

A Theology of Glory: Paul’s Use of Δόξα Terminology in Romans

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According to a common interpretation, Paul’s reference to the lack of God’s glory in Rom 3:23 alludes to the story of Adam and his loss of God’s image. This identification is problematic, however, as most of the evidence that can be cited in its favor is later than Paul. To arrive at a better interpretation, I pay close attention to the development of δόξα terminology in Romans as well as to Paul’s use of Israel’s Scriptures. In the LXX, δόξα refers to the tangible presence of God, a usage that also is able to explain Paul’s terminology. The sixteen occurrences of δόξα in Romans are rich in Septuagintal undertones, in the form of both Septuagintal terminology and more or less clear allusions to the Scriptures of Israel. Against this background, I argue that Paul uses δόξα language in Romans to express his view that God’s revelatory presence in Israel has been rejected but is renewed in Jesus Christ.

In Rom 3:23, Paul asserts that “all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God.” According to a popular interpretation, the background for Paul’s statement is the Genesis account that describes Adam’s creation in the image of God. This image, which Paul refers to as the glory of God, was lost when Adam disobeyed the commandment.¹ If this is Paul’s understanding of the human predicament, it is

¹William Sanday and Arthur C. Headlam, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, 5th ed., ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1950), 84–85; Hans Lietzmann, *An die Römer*, 3rd ed., HNT 8 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1933), 49; Otto Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer*, 5th ed., KEK (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 149; Joseph Coppens, “La gloire des croyants d’après les lettres pauliniennes,” *ETL* 46 (1970): 389–92, here 392; C. E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, 2 vols., ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1975), 1:204; Ulrich Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer*, 3 vols., EKKNT 6 (Zurich: Benziger, 1978), 1:188; Ernst Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans*, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 94–95; James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, WBC 38 (Dallas: Word, 1988), 168; C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, 2nd ed., BNTC (London: Black, 1991), 71; Douglas J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 226; Brendan Byrne, *Romans*, SP 6 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press,

natural to understand his description of eschatological salvation in the same light. The future glory of believers (Rom 5:2; 8:18, 21) is then interpreted as the restoration of the divine glory or image with which human beings were endowed at creation.²

In this article, I will first examine the Jewish traditions that associate glory with Adam, which will demonstrate that there is no evidence in pre-Pauline sources for the idea that God's glory was attributed to Adam at creation. Second, I will show that Paul's use of δόξα terminology has much in common with a theme that is more broadly attested: the revelatory presence of God in the history of Israel. My thesis is that the eschatological glory of believers, which corresponds to the glory that human beings have forfeited, denotes the impressive manifestation of God's renewed presence. Finally, I will discuss Rom 2:6–10, a passage that may appear to provide a counterindication to my thesis.

1997), 125; Thomas R. Schreiner, *Romans*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998), 187; N. T. Wright, "The Letter to the Romans," *NIB* 10:393–770, here 470; Eduard Lohse, *Der Brief an die Römer*, KEK 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 131; Robert Jewett, *Romans: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 280. Contra Joseph A. Fitzmyer, who observes that "a reference to Adam here is eisegetical" (*Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 33 [New York: Doubleday, 1993], 347; similarly Leander E. Keck, *Romans*, ANTC [Nashville: Abingdon, 2005], 106). This interpretation was also popular among Protestant interpreters in the time following the Reformation (see Heinrich August Wilhelm Meyer, *Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistle to the Romans*, trans. John C. Moore and Edwin Johnson, 2 vols., *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament* 9–10 [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1873–1874], 1:167). Among older commentators, the expression δόξα θεοῦ was often read as a genitive of origin ("glory given by God"), understood as a synonym for the term δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ ("righteousness of God"). See Meyer, *Critical and Exegetical Handbook*, 1:166; Theodor Zahn, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Römer*, KNT 6 (Leipzig: Deichert, 1910), 177; M.-J. Lagrange, *Saint Paul épître aux Romains*, EBib (Paris: Gabalda, 1916), 74; Karl Barth, *The Epistle to Romans*, 2nd ed., trans. Edwyn C. Hoskyns (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 101; Adolf Schlatter, *Gottes Gerechtigkeit: Ein Kommentar zum Römerbrief*, 5th ed. (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1975), 142; similarly John Calvin, *Commentary of the Epistle to the Romans*, trans. Francis Sibson (London: Seeley, 1834), 174–75. Some read the expression as an objective genitive ("glory before God"), also in analogy with δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ. See Friedrich Adolph Philippi, *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*, trans. J. S. Banks, 2 vols., Clark's Foreign Theological Library NS 9 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1878), 1:137; similarly Philip Melancthon, *Commentary on Romans*, trans. Fred Kramer (1540; St. Louis: Concordia, 1992), 99. Martin Luther also took it as an objective genitive, but interpreted δόξα in an active sense and paraphrased: "They do not have a righteousness of which they can glory before God" (*Luther's Works* [St. Louis: Concordia, 1972], 25:248).

²Concerning Rom 5:2, Moo maintains: "As in 3:23, 'the glory of God' is that state of 'God-like-ness' which has been lost because of sin, and which will be restored in the last day to every Christian" (*Epistle to the Romans*, 302). Similarly, Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer*, 178; Cranfield, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, 1:260; Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans*, 133; Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 249; Barrett, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, 96; Byrne, *Romans*, 170; Schreiner, *Romans*, 255.

