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A critical study of Rom. 13:1-7 within the context of Zimbabwean politics

PhD THESIS

BY

TINOS S. MATANGA

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SUPERVISOR

PROF. DR. J. KÜGLER

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Reviewer: Prof. Dr. Joachim Kügler

Reviewer: Prof. Dr. Werner Kahl

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to all progressive Zimbabweans who are currently preoccupied with finding every available option in rescuing the country out of the current *religio-politico*, and socio-economic stalemate. Whilst Zimbabwean scholars from varied disciplines have laboured to align the nation with such topical contemporary aspirations as progress, self-determination and prosperity, the need for social cohesion, which especially comes from contextual and domesticated religion, which though handy in completing the puzzle, has not been given enough limelight. Ultimately, the dedication is directed to scholars of the Bible who wish to scout for the ALTERNATIVE, by learning from forerunners who have utilised the Bible to respond to urgent, contemporary needs.

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List of Abbreviations

AACC	All Africa Conference of Churches
ACCZ	Apostolic Churches Council of Zimbabwe
AFMZ	Apostolic Faith Mission in/of Zimbabwe
AIPPA	Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act
AU	African Union
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CCC	Catechism of the Catholic Church
CCC	<i>Chamisa Chete Chete/</i> Citizens Coalition for Change
CCJP	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace
CIM	China Inland Mission
CMS	Churches Missionary Society
ED	<i>Emmerson Dambudzo/</i> Economic Development
EFZ	Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
EU	European Union
IDA	International Development Association
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JOC	<i>Jeunes Ouvrieres Chrestiennes</i>
LOMA	Law and Order Maintenance Act
LXX	The Greek Septuagint
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MDC A	Movement for Democratic Change (Alliance)
MDC G	Movement for Democratic Change (Green)
MDC T	Movement for Democratic Change (Tsvangirai)
MDC 99	Movement for Democratic Change (1999)
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
NCA	National Constitutional Assembly
NDS1	National Development Strategy 1
PHD	Prophetic Healing and Deliverance
POLAD	Political Actors Dialogue
POSA	Public Order and Security
PTUZ	Progressive Teachers Union of Zimbabwe
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SJ	Society of Jesus
SJA	See, Judge and Act
SMB	Swiss Missionaries of Bethlehem
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics
UDACIZA	Union for the Development of Apostolic Churches in Zimbabwe Africa
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
VOA	Voice of America
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Unity (Patriotic Front)
ZBC	Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation
ZCBC	Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops Conference
ZCC	Zimbabwe Council of Churches
ZEC	Zimbabwe Electoral Commission
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions

ZHOCD	Zimbabwe Heads of Christian Denominations
ZICOSU	Zimbabwe Congress of Students' Unions
ZICSRI	Zimbabwe Churches' Sanction Relief Initiative
ZIICC	Zimbabwe Indigenous Interdenominational Council of Churches
ZIDERA	Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act
ZIMTA	Zimbabwe Teachers Association
ZINASU	Zimbabwe National Students Union
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army
ZUPCO	Zimbabwe United Passengers Company

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION, STRATEGY AND TACTICS

1.1 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The discourse around Authority, Subjugation and Taxation; aspects that are mentioned in the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7, seem to have been central to most human societies regardless of creed or clime. In the study of traceable ancient human civilizations like Egypt or Assyria for example, certain sections of their societies were categorised as rulers, while others were seen as the ruled; native or foreign, who had to routinely authenticate their status by something tangible. In relatively late civilizations like Rome, this authentication of status, which had religious undertones, usually came in the form of taxes, which were specific to different classes of society. Still, some were the ruling class, divinely appointed, whereas others were subjects who had to acknowledge the primacy of the rulers.

The message pericope of Rom. 13:1-7, which to a greater extent highlights the said aspects, has however been a subject of huge grappling, especially as contemporary civilisations endeavour to decode the pericope's message, and apply it in a way that may be considered symbiotic to particular value systems that have been canonised as benchmarks of progress to be religiously safeguarded. This is especially true in the West especially in the United States, where individual liberty and democracy which feed into Liberal Democracy, a political ideology currently being exported globally as a yardstick in classifying other nations as either being civilised or barbaric, seems incompatible with divine appointment of rulers, and subjugation of the ruled.

However, evidence in most countries, which followed different political ideologies, both in the Global North or South, may point to a historic instrumentality of a contextual interpretation of the pericope, adapted to permeate social institutions, as even a shaper of national identities.

On the other hand, particular interpretations of the pericope resulted in biases which have also been utilised as a 'diving board' by individual political leaders to justify dictatorial tendencies to retain power at all costs, regardless of the constitutional provisions and political system their countries purport to subscribe to.

Within most Christian, constitutional democratic states, the dilemma around the divine election of leaders and harmonised elections has also been associated with election

rigging, vote buying, stampede for political correctness, which have of late blindfolded interpreters from deciphering a solutions-oriented interpretation of Rom. 13:1-7.

This complexity is further reinforced when the discourse is within a context of a neo-colonial republic, which though claiming to be independent physically, seems to be caught in between the dilemma of resorting back to traditional power-subjugation systems, or utilising the systems inherited from the colonial past. The earlier, though closer in agreement with the message of Rom. 13:1-7, is further complicated by the constitutional demand of term limits for certain leadership positions.

On the other hand, inherited colonial strategies to hold power, which were once designed to serve settler interests and those of the metropole, seem to sustain the black elite, which has instrumentalized them further instead of reforming them, to ring fence their hold to both political and economic power.

Needless to say, is that though the colonial machinery, glued together even by such sloganeering as ‘for the queen and my country’ was destined to further the economic and expansionist interests of the metropole leading to notable prosperity, the black bourgeois, which is seemingly a cross-politico-economic syndicate, sustained by some religionists, eats on behalf of the country.

It is in this similar context that the handling of Rom. 13:1-7 will below be studied, even in a much complex Zimbabwe scenario, whose colonial past which utilised to some extent the provisions of Rom. 13:1-7; will be argued to have set the precedence whose residue remain ‘the software’ running most contemporary institutional systems. One such instrument is the conscious or unconscious upholding of the divide and rule mantra, which subtly lies under the guise of denominational Christianity, which seriously fragments the Zimbabwean social fibre in the name of religious freedom. This fragmentation seems to result in the lack of a common denominator around which Christians could rally for guidance, providing the checks and balances to politics in the discourse around authority, subjugation and taxation.

1.2 AREA OF INVESTIGATION

My thesis is in the area of the Bible and Politics in Africa, under New Testament Studies, in which the exegesis of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 will be studied with the Zimbabwean context in mind. It also may be classified under the area of Catholic Social Ethics since it will draw not only the general methodology; (See, Judge and Act), but also some enlightenment around such issues as Social Justice, the Common Good, and Natural Law.

To be further attempted is also an analysis of the message of the pericope within the implied religio-political world of the pericope. It is noteworthy from the outset that this context is an *implied* one as opposed to the *real* one. This distinction is but one of the tenets of Narrative Criticism, which states that “it is difficult to determine the real context, let alone the real audience of ancient texts” (Powell, 1990). Since what we have in front of us is the text and the text alone, implied contexts and readers, are what we may reconstruct. This will again be explored further in the exegetical study of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 in Chapter 4.

The ambient will also encompass the socio-economic contexts of the Rome of Paul’s time, in which a detailed analysis of the origins of such concepts as taxation and tribute payment, mentioned in the pericope, will be traced, as well as the metropolitan context in which it was appropriated.

For the contemporary Zimbabwean economic scenario, fundamental issues like targeted and comprehensive sanctions on one hand, and on the other hand the ulcer of corruption, which make headlines yet seemingly misconstrued by the church; endeavours to be closely exposed, having the footing in the pericope.

The contemporary Zimbabwean context, the target recipient of the message of the pericope today, will be generally observed, and the case study approach utilised in suggesting a way forward, by closely examining the viability of the approach employed by the Zimbabwe Indigenous Interdenominational Christian Council (ZIICC). This is a newly formed amalgamation of Indigenous churches, which has presented a litany of demands to the ruling government, and which especially interprets the verse Rom. 13:1 which speaks about ruling authorities to whom subjugation is due, to be referring to the sitting ZANU PF government, especially the president.

For them, this is the authority ordained and recognised by God, which seemingly must first finish its mandate before any attempt on regime change. In a way, the advocacy here is that though harmonised elections might be marred by irregularities, with opposition parties contesting in accordance with the principles of constitutional democracy, their concerns may be taken as an aside since considering them may derail the vocation of those ordained by God who must not be opposed. What then will be the consequence of upholding and standardising this interpretive sense and what can it yield to the contemporary?

An overview of the pericope under study in its first century setting will below be considered, and an attempt to assess the different contexts; the implied world of the text and the Zimbabwean context endeavoured. Context is paramount here in that different political systems are in dialogue with the text, and the point of grapple

towards the appropriation of the message of the text may be the extent to which the context or the message of the text determine the interpretation.

1.2.1 MY PROPOSED TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT

¹ every soul **must** be subordinate to the ruling authority because there is no authority serve by God and the ones that exist were put in place by God. ² Therefore, the one opposing the authority has resisted the ordinance of God. ³ For rulers are not **a terror** to good conduct but to **evil / bad one. Do** you wish not to fear authority? then do good and you will have praise from **it.** ⁴ For he is a servant of God for your good, but if you do bad be afraid because he is not bearing his sword in vain for he is a servant of God avenging in punishment the one practising bad. ⁵ Therefore, one necessarily has to be subordinate not only because of punishment but also because of conscience. ⁶ **Because of this,** you also pay tax since they are ministers of God actively engaged in this thing. ⁷ You must pay out all the obligations; taxes to whom they are due, customs duty to whom customs duty is due, reverence to whom reverence is due, salary to whom salary is due.

Contrasting my proposed translation with the one used by some ZIICC affiliate churches, the rendering of *hupotasso* seems outstanding. in the Mercy City Pentecostal church for example, the word for obedience; *kuteerera* is repeatedly used, yet in my translation as in the Greek sense, the word subjugation is used. The repercussions of the apparently slight yet fundamental difference will be made clear in later chapters, especially when issues surrounding three contexts; the Rome of Paul, the metropole (Britain, Germany, France, Switzerland) and the colony (Zimbabwe), will be brought to dialogue.

1.3 THE PROBLEM: EFFECT OR SYMPTOM

More than forty years after political independence, there seems to be a lack of comprehension regarding how post-independence Zimbabwe institutions may coordinate with each other for the benefit of the populace. This may be so especially when one scouts for and may not find this much needed interdependence of such institutions as politics, government, economy and religion, whose cross-collaboration, as evidenced in some developed countries, may contribute in setting out a social system that benefits the nation not a privileged few.

This deficiency may either be due to the intentional or unintentional slow pace in implementing some crucial upgrades and reforms, while relinquishing decisively the systems that were established by successive settler regimes which followed the *modus*

operandi of their countries of origin mostly for their benefit at the expense of the colonised.

Although there are at present some calls to reform institutions and legislation, with noticeable alignment of functional activities to the post-colonial reality having been witnessed for example in the Law institution in which amendments of the 2022 Marriage Bill seems to have reflected what people are experiencing on the ground, the reform 5.0 of the education bill of 2022, and the 2009 Amendment 19 of the 1979 Lancaster House Constitution that gave a leeway to the draft of the 2013 new constitution, may be cited as progressive.

On the other hand, however, some draconic laws which were used by the settler regime to quash dissent and opposition, seems to also have been recycled in independent Zimbabwe, this time putting on some new names. The Public Order and Security Act (POSA) as well as the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA), both of 2002, seem to have been the 1960 Law and Order Maintenance Act (LOMA), passed by the settler regime against the indigenous politicians and their supporters, which restricted their freedom of association as well as their right to privacy.

The same seems to happen in the relations between religion and politics, in which partisan churches seem to push the agenda of legitimising their preferred candidate or their envisaged political party. This parochial approach has witnessed Religion and politics; institutions that supposedly serve the same clientele as such, being abused by both the ruling party and the opposition parties for selfish gains at the expense of the nation, given the potential benefits of the symbiosis of the two in creating conducive environs for national cohesion. The reality of Christian denominationalism which seems to have ravaged Christian unity in the name of religious freedom, seems to have contributed much to this quagmire and its perpetuation which further raptures society seems to be a major shareholder in the perpetuation of the ‘human instigated tower of Babel’ currently being constructed in Zimbabwe.

With thousands of independent Christian Churches, Muslims and Indigenous religions, a standard discourse regarding a believer’s engagement with politics, party politics and their place in the secular society becomes elusive. Different Christian denominations hold diverse views on the subject with most of them using the Bible or prophecy to justify their preferred position, to the extent of predicting in pre-election periods the outcome of the vote, which is usually the resounding victory of their preferred candidate. This is followed by serious unrest after the announcement of election results which mostly prove the opposite.

In short, the interpretation of such passages as Rom. 13:1-7, biassed towards denominational slants, has watered the tree of party politics, to the utter deprivation of

discourse over the big elephant in the room; politics as such, its relation to religion, and the place of a Christian citizen in a political state.

Thus, the alignment there is as yet, between Biblical interpretation and politics seem to save parochial political mileage in which individual politicians in cohorts with leading or upcoming religionists, seem to authenticate each other, interpreting the Bible for politico-religious grandstanding. With most liberal Pentecostal churches seemingly associating themselves with the authority of the main opposition party, which at the time of writing this thesis, is being led by a Pentecostal pastor and lawyer, Nelson Chamisa, and indigenous church leaders supporting President Emmerson Mnangagwa, the approach of mainline churches like the Catholic Church, seems to reflect a nostalgia of the missionary era.

In the said era, missionaries were divided as regards engagement with settler administrations. Whilst some vehemently opposed the Smith regime, others seemed to have been either indifferent or endorsing such policies as segregation in parishes and schools. Critical spectacle of such organisations as the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP), which is praiseworthy for championing human rights issues, may prove another motivational factor sustaining the ‘fire brigade approach’ it employed in confronting political issues.

As will be argued below, the country of origin of missionaries and the situation in Europe seems to have influenced missionary engagement with the locals in relation to the sitting government. A quick example will be the distinction in engagement when the activities of British, Irish and German Jesuits in relation to colonial authority on one hand and black nationalism on the other. There seems to have been no unanimous position in terms of exhorting them to take which stance in civil affairs, as well as a repeat of the cat and mouse relation between church and political leadership, where convergence is rare.

The scenario seems the same even when the bigger picture of Christian denominations is zoomed in. As was the case during the period of the settler regime, in which some interpretations, especially of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7, vouchsafed the ordinary citizen to either side with the settler authority as appointed by God on one hand, or that of the freedom fighters on the other depending on the denomination in question, party politicians in the contemporary period seem to have inherited and so continue mimicking the colonial status quo in the struggle between the incumbent regime and the major opposition’s perennial struggle for political relevance and power.

This exchange in stance between the former freedom fighter party, and the main opposition which seem to have affinities with the former colonial power, seems to have side switched the warring period in which the former hunter became the hunted and clamour for his former glory.

As Zimbabwe is in the process of building and reform, which like any other nations in history, might need some considerable time in order to arrive at a point at which she may be at par with contemporary civilizations, my observation is that very little work has been significantly done in mending the urgently needed ingredient to nation building; a decisive resolve regarding reforming those issues that maintain and perpetuate the divide and rule strategy, the legacy of colonialism.

Colonial instruments which cemented the divide and rule approach have not yet been busted, one of which is the negative impact of denominational Christianity, which was no doubt beneficial in quashing indigenous signages and promote the *Pax Britannica* dream, has been regressive in failing to unite contemporary Christian citizens in the current agenda of nation building.

As will be discussed below in my study of the metropole, an example of the contribution of an alignment between politics and the Bible, in the quest for self-determination as a national aspiration, which is here argued as lacking in Zimbabwe, may be seen in the groundwork of the founding of the British Empire.

In the quest to win public opinion for instance in the shift from the idea of ‘Little England’ as forwarded by the Manchester School, to claim a stake in the race for imperial expansion, which would immensely benefit Britain to the present, the church was highly instrumental for the task, propelled by its carefully curved Biblical interpretations, theology and the section of the media that it controlled.

Since the Anglo-Saxon who volunteered or got paid to go for the mission was first initiated to subscribe to the patriotic, *Pax Britannica* dream, while in the colony, everything was sharpened for the task; hymns, teachings, institutions and programs. The convert and or the local missionary in turn absorbed without suspicion the agenda that would aid in the accomplishment of the dreams of the British Kingdom, in the process of ingesting the good news of the kingdom of God.

This instrumentality in national aspirations, which may also be seen in other modern states like Germany, France, and Spain, that controlled public opinion as it coordinated the flow of feedback from the colonies to the metropolis and even today continues doing so, urgently needs a reformed version to satisfy the needs of post independent nations like Zimbabwe which are still labelled as mission countries.

No clear demarcation seemed to have been substantially drawn even after encouraging inculturation for example in the Catholic Church, in which the task seems to have concentrated on localising the peripheral; like the involvement of Zimbabwean traditional drums in Liturgy, yet the content and thrust still remains that of colonial Christianity as may be judged by its failure to fit and deliberate side by side with

contemporary politics in providing national cohesion, let alone address the real African question.

Given the place and role of religion as an institution which shapes worldviews by helping adherence of churches to define themselves in relation to this world, their mission in it and the world to come, the current state of some denominations in Zimbabwe may be said to be incompatible to the task of building a post-colonial Zimbabwe since their nucleus is still wired on yester-century settler regime and imperial wirings.

More so, there seems to be a lack of some fast pace in evolution, reform or upgrade, due to a persisting stagnation which may be witnessed in some churches that were founded by black Zimbabweans as a reaction to the *segregatory* policy held in most colonial missionary founded churches. As they would work hard to incorporate the Zimbabwean traditional spiritual cosmology in their churches, and soon posed as agents offering ideological support to black nationalist freedom fighters, they seem to manifest this antagonistic approach even after the end of the physical war of liberation. Sometimes, the antagonism is directed towards the present-day mission founded church members, whom they envisage to be the inheritors of the colonial Christianity legacy, even if there are close to none settler descendants who frequent the churches that their forefathers built, compared to the indigenous people who were once barred from entering the same church buildings by colonial policy.

Not that the settler descendants are no longer in the country, but they have since pulled out of churches and replaced Sunday Mass or Service attendance with such activities as Sunday cycling and other events where they meet on their own.

Though it is now close to hundred percent local content in both divides of Christianity; the mission founded and indigenous founded, the nostalgia of contention which seems to have become an identity maker has been inherited, though now it is black on black; one part seemingly representing the embodiment in perpetuity of the symbol of oppression, and the other being viewed in derogatory terms as the uncouth, as was the case during colonial times. Thus, though the hardware is local and contemporary, the software is still archaic and in need of urgent update.

This need for urgent update of worldview becomes especially clear in the engagement in politics by these different churches, where the positions seem to be concentrated around political parties, with no concern for the bigger picture; the Zimbabwean nation and what is good for its prosperity. Indigenous churches seem preoccupied with the parochial support of ZANU PF and the perpetuation of the hymn, ZANU PF is always right, without offering checks and balances. Likewise, the position of some mission

founded churches seems to be perpetually labelling ZANU PF as a terrorist group which is bloodthirsty.

Though to a greater extent the indigenous churches aligned to ZANU PF like the recently founded ZIICC, may be right that on the ideological and alignment level some colonial Christian founded churches do not reflect the post-colonial reality in terms of ideological orientation, they, like their contenders, seem not ready to recalibrate by checking on the reality pulse and re-ask the question whether there has been some side switch ecdysis between former oppressors and former victims?

The above-mentioned deficiency and fixation, seems to therefore contribute to the level of post-colonial chaos, in the form of national social fragmentation, which is vividly apparent, due to a garden variety of points of view, elevated to the status of objectivity, regardless of being parochial and lacking a common denominator. By this I mean that as a country, there seems to be no overall bond, or cause that brings everyone together and with which citizens unanimously identify.

Zimbabweans to a greater extent identify with their different subsets or fragments which when compared to the next subset, some differences which are carefully crafted towards divergence and not convergence, seem to be manifest. This problem, though an effect or a symptom of some proximate causes, to a greater extent seems to be a result of remote causes. Further probing reveals that in the daily practice of the Christian religion for example, Fragmentation to a greater extent manifests itself both intra and inter denominationally.

Intra-denominational fragmentation may be seen in guilds and associations that are found within denominations, in which for instance two women guilds which put on different uniforms, (in those churches that are putting on uniforms), though belonging to the same parish, may not see eye to eye, for the simple reason that they belong to different church guilds, which put on uniforms with different designs and colours.

Interdenominational Christian gatherings may not, as well, yield to Christian unity but act as battle grounds for the race for superiority in search of converts, who are members of the next denomination, and not those that are either unbaptised, or do not belong to any denomination as yet. Christian 'fishers of men' seem to be fishing from each other's fishing haversack, instead of fishing from the sea. Conversion is thus envisaged as crossing denominations; mostly from one Christianity type; say Apostolic church to a Pentecostal one.

In this movement of converts, the process involves renouncing the former, as if it was a movement from darkness to light. Whether this competition is for heaven is something else, the point is here that it leaves families and societies fiercely fragmented. As this 'rapture' has been viewed as normal in the third world, it leaves

religion labelled as a culprit, though it is an institution of sense, which is supposed to be responsible for offering the vision and direction to society according to Functional Theorists and Utilitarians. The downstream chain-effects of fragmentation are here argued as potentially damaging to most institutions, especially in politics, and so justifies the urgent need for action.

In Zimbabwean politics, intra-and inter-party chaos, which manifests itself in the form of factionalism has been the order of the day across the political divide, to the extent of draining national energy where concentration ceases to be on what supposedly is the national agenda, to factional, partisanism which recently has activated the country to be in perpetual election mode.

As an apparent recognition by some quarters that the detrimental effects of the lack of cohesion leading to factional fights and political bickering in political parties, the deficiency in ideological orientation has been cited as the major cause. In working towards a redress, two major political parties in the country have of late come up with the Herbert Chitepo and Morgan Tsvangirai Schools of Ideology to school ZANU PF and CCC office bearers respectively.

An attempt to cascade the much-needed social cohesion to the whole country may be seen in the strike made by the Herbert Chitepo School of Ideology, in the erection and consecration of a ten-foot-tall statue of *Mbuya Nehanda Charwe Nyakasikana*, one revered First Chimurenga Heroine, on Africa Day; 25 May 2021, at the intersection of Samora Machel and Julius Nyerere streets in the capital Harare. In his speech, the president stated that the gesture stands as a ‘declaration that we stand proud of our history and identity.’ https://youtu.be/NcNi0SYAG_k?si=NowGa3qIFW5ae_Cu

Like the national dress that was launched and unveiled on the 19th of December 2020, which encompasses national symbols like the Zimbabwe bird, the Zimbabwean flag and the chevron pattern,

<https://www.sundaynews.co.zw/president-launches-national-dress/amp/>

the unveiling of the Nehanda statue as a symbol around which the nation could rally in unison, seems to be calculated for social cohesion purposes.

