

“They Exchanged the Glory of God for the Likeness of an Image”: Idolatrous Adam and Israel as Representatives in Paul’s Letter to the Romans

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Introduction

In Rom 3:19-20, Paul delivers the *coup de grâce* of the closing argument of his indictment of humanity.

And we know that whatever the Law says it says to those in the Law’s jurisdiction, in order that every mouth may be stopped and all the world may be liable to God. For on the basis of deeds required by the law no flesh shall be declared righteous, for through the law comes knowledge of sin.

Of the various significant issues that exegetes address, in this text, one that receives too little attention is the inner logic of verse 19. Given Paul’s claim—“that whatever the Law says it says to those in the Law’s jurisdiction”—how does the Law’s condemnation of Jews stop “every mouth” and hold “all the world . . . liable to God”? Expressed differently, how does the Law’s indictment of Jews stop the mouths of Gentiles also and hold Jews and Gentiles, together, liable before God?

There is no question that, in the tradition of Israel’s prophets, the apostle Paul indicts Gentiles and Jews alike. He expressly says as much (Rom 3:9). His indictment of Gentiles is clear. He grounds his indictment of Gentiles in

God’s universal self-revelation, “even though they knew God, they did not glorify him as God or offer thanks, but they became futile in their thinking and their foolish heart was darkened” (Rom 1:21). Yet, as he closes his universal indictment of humans, Paul claims that the Mosaic Law has a function that somehow extends beyond its evident, restricted covenant jurisdiction—“we know that whatever the Law says it says to those who are in the Law’s jurisdiction” (3:19). The Law condemns Jews, but the same Law silences the whole world of Gentiles also before God’s judgment bar.

How does Paul reach the conclusion that the Law’s indictment of Jews spills over to hold “all the world . . . liable to God”? Generally, commentators propose that Paul uses an *a fortiori* (from the greater to the lesser) argument: “if Jews, God’s chosen people, cannot be excluded from the scope of sin’s tyranny, then it surely follows that Gentiles, who have no claim on God’s favor, are also guilty.”¹ In Paul’s prosecution of Jews and Gentiles alike (Rom 3:9), does his argument draw a tighter relationship between the two than the passing observation exegetes tend to make when they identify the *a*

fortiori nature of his closing argument? While a *fortiori* explains the *rhetorical nature* of Paul's assertion, is this sufficient to explain the *inner logic* that allows him to reason from the Law's indictment of its covenant subjects, the Israelites, to the indictment of the whole world?

I will argue that Paul's summary assertion in Rom 3:19-20 is fitting, not principally because the functions of Torah and of Natural Law coalesce to indict everyone, but because, like Adam, Israel fills the representative role of humanity.² Both Adam and Israel came under God's commandment. Both became idolaters. As Adam, so also Israel served as a representative type for all humanity. It is for this reason, then, that Paul says "that whatever the Law says it says to those in the Law's jurisdiction, in order that every mouth may be stopped and all the world may be liable to God."

Echoes of Adam and Israel in Romans 1:21-25

Long ago scholars commented on echoes of Adam and of Israel that they heard in Rom 1:23.³ Taking cues from Hyldahl's short study, Morna Hooker offered an insightful and suggestive essay that has received inadequate attention, especially given the surging interest in intertextuality. Hooker focuses her essay upon echoes of the Genesis narrative concerning Adam.⁴ She suggests numerous Old Testament passages that surface in Romans 1 as Paul indicts Adam's descendants.⁵ In a later essay, Hooker teases readers with an intriguing linkage of Adam and Israel, but leaves development of the association for others.⁶

A. J. M. Wedderburn examines Hooker's thesis in his own essay on "Adam in Romans."⁷ He engages Hooker's provoca-

tive essay, but he does not address how Paul integrates his allusion to Israel and to Adam into his argument in Romans. Wedderburn devotes his essay to how the story of Adam shaped Paul's argument in Rom 1:18ff and 7:7ff. His discussion, however, does not address Paul's interlacing of the story of Adam's idolatry with the story of Israel's idolatry. Consequently, Wedderburn offers no integrative sense concerning how Paul's subtle allusions to Israel and to Adam in Rom 1:21-25 figure in the Letter to the Romans, particularly Paul's concluding statement of his universal indictment of humanity in Rom 3:19-20.