I. THE GLORY OF ADAM

Especially since the study of Jacob Jervell, there has been broad scholarly agreement that Paul's language in Rom 3:23 refers to the story of Adam and specifically to the image of God.³ This understanding of the glory of Adam is clearly expressed in Genesis Rabbah, where glory is an inherent quality that Adam lost when he was expelled from the garden of Eden. "The Rabbis maintain: His glory abode with him, but at the termination of the Sabbath He deprived him of his splendour and expelled him from the Garden of Eden, as it is written, *Thou changest his countenance, and sendest him away* (Job XIV, 20)" (Gen. Rab. 11:2).⁴

Jervell's interpretation, however, is problematic in at least two respects: it does not distinguish between the glory of God and the glory of Adam, and his evidence is exclusively from rabbinic sources, mostly from Midrash Rabbah and the targumim.⁵ The current consensus is that rabbinic sources do not describe Judaism before the fall of the temple in 70 CE. Without corroborating evidence, these traditions cannot be assumed to have been current in the middle of the first century.⁶

Jervell's work has been supported by James D. G. Dunn, who has amassed evidence from the literature of Second Temple Judaism. Nevertheless, the idea that the divine glory also became inherently Adam's own glory is attested only in the later sources, for example, the Apocalypse of Moses, which is usually dated toward the end of the first century, and by some even later.⁷ In Apoc. Mos. 21:6, Adam accuses Eve: "You have estranged me from the glory of God [*ἀπηλλοτριώσας με ἐκ τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ*]." This glory of Adam presumably corresponds to the glory of Eve, and Eve describes the loss of her glory in Apoc. Mos. 20:1–2:

And at that very moment my eyes were opened and I knew that I was naked of the righteousness with which I had been clothed. And I wept saying, "Why have you done this to me, that I have been estranged from my glory with which I was clothed [*ἀπηλλοτριώθην ἐκ τῆς δόξης μου, ἧς ἤμην ἐνδεδυμένη*]?" (trans. J. Priest, *OTP*)

This glory is a glory that is specifically attributed to Eve, as she says that she was clothed with it. Her "glory" is closely associated with her "righteousness," with

³Jacob Jervell, *Imago Dei: Gen. 1,26f. im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen*, FRLANT 76 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978).

⁴Quoted from H. Freeman and Maurice Simon, eds., *Genesis*, vol. 1 of *Midrash Rabbah* (London: Soncino, 1939), 83.

⁵Jervell, *Imago Dei*, 100–103.

⁶For the argument that Paul's connection between death and Adam's sin was unattested in earlier sources, see Henry Ansgar Kelly, "Adam Citings before the Intrusion of Satan: Recontextualizing Paul's Theology of Sin and Death," *BTB* 44 (2014): 13–28.

⁷*Ibid.*, 23–24.

which she had also been clothed.⁸ A similar idea is reflected in the Testament of Abraham, dated toward the end of the first century or the beginning of the second:

Abraham asked the Commander-in-chief, “My lord Commander-in-chief, who is this most wondrous man, who is adorned in such glory, and sometimes he cries and wails while other times he rejoices and exults?” The incorporeal one said, “This is the first-formed Adam who is in such glory, and he looks at the world, since everyone has come from him.” (Rec. A. 11:8–9). (trans. E. P. Sanders, *OTP*)

The idea of Adam’s glory is given a specifically gnostic interpretation in the Apocalypse of Adam, dated toward the end of the first century or later: “Then we became two aeons, and the glory in our hearts deserted us, me and your mother Eve, along with the first knowledge that used to breathe within us” (1:5; trans. G. W. MacRae, *OTP*).

The more relevant evidence is found in the writings from Qumran.⁹ There was an expectation that the faithful would enjoy “all the glory of Adam” (1QS IV, 23; CD-A III, 20; 1QH^a IV, 15).¹⁰ The glory of Adam is associated primarily with the gift of everlasting life.¹¹ According to CD-A III, 20, “Those who remained steadfast in it will acquire eternal life, and all the glory of Adam is for them.” In the words of the Thanksgiving Hymns, the works of God include “[forgiving] offence, casting away all their iniquities, giving them as a legacy all the glory of Adam [and] abundance of days” (1QH^a IV, 15). The Community Rule brings the same concepts together: “The reward of all those who walk in it will be healing, plentiful peace in a long life, fruitful offspring with all everlasting blessings, eternal enjoyment with endless life, and a crown of glory with majestic raiment in eternal light” (1QS IV, 6–8).¹² In this last reference especially, the glory in question appears to be the glory

⁸Cf. also 3 Bar. 4:16 (Greek); Hist. Rech. 12:3–3a.

⁹James D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 106; see also Robin Scroggs, *The Last Adam: A Study in Pauline Anthropology* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966), 26–27; and esp. Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 91–103. Translations of the Dead Sea documents are from Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

¹⁰There are also more general references in mostly late apocalyptic literature to the eschatological glory of the righteous. See Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 168.

¹¹Philip R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the ‘Damascus Document,’* JSOTSup 25 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1983), 141; Émile Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: Immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle? Histoire d’une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien*, 2 vols., EBib 21–22, (Paris: Gabalda, 1993), 742–43; Stephen J. Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community: Literary, Historical, and Theological Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 66 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 491.

¹²See also 4Q171 III, 1–2, which describes “all the inheritance of Adam” rather than his glory but also associates it with everlasting life: “those who have returned from the wilderness, who will live for a thousand generations, in salva[tio]n; for them there is all the inheritance of

of the righteous. The idea is likely derived from the picture of future resurrection in Dan 12 and the description of the wise: “Those who are wise shall shine like the brightness of the sky, and those who lead many to righteousness, like the stars forever and ever” (Dan 12:3 NRSV).¹³ This text does not use the term “glory” (יקר), but the idea is similar and the anticipated splendor is emanating from the wise ones. The glory is apparently their own. But this eschatological glory is not identified as the glory of God, and the concept is quite distinct from that of the creation of Adam in God’s image.¹⁴ It is unwarranted to read the concepts of God’s glory and Adam’s creation in God’s image into these texts.¹⁵

The only early evidence I have found for the connection between Adam’s creation and the glory of God is in the Words of the Luminaries, dated in the early or mid-second century BCE.¹⁶ The prayer for the first day of the week makes reference to the first human being: “[... Adam,] our [fa]ther, you fashioned in the image of

Adam, and for their descendants for ever.” For the association of glory and eternal life in Second Temple Judaism, see Wis 5:16, 1 En. 62:15–16, 2 En. 22:8–9, T. Benj. 4:1, 2 Bar. 51:3.

