly pertinent to the research topic, they are ὀργή and φόβος.

Konstan structured his analysis of ὀργή as follows: the definition, an analysis of the emotion, examples to illustrate this section, definitions of the three types of slights or belittlements, examples in classical Greek literature to illustrate how the belittlement functioned, examples in the tragedies, orators, historians, anger, not only in the personal domain, but as an aspect of law, punishment of the wrongdoer, examples of the negative impact of an emotion, for example, anger.

Konstan follows the same system in the discussion of φόβος.

This particular work played a formative role in shaping this research. This section is concluded by including a quotation of Catherine Lutz used by Konstan:

> The process of coming to understand emotional lives of people in different cultures can be seen first and foremost as a problem of translation. What must be translated are the meanings of the emotion words spoken in everyday conversation, of the emotionally imbued events of everyday life, of tears and other gestures, and of audience reaction to emotional performance. The interpretative task, then, is not primarily to fathom somehow 'what are they feeling inside', but rather to translate emotional communications from one idiom, context, language, or socio-historical mode of understanding one another.[56]

2.2.4   Summary of David Konstan

Konstan has presented a thorough enquiry into the experience of both ὀργή and φόβος. Aristotle's definitions of the emotions show the difference in experience. Although we use equivalent terms in English, we are not speaking of the same experience. Konstan's scholarship, therefore, has revealed the possibility of showing that these emotions were experienced differently in first century Imperial Rome to our current understanding of the terms, as the values embedded in the emotions are socially influenced.

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[55] Konstan 2007: 48
[56] Lutz 1988: 8

Konstan was used as a source book to reference Aristotle. He bases his work on the emotions on the definitions provided by Aristotle in *Rhetoric*. He also includes the emotion, grief, which is not defined by Aristotle.

The importance of Konstan's approach to the emotions is that emotion is not set in opposition to reason.[57] This view, that emotion is in opposition to reason, has been a characteristic of post–Cartesian philosophy and is still prevalent. In addition, the cognitive aspect of emotion was totally ignored and looked at purely in physical terms.[58]

Konstan's scholarship, therefore, has revealed the possibility of showing that these emotions were experienced differently in first century Imperial Rome from our current understanding of the concepts, as the values embedded in the emotions are socially influenced.

The third classicist, whose work contributed to the research subject, is Richard Sorabji.

2.2.5   Richard Sorabji

In *Emotion and Peace of Mind: From Stoic Agitation to Christian Temptation*, Richard Sorabji covers the analysis of the emotions by Greek and Roman philosophers, beginning with Plato (fifth century BCE) and ending with Augustine (400 CE). This covers a period of eight hundred years, which indicates what a prodigious work it is. The core of his argument is devoted to the Stoics' interpretation of the value of emotions, and their influence on subsequent philosophers.

The first century philosophers, Philo of Alexandria and Roman Seneca, re-interpreted the Stoic position on the emotions by introducing an involuntary first movement, as a warning signal that an emotion has been aroused, but, at this point, the cognitive judgement has not been accepted. If the judgement is evaluated as false and not accepted, this is not counted as an emotion. Philo, under Stoic influence, applied this principle to the Jewish scriptures, re-interpreting what was traditionally considered to be an emotion, as a pre-emotion or προπάθεια.

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[57] Konstan 2007: 43
[58] Konstan 2007: 43

Many of the Church Fathers thought very highly of Seneca, and so were influenced by his first movement interpretation, which led to the re-interpretation of the emotions when expressed by Jesus, who now had to resemble a Stoic sage.

Sorabji presents a comprehensive description of the Stoic's approach to the emotions, with emphasis on their cognitive function.

2.2.6 Summary of Richard Sorabji

Sorabji's work contributed to the writing of the chapter on the philosophic tradition behind the emotions. The fine and thorough scholarship of Sorabji's work has been inspirational in appreciating the impact of emotions on our intellectual heritage.

The relevance to the research subject is that it underscores that the emotions are cognitive.

This concludes the contribution of the classicists to the research subject and is followed by the New Testament scholars whose work was influential.

2.3 New Testament Scholars

2.3.1 Stanley Stowers

In *A Re-reading of Romans*, Stowers presents a series of arguments that contrast with traditional readings and accepted views. The question he seeks to address is, 'How can one read Romans afresh as a letter from the Greco-Roman world of the first century CE?'[59] His approach is useful to the research subject which seeks to show how the emotions of anger and fear were understood in the first century CE. Although Stowers' research did not cover these two emotions, the common factor is the first century CE.

In contrast to the traditional commentaries on Romans, Stowers argues for a Gentile audience throughout the letter. This proposition, in addition to other challenges of key traditional interpretations, such as Augustine, makes this reading very provocative.[60]

Stowers considers that what is needed for a totally fresh approach to the letter to the Romans is a historical approach, which is an attempt to read the letter as a first century

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[59] Stowers 1994: 6
[60] Bassler 1996: 366

reader would have read it, when Christianity was one of the sects within the diverse Judaism of the second Temple period.[61]

An intrinsic factor to Stowers is the role language plays in how to read Romans afresh.[62] The central feature of language, according to him, is its expression of social practices. The community shares their experiences through their common understanding, expressed in words. Written texts are expressions of the spoken language, and, in this manner, a meaningful expression of social practices. It is evident from the above description, how Stowers' approach overlaps to a degree with Konstan's and the value his scholarship contributes to this research.

Stowers does not define or analyse specific emotions, but he focuses his attention on the value the society placed on ἐγκράτεια, self-mastery. Paul in 1 Cor 9:25 uses the same word in verbal form. The lack of ἐγκράτεια is interpreted as a weakness, both by Paul in 1 Cor 9:22 and Aristotle, who shows the same relationship in Athenian society.[63] Paul also uses the word κρατερία, endurance, to compare it to self-mastery in a discussion on its opposite, lack of self-control, ἀκρασία, in 1 Cor 7:5 and Romans 5:3-4.[64] Endurance is a temporary victory on an emotional assault, self-mastery represents control. Paul's understanding of control differed from the philosophers' therapy, a subject explored by Troels Engberg-Pedersen in *Paul and the Stoics.*

The style, in which a letter was written at that time, is also a factor in interpreting it as a first century document. In Paul's time, letters were composed without punctuation, divisions between words, paragraphs or chapter divisions.[65] According to Stowers,[66] literary works do not seem to have been divided until the second century CE and then only gradually. The origin of such editing appears to have been in legal documents whose chapter and article divisions were used for reference. Reference was probably the major reason for their later use in the New Testament.[67] Therefore Paul would have written in *scriptio continua*. The introduction of paragraph, chapter divisions and

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[61] Stowers 1994: 13
[62] Stowers 1994: 6
[63] Stowers 1994: 45
[64] Stowers 1994: 45
[65] Stowers 1994: 9
[66] Stowers 1994: 32
[67] Stowers 1994: 10

punctuation resulted in a significant form of editing taking place, which influenced the interpretation of the letter.[68]

Stowers uses the following chapter of Romans to illustrate the above argument:

> The oldest chapter divisions, the *kephala majora* and a system in *Codex Vaticanus,* have no break at 2:1, both mark off 1:18-2:12 as a section. That division highlights what I take to be one of Paul's major themes: God judges both Judeans and Gentiles impartially according to their works.[69]

A later manuscript, sixth century CE, a manuscript of the Latin *Vulgate* has a division at Rom 2:1.

According to Stowers, there was not a strong emphasis on a break at Rom 2:1 until Augustine.[70] 'Augustine's view would become dominant'.[71] This is the view,

> Then he goes on to those who judge, and do the things they condemn. This, no doubt, refers to the Judeans, who have boasted in the law of God; though he does not at first name them explicitly.[72]

This influential view is challenged by Stowers on the grounds that Paul's diatribal rhetoric does not refer to a Jew, but to those who fit a certain vice.[73] Stowers draws on examples from contemporary literature to illustrate that this type of censure was made by Gentiles and did not refer to Judeans.[74] According to Stowers, no evidence is in existence to make such a claim against the Judeans until after Paul's time, and that, by the Christians.

2.3.2   Summary of Stanley Stowers

There are two important areas in which Stowers' scholarship has contributed to this research. His work has supported the hypothesis of this research, in that it is possible to appreciate the reception of the words as by a first century CE audience. His extensive

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[68] Stowers 1994: 10
[69] Stowers 1994: 12
[70] Stowers 1994: 12
[71] Stowers 1994: 13
[72] Stowers 1994: 13
[73] Stowers 1994: 13
[74] Stowers 1994: 13

work, in interpreting the use of the diatribe in Romans, expanded the understanding of these sections and made them more meaningful in the analysis of the research subject.

The other aspect is the role editing has played in the interpretation of Romans. It has shown new possibilities in interpreting the New Testament from a cultural perspective. The research for this subject is cultural, not theological.

The discussion of the New Testament scholars that follows concentrates on the physical terrain, social conditions and the provincial cities that Paul met on his travels.

2.3.3   John Dominic Crossan and Jonathan L Reed

Crossan and Reed combined their areas of expertise in the publication of the book, *In Search of Paul: How Jesus's Apostle Opposed Rome's Empire with God's Kingdom* (2005). Crossan is a New Testament scholar and Reed a field archaeologist. Every place discussed in their work has been visited at least once by one of them, and several places were visited by both.

These travels were inspired by the work of Gustav Adolf Deissman, who, over a hundred years ago, discovered the unique experience of being on the very location described by a sacred text. It is a 'you are there' factor which they have captured and conveyed to the reader. They open two major sections of their book with 'you are there'. The book extends an invitation to participate in the world of Imperial Rome, either in imagination or a physical journey.

As a result of their actual experience of the regions in which Paul founded his communities, they brought a vivid clarity to Paul in context of Imperial Rome and the challenges he met. In the chapter on 'Meeting and Eating in Public', the details given of these institutions, how they functioned and the social ramifications of such an event as a patron's dinner, increased the understanding specifically in relation to Paul in Corinth. The number of references to their work is evidence of the contribution to my research for the thesis.

2.3.4   Summary of John Dominic Crossan and Jonathan L Reed

The aim of the research is to come to an understanding of the meaning of the concepts of anger and fear in the social context of first century Imperial Rome. Crossan and Reed's scholarship has contributed significantly to understanding the situation alluded to in the

text. This book also clarified the view of justice that Paul held and which was diametrically opposed to that of the Empire. 1 Thessalonians is a case in point providing several examples of allusion to injustice by the ruling power. This research subject benefitted especially from his chapter on patronage, because it clarified some of Paul's difficulties in Corinth.

2.3.5 Troels Engberg-Pedersen

The final New Testament scholar provided a limited contribution because he does not focus on the cultural context of the New Testament, nor does he discuss the emotion. However, this was a useful paradigm as he looks at the New Testament in term of Aristotles' ethics and the ethics of the Stoics.

Engberg-Pedersen worked on Aristotle's ethics and after that turned to the ethics of the Stoics. He then worked concurrently on the Stoics and Paul. When he completed his work on the Stoics, he turned his full attention on Paul. Stoic ethics lit up issues in Pauline thought, so that they became coherent and no longer problematic. In his work *Paul and the Stoics*, Engberg-Pedersen aimed to reach an understanding of Pauline thought, not by the traditional theological perspective, but through the ancient ethical system and the Stoics. He includes the work of Aristotle for ancient ethics. His approach is naturalistic and not theological as he himself states, 'I shall call this historical-critical approach 'naturalistic, as distinct from the overtly 'theological' perspective that form the core of Neo-Orthodoxy.'[75]

Engberg-Pedersen synthesises Stoic ethics, which he communicates diagrammatically as a map to navigate the two systems of thought, Stoic and Pauline. He stresses that the diagram has no independent value and is not a shorthand for either Pauline or Stoic thought.[76] The model represents the inner expansion of human thought. The first stage is the embodied individual, who responds to the pronoun 'I', and the relationship with the world is determined by the content of that 'I'. A shift may occur in the thinking of the 'I' and the concept now expands to include 'We' (S), but still as embodied beings. The change of thought occurs through the recognition of 'X' on the model, which is God or

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[75] Engberg-Pedersen 2000: 2
[76] Engberg-Pedersen 2000: 33

Christ to Christian thinking, in Stoicism, it is god or reason. The model also includes a timeline which indicates the thinking before the transformation, the thinking now and what will follow after. There is also a spatial element, 'I' in relation to 'X' is below, 'X' is above. The 'S', or 'We', level is above the 'I' level but below the 'X' level. The 'X' level directly impacts on both 'I' and 'S'.[77]

The model

Above

Below

Before　　　　　Now　　　　　After
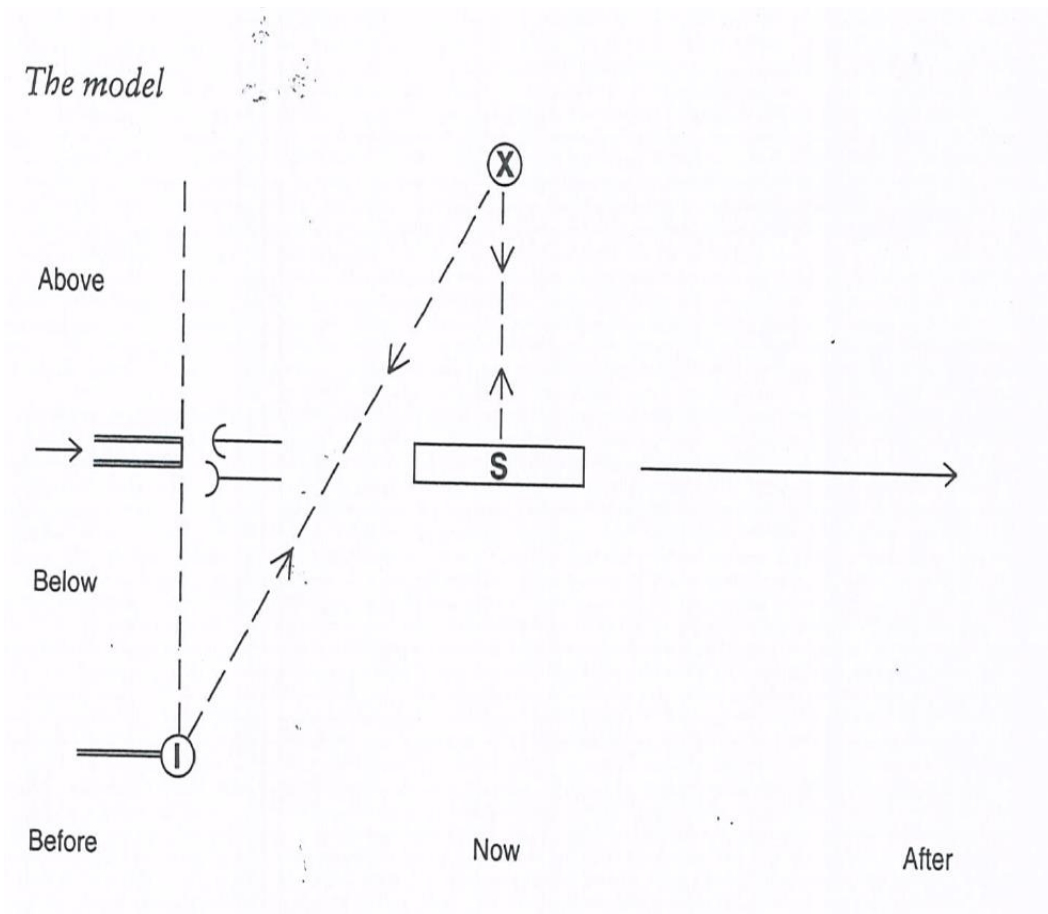
Engberg-Pedersen then applies this model to Pauline thought structures in Philippians, Galatians and Romans.[78]

2.3.6　Summary of Troels Engberg-Pedersen

This précis does not do justice to the fine and detailed scholarship devoted by the author to producing his work. This work has been used once in this research, as the focus is on the emotions. However, he does throw light on the value that the Stoics put on the emotions that were specifically 'I' centred and the εὐπάθεια of the sage. The reason for

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[77] Engberg-Pedersen 2000: 34
[78] Engberg-Pedersen 2000: 34 (Chart as per Engberg-Pedersen).

including him in this book review is his concentration on the ethics of Aristotle and the Stoics, but his contribution was limited, as the cultural context, which is of prime importance to the research subject, did not feature in this work.

2.4   Conclusion

Martha Nussbaum contributes significantly to the understanding of the function of the emotions, by unravelling various strands of their composition and describing their function. Her description of the emotions brings understanding of their workings and illustrates how the emotions influence intentions and plans, by the value of good or bad assigned to the object or person of perception.   By citing her personal experience, Nussbaum clarifies the point that the emotions are concerned with actions, and responses to those actions. The example shows the value she placed on the actions of others and how they conflicted with her values and aspirations. These responses were governed by her thoughts, when the thought changed, the response also changed. She used this example to illustrate the relationship between thoughts and the emotions, and to negate the view that emotions are thoughtless reactions.

Konstan contributes to this research subject by raising awareness that the Greek word for anger did not have the same meaning as a modern equivalent in English. This statement introduced a lexical factor, which influenced the methodology of the research subject. Aristotle's definition of anger and fear, which Konstan analyses, are pivotal to the understanding of the two emotions, anger and fear, in the undisputed Pauline letters. In addition, he illustrated how cultural conditions influence the values in the emotions. Once again the influence of his scholarship is reiterated. His contribution was noted in Chapter One.

Sorabji's work underscores the cognitive functions of the emotion, but from a Stoic point of view. The influence of Sorabji's contribution is seeing in Chapter Three.

Crossan and Reed 2005, in their work, *In Search of Paul*, provide the cultural context and values that were prevalent in the Imperial Roman society, which Paul encountered in the provincial cities. Their scholarship contributed to a better understanding of the social conditions in Corinth, particularly in relation to this system of patronage, which was

prevalent in Corinth. This system was prevalent throughout the Roman Empire, but the strong patrons in Corinth were particularly troublesome for Paul.

Stowers, although his scholarship is in the field of New Testament studies, emphasises a similar hypothesis to Konstan, that the meaning of lexical terms in first century Imperial Rome meant something different to their present English equivalents. However, his reference is not to emotional concepts. His aim, therefore, was to read Paul's letter to the Romans with the meaning it conveyed to listeners or readers of that period. The letter to the Romans is the context in which he tests his research, in his work, *A Re-Reading of Romans* 1994.

In this respect, his work influenced this research subject, as the aim is to understand Paul's use of the emotions of anger and fear in the undisputed Pauline letters.

Engberg-Pedersen 2000, *Paul and the Stoics*, served as an example in adopting a non-theological approach to the Pauline letters. He used his knowledge of Aristotelian and Stoics ethics to interpret the three undisputed Pauline letters. His investigation does not include either the cultural context or an enquiry into the emotions, therefore, the influence on the research subject was minimal.

This review has clarified that the Classical Scholars who specialise in Greco-Roman philosophy in the field of emotions, have not referred their work to New Testament studies. The New Testament Scholars, on the other hand, who have emphasised the cultural context of the Pauline letters, or seek to reinterpret the undisputed Pauline texts, have not included a study of the emotions. Subsequently, an opportunity became apparent, that is to connect the two disciplines of scholarship, by considering how the emotions function in the undisputed Pauline texts.

In Chapter One, the research subject and methods of proof were identified. In this chapter, the discussion centred on the scholarship, which contributed to formulating the research subject. In Chapter Three which follows, the first step in the proof begins, establishing the philosophical authority for the cognitive function of the emotions.

CHAPTER THREE : PHILOSOPHIES ON THE EMOTIONS

3.1   Introduction

It was in the field of Greco-Roman philosophy that classicists revisited the subject of the emotions. The most influential aspect that emerged was the cognitive function in the emotion. The purpose of this chapter is to present a general overview of the philosophers who held this view, and then present their view in respect of the emotions of anger and fear. The cognitive feature in the emotions is fundamental to the hypothesis of this research, that emotions are culturally conditioned and, therefore, the words anger and fear did not convey the same meaning to Paul's audience as they do today.

In *The Emotions of the Ancient Greeks: Studies in Aristotle and Classical Literature,* David Konstan 2007, presents a convincing argument to show that 'the emotions of the ancient Greeks were in some significant respects different from our own.'[79] His work has significantly influenced my approach to interpreting the emotions in the first century CE, in the undisputed Pauline corpus. For this reason, I begin with a brief overview of the philosophic attitude to emotions, and then present the philosophical attitude of Plato, the Stoics, Aristotle, Seneca and Philo to the specific emotions ὀργή and φόβος. The overview will give a comparison between numerous philosophic systems to Aristotle's definition of the emotions in *Rhetoric*. These two emotions, ὀργή and φόβος, are analysed in the undisputed Pauline letters in Chapter Six and Chapter Seven using Aristotle's definitions as a guide to interpret the words in context.

Over the centuries the philosophers have conceived different theories about both the nature of the universe and of man. In relation to the human being, philosophy has understood its function to care for the soul. Therefore philosophy as therapy considers the health not only of the cognitive aspects but also of the affective aspects.[80] Thus consideration of the values of emotions will be based on this philosophical perspective. The discussion that follows provides examples from several philosophical systems from Plato to the first century CE Stoics who acknowledged that the emotions have a cognitive function. Not all the available material permits detailed analyses of the philosophers' views of the emotions, so this is included where available. However, the philosophical

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[79] Konstan 2007: ix
[80] Sorabji 2000:19

view represents the intellectual perspective, which is not at all homogenous, even to a particular philosopher.

3.2   General Overview

3.2.1   The Emotions and Philosophy

The Greek word πάθος, from which we get the word 'passion', and the Latin word *passio*, implies a passive recipient of a mysterious force; a sense of being possessed by something, rather than actively possessing it.[81] The philosophers' value of emotions in the human soul falls into two categories: eradication or moderation.[82] This debate was already underway prior to the Stoics, during Aristotle's time and in fact as early as the Pre-Socratics. The φύσις school on the other hand, which differed from the above, claimed that passions were 'natural' and therefore right.[83]

3.3   Plato

Plato distinguishes between two orders of reality, Being and Becoming. The latter, in this respect, is not fully authentic. Therefore, the value Plato places on emotions needs to be considered in this context. Reason is referred to as 'divine', emotion and appetite as 'mortal'. In the hierarchy of the creative process, the divine aspect of the human being is created by the highest god; other aspects, including the passions, are created by the lower gods. For example, in *Timaeus* 69c-d6, the part of the soul which is the seat of courage, passion and ambition is located nearer the head between midriff and neck; there it would be well placed to listen to the commands of reason.[84] This description implies the possibility of the passions being guided by reason and therefore not always false, unlike the stance taken later by the Stoics. The soul according to the Platonic perspective is threefold, consisting of three distinct functions as described in *Republic*, 4:436, 4:439.[85] One part is rational; the second appetitive (the part which lusts, hungers, thirsts and gets excited by other appetites); the third spirited part has the capacity to align itself with the rational part. It is justice when each part does its own work. The metaphor of the Chariot

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[81] Dodds 1951: 185. In the chapter 'Rationalism and Reaction', Dodds examines the gap between Greek Rationalist thinking and the view of the common man. He also queries the ease with which they (the rationalists) dismiss the role of emotions in ordinary human behaviour.
[82] Sorabji 2002: 194
[83] Dodds 1951: 185
[84] Lee 1965: 96
[85] Jowett 1953: 289-292

in the dialogue *Phaedrus* 246a-254e illuminates the role of the Charioteer (Reason) in harnessing the spirited part (white horse) and the appetitive (dark horse) and using their energy to direct the chariot.[86] The outcome for the chariot is bleak when the horses are not guided by the Charioteer, according to this system of thought.

These examples illustrate that the emotions are considered to be a natural part of the psychology of a person and can play a part in realising the ideal human condition. However, it requires the intervention of philosophy to hold the two horses on course, thereby establishing justice in the soul. Justice in the Platonic sense is that each part of the soul plays its own part, or does its own job. Justice represents a soul restored to health.

A distinction is drawn by those who are ruled by emotions and those who are not as exemplified in the *Protagoras*:

> The view of common people that they are willing to be governed by anger, pleasure or pain, sometimes by love, often fear, but do not appreciate the strength of knowledge.[87]

3.3.1 ὀργή (anger)

The examples of ὀργή that are presented for consideration are taken from the Index of Jowett's 1953 translation of *Plato's Dialogues*. The reference is the English word anger. The examples are not chronologically arranged, as there is no evidence to infer a change of evaluation. The aim is to present the examples as an on-going enquiry in the Platonic circle.

Anger and enmity arise because there is not a suitable instrument to settle differences (of opinions) that provoke these responses. In empirical matters, differences can be settled by weighing and measuring.[88] It may be inferred from this quotation that emotions are considered as part of the psychological aspect of the human being, but they are not useful in dialogue when considering ethical matters.[89] In the analogy, weighing and measuring

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[86] Jowett 1953: 152, 161

[87] Dodd 1951: 185 refers to the section of *Protagoras* 352b to illustrate the attitude of Plato to the common man.

[88] Jowett 1953: 315 Vol l *Euthyphro* 7d

[89] Burnet 1979: 117 Plato here suggests how Socrates was led to discuss ethical questions. There were arts of counting, measurement, and weighing by which all questions of number, magnitude, and weight

are objective, the weights function irrespective of what is weighed. But emotions are self-referring values and therefore will introduce a subjective element into the dialogue, depending on the values and beliefs held in the emotion.

In this example we are told that anger and enmity arise due to difference of opinions, but with no indication what these opinions relate to, nor whether social status is involved. However, it is a social indicator that the Athenians valued their opinions and voiced them. In this example Plato does not relate anger to a slight or injustice, so we are given another aspect for the arousal of anger; a value on being right or superior to the other party.

In *Republic*, Plato provides an illustration of anger aligned to reason in the story of Leontinus. He uses the story to illustrate the functions of the three aspects of the soul.

> When a man's desires violently prevail over his reason, he reviles himself, and
> is angry at the violence within him, and in the state … his spirit is on the side of
> 'reason'.[90]

The above example of anger illustrates its use in a different context. Firstly, it is not specifically related to revenge; secondly, it is appropriate when it is subordinate to reason and against actions that deflect the soul from the good. In this example, we have anger as an assistant to reason and an appropriate response for the occasion.

> A noble character accepts punishment if he knows that he has done wrong, but
> if he is wronged and believes it to be an injustice, he will not give up until he
> has fulfilled his object or lost his life, unless it (the anger) is recalled by reason
> within.[91]

Here anger is used to illustrate its aspect as a desire for revenge, and Plato is indicating that it can be recalled by reason.

Although not overtly stated, the above examples indicate a cognitive aspect to anger. Anger is used in this context of righting a perceived wrong and is relentless in pursuit

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could be settled. Was it possible to find anything of the same sort by which questions of good and bad, right and wrong, fair and foul could be determined?
[90] Jowett 1953: 294 *Republic* (Vol II) 440c
[91] Jowett 1953: 294 *Republic* (Vol II) 440d

thereof. Also, there is an indication of the dynamic force that it exerts in the life of the individual as inferred from the metaphor of the Charioteer.[92]

The question whether passion is different from reason is pursued in *Republic* 440e, on the basis that the soul is threefold and therefore considered to have different functions that work independently of each other. In the example of Leontinus above, passion or spirit is considered to be a natural ally of reason, when not corrupted by bad education.[93] This is an acknowledgment that upbringing and cultural influences have an effect on our intellectual development to create a propensity for virtue, and thus not be tyrannised by appetite.

A consistent feature of anger that runs through the dialogues is its psychological function, the cognitive aspect is inferred.[94] Anger is also described as an ungracious aspect of human nature, which includes a morose disposition. Does anger have a time span once activated? In *Republic* it appears not, but in *Laws* anger is deliberately kept alive by thoughts, showing a relationship between thought and emotion, not only perception.[95] Does thought, in this context, mean recalling the perception that initially stimulated anger, in order to keep the emotion alive? Aristotle also distinguishes between a morose disposition and specific expressions of anger. It is a powerful emotion from which even the wise are not immune.[96] Here we note an inconsistency because in *Republic* IV, Plato states that a good education makes the spirited element an ally of reason, but in *Philebus,* even the wise man is susceptible to anger, but the implication is that he does not necessarily succumb to it.

3.3.2   φόβος **(fear)**

In two early dialogues, *Laches* and *Protagoras*, Plato attributes a cognitive function to fear: the idea is that fear actually perceives the expectation of impending evil.[97] In his

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[92] Jowett 1953: 295 *Republic* (Vol II) 441c
[93] Jowett 1953: 220 *Republic* (Vol ll) 376c Plato discusses the need for an improved educational system to produce the calibre of citizen who can act as guardian in his Republic, which can also be interpreted as a metaphor of the soul.
[94] Jowett 1953: 605 *Philebus* 47e Anger, fear, desire, sorrow, are described as belonging to the soul only. However, these are also referred to in *Republic, Timaeus* and *The Laws.*
[95] Jowett 1953: 507 *Laws* XI:935a (Vol IV)
[96] Jowett 1953: 605 *Philebus* 47e 'Anger which stirs even a wise man to violence, and is sweeter than honey and the honeycomb'.
[97] Sorabji 2000: 20 Plato *Laches 198B; Protagoras* 358D

later work, *Laws*, this observation is repeated.[98] In these early dialogues, the courageous person knows what is to be feared.[99]   Therefore, in this respect Plato differs from Chrysippus, who states that the judgements in the emotions are always false.[100]

In his letters, Paul uses ϕόβος to mean fear of the Lord to express the emotion awe, which is in the same semantic range as the emotion wonder. Φόβος, in the sense Paul uses it, is used frequently in the *LXX*. In the philosophic tradition, wonder is used, as the example in *Theatetus* 155d illustrates. Socrates says, 'philosophy begins in wonder (θαῦμα)'.[101] Here we have an example of an emotion that leads to philosophical contemplation and, as such, one assumes, plays a formative role in human development. The point is that θαῦμα is an emotion recognised as such by L-N, but ϕόβος, as awe, according to their system is not classified as emotion, but semantically linked to acts of worship. Paul's uses the word ϕόβος, as awe, to uplift the communities so that they may marvel and be humbled, in contrast to their grasping activities. Both emotions, awe and wonder, are uplifting and expansive.[102] Awe, with its element of fear, appears to be a self-referential comparison, which is not the impression with wonder. Paul uses the word θαῦμα only once in 2 Cor 11:24. In L-N the meaning allocated is amazement, in Domain 25.212, and in Domain 216, miracle. In BDAG the meaning of wonder is retained. *NEB* translates θαῦμα as surprise.

3.3.3   Summary on Plato

The Platonic tradition comes closest to Aristotle's definitions that will be used in this research. In the Platonic tradition, emotions were required to be reined in by reason. Plato recognises that anger, as a desire for revenge, needs to be recalled by reason, otherwise it would become the driving force in a life. Plato attributes a cognitive function to fear, but does not use the word fear to express awe or reverence, he uses θαῦμα to express the emotion wonder.

The next philosopher, to be discussed, is Plato's pupil, Aristotle.

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[98] Sorabji 2000: 20 Plato *Laws* 644C-D
[99] Sorabji 2000: 21
[100] Sorabji 2000: 21
[101] Jowett 1953: 251
[102] BDAG 2000: 44

3.4 Aristotle

Aristotle, as a member of the Academy, would have been present at a number of debates on the question of the emotions. No doubt the formative years he spent at the Academy contributed to shaping his ideas on emotions. Speusippus, the successor of Plato, and a contemporary of Aristotle, seems to be responsible for advocating that virtue consists of freedom from emotion.[103] This is not Aristotle's assessment of emotions or virtue. He judges virtue by observing the mean in actions and passions.[104]

However, this does not include all the passions: malice, shamelessness and envy are connected to evil;[105] therefore it will never have a mean or be a virtue. This does not include anger and fear. Aristotle's doctrine of the mean is developed in *Nicomachean Ethics* II.3, and II.5 of the *Eudemian Ethics*. He does concede that it is never easy to find the mean, and so virtue is difficult to achieve. However, in respect of the emotions themselves, Aristotle is concerned with the content of the thought that goes into the various emotions.[106] These thoughts are drawn from the culture and the society of the time. In this respect, it illustrates how culture forms emotions. The mean is achieved by recourse to reason, as it requires an assessment of what is needed by that person, at that time and in that place and not driven by the belief in the emotion (*Eudemian Ethics* II.5 1222ab-10).[107]

Aristotle accepts that, as with actions, emotions have a value in the formation of an excellent character, quite a different point of view to the Stoics. This has a positive role in the individual's contribution to society. In any given situation there can be excess, deficiency or a mean (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1106b15-29). In order for the mean to be realised, emotions may need to be increased or decreased.[108]

Emotions on their own without recourse to principles (reason) are ineffective (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1965: 28). He is excluding simple reflexive responses to be considered as emotions. Therefore, although emotions are important in a moral life, according to Aristotle they require the presence of the moderating element, reason. These emotions are not aroused in a vacuum, but in social interaction and it is in the treatise

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[103] Sorabji 2002: 195
[104] Ross 1961: 67
[105] Ross 1961: 67
[106] Sorabji 2002: 23
[107] Sorabji 2002: 21
[108] Sorabji 2002: 22

Rhetoric that we have an analysis of ten emotions, which contain judgements and beliefs which are products of the culture.[109] *Rhetoric* addresses two important areas of life in Athenian society: politics and the law. This acknowledges the use of emotions in human interaction, and the emotional effect of one person on another.[110]

Aristotle's definition of the specific emotions selected for analysis, in relation to this research topic, will be discussed next.

3.4.1 ὀργή (anger)

The topic of ὀργή is discussed in a number of Aristotle's works. He defines a number of emotions in *Rhetoric*, and this will provide a clear frame of reference to compare these statements to his other works. The analysis of emotions, in this work, shows that they contain judgements and beliefs, which are a product of their culture. Ὀργή is a social occurrence, therefore, its activity is rightly placed within the social experience of humankind.[111] In the analysis of anger, in the undisputed Pauline letters, a large portion of the references refer to divine anger. However, as the operation of anger is a social occurrence, the elements of anger would be recognised in the anthropomorphic representation of it.

> Let us then define anger as a longing, accompanied by pain, for a real or
> apparent revenge for a real or apparent slight, affecting a man himself or one of
> his friends, when such a slight is undeserved. (Aristotle, *Rhetoric* II.1378b ii.
> 2).[112]

Aristotle's definition immediately indicates a different stance on emotions from Chrysippus, who defined emotions as judgements and included pleasure and pain as emotions.

Pleasure and pain are not an aspect of Aristotle's definition and do not give a positive or negative value to the emotions. For example, anger may be accompanied by pain yet pleasure at the thought of retribution. An opposite emotion may be accompanied by the

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[109] Konstan 2007: 33
[110] Sorabji 2002: 22
[111] Konstan 2007: 74
[112] Freese 2006:173

same sensations. 'All feel glad at what we wish for and pained at getting what we do not' (*Rhetoric* II 1381a iv 3). His purpose is to show their effect on judgements.[113]

Aristotle does not spell out how this is achieved, but Konstan proposes the following theory: certain kinds of beliefs that illicit emotions, when excited by accompanying sensations of pleasure and pain, influence in turn other beliefs or decisions.[114]

'Ὀργή is defined as a desire, accompanied by pain, for a perceived slight on the part of people who are not fit to slight one or one's own'.[115]

Thus, according to Aristotle, slighting was a challenge to a person's honour.

Konstan examines the social complexity which is disclosed in judging and appraising a 'slight'.[116] Aristotle provides definitions of three types of 'slight'.

> Καταφρόνησις or contempt - a belief that something is of no value. The implication is that the value is denied.
>
> Ἐπηρεασμός or spite - blocking the wishes of another, not in order to have something for oneself but rather that the other not have it (*Rhetoric* 2.2, 1378b18-19). In this case, the slight, Aristotle explains, lies precisely in that the offender seeks no personal advantage. This action constitutes a slight, according to Aristotle, because one neither fears him nor seeks his friendship.
>
> Ὕβρις or arrogant abuse, which is defined as speaking or acting in ways that cause shame to another, not so that something may happen to you or because something has happened to you, but for the sheer pleasure of it (*Rhetoric* 2.2, 1378b23-5) - a pleasure that derives from a sense of superiority, not from gain.[117]

These definitions demonstrate that the person inflicting the slight assumes a superior position to the receiver, who then assumes a demeaned position as a result of the

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[113] Freese 2006: 193

[114] Konstan 2007: 37

[115] Konstan 2007: 43

[116] Konstan 2007: 43

[117] Konstan 2007: 46 Konstan includes an interesting reference to these definitions, which I shall include here. Andre and Lelord (2002: 45) report that 'an Australian researcher asked 158 employees to describe an event at the workplace that provoked their anger; the result was that 44% identified being treated in an unjust manner; 23% being witness to incorrect behaviour; and 15% being witness to incompetence on the job; while 11% pointed to being an object of contempt or disrespect, and 7% to enduring public humiliation (45-6, citing *Fitness 2000*).

intentional slight. However, according to the definition, the slight is given by those not fit to slight. It is clear from this description that ὀργή is not simply an instinctive response, but a complex social judgement.[118]

The interpretation of 'slight' is circumscribed by status: if one's position is inferior, it is not a slight to be reminded of it.[119] Social roles and their correct maintenance provided social stability. Aristotle mirrors social values of his time. Ὀργή is also described as a desire for revenge, but only where revenge is possible.[120]

> Those lives were lived in a world that was intensely confrontational, intensely competitive, and intensely public, . . . in which everybody [knew] that they [were] constantly being judged, nobody [hid] that they [were] acting like judges, and nobody [hid] that they [sought] to be judged positively. (Here slightly abridged, with tenses adjusted for context).[121]

The above quotation illustrates how publicly life was lived and the importance of restoring one's honour publicly, through an act of reprisal.[122] Therefore, ὀργή is the desire to restore the status quo.[123] One may argue that this act would simply set off a cycle of reprisals. It appears that the person, who initially was responsible for the slight, would accept the reprisal as justice. Aristotle ascribes a narrow sphere of activity to the action of ὀργή in *Rhetoric*.[124]

Aristotle did acknowledge the existence of different concepts of ὀργή in *De Anima*.[125] He says that the physicist and the dialectician would define ὀργή differently. In the *Nicomachean Ethics,* Aristotle ascribes three degrees to anger: excess, deficiency, and the mean. For example:

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[118] Konstan 2007: 43
[119] Konstan 2007: 55
[120] Konstan 2007: 56
[121] Konstan 2007: 75
[122] Konstan 2007: 56
[123] Konstan 2007: 56
[124] Konstan 2007: 56 This aspect of 'anger' is discussed fully by Konstan on page 65.
[125] Konstan 2007: 44

It is easy to fly into a passion, anybody can do that – but to be angry with the right person and to the right extent and at the right time and with the right object and in the right way - that is not easy, and it is not everyone who can do that.[126]

He has also said that acts of desire and ὀργή are voluntary.[127] He is also clear that there are things when one ought to feel angry.[128]

In *New Look at Anger*, Averill describes anger as follows:

A socially constituted response which helps to regulate interpersonal relations through the threat of retaliation for perceived wrongs, and which is interpreted as a passion rather than an action so as not to violate the general cultural proscription against deliberately harming another. [129]

Although the work is entitled *New Look at Anger*, it is expressing Aristotle's ideas within a different social structure, as it does not reflect the social distinctions which circumscribe an individual's social sphere operative in ancient Greece and Rome.

3.4.2 φόβος (fear)

Let fear be defined as a painful or troubled feeling caused by the impression of an imminent evil that causes destruction or pain; for men do not fear all evils, for instance, becoming unjust or slow-witted, but only such as involve great pain or destruction, and only if they appear to be not far off but near at hand and threatening, for men do not fear things that are very remote; all know that they have to die, but as death is not near at hand, they are indifferent. (Aristotle, *Rhetoric* II.v.1).[130]

Hatred or enmity is a desire to cause harm, anger, by definition, is a desire for a perceptible kind of revenge.[131] The ability to harm is not frightening, but the intention to do so is.[132] Therefore to feel fear we must understand the nature of anger and hatred,

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[126] Thomson 1961: 73
[127] Thomson 1961: 81
[128] Thomson 1961: 82
[129] Averill 1980: 312
[130] Freese (tr) *Aristotle* 2006: 201-202
[131] Konstan 2007: 132
[132] Konstan 2007: 132

which also involve complex judgements.[133] The recognition of superior strength in the other part produces fear.[134]

Aristotle's definition reveals a number of strands that need to be unravelled. The impression involves a judgement, or perhaps something that has already been evaluated as harmful.[135] The impression is disturbing and the result is 'fear'.[136] What is considered as harmful? Something of value is threatened. It is surely not anything trivial, but it must be known to be imminent, for, if it is too far in the future, then it will not appear as threatening.[137] How is value attributed? 'For Aristotle emotions are socially conditioned in which relations of power and judgements concerning the status and attitude of others play a crucial role …'[138] Recognition of one's own vulnerability can cause fear, when you realize more powerful people than you have suffered reversal of fortunes.[139]

The physiologist, Joseph Le Doux, recognizes that emotions have important cognitive dimensions. The impression of an object and the value of the object are processed separately by the brain.[140] It is possible for our brain to know something is good or bad before it knows what it is.[141] Thus we may recoil from a piece of rope thinking it to be a snake, but once cognized as a rope the initial response is no longer apposite.[142] The reflex is not the emotion, for it to be an emotion it requires that the object is evaluated as harmful.[143] Fear is not a moral deficiency, but a response to a credible danger.[144] Aristotle in his discussion on 'courage' in *Nicomachean Ethics* 1115b23-8, describes it as a person who stands fast although he is cognizant of the possible danger.[145] He does not describe courage as being without fear; in fact he says that there is no name for the man who acts out of lack of fear.[146] Aristotle also says that fear makes you deliberative.[147]

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[133] Le Doux 1996: 69
[134] Konstan 2007: 132
[135] Konstan 2007: 134
[136] Konstan 2007: 134
[137] Konstan 2007: 132
[138] Konstan 2007: 133
[139] Konstan 2007: 133
[140] Le Doux 1996: 69
[141] Konstan 2007: 133
[142] Konstan 2007: 134
[143] Konstan 2007: 134
[144] Konstan 2007: 134
[145] Konstan 2007: 134
[146] Konstan 2007: 134-135
[147] Konstan 2007: 135

Aristotle does recognize the possibility to experience fear, although there is no immediate cause for it.[148] However, he does not develop it. The Epicureans, on the other hand, said that irrational fears and desires have their roots in an unacknowledged fear of death.[149]

Ἔκπληξις is an experience of fear due to a shock rather than a cognitive experience[150]. It is instinctive and tends to freeze the cognitive processes.[151]

Φόβος is not the only Greek word for fear.

> Robert Zaborowski (2002) has catalogued all the words that can plausibly be related to the idea of fear (and also of courage) in the Homeric epics, and has come up with forty-three different terms besides φόβος, the nouns δέος, αἰδώς, σέβας, θάμβος, ὄκνος, τρόμος and τάρβος, and the verbs ἀτύζεσθαι, ῥίγειν, περιδείδειν, and ἐκπλήσσω, which he relates to panic.[152]

Ὄκνος and τρόμος refer to acts of shrinking back or trembling, which indicate symptoms of fear but not the emotion itself.[153] Αἰδώς and σέβας - awe or reverence - share some features with fear, and may be described as fear by ancient writers, but seem to belong to a distinct semantic sphere. CH Dodds also gives the root σεβ which states the idea of awe which occurs alternatively with φοβήσεσθαι in the *LXX* to translate the Hebrew phrase to mean to fear the Lord.[154] Paul's quotations are taken from the *LXX*, therefore, this interpretation is pertinent to his letters. However, αἰδώς is not in the New Testament, neither are a number of words given by Zaborowski. Σέβομαι is translated as worship, but appears in the same Subdomain as φόβος, according to L-N. Chapter Five describes their semantic principles of selection, and also the words to be analysed in the research. L-N have not evaluated φόβος, awe, as an emotion, but neither has Aristotle given a definition for awe as an emotion. But in *Metaphysics* Book I, chapter II, Aristotle, like Socrates/Plato, says 'For human beings originally began philosophy as they do now, because of wonder'. This philosophic view places the emotion at a pivotal

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[148] Konstan 2007: 149
[149] Konstan 2007: 149
[150] Konstan 2007: 152
[151] Konstan 2007: 152
[152] Konstan 2007: 153
[153] Konstan 2007: 153
[154] Dodds 1964: 77

point in human development, and thus it will be from this perspective to consider Paul's use of 'fear of the Lord'.

The fear inspired by tragedy involves the same cognitive function as described earlier.[155] The spectator recognizes the elements of disaster, and the probability of encountering the same circumstances, though not imminent, may occur.[156] Pity is the experience of unmerited misfortune that one or one's own may experience, exposing the individual's vulnerability.[157] The difference between fear and pity is that fear is not related to a judgement of desert.[158]

3.4.3   Summary on Aristotle

Aristotle is concerned with the content of the thought that goes into the various emotions. These thoughts are drawn from the culture and society of the time, which relate directly to the premise of the research.

Aristotle's definitions of anger and fear formed the framework to compare Paul's use of the concepts in his undisputed letters.

Aristotle, like Plato, does not use the word fear to express awe or reverence; he uses the emotion wonder.

The next discussion is on the Stoics.

3.5   The Stoics

3.5.1   Zeno of Citium (*c*. 335-263 BCE)

The founder of the Stoic school put forward the supposition that emotions are experienced as an inner contraction or expansion, as the result of a judgement. However, the description of Stobaeus, (*fl.c.* 5th century CE) in the following quotation, describes emotions as 'excitements'.

> They (Zeno and other Stoic philosophers) say that passions (παθή) are either
> overpowering impulses that do not obey the instruction of λόγος or the soul's

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[155] Konstan 2007: 155
[156] Konstan 2007: 154
[157] Konstan 2007: 155
[158] Konstan 2007: 155

irrational, (i.e. not according to λόγος), movements against its nature, though all the passions belong to the governing part of the soul (ἡγεμονικόν). Therefore, all the excitements (πτοία) are also passions, or to say it the other way around, all passions are excitements. Then if the passions are such, it should be assumed that some of them are leading passions and others are subordinate to those leading passions. The leading passions are desire (ἐπιθυμία), fear (φόβος), grief (λυπή) and pleasure (ἡδονή).[159]

3.5.2   Chrysippus (280-206 BCE)

In his view all emotions consist of two judgements: the first judgement is concerned with whether good, or bad, is at hand, and the second, is it appropriate to react?[160] Any sensation or bodily changes may follow the emotions, but do not constitute what emotions are.

Chrysippus also carries forward and expands the idea in two early Platonic dialogues, *Laches* and *Protagoras*, that fear is cognition, an expectation of impending evil.[161] However, according to Chrysippus all emotions are judgements, which are always false.[162] The rationale for his view is discussed below under the heading General Principles.

All the works of the three major Greek Stoics have been lost, so there is no direct literature to refer to, only material taken from later writers, for example, Stobaeus. As the Romans took a particular interest in Ethics, it is this branch of Stoic doctrine we have inherited.

3.5.3   General Principles of Stoicism

The Stoic ideal is 'the wise person, who lives the best human life, lived exactly as nature, (the providential god, who orders the universe), equipped him with faculties to do so.'[163] Of these faculties, two are important in relation to the passions. The human being is imbued with the capacity to seek out those things which would contribute to his survival and well-being.[164] This process the Stoics call appropriation, οἰκείωσις. The crowning

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159 Konstan 2007: 155
160 Sorabji 2002: 2
161 Sorabji 2002: 20
162 Sorabji 2002: 29
163 Kaster, Nussbaum 2010: 4
164 Kaster, Nussbaum 2010: 4

glory of human being is reason; the human being alone of all creatures has been given this faculty.[165] The best human life is a combination of both.[166] This normative description sounds sublimely simple but, from the descriptive perspective, is it that obvious to determine what is good for you? A Stoic would say, Yes, because there is only one thing that is truly good, and that is virtue.[167] Virtues are capacities of the human mind to make right choices, and according to the Stoic philosophy the choice always lies with us.[168] The choice is an action of our own mind, and therefore, always under our own control.[169] All external factors such as health, wealth and so on are not movements of the mind and therefore do not contribute to the best human life.[170] The question is how do we relate this view to function and value of the emotions?

Kaster gives the following example to illustrate the principle stated above.

> A: 'When a good for me is present, it is appropriate for my mind to expand (Stoic terminology for what we call 'elation' or 'delight')'.
>
> B: 'A thing of the sort *n* is a good for me'.
>
> C: 'A thing of the sort *n* is now present'.
>
> Conclusion: 'It is now appropriate for my mind to expand'.[171]

From the Stoic point of view, what is good for me is valid only when the subject is virtue. That alone is assessed as 'a good for me'. The Stoic world view does not attribute a value to most goods held in esteem by those outside this system of thought. Therefore, if we take anger as an illustration, to assent to taking revenge for a perceived injustice is an example of a decision when reason has been overthrown. This would be an example of a wrong judgement.

Martha Nussbaum, in an interview on Neo-Stoicism, voices her disagreement with the Stoics on these issues (a) that children and animals do not have emotions; (b) they do not acknowledge cultural difference in the emotions.[172] In addition, the Stoics thought one

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[165] Kaster, Nussbaum 2010: 4
[166] Kaster, Nussbaum 2010: 5
[167] Kaster, Nussbaum 2010: 5
[168] Kaster, Nussbaum 2010: 5
[169] Kaster, Nussbaum 2010: 5
[170] Kaster, Nussbaum 2010: 5
[171] Kaster, Nussbaum 2010: 6
[172] Evans 2012: 4

did not have any emotion until one was sixteen. So according to this view, which is in line with their evaluation of the emotions, there was no care of the emotional experience from infancy through childhood to adulthood.

As a Stoic much that was written earlier would apply to Seneca. However, in a modified form due to the influence of later Stoics such as Panaetius (*c*.180-109 BCE) and Posidonius (*c*. 135-51 BCE), who introduced Platonic and Aristotelian elements to adapt the philosophy to Roman circumstances.[173] Seneca also included Epicurean concepts which set him apart from other Stoics.[174] His works consist mainly of ethical treatises. His work on anger is especially relevant to the research.

3.5.4   Seneca (*c*. 4 BCE-65 CE) on anger.

Seneca in his treatise *On Anger* in Book I:I describes 'anger' essentially as a desire to harm another. The emphasis has shifted quite considerably from the definition in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. The person who seeks vengeance in this definition is also likely to destroy himself, therefore anger is destructive. Seneca is using the Latin term *ira* and differentiates between wrathfulness and anger. The 'anger' which he describes is more akin to the English word 'rage'.[175] Seneca has moved his stance considerably from the Peripatetic interpretation of anger, especially Aristotle in the *Eudemian Ethics* in which anger is presented in three degrees. The present description fits Aristotle's extreme state of anger, which would only be approved of, if the situation warranted such extreme anger. The Stoic's therapeutic approach to the emotions is seen in his advice to counter anger. Since anger can often be counterproductive, Seneca recommends in its place firmness of purpose.[176] The Stoic sage's concern is with correction, correcting the ill-formed judgements.[177]

Seneca's description of the process is that there is (an) initial involuntary movement – a perception for the passion, as it were, and a kind of threatening signal; there is a second movement accompanied by an expression of will, not yet entrenched in the decision, to the effect that 'I should be avenged, since I have been harmed' or 'this man should be

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[173] Kaster and Nussbaum 2012: xv
[174] Kaster and Nussbaum 2012: xv
[175] Kaster and Nussbaum 2010: 14
[176] Sorabji 2000: 191
[177] Sorabji 2000: 191

punished, since he has insulted me'. Seneca then defines anger, as a strong desire for revenge, when you judge that you have been unjustly harmed (wronged).[178] In Seneca's description of the operation of this emotion, according to Sorabji, Seneca blurs the distinction between the angry person and the Stoic sage.[179] The sage focuses on correction, the angry person on revenge.[180]

The first movement is involuntary; the second movement attaches an apparent cause to the initial movement or jolt. An appropriate action to the cause is conceived at this point; it is also the crucial point of giving or withholding assent.[181] If we give assent, we experience anger. If the mind is still obedient to reason, he is capable of withholding assent. This means that the thought has changed and it no longer appears as a 'good for me' to seek revenge, because there may be a judgement that the cultural value is false, or the impression that I have been wronged is false.[182]

Seneca's innovative first movement was used by the church fathers, who were influenced by Stoic philosophy, and reinterpreted the use of emotions in the scriptures accordingly.

Seneca spends a large portion of the treatise on the therapy for anger. However, there are elements in his description that resonate with Aristotle's description. There is cognition that the harm is unjust but the desire for revenge which arises may accord with social values in the case of Aristotle, but not Stoic in respect to Seneca's view. Seneca has added an involuntary aspect to the emotions, which is not dependent on judgement, the core Stoic interpretation.

3.5.5 φόβος (fear)

A century after Aristotle, the Stoics selected four emotions as the most generic under which all other emotions could be arranged.[183] Fear is one of the four generic emotions.[184] The division is along temporal lines: two related to the present, and two to

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[178] Sorabji 2000: 19
[179] Sorabji 2000: 19
[180] Sorabji 2000: 19
[181] Sorabji 2000: 19
[182] Sorabji 2000: 19
[183] Sorabji 2000: 29
[184] Sorabji 2000: 29

the future.[185] Every emotion involves two distinct value judgements.[186] One, that there is a benefit or harm at hand, the other that it is appropriate to react.[187] Distress is the judgement that there is a bad at hand and it is appropriate to feel a sinking feeling. Fear is the judgement that there is harm at hand and that it is appropriate to avoid it.[188]

Both the Peripatetics and the Stoics agree that the emotion of fear perceives the presence of a future danger, but differ in the value attributed to the judgement.

Seneca in Letter 13, *Epistles on the Moral Life*, writes to Lucilius to advise him on how to cope with fears about situations that have not yet occurred.[189] He says he is taking a moderate view, not as a Stoic would approach it. Aristotle does admit to groundless fears, but does not develop this as an aspect of φόβος, as the cognitive aspect is missing.

But Seneca also takes the view of emotion as shown by Martha Nussbaum:

> Seneca, for example , is fond of comparisons of emotions to fire, to the currents of the sea, to fierce gales, to intruding forces that hurl the self about, cause it to explode, cut it up, tear it limb from limb'.[190]

This description does not imply a deliberate cognitive process. In this respect, Seneca differs from the traditional Stoic view to emotions. It is more fitting for a view of emotions as non-reasoning movements.[191]

3.5.6   Summary on Seneca

Seneca, in his treatise, describes anger as a desire to harm another. He uses the Latin term *ira,* which may not be identical in meaning to Aristotle's use of ὀργή. This is not the definition used in the research. Seneca did not write a treatise on fear. His view on this emotion is taken from one of his letters, *Epistles on the Moral Life.* In this letter he advises his friend on how to deal with groundless fears. His advice in this work does not indicate whether he attributes a cognitive function to fear. The traditional Stoic view on

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[185] Sorabji 2000: 29
[186] Sorabji 2000: 29
[187] Sorabji 2000: 29
[188] Sorabji 2000: 30
[189] http://www.sophia-project.org/uplo (accessed 15.01.2017)
[190] Nussbaum 2005: 26
[191] Nussbaum 2005: 27

the emotions, including fear, does acknowledge a cognitive view. The cognitive view does support the hypothesis that emotions are cognitive.