In his recent commentary, Ben Witherington seems to overreact against Hyldahl's and Hooker's insights as if they forced "the story of Adam into Rom. 1:18-32."⁸ Offering little reflection upon any Old Testament allusions in Paul's account, Witherington asserts, "the real echoes are of Wisdom of Solomon 10-14."⁹ Regrettably, exegetes do not adequately tease out how Paul's subtle but sure evocative linkage of Israel and Adam in Rom 1:21-25 establishes the apostle's allusive and express use of Israel and of Adam in his Letter to the Romans as playing representative roles with reference to humanity's corruption and plight. This is not to suggest that no essayist demonstrates the role of Adam and Israel in Paul's theology.¹⁰ Nor is it to imply that all commentators have failed to draw links forward in Romans from 1:21-25.¹¹ What is lacking is an adequate unraveling of Paul's allusive entangling of Adam and of Israel as typological representatives of humanity as he prosecutes God's indictment of unrighteous humanity within Rom 1:18-3:20. What lies beyond this essay is the programmatic theological significance that this double

allusion—Adam and Israel—in 1:21-25 bears throughout the apostle’s justification of God’s righteousness in his Letter to the Romans.¹²

As Paul begins prosecuting his charge against the Gentiles, he argues God’s lawsuit against the Gentiles first, but he does so with strong echoes of Old Testament narratives concerning both Adam and Israel. In particular, in Rom 1:21-25 Paul adeptly, though in a veiled manner, links Israel’s exchange of the glory of God for the image of a grass-eating bull with Adam’s exchange of the truth of God for falsehood.¹³ Israel, God’s “firstborn son” (Exod 4:22-23), traded away “their glory;” they swapped their glory, Yahweh who has no form, for the form of a bull that has no glory but eats grass.

The apostle synthesizes Israel’s trading away their glory, Yahweh, and Adam’s substituting falsehood for the truth of God into a representative portrayal of the primal sin of all humanity that incurs the plight of God’s wrath. This suggests that Paul understands Israel, like Adam, to have a representative and typological role. Adam, who was a “type of the one who was to come” (Rom 5:14), was also representative of all humanity. Though Paul does not expressly identify Israel as filling this role, sufficient indicators in the text of Romans suggest that he viewed Israel as recapitulating Adam’s representative and typological role. Both Adam and Israel, stood representatively for all humanity while they also presaged Messiah who would come as the faithful and obedient one to take upon himself God’s wrath, thus revealing that God is righteous, keeping his covenant. Paul’s veiled interlacing of Israel’s idolatry with Adam’s idolatry in Rom 1:21-25 anchors his use of both in his letter as representa-

tively and typologically set forth by God. The apostle’s allusion in 1:23 to Israel’s idolatry grounds his presentation of Israel as representative of “the whole world” as he closes his indictment of humanity in 3:19—“And we know that whatever the Law says it says to those who are in the Law’s jurisdiction, in order that every mouth may be stopped and all the world may be liable to God.”¹⁴

Following in the tradition of the prophets, Paul prosecutes God’s lawsuit against humanity by defending God’s righteousness and by indicting humanity as unrighteousness. As he begins his arraignment of humanity before God’s judgment bar, Paul punctuates his prosecutorial charges with reverberating echoes from the Old Testament that eventually converge upon the Genesis narrative of creation and fall.

Though Paul makes no explicit mention of either Adam or Israel, his allusions are too evident to dismiss the roles both Adam and Israel play in his prosecution of humanity.¹⁵ Paul weaves Israel’s exchange of the glory of God for the image of a beast together with Adam’s exchange of the truth of God for falsehood as representative of humanity’s rejection of God for idols. Humanity’s fundamental sin is idolatry, forsaking worship of the Creator, the one true God, to worship the creature. Paul expresses humanity’s primal sin: “even though they knew God, they did not glorify him as God or offer thanks, but they became futile in their thinking and their foolish heart was darkened.”¹⁶

Echoes of Israel’s Idolatry in Romans 1:23-24

It is not surprising that the tone and vocabulary of Paul’s prosecution of humanity for idolatry bears resemblance

to the prophets' indictments of Israel. In Rom 1:21 Paul seems to allude purposely to Jeremiah's lawsuit by way of tone and vocabulary. This is apparent with Paul's use of *emataiouthēsan* ("became worthless;" "became futile"), the verb the LXX uses to translate Jer 2:5, "they went after worthless things and became worthless themselves."

Jeremiah's lawsuit against the households of Jacob and of Israel, to which Paul alludes, calls to memory the exodus generation that fell in the wilderness. Paul echoes Jeremiah's lawsuit against Israel once again in Rom 1:23 with the words, "they exchanged the glory."¹⁷ Paul's indictment of humanity's idolatry—"they became fools and exchanged the glory of the incorruptible God for the likeness of the image of corruptible man"—resembles Jeremiah's charge against Israel—"Has a nation changed its gods, even though they are no gods? But my people have changed their glory for that which does not profit" (Jer 2:5, *ESV*). The echo is muted somewhat because the LXX of Jer 2:11 uses *allassō* (exchange) without *en*. Nevertheless, mention of glory (*doxa*) as the thing exchanged away reinforces the echo of Jer 2:11.¹⁸