¹³For the significance of Dan 12 for the resurrection hope at Qumran, see Émile Puech, “Resurrection: The Bible and Qumran,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community*, vol. 2 of *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), 263–81.

¹⁴Ben Zion Wacholder translates CD-A III, 20: “The people who cling to Him are destined for eternal life and all human glory will be accorded to them” (*The New Damascus Document: The Midrash on the Eschatological Torah of the Dead Sea Scrolls; Reconstruction, Translation and Commentary*, STDJ 56 [Leiden: Brill, 2006], 33). In this translation, there is even less hint of an association with the account of Adam’s creation in God’s image. Robin Scroggs observes that the ideal state of the eschaton tended to be correlated with the state of creation. Since the community was primarily interested in the eschaton, however, the glory associated with the eschaton would likely have been primary, and any glory associated with creation a secondary development (*Last Adam*, 25–27).

¹⁵It is also unwarranted to read these texts in light of the traditions regarding the glory shining from Moses’s face at Sinai. The Words of the Luminaries makes reference to the face of Moses in the context of describing God’s glory (4Q504 6, 10–12), but the text is corrupt and the relation between these two concepts is unclear. As it has been preserved, the text makes no connection between Adam and the glory of Moses. Pace Andrei A. Orlov, “Vested with Adam’s Glory: Moses as the Luminous Counterpart of Adam in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Macarian Homilies,” in *L’Église des deux alliances: Méorial Annie Jaubert (1912–1980)*, ed. Basil Lourié, Andrei Orlov, and Madeleine Petit, *Orientalia Judaica Christiana* 1 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2008), 740–55, here 740–41.

¹⁶Maurice Baillet, “Un recueil liturgique de Qumrân, grotte 4: ‘Les Paroles des Luminaires,’” *RB* 68 (1961): 195–250, here 235–38; Baillet, (4Q482–4Q520), vol. 3 of *Qumrân grotte 4*, DJD VII (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 137; Ester G. Chazon, “Is *Divrei Ha-Me’orot* a Sectarian Prayer?” (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, 1991), 81–85 (cited from Daniel K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 27 [Leiden: Brill, 1998], 61). Geza Vermes has questioned whether this dating may be exaggeratedly early (in Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ [175 B.C.–A.D. 135]*, rev. ed., ed. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Martin Goodman, 3 vols. [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1973–1986], 3.1:459).

[your] glory [יצרתה בדמות כבוד] [...]” (4Q504 8, 4). The expression is basically a paraphrase of the statement from Gen 5:1 that Adam was made in the likeness of God (בדמות אלהים עשה אתו). This idea is also different from what we find in the eschatological texts surveyed above. According to this prayer, glory is not an inherent quality bestowed on Adam; the glory of God is the model according to which Adam was fashioned.¹⁷ Glory is not specifically attributed to Adam himself.

To be fashioned according to the image of God’s glory is associated with other qualities attributed to Adam: life and knowledge. The scroll continues: “[... the breath of life] you [b]lew into his nostril, and intelligence and knowledge” (4Q504 8, 5). As we have seen, the eschatological gift of everlasting life is frequently associated with the glory of Adam, but the concept of Adam’s eschatological glory must not be conflated with the concept of God’s glory at creation. The idea in the Words of the Luminaries is not that God’s glory was inherent in Adam and ensured that he was a living being. Rather, the point is probably that Adam depended on God for the gifts of life and knowledge (Ps 104:29; Job 34:14–15; Eccl 12:7; cf. Job 12:10; 27:3; Isa 42:5; Dan 5:23; 1QH^a X, 23). Accordingly, God’s presence was necessary to blow the breath of life “into his nostril” (4Q504 8, 5).¹⁸

In the Words of the Luminaries, a cultic understanding of the referent of God’s glory predominates. Later in the prayer quoted above, God is praised for works of salvation on behalf of the people Israel: “You are in our midst, in the column of fire and in the cloud [...] your [hol]y [...] walks in front of us, and your glory is in [our] midst” (4Q504 6, 10–11). The “glory” refers to the presence of God manifested in the fire and the cloud that accompanied Israel through the wilderness.

As Hanan Eshel has shown, there are some striking parallels between the Words of the Luminaries and the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 En. 93:1–10; 91:12–17). The weeks of the apocalypse correspond broadly to the prayers for the individual days in the Words of the Luminaries.¹⁹ The Apocalypse of Weeks has little to say

¹⁷Fletcher-Louis notes that “Adam is only made in (ב) the likeness of God’s Glory” and adds that “the text is too fragmentary to gauge how the relationship was worked out.” He goes on to argue that the statement should be interpreted in light of the glory of the high priest in Sir 50:1 (Hebrew), referring to an “embodiment of both God’s Glory and divine Wisdom” (*All the Glory*, 93). The Qumran scroll, however, cannot be used as evidence that the glory was understood to be inherently Adam’s own glory.

The Hebrew text of Sir 50:1 refers to the high priest (Simon) as the glory of his people. God’s glory is not mentioned but must be read into the text. The glory most likely refers to Simon’s qualities as the religious leader of the people (Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: A New Translation with Notes*, AB 39 [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1987], 550).