3.6 Philo of Alexandria (*c*. 20BCE-40 CE)

Philo was influenced by Hellenistic philosophies, Middle-Platonism and Stoicism. Margaret Graver provides evidence to demonstrate points of coincidence between Philo and the Stoics.[192] Eudorus was head of the Platonic school in Alexandria at that time. Philo sought to bring together Greek and Jewish ideas. Although an admirer of Greek philosophic thought, he remained a practising Jew. The Platonic influence is evident in his writing on the Book of Genesis by treating it as an allegory, not a historical fact.[193]

In his view of creation God creates Intelligence, higher and lower, and Soul, the intelligible and sensible worlds. The highest part of soul in man is God breathing in the divine substance.[194] This is a view expressed by the Platonists as 'Intelligence', and the 'Ruling Principle' of the Stoics. This inbreathed πνεῦμα of the soul is the image of God.[195]

According to Philo, the intelligence seduced by the senses, represents the Platonic 'fall'.[196] In Romans 1:18-32 Paul attributes the seduction of the senses to the Gentiles' refusal to acknowledge the invisible aspects of God. He also describes ways by which the intelligence may be restored. His evaluation of the emotions likewise shows Stoic and Mid-Platonic influences as he uses both pre-passion and μετριοπάθεια.[197]

His reference to pre-passion shows the influence of later Stoic thought on the emotions. This interpretation is usually assigned to Seneca, but in her article on Philo and his use of the concept, Graver explores the evidence that this may already have been present in Stoic thinking prior to Seneca.[198] There is no evidence that Philo came into contact with Seneca or read his work.

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[192] Graver 1999: 302
[193] Armstrong 1965: 161
[194] Armstrong 1965: 163
[195] Armstrong 1965: 163
[196] Armstrong 1965: 161
[197] Sorabji 2000: 345 The aspect of pre-passion is used particularly in interpreting the emotions expressed in Abraham and Sarah. Philo's work was particularly influential in the early Christian church.
[198] Sorabji 2000: 345

We meet Philo, indirectly, in 1 Corinthians, when Paul addresses the divisiveness in the community due to their devotion to Σοφία, who could be known through the Jewish scriptures.[199] Paul's divisiveness in the community will be referred to in the analyses in Chapters Six and Seven. Paul stood in this tradition, and his interpreter, Apollos, who offered the oppressed in the Corinthian community an opportunity to transcend their physical circumstances and obtain an exalted spiritual status.[200] It is noted by Horsley that the language of the Wisdom of Solomon and Philo's treatises adopted the language's aristocratic values such as wise, powerful, of noble birth.[201] This approach which emphasises personal transcendence would not sit well with Paul's approach to community building.[202] In this respect, there is a clear distinction between Apollos' teaching based on Hellenistic-Jewish devotion to Σοφία in the tradition of the Wisdom of Solomon and Paul. The very values Paul wanted his community to transcend, that is the establishment of a hierarchy of spiritual importance, received a spiritual authority through Apollos' interpretation of the Hellenistic tradition. Therefore, indirectly, the impact of Philo's ideas is at the root of Paul's difficulties with his Corinthian communities.

3.6.1   Summary on Philo

His reference to pre-passion shows the influence of later Stoic thought on the emotions. This interpretation is usually assigned to Seneca, but in her article on Philo and his use of the concept, Graver explores the evidence that this may already have been present in Stoic thinking prior to Seneca. There is no evidence that Philo came into contact with Seneca or read his work. This interpretation is usually assigned to Seneca. His interpretation does not impact on the methodology of this research, as there are no specific examples of his view on anger and fear, but he did attribute a cognitive aspect to the emotions.

3.7   Mythical Tradition of Anger

The concept of retribution as a form of justice has a long history. Given poetic form by Hesiod in the *Theogony*, the poet envisages the act of 'divine retribution' as a primordial act. The births of the Erinyes, born from the blood of Ouranos, when he was castrated by

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[199] Horsley 1998: 74

[200] Horsley 1998: 74

[201] Horsley 1998: 75

[202] Horsley 1998: 75

his son Chronos, are also known as the daughters of Gaia. They are uncompromising in their pursuit of justice for acts of homicide, un-filial conduct, crimes against the gods and perjury. ER Dodds in *The Greeks and the Irrational,*[203] recalls that Ἐρινύες and Αἶσα (which is synonymous with Μοῖρα) go back to what is perhaps the oldest known form of Hellenic speech, the Arcado-Cypriot dialect. It is an illustration of the depth of the cultural inheritance in respect to 'righting a wrong'. Though the focus is on ὀργή, there are semantic features that coincide. As early as in the fifth century BCE, the Ionian philosopher Heraclitus, said that the Erynes would punish the sun if he transgressed his measures by exceeding the task assigned to him. This places their action in the sphere of keeping order in the universe. In his introduction to the *Eumenides*, Hugh Lloyd-Jones describes them as assistants to Δίκη.[204] Aeschylus replaces personal retribution with the Laws, in the *Eumenides,* but in fact they both operate in society, even to the present day.[205]

I have included this description of mythical tradition of anger as there are a number of parallels to Paul's use of the anger of God in the analysis in Chapter Six.

3.7.1   Summary on Mythical Tradition on anger

There are a number of parallels to Paul's use of the anger of God to this tradition. The function of anger, according to this tradition, is to keep order in the universe. There are no examples of this nature of fear.

3.8   Conclusion of the Emotions and Philosophy

In this brief synopsis of the philosophical tradition on emotions, a number of interpretations were presented which attribute cognitive value to the emotions. Plato and Aristotle agree on the role of reason in harnessing the emotions in order to fulfil the philosophical ideal. However, Aristotle evaluates emotions according to the mean, which is arrived at through reason. Not all emotions qualify for this process; certain emotions such as hate and disgust are destructive to society. Therefore in this respect he does introduce a caveat, that emotions are not always beneficial to the society or the

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[203] Dodds ER 1955: 8
[204] Lloyd-Jones H. trsl 1970: *Eumenides* by Aeschylus. Line 681
[205] Lloyd-Jones H. trsl 1970: *Eumenides* by Aeschylus. Line 681

individual. This has not been an analytical presentation, but a general overview, in order to recognise some of these ideas in the undisputed Pauline letters. The discussion in this chapter centres on identifying philosophical systems that recognise the cognitive function in the emotions, and not simply viewing their actions as devoid of intelligence.

The Stoics' acknowledged that emotions are cognitive but believed that the emotions simply lead the soul astray, because it valued things that have no value. But, later, even they had to concede and acknowledge εὐπάθεια, pure emotion that the wise man displayed.

The cognitive function in the emotion is central to the hypothesis of the research, because emotions are a cultural, evaluative response to an outer cognition of an object, person or situation. Therefore, the values differ according to the culture.

The discussion in this chapter centred around identifying philosophical systems that recognise the cognitive function in the emotions, and not simply viewing their actions as devoid of intelligence. Our next chapter presents the conditions of the cultural context that influence the values held in the emotions.

CHAPTER FOUR : THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE

UNDISPUTED LETTERS OF PAUL

4.1   Introduction

Martha Nussbaum and David Konstan have convincingly argued that the emotions are the outcome of social and cultural values. The research problem addressed in this study is shaped by their scholarship. This chapter, as one of the steps in proving the research problem, focuses on the cultural environment of the Roman provincial towns, as indicated by Paul's correspondence to his communities living there. He was the founder of these communities, but he was not the founder of the Roman communities.

A brief historical overview is presented in this chapter with emphasis on the prevailing social conditions, to establish whether the values arising out of the prevailing social conditions are inherent in the emotions of fear and anger. The findings in this chapter are needed to support the hypothesis, stated in Chapter One, that emotions are culturally modified, or, as stated above by Nussbaum and Konstan, emotions are the outcome of social and cultural values.[206,207]

The presentation of the Roman provincial towns has been given in the same order as the extant undisputed Pauline letters. These letters are arranged chronologically (as far as possible). The seven undisputed letters of Paul but only six are referred to in this research [208]. These letters are considered in the following order: 1 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Philippians, Galatians and Romans.[209] This arrangement differs from the Canonical order, in which Romans, as the longest letter is placed first.

The letters are analysed in Chapters 6 and 7 in the above order, but in this chapter the context is the relevant Roman provincial town.

4.2   Thessalonica

We do not have a record of Paul's first meeting with the Thessalonians in 50 CE, other than what is gleaned from the letter. No proof exists that Paul wrote letters to other

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[206] Nussbaum 2005: 11
[207] Konstan 2004: 9
[208] There are no references to anger or fear in Philemon
[209] Perrin and Duling 1994: 194-195

communities before writing to the Thessalonians.[210] As the existing letters point to a method he used to maintain a connection with his assemblies, it would appear probable that there were earlier letters.[211] The fact that the community had formed is evidence of Paul's ability to discern the cultural codes that resonated with the people who were attracted to his message. Macedonia exemplifies Paul's choice of cities in which to form his communities, as the use of the Greek language in these cities was an assured means of communication.[212]

Thessalonica was the prosperous seaport, situated in a small bay, which was also accessible by land, because of the *Via Egnatia* built by a Roman proconsul, Gnaeus Egnatius, between 146 BCE–120 BCE.[213] As the sea was un-navigable for six months of the year, an alternative form of moving legions to strategic areas was essential.[214] Rome's military strategy also benefitted the general movement of people to the provincial capital. In all probability Paul would have travelled along this road. The presence of the Roman military restricted the threat of armed robbers on land and pirates on sea, therefore facilitating the movement of people.

Although a prosperous seaport, in 1 Thess 2:9 Paul describes his endless labour in order to be self-sufficient and not be a burden on the community. In 2 Cor 8:2-4 Paul tells the Corinthians of the extreme poverty of the Macedonian community. These descriptions imply that Paul's community did not participate in the economic growth of the city.

Thessalonica retained its Greek character with a βουλή, a citizens' assembly for its internal affairs.[215] There was no Roman garrison present within its walls; also they had the right to mint coins.[216] For over two hundred years the community had been loyal to Rome.[217] Thessalonica sided with Antony and Octavian during the civil war and for their loyalty were awarded a degree of independence as described above.[218]

Archaeological evidence shows the presence of well-established religious institutions, including the mystery religions which were also present in other cities in the Greco-

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[210] Malherbe 1987: 8
[211] Malherbe 2000: 56
[212] Malherbe 1987: 6
[213] Crossan and Reed 2005: 155
[214] Crossan and Reed 2005: 155
[215] Meeks 1983: 46
[216] Meeks 1983: 47
[217] Malherbe 1987: 6
[218] Crossan and Reed 2005: 157

Roman world.[219]   In Thessalonica there is evidence of shrines in honour of Aphrodite, Demeter, Zeus, Asclepius and other traditional Greek deities.[220]   Participation in these ceremonies offered various forms of psychological and physical benefits. [221]

 In 1 Thess 1:9 Paul describes the community as those who have 'turned to God from idols', and therefore they could no longer look to these deities to support their psychological needs, or, indeed, their sexual needs.[222]   Donfried connects Dionysian sexuality to the situation Paul addresses in 1 Thess 4:3-8 and the severe warning from Paul as to the unsuitability of this form of conduct in his community.[223] This interpretation is not fully supported, because 4:1 indicates observance of the tenets for the community in respect of fidelity in marriage and sexual self-control. Donfried interprets Paul's reference in 1 Thess 5:7 to drunkenness as a reference to 'Dionysian frenzies'.[224]   Jewett argues that there were other orgiastic religions, so it need not necessarily have been Dionysian. The Hellenistic age saw the spread of mystery cults as described above, and also itinerant teachers such as the Sophists, Cynics and Stoics.

The cultic figure of the murdered Cabirus was venerated in Thessalonica.[225] Jewett has drawn attention to the striking parallels between Paul's apocalyptic preaching of Christ's παρουσία, and the much anticipated return of the martyred hero Cabirus.[226]   In the psychological help offered by the mystery cults, there was no promise of a return of their deity to alleviate their current suffering.   But the followers of Cabirus lost their benefactor to the civic cult and to the city's upper classes. This act deprived the manual workers of their benefactor, who now became a political public figure and part of Rome's messianic cult.[227]

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[219] Jewett 1986: 126
[220] Jewett 1986: 127
[221] Jewett1986: 127 'Some of these ceremonies offered regeneration, immortality, forgiveness of sins, a measure of equality and self-respect for an initiate, relief from ills and misfortune, and the promise of sexual fulfilment'.
[222] Jewett 1986: 127
[223] Jewett 1986: 127
[224] Jewett 1986: 127
[225] Harrison 2011: 49
[226] Harrison 2011: 49
[227] Jewett 1986: 131

Therefore, talk of a παρουσία that had any similarities to Cabirus would be politically provocative.[228] From this point of view, Luke's account in Acts 17:5-7 revealed political accusations against the Pauline community.

> These people who have been turning the world upside down, have come here also, and Jason has entertained them as guests.They are all acting contrary to the decrees of the emperor saying,
>
> There is another king named Jesus.[229]

Crossan and Reed take Luke's account, in Acts 17:5-7, seriously, because in this account, as is his custom, Luke does not downplay Rome's antagonism towards Christians. Judge supports the Lukan account, because it has a historical foundation.

Violating the decrees of Caesar, according to Judge, has a historical context.[230] 'The decrees of Caesar referring to 'the oath of personal loyalty to Caesar and his rule in 38 BCE', compels Romans and non-Romans alike to report cases of disloyalty, and to physically hunt down the offenders'.[231] This oath was taken by local magistrates in Paphlagonia and Cyprus and may have been part of the civic religion in Thessalonica.[232] If this situation has any relevant parallel to the political situation in Thessalonica at the time of Paul, it may explain his references to suffering in 1 Thess 2:14-16; 1:6; 2:2; 4:13-18 and implies some may have died due to torture.

Evidence of extant inscriptions also shows the influence of the Julian-Claudian dynasty in Thessalonica. Inscriptions testify to the erection of a temple of Julius Caesar, and in the first half of the first century CE to a priest and ἀγωνοθέτης (director of public games in ancient Greece) of the *Imperator* Caesar son of god.[233] The physical setting of the cult of the emperor was usually in the middle of the city; the emperor was set beside the gods.[234] Therefore, the citizens would have been frequently exposed to this visual impression, reinforcing the emperor's position of being equal to the gods.

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[228] Jewett 1986: 132
[229] Crossan and Reed 2005: 165 Crossan and Reed emphasised that the distinction between religion and politics in the ancient world is not compartmentalised as in our modern society, according to many scholars in this discipline.
[230] Jewett 1986: 125
[231] Donfried 2002: 43
[232] Jewett 1986: 125
[233] Crossan and Reed 2005: 157
[234] Zanker in Horsley (ed.) 1997: 73

During the reign of Claudius, the time of Paul's visit to the area, Thessalonica's mints produced coins which reflected their acceptance of dynastic divinity for the emperors Augustus through Claudius.[235] On the one side Augustus appears as Θεός Σεβαστός– 'the god Augustus'; on the other side is Claudius, implying the continuation of the divine lineage.[236] Additional evidence is the presence of the imperial cult statues of Claudius and Augustus in divine dress and pose, now housed in the museum in Thessalonica.[237]

Studies in imperial divinity in Asia, by Price, reveal the rituals and duration of this practice.[238] His research also shows the enthusiasm of the populace towards the cult, because of the benefits it brought.[239] Both Crossan and Reed and Price are in accord with the intention of this practice: to hold the Roman Empire together.[240] It provided a common denominator for the diverse population of the Empire to have an identity, pride in belonging to something greater than themselves, or their ethnic identity. Therefore any threat to this cult would be a threat to the Empire. However, there is no consensus amongst New Testament scholars as to the influence of this cult in the different layers of society.

It was into this milieu that Paul ventured to form a community in 49 CE, with more than a decade's experience in preaching the gospel, before arriving in Philippi and Thessalonica.[241]

Having considered the context of place, it is necessary to look at the context of Paul's writing; where the cultural influences discussed here, are present in the analysis of the emotions in Chapter Six. There are no references to fear in 1 Thessalonians. A brief summary follows of the cultural influences discussed thus far

4.2.1   Summary for Thessalonica

Paul's apocalyptic theme which promised the ushering in of a new age, offered hope to the community, who were subject to persecution under imperial Roman rule. Reference to suffering in 1 Thess 2:14 and 4:13 contribute towards this view. Paul's use of ὀργή as punishment also affirms that certain sections of the community were unjustly treated.

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[235] Crossan and Reed 2005: 158
[236] Crossan and Reed 2005: 158
[237] Crossan and Reed 2005: 158
[238] Price 1985: 1
[239] Harrison 2011: 49
[240] Crossan and Reed 2005: 158
[241] Malherbe 2000: 13

Archaeological evidence shows the presence of emperor worship in Thessalonica. A breach of loyalty to this religious function was interpreted as treason. The punishment was severe. The need for justice emerged as a value in this community, which Paul recognised and this recognition is reflected in his use of divine ὀργή to achieve this. Imperial soteriology subsumed the cultural worship of Cabirus by the lower strata of the Thessalonians, providing an example of the pervasive reach of Roman ideology.

In 1 Thess 4:3-8, there is an example of anger as divine punishment to control sexual laxity. The outcome of lack of restraint would lead to slavery to desire; surely a punishment? Although couched in religious terms, Paul is in line with philosophic thought, as the example cited in the footnote exemplifies.[242] Anger is used in 1 Thessalonians to portray the re-ordering of society on a cosmic level (apocalyptic view), as well as establishing order in the psyche on an individual level.

4.3   Corinth

Out of the ruins of ancient Corinth, over a century later, arose a Roman colony named Colonia Julia Corinthiensis to honour the founder Julius Caesar.[243] The newly colonised Corinth was a Roman colony, not a restoration to its former Greek status. It appears that some Macedonians had survived the destruction of 146 BCE and continued to live in the countryside.

Corinth, unlike other Roman colonies, was settled not only by army veterans, but mainly by the urban poor in Rome.[244] A large percentage consisted of freed slaves, and people displaced by Rome extending her power to the Italian countryside.[245] Thus this newly founded colony was inhabited by freed slaves, descendants of human spoils of war from Syria, Judea, Asia Minor and Greece.[246] The official language was Latin,[247] as the predominance of Latin on the surviving inscriptions show. However, Paul wrote in Greek, thus this implies that members of his community were possibly Greek speaking, or he may have used a translator. It was into this city that Paul ventured, a city full of uprooted people, uncultured but full of ambition.[248] Corinth was the place where

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[242] An example from Plato's *Republic* 4:436,4:439 is given on page 29, Fn.85
[243] Horsley 1998: 23
[244] Horsley 1998: 23
[245] Horsley 1998: 24
[246] Horsley 1998: 24
[247] Horsley 1998: 24
[248] Horsley 1998: 31

ambition could be fulfilled, as its twin harbours promoted trade, attracted people from all parts of the Roman Empire, and provided the right conditions for the enterprising. However, Paul would have met the second generation of the initial settlers, at least.

In 1 Cor 1:26, Paul raises the issue of the Corinthians' lineage: 'For consider your calling, brethren, because not many are wise according to the flesh, not many are powerful, not many are of powerful birth'. This statement has been used to determine the actual status of the Pauline community, but, according to Horsley, Roman and Hellenistic philosophers had long reinterpreted these values.[249] The qualities wise, powerful, of noble birth, rich, had become spiritualised and particularly in connection with Σοφία.[250] These were the qualities that members of the Corinthian society assigned to their spiritual gifts, which entitled them to an aristocratic status within the Pauline community. When Paul, in 1 Cor 13:5, addresses the issue of speaking in tongues, as one of the causes of the division in the community, the Corinthians are urged not to provoke one another's anger. Anger is aroused when a person's status is not acknowledged; therefore, the inference is that those members who considered themselves to be worthy of respect, but did not receive it from other members of the community, would have aroused anger and, out of anger, arises the desire for retribution This is but one example of the divisiveness in the community, the other was a partisanship based on the status the community assigned to various apostles.

The other social problem Paul had to address was patronage. In a society where access to wealth was limited to a few, the distribution of that wealth created a hierarchy of power, and thus status was determined by that relationship. It is an unequal relationship in which the benefactor was entitled to receive services he required in exchange for his generosity. Paul was attacked for his refusal to accept the right of support as an apostle and needed to defend himself in 1 Cor 9. If he came under Corinthian patronage then he would have been in a chain with the emperor at the head. In 1 Cor 2:3 Paul says that he was afraid and this fear was interpreted as fear of a patron's power on his Corinthian community. Below is an archaeological example of how the system of the empowered and disempowered coexisted.

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[249] Horsley 1998: 52
[250] Horsley 1998: 52

Excellent archaeological examples were discovered at Herculaneum and Pompeii. Wallace–Hadrill gives detailed analyses of these cities, with the following conclusion.

> The urban elite, best defined by their tenure of public office, drew revenue from trade and agriculture without discrimination and distanced themselves from commercial activity by the pattern of their lives (i.e. by not engaging in 'sordid occupations' in person) without feeling any need to distance themselves physically … Massive social contrasts are apparent, in the gulf between the most magnificent mansion and the humblest *tabernae* [shops, workshops, taverns]. Yet the gulf is constantly bridged, by contiguity and mutual dependence.[251]

Although Wallace-Hadrill describes a social arrangement in Pompeii, Biblical scholars are of the opinion that the same arrangement existed in Corinth, and may explain Paul's contact with powerful patrons. These patrons hosted itinerant teachers, the assumption is that the wealthy hosted these teachers, because this would entail feeding them, providing accommodation and helping them on their way.[252] All this required funds which the wealthy could provide. An important teacher would give honour to the patron. The partisanship, which Paul addresses in 1 Corinthians, arose out of the practice of hospitality offered by the wealthy. The report Paul received about the division this practice caused the community came from Chloe's people who represent the lower strata, the higher strata hardly mention this difficulty in their letter.[253] The two reports draw attention to the different value systems which existed within the community. The archaeological evidence illustrates this point well. It was the powerful who presented most of the difficulties Paul experienced in the Corinthian community, as his frequent use of fear in this letter indicate. According to Aristotle's definition, fear is related to a superior strength, for this reason his fear does not relate to the lower strata in his community.

In 2 Corinthians, this fear is actualised as the community unite against Paul, and large sections of the letter portray his defence in his attempt to retain his apostolic footing in the community.

Both fear and anger are analysed in Chapters Six and Seven. This chapter forms part of the proof that emotions are socially conditioned.

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[251] Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 118
[252] Theissen 1990: 57
[253] Theissen 1990: 57

4.3.1   Summary for Corinth

Corinth was re-founded by the Romans in 44 BCE with a diverse population. This diversity included freed slaves, the urban poor, army veterans, and displaced people from the Italian countryside. The composition of the community influenced their values. The Corinthian society was the most competitive in the Roman Empire. They ranked status highly and this influenced the values. They valued anything which increased their status. The presence of strong patrons in Corinth also influenced Paul's communities and especially Paul. The letter indicates that a number of powerful patrons were openly hostile towards Paul. The emotive words, used by Paul in this letter, show the degree of competitiveness in the Corinthian community. His use of the emotion of fear especially accentuates the hostile environment he had to endure, due to the opposition of powerful patrons.

4.4   Philippi

In 42 BCE, two major battles were fought on this plain that would transform the known world for half a millennium. The first battle was between the assassins of Julius Caesar, who were Cassius and Brutus, against the supporters of Julius Caesar, Octavian and Mark Antony.[254] In the second battle, compatriots Octavian and Mark Antony turned enemies.[255] The Philippians, who supported the winning side on both occasions, were rewarded. Philippi became a Roman military colony.[256] This act bestowed Roman citizenship on the population.[257]

Octavian populated the town and surrounding agricultural area with discharged veterans from the war.[258] This, as we saw in Thessalonica, alleviated over-population in Rome and ensured allegiance.[259] The war veterans of the losing side received the same reward, safeguarding the position against later retaliation.[260] Its strategic position connected Rome with Asia Minor and other areas in the east.[261]

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[254] Fee 1995: 25
[255] Fee 1995: 25
[256] Fee 1995: 25
[257] Fee 1995: 25
[258] Fee 1995: 25
[259] Fee 1995: 26
[260] Fee 1995: 26
[261] Fee 1995: 26

Romans ruled unchallenged in Philippi until the third century CE. Romans owned all the land and politically controlled the city.[262] Therefore wealth and status lay in the hands of the Roman inhabitants.[263] This dynamic left most of the Greek population poor and dependent on the Romans.[264] In no other city in the Empire was the experience of everyday life so controlled by Roman presence.[265]

The Augustan character of the colony and the control exercised by the Roman elite assured the presence of the imperial cult.[266] Emperor veneration had been present in the colony for centuries.[267] This was evident during the rule of Philip II in the fourth century BCE and encouraged later by his son Alexander the Great.[268] Culturally the switch to veneration of Augustus seemed to be a natural progression.

Archaeological evidence confirms two temples in the forum at Philippi, closely connected with worship of the imperial family. Garnsey and Saller describe the cult as follows: 'a conveyor of imperial ideology, a focus of loyalty for the many, and a mechanism for the social advancement of a few'.[269] Various social classes were able to participate in the imperial cult, which in turn reinforced the differences between the classes.[270] There was also archaeological evidence of Isis worship in Philippi.[271]

Paul wrote this letter from prison, but there is no consensus about its locality. Fee and Peterman have argued for Rome 62 CE, Crossan and Reed agree on Ephesus.[272] Neither is there consensus on the unity of the letter. Crossan and Reed, Fee and Peterman interpret the letter as unitary.[273] Perrin and Duling interpret the letter as consisting of fragments.[274]

The genre of the letter functions primarily as a letter of friendship, especially in the convention of gift giving.[275] However, Witherington argues for the orality of the letter

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[262] Crossan and Reed 2005: 215
[263] Crossan and Reed 2005: 215
[264] Crossan and Reed 2005: 215
[265] Crossan and Reed 2005: 215
[266] Hellerman 2005: 80
[267] Hellerman 2005: 80
[268] Hellerman 2005: 80
[269] Garnsey and Saller 1987: 167
[270] Hellerman 2005: 82
[271] Crossan and Reed 2005: 65
[272] Crossan and Reed 2005: 272; Fee 1995: 1; Peterman 1997: 20
[273] Crossan and Reed 2005: 274; Fee 1995: 1; Peterman 1997: 19
[274] Garland 1985: 155
[275] Rowe 2010: 76

and, therefore, looks to the rhetorical conventions to its interpretation.[276] Paul received not only monetary help, but the physical presence of Epaphroditus who was a great help and comfort to him.[277] The description of the class structure indicates that the balance of wealth lay in the hands of the Roman citizens, yet the Philippians were a source of support to Paul.[278] This does speak of a level of generosity and loyalty towards Paul.[279]

Heen examines Phil 2:6-11 against the background of ruler cult which has a long history in the Greek ruler cult and in the first century CE adapted to the Roman emperor.[280] He interprets the inclusion of the panegyric as a criticism of the emperor.

> 6 who being in the form of God did not regard being equal to God
>
>> as something to grasp after,
>
> 7 but he emptied himself, taking the form of a slave, when he became
>
>> the likeness of man; and, being found in the likeness (as) a man,
>
> 8 he humbled himself becoming obedient to the point of death,
>
>> even death on the cross.
>
> 9 Therefore God exalted him to the highest position
>
>> and gave him the name that is above every name,
>
> 10 in order that **every knee shall bow** at the name of Jesus;
>
>> in the heavenly world, on the earth and also under the earth,
>
> 11 and every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord,
>
>> to the glory of God the Father.

Lord and Saviour are titles used for the emperor, but Paul is using these titles for Christ. This statement is directly in opposition to the imperial cult. The words for fear and extreme fear and provocation indicate official opposition to the community in Philippi. Lack of fear used once to convey confidence. The interesting point is Paul uses the word lack of fear to mean confidence and not simply θάρσος. It appears from this description

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[276] Witherington 2006: 28 He has based his interpretation on the rhetorical conventions on the premise that the letters were meant to be read.
[277] Rowe 2010: 76
[278] Garnsey and Saller 1987: 167 as cited on pg.60
[279] Silva 2005: 2 Silva enumerates the occasions support was given to Paul by the Philippians.
[280] Heen in Horsley(ed.)2004: 125

that fear may have been a more customary emotion to the Philippians because of their official opposition.

Paul also addresses the emergence of discord in the community; the situation has not led to division or strife, and it is not clear what has led to this situation.[281] However, the text does not give the words with which to further the enquiry. For this research lexical terms form one of the conditions of the investigation, as stated in Chapter One.

4.4.1   Summary for Philippi

Philippi was honoured by Augustus in 31BCE after the battle of Actium. This colony retained a strong Roman character. Latin was the official language. Wealth lay in the hands of the Roman citizens, non-Romans were not allowed by law to own land. Archaeological evidence reveals that emperor worship was a well-established practice in Philippi. The words analysed in the letter to the Philippians point to severe opposition, probably the opposition of the authorities. The panegyric in 2:6-11 is interpreted by Heen to be a criticism of emperor worship.[282]

4.5   Galatia

Cultural

The Roman province of Galatia included many different tribes and peoples, not only the descendants of the Celts.[283] There is no evidence of social upheavals such as wars in this period that affects Paul's visit.[284] This is due to the success of the road system to move troops swiftly to trouble areas. Evidence of this is the fact that the Seventh Legion, which was stationed in Pisidian Antioch, was removed in 7 CE.[285]

There is a consensus amongst New Testament scholars that Paul wrote the letter, and the letter is unitary. The letter to the Galatians was part of the Pauline corpus found in a papyrus collection about 200 CE.[286] No question was raised about its validity in those early years, and as far as biblical scholarship is aware, no question was ever raised about its authorship. This appears to be the current position also.

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[281] Fee 1995: 33
[282] Heen in Horsley (ed) 2004: 125
[283] Witherington III 1998: 3
[284] Witherington III 1998: 7
[285] Crossan and Reed 2005: 201
[286] Dunn 1993: 1

However, the debate centres round the time and place of the letter, was it written before 1 Thessalonians? Where was the community located?[287] Is it southern or northern or are there communities in both areas? Did Paul's argument convince the community to stay loyal? At the end of the first century John of Patmos wrote to seven cities in Asia, and Clement of Rome wrote to Corinth in Achaia, and, very much later, Polycarp of Smyrna wrote to Philippi in Macedonia.[288] None of the above mentions the province of Galatia.[289]

Crossan and Reed quote the work of Stephen Mitchell on the Galatian province to illustrate that emperor worship was, from the first institution, of great importance to the provincial communities, and had a central role to play in the development of the new cities.[290] There is abundant archaeological evidence in Ancyra, Pessinus, and Pisidian Antioch of the prominent role of emperor worship.[291]

Although the cultural background of the letter to the Galatians shows the strong Roman cultural influences and the prominence of emperor worship, which would have been in much evidence in the community, it is not the influences prevailing in this social context which is the occasion for Paul's letter, but an attack from opponents who are exponents of traditional Judaic practices for the communities in Christ, in Antioch and Jerusalem.[292] A possible explanation for this situation is cited below:

> In Judea there was increased zealot activity between 46-48 CE, under the governorship of Tiberius Julius Alexander, who crucified two insurgent leaders. This led to fresh reprisals in Judea by the zealots, which affected the relationship between Gentile and Judean, especially in their table fellowship. This practice would have made them susceptible to revenge attacks by the zealots. If, however, the Gentiles were circumcised, they could be protected against zealot revenge. The above circumstances have been put forward as the motivation for the visitors to the church in Galatia.[293]

The word for anger in the letter to the Galatians is in the same catalogue of vices given in 2 Corinthians and this makes it difficult to discern the social conditions that prompted it,

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[287] Witherington III 1998: 5
[288] Crossan and Reed 2005: 216
[289] Crossan and Reed 2005: 216
[290] Crossan and Reed 2005: 201
[291] Crossan and Reed 2005: 204-207
[292] Crossan and Reed 2005: 184
[293] www.misselbrook.org.uk (accessed 15.01.2017)

Paul's use of fear relates to his relationship with the Jerusalem leaders, and not the social conditions of Galatia.

4.5.1   Summary for Galatia

The cultural background to the letter to the Galatians shows strong Roman cultural influences and the prominence of emperor worship. But it is not the cultural influences which occasioned a letter from Paul, it was the activity of Paul's opponents. These opponents favoured the traditional Judean practices for communities of Christians, in Antioch and Jerusalem. The words analysed in the statement are in relation to their activity and Paul's response to it.

4.6   Romans

Approximately one hundred years after the death of Tiberius Gracchus, in the decisive battle of Octavian at Actium, a new era of stability for Rome had begun. Octavian emerged as leader. Under his leadership a programme of social and religious reform, expansion of the Empire and beautifying Rome began.

Subjects honoured their rulers; subject and ruler were linked by a great network of honouring; obedience was part of the honouring.[294] Jewett stresses that this background is essential to understanding Romans, which uses honour categories.[295] The Greco-Roman values were shaped by the concept of 'honour'.[296] At the peak of the pyramid was the emperor, who claimed to renounce all honours while gathering them all to himself.[297] Is the description in Philippians 2:5-11 an antithesis of this action? Beneath him was an intense competition for honours evident in every level of society

Augustus realised a moral regeneration was needed for Rome to be an inspiring example to the Italian federation.[298] Roman religious practice had very little effect on private morality, but a customary belief existed that prosperity could be secured by observance of the *ius divinium* and of the individual exercise of *pietas*.[299] In spite of scepticism and

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[294] Jewett 2007: 49
[295] Jewett 2007: 49
[296] Jewett 2007: 49
[297] Jewett 2007: 50
[298] Scullard 1977: 241
[299] Scullard 1977: 241

rationalism, conservative Romans accepted that Augustan peace must rest on the *pax deorum*.[300] Another idea, which was acceptable to conservative Roman thinking, was the wrath of the gods.[301] Disasters of history were seen as evidence of divine judgment.[302] In Romans 1:18, Paul focuses on God's wrath in contrast to official propaganda proclaiming a new Golden Age. Paul isolates the cause of the wrath, as impiety, injustice and suppression of the truth. It is a statement that opposed the official mythical propaganda which Augustus had initiated.

To encourage emperor worship in Rome would have contradicted Augustus' efforts to reinstate traditional Roman forms of worship.[303] The eastern Roman provinces were receptive to the emperor worship, as it had been part of their Greek/Hellenistic culture.[304] Emperor worship fostered loyalty which was well rewarded. This reduced the need for the presence of legions, which were deployed along the frontier borders to protect the interests of Rome. Thus the imperial cult provided the power to hold the Empire together. However, Paul's indictment on the Gentiles, in Romans 1:18-32, does infer worshipping the man and not God, and, suppression of the truth may also have been interpreted as alluding to the practice of emperor worship.

There was a considerable Jewish population in Rome; the initial diaspora contributed to this. The capture of Jerusalem in 63 BCE swelled the numbers with the arrival of the captives, who now had the status of slaves.[305] On their emancipation they became Roman citizens and the community as a whole numbered fifteen thousand to sixty thousand in the late 50s CE when Paul wrote.[306] The disparity, among scholars, between the numbers is very large, but those are the figures Jewett quotes. Archaeological evidence in the form of epitaphs show that this community spoke Greek during Paul's time and only after the third century CE do epitaphs appear in Latin.[307] The rights of the Jewish community were recognised from the time of Julius Caesar, confirmed by the Senate in 44 BCE and later by Augustus and Claudius.[308] The synagogues were primarily for instruction as they

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[300] Scullard 1977: 241
[301] Haacker 2003: 119
[302] Haacker 2003: 119
[303] Scullard 1977: 242
[304] Scullard 1977: 242
[305] Jewett 2007: 51
[306] Jewett 2007: 55
[307] Jewett 2007: 56
[308] Jewett 2007: 56 This included the permission to have meetings for worship, and meals together, the right not to give bonds on the Sabbath, to have Kosher markets, and send funds to the temple in Jerusalem.

were elsewhere in the Greco-Roman world before the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem.[309] The synagogues had the right to punish congregational members, for example, Paul's earlier persecution of Christians.[310]

Lampe's research showed two of the most likely areas for Christian development were Trastevere, the most densely populated area in ancient Rome.[311] The other area populated by immigrants was a section of the Appian Way around the *Porta Capena*.[312]

Paul was not the founder of any of the Christian communities in Rome. The format of the letter confirms that the recipients and the sender do not know each other.[313]At the time Romans was written, Nero's administration was providing a commendable form of government and law enforcement, despite Nero's personal abuse of the system itself.[314] When Nero came to power he pledged to return the power to the Senate and re-instate the rule of law, thereby ushering in the Golden Age.[315] It is possible that Paul uses the words that are related to justice, not as theological concepts, but in their basic meaning. They are δικαιοσύνη, thirty-four times; δικαίωμα, three times; δικαίωσις, twice; δικαιοκρισία, once; ἀδικία, seven times; and ἄδικος, once.[316] The promise of the return of justice with the advent of Nero's reign may have reawakened the collective memory of their culture of righteousness.[317]

Paul's letter was written seven years before the fire of Rome.[318] Although Paul only identified five groups, Jewett estimates that there were dozens.[319] Later history showed the groups to be diverse in theology and culture leading to 'fractionation'. This was already evident in Paul's letter.[320]

Paul's frequent use of 'fear of the Lord', and near synonyms implying worship, is interpreted to counteract the arrogant attitude of the Gentiles as victors towards the

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[309] Jewett 2007: 56
[310] Jewett 2007: 56
[311] Lampe 2003: 50
[312] Lampe 2003: 50
[313] Jewett 2007: 63
[314] Jewett 2007: 49
[315] Jewett 2007: 49
[316] Haacker 2003: 119
[317] Haacker 2003: 119
[318] Jewett 2007: 62
[319] Jewett 2007: 62
[320] Jewett 2007: 62

Judeans as the conquered. Humility is needed to replace the unwavering faith in the might of the Empire by acknowledging a higher power.

The arrival of Christianity in Rome is a rather complex study, as it appears to have arrived through various directions.[321] In Romans 16 Paul greets a large number of people whom he had met during his travels in the eastern part of the Mediterranean.[322] This confirms that the edict of Claudius that had expelled some Judeans had been rescinded as evidenced by their presence in Rome.[323] Jewett estimates the Christian population to have grown to several thousand by the time of summer 64 CE.[324]

As the research for this study also shows, divine punishment, or the anger of God, is used more in this letter than the other undisputed Pauline letters. It is in this area that Paul highlights that their noble concepts are not reflected in the general moral standards of Roman society, or their religious practices, indicated by the accusation of impiety and lack of law.

4.6.1   Summary for Romans

The letter to the Romans was written during the reign of Nero which promised the return of the Golden Age. In this letter Paul uses extensively words that are related to justice. Nero had also promised the return of justice. Paul's description in 1:18-32 of the moral state of the society does not fit the description of the poets who heralded in the return of justice. Paul's use of anger in this letter relates to its meaning as punishment by which justice is restored. The Roman society was linked by a chain of honour, starting with the emperor.

The expansion and success of the Empire cultivated arrogance towards the vanquished. The values in this letter are shaped by honour as the analysis of anger and fear in Chapters Six and Seven demonstrate.

4.7   Conclusion

The premise for the research problem is that emotions are a culturally evaluative response to what is important. The purpose of this chapter is to consider the cultural context of the provincial Roman towns, and Rome herself, to establish what was

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[321] Jewett 2007: 60
[322] Jewett 2007: 60
[323] Jewett 2007: 62
[324] Jewett 2007: 62

considered to be of value, and the correlation of some of the prevalent values to the emotions of anger and fear, and whether Paul's use of these lexical terms confirmed the presence of these values.

A summary follows on the discussion of the cultural context of the five provincial towns. The essential aspects of these findings follow to conclude this chapter.

Thessalonica: The function of divine anger to address injustice in the society, and moral laxity on an individual level. Anger restores order by means of punishment.

Corinth: A response of anger insituations where status was not acknowledged. Status was held in high esteem in this community.

The power of patrons to harm Paul's efforts to establish communities is reflected in the definition of power as a response to an awareness of imminent harm. Fear, as 'fear of the Lord', or 'awe', requires an awareness of something greater than individual importance and, therefore, used to counter the love of self-importance, that is the desire for status.

Philippians: A number of lexical terms implying intense fear reflect the presence of opposition to Paul's community, through official sources, possibly competitive apostles and the appearance of internal strife. These conditions speak of an awareness of the presence of a power, or powers, to destroy Paul's work. Paul does not allude to fear about his precarious position in a Roman prison.

Galatia: The use of fear to convey respect in a relationship between Peter and James. Paul voices his disapproval of this relationship. The lexical term for anger in this letter is θυμός. The context in which it was used conveys excessive anger and indicates people who are ruled by their desires without the restraining force of reason. In this respect, Paul is in accord with Aristotle's requirement for reason to find the mean in an emotional response.

Rome: Divine anger as punishment is used to re-establish justice and piety. 'Fear of the Lord' is used to overcome the arrogance of the victors towards the victims. Fear is also used to convey respect, that is acknowledging a superior power with the power to harm.

This aspect of the research will be spelt out comprehensively in Chapters 6 and 7. The next chapter is identifying the words in L-N to express the concept of anger and fear.

CHAPTER FIVE : LEXICOGRAPHY

5.1   Introduction

In the discipline of Classical studies in Greco-Roman philosophy, as discussed in Chapter One, interest in the cognitive function of the emotions emerged once again. The work of Konstan 2007, *The Emotions of the Ancient Greeks*, called attention to the following: 'The use of Greek terms for the emotions did not necessarily coincide with modern interpretation of their terms.'[325]

Anger was a case in point. Although fear is not essentially different from the modern usage, the cultural values forming it do differ. Konstan's approach has influenced the approach to this research.

The lexical topic in this chapter links the preceding chapters Three and Four and the proceeding chapters Six and Seven. In chapter three, the Greco-Roman philosophic tradition of the emotions is discussed, focussing on the cognitive function in the emotions. Then, in Chapter Four, the cultural context in the undisputed letters of Paul is discussed, emphasising the values that influence the emotions. The concept of anger and fear require words for their expression and this is the function of the lexicon. Words for anger and fear that are used in the undisputed Pauline letters, selected from the lexical range presented in the lexicon, are then analysed in Chapters Six and Seven. A critical use has been made of this lexicon.

For this purpose, Chapter Five compares the lexicographical principles used in the compilation of the two lexicons used primarily in this research, namely, Louw-Nida (subsequently referred to as L-N) *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains* and Frank William Danker (ed.) *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (subsequently referred to as BDAG). Examples are also provided to illustrate the principles. The L-N lexicon differs from a conventional lexicon, and the hope is that the use of both conventional and unconventional will widen the scope for an analytical examination of the emotions ὀργή and φόβος and their near synonyms as provided by this lexicon, in order to illustrate that meaning is found in context. Context is not confined to the immediate sentence only. The

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[325] Konstan 2007: x

view expands to the pericope, which in turn expands to the chapter, then the letter as a whole and the cultural context of first century Imperial Rome. The first presentation is:

5.2   The Louw-Nida Lexicon

L-N offers a new approach to New Testament lexicography, which differs significantly from traditional presentations. Although a traditional thesaurus has a similar function, it arranges synonyms and antonyms together under different subject headings. In that respect the idea is not new, but it differs in arrangement and vocabulary. Therefore, I am inferring that the concept of arranging words semantically existed in principle, although the introduction of this idea into a New Testament lexicon was a move from the conventional.[326] Consequently, in what significant way does this lexicon differ?

This lexicon, offering different words for one meaning, is not arranged alphabetically, but according to Domains. The conventional, however, offers different meanings for one word and is arranged alphabetically. For translating, it is useful to see the range of words for one meaning and the nuanced range it offers. The process will be clarified by an example in the appropriate section of this chapter. A further aspect which the editors of this lexicon recognise is that meaning is not only in the indicated word, because words may also accrue associated meanings. These two aspects are described as 'denotative' and 'connotative'.

This lexicon is published in two volumes. Volume I contains ninety three Domains, each domain has Subdomains. Each Domain has words that have three major semantic features. Shared: refers to a meaning which is held in common by a group of words. Distinctive: separate meanings one from another. Supplementary Features: may be relevant in certain contexts or may play primarily a connotative or associative role. The definitions for each word are based on the distinctive features of the word.[327] The vocabulary needed to collate this system is taken from the entire corpus of the third edition of the *Greek New Testament* published by the United Bible Societies. The dictionary consists of some five thousand lexical items and more than twenty-five thousand meanings in all. The words which refer to objects or entities are grouped

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[326] Roget's *Thesaurus* 1982: 13 This work was first published in 1852. The present work is intended to supply, with respect to the English language, a desideratum hitherto unsupplied in any language; namely a collection of the words arranged not in alphabetical order, as they are in a dictionary but according to the idea that they express.

[327] L-N 1988: vi

together primarily in Domains 1-12, events in Domains 13-57, abstracts in Domains 58-91. Domain 92 is referred to as Discourse Referentials, which in ordinary terms means the person referred to, therefore consisting of personal pronouns first, second and third person; Domain 93 Proper Names.

The reason for this form of classification is to bring together those words that are most closely related in meaning (semantic space). These meanings are regarded as partial synonyms because the ranges of their meanings tend to overlap. This explanation clearly does not belong to Domains 92 and 93.

One word may have meanings that are relatively far apart in semantic space; as a result one word may be placed in a number of domains. The user of the lexicon may not necessarily know the domain required but the necessary information is given in Volume II. There are three indexes in this volume:

First index, arranged alphabetically, is Greek to English; second index, English to Greek and the third index, New Testament references.

5.2.1 The use of ὀργή and related words

To illustrate the above statement the word ὀργή is used; as it is one of the emotions and its near synonyms analysed in the research. For this reason these words are pertinent to Chapter Six in which the relevant verses are analysed in context of the undisputed Pauline letters..

The first step is to locate the Greek term ὀργή, in the Greek-English index. Entries are arranged alphabetically. Immediately following the Greek word is a list of those forms which indicate the declension and gender for the nouns, the one or two alternative forms for adjectives, and any irregular forms for verbs. An English equivalent to the Greek word is also given with the Domain or Domains in which a definition of the word is given.

In volume II there are two entries for ὀργή which are located in different domains indicated by the numerical reference.[328] The different Domains indicate that the word has two meanings. A brief explanation is given for each entry simply as an indication, inadequate to evaluate a meaning.

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[328] L-N 1988: 176 Vol II

      (a)   anger - 88.173

      (b)   punishment - 38.10.

In the correct Domain a definition is provided for each word. The first Domain for ὀργή is 88, the number following the full stop indicates the Subdomain. Therefore ὀργή is located in Domain 38 Subdomain 10 and Domain 88 Subdomain 173.

5.2.2 Domain 88 : Moral and Ethical Qualities and Related Behaviour.

This Domain has 38 Subdomains.[329] ᾽Οργή is located in the twenty-fourth under the heading 'Anger, Be Indignant with'. At this point it is important to register an objection with the above classification. Anger appears in all taxonomies of emotions, but in this lexicon it is not included in Domain 25 which lists the emotions. This assessment is not in accord with modern scholarship in the field of 'emotion'. According to their view an emotion does not preclude an ethical and moral component, or *vice versa*.[330] It was certainly classified as an emotion in first century Imperial Rome.

The following example of L-N's lexical inconsistency is σκανδαλίζω in Domain 25, Subdomain 179. The definition is to 'cause someone to experience anger and/or shock because of what was said or done'. Domain 25 has σκανδαλίζω allocated as 'Attitudes and Emotions'. In this example 'to experience anger' is assessed as an emotion, but ὀργή is not! Yet, in Domain 88, Subdomains 188/9 προκαλέομαι and παροξύνομαι, which have similar actions to σκανδαλίζω, i.e. 'to cause or provoke anger', are not assessed as emotions.

The Subdomain 88.171-191 has twenty words that convey the meaning of anger. The twenty words and their definitions as given by the lexicon are used here as an example of the lexicon's methodology of grouping together near synonyms. However, the words that are selected for further analysis, in order to illustrate the concept of 'common features' and 'distinctive features' in the Subdomain, are those used in the undisputed Pauline letters.[331]

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[329] L-N 1988: 742-743 Vol I

[330] Nussbaum 2005: 149 'In an ethical and social/political creature, emotions themselves are ethical, and social political etc'. I have used this quotation as an example to show that emotion and ethics are not mutually exclusive.

[331] L-N 1988: vi Vol II

5.2.3 Anger, Be Indignant With

This section lists the twenty words as presented in L-N Vol II.[332]

(88.171-88.191)

> **88.171** χολάω: to have a strong feeling of displeasure and antagonism as the result of some real or supposed wrong – 'to be very angry, to be full of anger'. ἐμοὶ χολᾶτε ὅτι ὅλον ἄνθρωπον ὑγιῆ ἐποίησα ἐν σαββάτῳ; 'Why are you angry with me because I made a man completely well on the Sabbath?' John 7:23b. In a number of languages expressions for anger are highly idiomatic, for example, 'his abdomen burned against,' 'to be bitter toward,' or 'to become red against.'[333]

Before continuing to the next entry as given by L-N, a few points need to be noted. Firstly, the Subdomain is not arranged alphabetically, but generically; beginning with the most general meaning, followed by more specific examples. However, the editors do indicate this system is not always followed. The definition given for χολάω echoes sounds of Aristotle's definition of ὀργή as an emotion, yet here it is not categorised as such. The definition also ascribes a cognitive function to the word, as the real or supposed hurt needs to be recognised, and what is not included in the description is the evaluation of the hurt against a background of social values.

The use of this word raises questions: χολάω is used only once in the New Testament as cited above and in 3 Maccabeus 3:1. The other references are not related to the scriptures.[334] The *Septuagint* translators used μένις and ὀργή and θυμός to translate the Hebrew words for anger into Greek.[335] LSJ ascribe a metaphorical meaning of anger to the word.[336] Therefore, the choice of this word as a generic example of anger is questionable. The question: is one example, sufficient semantic evidence, for that conclusion?

> **88.172** προσοχθίζω: to feel strong irritation.

> **88.173** ὀργή,[a] ῆς *f:* a relative state of anger.

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[332] L-N 1988: 761-763 Vol II
[333] L-N 1988: 761 Vol II
[334] BDAG 2004: 1086
[335] Strong 1890: https://archive.org: (accessed 15.01.2017) *Aph*: a 'nostril', 'nose', 'face', 'anger'. *Ebrah:* 'anger', 'rage', 'wrath'. *Charon:* 'a burning of anger', 'sore displeasure', 'fierce fury', 'wrathful'.
[336] LSJ 1968: 1997

’Οργή has a superscript [a], which tells the user of the lexicon that the above definition is the most common meaning for the word, i.e. 'anger, fury'. This is a shared semantic feature with the other words in the Subdomain; its distinctive feature is 'relative state of anger'. I have interpreted this phrase to imply varying degrees of the emotion, which the other entries do not necessarily share.

88.174 ὀργίζομαι: to be relatively angry.

88.175 ὀργόλος, η, ον: pertaining to a tendency to become angry.

88.176 παροργισμός, οῦ *m*: a state of being quite angry.

88.177 παροργίζω: (derivative of παροργισμός – anger, 88.176) to cause someone to become provoked or quite angry.

88.178 θυμός[a], οῦ *m*: a state of intense anger.

88.179 θυμόομαι: (derivative of θυμός anger, 88.178) to be extremely angry.

88.180 θυμομαχέω: to be extremely angry.

88.181 διαπρίομαι: to be angry to the point of rage.

88.182 ἐμμαίσομαι: to be so furiously angry with someone.

88.183 ἀνοία[b], ας *f*:   A state of such extreme anger

88.184 βρύχω τοὺς ὀδόντας[b]: (an idiom, literally 'to grind one's teeth'). Also idioms are used to express and manifest intense anger.

88.185 φρυάσσω: to show insolent anger.

88.186 ἀγανάκτησις, εως *f*: a state of strong opposition.

88.187 ἀγανακτέω: (derivative of ἀγανάκτησις 'indignation').

88.188 προκαλέομαι: to cause provocation or irritation in someone.

88.189 παροξύνομαι: to be provoked or upset.

88.190 διαπονέομαι: to be strongly irked.

The near synonyms provide the translator with a comprehensive overview of anger, as the examples given by L-N illustrate. It certainly provides a nuanced appreciation. Although I have a few points of disagreement, the overall presentation is helpful.

As stated in the following table, the words for anger used by Paul in the undisputed letters are selected in order to group the words together in the system used by the editors, viz., Shared and Distinctive. It is the Distinctive feature that gives the word its meaning and this is indicated by a superscript.[337]

Pauline letter	Word	Shared feature	Distinctive feature
Rom 2:8 intensifies	θυμός	anger	intense with ὀργή
2 Cor 7:11 opposition	ἀγανάκτησις	anger	indignation
Rom 10:19 resentful	παροργίζω	Anger, Distinctive - deliberate action of making someone angry	make angry; cause anger
Displeasure			
Gal 5:26 irritation	προκαλέομαι	mild anger (irritation)	provoke, cause
1 Cor 13:4-5 be irritable	παροξύνομαι	The Distinctive feature of the above now becomes a shared feature	Disturbed emotional equilibrium. Underlying anger - Distinctive

Ὀργή is the primary emotive term. However, the L-N lexicon entries have widened the semantic scope. Thus far, there are now five near synonyms for ὀργή as anger to add to the list of references for analysis in the undisputed Pauline letters.

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[337] L-N 1988: x

5.2.4 Punish, Reward

L-N have not classified anger as an emotion, as a result they attribute a second meaning to it, which is its constitutive aspect, not a separate meaning. Anger, as an emotion, is a desire for revenge.[338] Nonetheless, the system of the lexicon is followed.

(This section lists twelve words)

(38.1-38.13)

> **38.1** κρίσις[1], εως *f*: punishment, with the implication of having been judged guilty – punishment. πῶς φύγητε ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως τῆς γεέννης; 'how will you escape from punishment in hell?' Matt 23:33. It is also possible, of course, to interpret κρίσις in Matt 23:33 as meaning 'condemnation' (see 56.30), but as such, punishment is certainly implied.

> **38.2** κολάζω; κόλασις, εως *f*: to punish.

> In a number of languages punishment is often expressed as a causative of suffering, that is to say, 'to cause to suffer' or 'to cause to endure harm.' In some languages, however, there are a number of different types of punishment, and clear distinctions must be made between various degrees of punishment as well as between physical versus mental punishment.

> **38.3** φορέω τὴν μάχαιραν: (an idiom, literally 'to bear the sword') to have the capacity or authority to punish, to have the power to punish.

> **38.4** παιδεύω[c]; παιδεία[c], ας *f*: to punish.

> **38.5** παιδευτής[b], οῦ *m*: a person who punishes for constructive purposes.

> **38.6** τιμωρέω; τιμωρία, ας *f*; ἐπιτιμία, ας *f*: to punish, with the implication of causing people to suffer what they deserve.

> **38.7** ζημιόομαι[b]: to be punished, with the implication of suffering damage.

> **38.8** ἐκδικέω[c]; ἐκδίκησις[c], εως *f*; δίκης, ης *f*: to punish, on the basis of what is rightly deserved.

> **38.9** ἔκδικος, ου *m*: a person who punishes – 'punisher.'

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[338] Konstan 2007 :40

38.10 ὀργή[b], ῆς *f*: divine punishment based on God's angry judgment against someone - 'to punish, punishment.'

᾿Οργή with the superscript [b] indicates that this meaning is not as common as superscript [a]. This example also conveys an associated meaning with 'punishment' i.e. of God's anger because of evil. The shared meaning with this group of words is punishment, its distinctive feature: divine punishment. It is also an example of 'associative meaning', that is, anger and punishment related to evil.

᾿Οργή as 'punishment' has an addition of four near synonyms:

Pauline letter	Word	Shared feature	Distinctive feature
Rom 13:1-7	φορέω τὴν μάχαιραν	To have the power to punish	Idiomatic expression: power to punish
2 Cor 10:1-6	ἐκδικέω	To punish on what is rightly deserved.	
1 Thess 4:1-8	ἔκδικος, ου ὁ	A person who punishes	
1 Cor 3:10-19	ζημιόομαι	To be punished	

5.3   L-N Domains

The same steps are followed; as the Greek word is available, reference is made to the Greek-English index in Vol II. There are three entries: (a) fear Domain 25 Subdomain 251; (b) source of fear Domain 25 Subdomain 254; (c) Domain 53 Subdomain 59.

5.3.1   Domain 25   Attitudes and Emotions is divided into twenty four Subdomains. Φόβος is in the twenty-second Subdomain and consists of eighteen near synonyms. The editors in a footnote draw our attention to the close link between this domain and others. Of special interest is Domain 88 Moral and Ethical Qualities and Related Behaviour to which ὀργή was allocated. Although a close relationship is acknowledged, it is an implied relationship, but is not allocated a place with the words for emotion.