However, the statue seems to have gotten feedback with mixed feelings from the populace and so seems to have not attained the unity it intended, but further widened the cracks especially as some Christian denominations labelled this gesture ‘idolatry’ that militates against their values, with the potentiality of plaguing the nation with misfortune.

<https://youtu.be/QXvvYQDpEPg?si=KIMlv3tm1a1FZdwM>

Some of such denominations neither value in their worldview the importance of winning back the country via the instrumentality of such figures as Nehanda, because

of their *Milleniaristic* drive which convinces them that there is no home here on earth but in the world to come. This futuristic hermeneutic, well planted during colonial Christianity times, even results in gross indifference in civil affairs as well as to finger pointing, with one group identifying itself as the elected ones of the lamb, and everyone else is seen more or less as fuel for Gehenna.

Thus, even though there is acknowledgement by the above-mentioned new schools of thought that there is an urgent need for ideological orientation in the nation for social cohesion purposes, the starting points seem to defeat the purpose considering the percentage opposition to controversial moves.

Though this seems to be for once the beginning of a discourse over something substantial, it has not yet been upgraded to national level in a serious way, and so supersede the clutches of party politics, where ideological dedication to Zimbabwe as a nation may need to come first, before ideological schooling in the does and don'ts of particular political groupings.

The fundamental question becomes: What then can be employed to stand as a unitive force to marshal the agenda of a national ethos for the purposes of cohesion? Could the contents of Rom. 13:1-7 be handy, given that some amongst Apostolic Churches do not even believe in the Bible and its place as the Word of God? What then can be the starting point?

1.4 DEFINING RELIGION AND POLITICS

Since this thesis will be dealing with power and authority as key terms in the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 as well as subjugation thereof, politics as a matrix of power interplay has to be defined. Politics is about the pursuit of power, and the struggles involved in trying to wield it authoritatively (Haynes, 2010:2). It is within the framework of this definition that different power contenders within the Zimbabwean power matrix will be explored, the ruling party and the major opposition political parties who all have an impact on society as their contention for power hugely influences decisions and outcomes of the actions of their followers.

According to Aquaviva (1979), religion may be taken either:

- (1) as a system of beliefs and practices related to the ultimate being or beings, or to the supernatural; or
- (2) that which is sacred in a society, including the ultimate inviolate beliefs and practices.

Social Scientific descriptions of religions, some of which will be adopted in this current enquiry, propose that religion can be approached

- a) from the perspective of a body of ideas and outlooks- that is, theology and ethical code;
- b) as a type of formal organisation– that is ecclesiastical church or complete entity, or
- c) as a social group- that is, a religious organisation, movement, or party- here religion affects society by what it says and or does.

The former has to do with doctrine or theology, the latter to its importance as a social phenomenon and marker of identity which can function through various modes of institutionalisation, including civil society, political society and religion state relations, (Haynes, 2010:3). It is this latter consideration that churches in Zimbabwe will be assessed in their contribution to the authority subjugation tug of war in Zimbabwe.

1.5 GENERAL APPROACH: SEE, JUDGE AND ACT

The frame of this contextual biblical study is shaped by the approach from the Catholic Social Teaching: *See, Judge, and Act (SJA)*, which will be adopted in the flow of the research material and chapters arrangement. This methodology was first propounded by Cardinal Joseph Leo Cardijn¹ in Belgium in the first quarter of the 20th Century, and it was based on the empirical method that analysed concrete circumstances of people's lives Horn, (2008:7). In propounding this methodology, Cardijn's agenda was to push for social change in a result-based approach, which radically revolutionised the conditions of young workers in Belgium, Germany, and England, who were exploited in their workplaces, at a time when Trade Unionism was mainly dominated by individuals with a socialist orientation with Christian Trade Unions being low.

It was after Cardijn observed that the trade unions of that time were heavily influenced by intellectuals, though the majority of the members and workers were poor, and also that the older people were in the leadership positions of these organisations, purporting to be representing the youth, that he sought to found an organisation that addressed these anomalies: the *Jeunesse Syndicaliste* Horn, (2008:8). Born in Belgium in 1882, Joseph Cardijn was ordained a priest in 1906, and actively worked in underground movements during World War I, which led him to be imprisoned for espionage in the later stages of the war. After the Great War, he began unionising local workers while appointed as a parish priest, beginning with the creation of an organisation called 'The

¹ A short biographical overview can be found at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph_Cardijn.

Young Unionists (*Jeunesse Syndicaliste*). In 1924, the Trade Unionists expanded and became an international network called the *Jeunes Ouvrières Chrétiennes (JOC)*, or the Young Christian Workers. This organisation first attempted to mobilise the labourers for worker's rights, and later mobilised young people according to a broad range of social justice causes, J. Sands, (2018: 9(4) 129). Important to note is that Cardijn did not create his concept just for social activism, nor did he create the JOC simply as a worker's party movement. Rather, he saw both as means toward life formation.

Although SEE-JUDGE-ACT can be used as a teleological method, it is not merely a tool that is employed to achieve a particular end; Cardijn originally thought of it as a way to fundamentally reorient one's life toward social justice and solidarity.

According to Cardijn, the first movement of any engagement with another person or community should be to 'See': to observe and immerse oneself in the lives of that community. This goes doubly so when engaging those being oppressed, to be in solidarity with the poor or oppressed, to become more than just a bystander or outsider to injustice. By doing so, assuming that one is an outsider to the community, one does not take one's own perspective as normative as the other, their community and perhaps create a bridge between communities to further this solidarity.

With adequately seeing the issue at hand, Cardijn thus argues that one cannot rely upon book knowledge or *a priori* ideas but have accurate and current information available concerning living realities. We must learn to see through personal and collective investigations that are well ordered and verified. Moreover, for one's investigation into a situation to be really fruitful and instructive, it must be adapted with care to the mentality and to the ways of living and talking amongst the people in each locality J. Cardijn, (1964:87).

On this condition, we obtain through inquiry an accurate picture of the other's state and the exact knowledge of their religious, moral, intellectual, and/or economic situation. According to J. Sands, (2018:129), what this seeks to prevent is the mentality held by many (usually) well-meaning activists that seem to know what is best for a community without actually understanding that community on its own terms. For example, there are several instances of aid given to African communities where those giving the aid have rarely set foot into the communities that they wish to help, nor do they actively engage them in solidarity. Aid of this type is often given asymmetrically, where a chauvinistic imbalance between the giver and the receiver is maintained, and rarely does the giver truly instantiate a relationship with the receiver. Ultimately, the receiver loses agency in this exchange.

Moreover, it is from the embedded understanding of the other, that one can begin to adequately 'judge' the specific problem of the community that oppress the other, and

in the process of that judging, look toward actual remedies to alleviate this suffering or otherwise move the other toward the sense of self-empowerment that helps the other take steps to alleviate it themselves. ‘Judge’ is therefore the moment of discernment to be done in solidarity with those that one wishes to emancipate, ending up being a communal affair in working together towards this goal, ceasing to be an affair for an individual person or group working on behalf of others (Cardijn, 1964:88).

Action follows mediation and properly conducted judgement, and in this way, it will be handy in working with suffering people to reach emancipation. In Cardijn’s words: “this judgement finally does not remain a dead letter, it leads to action: to solve problems, it turns to reality to change it and make use of it, to make daily life vast and beautiful.... See, Judge, Act... as a method of education is suited well to the masses as to the elites. It takes place in life and through life”. (Cardijn, 1964:89).

It is imperative to quickly underline that Cardijn’s methodology, though not explicitly said by some, may be noticed to be foundational in the construction of Liberation Theology. When the theological positions of such Liberation thinkers as L. Boff, (1987:34) are considered, the influence of Cardijn may be extracted. Like the *SJA* strategy which preoccupies itself with action orientation, Liberation Theology according to Leonardo Boff, is a hermeneutics that favours *application* rather than explanation. In this the theology of liberation takes up the kind of probing that has been the perennial pursuit of all true biblical reading, as can be seen, for example, in the church fathers – a pursuit that was neglected for a long time in favour of a rationalistic exegesis concerned with dragging out the meaning-in-itself. Liberative hermeneutics reads the Bible as a book of life, not as a book of strange stories.

The textual meaning is indeed sought, but only as a function of the *practical* meaning: the important thing is not so much interpreting the text of Scriptures as interpreting life ‘according to the Scriptures.’ Ultimately, this old /new reading aims to find contemporary actualisation (practically) for the textual meaning, Boff and Boff, (1987:34).

In this thesis, the endeavour will be to balance between the exegetical and the practical; explaining before applying, as reflected in the choice of Cardijn’s methodology as well as the exegetical methods explained below.

Coming to the application of the concept to biblical studies – here to the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 the inspiration from Livinson and Pope-Levinson (1992:33-4), will be adopted. In the first step *See*, the context is analysed using the methods of the social sciences, behavioural sciences and economic theories. In this case, three aspects will be addressed; the general Zimbabwean *status quo* as the matrix in which the pericope has been and is being applied, secondly, the status of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 in

the hands of diverse Zimbabwean interpreters, and thirdly, how Rom 13:1-7 might have been engaged in the early stages of imperial aspirations especially in Britain.

The effects of the dominant interpretive positions on the religio-political and economic scenes will also be evaluated, with the theme of social cohesion in mind.

It is noteworthy to quickly point out that the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 has been so instrumental in the founding and ordering of empires both in the East and the West where the role of religion as an institution of sense through the Bible and theological reflection, has for long been dialoguing with politics.

The Second See, will thus be to critically observe by tracing the brief and non-exhaustive history of interpretation; how the pericope was received and interpreted since the period of the Church Fathers followed by successive periods up to colonial times which witnessed the twin emergence of the missionary and trader on colonial territories, with power, subordination and taxation being instruments ordering the status quo by positioning Christian converts in the civil space.

Comparative analysis will be suggested between the destination; Zimbabwe, and the point of departure from where missionaries and colonists originated, before introducing both Christian religion and relative Liberal Democracy to Zimbabwe.

With the help of Historical Criticism, the findings of social analysis from step one will be considered in the light of Biblical Christian tradition: whether that tradition was extended from the metropole to the colony, especially as missionaries evangelised, and helped in the installation of systems that are currently in use.

In the second step *Judge*, an attempt to establish the apostolic meaning of the text will be pursued. This will be enabled by a critical exegesis of the pericope under study, deciphering from a reconstructed first century context what the message might have been to the intended audience. This will be done by taking into consideration two aspects; first will be the application of the exegetical methods in the study of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 with the Greco-Roman world of Paul, its grappling with authority, subordination and taxation being critically considered.

This exercise serves to cement the point, that an alternative interpretation of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7, which this work labours to formulate, may require the consideration of three contexts; the contemporary Zimbabwean status quo as the effects of colonial Christianity, the metropolitan situation during the hive of missionary recruitment and deployment, and the treatment of the pericope during the Christian Roman Empire.

The second aspect will be a re-look at the biography of Paul. According to some scholars, biography and theology are interconnected. A critical look on Pauline biography intends to situate his message in Rom 13:1-7 in relation to his story.

In the third step *Act*, recommendations for action in order to help alleviate the current Zimbabwean impasse will be suggested. Just as this general methodology is solutions oriented, so also is the final step, *Act* attempt to answer the question, what then can Zimbabwe do?

Since other players have already started rolling out activities in the light of their perspective of Rom 13:1-7, a case study of the interpretive positions and operations of the Zimbabwe Interdenominational Indigenous Churches Council, (ZIICC); an amalgamation of 101 churches who have recently signed some memoranda of understanding with the sitting government, will be evaluated in some detail.

This exercise also stretches to the aspect of evaluating the status of the recently introduced and controversial tax regime as well as other legislation like the Patriotic Bill which intrinsically carry the themes under study.

1.6. METHODS USED

Due to the complexity of the task at hand, it is my submission that not one single research method may do justice to the study of such a key pericope in the context of Zimbabwe. Since this key passage has been arguably at the centre of the founding of great empires both in ancient and modern Christian history, East or West, tracing how it was packaged in the metropole and dispatched in the colony via the instrumentality of numerous agents, including missionaries who were well sharpened and waxed for the imperial task, numerous interconnected disciplines seem to have been employed. For this reason, I will engage in a multidisciplinary use of sub-methods to buttress the general method. This approach, seems to be appropriate for a Contextual Biblical Study, since its merits to a greater extent may yield to the proposed outcome.

Thus, with the SJA as the general approach framing the use of specific methods in each step of the research, different methods will be applied. This eclectic approach, whose embodiment is in O. O'Donovan's work in the field of political authority, which was inspired by textual criticism according to J. Cole (2017:39), will be engaged in an attempt to establish an alternative interpretation.

1.6.1 Empirical Methods to clarify the status quo in Zimbabwe and the use of Romans 13 in public discourse

Moreso, feedback from interviewees will basically be complemented by empirical social research, which is defined as 'the collection of techniques and methods for the

correct implementation of the scientific study of human behaviour and social phenomena' (Schnell/Hill/Esser, 2008:5, in Beck, 2021). In my interviews, I engaged especially the Christian believers whose churches are affiliated to the newly founded ZIICC, residing in different geographical localities in the country, belonging to different age groups as well as belonging to different socio-economic strata. The main thrust was to inquire whether the aspirations of the leaders in their attempt to marry their denominations with sitting political leaders, are shared by the congregants.

More to this enquiry is the view of the interviewees regarding their place as believers in a civil state in which party politics and a politically charged civic society characterises the political playing field.

Data will thus be collected in the form of surveying interviews, observations and linking them to the material under discussion from the perspective of Social History and Social Scientific Criticism. Since Social History is basically expository, it will be applied in assessing the status of the pericope in both the Apostolic, Patristic Medieval and Modern eras, where the nature of the three aspects under investigation; authority, subjugation and taxation will be evaluated.

1.6.2 The Exegetical Methods

In Chapter 4, which is my critical study of the pericope; the JUDGE section of the pericope, I shall employ the five exegetical steps from Narrative Criticism- in dealing with the dry text in its original language in this case Greek; a) attending to text critical issues, b) delimitation and context, c) structure and dynamics, (observing the literary devices), d) inter and intra textual studies of key concepts, and finally, e) interpretation and message of the pericope, D. Markl (Class notes PIB 2016).

Under inter textual studies, key passages within the New Testament like 1 Pt. 2,13-14 and Titus 3,1-2, which seem to be proposing subjugation of Christian citizens to political, civil leadership and civil institutions will also be treated. Old Testament passages which seem to indicate the relationship between politics and cult will also be evaluated. Paramount in cementing my proposal of the matrix in which the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 may be interpreted are Dt. 32:8-9, Isa. 43:1 and Jer. 21:7 among others. On the other hand, Pauline passages like Phil 3:20-21 and 1 Thess 4:17, which seem to be negative about human, imperial authority, will also be brought into dialogue with Rom 13:1-7.

1.6.3 Historical Theology

According to A. McGrathy, (2012: 9), the origins of Historical Theology are generally agreed to lie in the sixteenth century. The Reformation witnessed an intense debate over Christian authenticity, in which the continuity between both the Protestant and Catholic Reformations and the early church came to be seen as critically important. As a result, writers on both sides of the debate found that they had to become familiar with both Patristic Theology and the modification of these ideas in the Middle Ages. It was however in the 18th century that the formal founding of this discipline came to be formalised. Writers like G.S. Steinbart (1738-1809), and others of the *Dogmengeschichte* (the history of dogma), went as far as postulating that the dogmatic formulations of the church especially during the patristic period were heavily conditioned by the social and cultural conditions of the era (McGrath, 2012:10). As a pedagogic tool therefore, Historical Theology does not neglect the role of critical ideas as it focuses on the sociological, economic and institutional aspects of Christian history in different contexts and epochs.

Given that there are problems, in this case in Zimbabwean Biblical theology as elsewhere, when it comes to deciphering the message of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7, Historical Theology may come as a reminder to the reality that the current problems have been dealt with somewhere, sometime. The provided solutions thus become a resource of that epoch but most importantly, a useful guidance in an attempt to resolve the present theological challenges. Christian theology can be regarded as an attempt to make sense of the functional resources of faith in the light of what each day and age regards as first-rate methods. This means that local circumstances have a major impact upon theological formulations. Christian theology regards itself as universal, in that it is concerned with the application of God's serving action toward every period in history. Yet it is also characterised by its particularity as an experience of God's saving work in particular cultures and is shaped by the insights and limitations of persons who were themselves seeking to live the gospel within a particular context.

As C.S. Lewis puts it across; "my own eyes are not enough for me, I will see through those of others... in reading great literature, I become a thousand men and yet remain myself. Like the night sky in the Greek poem, I see with a myriad of eyes, but it is I who see" (quoted in MacGrath, 2013:14). Therefore, Historical Theology as a methodology to be employed, will here enable me to explore how the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 was interpreted, with Patristic interpretations being either altered, modified or completely replaced depending on context. Taping from this resource, at day end, the intention will be to suggest an alternative interpretation of the possible message of the pericope and how it can also be handy in aiding the polarity that exists in the yet to be

free Zimbabwe, which still depends on colonial software view of power, (my intentional avoidance of the labelling post-colonial).

1.7 THE TIME FRAME

The thesis will to a greater extent concentrate on two periods; the contemporary Zimbabwean dispensation as well as the colonial period of the arrival of new players; settlers and missionaries, on the Zimbabwean religio-political scene. This will be in line with the thesis' quest to bridge the scholarly gap in the study of Rom. 13:1-7, where most studies seem to concentrate on the Mugabe era, with little attention cast on what may be termed the root cause of the current quagmire; the colonial period.

To a reasonable extent, focus will be paid to Zimbabwe's pre-colonial, Independence and post-independence periods in an alternative way, as well as in recognition of G.M. Trevelyan, (1920), who advocates for an organic focus on the development of history as opposed to its periodization, which he criticised as potential in promoting rigidity and a series of isolated epochs, which bar the understanding of history as continuous and evolving. Since concentration will be on the colonial era, attention will also be paid on the metropole and its treatment of authority, subjugation and taxation, in order to determine similarities and differences between the Christianity of the metropole and that of the colony, and then to ask the question Why the differences?

In tracing the reception and application of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 in the metropole, the aspect of periodisation, especially A. E., McGrath's four divisions in the study of Historical Theology, will be adopted with some minor alteration. These divisions are: The Patristic Period, c.100-451, The middle Ages and Renaissance c.500-1500, the Reformation and Post-Reformation Periods, 1500-1750 and the Modern Period, 1750 to the present Day, A. E., McGrath, (2012:xiii). It is noteworthy from the outset to acknowledge that Rom. 13:1-7 has been vastly studied and applied in the mentioned epochs, such that these pages may not be sufficient to do justice in representing all conclusions arrived at by all interpreters who stretch from theology to politics. The question which admittedly will remain hanging is how the key themes of this thesis; authority, taxation and subjugation, were bankrolled in pre-colonial Zimbabwe, and how far can we go to determine the same?

1.7.1 Pre-colonial Zimbabwe versus the present dispensation

According to V. Wan-Tatah (1989:16):

The African theologian owes his ancestors a return journey to the past. It is an existential and ideological reservoir. ... the African mind was not a tabula rasa. The affirmation does invoke feelings of nostalgia about a lost millennium, an irretrievable glorious past. However, this attempt of going back into that period of history which has scarcity of information, has its pitfalls. 'There is a temptation to either over dramatise African precolonial history or to romanticise it... human greed and exploitation were as much a reality of African prehistory as of its post-colonial era. The difference may be in scale and intensity. There is more potential for mass deprivation and suffering now than in the past due to the sophistication in the tactics of oppression and the weapons of death..

The scarcely available evidence from oral tradition as well as written records regarding the political organisation of most Zimbabwean pre-colonial societies, unveils that the *Ishe* was considered a central figure. He was more or less like the Fon of the Tikar clan in Cameroon, who was the fulcrum of political and social life. He embodied the traditions, vitality and pride of the people. His influence was not only felt in politics but in military prowess as well as the officiation of religious functions. The *Ishe* usually worked with lower ranking officials. The chieftainship is not a despotism in Shona just as it was in the Nso of Cameroon. What remains unclear is when this place of the *Ishe* became characteristic of say *Shona* cosmology, the extent to which subjugation sustained it, and whether taxation was part of the strategies to cement the leader-subject relationship which had religious justification.

My choice of the colonial era as already mentioned above, goes with my hypothesis that the approach of some missionaries and their conduct in the new mission lands appears to have been the ideology behind the colonisation agenda. And apart from the acquisition of territory, resources in the name of self-determination by the colonists, the exercise of colonisation and imperial expansion appears to have been an exercise of power flexing and subordination, which was propelled by such institutions as tribute and tax payment, that were given a religious justification by missionary Christianity.

In this matrix therefore, the systematic unrolling of the three aspects that will be deliberated in these pages, have a context. According to V. Wan-Tatah, (1989:3), Missionary theology as a product of Western minds, rooted in Western Cartesian philosophy and metaphysics, does not serve Africans... it is artificial to African sensibilities and realities because it not only depends on Western modalities; it excludes the African religious experience and in general silent over practical, down to earth, political or power structures. African religion permeates the whole of life, and politics is no exception.

The contemporary Zimbabwean situation has come to be referred to as the New Dispensation or the Second Republic, especially by politicians from the ruling ZANU PF party. The Second Republic was inaugurated on the 21st of November 2017, after President Robert was 'removed' from office as a result of a soft *coup d'etat*. From that

time to the present, the new government that took after him has referred to itself as the New Dispensation of the Second Republic. Whether there is something new or a continuation of the old guard with a change of positions, is not the major point of this work, whose focus is the interaction of religion and politics and their ramifications on the socio-economic front.

That being said, it is noteworthy to point out that the machinery of the settler regime which ring fenced its grip to power, seems to have been well studied and inherited by the new black power syndicate which use it this time seemingly not to benefit a collective metropole, but to sustain a continued control of the echelons of power. Noteworthy again is the apparent fact that this seeming black syndicate cuts across party politics, making it relevant to discuss the power-subordination dynamics in Zimbabwe without adjusting the lens only to those who occupy governmental positions.

1.7.2 Limitations in the study of different Zimbabwean epochs

It is paramount to quickly point out that the pre-colonial era, though covered in this thesis, has very few written sources, with much information scarcely preserved in oral tradition. Most available primary written records have been written by travellers and British explorers like David Livingstone and may need to be taken with a pinch of salt since they were most likely penned to justify occupation of the country by settlers who were seen as having an agenda of civilising the ‘savage and uncouth locals’ as they tamed the jungle.