¹⁸Concerning the teaching of the texts from Qumran in general, Hermann Lichtenberger observes that the concept of creation in God’s image functions not to glorify human beings but to extol God for his works (*Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde*, SUNT 15 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980], 179–80).

¹⁹Eshel even argues that the Apocalypse of Weeks likely influenced the Words of the Luminaries (“*Dibre Hamē’orot and the Apocalypse of Weeks*,” in *Things Revealed: Studies in Early Jewish*

about creation and makes no reference to the glory of Adam, but it contains a description of “the second eighth week,” which is the time of eschatological salvation. In this week, “a house shall be built for the Great King in glory for evermore” (1 En. 91:13). The glory that the apocalypse is anticipating is the presence of God as king.

Later texts explicitly describe Adam’s paradisiacal state as enjoyment of God’s presence. In 2 Baruch (early second century), God’s presence in the temple is compared to his revelation to Adam (4:3), and, according to 2 En. 31:2 (late first century) God created for Adam an open heaven (cf. also 2 En. 71:28; 3 En. 5:12).

The texts surveyed above may be broadly divided into two general categories: the texts that specifically attribute God’s glory to Adam and the texts that refer to Adam’s own glory. The first category is found only in later works such as rabbinic writings and apocalyptic writings that cannot be dated earlier than the late first century but may be even later. Texts in the second category, which include some writings from Qumran, do not attribute God’s glory to Adam but refer to Adam’s glory, a glory primarily associated with the gift of eternal life. In these texts, God’s glory remains God’s own.

II. GLORY IN ROMANS

The traditions regarding an inherent Adamic glory are not the most relevant background for understanding Paul’s references to God’s glory in Romans. It is better to understand Paul in light of the use of *δόξα* in the Septuagint, which points to the revelatory presence of God, predominantly God’s presence at Sinai. Paul’s *δόξα* language has close affinities with this usage.

In the LXX, the use of the term *δόξα* differs markedly from its use in secular Greek in that the basic meaning “opinion” is not found. Instead, the meaning is shaped by the Hebrew *קִבְיָהוּ*, referring to the radiance of a theophany.²⁰ Consequently, the glory of God denotes the impressive display of God’s appearance, specifically in the tabernacle and the temple (Exod 29:43; 40:34, 35; Lev 9:23; Num 14:10; 1 Kgdms 4:22; 3 Kgdms 8:11; 2 Chr 5:14; Ezek 8:4; etc.).

and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone, ed. Ester G. Chazon, David Satran, and Ruth A. Clements, JSJSup 89 [Leiden: Brill, 2004], 149–54, here 153). In any case, the parallels make it likely that these writings reflect similar theological outlooks. The Apocalypse of Weeks may therefore shed some light on the interpretation of the Words of the Luminaries.

²⁰ Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard von Rad, “*δοκέω κτλ.*,” *TDNT* 2:232–55, here 247; H. Hegermann, “*δόξα*,” *EDNT* 1:344–48, here 345; Jörg Frey, “The Use of *Δόξα* in Paul and John as Shaped by the Septuagint,” in *The Reception of Septuagint Words in Jewish-Hellenistic and Christian Literature*, ed. Eberhard Bons, Ralph Brucker, and Jan Joosten, WUNT 2/367 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 85–104, here 86–90. Thomas Wagner concludes that *δόξα* originated as a cultic term (*Gottes Herrlichkeit: Bedeutung und Verwendung des Begriffs kabôd im Alten Testament*, VTSup 151 [Leiden: Brill, 2012], 440).

The story of God's presence in Israel shapes Paul's use of δόξα language as well. Paul presupposes that glory characterizes God.²¹ Of the sixteen occurrences of δόξα in Romans, six refer to God's glory (1:23; 3:7, 23; 5:2; 6:4; 9:23) and four to glory given or attributed to God by human beings (4:20, 11:36, 15:7, 16:27). The remaining instances concern human beings seeking glory (2:7) and receiving glory from God (2:10; 8:18, 21; 9:23; cf. 5:2) as well as the glory belonging to Israel (9:4). Two of the references to God's glory also make the point that human beings have forfeited it (1:23) or lack it (3:23). The verb δοξάζω occurs five times in Romans, three times with God as the object (1:21; 15:6, 9).

God's glory belongs to the people of Israel, as Paul affirms in Rom 9:4–5: "They are Israelites, and to them belong the adoption, the glory, the covenants, the giving of the law, the worship, and the promises; to them belong the patriarchs, and from them, according to the flesh, comes the Messiah, who is over all, God blessed forever. Amen" (NRSV). The consensus among commentators is that the glory to which Paul refers is the tangible presence of God.²² More specifically, Paul may be thinking of the revelation at Sinai, which he describes in 2 Cor 3:7 as having come in glory "so that the people of Israel could not gaze at Moses' face because of the glory of his face" (NRSV).

Yet God's revelation at Sinai—God's glory—was rejected: "Claiming to be wise, they became fools; and they exchanged the glory of the immortal God for images resembling a mortal human being or birds or four-footed animals or reptiles [φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοὶ ἐμωράνθησαν καὶ ἤλλαξαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφθάρτου θεοῦ ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνας φθαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ τετραπόδων καὶ ἐρπετῶν]" (Rom 1:22–23 NRSV). This indictment has a universal application, as verse 20 refers to human beings' knowledge of God ever since creation, but Paul's description is inspired by a specific example, the Sinai incident. The language of Rom 1:23 recalls that of Ps 105:20–21 LXX: "And they exchanged their glory for a likeness of a bull calf that eats grass [καὶ ἠλλάξαντο τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν ἐν ὁμοιώματι μόσχου ἔσθοντος χόρτον]" (NETS). They forgot the God who was saving them, who did great things in Egypt" (cf. also Jer 2:11). Romans 1:23 and the psalm both employ the characteristic terms ἀλλάσσω, δόξα, and ὁμοίωμα, which makes a conscious allusion likely.²³ With the words "a bull calf that eats grass," the psalm makes an

²¹ Carey Newman observes that δόξα is one of only sixteen words that occur with genitives of both "God" and "Christ" as a qualifier. He concludes, "Glory relates to a field of words like 'spirit,' 'power,' 'word,' 'gospel' and 'presence,' words which sign the presence of God" (*Paul's Glory-Christology: Tradition and Rhetoric*, NovTSup 69 [Leiden: Brill, 1992], 163).