5.3.2   Domain 25: Fear, Terror, Alarm

25.251   φόβος[a], ου *m*: a state of severe distress, aroused by intense concern for impending pain, danger, evil, etc., or possibly by the illusion of such circumstances.

In the L-N Lexicon the definition placed first covers the general meaning of fear and the description resonates with Aristotle's definition in certain respects. The description indicates an intense experience of the emotion. Its Shared semantic feature is fear and the Distinctive aspect the intensity of the experience. This section lists eighteen near synonyms.

> **25.252** φοβέομαι[a]: to be in a state of fearing – 'to fear, to be afraid.'
>
> **25.253** ἀφόβος[a]: pertaining to being without fear – 'fearlessly'.
>
> **25.254** φόβος[b], ου *m*: the occasion or source of fear – 'something to be feared'.

The editors have singled out this particular usage of φόβος as a Domain in its own right. Although it has a shared semantic feature of fear with the other words in the list, its distinctive feature indicates the source of fear rather than the experience of fear. The superscript [b] tells us that this usage is not as frequent as φόβος with superscript [a].

> **25.255** φοβερός, ά, όν: pertaining to something or someone who causes fear – 'fearful, causing fear'.
>
> **25.256** ἔκφοβος, ον; ἔμφοβος, ον: pertaining to being extremely afraid.
>
> **25.257** ἐκφοβέω: to cause someone to become terrified
>
> **25.260** φρίσσω: to be so afraid as to shudder and tremble
>
> **25.261** ἔντρομος: pertaining to extreme terror or fear
>
> **25.262** θροέομαι: to be in a state of fear.
>
> **25.268** δειλός, ή, όν: pertaining to being cowardly – 'cowardly, coward'.
>
> **25.269** ἀσθένεια[c], ας *f*: a state of timidity resulting from a lack of confidence – 'timidity, being fearful'.

Φόβος as fear has three near synonyms:

Pauline letter	Word	Shared feature	Distinctive feature
1 Cor 2:3	τρέμω	To be so afraid as to tremble	Tremble
Phil 1:28	πτύρομαι	Fearful as the result of intimidation	Response to a threat
1 Cor 2:3	ἀσθένεια	A figurative extension of weakness	Cognition of another's strength

5.3.3 Domain 53 Religious Activities: Worship, Reverence,

This Domain consists of twelve Subdomains. φόβος is placed in the seventh Subdomain (53.53-53.64). The Subdomain consists of eleven near synonyms.

53.53-53.64

Σέβομαι, due to its position in the list, infers a generic form of the concept. Paul uses this word only once in Rom 1:25.

> **53.53** σέβομαι; σεβάζομαι; εὐσεβέω[a]: to express in attitude and ritual one's allegiance to and regard for deity – 'to worship, to venerate'.

> ἀσέβεια is listed in Domain 53 Subdomain 10 Religious Practices, to live in a manner contrary to religious belief.

Ἀσεβέω is not listed as an antonym to σέβομαι.

> In a number of languages worship is expressed in an idiomatic manner, for example, 'to bow down before,' 'to lower one's head before,' 'to raise one's arms to,' 'to sing to,' 'to honour.' It is important in selecting an expression for worship to employ a term of phrase which will include various aspects of worship.

> **53.54** σέβασμα[a], τος *n*: (derivative of σεβάζομαι 'to worship,' 53.53) a place of worship – 'sanctuary.'

> **53.55** σέβασμα[b], τος *n*: (derivative of σεβάζομαι 'to worship,' 53.53) an object which is worshipped.

53.56 προσκυνέω[a]: to express by attitude and possibly by position one's allegiance to and regard for deity – 'to prostrate oneself in worship, to bow down and worship, to worship.'

53.57 προσκυνητής, οῦ *m*: (derivative of προσκυνέω[a] 'to worship,' 53.56) one who worships – 'worshipper.'

53.58 φοβέομαι[c]: (a figurative extension to meaning of φοβέομαι[a] : 'to fear,' 25.252) to have profound reverence and respect for deity with the implication of awe bordering on fear – 'to reverence, to worship.' L-N has not classified 'awe' as an emotion.

53.60 ἀφόβως[c]: pertaining to being without reverence or awe for God – 'without reverence, shamelessly.'

φόβος as worship has additional synonyms: σέβομαι – Rom 1:25 and κάμπτω τὸ γόνυ; to bend the knee (an idiom) as a symbol of religious devotion, Rom 14:11.

Pauline letter	Word	Shared feature	Distinctive feature
Rom 1:25	σέβομαι	To worship, to venerate	Awe
Rom 14:11	κάμπτω τὸ γόνυ	To bend the knee as a symbol of religious devotion	Humility

5.3 BDAG (Bauer, Danker, Arndt and Gingrich) 2000.

This is the Second Lexicon used as a reference in this research.

The first lexicon for the Greek New Testament to appear in 1522 initiated a long and useful tradition in this genre.[339] The development of the lexicon in its present form is due to a deeper knowledge of Greek and the contribution of Hebrew and Aramaic.[340] In 1640 the words were arranged alphabetically for the first time, and not according to their roots.

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[339] BDAG 2000: v
[340] BDAG 2000: v

Bauer initiated the scholarship for this lexicon, because he inherited the sole task for its completion due to the untimely death of the initial lexicographer, Preuschen in 1910.[341] He extended his research into Greek literature up to Byzantine time in order to find parallels to the language of the New Testament.[342]   He was commended for his work because it was not only extensive but also systematic. The language of this work was German.

The publication of the fourth edition, known as BAG (1957), included the work of an American team, William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, who not only translated the work into English, but corrected where necessary and added considerable new material.[343]   William Danker was asked to join the team on the death of his teacher, Arndt, to continue work on the preparation of the new edition of the lexicon.[344]

This edition has been revised by Danker whose knowledge of Greco-Roman literature, as well as papyri and epigraphs provided an enlarged view of the New Testament cultural context.[345]

This revised edition departs from the traditional lexicon format, which favoured a definition of the word in the original language, followed by a phrase or word in the relevant language. This system does not allow an appreciation of the semantic value of the words and in fact there is a risk of depreciating the value.[346]

In this edition, Danker uses Bauer's tradition of extended definitions in order to reveal the meaning more clearly.[347]

As the title, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* indicates, the vocabulary for this Lexicon includes numerous Christian literary sources, including not only the New Testament texts, but also material sourced from papyri which included Gnostic texts, the apostolic fathers and apocryphal acts and gospels.

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[341] BDAG 2000: v
[342] BDAG 2000: vi
[343] BDAG 2000: vi
[344] BDAG 2000: vii
[345] BDAG 2000: Adapted from the information given on the cover by the marketing department of the University of Chicago Press.
[346] BDAG 2000: vii
[347] BDAG 2000: viii

The comparative material used ranges from Homer to twelfth century Christian literature. The range of material is indicated by the eighteen filled pages of abbreviations. Danker has introduced a further improvement in this edition, which will assist the scholar in understanding the meaning of a given word.

A convention in lexicography has been to offer synonyms of words. Instead of this system, Danker uses a definition which is printed in bold, the possible English equivalents in bold italics.[348]

5.3.1 Definition of ὀργή in this lexicon

Ὀργή is a state of relatively strong displeasure with focus on the emotional aspect, anger. The other definition is strong indignation directed at wrongdoing, with focus on retribution.

5.3.2 Definition of φόβος in this lexicon

Φόβος is described as an intimidating entity, in an active causative sense; the product of an intimidating alarming force.

5.3.3 Summary

BDAG is a useful complement to L-N. The vocabulary for the L-N Lexicon is based entirely on the New Testament, whereas BDAG offers extensive comparative literary sources, which assist in understanding the word's contemporary meaning. Although BDAG is not frequently cited in this research, it has been referred to as a confirmation.

5.4 Conclusion

The classification of anger in L-N revealed a wide semantic range for the word. It became evident that the language gave the opportunity to express the degree of anger (ὀργή) precisely. The aim of the research is not to investigate the general usage of anger in first century CE, but only Paul's use of it in that period. On this basis the words for anger in the undisputed Pauline letters were selected for analysis. The selection is presented in tabular form on the first page of Chapter Six.

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[348] http://bmcr.edu/2001/2001-06-01.html. (accessed 15.01.2017)

A lexical difficulty has been created by not classifying ὀργή as an emotion. This decision denied the presence of a cognitive function in the word, which is central to the research subject of this study. In Chapter Six, this factor is specifically noted where applicable, and the specific approach which was adopted.

The semantic range of φοβός is not extensive. In this case, fear is classified as an emotion. Φοβός in its secondary meaning, however, is not classified as an emotion, creating the same difficulties noted for the classification of anger.

The usefulness of including BDAG for this research subject is described in the Summary.

The words have been presented in the potential meaning in this chapter. The analyses in Chapters Six and Seven, in context of the letters, expand their meaning to verify the research subject by showing: how the cognitive elements, in these two emotions were conditioned by their cultural values.

CHAPTER SIX : Ὀργή AND RELATED WORDS IN THE UNDISPUTED PAULINE LETTERS

6.1 Introduction with Chart Correlated References

The purpose of this chapter is to discover how Paul uses ὀργή and related words as understood in the first century CE in the context of the Roman Empire.

CCR IN TABULAR FORM

WORD	SEMANTIC DOMAIN	1 THESS	1 COR	2 COR	GAL	ROM
ὀργή – anger	88.173					12:19 13:4
θυμός - anger	88.178			12:20	5:20	
παροργίζω – cause to be angry	88.177					10:19
ἀγανάκτησις - provoke to anger	88.186			7:11		
προκαλέομαι - provoke	88.188				5:26	
παροξύνομαι – provoke	88.189		13:5			
ὀργή – punishment	38.10	1:10 2:16 5:9				1:18 2:5 2:8 3:5 4:15 5:9 9:22

WORD	SEMANTIC DOMAIN	1 THESS	1 COR	2 COR	GAL	ROM
φορέω τὴν μάχ-αιραν - power to punish	38.3					13:4
ἐκδικέω - rightful punishment	38.8			10:6		
ἔκδικος - a person who punishes	39.9	4:6				

The Chart of Correlated References, referred to as CCR, gives an overview of the primary word ὀργή and related words in the undisputed Pauline letters.

The semantic range of the word as given in the chart was identified in the following manner:

As the Greek form of the word is known, the Greek-English index in L-N Vol. II was used to find the Semantic Domain/s. The words are arranged by the editors of the lexicon according to the Greek alphabet. English glosses are also given to indicate the meaning or meanings and the relevant Domains. As will be noted, the glosses are replicated in the above chart; these are simply indicators to meaning and not the meaning itself. Vol. I gives the Domains and definitions which are far better indicators to meaning, but it still requires the context in the sentence, pericope and social conditions to assist in actualising the meaning.

The Domains are listed in Vol. I, for here the editors have grouped together words that share a semantic feature. Therefore, in this sense they are partial synonyms.

The editors have attributed two meanings to ὀργή, so we are directed to two Domains. The first Domain 88 Moral and Ethical and Related Behaviour lists all the words related to this topic, and is arranged in Subdomains.

Subdomain 88.173   Anger, Be Indignant with 19 related words.

Subdomain 38.10   Punishment with 12 related words.

It is necessary at this point to note a lexical difficulty: L-N do not classify ὀργή as an emotion, although it appears as an emotion in all taxonomies of emotions. The difficulty surfaces immediately by allocating two meanings to anger. But the constitutive aspect of ὀργή is the desire for revenge and is therefore not a separate meaning.[349]

The chart reflects the words used in the undisputed Pauline Corpus, as the aim is not to present a general overview of the use of the word, but how ὀργή and related words feature in the Pauline letters.

The word's immediate grammatical context indicates a potential meaning; this in turn needs to relate to the idea that formed the pericope.

Aristotle's definition of the relevant emotion is used to interpret the meaning in its social context, because the beliefs held in the emotions are grounded in the values of the social world of a particular culture.

Therefore, this is not a secondary meaning but the motivating force which may be actualised as punishment. By not categorising ὀργή as an emotion, it has lost the complex character of anger as appreciated in first century Imperial Rome and become one dimensional, implying a reflex response without its cognitive function. Thus, though the words are listed in separate Domains to comply with the lexicography aspect of the analyses, in practice they will be considered as one word. The analysis in this chapter relies on ὀργή as an emotion to open a window on to the social context of the word as the following quotation implies.

 'Emotions are responses not to events but actions, or situations resulting from actions, that entail consequences for one's own or others relative social standing'.[350]

The discussion of the letter to 1 Thessalonians follows:

6.2   1 Thessalonians

6.2.1   Outline of 1 Thessalonians

A possible date for Paul's arrival in Thessalonica is estimated to be 50 or 51 CE.[351] This letter, 1 Thessalonians, is the earliest extant undisputed Pauline letter. There is general

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[349] Konstan 2007: 40
[350] Konstan 2007: 40

consensus amongst New Testament scholars that Paul wrote this letter. The outline of the letter is taken from Witherington's rhetorical assessment of the letter, as epideictic rhetoric.[352] 'This is the rhetoric of display and demonstration, the rhetoric of praise and blame'.[353] He raises a pertinent issue in relation to his assessment of the letter; that it was intended to be read aloud and not primarily intended as something written.[354] In this respect Witherington differs from Malherbe who has interpreted the letter according to epistolary conventions, as a *paraeneti*c (moral encouragement) letter.[355]

The following is the epistolary and rhetorical structure of 1 Thessalonians according to Witherington.[356]

1:1	Epistolary Prescript and Greeting
1:2-3	Thanksgiving Report/*Exordium* (To establish a rapport with the audience)
1:4-3:10	*Narratio* (a statement of pertinent facts relevant to the discourse)[357]
3:11-13	Concluding and Prospective Wish Prayer (*Transitus*)
4:1-5:15	*Exhortatio*
	(1) Holy Living 4:1-8
	(2) Holy Loving 4:9-13
	(3) Saints Asleep, The King Returns 4:13-18
	(4) 'Ready for a Thief in the Night' 5:1-11
	(5) Honour the Workers, Live Peacefully with Others 5:12-15
5:16-21	*Peroratio*

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[351] Witherington 2006: 9
[352] Witherington 2006: 21
[353] Witherington 2006: 21
[354] Witherington 2006: 17
[355] Witherington 2006: 17 'M. Mitchell makes the following points on Malherbe's commentary'. '(i) It would appear that what prompted Malherbe's approach in his analysis is a particular passage in *Dio Chrysostom (Oratio* 32.11-120), but Mitchell interprets it as a rhetorical speech following both deliberative and epideictic conventions.
[356] Witherington 2006: 28
[357] Witherington 2006: 24

5:23-24	Concluding Wish Prayer
5:25-27	Closing Greetings and Charges
5:28	Benediction

Most scholars are of the opinion that 1 Thessalonians is an example of epideictic rhetoric but a few have chosen deliberative rhetoric.[358]

Jewett addresses the subject of the different interpretations of the rhetorical genres attributed to this correspondence. Here is an example he uses to illustrate the differences.[359]

George A. Kennedy- Deliberative Rhetoric,

1:1-10	address and proem (a preface or preamble to a book or speech)
2:1-8	refutation of charges
2:9-3:13	*narratio* in ethical and pathetical terms
4:1-5:22	headings: general proposition, injunctions
5:23-28	epilogue and closure

The two illustrations exemplify the different interpretations of the letter and the assessment in the verse arrangement. Therefore following Witherington's interpretation, the next step is to consider anger in the following pericopes 1:10, 2:16, 4:6, 5:9.

6.2.2 Ὀργή in 1 Thess 1:10

Ὀργή in L-N Domain 38 Subdomain 10 as set out in CCR

According to Witherington the first pericope in the *narratio* consists of verses 4-10 and the function of the *narratio* is to review the facts that are praiseworthy or blameworthy.[360] Paul in this part of the *narratio* focuses his praise on the character of the Thessalonians and their actions that reflect their character.[361] It is suggested by Witherington that v.10 should be taken together with v.9; these verses fit the description

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[358]Witherington 2006: 24
[359] Jewett 1986: 71
[360] Witherington 2006: 60
[361] Witherington 2006: 60

of praiseworthy actions and the fulfilment of this praise culminates in the phrase that they no longer fit the conditions to be recipients of ὀργή.[362]

6.2.3 Ὀργή in 1 Thess 1:4-10

Greek Text

4 εἰδότες, ἀδελφοὶ ἠγαπημένοι ὑπὸ θεοῦ, τὴν ἐκλογὴν ὑμῶν, 5 ὅτι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐγενήθη εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν λόγῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν δυνάμει καὶ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πληροφορίᾳ πολλῇ, καθὼς οἴδατε οἷοι ἐγενήθημεν ὑμῖν δι᾽ ὑμᾶς. 6 Καὶ ὑμεῖς μιμηταὶ ἡμῶν ἐγενήθητε καὶ τοῦ κυρίου, δεξάμενοι τὸν λόγον ἐν θλίψει πολλῇ μετὰ χαρᾶς πνεύματος ἁγίου, 7 ὥστε γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς τύπον πᾶσιν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ. 8 ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν γὰρ ἐξήχηται ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου οὐ μόνον ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ Ἀχαΐᾳ, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν παντί τόπῳ ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐξελήλυθεν, ὥστε μὴ χρείαν ἔχειν ἡμᾶς λαλεῖν τι. 9 αὐτοὶ γὰρ περὶ ἡμῶν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ὁποίαν εἴσοδον ἔσχομεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ πῶς ἐπεστρέψατε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων δουλεύειν θεῷ ζῶντι καὶ ἀληθινῷ 10 καὶ ἀναμένειν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὃν ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, Ἰησοῦν τὸν ῥυόμενον ἡμᾶς **ἐκ τῆς ὀργῆς** τῆς ἐρχομένης.

English Translation

4 Beloved brethren (gender inclusive), since we know that you are chosen by God, 5 because our gospel did not come to you in word only, but also in power, with the Holy Spirit and with much conviction inasmuch as you know we lived among you, (διά) for your sake. 6 Also you have become imitators of us and the Lord, having received the word with much persecution and the joy of the Holy Spirit, 7 with the result that you are an example to all those who believe in Macedonia and in Achaia. 8 For the word of the Lord has gone out from you not only in Macedonia and Achaia but your faith in God has gone out into every place, with the result that we have no need to speak (about it). 9 For they also speak about us and the kind of visit we had before you, and how you turned to God from idols to serve the living and true God 10 and to wait expectantly for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead, Jesus who saves us from the **wrath** to come.

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[362] Witherington 2006: 75

All the translations are mine; they are not polished but literal. The analysis is based on the Greek sentence structure, and my intention is to reflect the quality of the Greek in the translation, because the interpretation is based on the use of ὀργή and related words in first century Imperial Rome, not anger in its modern sense.

Analysis

The praiseworthy actions of the Thessalonians in this pericope are the manner in which the Thessalonians received the Gospel. Paul uses these words 'power and the Holy Spirit', 'joy despite their persecution'. They became examples to other communities throughout the regions of Achaia and Macedonia.

Paul emphasises that it is the power of the Holy Spirit that made possible the turning from idols to the true and living God. However, the Thessalonians needed to be receptive and willing to receive this power. On account of their actions they are presently being rescued from the coming wrath and awaiting the return of Jesus who has made this possible.

All these points may be summed up as a description of the Thessalonians' conversion and the results of this conversion. The manner in which they endure their present suffering is praiseworthy and exemplary, but Paul is offering hope that they are being rescued from divine punishment, which by implication would be more severe than their present suffering.

1 Thess 1:4-10 forms a period which emphasises its main idea by placing it at the end of the sentence. So this grammatical information shows the value Paul places on this final sentence which forms part of the analysis of ὀργή. It also clarifies its importance to Paul's argument in this pericope that is a validation of their conversion. The words in vv 9-10, which have direct relationship to the outcome of the final phrase in v10, ἐκ τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς ἐρχομένης, will be referred to in L-N and then compared to a relevant commentary.

Vv9 and 10 belong together.[363]

v9 The verb ἐπεστρέψατε influences the use of two infinitives, in that they are complements to the verb.[364] The first is δουλεύειν - to serve - being placed first shows its

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[363] Witherington 2006: 73

importance to Paul.[365] Their influence in Macedonia and Achaia would come under the rubric of service to 'the true and living God'.[366]

v10 There are two actions related to turning from idols: the first stated in v9, δουλεύειν, to serve, and the second, in v10 καὶ ἀναμένειν,[367] to await. As ἐπεστρέψατε is the main verb in vv 9 and 10, and the implication of its influence is considerable, a closer scrutiny is required by referring to L-N.

L-N Domain 31 Subdomain 61 - Change an Opinion Concerning Truth.[368]

ἐπιστρέφω: to cause a person to change belief, with focus on upon that to which one turns. Another interpretation of ἐπεστρέψατε is given below.

Ἐπεστρέψατε, this term is mainly used of Israel's turning to God, as well as God turning Gentiles and Judeans to himself.[369] Philosophers may speak of turning to the divine in the pursuit of wisdom or truth.[370] We are told that the Thessalonians had turned to the true and living God from idols. Turning implies flexibility, a willingness to look in another way.[371] The above example illustrates the word in its active sense, Israel's turning to God, and its causative usage, God turning Gentiles and Judeans to himself. Does the causative aspect of the verb imply a passive role in the conversion, or is or an active willingness to be turned in response to the power of the Word? The interpretation is taken as an active response to the reception of the Word as the power of God.

However, according to the L-N heading and definition for this word, the gravity of the occasion is perceptible; according to their definition the turn was caused, and in reference to the text the cause is v4 their election (beloved of God). The Thessalonians have been chosen for a new way of life, by implication an improved way of life, because they turned from idols.

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[364] Malherbe 2000: 121
[365] In a status driven society it is noteworthy that the Thessalonians were not promised an improved status in society by turning from idols but rather a capacity to serve others by their example and preaching ..
[366] Witherington 2006: 74 It is only in this letter that Paul speaks of the 'living' God.
[367] Malherbe 2000: 121 This is the only time ἀναμένειν is used in the NT, Paul normally uses ἀποδεχέσθαι - to await eagerly for eschatological waiting. It appears that Paul's use of the word is influenced by its use in the LXX.
[368] L-N 1988: 373
[369] Malherbe 2000: 119
[370] In Plato's *Republic* in the allegory of the cave in Book VII 514a-520a, the people chained and unable to turn were convinced that the shadows on the wall of the cave were real. If they were able to turn, the world would have appeared quite differently.
[371] Witherington 2006: 73 'Paul appears to be using traditional formula for conversion, perhaps from early missionary preaching, referring to it as 'turning around', or 'about face'.

εἰδώλων, if there are further nuances to be appreciated, then this will be clarified by reference to L-N.

L-N Domain 6 Subdomain 97 - εἴδωλον Images and Idols

Εἴδωλον is defined as an object which resembles a person, animal, god, etc. and which is an object of worship.

L-N Domain 12 Subdomain 23 - εἴδωλον Supernatural Beings

Εἴδωλον - a figurative extension of the above, an unreal supernatural being; false god.

These two definitions are in accord with Witherington's comment that in the *LXX* εἴδωλον refers to not only the carved image of a deity but the deity itself.[372] He also comments on Paul's use of the word in 1 Cor 8:4-6 where Paul acknowledges a spiritual aspect to idols that belongs to the evil side of that realm.[373] In Rom 1:18 Paul describes another aspect to idol worship, which will be fully explored in the context of Romans.

Before continuing on to ὀργή which is pivotal to the analysis, both Witherington and Malherbe comment on the word ἀναμένειν.[374] They do differ in their observations as indicated in the footnote. A closer examination of the word in L-N may help in understanding Paul's use of the word.

L-N Domain 85 Subdomain 60 - ἀναμένω Remain, Stay

Ἀναμένω - to remain in a place or state, with expectancy concerning a future event - to await, to wait for.

As ἀναμένειν is a complement to the verb ἐπεστρέψατε, the inference is to remain in the state occasioned by their turning to the 'living and true God'. [375]

L-N Domain 38 Subdomain 10 ὀργή is defined as divine punishment based on God's angry judgment. On the other hand, Aristotle's definition of ὀργή in *Rhetoric*[376] is 'a

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[372] Witherington 2006: 74

[373] Witherington 2006: 74

[374] Witherington 2006: 74 Paul does not use ἀναμένειν elsewhere in reference to the παρουσία. Malherbe 2000: 121 This is the only time ἀναμένειν is used in the NT, Paul normally uses ἀπεδέχεσται – to await eagerly for eschatological waiting. It appears that Paul's use of the word is influenced by its use in the *LXX*.

[375] Donfried 2002: 80 ἀναμένειν is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον in the NT. It is found in the *LXX* in an eschatological context similar to that of 1 Thess 9-10.

desire, accompanied by pain, for a perceived slight, on the part of people who are not fit to slight one or one's own'. The two definitions are in accord on two points: punishment (retribution) and judgement. Judgement is the cognitive action of the emotion to determine why retribution is necessary, according to Aristotle's definition.

From the point of view of the L-N definition the phrase 'angry judgment' requires further enquiry. Angry, an adjective describing the quality of the judgment in their definition, does not convey the meaning of a just impartial judgement; even more as this is in reference to divine anger. In Aristotle's definition, the judgement that a slight (this term was changed by Theophrastus to an injustice) has occurred by someone not fit to do so, and the slight is not deserved, it engenders a desire for revenge, and this is the emotion anger. Konstan draws attention to the fact that Aristotle uses ὀργή as a response to an unjust act in *Nicomachean Ethics* and not in *Rhetoric*.[377] However, Aristotle's definition does not fit the divine model seamlessly, as pain and pleasure are not attributes one would assign to Israel's God. On the other hand, why is retribution a fitting epithet to God whose name may not even be uttered? How can the human mind conceive of the concept of divine justice, whose operation in the social sphere is not evident, but by ἐν παράβολῃ use elements of ὀργή, that imply a response to an unjust action?

Aristotle is considering anger from a social perspective in which its action seeks to maim the status of the citizens: not all the inhabitants were considered to be citizens. In this respect, ὀργή maintains the accepted hierarchical structure of society. By analogy divine anger maintains the order between divine and mortal. Both the Gentiles and the Judeans evaluate impiety as an unjust act worthy of punishment, but differ in regard to whom they accept as divine.[378]

In order to ascertain how Paul is using the word ὀργή, it is best to consider it in v10. It appears in a participle construction in the present tense, implying that the process has begun and is present. The participle is in the accusative case in agreement with Jesus who

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[376] Konstan 2007: 41
[377] Konstan 2007: 68
[378] Witherington 2006: 75 Witherington has quite a long comment on anger and his interpretation of the way in which Paul sees it. That is as an eschatological event that enters human history from outside and manifests the righteousness of God who will come to judge the earth. In Rom 1:17-18 Paul does link δικαιοσύνη and ὀργή grammatically, so that the ideas are linked in our mind. Witherington does draw our attention to an important distinction in the Gentile world in respect of the anger of the gods. The gods required propitiation through sacrifice, and from the Jewish perspective it required a change in the way of life.

saves us (from the coming wrath). In L-N Domain 21 Subdomain 23, verb ῥύομαι - to rescue from danger, the danger in question is severe and acute. It is not as common in Paul as its synonym σώζειν. This intensive form of saving possibly indicates the imminent nature of the judgment, so the function of ὀργή becomes closely related to a judicial function.[379]

Gentile worship from Paul's perspective is ἀσέβεια and this unwarranted act of disrespect would have invoked ὀργή. However, this is no longer applicable to the Thessalonians because of their turning to the 'living and true God'. Aristotle calls this absence of anger πραότες, and says it is a condition in which anger is allayed towards those who humble themselves.[380]

Ὀργή in v.10 gives the following information about the Thessalonians: a judgement against them has been partially rescinded as the present tense of the verb informs that it has begun but not completed. Its completion is conditional on their remaining in the state experienced after their conversion. Paul's praise of their example in the region suggests that the behaviour should publicly reflect this changed condition.[381]

Donfried, on the other hand, presents ὀργή as an apocalyptic motif already present in Hellenistic Judaism.[382] Thus if this interpretation of ὀργή is compared to Aristotle's definition a difference in function is apparent. The former uses ὀργή to present a new order, the latter preserves the current order. But the essential feature, retribution, is retained, and would therefore convey a very specific meaning to a Gentile audience.[383] For this reason also it should be considered as an emotion, because the essential meaning has been retained. Therefore, it is quite valid to treat ὀργή as an emotion in the Domain allocated by L-N. The question is whether ὀργή is directed only at idol worship or a more general social condition that requires change and which has its roots in idol worship? In order to consider this question, it is also necessary to enquire how Paul's

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[379] Nickelsburg 2006: 307 1 Thess the earliest part of the extant letter is dominated by the expectation of the παρουσία of Jesus, who is called variously 'Lord', and 'Son'. Several passages refer to the judicial nature of the παρουσία of Jesus.

[380] Konstan 2007: 77

[381] Jewett 1986: 168 1 Thess 1:6-10 describes the nature and results of the Thessalonians conversion. According to Jewett nowhere in the later Pauline letters is there such emphasis on the apocalyptic future as the centre of faith which the Thessalonians embraced.

[382] Donfried 2002: 81

[383] Konstan 2007: 66 Anger at injustice is, moreover, a fundamental theme in the speeches of Athenian pleaders in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE.

eschatological teaching was received by the Thessalonians. What was their horizon of expectation? How were Hellenistic Judaic apocalyptic motifs interpreted to have meaning against a Greco-Roman value system?

I shall use the quotation given at the beginning of the chapter as a frame of reference to test whether it is possible to discern the conditions prevailing in Thessalonica that made them receptive to the Pauline message.

According to Konstan, 'Emotions are responses not to events but actions, or situations resulting from actions that entail consequences for one's own or others relative standing'.[384]

Why did the Thessalonians consider ὀργή to be a valid response to their situation? What injustice needed to be addressed, but which they were not empowered to do?[385]

Scholarly research has shown that the Pauline converts were drawn mainly from a level of the population that did not share fully in the city's economic growth.[386] Roman administration favoured economic opportunities to the elite, which by its nature is a small percentage of the total population. Therefore, one area of injustice may be considered as economic.[387] The military power of the Romans kept protests and social unrest in check.

In Thessalonica, the worship of Cabirus showed great similarities to the apocalyptic Christ in Paul's teaching to his community; a martyred hero expected to return and benefit the lowly, especially of Thessalonica. According to archaeological evidence, during Augustan times the cult of Cabirus was absorbed into the civic cult, and therefore became a benefactor to the state and no longer saviour of the lowly.[388] Here is another example of an injustice robbing the working people of Thessalonica of their hope of salvation.

The emotional response of the Thessalonians to the actions described above would certainly form part of their horizon of expectation and influence their reception of the

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[384] Konstan 2007: 40
[385] Konstan 2007: 56 In Homer's *Iliad* the priest Chryses pleads with Agamemnon and offers a ransom to free his daughter. He is harshly dismissed and obeys in fear. He appeals to Apollo to take revenge on his behalf. The above is an example that retribution needs power.
[386] Jewett 1986: 121
[387] Jewett 1986: 121
[388] Jewett 1986: 128

Pauline message. It has been stated that the apocalyptic Pauline message may have been interpreted too literally by the Thessalonians.

6.2.4 Ὀργή in 1 Thess 2:13-16

Ὀργή - L-N Domain 38 Subdomain 10 as set out in the CCR

Greek Text

13 Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ ἀδιαλείπτως, ὅτι παρα-
λαβόντες λόγον ἀκοῆς παρ' ἡμῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐδέξασθε οὐ λόγον ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ
καθώς ἐστιν ἀληθῶς λόγον θεοῦ, ὃς καὶ ἐνεργεῖται ἐν ὑμῖν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν.
14 ὑμεῖς γὰρ μιμηταὶ ἐγενήθητε, ἀδελφοί, τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν οὐσῶν
ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπάθετε καὶ ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδ-
αίων, 15 τῶν καὶ τὸν κύριον ἀποκτεινάντων Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοὺς προφήτας καὶ
ἡμᾶς ἐκδιωξάντων καὶ θεῷ μὴ ἀρεσκόντων καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐναντίων,
16 κωλυόντων ἡμᾶς τοῖς ἔθνεσιν λαλῆσαι ἵνα σωθῶσιν, εἰς τὸ ἀναπληρῶσαι
αὐτῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας πάντοτε. ἔφθασεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς **ἡ ὀργὴ** εἰς τέλος.

English Translation

13 And on account of this we also constantly give thanks to God, because when you received the word that you heard from us and accepted it as the word of God, not the word of men but as it truly is the word of God, which is also at work among you who believe. 14 For you became imitators, brethren, of the communities of God who are in Judea in Christ Jesus, because you have suffered the same things by your own countrymen and they also by the Judeans. 15 They who killed Jesus and the prophets have forced us out, and this is not pleasing to God and opposes all people, 16 since they are preventing us speaking to the Gentiles in order that they may be saved, for this reason they have filled up their sins at all times. But **the wrath** has come upon them finally.

Analysis

This pericope still forms part of the *narratio* which may be classified into three types. The first already mentioned reviews facts that are praiseworthy and blameworthy.[389] The

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[389] Witherington 2006: 60

second type is used to confirm or win belief in an audience, incriminate one's enemies and the third type is used as a transition to topics to be discussed.[390]

The reference to ὀργή occurs in the third pericope in 1 Thess 2, with echoes of 1:5 in 2:13, their reception of the word, not as the word of man but of God, and then echoes of 1:6 in 2:14 as imitators of those who suffered persecution. In 2:14 Paul is informing his Thessalonian community of the suffering of their Judean counterparts who also suffered at the hands of their kinsmen, just as the Thessalonians had suffered persecution by their own people. This description meets the criteria of the second type of *narratio*. Paul confirms the depth of the Thessalonian conversion and denounces the enemies of communities in Christ. He is repeating and amplifying what was said in pericope 1:5-10. They not only deal with the same topic, but both pericopes also end with ὀργή.[391] It is just this act of denouncing his enemies, especially in relation to the Judeans that aroused considerable debate on the authenticity of this pericope.[392] According to Jewett, it is one of the most controversial arguments in Thessalonians.[393] Both in Judea and Thessalonica, the aristocrats supported Roman authority in their countries. In exchange for serving the interests of Rome, they received privileges and honour. In an honour-driven society this exchange of benefactions had value.[394] So the argument has been put forward that the criticism was levelled at those Judeans, his countrymen, who were pro-Roman and had accepted Rome's domination in order to preserve the Jewish religious practices.[395]

Another aspect in defence of Paul's condemnation of his people is the existence of a number of rival groups whose rivalry was quite intense at times, even leading to violence on occasions.[396] Therefore, the possibility for such an invective was possible. New Testament scholars who accept the validity of these verses also do not accept the interpretation that the advent of the wrath, that is when translated as an aorist, refers to

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[390] Witherington 2006: 60

[391] Horsley 2004: 59

[392] Horsley 2004: 58 'Indeed the interpretation of this passage is mired in debate whether it is an interpolation or an original part of the letter'. 'There are three reasons for this debate, the destruction of the temple in 70 as the event of wrath in 1 Thess 2:13-16; Paul could not have written an anti-Jewish polemic; and the disruption between 2:12 and 2:17.'

[393] Jewett 1986: 189

[394] Jewett 2004: 70

[395] Horsley 2004: 56

[396] Horsley 2004: 59

the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE. There could have been a number of events to fit the description of wrath.[397]

Paul's frequent use of the ων endings would have produced a ponderous effect, with the view to making a maximum impact.[398] Why would Paul do that? He is possibly underlining the fact of their shared experience in suffering, and their endurance of it. In 2:2 Paul speaks of his own suffering in Philippi and the opposition in Thessalonica as examples which they in part have imitated. In Paul's description of his mistreatment in Philippi he uses the word ὑβρισθέντες which Aristotle describes as a slight and ὀργή the appropriate response to it. This incident reflects that Paul has embraced the Greco-Roman value of honour, but although he was dishonoured, he did not use their values as a response, that is he did not respond with ὀργή. [399] In Gal 5:12, Paul's response is filled with anger: 'as for these agitators, they had better go the whole way and make eunuchs of themselves'. The underlying emotional quality of this insult is anger. His response fits the Aristotelian model perfectly. Paul has been dishonoured unjustly by both the Galatian community and the preachers, who persuaded them to abandon Paul's teaching, and his response is anger. Is this response morally justifiable? This question will be discussed in more detail in the analysis of the letter to the Galatians.

Therefore, ὀργή fits into this pericope, as the just retribution for an undeserved injustice at the hands of their respective kinsmen. Ὀργή in v16 is the subject of the verb ἔφθασεν, as the aorist tense of the verb would translate 'has overtaken them at last.'[400] But in order to reflect the apocalyptic world view which the language of persecutions suggests, it should translate as 'has drawn near', indicating the close proximity of the dawning of a new era for his communities.[401] A reference to L-N will assist to ascertain whether the above translation has lexical authority.

L-N - φθάνω has four Domains:

Domain 15 Subdomain 84   come to

Domain 15 Subdomain 141   go prior to

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[397] Jewett 1986: 37 Some of the examples cited by Jewett that could possibly fit 1 Thess 2:16 are 'the death of Agrippa in 44, the insurrection of Theudas in 44-46, the famine in Judea in 46-47 '.
[398] Witherington 2006: 60
[399] Sampley 2003: 239
[400] Horsley 2004: 61
[401] Horsley 2004: 61

Domain 13 Subdomain 16   attain

Domain 13 Subdomain 123   come upon

The definition of φθάνω given in Domain 15 Subdomain 84 validates the translation.[402]

However, before considering the aspect of ὀργή from Paul's perspective, the proposal is to look at the motivation for the act of persecution which was suffered by the Thessalonians and the Judeans. The persecution was of a serious nature as indicated in 3:1-5. According to Jewett, Paul uses a rare word meaning 'shaken', 'disturbed', or 'perturbed', to communicate his understanding of their plight.[403]

If the act of persecution is interpreted as ὀργή for a perceived injustice, then it is necessary to enquire who has the power to enforce retribution and what was the nature of the perceived injustice? According to Acts 17:5-7, Paul and his company which included his sponsor Jason were charged with acting against the decrees of Caesar saying: 'These men who have turned the world upside down have come here also, and Jason has received them; and they are all acting against the decrees of Caesar, saying that there is another king, Jesus.'[404] The subject of the decrees has been researched by Judge indicating that Paul's message may have been in violation of these.[405] This is an indication that Pauline terminology may have had a political overtone, as the examples in the following paragraph will illustrate.

The terms selected as examples of loaded political terms are the following; παρουσία is related to an official visit, an important official, an imperial emissary or the emperor himself.[406] The word 'lord' may be used by an inferior addressing his superior, the 'Lord' meant the emperor himself.[407] In addition, Paul uses the word εὐαγγέλιον which had its associations with the imperial ruler cult, therefore, these words might have challenged Rome's authority. From the official reaction it would appear to be so.

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[402] L-N 1988: 193 'to move toward and to arrive at a point - to come to, to reach, to arrive.' 'To move toward' implies it has not reached the destination, but is close.
[403] Jewett 1986: 93
[404] Horsley 1997: 215
[405] Horsley 1997: 216   This is an example of a decree discussed by Judge. ' I swear ... that I will support Caesar Augustus, his children and descendants, throughout my life, in word, deed and thought ... that in whatsoever concerns them I will spare neither body nor soul nor life nor children ... that whenever I see or hear of anything being said, planned or done against them I will report it ... and whomsoever they regard as enemies I will attack and pursue them with arms and the sword by land and by sea ...'.
[406] Horsley 1997: 217; Crossan and Reed 2004: 167
[407] Crossan and Reed 2004: 166

Nonetheless, from the perspective of Thessalonians and Judeans they were recipients of unjust actions, and needed recourse to a greater power to mete out justice to the rulers of the world, Imperial Rome. Therefore, Paul warns that divine retribution is close at hand. However, the divine ὀργή is not to re-establish the old order but to usher in a just and equitable society, which will end the rule of Rome. Roman rule represents the rule of the world, the rule of the spirit is represented by Paul's teaching. Therefore Paul's use of political terms does in fact translate well into spiritual terms.

6.2.5 Ἔκδικος in 1 Thess 4:6

Ἔκδικος in L-N Domain 38 Subdomain 9 as set out in CCR

1 Thess 4:1-8 is the first pericope after the *transitus* in the *exhortatio*. Its position indicates the importance of the topic. The *exhortatio* serves different functions depending on the genre of the rhetoric used.[408] In deliberative rhetoric the call is for change in areas of one's life. On the other hand in *epideictic* rhetoric, the call is for growth and development based on the fact that the process has begun.[409]

1 Thess 4:1-8

Greek Text

Λοιπὸν οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἐρωτῶμεν ὑμᾶς καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα καθὼς παρελάβετε παρ' ἡμῶν τὸ πῶς δεῖ ὑμᾶς περιπατεῖν καὶ ἀρέσκειν θεῷ, καθὼς καὶ περιπατεῖτε, ἵνα περισσεύητε μᾶλλον. 2 οἴδατε γὰρ τίνας παραγ-γελίας ἐδώκαμεν ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ. 3 τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ ἁγιασμὸς ὑμῶν, ἀπέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς πορνείας, 4 εἰδέναι ἕκαστον ὑμῶν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σκεῦος κτᾶσθαι ἐν ἁγιασμῷ καὶ τιμῇ, 5 μὴ ἐν πάθει ἐπι-θυμίας καθάπερ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ εἰδότα τὸν θεόν, 6 τὸ μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν ἐν τῷ πράγματι τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, διότι **ἔκδικος** κύριος περὶ πάντων τούτων, καθὼς καὶ προείπαμεν ὑμῖν καὶ διεμαρτυράμεθα. 7 οὐ γὰρ ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ ἀλλ' ἐν ἁγιασμῷ. 8 τοιγαροῦν ὁ ἀθετῶν οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ἀθετεῖ ἀλλὰ τὸν θεὸν τὸν διδόντα τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ τὸ ἅγιον εἰς ὑμᾶς.

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[408] Witherington 2006: 106
[409] Witherington 2006: 107

English Translation

1 Finally therefore, brethren, we ask you and encourage you in the Lord Jesus, as you received from us on how necessary it is to behave and please God, just as you are behaving, in order that you may be the cause for more abundance. 2 For as you know, we have given you instructions through our Lord Jesus. 3 This is the will of God, (or this is what God wills)[410] for your holiness, that you must abstain from sexual immorality, 4 that each must know his own wife and live in holiness and honour, 5 not in lustful passions such as the Gentiles who do not know God. 6 Do not transgress or take advantage of his brother in (this) matter because the Lord is the one who **punishes** all these things, and for this reason we have urged you and we have emphasised this. 7 For God did not call us for impurity but for holiness. 8 Therefore the one who rejects does not reject man but God who gave his Holy Spirit for us.

Analysis

Ἐγκράτεια or self control was held in high esteem in the ancient world, subsequently what is required of the Thessalonians is not unknown in society. However, the requirements and consequences differ, as they are required to reflect the spiritual values they have embraced through Paul's teaching. In this pericope the emphasis is on harnessing sexual desire, so that Paul's communities are not tyrannised by their baser desires. Monogamous marriage is a means to balance sexual desire and loyalty which is a basic requirement in the marriage. It keeps the marriage intact and influences the cohesion of society. The instructions Paul gave came through the Lord Jesus who will also be the avenger if the precepts are ignored, hence the function of ἔκδικος in this pericope.

Ἔκδικος - L-N Domain 38 Subdomain 9 - a person who punishes, a punisher.

Ἔκδικος is given as a near synonym for ὀργή, although it is not classified as an emotion and is personified as the one who punishes. A common semantic feature of retribution is inherent in both words. In this sentence the ἔκδικος is κύριος, thus it is divine retribution that will be evoked. The word ἔκδικος is formed from δίκη. L-N Domain 38 Subdomain 8 δίκη - punishment.

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[410] Nida and Taber 2003: 43 restructures the relationship between words. The verbal noun 'will' is interpreted as an event word, the noun God as the object. Nouns are identified as objects, verbs as events.

In Domain 12 Subdomain 27 a goddess who personifies justice in seeking out and punishing the guilty. As this excursion into L-N has shown, the meaning attributed to the word used by Paul could resonate with his Gentile community, that is punishment for transgressing a law. There are numerous words with the δικ stem which appear in Paul's letters especially in Romans.

V.6 begins with a prohibition against transgressing the will of God. In v.3 the request for restraint in sexual matters was given as θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, hence transgressing the law of God. V.6 πλεονεκτεῖν in L-N Domain 88 Subdomain 144 - an action motivated by greed, resulting in exploitation. In v.5 the words πάθει and ἐπιθυμίας resonate with the philosophical tradition whose call is to bring the passions under the control of reason or, according to the Stoics, extirpation of the emotions. 'Not in excess' is in keeping with the Peripatetic tradition that is to find the mean. Reason is the moderating element. In Paul's language the moderating element is the will of God with Jesus as the intermediary through whom the measures were given. Justice, according to Plato, is each part of the soul playing its own part; in order to have justice, reason must be at the helm. According to Paul, God must be at the helm and this is a move towards δικαιοσύνη. Paul does not tell us what the punishment is, but according to his exposition in Romans, the result is human degeneration, the antithesis of what his vocation is about.

V.8 ὁ ἀθετῶν - the one who rejects the spiritual nature of the injunction, rejects the Holy Spirit which was received, and therefore does not reject Paul, but the Holy Spirit. This is an act of ὕβρις and would incur retribution. Aristotle and Paul concur on this point, perhaps not in the detail, but the principle of it.

There is some consensus on the interpretation of this pericope that Paul is addressing a problem that has arisen in the Thessalonian community.[411] As was stated above ἐγκράτεια was a well-respected achievement not necessarily through a divine source. Therefore, it appears that some members of Paul's Thessalonian community challenged Paul on his claim for the ethic, in preference for the human source of it.[412]

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[411] Jewett 1986: 106
[412] Jewett 1986: 106

This verse may also be interpreted as anti-Imperial, as a response to Augustus who claimed he had achieved self-control.[413] However, Paul claims that those who do not accept Christ are ruled by their baser desires.

6.2.6 Ὀργή in 1 Thess 5:9

Ὀργή in L-N Domain 38 Subdomain 10 as set out in CCR

Witherington divided the *exhortatio* into two parts, according to his interpretation of the rhetorical structure of the letter.[414] These parts are related, but not overtly repetitive.[415] The first part addresses the question about those who have died in Christ.[416] The second part of the *exhortatio* is about the advent of the Lord and their salvation.[417]This conforms to the use of *epideitic* rhetoric to speak of the fate of the dead as well as the living.[418]

1 Thess 5:1-11

Greek Text

Περὶ δὲ τῶν χρόνων καὶ τῶν καιρῶν, ἀδελφοί, οὐ χρείαν ἔχετε ὑμῖν γράφ-εσθαι, 2 αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἀκριβῶς οἴδατε ὅτι ἡμέρα κυρίου ὡς κλέπτης ἐν νυκτὶ οὕτως ἔρχεται. 3 ὅταν λέγωσιν, Εἰρήνη καὶ ἀσφάλεια, τότε αἰφνίδιος αὐτοῖς ἐφίστ-αται ὄλεθρος ὥσπερ ἡ ὠδὶν τῇ ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσῃ, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐκφύγωσιν. 4 ὑμεῖς δέ, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐστὲ ἐν σκότει, ἵνα ἡ ἡμέρα ὑμᾶς ὡς κλέπτης καταλάβῃ· 5 πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς υἱοὶ φωτός ἐστε καὶ υἱοὶ ἡμέρας. οὐκ ἐσμὲν νυκτὸς οὐδὲ σκό-τους· 6 ἄρα οὖν μὴ καθεύδωμεν ὡς οἱ λοιποὶ ἀλλὰ γρηγορῶμεν καὶ νήφ-ωμεν. 7 οἱ γὰρ καθεύδοντες νυκτὸς καθεύδουσιν καὶ οἱ μεθυσκόμενοι νυκτὸς μεθύουσιν· 8 ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡμέρας ὄντες νήφωμεν ἐνδυσάμενοι θώρακα πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ περικεφαλαίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας· 9 ὅτι οὐκ ἔθετο ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς εἰς ὀργὴν ἀλλὰ εἰς περιποίησιν σωτηρίας διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ 10 τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἵνα εἴτε γρηγορῶμεν εἴτε καθεύδ-ωμεν ἅμα σὺν αὐτῷ ζήσωμεν. 11 Διὸ παρακαλεῖτε ἀλλήλους καὶ οἰκοδομεῖτε εἰς τὸν ἕνα, καθὼς καὶ ποιεῖτε.

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[413] Horsley 2004: 162
[414] Witherington 2006: 125
[415] Witherington 2006: 125
[416] Witherington 2006: 125
[417]Witherington 2006: 125
[418] Witherington 2006: 125

English Translation

But concerning the times and seasons, brothers, you have no need for me to write to you. 2 For you yourselves know perfectly well that the day of the Lord comes as a thief in the night. 3 Whenever they say 'Peace and safety' then sudden destruction comes upon them just as birth pains in pregnancy, they also cannot escape (it). 4 But you, brothers, you are not in darkness that the day may surprise you as a thief. 5 For you are all sons of light and sons of the day. We are not of the night, nor the darkness. 6 Surely then, let us not sleep like the others but let us keep awake and let us be sober. 7 For those sleeping, sleep at night and those drinking, drink at night. 8 But as we are of the day, let us be restrained, having put on a breastplate of faith and love, and hope as a helmet of salvation. 9 For God has not appointed us for **anger** but for obtaining salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ 10 who died for us, in order that we may live with him while we are either awake or asleep. 11 Therefore encourage one another and build up one another, just as you are doing.

Analysis

In this pericope there are three δέ's used to define three sections. In v.1 περὶ δὲ, v4 ὑμεῖς δέ and v8 ἡμεῖς δὲ. The question is who is included in ὑμεῖς and ἡμεῖς to whom this matter relates? Paul's use of ὀργή in v9 is interpreted to relate to the ἡμεῖς in v8 because of its proximity. ὄλεθρος in v3 relates to 'they', is there a relationship between the pronominal groups of v4 and v8? What does Paul tell us about this group? What does their εἰρήνη καὶ ἀσφάλεια refer to? It does not easily fit into apocalyptic language.[419] An exegesis on 1 Thessalonians interprets this phrase, based on a number of literary sources, as a political slogan equivalent to *pax et securitas,* and therefore falls into the category of imperial propaganda.[420] On these grounds then, there is also the point of view that Paul is using the language of resistance. On the other hand, there may have been members of Paul's community who had placed their loyalty in the political propaganda of Rome. All members of a community are not necessarily at the same level of understanding.

The hypothesis is that Paul is addressing the same people in his community, who challenged his claim that the injunction relating to sexual restraint did not come from the

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[419] Horsley 1997: 161
[420] Horsley 1997: 162

Holy Spirit, but a human formulation. If this hypothesis has any validity then the assumption is they require to be convinced by empirical evidence, just as they appear to be convinced by the Roman claim to have provided peace and security.

Ὄλεθρος in L-N has two entries Domain 20 Subdomain 33 - a state of utter ruin. In Domain 20 Subdomain 34 - to destroy or ruin. The second entry seems to fit the action in v.3, destruction of the impermanent, which mistakenly was considered to be permanent. Paul's metaphor about the pain in natural childbirth speaks of the inevitability of the consequences. Ideologies may create empires, but even they have a measured life span.

In v.1 Paul uses figurative speech when addressing the 'you'. Speech that implies a subtlety, which can be inferred from the simile, as the whole point of a thief in the night is the fact that he isn't seen, only his effect is observed. So it appears that this effect is apparent in Paul's community. Those, who have embraced his gospel, have already put on 'the breastplate of faith and love, and the helmet of salvation'. Now ὀργή is spoken of in respect to this group within Paul's community, who fall into the category of being 'children of the light', who have the possibility for salvation through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ who died for us. Paul is saying that salvation is what God wants for humankind, that is why they were created, not to be judged and found wanting and thus be punished. According to Aristotle's definition, the injustice to arouse ὀργή is the refusal to accept the calling to salvation. An injustice needs to be put right to restore the balance.

There is such a contrast in the language in v.11 compared to the figurative language that dominated the pericope. This is certainly not the language of the empire that relies on a status driven society, where support is given at a price.

6.2.7   Summary of Anger in 1 Thessalonians

In 1 Thessalonians, I considered the lexical discrepancy in L-N who do not evaluate ὀργή as an emotion, although it is considered as such by all taxonomies of the emotions. The effect of this decision is seen by their attributing two meanings to ὀργή, anger and punishment. However, the constitutive part of ὀργή is retribution, punishment. Therefore, this is not a second meaning, but the dynamic force which may be actualised as punishment. For this reason ὀργή is evaluated as an emotion in the pericopes in 1 Thessalonians.

Although L-N does not evaluate ὀργή as an emotion, their definition certainly echoes aspects of Aristotle, but without acknowledging the cultural component in the emotion.

The question is why is ὀργή used in relation to a divine action? The inference is that there are elements of the human ὀργή analogous to the action of divine ὀργή. Essentially the action is to rectify an injustice.

The Thessalonians in 1:10 were saved from retribution by their conversion. Their willingness to receive Paul's message, and their actions saved them from the coming wrath, through the grace of Jesus. But it is Paul's choice of words in vv9-10 that conveyed the magnitude of their conversion, and, by association, the coming wrath.

In this pericope, ὀργή is used as an arm of divine law.

In 1 Thess 2:16 the topic of persecution was central to the topic in the pericope. Both the communities in Thessalonica and in Judea suffered at the hand of their own kinsmen. Paul's invective against some of his kinsmen has been a source of prolonged debate. However, Paul's invective was against these collaborators when considered against the backdrop of Imperial Rome and the co-operation of the aristocracy in furthering imperial ambitions, in order to be recipients of Rome's beneficence. Ὀργή functions as a coming judgment and punishment against the Roman establishment.

Ἔκδικος in 1 Thess 4:6 is a near synonym of ὀργή sharing the semantic feature of punishment. This is a noun and translates as a punisher, so the act of punishment is personalised in this verse. It is not an emotion as such, but the motivating force in the person can be interpreted in this way. The use of this personal form fits in with the Pauline call for self-mastery in the personal area of sexual restraint. Marriage and loyalty in the marriage is a means to curb the propensity for excess in this area of human activity. Paul declares this as a divine proclamation and a breach in this contract is corrected by the avenger, who in this context is Jesus. In 1:10 we had Jesus who saves from the coming wrath, in this pericope he is the bringer of retribution.

Ἐγκράτεια or 'self-mastery' was held in high esteem in the ancient world, and the accomplishment of this virtue set a person apart from the masses. It was considered to be an attribute of a ruler, a man who could master his passions. However, Paul differs from the conventional view by introducing a new criterion: it is a divine law of conduct.

In 1 Thess 5:9, in the context of the figurative and informative language of the pericope, the approach was to juxtapose ὄλεθρος in v3 and ὀργή in v9. Ὄλεθρος can be interpreted as punishment, although the meaning is destruction, which indicates the severity of the punishment. This warning was given to those who believe in the safety and security of the world, but more specifically, in this context, the Roman Empire and its ideologies. These can be destroyed. Ὀργή in v9 was spoken to those of the community who were 'in the light' reassuring them that God's ideal for humankind is not punishment, but salvation. My interpretation is that salvation was not an option at that time for those who believe intrinsically in the values of the world.

The next letters to be analysed are 1 and 2 Corinthians

6.3   1 and 2 Corinthians

6.3.1 Outline of 1 Corinthians

According to Fee the difficulty in determining the letter lies in the text.[421] 1 Corinthians is in fact the second letter sent to them, the previous one is lost.[422] Also he is of the opinion that the letter in its entirety is addressed to the whole church, as there is no suggestion that it is addressed to particular groups.[423] Although the community was experiencing internal strife, the greater division was between Paul and some members of the community who were leading the congregation against Paul.[424] Theissen draws attention to two forms of communication to Paul in 1 Corinthians, written and oral. The oral report is from Chloe's people.[425] These, he says, are probably former slaves, who look at the Corinthian problems from below; they form the lower strata.[426] The letter, which was well composed, reflected popular philosophical topics, and coming from the community itself, it contained scarcely a reference to the problem reported by Chloe's people.[427]

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[421] Fee 1987: 6
[422] Garland 1999: 26
[423] Fee 1987: 6
[424] Fee 1987: 6
[425] Theissen 1982: 57
[426] Theissen 1982: 57
[427] Theissen 1982: 57

The environment of the city has a profound effect on the way the letter is read.[428] A detailed description of these conditions is given in Chapter Four. Therefore, refer to Chapter Four, if more details for this letter are required.