This is also the pitfall regarding the establishment of facts during the war of liberation, which though different players fought for the political emancipation of the country, the current written sources, studied in schools, tend to represent the heroism of mostly one military wing; ZANLA, from where the ruling ZANU PF party has its military stamina. Contributions of ZAPU’s ZIPRA to the liberation struggle are written in small letters even though they were the pioneers on the battle front.

Furthermore, the contemporary age, though nearer to us, seems more complicated in that it is an Information Age, in which the battle between facts and propaganda, information, misinformation and disinformation, seriously impacts the accumulation of facts from grey sources. Of late, journalists; newspaper editors, socialites and news reporters have clearly evidenced that objectivity in the breaking of news remains coloured by agendas exterior to the issue of news for news’ sake, since they seem to deliver news based on the point of view to which they subscribe, and most especially the one that butters their bread.

This is further deepened by the categorisation of journalists as members of the fourth estate by the major funders of social engineering, and their privileged position as ‘endangered species’, who must be left to go free even if their operations are clearly biased, or infringing on other citizens’ rights. Paradoxically, this serious scourge of information, disinformation and misinformation has also powdered academic writing, since Facebook, X handles and the comment section of these platforms, mostly stampeded by social engineers of different players, inject their points of view continuously in their endeavour to shape public opinion to their favour.

1.8 THESIS RATIONALE

This thesis is in line with the revolution manifesto oriented towards self-determination which outlined that the war of liberation from colonialism would be fought in phases. The first phase being the fight for political emancipation, which witnessed the colonised Zimbabwean youths taking up arms, and fought for emancipation from colonialism. The second phase being economic liberation in which the majority would control the means of production such as land; the reclaiming of which was the major reason war was fought.

This work argues that the achievements made so far seem to be a big body without a soul, since they lack a widely appealing ideology which works as a common denominator around which re-orientation of Zimbabwean society ought to revolve. The possibility of this denominator may be found in the third aspect; the ideological phase in which institutions like religion, theology education, may need to be upgraded to address the current dispensation, since they seem to either be serving the political elites who substituted the settler regime, or serve no one currently present since they had affinities with the colonial dispensation whose time is alleged to be past, though coming disguised in a different garb in the form of neo colonialism.

The pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 is here endeavoured to be read and heard under ‘the Zimbabwean tree’, that is the contemporary context, in resolving the fragmentation in Zimbabwe. An area that seems to be in need of attention for the final victory in the war to self-determination, is that of fighting the disorganisation that currently exists among Christian churches, which some have justified as the work from above as a ‘multiplication in the Spirit’. In this instance however, I argue that the fragmentation of Christian believers in the name of unbridled religious freedom which lacks a common denominator, forfeits an opportunity that organised religion and nation serving politics as opposed to the current self-serving one, presents.

As Marcus Gavey once said, “the greatest weapon used against the negro is that of disorganization”, L. W. Levine, (1993:121). Advocacy is here centring around the establishment of sanity within the bodies of Christ in order to shape them to become the Body of Christ.

A pertinent question may however be asked regarding the HOW of treating this pericope, together with the duration of its applicability. Thus, does the pericope REALLY mean what is said or it means something else, and was its message not situational only to Paul’s context and so not to be treated as his Christian political theory? The response to this seems to depend on one’s point of departure between the historical approach and the rhetorical approach. As already mentioned above, to a larger extent, I shall follow the historical approach, and so argue that the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7, heard in the contemporary Zimbabwean context, may be considered as it is, and it is my conviction that Paul meant exactly what he wrote.

I will also expose how the rhetorical approach has been utilised by some scholars, especially those that applied the theories of the Hidden Transcript and the Double Discourse to come out with some conclusions in the study of Rom. 13:1-7. My leaning more towards the historical approach has been motivated by how such an interpretation method has made this text to positively accomplish in space and time, as may be seen especially among early church fathers like Cyprian of Carthage, John Chrysostom and especially Augustine of Hippo Regia’s interpretations, and how they contributed in shaping national identity in both East and West European empires.

Studying how they did it may likewise help put things in place in Zimbabwe, which calendar wise is at the same phase as the rest of the world due to the influence of globalisation, though the reality maybe that Zimbabwe is centuries behind and may need to work towards self-determination, without claiming the achievements of the developed world as its own, when it is clear that it did not contribute to its setup.

The message of Rom. 13:1-7 to the Zimbabwean set up is therefore the one endeavoured for, with slants towards the orient or occident in the current treatment being repealed and replaced by an enculturated and contextual interpretation which addresses the current missing link.

1.8.1 Study justification

As mentioned above, my observation is that a handful of studies regarding the Bible in / and Africa in general, and the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 in particular are problem oriented and so in urgent need of a turn around that may be found in an action, solutions-oriented methodology. In this thesis, a critical exegesis of the pericope under study will be done before arriving at a position. This will be coupled with a critical

investigation of how the text has been received and transmitted in different epochs and contexts, especially in some European countries; the countries of origin where missionaries to Zimbabwe originated. I envisage it as crucial for the current task especially when a comparative analysis is done regarding the nature of church state relations in the metropole and the doctrine that some missionaries upheld in the colonies regarding the same theme.

This study to some extent identifies a problem, observes the extent of its damage, makes a judgement regarding its cause, and proposes a course of Action to address the problem for the good of a given context, in this case, the Zimbabwean society. Objectivity will remain one of the paramount guiding principles in carrying out this study. This is especially demonstrated by a focus on both the ruling party and opposition political parties in discussing the authority and subjugation dynamics in Zimbabwe, since these are paramount in the unfolding discussion, unlike the tendency in some scholars who leave out opposition politicians in the discussion.

The same applies to the focus on Christian churches; though I am an affiliate of one mainline church which has been commendable for its role in Zimbabwean socio-political transformation especially in justice and peace issues; the Catholic Church, in this work, I endeavour to critically interrogate whether the Church has done enough in her mission. Issues to do with objective witnessing to the truth while posing as a moral compass in issues of justice, peace and the common good without bias, fear or favour, will be assessed in the light of such ecumenical decrees as the Church in the Modern World, (*Gaudium et Spes*), as well as papal Encyclicals like Paul VI's *Populorum Progressio* (1967).

The recommendations in these documents, combined with the fruit of the exegesis of Rom. 13:1-7, will enable action towards positive change within the Zimbabwean context.

Viewed from the rationale of the See, Judge and Act methodology, which is the denominator of the thesis, encouraging ecumenism and dialogue among Christians, especially as regards politics and nation building- the praxis of living out the faith, endeavours to be accomplished. The document also speaks about inculturation and contextual theology, an aspect which is in line with the endeavour to erect structures of a Christian political theology which starts from where we are and moving forward. To the question; why specifically Rom. 13:1-7 for the intended task, a response may be suggested in that its critical, contextual study in a way that is applicable to the Zimbabwean situation, endeavour to marry exegesis, theology and contextual studies for a new hermeneutic in coming up with alternative interpretations especially of difficult texts. This is enabled by the use of methodologies to do with the literary study of a biblical text as well as Social Scientific Methods in order to cement the advocacy

of a multidisciplinary approach. With the choice of ZIIC for case study purposes, I endeavour to achieve a grounding of the theoretical aspect of study and relate it to practical life dynamics.

Moreso, to the likely question; why the metropole, yet the discussion is about Rom. 13:1-7 in Zimbabwe? The suggested response is that the sheds of *Christianities* which missionaries brought to Zimbabwe have not been seriously interrogated in a comparative way with the Christianity that was practised in their places of origin at the time they set voyage for missions. Having been privileged to have lived on both sides of the Mediterranean Sea, and observed church state relations in the northern hemisphere, it is my suggestion that my country of origin may need to be helped in conducting institutional reform in order to address fragmentation and toxicity while promoting social cohesion.

This study therefore opens room for curious questions which may be to some extent handy in the ongoing decolonisation agenda: is the message that missionaries brought, especially in relation to power and subordination in civil and religious authorities, the same as they had experienced in the metropole? Why was subjugation of indigenous Zimbabweans demanded to be expressed to settler authorities not indigenous traditional leaders and is there anything that can be done to rectify that today?

It is my conviction that this seems to be the missing link in the current aspiration of incorporation faith to daily life including political and economic cooperation. Inspired too by Marx Weber's observation that the religious forces, not only economic ones paved the way for the mentality characteristic of modern, western capitalism, M Weber, (1905), the take home is here that the economic situation in Zimbabwe may be worked out by systematising religion and obtaining social cohesion from it. The interpretation of the concept of 'politics' is in this context based on the premise that political events are closely associated with the economic and social changes, including religious interpretative shifts. It goes beyond saying that the essence of politics is power (Witte *et al.*, 2009:11). Since Christian churches have and had an impact on the concept of power, their interaction with politics on both sides of the Mediterranean is central in the study of Rom. 13:1-7.

Moreover, I endeavour this inquiry to contribute to the list of 'game changer' studies in Zimbabwe NT contextual exegesis and hermeneutics, filling some academic gap in the interpretation of difficult yet key NT passages. In this vein, I shall explore the extent and the feasibility of a spiritual understanding of 'authorities' to whom subjection by human subjects is due, once suggested by O. Cullmann, (1954), this time in relation to traditional leaders; chiefs and headmen whose roles were suppressed or diluted by colonial systems.

On the other hand, some scholars like Voster have suggested that the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 be added to the list of those passages that may not be studied in depth, since it addresses issues that are not ubiquitous in the Pauline corpus. In justifying the need to study this passage, some response may be suggested to proponents of this position: Is ubiquity a *conditio sine qua non* in the critical study of a pericope? Conversely, it appears that themes that are not over mentioned in Scripture are today the topical ones in Christendom. Fundamentals such as the Holy Eucharist, the primacy of Peter, celibacy, are not ubiquitous in the Bible, yet they are key in Catholicism for example. So also, may be the issue with taxation and subjugation to ruling authorities. Following Voster's position may lead to silence about issues found in the Bible simply because they are mentioned once, yet a multi-disciplinary approach expands scholarship.

1.8.2 Key Question

Which key factors may be considered in the application of the Principled Eclectic approach in the study of Rom. 13:1-7 within the Zimbabwean context, that may be instrumental in coming up with an alternative, situational interpretation that takes the need for national social cohesion as urgent?

1.9 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

This introductory chapter has endeavoured to accomplish the following: the laying of the ground on which my hypothesis will be built. It identified the problem, speculated on its possible cause, suggested the methodologies which may be employed to address the problem and proffer the solutions. By so doing, it has encircled a fundamental Biblical passage, whose critical, comparative, and contextual study, paying attention to its history of interpretation in the metropole for the benefit of the colony, may be the gateway to the much-needed solutions to address the ulcer of polarity and toxicity found in Zimbabwean public space.

The activation of an interdisciplinary approach, and principled eclecticism, especially the necessity of the study of history in order to put theology and hermeneutics into perspective, has been set. This is in line with the suggestion of J. W. De Gruchy, (2003:225), especially in relation to the needed complementarity between history and theology: historians and theologians need each other:

Historians seek to establish the way things were and why; theologians are concerned to go beyond the 'what' to how things should be. In their different ways both should therefore address the fundamental question, 'So what?' if they do not, then the danger of theologians

trying to count the number of angels able to dance on a pinhead is likely to be equalled by that of historians trying to recover information about their names.’

Not only is the working together of history and theology important, but as well exegesis and biblical theology as will be shown below.

In the next chapter I shall outline the Zimbabwean political, economic and sociomoral context, in which denominational Christianity; part of the legacy of colonial Christianity, will be argued to have contributed a great deal to the current status quo where authority and subordination has tended to be parochialized, leading to polarity and fragmentation. This scenario makes the Zimbabwean situation as every other Global South case, unique and in need of an alternative interpretation of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 which puts a lot of factors into serious consideration.

CHAPTER 2

SEE: THE CURRENT ZIMBABWEAN SITUATION

This Chapter endeavours to observe and expose the general overview of the Zimbabwean situation, the matrix in which Rom 13:1-7 was and is being interpreted. Concentration will be on the status of components constituting the civic-religious space such as the economy, scholarship, politics, denominational christianity, and government among others. It is in this public space that the individual Christian believer reads this pericope of Rom 13:1-7 and gets exposed to different interpretations by preachers, scholars or public opinion shapers. This context arguably demonstrates features that pose as fertile ground for parochialist interpretations of the power-subjugation binary, where personal power, starting from intra-party level; is usually perpetrated by the politics of acrimony and rancour, thereby shrinking the democratic space. The propaganda machinery which constitute preachers, journalists, scholars, seems determined to as well perform their duty of vilifying opponents and seem to fear to be out of work when their preferred candidate fails to make it to the top. The following pages intend to expose the different levels of polarity in Zimbabwe which is here argued to be caused by a lack of a common denominator which may be found in a well aligned relationship between religion and politics; not every religion, but that which pose as an institution of sense, uniting not fragmenting the populace.

2.1 CONTEMPORARY SHEDS OF ZIMBABWEAN CHRISTIANITY

With the majority of the Zimbabwean populace professing to be Christian, there is no homogeneity of what Christianity is. Any erected grouping can call itself Christian even when it sharply contradicts the next grouping which also bears the same self-designation. At day end, the Christian religion then poses as a matrix in which contradictions can safely coexist.

With the absence of a clear-cut, home grown dominant, national political philosophy, constantly upgraded by philosophers in different generations, as in German Idealism or British Empiricism, the Zimbabwean political space is usually approached by some ordinary people from the points of view of one's denomination. Denominations that characterise the Zimbabwean Christian space include Catholics, churches from Magisterial Reformers and others from Radical Reformers, (Conformists or nonconformists), as well as numerous groupings that subscribe to these currents; Puritans (Separatists and non-separating), Congregationalists and Presbyterians.

Statistical data on the percentage population of affiliation is varied. According to the Inter-Censal Demographic Survey of 2017, data collected on religion shows that 84 percent of the population aged 15 years and above are Christian, while 1 percent are Muslim. The largest proportion of Christians belong to the Apostolic sect (34 percent) followed by Pentecostal (20 percent) and Protestant (16 percent), (ICDS 2017: xi). Catholic.org general survey on religion in Zimbabwe, (2015), estimates the percentage of Protestants at 74.8 %, (Apostolic 37,5%, Pentecostal 21,8%, other 15,5%. The Roman Catholic population is estimated at 7.3% , other Christian 5,3%, traditional 1,5 %, Muslim 0,5 %, other 0,1%, none 10,5%.

The abundance of these churches also means numerous points of views not only regarding theology, but important for this thesis; the place of a believer in the civil state which ultimately falls in the ambient of church state relations. Arguably, at least three views may be said to summarily capture these denominations' views regarding Zimbabwean politics, authority and subjugation.

The first view may be said to be that of viewing secular power as evil, terrestrial with real Christians exhorted to therefore distance themselves from the contamination that comes from political involvement. This advocacy for total disengagement in affairs political, also means staying away from discussing political issues, voting, being voted in political offices and resistance to subjugation to civil authority and any symbol that represents the same, since these are all in conflict with the Kingdom of God, for which real Christians are witnesses. This may be seen in the contemporary conceptions of Christian traditions which trace their origin in Anabaptism. On this one, Anabaptism's anti-secular authority and the subjugation of Christians to the same, may be traced back to church Fathers like Cyprian and Origen who forwarded that Christians were not of this world, and so they have nothing to do with subjugating to this world order since obedience to God directly is the most important thing.

The second view may be said to be represented by the Magisterial Reformers, with Martin Luther being outstanding in representing it. According to Luther, the relations between the two realms, that to do with spiritual authority and the other to do with civil authority both originate from God though they are distinct in speciality. The spiritual kingdom which is represented by the church, has the word as its operational principle, with inner peace and the salvation of the souls of Christians being its ultimate goal. The civil or secular realm is manned by the secular governments who likewise represent God, with the sword being their operational tool, and external peace being their goal. These realms must be kept distinct since they specialise in different endeavours.

For instance, the force which is associated with the sword wielded by the secular rulers is necessary for non -Christians who still are the majority in the world, with Christian

being the minority. Were it not for the swords, Christians would be swallowed alive, and so hindered from pursuing their ultimate goal. Luther relied on the Church Fathers like Tertullian, Irenaeus and Augustine to come up with his position, though he shaped it to suit his context of countering the dominance of the papists through the instrumentality of the clergy and monks who were controlling much of the wealth of that time.

The third view, which is partly propagated by Catholic Social Teaching, and which at most times put the Zimbabwean Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace to be in clashes with the civil government, advocates for the catholic christian's active involvement in politics. It goes further to demand that the state should create a just environment to enable free and fair political participation, and listen to the voice of the guidance of the church which is the pulse and conscience of society. The clashes between the church and the state usually boils down to the accusation that the church takes directives from its foreign headquarters whose interests it serves. In this contestation, the question of superiority in power between the church and the state, remains positively charged.

The danger however is what this does to society and especially to the clarity of national philosophy and or ideology. Though the Bible and or the Holy Spirit are the authority cited for the *missio ad gentes* of all the groupings, there seems to lack some standard agreement. With the classical designation being to classify christian denominations as Pentecostal, mainline, African Independent, there seems to be no ad intra harmony of denominations belonging to the same subset.

In Pentecostalism for example, there are numerous sub-clusters which still bear the brand Pentecostal. In this case, A. H., Anderson, (2004: 6) notes that it is difficult to prescribe the definition of Pentecostal and Pentecostalism, since the designation widens to incorporate not only Pentecostals, but also Charismatics and Neo Charismatics among others. There is also a distinction between classical Pentecostals, who define themselves in terms of the *doctrine* of 'initial evidence', whereas others define themselves primarily based on the *experience* of the Holy Spirit and the *practice* of spiritual gifts, R., Anderson, (1979: 4).

Apart from disagreeing on fundamental theological issues such as the Trinity or Ecclesiology, in mainline denominationalism, fragmentation of these Christianity types seems to be evident in their view of the state, political participation, and the use of the Bible regarding the same. Churches with a *radical reformers'* orientation, like the Jehovah's Witnesses, seem to discourage their followers from participating in politics, since it is viewed as being this worldly, and according to their foundation; Anabaptism, all secular institutions are irredeemably fallen and tainted, N. Ndungane, (2002: 157)... Those with a Magisterial Protestant orientation, basically follow Luther

who believed that the Church and the state should operate independently, without mutual interference, and seem to encourage their members to participate in politics.

Apostolic and Zionist churches which were founded by indigenous Zimbabweans are also numerous, and differ in perspective regarding political participation. A recently formed body; ZIICC, has around 114 member churches which came together for the purpose of mobilising support for the sitting government and so exhort their members to vote for ZANU PF. On the other hand, there are other zionist and apostolic church groupings which do not subscribe to the *Mazioni and Mapostori for ED*, and either choose to be neutral or discourage their followers to engage in politics.

In their turn, Catholics seem to view politicians as subject to religious authority, and must accept church counsel regarding justice and peace issues. They also encourage their members to participate in the politics of the land. The contribution of the missionary societies to this mess has been categorically pointed out, since they evangelised following the policy lines of the metropole and not otherwise. The same focus has been beamed on indigenous found churches, who over drugged themselves with the nationalist movement, to the extent of forgetting to come back to the Gospel since situational threats had been averted. Mainline churches under Zimbabwean leadership may not be considered as in the 1920s, in which they were seen as agents of colonialism.

Since religious conviction seems to be one of the strongest currents carrying one through their day as they engage with society and interact with others, the multiplicity of views makes social cohesion one of the difficult dreams to achieve, leading to contradicting and fractured interpretations of fundamental life issues.

This lack of cohesion around fundamental issues seems to have been fuelled by some missionaries as early as their arrival in pre-colonial Zimbabwe, as some of them are recorded as instigators in the genesis of disunity among locals who used to join forces in critical times, under local leadership which included priests and functionaries of the Mwari cult as well as chiefs.

Commenting on the Ndebele uprising of 1896 for example, D.H. Barry, (2022), forwards that the Ndebele groups joined the rising - as we saw in our treatment of the Empandeni mission where Fr. Prestage (SJ) advised the local chiefs not to join - and they received no support from either Khama of the Tswana (Botswana) or Lewanika of the Lozi (western Zambia). This lack of unity in resisting oppression was to become an enduring weakness during later attempts to resist white control in Rhodesia and it is still there in modern Zimbabwe. Opposition movements seem reluctant to unite. Commenting on the previous coordination that existed in uniting tribes during crisis times, O.T Ranger (1967) gives great emphasis to the influence of the Mwari cult

which proved to be a religious and cultural bond not only for the Ndebele nation but for some of the Shona tribes from whom the Ndebele had learnt it.

2.3 MORE ON THE GENERAL ZIMBABWEAN CONTEXT

Quick to be mentioned is that Zimbabwe like other African countries seems to be the depository of different political ideologies that are mainly imported from either East or West. Due to this fact, external influence seems to align itself with political parties that forward the dominant political ideology from that part of their world. My observation is that Liberalism, which focuses more on the individual, a characteristic of American democracy, and Etatism, seem to be the major contenders. Coupled by the fragmentation that results from Christian denominationalism, the result may to a greater extent be termed syncretic, in the sense that it is composite as a mixture rather than a compound. Due to the undercurrent effects of this disjointed- mixture reality, individualism seems to be the resultant outcome. Important to note is that this individualism is not synonymous to the one emphasised upon by the West, as one of the key tenets of Liberty. This one is resultant from the weakness of society in uniting its subjects.

After absorbing and assimilating national ideologies which were propagated as western colonial Christianity and political systems without even adapting the same to see whether they forward their interests, Zimbabwe like many African nations have also remained objects of critics who rate them as dismal in upholding that which originated from outside themselves, which was not at all contextualised. Besides breaking the daily ties and bonds, this conglomeration of worldviews which was broadcasted on a minute geographical space disbanded the centre, suppressed patriotism, and identity of denomination not kinship bonds nor the state, determine the bond of association.

The following points partly summarise the Zimbabwean authority-subjugation scenario as I envisage it. The tendency has been to limit spectacle only to the ruling political party, yet the dynamic runs in opposition political parties and civic society. I argue below that this influence stems from denominational christianity where church founders more or less adopt a messiah-like position and are beneficiaries of subordination from their congregants. This mentality is then carried into politics resulting in personal power cultism which leaves everything at a stalemate. I consider all these points as paramount before a beneficial situational interpretation of Rom. 13:1-7.

2.4 HARD AND SOFT POWER DYNAMICS IN ZIMBABWE

While in most developed nations there is legislation which entrusts both hard and soft power to the government; an institution responsible for selling their national interests, there seems to be some fragmentation in Zimbabwe in which the ruling party controls hard power machinery, whereas the opposition thrives in the area of soft power.