²² Cranfield glosses this glory as an "outward sign of God's presence with His people" (*Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, 2:461–62; similarly Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 563). Dunn understands it as "the theophanies which had been Israel's special privilege as God's people" (*Romans 9–16*, WBC 38B [Dallas: Word, 1988], 526; similarly, Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology*, 193; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 546; Frey, "Use of Δόξα in Paul and John," 95).

²³ Similarly, Cranfield, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, 1:119; Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer*, 1:107; Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 61; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 270; Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 108;

unmistakable reference to the golden calves that Israel worshiped at Sinai. Perhaps in order not to rule out a universal application, Paul does not include these words. Instead, he expands with the words “images resembling a mortal human being or birds or four-footed animals or reptiles.” This expansion of the psalm recalls the language of Deut 4:15–18:²⁴

And guard your souls closely, because you did not notice a likeness [ὁμοίωμα] on the day the Lord spoke to you at Choreb in the mountain from the midst of the fire. Do not act lawlessly and make for yourselves an engraved likeness [ὁμοίωμα], any kind of icon [εἰκόνα]—a likeness [ὁμοίωμα] of male or female, a likeness [ὁμοίωμα] of any animal of those that are on the earth, a likeness [ὁμοίωμα] of any winged bird that flies under the sky, a likeness of any reptile [ὁμοίωμα παντὸς ἔρπετοῦ] that creeps on the ground, a likeness [ὁμοίωμα] of any fish that is in the waters beneath the earth. (NETS)

This passage in Deuteronomy is the only instance in which the terms *ὁμοίωμα* and *ἔρπετόν* occur in the same context in the LXX. It would appear that Paul has combined the language of Ps 105 and Deut 4. The effect is to describe Israel’s disobedience at Sinai in such a way that it is seen as a direct violation of the commandment. At the same time, the language is sufficiently broad that it may be applied to humanity in general. Once again, the glory of God may be understood in reference to God’s revelatory presence at Sinai.²⁵

Byrne, *Romans*, 68; Schreiner, *Romans*, 81. Whereas the psalm refers to “their glory,” Paul clarifies that the glory is the glory of the immortal God. (Perhaps influenced by the language of Rom 1:23, a few manuscripts also read *δόξα θεοῦ* in Ps 105:20 LXX.) Cranfield comments, “what is meant by Israel’s glory is God Himself ... that self-manifestation of the true God spoken of in vv. 19 and 20” (1:119–20).

²⁴Similarly Niels Hyldahl, “A Reminiscence of the Old Testament at Romans i. 23,” *NTS* 2 (1956): 285–88, here 285–86; Cranfield, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, 1:119; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 283; Schreiner, *Romans*, 87.

²⁵Taking her cue from Nils Hyldahl (“Reminiscence of the Old Testament”), Morna Hooker focuses on the connections to the Adam story in Gen 1. She observes a number of parallels: Adam knew what could be known about God (cf. Rom 1:19); from creation he saw God’s attributes (cf. 1:20); he failed to glorify God and became futile and darkened in his mind (1:21); he lost the glory of God (1:23); he gave his allegiance to the serpent, a created being, rather than to the Creator (1:25); and, even though he knew God’s decree, he not only violated it but agreed with Eve when she broke it (1:32). See Morna D. Hooker, *From Adam to Christ: Essays on Paul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 77–78; similarly Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 61; and, more cautiously, A. J. M. Wedderburn, “Adam in Paul’s Letter to the Romans,” in *Papers on the Gospels*, vol. 2 of *Studia Biblica 1978*, ed. Elizabeth Anne Livingstone, JSNTSup 2 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1980), 413–33, here 413–19. These parallels are at a general, conceptual level, and there is no shared terminology that can confirm the allusions. What is more, most of the elements in Rom 1:21–32 do not fit Adam’s story: Paul mentions knowledge of God through his works of creation (Rom 1:20), but Adam knew God from his verbal encounter with him; the story in Genesis does not report that Adam became futile in his mind, that his senseless mind was darkened, or that he claimed to be wise (1:21–22); and Adam did not lapse into idolatry or worship of creation (1:23,

When Paul picks up the theme in Rom 3:23 of human beings lacking the glory of God, the picture of the wilderness generation from 1:23 is most likely what he has in mind. As in 1:23, the experience of Israel serves as a paradigm for all humanity, so that Paul may affirm: “all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God.” They are without the presence of God.²⁶

Nevertheless, God’s glory or honor is not thwarted, even though it is rejected by God’s people. The burden of Paul’s letter to the Romans is to show that God’s glory still abounds through God’s own work, the pinnacle of which is the creation of a people for divine glory. (The term “glory” is not interchangeable with “presence” but refers to the presence as an impressive manifestation). In Romans, God’s glory does not describe God in isolation from divine works and divine interaction with creation. God’s glory is the glory that results from divine revelation and from divine works. By the Father’s glory, Christ was raised from the dead (6:4). In 3:7, Paul emphasizes that God’s glory abounds, even through human falsehood, as a result of God’s truth.²⁷ Even more than God’s truth, however, God’s mercy manifests divine glory. According to Rom 9:23, the riches of God’s glory are made known upon the objects of mercy, the ones God previously prepared for glory. These objects consist of those God has called, not only from Jews but also from gentiles (9:24). According to Rom 15:9, when the gentiles bring glory to God, it is precisely in response to divine mercy.