According to Witherington, Paul uses deliberative rhetoric to persuade the Corinthians that it is to their benefit to work together, determine what is essential to achieve this and reach agreement. They are also encouraged not to be pettyminded about matters that have little intrinsic value.[429] Witherington favours the rhetorical structure to interpret a Pauline letter, on the conviction that the letter was intended to be read aloud.

The following is the epistolary and rhetorical structure of 1 Corinthians according to Witherington:[430]

1:1-3	The epistolary prescript
1:4-9	The epistolary thanksgiving and *exordium*
1:10	The *propositio* introducing the letter with a παρακαλέω formula making the basic research statement of the entire letter
1:11-17	A brief *narratio* explaining the situation or facts that have prompted the writing of the letter
1:18-16:12	The *probatio* which includes arguments concerning:

   (a)   a division over leaders and wisdom (1:18-4:21)

   (b)   sexual immorality and law suits (5-6)

   (c)   marriage and singleness (7)

   (d)   idols' food and eating in idol temples (8-11:1, with a pertinent digression or *egressio* in ch.9)

   (e)   head coverings in worship (11:1-16)

   (f)   abuses of the Lord's Supper (11:17-34)

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[428] Fee 1987: 5
[429] Witherington 1995: 75
[430] Witherington 1995: 76

(g)   spiritual gifts in Christ's body (12-14 with a pertinent digression or *egressio* in ch.13)

(h)   the future in form of the resurrection (15), and

(i)   the collection and other ministries for Corinth.

16:13-18   The *peroratio*

16:19-24   The closing epistolary greetings and remarks.

The alternative division of the letter is not according to rhetorical conventions, but a sequence of responses by Paul to an oral report from Chloe's people and a letter brought by Stephanas.

Oral reports (1:10-4:17/4:18-6:20)

Corinthian letter (7:1-40/8:1-11:1)

Oral reports (11:2-34)

Corinthian letter (12:1-14:40)

Oral reports (15:1-58)

Corinthian letter (16:1-12)

Therefore, the letter addresses two forms of communication: an oral report and a letter.

The environment of the city has a profound effect on the way the letter is read.[431] A detailed description of these conditions is given in Chapter Three, and references will also be provided when pertinent to the text in this chapter.

The two illustrations exemplify different interpretations of the letter and vary in the arrangement of the verses. Therefore, following Witherington's interpretation of the rhetorical convention, the next step is to consider anger and related terms in context of the letter in the following pericopes: 1 Cor 13:5, 2 Cor 7:11, 2 Cor 10:6, 2 Cor 12:20. In this pericope the word to be analysed is παραξύνεται, as listed in CCR.

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[431] Fee 1987: 5

6.3.2 Παροξύνεται in 1 Cor 12:31b-13:13

This pericope is a digression, it is a piece of epideictic rhetoric used in deliberative rhetoric to exhort his hearers, and its function in this letter is to encourage the Corinthians to adopt a new ethos of living.[432] The paradigm of love is offered to them in elevated language to raise their spirits above their pettymindedness.[433] The language, though elevated is highly practical, not abstract ideals, as the frequent use of verbs illustrate.[434]

 Paul in 1 Cor 13:4-7 uses the theme of love as a mirror to reflect the actions in the Corinthian community which he has already spoken about elsewhere. Specific examples are given in the analysis.

Greek Text

31b Καὶ ἔτι καθ᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ὁδὸν ὑμῖν δείκνυμι. **13** Ἐὰν ταῖς γλώσσαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαλῶ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, γέγονα χαλκὸς ἠχῶν ἢ κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζον. 2 καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω προφητείαν καὶ εἰδῶ τὰ μυστήρια πάντα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω πᾶσαν τὴν πίστιν ὥστε ὄρη μεθιστάναι, ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, οὐθέν εἰμι. 3 κἂν ψωμίσω πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μου καὶ ἐὰν παραδῶ τὸ σῶμά μου ἵνα καυχήσωμαι, ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦμαι.

4 Ἡ ἀγάπη μακροθυμεῖ, χρηστεύεται ἡ ἀγάπη, οὐ ζηλοῖ, οὐ περπερεύεται, οὐ φυσιοῦται, 5 οὐκ ἀσχημενεῖ, οὐ ζητεῖ τὰ ἑαυτῆς, **οὐ παροξύνεται**, οὐ λογίζεται τὸ κακόν, 6 οὐ χαίρει ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ, συγχαίρει δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· 7 πάντα στέγει, πάντα πιστεύει, πάντα ἐλπίζει, πάντα ὑπομένει.

8 Ἡ ἀγάπη οὐδέποτε πίπτει· εἴτε δὲ προφητεῖαι, καταργηθήσονται· εἴτε γλῶσσαι, παύσονται· εἴτε γνῶσις, καταργηθήσεται. 9 ἐκ μέρους γὰρ γινώσκομεν καὶ ἐκ μέρους προφητεύομεν. 10 ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ τὸ τέλειον, τὸ ἐκ μέρους καταργηθήσεται. 11 ὅτε ἤμην νήπιος, ἐλάλουν ὡς νήπιος, ἐφρόνουν ὡς νήπιος, ἐλογιζόμην ὡς νήπιος· ὅτε γέγονα ἀνήρ, κατήργηκα τὰ τοῦ νηπίου. 12 βλέπομεν γὰρ ἄρτι

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[432] Witherington 1995: 265 gives examples of the philosophic tradition use of love for social concord
[433] Horsley 1998: 174 emphasises the use of irony in this pericope. I am interpreting it in line with philosophic tradition that used the concept of love to cultivate social harmony.
[434] Horsley 1998: 174 The elevated style Paul uses in this digression is reminiscent of the exalted language of Philo and Apollos. Philo uses such elevated language in his exegesis of Σοφία and Λόγος, which is abstract and lacks the relevance to community building.

δι᾽ ἐσόπτου ἐν αἰνίγματι, τότε δὲ πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον· ἄρτι γινώσκω ἐκ μέρους, τότε δὲ ἐπιγνώσομαι καθὼς καὶ ἐπεγνώσθην. 13 νυνὶ δὲ μένει πίστις, ἐλπίς, ἀγάπη, τὰ τρία ταῦτα· μείζων δὲ τούτων ἡ ἀγάπη.

English Translation

12:31b And now I will show you a way that surpasses all others. 13:1 If I speak with the tongues of men and of angels but I have not love I have become a noisy brass gong or clanging cymbal. 2 And if I have prophecy and I know all the mysteries, and all knowledge, and if I have the faith to move mountains, but I have not love, I benefit nothing. 3 And if I give away all my possessions and I give my body that I may be burnt, but I have not love, I benefit nothing. 4 Love is being patient, love is being kind, love is not being jealous, love does not brag, is not puffed up, 5 does not put to shame, does not seek things for itself, is **not provoked**, does not consider evil, 6 does not rejoice at injustice but rejoices together with the truth; 7 it endures everything, it believes everything, it hopes everything, perseveres in everything. 8 Love never fails, but if there are prophecies they will cease, the tongues will abate, if theories of knowledge, it will cease; 9 for we know by part and prophesy by part. 10 But when completion comes, that which is by part will cease. 11 When I was a child, I spoke as a child, thought as a child and I reckoned as a child; when I became a man, I did away with the things of the child. 12 For now we see through a reflection in darkness, but then face-to-face; for now I know by part, but then I shall acknowledge just as I am acknowledged. But now faith, hope, and love remain and the greatest of these three is love.

Analysis

Horsley divides the *encomium* into five elements, by dividing 1 Cor 13:1-13 into the following verses 1-3, 4-7, 8-12, 13.[435] These divisions correspond to: prologue, acts, comparison and epilogue.[436] The most important division is acts, in which the verse for analysis is included, and comparison is the other important division.[437] The function of the *encomium* is to persuade, and the Corinthians need to be persuaded that they have over-estimated the value which they have attributed to their spiritual gifts and

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[435] Horsley 1998 : 174
[436] Horsley 1998 : 174
[437] Horsley 1998 : 174

consequently to themselves. This has a direct bearing on the word for analysis, a word related to ὀργή, according to L-N's classification of Semantic Domains.

In L-N Domain 88 and Subdomain 189: παροξύνεται – to be provoked or upset at someone or something, severe emotional concern.

In this example ἀγάπη is the subject and the action of the verb παροξύνεται is negated by the position of οὐ. The action of provoking someone to anger or an emotional upset, is a verbal echo of the discordant sounds in 1 Cor 13:1, noisy brass gong, clanging symbol.[438] This was a reflection of the state of the Corinthian community: discordant and divisive.

Παροξύνεται is not an emotion and therefore does not have a cognitive function. It is related to ὀργή semantically according to the Semantic Domain to which both have been allocated by L-N. The word cannot be analysed as an emotion, but allows the opportunity to consider what type of action provokes anger. If love is not provoked, what is? Paul says what love is not, and that is the starting point for this enquiry.

In L-N Domain 25 Subdomain 46 ζῆλος is in the same semantic group as ἀγάπη and in this semantic sphere it means to have a deep concern for or devotion to. Paul would not negate this action, if this meaning was compatible to love.

In L-N Domain 88 Subdomain 162 ζῆλος: envy, resentment, jealousy.

In L-N Domain 78 Subdomain 25 ζῆλος: extremely, intensely, fierce.

The meanings in Domain 88.162 would be in keeping with the prohibitive action Paul has called for. Envy, resentment and jealousy are emotions of a divisive society, but L-N have not recognised these meanings to be emotions. Furthermore, they have not made a distinction between envy and jealousy. Konstan, however, distinguishes between these two emotions, 'envy is a wish for something one does not have' and 'jealousy is the fear of losing something one does have'.[439] The antidote to this in 1 Cor 13:1-13 is love which seeks nothing for itself, and so would not be provoked to anger or any other emotional upheaval. The problem Paul is addressing in this pericope concerns the value

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[438] Witherington 1995: 267 χαλκός is never used in relation to musical instruments. A musical instrument would imply harmony; however, it is the discord in the community which Paul needs to remedy.

[439] Konstan 2007: 221

the Corinthians have placed on their spiritual gits. In this respect both jealousy and envy would be aroused: jealousy for a gift that is possessed and not wanting to lose it, envy for not possessing the gift. Therefore, the prevalent circumstances in the Corinthian community were conducive to the lower nature. Paul, however, in this hymn of love reminds the community of their higher nature, qualities such as patience, kindness, for the nature of the spirit is unity, but of the flesh, division. The prevailing social conditions in Corinth, in which the inhabitants were extremely competitive, were not conducive to Paul to impart spiritual knowledge in any depth.

6.3.3 Summary on Anger in 1 Corinthians

There is one example of anger in 1 Corinthians, in 1 Cor12:31-13:13, in 1Cor 13: 5. The complete chapter serves as an encomium, a digression, to persuade the Corinthians to adopt values that are in harmony with Paul's ideals for his community. The subject in this verse is ἀγάπη, the action is to provoke someone to anger or an emotional upset. The action is negated by the particle οὐ in front of the verb. The use of παροξύνεται, to provoke anger, is used by Paul to convey a negative aspect of anger. In this sentence anger is not used to right a wrong, but reinforce erroneous values. The values held by the community are that their spiritual gifts had given them honour. A member of the community would have been insulted and roused to anger if his/her status had not been honoured. These false values were eroding the cohesion in the Pauline community. Therefore, in this sentence παροξύνεται is seen to contribute to disunity.

The following gives more insight into 2 Corinthians.

6.3.4 Outline of 2 Corinthians

In 1776, when Semler first conjectured that 2 Corinthians was composed of different fragments of letters, his work opened a floodgate of interpretations about its composition.[440]   However, Garland has made a compelling case for the unity of the structure of 2 Corinthians. It will be noted that the unitary approach was not used as a rhetorical structure to interpret the letter. The reference to Garland and a summary of Witherington's rhetorical structure, are examples of different interpretations to 2 Corinthians.

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[440] Garland 1999: 33

Witherington, too, accepts the unity of the letter and interprets its rhetorical structure as forensic.[441] The structure is summarized as follows:

a.   The epistolary prescript (1:1-2)

b.   The epistolary thanksgiving and *exordium* (1:3-7)

c.   The *narratio* (1:18-2:14), which explains some of the facts that occasioned the letter and climaxes with a further thanksgiving and transition

d.   The *propositio* (2:17), which states the basic fact under dispute

e.   The *probatio* and *refutatio* (3:1-13:4), which includes:

    i.   Paul's characterisation of his ministry and of his anti-Sophistic rhetorical approach (3:1- 6:13)

    ii.   a deliberative digression (6:14-7:1), in which Paul put his audience on the defensive, urging them to stop attending temple feasts with pagan friends

    iii.   Paul's defence of the severe letter (7:2-16)

    iv.   a largely deliberative argument concerning the collection (chapters 8 and 9), and

    v.   a rhetorical σύγκρισις (comparison) of Paul and his competitors in Corinth, the false ἀπόστολοι, with a strong emotional appeal. (10-13:4)

f.   The *peroratio* (13:5-10)

g.   The closing epistolary greetings and remarks (13:11-13).

Crossan and Reed present a different interpretation. Their system will be used as a reference for the analysis of this letter. The divisions used by Crossan and Reed are described below.

This is a brief resume of the discussion for 1 Corinthians. Paul's first letter to the Corinthians is lost and we only know about it from his comment in 1 Cor 5:9.[442] Letter 2 is our 1 Corinthians.[443] On the second visit, Paul sent Timothy to Corinth with some

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[441] Witherington 1995: 335
[442] Crossan and Reed 2005: 332
[443] Crossan and Reed 2005: 332

apprehension, as he noted in 1 Cor 4:17 and 16:10. Timothy's report was so serious that Paul made a visit from Ephesus, which he refers to later as a painful visit.[444] Letter 3 is lost, but Paul refers to it in 2 Corinthians.[445] The references to this letter are: 2:4; 7:8; 10:9. The second, or painful, visit did not help. Regarding the fourth letter, there are two separate letters in the text we know as 2 Corinthians.[446] Chronologically the first letter refers to chapters 10-13. The situation is bitter and the problems have escalated.[447] For letter 5, after sending letter 4, Paul sent Titus ahead of him to see how things stood in Corinth.[448] In 2 Cor 2:12-13, they met in Macedonia and the news was very good indeed, and Paul is overjoyed in 2 Cor 7:5-15.[449] Paul then wrote what we know as 2 Cor 1-9, a letter of joyful reconciliation.[450]

6.3.5 Anger in 2 Corinthians

Φόβος in 2 Cor 7:2-13a

In the previous pericope, 2 Cor 6:14-7:1, discussed in Chapter Seven, Paul uses several words referring to relationships, albeit unsuitable relationships, and he picks up on this topic again. This example, however, is an appeal to the Corinthian community to include him in their affection.

All the antithetical questioning in the previous pericope revealed their associations and fellowships, but which did not seem to include Paul. It has been a recurring difficulty in the Corinthian community that they attributed the same intrinsic value to the spiritual and to the physical dimensions of life.

However, this pericope is about Paul's concern about his relationship with the Corinthians, and how they received his painful letter. The news from Titus lifts his spirits and he learns that the painful letter had a salutary effect on their attitude.

Greek Text

2 Χωρήσατε ἡμᾶς· οὐδένα ἠδικήσαμεν, οὐδένα ἐφθείραμεν, οὐδένα ἐπλεονεκτήσαμεν. 3 πρὸς κατάκρισιν οὐ λέγω· προείρηκα γὰρ ὅτι ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν

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[444] Crossan and Reed 2005: 332
[445] Crossan and Reed 2005: 332
[446] Crossan and Reed 2005: 333
[447] Crossan and Reed 2005: 333
[448] Crossan and Reed 2005: 333
[449] Crossan and Reed 2005: 333
[450] Crossan and Reed 2005: 333

ἐστε εἰς τὸ συναποθανεῖν καὶ συζῆν. 4 πολλή μοι παρρησία πρὸς ὑμᾶς, πολλή μοι καύχησις ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· πεπλήρωμαι τῇ παρακλήσει, ὑπερπερισσεύομαι τῇ χαρᾷ ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ θλίψει ἡμῶν.

5 Καὶ γὰρ ἐλθόντων ἡμῶν εἰς Μακεδονίαν οὐδεμίαν ἔσχηκεν ἄνεσιν ἡ σὰρξ ἡμῶν ἀλλ᾽ ἐν παντὶ θλιβόμενοι· ἔξωθεν μάχαι, ἔσωθεν φόβοι. 6 ἀλλ᾽ ὁ παρακαλῶν τοὺς ταπεινοὺς παρεκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ Τίτου, 7 οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ αλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ παρακλήθη ἐφ᾽ ὑμῖν, ἀναγγέλλων ἡμῖν τὴν ὑμῶν ἐπιπόθησιν, τὸν ὑμῶν ὀδυρμόν, τὸν ὑμῶν ζῆλον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ὥστε με μᾶλλον χαρῆναι. 8 ὅτι εἰ καὶ ἐλύπησα ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἐπι-στολῇ, οὐ μεταμέλομαι· εἰ καὶ μετεμελόμην, βλέπω ὅτι ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἐκείνη εἰ καὶ πρὸς ὥραν ἐλύπησεν ὑμᾶς, 9 νῦν χαίρω, οὐχ ὅτι ἐλυπήθητε ἀλλ᾽ ἐλυήθητε εἰς μετάνοιαν· ἐλυπήθητε γὰρ κατὰ θεόν, ἵνα ἐν μηδενὶ ζημιωθῆτε ἐξ ἡμῶν. 10 ἡ γὰρ κατὰ θεὸν λύπη μετάνοιαν εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀμεταμέλητον ἐργάζεται· ἡ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου λύπη θάνατον κατεργάζεται. 11 ἰδοὺ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ κατὰ θεὸν λυπηθῆναι πόσην κατειργάσατο ὑμῖν σπουδήν, ἀλλὰ ἀπολογίαν, ἀλλὰ ἀγανάκτησιν, ἀλλὰ φόβον, ἀλλὰ ἐπιπόθησιν, ἀλλὰ ζῆλον, ἀλλὰ ἐκδίκησιν. ἐν παντὶ συνεστήσατε ἑαυτοὺς ἁγνοὺς εἶναι τῷ πράγματι. 12 ἄρα εἰ καὶ ἔγ-ραψα ὑμῖν, οὐχ ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἀδικήσαντος οὐδὲ ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος ἀλλ᾽ ἕνεκεν τοῦ φανερωθῆναι τὴν σπουδὴν ὑμῶν τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. 13 διὰ τοῦτο παρακεκλήμεθα.

English Translation

7.2 Make room for us, we have wronged no one, we have corrupted no one, we have taken advantage of no one. 3 I did not speak to condemn, for I have spoken because you are in our hearts to die together and live together.[451] 4 My confidence with regard to you has much increased, my boasting on your behalf has increased, I have been filled with encouragement and my joy is present in far greater measure. 5 When we came into Macedonia this body of ours had no relief, but we were hard pressed on all sides, quarrels without and fears within; 6 but the God who encourages the downcast, encouraged us with the arrival of Titus. 7 Not only in his arrival but also in the encouragement in which he was encouraged by you when he told us about your longing and your grieving and

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[451] www.misselbrook.org.uk (accessed 15.01.2017) In the papyri the expression 'to live together' is found where mutual friendship and loyalty are extolled. The idea is that those involved have a friendship that will be sustained throughout life and keep them together even in death.

your zeal for me with the result that I was more joyful. 8 Even if I caused you distress by the letter, I am not sorry now; but I was also sorry to see that the letter was distressful to you for a while. 9 Now I rejoice not because you have been distressed but because you have been distressed into repentance. For you have been distressed by God, and so you have not been harmed by us. 10 For sorrow works, according to God, for salvation, free from regret, but worldly sorrow brings death. 11 Therefore consider this same matter, how much eagerness the Godly distress has produced in you, not only in your defence, but also in your **indignation,** your fear, your longing, your concern, your **giving of justice** in every way and you have proved yourselves to be innocent in this matter. 12 Even though I wrote to you, it was not on behalf of the one who mistreats nor on behalf of the one who has been mistreated, but rather that your eagerness which is for us is apparent in the presence of God. 13 By this we have been encouraged.

Analysis

In L-N Domain 88 Subdomain 186, ἀγανάκτησις is indignation, anger. It is a response specifically against something which is considered to be wrong.

The response in ἀγανάκτησις is to do a wrong to someone else. It is not self-reflected as Aristotle's definition of ὀργή indicates. In ὀργή it is a response to being personally dishonoured, but in ἀγανάκτησις the response is to another's undeserved dishonour. Paul has on a number of occasions declared his love for the Corinthians, but there had been no reciprocal response from the Corinthians. Aristotle uses the word εὔνοος, well-disposed, in order to distinguish between unilateral and mutual friendship. Although Paul was well disposed to the Corinthians, the response had not been mutual. The Corinthians' response described as ἀγανάκτησις indicated a mutual response of friendship. In 2 Cor 7:11 ἀγανάκτησις has words on either side to support the positive impact that Titus' news had on Paul. Reference to L-N, therefore, may expand the meanings of the following words:

In L-N Domain 68 Subdomain 63: σπουδάζω; σπουδή, to do something with intense motivation; to work hard, to do one's best, to endeavour.

In L-N Domain 33 Subdomain 435: ἀπολογία, to speak on behalf of oneself or of others against accusations presumed to be false, to defend oneself.

In L-N Domain 33 Subdomain 436 : ἀπολογία, to defend oneself.

Φόβος is analysed in Chapter Seven.

In Domain 25 Subdomain 18: ἐπιπόθησις, to long for something, with the implication of recognising a lack.

In L-N Domain 25 Subdomain 46 ζῆλος is in the same semantic group as ἀγάπη and in this semantic sphere it means to have a deep concern for or devotion to. Paul would not negate this action if this meaning was compatible to love.

All the Domains for ζῆλος are given in 1 Cor 13:5 in order to show the full semantic range of the word, which includes a beneficial meaning as well. In the context of 2 Cor 7:11, the meaning most akin to love supports the change of heart of the Corinthians towards Paul.

In L-N Domain 56 Subdomain 35: ἐκδίκησις, to give justice to someone who has been wronged. To give someone justice is the essential meaning.

In L-N Domain 39 Subdomain 33: ἐκδίκησις, to repay harm with harm, on the assumption that the initial harm was unjustified and that retribution is therefore called for; to pay back; to revenge; to seek retribution, retribution. Ἐκδίκησις in this Domain is closer in semantic space to ὀργή than the Domain in which the second meaning of ὀργή has been classified.

In L-N Domain 38 Subdomain 8: ἐκδίκησις, to punish on the basis of what is rightly deserved. In the context of 2 Cor 7:11, Domain 56 would best fit the meaning, because it is Paul who was to be the recipient of justice, being unjustly wronged. The sentence does not carry the quality of revenge and therefore the meaning is not related to ὀργή.

This changed situation in Corinth is related to Engberg-Pedersen's interpretation of the change that may occur in an individual's perception of him or herself. In 2 Cor 7:11 the words that were referred to L-N have a common feature, they have become 'regard for others'. So in terms of Engberg-Pedersen's model in Paul and the Stoics, the Corinthians

may be moving towards the 'we' away from the 'I' where everything was self-regarding. This move from 'I' to 'we' has been Paul's aim to form a cohesive non-divisive group.[452]

Whatever Paul may have said to the Corinthians was certainly effective according to the report he received from Titus.

6.3.6 Ἐκδίκησις in 2 Cor 10:1-6

In this pericope Paul continues the theme of bold speech from 7:16. He is happy to speak frankly, openly and freely so that he may speak to them not diplomatically, but in a manner which will benefit their spiritual growth. Paul's boldness has developed because of the improved relationship reported by Titus.

Greek Text

Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐγὼ Παῦλος παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς διὰ τῆς πραΰτητος καὶ ἐπιεικείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς κατὰ πρόσωπον μὲν ταπεινὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, ἀπὼν δὲ θαρρῶ εἰς ὑμᾶς· 2 δέομαι δὲ τὸ μὴ παρὼν θαρρῆσαι τῇ πεποιθήσει ᾗ λογίζομαι τολμῆσαι ἐπί τινας τοὺς λογιζομένους ἡμᾶς ὡς κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦντας. 3 ἐν σαρκὶ γὰρ περιπατοῦντες οὐ κατὰ σάρκα στρατευόμεθα, 4 τὰ γὰρ ὅπλα τῆς στρατείας ἡμῶν οὐ σαρκικὰ ἀλλὰ δυνατὰ τῷ θεῷ πρὸς καθαίρεσιν ὀχυρωμάτων, λογισμοὺς καθαιροῦντες 5 καὶ πᾶν ὕψωμα ἐπαιρόμενον κατὰ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζοντες πᾶν νόημα εἰς τὴν ὑπακοὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, 6 καὶ ἐν ἑτοίμῳ ἔχοντες **ἐκδικῆσαι** πᾶσαν παρακοήν, ὅταν πληρωθῇ ὑμῶν ἡ ὑπακοή.

English Translation

1 But I, Paul, appeal to you by the gentleness and compassion of Christ, I who am humble in your presence, but bold towards you when I am away. 2 I beg you that when I am present that I may not be bold with the confidence which I think I need to take on against some who think that we live according to the world. 3 For we live in the world but we do not make war as the world. 4 For our arms of warfare do not belong to the world, but the power of God for the destruction of strongholds. 5 We demolish arguments and every obstacle raised in opposition against the knowledge of God, and we capture every thought to make it obedient to Christ. 6 And we are ready **to punish** all disobedience, once your obedience is complete.

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[452] Engberg-Pedersen 2000:34

Analysis

In L-N Domain 56 Subdomain 35: ἐκδίκησις, to give justice to someone who has been wronged. To give someone justice is the essential meaning.

In L-N Domain 39 Subdomain 33: ἐκδίκησις, to repay harm with harm, on the assumption that the initial harm was unjustified and that retribution is therefore called for: to pay back; to revenge; to seek retribution, retribution. Ἐκδίκησις in this Domain is closer in semantic space to ὀργή than the Domain in which the second meaning of ὀργή has been classified.

In L-N Domain 38 Subdomain 8: ἐκδίκησις, to punish on the basis of what is rightly deserved. In the context of 2 Cor 7:11, Domain 56 would best fit the meaning, because it is Paul who was to be the recipient of justice, being unjustly wronged. The sentence does not carry the quality of revenge and therefore the meaning is not related to ὀργή.

Ἐκδίκησις in 2 Cor 10:6 does not meet the semantic requirements as a near synonym of ὀργή. The response of ὀργή is an undeserved injustice and in this example the punishment is deserved.

6.3.7 Θυμός in 2 Cor 12:19-21

In pericope 2 Cor 11:1-6 Paul declares his fear that the Corinthians might be deceived and led astray. In this pericope his fears are intensified and he expresses his concern that they might revert to their old factious and immoral behaviour.

Greek Text

19 Πάλαι δοκεῖτε ὅτι ὑμῖν ἀπολογούμεθα. κατέναντι θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ λαλοῦμεν· τὰ δὲ πάντα, ἀγαπητοί, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν οἰκοδομῆς. 20 **φοβοῦμαι** γὰρ μή πως ἐλθὼν οὐχ οἵους θέλω εὕρω ὑμᾶς κἀγὼ εὑρεθῶ ὑμῖν οἷον οὐ θέλετε· μή πως ἔρις, ζῆλος, **θυμοί**, ἐριθεῖαι, καταλαλιαί, ψιθυρισμοί, φυσιώσεις, ἀκαταστασίαι· 21 μή πάλιν ἐλθόντος μου ταπεινώσῃ με ὁ θεός μου πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ πενθήσω πολλοὺς τῶν προημαρτηκότων καὶ μὴ μετανοησάντων ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ καὶ πορνείᾳ καὶ ἀσελγείᾳ ᾗ ἔπραξαν.

English Translation

19 Have you been thinking all this time that we have been defending ourselves to you? We speak in the presence of God through Christ; everything, beloved, is on behalf of your strength. 20 For **I am afraid** that when I come I may not find you as I want you to be, and you may not want to find me as you want me to be. 21 I fear that there may be discord, jealousy, **rage,** selfish ambition, slander, gossip, arrogance and disorder**;** I am afraid that when I come again my God may humble me before you. I will be grieved over many who have sinned earlier and have not repented of impurity, sexual sin and debauchery in which they have indulged.

Analysis

Θυμός in 2 Cor 12:21 is listed as an excessive form of anger in this verse, which contributes to the divisive and unruly conduct of the Corinthians. Paul describes a state of ἀκρασία, which he had spoken of in 1 Cor 7:5. He appears not to be confident in the Corinthians in that they had exercised restraint in their conduct and their relationship with one another. In L-N Domain 88 Subdomain 91: ἀκρασία denotes lack of self-control, failure to control oneself. In Gal 5 Paul enumerates a similar list as fruits of the flesh, in contrast to fruits of the spirit.

The catalogue of destructive qualities is:

> ἔρις, ζῆλος, θυμοί, ἐριθεῖαι, καταλαλιαί, ψιθυρισμοί, φυσιώσεις, ἀκαταστασίαι.

> In L-N Domain 39 Subdomain 22: ἔρις - conflict resulting from rivalry and discord.

> In L-N Domain 33 Subdomain 447: ἐρίζω, ἔρις – to express differences of opinion, with at least some measure of antagonism or hostility.

> In L-N Domain 88 Subdomain162: ζῆλος is a particularly strong feeling of resentment and jealousy against someone.

> In L-N Domain 88 Subdomain 178: θυμός is a state of intense anger, with the implication of passionate outbursts.

> In L-N Domain 88 Subdomain 167: ἐριθεῖαι - a feeling of resentfulness based on jealousy and implying rivalry.

In L-N Domain 39 Subdomain 7: ἐριθεῖαι – a feeling of hostility or opposition.

In L-N Domain 33 Subdomain 387: καταλαλιαί - to speak against, to speak evil of, to slander.

In L-N Domain 33 Subdomain 404: ψιθυρισμός - providing harmful information about a person, that is not generally known.

Above are eight words expressing excessive negation; the excess is symptomatic of ἀκρασία, a lack of self-mastery. People live in communities, consequently their lack of self-mastery impacts on a social level as well as on an individual level.

A contrast with other qualities will underline the distinction between the controlled emotions and the excessive. In 2 Cor 10 Paul urges the Corinthians through the qualities reflected in Christ.

In L-N Domain 88 Subdomain 59: πραΰτης suggests gentleness of attitude and behaviour, in contrast with harshness in one's dealings with others. This is just the contrast that was needed with the destructive conduct described above through the references to L-N.

According to Aristotle, πραΰτης is the mean between excessive proneness to anger and the incapacity to anger.[453]   Paul was not advocating ἐγκράτεια as a goal in itself, but through the spiritual life the passions are moderated because the values have changed.

6.3.8   Summary on Anger and Related words in 2 Corinthians

In 2 Corinthians, the analysed words were related to ὀργή, but not ὀργή itself. Ἀγανάκτησις, in 2 Cor 7: 2-13a, is a response to another being undeservedly dis-honoured. The value in this emotion is honour, not related personally but to someone else. In this pericope the Corinthian community's response shows that they do value honour, and it should not undeservedly be denied. This word indicates a change of heart by the community towards Paul. The word, ἐδίκησις, which is given by L-N as a near synonym for ὀργή, as punishment, means to give deserved punishment. Therefore, this synonym differs fundamentally from ὀργή on the question of merit. Both words convey

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[453] Bruce 1982:254

qualities that are conducive to society, at least, beneficial to the Pauline community. The word θυμοί, shows excessive anger , negating the former qualities described.

The next letter to be discussed is Galatians.

6.4 Galatians

6.4.1 Outline of Galatians

The letter to the Galatians was part of the Pauline corpus found in a papyrus collection about 200 CE. No question was raised about its validity in those early years. As far as Biblical scholarship is concerned, no question was ever raised about its authorship. Therefore, it may be said with certainty that this is a Pauline letter.[454]

Considerable attention has been given to the ancient epistolary and rhetorical convention in Biblical scholarship. An example of this was Hans Dieter Betz who used judicial rhetoric to interpret Galatians.[455] This was considered by New Testament scholars to be a significant contribution to their discipline.[456]

Paul argues against the visitors to the Galatians who had persuaded them that circumcision was necessary for their salvation. The visitors were persuasive and this letter needed to reveal the flaws in their arguments and keep the Galatians loyal to Paul's gospel.

> There was a conflict between Paul and some of the members of the Antioch community; many consider that Paul lost the Antioch community and Peter triumphed. The Jerusalem community in Antioch allowed the Judeans to fraternise with the Gentiles. Cephas had no theological difficulties with the table fellowship. However, there was a rising tide of Judean conservatism and consequently a growing antagonism against any Judean who had Gentile sympathies.[457]

The following is the epistolary and rhetorical structure of Galatians according to Betz:

    1: 1-5   Epistolary prescript

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[454] Dunn 1993: 1
[455] Betz 1979: 14
[456] Dunn 1993: 20
[457] http://www.misselbrook.org.uk (accessed 15.01.201)

1: 6-11	*Exordium*
1:12-2:14	*Narratio*
2:15-21	*Propositio*
3:1-4:31	C*onfirmatio probatio*
3:19-25	digression
5:1-6:10	*Exhortatio (Paraenesis)*
6:11-18	Epistolary prescript

I have not set out two rhetorical outlines for Galatians, as there is only one pericope for analysis, the proportion of information to text seemed adequate.

In Galatians the following pericope is analysed 5:19-21. The word is shown in CCR. (Προκαλέομαι describes aggressive competition, not anger as such, and is therefore not analysed).

6.4.2 Θυμοί in Galatians 5:16-21

This pericope forms part of the exhortation showing a slightly different slant to Paul's main argument between the flesh, circumcision, and the spirit, the sacrifice of Christ. This pericope exposes on a social level the distinction between living according to the lower nature or the spiritual nature.

Greek Text

16 Λέγω δέ, πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς οὐ μὴ τελέσητε. 17 ἡ γὰρ ἐπιθυμεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα κατὰ τῆς σαρκός, ταῦτα γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἀντίκειται, ἵνα μὴ ἃ ἐὰν θέλητε ταῦτα ποιῆτε. 18 εἰ δὲ πνεύματι ἄγεσθε, οὐκ ἐστὲ ὑπὸ νόμον. 19 φανερὰ δέ ἐστιν τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκός, ἅτινά ἐστιν πορνεία, ἀκαθαρσία, ἀσέλγεια, 20 εἰδωλολατρία, φαρμακεία, ἔχθραι, ἔρις, ζῆλος, **θυμοί**, ἐριθεῖαι, διχοστασίαι, αἱρέσις, 21 φθόνοι, μέθαι, κῶμοι καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις, ἃ προλέγω ὑμῖν, καθὼς προεῖπον ὅτι οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν.

English Translation

16   What I am saying is this, walk by the spirit and you will not gratify the desires of the flesh. 17 For the flesh desires against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh; 18 these things oppose each other in order that you do not do whatever you wish. But if you are led by the spirit you are not under law. 19 The works of the flesh are evident; they are: sexual immorality, impurity, indecency, 20   idol worship, sorcery, enmity, strife, jealousy, **outbursts of rage,** selfishness, dissension, division, 21 envy, drunkenness, revelry, and these same things about which I am speaking to you, as I previously said, will not share in the kingdom of God.

Analysis

In L-N Domain 88 Subdomain 178, θυμός is a state of intense anger, with the implication of passionate outbursts.

Paul situates the word θυμός in these excessive traits in the lower nature of humanity. In this matter he is of the same mind as the philosophers in his condemnation of anger and, in fact, anything in excess. Aristotle describes the excess of anger as a state lacking reason, and he calls anger governed by reason πραότης. This word translates as gentleness which Paul describes as a fruit of the spirit. To a philosopher the fruit of the spirit is an emotion under the guidance of reason. In Christian terms the emotions are tempered by the Spirit of Christ.[458]

The outburst of anger was considered in 2 Cor 12:19-21 and will not be repeated here. In these verses Paul situates these excessive traits in the lower nature of humanity. It is part of the internal psychology, not external prevailing social conditions. Is Paul inferring that humanity creates the conditions they live in, and the external conditions do not affect the person? It may depend on the inner strength of the person how the external factors affect him/her. I am considering the prohibition on eating meat offered to idols, why would that affect someone, except their belief system or value system dictates a response.

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[458] Engberg-Pedersen 2000: 34

6.4.3   Summary of ὀργή in Galatians

Paul is of the same mind as the philosophers in his condemnation of excessive anger and in fact anything in excess. But how do we assess his outburst in Gal 5:12. Paul's response is filled with anger: 'as for these agitators, they had better go the whole way and make eunuchs of themselves'.[459] The underlying emotional quality of this insult is anger. His response fits the Aristotelian model perfectly. Paul has been dishonoured unjustly by both the Galatian community and the preachers who persuaded them to abandon Paul's teaching, and his response is anger. Is this response morally justifiable? There is no lexical reference in Galatians to describe Paul's anger, The anger is inferred from his language. The use of the lexicon is specified as one of the steps in proving the research, consequently the approach is circumscribed to reliance on words to express the concept of anger.

However, it does raise the question is Paul's anger excessive, or in keeping with Aristotle who in the *Nichomachean Ethics,* says the emotional response is determined by the situation?[460]

The letter of Romans will now be discussed.

6.5   Romans

6.5.1   Outline of Romans

This letter was probably written from Corinth in the winter of 56-57CE.[461] This information is inferred from Rom 16:23 where Paul speaks of Gaius as his host and the host of the whole community in Corinth.[462] There is also Gaius Titus Justus spoken of, as Paul proceeds to greet a number of members who are present in Rome and linked to the Corinthian communities. The fact that Paul is aware of their presence in Rome seems to indicate that Paul is in Corinth.

New Testament scholars differ in their approach in interpreting a Pauline letter. One aspect of the difference lies on their assessment whether the letter should be interpreted

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[459] NEB 1961 : 325
[460] Sorabji 2002: 22
[461] Jewett 2007: 21
[462] Jewett 2007: 21

as an oral culture or a literate culture,[463] meaning whether their frame of reference is the rhetorical conventions or epistolary. Arguments and evidence are provided by each party to support their stance.[464]

Jewett says that he follows the recent New Testament scholarship in interpreting Romans as 'a work of Christian rhetoric aiming to persuade'.[465] He finds all the elements required for this act of persuasion present in Romans. They are: 'invention, arrangement, style, memory and delivery'. We have a description of the means of persuasion, but who is the audience? This is a question raised by Jewett who advises this to be taken into account in New Testament studies.[466]

Stowers, though, presents a different argument on the arrangement and interpretation of the text. He says that writers in Paul's time composed letters without punctuation; the act of punctuating the text is an act of interpretation and therefore the text is no longer objective.[467] On this account, he says 'that even at the most basic level of the text, namely, word division, punctuation, textual arrangement ..., a subjective interpretation is present'.[468]

In the following analysis, I have chosen Jewett's commentary as this commentary offers a detailed analysis of the verses and cross references with literary and philosophical works contemporaneous with Paul.[469]

This is the rhetorical structure of Romans according to Jewett:

> 1:1-12   *Exordium*
>
> 1:13-15   *Narratio*
>
> 1:16-17   *Propositio*
>
> Proofs divided into four discrete arrangements
>
> 1:18-4:25
>
> 5:1-8:39

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[463] Porter and Dyer 2012: 333
[464] Porter and Dyer 2012: 333
[465] Jewett 2007: 23
[466] Jewett 2007: 23
[467] Stowers 1994: 9
[468] Stowers 1994: 9
[469] Jewett 2007: 30

9:1-11:36

12:1-15:13

Peroratio

15:14 -16:16

16:21-23

In Romans ὀργή and related words are analysed in the following pericopes: 1:18-32, 2:1-16, 3:1-8, 4:13-25, 5:1-11, 9:19-29, 10:14-21, 12:9-21,13:1-7. In a few pericopes the words for analysis appear more than once. The verse references are listed in the CCR. . Refer back to Cultural Context in Chapter Four, for a more detailed background.

6.5.2   Ἀδικία in Romans 1:18-23

According to Jewett, 1:18-23 is the first half of the first pericope and 1:24-32 is the second half of the first pericope. Therefore, the whole pericope consists of 1:18-32, but they will be analysed in each half respectively.

It is the first pericope in the *probatio*, or as Jewett has called it, the first proof of the research in 1:16-17 which declares that the gospel is the present declaration of the righteousness of God. The pericope is the first proof of the research statement.

The first half pericope, beginning at 1:18, begins the first proof which ends in 4:25 and is divided into five pericopes which themselves are divided into ten half pericopes.

Proof in the rhetorical canon may also be called *confirmatio* and this forms the main body of the letter. The argument needs to be presented cogently, especially as the letter will be received orally.

Greek Text

18 Ἀποκαλύπτεται γὰρ ὀργὴ θεοῦ ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν **ἀσέβειαν καὶ ἀδικίαν** ἀνθρώπων τῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν **ἀδικίᾳ** κατεχόντων, 19 διότι τὸ γνωσ-τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φανερόν ἐστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς· ὁ θεὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐφανέρωσεν. 20 τά γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασιν νοούμενα καθ-ορᾶται, ἥ τε ἀΐδιος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θειότης, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀνα-πολογήτους, 21 διότι γνόντες τὸν θεὸν οὐχ ὡς θεὸν ἐδόξασαν ἢ ηὐχαρίστ-ησαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐματαιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ

ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν καρδία. 22 φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοὶ ἐμωράνθησαν 23 καὶ ἤλλαξαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφθάρτου θεοῦ ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνος φθαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ τετραπόδων καὶ ἑρπετῶν.

English Translation

18 For the anger of God is being revealed against all **impiety and wrongdoing** of men who are suppressing the truth by **injustice**, 19 because the knowledge of God is plain in them, for God has manifested it to them. 20 For his invisible aspects, are comprehended and clearly seen in the things that are made, since the creation of the world. 21 Although they knew God they did not glorify (God) as God or give thanks, but in their reasoning they were foolish and he darkened their senseless heart. 22 While claiming to be wise they were made foolish 23 they exchanged the glory of immortal God into a likeness of mortal man and birds, four-legged animals and reptiles.

Analysis

L-N 38:10 Ὀργή as punishment according to the CCR

The second meaning of ὀργή in L-N is punishment. L-N do not consider ὀργή as an emotion and according to their definition they have attributed two meanings to it, punishment being one of them. This meaning is in fact the constitutive aspect of ὀργή as retribution; ὀργή is a desire for revenge and therefore does not have a secondary meaning. Ὀργή is interpreted as an emotion in the succeeding analysis in the same manner as in 1 Thessalonians.

The analysis also refers to Aristotle's definition of ὀργή to open a window onto social conditions of the first century CE, the cognitive values in the emotions being determined by their cultural context.

Therefore, in order to determine whether Aristotle's definition is applicable in this pericope, his definition is given here. This will be referred to when apposite.

Ὀργή is defined as a desire, accompanied by pain, for a perceived slight on the part of people who are not fit to slight one or one's own'.[470]

Aristotle provides definitions of three types of 'slight':

Καταφρονήσις or contempt; a belief that something is of no value. The implication is that the value is denied.

Ἐπηρεάσμος or 'spite', blocking the wishes of another not in order to have something for oneself, but rather that the other does not have it (2.2, 1378b18-19). In this case the slight, Aristotle explains, lies precisely in that the offender seeks no personal advantage. This action constitutes a slight, according to Aristotle, because one neither fears him nor seeks his friendship.

Ὕβρις or arrogant abuse, which is defined as speaking or acting in ways that cause shame to another, not so that something may happen to you or because something has happened to you, but for the sheer pleasure of it (2.2,1378b23-5) - a pleasure that derives from a sense of superiority, not from gain.[471]

The slight which best fits Paul's reason for the present revelation of divine anger is καταφρονήσις denying value to God described as ἀσέβεια. The word, ἀδικία, was introduced later by Theophrastus, the pupil of Aristotle. Paul uses the same word as a cause of ὀργή. However, the cultural interpretation of this word would be different to Gentiles and Judeans. The anger of God is an anthropomorphic term attributing human qualities to God.

The first verse declaring the revelation of divine wrath is the semi-pericope of 1:18, the revelation of divine wrath, is linked by chiasm to 1:17, divine justice:

δικαιοσύνη γὰρ θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀποκαλύπτεται

ἀποκαλύπτεται γὰρ ὀργὴ θεοῦ

The chiasm as a rhetorical device is used for emphasis. The emphasis here may relate to their present action, that is the revelation of divine justice and the revelation of divine retribution.

1:18 ὀργή, a verbal noun, subject of ἀποκαλύπτεται and θεοῦ is a subjective genitive. Therefore, grammatically we are told that God is the cause of the action of

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[470] Konstan 2007: 43

[471] Konstan 2007: 46 Refer to footnote 119 for article in *Fitness 2000.*

wrath which is presently revealed. In Nida and Taber, ὀργή would be translated as an event. It is not an abstract, the manifestation of ὀργή develops in 1:19-32.[472]

The target of the divine wrath is 'against all impiety and wrongdoing of humans'. However, Stowers considers this action ὀργή to apply only to the Gentiles, but Jewett does not.

> In L-N Domain 53, Subdomain 10, ἀσέβεια: to live in a manner contrary to proper religious beliefs and practice, to live in an ungodly manner.

The verbs in vv 18-20 are present tense, the significance of the present tense indicates that the judgement of God which is an action belonging to the end of time, is unfolding contemporaneously to Paul's letter.[473]

For Greeks and Romans, ἀσέβεια/*impietas* is the most heinous crime – the failure to respect deity.[474] The root of ἀσέβεια, ἀσεβής, is σεβ. This expresses the idea of awe; σέβεσθαι means to stand in awe of the divine and occurs alternatively with φοβεῖσθαι, to fear the Lord. Where fear of the Lord is absent there is ἀσέβεια.[475] It is not possible to experience awe, if the mind no longer appreciates the divine. The analysis of φόβος is to be taken up in the next chapter. However, if there is no cognisance of something more powerful, there will be a feeling of equality and in this manner overstep the mark as a human. This is what the ὀργή is against in v18. Gentiles, too, consider ἀσέβεια as a serious infringement of human conduct, but the values in the concept vary greatly. However, the word affords a meeting point for communication. As Paul is addressing communities in Christ, there should be common ground for communication.

> In L-N, Domain 88, Subdomain 21: ἀδικία unjust deed, unrighteousness, doing what is unjust.

> In L-N Domain 88 Subdomain 20: ἄδικος unjust, unjustly, unrighteous.

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[472] Nida and Taber 2003: 46
[473] Jewett 2007: 156
[474] Jewett 2007: 152
[475] Dodds 1964: 77

If the action of ὀργή in 1:18 is against injustice and impiety, it appears to be used as an instrument of justice for correction - corrective justice. This idea was known to the pre-Socratics who conceived the entire cosmic order to be a 'pay back and revenge'.[476]

In 1:21-23, the one action is the suppression of truth because of their refusal to acknowledge the divinity of God. They claimed wisdom for themselves. They worshipped an image of God, and not God.

From Paul's perspective ἀσέβεια in 1:20 is interpreted as their failure to discern the invisible attributes of God in the things that are made.[477] Νοούμενα in the Platonic system, that is νόησις, is the finest faculty of apprehension. An inference is made from this statement that the reference here is not made to the sense of sight, nor sensory perception.[478] Paul is focused on the abstract, not physical forms, acknowledging physical forms as god to Paul is ἀσέβεια. But they failed to use that ability and are now bound to the sensory world, as 1:22 implies, they were handed over to their appetites, with implied imprisonment.

In not honouring the status of God, ὀργή is incurred, because of the failure to recognise God's worth, that is thinking of him as being of no account. For this reason intelligence has been forfeited in exchange for foolishness. It is an act of disturbing the natural order between divinity and humankind. God now has become a visible entity, due to their inability to discern the invisible aspects.

I analysed v22, as meaning that the listeners, by claiming wisdom, they were claiming status for themselves and denied God his rightful status. Ἐμωράνθησαν, translates as, they were made witless/moronic. This is a description of ὀργή at work restoring the balance through retaliation, God was dishonoured and in turn Gentiles were dishonoured by being deprived of reason. This act of humiliation is an act of divine retribution. They had raised their status and lowered God's and the retribution is a reversal of their action.

Also with v23, as a consequence of losing clarity of mind they were unable to discern the immortal from the mortal. This verse describes the current state of the Gentile mind two

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[476] Miller 2006: 10

[477] Jewett 2007: 156

[478] Cornford 1979: 222; Jewett 2007:155 e.g. Of God's invisible attributes in *Tim.* 92c Plato concludes, 'For this very cosmos, having taken mortal and immortal creatures and having become fulfilled - a visible creature surrounding visible things - became an image of what can be conceived of, a God that can be perceived of, greatest, best, most beautiful, and most perfect, being this single, only-begotten Heaven'.

steps away from the truth. Ὀργή is a desire for revenge and the purpose of revenge is to restore the status quo.

6.5.3 Ἀδικία in Romans 1:24-32

This pericope provides an elaboration of the statement in 1:18-23. In this half pericope Paul describes the steps in which the wrath of God shows itself in human conduct and relationships. This is God's retributive action described precisely and it corresponds to the actions in 1:18-23.

Greek Text

24 Διὸ παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν εἰς ἀκαθαρσίαν τοῦ ἀτιμάζεσθαι τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς· 25 οἵτινες μετήλλαξαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ψεύδει καὶ ἐσεβάσθησαν καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τόν κτίσαντα, ὅς ἐστιν εὐλογντὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν. 26 διὰ τοῦτο παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς εἰς πάθη ἀτιμίας, αἵ τε γὰρ θήλειαι αὐτῶν μετήλλαξαντὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν εἰς τὴν παρα φύσιν, 27 ὁμοίως τε καὶ οἱ ἄρσενες ἀφέντες τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν τῆς θηλείας ἐξεκαύθησαν ἐν τῇ ὀρέξει αὐτῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους, ἄρσενες ἐν ἄρσεσιν τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην κατεργαζόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν ἣν ἔδει τῆς πλάνης αὐτῶν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἀπολαμβάνοντες. 28 καὶ καθὼς οὐκ ἐδοκίμασαν τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν ἐν ἐπιγνώσει, παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς εἰς **ἀδόκιμον** νοῦν, ποιεῖν τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα, 29 πεπληρωμένους πάσῃ **ἀδικίᾳ** πονηρίᾳ πλεονεξίᾳ κακίᾳ, μεστοὺς φθόνου φόνου ἔριδος δόλου κακοηθείας, ψιθυριστὰς 30 καταλάλους θεοστυγεῖς ὑβριστὰς ὑπερηφάνους ἀλαζόνας, ἐφευρετὰς κακῶν, γονεῦσιν ἀπειθεῖς, 31 ἀσυνέτους ἀσυνθέτους ἀστόργους ἀνελεήμονας· 32 οἵτινες τὸ **δικαίωμα** τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιγνόντες ὅτι οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες ἄξιοι θανάτου εἰσίν, οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ συνευδοκοῦσιν τοῖς πράσσουσιν.

English Translation

24 Therefore God handed them over to the desires of their own hearts for impurity for the purpose of dishonouring their own bodies among themselves. 25 They exchanged the truth of God for falsehood and they worshipped and served the creation rather than he who creates, who is blessed into the ages. Amen. 26 For this reason God handed them over to their dishonourable passions for their females exchanged the natural function for

a purpose contrary to nature. 27 In the same manner also their males who left the natural use of the females, and shameless they were inflamed with lustful passions for other men, males work with other males, in shame and dishonour which was fitting of their sexual error receiving them back in themselves. 28 And because they did not think it worthwhile to acknowledge God, God gave them back to their **corrupted** mind, to do things which are not proper, 29 they are filled with all forms of **wrongdoing**, evil, greed, depravity, full of envy, murder, strife, deceit, meanness, gossiper, 30 slanderer, hating God, insolence, arrogant, boasters, inventors of evil, disobedient to parents 31 senseless, untrustworthy, inhuman, unmerciful; 32 these very people knew the **judgement** of God, because they are doing such things that are worthy of death, not only do they do these things but approve of those who do them.

Analysis

᾽Οργή in 1:18 links verses 1:23-32 as these verses show the retributive action of ὀργή by the decline in the spiritual, moral and social levels of the Gentiles. Stowers interprets this action as relating to the Gentiles only but Jewett interprets it as both Gentiles and Judeans.

In 1:25 the truth is exchanged for a lie and retribution is seen in the exchange of natural relations for unnatural relations.[479] These steps explain the causes of the decline of humankind: first on the mental/religious level, then on the social level, then on the public level.

Stowers disagrees that these verses can be linked to the fall of Adam, because first century Jewish literature shows little interest in the effects of Adam's transgression.[480] It is not the explanation for the human predicament.[481]

Greek, Roman and Jewish mythologies share this view of man as evil and a sinner.[482] The decline narrative is not confined to Judaism; it is present in a number of ancient cultures.[483] People in the Golden Age lived without deprivation, abundant natural food, they had high moral characters and there was an absence of strife and dissension.[484]

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[479] Jewett 2007: 165
[480] Stowers 1994: 87
[481] Stowers 1994: 87
[482] Stowers 1994: 87
[483] Stowers 1994: 85
[484] Stowers 1994: 85

Unlike Paul's description, ancient writers attribute the decline to the gods.[485] Hesiod's myth attributes the fall to the change of divine rule resulting in the defeat of Chronos and the rule of Zeus.[486] According to Plato, humans fell into this state of quarrelling and injustice because Chronos ceased to watch over them and guide their destiny.[487]

The Pauline account is a deliberate act of ἀσέβεια, which deserves retribution.

Δικαιοσύνη is used thirty four times; δίκαιος seven times; δικαίωμα three, δικαίωσις twice, δικαιοκρισία once, ἀδικία seven times and ἄδικος once,[488] δίκαιος is used seven times in this letter.

In L-N these words are classified as follows:

Δικαιοσύνη is used thirty-four times by Paul in this letter and is classified in L-N. It appears in four Domains demonstrating a range of meanings. They are:

> In L-N, Domain 88, Subdomain 13: righteousness, doing what is right
>
> In L-N, Domain 34, Subdomain 46: to put right with, to cause to be in a right relationship with
>
> In L-N, Domain 53, Subdomain 4: religious observances, religious requirements
>
> In L-N, Domain 57, Subdomain 111: acts of charity, alms, giving to the needy

Δικαίωμα appears three times in the letter; classified by L-N as follows:

> In L-N, Domain 88, Subdomain 14: a righteous act
>
> In L-N, Domain 33, Subdomain 334: to act justly
>
> In L-N, Domain 56, Subdomain 34: to acquit, to set free, to remove guilt

Δικαίωσις appears twice and L-N classifies it as follows;

> In L-N, Domain 34, Subdomain 46: to put right with, to cause to be in a right relationship with someone
>
> In L-N, Domain 56, Subdomain 34: to acquit, to set free, to remove guilt

Δικαιοκρισία appears once. L-N classifies it thus:

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[485] Stowers 1994: 85
[486] Stowers 1994: 85
[487] Stowers 1994: 85 Plato reference *Laws* 713C
[488] Haacker 2003:120

In L-N, Domain 56, Subdomain 27: right judgement, a just verdict

Ἀδικία appears seven times; classified by L-N in Domain 88, Subdomain 21: unjust deeds.

Ἄδικος is used once in the letter. For this, L-N has two domains:

Domain 88, Subdomain 20: unjust, unjustly, unrighteous

Domain 11, Subdomain 20: an unbeliever, not a follower of Christ.