According to J.S., Nye (2004:25), hard and soft power sometimes reinforce and sometimes interfere with each other. This political principle of hard and soft power, usually related to international politics of superpowers in relation to other nations; how they are viewed and how they attract other countries to support their political systems and foreign policy... the existence of the Logan Act,(1799), which bars even journalists to spread malicious information about their country, the extradition of Julian Assange of Wikileaks, from the Ecuadorian embassy in the UK, to America for trial, the assassination of Khashoggi in Turkey, and the continued imprisonment of Navelne in Russia, may serve as example of how hard and soft power is controlled by some countries. There is even some sharp division in Zimbabwe regarding the introduction of the Patriotic Bill, (passed into Law on 1 June 2023), which though similar in contents with bills on the balance between hard and soft power, is seen as potentially silencing dissenting voices in Zimbabwe.

Whilst the ruling party controls hard power, with the military siding with either of the warring factions in ZANU PF, it appears the opposition controls soft power in its ability to attract and get endorsement from the general public. Though the ruling party has a cyber team, and uses the state broadcaster to propagate the *Chimurenga* ideology, this seems to have lost touch with the contemporary dispensation in which the preoccupation has shifted from so much of war language to discourse on individual prosperity.

The opposition seems to have this appeal, which however blindfolds the masses from scrutinising the democratic systems in the internal affairs of the same opposition. Before the widespread effect of the internet, it would cost time and money to stage a widespread demonstration, but today the power and dominance, and authority of the opposition thrives on the internet and it may not be taken lightly in the discourse on who it is that is the authority of the country, to be praised when things move well and to be asked for questions when they go otherwise.

This stretches to the campaign for covid 19 vaccination in which the opposition leader did not use his influence to mobilise for vaccination, but rather to point out where the government blundered in the corrupt activities like the minister of health's DRACKS scandal. Up to now, some opposition supporters still resist vaccination as they wait for their leader to instruct them to go for vaccination, since they subjugate to his authority.

2.4.1 Party Politics seemingly a profession

According to O. O'Donovan, (1996:20), "the political act is the divinely authorised act". Politics may therefore need to be opened to the activity of God via political theology which has to be rooted in Scripture. In its relation to politics, theology which is rooted in Scripture ultimately requires a full political conceptuality. Still on this, O'Donovan notes that 'much of the language of Christian faith is politically charged; however, 'political theology... does not suppose a literal synonymy between the political vocabulary of salvation and the secular use of the same political terms.

It postulates an analogy grounded in reality- between the acts of God and human acts, both of them taking place within the one public history which is the theatre of God's serving purpose and mankind's social undertakings. Thus, it is in this analogy: between God's rule and human rule as embodied in the kingdom of God that we find fertile soil for the development of a biblical, political conceptuality, C.G., Bartholomew et al, (2002:27). Thus, the biblical route into contemporary political theology is the kingdom of God: any discourse about authority and subordination as found in Rom. 13:1-7 may therefore be understood in the context of Salvation History, with the Paschal mystery being the unlocking key.

Though O. O'Donovan's conception of contemporary politics and his recommendation find opposition in contexts in which deism and humanism inspire political theory, as has resulted from the revolution brought by Grotius, Hobbes and Spinoza, it may be useful in the Zimbabwean context in which the Bible and Christian denominationalism seem to influence heavily.

As legislators of political parties seem to be in parliament at the mess of their party leaders, some of them seem to then concentrate on their direct benefits, with some openly saying they are in politics for money. Though they sometimes attend workshops and programs like the pre-budget consultations, it seems as if they do so with the agenda being to scoop the allowances associated with such exercises, with the T and S dominating discussions. This mentality is sometimes marked with political grandstanding and double standards when it comes to the national stage.

For instance, the 2020 pre-budgetary workshop organised by the ministry of finance witnessed legislators of both the ruling party and the opposition camping in the affluent city of Victoria Falls, in which their hotel booking and other expenses blew up to 5 million United States dollars for a period of a week or so. Paradoxically, when they had to reconvene Parliament to debate what they themselves had agreed upon in Victoria Falls, the opposition legislators walked out of Parliament as a way of protesting against the 'illegitimacy' of President Emmerson Mnangagwa. The curious question however remained the rationale in doing so, which seems to me a

contradiction in action, given that the previous week they convened at the instruction of a minister who was appointed and made to swear in by this illegitimate president.

It seems as if the minister is legitimate, while the president who gave him the mandate remains legitimate. Closer observation may thus reveal that an aspect of herd instinct, serving some parochialistic agenda, which is self-serving, motivates actions. Even when it comes to the issue of the allocation of luxurious cars, which blows out millions of taxpayers money, these politicians from across the political divide will be in cohorts, only to think parochially on issues to do with the general populace; fundamental issues for which they were voted into office. This perpetuity in election mode, and 'merry-going-round', seems to be an indication of the lack of address of something fundamental, on the ideological level.

2.4.2 Intra-party politics: personality power cultism and *sacred cowism*

According to A. Pisch, (2016: 52), The precise definition given to the term personality cult varies slightly according to historical era, and also to the discipline and orientation of the writer, although the differences in usage across academic fields are subtle. In general, the most well-known examples of leaders with personality cults for example, Stalin, Mao Zedong, Adolf Hitler, Napoleon Bonaparte, Maximilian I, Caesar Augustus and Alexander the Great.

According to historian E.A. Rees, who here uses the term 'leader cult', but is essentially talking about the same phenomenon:

A leader cult is an established system of veneration of a political leader, to which all members of society are expected to subscribe, a system that is omnipresent and ubiquitous and one that is expected to persist indefinitely. It is thus a deliberately constructed and managed mechanism, which aims at the integration of the political system around the leader's persona.

Political scientist Pao-min Chang has described the personality cult as 'the artificial elevation of the status and authority of one man through the deliberate creation, projection and propagation of a godlike image.'" Historian Arpad von Klimó believes that personality cults should be viewed as secularised forms of religious rituals and adds: 'Here we define "cult of personality" as a sum of symbolic actions and texts which express and ritualise the particular meanings ascribed to a particular person in order to incorporate an imagined community.

In a similar vein, Plamper defines the generally accepted usage of personality cult as 'god-like glorification of a modern political leader with mass media techniques, and excessive glorification of this leader'. Key features of each of these definitions are the

elevation and glorification of an individual, the use of symbolism and ritual, 19 the fact that the image or persona of the leader is manufactured and heavily managed, the use of mass media for the dissemination of the cult,²⁰ and parallels to religious phenomena, (A. Pisch, (2016: 54).

In the Zimbabwean context, party politics seems to oscillate around the person of one political party leader or the other. Much of the political talk seems to disregard the institution as it favours the individual, who paradoxically rises to fame with the help of the institutional structures of the concerned party, to the extent of either overshadowing the party, or posing as the incarnation of the values that the party manifesto purport to stand for. This phenomenon, which may be termed personality power cultism, has its pitfalls. According to Prof. J. Moyo, ‘one major reason why Zimbabweans, as a body politic, are ill prepared to deal with the country’s deteriorated political conditions is because they are balkanised by the politics of affection; driven by principals over principles, wherein personalities always trump up ideas, (Newsday 24.12.21).

Ordinary Zimbabweans especially on social media, and legislators in parliament seem to manifest this tendency to be divided alongside partisan interests, even when it comes to the issues which may be regarded as forwarding national interests elsewhere. Thus, the figure of the leader of a political party and his or her *modus operandi*, seems to be mutated into the office holders of the party who strive to align themselves to the individual, for fear of relegation into the political dustbin.

2.4.3 Council and Parliamentary recalls

Individual power cultism, which hides behind party interests, has been demonstrated by the recent recalls of office holders from council and parliament, not on issues related to service delivery to their constituencies, but related to their personal affiliation to rivalry leaders of their formations. The scenario of battle for control over the MDC-T party changed hands amongst Chamisa, Khupe and Mwonozora, who all had the audacity to recall legislators whom they envisaged as not supporting their presidency, even though these legislators were sworn in, with their party leader (in the case of Chamisa), being outside government office, yet controls people with a mandate from the electorate, proving that as a single individual he has the power more than the electorate, who seconded the candidate from primary elections to national elections.

Since the conditioning runs down to the electorate, a lot of hardworking councillors and members of parliament had their political career ended since they were labelled as not associating with the popular political leader. However, the issue of jostling for party positions seems to have characterised the new political party outfit, with the

phenomenon of the imposition of candidates by the top board being countered in some constituencies by the double submission of nomination papers as has been seen in Nkulumani constituency. On the 15th of February 2022, the Daily News carried the headline: ‘Discarding allies will hurt Chamisa’... analysts warn’ after CCC leader dissolves party structures.

In the article, Nelson Chamisa is said to ‘risk committing political hara-kiri after he unilaterally dissolved the rebranded party’s structures last week– leaving himself solely in charge of the fledgling organisation, (Blessing Mashaya, political editor., accessed 15.02.22 13.36). Chamisa is said to have summoned the party’s national executive officials to his private offices in Harare on Wednesday and Friday last week, upon which he told them that they were now ordinary card carrying members... Another miffed insider described the surprise move as patently illegal and dictatorial’ adding that some of his colleagues were now beginning to see their leader as ‘a tiny Mugabe who will do anything to advance his personal interests, (p. 1).

This was the case with the late Hon. Masungu Matambanadzo, popularly known as ‘Blackman’, who was recalled from parliament by his ZANU PF party after being accused of being a member of the G 40 faction fronted by the former first lady Grace Mugabe. ‘Blackman’ then joined the Zimbabwe People First (ZPF), led by Ambrose Mutinhiri, another former ZANU PF stalwart, and became the only MP from that party to scoop the same constituency he once served under the ZANU PF ticket. The electorate probably voted him for his orientation towards development and pro-poor policies, not necessarily his party nor his person. Therefore, too much power by party leaders over the party and the electorate, in controlling the behaviour of the legislator in parliament, seems to be a pitfall to a greater extent which perpetuates the crisis of parochialism even at the extent of the national agenda, and has to be dealt with.

2.4.4 ‘Lack of political strategy in tussling power’

The current opposition parties, especially the major ones, seem to be mimicking the current government, and instead of posing as the alternative, they seem to be posing as the substitute. As of 3 December 2023, the fissures within the opposition seems to have widened after the recognition by one faction within the party which being fronted by an alleged interim secretary general, Sengezo Tshabangu, who is on record for denying the dictatorial tendencies that have of late haunted the party president Nelson Chamisa and the structureless faction within the CCC which has captured him’, (the words of Sengezo Tshabangu in an interview with Blessing Mhlanga of Heart and Soul tv).

This scenario of the alternative absorbing and becoming the incumbent to a larger extent is also the case when such issues as intolerance of divergent views, hero worshipping and entitlement are considered in relation to their leaders, cyberbullying and persecution of dissenters. According to Mr. O. Gutu, ‘opposition politics in Zimbabwe died with Morgan Tsvangirai.’ His position, though debatable and still substantiating the reality of personal power cultism, on the other hand seems to be valid when one critically assesses the *modus operandi* of major opposition political parties in Zimbabwe.

Whilst Morgan Tsvangirai was action oriented, with clear objective to fulfil, most of which were released during his lifetime: forcing Mugabe to the negotiation table, coming up with a people driven new constitution and the suppression of a one party state’, the objectives of both Douglas Mwonzora and Nelson Chamisa, who both claim to be successors of Morgan's visionary leadership seem flimsy. On the other hand, this ulcer of the centrality of an individual over the institution; technically called personal power cultism, found in Zimbabwean politics, partly became dominant in the opposition due to Morgan Tsvangirai himself, who after falling in the trap of political big brotherhood, ended up making himself the only candidate that could unseat Mugabe even from his hospital bed.

After the death of Tsvangirai even before his burial, jostling of positions of power became the order of the day, unconstitutionalism which resulted in the National Council appointing Chamisa as interim leader, elbowing out Khupe, a vice president voted for by the 2014 people’s congress, witnessed this phenomenon. The National Council has no constitutional power to appoint the interim president, since the MDC constitution (Art. 9.2.1 (b)), stipulates that in the absence of the president, the deputy president acts. In the absence of both the president and the vice, the National chairperson assumes the role of the president, (Art. 9.3.1.(a)).

Some commentators have also pointed out that by working closely with Adv Tendai Biti and Welshman Ncube, who had initially abandoned the party to form their political outfits, citing ‘the dictatorial tendencies in Tsvangirai’, Chamisa also sought to elbow out Mwonzora who had superseded him during the 2014 Secretary General election post, at the party congress in 2014, which elected Dr. Thokozani Khupe as the party substantive vice president. Knowing that the idea of an Alliance was not popular among MDC T structures from the top to the cell, since it would lead to officers surrendering their posts to a members of the other political party in the Alliance according to the rules of proportionality, and that any advocate of the Alliance within the largest opposition which arguably needed no pact, would lose support from within,

Chamisa an advocate of the Alliance, whose principals pledged to back his presidency, sought to go the Alliance route, and so tried to convert a pact of seven political parties into a single political party, whose elective congress he held in Gweru even without holding the MDC T internal extraordinary congress within 90 days to replace Tsvangirai in accordance with their party constitution.

This may be an influence of a lack of philosophy or ideology which political parties may religiously abide by, with or without the founding father. Fragmentation of the MDC party resulted, due to individual ambition to occupy the driver's seat, amongst the powerful leaders, since there was no clear succession plan in preparation for a life after Morgan in the opposition.

Though it is any person's freedom to affiliate with any political party of their choice, the problem that has resulted in the above scenario seems to have been that of ring fencing those of one's political view as human beings. This has parochialized the discourse on Human Rights, Workers rights and Women Rights (which are of course human rights), such that it has become difficult to have fair representation of the concerned individuals in terms of coverage. Since journalists employed by the state broadcaster appear to have been those from a line associated with the state, coverage of opposition party members whose rights were violated appears to be absent in government newspapers, radio and television. Violations of the rights of women affiliated to the ruling party as well, seems to be absent in the media that is sympathetic to the opposition, and their analysts seem to be silent when those are broken.

This seemingly has resulted in relativism when dialoguing about fundamental issues. Talks on Women rights apparently gravitate towards firstly answering the question 'which woman?' The most recent case would be the case of Mary Chiwengwa, the wife of the Vice President Constantine D.G. Chiwengwa who has caught the sympathy of ordinary observers more than it has triggered voices of women advocacy groups, who seemingly are vocal when women in the opposition party of their choice have their rights violated.

Other women like Thokozane Khupe who was verbally and physically abused by youths and other women affiliated to a faction within their opposition party, to the extent of nearly being torched within a hut at Morgan Tsvangirai's homestead, during the funeral, did not get much coverage as was the case of Jestina Mukoko's near death scenario during the Mugabe era. The case of Linda Masarira, the president of LEAD, also proves this relativism and partiality that characterise the Zimbabwean terrain. When she endured physical abuse at the hands of the state as secretary of the National Railways Workers' Union, which was then affiliated strongly to the MDC, analysts, women rights groups and scholars with the same slant, broadcasted her to hit international headlines.

As soon as she started supporting Thokozani Khupe who was elbowed out from the opposition due to what she terms, tribalism and misogyny, Ms. Masarira endures verbal abuses from body shaming, sometimes by leading journalists like Hopewell Chin'ono (his distasteful comment '*enda unogeza*- go and bath comment) after Linda had clarified her position on how sanctions are detrimental to the ordinary Zimbabwean, in support of the report of the UN Special rapporteur Alena Douhan.

Thus, neutrality, impartiality and non-alignment seem to be rare qualities for the civic society including the church, and this has seriously contributed to the toxicity within the Zimbabwean religio-political space. When all political rallies in which women and youths are used as fodder are conducted, they usually start by prayers and sharing from the Bible and end by prayer, in which reflections of the Biblical stories of villains and heroes are incarnated in the present, with preachers linking their preferred candidates with the hero figure in the Bible even though the two may be worlds apart.

There seems to be a lack of objectivity, a critical prerequisite in the assessment of the Zimbabwean socio-political landscape, among Zimbabwean scholars. For this reason, one sided positions which are sometimes motivated most probably by a calculated political correctness so as to align one's interpretation of the pericope to the dominant, mainline narrative persists. Though objectivity is difficult to attain in scholarship, since people always argue from a certain point of view, at least the presentation of the real status quo, motivated by critical observation, has to be the golden rule if at all one's study gears towards finding solutions to the problems other than simply exposing problems.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the current problems bedeviling Zimbabwe go beyond the First or Second dispensations, though to a reasonable extent, they seem to have been modified in the periods, with the ZANU PF regime apparently inheriting the tools of the *divide et impera* of the settlers, and used it for the purposes of securing their continued stay in power. This may be witnessed in siding with certain denominations, whose number continuously increase, signifying also the further rapturing of the church in Zimbabwe. On the other hand, even the major opposition political party; CCC, seems to be following the same trajectory, of siding with mainly pentecostal churches whose denominations openly porcelain the Biblical Joshua in the opposition leader Nelson Chamisa, thereby closing the space for contenders to the post of president via a democratic way, even within the party where the likes of Job Sikhala are viewed with suspicion.

The once respected Morgan Komichi, popularly known as *Baba Abhurahamu* in the opposition circle, for his unflinching resolve to abide by the principles of the MDC T party, seems to have attempted a coup on Douglas Mwonzora.

In his address on 14 June 2023, Senator Komichi seals the above by saying it is the leadership of Morgan Tsvangirai that we miss as we go for elections in August 2023. Currently there is no mood in rural areas and locations though we are 2 months away from the elections. There are no more street demonstrations as before and the government. From today onwards I am going to take the reins of MDC, we cannot let the Movement die. We will rebrand MDC. The confusion and factionalism in MDC must stop today. I therefore call upon all MDC members to come back home wherever they are.'

A staunch supporter of the Mwonzora faction interrupted him and labelled him an Adonijah of our time who announced his leadership of MDC far from the party headquarters, and trying to smuggle himself to the top post even after people did not vote for him at the party elective congress. He chose to announce this while Mwonzora was in the UK for party related business.

Later in the pre 23 August elections, Mwonzora withdrew from the election race citing gross irregularities which include an inaccurate voter delimitation report which did not agree with the 2022 census results, the barring of his 84 house of assembly candidates by the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission, who are a sign that his party is being punished for taking ZEC to court. He also cited irregularities within both the voters roll and the ballot paper, as he called on progressive parties to boycott the election instead of waiting to lament over rigged results which will obviously be in favour of ZANU PF.

2.5. INFILTRATION

Though the opposition has for long alarmed about the infiltration of their structures, the warming up to the post-Mugabe era witnessed the leaking of classified documents and information to the media, sometimes under pseudo-names, as was with the case of *Baba Jukwa*; a once famous Facebook page which exposed the internal strife within ZANU PF. in the opposition, secret service agents are said to have been planted inside their structures, and these would leak some information to the government., resulting in the latter planning ahead of the earlier, especially in the issues to do with strikes and public demonstrations. This infiltration has of late been advanced to include cyber-attacks and hacking, all tracing their expertise from the countries that the said parties

associate with; in the East or West. Thus, the crack within Zimbabwe is bi-polar; with the ruling ZANU PF part affiliating themselves with the East, especially China and Russia, the opposition associates more with the West. As party politicians associate with either East or West, Zimbabwe remains the battle ground.

2.5.1 The formation of the Citizens Convergence for Change (CCC) Party personal power cultism or a decisive way of countering infiltration?

The formation of the Citizen Coalition for Change of 24 January 2022, seems to have been a welcome move for supporters of Advocate Nelson Chamisa, whose agitation for the move on social media platforms has been simmering. Though other critics saw this as a rubber-stamping of the greatest selling out in history, as reflected for example in the speech of Blessing Chebundo, a former MDC member of parliament who lost to Blackman, and since crossed carpet to join ZANU PF. During the ZANU PF star rally to launch the campaigns for the 26th march by-elections in the constituencies which fell vacant due to mainly, recalls from the House of Assembly, Chebundo, notably the spokesperson of about ten bigwigs who were once with the opposition MDC -T party, scoffed at the idea of the formation of the CCC party, disciples of the party, disciples of the president. They read the bible in which St. Paul sent disciples to go preach the gospel to the whole world, we go yet therefore to preach the gospel of ZANU PF.

He answered two questions; as to why they decided ‘ when you build the future of your country and yourself look at where you are coming from, where you are and where you are going.... *Tavaka MDC, takaita inonzi* deep soul searching.. *Takaona hurongwa huripo, ndokuona kuti zvataichemera muna 1999*, plans for development, political stability *ndoyatiri kuona. Ko ichaya yekuti Chete Chete aita* president here?.... *Vamwe vakatiti hanzi tatengesa, tikavati* ‘ how much did we sell out?’ Comrade president, I stand here vindicated *kuti patakatoita muono uyu*, what more *ivo vaita* uproot MDC *yacho vakati yava kunzi CCC, kuita* uproot, *kubvisa ne midzi yacho yose vakati yavakunzi CCC, kukanga ne mbeu. Isu takatombosiya iriko*. We have seen in Cde Mnangagwa and his team, a leadership with wisdom, a leadership with maturity which is lacking in where we are coming from, (12.02.22. 11:40 hrs).

2.5.2 Strategic ambiguity as the cement to personal power cultism?

In their press conference of June 21 2023, two days before the sitting of the nomination court in the run up to the August 2023 harmonised election, the CCC party did not divulge the final list of candidates that would stand for the party in both the local

government seats as well as the national assembly. This was after they had spent the previous week crying out what they referred to as a rigorous internal party process vetting of would-be candidates, in their quest to flush out possible infiltration from their opponents. When asked as to why they chose to announce the names of all participants winner and losers, in their *Bereka Mwana*, operation, whereby party members had to publicly queue behind a contesting candidate of their choice, in public, CCC party leader Nelson Chamisa defined this as strategic ambiguity to protect their candidates from ZANU PF.

The leadership of that party pointed this as a method of fighting infiltration by the FAZ, an organisation believed to be used by the ruling ZANU PF to rig elections in its favour. After the process, outstanding issues resulted in some party insiders doubting the democratic authenticity of the chosen method especially when results were finally announced by the party independent electoral organ, with some of those who won the majority having been elbowed out in favour of those appointed from the party headquarters. Irregularities such as double candidacy later on resulted, with disgruntled party members filing their credentials with the nomination court, in defiance with the party headquarters.

These issues were reported in Masvingo where Chivariro and Chiwara contested the fairness of their party. Political commentators then defined this as a ploy by Chamisa to award his loyalists with positions, at the same time elbowing out his internal competitors including Tendai Biti and Job Sikhala together with their factions. This may be an issue to do with personal power establishment on one hand and strategy on the other, and under the current struggle to establish western democracy this leaves two major options in the pool; either to choose **One-man party or a One party state?**

2.5.3 Existential challenges: Contested priorities

Furthermore, there seems to be a conflict of priorities within the Zimbabwean socio-economic landscape, with the ruling government being vehemently criticised for scratching where it does not itch. With many governmental projects currently underway; the 400 million dollar Robert Gabriel Mugabe International Airport, the Gwayi Shangani Water project, the New Parliament building in Mount Hampden, the modernisation of the *Mbudzi* roundabout and the dualization of the Harare Masvingo highway, some citizens question the logic behind these choices, in a country with a critical shortage of medicines in the hospitals and a need for schools coupled by a decent remuneration of teachers and government employees.