Whether Paul's words merely resemble or purposely allude to Jeremiah 2, it can hardly be disputed that Rom 1:23 deliberately echoes Ps 106:20 (105:20, LXX).¹⁹ We hear an echo concerning worship of the golden calf in the first phrase of 1:23 with *allassō . . . en*, which preserves the Septuagint's rigid rendering of the Hebrew idiom (*mur . . . b^c*) which denotes "exchange of one thing for another."²⁰ By using this rather wooden Greek expression Paul signals that he purposely preserves the LXX Hebraism as he alludes to Ps 106:20. Within the New Testament, *allassō* primarily means "change."²¹ This Hebraic

use of *allassō . . . en* denoting "exchange" occurs only in Rom 1:23, followed in 1:25 and 1:26, where Paul uses the compound form, *metallassō . . . en* and *metallassō . . . eis*, respectively. Whether Paul substitutes the active form (*ellaxan*) for the middle form of the LXX (*ellaxanto*) or whether he reflects an extinct Greek version of the Psalms,²² his use of the non-compound form in 1:23 signals an allusion to Ps 106:20 where the LXX (Ps 105:20) uses the same idiom employing the same verb form (*ellaxanto tēn doxan . . . en homoiōmati*).

Paul's allusive use of Psalm 106 does not terminate upon the psalm itself because Psalm 106, like Psalm 105, recites the Lord's mighty deeds on behalf of Israel who responded with rebellion and with idolatry. Reflecting a sense of both historical and literary continuity with the Pentateuch, the psalmist succinctly captures in song the gravity, irony, and treachery of Israel's idolatry, harking back to the incident of the golden calf. "They exchanged their Glory for the image of a bull that eats grass" (NIV). Psalm 106:20 reads "their glory" (*tēn doxan autōn* [LXX] and *kabodam* [MT]), but Paul writes, "the glory of the incorruptible God," understanding "their glory" as a metonym that substitutes the attribute (glory) for the person (God). Thus, God himself is "their glory."²³ Given the sardonic humor in the psalmist's portrayal of Israel's exchange, choosing "the image of a bull that eats grass," is it conceivable that the psalmist accents Israel's exchange by injecting subtle and wry humor as his own literary exchange, substituting the circumlocution "their glory" by way of metonymy for "God"? It seems he does.

By alluding to Ps 106:20, Paul draws into his readers' purview the full litany of Israel's treachery and unfaithfulness

to Yahweh from exodus to exile recited by the psalm. Though privileged with God's covenant blessings, Psalm 106 portrays Israel as essentially the same as the Gentiles who were outside Yahweh's covenant. Israel's unfaithfulness, though, does not nullify God's *steadfast love* (106:1). Rather, Israel's redemption is owing entirely to the fact that God remembers his *covenant* and relents according to his *steadfast love* (106:45).

Paul fuses his allusion to Psalm 106 with allusions to other Old Testament passages. His allusive use of Ps 106:20, itself, entails allusion to Exodus 32-34, the account of Israel's exchange of God's glory for the image of a creature.²⁴ Scott Hafemann demonstrates that the Exodus narrative associates Israel's "creation" at Sinai and Israel's "fall" in the incident of the golden calf with the creation-fall narrative of Genesis 1-3.

Like the original creation narrative, the re-creation of a people to enjoy God's presence at Sinai is followed by a "fall" which separates them from the glory of God. As such, like Adam and Eve, Israel's sin with the golden calf becomes both determinative and paradigmatic for Israel's future history as God's people, since it was a denial of the covenant promises at their essential point, i.e. the revelation of YHWH's character as revealed through his deliverance of Israel from Egypt as the means for granting the promised land. . . . As R. P. Carroll has observed, "In the overall pattern of the Pentateuch the rebellion motif functioned in relation to the Exodus in the same way as the disobedience of Adam in the garden of Eden which ruined the goodness of the divine creation."²⁵

Israel's pleading with Moses to place a veil over his face to shield them from Yahweh's glory, shining from his face, accents what the psalmist captures when he wrote, "They exchanged their Glory for an image

of a bull, which eats grass" (NIV).

Not only does Paul frame his indictment of humanity against the backdrop of Israel's apostasy in the wilderness, he also expresses God's punishment for idolatry with an allusion to Ps 106:41. His thrice-used expression "he gave them over . . . unto" (*paredōken autous . . . eis*; Rom 1:24, 26, 28) seems likely to echo the same words from Ps 106:41, "he gave them over into the hands of the Gentiles" (*paredōken autous eis*; 105:41, LXX), which in turn reflect the repeated clause in Judges (2:14; 6:1; 13:1) and in numerous other passages. Humanity's exchange of "the glory of God for the image of the likeness of corruptible man and birds and animals and reptiles" received God's ironic measure-for-measure punishment, one substitution for another, the exchange of natural relations for those that are contrary to nature (Rom 1:26, *metellaxan tēn thusikēn chēsīn eis tēn para phusin*). "God handed them over to dishonorable passions—their women exchanged the natural use of their bodies for that which is against nature, and likewise the men" (Rom 1:26-27).²⁶