In 1:17, δικαιοσύνη is also revealed through Paul's gospel; it is the one element absent from our description from 1:18-32. The frequency of the use of forms of δικαιοσύνη emphasises the importance Paul gives to its presence in the world. In addition, L-N show a wide semantic range of the word. Paul demonstrates through the frequent use of this word that things are not right with this world, with their relationship to God and in human relationships with each other. In this way, he emphasised the need for his gospel.

Greek, Roman and Jewish cultures all value the concept. It is the standard term for social righteousness or justice.[489] Fundamentally, it is acting in accordance with δίκη.[490] Δικαιοσύνη in the Roman culture dates back to the Republic.[491] In Augustus' regeneration programme, 'Virgil's fourth *Eclogue* prophesies the return of Saturn's reign with Virgin Justice and the birth of a miraculous child, all leading to the disappearance of human sin and a paradisal earth'.[492] Valerius Maximus, in the thirties of the first century, asserts that 'among all nations our society is the outstanding and clearest example' of righteousness.[493] Seneca makes a point that through a good ruler conditions of peace and justice can prevail, even in the provinces, provided that they accept Roman rule.[494] In the Jewish tradition, its absence in society is described by Isaiah as corruption in law courts, false measures in commercial dealings, oppression of the poor, and the contrary

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[489] Dodds 1964: 44

[490] Thomson 1961 trsl. Aristotle *NE* V 1.3.1129b. In its narrow sense, justice. From Plato onwards, it occurs in the four cardinal virtues.

[491] Haacker 2003: 121

[492] Stowers 1994: 123 'Virgil's vision drawing on a wide range of somewhat exotic sources, celebrated the truce between Antony and Octavian in 40 BCE; derived eschatological and paradisal ideas and images from Isiaah. The Alexandrian poet Aratus was another of Virgil's sources. Virgil alludes to Aratus' highly popular account of human degeneration when Justice, the last of the immortals, left the earth. The gloom about the 'godless age' (*Georgics 1.468*) stemmed largely *from* the darkness of the civil wars.'

[493] Haacker 2003: 122

[494] Stowers 1994: 124

when it is present.[495]   The Jewish example illustrates the practicality of moral living and the impact on the lives when it is absent. These examples illustrate the responsibility of the 'state' to care for the wellbeing of its citizens through just administration and piety. This is an example of Paul's communication skills, using a common value, essential to his argument, to engage the hearers' attention.

6.5.4 Ὀργή and θυμός in Romans 2:1-16

Greek Text

Διὸ ἀναπολόγητος εἶ, ὦ ἄνθρωπε πᾶς ὁ κρίνων· ἐν ᾧ γὰρ κρίνεις τὸν ἕτερον, σεαυτὸν κατακρίνεις, τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ πράσσεις ὁ κρίνων. 2   οἴδαμεν δὲ ὅτι τὸ κρίμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἐπὶ τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντας. 3 λογίζῃ δὲ τοῦτο, ὦ ἄνθρωπε ὁ κρίνων τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντας καὶ ποιῶν αὐτά, ὅτι σὺ ἐκφεύξῃ τὸ κρίμα τοῦ θεοῦ; 4 ἢ τοῦ πλούτου τῆς χρη- στότητος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀνοχῆς καὶ τῆς μακροθυμίας καταφρονεῖς, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι τὸ χρηστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς μετάνοιάν σε ἄγει; 5 κατὰ δὲ τὴν σκληρότητά σου καὶ ἀμετανόητον καρδίαν θησαυρίζεις σεαυτῷ ὀργὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως δικαιοκρισίας τοῦ θεοῦ 6 ὃς ἀποδώσει ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ· 7 τοῖς μὲν καθ' ὑπομονὴν ἔργου ἀγαθοῦ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν ζητοῦσιν ζωὴν αἰώνιον, 8 τοῖς δὲ ἐξ ἐριθείας καὶ ἀπειθοῦσι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ πειθο- μένοις δὲ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ ὀργὴ καὶ θυμός· 9 θλῖψις καὶ στενοχωρία ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ἀνθρώπου τοῦ κατεργαζομένου τὸ κακόν, Ἰουδαίου τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἕλληνος· 10 δόξα δὲ καὶ τιμὴ καὶ εἰρήνη παντὶ τῷ ἐργαζομένῳ τὸ ἀγαθόν, Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἕλληνι· 11 οὐ γάρ ἐστιν προσωπολημψία παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. 12 ὅσοι γὰρ ἀνόμως ἥμαρτον, ἀνόμως καὶ ἀπολοῦνται, καὶ ὅσοι ἐν νόμῳ ἥμαρτον, διὰ νόμου κριθήσονται· 13 οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἀκροαταὶ νόμου δίκαιοι παρὰ θεῷ, ἀλλ' οἱ ποιηταὶ νόμου δικαιωθήσονται. 14 ὅταν γὰρ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα φύσει τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιῶσιν, οὗτοι νόμον μὴ ἔχοντες ἑαυτοῖς εἰσιν νόμος· 15 οἵτινες ἐνδείκνυνται τὸ ἔργον τοῦ νόμου γραπτὸν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, συμμαρτυρούσης αὐτῶν τῆς συνειδήσεως καὶ μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων τῶν λογισμῶν κατηγορούντων ἢ καὶ ἀπολογουμένων, 16 ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὅτε κρίνει ὁ θεὸς τὰ κρυπτὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου διὰ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

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[495] Isaiah XI: 4 'But with righteousness shall he judge and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth ...'

English Translation

1Therefore O man you are without excuse, for everyone who judges while you are judging another, you are condemning yourself, for he who judges is practising the same things. 2 But we know that the judgement of God is according to the truth against those who practise such things. 3 But do you take this into account, O man, while judging those who are practising such things, while practising the same, that you will escape the judgment of God? 4 Or are you in contempt of the wealth of his kindness and tolerance and patience failing to understand that the kindness of God has this purpose that it leads you to repentance? 5 But by your hardened and unrepentant heart you are storing up for yourself **wrath** on the day of **wrath** and the revelation of the just judgement of God 6 who will repay to each according to his actions. 7 On the one hand to those by the perseverance of (their) good action, who seek glory, honour, and immortality, (he will give) immortal life. 8 On the other hand to those who out of selfishness and disobedience to the truth but obey wrongdoing (injustice), there shall be **wrath and fury.**[496] 9 Affliction and distress will be on every person who performs an evil action, on every living person, Judean first then the Gentiles. 10 Glory and honour and peace to all who do the good, to the Judean first then the Greek, for there is no partiality before God. 11 For it is not the hearers of the law who are righteous before God, the doers of the law who shall be set right; 12 for as many as sinned outside the law, they will be destroyed outside the law. 13 For as many who sinned through the law they will be judged by the law. 14 For when the Gentiles who do not have a law they, though not possessing a law, are a law unto themselves. Such people demonstrate that the work of the law is written in their hearts, their thoughts between them condemning or even defending 16 on a day when God judges the secrets of people through Christ Jesus according to my gospel.

Analysis

Διό introduces a further consequence of the preceding argument.[497] Stowers objects to 2:1 becoming a new subject, as it clearly follows and is connected to the preceding

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[496] Jewett 2007: 207 ὀργή and θυμός are in the nominative case, in an emphatic position at the end of a participial expression and lack a final verb. Therefore, the above translation is suggested. ὀργή and θυμός are used in the *LXX* and in pagan magical curses.
[497] Jewett 2007: 196

argument.[498]   Paul shifts his attention from the general description of the vices to the particular.[499] He introduces a change of style, from a second person diatribe to an imaginary interlocutor.[500] The diatribe is a rhetorical device to address an issue in the audience, without direct confrontation. The author speaks to an imaginary person, who in this example is a Gentile who represents a certain vice.[501]   This is a rhetorical technique of speech - in character, προσωποποιία – it is not the voice of the author that the imaginary character assumes, but another person or type of character. In this diatribe it is a vice that has been personified.[502] Stowers identifies the vice by referring back to 1:29-31 the insolent (ὑβριστὰς), the arrogant (ὑπερηφάνους), and the pretentious (ἀλαζόνας).[503] The rhetorical style is skilful, when the general description of the vices was heard it would possibly have been easy to feel complacent about it. But Paul then introduces the action of judgement and the effect it has on the person who judges.[504]

As κρίνω occurs ten times in this pericope and eleven words deriving from πράσσω, ποιέω and ἔργω, it indicates an emphasis on deed and judgments and how they influence the meaning of ὀργή which occurs three times in this pericope. The act of judgment requires a reference to a set of values held as true or important. What social values influence their judgmental process?

 Paul's description of the decline of the Gentile defies the Augustan version of the Golden Age, which claims that the decline of man is now being reversed, due to the intervention of the gods; this became the traditional function of a Caesar to reveal the true destiny of the Roman people and also affirmed by Nero's propaganda.[505] The initial offence has not been addressed, that is, the faculty of discerning the invisible aspects of God was denied and the result, the worship of the creation and not the creator. This was the act of idolatry. The result of this act handed humankind over to the tyranny of their passions. In their arrogance they identify the unreal for the real. This myth is perpetuated by their rulers by imperial propaganda.

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[498] Stowers 1994: 12
[499] Stowers 1994: 11
[500] Jewett 2007: 196 The diatribe is a Greco-Roman rhetorical tradition.
[501] Stowers 1994: 12
[502] Stowers 1994: 16
[503] Stowers 1994: 12
[504] Stowers 1994: 12
[505] Elliott 2008: 76

To what extent do their actions reflect reality from unreality?[506] Images of Augustus or one of his descendants, appearing as Pious Aeneas, representing justice, mercy and reverence for the gods was an image Augustus wished to portray to show that his religious duties were his highest priorities.[507] However, everyone knew that brute force won his victory and persisted in his political life.[508] Here then is an example of pretentiousness, arrogance and insolence at the pinnacle of Roman society. Just as patronage began with the emperor and filtered through society, this act of pretentiousness also began with the emperor, and was possibly quite endemic in the society from the example by Stowers quoted in the footnote.[509]

Ὀργή occurs twice, firstly as the object of the verb θησαυρίζεις (v.5), a present action of storing up, in accord with the time line of 1:18-32. It is also a feature of ὀργή not to respond immediately with retribution, but to take time in its planning. This is not a feature Aristotle describes in *Rhetoric*, but the use of ὀργή in this context seems to have incorporated some aspects of κότος, ill will, rancour, vengeance.[510] The word κότος is not in the New Testament and therefore does not appear in L-N.

Paul is addressing a current situation in the Roman community which he addresses in chapter 14. The impression of storing it up implies that there is no visible retribution for the vices, but it would materialise in future time.   What in this description provokes the emotion ὀργή? What is the injustice that needs correcting to re-establish the status quo? Values of two cultures emerge in this pericope,[511] habitual judging due to the value on social status, and the New Testament 'judge not that ye be not judged'.

Ὀργή is a complex emotion which can interpret intention and distinguish between what is and what is not a slight. Its use in this pericope illustrates this function. Ὀργή distinguishes the real intent of the heart, which is not discernible on the surface. Therefore, the real intent may be masked by words that do not match the intention. That is pretentiousness, because there has been no real change of values of a hard and

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[506] Elliott 2008: 85

[507] Elliott 2008: 122

[508] Elliott 2008: 122

[509] Stowers 1994: 13 Seneca on hypocritical judgment: 'But, you, do you have the time to search out other's evils and to pass judgment on anybody?' 'Why does the philosopher live so luxuriously?' 'Why does this one dine so sumptuously?' 'You look at the pimples of others when you are covered with sores'.

[510] LSJ 1968: 985

[511] Stowers 1994: 127/8 God's impartial reward and punishment, but the frequent use of the κρίνω verb implies habitual judging indicated by the above example. Whereas the New Testament tradition advocates 'judge not that ye be not judged.'

impenitent heart. There is no humility and therefore ὀργή is still the required response. It is ὀργή and θυμός, as a response to this form of behaviour, which underlines how reprehensible it is.

Paul is not directly confronting the division in the house churches in Rome, but makes it appear as a characteristic of the bigot.[512] The issue is raised directly in chapter 14. Obedience features in this chapter, which becomes an important topic from chapters 5-8.[513] In order to disobey the truth indicates ὀργή and θυμός, severe retribution.[514] Elliott's examples in the footnote illustrate the belief in divine justice, in the Greco-Roman and Judaic traditions. The examples below do not quite comply with Aristotle's definition, as the social structure is reversed. Here the unjust actions of the ruler are in breach of the social contract, the actions of a superior on the inferior are corrected. This is divine justice correcting human injustice.

6.5.5 Ὀργή in Romans 3:1-8

According to Jewett, 3:1-8 is not a complete pericope, but is completed by 3:9-19. However, the first part 3:1-8 continues the imaginary conversation with a bigoted Judean teacher. Paul questions the misconception of superiority through inherited status.[515] Paul also accuses the imaginary stereotype of failing in his moral duty to the Gentiles.[516]

Greek Text

Τί οὖν τὸ περισσὸν τοῦ Ἰουδαίου ἢ τίς ἡ ὠφέλεια τῆς περιτομῆς; 2 πολὺ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἐπιστεύθησαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ. 3 τί γάρ; εἰ ἠπίστησάν τινες, μὴ ἡ ἀπιστία αὐτῶν τὴν πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ καταργήσει; 4 μὴ γένοιτο γίνεσθω δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἀληθής, πᾶς δὲ ἄνθρωπος ψεύστης, καθὼς γέ-γραπται,

> Ὅπως ἂν δικαιωθῇς ἐν τοῖς σου
> καὶ νικήσεις ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε.

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[512] Jewett 2007: 206
[513] Stowers 1994: 251
[514] Elliott 2008: 80-81 The following are examples of divine retribution: Suetonius details portents on the days leading up to the assassination of Gaius, implying that the gods sanctioned Gaius' death. Philo says that Gaius would have decimated every city in the empire, had not his death *at the hands of justice* prevented him. Philo offers a similar verdict on the fate of Flaccus the governor of Alexandria. It was Δίκη that watches over human affairs that destroyed Flaccus.
[515] Jewett 2007: 239
[516] Stowers 1994: 287

5 εἰ δὲ ἡ ἀδικία ἡμῶν θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην συνίστησιν, τί ἐροῦμεν; μὴ ἄδικος ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐπιφέρων τὴν **ὀργήν**; κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω. 6 μὴ γένοιτο· ἐπεὶ πῶς κρινεῖ ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον; 7 εἰ δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ψεύσματι ἐπερίσσευσεν εἰς τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, τί ἔτι κἀγὼ ὡς ἁμαρτωλὸς κρίνομαι; 8 καὶ μὴ καθὼς βλασφημούμεθα καὶ καθὼς φασίν τινες ἡμᾶς λέγειν ὅτι Ποιήσωμεν τὰ κακά, ἵνα ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀγαθά; ὧν τὸ κρίμα ἔνδικόν ἐστιν.

English Translation

1 Therefore what is the advantage of being a Judean? What is the benefit of circumcision? 2 Immense in every way in that they were entrusted with the messages of God. 3 What then if some were unfaithful, will their lack of faith nullify the faith of God. 4 Surely not, let God be true and every man false as it is written, *'so that you may be justified in your words and triumph when you are judged.'* 5 But if our injustice shows the justice of God, what shall we say, that God is unjust when he brings upon his **wrath**? I am speaking as a man. 6 Surely not, otherwise how would God judge the world? 7 But if the truth of God increases by my falsehood for the purpose of his glory, why then am I judged as a sinner? 8 Just as we, as some say, are speaking slanderously, would we say 'Let us do evil things in order that good things may come'? The condemnation of these people is just.

Analysis

Ὀργή in 3:5 is the object of the participle ἐπιφέρων and the subject is ὁ θεὸς. 1:5b begins with μή expecting a negative answer. Ὀργή from Aristotle's definition is a justifiable response to a slight; he also uses the word ἀδικία. However, Aristotle is commenting on human behaviour, and although Paul uses the phrase as a metaphor to describe a universal corrective force, in this pericope he comments and questions whether it is just. This statement is immediately moderated by stating it is merely from a human point of view.

Ὀργή is a verbal noun, and according to Nida and Taber, it is an event word.[517] Therefore, the event in this sentence is the act of wrath. The importance of this event is clarified in v6, it is God's way of judging the world. According to Jewett this is a

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[517] Nida & Taber 2003: 43

cardinal article of faith that God does not let evil occur without resisting it.[518] In classical literature discussed in Chapter Three, the furies have the function of keeping order in the world, including the movement of the sun and moon. The full implication of Aristotle's definition is not evident in this example, but one of the features is keeping cosmic order.

In chapter 2 the Gentile in the diatribe emerges as arrogant, pretentious and insolent. He represents the imperial values of superiority through victory. The Judeans from this perspective are impious because they are a conquered race. In chapter 3:1-8 the dialogue, which Stowers gives, is an example of the Socratic dialectic. This method is used in order to show the erroneous thinking in the participant.[519] In 3:5 the justice of God is linked with his retribution, as in 1:17-18, not as a chiasm, but for justice to be done there must be retribution. In 1:18-32 the exactitude of the punishment is enumerated akin to the *Lex Talionis;* except that could be for any crime but ὀργή is very specific, as discussed in 1:18-32. 'The *talion* indicates a repayment in kind, the English word retaliate comes from the same root'.[520] Talionic cultures are described as honour cultures.[521] It is a system of restoring honour. In Biblical language it is: 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth'. This saying conveys the exactitude of the repayment.

Because the Judean has failed to acknowledge the impartiality of God's justice, he is subject to divine retribution. The full significance of this is developed in chapter 11.[522] Paul uses the Judean and the Gentile in the diatribes to exemplify types of vices, not people in general.

6.5.6 ᾽Οργή in Romans 4:13-25

This is a pericope in two halves. In 4:1-12, Paul uses the diatribe and Midrash to show that Abraham received righteousness through loyalty, not through works. Abraham had turned from idol worship to have loyalty to God.

In the second part of the pericope, 4:13-25, Paul uses Midrash, using one Biblical text to interpret another, to show that the promise to Abraham, being a father of nations,

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[518] Jewett 2007: 248
[519] Stowers 1994: 171
[520] Miller 2006: ix
[521] Miller 2006: x
[522] Stowers 1994: 171

transfers to those who are loyal to Christ. Righteousness was through loyalty and not through conformity to the law which required circumcision.

Greek Text

13 Οὐ γὰρ διὰ νόμου ἡ ἐπαγγελία τῷ Ἀβραὰμ ἢ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ, τὸ κληρονόμον αὐτὸν εἶναι κόσμου, ἀλλὰ διὰ δικαιοσύνης πίστεως. 14 εἰ γὰρ οἱ ἐκ νόμου κληρονόμοι, κεκένωται ἡ πίστις καὶ κατήργηται ἡ ἐπαγγελία· 15 ὁ γὰρ νόμος **ὀργὴν** κατεργάζεται· οὗ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν νόμος οὐδὲ παράβασις. 16 διὰ τοῦτο ἐκπίστεως, ἵνα κατὰ χάριν, εἰς τὸ εἶναι βεβαίαν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν παντί τῷ σπέρματι, οὐ τῷ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ πίστεως Ἀβραάμ, ὅς ἐστιν πατὴρ πάντων ἡμῶν, 17 καθὼς γέγραπται ὅτι *Πατέρα πολλῶν ἐθνῶν τέθεικά σε,* κατέναντι οὗ ἐπίστευσεν θεοῦ τοῦ ζωοποιοῦντος τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ καλοῦντος τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα. 18 ὃς παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι ἐπίστευσεν εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν *πατέρα πολλῶν ἐθνῶν* κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον, *Οὕτως ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου,* 19 καὶ μὴ ἀσθενήσας τῇ πίστει κατενόησεν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα νεν-εκρωμένον, ἑκατονταετής που ὑπάρχων, καὶ τὴν νέκρωσιν τῆς μήτρας Σάρρας· 20 εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐ διεκρίθη τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ ἀλλ᾽ ἐν-εδυναμώθη τῇ πίστει, δοὺς δόξαν τῷ θεῷ 21 καὶ πληροφορηθεὶς ὅτι ὃ ἐπήγγελ-ται δυνατός ἐστιν καὶ ποιῆσαι. 22 διὸ *ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.* 23 Οὐκ ἐγράφη δὲ δι᾽ αὐτὸν μόνον ὅτι ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ 24 ἀλλὰ καὶ δι᾽ ἡμᾶς, οἷς μέλλει λογίκυριον ἡμῶν ἐκ νεκρῶν, 25 ὃς παρεδόθη διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν δικαίωσιν ἡμῶν.

English Translation

13 The promise to Abraham and his offspring to be inheritors of the earth is not through a law but through the justice of faith. 14 For if those by means of the law are inheritors (his) faith is empty of meaning and his promise nullified. 15 For the law brings **wrath** but where there is no law there is no transgression. 16 For this reason the promise comes by faith in order that it may be by grace and may be confirmed to all his offspring not only to those of the law but also to those of the faith of Abraham, who is the father of us all. 17 Just as it is written *I have made you the father of many nations* in the sight of God, whom he believed, who gives life to the dead and calls that which does not exist to exist. 18 He by hope, on the basis of hope, believed that he would become the father of many

nations, according to what had been said. And such will be his descendants, 19 and not being weakened in faith he considered his own body to be almost dead, being almost a hundred years old, and his wife Sarah almost dead. 20 But concerning the promise of God, this was not doubted by lack of faith but he was made strong in faith when he gave glory to God 21 and fully convinced that he who had made the promise is able to do it. 22 Also because it was reckoned to him as justice. 23 It was not written on account of him only that it (justification) was reckoned to him 24 but also on account of us, for whom it is intended to be reckoned to those who believe on Him who raised Jesus our Lord from the dead. 25 who was given over (to death) through our sins and was raised for our justification.

Analysis

In 4:15, according to Nida and Taber, there are two event words: ὀργή and κατεργάζεται. Νόμος, in the grammatical system, is the subject. In Nida and Taber it becomes the object of the event. The whole sentence would therefore be translated as 'divine teaching brings an act of wrath.' Stowers examines the English translation of νόμος as law, because Jewish scholars have long complained that 'law', meaning legal code, does not have the semantic range of *Torah*[523] and is therefore an inadequate translation. [524] He suggests 'divine teaching' to be better. [525]Divine wrath has the same retributive action as discussed in 1:18; 2:5, 8; 3:5.

However, in relation to the topic of idolatry, Abraham turned away from serving idols. The cause of idolatry was discussed in 1:18. Abraham is an example of regeneration changing the course of history from its descent to its ascent. To Abraham, the act of ὀργή in 1:18-32 would no longer apply. Therefore, his mind is no longer darkened by mistaking the unreal for the real, and would no longer be bound to baseless passions. In 1:18-32 we have the example of the fall of the Gentiles according to Stowers. Jewett interprets it as the fall of both the Judeans and the Gentiles.

 'Hellenistic Judaism already emphasised Abraham's status as 'the first proselyte' from idolatry'.[526] Elliott uses that information to show that no Judean would have considered

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[523] Jewett 2007: 327
[524] Stowers 1994: 235
[525] Stowers 1994: 235
[526] Elliott 2008: 131

Abraham to be exclusively Judean.[527] Therefore he concludes that Paul is not making a case against ethnocentric Judeans.[528] If this is not against Judaic ethnocentricity, then against whom is it? According to Stowers, the dialogue is still with the Jewish interlocutor until 1:23.[529] What does the Jewish interlocutor need reminding of? The *shema,*[530] 'that the Lord thy God is One', means that God is the God of all the nations as well.[531] Elliott interprets the introduction of Abraham into Paul's argument to affirm the ancestry the Judean members of the Roman communities have against the criticisms of the non-Judean members (11:13-25).[532] The Judeans as a conquered race represent the impious because according to imperial ideology only the impious are conquered, and therefore as a people were born to servitude.[533]

6.5.7 Ὀργή in Romans 5:1-11

This pericope develops the argument of chapter 4 that justification is through loyalty, with Abraham as an example. The focus now turns to the righteousness that will come through the Lord Jesus Christ.

Greek Text

Δικαιωθέντες οὖν ἐκ πίστεως εἰρήνην ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ 2 δι᾽ οὗ καὶ τὴν προσαγωγὴν ἐσχήκαμεν εἰς τὴν χάριν ταύτην ἐν ᾗ ἑστήκαμεν καὶ καυχώμεθα ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ. 3 οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ καυχώμεθα ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν, εἰδότες ὅτι ἡ θλῖψις ὑπομονὴν κατεργάζεται, 4 ἡ δὲ ὑπομονὴ δοκιμήν, ἡ δὲ δοκιμὴ ἐλπίδα. 5 ἡ δὲ ἐλπὶς οὐ κατ-αισχύνει, ὅτι ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκέχυται ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου τοῦ δοθέντος ἡμῖν. 6 ἔτι γὰρ Χριστὸς ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν ἔτι κατὰ καιρὸν ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν ἀπέθανεν. 7 μόλις γὰρ ὑπὲρ δικαίου τις ἀποθανεῖται· ὑπὲρ γὰρ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τάχα τις καὶ τολμᾷ ἀποθανεῖν· 8 συνίστησιν δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγάπην εἰς ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός, ὅτι ἔτι ἁμαρτωλῶν ἡμῶν Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀπέθανεν. 9 πολλῷ οὖν μᾶλλον δικαιωθέντες νῦν ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ σωθησόμεθα δι᾽ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ **τῆς ὀργῆς**. 10 εἰ γὰρ ἐχθροὶ ὄντες κατηλλάγημεν

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[527] Elliott 2008: 131
[528] Elliott 2008: 131
[529] Stowers 1994: 247
[530] Elliott 2008: 134
[531] Elliott 2008: 134
[532] Elliott 2008: 134
[533] Elliott 2008: 134

τῷ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, πολλῷ μᾶλλον καταλλαγέντες σωθη-σόμεθα ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ· 11 οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ καυχώμενοι ἐν τῷ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δι᾽ οὗ νῦν τὴν καταλλαγὴν ἐλάβομεν.

English Translation

1Therefore, since we have been justified by faith we have peace before God through our Lord Jesus Christ, 2 through whom also we have access (by faith) into this grace in which we stand in the hope of the glory of God. 3 Not only this but we boast in our afflictions knowing that suffering produces perseverance, 4 perseverance produces character, character, hope. 5 Hope does not disappoint because of the love of God that pours into our hearts through the Holy Spirit which has been given to us. 6 For while we were still weak (morally) still at (this) critical time he died for the ungodly. 7 For hardly will anyone die on behalf of a righteousness man, though perhaps someone dares to die on behalf of a good man 8 but God demonstrates his own to us because, while we were still sinners, Christ died on our behalf. 9 Therefore because we are justified by his blood, by how much more shall we be saved through him from **the wrath.** 10 We were reconciled to God through the death of the Son while we are still hostile, therefore by how much more, since we are reconciled, shall we be saved by his life? 11 Not only this but we boast in God through our Lord Jesus Christ through whom we have now received reconciliation.

Analysis

1:9 τῆς ὀργής is governed by ἀπό, taking the genitive indicating separation. They have been separated from divine retribution by the saving act of Jesus who died for us, that is, the communities who have taken the opportunity by turning away from idols, as we have seen in 1 Thess 5. The language in this chapter speaks of the joy of vindication as described in 5:9. It is Paul's first use of ἀγάπη, and words that convey peace, hope, reconciliation. Reconciliation is used three times. The quality of light in this chapter reflects Paul's belief that Jesus has brought the light into the world. The light of reality compared to the dark and deluded state under ὀργή in 1:18-32.

The admonition which Jewett has pointed out by the use of the subjunctive 'let us have peace' implies they do not have peace and this Jewett sees as a problem between the

house and tenement communities in Rome. These two groups were openly hostile to each other and in this respect have not embodied the offer of peace available through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ.[534]

Jewett advises that ὀργή in 5:9 should be seen as the final judgment where there will be no cause for shame. Those who are loyal will be saved. Love is seen as the action of Jesus who died for those described in 1:18-32. By the death of Jesus the debt to ὀργή has been paid, that is why there is peace, or the potential for it as the scales of justice were even.[535]

6.5.8 Ὀργή in Romans 9:19-29

In this pericope Paul is responding to objections about divine authority raised by the interlocutor, answered by him in 9:20a. The identity of the interlocutor remains vague, but, according to certain Biblical exegetes, the interlocutor raises questions with which Paul needs to deal.

Paul uses the argument to distinguish between all Israel and the true Israel. The imagery of the potter and the clay is a citation from Isa 29:16.[536]

Greek Text

19 Ἐρεῖς μοι οὖν, Τί ἔτι μέμφεται; τῷ γὰρ βουλήματι αὐτοῦ τίς ἀνθέστηκεν;
20 ὦ ἄνθρωπε, μενοῦνγε σὺ τίς εἶ ὁ ἀνταπακρινόμενος τῷ θεῷ; μὴ ἐρεῖ τὸ πλάσμα τῷ πλάσαντι, Τί με ἐποίησας οὕτως; 21 ἢ οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν ὁ κεραμεὺς τοῦ πηλοῦ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φυράματος ποιῆσαι ὃ μὲν εἰς τιμὴν σκεῦος ὃ δὲ εἰς ἀτιμίαν; 22 εἰ δὲ θέλων ὁ θεὸς ἐνδείξασθαι **τὴν ὀργὴν** καὶ γνωρίσαι τὸ δυνατὸν αὐτοῦ ἤνεγκεν ἐν πολλῇ μακροθυμίᾳ σκεύη **ὀργῆς** κατηρτισμένα εἰς ἀπώλειαν, 23 καὶ ἵνα γνωρίσῃ τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ σκεύη ἐλέους ἃ προητοίμασεν εἰς δόξαν; 24 οὓς καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς οὐ μόνον ἐξ Ἰουδαίων ἀλλὰ ἐξ ἐθνῶν, 25 ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὡσηὲ λέγει,

Καλέσω τὸν οὐ λαόν μου λαόν μου

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[534] Jewett 2006: 548

[535] Haacker 2003: 119 'The concern for peace with gods is a vital issue to conservative Romans (*pax deorum or pax deum*). Disasters of history were interpreted as divine judgments and called for efforts to implore peace with the gods'. Haacker uses this as an example of a point of contact of cultural values to create a bridge for future converts.

[536] Jewett 2007: 588/589

καὶ τὴν οὐκ ἠγαπημένην·

26   καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῷ τόπῳ οὗ ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς, Οὐ λαός μου ὑμεῖς,
        ἐκεῖ κληθήσονται υἱοὶ θεοῦ ζῶντος.

27 Ἡσαΐας δὲ κράζει ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, Ἐὰν ᾖ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ
ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης, τὸ ὑπόλειμμα σωθήσεται· 28 λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν
καὶ συντέμνων ποιήσει κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. 29 καὶ καθὼς προείρηκεν Ἡσαΐας,
        Εἰ μὴ κύριος Σαβαὼθ ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα,
        ὡς Σόδομα ἂν ἐγενήθημεν
        καὶ ὡς Γόμορρα ἂν ὡμοιώθημεν.

English Translation

19 You will say to me then, 'Why does he still find fault? For who has resisted his intention?' 20 O human, who are you who answers back to God? What is formed does not say to him who formed him, why did you make me thus? 21 Or has the potter no power over the clay to make from the same lump one vessel for honour and one for dishonour? 22 But if God wishes to make known and demonstrate his **wrath** and make known his power, he endures with great patience objects of **wrath** made for destruction. 23 What if he did this in order that he may make known the riches of his glory to the objects of mercy which he prepared beforehand for glory? 24 Also for us whom he called not only from the Judeans but also from the Gentiles? 25 And as he said to Hosea *'I shall call those people, who are not my people my people and she who was not my beloved, beloved 26 and, it will happen in this place where it was said to them you are not my people, they will be called the sons of the living God.'* 27 Isaiah cries out concerning Israel though the number of the sons of Israel is as the sand of the sea, only the remnant will be saved. 28 For the Lord will carry out his word upon the earth with speed and finality. 29 As Isaiah said previously *'if the Lord of hosts has not left us descendants we would have become like Sodom and been made like Gomorrah.'*

Analysis

9:22 τὴν ὀργήν in the accusative case after the participle infinitive phrase, θέλων - willing, ἐνδείξασθαι to show his ὀργή but bears it with patience. It is a feature of ὀργή not to be hasty in retribution, but for it to be carefully planned. However, in this

context it provides the opportunity for God to show his patience, waiting for both Judeans and Gentiles to respond to his mercy, and avoid the divine wrath.[537] Ὀργή in this context, other than the quality described above, does not resonate with Aristotle's definition, which relates to the social interaction of a society. In this example, the emotion extends these boundaries, and illustrates how the divine power is used for the greater good.[538]

Paul uses the metaphor of the potter. The potter has the knowledge and skill to create and to design for his purpose. The potter makes the pot for a use, for example, a small shallow dish would not store water. The potter crafts the pot with knowledge and love. The text does not use the word love, but does use μακροθυμία, which is semantically linked to love. Therefore, in this pericope another aspect of ὀργή has emerged, it is tempered by love. This is not an act of violence, but correction towards salvation.

Paul uses the metaphor that God acts for the greater good for both Israel and for the Gentiles. They have been created. They are not in the position to question the ways of God. On the human level ὀργή was status related according to the position in society. Ὀργή on the divine level makes no such distinction.

6.5.9 Παροργίζω in Romans 10:14-21

In this pericope Paul himself engages in conversation with the scriptures by using the diatribe method to understand why Israel has not responded to the gospel. In this process, the hostility of Israel to the Gentiles is explained.

Greek Text

14 Πῶς οὖν ἐπικαλέσωνται εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν; πῶς δὲ πιστεύσωσιν οἱ οὐκ ἤκουσαν; πῶς δὲ ἀκούσωσιν χωρὶς κηρύσσοντος; 15 πῶς δὲ κηρύξωσιν ἐὰν μὴ ἀποσταλῶσιν; καθὼς γέγραπται, Ὡς ὡραῖοι οἱ πόδες τῶν εὐαγγελιζ-ομένων τὰ ἀγαθά. 16 Ἀλλ' οὐ πάντες ὑπήκουσαν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. Ἡσαΐας γὰρ λέγει, Κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν; 17 ἄρα ἡ πίστις ἐξ ἀκοῆς, ἡ δὲ ἀκοὴ διὰ ῥήματος Χριστοῦ. 18 ἀλλὰ λέγω, μὴ οὐκ ἤκουσαν; μενοῦνγε,

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[537] Stowers 1994: 298 One who reads with an awareness that Judeans and Gentiles alike are under discussion through 9-11 will be not only better able to relate 9-11 to 1-8, but also not to suppress the theme of God's judgement of both followed by his mercy on both. Paul's formulation is not that Gentiles succeeded where Judeans failed, but that the rise and fall of both are inter-related.
[538] Stowers 1994: 300

Εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος αὐτῶν

καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν.

19 ἀλλὰ λέγω, μὴ Ἰσραὴλ οὐκ ἔγνω; πρῶτος Μωϋσῆς λέγει,

Ἐγὼ παραζηλώσω ὑμᾶς ἐπ᾽ οὐκ ἔθνει,

ἐπ᾽ ἔθνει ἀσυνέτῳ **παροργιῶ** ὑμᾶς.

20 Ἠσαΐας δὲ ἀποτολμᾷ καὶ λέγει,

Εὑρέθην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν,

ἐμφανὴς ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν.

21 πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ λέγει, Ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα.

English Translation

14 Therefore, how may they call upon him, for whom they have no loyalty? How may they have loyalty in him whom they have not heard? How may they hear without proclaiming him? 15 How may they proclaim if they have not been sent? Just as it is written, 'How beautiful are the feet of those who preach the gospel about good things'. 16 But not all have responded to the gospel. For Isaiah says, *'Lord, who had loyalty by hearing us?'* 17 Loyalty comes from hearing but hearing through the words of Christ. 18 But I say have they not heard? *Into all the earth their voice has gone out, and their speech into the ends of the earth*. 19 But I say did Israel not understand? First Moses says, *'I shall make you jealous by those who are not a nation, and I shall provoke you to* **anger** *by a foolish nation.'* 20 But Isaiah is bold and says, *'I was found by those who did not seek me, I revealed myself to those who did not ask for me.'* 21 But he says to Israel, *'I held out my hand to people who are disobedient and obstinate.'*

Analysis

> In L-N Domain 88, Subdomain 177 παροργίζω: to call someone, to become
> angry, provoked, to make angry.

What caused Israel to be provoked to anger? Aristotle says that anger is evoked by a belittlement which depends on status.[539] If your social position is inferior, it is no insult

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[539] Konstan 2007: 55

to be reminded of it.[540] The fact that Israel was provoked to anger implied that they were not inferior. 'A slight consists of an active belief that the other person is of no account.'[541] This statement is related to 10:19 where Moses says, 'I shall make you jealous by those who are not a nation, and I shall provoke you to **anger** by a foolish nation.' This quotation describes two slights, a nation which has no status and is not attributed any value and a nation without understanding is able to arouse jealousy and anger in Israel.

By Aristotle's definition this slight should provoke the emotion of anger in the Gentiles because they are the ones that are considered as nothing or of no account, but it is Israel that has been slighted. Israel's status as a custodian of righteousness through the observance of the Torah is threatened by the inclusion of the Gentiles. In this respect, Israel's status is lowered and their retaliation is to refuse the Gentiles to participate in sharing the gospel. This anger was foreseen by Moses.

> In L-N Domain 25 Subdomain 46: ζῆλος is in the same semantic group as ἀγάπη and in this semantic sphere it means to have a deep concern for or devotion to.

> In L-N Domain 88 Subdomain 162: ζῆλος equates with envy, resentment, jealousy.

> In L-N Domain 78 Subdomain 25: ζῆλος means extremely, intensely, fierce.

Although there has been an inclusion of three meanings to ζῆλος, the actual word in the text is παραζηλώσω, which means to provoke the states described above by L-N.

The third is the most likely meaning to describe their attitude to the Gentiles according to Stowers: the motive is linked to the metaphor of a race; it is fiercely competitive as in the ancient games.[542] It describes the underlying competitive quality. By these means it was to bring Israel on to compete, to finish the race, so that both Israel and the Gentiles partake of God's word. From the aspect of the emotion itself, according to Konstan, a jealousy is complex and it is related to envy and hatred. Jealousy is an experience of losing something valuable and in relation to Israel's position they would fear losing their special status.

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[540] Konstan 2007: 55
[541] Konstan 2007: 55
[542] Stowers 1994: 304

6.5.10 Ὀργή in Romans 12:9-21

Paul provides an antidote to the pretentious Gentiles and Judeans, which he exposed in chapters 2 and 3. The antidote is love as described in this pericope.

Greek Text

9 Ἡ ἀγάπη ἀνυπόκριτος. ἀποστυγοῦντες τὸ πονηρόν, κολλώμενοι τῷ ἀγαθῷ, 10 τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι, τῇ τιμῇ ἀλλήλους προηγούμενοι, 11 τῇ σπουδῇ μὴ ὀκνηροί, τῷ πνεύματι ζέοντες, τῷ κυρίῳ δουλεύοντες, 12 τῇ ἐλπίδι χαίροντες, τῇ θλίψει ὑπομένοντες, τῇ προσευχῇ προσκαρτεροῦντες, 13 ταῖς χρείαις τῶν ἁγίων κοινωνοῦντες, τὴν φιλοξενίαν διώκοντες. 14 εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς διώκοντας, εὐλογεῖτε καὶ μὴ καταρᾶσθε. 15 χαίρειν μετὰ χαιρόντων, κλαίειν μετὰ κλαιόντων. 16 τὸ αὐτὸ εἰς ἀλλήλους φρονοῦντες, μὴ τὰ ὑψηλὰ φρονοῦντες ἀλλὰ τοῖς ταπεινοῖς συναπαγόμενοι. μὴ γίνεσθε φρόνιμοι παρ' ἑαυτοῖς. 17 μηδενὶ κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἀποδιδόντες, προνοούμενοι καλὰ ἐνώπιον πάντων ἀνθρώπων· 18 εἰ δυνατὸν τὸ ἐξ ὑμῶν, μετὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰρηνεύοντες· 19 μὴ ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδικοῦντες, ἀγαπητοί, ἀλλὰ δότε τόπον **τῇ ὀργῇ,** γέγραπται γάρ, *Ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω,* λέγει κύριος. 20 ἀλλὰ *ἐὰν πεινᾷ ὁ ἐχθρός σου, ψώμιζε αὐτόν· ἐὰν διψᾷ, πότιζε αὐτον· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν ἄνθρακας πυρὸς σωρεύσεις ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.* 21 μὴ νικῶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ ἀλλὰ νίκα ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ κακόν.

English Translation

9 Love is sincere. Hate the evil and hold tight to the good. 10 Be devoted to each other in brotherly love going before and showing the way in honour to each other, 11 while serving the Lord being aglow with eagerness in spirit, not laziness, 12 rejoicing in hope, enduring in affliction, 13 sharing in the needs of the saints following the course of love in hospitality. 14 Praise those who pursue you, praise do not curse. 15 Rejoice with those who are rejoicing, weep with those who are weeping. 16 Agree with one another, not thinking proud things but being engaged in humility. 17 No-one must pay back evil with evil, having in mind praiseworthy things in the presence of all men. 18 If it is possible, as far as it depends on you, live in peace with all men. 19 Do not revenge yourself, beloved, but give **the wrath** an opportunity to work at its purpose for it is written 'revenge is

mine', says the Lord 'I shall repay'. 20 But if your enemy is hungry feed him, if thirsty give him a drink, for by doing this you will be piling coals of fire on his head. 21 Do not be overcome by evil but overcome evil with good.

Analysis

In 12:2 Paul sets the tone for the details in 12:9-21. 'Do not conform your mind to this age'. 12:19 requires a cognitive evaluation, that the value is defective and therefore no response with anger is necessary. Paul does not specifically relate the anger to an insult, it is an inference on my part using Aristotle's definition as a frame of reference.

Paul indicates to his communities that the value judgement, 'I have been wronged and therefore I must revenge myself,' is false. Paul's advice resonates with the Stoic interpretation that the judgements in the πάθη are always wrong, because the values they hold are defective. Paul is making this point, the value is defective because it is not possible to assess the divine intention in the act.

Ὀργή as desire for revenge represents a value of conduct on the social level for this age which Paul is reconfiguring for his community. The following verses are examples of the standards his communities should uphold. In 12:9-21 there is a contrast with chapter 1:18-32, where the Gentiles are depicted in a fallen and bound condition, morally bankrupt, mentally deluded, socially dysfunctional. This description was dark and without hope.

The first reference to love is in chapter 5:5. Chapter 4 opens the way for this concept indicated by Paul's use of language. The word πίστις and its cognates is used thirteen times in chapter 4. Abraham, who represents an example of the one who has turned away from idols, no longer looks to the visible world for satisfaction. In this respect therefore, he is now capable of πίστις, because the events that are promised are not yet visible. He represents the antithesis of the deluded mind in chapter 1:21, ἐσκοτίσθη – darkened hearts. In chapter 4:24, Paul expresses the belief in God who raised our Lord. This is an act of piety. It is opposite to the act which began a process of divine revenge in chapter 1:18-32, ὀργή as an emotion holds values and beliefs that are common to the culture. Therefore, there is a need to consider what Paul is requiring of his communities by looking at examples of values of first century Imperial Rome.

According to Seneca it was expected that a truly manly man would be extremely attached to his honour and therefore eager to get angry at any slight or damage.[543] Status defined your place in Roman society, where you were in the hierarchy of power distribution. Status determined the honour due to you.[544] Therefore, by asking the Romans not to participate in acts of revenge, Paul was asking them to change their value system as laid out in chapter 12. There are two framing units in this chapter, according to Crossan, 12:1-13 and 13:8-14 emphasise internal unity and love.[545]

Two central units in Rom 12:14-21 and Rom 13:1-7 emphasise external unity and peace.[546] According to Konstan:

> The world implied by Aristotle's account anger is hierarchical, consisting of people who are superior or inferior in regard to strength, wealth, or status.[547] The point of ὕβρις for example is to demonstrate one's superiority to another; therefore it is characteristic of the rich and also young people who presumably are physically strong and at the same time wish to prove themselves.

Paul's statement in Rom 12:19 digresses completely from Aristotle's view that there are occasions that require anger.[548]

However, Rom 12:19 makes it quite clear that retribution is a divine act, and therefore not suitable as a response on a social level. Chapter 13 leads on to show how the divine ὀργή works on a social level.

> In L-N Domain 56 Subdomain 35: ἐκδίκησις is to give justice to someone who has been wronged. To give someone justice is the essential meaning.

> In L-N Domain 39 Subdomain 33: ἐκδίκησις means to repay harm with harm, on the assumption that the initial harm was unjustified and that retribution is therefore called for; to pay back; to revenge; to seek retribution, retribution. Ἐκδίκησις in this Domain is closer in semantic space to ὀργή than the Domain in which the second meaning of ὀργή has been classified.

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[543] Nussbaum 2005: 160
[544] Crossan 2004: 101
[545] Crossan 2004: 394
[546] Crossan 2004 : 394
[547] Konstan 2001: 73
[548] *Aristotle* trsl. Thomson 1961 : 126-7

In L-N Domain 38 Subdomain 8: ἐκδίκησις is to punish on the basis of what is rightly deserved.

In Rom 12:19, the meaning of ἐκδίκησις implies revenge because of its close association with ὀργή in the sentence. Crossan objects to this statement because, according to his interpretation, 'Jesus grounds human non-violence in the non-violence of God but Paul grounds human non-violence in the divine violence'.[549] However, in all three meanings given by L-N, ἐκδίκησις does not reflect violence.

Paul's use of ὀργή, throughout Romans, has carried a judicial quality that the punishment is corrective, not violent. In this respect, there is disagreement with Crossan's interpretation.

6.5.11 Ὀργή in Romans 13:1-7

There are no grammatical links to the preceding pericope. Crossan interprets 13:1-7 in conjunction with 12:14 to understand the purpose of this pericope.[550] Jewett confirms that chapter 12 was joined directly to 13:1-7, but became separated later when scripture was divided into verses and chapters.[551] In view of this, we need to consider how chapter 12 links to the preceding pericope. According to Stowers, Paul's discussion from chapters 1-11 focuses on God's righteousness which is shown through Christ's loyalty. The latter is the dynamic force which adapts itself to the edification of others. In this way, chapters 12-15 reflect an ethic of community living based on loyalty which permits amenability to others.[552]

Greek Text

Πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτασσέσθω. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐξουσία εἰ μὴ θεοῦ, αἱ δὲ οὖσαι ὑπὸ θεοῦ τεταγμέναι εἰσίν. 2 ὥστε ὁ ἀντιτασσόμενος τῇ ἐξ-ουσίᾳ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ διαταγῇ ἀνθέστηκεν, οἱ δὲ ἀνθεστηκότες ἑαυτοῖς κρίμα λήμψ-ονται. 3 οἱ γὰρ ἄρχοντες οὐκ εἰσὶν φόβος τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἔργῳ ἀλλὰ τῷ κακῷ. θέλεις δὲ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν· τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποίει, καὶ ἕξεις ἔπαινον ἐξ αὐτῆς· 4 θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονός ἐστιν σοὶ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν. ἐὰν δὲ τὸ κακὸν ποιῇς, φοβοῦ· οὐ γὰρ εἰκῇ τὴν μάχαιραν φορεῖ· θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονός ἐστιν ἔκδικος εἰς **ὀργὴν** τῷ

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[549] Crossan 2015: 216
[550] Crossan 2015: 214
[551] Jewett 2007: 756
[552] Stowers 1994: 318

τὸ κακὸν πράσσοντι. 5 διὸ ἀνάγκη ὑποτάσσεσθαι, οὐ μόνον διὰ **τὴν ὀργὴν** ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν. 6 διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ φόρους τελεῖτε· λειτουργοὶ γὰρ θεοῦ εἰσιν εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο προσκαρτερεοῦντες. 7 ἀπόδοτε πᾶσιν τὰς ὀφειλάς, τῷ τὸν φόρον τὸν φόρον, τῷ τὸ τέλος τὸ τέλος, τῷ τὸν φόβον τὸν φόβον, τῷ τὴν τιμὴν τὴν τιμήν.

English Translation

1 Let every person be obedient to the governing powers, for there is no authority except by God for they are appointed by God. 2 With the result one who resists the authority which God has decreed is resisting God. Those who resist will receive judgement against themselves. 3 The leaders are not a cause of fear to the good, but to the bad. Do you wish not to fear the authority? Then do good work and you will receive approval from the authority. 4 For he is the servant of God for your good but if you do evil, be afraid for he does not carry the sword in vain. For the servant of God is the one who punishes, the purpose of **wrath** is for the one who does evil. 5 Therefore it is necessary to obey, not only on account of **wrath** but also on account of your conscience. 6 For this reason also pay your taxes, for they are servants of God who devote themselves to this very purpose. 7 You must pay everyone what is due - to the revenue collector, revenue - to the tax collector, tax - to the one who is due fear, fear; and to the one who is due honour, honour.

Analysis

In 13:4, ὀργή is linked to τὸ κακὸν ποιῇς. Κακόν, according to L-N Domain 88, Subdomain 106, means 'pertaining to being bad, with the implication of harmful and damaging'. It may imply harming a person's status, therefore, in this respect it is in accord with Aristotle, but on the other hand the action may be broadening in its scope. For instance, the sword in Imperial Rome signified the power of the emperor to cause harm. It is a symbol of the emperor's power to punish. In 13:4, Paul is clearly aware of the power of the imperial sword to harm and its use in imperial ideology through which peace is achieved by the power of the sword. This power represents a violent power. However, this is not the view of an unknown poet who wrote the following verses at the beginning of Nero's reign:

> We reap with no sword, nor do towns in fast-closed walls, prepare unutterable war:

> There is not any woman who gives birth to an enemy. Unarmed, our youth can dig the fields, and the boy, trained to the slow-moving plough, marvels at the sword in the abode of his fathers.[553]

Paul wrote his letter to the Romans in the early years of Nero's reign. Nero was welcomed as ushering in a Golden Age in which justice would be restored and the Senate reinstated to fulfil its function.[554] One may say that Paul wrote this letter in an era of optimism for the Romans, the hope of justice in the law courts, so from this perspective Paul would respect the state's authority to punish. How the legal system was experienced depended on the social status as extant Roman trials show.[555]

Seneca wrote to Nero in *De Clementia* using the wise man as an example in legal matters.

> The wise man gives punishment when it is deserved. Clemency is not a direct pardon but will show itself in acts of consideration. Mitigating factors may influence the judgement. One he will merely reprimand if the offender's age holds out hopes of reform.[556]

This statement I consider to be in line with Paul's thinking, that criminals are punished and should be punished, but extenuating circumstances should be taken into account. However, later developments showed that he had misjudged the situation.

In Rom 13:1-7, Paul respects the rule of law. The following reason given by Konstan supports Paul's advice to relegate personal vengeance to the law courts as Nero had promised that the courts would be more just. A society in which the rule of law breaks down is in a state of anarchy, and is equivalent to an individual whose passions are out of control - not a conducive state for imparting a spiritual message. Therefore, my conclusion is that Paul was pragmatic, and not ideologically driven.

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[553] Haacker 2003: 118
[554] Jewett 2006: 47
[555] Bauman 1996: 81 *'Nero and Clemency : The Pedanius case.* Pedanius was murdered by a domestic slave. Every slave under the same roof at the time had to be questioned under torture … the freedmen were to be deported, and the slaves put to death'.
[556] Bauman 1996: 78

Crossan says that 13:1-7 has been quoted out of context for centuries, the full context to this section runs from 12:14 through to 13:1-7 which is the essence of Jesus' teaching : He forbids violent resistance against evil.[557]

Konstan also advises:

> appealing to the courts rather than relying on individual vengeance is assigned that one is able to control one's anger and respond not just to the personal affront but to the offence against the law. This is not to say that the desire for vengeance is abandoned rather it is pursued by different means. Anger might also distort deliberation whether in the court or the assembly.[558]

The two near synonyms of ὀργή are used in 13:4, but here their functions in the sentence do not carry an emotional aspect. Ἔκδικος in agreement with διάκονος as subject of the sentence is God's instrument for executing justice.

The majority of examples of ὀργή analysed in Romans use the characteristics of the emotion of anger in a figurative way to demonstrate the working of universal divine justice as a corrective force to bring Judean and Gentile to salvation. The words that were related semantically according to L-N did not portray the emotive qualities.

In chapters 12-13 Paul skilfully overturns the values of Imperial Rome by the injunction against ὀργή on a social level. However, failure to acknowledge ὀργή as an emotion misses the cultural values in the emotion that members of his community need to change.

6.5.12 Summary of Anger and Related Words

Rom 1:18-23, according to Jewett, is the first part of the first pericope, and 1:24-32 is the second half of the first pericope. Divine anger in Rom 1:18 is caused by impiety and injustice. It was possible to relate the causes, given by Paul, to the cause Aristotle gives in his definition of anger, by the following similarities: a slight, according to Aristotle, means that no value is accredited to the person or act. The act of impiety means that no value is accredited to the gods. For Paul it would be God, and ἀδικία, in the same way, denies value to the law. The denial of God in this context, is the denial of his invisible aspects in the creation. From this act arises the belief that the material world is real, but it is only an image. The complex cognitive function of anger was shown in the assessment

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[557] Crossan 2015: 214-215
[558] Konstan 2001: 69

of cultural values, that were denied. The present action in the pericope is divine anger, which is used as a metaphor for divine retribution. Nevertheless, these values needed to resonate with cultural values, but Paul's statement denies that godliness and lawfulness were valued. The acts of retribution are spelled out until Rom 1:32, but the theme of retribution continues, and its relevance will be indicated in a pericope, if needed for interpretation.

Rom 2:1-16   In this pericope, anger is used three times, twice as ὀργή, and once as θυμός. Its use in this pericope is to describe future punishment, unlike the description above which spoke of a present action. The words for anger are used in a pericope dominated by words for judgment, used eleven times and words for actions and acts, eleven times. The question is how the frequent use of these words influenced the provocation of anger?   The complex cognitive function in ὀργή, as Paul uses the word, reveals the capacity to discern real intent, not the outer action only. When the intent and outer action are not in harmony, Paul calls this hypocrisy.

Rom 3:1-8 : Paul raises the question about the interpretation of divine justice and retribution. Is it fair? The question, undoubtedly, is from the human perspective. The value of honour, in this example, illustrates the failure to honour God's impartial judgement. The action of ὀργή implies that this knowledge of God's impartial judgment was known, but put aside, set at nought and, for this reason, evoked anger.

Rom 4:13-25 Paul links the act of retribution, ὀργή, as a function of the law. Abraham, by his act of loyalty to God, transcended the law. Abraham had turned from the visible aspects of the creation to the invisible aspect of God, and remained loyal to that. Abraham was no longer guilty of slighting God, and, for this reason, was not subject to ὀργή.

Rom 5:1-11 In a stratified society, shame is a value to be avoided, and honour sought after. The friction, amongst the communities, implies one group does not display the criteria for honour, and is shamed because of this, the other group feels it meets the criteria for honour. They have not relinquished their differences to embrace the peace of Christ. The final judgment is not based on these values, consequently, theirs should not be either.

Rom 9:19-29 The use of ὀργή, as a cognitive emotion with social parallels, does not fit the pericope well. The mythical tradition discussed in Chapter Three is more in keeping with the cosmic operation, which Paul has in mind in this pericope.

Rom 10:14-21 There are certainly points of contact with Paul's use of παροργίζω and Aristotle's definition. Israel as a custodian of righteousness holds an elevated moral status and should be respected for this. The provocation to anger is the loss of this status by including a lesser people, who are to be treated as equals.

Rom 12:9-21 From Rom 1: 18-32 to 10:14-21 Paul used ὀργή as a metaphor to describe the action of divine retribution. It was possible to infer similarities to Aristotle's definition to understand the working of divine ὀργή. In this pericope, however, Paul advises against personal retribution on principles that resonate with the Stoics: the values in the emotions are false.