In the newly formed Citizens for Convergence Coalition (CCC), this issue of conflicted priorities seems to dominate underground discourse, with concerned

members being fearful of airing out their grievances openly for fear of victimisation. Recently, a GoFundMe facility was launched to mobilise funds to the tune of US\$120 000.00, needed to purchase a bullet-proofed vehicle for the party president, after he was allegedly attacked in Gutu. With some party loyalists having to conduct party business using their personal resources, and by election CCC polling agents yet to receive their salaries, the issue of forwarding a car which has up to December not seen or given a feedback about, worries the

2.5.4 Vilification of political opponents

This phenomenon cuts across political parties and has of late characterised intra-party and inter-party politics. This is usually done in clinging on to political leadership though the constitutionally mandated period might have lapsed. This may be seen as was the case between Mugabe to Mnangagwa before the November 17 ‘coup,’ and the Chamisa Thokozane Khupe feud after the death of Tsvangirai, which involved congresses and counter congress as these two leaders pitted each other. In my interview with the late Minister Samuel Mudenge and the then Minister of Anti-Corruption during the Government of National Unity; Tapiwa Mashakada, reveals this. Tsvangirai dealt with his possible contender within the MDC Eng. Elias Mudzuri, in a way that Mugabe has always dealt with individuals within his party that had presidential ambitions or possibly had.

More so, the alienation that exists between the opposition and the state security apparatus seems to be the view that the latter are agents used by the ruling party in stifling the aspirations of the opposition by shrinking its political space. As the electorate mobilise itself to defend the vote, sometimes they find themselves trespassing the law on gathering with police clearance, thereby clashing with law enforcement agents resulting in some deadly clashes which led to loss of life as witnessed by the August 6 2019 shooting incident whose report is yet to be presented by the Motlanthe Commission.

2.5.5 Nepotism: ‘*Mwana wehuku anodya, ndearipo*’

The proximity one is to those with political power, seems to be linked to their proximity in unlocking lump sum economic opportunities. As the Shona adage goes; *mwana wehuku anodya ndearipo*, (literally; the closest chick to the hen gets fed), individuals with links to the influential political elite, seem to trespass protocol surrounding money and economics. Cases of local companies, owned by the relatives of politicians have been topical; A complaint in the awarding of contracts to Kudakwashe Tagwireyi, of Sakunda Holdings nicknamed *Queen Bee*, to be the sole

supplier of petroleum products, and buses for the government parastatal ZUPCO; Zimbabwe United Passengers Company, the case of Delish Nguwaya who was awarded the contract at Pomona dumpsite, have both caused stir and debate regarding nepotism which further alienates the political elite from the rest.

These seizures have also been felt in the opposition, in which political party leaders like Chamisa and Hwende were fingered as using party funds to forward their private freight businesses, with those who were outspoken about the matter as they called for transparency, either being labelled infiltrators from ZANU PF, as in the case of one youth leader, Obey Sithole who defrocked for confronting embezzlement of public funds by the political clique within the CCC.

This political elitism has also witnessed business partnerships, during the presidency of Mugabe, between officials from the MDC T, Chamisa and Hwende's freight company being contracted by Mugabe's Omega Holdings, to deliver the latter's dairy products countrywide. Thus, the political elite from across the political divide, seem to have their clique, which alienates the general public.

Post 23 August 2023 General Election, which was judged as not having followed international standards of democracy by the SADC and EU observer mission reports, the nation woke up to the shock of parliamentary recalls from the main opposition CCC camp. On at least three occasions, (23 October, 7 November and 13 November), one, Sengezo Tshabangu, who claims to be the interim Secretary general of the CCC party, wrote to the speaker of Parliament as well as the senate president and successfully recalled 34 opposition legislators from his party from both houses. When contacted for comment by a Voice of America (VOA) journalist, he lamented the issue of regionalism as it has affected their internal party processes where people from Masvingo, (the province of origin of Nelson Chamisa the opposition party president), were imposed. Tribalism was thus pointed to be a factor contributing to the failure of internal democracy in the opposition: some even lost in the primary elections, but were still imposed due to their proximity to party leaders, added Mr. Sengezo.

2.6. CADREISM

The formation of youth mobilisation groups for the sustenance of those in political office, is another noticeable feature in Zimbabwean party politics. These groups are usually deployed not only to campaign for the parties by performing such tasks as the pinning of posters around towns; but also lead crowd pulling events like demonstrations. Of late, these groupings have demonstrated what would arguably be

termed their major reason for being founded; the ring fencing and sustenance of the incumbent political leaders, seen by their instant activation when the political party leaders happen to be challenged by their opponents.

Moreso, my observation has shown that major political parties have strategically co-opted university students as a major player in their party politics. They have done this either through scholarship grants (presidential scholarship scheme which is arguably political in both ZANU PF and MDC). Major political parties have also invested in University student Unions and they have backed candidates in SRC elections. Two main formations of university students are found in Zimbabwean universities; ZICOSU and ZINASU, with the earlier seemingly aligned to the ruling party, and the later to the opposition party.

Some members of these University associations end up occupying influential roles in the political parties they are associated with, either as active politicians or ideological enablers, thereby combining their academic area of speciality and their political affiliation to earn a career. Examples of former members of ZINASU are Advocate Nelson Chamisa, the presidential candidate for the MDC Alliance in the 2018 harmonised elections, Pedzisayi Ruhanya a political analyst now based in South Africa, the late Dewa Mavhinga, once leader of the Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition, Promise Mkwanzani of the *Tajamuka Sijikile* Movement, and Blessing Zulu, a journalist working for the Voice of America News based in Washington DC.

On the other hand, ZICOSU has produced members like Tafadzwa Mugwadi, the current ZANU PF Secretary for Information, Leonah Bernard a journalist with the ZBC, and Chimombo of the Affirmative Action Group. This strategy by main political parties in Zimbabwe makes them influence public opinion both within and outside the country in that the professionals they capture are placed in offices that make them work in signages whereby they all feed into each other along their partisan lines. When there is some politically motivated violence, foot journalists report and take photos, broadcasters interview contact them on air for updates, political analysts and civic society groups are called in to comment ,and the narrative is thus sealed according to the perspective of their signage.

Inter-generational clashes

Youths from across the political divide seem to feel alienated from political offices by the older generation. In the MDC Alliance, especially after the death of Tsvangirai, generational consensus was forwarded in support of the candidacy of Nelson Chamisa by the younger generation, who envisaged him as the embodiment of the same, who represents the wishes and aspirations of the people inclusive of the young; E.N.

Machimbira, generational consensus is a Pan African phenomenon, (newsday march 19 2018). In ZANU PF, the rise of the Generation 40 (G40) faction, which pressured for the instatement of the under 40s in influential positions also witnesses this phenomenon following the incapacitation of Mugabe due to old age.

For the youths in MDC T, the death of Tsvangirai was the occasion to rise to the influential positions of control within the party. Young people, keenly defining themselves as a vital cog in political and economic transformation, demanded apart from the chance to lead, but also to be equipped with skills and resources necessary for success, to engineer a seismic shift of the mindset from servitude to masters of their own destiny. The barrier of ageism and elitism and entitlement agitates the youth who feel alienated by the old such that they demand to be treated as equals.

The campaign for generational consensus among the youths, in which they reached a resolution to back one another during intra-party elections. The older generation seems to be harbouring a sense of entitlement in holding political offices, since some of them are first generation founders of the same political movements. This has seen voting being compartmentalised, with the youths siding with fellow youthful candidates, and the older ones moving out of the same parties as they feel unwelcome and elbowed out.

In ZANU PF, the youths too seem to be suppressed from participating in primaries of key constituencies, by party orders from above, which resulted in the imposition of older candidates. This was the case in relation to Mr. Godwills Masimbirembwa and Gomwe in relation to the Harare Metropolitan constituency, John Mapurazi and Dhala Ncube in Kwekwe central constituency, with the young Dhala being ordered by the party to pave way for Mapurazi. Thus, there seems to be no hand-over and take over in the manner of transferring party legacy by the older to the new generation, with one generation viewing the other as a threat such as forming organisations consisting of their agemates, possibly to avoid clashes with the older generation.

Teacher organisations and Trade Unions are also divided on the lines of party political affiliation, with organisations such as ZIMTA seemingly supporting the ruling government, and PTUZ and ZCTU seemingly aligning with the opposition.

Friction between the diaspora community and those in Zimbabwe

There seems to be some rift between Zimbabweans in the country and those in the diaspora. This rift seems to centre around importance; which of the two groups is contributing more to the welfare of the country. Further tracing the matter, there seems to be some determination by most Zimbabweans that their destiny is outside the country. Hence the diaspora dream; especially the America and European dream is

pursued by the young and the old, since they are convinced that their greener pastures lie in the foreign land. The majority of those who have travelled abroad, especially to Europe, consists of asylum seekers, some of whom forward political persecution as the sole reason for fleeing their country. Some go as far as conniving with medical practitioners, to choreograph medical reports, involving at times the removal of their teeth, in an endeavour to substantiate that they are victims of political violence.

These doctors will later on be paid when asylum of the concerned applicant sails through. In a country like the United Kingdom for example, frequent demonstrations at the Zimbabwean embassy in London, especially when a government official visits the country, by some Zimbabweans, are the order of the day. Closer scrutiny, witnesses that the status of the diasporan in terms of being a holder of the residence documents in the UK, determines participation in the arranged demonstrations and vigils. Those without documents protest the most, and once they obtain the documents as activists, they seem to vanish from the scene. New faces seem then to grace new successive demonstrations. The sacrificing of the image of one's country for one's pocket and individualism as a survival tactic, which emerges as imaginary, ends up being real, and so further alienates some Zimbabwean diasporans from their motherland.

Moreso, alienation further manifests itself between some Zimbabweans in Zimbabwe and those in the diaspora. Analogically likening the situation to that of the post-exile period in which the sons of the exile under Ezra rose to prominence over their counterparts who remained in Jerusalem and did not go into Babylonian exile. This rift even amounts to the issue of celebrating each other's fate as was witnessed when about 100 diasporans were deported from the UK in July 2021. Social media memes together with sarcastic advice were sent by Zimbabweans in Zimbabwe to those in the diaspora.

This is also the case when diasporans go for holidays to meet their families, and tensions are usually reported which made some resolve not to go. This has also gone as far as incorporating children, with those based in the diaspora, most having adopted foreign accents and languages, having to be viewed as now mimicking some superiority over the ones growing up in villages. Instead of there being a corridor for development, with those in the diaspora bringing the expertise back home for the sake of sharing with their fellows so as to uplift the standards, some diasporans even feel to be more British and therefore different, since their civil documents testifies so.

However, statistics from the ministry of finance indicate that between January and April, 2022, official diaspora foreign currency remittance stood at US\$ 630 million, the highest compared to the five previous years, (zwnews.com, accessed 26.5.22, 13:25 hrs).. The diaspora thus sustains the country economically, even though infrastructural development, with massive construction of residential houses both in

urban and rural areas taking place. Those in the country still think that they are custodians who remain more superior than those that are outside. This fragmentation therefore leads to nothing but lack of cohesion and single purposiveness on the direction of the country.

My observation is that the diverse perspectives of the two groups come out on social media where those in the country accuse those outside for contributing to the current status quo by not returning back to vote during elections, yet waiting to comment on the situation as keyboard theorists. Likewise, the perspective of Zimbabweans in the diaspora are distinct depending on where they reside and how their societies have helped them reflect on their motherland. More or less similar, the perspective of Zimbabweans in the urban areas of Zimbabwe is different from the ones in farms or rural areas.

Given that leading politicians; visible and invisible; have co-opted influential personalities and public opinion shapers, to forward their agendas and ideologies, absorption of especially grey material as sources of academic information. These include charismatic preachers, journalists and newspaper column writers, who have employed not only the Bible to rally the public behind their client, but other contemporary techniques utilised in forwarding soft power. The appointment of a youthful pentecostal prophet, Hubert Angel, a Zimbabwean based in the United Kingdom, as the ambassador at large to Europe and America by president Mnangagwa, has been received with mixed feelings from among the social media fraternity.

With some especially affiliated to his religious movement, at the same time affiliated to the opposition political party scoffing at it, some have interpreted it as the eureka moment of the president in appointing men of God to important offices, as divinely inspired. This may possibly be a divide and rule approach by the president, as has already been noted on social media comments after this appointment, already hinting how likely this strategy is going to work for the positive since it stretches to the aspect of legitimacy of the appointer which has been a major dispute since the 2019 harmonised elections. Comments like; 'Zimbabwe will rise now that the great prophet of God is in leadership', 'go *papa* go the sky's the limit', and the number of likes and loves, on handles and platforms which usually are characterised by gloomy emojis, may be a pointer to this endorsement.

Divine election versus election rigging

The phenomenon of election manipulation and rigging, seems to be multifaceted and rampant in almost all political parties. It seems to even start before intra party and inter party elections in the form of vote buying, voter intimidation and ballot stuffing among other things. Even in the electoral processes of individual political parties, violence at

times characterise the order of the day as bigwigs mobilise the youths to fight from their corner. At national level, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission, (ZEC), has been accused more than once, of manipulating election outcomes in favour of ZANU PF. Concerned parties seem to have lost confidence even regarding ZEC officials, some of whom are said to be state security agents. The recent voter's roll database whose soft copy leaked into the hands of 'Pachedu', a social media group sympathetic to the opposition, resulted in a huge roar, as rigging was pointed out already through the strategy of voter displacement.

For one commentator, 'there has never been a free and fair election in Zimbabwe since the year 2000.' This has resulted in low voter turnouts as has been witnessed in the previous by-elections of 26 March and May 2022. From 27 May to 31 May 2023, voters were invited to inspect the voters roll after the delimitation exercise was done, with the final report having come out on 20 February 2023 under the statutory instrument (SI 2023-014 Proclamation 1 of 2023, (www.veritaszim.et node National Voters Roll Inspection Centres (accessed on 12.06.2023)).

Senator Douglas Mwonzora of the MDC T is the only presidential candidate who had misgivings with the delimitation report as he saw it as part of ZANU PF's multifaceted rigging machinery. He even approached the courts in a bid to stop the president from pronouncing the date to hold the 2023 harmonised elections, to which he received a backlash from the supporters of the main opposition party; CCC, whose heavy weights, former members of the MDC party a major opposition, lamented election rigging in favour of ZANU PF and proposed electoral reforms before forthcoming elections. This leaves one to wonder the extent to which personal power cultism runs deep in Zimbabwean politics.

Easter 2022 witnessed the visit of the praesidium to the prophet Emmanuel Makandiwa Church in Chitungwiza. Makandiwa's address during the said day, witnessed an uproar on social media and in the streets, as the majority of comments condemned the prophet for siding with the ruling party which is envisaged as responsible for the suffering of the masses. Makandiwa commended the president for the projects he is spearheading in Zimbabwe, and told him that these works speak for themselves such that there is no need for campaigning come election period in 2023. He also commended the approach of quiet diplomacy which is the stance of the president, who keeps on working hard even in the midst of excessive criticism. For him, the divine election of the president seems undoubtable and criticism; justifiable or not is simply a side show.

[\(https://nehandaradio.com/2022/04/17/easter-buddies-makandiwa-lavishes-praise-on-mnangagwa-blasts-his-critics/\)](https://nehandaradio.com/2022/04/17/easter-buddies-makandiwa-lavishes-praise-on-mnangagwa-blasts-his-critics/)

Post August 2023 harmonised elections, the issue of vote rigging and other election malpractices was topical with the SADC extraordinary Summit held on 31 October

and 4 November 2023, expected to issue a statement especially after a controversial report by the SADC election observer mission which seems to have condemned the election as a sham. On the 31st of October 2023, the interim Secretary General of the main opposition party whose president claimed to be the winner, was interviewed at the National television (ZBC), during 20:00 hrs news hour.

When asked whether their party was rigged, he said ‘we rigged ourselves because we failed to respect the dictates of internal democracy as the alternative government. We did not field and sponsor election observers in all polling stations, just as we had candidates imposed on the people during party primaries, a clear violation of election protocol.’ His comments made some to blame him as having been bought by Zanu pf, a claim which he rejected as he emphasised that he was out to cleanse their party from within.

Voter exercise and civil responsibility

Apart from the contestation that exists amongst supporters of different political formations both intra and across political parties, there seems to be a chasm between the citizens who vote and those who do not vote at all, and who are not convinced that their vote can do much. The number of those who have lost faith in the possibility of elections to change things for the better, seems to be on the rise due to negative factors which amount to the state’s failure to respect election outcomes.

Election participation and confidence in the voter exercise was elsewhere a subject of rigorous research, which led R.J., Herrnstein and C. Murray, (1994: 257) to conclude in the America context that political participation, especially voting, was an outcrop of civility, the latter of which is more of a product of intelligence and education, apart from being so much influenced by socioeconomic status:

“A study of older children-approximately 400 high school students set out to determine the importance of intelligence, contrasted with socioeconomic status, as a factor in political development.” The survey questions tapped a wide range of political behaviours and attitudes. From the responses, scales were constructed for fourteen political dimensions. The youngsters were characterised by an overall measure of socioeconomic background, plus separate measures of parental education, family wealth, media exposure, and a measure of verbal intelligence made available from school records. To a remarkable degree and with only a few exceptions, each of the political dimensions was most strongly correlated with intelligence. This was true of scales that measured political knowledge, as would be expected. But the bright youngsters were also much more aware of the potentialities of government and the duties of citizenship-civility again. A multivariate analysis of the results individually.

In other words, their study concluded that the more intelligent a person was, the more they would engage in civil responsibilities such as voting. The Zimbabwean situation seems to manifest otherwise, in that even amongst young adults who vote, most of them seem not being personally informed about their choices: some are frog marched to go and vote, others are influenced by the section of the media at their disposal. In all this, the struggle between information and disinformation seems unclear to most voters. This is especially felt when the opposing sections of the media feed their audience anything inclined to their orientation for instance in issues surrounding the socio-economic meltdown, the opposition incline media hammers on corruption as the major cause, with youth being directed to go and vote so as to remove the corrupt ruling government.

On the other hand, the media which is sympathetic of the ruling party will be pushing the narrative of the effects of comprehensive sanctions on Zimbabwe as the reason, with the youths being compelled to go and vote so as to retain the ruling party and desist from siding with the puppets of the West who are presented as the ones who called for the illegal embargo.

The invisible external hand which controls multinational conglomerates, has also been pointed as responsible for destabilising the economy every time the date of the next general election is announced, resulting in the local currency drastically losing value. The media which is sympathetic to the ruling system then spreads that this is due to economic sabotage meant to effect regime change, as voters are directly made to suffer difficulties so that they may blame the ruling government and so vote them out of office. Barely does one hear a balanced analysis of the detrimental effect of the twin ulcers that have ushered in the current socioeconomic decay.

This bickering and politicking of political parties has thus added on to voter apathy and passivity in political participation by some section of the citizenry. This is especially seen in the turnout to voter registration exercises as well as turnout at the polling stations for actual voting. Recent statistics from the Zimbabwe Elections Commission (ZEC), show that only 2,189 new voters registered to vote in the August 2023 harmonised elections. This is especially worrying given the percentage population of young adults who reached the majority age five years after the previous election, in a country where the youths constitute the highest percentage population.

Some old time voters have voted once or twice, and have since given up due to various reasons. According to one such voter; IP2, who only voted once since he turned 18, and is now in his late 40s, *'kuenda kunovhota kupedza nguva sezvo pasina kana chinombochinja. Better kutonotsvaga hangu mari pane kuswera ndichitsva nezuva ndiri mu line rekuvhota kwacho.'* (Casting the ballot changes absolutely nothing. I opt

to continue hustling for money to survive on election there instead of spending the whole day exposed to the scorching heat for nothing).

2.7. POWER AND PATRONAGE IN CIVIC SOCIETY

Morgan Tsvangirai's 'Free Zimbabwe, Mugabe must go' Campaign mantra resulted in the formation and activation of Civic Society Organisations who also shared the same objective. Donor funding for such organisations as the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union, (ZCTU), the National Constitution Assembly (NCA), the Progressive Teachers Union (PTUZ), and later on, the *Tajamuka Sijikile* Movement, increased sharply. Paradoxically, the unwillingness to cede power in these organisations is also noticeable. It seems that the mentality of personal power cultism is also a reality such that even after two decades, some of their founder presidents still remain the same since the inception of their movements; Raymond Majongwe of Prof. Lovemore Madhuku of the and Promise Mkwanzani, to mention but a few.

Of late, this has resulted in intense power contestation in the main opposition party, where a faction believed to be sympathetic of former bigwigs who were outmanoeuvred by the youthful Chamisa, seem to be firing shots as seen in the recalls of elected officials from local government right to the senate. This is especially done in the name of fighting tribalism that has resulted in candidate imposition by party top leadership, leading to the disgruntlement of those who feel to be the rightful candidates who by now depend on their personal coffers to fund for their campaigns.

The missing link

Moreso, there seems to be a missing link between academia and the government, as witnessed in the little or no adaptation of solutions arrived at by academic field research, either in the government's crafting of national policies to meet the country's objectives, or in promoting further research. At day end, what is critically researched after much sweat and toil, ends up in archives with very little material getting to be implemented practically, for the intention of changing lives for the better.

This is to a greater extent evident especially in the area of Humanities, specifically Biblical Studies which seems to have been relegated to third position at a time when the academic rhetoric seems to be putting much emphasis on Sciences over other disciplines, with the famous STEM program having paid much emphasis on physical sciences, evidently an influence of globalisation which puts the word at one level, paying little attention to the stages at which some nations are in their development. This has doubly affected both the nation since the findings of Social Sciences,

contextual to Zimbabwe, remain at the periphery, with real Zimbabwean problems left unaddressed, as leaders strive to move with the world.

At day end, some scholars end up making social media their major source of research since it is the one that is readily available, with no in-depth analysis too regarding the fundamental dynamics of both information and disinformation. Some seem to end up writing for a living whereby they write not only on the real status quo, but on anything that can make them acquire funding elsewhere to further not only their career, but the future of their families. Thus, the lack of seriousness by the government in regarding with esteem all researchers as well as justly remunerating them, and budgeting for research in all disciplines especially those to do with topical social dynamics, has resulted in the implementation of policies inconsistently, apart from reducing some scholars to adopt the dog whistling approach. This too is fragmentation of the state from its minds as some scholars write in order to be accepted, resulting in a careful selection of material and subjects which will make them acquire funding from foreign scholarship foundations.

The truth they write then ends up serving them since they write what their handlers want to read. Thus, of the three theoretical definitions of truth; truth as correspondence, truth as coherence and pragmatic truth, scholars of this calibre opt for the coherence path, which is in line with the acceptable narrative, which sometimes blindfolds itself to a broader picture correspondingly found on the ground. Furthermore, this deficiency is also witnessed by the deafening silence of political scientists and public administrators on the Zimbabwean socio-political scene. Instead, lawyers are evidently the ones on the forefront in Zimbabwean political parties.