In a reversal of humanity’s failure to glorify (ἐδόξασαν) God (1:21) and in imitation of Abraham’s giving glory (δόξαν) to God (4:20), the believers in Rome (15:6) and the gentiles (15:9) may glorify (δοξάζω) God. The purpose of Paul’s gospel is therefore that God’s glory abound. Paul concludes his argument with a doxology in 11:36: “To him be the glory forever. Amen.” If 16:25–27 are accepted as authentic, the letter as a whole closes in a similar way: “to the only wise God, through Jesus Christ, to whom be the glory forever! Amen.”²⁸ In 14:1–15:13 Paul

25) or the specific sins that Paul enumerates in 1:26–32. Scroggs correctly concludes that “the δόξα of verse 23 must refer to the glory that shines from God rather than that which rests, or rested, upon Adam” (*Last Adam*, 76).

²⁶Fitzmyer concludes, “Estranged from the intimate presence of God by sin, they have been deprived of that enhancing quality which they should have in this life as well as that for which they are destined eschatologically in the presence of God. Hence they fall short of their share in the glory of God” (*Romans*, 347). Similarly, Newman, who notes the connection between Rom 1:23 and 3:23 and understands the expressions “to exchange the glory of God” and “to fall short of the glory of God” to refer to “a ruptured relationship” (*Paul’s Glory-Christology*, 225; so also James R. Harrison, “Paul and the Roman Ideal of Glory in the Epistle to the Romans,” in *The Letter to the Romans*, ed. Udo Schnelle, BETL 226 [Leuven: Peeters, 2009], 329–69, here 364). Arland Hultgren comments, “To fall short of the glory of God . . . is to fail to share the perfect communion with God for which humanity was created” (*Paul’s Letter to the Romans: A Commentary* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011], 155).

²⁷The dative ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ψεύσματι is likely instrumental.

²⁸For a thorough discussion, concluding in favor of a later interpolation, see Jewett, *Romans*,

exhorts the believers to glorify God in unity (ὁμοθυμαδόν, 15:6). In 15:7, Paul explains how the church's life can result in the glory of God: "Welcome one another, therefore, just as Christ has welcomed you, for the glory of God" (NRSV). The preposition εἰς must be taken in its telic sense: the goal of the church's welcoming one another is the glory of God. Paul's exhortation to welcome one another must be understood against the background of his entire argument in the epistle, which has been building up to this exhortation: just as the demonstration of God's grace and mercy in Jesus Christ has welcomed both Jews and gentiles into the people of God, so should believers demonstrate grace and mercy in their interactions with one another. Their Christlike community life will then result in the glory of God.

The eschatological glory of believers can therefore not be understood as the restoration of an inherent Adamic glory that once was lost. It is rather related to the renewed presence of God when the relationship between God and God's people is restored.²⁹ As the manifestation of God's glory is above all a function of divine mercy, the eschaton will reveal that God's people, the objects of mercy, are participating in God's glory.³⁰ Their glory consists not in having any lost qualities restored to them but in the fact that they are recipients of God's mercy. The glory that belongs to them in the eschaton is a glory that is revealed for their benefit. In Rom 8:18, where Paul refers to the future glory of believers, he says that the glory will be revealed "to us" or "for us." The Greek prepositional phrase εἰς ἡμᾶς is rather unusual. It may be used in a concrete sense, as when someone is coming to us. When the phrase is used with an abstract meaning, the sense is "for our benefit." In a letter to the Alexandrians (P.Lond. 1912), Claudius speaks of their goodwill "toward us" (εἰς ἡμᾶς).³¹ In 2 Clem. 3.1, the phrase is used about Christ, who has shown us (εἰς ἡμᾶς) such mercy. The letter of Barnabas discusses whether the covenant is for us or for them (εἰς ἡμᾶς ἢ εἰς ἐκείνους, 13:1). In *Salvation of the Rich* 37, Clement of Alexandria describes God as having sympathy with us (εἰς ἡμᾶς). As

997–1005; similarly Dunn, *Romans* 9–16, 912–13; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 753. Contra Larry W. Hurtado, "The Doxology at the End of Romans," in *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis; Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger*, ed. Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon D. Fee (Oxford: Clarendon, 1981), 185–99; I. Howard Marshall, "Romans 16:25–27—An Apt Conclusion," in *Romans and the People of God: Essays in Honor of Gordon D. Fee on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Sven K. Soderlund and N. T. Wright (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 170–84.

²⁹Fitzmyer observes, "Paul formulates the destiny of Christian existence, which he will further specify in time as a share in the 'glory' of God (3:23; 5:2) and in the life of the risen Christ (6:4), i.e., being 'forever with the Lord'" (*Romans*, 302; similarly, Hultgren, *Paul's Letter to the Romans*, 205–6).

³⁰Cf. Karl Barth, who concludes, "It is, therefore, always God's self-glorification which is accomplished even in His glorification by the creature" (*The Doctrine of God*, vol. 2.1 of *Church Dogmatics*, ed. G. W. Bromiley and T. F. Torrance, trans. T. H. L. Parker et al. [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1957], 672).

³¹Cited from *Non-Literary Papyri: Public Documents*, vol. 2 of *Select Papyri*, trans. A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 80–81.

far as I can see, it is therefore unwarranted when the KJV and the NIV translate Rom 8:18 with a reference to the glory that is going to be revealed “in us.” Rather, the prepositional phrase is used in the sense “for us,” “to us,” or “toward us.” The future glory of believers does not reside in them. It is a glory that is revealed for them, a glory that is intended for their benefit. This is why Paul can boast in the hope of God’s glory (Rom 5:2) without violating the principle of only boasting in the Lord (1 Cor 1:31).