Rom 13:1-7 In this pericope there are three words to express the concept of anger according to L-N classification. Two of these near synonyms do not display cognitive properties, for this reason they will not be analysed as emotions. The occasion for ὀργή is similar to 2:1-16, certain actions deserve retribution. In 2:1-16 it relates to divine retribution, in this example, it is in the social sphere that bad actions result in punishment.

6.6   Conclusion

On the first page of this chapter, a chart was presented referred to as the CCR, Chart of Correlated References. The chart was constructed to display the range of lexical terms, identified in L-N, which are used by Paul in the undisputed letters, to express the concept of anger. The research presented in Chapter Five : Lexicography contributed to the construction of the chart.

The chart also shows the sequence in which these words would be followed in the undisputed letters. The sequence is arranged in a near chronological order, the word's near synonym is used to indicate that the approximate chronology is not certain, because there is no general consensus on this issue.

The aim of this chapter was a further proof of the research subject with reference to the emotion of anger. The proof took the form of an analysis of the word for anger in its context, its relevance to the argument in the pericope, and the letter as a whole.

A significant element, in the hypothesis of the research subject, is the function of the cognitive element in the emotions, which decides what is and what is not important. The underlying distinction is that these values are socially conditioned and therefore refer specifically to the values of a particular culture.

In order to bridge the gap between theory and evidence, the word for anger in the Pauline text was related to Aristotle's definition of anger to assess what provoked the anger in the Pauline text. Did the cause of anger represent a cultural value? The answer lies in the cultural context researched and presented in Chapter Four.

This is a description of the method used in this chapter to analyse the words as identified in L-N. The system used by L-N caused lexical difficulty, because of their failure to classify anger as an emotion. The word was grouped together with near synonyms that were not emotions, and, therefore, did not have a cognitive function. Much depended on the cognitive aspect of the emotion in this research .

A detailed summary is set out at the end of the analysis of all the undisputed letters to disclose how this system of worked and what was learnt about the cultural values to affirm the hypothesis stated in Chapter One: emotions are socially conditioned.

The penultimate chapter in the research follows, which uses the same method in the analysis of the emotion of fear.

CHAPTER SEVEN : Φόβος AND RELATED WORDS IN THE UNDISPUTED PAULINE LETTERS

7.1 Introduction with Chart Correlated References

In Chapter Six anger and related words were analysed in the undisputed Pauline corpus to understand how Paul applies these words as understood in first century CE Imperial Rome. In this chapter the process is repeated, but here it is fear, φόβος, and related words, though the procedure is the same.

CCR IN TABULAR FORM

WORD	SEMANTIC DOMAIN	1 COR	2 COR	PHIL	GAL	ROM
φόβος – fear	25.251	2:3	2:8-9; 7:5; 7:11; 7:15	2:17		8:15
προσκυνήσει – worship	53.56	14:25				
ἀφόβως – fearless	25.253	16:10				
φόβος – reverence	53.59	5:11; 7:1; 7:15				3:18
ἐκφόβος – terrified	25.256		10:9			
φοβέομαι – I am afraid	25.252		12:20		2:12	11:20
πτυρόμενοι - to be intimidated	25.263			1:28		
κάμπτω τὸ γόνυ – to bend the knee	53.61			2:10		11:4; 14:11
σεβάζομαι - worship	53.53					1:25

WORD	SEMANTIC DOMAIN	1 COR	2 COR	PHIL	GAL	ROM
λατρέυω – to serve	53.14					1:25
φόβος - cause to fear	25.254					13:3
τρόμος - trembling	16.6	2.3		2:17		
ἀσθένεια – incapacity, illness, timidity	74.23 23.143 25.269	2:3				

The semantic range of the word, as given in the chart, is identified in the following manner: reference to L-N Vol. II which gives the Domain/s depending on the semantic range of the word, and also a gloss and Domain number. The Domains are listed in Vol. I; these consist not only of the particular word referred to, but also the near synonyms. Only the near synonyms and antonyms, which appear in the authentic Pauline letters are indicated in the chart. The word's immediate context determines the choice from the information as described above. The emotive content of φόβος, as defined by Aristotle, indicates the social relevance of the experience of fear in the context of that particular sentence, because the values held in the emotion are culturally based. The reference to Aristotle is pivotal to the analysis of the sentence and its relevance to the pericope i.e. in the examples where semantics and philosophy do cohere. This method also reveals a lexicon inconsistency in the evaluation of emotions and in their choice of near synonyms.

The editors have attributed three meanings to φόβος, but allocated these in two Domains. The first Domain 25 Attitudes and Emotions lists all the words related to the topic and arranged in Subdomains; the second, Domain 53 Worship, Reverence which follows the same process as above.

Subdomain 25.251   fear, a state of extreme distress; 19 related words

Subdomain 25.254   source of fear

Subdomain 53.59   to worship, to venerate; 12 related words

Φόβος as reverence, awe, is an emotion but is not recognised as such in this lexicon; as a result φόβος as awe is grouped with a number of near synonyms that are not emotions. Therefore only words that express awe in context of the sentence will be analysed.

The chart reflects the words used in the undisputed Pauline letters, as the aim is not to present a general overview of the use of the word, but how it, and related words, feature in the Pauline corpus.

The word's immediate grammatical context indicates a potential meaning; this in turn needs to relate to the idea that formed the pericope.

Aristotle's definition of fear is used to interpret the meaning in its social context, because the beliefs held in the emotions are grounded in the values of the social world of a particular culture.

'Emotions are responses not to events but actions, or situations resulting from actions, that entail consequences for one's own or others relative social standing'.[559]

The following discusses fear in 1 and 2 Corinthians.

7.2   1 and 2 Corinthians

7.2.1   Outline of 1 Corinthians

The outline of 1 Corinthians is set out in full on page 108 in Chapter Six, 6.3, in which the emotion of anger is analysed.

In this chapter the emotion of fear is analysed in the same letter, therefore, to avoid excessive duplication, a brief summary of pertinent issues is re-iterated. 1 Corinthians is the second letter to the community in which Paul responds to oral reports from Chloe's people. It is a response to a letter reflecting values of a higher social strata to the oral report. In Paul's community in Corinth these socal divisions fuelled the prevalent discord.

As indicated in the previous chapter, according to Witherington, Paul uses deliberative rhetoric to persuade in 1 Corinthians that it is to the benefit of the community to work together, determine what is essential to achieve this and reach agreement. They are also

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[559] Konstan 2007: 40

encouraged not to be petty-minded about matters that have little intrinsic value.[560] Witherington favours the rhetorical structure to interpret a Pauline letter, on the conviction that the letter was intended to be read aloud.

This is the epistolary and rhetorical structure of 1 Corinthians according to Witherington:[561]

1:1-3	The epistolary prescript
1:4-9	The epistolary thanksgiving and *exordium*
1:10	The *propositio* introducing the letter with a παρακαλῶ formula making the basic research statement of the entire letter
1:11-17	A brief *narratio* explaining the situation or facts that have prompted the writing of the letter.
1:18-16:12	The *probatio* which includes arguments concerning:

a. a division over leaders and wisdom (1:18-4:21)

b. sexual immorality and law suits (5-6)

c. marriage and singleness (7)

d. idols' food and eating in idol temples (8-11:1, with a pertinent digression or *egressio* in chapter 9)

e. head coverings in worship (11:1-16)

f. abuses of the Lord's Supper (11:17- 34)

g. spiritual gifts in Christ's body (12-14 with a pertinent digression or *egressio* in chapter 13)

h. the future in the form of the resurrection (15)

i. the collection and other ministries for Corinth

The *peroratio*

The closing epistolary greetings and remarks (16:19-24).

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[560] Witherington 1995: 75
[561] Witherington 1995: 76

The alternative example given to illustrate the division of the letter is not according to rhetorical conventions, but a sequence of responses by Paul to an oral report from Chloe's people and a letter brought by a member of the community.[562]

Oral reports (1:10-4:17/4:18-6:20)

Corinthian letter (7:1-40/8:1-11:1)

Oral reports (11:2-34)

Corinthian letter (12:1-14:40)

Oral reports (15:1-58)

Corinthian letter (16:1-12)

Therefore, the letter addresses two forms of communication, an oral report and a letter delivered to Paul in Ephesus and his responses. Because the interpretation of the verses is cultural, and not theological, both forms of interpretation are referred to in order to clarify and edify the meaning of φόβος and related words in the context of the verse and pericope. The rhetorical structure for 2 Corinthians will be given in the previous Chapter.

The following pericopes are analysed as set out in the CCR:

1 Cor 2:1-5; 1 Cor 14:20-25; 1 Cor 16: 5-12; 2 Cor 6:14-7:1; 2 Cor 7:2-13a; 2 Cor 7:13b-16; 2 Cor 10:7-11; 2 Cor 11:1-6; 2 Cor 12:19-21.

7.2.2   Φόβος, ἀσθένεια and τρόμος in 1 Cor 2:1-5

The reference for 1 Cor 2:3 is in the context of the oral report from Chloe's people, who are representative of the weak in reference to Theissen's interpretation. Paul addresses the divisions in the community, showing his empathy with the weak by describing his own fear. The emotion, fear, opens a window into the social values of the Corinthians.

Greek Text

Κἀγὼ ἐλθὼν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, ἦλθον οὐ καθ᾽ ὑπεροχὴν λόγου ἢ σοφίας καταγγέλλων ὑμῖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ. 2 οὐ γὰρ ἔκρινά τι εἰδέναι ἐν ὑμῖν

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[562] Fee 1987: 6

εἰ μὴ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ τοῦτον ἐσταυρωμένον. 3 κἀγὼ ἐν **ἀσθενείᾳ** καὶ ἐν **φόβῳ** καὶ ἐν **τρόμῳ** πολλῷ ἐγενόμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς, 4 καὶ ὁ λόγος μου καὶ τὸ κήρυγμά μου οὐκ ἐν πειθοῖ σοφίας ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως, 5 ἵνα ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν μὴ ᾖ ἐν σοφίᾳ ἀνθρώπων ἀλλ᾽ ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ.

English Translation

1 When I came to you, brethren, I came not proclaiming to you the mystery of God with high sounding words[563] or wisdom. 2 I decided not to know anything among you except Jesus Christ and he who is crucified. 3 I was in your presence in **weakness,** and in **fear** and in much **trembling**. 4 My word and my message were not in persuasive wisdom, but in demonstration of spirit and power, 5 in order that your faith may not be in the wisdom of men but in the power of God.

Analysis

1 Cor 1:10-17 Paul uses the first person singular, changes to first person plural in 1:18-25, second person plural 1:26-31, then again to first person singular in 2:1-5 connecting to the thought expressed in 1:10-17 – the identification with his apostleship to preach the gospel.[564] He reminds his community that his message is the Lord Jesus, not his personal skills.

1 Cor 2:1 οὐ καθ᾽ ὑπεροχήν is a declaration against status. The word expresses rank and position, and also connects the listener to the idea of rhetoric, a much valued skill in the community. It was a skill associated with the Sophists who flourished in first century CE, attracting the public and students to their schools.[565] The specific style which Paul opposed was 'public display oratory', much admired in contrast to Paul's conscious choice of a simple unaffected style that does not attract attention.[566] It was also a competitive feature of the Isthmian Games commented on by both Dio Chrysostom and Plutarch.[567] The essential issue in rhetoric is a skill that enhances status which is the antithesis of Paul's message. Paul's vision for his community was a common status as

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[563] L-N 1988: 736; BDAG 2000: 1034 'I have not come as a superior person'.
[564] Garland 2008: 82
[565] Thistleton 2013: 205
[566] Thistleton 2013: 205
[567] Thistleton 2013: 205

equals before God.[568] This vision of a community is in diametric opposition to the normalcy of human standards in general and Roman patronage in particular.[569]

The theme begun in 1 Cor 1:17 οὐκ ἐν σοφίᾳ λόγου, is picked up again in 2:3. In this verse there are three prepositional phrases which are connected logically and semantically to each other, but temporally to 1:17.

These phrases ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ, ἐν φόβῳ, ἐν τρόμῳ provide the rationale for Paul's emotive state which partially explains why he did not come ἐν σοφίᾳ λόγου. They are also the subject of the analysis. Φόβος in grammatical terms is a verbal noun, and according to Nida and Taber it is an event word, therefore Paul would say – I was afraid.[570]

φόβος in L-N Domain 25 Subdomain 251 is listed as an emotion and therefore does not present the same lexical difficulty as ὀργή, which problem was addressed in Chapter Five.

In the same Domain but different Subdomain 269, ἀσθένεια – weakness – is listed as a figurative extension of ἀσθένεια, timidity, being fearful (according to L-N: 318).[571] This semantic overlap emphasises his state of fear.

According to Young's *Analytical Concordance* ἀσθένεια is seldom used in the Old Testament, and in the New Testament it is used predominantly by Paul and, of this usage, twenty one times in Corinthians.[572] Similarly, Paul uses φόβος most frequently in Corinthians.

L-N attribute a cognitive aspect to φόβος, so in this respect they are in accord with scholars in emotional studies. One important omission is the role of cultural values held in the emotions, how they influence what is to be feared and what is not. This aspect will be more fully explored in the relevant section.

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[568] Crossan and Reed 2005: 334
[569] Crossan and Reed 2005: 334
[570] Nida and Taber 2003: φόβος as a verbal noun can be classified as an event that can be transformed into a kernel sentence with a subject, verb and object. Events can be expressed as verbs.
[571] Konstan 2007: 153. Robert Zaborowski (2002) has listed a number of words that can plausibly be related to the idea of fear and also of courage in the Homeric epics, and has come up with forty-three different terms (derived from twenty-two distinct roots), including, besides φόβος, the nouns δέος, αἰδώς, σέβας, θάμβος, ὄκνος, τρόμος, and τάρβος. L-N list nineteen words including verbs. Although Aristotle uses φόβος in *Rhetoric* , the noun δέος and the verb δεδοίκα largely overlap. They are not listed in L-N because they are not used in the NT.
[572] Young 1980: 1040

Some commentators translate ἀσθένεια as Paul's physical weakness due to the tortures he experienced, but this is not the interpretation followed here. By logically linking the phrase in 1:17 to 2:13, ἀσθένεια is translated as lack of ability. By divesting himself of skills with which he would gain some status in the society, Paul identifies himself with the weak.

In 1:26 he says that among the Corinthians 'there are not many that are wise, influential or of noble birth', hereby indicating a social stratification.[573] Theissen interprets these verses as evidence that in the community there are two groups – weak and strong. Paul by divesting himself of attributes that would qualify as strong, has aligned himself with the weak. In 4:10 Paul says 'we are weak; and you are so powerful'.[574] In 9.22, 'to the weak I became weak'.[575] According to Hartin in a collectivist culture the leader of the group reflects the group's emotions.[576] At this stage of the enquiry it cannot be stated with certainty that this description applies to Paul. Having considered ἀσθένεια in a semantic sphere and the information the word reveals about the social structure; φόβος, too, has been considered semantically. A philosophical perspective is also required to understand its function in the social context, thereby moving in the direction of understanding and meaning. What does Paul mean when he says, 'I was afraid'?

This means that the emotion is considered as it is experienced in a first century Imperial Roman community. As indicated before, I am primarily following the work of David Konstan on the emotions, whose studies show that emotions are not universally the same for all time, but their meanings are dependent on their cultural context. He uses Aristotle's definitions as his reference, so shall I follow this example.

Aristotle's definition of φόβος:

> Let φόβος be a kind of pain or disturbance deriving from an impression
> (φαντασία) of a future evil that is destructive or painful; for not all evils are
> feared, for example, whether one will be unjust or slow, but as many as are
> productive of great pain or destruction, and these if they are not distant but

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[573] Theissen 1990: 73-79 124 names of heads of households: Crispus, Stephanas, Phoebe of Cenchraea, Gaius, Titus, Justus. Leisure or business travel – Stephanas, Fortunatus, Achaicus, Erastus, Phoebe, Aquila, Priscilla, Chloe.
[574] The New English Bible 1961: 284
[575] The New English Bible 1961: 291
[576] Hartin 2009: 24 uses this example with reference to Apollos.

rather seem near so as to impend. For things that are remote are not greatly

feared [*Rhetoric* 2.5, 1382a 21-5].[577]

In 1 Cor 2:3 Paul cognized an impending harm in the future. Aristotle says that it must not be too remote otherwise it will not be feared. Φόβος is capable of making social judgements, for example, who are in positions of power and can cause harm?[578] The chief cause of fear is the superior strength in the other party. Aristotle's definition does clarify that emotion is not considered as an involuntary response, so Paul is not afraid involuntarily, simply because the situation is strange, or as has been suggested because he arrived on his own, without his co-workers.[579] Fear is a conditioned response in which relations of power and judgements concerning these play a crucial role.[580] It is especially the social conditioning that will assist in Paul's use of the emotion in his authentic letters. Paul uses the word fear more frequently in his letters to the Corinthians, than in any of his other letters.

Martha Nussbaum's scholarship in the field of emotions is also included to assist in the endeavour to understand Paul's experience of fear. Although she is using Stoic philosophy as her frame of reference, there is agreement with Aristotle as both attribute a cognitive function to the emotions. It is interesting to note that the Stoics have εὐπάθεια for fear which translates as caution; however, they frown on its normative usage.

To the Stoics the judgements that are identified with emotions all have a common subject matter. All are concerned with vulnerable things, things that can be affected by events in the world beyond the person's own control, things that can arrive by surprise, that can be destroyed or removed even when one does not wish it. These are a person's 'external good', external not in a sense that they must lie outside the perimeter of the person's body, but in the sense that they elude the person's complete control.[581]

In the correspondence to the Corinthians φόβος is used first in 1 Cor 2:3. In relation to Nussbaum's example, the question is what is vulnerable to Paul? The communities are

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[577] Konstan 2007: 130
[578] Konstan 2007: 132
[579] Thistleton 2013: 205
[580] Konstan 2007: 133
[581] Nussbaum 2005: 42

very young, not quite five years old.[582]   Therefore, they are quite vulnerable to their society's values. If his position as founder of the community is undermined, he will lose his opportunity to convey his message. What is the power to cause him harm? Paul does not use the word φόβος to describe *experiences* of dangerous situations with the possibility of physical harm, e.g. 1 Thess 2:2; 2 Cor 2:8-9; consequently these are taken as grounds to look at the social conditions in Corinth for the cause of his fear.

This is Paul's context of the social conditions of Corinth, it is here that he meets his challenges. Paul's outer journey is available for scrutiny, but how do the social conditions impact on his inner journey?[583] Through his use of emotional terms, we are allowed an insight to the social opposition against him, by powerful people in the community. As was stated earlier the chief cause of fear is the superior strength in the other party.[584] Therefore the cause of fear would be represented by the strong in society. The social group is identified in a general way, but not in the particular.

According to Horsley, Corinth constituted the most diverse and fragmented social atmosphere.[585] There is no continuity and stabilising tradition from ancient times.[586] In Paul's time he encountered cliques, wealthy and powerful magistrates lacking hereditary prestige of birth and long standing leadership.[587] The Roman colony was populated in 44 BCE by army veterans, free slaves, and undesirables.[588] Horsley doubts whether any principles of social cohesion exists below the level of the newly constructed civic elite.[589]

Dio Chrysostom relates the experience of the philosopher Diogenes at the Isthmian Games:

> That was the time, too, when one could hear crowds of wretched Sophists
> around Poseidon's temple shouting and reviling one another, and their disciples,
> as they were called, fighting with one another, many writers reading aloud their

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[582] Thistleton 2013: 10

[583] Crossan and Reed 2005: 316. According to Crossan and Reed, John Chow has made a persuasive case that Paul first encountered powerful patrons at Corinth. That they are powerful may account for his fear, especially if dissension had occurred.

[584] Konstan 2007: 132

[585] Horsley 2004: 11

[586] Horsley 2004: 12

[587] Horsley 2004: 12

[588] Horsley 2004: 12

[589] Horsley 2004: 12

stupid work, many poets reciting their poems ... jugglers, ... fortune tellers, …

lawyers, ... peddlers. (*Orations* 8.9) [590]

The social order as described by Dio Chrysostom lists Sophists (paid teachers) first. Their prominent position in the list tells us something of Corinthian values. They are prepared to pay for the acquisition of knowledge. In a progressively declining social order, lawyers just above the peddlers, he does not appear to attribute much value to their profession, certainly a lowering in status since the days of Cicero. All the above are selling services. However subjective the description of the event is, it conveys an impression of group hostility, scrambling for recognition and honour. Although Horsley judges Corinth to be without social cohesion, there is an element not described in this quotation, which is pivotal to this system functioning - patronage.

According to Crossan and Reed, these three areas, eating places, meeting spaces, or religious rites in homes, overlap and intertwine to such an extent that any division is purely artificial. None exists in isolation from patronage.[591]

The patron is a symbol and source of power to those on whom he bequeaths benefits. They become his clients, pledge their loyalty and surrender their independence in return for status and influence. Some relationships were legally binding, e.g. former master and freedman.[592] The ultimate patron is the emperor, from whom power and benefits are diffused, the beneficiary or client in turn becomes a patron, and so it continues. The diffused power diminishes in potency and scope, as it moves from source. Crossan and Reed calls this system the moral glue of ancient public life.[593]

In her book, *The Roman Banquet: Images of Conviviality*, Katherine Dunbabin describes dining as an important social occasion in the classical world.[594]

> Scenes of drinking and dining decorate the wall paintings, and mosaics decorate
> walls and pavements of many Roman houses. They are also painted on tombs
> and carved in relief on sarcophagi and on innumerable smaller grave ornaments.

Archaeological and literary evidence confirm the importance of this practice.

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[590] Garland 1999: 23
[591] Crossan and Reed 2004: 306
[592] Gardener 1994: 253
[593] Crossan and Reed 2004: 297
[594] Dunbabin 2010: The quotation is taken from a description of the contents of the book. The rest of the paragraph is taken from the same source.

This social function is also used in the Synoptic Gospels to overturn normative values of religious and social degrees and status and achievements.[595] So it is probable to infer from this example that the dining experience especially reflected social structures and stratification, otherwise the parables would be meaningless.

Therefore, in lieu of the above examples, this area will be examined to ascertain whether the cause of Paul's fear is revealed. The dining experience is used as the microcosm of Imperial Roman society, in Corinth and the Empire generally.

The Asclepion in Corinth, or shrine to Asclepius, is a well-preserved example to illustrate the connection between religion and food and likewise permeated by the patronal system.[596] The temple served a number of functions, as a shrine, a healing centre, part hospital and part social. Three dining couches (τρικλίνια) made up the lower part of the ἄβατον, the sacred area where patients were healed.[597] Each banqueting room opened on to the pool and each had permanent stone couches along their internal walls.[598] Not only patients dined there, but wealthy local residents held banquets there.[599] For the guests the most pressing question would be their place among the eleven seats.[600] There was a clear ranking in the seating arrangements, the most important person took the seat in the middle bench looking out onto the pool and flanked on either side by those next in line. One's distance from the host indicated one's social rank and relation to the patron.[601] The most important person at the banquet was the one who paid for it, the patron.[602] Even in a small dinner party your social status was reinforced.[603]

 I will use evidence of a public eating place from an Egyptian papyrus first century BCE, a meeting of the members of the association of Zeus Hypsistos. A description of all male devotees of Dionysos about second century CE found in Athens provides useful insights into this enquiry. Pompeii and Herculaneum provide examples of dining areas and the social arrangements of houses, which provides a window into the daily life of that world.

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[595] Thistleton 2013: 205
[596] Crossan and Reed 2005: 301
[597] Crossan and Reed 2005: 302
[598] Crossan and Reed 2005: 302
[599] Crossan and Reed 2005: 302
[600] Crossan and Reed 2005: 302
[601] Crossan and Reed 2005: 303
[602] Crossan and Reed 2005: 303
[603] Roller 2006: 1-4 Roller, in his work *Dining Postures in Ancient Rome: Bodies, Values and Status,* shows how social posture indicates status. Crossan and Reed has given the example of position in relation to the patron as an indicator, but Roller adds another dimension to the significance of status.

The arrangements of the buildings help us understand how Paul may have conducted his craft and interacted with the community. The Roman satirical poets also shed light on the Roman dinner parties and the relationship between patrons and clients.

The Egyptian Papyrus [604]

This group shared a meal at least on a monthly basis. The meal was the main event. It was preceded by a sacrifice, poured out libations and prayers to Zeus Hypsistos, followed by heavy drinking. The hierarchy in the group paralleled the outside world. As this group was pre-Roman, they first honoured their Ptolemaic ruler and vowed to perform the other customary rites on behalf of the god and lord, the king.

They acknowledge the king's ultimate patronage, then the group's immediate patron, who is also the president, is named and praised, the vice president or assistant is also included. The men who have gathered obey both, and remain loyal to the leadership. The president and vice president provide for the monthly meeting. All the members are seated down the line according to their recognised social rank. Members are prohibited to enter into another's pedigrees at the banquet, by challenging their seating location. Order and group cohesion is the ideal. They are warned not to speak abusively to one another, nor to accuse or indict another in public courts.[605]

The above description mirrors certain factors that may help in understanding Paul's frequent use of φόβος in 1 and 2 Corinthians. It is immediately evident that the power lies with the patron. He commands loyalty and respect (they praised him), he makes the gathering possible. Social rank is very specific and not permitted to be contested. It illustrates the dependence of the lower orders of society on a benefactor. We have no information whether food was served or not, neither are we told how the quality of wine differed in the lower social orders. From the above description I propose that emotional substratum of the lower orders is φόβος in both its semantic spheres. It operates as respect, reverence and also the knowledge of possible harm. A withdrawal of patronage would reduce the possibilities even further for those whose social and physical possessions were so limited.

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[604] Crossan and Reed 2005: 303-4 The whole section quoted above is taken from Crossan and Reed, based on an extant papyrus now in the British Museum. This is an example of patronage at meals which may shed light on Paul's difficulties in Corinth.

[605] Crossan and Reed 2004: 303 Example of prohibiting a group's disputes in public also in 1 Cor 6:1-8

Devotees of Dionysos

Another inscription was found in Athens of male devotees of Dionysos, who met in the second century CE.[606] The text specified how the sacrifices were to be performed:

The meat was distributed by the ἀρχίβακχος, the head or ruler. It was the function of the ἀρχίβακχος to offer the sacrifice and libation. The distribution of the meat was done by the ἀρχίβακχος, who was assisted by the priest, vice priest, treasurer and βουκολικός. There were approximately fifty members in the group.[607]

In addition to these archaeological examples at Delos, excellent examples were discovered at Herculaneum and Pompeii. Wallace-Hadrill mentions the ἀρχίβακχος. In the social set-up, according to both extracts, service to a divinity required high social status. Those in the lower strata were constantly reminded of their dependence on patronage.[608]

> The rules stated, whoever of the members improved their lot by receipt of a legacy, an honour, or appointment shall set a libation worthy of the appointment. Any member's social status required a corresponding recognition.[609] Therefore paying for the libation, in view of the improved social state, was an honour. The focal point was the honour gained, not the benefit to the recipients.

As an artisan in the Corinthian society, Paul's social status was a little higher than farm workers who were slaves or freedmen.[610] As a result of excavations in Delos we have examples of private homes, which clarify how Paul in his social status would have interacted with wealthy and powerful households.[611] The houses did not form 'good and bad areas'; houses that were lavishly decorated were next to simple homes, both may be fronted with shops, and workshops.[612] Crossan and Reed suggest that this urban layout is crucial to our understanding of Paul's patronage problems at Corinth.[613] It is also crucial to link Paul's fear to social conventions, as the metaphor of 'the meal' illustrates the

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[606] Crossan and Reed 2004: 304
[607] Crossan and Reed 2004: 304
[608] Wallace-Hadrill in Crossan and Reed 2005: 311
[609] Crossan and Reed 2005: 304
[610] Meeks 1983: 9
[611] Crossan and Reed 2005: 309
[612] Crossan and Reed 2005: 309
[613] Crossan and Reed 2005: 308

power of patronage. It is the presence of power that can harm one's aspirations that causes fear.

A number of examples have been presented to illustrate the gulf in the social status and, on the other hand, the close physical proximity to each other. As we can see, the close proximity of clients to their patronage was a constant reminder of dependence.

According to literary sources we are given an additional view of 'status' in the Imperial Roman society. Petronius' *Satyricon* 52ff in which a freed slave, Trimalchio, having accumulated great wealth, found that wealth alone was not an entrée into the upper echelons of society.[614] Juvenal's *Satura*, illustrates the relationship between client and patron, the difference not only in status, but the catering needs of guests show great disparity. Juvenal also shows that status has its own complexities. The client, the guest, is ignored by the host's (the patron's) slave, who socially is lower than the client.

Further literary examples illustrate the patron decides not only where you sit, which determines status. One's status is determined then, and what you are given to eat and drink follows from this.[615] Consequently, as a metaphor, we get a glimpse of the dependency on the patron which this system creates.

Therefore, if different patrons supported individual apostles, and some patrons were in conflict with others, the factions could destroy the communities that Paul founded (1 Cor 10-13). In 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians and Romans, Paul's function as an apostle is stated in the first line of the salutation. In Corinth it is a declaration of his faithfulness to the message of the crucified Christ, consequently he could not swear his allegiance and dependence to a patron. Paul was one of many itinerant teachers who were offered hospitality by someone of influence. An act of generosity was a way of gaining status; thus it became important to the patron to host a successful teacher. It was a social right for an apostle to be hosted and cared for, but Paul refused this in 1 Cor 9:19, 'I am a free man and own no master'.[616] The examples given above illustrate the power the patron exerted over the life of a client, and this would have been in conflict with Paul's aim, to replace the status system with a unified community:

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[614] Theissen 1982: 124

[615] *Letter 2.6* of Pliny the Younger; Martial *Epigrams* 9.2; Juvenal *Satires* 5.24-155; Horace *Satires* 2.8. These are not factual accounts, but indicate the practice of power.
http://escholarship.org/uc/item/4jh846pn accessed 16/10/2017

[616] The New English Bible 1961: 290

> We too, all of us, have been baptised into a single body by the power of a single Spirit, Judeans and Greeks, slaves and free men alike; we have all been given drink at a single source, the one Spirit.[617]

There was also conflict at the Lord's Supper due to the behaviour of the strong and this caused further conflict within the community. The practices threatened the fellowship of the members; certain groups brought in private meals, others had no food.[618] The Lord's Supper mirrored the social stratification, instead of transcending it.

The discussion so far provides some of the social practices that had the power to derail Paul's missionary work in Corinth and resonate with Martha Nussbaum's statement that there are things outside a person's control and the inference is this is what Paul has cognised.

7.2.3 Προσκυνέω in 1 Cor 14:20-25

In this pericope, Paul draws a comparison between two spiritual gifts: speaking in tongues and prophecy. If speech is unintelligible, there is no communal benefit and does not arouse awe. If the speech is intelligible, as in prophecy, the power of the speech can illuminate even for an outsider an obstacle to spiritual health. This meaningful power arouses awe. This is an example of how Paul is using an emotional appeal to counteract the norms of society which the Corinthians are trying to establish in their community. This has been the cause of divisive behaviour which Paul is countering. He uses the emotion awe to uplift the community outside their narrow status boundaries.[619]

Greek Text

20 Ἀδελφοί, μὴ παιδία γίνεσθε ταῖς φρεσὶν ἀλλὰ τῇ κακίᾳ νηπιάζετε, ταῖς δὲ φρεσὶν τέλειοι γίνεσθε. 21 ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται ὅτι

Ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις

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[617] Knox 1951: 491
[618] Theissen 1990: 150
[619] Witherington 1995: 276-277. There are New Testament interpretations which assess prophecy and ecstatic speech in relation to a perception of pagan prophetic practices. The view is that prophecy and ecstatic speech manifested as a combined phenomenon. This interpretation suggests that the movement into tongues occurs at the climax of the prophesy, thus authenticating the experience as divine. Witherington quotes the work of Fontenrose, whose extensive research into the Delphic practices has revealed a difference in practices to those described above. He also argues that a close study showed no reliable evidence for vapours or frenzy of the Πυθία.

καὶ ἐν χείλεσιν ἑτέρων

λαλήσω τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ

καὶ οὐδ᾽ οὕτως εἰσακούσονταί μου,

λέγει κύριος. 22 ὥστε αἱ γλῶσσαι εἰς σημεῖόν εἰσιν οὐ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀπίστοις, ἡ δὲ προφητεία οὐ τοῖς ἀπίστοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν. 23 Ἐὰν οὖν συνέλθῃ ἡ ἐκκλησία ὅλη ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ πάντες λαλῶσιν γλώσ- σαις, εἰσέλθωσιν δὲ ἰδιῶται ἢ ἄπιστοι, οὐκ ἐροῦσιν ὅτι μαίνεσθε; 24 ἐὰν δὲ πάντες προφητεύωσιν, εἰσέλθῃ δέ τις ἄπιστος ἢ ἰδιώτης, ἐλέγχεται ὑπὸ πάν- των, ἀνακρίνεται ὑπὸ πάντων, 25 τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ φανερὰ γίν- εται, καὶ οὕτως πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον **προσκυνήσει** τῷ θεῷ ἀπαγγέλλων ὅτι Ὄντως ὁ θεὸς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστιν.

English Translation

20 Brothers (and sisters) do not be like a child in your thoughts, but be a child in respect of evil, and think like mature men. 21 For it is written in the law,

‘in other tongues and with other lips I shall speak to this people and even

thus they shall not listen to me’,

says the Lord. 22 With the result that speaking in tongues is a sign for those who do not believe. Prophecy is not for those who disbelieve but for those who believe. 23 Therefore if the whole community should come together at this time and they all speak in tongues and strangers or unbelievers come in, will they not say that you are out of your mind? 24 If all prophesy and an unbeliever or stranger should come in he will be convicted by all and called to account by all, 25 for the hidden things of his heart will be apparent and thus he will fall on his face and he **will worship** God saying that, ‘Truly God is among you’.

Analysis

V.25 The verb προσκυνήσει is a near synonym in Domain 53 Subdomain 65 in L-N - to prostrate oneself in worship. This word is given as a near synonym in the same Domain for φόβος as profound respect and awe for deity, reverence, awe.[620] The editors do have a footnote to distinguish its meaning from the other synonyms for worship as this

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[620] L-N 1988: 541

emphasises the semantic element of position in the act of worship.[621]   According to BDAG, to express in attitude or gesture one's complete dependence on or submission to a higher authority figure.[622] The word calls for submission and acknowledgment of dependence, not on a patron, but the grace of the community.

Προσκυνήσει is not an emotive term as such. It may reflect the awe experienced, but it may also be only an outward show. In this verse it emphasises the awe experienced when a person is confronted by real wisdom. Also the wisdom shone a light on an impediment to spiritual life which needed to be removed; this revelation was not an acquisition to enhance a social position in their community. The lesson for the Corinthians is the gratitude expressed by the act of prostration, a symbol of surrendering to a higher power, not for acquiring anything, but actually the potential to lose something, and for this gratitude is expressed. It is not in keeping with their customary thinking.

The Corinthians are shown that spiritual gifts as status embellishments, such as speaking in tongues, are not a conduit for real change in their community. In 1 Cor 14:14 Paul speaks of fruits of the spirit, they are encouraged to put love first, then prophecy, because prophecy builds up. He distinguishes between the flesh and spirit. A spiritual gift is not a personal adornment.

7.2.4 Ἀφόβως in 1 Cor 16:5-12a

From Ephesus, Paul is informing the Corinthians of his travel plans. He probably became aware that the divisive situation in Corinth persisted and required the presence of his co-worker, Timothy, until he arrived there himself.

The fact that he asks that Timothy might come without fear is an indication that, not only is there divisiveness, but that there is hostility towards himself, an antagonism which he does not want transferred on to Timothy.   If considered from the perspective of Aristotle's definition, fear is the cognition of an impending harm. This implies a change of attitude in Paul, as he is seen as the cause of harm to them.

In this pericope, we again see that Paul's initial task, as stated in 1 Cor 1:10, to heal the divisions in the community, appears not to have been successful.

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[621] L-N 1988: 540
[622] BDAG 2000: 882

Greek Text

5 Ἐλεύσομαι δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅταν Μακεδονίαν διέλθω· Μακεδονίαν γὰρ διέρχομαι, 6 πρὸς ὑμᾶς δὲ τυχὸν παραμενῶ ἢ καὶ παραχειμάσω, ἵνα ὑμεῖς με προπέμψητε οὗ ἐὰν πορεύωμαι. 7 οὐ θέλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἄρτι ἐν παρόδῳ ἰδεῖν, ἐλπίζω γὰρ χρόνον τινὰ ἐπιμεῖναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐὰν ὁ κύριος ἐπιτρέψῃ. 8 ἐπιμενῶ δὲ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἕως τῆς πεντηκοστῆς· 9 θύρα γάρ μοι ἀνέῳγεν μεγάλη καὶ ἐνεργής, καὶ ἀντικείμενοι πολλοί. 10 Ἐὰν δὲ ἔλθῃ Τιμόθεος, βλέπετε, ἵνα **ἀφόβως** γένηται πρὸς ὑμᾶς· τὸ γὰρ ἔργον κυρίου ἐργάζεται ὡς κἀγώ· 11 μή τις οὖν αὐτὸν ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἵνα ἔλθῃ πρός με· ἐκδέχομαι γὰρ αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν.

12 Περὶ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, πολλὰ παρεκάλεσα αὐτόν, ἵνα ἔλθῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν·

English Translation

5 I shall come to you after I have gone through Macedonia, for I am going through Macedonia. 6 Perhaps I shall remain with you and spend the winter, in order that you may send me wherever I may journey. 7 For I do not wish to see you just in passing, for I hope to spend some time if the Lord permits. 8 I shall remain in Ephesus until Pentecost; 9 for there is a great and effective opening for me, which many are opposing. 10 If Timothy should come, you must see to it that he may come **without fear** of you, for he does the Lord's work as I also. 11 Let no-one treat him with disrespect; you must send him on his way in peace so that he can come to me, for I am expecting him with the brethren. 12 Concerning our brother Apollos, I have urged him that he should come to you with the brethren.

Analysis

16:10 ἀφόβως L-N Domain 25 Subdomain 253: fearlessly, without fear, not afraid.[623]

According to Aristotle, there is no name for the man who acts out of lack of fear (ἀφοβία).[624]

This description, however, is not in accord with Paul's request for Timothy. Fear derives from the perception of a greater strength.[625] If Timothy experiences fear, then he is in the

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[623] L-N 1988: 316
[624] Konstan 2007: 134-5

weaker position and, possibly, the patron in the stronger. In 2 Cor 6:1-13 Paul speaks about being co-workers, servants, dispensing with the status gradations in the society. Loss of status to a patron meant loss of power, so they are asked to relinquish the most cherished things in society. However, Paul is requesting that Timothy comes as their co-worker and not subordinate. As was discussed earlier in this chapter the Corinthians were status driven and simply transferred this value into Paul's communities as this letter has exposed. The manner in which Apollos is spoken of in this verse is open and friendly; he is encouraged to visit Corinth again, and therefore does not appear as a threat to Paul's ministry.[626] The presence of other itinerant preachers, superficially more skilled, also posed a threat to Paul's ministry, and to Timothy's.

Fear in 2 Corinthians will be discussed next.

7.2.5 Φόβος in 2 Corinthians

7.2.6 Outline of 2 Corinthians

In 1776, when Semler first conjectured that 2 Corinthians was composed of different fragments of letters, his work opened a floodgate of interpretations about its composition.[627] However, Garland has made a compelling case for the unity of the structure of 2 Corinthians.

Witherington, too, accepts the unity of the letter and interprets its rhetorical structure as forensic.[628] The structure is summarized as follows:

a.   The epistolary prescript (1:1-2)

b.   The epistolary thanksgiving and *exordium* (1:3-7)

c.   The *narratio* (1:18-2:14), which explains some of the facts that occasioned the letter and climaxes with a further thanksgiving and transition

d.   The *propositio* (2:17), which states the basic fact under dispute

e.   The *probatio* and *refutatio* (3:1-13:4), which includes:

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[625] Konstan 2007: 141

[626] He is spoken of in 1 Cor 1:12 as one of the apostles around whom some of the Corinthians grouped themselves because of his rhetorical skills.

[627] Garland 1999: 33

[628] Witherington 1995: 335

vi.   Paul's characterisation of his ministry and of his anti-Sophistic rhetorical approach (3:1- 6:13)

vii.   a deliberative digression (6:14-7:1), in which Paul put his audience on the defensive, urging them to stop attending temple feasts with pagan friends

viii.   Paul's defence of the severe letter (7:2-16)

ix.   a largely deliberative argument concerning the collection (chapters 8 and 9), and

x.   a rhetorical σύγκρισις (comparison) of Paul and his competitors in Corinth, the false ἀπόστολοι, with a strong emotional appeal. (10-13:4)

f.   The *peroratio* (13:5-10)

g.   The closing epistolary greetings and remarks (13:11-13).

Crossan and Reed present a different interpretation, which is described in the following paragraph, and which will be used as a reference for the analysis of this letter.

As noted in Chapter Six, Paul's first letter to the Corinthians is lost and we only know about it from his comment in 1 Cor 5:9.[629] Letter 2 is our 1 Corinthians.[630] On the second visit, Paul sent Timothy to Corinth with some apprehension as he noted in 1 Cor 4:17 and 16:10. Timothy's report was so serious that Paul made a visit from Ephesus, which he refers to later as a painful visit.[631] Letter three is lost, but Paul refers to it in 2 Corinthians.[632] The references to this letter are: 2:4; 7:8; 10:9. The second, or painful, visit did not help. Regarding the fourth letter, there are two separate letters in the text we know as 2 Corinthians.[633] Chronologically the first letter refers to chapters 10-13. The situation is bitter and the problems have escalated.[634] Letter 5, after sending letter 4, Paul sent Titus ahead of him to see how things stood in Corinth.[635] In 2 Cor 2:12-13 they

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[629] Crossan and Reed 2005: 332
[630] Crossan and Reed 2005: 332
[631] Crossan and Reed 2005: 332
[632] Crossan and Reed 2005: 332
[633] Crossan and Reed 2005: 333
[634] Crossan and Reed 2005: 333
[635] Crossan and Reed 2005: 333

met in Macedonia and the news was very good indeed and Paul is overjoyed in 2 Cor 7:5-15.[636] Paul then wrote what we know as 2 Cor 1-9, a letter of joyful reconciliation.[637]

7.2.7   φόβος in 2 Corinthians 5:11-15

Paul is using the act of persuasion, but tells the Corinthians that the source of his rhetoric is the power of God. He is urging them to acknowledge this so that they can recognise his inner power and come to his defence against those who only respect a pleasing outer form. This pericope forms part of the letter of reconciliation in which Paul endeavours to persuade the Corinthians that the power of God is his strength and, as a result, he meets the credentials as a true apostle.

Greek Text

11 Εἰδότες οὖν **τὸν φόβον τοῦ κυρίου** ἀνθρώπους πείθομεν, θεῷ δὲ πεφανερώ-μεθα· ἐλπίζω δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς συνειδήσεσιν ὑμῶν πεφανερῶσθαι. 12 οὐ πάλιν ἑαυ-τοὺς συνιστάνομεν ὑμῖν ἀλλὰ ἀφορμὴν διδόντες ὑμῖν καυχήματος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἵνα ἔχητε πρὸς τοὺς ἐν προσώπῳ καυχωμένους καὶ μὴ ἐν καρδίᾳ. 13 εἴτε γὰρ ἐξέ-στημεν, θεῷ· εἴτε σωφρονοῦμεν, ὑμῖν. 14 ἡ γὰρ ἀγάπη τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνέχει ἡμᾶς, κρίναντας τοῦτο, ὅτι εἷς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν, ἄρα οἱ πάντες ἀπέθανον· 15 καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπεθανεν, ἵνα οἱ ζῶντες μηκέτι ἑαυτοῖς ζῶσιν ἀλλὰ τῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντι καὶ ἐγερθέντι.

English Translation

11 Therefore, since we know the **fear of the Lord**, we continue to persuade men, for it is evident to God what we are and I hope that it is also apparent in your conscience. 12 We are not commending ourselves to you again, but giving you the opportunity of boasting on our behalf, so that you may have something to set against those that boast in what is seen and not of what is in the heart. 13 Either we are out of our mind for God or in our right mind for you. 14 The love of Christ compels us, because we think this, that one man died on behalf of us all. 15 But he died on behalf of all, in order that those living no longer live for themselves, but for him who died and was raised for them.

Analysis

5:11 Φόβος in this sentence is in Domain 53 Subdomain 59 - profound respect and awe.

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[636] Crossan and Reed 2005: 333
[637] Crossan and Reed 2005: 333

Εἰδότες οὖν τὸν φόβον τοῦ κυρίου ἀνθρώπους πείθομεν - It is interesting to note the grammatical relationship of εἰδότες to τὸν φόβον – subject and object. It illustrates that Paul does not think of fear as an instinctive reaction, but a cognitive experience. Fear according to Aristotle does cognise a superior strength, revealing a relationship of strength and weakness. Paul is recounting an experience of Divine Power. This is something he knows and that is his foundation from which he works. This experience is the inspiring force in his speech, it is not an acquired skill such as rhetoric. It is not a clever technique, in order to persuade men, such as a rhetorician would use. His experience is not an embellishment to improve his status. He is also informing his community of his character; he was able to stand in the presence of the divine, and that should tell them something of his character. This is something they could boast about. Not many itinerant teachers could make that claim. He is encouraging this outward-looking community to probe beneath the surface of life and find what is really of value. He is encouraging them to practise self-examination. In 5:10 the prospect of judgment is raised and each will receive what is due. Therefore, fear of the Lord in this context emphasises the judicial power of God.

In 1 Cor 2:3 Paul speaks of his intense fear, which falls into the Domain listing emotions. He also describes his experience of the same word, but in this example it is in Domain 53 listing Religious Activities. What is the semantic link between these activities and fear? Using Aristotle's definition as a frame of reference, it is the cognition of power, and it appears that it is possible to discern between divine power and human power which differs in its intention. Paul, recounting his experience of both, tells us about his cognitive abilities and values. Awe or fear of the Lord is an emotion. Concerning awe, Dacher Keltner and Jonathan Haidt write in their article in *Cognition and Emotion*,

> Approaching awe, a moral, spiritual and aesthetic emotion:
> In the upper reaches of pleasure and on the boundary of fear, is a little studied emotion - awe. Awe is central to the experience of religion, politics, nature and art. Fleeting and rare experiences of awe can change the course of a life in profound and permanent ways.[638]

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[638] Keltner and Haidt 2003: 297

On the social level the Corinthians would be familiar with the practice of respect to their patron. Lack of respect could evoke the patron's ὀργή and they would no longer receive his support. Similarly lack of respect to the gods, ἀσέβεια, would invoke divine ὀργή.

7.2.8 Φόβος in 2 Corinthians 6:14-7:1

This pericope does not have universal acceptance for its authenticity. It is noted to acknowledge a contemporary issue among New Testament scholars.[639] Here Paul uses a series of antithetical questions to awaken the Corinthians to their conduct and their lack of full commitment to his gospel. This is still part of Paul's efforts at reconciliation as a number of words in this pericope are words of relationship such as μετοχή and ἑτεροζυγοῦντες. Both these words are ἅπαξ λεγόμενα.[640] Witherington interprets this pericope as a deliberative digression, in which Paul questions whether their behaviour is honourable or not. Honourable behaviour reflects reverence or awe for God.

Greek Text

14 Μὴ γίνεσθε ἑτεροζυγοῦντες ἀπίστοις· τίς γὰρ μετοχὴ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἀνομίᾳ ἢ τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρός σκότος; 15 τίς δὲ συμφώνησις Χριστοῦ πρὸς Βελ-ιάρ, ἢ τίς μερὶς πιστῷ μετὰ ἀπίστου; 16 τίς δὲ συγκατάθεσις ναῷ θεοῦ μετὰ εἰδώλων; ἡμεῖς γὰρ ναὸς θεοῦ ἐσμεν ζῶντος, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι

> Ἐνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσω
>
>> καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτῶν θεὸς
>>
>> καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονταί μου λαός.

17 διὸ ἐξέλθατε ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν

> καὶ ἀφορίσθητε, λέγει κύριος,

καὶ ἀκαθάρτου μὴ ἅπτεσθε·

> κἀγὼ εἰσδέξομαι ὑμᾶς

18 καὶ ἔσομαι ὑμῖν εἰς πατέρα

> καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μοι εἰς υἱοὺς καὶ θυγατέρας,

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[639] Martin 1986: 192

[640] Garland 1999: 331

λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ.

7.1 ταύτας οὖν ἔχοντες τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, ἀγαπητοί, καθαρίσωμεν ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος, ἐπιτελοῦντες ἁγιωσύνην **ἐν φόβῳ θεοῦ.**

English Translation

14 Do not be wrongly matched with unbelievers, for what partnership do righteousness and lawlessness have, or what fellowship has light with darkness? 15 What common ground has Christ with Belial (the Devil) and what part with faithfulness and unfaithfulness? What agreement is there with the temple of God with idols? For we are the temple of the living God and thus has God spoken:

> 16 I shall live in and among them and I shall be their God and they will be my people 17 and therefore you must come out from their midst, and you must be separate, says the Lord. You must not touch what is unclean and I shall welcome you 18 and I will be as a father to you and you will be my sons and daughters, says the Lord Almighty.

7.1 Therefore, since we have these promises, brethren, let us cleanse ourselves from all defilement of the flesh and spirit, and let us complete (our) holiness in **fear of the Lord.**

Analysis

In L-N 7.1 L-N Domain 53 Subdomain 59; profound respect and awe for deity.

6.18 This is the only place in Paul's letters where the name Lord Almighty occurs. In the imperial myth, the association of Augustus with the god Apollo gave Augustus' divinity a cosmic dimension.[641] The emperor also has a title Αὐτοκράτωρ. The system of ritual in the Empire was carefully structured to associate the emperor with the gods.[642] The power of the emperor, with Augustus as the cosmic saviour, would have been meaningful

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[641] Crossan and Reed 2005: 138
[642] Crossan and Reed 2005: 349

to the power-loving Corinthians.[643] Therefore, in this context the Lord Almighty exceeds the imperial domain of power.

The noun μολυσμός 'defilement' is exemplified in vv14 and 15, the association of two mutually exclusive ethical systems is an act of defilement, in Paul's thinking. The Corinthians are urged by the analogy and the scriptural text to withdraw their practice of imperial values. They need to purify their lives and complete their holiness. They are assured of success, but they need to take a decisive step, and not incorporate normative imperial values into the community's values. The completion of their holiness is required to be in a spirit of submission to the Lord Almighty, and not as a status adornment.

7.2.9   Φόβος in 2 Corinthians 7:2-13a

In the previous pericope Paul uses several words referring to relationships, albeit unsuitable relationships, and he continues with this topic. This example, however, is an appeal to the Corinthian community to include him in their affection.

All the antithetical questioning in the previous pericope revealed their associations and fellowships, but they did not seem to include Paul. It has been a recurring difficulty in the Corinthian community that they attributed the same intrinsic value to the spiritual and to the physical dimensions of life.

However, this pericope is about Paul's concern about his relationship with the Corinthians, and how they received his painful letter. The news from Titus lifts his spirits, and the painful letter had a salutary effect on their attitude.

Greek Text

2 Χωρήσατε ἡμᾶς· οὐδένα ἠδικήσαμεν, οὐδένα ἐφθείραμεν, οὐδένα ἐπλεονεκτήσ-αμεν. 3 πρὸς κατάκρισιν οὐ λέγω· προείρηκα γὰρ ὅτι ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν ἐστε εἰς τὸ συναποθανεῖν καὶ συζῆν. 4 πολλή μοι παρρησία πρὸς ὑμᾶς, πολλή μοι καύχησις ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· πεπλήρωμαι τῇ παρακλήσει, ὑπερπερισσεύομαι τῇ χαρᾷ ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ θλίψει ἡμῶν.

5 Καὶ γὰρ ἐλθόντων ἡμῶν εἰς Μακεδονίαν οὐδεμίαν ἔσχηκεν ἄνεσιν ἡ σὰρξ ἡμῶν ἀλλ᾽ ἐν παντὶ θλιβόμενοι· ἔξωθεν μάχαι, ἔσωθεν **φόβοι.** 6 ἀλλ᾽ ὁ παρακαλῶν τοὺς ταπεινοὺς παρεκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ Τίτου,

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[643] Crossan and Reed 2005: 135-136

7   οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ αλλα καὶ ἐν τῇ παρακλήθη ἐφ᾽ ὑμῖν, ἀναγγέλλων ἡμῖν τὴν ὑμῶν ἐπιπόθησιν, τὸν ὑμῶν ὀδυρμόν, τὸν ὑμῶν ζῆλον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ὥστε με μᾶλλον χαρῆναι. 8 ὅτι εἰ καὶ ἐλύπησα ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, οὐ μεταμέλομαι· εἰ καὶ μετεμελόμην, βλέπω ὅτι ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἐκείνη εἰ καὶ πρὸς ὥραν ἐλύπησεν ὑμᾶς, 9 νῦν χαίρω, οὐχ ὅτι ἐλυπήθητε ἀλλ᾽ ἐλυπήθητε εἰς μετά-νοιαν· ἐλυπήθητε γὰρ κατὰ θεόν, ἵνα ἐν μηδενὶ ζημιωθῆτε ἐξ ἡμῶν. 10 ἡ γὰρ κατὰ θεὸν λύπη μετάνοιαν εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀμεταμέλητον ἐργάζεται· ἡ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου λύπη θάνατον κατεργάζεται. 11 ἰδοὺ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ κατὰ θεὸν λυπηθῆναι πόσην κατειργάσατο ὑμῖν σπουδήν, ἀλλὰ ἀπολογίαν, ἀλλὰ ἀγανάκ-τησιν, ἀλλὰ **φόβον**, ἀλλὰ ἐπιπόθησιν, ἀλλὰ ζῆλον, ἀλλὰ ἐκδίκησιν. ἐν παντὶ συνεστήσατε ἑαυτοὺς ἁγνοὺς εἶναι τῷ πράγματι. 12 ἄρα εἰ καὶ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν, οὐχ ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἀδικήσαντος οὐδὲ ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος ἀλλ᾽ ἕνεκεν τοῦ φαν-ερωθῆναι τὴν σπουδὴν ὑμῶν τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. 13 διὰ τοῦτο παρακεκλήμεθα.

English Translation

2   Make room for us, we have wronged no one, we have corrupted no one, we have taken advantage of no one. 3 I did not speak to condemn, for I have spoken because you are in our hearts to die together and live together.[644] 4 My confidence with regard to you has much increased, my boasting on your behalf has increased, I have been filled with encouragement and my joy is present in far greater measure. 5 When we came into Macedonia our bodies had no relief, but we were hard pressed on all sides, quarrels without and **fears** within; 6 but the God who encourages the downcast, encouraged us with the arrival of Titus. 7 Not only in his arrival but also in the encouragement in which he was encouraged by you when he told us about your longing and your grieving and your zeal for me with the result that I was more joyful. 8 Even if I caused you distress by the letter, I am not sorry now; but I was also sorry to see that the letter was distressful to you for a while. 9 Now I rejoice not because you have been distressed but because you have been distressed into repentance. For you have been distressed by God, so that you have not been harmed through us. 10 For sorrow works according to God for salvation,

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[644] www.misselbrook.org.uk: (accessed 15/01/2017) In the papyri the expression to live together is found where mutual friendship and loyalty are extolled. The idea is that those involved have a friendship that will be sustained throughout life and keep them together even in death.

free from regret, but worldly sorrow brings death. 11 Therefore consider this same matter, how much eagerness the Godly distress has produced in you, but also in your defence, also in your indignation, your **fear,** your longing, your concern, your giving of justice in every way and you have proved yourselves to be innocent in this matter. 12 Even though I wrote to you, it was not on behalf of the one who mistreats nor on behalf of the one who has been mistreated, but rather that your eagerness which is for us is apparent in the presence of God. 13 By this we have been encouraged,

Analysis

Referring to 2 Cor 7:5, this verse resumes the topic of 2 Cor 2:12-13 'Then when I came to Troas where I was to preach the gospel ... Titus had not arrived yet, and then I went to Macedonia …'

In 2 Cor 1:8-9 Paul describes the situation in Asia, 'how serious was the trouble that came upon us in the province of Asia, the burden of it too heavy to bear, we even despaired of life.' Therefore arriving in Macedonia, as stated in 7:5, there was also no respite for Paul. He had suffered serious persecution before in Macedonia, in Phil 1:30; 1 Thess 2:2, and the community in Thessalonia continued to be oppressed.[645]

Furnish translates μάχαι as 'disputes'.[646] In L-N Domain 39 Subdomain 22, μάχη falls into the same semantic category as, for example, ἔρις 'strife'*,* ἄμαχος 'lack of conflict'. Μάχαιρα is a figurative extension of sword, to describe serious conflict and strife etc. Μάχαι is translated as a serious conflict, physical or non physical.   The important issue in L-N is the intensity of the conflict.