Echoes of Adam's Idolatry in Romans 1:25

Made in God's likeness, all humanity has exchanged the glory of the incorruptible God, reflected in their own likeness of the Creator, for their own creation of an image made after their own likeness or of the likeness of birds or of animals or of reptiles. Deep irony reverberates in the echo of Gen 1:20-28, for the incorruptible God appointed corruptible mankind, the unique bearers of God-likeness, to have dominion over creatures. Instead, humanity bows in worship and homage to images made to look like corruptible mankind and like creatures. To under-

score this tragic irony Paul reiterates the exchange in Rom 1:25. Yet, Paul does not merely repeat his words of 1:23. Verse 25 is an intensified version of verse 23 with stronger echoes of the narrative of Adam's fall. In verse 23 Paul's veiled reference to the creation narrative concerning man's dominion over creatures (Gen 1:20-28) prompts what seems to be an evident allusion to Adam's disobedience in Eden when the apostle says, "They exchanged the truth of God for the lie and worshiped and served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed forever."²⁷

Eight times in Romans Paul uses *alētheia* (1:18, 25; 2:2, 8, 20; 3:7; 9:1; 15:8). Of these eight, three use the expression *hē alētheia tou theou* (the truth[fulness] of God; 1:25; 3:7; 15:8). Commentators routinely pass over any consideration that Paul's use of the expression in 1:25 may anticipate his later uses in 3:7 and 15:8. Morris summarizes only three possible senses for "the truth of God" (*hē alētheia tou theou*).²⁸ (1) Take the abstract concept "truth of God" for the concrete, God himself.²⁹ In such a case, the genitive (*tou theou*) would be appositional—"the true God"—especially if *pseudos* means "idol" as in Isa 44:20 (LXX). (2) The expression may denote the truth God has made known, "the reality consisting of God Himself and His self-revelation."³⁰ (3) Or, the expression may suggest "the truth about God." Missing from Morris' list of plausible senses for *hē alētheia tou theou* is its evident meaning in Rom 3:7 and 15:8, denoting "God's truthfulness," referring to God's reliability, his steadfastness, his faithfulness to keep his word.³¹

Käsemann expressly dismisses *hē alētheia tou theou* as denoting "an attribute of God."³² Yet, if Paul is alluding to the narrative of Adam's disobedience,

such dismissal seems shortsighted. Humanity's penchant for falsification of reality originates from an exchange of the truthfulness of God for falsehood. Commentators regularly pass over the possibility that Paul's use of the expression in 1:25 foreshadows his later uses in 3:7 and 15:8. Yet, in 3:7 Paul juxtaposes "God's truthfulness" over against "my [Israel's] falsehood" or "unreliability" (*hē emos pseusmati*; cf. 3:4, *ginesthō de ho theos alēthēs. Pas de anthrōpos pseutes*). It is evident that Paul's uses of *hē alētheia tou theou* in 3:7 and in 15:8 refer to God's reliability as do his expressions *hē pistis tou theou* (God's faithfulness; 3:3) and *theou dikaiosunē* (God's righteousness; 3:5). The linkage between 1:23 and 1:25 with 3:7 is made more evident by the collocation of words in the two contexts: "the glory of God" and "the truthfulness of God" over against that which is false or unreliable.

Though Rom 1:25 likely picks up Paul's mention of humanity's suppression of truth in the sense of "the way things really are" (*hē alētheia*; 1:18), the fact that Paul adds the genitive modifier, *tou theou* in verse 25, brings Paul's focus onto God himself. Dunn rightly observes that *hē alētheia tou theou* in verse 25 simultaneously connotes the truth of God's "invisible nature" and "his cosmic power" disclosed in creation but also "the implication of God's reliability and trustworthiness."³³ This is especially true in view of the contrast between *incorruptible God* and *corruptible man* in verse 23. Bartering away God's reliability for falsehood, which is utterly unreliable, is the root of human sinfulness. An echo from Eden seems evident, an allusion to Adam's exchange of God's reliable warning ("in the day you eat of it [tree of knowledge of good and evil] you will surely die" [Gen 2:17]) for the

serpent's falsehood ("You will not surely die" [Gen 3:4]).³⁴ Thus, one may translate, "They exchanged the truthfulness of God for falsehood and worshiped and served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed forever."