Political correctness and scholarship

In the area of Bible and politics, just as other areas concerning public opinion, some scholars seem to be careful around issues to do with political and academic correctness, by intentionally choosing to pin research with popular narrative as propagated say by social media. The making of social media the basic source of information is noticeable in the deficiency in objective analysis and critical interrogation of the status quo with the endeavour being the application of the Biblical message. This is especially seen in the treatment of such pericope as Rom. 13:1-7, which has been expounded above, manifest an over-reliance on social media and a skin deep adoption of positions. Though social media offers an unavoidable chunk of grey material in one's academic research, it may not be the primary one in assessing the status quo, given that it is a vehicle of both information, misinformation and disinformation which are heavily invested in by those in the background.

Most media houses are driven by some agendas ranging from regime changing to regime sustenance, as seen by twitter and Facebook pages such as Varakashi for ED and the Solution Tower, which heavily support president Emmerson Mnangagwa and the leader of the CCC Nelson Chamisa respectively, together with their invisible handlers. Likewise, the audience of these platforms is varied, with ghost accounts probably created by the same page administrators, posing to represent the citizenry.

Even among the genuine account holders, the extraction of personal point of view in terms of opinion over a matter that might be under deliberation, is difficult since most comment in search for likes, or put their likes on those positions with most people liking. In addition, most of the citizens on social media platforms are in the diaspora, and may be using a second hand perspective in dealing with issues on the ground. Facebook platforms like ZimEye, Bust stop TV, Varakashi 4ED, noticeably block individuals who might be holding a different opinion from what they want to feed their audience with.

This leaves some people with the option of either not commenting, or going with the flow so as to avoid being removed from these platforms. This all brings to question the issue of freedom of expression and opinion, and how genuine all major political parties are in promoting the same. Thus, the search for real public opinion on social media, though to be relied on in search for grey material, may not be the best to go around issues since apart from the difficulty in extracting the identity of the account holder, their expertise over an issue as well as their proximity, remains shady.

The controversy even becomes stronger, when the concerned artists, like Comic Pastor (real name Prosper Ngomashi), who was recently brought to task by his followers on Facebook after pausing for a photo with Collins Mnangagwa, the son of president Mnangagwa. After the backlash, the comedian held a live broadcast on 13 May 2022, during which he questioned why critics do not condemn with similar measure the conduct of prominent opposition politicians most of whom are lawyers, who represent ZANU PF politicians in court over serious allegations of corruption. Tendai Biti represented Gideon Gono, Job Sikhala represented Didymus Mutasa and Nelson Chamisa represented Zuva Holdings in retrenching its workers without benefits.

The weaponization of topical, sensitives

By this I mean that in Zimbabwe, there seems to be a tendency by some to hijack and ride on topical and sensitive issues mainly for some personal or parochial agendas. Issues surrounding gender, race, tribe, academic qualification, war credentials, are employed as individuals either wish to gain mileage unquestioned, since questioning them will be quickly labelled the opposite of what they purport to stand for; or they want to sail unchecked. Within the ruling party, even in the army, there seems to be

the mentality by some war veterans to quickly employ their war credentials as a passport to justify either their stay in political office, or the amassing of vital economic means of production over others who are seen as not having the same war credentials. In the opposition, the approach of Dr. Thokozani Khupe and others who quickly employ the gender card, so as to block interrogation on issues to do with some miscalculated personal political moves, seems to be a weapon that is left to run along for political aggrandisement. For fear of victimisation and labelling, observers would opt for silence over chastisement. This results in weaponization that leads to labelling of the ones with a different way of viewing issues.

Another weaponized essential is centres around elections, with the opposition crying foul of rigging every time they do not perform well, but silent about the issue, when elections come out in their favour. They even hold election victory rallies, under the same system they condemn the following day if someone else comes out as a winner. This has led into voter apathy especially amongst the youths, as well as failure by long time opposition party sympathisers both within and outside the country, who since the time of the government of national unity, have been advising the opposition to push for electoral reforms, for the five years they were co-ruling with ZANU PF.

'Short-circuiting'

The 'offence' currently being committed is the breach of the theory of social evolution, whereby scholarship is dragged into judging its context basing on the progress of civilisations from elsewhere, which are more than 1000 years older than the where the nation is, and so wishes to short-circuit systems, with the endeavour of being at par with the said civilisations. This is sometimes reflected for example the financial policies in which the Zimbabwean currency is striven to be judged in terms of the US dollar, the utopia being to make it 1:1. Forgetting that America is close to three centuries old, has a huge population, has an economy based on both positive wealth and otherwise given the sad chapter of slave labour and economic wars.

In this context, I use the expression short circuiting to refer to the interruption in the evolutionary processes of the Zimbabwean society due to the negative effects of globalisation. Altbach and Knight define globalisation as involving 'the economic, political, and societal forces pushing 21st century higher education towards greater international involvement. Globalisation may not be unalterable, but internationalisation involves many choices, Geo-Jaja, M. A., Majhanovich, (2016: ix). Whilst resisting globalisation today is as futile as the 19th century candle makers attempting to resist the light bulb, its compliance per individual states may need to be taken considering the stage at which societies may be.

With especially the founding of such international bodies as the United Nations, the raising of universal targets such as the Y2K compliance, and other Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), states which are otherwise worlds apart are put on the same wavelength, with the developed countries (in the perspective of the standards they set), frog marching developing countries to appropriate universally binding resolutions even before attaining some basics, or at least pass through the phase which they passed through centuries ago. This has impacted on scholarship in that Zimbabwean scholars then concentrate on topical issues elsewhere, which might be but less topical given the context they will be writing for. Practical issues, relevant to Zimbabwe, and more urgent at this stage, may not catch the attention of funding partners, who fund according to their interests. Examples include the green revolution moved by many Western countries, whose campaign to ban fossil energy such as coal, though disadvantageous to Africa at this stage, seems to be the attention of the West, due to availability of investment in other sources of energy.

For example, sanctions on Russia due to the current war in Ukraine, and her response to them by demanding the purchase of Russian oil and natural gas in roubles, and the cutting of supply to EU countries which refused to comply, witnessed some economic changes in most western countries.

As a result, some energy ministers announced to their nations the re-ignition of thermal power stations and hence the re-adoption of coal for powering. With developed countries seemingly having this utilitarian approach even to legislation, where they repeal laws basing on their usefulness to their agenda in a given period, and the flexibility to revisit the same if needs be, Zimbabwe and other third world country who pose as recipients of deliberations which come from somewhere else outside their borders ends up nowhere.

2.8. ECONOMIC MELTDOWN

With the increase in economic hardships and unemployment, youths have been reduced to vending, with some of them giving in to drug and substance abuse. Though on the other hand also there has been a sharp increase of youth participation in economic activities such as farming, with Zimbabweans in the diaspora entering into partnership with those in the country, the economic situation seems to be hanging on a thread, with the reserve bank governor and the minister of finance being famous of the statement: the market determines the rate; which is in reference to the local Zimbabwean RTGS dollar in relation to the multi-currency system in Zimbabwe,

whose value in relation to the United States dollar seems to be fluctuating and unpredictable.

2.8.1 Churches and the economy

There are different possible assumptions regarding the goal of the churches. One option is to model the churches a profit - maximising firm; Ekelund et. al 1996, use this approach to explain the rent-seeking behaviour of the mediaeval Church. The second view is that the church behaves like a welfare maximising club; Ferrero (2008), Iannaccone (1992). The last view is that the church maximises the number of its members or market share; McBride (2010). There seems to be few churches which emphasise self-reliance on their members, as well as the payment of taxes and toll fees in Zimbabwe. The emphasis seems to be on the upkeep of individual priests, pastors and prophets.

Modern charismatic preachers go to the extent of openly preaching that the congregants should tithe directly to them since 'they eat on behalf of God' (Makandiwa). Quoting mostly from the Old Testament (OT), especially those passages to do with the upkeep of Levites as Dt. 14, 22-29; Malachi 3,8-10, the interpretations given are such that these contemporary preachers are the modern day Levites, though how they arrive at such conclusions remains questionable. Since the banking system is no longer viable due to inflation and mostly trust issues, about 2 billion United States dollars are circulating on the market, trespassing the banks, exchanging hands between the transacting public, according to statistics. The ease of doing church business following the formal established systems has not been easy for some, forcing them to also engage in illicit activities, some of which may best be qualified as corruption. Closer examination however points to the reality that it is in these illicit dealings that institutions, including churches, would continue to thrive.

Public opinion is divided regarding the reason why the economic sector is in the current state of collapse, with one part ascribing the fall to rampant corruption and monetary policies that are not investor friendly, and the other part pointing at the more than two decades old economic sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe. These parties do not agree on the nature and existence of sanctions and how they impact on the life of an ordinary Zimbabwean, with the arguments oscillating around whether these sanctions are targeted or comprehensive.

2.8.2 The churches and the parallel market

Since the Zimbabwean macroeconomic environment seems unnavigable due to the multicurrency system and the ever weakening Zimbabwean dollar, with most

congregants across churches affording contributions; tithes and offering in the local currency, the church is left with no option but to appeal to the parallel market for survival. ‘Every Monday morning, *tinonoita* offload RTGS *ratinenge tawana pazvipo zve Svondo, kuvakomana ve blackmarket*, in case mari ye Zimbabwe inoti dhakwira takaibata’: (Every Monday morning, we make sure to go and trade the local currency we collect as offertory to the parallel market. We hastily do so in case the money might further lose value in our possession).

The official exchange rate, regulated by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, Statutory Instrument 127 of 2021, which dictates the exchange rate business use when conducting operations, seems unfavourable and unrealistic to most businesses and the church. This is so partly because most businesses, about two-thirds, import most goods from neighbouring countries, in which they use foreign currency from their own sources, with no access to government free funds,

(<https://www.techzim.co.zw/2021/06/rbzs-financial-intelligence-unit-names-shames-auction-abusers/> Dzoma Garikai, June 15 2021, accessed 30 May 2022, 12:10 hrs). The contribution of the church to the economy is overlooked, with no allocation of funds for their needs; paying bills, equipment and seed for their farms, subsidies for schools, and maintenance of premises including remuneration for workers.

The government believes that those who trade in the parallel market are economic saboteurs, responsible for the manipulation of the official rate for regime change agendas. This has seen the arrest of some individuals and firms whose accounts were busted by the Financial intelligence unit and frozen since they were accused of putting the cog in the economic wheel. However, this brings about the question of positive law and the church, which leads to the questions of moral right or wrongness in relation to secular authority, as reflected in Rom. 13:3-7, which leaves the church trapped in quicksand, thereby conflicting with the state on one fundamental principle; the economy.

More so, it appears mega churches have replaced the investment sector as they are witnessing getting into partnership with companies, as well as forwarding such doctrines as seeding. The advertisement business has also been merged with some churches, where social media celebrities are hired to advertise certain churches; Mai Titi and Spirit Embassy. Still on that, leading money transfer facilities such as Ecocash and NetOne wallet have put some church biller codes on their facilities, where congregants even in lockdown are obliged to wire their tithes directly from their mobile phone accounts to their church accounts. The government has introduced the 2% tax on every transaction above 10 dollars (Z), which then becomes the money which goes to the state as tax, and this introduction has been met with outcry by the public.

Apart from the meagre taxes, to a greater extent, the economy of the country is not in the hands of the government, and compared to individual pastors and preachers of mega churches, the economy seems to be in the hands of those who 'eat in the name of God.' As a result, some government ministers have partnered the leading preachers as business partners as they relate as business partners, mutually benefiting from each other, with money and the acquiring of it from congregants, being the focus and not the compromised moral standing of some of the preachers; (Magaya and AGUMA). Though a controversial figure, by making headlines during the covid 19 pandemic, regarding corruption, sexual immorality and shady residential stands deals, Magaya is at an advanced stage in constructing a 40 000 seater mega church in Waterfalls Harare, (Tinotenda Munongo, 263times.co.zw magaya's new church to shelter 40000 people, 26 April 2022).

Recent months have also witnessed churches like the Apostolic church seeking to partner with dairy board Zimbabwe, where they sought to put their logos on every milk product (NewsDay) as a way of marketing it to their congregants. The Catholic Church has also entered into a partnership with Lobels Bakery under the wheat growers program and marketing of bread to Catholic Congregants, (*Stella mundi, building the church and community, one loaf at a time*). Some churches have also started the real estate business and so collected money from their congregants in instalments for the parcelling out of residential stands. The PHD Ministries land scandal with the diaspora community especially in South Africa's Cape Town branch is one such example.

2.8.3 Sanctions in general

Sanctions are defined as economic punitive measures imposed by a competent body to coerce the ones sanctioned for a climb down of a certain undesired position. It is an economic punishment for some political transgression. Most organisations; be they international and regional or national, have some powers to impose sanctions on whoever is threatening their foreign policy or ideology. Sanctions can be comprehensive or targeted, though sometimes there seems to be a thin line between the two. In relation to Zimbabwe, since Southern Rhodesian times to the present, at least three organisations have imposed either comprehensive or targeted sanctions. These organisations include, The United Nations Security Council, (UNSC), The European Union and the United States of America Foreign Affairs department.

Zimbabwe is however not under UNSC sanctions, but under comprehensive sanctions slapped by the UK and her western allies, whose mode of application, seems to be

summed up in the American Public Law 107-99-Dec. 21, 2001, which promulgated the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA). These sanctions approved among other things, the suspension of the relationship between Zimbabwe and international funding partners like the International Monetary Fund, (IMF) and the International Developmental Association (IDA), due to the participation of Zimbabwe in the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Land Reform and the shrinking of the democratic space, (ZIDERA, 2, 3a); <https://www.congress.gov/107/plaws/publ99/PLAW-107publ99.pdf>

The opposition forwards that Zimbabwe is not under comprehensive sanctions. Only individuals in ZANU PF and the security sector together with their entities, are the ones that are under targeted sanctions because of their role as human rights violators. These targeted sanctions are said to be in the form of travel restrictions where the listed individuals are not allowed to travel to Europe and North America.

On the other hand, the ruling party forwards the narrative that Zimbabwe is under comprehensive sanctions because of the Third Chimurenga, which saw the white minority vast land owners being dispossessed of the indigenous people's ancestral land which was redistributed to the landless black majority in fulfilment of the motives behind the liberation struggle which brought about political independence. In their bid to tussle this, the white imperialist forces sponsored the founding and operations of the opposition party MDC, to push for regime change in Zimbabwe, and install a government that was sympathetic of white monopoly interests. The ruling party thus defines the main opposition as the agenda forwarded by the enemy, which needs to be fought tooth and nail, so as to prevent the reversal of the gains of the liberation struggle. With the enactment and gazetting of the Patriotic Bill of 2023 into law, the ruling party government seeks to criminalise those who oppose Zimbabwean interests, including those who lobby for sanctions.

The Southern Africa Development Association (SADC), together with the African Union (AU), have since adopted and endorsed resolutions to push for the unconditional lifting of comprehensive sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe, with SADC setting aside the 25th of October as a holiday to mark the campaign against sanctions that were imposed on Zimbabwe by the West. In setting out the day, SADC acknowledged that the sanctions on Zimbabwe are illegal, hurt the ordinary Zimbabwean citizen since they affect the economy, and are the ones responsible for the socio-economic meltdown of the country. Within the country, the anti-Sanctions group was formed and has been camped outside the US embassy in Harare stating that they will only vacate the place after the removal of the illegal sanctions. Gallas and other outreach programs have also been organised by the organisation, with the intention of awakening the

general populace to be aware of where their real plight comes from: ‘the western imposed illegal sanctions’, in the words of Abie, the spokesperson of the group.

The illegality of the sanctions was further drummed upon by some African presidents like Cyril Ramaphosa of South Africa and Lazarus Chakwera of Malawi at the 75th UN General Assembly in 2023. This was further cemented by the speech of William Ruto the president of Kenya who on the 27th of April 2024 officiated as the guest of honour at the official opening of the 64th Zimbabwe International Trade Fair. In his words during a state organised dinner, after expressing Kenya’s support of Zimbabwe’s readmission to the Commonwealth, Ruto went on to castigate the sanctions regime:

“...I also want to state, without any fear of contradiction and for the avoidance of any doubt, Kenya’s support of the African Union’s call for the immediate lifting of the illegal sanctions against the republic of Zimbabwe. Twenty four years of sanctions is unfair, unnecessary and illegal. Those children born twenty four years ago do not understand what this is all about, the women, people in rural areas do not understand what this is all about. We say this not to be politically correct. We say this because it is the right thing to say.”
(<https://youtu.be/9jrALA0ozv8?si=HdGVYh-Zyd-tqxX9>)

The United Nations Charter and the sanctions regime

As mentioned above, Zimbabwe is not under UNSC sanctions, which makes the ruling party and SADC and the AU argue for the legality of the comprehensive sanctions which they say were unanimously imposed by a section of the world violating the guidelines of the international body. According to Art. 39 of the UN Charter, before imposing sanctions, the Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Art. 41: The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may upon Members if the United Nations to apply such measures, these may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.

In these articles the word sanction is not directly mentioned and there is also no detailed information on the definition of sanctions, the precise situations that may lead to the imposition of sanctions, the exact type of measures to be imposed and when sanctions should be lifted. Decision-making authority rests exclusively with the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) which is rather unconstrained when imposing sanctions. The international body has however imposed comprehensive sanctions in the past and most of them were in a way linked to the Cold War.

Comprehensive UN Security Council sanctions after the end of the Cold War

The United Nations Security Council established its first sanctions regime, in response to the illegitimate seizure of power in Southern Rhodesia in 1968. to date, the Council has established 30 sanctions regimes in total, concerning Southern Rhodesia, South Africa , the former Yugoslavia (2), Haiti, Angola, Liberia (3), Eritrea/Ethiopia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire, Iran, Somalia/ Eritrea, ISIL (Daesh) and Al-Qaeda, Iraq (2), DRC, Sudan, Lebanon, DPRK, Libya (2), the Taliban, Guinea-Bissau, Central Africa Republic, Yemen, South Sudan and Mali, (Subsidiary Organs of the United Nations Security Council, Fact Sheet, July 2021:1). Sanctions on Southern Rhodesia were imposed after the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by the Ian Smith administration.

The rationale of sanctions according to the Security Council is that with punitive measures, the population will suffer and will therefore stand up against its government. Thus, sanctions are a tool to remove regimes from political power, by facilitating uprisings and revolutions from the citizenry since they are the ones who feel the pressure. In some instances, this method has been effective, especially in those Member States in which there was an underlying threat to peace “war of aggression, ethnic cleansing, coup against democratically elected government. But: sanctions did not have this effect, they rather had a rally around the flag effect. ‘Comprehensive sanctions and the violation of subsistence rights.

Targeted Sanctions

Targeted here are governments, groups and individuals. The rationale behind is that Sanctions should target those actors whose behaviour is to be changed, and the population should be affected as little as possible. Since 1992, Types of sanctions: arms embargo, diplomatic sanctions, financial sanctions, travel sanctions, commodity sanctions, prohibition of import of strategic goods or luxury goods. This is not prejudicing the fact that even after castigating the regional body as useless, the opposition still writes to the same for political arbitration in the case of disputed elections and purported human rights abuses.

Article 39 and 41 of the UN Charter indirectly speaks about sanctions: it may be noted however that this lack of the direct mention of the word sanction in this Universal Charter, has complicated the way how the concept is understood especially in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe or entities and individuals linked to Zimbabwe, are also under the European Union as well as the United States of America sanctions regimes. This makes the sanctions on Zimbabwe multi-layered and complex to understand.

2.9. TO MISSION TERRITORIES FROM THE METROPOLE: MISSIONARIES OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The twining of commerce (economy), with Christianisation in the dawn of Christianity on the continent may not be underestimated. It is therefore imperative to highlight from the outset that under this section, the discourse about power, submission, dominance and control is the matrix in which the contents of Rom. 13:1-7 will be argued to have been the handmaid of the settler agenda of extending the boundaries of white monopoly capital. Important to note is the contribution of the section of missiologists who postulate that in deliberating the engagement between missionaries and mission territories, their overall objective vis a vis the new lands they evangelised in relation to the metropole, some scholars of missionary activity in Africa use the 1870 mark as the dividing line in coming up with a clearer picture. According to this view, missionaries who were in Africa before 1870 initially intended to spread the Gospel and leave the churches in the hands of local converts, including the episcopacy; control and authority. A major proponent of this view who is usually cited being the Anglican bishop H. Venn, in C.P. Williams, (1990:78), who is one of the two fathers of the three-selves formula; (self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating churches as final missionary goal). Williams concentrates his study on the aspect of self-government, or to be more precise, on the localization of the episcopate (in the words of the time: Native Episcopate).

However, these general trends of missionary policy at different stages of the 19th and 20th century towards the strategy of indigenization of the leadership, which was a very common ideal in the 19th century until the 1880s; could not resist the victorious wave of Western imperialism on the turn of the 20th century. (Exchange, Vol 19:2, September 1990). Following this thought then, it is noteworthy that the missionaries after 1870 joined the movement of traders, explorers and colonists which gravitated towards territorial expansion, and was initially linked to commerce. It is in this period that the missionary activities of denominations in Zimbabwe gave rise to the current state of Christianity, which is argued in these pages to be in a state of polarity which intentionally or unintentionally adds on to the toxicity in Zimbabwean institutions. Much attention will be paid to the post 1870 missionaries, some of whom moved from Botswana whereas others from South Africa to occupy the present day Zimbabwe some as chaplains of the occupying settler force; the Pioneer Column, and others as chaplains of traders of the British South Africa Company, (BSAC).

Historically, during the time of this expansion, Britain became the hub of industry and so looked for markets of its products elsewhere. Some historians are therefore of the opinion that the need to secure territories with which to facilitate free trade, of

excessive finished product, and from which to extract raw materials, motivated England to join France and Germany in the imperial expansion race. In making sure that this becomes a success, a lot of work was laid down, with researchers engaging in a sort of an interdisciplinary approach. Theories from science; such as Darwin's theory of evolution, greatly influenced social theorists and imperialists who saw in the 'survival of the fittest mantra', the need to write for the sake of winning public support in baking British pride.

This further had consequences on the aspect of race and religion, in that expansionism was interpreted as being fuelled by Divine Providence since Britain was actually on a divine mandate to spread the kingdom of God, with the dictates of the British kingdom and its systems as the yardstick. The kingdom of God was thus propagated in the lenses of the kingdom of Victoria.