Garland interprets 'fears within' to mean external pressure aggravated by worry.[647] Is worry an adequate translation for fear? According to Konstan:

> the view for fear presented by Aristotle represents a general Greek outlook in
> his time; the impression that causes fear derives from a judgement about the
> world, namely that someone with a motive to harm you is in a position to do
> so.[648]

[645] Garland 1999: 350
[646] Garland 1999: 350
[647] Garland 1999: 350
[648] Konstan 2001: 149

One is not simply afraid, a person is always afraid of something. However, Aristotle in his treatise *On the Soul* (1.1, 403a 23-4) allows for the possibility of fear in the absence of a perceived cause.[649] This may be interpreted as a modern idea of anxiety, but he does not develop the idea.[650] Epicureans distinguished two types of fear: one responding to a concrete object, the other to a vague indefinite impression.[651]

However, from the semantic perspective L-N define φόβος in Domain 25 Subdomain 251 as an emotion expressing severe distress, aroused by extreme concern.[652] This definition clarifies that the experience of fear is not about inconsequential matters, but matters that greatly affect the well-being of the person. Paul described two situations in Asia and Macedonia which were very severe; therefore, this would qualify as a matter of consequence and arouse severe distress, as the impression of impending harm appears to have been close. The word μάχαι describes serious conflicts. There is no specific information from Paul about the conflicts, but the inference is the presence of power to harm in the form of imperial officials, competitive apostles and hostile opposition from conservative Judeans. Paul's gospel was in a head-on collision with imperial values and Judaic conservatism. To overturn an established cultural pattern would arouse strong hostility, because entrenched values are not that easily dislodged and these values give meaning and identity to their lives. In 2 Cor 7:5 Titus had not returned yet with his favourable news, so the Corinthian issue was still an unresolved issue for Paul. The hostility in Corinth may have contributed to the fears.

In 7:11, ἀλλὰ φόβον, Paul lists a number of changed attitudes amongst the Corinthians. Here the usage remains in the Domain as stated above and is taken as an emotion conveying a deliberative aspect not encountered in other sections of the letters. Aristotle says 'fear makes people deliberative'.[653] The change of the Corinthians' attitude described by Paul shows an acknowledgement by them that Paul's opponent posed a real threat to the cohesion of their community. This illustrates the cognitive function of φόβος, the recognition of danger.

7.2.10 Φόβος and τρόμος in 2 Corinthians 7:13b-16

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[649] Konstan 2001: 149
[650] Konstan 2001: 149
[651] Konstan 2001: 149
[652] L-N 1988: 316
[653] Konstan 2001: 135

Titus, as Paul's emissary, had been very respectfully received in fear and trembling. This confirmed their improved relationship with Paul. Their willingness to punish the offender showed their change of heart, as they had failed earlier to support Paul against his detractors. Their change of mind and heart has made it possible for Paul to speak frankly to them as their spiritual mentor, assured that the mentor intends no harm, but assistance to removing obstacles from their progress. He is reaffirming what he said in 6:11.[654]

Greek Text

13b Ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ παρακλήσει ἡμῶν περισσοτέρως μᾶλλον ἐχάρημεν ἐπὶ τῇ χαρᾷ Τίτου, ὅτι ἀναπέπαυται τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ πάντων ὑμῶν· 14 ὅτι εἴ τι αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κεκαύχημαι, οὐ κατῃσχύνθην, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς πάντα ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἐλα-λήσαμεν ὑμῖν, οὕτως καὶ ἡ καύχησις ἡμῶν ἡ ἐπὶ Τίτου ἀλήθεια ἐγενήθη. 15 καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ περισσοτέρως εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐστιν ἀναμιμνῃσκομένου τὴν πάντων ὑμῶν ὑπακοήν, ὡς μετὰ **φόβου καὶ τρόμου** ἐδέξασθε αὐτόν. 16 χαίρω ὅτι ἐν παντὶ θαρρῶ ἐν ὑμῖν.

English Translation

13b In addition to our encouragement we rejoiced even more because of Titus' joy, because his spirit had been so refreshed by you all. 14 I had boasted to him about you, you have not put me to shame, but just as everything we said to you was for the truth, so all our boasting about you became the truth to Titus. 15 Even his feelings for you increased when he remembers the obedience of you all, because you received him **with fear and trembling.** 16 I greet you, and I am confident of everything in you.

Analysis

These three verses have many positive words: encouragement; rejoiced; joy; refreshed; not put to shame; obedience and receiving him with fear and trembling. The fear and trembling amidst the other words indicate a positive response to Paul and his co-workers, recognising their authority in the community and being willing to accept it. In this sentence the definition of Aristotle for the emotion of fear does not appear to apply. No words in the sentence infer a danger. It does, however, indicate that Titus is seen as superior to their status. It is a reassuring time for Paul and his co-workers. To locate these

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[654] Garland 1999: 360

two words fear and trembling within L-N implies two Domains: Domain 25 with fear and trembling as emotions; Domain 53 respect and awe.

7.2.11 Ἐκφοβέω in 2 Corinthians 10:7-11

This pericope forms part of Paul's defence in response to his critics' accusation that he is weak and cowardly. His physical weakness to the Corinthians was proof of a flaw in his apostolic power. According to Crossan, 2 Corinthians consists of two letters. This pericope is in the first letter which is made up of chapters 10 to 13. This pericope reflects the mounting criticism against Paul.

The following are references outlining the attacks on Paul:

2 Cor 1:17   vacillation

3:1, 12; 5:12   pride and boasting

4:3   lack of success in preaching

10:10   physical weakness

11:6   manner of his speech and lacking in rhetorical skill

4:7-10; 10:10; 12:7-10; 13:9 being an ungifted person

12:16-19   dishonesty

5:13; 11:16-19 posing as a fool

12:6   lack of apostolic standing.

He is also accused of being a deceiver in 4:8; and a charlatan in 10:1.[655]

This is the second part of Paul's reply.

Greek Text

7 Τὰ κατὰ πρόσωπον βλέπετε. εἴ τις πέποιθεν ἑαυτῷ Χριστοῦ εἶναι, τοῦτο λογι-ζέσθω πάλιν ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ, ὅτι καθὼς αὐτὸς Χριστοῦ, οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς. 8 ἐὰν γὰρ περισσότερόν τι καυχήσωμαι περὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἡμῶν ἧς ἔδωκεν ὁ κύριος εἰς οἰκοδομὴν καὶ οὐκ εἰς καθαίρεσιν ὑμῶν, οὐκ αἰσχυνθήσομαι. 9 ἵνα μὴ δόξω

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[655] Martin 1986: lxii

ὡς ἂν ἐκφοβεῖν ὑμᾶς διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν· 10 ὅτι, Αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ μέν, φησίν, βαρεῖαι καὶ ἰσχυραί, ἡ δὲ παρουσία τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενὴς καὶ ὁ λόγος ἐξουθενημένος. 11 τοῦτο λογιζέσθω ὁ τοιοῦτος, ὅτι οἷοί ἐσμεν τῷ λόγῳ δι᾽ ἐπιστολῶν ἀπόντες, τοιοῦτοι καὶ παρόντες τῷ ἔργῳ.

English Translation

7 You look at outward appearances. If anyone has confidence in himself to be of Christ, let him consider this again by himself, that just as he is of Christ so also are we. 8 For even if I boast something more about the authority the Lord has given for strengthening you and not for tearing you down, I shall not be ashamed of it. 9 I do not want to appear to make you **extremely afraid** with my letters. 10 For some say 'His letters are weighty and strong, but his presence physically is weak and his speech amounts to nothing'. 11 Such a person should consider this, what we are in our letters when we are absent so we will be in our actions when we are present.

Analysis

Crossan and Reed interpret 2 Cor 10-13 as being the first letter of the two contained in 2 Corinthians.[656] It is a bitter letter and the troubled situation has escalated into an out and out attack on Paul.[657] It involves missionary opponents, Christian Judeans, but also the community are not showing loyalty to Paul.[658] The question, which Crossan and Reed pose, is why are the Corinthians not following Paul? Paul's response to that question is in 10:7.

In 2 Cor 10:1 Paul says: I am bold towards you. The word bold, θαρρέω, in L-N Domain 25 Subdomain 156 can be translated as courage or boldness. Their definition to have confidence and firmness of purpose in the face of danger or testing indicates that this is not a term of friendship or trust, it is an emotion appropriate to facing an enemy.[659]

In 2 Cor 10:9 ἐκφοβεῖν, an extreme form of fear in L-N Domain 25 Subdomain 257,[660] is translated as 'to cause someone to be very much afraid or terrified'. From the perspective of the Corinthians Paul is the enemy to cause such fear in them or among them. Paul quotes his critics saying that his letters are weighty and strong. It is not

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[656] Crossan and Reed 2005: 333
[657] Crossan and Reed 2005: 333
[658] Crossan and Reed 2005: 333
[659] L-N 1988: 306
[660] L-N 1988: 316

probable that weighty is a description to instil fear, but possibly strong is. Ἰσχυρός in L-N Vol II is listed in four Domains. Strong can relate to status, which has been considered in 1 Cor 2:3. If used here, it would relate to Paul's status as an apostle, because in v8, he received power from the Lord. Another possible meaning from L-N is powerful. In 1 Cor 2:3 Paul was weak, and that is what his critics also say about his person, but through the written word his power as an apostle becomes evident. Paul refutes this accusation. Why has Paul caused such a fearful reaction in the Corinthian community? Nussbaum poses the following issue: 'What inspires fear is the thought of damages impending that cut to the heart of my own cherished relationships and projects.'[661] What would the Corinthian community interpret as their most cherished relationships and projects? The purpose of Chapter Four, in this research, was to give an account of the prevailing social conditions in the provincial imperial cities. This step was needed to support the hypothesis that the emotions are socially conditioned. The study of the Corinthians showed their love of status, which they transferred into the Pauline community. In the Pauline community their self conceived status was based on their spiritual gifts. Therefore, the inference is that Paul's letter challenged this value.

The super-apostles may not only have had rhetoric training, so their message is not only pleasing on the ear, but the content may not be that demanding of the Corinthians. A number of verses in both extant letters raise issues that Paul considers to be in direct conflict with his gospel, which the Corinthians are unwilling to relinquish.

7.2.12 Φοβέομαι in 2 Corinthians 11:1-6

This pericope continues Paul's defence against his opponents. He resorts to the techniques of boasting which he previously called foolish but now uses it, not motivated by self-aggrandisement, but for the purpose of saving his reputation and through this his Corinthian community. His fear for the Corinthians was for their penchant for the fashionable rather than for the truth of Paul's gospel.

Greek Text

Ὄφελον ἀνείχεσθέ μου μικρόν τι ἀφροσύνης· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνέχεσθέ μου. 2 ζηλῶ γὰρ ὑμᾶς θεοῦ ζήλῳ, ἡρμοσάμην γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἑνὶ ἀνδρὶ παρθένον ἁγνὴν παρα-στῆσαι τῷ Χριστῷ· 3 **φοβοῦμαι** δὲ μή πως, ὡς ὁ ὄφις ἐξηπάτησεν Εὕαν ἐν

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[661] Nussbaum 2005: 31

τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτοῦ, φθαρῇ τὰ νοήματα ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἁπλότητος τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστόν. 4 εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἄλλον Ἰησοῦν κηρύσσει ὃν οὐκ ἐκηρύξαμεν, ἢ πνεῦμα ἕτερον λαμβάνετε ὃ οὐκ ἐλάβετε, ἢ εὐαγγέλιον ἕτερον ὃ οὐκ ἐδέξασθε, καλῶς ἀνέχεσθε. 5 λογίζομαι γὰρ μηδὲν ὑστερηκέναι τῶν ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλων. 6 εἰ δὲ καὶ ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τῇ γνώσει, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν παντὶ φανερώσαντες ἐν πᾶσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς.

English Translation

I hope that you will put up with me, in a little foolishness, and also be patient with me. 2 For I am jealous of you, with the jealousy of God as if I gave you in marriage to one man, to Christ, and present you as a pure maiden. 3 But I **fear** that somehow, as the snake deceived Eve with his cunning, your minds are led astray from your pure sincerity for Christ. 4 For if someone comes and preaches another Jesus whom we have not preached; or you receive another spirit, or a different gospel which you have not accepted, you put up with it easily. 5 For I consider that I do not lack anything compared to the super-apostles. 6 And if I am untrained in speech, but not in knowledge, we have made everything clear to you in every way.

Analysis

In v2, as a verb, ζελῶ, is at the beginning of the sentence and in the same sentence as a noun in the dative case. In L-N Domain 25 Subdomain 46 the word is listed both in its verbal and nominal aspect - to have a deep concern for, devotion to someone or something. In the same Domain but different Subdomain 76 - to be deeply committed to something, to be earnest, set one's heart on something. In Subdomain 21 it still carries the idea of setting one's heart on something, but in the sense of something belonging to someone else. In Domain 88 Subdomain 162/3, envy and resentment as a noun, but as a verb it is to experience strong envy and resentment against someone.

The word expresses a deep feeling of concern or care for the Corinthians. This sets the depth of the emotional tone for the word **fear** in v3, L-N Domain 25 Subdomain 251. There is the possible loss of his Corinthian community, and failure in his apostleship to

change their normative value systems. Underlying the marriage metaphor is the cultural value of honour.[662]

7.2.13 Φοβέομαι in 2 Corinthians 12:19-21

According to Crossan and Reed, 2 Corinthians consists of two letters, this pericope falls within the first letter, which is made up of chapters 10 to 13. This letter has a bitter tone, and increasing opposition to Paul is evident. His frequent use of the emotion of fear in this pericope reveals his weakened position in the community.[663]

Greek Text

19 Πάλαι δοκεῖτε ὅτι ὑμῖν ἀπολογούμεθα. κατέναντι θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ λαλοῦμεν· τὰ δὲ πάντα, ἀγαπητοί, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν οἰκοδομῆς. 20 **φοβοῦμαι** γὰρ μή πως ἐλθὼν οὐχ οἵους θέλω εὕρω ὑμᾶς κἀγὼ εὑρεθῶ ὑμῖν οἷον οὐ θέλετε· μή πως ἔρις, ζῆλος, θυμοί, ἐριθεῖαι, καταλαλιαί, ψιθυρισμοί, φυσιώσεις, ἀκαταστασίαι· 21 μὴ πάλιν ἐλθόντος μου ταπεινώσῃ με ὁ θεός μου πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ πενθήσω πολλοὺς τῶν προημαρτηκότων καὶ μὴ μετανοησάντων ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ καὶ πορνείᾳ καὶ ἀσελγείᾳ ᾗ ἔπραξαν.

English Translation

19 Have you been thinking all this time that we have been defending ourselves to you? We speak in the presence of God (being) in Christ, everything beloved, is on behalf of your strength. 20 For I **am afraid,** that when I come I may not find you as I want you to be, and you may not want to find me as you want me to be. 21 I am afraid that there may be discord, jealousy, rage, selfish ambition, slander, gossip, arrogance and disorder. I am afraid that, when I come again, my God may humble me before you. I will be grieved over many who have sinned earlier and have not repented of impurity, sexual sin and debauchery in which they have indulged.

Analysis

Fear pervades verses 20-21, the negative particle μή implies the presence of fear without it being stated. The catalogue of destructive qualities:

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[662] Garland 1999: 460 Jewish betrothal in the first century was not entered into lightly, nor was it easily broken. The betrothal could be cancelled only by an official bill of divorce. If a betrothed woman had sexual relations with anyone else, it was treated as adultery. It was the responsibility of the father to guard his daughter's purity. If he fails, the wedding is cancelled and the family dishonoured.
[663] Crossan and Reed 2005: 333

ἔρις, ζῆλος, θυμοί, ἐριθεῖαι, καταλαλιαί, ψιθυρισμοί, φυσιώσεις, ἀκαταστασίαι.

In L-N Domain 39 Subdomain 22, ἔρις - conflict resulting from rivalry and discord.

In L-N Domain 33 Subdomain 447, ἐρίζω, ἔρις – to express differences of opinion, with at least some measure of antagonism or hostility.

In L-N Domain 88 Subdomain162, ζῆλος - a particularly strong feeling of resentment and jealousy against someone.

In L-N Domain 88 Subdomain 178, θυμός is a state of intense anger, with the implication of passionate outbursts.

In L-N Domain 88 Subdomain 167, ἐριθεῖαι, a feeling of resentfulness based on jealousy and implying rivalry.

In L-N Domain 39 Subdomain 7, ἐριθεῖαι, a feeling of hostility or opposition.

In L-N Domain 33 Subdomain 387, καταλαλιαί, to speak against, to speak evil of, to slander.

In L-N Domain 33 Subdomain 404, ψιθυρισμός, providing harmful information about a person, that is not generally known.

In L-N Domain 88 Subdomain 215, φυσίωσις, an inflated, puffed up, exaggerated view of one's own importance.

In L-N Domain 39 Subdomain 34, ἀκαταστασία, to rise up in open defiance of authority.

These attitudes are certainly a cause to fear, they were probably quite extensively threatening the cohesion and survival of the Corinthian community. In Galatians 5:20 a number of the above attitudes are listed as 'fruits of the flesh'. Therefore, Paul would find no evidence of living according to his gospel. This he would fear, because it would harm that which he most cherished - turning the minds and hearts of the Gentiles away from the normalcy of the world to the world of spirit through the gospel proclaiming Jesus Christ.

Paul endeavoured to cultivate the antithesis of the above catalogue encapsulated by two words ἀγάπη and οἰκοδομέω.

7.2.14 Summary of Fear in 1 and 2 Corinthians

1 Cor 2:3 Paul responds to the oral report brought by Chloe's people. He use three words to describe his fear: φόβος, τρόμος and ἀσθένεια. The presence of τρόμος and ἀσθένεια intensify his experience. Τρόμος is not an emotion but a physical sign of the presence of fear. Ἀσθένεια, metaphorically, can mean fear. In this pericope, ἀσθένεια is interpreted as a social order. What did Paul fear? He did not use fear to describe his response to physical danger in 1 Thess 2:2; 2 Cor 2:8-9. If fear is a response to danger, what is the danger of which Paul is aware? It is concluded that his fear related to some powerful patrons who could harm his efforts to establish his community in Corinth. The cognitive attribute in the emotion of fear is that which can distinguish who should and who should not be feared.

1 Cor 14:20-25 This is Paul's response to the letter brought by a member of his community. Paul uses the word φόβος in its secondary meaning, awe and reverence, which is not classified by L-N as an emotion, but will be treated as such to interpret its secondary use in the analysis of the word. Paul uses φόβος as awe to counteract the false values they have attributed to their spiritual gifts, by which they feel empowered. The experience of awe acknowledges a greater power than the individual. This action applies to the cognitive function in the emotion.The other aspect about awe in this context is it is edifying, not self gratifying.

1 Cor 16:5-12a A response to the letter brought by a member of the community, who according to Theissen, represents the strong in the community. The use of an antonym of φόβος, that Timothy may visit Corinth without fear, that is, with confidence. The cognitive function of the emotion informs that Timothy would be received as an apostle, acknowledging his position of strength by the community. This would mean that the Corinthians have remained loyal to Paul. The ability of fear is to cognise who is to be feared, and who is not. Who has the power to harm?

2 Cor 5:11 According to Crossan and Reed, 2 Corinthians consists of two letters. The first letter consists of chapters 10 to 13.[664] This pericope falls within the second letter, which forms part of the joyful reconciliation.[665] Paul's emotional experience of awe and its transformative power is the power operating in his speech. The cognitive aspect in this

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[664] Crossan and Reed 2005: 333
[665] Crossan and Reed 2005: 333

example is the ability to distinguish between real power, that is, the power of God, and strength, derived from a human source.

2 Cor 6:14-7:1 The details of the letter are the same as the above description. Paul is still working re-establishing his relationship with the Corinthian community. His frequent use of phobos as awe is indicative of the persistent attitude of self importance. In this pericope, he uses the word God Almighty. Φόβος, as fear of the Lord, would cognise the power and bring perspective into their sense of power.

2 Cor 7:2-13a This pericope also forms part of the second letter in which relations had improved. In 2 Cor 7:5 the word φόβοι, because of its cognitive function, shows Paul's awareness of impending dangers. This function of cognition gives a glimpse into the distraught psychological state of Paul before the arrival of Titus. The use of the word, φόβος, signifying fear, confirms what was said in Chapter Two by Martha Nussbaum, that emotions are about important things. Paul's fears represent the values he holds. As his fears are related to his communities, the inference is that the continued existence of the communities under his authority is his most cherished goal.

In 2 Cor 7:11 which is in the same pericope as 2 Cor 7:5, Paul's spirits have been revived by the arrival of Titus and the affirming news he brought from Corinth. Φόβος and τρόμος describe the attitude of the Corinthians towards Titus. This was proof that the Corinthians accepted the authority of Titus. The use of fear, in relation to Titus, shows that he stands in a relation of power to the Corinthian community. Their attitude to Paul's co-worker confirms their renewed relationship to Paul. Therefore, their fear and trembling indicate a change of values on their part.

The pericope 2 Cor 10:7-11 is part of the first letter according to Crossan and Reed.[666] They say that 2 Corinthians is composed of two letters, the first is composed of chapters 10 to 13, the second of chapters 1 to 7. The correspondence in the first letter reflects the deteriorating relationship between Paul and the Corinthian community. All the references that follow fall into this category, but draw attention to different aspects of the decline. Paul responds to his enemies accusations in this pericope. The word ἔκφοβος, to make extremely afraid, forms part of their accusation against Paul, that he intended to make them extremely afraid by his letter. In relation to the definition of fear, an awareness of

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[666] Crossan and Reed 2005: 333

impending harm, that is the cognition of the presence of something more powerful. The accusation implies that Paul was forcing a position of power on the community, to which he was not entitled.

2 Cor 11:1-6 In this pericope Paul expresses his fear that it is his deep concern for the Corinthian community, because of their weakness, in relation to the power of deception at the appearance of other teachers. Paul is questioning their value system, what appears as a good to them, to Paul it has no intrinsic value.

2 Cor 12:19-21 This pericope shows the rapid deterioration of Paul's relationship with the Corinthian community. Paul uses the word fear three times: his relationship to the community, their relationship to him. He is afraid of destructive, negative emotions that may be prevalent in the community. He is afraid of failure in doing God's work. Paul's relationship to the community requires their acceptance of him, acknowledging his authority. Their moral condition may not be acceptable to him. The power, of the negative emotions he enumerates, signals the demise of his community. The fear of failure, what he most cherished, in building up communities in the name of Christ Jesus, will have failed. This will show his community that he did not possess the power of the Holy Spirit, which he professed.

Philippians is the next letter to be discussed.

7.3   Philippians

7.3.1   Outline of Philippians

In Chapter Six, no lexical terms were identified in L-N to express the concept of anger. However, there is language in Phil 3.2 which expresses anger. Paul, as a recipient of a slight, that is using Aristotle's definition, returned the slight to re-establish his position as a teacher of real values, against those referred to in the insult. The analysis in this research is limited to a lexical term, and, therefore, the word was not analysed, as this would exceed the boundaries of the method declared in Chapter One.

There is scholarly consensus that the letter is authentic and it was written from prison. However, there is no consensus on the location of the prison. Convincing arguments are presented for Ephesus, Caesarea and Rome. Crossan and Reed argue for Ephesus on the basis that the phrase *pretorium* does not stand for the *Pretorian* Guard in Rome, but this

could refer to any official imperial place of judgement. The inference is that it is not a minor city, but possibly a provincial representative. However, Crossan and Reed do not spell out the steps to his conclusion that it is Ephesus. Paul had spent time there and wrote 1 Corinthians from there.[667] However, Fee, Witherington and Meeks attribute a later date to the letter which coincides with Paul's imprisonment in Rome.[668] Witherington notes the increase in scholars who favour Ephesus, and only a small number favour Caesarea Martima.[669]

Paul's tone in this letter is so different from the letters to the Corinthians, it is full of warmth and the support he has received from the Philippians, showing a mutual concern.[670] In Philippi only the Romans were citizens and property owners, thereby denying access to a source of wealth to those who did not qualify, the native population of Philippi. However, this did not impede their generosity to Paul, as the expression of his gratitude indicates in this letter.

Silva in his interpretation of the historical situation in Philippi says that the Philippians were facing great adversity, had lost their Christian joy, and were tempted to abandon their struggle.[671] Fear and related words used by Paul in this letter reflect the same interpretation.

The epistolary and rhetorical structure of Philippians according to Witherington, who, using the following structure, interprets this letter as an example of deliberative rhetoric.

> Epistolary prescript: 1:1-2
>
> *exordium:*   1:3-11
>
> *narratio* :   1:12-26
>
> *propositio*: 1:27-30
>
> *probatio* : 2:1-4:3

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[667] Crossan and Reed 2005: 273

[668] Fee 1995: 1; Witherington 2011: 9; Meeks 1983:63

[669] Witherington 2011: 9

[670] Silva 2005: 2 In the past the Philippians had also assisted Paul financially in Thessalonica and Corinth and generously contributed to the Jerusalem collection.

[671] Snyman 2004: 85; Silva 2005: 4. Snyman 2004: 85 agrees with Silva's interpretation on the adverse situation in Philippi for Paul's community.

peroratio :   4:4-9

Concluding arguments

Epistolary greetings and closing 4: 21-23[672]

In his commentary on the letter to the Philippians, Fee gives an example of the epistolary genre based on the research of Loveday Alexander on the subject of letters of friendship. This is to illustrate two of the interpretive approaches to the undisputed Pauline letters. As there were no references for anger in the previous chapter, neither of the rhetorical structures was referred to.

1:1-2	address and greeting
1:3-11	prayer for the recipients
1:12-26	reassurance about the sender
1:27-2:18	request for reassurance about the recipients
2:19-30	travel plans and recommendations for intermediaries
3:1-4:1	additional information about the sender
4:2-9	practical instructions for recipients
4:10-20	acknowledgment of receipt of a gift from recipients
4:21-22	exchange of greetings with third parties
4:23	closing wish for health[673]

This approach gives quite a different tone to the letter from the rhetorical convention as given by Witherington. The rhetorical structure, according to Witherington, was chosen to interpret this letter. The references that needed to be analysed in this letter did not relate well to a letter of friendship.

In Philippians the following pericopes are analysed as set out in the CCR. 1:12-14; 1:27-30; 2:1-11; 2:12-17.

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[672] Witherington 2011: 29
[673] Fee 1975: 3

7.3.2 Ἀφόβως in Philippians 1:12-14

This pericope is within the *narratio* of the deliberative rhetorical structure. Witherington has used this formation to interpret Philippians.[674] The function of the *narratio* was to present the topic for discussion to the audience. Paul used his present adverse situation as an example to show the community that adversity could help in the spread of the Gospel. Such conduct fostered courage.

Greek Text

12 Γινώσκειν δὲ ὑμᾶς βούλομαι, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι τὰ κατ᾽ ἐμὲ μᾶλλον εἰς προκοπὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐλήλυθεν, 13 ὥστε τοὺς δεσμούς μου φανεροὺς ἐν Χριστῷ γενέσθαι ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσιν, 14 καὶ τοὺς πλείονας τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐν κυρίῳ πεποιθότας τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου περισσοτέρως τολμᾶν **ἀφόβως** τὸν λόγον λαλεῖν.

English Translation

12 I want you to know, brethren, that my circumstances have come as an advancement for the gospel. 13 As a result, to the whole palace guard and to all the rest, my chains are known to be for Christ. 14 And because of my chains more of my brethren have become confident in the Lord and they dare, all the more, to speak the word **without fear.**

Analysis

In v14, ἀφόβως, in L-N Domain 25 Subdomain 253, pertaining to be without fear, fearlessly, without fear, not afraid.[675] This word is surrounded by positive emotions conveying vigour and optimism, despite the unfavourable physical conditions. Confidence is the opposite of fear because of the hope of things conducive to safety to be near at hand, while the causes of fear seem to be nonexistent or far away; the near presence of what inspires confidence.[676] The presence of Paul as a living example was cause for confidence. It illustrates that for Paul unfavourable physical conditions do not

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[674] Witherington 2011: 29
[675] L-N 1988: 316
[676] Aristotle trans. Roberts electronic edition 2010-2013: 90

represent a cause of fear. The conditions do not represent a power that can harm his aspirations. The poignant desperation in 2 Cor 2:12-13 and 7:5 is quite transformed in this section of the letter.

7.3.3 Πτύρομαι in Philippians 1:27-30

Phil 1:27-30 forms the *propositio* which follows the *narratio* or it may be included in a *narratio*. It is the essential proposition to be laid out according to this system. What is Paul's proposition in this pericope? It is not to show fear under extreme provocation. The word used is ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, which raises the question about the nature of the opposition that the Philippians were facing. According to the lexicon, πτυρόμενοι means to show fear under extreme provocation. Why does Paul not use φόβος and τρόμος in this context?

Greek Text

27 Μόνον ἀξίως τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Χριστοῦ πολιτεύεσθε, ἵνα εἴτε ἐλθὼν καὶ ἰδὼν ὑμᾶς εἴτε ἀπὼν ἀκούω τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν, ὅτι στήκετε ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι, μιᾷ ψυχῇ συναθλοῦντες τῇ πίστει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου 28 καὶ μὴ **πτυρόμενοι** ἐν μηδενὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντικειμένων, ἥτις ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἔνδειξις ἀπωλείας, ὑμῶν δὲ σωτηρίας, καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ θεοῦ· 29 ὅτι ὑμῖν ἐχαρίσθη τὸ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, οὐ μόνον τὸ εἰς αὐ-τὸν πιστεύειν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πάσχειν, 30 τὸν αὐτὸν ἀγῶνα ἔχοντες, οἷον εἴδετε ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ νῦν ἀκούετε ἐν ἐμοί.

English Translation

27 You must live only worthily of the gospel of Christ. If I come and see you, or whether I hear matters concerning you in my absence, you are standing firm in one spirit while you struggle side by side with one soul with faith of the gospel. 28 You are not **frightened** by anyone by whom you are opposed, for this is evidence to them of their destruction and your salvation, and that by God. 29 For this has been granted to you on behalf of Christ not only to believe in him but also to suffer for him. 30 You have the same kind of struggle you saw in me and now, as you hear, is still in me.

Analysis

28 Πτυρόμενοι in L-N Domain 25 Subdomain 263, to be fearful as the result of being intimidated.[677] In BDAG it is defined as an intense form of fear, intimidated, be frightened, terrified.[678] This is not a synonym for fear discussed in Aristotle or Konstan, who does provide a list of words for fear.[679] However, the same grammatical construction is used as equal to φόβος, and therefore I am inferring that, as an emotion, it has a cognitive function to assess the strength of the opponents. As the word is describing an intense emotion, the opposing strength would have been considerable. In v30 Paul speaks of the Philippians experiencing the same difficulty as he. In 1 Thess 2:2 Paul describes how shamefully he was treated in Philippi.

Unlike Ephesus where the Romans ruled through the medium of a Greek elite, Philippi was ruled directly by the Romans. The official language was Latin.[680] In this province emperor worship was a well-established practice from the time of Philip II. In Phil 2:10 Paul says that every knee should bow at the name of Jesus, of those in the heavenly world, on the earth and also under the earth. Every knee was meant to bow before the Emperor; every public event was to honour the Emperor.[681] A declaration of conflict in 2:6, ἴσα θεῷ, equating Christ with God, is against the Imperial cult.[682] There is an inscription in Amphipolis' museum dedicated to 'Imperator Caesar, God son of God, Augustus, Saviour and Builder of the City.'[683] The inscription illustrates the inflammatory nature of Paul's statement from the perspective of Imperial ideology. 'The unity of a political system rests not only in shared institutions, taxes, and military defences, but in shared symbols, in the minds of men'.[684] Through Paul's gospel, members of the Philippian community are changing their mental and spiritual symbols, consequently not finding a place of their own in the political and social imperial system. They are in Christ and not in Rome. How this change of symbols became apparent in the community at large to evoke such opposition can only be inferred, perhaps from their

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[677] L-N 1988: 317
[678] BDAG 2000: 895
[679] Konstan 2007: 153
[680] Crossan and Reed 2005: 235
[681] Fee 1975: 31
[682] Heen in Horsley (ed) 2004: 125
[683] Crossan and Reed 2005: 161
[684] Hopkins 1978: 198,199,202, 242

non-participation in cultic events. Πτυρόμενοι is only used once and that in the letter to the Philippians.

7.3.4 Πᾶν γόνυ κάμπτω in Philippians 2:1-11

Phil 2:1-11 is the first positive appeal in the *probatio.* The example was a method whereby a spiritual teacher would use a paradigm of behaviour to foster principled conduct. This is what Paul reiterates in these verses, having already done so in the previous two pericopes.

Firstly, in this pericope, he appeals for unity in the community and mutual support. Then he presents the finest example to imitate, the Christ Hymn, in order to appeal to them for total dedication to Christ.

Greek Text

Εἴ τις οὖν παράκλησις ἐν Χριστῷ, εἴ τι παραμύθιον ἀγάπης, εἴ τις κοινωνία πνεύματος, εἴ τις σπλάγχνα καὶ οἰκτιρμοί, 2 πληρώσατέ μου τὴν χαρὰν ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ φρονῆτε, τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγάπην ἔχοντες, σύμψυχοι, τὸ ἓν φρονοῦντες, 3 μηδὲν κατ᾽ ἐριθείαν μηδὲ κατὰ κενοδοξίαν ἀλλὰ τῇ ταπεινοφροσύνῃ ἀλλήλους ἡγούμενοι ὑπερέχοντας ἑαυτῶν, 4 μὴ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστος σκοποῦντες ἀλλὰ τὰ ἑτέρων ἕκαστοι. 5 τοῦτο φρονεῖτε ἐν ὑμῖν ὃ καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, 6 ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, 7 ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν μορφὴν δούλου λαβών, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος· καὶ σχήματι εὑρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος 8 ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ. 9 διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσεν καὶ ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα, 10 ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ **πᾶν γόνυ κάμφῃ** ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων 11 καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσηται ὅτι κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρός.

English Translation

1. Therefore if there is any encouragement in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of spirit, if any affection and compassion, 2 then you have filled my joy in order that you may think the same; having the same love, being united in spirit, being of one mind, 3 not anything through selfish ambition, nor through conceit, but by humility, considering each other as having more value than oneself, 4 while being concerned about

one another and not your own affairs, but also everyone being concerned about the affairs of each other. 5 You should think the way Christ did,[685]

> 6 who beginning in the form of God did not regard being equal to God
>> as something to grasp after,
>
> 7 but he emptied himself, taking the form of a slave, when he became
>> the likeness of man; and, being found in the likeness (as) a man,
>
> 8 he humbled himself becoming obedient to the point of death,
>> even death on the cross.
>
> 9 Therefore God exalted him to the highest position
>> and gave him the name that is above every name,
>
> 10 in order that **every knee shall bow** at the name of Jesus;
>> in the heavenly world, on the earth and also under the earth,
>
> 11 and every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord,
>> to the glory of God the Father.

Analysis

Referring to v10, πᾶν γόνυ κάμπτω L-N Domain 53 Subdomain 61 (a Semitic idiom, literally the 'knee bends' or 'bows') to bend or bow the knee as a symbol of religious devotion, 'to worship, to bow before'. This expression is listed as a near synonym for φόβος as fear of the Lord expressing profound respect and awe for deity. The idiom on its own does not convey an emotion: for example, a person may bend a knee to pick up a pin from the floor. This is not an act of devotion; therefore, the devotional aspect must be inferred from the context. In this profound context it conveys the attitude of submission which pervades the verses, therefore, the idiom conveys an emotive quality. Though the outward form refers to body parts, it is possible to discern the cognitive element, admitting a higher power. This action was discussed in 1:27-30 from a political perspective.

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[685] L-N 1988: Vol II: 325 used their interpretation for verse 5

7.3.5 Φόβος and τρόμος in Philippians 2:12-17

A caveat is included in this pericope: the community are not to think that it is by their own strength that they are saved. There is an appeal to the community to become a light in the world. Here Paul uses the power of example again to influence conduct and thinking.

Greek Text

12 ῞Ωστε, ἀγαπητοί μου, καθὼς πάντοτε ὑπηκούσατε, μὴ ὡς ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ μου μόνον ἀλλὰ νῦν πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ μου, μετὰ **φόβου καὶ τρόμου** τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν κατεργάζεσθε· 13 θεὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐδοκίας. 14 πάντα ποιεῖτε χωρὶς γογγυσμῶν καὶ διαλογισμῶν, 15 ἵνα γένησθε ἄμεμπτοι καὶ ἀκέραιοι, τέκνα θεοῦ ἄμωμα μέσον γενεᾶς σκολιᾶς καὶ διεστραμμένης, ἐν οἷς φαίνεσθε ὡς φωστῆρες ἐν κόσμῳ, 16 λόγον ζωῆς ἐπέχοντες, εἰς καύχημα ἐμοὶ εἰς ἡμέραν Χριστοῦ, ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον οὐδὲ εἰς κενὸν ἐκοπίασα. 17 ἀλλὰ εἰ καὶ σπένδομαι ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ καὶ λειτουργίᾳ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, χαίρω καὶ συγχαίρω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν·

English Translation

12 Therefore, my beloved, just as you have always obeyed me, not only when in my presence, but now by much more in my absence, **with fear and trembling** you work out your own salvation. 13 For it is God who works among you, to will and to work for his pleasure. 14 You must do everything without grumbling and arguing, 15 in order that you may become pure and innocent children of God in the middle of the crooked and depraved generation, among who you appear as lights in the world. 16 By holding fast to the word of life, for my boasting on the day of Christ 17 I have not run in vain, but if I am poured out as an offering on the sacrificial altar for your faith, I rejoice, indeed I rejoice with you all, in the same way you must rejoice with me.

Analysis

With reference to v12 μετὰ **φόβου** καὶ **τρόμου** in L-N Domain 25 Subdomain 251, τρόμος is listed only in Domain 16 Subdomain 6, under the heading of Non-Linear Movement. From the point of view of first movements in the emotions, the first movement is not considered to be an emotion, but may indicate the presence of an

emotion. It is the instinctive aspect of the emotion due to two neural paths to the brain. The first is quicker and therefore appears first, for example, like trembling and the second, which is cognitive, is slower. Therefore, according to Konstan and Nussbaum, τρόμος which does not have a cognitive aspect, would not be considered as an emotion.

In v12 the word underlines the intensity of the emotion. Φόβος may also in this sentence refer to Domain 53, but I shall use Domain 25 in response to Crossan and Reed's interpretation of this verse as an admonition. They should be very afraid if they fail to acknowledge that it is God's power at work for his pleasure.[686] Failure to acknowledge this is an act of ἀσέβεια, therefore to be very afraid. The cognitive function acknowledges God's divine power. This pericope follows immediately on the description of the kenotic Christ, therefore by ascribing power to yourself to work out your own salvation is a denial of the above.

7.3.6 Summary of Fear in Philippians

Paul urges the Philippian community not to show fear, using himself, Christ and the members themselves as examples. In other words, he is encouraging them to be courageous in the face of adversity. Adversity in the Pauline sense means a threat to the gospel. He does not tell them not to be afraid, just not to show their fear or base their actions on what appears to be threatening. His attitude while in prison actually encouraged other members of the Pauline community to be fearless and bold in declaring the gospel.

Phil 1:12-14 The antonym for φόβος, ἀφόβως, fearless, without fear, is used to describe the emotional impact of Paul's imprisonment on other members of the community, specifically related their preaching. Paul's example encouraged them to preach without fear. Aristotle defines fear as the cognition of an impending harm. Paul is in prison his fate is uncertain; this situation could be cognised as an impending harm. The response, on the part of Paul and other members of his community shows, that physical danger is not evaluated as a power to harm.

Phil 1:27-30 The participle, πτυρόμενοι, shows the presence of powerful opposition, the word describes a condition of intense fear. The cognitive action of the emotion has discerned the possibility of severe harm. The cognition includes the presence of power to

[686]Crossan and Reed 2005: 221

inflict that harm. The community are urged not to be intimidated, that is, they are asked to change their values in relation to what can or cannot be harmful. The meaning is in a similar context as 1:12-14, not to value physical opposition as a potential to harm.

Phil 2:1-11 The idiom to bend a knee or bow is used as a near synonym for φόβος, meaning reverence or awe. L-N have also included near synonyms meaning acts of worship. In this pericope the act is associated with submission to a higher power, the bending of the knee, as a metaphor, places the person in a lower position, signifying a difference in status and power. The higher position symbolizes power.

Phil 2:12-17 Φόβος and τρόμος are used in this pericope as a caveat. The community are warned of the risk of attributing power to themselves for their salvation. Τρόμος is used to intensify the fear, the physical signs of fear. According to Nussbaum and Konstan trembling, on its own, is not an emotion of fear. The reason to be very fearful in this pericope is the possibility of divine retribution. It is a warning not to attribute value to personal source, and overlook the divine source of power.

The next letter to be analysed is Galatians.

7.4   Galatians

7.4.1   Outline of Galatians

The letter to the Galatians was part of the Pauline corpus found in a papyrus collection about 200 CE. No question was raised about its validity in those early years. As far as Biblical scholarship is aware, no question was ever raised about its authorship. Therefore, it may be said with certainty that this is a Pauline letter.[687]

Considerable attention has been given to the ancient epistolary and rhetorical convention in Biblical scholarship. An example of this was Hans Dieter Betz, who used judicial rhetoric to interpret Galatians. This was considered by New Testament scholars to be a significant contribution to their discipline.[688]

> There was a conflict between Paul and some of the members of the Antioch
> community. Many consider that Paul lost the Antioch community and Peter

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[687] Dunn 1993: 1
[688] Dunn 1993: 20

triumphed. The Jerusalem community in Antioch allowed the Judeans to fraternise with the Gentiles. Peter had no theological difficulties with the table fellowship. However, there was a rising tide of Judean conservatism, consequently a growing antagonism against any Judean who had Gentile sympathies.[689]

The epistolary and rhetorical structure of Galatians according to Betz

1:1-5	Epistolary prescript
1:6-11	*Exordium*
1:12-2:14	*Narratio*
2:15-21	*Propositio*
3:1-4:31	C*onfirmatio probatio*
3:19-25	digression
5:1-6:10	*Exhortatio((Paraenesis)*
6:11-18	Epistolary prescript

In Galatians the following pericope is analysed as set out in the CCR.

7.4.2   Φοβέομαι in Galatians 2:11-14

This pericope falls into the *narratio* according to Betz's rhetorical arrangement for forensic rhetoric. Paul describes the practical difficulties in the formative years of the community in Christ especially in relation to the custom of eating where the cultural clash was evident at a basic level. The difference in the interpretation of what was required caused dissension between Paul, Antioch and Jerusalem.

Greek Text

11 Ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν Κηφᾶς εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντέστην, ὅτι κατεγνωσμένος ἦν. 12 πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν τινας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν συνήσθιεν· ὅτε δὲ ἦλθον, ὑπέστελλεν καὶ ἀφώριζεν ἑαυτὸν **φοβούμενος** τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς. 13 καὶ συνυπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, ὥστε καὶ Βαρν-

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[689] http://www.misselbrook.org.uk (accessed 15.01.2017)

αβᾶς συναπήχθη αὐτῶν τῇ ὑποκρίσει. 14 ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε εἶδον ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσιν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, εἶπον τῷ Κηφᾷ ἔμπροσθεν πάντων, Εἰ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ὑπάρχων ἐθνικῶς καὶ οὐχὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶς ζῇς, πῶς τὰ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις Ἰουδαΐζειν;

English Translation

11 When Cephas came to Antioch I opposed him to his face (and said) that he was condemned. 12 Before certain men came from James, Cephas used to eat with the Gentiles; but when they came he withdrew and separated himself, **fearing** these people who had been circumcised. 13 The other Judeans joined him in acting with deceit, with the result that even Barnabas was led astray by them through hypocrisy. 14 When I observed that they did not act consistently towards the truth of the gospel, I said to Cephas in front of all, 'If you being a Judean live like a Gentile and not like a Judean, how can you compel the Gentiles to live like a Judean?'

Analysis

Referring to v12, φοβούμενος in L-N Domain 25 Subdomain 252 : φοβέομαι, to be in a state of fear, to fear, to be afraid. Cephas is in a state of fear because of 'these people who had been circumcised', who came from James. What does this state of fear tell about the relationship between Paul, Cephas and James? Firstly, 'Fear is not the sign of a moral deficiency; it just is the response to a credible danger'.[690] Therefore what danger is James to Cephas? In Antioch where communities of Jewish Christians and Gentile Christian communities met together for celebration of the Lord's Supper, was the food kosher for some, and not for others?[691] The practice was non-kosher for both communities, when they ate together.[692] James commanded that the practice change and both parties observe kosher rules at the meal.[693] James is clearly the figure of authority and power in relation to all the Christian communities, so the response of fear in relation to his new instruction and not continuing with the former practice shows Cephas' acknowledgment of his authority.

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[690] Konstan 2007: 134
[691] Crossan and Reed 2005: 219
[692] Crossan and Reed 2005: 219
[693] Crossan and Reed 2005: 219

The second aspect 'What inspires fear is the thought of damages impending that cut to the heart of my own cherished relationships and projects'.[694] What are Cephas' cherished projects? Surely, his communities in Antioch, for whom he is answerable to James, are his cherished projects? Barnabas, too, followed James' command and went against Paul, showing that he did not look upon Paul as the authoritative figure. Why did Paul not wish to obey James' change of direction? It does show up an aspect of Paul's character, his firm belief that he is right.

7.4.3   Summary for Fear in Galatians

There is only one pericope referring to fear in this letter even though Paul is at risk of losing his Galatian community. There is only the one occasion when fear is used and that was when Paul described Peter as being afraid. This window, into the very early beginnings of the spread of the gospel of Christ, shows the basic difficulties that needed to be overcome.

Gal 2:11-14   The present participle φοβούμενος is used to describe the emotional state of Peter (Cephas) towards the group who came from Jerusalem. This response, considered from the perspective of Aristotle's definition, shows that Peter acknowledged the leadership of James, as the figure invested with power to care for all the groups in Christ. Barnabas too, acknowledged James's instruction not to eat with the Gentiles. Paul's criticism of their behaviour shows that in this example he did not acknowledge James's authority.

The next letter to be analysed is Romans.

7.5   Romans

7.5.1   Outline of Romans

This letter was probably written from Corinth in the winter of 56-57 CE.[695] This information is inferred from Rom 16:23 where Paul speaks of Gaius as his host and the host of the whole community in Corinth.[696] There is also Gaius Titus Justus spoken of, as Paul proceeds to greet a number of members who are present in Rome and linked to the

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[694] Nussbaum 2005: 43
[695] Jewett 2007: 21
[696] Jewett 2007: 21

Corinthian communities; the fact that Paul is aware of their presence in Rome seems to indicate that Paul is in Corinth.

New Testament scholars differ in their approach in interpreting a Pauline letter. One aspect of the difference lies on their assessment whether the letter should be interpreted as an oral culture or a literate culture.[697] That means whether their frame of reference is the rhetorical conventions or epistolary. Arguments and evidence are provided by each party to support their stance.[698]

Jewett says that he follows the recent New Testament scholarship in interpreting Romans as 'a work of Christian rhetoric aiming to persuade'.[699] He finds present in Romans all the elements required for this act of persuasion. They are: 'invention, arrangement, style, memory and delivery'. We have a description of the means of persuasion, but who is the audience? This is a question raised by Jewett who advises this to be taken into account in New Testament studies.[700]

In the following analysis I have chosen Jewett's commentary, as this commentary offers a detailed analysis of the verses and cross references with literary and philosophical works contemporaneous with Paul.[701]

Stowers, though presents a different argument on the arrangement and interpretation of the text. He says that writers in Paul's time composed letters without punctuation, the act of punctuating the text is an act of interpretation and therefore the text is no longer objective.[702] On this account he says that even at the most basic level of the text, namely, word division, punctuation, textual arrangement, a subjective interpretation is present.[703]

> *Exordium* 1:1-12
>
> *Narratio*   1:13-15
>
> *Propositio* 1:16-17

Proofs divided into four discrete arrangements

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[697] Porter and Dyer 2012: 333
[698] Porter and Dyer 2012: 333
[699] Jewett 2007: 23
[700] Jewett 2007: 23
[701] Jewett 2007: 30
[702] Stowers 1994: 9
[703] Stowers 1994: 9

1:18- 4:25

5:1- 8:39

9:1-11: 36

12:1-15:13

Peroratio

15:14-16:16

16:21-23

The following pericopes are to be analysed as set out in the CCR: Rom 1:24-32; Rom 3:9-20; Rom 8:12-17; Rom 11:1-10; Rom 11:11-24; Rom 13:1-7; Rom 14:1-2.

7.5.2 Σέβομαι and λατρεύω in Romans 1:24-32

These verses, 1:18-32, form the first proof of the revelation of divine wrath. The semi-pericope as Jewett calls it, 1:24-32, continues the judicial imagery by his technical use of the word παρέδωκεν. 'When this is followed by a dative expression and then by an εἰς clause, indicating purpose, it is a technical term for officials handing over someone for official punishment.'[704]

The semi-pericope 1:24-32 gives a detailed description of the type of punishment describing the depraved condition of the Gentiles.[705]

The use of σεβάσθαι and λατρεύειν, in this context of 1:24-32 cannot be equated with φόβος as fear of the Lord, or awe. Awe as an emotion is uplifting and expansive and in this context we are using these two words for Gentiles who are bound by their appetites as punishment for ignoring God.

Lexically they may have been grouped together, but they are far apart semantically in the context of this semi-pericope and Paul's perspective of the state of the Gentiles

Greek Text

24   Διὸ παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν εἰς ἀκαθαρσίαν τοῦ ἀτιμάζεσθαι τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς· 25 οἵτινες

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[704] Jewett 2007: 148
[705] Jewett 2007: 148

μετήλλαξαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ψεύδει καὶ **ἐσεβάσθησαν** καὶ **ἐλάτρευσαν** τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τόν κτίσαντα, ὅς ἐστιν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν. 26 διὰ τοῦτο παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς εἰς πάθη ἀτιμίας, αἵ τε γὰρ θήλειαι αὐτῶν μετήλλαξαν τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν εἰς τὴν παρα φύσιν, 27 ὁμοίως τε καὶ οἱ ἄρσενες ἀφέντες τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν τῆς θηλείας ἐξεκαύθησαν ἐν τῇ ὀρέξει αὐτῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους, ἄρσενες ἐν ἄρσεσιν τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην κατεργαζόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν ἥν ἔδει τῆς πλάνης αὐτῶν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἀπολαμβάνοντες. 28 καὶ καθὼς οὐκ ἐδοκίμασαν τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν ἐν ἐπιγνώσει, παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς εἰς ἀδόκιμον νοῦν, ποιεῖν τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα, 29 πεπληρωμένους πάσῃ ἀδικίᾳ πονηρίᾳ πλεονεξίᾳ κακίᾳ, μεστοὺς φθόνου φόνου ἔριδος δόλου κακοηθείας, ψιθυριστάς 30 καταλάλους θεοστυγεῖς ὑβριστὰς ὑπερηφάνους ἀλαζόνας, ἐφευρετὰς κακῶν, γονεῦσιν ἀπειθεῖς, 31 ἀσυνέτους ἀσυνθέτου ἀστόργους ἀνελεήμονας· 32 οἵτινες τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιγνόντες ὅτι οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες ἄξιοι θανάτου εἰσίν, οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ συνευδοκοῦσιν τοῖς πράσσουσιν.

English Translation

24 Therefore God handed them over to the desires of their own hearts for impurity for the purpose of dishonouring their own bodies among themselves; 25 who exchanged the truth of God for falsehood, and they **worshipped** and **served** the creation rather than him who creates, who is blessed unto the ages. Amen. 26 For this reason God handed them over to their dishonourable passions for their females exchanged the natural function for a purpose contrary to nature. 27 In the same manner also their males who left the natural use of the females, shamelessly were inflamed with lustful passions for other men. Males work other males, in shame and dishonour which was fitting of their sexual error receiving them back in themselves. 28 Thus they did not think it worthwhile to acknowledge God. God gave them back to their corrupted mind, to do things which are not proper. 29 They are filled with all forms of (injustice) wrongdoing, evil, greed, depravity, full of envy, murder, strife, deceit, meanness, gossiper, 30 slanderer, hating God, insolence, arrogant, boasters, inventors of evil, disobedient to parents, 31 senseless, untrustworthy, unmerciful; 32 these very people knew the decree of God, because they are doing such things that are worthy of death, not only do they do these things but approve of those who do them.

Analysis

The word σεβάζομαι, in v25, in L-N Domain 53 Subdomain 53 has various meanings, 'to express in attitude and ritual one's allegiance to and regard for deity', 'to worship', 'to venerate'. To worship, or venerate, indicates a cognition of a greater power and in this respect would share a semantic feature with φόβος. However, in v25, the worship is for the creation and not the creator, showing the state of the deluded mind as described in vv21-23, worshipping and in awe of that which has no power of its own.

Σεβάζεσθαι is here used the first and only time in the New Testament.[706] The word is intimately connected with polytheism and the Roman cult.[707] The noun σεβαστός – the venerated one is the equivalent of the Latin term – *Augustus*. The allusion would not have been lost on the Roman community, as the Latin form *Augustus* appeared in the calendar, coins, state propaganda, and cultic honours paid to the emperor Octavian and his successors.[708] Octavian instituted various religious reforms, revived the cult of the *Lares* at shrines in homes and crossroads. It provided a religious interest to the lower levels of the society, but the most important innovation of the worship of the *Lares* was linked to the Genius of Augustus.[709] This practice spread to Italy and the provinces. It was not emperor worship as such, because this would have contradicted his revival of ancient religious practices.[710] Paul, by using σεβάζεσθαι in the context of v25, consigns all Octavian's efforts to the cause of the fall of the Gentiles.

The meanings in v25 for λατρεύω are found in Domain 53 Subdomain 14, 'to perform religious rites as a part of worship', 'to worship', 'to venerate'. In v25 Paul uses this term in conjunction with σεβάζεσθαι in relation to cultic practices, but he clearly does not confine this action to this sphere alone, since in v9 he speaks of worshipping in his spirit. Here the word conveys an emotive connotation. However, the case is too tenuous to ascribe a semantic connection with φόβος.

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[706] Jewett 2007: 170
[707] Jewett 2007: 170
[708] Jewett 2007: 170
[709] Scullard 1977: 242
[710] Scullard 1977: 242

7.5.3 Φόβος in Romans 3:9-20

Paul is using the diatribe to set up an imaginary interlocutor to show that knowing the law does not provide an advantage to the Judeans over the Gentiles.[711] They are both under sin.