Conclusion: Adam and Israel as Types in Romans 1:21-25

Paul's Old Testament allusions to Adam's idolatry through Israel's idolatry by way of allusive uses of Jeremiah 2 and Psalm 106 gives warrant to Wedderburn's observation:

In conclusion we may therefore say that what we have in *Rom.* 1:18ff. seems to be a synthetic description in which the ideas of *Gen.* 3 have played a part, along with other Old Testament passages describing Israel's fall into idolatry and later experience of idolatry; these different materials have been superimposed the one upon the other to produce a composite narrative.³⁵

It is true that Rom 1:21-25 does not specifically describe the fall of Adam and Eve.³⁶ However, Paul's veiled but purposeful Old Testament allusions render it too evident to suppress the fact that he deliberately portrays humanity's wickedness in terms of the biblical accounts of Israel's and Adam's common moral and spiritual failure—their idolatry.³⁷ In other words, Paul not only frames his prosecutorial indictment of humanity upon the biblical narrative, borrowing from the prophets' lawsuit motif, but he does so with reference to Adam but referring back through Israel, for both are representative figures within the biblical narrative and both have typological significance for Christ in relation to his people.³⁸

Given the Old Testament's association of Israel's fall at Sinai with Adam's fall in Eden, it is not surprising that Paul draws

the two incidents together into a synthesized indictment of humanity. Israel reenacted Adam's moral failure. Like Adam, Israel plays at least a dual typological role in God's drama of redemption. Adam and Israel alike serve as types of the one who was to come, but bound inseparably to this typological role, both also function as representatives for all humanity. Thus, when Israel exchanged the glory of God for the image of a bull that eats grass, Israel acted out under the Law's jurisdiction what the Gentiles did while not possessing the Law.³⁹ So, when Israel exchanged the glory of God for the image of the likeness of a creature, privileged Israel reenacted Adam's fall and showed that they were idolaters just like the Gentiles.⁴⁰ This provides warrant for Paul's concluding statement of his indictment of humanity: "And we know that whatever the Law says it says to those who are under the Law's jurisdiction, in order that every mouth may be stopped and all the world may be liable to judgment by God" (Rom 3:19).

That both Adam and Israel figure prominently in Paul's Letter to the Romans is unambiguous. That both Adam and Israel represented humanity according to Paul's gospel exposition is evident, though Israel's representation is not equally acknowledged or developed among scholars. That Paul roots his indictment of humanity within Rom 1:18-25 in both Adam's and Israel's representative and typological roles is largely passed over by scholars who nonetheless see either Adam's disobedience or Israel's unfaithfulness or both as the backdrop of Rom 7:7-13 and 7:14-25.⁴¹ Given the Old Testament allusions we have pondered in Rom 1:21-25, it seems evident that the apostle's appeal to Adam, whether explic-

itly as a type of Christ (5:14) or implicitly as a type of all humanity, is embedded within Paul's indictment of the Gentiles (1:18-25). Likewise, it seems evident that Paul's use of Israel throughout 2:1-3:20 and as the typological foil of unfaithfulness (esp. 3:3) in contrast to the faithfulness of Jesus Christ (3:21ff) and again as representative of the wretched man's plight, knowing the good one ought to do but incapable of doing it (7:14-25) finds itself first embedded in the apostle's case against the Gentiles where he indicts humanity by alluding to Israel's representative role for humanity when God's covenant people exchanged the glory of God who bears no visible form for a bull that has no glory in itself but has visible form and eats grass. Humanity, appointed to rule over the creatures, fell below the creature to which they bowed in worship and came to serve.

Only in Christ will dominion over creatures be fully restored to God's new humanity (5:17, "those who will reign in life") and will "the glory of God" be completely restored to those who await it in hope (5:2; 8:18, 21) to those who have fallen short of "the glory of God" (3:23). Christ, as the new Israel and as the new Adam reverses the fortunes of both the first Adam and the first Israel. Christ does not merely replace Israel and Adam by bringing forth a new nation or a new humanity, but he exchanges Israel's unfaithfulness with his faithfulness (3:21-31) and he exchanges Adam's disobedience with his own obedience (5:12-19) so that his new people will be fully redeemed.

ENDNOTES

¹Douglas Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans* (New International Commentary on the New Testament; Grand Rapids:

Eerdmans, 1996), 206. Cf. Thomas R. Schreiner, *Romans* (Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998), 168; C. K. Barrett, *The Epistle to the Romans* (New York: Harper & Row, 1957), 70; C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans* (2 vols; International Critical Commentary; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1975), 1:196.

²Mark Seifrid fastens attention on Rom 2:12-16 to argue that the Mosaic Law and Natural Law both leave humans without excuse before God but that Rom 3:19-20 shows the distinctive function of the Mosaic Law in that it is the outward and objective establishment of human guilt. See Mark A. Seifrid, "Natural Revelation of the Law in Romans," *Tyndale Bulletin* 49 (1998): 115-29. Whether Paul refers to pagan Gentiles under *Natural Law* or to Christian Gentiles with "the deed required by the Law written on their hearts" in Rom 2:14-15 is disputed. For a full discussion of the options, see Schreiner, *Romans*, 119-26.