As he says in Rom 8:17, he looks forward to being glorified with Christ. The use of the verb *συνδοξάζω* with this meaning, as opposed to “holding the same opinion as,” appears to be coined by Paul himself.³² The believers will not be glorified independent of their union with Christ, but they will share in his glory. Just as they suffer with him (*συμπάσχομεν*), so will they be glorified with him. These sufferings are not just any sufferings that may befall believers in this world but sufferings that they undergo as a direct result of their identification with Christ. It is as if the ill will that is directed at Christ also strikes them by the logic of guilt by association. By analogy, the glory in which they participate is the glory of Christ, a glory that will also be associated with them, provided that they also suffer with him. In the midst of their sufferings, they may therefore “boast in [their] hope of the glory of God” (Rom 5:2).

III. ROMANS 2:6–10

An apparent exception to the pattern described above is Rom 2:6–10, where glory seems to be a quality human beings are encouraged to pursue:

For he will repay according to each one’s deeds: to those who by patiently doing good seek for glory and honor and immortality, he will give eternal life; while for those who are self-seeking and who obey not the truth but wickedness, there will be wrath and fury. There will be anguish and distress for everyone who does evil, the Jew first and also the Greek, but glory and honor and peace for everyone who does good, the Jew first and also the Greek. (NRSV)

Many commentators find in these words a description of eschatological blessing, but this interpretation needs to be qualified.³³

The word pair “glory and honor” is well known from the LXX, where it occurs thirteen times (Exod 28:2, 40; 2 Chr 32:33; 1 Macc 14:21; 2 Macc 5:16; Pss 8:6; 28:1; 95:7; Job 37:22; 40:10; Dan 2:37; 4:30; 5:18 ☉). When it is used in a theological sense, it belongs exclusively to God.³⁴

³²Dunn, *Romans* 1–8, 456.

³³Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer*, 115; Cranfield, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, 1:147; Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer*, 1:126; Dunn, *Romans* 1–8, 88; Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 136; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 302; Jewett, *Romans*, 208–9.

³⁴The terms are also used five times in synonymous parallelism (Isa 10:16, 35:2, 2 Macc 4:15,

There is only one example of God giving glory and honor in this more absolute sense to human beings: Ps 8:4–5 praises God who cares for human beings: “What is man that you are mindful of him or son of man that you attend to him? You diminished him a little in comparison with angels; with glory and honor you crowned him” (NETS). Several commentators refer to this psalm as evidence that glory describes what God has in store for human beings.³⁵

In the psalm’s original context, the term “son of man” was probably a general reference to human beings, but in the early Christian movement the psalm is interpreted christologically.³⁶ Paul quotes the psalm in 1 Cor 15:25–27 and combines it

Wis 8:10, Sir 3:11). The glory and honor in question may be visible splendor that characterizes objects in this world, such as the attire of the high priest (Exod 28:2, 40) and the vessels in the temple (2 Macc 5:16). In a more abstract sense, glory and honor are attributed to people of high status (1 Macc 14:21; cf. Wis 8:10, Sir 3:11, 2 Macc 4:15). When people show honor to someone, they can therefore be said to give them glory and honor (2 Chr 32:33). Glory and honor may characterize earthly kingdoms, such as that of Nebuchadnezzar. In that case, glory and honor are given by God (Dan 2:37, 5:18). When human beings claim glory and honor as their own, God does not approve (Dan 4:30; cf. Isa 10:16, 35:2). Above all, human beings should attribute glory and honor to God (Pss 28:1, 95:7), to whom it belongs (Job 37:22). In Job 40:10, Job is challenged to clothe himself in glory and honor, but the verse is ironic—the point is that these qualities characterize God, and God alone.

³⁵Dunn’s statement that the expression “‘glory and honor,’ is familiar enough to Jewish ears as a description of what God desires for man (Job 40:10; Ps 8:5)” is misleading (*Romans 1–8*, 85; similarly Jewett, *Romans*, 208). His two references do not prove the point. Job 40:10 is ironic, and Ps 8:5 was interpreted christologically by Paul (see below).

³⁶According to Matt 21:16, Jesus quotes Ps 8 in connection with his triumphal entry, but the quotation does not provide an interpretation of the term “son of man.” In the epistle to the Hebrews, the psalm is discussed at some length: “Someone testified somewhere, saying: what is a human being that you remember him, or a son of a human being that you look after him? For a little, you made him lower than the angels, you have crowned him with glory and honor, while subjecting all things under his feet. When he subjected all things to him, he did not leave anything that was not subjected to him. But now, we do not see that all things are subjected to him. The one who for a little was made lower than the angels, him we see: Jesus, who is crowned with glory and honor because of the suffering of death, so that by the grace of God he might taste death for everyone” (Heb 2:6–10; my translation). It is debatable whether the author has understood “son of a human being” as a double reference both to human beings in general and to Jesus in particular, or if he understood it as exclusively referring to Jesus. For the former interpretation, see William L. Lane, *Hebrews 1–8*, WBC 47A (Dallas: Word, 1991), 47; David A. deSilva, *Perseverance in Gratitude: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 110; Craig R. Koester, *Hebrews: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 36 (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 215. For the latter, see F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964), 72–73; George H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, ed. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 946; Gareth Lee Cockerill, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 129–30. In any case, however, what is important to the author of Hebrews is the latter point: the son of a human being, who is crowned with glory and honor, is Jesus. See Paul Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: A Commentary on the Greek Text*,

with Ps 110: “It is necessary that he rule as king until ‘he puts’ all ‘his enemies under his feet.’ The last enemy to be destroyed is death. ‘He has subjected all things under his feet.’ When he says: ‘all things are subjected,’ it is clear that the one who subjects all things to him is excepted” (my translation). In Ps 8:6, the one to whom all things are subjected is the son of man, and in 1 Cor 15:27 it is Jesus.³⁷ When Paul read Scripture he did not find glory and honor to belong to human beings. When the word pair was used in the qualified sense, Paul saw only a description of God and God’s Son.³⁸