In the first study, 1:18, the first proof was to show that the gospel expresses the impartial righteousness of God. 3:9, by use of the diatribe and quotations, advances the proving that both Judeans and Gentiles are under sin, overturning the traditional view that only the Gentiles are under sin. Both are in need of God's grace for salvation.[712]

Greek Text

9 Τί οὖν; προεχόμεθα; οὐ πάντως· προῃτιασάμεθα γὰρ Ἰουδαίους τε καὶ Ἕλληνας πάντας ὑφ᾽ ἁμαρτίαν εἶναι, 10 καθὼς γέγραπται ὅτι

    Οὐκ ἔστιν δίκαιος οὐδὲ εἷς,

11   οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ συνίων,

        οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἐκζητῶν.

12   πάντες ἐξέκλιναν ἅμα ἠχρεώθησαν·

      οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ποιῶν χρηστότητα,

      [οὐκ ἔστιν] ἕως ἑνός.

13   τάφος ἀνεῳγμένος ὁ λάρυγξ αὐτῶν,

      ταῖς γλώσσαις αὐτῶν ἐδολιοῦσαν,

  ἰὸς ἀσπίδων ὑπὸ τὰ χείλη αὐτῶν·

14   ὧν τὸ στόμα ἀρᾶς καὶ πικρίας γέμει,

15   ὀξεῖς οἱ πόδες αὐτῶν ἐκχέαι αἷμα,

16   σύντριμμα καὶ ταλαιπωρία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν,

17   καὶ ὁδὸν εἰρήνης οὐκ ἔγνωσαν.

18   οὐκ ἔστιν **φόβος** θεοῦ ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν.

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[711] Jewett 2007: 254
[712] Jewett 2007: 254

19 Οἴδαμεν δὲ ὅτι ὅσα ὁ νόμος λέγει τοῖς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ λαλεῖ, ἵνα πᾶν στόμα φραγῇ καὶ ὑπόδικος γένηται πᾶς ὁ κόσμος τῷ θεῷ· 20 διότι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, διὰ γὰρ νόμου ἐπίγνωσις ἁμαρτίας.

English Translation

9 What then? Are we better off? Not at all! For we have accused the Judeans and Greeks beforehand that they are all under sin. 10 And thus it is written: *There is no just man, not one; 11 no-one understands, no-one who seeks God. 12 All have turned aside, they are all baseless. There is no-one doing kind things, there is not, not one. 13 Their throat is an open grave and they continually deceive with their tongues, the poison of snakes is under their lips 14 and their mouth is full of bitter curses 15 and their feet are swift to shed blood. 16 Ruin and misery are in their paths 17 and the road of peace is not known. 18 There is no **fear** of God before their eyes.* 19 We know that whatever the law says it speaks to those in the law, in order that every mouth may be silenced and the whole world be answerable to God. 20 All flesh will not be made just in his presence for through the law is knowledge of sin.

Analysis

Φόβος in L-N Domain 53 Subdomain 59 is profound respect , awe for a deity. In v18 the emotion of respect and awe for deity is negated by the particle ου, thus the psalm is describing a state of impiety, a state of sin. Paul argues that this is the state of both Judean and Gentile; the Judean interlocutor finally agrees.

The psalm speaks of their eyes not being turned to God. In Rom 1:20 the word ἀόρατα means invisible, which is related to sight, also καθοράω, to perceive clearly. These are the faculties denied in the fall of man and in v18 their eyes are not turned to God, having denied his existence as spelled out in 1:18-32.

On the cultural level all the Imperial propaganda can be seen as deceiving with their tongues. Roman success in warfare which is interpreted as success through piety is totally negated in this psalm. Imperial values are nullified.

7.5.4   Φόβος **in Romans 8:12-17**

In this pericope, Paul urges the Gentiles not to squander the opportunity which they have been given to become the heirs of God. He presents an argument to show that the

Gentiles now have the opportunity to become righteous. They are being urged to live according to the spirit to express the opportunity not to be enslaved to their passions. This is in keeping with the main theme of God's impartial judgement.

Greek Text

12 Ἄρα οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ὀφειλέται ἐσμεν οὐ τῇ σαρκὶ τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα ζῆν, 13 εἰ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα ζῆτε, μέλλετε ἀποθνῄσκειν· εἰ δὲ πνεύματι τὰς πράξεις τοῦ σώματος θανατοῦτε, ζήσεσθε. 14 ὅσοι γὰρ πνεύματι θεοῦ ἄγονται, οὗτοι υἱοὶ θεοῦ εἰσιν. 15 οὐ γὰρ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα δουλείας πάλιν εἰς **φόβον** ἀλλὰ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα υἱοθεσίας ἐν ᾧ κράζομεν, Αββα ὁ πατήρ. 16 αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα συμμαρτυρεῖ τῷ πνεύματι ἡμῶν ὅτι ἐσμὲν τέκνα θεοῦ. 17 εἰ δὲ τέκνα, καὶ κληρο-νόμοι μὲν θεοῦ, συγκληρονόμοι δὲ Χριστοῦ, εἴπερ συμπάσχομεν ἵνα καὶ συνδοξασ-θῶμεν.

English Translation

12 Therefore then, brethren, we are obligated not to the flesh to live according to the flesh. 13 If you live according to the flesh you will die. However, if by the spirit you put to death those deeds of the body, you will live. 14 For those who are led by the spirit of God, these are the sons of God. 15 For you have not received a spirit of slavery to result in **fear** again, but a spirit of sonship by which we cry out, 'Abba, Father'. 16 The spirit bears witness to our spirit that we are children of God; 17 and if children, also heirs, on the one hand God's heirs, but on the other hand co-heirs with Christ, since indeed we are suffering together in order that we may be glorified (with him).

Analysis

V15, φόβος in L-N Domain 25 Subdomain 251, 'severe and intense fear'. Jewett interprets fear in this verse as not a proper respect for God. It is not in Domain 53 because in this verse it is the fear of failing to come up to the mark of acceptability that the law entailed, and thus fearing again to fall under wrath.[713] This interpretation clearly illustrates the definition given by Aristotle. The credible danger is the inability to comply with the law and failure in this respect meant punishment - ὀργή. Power lies in the law

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[713] Jewett 2007: 498

and the person disempowered is like a slave. In contrast in 2 Cor 3:17, where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom.[714]

7.5.5 κάμπτω γόνυ in Romans 11:1-10

In this third proof, Paul shows by means of his use of Midrash and diatribe that God has not forsaken Israel. Though some have been unfaithful, not all have been condemned. Paul argues that God has not rejected his own people, but through the action of grace, a remnant remains faithful, of which Paul is a member. This pericope is in keeping with the initial proof, God's impartial justice for both Israel and Gentiles.

Greek Text

Λέγω οὖν, μὴ ἀπώσατο ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτου; μὴ γένοιτο· καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ Ἰσραηλίτης εἰμί, ἐκ σπέρματος Ἀβραάμ, φυλῆς Βενιαμίν. 2 οὐκ ἀπώσατο ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ὃν προέγνω. ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ἐν Ἠλίᾳ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή, ὡς ἐν τυγχάνει τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ; 3 Κύριε, *τοὺς προφήτας σου ἀπέκτειναντὰ θυσιαστήριά σου κατέσκαψαν, κἀγὼ ὑπελείφθην μόνος καὶ ζητοῦσιν τὴν ψυχήνμο υ.* 4 ἀλλὰ τί λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ χρηματισμός; *Κατέλιπον ἐμαυτῷ ἑπτακισχιλίουςἄν δρας, οἵτινες οὐκ **ἔκαμψαν γόνυ** τῇ Βάαλ.* 5 οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν και ρῷ λεῖμμα κατ' ἐκλογὴν χάριτος γέγονεν· 6 εἰ δὲ χάριτι, οὐκέτι ἐξ ἔργων, ἐπε ὶ ἡ χάρις οὐκέτι γίνεται χάρις. 7 τί οὖν; ὃ ἐπιζητεῖ Ἰσραήλ, τοῦτο οὐκ ἐπέ- τυχεν, ἡ δὲ ἐκλογὴ ἐπέτυχεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐπωρώθησαν, 8 καθὼς γέγραπται,

  Ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς πνεῦμα κατανύξεως,

    ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν

    καὶ ὦτα τοῦ μὴ ἀκούειν,

  ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας.

9 καὶ Δαυὶδ λέγει,

  Γενηθήτω ἡ τράπεζα αὐτῶν εἰς παγίδα καὶ εἰς θήραν

    καὶ εἰς σκάνδαλον καὶ εἰς ἀνταπόδομα αὐτοῖς,

10   σκοτισθήτωσαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν

      καὶ τὸν νῶτον αὐτῶν διὰ παντὸς σύγκαμψον.

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[714] Jewett 2007: 498

English Translation

I say, therefore, did God reject his people? By no means! For even I am an Israelite, from the seed of Abraham, from the tribe of Benjamin. 2 God has not destroyed his people whom he knew beforehand. Or do you not know what the scripture says in Elijah, when he intercedes with God against Israel? 3 'Lord they killed your prophets, they destroyed your altars and I only am left and they seek my life.' 4 But what did God say to him? I have kept for myself seven thousand men who did not **bend a knee** to Baal. 5 Therefore, also in this manner now at this critical time, a remnant has come into existence by election of grace, 6 but by grace, no longer by works, otherwise the grace is no longer grace. 7 What then? What was Israel seeking? This it did not obtain, but the chosen obtained it, the remaining were made stubborn. 8 Thus it was written: 'God gave them a spirit of stupor, so that the eyes do not see and the ears do not hear until today'. 9 David says, 'Let their table become a snare and a trap, a stumbling block and a retribution for them. 10 Let their eyes become darkened so they do not see and bend their backs on account of everything.'

Analysis

V4 ἔκαμψαν γόνυ, is a Semitic idiom literally the 'knee bends' or 'bows', and the phrase is found in L-N Domain 53 Subdomain 61, 'to bend or bow the knee as a symbol of religious devotion', 'to worship, to bow before'. One may also interpret the idiom as consisting of a metonymy in the case of τὸ γόνυ (in other words, 'knee' as a substitute for 'person'). Accordingly, κάμπτω 'to bend' or 'to bow' could then be interpreted as meaning simply 'to worship'.[715] Is worship an emotion? Does it have a cognitive aspect? Aristotle does not provide a definition of worship as he does for the emotions anger and fear. The meaning implies the acceptance of a higher power, in some examples not sensory, but in others sensory. In this example the worship was not sensory, not to Baal during the reign of Ahab and Jezebel. Some Israelites rallied around Elijah and his movement to restore Israel to the true worship of God.[716] The example illustrates that the cognitive value in the act of worship can be erroneous, as those who followed Ahab and Jezebel in their worship of Baal. What in the culture influences what is worshipped? Paul implies the one judgement was based on truth and the other was not. Romans 1:18-32

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[715] L-N 1988: 541
[716] Stowers 1994: 296

describes the process that leads to the darkening of the mind and this would influence the values formed in the emotion.

The remnant that followed Elijah deserved divine commendation, but the rule of grace eliminates human qualifications.[717] However, the new transformed honour system gave honour to those who had no claim to the honour of God's grace.[718]

7.5.6 Φόβος in Romans 11:11-24

This pericope is in keeping with the initial research statement, the impartial justice of God. God caused Israel to stumble, not to cause their downfall, but to provide an opportunity to the Gentiles for salvation. Paul uses the allegory of the olive tree to illustrate to the Gentiles that they have been grafted on to the branch, but nurtured by the root. This does not allow them to be superior in any partial way.

Greek Text

11 Λέγω οὖν, μὴ ἔπταισαν ἵνα πέσωσιν; μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλὰ τῷ αὐτῶν παραπτώματι ἡ σωτηρία τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εἰς τὸ παραζηλῶσαι αὐτούς. 12 εἰ δὲ τὸ παράπτωμα αὐτῶν πλοῦτος κόσμου καὶ τὸ ἥττημα αὐτῶν πλοῦτος ἐθνῶν, πόσῳ μᾶλλον τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῶν.

13 Ὑμῖν δὲ λέγω τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· ἐφ᾽ ὅσον μὲν οὖν εἰμι ἐγὼ ἐθνῶν ἀπόστολος, τὴν διακονίαν μου δοξάθω, 14 εἴ πως παραζηλώσω μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ σώσω τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν. 15 εἰ γὰρ ἡ ἀποβολὴ αὐτῶν καταλλαγὴ κόσμου, τίς ἡ πρόσλημψις εἰ μὴ ζωὴ ἐκ νεκρῶν; 16 εἰ δὲ ἡ ἀπαρχὴ ἁγία, καὶ τὸ φύραμα· καὶ οἱ κλάδοι. 17 Εἰ δέ τινες τῶν κλάδων ἐξεκλάσθησαν, σὺ δὲ ἀγριέλαιος ὢν ἐνεκεντρίσθησαν, σὺ δὲ ἀγροέλαιος ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ συγκοινωνὸς τῆς ῥίζης τῆς πιότητος τῆς ἐλαίας ἐγένου, 18 μὴ κατακαυχῶ τῶν κλάδων· εἰ δὲ κατακαυχᾶσαι οὐ σὺ τὴν ῥίζαν βαστάζεις ἀλλὰ ἡ ῥιζα σέ. 19 ἐρεῖς οὖν, Ἐξεκλάσθησαν κλάδοι ἵνα ἐγὼ ἐγκεντρισθῶ. 20 καλῶς· τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ ἐξεκλάσθησαν, σὺ δὲ τῇ πίστει ἕστηκας. μὴ ὑψηλὰ φρόνει ἀλλὰ **φοβοῦ**· 21 εἰ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τῶν κατὰ φύσιν κλάδων οὐκ ἐφείσατο, οὐδὲ σοῦ φείσεται. 22 ἴδε οὖν χρηστότητα καὶ ἀπο-

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[717] Jewett 2007: 659
[718] Jewett 2007: 659

τομίαν θεοῦ· ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πεσόντας ἀποτομία, ἐπὶ δὲ σὲ χρηστότης θεοῦ, ἐὰν ἐπιμένῃς τῇ χρηστότητι, ἐπεὶ καὶ σὺ ἐκκοπήσῃ. 23 κἀκεῖνοι δέ, ἐπιμένωσιν τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ, ἐγκεντρισθήσονται· δυνατὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς πάλιν ἐγκεντρίσαι αὐτούς. 24 εἰ γὰρ σὺ ἐκ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐξεκόπης ἀγριελαίου καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ἐνεκεντρίσθης εἰς καλλιέλαιον, πόσῳ μᾶλλον οὗτοι οἱ κατὰ φύσιν ἐγκεντρισθήσ-ονται τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐλαίᾳ.

English Translation

11 I say therefore, did they stumble in order that they may fall? Surely not! But by their transgression is the salvation for the nations in order to make them jealous. 12 If their transgression is wealth for the world and their failure the wealth of the Gentiles, by how much more is their fullness. 13 But I speak to you Gentiles, inasmuch as I am indeed an apostle to the Gentiles, I shall glorify my service 14 if, somehow, I make my flesh jealous, I will save some of them. 15 For if their rejection is the reconciliation of the world, what is their acceptance, if not life from the dead? 16 If the first portion is holy, so also, is the remaining lump of dough. If the root is holy, so also are the branches. 17 But if some of the branches are broken off, and you, being the wild olive tree, have been grafted in to them and are also a sharer of the root of the olive tree with its richness, 18 do not boast against the branches, but if you do boast, it is not you who supports the root but the root you. 19 Therefore, you will say, 'Branches were broken off in order that I may be grafted in.' 20 Well, they were broken off by unbelief, but you have stood by faith, but do not be proud, but be **fearful.** 21 For if God did not spare the natural branches, neither will he spare you. 22 Therefore, see the kindness and severity of God, on the one hand severity to those who have fallen, but to you the kindness of God, if you remain in the kindness, otherwise you also will be cut off 23 and they, if they do not remain in unbelief, they will be grafted on, for God is able to graft them on again. 24 For if you were cut off according to nature from an olive tree and against nature grafted on to a cultivated olive tree, by how much more are those natural branches grafted on to their own olive tree.

Analysis

V20 φοβέομαι L-N Domain 25 Subdomain 252 denotes 'to be in a state of fearing', 'to be afraid'. In v20 φοβοῦ, second person singular imperative is without an object or

qualification, in direct antithesis to being arrogant to Israel.[719] Fear according to Aristotle in Konstan is a response to a future event, therefore what in a future event will cause them harm?[720] What is their present danger? According to the sentence construction the danger is being arrogant to Israel. In L-N Domain 88 Subdomain 209 - to have an arrogant, haughty attitude. The haughty attitude implies a position of strength, compared to another's weaker position. The injunction to be afraid, implies the need to acknowledge a position of weakness and the other's strength. The current position of the Roman Gentile community is strong as described by the metaphor of the tree and the grafting of new branches. Paul is pointedly addressing the Gentiles to share in the goodness provided by the original tree and the root. They are dependent on this act of kindness, so their attitude of haughtiness is the result of a misjudgement. They are not the authors of their status in the Pauline communities. This is an action attributed to God. By not acknowledging this fact they are in danger of divine retribution, as a result, fear would also reveal this danger. Therefore, their position is not superior, and this conclusion is affirmed through the cognitive aspect in the emotion of fear. The verb κατακαύχομαι appears here for the only time in the Pauline letters, and brings out strongly the element of comparative superiority expressed in boasting, to boast in triumphant comparison with others.[721] This attitude is corrected by the emotion fear as discussed above.

Paul used not only metaphor, but speech in character to drive home his point that Israel has not been abandoned, and the Gentiles had no cause to adopt a superior attitude.

7.5.7 Φόβος and Φοβέομαι in Romans 13:1-7

There are no grammatical links to the preceding pericope. Crossan interprets 13:1-7 in conjunction with 12:14 to understand the purpose of this pericope.[722] Jewett confirms that chapter 12 was joined directly to 13:1-7 but became separated later when scripture was divided into verses and chapters.[723] In view of this, we need to consider how chapter 12 links to the preceding pericope. According to Stowers, Paul's discussion from chapters 1-

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[719] Jewett 2007: 688
[720] Konstan 2007: 130
[721] Jewett 2007: 686
[722] Crossan 2015: 214
[723] Jewett 2007: 756

11 focuses on God's righteousness which is shown through Christ's faithfulness. The latter is the dynamic force which adapts itself to the edification of others. In this way, chapters 12-15 reflect an ethic of community-living based on faithfulness which permits amenability to others.[724]

Greek Text

Πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτασσέσθω. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐξουσία εἰ μὴ θεοῦ, αἱ δὲ οὖσαι ὑπὸ θεοῦ τεταγμέναι εἰσίν. 2 ὥστε ὁ ἀντιτασσόμενος τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ διαταγῇ ἀνθέστηκεν, οἱ δὲ ἀνθεστηκότες ἑαυτοῖς κρίμα λήμψονται. 3 οἱ γὰρ ἄρχοντες οὐκ εἰσὶν **φόβος** τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἔργῳ ἀλλὰ τῷ κακῷ. θέλεις δὲ μὴ **φοβεῖσθαι** τὴν ἐξουσίαν· τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποίει, καὶ ἕξεις ἔπαινον ἐξ αὐτῆς· 4 θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονός ἐστιν σοὶ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν. ἐὰν δὲ τὸ κακὸν ποιῇς, **φοβοῦ**· οὐ γὰρ εἰκῇ τὴν μάχαιραν φορεῖ· θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονός ἐστιν ἔκδικος εἰς ὀργὴν τῷ τὸ κακὸν πράσσοντι. 5 διὸ ἀνάγκη ὑποτάσσεσθαι, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν. 6 διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ φόρους τελεῖτε· λειτουργοὶ γὰρ θεοῦ εἰσιν εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο προσκαρτεροῦντες. 7 ἀπόδοτε πᾶσιν τὰς ὀφειλάς, τῷ τὸν φόρον τὸν φόρον, τῷ τὸ τέλος τὸ τέλος, τῷ τὸν **φόβον** τὸν **φόβον**, τῷ τὴν τιμὴν τὴν τιμήν.

English Translation

1 Let every person be obedient to the governing powers, for there is no authority except by God, for they are appointed by God. 2 With the result, one who resists the authority which God has decreed is resisting God. 3 Those who resist will receive judgement against themselves. The leaders are not a **cause of fear** to the good work but to the bad. Do you wish not **to fear** the authority? Do good work and you will receive approval from the authority. 4 For he is the servant of God for your good, but if you do evil **be afraid,** for he does not carry the sword in vain, for the servant of God is the one who punishes. The purpose of wrath is for the one who does evil. 5 Therefore, it is necessary to obey not only on account of wrath but also on account of your conscience. 6 For this reason, also pay your taxes for they are servants of God who devote themselves to this very purpose. 7 You must pay everyone what is due, to the revenue collector, revenue; to the tax collector, tax; to the one who is due **fear, fear**; and to the one who is due honour, honour.

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[724] Stowers 1994: 318

Analysis

V3 φόβος in L-N Domain 25 Subdomain 254 denotes 'the occasion or source of fear', 'something to be feared'.[725] The editors interpret φόβος as 'causative', the cause of fear. Konstan on the other hand, who refers to Aristotle, says:

> The process of identifying a thing as frightening, as Aristotle immediately makes clear, involves sophisticated social judgements as well. Among the causes of fear, for example, Aristotle includes anger or enmity on the part of people who have the power to inflict harm or pain [*Rhetoric* 2.5, 1382a32-3]. Hatred or enmity causes a disposition to cause harm, whereas anger is by definition a desire for a perceptible kind of revenge. The ability to do harm, then, is not in itself frightening, unless it is accompanied by a hostile intention. But this means that, to feel fear, we must understand the nature of anger and hatred, which themselves depend on complex judgements (e.g. the significance of a slight or insult, and the context in which a given gesture counts as such).[726]

An impression of something that represents a potential harm to one's person or aspirations evokes an emotional response of fear and is the cause of fear, and understood as such. Therefore, it is not clear why L-N have created a specific Domain to translate the word as 'cause for fear'. Konstan analyses the use of δέος and φόβος arguing against Romilly's interpretation of the use of both words. He uses Thucydides as an example for their usage: one to indicate the affective aspect of the word, and the other, the intellectual aspect and the presence of foresight.[727] Therefore, members of the community are asked to see the authorities as a potential or source of fear. Jewett interprets authorities as public officials.[728] Meeks considers them to be as functionaries of the Imperial government rather than the municipal magistrates.[729] Good relations with the Imperial court for minority groups could create a useful ally.[730] V3 follows a Greco-Roman consensus that governmental authorities prescribe punishment for wrongdoers; praise and honour for well-doers.[731] Therefore, breaking the law would be cause for fear, as the authorities have the power to punish wrongdoing. The act of wrongdoing places the

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[725] L-N 1988: 316
[726] Konstan 2007: 132
[727] Konstan 2007: 154
[728] Jewett 2007: 792
[729] Meeks 1983: 106
[730] Meeks 1983: 106 Judeans in the provincial cities habitually depended upon good relations with the Imperial court and its delegates, especially when local opposition arose.
[731] Jewett 2007: 792

person in a weak position compared to the strength of the official. In 13:3b there is a shift to a diatribe and the conversation with the imaginary interlocutor. This conversation clarifies the value of this section to the Roman communities.[732]

Chapter 13:1-7 has promoted considerable discussion amongst New Testament scholars as this section appears to endorse Imperial rule, and contradicts Paul's stand against the Empire. Neil Elliott interprets the statement as a contradiction to Imperial propaganda that claims that some people experience the 'good faith' and 'friendship' of Rome and for those people fear and threat of force was unnecessary.[733] Calpurnius Siculus described Nero's accession as the dawning of a Golden Age in which no-one would remember how to use the sword, because there was a mythic picture of Nero as a man who did not use the sword.[734]

Theories of punishment, not since the time of Cicero, became issues to debate during Nero's reign.[735] Stoic philosophers were divided on their interpretation on appropriate punishment. How did their influence impact on the Roman communities to whom Paul was writing?

Seneca sought to influence Nero to implement *clementia*. This does not imply a pardon, as this would negate Stoic principles that a proven wrong required corrective punishment. Mitigating factors should be taken into account in passing the sentence, so that the judge was no longer bound by *poena legis* but could exercise discretion.[736] Although Seneca sees *clementia* as the prerogative of the ruler, he defines it in more general terms: it is the leniency of a superior towards an inferior.[737] Seneca hoped to extend this reform to the family court.[738] If these legal theories of Seneca's influenced the legal process, then the Roman Christian communities may have been subject to a more just system. However, according to Paul's judgement wrongdoing will receive punishment, which could be harmful to their aspirations.

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[732] Jewett 2007: 793
[733] Elliott 2008: 155
[734] Elliott 2008: 155
[735] Bauman 1996: 77
[736] Bauman 1996: 79
[737] Bauman 1996: 79
[738] Bauman 1996: 79

7.5.8 Κάμπτω τὸ γόνυ in Romans 14:1-12

The main theme in this pericope is indicated by the word προσλάμβανειν (to take someone into a relationship of mutual help, that is, ancient friendship). The help also consists of correcting each other. This pericope relates to chapters 1-11 showing God's righteousness operating in the Pauline community.[739]

Greek Text

Τὸν δὲ ἀσθενοῦντα τῇ πίστει προσλαμβάνεσθε, μὴ εἰς διακρίσεις διαλογισμῶν. 2 ὃς μὲν πιστεύει φαγεῖν πάντα, ὁ δὲ ἀσθενῶν λάχανα ἐσθίει. 3 ὁ ἐσθίων τὸν μὴ ἐσθίοντα μὴ ἐξουθενείτω, ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐσθίων τὸν ἐσθίοντα μὴ κρινέτω, ὁ θεὸς γὰρ αὐτὸν προσελάβετο. 4 σὺ τίς εἶ ὁ κρίνων ἀλλότριον οἰκέτην; τῷ ἰδίῳ κυρίῳ στήκει ἢ πίπτει· σταθήσεται δέ, δυνατεῖ γὰρ ὁ κύριος στῆσαι αὐτόν. 5 ὃς μὲν κρίνει ἡμέραν, ὃς δὲ κρίνει πᾶσαν ἡμέραν· ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ νοΐ πληροφορείσθω. 6 ὁ φρονῶν τὴν ἡμέραν κυρίῳ φρονεῖ· καὶ ὁ ἐσθίων κυρίῳ ἐσθίει, εὐχαριστεῖ γὰρ τῷ θεῷ· καὶ ὁ μὴ ἐσθίων κυρίῳ οὐκ ἐσθίει καὶ εὐχαριστεῖ τῷ θεῷ. 7 οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμῶν ἑαυτῷ ζῇ καὶ οὐδεὶς ἑαυτῷ ἀποθνήσκει· 8 ἐάν τε γὰρ ζῶμεν, τῷ κυρίῳ ζῶμεν, ἐάν τε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, τῷ κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκομεν. ἐάν τε οὖν ζῶμεν ἐάν τε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, τοῦ κυρίου ἐσμέν. 9 εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἔζησεν, ἵνα καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων κυριεύσῃ. 10 σὺ δὲ τί κρίνεις τὸν ἀδελφόν σου; ἢ καὶ σὺ τί ἐξουθενεῖς τὸν ἀδελφόν σου; πάντες γὰρ παραστησόμεθα τῷ βήματι τοῦ θεοῦ, 11 γέγραπται γάρ,

> Ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, ὅτι ἐμοὶ **κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ**
>
> καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται τῷ θεῷ.

12 ἄρα ἕκαστος ἡμῶν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον δώσει τῷ θεῷ.

English Translation

1. Welcome him who is weak in his faith, but not for disputes over opinions.[740] 2 One believes he can eat everything, while the other who is weak eats vegetables. 3 He who eats must not despise him who does not eat. He who does not eat must not judge him who

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[739] Stowers 1994: 323
[740] Jewett 2007: 829

eats, for God has welcomed him. 4 Who are you to judge the servant belonging to another? To his own master he stands or falls, and the Lord is able to make him stand. 5 For one judges one day in comparison with another day, while the other judges all days alike. Let each be fully convinced in his own mind. 6 The one who regards the day as special, regards it for the Lord; and the one who eats, eats for the Lord, for he is giving thanks to God; and he who does not eat does so for the Lord; he also gives thanks to God. 7 For not one of us lives for himself and not one of us dies for himself. 8 For if we live we live in the Lord and if we die we die in the Lord, so whether we live or whether we die, we are of the Lord. 9 For this reason that Christ died and lived was so that he may be Lord over the living and the dead. 10 But you, why do you judge your own brother? For we shall all stand before the place of judgment of God, 11 for it is written, '*As I live, says the Lord, that every* **knee bows,** *shall bow to me, and every tongue shall praise God.'* 12 Therefore shall each of us give an account of himself to God.

Analysis

V11 κάμπτω τὸ γόνυ in L-N Domain 53 Subdomain 61 (a Semitic idiom, literally 'the knee bends' or 'bows') a symbol of religious devotion. Φόβος is defined as religious awe and κάμπτω τὸ γόνυ is listed as a near synonym. What common semantic ground do these two words share? The emotive element is stronger in φόβος than κάμπτω τὸ γόνυ, but both recognise a higher power, the response to it may differ.

The pronouncement in Rom 14:11, a quotation from Isaiah, describes a scene of universal devotion to God, the differences described in vv 1-10 are no longer there. The weak and the strong are accountable to God, whose salvation includes all people.[741] Paul has directed a situation described in vv 1-10 in which we find the following words used: κύριος nine times; κρίνειν - to judge, five times; διάκρισις - dispute.[742] The verb προσλαμβάνειν is translated as to take into a relationship of mutual assistance that is ancient friendship.[743] The strong of the Roman community are asked to embrace the weak in faith as friends. The common ground to the relationship is the Lord and their relationship to him. The welcome is into the common meal. Crossan and Reed point out that in the time of Paul the tensions between Jewish observances within Christianity and

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[741] Jewett 2007: 851
[742] Jewett 2007: 832
[743] Stowers 1994: 323

the strong was a major issue.[744]   Acceptance nullifies judgement, the rationale is for the acceptance, Christ has accepted you. The act of acceptance, which may be interpreted as an act of devotion to the Lord, will reverse the shameful status of the weak.[745] Weak in faith is a discriminatory term, a term possibly invented by groups opposing the weak.[746] The enquiry into ὀργή has shown that it is a response to a slight, to be considered of no value which, in a status driven society where honour enforces your identity, has serious consequences. In v3 μὴ ἐξουθενίτω (do not despise)[747] bears some relationship to the above comment. The verb is constructed from οὐθέν (nothing) and the prefix ἐξ, resulting in the meaning, 'to make absolutely nothing of'. Hence the verb ἐξουθενέω.[748] Consequently to be considered a nobody, in an intensely competitive world for superior status in the Roman world, was indeed shameful.[749] The admonition was counter-cultural.[750]

7.5.9   Summary for Romans

Paul does not use fear as a personal emotion in Romans as he does in Corinthians but uses it as an admonition against certain forms of action. Paul admonishes the Roman community for assuming a superior attitude to the Judeans. He cautions them that there is accountability for their actions through ὀργή as divine retribution.

He uses fear as respect for authority that has the power to harm. In Romans 13, Paul encourages the community to respect the outer form of authority; not to provoke the implementation of the law.

Rom 1:24-32 The words identified in this pericope for analysis according to the L-N classification were grouped with φόβος, meaning awe and reverence. Φόβος, as fear has been classified as an emotion, but its meaning of awe and reverence was attributed a non-emotional status. Therefore, the meaning in the sentence was used to interpret whether it functioned as an emotion, if it did, then a cognitive function would be present. The words, ἐσεβάσθησαν, to worship, λατρεύειν, to serve, are examples of the system described above. In 1:25 neither word conveys the emotion of awe and reverence. In this

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[744] Crossan and Reed 2005: 397
[745] Jewett 2007: 836
[746] Jewett 2007: 836
[747] Jewett 2007: 839
[748] Jewett 2007: 839
[749] Jewett 2007: 839
[750] Jewett 2007: 839

verse the action is related to the visible creation which was served, and not the invisible Creator. Therefore, from a Pauline perspective, these actions would not constitute awe and reverence.

Rom 3:9-20 The word φόβος is used in a quotation from the Psalms. There is no fear of God before their eyes, so sings the psalmist.[751] In Rom 1:20 there are two words, ἀόρατα, invisible, and καθορᾶται, to perceive clearly. Both these functions were denied , consequently, they worship and serve the visible creation, and their eyes are not turned to the Lord in fear, that is in reverence. Φόβος as fear of the Lord acknowledges the power of God. The Pauline value, operative in this function, differs from the value of the imperial Roman culture. Paul required his communities to adopt a new set of values which were not reflected in their culture.

Rom 8:12-17 Fear of the law shows a belief that the law is powerful, a power that can harm human aspirations by failure to comply with its requirements. This cultural value requires change to acknowledge their relationship to God not to the law.

Rom 11:1-10 The idiom in this pericope, 'to bend a knee' is used in the negative sense, they did not bend a knee to Baal. They did not worship, revere Baal. This is an example where the present cultural values were not reflected in their judgement. The remnant remained true to their traditional values, in which God was not an object of perception.

Rom 11:11-24 In 11:20 Paul uses ἀλλὰ φοβοῦ as a warning against haughtiness. Haughtiness does not recognise a superior power, by the use of the phrase ἀλλὰ φοβοῦ, Paul is correcting their values. There is a higher authority and it is the power of that authority that establishes status in the Pauline community.

Rom 13:1-7 There are three forms of fear in this pericope, namely, the cause of fear in 13:3 is attributed to the leaders. They would have the power to harm. The relationship of the source of fear can change, if there is no transgression of the law. The superior power will not act against you. Paul uses φόβος with overtones of ὀργή. Be afraid if you do evil. Fear has the capacity to discern who has the power to harm.

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[751] NEB Ps 36:1b

Rom 14:1-12   This is another example of the use of the idiom, 'to bend a knee' to express reverence and awe. Paul uses this emotion to replace the cultural obsession with status. The Lord is the seat of power not social status, which is governed by the emperor.

This closes the Summary, which is followed by the conclusion for Chapter Seven.

7.6   Conclusion

On the first page of this chapter a chart was presented referred to as the CCR, Chart of Correlated references. The chart was constructed to display the range of lexical terms, identified in L-N, which are used by Paul in the undisputed letters, to express the concept of fear. The research presented in Chapter Five : Lexicography contributed to the construction of the chart.

The chart also shows the sequence in which these words would be followed in the undisputed letters. The sequence is arranged in an approximate chronological order, because there is no general consensus on this issue.

The aim of this chapter was to give further proof of the research subject with reference to the emotion of fear. The proof took the form of an analysis of the word for fear in its context in the undisputed Pauline letter, its relevance to the argument in the pericope, and the letter as a whole.

A significant element in the hypothesis of the research subject is the function of the cognitive element in the emotions, which decides what is and what is not important. The underlying distinction is that these values are socially conditioned and, therefore, refer specifically to the values of a particular culture.

In order to bridge the gap between theory and evidence, the word for fear in the Pauline text was related to Aristotle's definition of fear to assess what provoked the fear in the Pauline text. Did the cause of fear represent a cultural value? The answer lay in the cultural context researched and presented in Chapter Four.

This is a description of the method used in this chapter to analyse the words as identified in L-N. The system used by L-N caused lexical difficulty, because of their failure to classify fear meaning awe, and reverence as an emotion, the word was grouped together

with near synonyms that were not emotions, and, therefore, did not have a cognitive function. Much depended on the cognitive aspect of the emotion in this research .

A detailed summary is set out at the end of the analysis of all the undisputed letters to disclose how this system worked and what was learnt about the cultural values to affirm the hypothesis stated, in Chapter One, that emotions are socially conditioned.

The meaning of fear as fear of the Lord, or the emotion awe, was classified by L-N with words denoting service and worship. These are not usually regarded as emotions as an aspect of fear, but they fit the principle of selection that L-N uses. When Paul uses fear as fear of the Lord, it carries the implication of awe, which is a transformative emotion.

In the examples of worship, it is Paul's precise use of the correct term to illustrate exactly what he wants to impart to his community. He asks the Romans to address the situation of arrogance by humility.

The research has expanded the appreciation of the manner in which ὀργή was used by Paul to express the universal action of justice to personal anger. Anger would not be used to describe a universal justice system in our time. Retribution had a corrective function, which is not the way that the word would be interpreted today.

Fear, as used by Paul, showed the impact of the patronage system of Imperial Rome. That value system would not be valid in our society.

The Conclusion, Chapter Eight, in which all the findings are presented, follows.

CHAPTER EIGHT : CONCLUSION

8.1 The Identification of the Research Subject

This is the final chapter of the research paper, therefore, it is apposite to review how the research subject was identified, a description of the steps taken, and what they contributed to support the hypothesis that emotions are culturally conditioned, and how this knowledge was applied in interpreting the undisputed Pauline letters.

There was a renewed interest in the subject of the emotions, in the discipline of Classical studies, in the field of Greco-Roman philosophy, about thirty years ago.[752] The research questioned the traditional view that emotions were universally experienced in the same way, irrespective of language.[753] The outcome of that study also dispelled the view that emotions are reactions without intelligence or discrimination, namely without the facility to decide what is and what is not important.[754] The most influential aspect that emerged from this research was that of the cognitive function in the emotions. Aristotle and the Stoics held the same view, both provided an insight into the function of the emotions, namely, that the emotions are a cultural evaluative response to an outer cognition of an object or situation. The response identifies and distinguishes one emotion from another.[755] For example, an insult, according to Aristotle, would provoke anger. The outcome of this research raised the question whether this knowledge could be used to interpret the emotions in the undisputed Pauline letters, and whether this action would show how the cultural values of imperial Rome influenced the meaning of the emotions of anger and fear in the undisputed Pauline letters. The reason for selecting these emotions was discussed in Chapter One. The outcome of the research was the hypothesis, on which the research subject was based, but needed a methodology to prove it.

8.1.1 An Overview of the Steps in the Methodology

Aristotle's definitions were selected for the emotions of anger and fear, against which the Pauline usage of the lexical terms was compared. Chapter Three reviewed the historical

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[752] Konstan 2004: 8
[753] Konstan 2004: 1
[754] Nussbaum 2005: 11
[755] Konstan 2004: 9

tradition behind the emotions and verified that their tradition acknowledged a cognitive aspect to the emotions.

The cultural context of the provincial Roman cities in which Paul formed his communities, was discussed in order to discover whether these influences are reflected in the values held in the emotions. Proof was needed that this is so.

The concepts of anger and fear require words. The words for anger and fear used by Paul were identified in L-N. This was discussed in Chapter Five.

The analysis of anger in Chapter Six, in the context of the undisputed letters, reflected that the method of analysis was dependent on the outcome of the former chapters. The analysis of fear in Chapter Seven followed the same sequence of enquiry.

8.2   Methodology

The following chapters describe how the discussion was structured to present the proof at each step. Chapter Three examines the philosophic systems, their view of the emotions and whether they recognise the cognitive function of the emotions, on which much depends to prove the hypothesis of the research subject.

In Chapter Three there is a comparison of numerous philosophic systems of thought with Aristotle's definition of anger and fear. Philosophers differed in their assessment of the value of the emotions. The Platonic tradition comes closest to Aristotle's definitions, which will be used in this study. In the Platonic tradition, emotions were required to be reined in by reason. He recognises that anger as a desire for revenge needs to be called in by reason, otherwise the desire for revenge would become the driving force in a life. Plato attributes a cognitive function to fear, but does not use the word fear to express awe or reverence. He uses θαῦμα to express the emotion wonder.

Aristotle is concerned with the content of thought that goes into the various emotions. These thoughts are drawn from the culture and society of the time, which relates directly to the premise of the research. Emotions are culturally conditioned.

Aristotle's definitions of anger and fear formed the framework to compare Paul's use of the concepts in his undisputed letters. Like Plato, Aristotle does not use the word fear to express awe or reverence; he uses the emotion wonder.

The definitions, as the framework to the analysis in Chapters Six and Seven, are presented here as a reference for the discussion on the analysis of the emotions of anger:

> Let us then define anger as a longing, accompanied by pain, for a real or
> apparent revenge for a real or apparent slight, affecting a man himself or one of
> his friends, when such a slight is undeserved. (Aristotle, *Rhetoric* II.ii,
> 1378a31-3).[756]

According to Aristotle a slight was a challenge to a person's honour, thereby identifying a cultural value that shaped the emotion anger.

Aristotle's definition of fear.

> Let fear be defined as a painful or troubled feeling caused by the
> impression of an imminent evil that causes destruction or pain; for men
> do not fear all evils, for instance, becoming unjest or slow-witted, but
> only such as involve great pain or destruction, and only if they appear to
> be not far off but near at hand and threatening, for men do not fear things
> that are very remote; all know that they have to die, but as death is not
> near at hand, they are indifferent. (Aristotle, *Rhetoric* II.v.1).[757]

The research in Chapter Three has been modified in this section, to focus on who of the philosophers influenced the interpretation of the emotions.

There is another tradition which does apply in Paul's use of anger in Romans, namely the mythological tradition. Anger is conceived of as a divine instrument to restore order and balance.

In Chapter Four, the cultural conditions in the provincial Roman cities in which Paul formed communities were examined. The cities visited by Paul were Thessalonica, Corinth, Philippi and Galatia.

In Thessalonica, Paul's apocalyptic theme, which promised the ushering in of a new age, offered hope to the community who were subject to persecution under imperial Roman rule. Reference to suffering, in 1 Thess 2:14 and 4:13, contribute towards this view. Paul's use of ὀργή as punishment also affirms that certain sections of the community were unjustly treated. Archaeological evidence shows the presence of emperor worship in

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[756] Freese 2006: 173

[757] Freese 2006: 201-202

Thessalonica. A breach of loyalty to this religious function was interpreted as treason, for which the punishment was severe, possibly even death. The need for justice emerged as a value in this community, which Paul recognised.

Corinth was re-founded by the Roman in 44 BCE with a diverse population. This diversity included freed slaves, the urban poor, army veterans, and displaced people from the Italian countryside. The composition of the community influenced their values. The Corinthian society was the most competitive in the Roman Empire. They ranked status highly and this influenced the values. The Corinthians valued anything which increased their status. The presence of strong patrons in Corinth also influenced Paul's communities and especially Paul. The letter indicates that a number of powerful patrons were openly hostile towards Paul. The emotive words, used by Paul in this letter, show the degree of competitiveness in the Corinthian community. His use of the emotion of fear, especially, accentuates the hostile environment he had to endure, due to the opposition of powerful patrons.

Philippi was honoured by Augustus in 31BCE after the battle of Actium. This colony retained a strong Roman character. Latin was the official language. Wealth lay in the hands of the Roman citizens, non-Romans were not allowed, by law, to own land. Archaeological evidence reveals that emperor worship was a well-established practice in Philippi. The words analysed in the letter to the Philippians point to severe opposition, probably the opposition of the authorities. The panegyric in 2:6-11 is interpreted by Heen[758] to be a criticism of emperor worship.

The cultural background to the letter to the Galatians shows strong Roman cultural influences and the prominence of emperor worship. But it is not the cultural influences which occasioned a letter from Paul, it was the activity of Paul's opponents. These opponents favoured the traditional Judean practices for communities in Christ, in Antioch and Jerusalem. The words analysed in the statement are in relation to their activity and Paul's response to it.

The letter to the Romans was written during the reign of Nero, which promised the return of the golden age. In this letter Paul extensively uses words that are related to justice. Nero had also promised the return of justice. Paul's description in 1:18-32 of the moral

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[758] Heen in Horsley (ed) 2004: 125

state of the society does not fit the description of the poets who heralded in the return of justice. Paul's use of anger in this letter relates to its meaning as punishment by which justice is restored. The Roman society was linked by a chain of honour, starting with the emperor. The values in this letter are shaped by honour as the analysis of anger and fear in Chapters Six and Seven demonstrate.

In step one the function of philosophy in relation to the emotions was established. The second step in Chapter Four follows progressively to the chapter on Lexicography. The concepts of fear and anger have been discussed. It is timely to consider the words which will express these concepts.

Chapter Five concerns the lexicographical principles used in the compilation of the two lexicons used primarily in this research, namely L-N (Louw-Nida) *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains* and Frank William Danker (ed.) *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature,* referred to as BDAG.

The classification of anger in L-N revealed a wide semantic range for the word. It became evident that the language gave the opportunity to express the degree of anger (ὀργή) precisely. The aim of the study was not to research the general usage of anger in the first century CE, but only Paul's use of it in that period. On this basis the words for anger in the undisputed Pauline letters were selected for analysis. The selection was presented in tabular form on the first page of Chapter Six.

A lexical difficulty has been created by not classifying ὀργή as an emotion. This decision denied the presence of a cognitive function in the word, which is central to the research subject of this investigation. In Chapter Six, this factor is specifically noted where applicable, and the specific approach which was adopted.

The semantic range of φόβος is not extensive. In this case, fear is classified as an emotion. Φόβος in its secondary meaning, however, is not classified as an emotion, creating the same difficulties noted for the classification of anger.

BDAG was a useful inclusion for this research subject, because the use of a word is not restricted to the New Testament only, but provides an opportunity to consider its use in a wider context.

The words have been presented in the potential meaning in this chapter. The analyses in Chapters Six and Seven, in context of the letters, expand their meaning to verify the research subject by showing how the cognitive elements, in these two emotions, were conditioned by their cultural values. The final test begins in Chapter Six with the emotion anger, and ends in Chapter Seven with the emotion of fear.

The aim of the Chapter Six summaries is to show the correlation of anger as an emotion, with anger as divine retribution, by unravelling the strands of its cognitive function. The method is by showing the belief on which the emotion is based, and the response this belief elicits. The final step is to confirm whether this outcome corresponds to Paul's use of the emotion in the text.

In addition, there are also a few examples in this chapter of anger as a human response; the principles on which the emotion functions are the same.

The summaries follow the sequence of the undisputed Pauline letters and the words identified in L-N as given in the CCR, which is on the first page of Chapter Six.

An emotion is recognised by a belief essential to it. The desire for retribution, anger, shows the belief of undeserved dishonour. The phrase, 'undeserved slight or injustice', is also used. The response is a desire for retribution to reinstate the status quo. In 1 Thess 1:10, the Thessalonians were saved from the coming retribution. In order to avert the act of retribution, the belief of dishonour had to change; this change is confirmed in 1 Thess 1:9, 'they turned to God from worshipping idols'. God is no longer dishonoured.

Retribution has occurred in 1Thess 2:16. The injustices that occurred in 1 Thess 2:13-14 are undeserved suffering imposed on the communities in Christ. This was experienced by both Thessalonians and the Judeans at the hands of their own people. Some of the Judeans also endeavoured to prevent the message of Christ to be taken to the Gentiles.

Ὀργή, a desire for retribution, is personified in 1 Thess 4:6 by the use of the word, ἔκδικος, a punisher. A belief in injustice is essential to a response of anger. If injustice is present in 1 Thess 4:16, then the result is retribution, because they have failed to honour the tenet to restrain their sexual behaviour. In this example, the values in the belief system do not reflect the cultural values of first century imperial Rome, but those of Paul's teaching.

There is a fair amount of repetition in this section, as the emotion of anger is its focus. Once again to repeat the principle: when the belief changes, the emotion changes. In 1 Thess 5:9, the belief of dishonour is that peace and security come through the Roman Empire. The response is retribution, as the belief dishonours God.

The word for anger in 1 Cor 13:5 is not ὀργή but παροξύνεται, to provoke anger. There is no belief in injustice as the action of the verb is negated by the particle οὐ. The subject of the verb is ἀγάπη. It illustrates the principle well: if there is no belief in injustice, then there is no anger. The emotion is identified by the belief.

In 2 Cor 7:2 the word ἀγανάκτησις, indignation, is in the same semantic category as ὀργή. Like ὀργή, the belief in an injustice must be present, but unlike ὀργή it is not self-referring, but regarding others. The anger is directed at the perpetrator of an undeserved injustice inflicted on another. Paul's community expressed their indignation against Paul's abusers.

In 2 Cor 10:6 the word ἐκδικῆσαι, to pay back an injustice, is self-referential. Paul was dishonoured undeservedly by the disobedience of some members of the Corinthian community; ἐκδικῆσαι conveys the same meaning as ὀργή, a desire for retribution.

The negative excessive form of anger is expressed by the use of θυμοί (plural of θυμός) in 2 Cor 12:20 and Gal 5:20. Θυμός does have a positive aspect as well, but in the references cited θυμοί is in the midst of a list of emotions that are not useful to social cohesion. For this reason the negative usage is inferred. It has been interpreted as a non-cognitive response in both examples.

In Rom 1:18, ὀργή is used as a metaphor. This use was found also in 1 Thessalonians. The same system applies: ὀργή is a response to a belief of undeserved injustice. In Rom 1:18, the injustice is confirmed in the text as ἀσέβεια and ἀδικία.

The injustice, in Rom 2:5, is dishonouring the possibility for repentance. The response is divine ὀργή. This is an example of divine and human interaction. In Rom 2:8 there is a belief of continued injustice; the response to this belief is intense retribution. Θυμός intensifies the act of retribution; the day of retribution indicates the future time in which the punishment will be received.

A rhetorical question is posed by the imaginary interlocutor: is divine retribution unjust? The principles of retribution and injustice are present in Rom 3:5. The question: is ὀργή the right response?

Retribution or punishment, ὀργή, in Rom 4:15, is a response to a transgression of the law constituting the belief of an injustice. If there is no law, then there can be no belief of injustice, because there is no law to transgress. Once the belief of injustice has been removed in like manner so is the response.

There is no act of retribution in Rom 5:9 because the injustice has been removed by the blood of Christ.

The word ὀργή is used twice in Rom 9:22. The purpose is to change the belief of dishonour, that is, dishonour to God, in order that divine ὀργή is not evoked.

The belief of injustice, in Rom 10:19, which aroused παροργίζω (to make angry) is the nation with status is dishonoured by a nation without status. This evoked παροργίζω.

A new set of values are prescribed in Rom12:19 for the response to a belief of injustice. The injustice will be corrected on a divine level and not on a personal level.

The purpose of retribution, ὀργή, in 13:4 is to correct wrongdoing. This example illustrates that the belief of injustice or wrongdoing elicits retribution.

In all the above examples the emotion of anger was a response to a belief of injustice, which could take the form of a slight or insult as Aristotle describes it. What constitutes an injustice was determined by the values of the culture. Paul, himself, was not averse to the belief that an injustice be punished, as the example in 2 Cor 10:6 shows. The same principle runs through all the examples whether on a divine or social level, ὀργή restores order. There is, however, a caveat that the desire for retribution can become all consuming: that was Plato's warning. In the examples reviewed this aspect of retribution was not evident.

The penultimate chapter in the research follows, which uses the same method in the analysis of the emotion of fear, specifically to demonstrate the mechanism of the emotions.

The aim of the Chapter Seven summaries is to show how the emotion of fear worked on a personal level, and Paul's extensive use of φόβος θεοῦ, fear of the Lord, as meaning awe and reverence. However, within the limits of a divine and personal experience of fear, Paul also uses the word to express respect. These meanings are represented in the summaries.

The response of fear indicates a central belief in the proximity of possible harm. In one Corinthians 2:3 the response of fear and trembling, φόβος and τρόμος, is stated, but the belief of possible harm is inferred by references in the text to other verses: 1 Cor 2:3; 1 Cor 5:1-13; 1 Cor 6:5. These verses point to the powerful people in the community: to cognise harm, the other party must be of superior strength and this points to the influential in the Corinthian community.

Φόβος in 1 Cor 14:25, when linked to θεοῦ, fear of the Lord, means awe and reverence. The response of awe and reverence is based on the belief in divine power, where human power is insignificant. There is cognizance of the presence of a superior power, not necessarily conveying potential harm.

In 1 Cor 16:10 is the antonym ἀφόβως, without fear. The belief in a superior strength intent on harm is not present, therefore, no response of fear. In the text, it conveys the meaning that Timothy will be acknowledged as a teacher and will be given the respect of a superior.

Paul's own experience of φόβος θεοῦ, awe and reverence, is based on the belief of the presence of divine power in 2 Cor 5:11. The same power informs his preaching in 2 Cor 5:12.

In 2 Cor 6:18, the divine power is described as the Lord Almighty. This description of the divine exceeds the Corinthian community's appreciation of temporal power. Paul's intention in this text is a response of awe and reverence from his community.

The quarrels without and the fears within, in 2 Cor 7:5, express the fear of Paul's belief in the power of the quarrels to harm his mission.

Φόβος in 2 Cor 7:11 is used to convey respect. The fundamentals of the emotion are still present in the relationship of power, but the intent to harm no longer dominates, and the

cognition of the distribution of power is clear. The respect shown to Titus meant that the Corinthian community had not severed ties with Paul.

In 2 Cor 7:15 the meaning is similar to 7:11, but in 7:15 the respect is intensified by the addition of τρόμος, which was used in 1 Cor 2:3.

In 2 Cor 10:9 the verb ἐκφοβέω, to be extremely afraid, implies the belief of great power to harm. This was a criticism levelled against Paul, because of the severe letter Paul had sent the community suggesting that he was only terrifying from a distance, but weak when in their presence.

Paul believes that his community will be deceived by the powerful attraction of the appearance of things. It is a belief that their better judgment will be overcome by what appears to be good. This exemplifies the weak (judgment) will be overcome by what seems to be good (sensory impressions and desires).

In 2 Cor 12:20-21 Paul expresses the belief that his relationship with the Corinthian community may be harmed and, on account of this, he expresses his fear. In 2 Cor 12:21, the response of fear is due to the belief that the on-going destructive emotions will harm their relationships. The fears stated in 2 Cor 12:20-21, if realised will cause Paul to lose his authority in the Corinthian community. The belief of this possibility causes fear, because the power on which the mission is based is the power of God, and this would mean he had failed in the eyes of God.

A belief in the presence of harm is not present, for this reason there is no fear, ἀφόβως, in Phil 1:14. As a result the Philippians preached with confidence.

Not to be intimidated or fearful, in Phil 1:28, shows that there is no belief of an imminent harm. The belief of harm has been replaced by the belief in salvation.

In Phil 2:10 the idiom 'every knee shall bow' is an expression of awe and reverence. This action stems from a belief in the divine.

Fear and trembling, φόβος and τρόμος, is an expression of intense fear in Phil 2:1, which, Paul says, will be the outcome if a belief is held that the individual can secure his/her own salvation.

In Gal 2:12, φοβούμενος is an expression of respect, implying an authoritative presence, and those who answer to that authority, express fear, respect, as a sign of being in a subordinate position. Caiaphas fearing the people sent from James, showed his acceptance of James' authority, and respected his instructions.

In Rom 3:18, the lack of reverence or awe, φόβος θεοῦ, shows the absence of the belief in the divine.

In Rom 8:15, the implied mistaken relationship of weak, the slave, and strong, the slave owner, negates the new relationship of the children of God. It is still possible to recognise the dynamics of belief and response. The belief that the person is a slave, the response will be fear to the one in power. The relationship of children to their father is respectful but not subservient.

The idiom 'to bend a knee' in the context of Rom 11:4 expresses awe and reverence.

In the context of Rom 11:20, a belief in the presence of something or someone stronger may cause harm, the expression of this belief is fear. In this context it is a warning not to assume the position of the powerful.

In Rom 13:3, it is made clear that there is no need to believe in a possible harm, if there is no cause for it. The second usage, μὴ φοβεῖσθαι, indicates that by not committing transgressions there will be no need to fear. In Rom 13:4, the transgressor is in a weaker position and in the presence of power, fear will be the response. The authorities are invested with the power to punish transgressions and therefore, it is a cause for fear. The listeners to Paul in Rom 13:7 are told to give respect where respect is due, that is recognise who has the power to harm.

In Rom 14:11 the idiom 'every knee bows' expresses a universal belief in the divine, expressed as awe and reverence.

The value attributed to power, in the Roman Empire, is the substratum from which the beliefs emerged that shaped the emotions of anger and fear in the undisputed Pauline letters. Power gave status. If the status was not acknowledged, then the response was anger, ὀργή. On the other hand, fear, φόβος, was an expectation of that power to harm.

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