³For example, see Niels Hyldahl, "Reminiscence of the Old Testament at Romans i.23," *New Testament Studies* 2 (1956): 285-88.

⁴M. D. Hooker, "Adam in Romans I," *New Testament Studies* 6 (1960): 297-306.

⁵Hooker observes, "We have already noted the connexion between Rom. i.23 and Ps. cvi (cv).20. It seems possible that other passages have influenced Paul's thought at this point—in particular the descriptions of idolatry in Jer. ii.11 and Deut. iv.15-18. . . . The language of Rom. i.23 is not the only connexion, however, which this passage has with the early chapters of Genesis. In particular, the sequence of events outlined in Rom. It reminds us of the story of Adam as it is told in Gen. i-iii. Of Adam it is

supremely true that God manifested to him that which can be known of him (v. 19); that from the creation onwards, God's attributes were clearly discernible to him in the things which had been made, and that he was thus without excuse (v. 20). Adam, above and before all men, knew God, but failed to honour him as God, and grew vain in his thinking and allowed his heart to be darkened (v. 20). Adam's fall was the result of his desire to be as God, to attain knowledge of good and evil (Gen. iii.5), so that, claiming to be wise, he in fact became a fool (v. 21). Thus he not only failed to give glory to God but, according to the rabbinic tradition, himself lost the glory of God which was reflected in his face (v. 23). In believing the serpent's lie that his action would not lead to death (Gen. iii.4) he turned his back on the truth of God, and he disobeyed, and thus gave his allegiance to a creature, the serpent, rather than to the Creator (v. 25). Adam, certainly, knew God's *dikaiōma* (cf. Rom. v.12-14); by eating the forbidden fruit he not only broke that *dikaiōma*, but also consented with the action of Eve, who had already taken the fruit (v. 32)" (ibid., 300-01).

⁶M. D. Hooker, "A Further Note on Romans I," *New Testament Studies* 13 (1967): 181-83.

⁷A. J. M. Wedderburn, "Adam in Paul's Letter to the Romans," in *Studia Biblica 1978* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1980), 413-30.

⁸Ben Witherington III (with Darlene Hyatt), *Paul's Letter to the Romans: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand

Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 68.

⁹Ibid. That Witherington offers no discussion at all Ps 106:20 is glaring since he suggests that Paul's repeated expression *paredōken autou . . . eis* (Rom 1:24, 26, 28) echoes the words of Ps 106:41—*kai paredōken autous eis cheiras ethnōn* (105:41; LXX). For this, see p. 65.

¹⁰N. T. Wright, "Adam, Israel and the Messiah, *The Climax of the Covenants: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 40. Wright observes, "Jesus, as last Adam, had revealed what God's saving plan for the world had really been—what Israel's vocation had really been—by enacting it, becoming obedient to death, even the death of the cross."

¹¹Cf., e.g., Ernst Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans* (trans. and ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 44-47.

¹²But, cf. N. T. Wright, "The Letter to the Romans: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections," in *The New Interpreter's Bible* (12 vols.; Nashville: Abingdon, 2002), 10:433. Wright comments, "For Paul, as for the psalmist, Israel rejected the covenant God and fell away into copying the pagans. . . . This not only anticipates the explicit turn in the argument at 2:17, but it also looks ahead to 7:7-12, where once again the narratives of Adam and Israel are woven together."

¹³On Paul's use of *pseudos* in Rom 1:25, cf. Isa 44:20, "Is there not a falsehood in my right hand?" where the noun refers to an idol, a false god.

¹⁴On the representative nature of Israel, cf. C. K. Barrett, *From First*

Adam to Last (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1962), 5: "Paul sees history gathering at nodal points, and crystalizing upon outstanding figures—men who are notable in themselves as individual persons, but even more notable as representative figures. These men as it were incorporate the human race, or sections of it, within themselves, and the dealings they have with God they have representatively on behalf of their fellows. Not that each member of the race may not and does not have his own relation with God; but these fall into a pattern which may be described under a few names."

¹⁵Hear the allusions that draw attention back to the creation and fall of Adam via Israel's idolatry. "For God's invisible attributes, particularly his eternal power and divine nature, have been plainly seen *from the time of creation* of the world in that they were understood through *what has been made*, for this reason they are without excuse. Because, even though *they knew God*, they did not glorify him as God or offer thanks, but *they became futile in their thinking and their foolish heart was darkened*. Even though they claimed to be wise, they became fools and exchanged the glory of the incorruptible God for *the likeness of the image of corruptible man* and birds and beasts and reptiles. Therefore God handed them over in the desires of their hearts to uncleanness, in order that their bodies would be dishonored among themselves, because they *exchanged the truth of God for the lie* and worshiped

and served the creature rather than the creator, who is blessed forever. Amen" (Rom 1:20-25).