If honor and glory exclusively belong to God, is it possible that to “seek for glory and honor and immortality” is a synonym for seeking God?³⁹ Paul’s choice of the verb *ζητέω* (“to seek”) lends itself to this interpretation. This verb is never used with glory, honor, and immortality as its object in the LXX. It is often used in its concrete sense, “to look for something.” The presupposition is that something is lacking and that it is necessary to seek it or look for it in order to find it. The verb is therefore well suited to having a person as its object. In all these instances, the translation “look for” conveys the sense better in modern English.

Ζητέω is often used in a religious sense, in the context of Israel’s relationship with the Lord. In these instances, the object is typically the Lord himself. True, the people may be urged to seek the law (Ezra 7:10, Sir 32:15), the commandments of the Lord (1 Chr 28:8), peace (Ps 33:15, Jer 36:7), faithfulness (Jer 5:1), or (personified) wisdom (Prov 1:28, 8:17, Wis 6:12, Sir 4:11, 6:27, 51:13). In the vast majority of these cases, however, the message is that the people need to seek God or seek God’s face.⁴⁰ The motivation to look for the Lord is frequently that he is the savior

NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 152; Harold W. Attridge, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 72.

³⁷Paul appears to presuppose this reading of Ps 8:6 also in Phil 3:21: “[Jesus Christ,] who will transform our body of lowliness to conform to his body of glory according to the power by which he is also able to subject all things to himself” (my translation). Psalm 8:6 is also quoted christologically in Eph 1:22: “and ‘has subjected all things under his feet’ and given him as head over all things for the church” (my translation).

³⁸In 1 Cor 11:7, Paul says that man is the “image and glory of God” (*εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ*), but *δόξα* is used in a more relative sense here. The argument focuses on the differences between man and woman, as man is the “image and glory of God” and woman is the “glory of man.” There is no indication that this is a glory that was lost in the fall and is brought to its eschatological restoration. It is a glory that characterizes the man but not the woman (Michael Lakey, *Image and Glory of God: 1 Corinthians 11:2–16 as a Case Study in Bible, Gender and Hermeneutics*, LNTS 418 [London: T&T Clark, 2010], 112). The idea is not that man possesses divine glory, but that his behavior is a display of God’s own qualities. Anthony Thiselton comments on this verse: “Man is to exhibit the attributes of God in his life and role” (*The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NIGTC [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000], 835).

³⁹For the close association between glory and immortality, see Ben C. Blackwell, “Immortal Glory and the Problem of Death in Romans 3.23,” *JSNT* 32 (2010): 285–308.

⁴⁰The object of *ζητέω* is God in Exod 33:7; Deut 4:29; 1 Chr 10:14; 16:11; 21:30; 22:19; 28:9; 2 Chr 11:16; 15:12, 15; 16:12; 18:4, 7; 20:4; 22:9; 26:5; 34:3, 21, 26; 1 Esd 7:13; Ezra 8:22; Pss 23:6;

(Pss 23:5, 26:9, 39:17, 69:5, Lam 3:26). When the term is used in this way, the frame of reference is that of a personal relationship. In the time of need, the Lord is the one who can bring salvation; hence, the need to look for him. Sometimes, the presupposition is that of a ruptured relationship. The Lord is no longer with his people. It is therefore necessary to seek him.

If the word pair “glory and honor” characterizes the personal manifestation of God, and if the verb ζῆτέω is typically used to describe people seeking the personal presence of God, it is natural to read Paul’s statement in Rom 2:7 in this light. To seek glory and honor and immortality is to look for God and to yearn for God’s personal presence.

IV. CONCLUSION

All sixteen occurrences of the term δόξα in Paul’s letter to the Romans are best understood against the same background: God’s revelatory presence with God’s people. Any reference to Adam is at best secondary.

Paul’s use of the term presupposes a story: God’s presence was with the people Israel but was rejected by them. God’s honor was not thwarted, however; it abounds through divine works of mercy, climaxing in the forming of a people consisting of Jews and gentiles. As the recipients of God’s mercy, this people are integral to the glorious eschatological manifestation of God’s presence. Through them, God’s glory is being and will be manifested in an unprecedented way. This people share in God’s glory, therefore, not by virtue of their inherent qualities but by virtue of the fact that they serve as a demonstration of God’s mercy.

This interpretation has significant implications for our understanding of Paul’s theology. In Paul’s thought, the preeminent attribute of God is mercy.⁴¹ The people of God are defined accordingly: they are not distinguished by any qualities that may be perceived as their own, not even qualities that are nothing but a gift from God; their only true distinguishing trait is that they are recipients of God’s undeserved mercy and favor. Their glory is not their own possession; it is theirs by virtue of their relationship with God.

39:17; 68:7; 69:5; 82:17; 104:3–4; Prov 16:8; 28:5; Wis 1:1; 13:6; Zeph 2:3; Mal 3:1; Isa 51:1; 55:6; 58:2; 65:10; Jer 27:4; 36:13; 43:24; Bar 4:28; Lam 3:25; Ezek 36:37. It is God’s face in 2 Chr 7:14; 33:12; Pss 23:6; 26:8; 104:4; Pr Azar 41.

⁴¹ Compare 2 Cor 3:7–11, where Paul insists that the glory of God’s life-giving and justifying activity trumps the glory of God’s condemning and judging activity.