Having influenced literature, news and scholarship, the response of the public in celebrating both militarism and British divine vocation saw zealous groups eager to go out on a mission to both preach and spread the systems of the superior. One Anglican bishop; Montgomery, is said to have been an ecclesiastical imperialist, convinced that nation, church, mission and empire should be closely linked, (2003: 4) his enthusiasm, though it achieved little success due to the politics of his day, seems to have been shared by evangelical enthusiasts such as those associated with the Keswick Conventions, the North American Student Volunteer Movement, its British arm — the Student Volunteer Missionary Union — and the Young Men's Christian Association, which fed directly in diverse bodies such as the Church Missionary Society (CMS), China Inland Mission (CIM), and the Salvation Army, (2003: 4).

Some scholars however deny that the enthusiasm of these groups was fuelled more by their growing impatience of denominational restraint and a mounting sense of global international involvement, more than by the thoughts of empire or particular ecclesiastical models, (2003: 4). Given the already mentioned point on the influence of physical sciences in the shaping of the British sense of vocation and divine duty to go out, which also fuelled imperialism, the said point may not be denied.

Who was a missionary and who sent them for mission in colonies?

Under this subtitle, it is important to locate the missionary within the perspective of going out; how they were defined by the empire, how they defined themselves and how they were defined by those who were close to them, for example and whether or not the latter shared in their mission or self-definition. J. W. De Gruchy, (2003: 217):

The emerging picture regarding missionaries is one of multiple identities, often confused and confusing... the primary image is undoubtedly that of being those God had called and sent. ... as they understood themselves, they were representatives of the King of Kings and Lord of

Lords. They were latter day Saint Pauls... they were not representatives of something new in Christianity, but representatives of an ancient tradition that had previously brought the light of the gospel to Europe. They were nineteenth century links in a chain which bound them to the apostles and were spreading across the earth, shedding light in every dark corner. Would they have gone to Greenland, India, China and Africa, facing perils unknown, if the King of kings had not called and sent them? Many of them managed to survive because they believed this. Indeed, if their theology changed at this point, if they no longer believed in either God's providence or redemptive purposes for all the world, they had a major crisis of identity...

The following pages will be concerned with exploring the second view in the light of the theme of subjugation to ruling authorities as found in the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7.

An attempt to uncover the identity of the missionaries may to a greater extent show that he was a twin of the settler, distinct however in that he sought to obtain his objectives through soft power, rather than the settler who rode on hard power. Commenting on the Pioneer Pentecostal missionaries to Africa, A. Anderson, (2005:176), holds:

we cannot separate the spiritual experiences of Pentecostals from the wider context of political and social power. The beginning of the twentieth century was the heyday of colonialism, when western nations governed and exploited the majority of the world's peoples. This rampant colonisation was often transferred into the ecclesiastical realm and was reflected in the attitude of missionaries, who often moved in the shadows of colonisers. In the nineteenth century, there was an almost universal belief in the superiority of western culture and civilization.

The above is further supported by Leon de Kock, (1996:2), who commenting within the African context, this was a civilising colonialism, that sought to inscribe in 'barbarous' Africans the precepts of a largely Protestant, Western modernity ... and to implant in their minds dreams of a 'rational', Christian community of peasant individualists drawn away from what was perceived as heathen abjection in degrading tribal conditions.

Moreso, missionary self-definition may be extracted from the tools which they used for their mission, and one such tool is their pulpit messages as well as the hymns they composed and carried along for the mission. J. W. De Gruchy, (2003: 215), hymnody may be revealing of missionary self-identity, for example, that of Rudyard Kipling 1865-1936:

God of our fathers, known of old,
Lord of our far flung battle line,
Beneath whose awful hand we hold
Dominion over palm and pine—
Lord god of hosts, be with us yet, lest we forget— lest we forget.

For heathen heart that puts her trust
In reeking tube and iron shard,
All valiant dust that builds on dust,
And guarding, calls not thee to guard,
For frantic boast and foolish word—
Thy mercy on thy people, Lord!

Coming to how missionary children viewed the vocation of their parents in the light of their contexts:

What we do know is that children of missionary parents came to have doubts – not unlike those of clergy generally– about their parents’ vocation. But not necessarily about the imperial vision and task. Indeed, many missionary children— as well as disillusioned missionaries– became key officials of the empire– educators, governors, doctors, but also entrepreneurs and traders. J. W. De Gruchy (2003: 217).

Whilst in Zimbabwe a missionary was seen by common indigenous believers as the herald of good news, it is also imperative to investigate who s/he was in the metropole. Given the strategy that they applied whilst they arrived in Zimbabwe, it is also important to evaluate what they were told to be their mission by whomever sent them. Did they have a recommended missionary strategy?

A. Porter, (2003:2), who actually spoke for missionaries? Individuals either direct from the field, home on leave, or retired; the secretaries for local corresponding committees, missionary conferences, or society headquarters in Britain; lay or clerical supporters engaged in fundraising;; or the editors of the mission periodicals? All at different times claimed to do so, and were inclined to alter their messages according to the audiences they addressed.

The manner in which missionaries both experienced the empire and interpreted that experience for others at home and overseas, varied under the shifting influences of racial perception, denominational politics, gender, class, and theological fashion. (2003: 3). Some scholars are of the opinion that the engagement of British missionaries in other territories within the empire was mutual. Not only did it erect churches in the new territories, but also revived the religious ethic in the metropole. This is also discussed within the context of imperial expansion in which metropolitan British culture was shaped. Missions were thus, not only agents for conversion but for the revival and support of the church at home, R. H. Martin, (1983:14).

Their efforts abroad stimulated religious vigour and commitment at home, (2003:3). The Anglican national church was linked to imperial expansion and individuals like bishop H. H., Montgomery may be cited as examples of such, in that he bemoaned internal fragmentation of the Anglican church between those in the metropole and those in the colonies, and compared them with Anglo-Catholics who seemed to be progressing and hence stiffening the competition.

In the case of Latin America, J. L. Mecham, (1966: 3), contends that even the antecedents of many of the political institutions of the Latin-American nations extend far back into the colonial period, so also distinctive features of the civil status of the Roman Catholic in the countries following independence originated under the colonial regime. During Spanish domination the ecclesiastical power was coetaneous with the colonial system and was deeply rooted. This affiliation of the civil and religious authorities was known as the royal patronage of the Indies, or *real patronato des las Indias*.

For W. Smith, (1802:743), missionaries to Latin America were sent by kings. Since it was in the context of resource mobilisation of the colonies that missionaries entered the race, it may be said that they complemented the efforts of the colonist armies using a different strategy all geared towards the maximisation of profits and patents for the king, queen or metropole. In his section on the causes of prosperity of new Colonies, A. Smith, (1802: 744), states that:

the colony of a civilised nation which takes possession either of a waste country, or of one so thinly inhabited that the natives easily give place to the new settler, advances more rapidly to wealth and greatness than any other human society. The colonists carry with them a knowledge of agriculture and other useful arts superior to what can grow up of its own accord in the course of many centuries among savage and barbarous nations. They carry with them too, the habit of subordination, some notion of the regular government which takes place in their own country, or a system of laws which supports it, and of a regular administration of justice; and they naturally establish something of the same kind in the new settlement.

Religion; in this case denominational Christianity helped in the setting up of the required system to enable the subordination so much required by colonists as they settled in olden day Zimbabwe

Missionaries as ready soldiers with outstanding imperial zeal?

The idea that missionaries seem to have been twin functionaries alongside settlers in forwarding the imperial agendas, goes without critics. The work of A. Porter (2004), argues vigorously for theological and metaphysical motives as the driving force for the British and American missionaries. ‘The Great Awakening’ in early nineteenth century America forged its own mission imperatives and these shared substantial theological, geographical, and personal ground with their British counterparts. By the late nineteenth century, several high church Anglican missions reflected Christian socialist critiques of capitalism inequality.

Far from being leaders, even puppets of imperialism, such missions were keen to protect indigenous peoples from the ravages of modern Western civilisation. Amid so much recent talk of textual interpellations, imbrications, and other literary manoeuvres in missionary writing, one can lose sight of missionaries as living people of faith, J.

Samson, (2006: 420). The observation by scholars like H.A., Drake that almost all superpowers in Europe felt it their turn to be another Constantine in combining religion and politics in order to control them and hence make those in the civic space and religious space as subservient to their rule', may be partly supported by how the metropole twinned missionaries and colonists as they went to new lands.

According to numerous scholars of mission, British Imperial authorities over indigenous leadership were preached to be the legitimate recipients of unquestionable subordination by locals. Even though they had survived for centuries with established systems and organised power structure, the mission of the missionary targeted to dismantle the same and consciously installed the European systems since they were convinced that such systems were ordained by God. Thus; missionary settlement, imperial security and commercial interest were associated with each other in a determined appeal to the British public and government, and in the playing down of indigenous systems which were seen as a hindrance for the agenda.

So, Duchs, (1972:648),

The Tlhaping (a tribe in Botswana), feared that missionary settlement, and above all missionary teaching, threatened the established order as realistic. The missionaries aimed at change in belief and custom; they opposed polygyny and the levirate as adulterous practices; they regarded initiation ceremonies as immoral practices; and they sought to moderate the rule of the chief by reducing much of its 'harshness'. In these ways they threatened the authority recognized by the Tswana for generations, custom handed down from father to son and religiously observed to avoid offending the spirits. Theirs was an assault on more than 'the septic overflow' of African society; it was also an attack on the rule of that society.

In such ways missionary reform threatened the Tswana order, just like the order of the tribal systems around the region, and provoked a reaction from the guardians of that order. Ultimately, in order to fulfil their mandate, they saw it imperative to overthrow the indigenous order and replace its rule. As Mackenzie in Dachs (1972:649) later acknowledged, missionary success was 'the work of conquerors'.... With the supply of water by irrigation, respect for the 'rainmaking' ceremonies of the chief waned, so that this function of his office practically lapsed. The accepted sex- division of labour also altered, as the women with their picks were joined by the men with their new ploughs in raising the crops. At the same time the new methods reduced a need for polygyny as a source of labour.

In all this, the power to which the missionaries looked was the secular force of British imperialism:

Already from the middle of the nineteenth century they called upon the British government to preserve their mission field and their hosts from Boer expansion. More than that, David Livingstone deliberately directed his efforts to the north to occupy the interior before the Transvaal settlers could 'enter their claims to the exclusion of those

of missionaries'. For him 'preoccupation was the only remedy'. ...the missionaries developed the slogan and doctrine of 'the Road to the North' as the basis of their appeal to the British government. This was initially a missionary assertion that in terms of secular politics the road along the Bechuanaland mission stations was the key to the balance of power between British colonies and Boer republics, between Afrikaner republicanism and Cape Dutch-English loyalty to the empire. So Livingstone demanded the exercise of British power to protect 'the English route to the North'. According to him, 'to ignore the rights of English residents, and the interests of English commerce was certainly most Un-English policy.'

So Mackenzie observed in 1876: 'On the whole, the old feudal power of the native chiefs is opposed to Christianity; and the people who are living under English law are in a far more advantageous position as to the reception of the Gospel than when they were living in their own heathen towns surrounded by all its thralls and sanctions.

The discovery of gold in areas like Ngwato and Matebele and Mashona lands, attracted missionaries to extend their mission there:

'We invite John [Bull]'s attention to this delicious morsel of a gold field; let him spread it like jelly over Transvaal and Free State and Bechuana countries and swallow the lot.' Beyond Bechuanaland he looked to the Ndebele, and wrote to his colleagues Thomas and Sykes: 'God grant that your advice, which Moselekatse is almost sure to follow, may lead to the bloodless and orderly opening up and the development of the resources of the Mashona gold country. The country must and will be opened up. It contains gold.'

For the missionary agenda to be successful, institutions were opened in which indigenous affluent people were taught to think and side with the settlers in the usurpation of their systems and the installation of the European ones.

Faced with resistance and sometimes persecution in the areas in which they were out to overhaul the indigenous systems, missionaries would exchange notes and hold conferences, funded by their metropolitan establishments. One such Conference; the 1910 Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, and its contribution to the fall of indigenous authority- subordination system, will be discussed below.

2.9.1 Ruling and subjugation during the age of the Pioneer Column (1890)

The momentum of missionary activity in Southern Africa is reported to have reached its apex after the historic meeting held in the Senate house at Cambridge in 1857, which resulted in the formation of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa. David

Livingstone is credited for the passionate plea, for mission work in the closing words of his presentation:

‘I know that in a few years I shall be cut off in that country which is now open: do not let it be shut again. I go back to Africa to try and make an open path for commerce and Christianity. Do you carry out the work which I have begun? I leave it with you,’ D. Livingstone (1857: 39).

Like the case of other British colonies, the mandate to occupy Zimbabwe was given to a company; the British South Africa Company, (BSAC), Just as the East India Company went to India.

Apart from being constituted by business people whose major aim was to exploit the natural resources, the Pioneer Column as an amalgamation of different players crossed from South Africa into Zimbabwe with other people of different professions in 1890, seemingly to carry out Livingstone’s instruction. D.H Barry (2022: 40) has it that a Jesuit priest was appointed chaplain of the Pioneer column. This is also true for some missionaries who were instrumental in persuading kings into accepting concessions with the settlers even if they did not understand the contents, as was the case with the missionary Robert Moffat whose instrumentality saw Lobengula giving in to the Rudd concession.

Most of the members to this column responded to the advertisements posted by the BSAC within the South African media there by putting together their resources; ammunition, horses, carts and other equipment necessary for the invasion of Zimbabwe, in return for some gold claims and land that they were promised by the company. Missionaries of different churches also hid the call and came to Zimbabwe being part of the Pioneer Column.

The role and status of missionaries in this new British colony seemed to have been multidimensional. With some scholars forwarding that missionaries came to Southern Rhodesia just as they did to British settlers who went to India to offer spiritual services only to the East India Company members, who were European settlers and their families, others are of the opinion that they were part and parcel of the colonisation mission, whose agenda was to work on the mind of the Zimbabwean using the Bible as a whipping boy.

In so doing, their agenda was to a greater extent not only the spiritual growth of the populace of the black Southern Rhodesians, but the lubrication of the colonisation agenda. The third view, arguably held by the majority of the ordinary Zimbabweans, is that missionaries came to spread the Good News of the Kingdom of God since they were responding to the God who was sending them, as seen by leaving their comforts in Europe and America into the disease infested continent of Africa.

Following Marx and Engels, (1965: 61), on the theory of dominant ideology and the dominant class, it may be said that the colonists and the missionaries twin shared and co-participated in the same task. According to Marx, 'the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas; i.e., the class with the ruling *material* force of society is at the same time its ruling *intellectual* force. Since western religion emphasises much on religion as belief, denominational Christianity may that be said to have been the ideology which was used as an *instrument* in the hands of the settler class. Apart from having political interests, the BSAC had economic interests, and the 'superiority of their dominant economic interests seem to have been maintained by ideological control, a form of control intended to foster acceptance of a capitalist social order. The processes that were involved were profound, even as they incorporated cultural control on purpose, all with the aim of preserving economic dominance. Miliband refers to these processes as 'massive indoctrination,' N. Abercrombie, (1980 :25).

The agenda was to teach locals how to read the Bible. According to C. Zvobgo, (1996:38), initially, the main objective of missionary education was religious. In order to strengthen the faith of the converts, it was necessary to enable them to read the Bible and related religious literature in the vernacular. The rationale for establishing schools in Southern Rhodesia must be understood from the broad context of missionary enterprise elsewhere in Africa. However, there seemed to have been a conflict between London and missionaries who were running these schools in some cases, possibly when it came to the issue regarding the scope. Zvobgo (1996:38), to the Missionary committee in London these schools did not justify the expense they entailed.

In defence of these schools, William West, the chairman of Methodist synod in the Gold Coast from 1858 to 1871 defended the schools which his predecessor, Thomas Birch Freeman, had started in the Gold Coast. He stated that the Methodist churches in the Gold Coast, with but one or two exceptions were the fruits of the schools: If these schools were closed and the teachers withdrawn, the churches in many places would fade away. As places for teaching English and formal school subjects, they were ineffective but as centres for moral and religious teaching, they were irreplaceable.'

Still on this, in Southern Rhodesia, Catholic Missionaries were convinced that schools were a necessary seed-bed within their evangelisation efforts. This would mean that without the founding of schools, it would be close to impossible to dislodge the African Traditional Religious values most of which were gradually handed on to the new generation as they matured. Western education therefore, seemed to have intercepted if not neutralised this dissemination of information, by introducing a new way of life to the young, most of which conflicted with their tribal values. The centrality of the Bible in the process was of particular importance.

While the settler schools were funded by the BSAC, mission schools were also receiving their allocation from the company as well, for the incentives for students, remuneration for teachers as well as the construction of schools. Thus, even though schools were for the purposes of enlightening the masses to be able to read the Bible, they were also centres of the westernisation agenda hence the concentration of resources in the crafting of fitting syllabi and the constant inspection by the Director of Education, who according to the Education Ordinance Number 7 of 19 July 1912, was empowered to close schools whose manner of operation did not satisfy him, Zvobgo, (1996: 41).

Vocational courses were also introduced in some schools in which such training in agriculture, carpentry and the like were geared towards empowering the black children to be the labour force in newly founded industries. The major textbook for the education purposes was the Bible, whose interpretation was focused on the expectations of the dispensation of that time. A pioneer of the Brethren in Christ Church at Matopo mission, Miss Frances Davidson stated that initially to enable the pupils to read and understand the word of God was the main aim of the school work and the Bible was the textbook throughout, Zvobgo, (1996: 39).

However, the above approach by Protestant missionaries seems to have been different from Catholic Missionaries especially the Jesuit and Capuchin missionaries elsewhere. These seem to have had an agenda which focused on empowering the locals and were sometimes accused of conniving with the locals for the unwitting of settler governments. In the Zimbabwean situation, the rise of Mugabe under the tutelage of German Jesuits which saw him obtaining further education and so exposing him to the world systems, is worth mentioning. Likewise, David Livingstone, (1857: 321), records that the quality of Jesuit education was praised by all in Angola, together with their thrust that local leadership be accorded the autonomy they once enjoyed during the days of independence; before the arrival of settlers.

‘All speak well of the Jesuits and other missionaries, as the Capuchins, etc., for having attended diligently to the instruction of children. they were supposed to have a tendency to take the part of the people against the government, and were supplanted by priests, concerning whom no regret is expressed that they were allowed to die out... the chief Bango has built a large two-story house close to the convent, but superstitious fears prevented him from sleeping in it. The Portuguese take advantage of all the gradations into which native society has divided itself. This man, for instance, is still a *sova* or chief, has his councillors, and maintains the same state as when the country was independent.

When any of his people are guilty of theft, he pays down the amount of goods stolen at once, and reimburses himself out of the property of the thief so effectively as to be

benefited by the transaction. The people under him are divided into a number of classes. There are his councillors, as the highest, who are generally head men of several villages, and the carriers, the lowest of free men. One class above the last obtains the privilege of wearing shoes from the chief by paying for it; another, the soldier or the militia, pay for the privilege of serving, the advantage being that they are not afterward liable to be made carriers. They are also divided into gentlemen and little gentlemen, and though quite black, speak of themselves as white men, and of the others who may not wear shoes, as blacks, D. Livingstone (1857:333).

Following the above observations therefore, it may be balanced to conclude that any conclusion of the role of missionaries is to a greater extent ambivalent. Although there is evidence of the intended role of missionaries to be on a ticket to tame the black Africans to be docile to colonialism thereby transferring allegiance from their own systems and view the Europeanising agenda as God-willed, some were determined to upgrade the locals. They did so by giving them relevant education which exposed them to world politics of that time as well as encouraged them to maintain their traditional structures and pay allegiance to their local leaders.

2.9.2 Missionaries and education

In Southern Africa, cases of clashes between the church and the state were also recorded. Especially in the education sector, governments ended up taking schools, during the cradle of the black rebellion, since mission schools were envisaged as the breeding ground for nationalist leaders, N. Etherington, (2011: 189), in the 1950s South Africa Bantu Education Act facilitated a government takeover of mission schools in an effort to curb their production of African nationalists. A critical observation however shows that to a greater extent, the country of origin of missionaries in relation to the European political scenario back home, influences a missionary's relation with the settler government as well as the indigenous people.

Irish missionaries in Zimbabwe like bishop Lamont for instance, were outspoken in favour of the colonised most probably because of the influence of the British-Irish relations of his time, which made him view relations and subordination to authority in a way that was different from how a British missionary would legitimise the authority of a British settler government and instruct indigenous people to do the same.

The above is especially noticeable when the role, character and scope of individual Jesuits who headed Kutama Mission; the seedbed of some would be Zimbabwean Nationalists, is considered. The regime of the founder of the Mission; the French Jesuit priest Fr. Jean-Baptiste Loubiere (who had been transferred to Rhodesia at the beginning of the Great War because he had fallen in love with a girl at his previous

post in Portuguese East Africa area as a punishment) and his assistant John Dambaza, assumed an almost monastic rigidity in dealing with locals, D. Smith and C. Simpson, (1981: 10).

Their thrust is said to have been other worldly, whereby converts to the Christian faith were taught to look up to heaven and have nothing to do with the status quo. To achieve that, Father Loubiere ordered the tribespeople to look upon the world outside as a pit of evil which could only be redeemed through their constant prayer. There was little room for African customs, let alone tribal religion, for the mission was nothing other than sending as many black souls to heaven as possible, D. Smith and C. Simpson (1981:10).

Moreso, clashes between missionaries and the state erupted in relation to the quality of education to be given to black Zimbabweans, and the one responsible for that between the two groups of settlers. Academic education seems to have been initially meant for European students and a few privileged black Zimbabwean students, and was to be offered in mission schools. Vocational training seemed to have been the one intended for the majority of black Zimbabweans students.

An example of this arrangement may be seen in the case of the three high schools that were built in the Jesuit run Chishawasha farm in Harare; St. Ignatius, St. Dominics, and St. Peter Claver high schools. The first two were a boys and a girls high respectively, and they were run by the Jesuits and Dominican sisters respectively. Though they were built in the midst of a Christian village with thousands of black children, they were meant for black students who came from the suburbs, since they were not allowed to mix with European students at St. Georges and Dominican Convent Harare.

Black students would further be divided with the building of St. Peter Claver where the children of poor villagers would go mainly for basic and vocational education, though black affluent schools were built on their traditional land. Whilst still in Botswana, at the Moffat Institution for instance, Mackenzie lectured Tswana students 'how the feudal and tribal system could be superseded by a general government, without loss of personal property, the unoccupied lands and the supremacy of the chiefs being the only things taken away'.

Furthermore, the earlier opening of Domboshawa and Tjolotjo industrial schools in 1920 and 1921 respectively, seems to have clarified the colonial education policy for the black students. their thrust to offer industrial courses like carpentry, building and home economics, was well calculated in terms of how far on the education ladder an ordinary black student ought to climb, and would later occupy which position in society Even though these industrial schools concentrated on practical courses, the

Bible remained a major textbook and its interpretation lay in the hands of the European school principals. This was also the situation in other mission run schools which seem to be offering academic education to the ordinary black students yet in actual fact their major text was the bible and other religious material, with the slant of the christian denomination administering the school.