¹⁶See Hooker's comments cited in note 5 above. See Hyldahl, "A Reminiscence of the Old Testament at Romans i.23," 286, concerning Paul's allusions to Gen 1:20ff.

¹⁷Is it plausible that Paul's words in Rom 1:18—"the wrath of God is being revealed from heaven"—allude to Jer 2:12, "Be appalled, O heavens, at this; be shocked, be utterly desolate, declares the LORD"? The LORD adjures Israel through Jeremiah by invoking the heavens, not both the "heavens and the earth" as when God made his covenant with his people (Deut 4:26; 30:19; 31:28).

¹⁸Any echo of Hos 4:7 is more remote because it uses a completely different idiom to express the exchange, *tithēmi . . . eis*.

¹⁹Nevertheless, some earlier commentators offered no awareness that Ps 106:20 bears any function in Paul's argument. See, e.g., John Murray, *The Epistle to the Romans* (New International Commentary on the New Testament; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1959), 42-43. Remarkably, one recent commentary, though acknowledging an allusion to Ps 106:20, suppresses the significance of Paul's allusive use of the passage to link Israel's fall into idolatry with Adam's fall. See Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 108-109. See esp. notes 83 and 85.

²⁰Classical Greek renders the idiom for "exchange" differently in that the thing received is expressed with the genitive alone (Aeschylus) or with the preposition *anti* ("for," "in

place of") and the genitive (Euripides). Five times the LXX translates *mur . . . b^e* with *allassō . . . en* (Lev 27:10 [2x], Ps 106:20, Jer 2:11, and Hos 4:7).

²¹The primary use of *allassō* in the NT is to denote "change" (Acts 6:14; Gal 4:20; 1 Cor 15:51, 52).

²²Three manuscripts contain the aorist middle *ēllaxanto* (K, 9th c; 6, 12th c., 630, 13th c.).

²³Cf. Leslie C. Allen, *Psalms 105-150* (Word Biblical Commentary; Waco, TX: Word, 1983), 48; and Cranfield, *Romans*, 1:120.

²⁴Cf. Terrance Callan, "Paul and the Golden Calf," *Proceedings* 10 (1990): 1-17.

²⁵Scott J. Hafemann, *Paul, Moses, and the History of Israel* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996), 229-30. Cf. Brevard Childs, *The Book of Exodus: A Critical, Theological Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974), 565. Rabbinic literature associates the golden calf incident with Adam's fall, but usually with an apologetic defense of Israel. See, e.g., *b. Sanh.* 38b; 102a; *Mek. Bahodesh* 9; *Exod. Rab.* 21.1; 30.7, 32.1, 7, 11; 43.2; 45.2; 46.1; 47.72; *Lev. Rab.* 11.3; *Num. Rab.* 16.24; *Qoh. Rab.* 8.1.3; 9.11.1; *Lam. Rab.* 1.3.28; *Pesiq. Rab.* 14.10; *Pesiq. Kah.* 37a; *Tg. Neof.* 32.1, 4, 8, 19f, 23f, 31, 35. On these, see Callan, "Paul and the Golden Calf," 5, 14f.

²⁶Cf. Simon Gathercole, "Sin in God's Economy: Agencies in Romans 1 and 7," in *Divine and Human Agency in Paul and His Cultural Environment* (ed. J. M. G. Barclay and S. J. Gathercole; Library of New Testament Studies; London: T. & T. Clark, Continuum, 2006), 158-72.

Gathercole adeptly identifies the concept of God's ironic "measure-for-measure punishment" when he contends, "The action of the sinful human beings itself has an ironic element—a reversal whereby their desire is for the exact opposite of what it should be:

- their exchange consists of getting 'a likeness of an image' . . . in place of 'glory,' . . . the contrast being between what is insubstantial—indeed, being 'an image of a likeness,' it is doubly removed from the reality of the object of an already misguided worship—and what is 'weighty';
- in place of the *immortal* one, they choose *mortal* objects of worship . . .
- in place of *God*, they serve *people, birds, animals and snakes*. . . (162)."

The primal sin of humanity, namely, idolatry, "turning in on itself toward self-worship, then, leads to sexual relationships which mirror this same turn *in se*" (164). Gathercole accurately identifies this measure-for-measure punishment this way: "Humanity should be oriented toward God but turns in on itself (Rom. 1.25). Woman should be oriented toward man, but turns in on itself (Rom. 1.26). Man should be oriented toward woman, but turns in on itself (Rom. 1.27)" (164).

Concerning Paul's use of *paredōken* (he gave them over), Gathercole convincingly shows that "God's 'handing over' here is his personal action whereby, without withdrawing his presence, he gives the condemned what they want—with the reward ironically corresponding in some way to the sin of idolatry—but with the result that it ends up compound-

ing the divine judgment" (164).

²⁷Cf. Hooker's description: "In believing the serpent's lie that his action would not lead to death (Gen. iii.4) he turned his back on the truth of God, and he obeyed, and thus gave his allegiance to a creature, the serpent, rather than to the Creator (v. 25)" ("Adam in Romans I," 300-01).

²⁸Leon Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 90.

²⁹Cf. F. Godet, *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans* (trans. A. Cusin; New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1892), 108.

³⁰Cranfield, *Romans*, 123-24. Cf. Moo, *Romans*, 112. Moo's comments, however, suggest that he merges Morris' first two senses, for Moo states, "The Thessalonian Christians . . . have reversed this exchange; they 'turned to God from idols, to serve a living and true God' (1 Thess. 1:9)" (112-13).

³¹A. B. Caneday, "Christ has become a servant of the circumcision on behalf of God's truthfulness"—Jesus as Isaiah's Servant of the Lord in Romans 15:8?" (unpublished paper presented at the Upper Midwest Region Meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature, April 16, 2004), 1-25.

³²Käsemann, *Romans*, 48.

³³James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8* (Word Biblical Commentary; Dallas: Word, 1988), 63.

³⁴Cf. A. B. Caneday, "Veiled Glory: God's Self-Revelation in Human Likeness—A Biblical Theology of God's Anthropomorphic Self-Disclosure," *Beyond the Bounds: Open Theism and the Undermining of Biblical*

Christianity (Wheaton: Crossway, 2003), 167-68: "Even though the man and the woman knew God because God made them in his image and likeness, they suppressed this truth, and the crafty serpent enticed the woman. The serpent's temptation promised knowledge of 'good and evil,' as God knows 'good and evil.' The woman expected that the fruit would infuse her with wisdom, so she ate the fruit and gave some to the man. Together, they exchanged the truth of God's warning for the lie of the serpent, 'You will not surely die.' They believed the forbidden fruit would make them like God, so they ate in order that, on their own, they might 'be like God, knowing good and evil.' Discontented with bearing God's likeness as his endowed gift, they pursued what they *were* already (God's likeness) by eating the fruit of the tree that God forbade. Because they heeded the serpent and did not worship and serve their Creator, they exchanged their created glory as the image of God for their ironic, elusive, and futile quest to 'be like God' on their own terms. They became idolaters. Ironically, their eyes opened, not to their likeness to God, but to their nakedness, to their deformed and distorted imaging of God."

³⁵Wedderburn, "Adam in Romans," 419.

³⁶Moo argues, "That Paul may view the 'fall' of individual human beings as analogous *in some ways* to the Fall of the first human pair is likely, but the text does not warrant the conclusion that he is specifically describing the latter" (*Romans*, 109,

n. 85).

³⁷Moo, for example, overstates Hooker's argument as if she had claimed that Paul is "specifically describing" Adam's fall rather than human sinfulness. Hooker, however, states her case carefully: "Paul is . . . describing man's sin in relation to its true Biblical setting—the Genesis narrative of the Creation and the Fall. . . . It would appear from this remarkable parallelism that Paul's account of man's wickedness has been deliberately stated in terms of the Biblical narrative of Adam's fall" ("Adam in Romans I," 300, 301).

³⁸Minimizing Paul's use of Gen 1-3, Moo makes much of the sequence of Paul's argument to contrast it with the flow of the narrative in Genesis 1-3. "In Gen. 1-3, 'idolatry' (the desire to 'be like God') precedes the Fall; in Rom. 1, a 'fall' (the refusal to honor God, v. 21) precedes idolatry. Then also . . . Rom. 1 focuses on human neglect of 'natural revelation,' whereas Rom. 5:13-14 shows that Paul linked Adam with Israel in being responsible for 'special revelation.' Moreover, it is significant that, although allusions to Gen. 1 are found in Rom 1:18-32, there are no clear allusions to Gen. 3—except, perhaps, with 'death' in v. 32. . . . Even *eikōn phthartou anthrōpou* may depend on the description of idolatry in Jewish polemic (cf. Wis. 13:13d. . .) rather than on Gen. 1:26." (*Romans*, 109-10, n. 85).

³⁹Edward Martin Keazirian II, "Old Testament Parallels in Romans 1:23," (Th.M. thesis; Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, 1993), 27. Keazirian states, "The psalmist

incorporates the themes of creation, fall, and redemption into the psalm's recounting of Israel's story in such a way as to universalize Israel's experience and present at least a paradigm, if not an actual type, of cosmic redemption."

⁴⁰Callan, "Paul and the Golden Calf," 5.

⁴¹For helpful summaries of Adam's place in Romans 7 and the relevant literature see Schreiner, *Romans*, 359ff; and Moo, *Romans*, 425ff.