In this way therefore, missionary education and evangelisation also hugely contributed to the installation of settlers as The authorities, and the watering down of African authority systems which permeated the entirety of an indigenous person's life before their advent. Mackenzie even suggested to chiefs and headmen that they adjust their rule to be 'the chief of today and not of the olden time'. For example, they might recognize the new force of economic individualism by granting to their subjects private titles to land'... In such ways chiefly power and missionary interests were shown to be contrary, pursuing perhaps incompatible ends.

Clashes amongst missionaries themselves

Expatriate missionaries had their internal clashes which greatly got transferred from the metropole to the mission territory. These clashes spilled and got adopted by locals though the latter did not have the orientation into the background of the conflicts. Unfortunately, when they adopted these fights, they allowed them to build walls amongst themselves in the name of God, yet in actual fact, it was the effects of being robbed into European conflicts, the tendencies of which run in today's denominationalism, which is defended as the expansion in the spirit. J. W. De Gruchy, (2003: 220):

But when we consider confessional differences, we begin to see how difficult it really is to talk about 'the missionaries' — no easier than to speak about the natives. Non-conformist evangelicals, Scottish Presbyterians, Anglican Evangelicals, Anglican Tractarians, Norwegian pietists, Holiness Groups, Plymouth Brethren, Irish Jesuits— each representing a different theological tradition. But the same was often true within each denominational group. Congregationalists, Baptists, and Methodists did not all share the same views either amongst themselves or within their respective circles.... This provides a reminder of the historic problem of church and state in Britain and Europe generally, and how this impacted the relationship between missions and empire. Clearly, the inherited models did not fit on the mission fields and often proved unserviceable.

The Lutheran doctrine of the two kingdoms, the Erastianism of the Anglicans, and the voluntarism of the Nonconformists made sense in those times and places where they were hard fought and won convictions. But how did one fit them into the peculiar circumstances of British colonies? Experience demanded new models, but new models could not be designed by theologians back homeland then put into effect on foreign shores. They too could only come about through decades of uncertainty, struggle, and messy politicking, and hard-nosed theological debates. To what extent then did

imperialism affect the theology of church and state of the missions and their sending churches and the traditions in which they stood?

This is supported by D.H. Barry, (2022:38) who points to a divided mission amongst the Jesuits with those of British origin serving only white settler communities and institutions, while others, of German, French and Irish origins serving the indigenous populations. Any attempt to bring these two people under one roof was taboo if not anathema.

2.9.3 Missionaries and medicine, linguistic imperialism and non-governmental organisations

According to M. Jennings, (2008: 51), missionary medicine before 1945 in Tanzania (as in Zimbabwe), was fragmented, small scale, lacking in resources and over-stretched. However, their ability to serve especially the rural populace from disease may not be underplayed. Though there are some scholars who however view their opening especially of the maternity wards and the training of more African midwives as in tandem with the aspirations of the state in having a critical need of the future labour force.

M, Jennings, (2008: 28), the image of the heroic figure of the missionary doctor or nurse permeates discourses: struggling alone against the twin evils of disease and superstition (represented by the figure of the witchdoctor) using his or her healing skills to provide a living example of Christ to save the body and convert the soul. In their promotion of western biomedicine as they castigated African healers, missionaries attacked the heart of that which cemented African societies, given the place of the indigenous doctors in culture, society and African spirituality.

L. Jackson (2005), saw in the approach of the London Missionary Society in Matebelaland ‘agents of European culture and conquest who used their struggles against indigenous healing traditions and practices as one weapon in their struggle. In tropical medicine, the working together of the state and missionaries came to be clearly seen. Missionaries were at first ill equipped in terms of medical supplies, and depended on the settler government in their dispensation of health services to the populace. Jennings, the history of the medical mission is intertwined with that of changes in western healing practices.

D. Hardiman, for Evngelicals, the sickness of Africans reflected both physical and mental contamination. Accordingly, any Godly person who understood the rudimentary principles of hygiene and sanitation was in a position to bring health to the ‘native’ by cleansing their bodies with soap and their minds with the Gospel.

Though the mission to heal had theological underpinnings, with many missionaries viewing their work as a continuation of that of Jesus, it was not without its setbacks and this is where the ugly face of denominationalism also took its toll. According to T. Ranger, (1981:263), missionary organisations like the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, had sharp divisions. The Bishop's attempt to incorporate male circumcision within a Christianised age ceremony (to be performed by the UMCA doctors) were resisted by lay medical personnel who championed a modernised agenda that called for such practices to be condemned outright.

Thus, the elevation of Western medicine and the vilification of indigenous medicines, though they had for centuries kept the indigenous people going, was another form in which the ruler-ruled, authority subjugation duality played its toll.

More so, Missionaries were agents in promoting English as the language of the elite. They did so by introducing it in high schools as they downplayed the mastery of local languages and did not hold them as prerequisite for employment after school. According to R. Philipson, R., (<https://academia.edu/resource/work/56734458>), this may be said to amount to linguistic imperialism, which is

‘a form of linguisticism, a favouring of one language over others in ways that parallel societal structuring through racism, sexism and class: linguisticism also serves to privilege users of the standard forms of the dominant language, those with convertible linguistic capital. It is *structural*: more material resources and infrastructure are accorded to the dominant language than to others. It is *ideological*: beliefs, attitudes, and imagery glorify the dominant language, stigmatise others, and rationalise the linguistic hierarchy.

The dominance is *hegemonic*, it is internalised and naturalised as being normal. Linguistic imperialism interlocks with a structure of imperialism in culture, education, the media, communication, the economy, politics, and military activities. In essence it is about *exploitation*, injustice, inequality, and hierarchy that privileges those able to use the dominant language. This entails *unequal rights* for speakers of different languages. Language use is often *subtractive*, proficiency in the imperial language and in learning it in education involves its consolidation at the expense of other languages. Four European languages have major footholds on other continents - Spanish, Portuguese, French, and English - whereas political and military defeat diminished the impact of such languages as Dutch, German and Italian. A hierarchy of languages is integral to an imperial social order, discrimination by means of language - the acquisition and use of linguistic capital - marking off privileged classes and groups from others, linguisticism being entrenched structurally and ideologically.

Since imperialism was all about profit, missionaries appear as the ambiguous forerunners of the movement which threatens (or promises) to make English, the instrument of imperialism, as the world language sharing in the above mentioned

characteristics. Though missionaries promoted early orthographies and grammars of vernacular languages, they paved the way for the hegemony of the English language and other European languages, through their employment in secondary and higher education, N. Etherington, (2011: 187).

In this case therefore, missionaries were an essential factor in the spreading of the hegemony of western culture. The force of weapons, skill in manufacturing medicines and textiles, and widespread literacy, were all implied somehow to be part and parcel of the same cultural package, T. Beidelman, (1974: 244). In addition, N. Etherington, (2011: 189), points that missionary influence and hegemony is also seen in many unacknowledged and unexamined ways, in the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that sprang into existence after World War II and who continue to play some roles in education, charitable, medical and human rights work done in the third world countries are children of previous missionary movements.

The role of missionaries in other African Regions

In an interview that I had with IP3, he expressed his position that the Christianity brought to Africa, especially to Zimbabwe, were all together a hoax. Secondly, they were fake versions of the original one which we have to glean for ourselves in the Bible. “As we were in missionaries’ schools, our teachers, most of whom were missionaries, strengthened the idea that we are to strive for heaven since this world was passing. It was only after we started to think critically that we discovered heaven to be their fabrication simply because they themselves were preoccupied with our natural resources which they were using for their betterment and for our destruction.

Ndimbokubvunza, if heaven was real, do you think the white missionary was going to bring us here for free just like that? With the way they are even keeping a vaccine for COVID 19 to themselves, true knowledge etc, surely, they would not give us heaven if it is of value or if it was real.”

The above interview is suggestive to yet another important aspect of missionary work in Zimbabwe: did Missionaries bring Christianity or western culture, religious civilization not the kerygma? Chances are high that churches were a husk that was used to conceal the kernel which was the agenda to *Europeanise*. This was the strategy of integrating the central culture to peripheral ones.

On the other hand however, some scholars prefer to exclude the missionaries from the Civilization and Commerce agenda of the Empire. According to Terence Ranger (2008:69):

As far as capitalism was concerned, Protestant missions in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century came out of the rural continental pietistic tradition which was anti-urban and anti industrial. Even many Anglicans, appalled by their experiences in slum missions in Britain,

were devoted to saving African Christians from the city experience. It was not the city but the village which was the Protestant missionary ideal. The village usually had to be invented. Porter shows that many evangelical missionaries believed that capitalism - 'civilisation and commerce' - did not necessarily advantage Christianity. Livingstone himself, who coined the slogan 'Christianity, Commerce and Civilisation', nevertheless noted that the nomadic life is very favourable to the spread of the Gospel, although it is opposed to the spread of civilisation. Other evangelicals, believing that the last days were at hand, did not think that there was time to 'civilise' or to draw indigenous peoples into commerce and industry: G. W. Brooke led a special Sudan Mission party supported by the CMS, propelled by an apocalyptic pre-millennial vision. He said in 1887:

(it is) given in the Bible that wickedness in this world will be subdued by civilisation or preaching the Gospel - until the Messiah, the prince, comes. And to hasten that time is the function of foreign missions.... I should therefore be inclined to frame any missionary plans with a view to giving the simple gospel message to the greatest number possible of ignorant heathen in the shortest possible time.

The pietist and apocalyptic orientation together with the rural origins of missionaries which impacted on their status and imperial outlook are here quoted to have contributed to the likelihood of anti-capitalistic approach of missionaries while in the missions. The response from the local populace however, shows that to a larger extent, missionary activity was elsewhere, especially in Zimbabwe, bundled and classified with colonial and imperialist agendas, and this resulted in a huge percentage of converts distancing themselves from mission churches, which they considered as whipping boys responsible for inculcating the soft power dynamic of empire which forced them to subjugated to the new master in docility. The result was therefore to introduce the alternative which promoted Zimbabwean cultural and aspirational consciousness.

2.9.4 Colour antipathy within the churches

Considering the issue of identity in British Protestantism, J. W. De Gruchy, (2003: 220), states that being British (and sometimes being Scottish), was also part of missionary identity in a way that related not only to being representative of empire, but concomitantly being different from (inherently superior to?) the missionaries of other countries, especially those not Anglo-Saxon. Whilst apartheid was held as a policy in South Africa, segregation was held in Southern Rhodesia, and this witnessed even African priests and religious being segregated by their European counterparts. Comparing missionary work in Southern Africa to the rest of the world, C. H., Robinson, (1923: 336) noted that in Southern Africa, there was an absolute and almost bitter refusal on the part of white Christians to mingle in any kind of fellowship with black Christians...

As regards individual natives, no amount of education or of culture or of that impress which the sacred ministry bestowed availed in any appreciable degree to break through this attitude of reserve and aloofness'. Even in early Pentecostalism, missionaries frequently referred in their newsletters to the 'objects' of their mission as 'the heathen', and were slow to recognise national leadership when it arose with creative alternatives to Western forms of Pentecostalism. Missionary paternalism, even if it was 'benevolent' paternalism, was widely practised country after country, white Pentecostals followed the example of other expatriate missionaries and kept control of churches and their national founders, and especially of the finances they raised in western Europe and North America. Most wrote home as if they were mainly (if not solely) responsible for the progress of the Pentecostal work there.

J. W. De Gruchy, (2003: 222):

'white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant missionaries, called and sent by God, responsible for mission boards and to home constituencies, were faced with another challenge to identity once their converts began to exercise their own ministry, for if women were often the backbone of missionary endeavour, what of those missionaries who really bore the brunt once the heroic stage was past (heroic here means) — the indigenous converts? Without these missionaries, many of them also women, the missionary advance would have been stopped at first base. They were usually far more successful missionary evangelists than the expatriates were, and they often found themselves in conflict with each other. Power relations on mission stations became a major problem and often led to the formation of indigenous churches free of missionary control. Who did they think they were? Whom did they represent? To whom were they responsible? Were questions the missionaries asked. They certainly did not represent their chiefs, nor did they represent the mission boards, the missionaries, or her Imperial Majesty. In their own minds they represented Christ.

The truth was often that the churches grew in spite of (and not because of) these missionaries, who were actually denying their converts gifts of leadership, A.H., Anderson, (2014: 13). Even in the Catholic Church, the problem of race did not only exclude the black majority from power, but also from Communion. The few blacks who were accepted were professionals and this drove a wedge within the African community, where the chosen tended to view themselves as the settler version in indigenous husks. IP5, narrated how it was impossible for Europeans and Africans to attend one Mass, and receive Holy Communion side by side:

We received the Body of Christ through a small window, whilst the priest was inside. This was clearly a policy of segregation not necessarily from the Church but from the settler government and so adopted by the European settlers who altogether stopped attending Mass after independence since the new policy was now against such kind of segregation. At first, they introduced Saturday evening Masses probably as a way of avoiding mixing with the black folk on Sunday morning Masses. When the black Zimbabweans started attending these Saturday evening Masses in their numbers, the European settlers then stopped going to Church.

Thus, though fragmentation was existent inter-denominationally, intra-denominational issues like racism alienated believers from each other. Even in religious communities, this segregation was experienced by indigenous Zimbabwean priests and nuns and it made some of them to leave consecrated life and join the liberation struggle. As the African indigenous congregation experienced segregation in the Catholic Church, the freedom fighter cause against occupation became an imperative, Divinely sanctioned, for the cause of emancipation. The generation of black Zimbabwean which experienced this segregation seems to subjugate themselves to the ZANU PF government even if their election win be disputed by the opposition, since for them they were the black emancipators, sent by God, unlike the opposition which is in cohorts with the neo-colonialists who control them remotely to fulfil their interests.

2.9.5 Indigenous founded churches as direct protest to settler power hegemony?

Moreover, while some black Zimbabweans withstood the segregation in mainline churches, others left to found their Churches that have a nationalistic flavour. It was in this vein that the 1947 Johane Marange vision, of two cockerels fighting; one black and another one white, with the black one winning over the white one, steps over it before crowing, was interpreted to mean that the black man will prevail over the war against the white settler regime. According to Mr... of the Johane Marange Church, this is even the origins of the ZANU PF logo; a black cockerel. this also seems to concur with the vision of *Johane Masowe*, formerly known as Suspensi, who had a vision in Norton where he was working as a cobbler. in that vision, He saw a white cloud in the sky with a black man's face in the centre before getting into ecstasy and enquired what that meant, before being told that the time was ripe for the backman to be at the centre stage of the Rhodesian society, (Interview with Mrs. Zanamwe, a prophetess in the *Johane Masowe eChishanu* Apostolic Church).

This is in line with what E. Chitando said, (2004:121) that the emergence of African Indigenous Churches in the region was tied to the nationalist awakening. Colonial regimes were wary of the brazen confidence of African prophets who asserted the right of blacks to worship openly and unhindered. Many colonial administrators were worried about the spontaneity characterising AICs, rightly fearing that the holy spirit could blow in the direction of armed resistance. Prophetic Utterances on the integrity of blacks coincided with the nationalistic cry that Africa belonged primarily to Africans. This therefore reinforces the point that the churches founded by indigenous people, who also gave home to Africans who were segregated against, shared the same aspirations with freedom fighters.

According to J.A. Harrill, (2011:289) the strategy to evangelise locals so as to civilise them according to the dictates of the coloniser is a common phenomenon, which may be seen for example when Japan expanded massively overseas with the mission to export among other things, its state religion (Shinto), into the occupied territories. Throughout Formosa, Korea and Manchuria, Shinto shrines were built and maintained in the same manner as in the mainland not just for the army and other Japanese residents overseas, but also of the local population as part of a Japanese “civilising” mission to eradicate the unacceptable and uncivilised” *in the foreign cultures*.

Likewise, the British Empire tried to civilise” practices and beliefs that it deemed barbaric and native” in the local populations that it colonised. British Imperialism spread its religion, (Anglicanised Christianity) less as a state policy and more as a cultural policy. The different phases of British colonialism initially involved the exploitation of trade through joint-stock companies. In other words, the British government did attempt to impose Christianity, but not in a straightforward way. Colonial administrators worked indirectly through local intermediaries and by preparatory mechanisms such as education to acculturate local populations into the English belief that the British Empire held a monopoly on morality, religion and scientific knowledge.

2.9.6 Conclusion

This Chapter has outlined the general Zimbabwean scenario which I argue to be characterised and infested by polarisation, toxicity and fragmentation. Though there are a lot of factors and points of view that may be pinpointed to be the proximate causes, these pages have argued that religion has a huge stake. The crisis then in Zimbabwe is a religious crisis; not that people are becoming secular and no longer valuing religion, but rather that for centuries, no attempt was made to observe how religion is organised in the continent of origin of its propagators, and take some notes there.

Though this attempt has been partially archived in Science, technology, fashion and other Western norms, with the West vocal about the universal application of these components in the building of a global village, there is a deafening silence on both sides regarding the serious interrogations as to how the West, especially Germany and England, have organised Christianity to the level of it becoming an institution of sense. With a population of over 80 million citizens, Germany seems to have done something in its history, to cement cohesion and avoid fragmentation which was otherwise imminent from denominationalism. One such aspect in the West was persecution which led some to flee and settle in America. But were there no other strategies that

may be adopted by Zimbabwe and hence serve the energy in striving to discover a new wheel?

This is so because though Zimbabwe professes to be at a stage of rebuilding, the mistake of paying little attention to that which seriously divides people and thus stalls the building progress, seem to be repeated as before.

Homilies are either parochially based; preachers and scholars and activists do things seemingly for either their denomination, pockets and families and not for the common good of the whole society. Some even remain relevant as long as the chaos in the country persists, and apparently do anything within their power to make sure that the narrative of the non-redeemability of the Zimbabwean situation is propagated.

This scenario is therefore followed by a follow up question; why is it like that? and this follow up question will lead to the next Chapter3; See2, which buttresses the first step of Catholic Social Teaching; See1. Since the chief position is that the residue of the colonial strategy; divide and rule still persists in the present, the question which drives the piles deeper in the next Chapter is: was the Christianity of the missionary and its role in the colony, the same as how it played out in the metropolis? If so, how has the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 contributed to its unfolding if at all it did?

CHAPTER 3

SEE II: ROM 13:1-7 IN ZIMBABWE AND SELECTED METROPOLITAN CONTEXTS

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The above exposition of the Zimbabwean context from the present going backwards intended to SEE how authority and subjugation inter-played. The following pages, subtitled SEE2, will investigate the reception and interpretation of Rom 13:1-7 side by side with selected interpretive positions, from chosen metropolitan contexts. Due to a limit in scope, isolated events in the metropole which are relevant to the theme of subjugation which was later implemented in the Zimbabwean context, directly or indirectly will also be exposed. These include the resolutions of such conferences as the Edinburg conference of 1910, the orders given to missionaries after the Berlin Conference, among others. To a greater extent therefore, the period of racing for imperial expansion in Europe and the co-opting of missionaries and the Bible in the race for colonies, will be the main focus and not the contemporary metropolitan status. The roots which necessitated the inculcation of the mantra; ‘for the queen and the country’, coupled with the Bible, which I shall argue to have been instrumental in expanding metropolitan monopoly capital to the colonies will be the main focus.

I shall here critically observe how the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 has been interpreted by different players; scholars and shapers of public opinion who include preachers and socialites on Zimbabwean social media spaces. It is however noteworthy that though the pericope under study has been widely studied in other parts of the world especially in the metropole, relatively few scholarly space has been dedicated to its intense study in the Zimbabwean context.

The available, few scholarly works seem to have dealt only with Rom. 13:1, in a way which appears to be one sided in dealing with the seemingly complicated power dynamics in Zimbabwe, as will be argued below. Focus will thus extend to the treatment of the pericope by other players like preachers, public opinion shapers and politicians. Since more church leaders of different church denominations seem to have utilised the text more than scholars, I shall also include the aspect of denominational identity in relation to political leaders in the polarised terrain of Zimbabwean party politics and the place of the recipient of the message of Rom. 13:1-7 therein.

I intentionally placed the treatment of Rom 13:1-7 in Chapter 5 and not in the Chapter which deals with the interpretive positions of different Zimbabwean players. This is so because of its status as a case study in need of considerable space as a brokerage for solutions to Zimbabwe will be vouchsafed.

3.1 ROM. 13:1-7 ON THE PULPITS OF PREACHERS SYMPATHETIC OF OPPOSITION POLITICIANS

Whilst some religious leaders directly quote Rom. 13:1-7 as they interpret its message as applicable to the current government, some have likewise used the theme of divine appointment as applicable to the leaders of the opposition. This is usually done by combining the theme of divine election with such other themes as election rigging in favour of ZANU PF instigated by the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC), betrayal by closer associates and final victory as was the case of the biblical Joseph who was betrayed by his brothers but finally became a respectable leader in Egypt against all odds.

This interpretive line is mainly towed by Pentecostal pastors, most of whom grace political rallies of the main opposition figure Nelson Chamisa, who is himself a pastor in one of the factions of the battling Apostolic Faith Mission in Zimbabwe (AFM) church, which recently split into two main factions; Apostolic Faith of Zimbabwe, and Apostolic Faith in Zimbabwe. Post August 23 harmonised elections, whose disputed results that the incumbent Mnangagwa won by 51,4 percent, against Chamisa's 48 percent, witnessed the influx of prophecies and visions mainly geared towards rallying the electorate around the legitimate president Chamisa, without losing heart. It is this rallying around that is usually depicted more like subjugating to the anointed leader, in that alternative opinion to what Chamisa stands for within their movement, is either viewed as infiltration by ZANU PF or unbridled hunger for power which seeks to subvert what God has ordained. On 22 November 2023 one, bishop Nyamakanga, gave advice to Chamisa on Chibanda Media, as he weighed in into the factional fights currently going on within the major opposition movement. Thus spoke bishop Nyamakanga:

...Advocate, we have a prophetic utterance that was uttered in 1998 by Sindi Jacobs, about the revival coming to Zimbabwe about how God is going to revive the economy, how God is going to revive the politics, how God is going to revive the church. This revival is coming in three dynamics. The first dynamic is the economic dynamic, the second one is the political and the last one the spiritual one... You are an agent of the movement in this nation. God has ordained you to bring revival in this nation. *Chisiri kuzivikanwa ne vanhu, Mwari havashandi vega asi*

vanoshanda nevanhu. Ko seyi Mwari vakada kuti Mary atakure mimba ya Jesu... (What people do not know is that God does not operate alone but with the help of human agents. Why did God ordain that Mary would carry Jesus in her womb...)why did God choose Mary or John the Baptist...

The implication of the message is that just like Mary and John the Baptist, God has ordained Chamisa to bring revival to Zimbabwe and those who are raising their concerns like the Sengezo Tshabangu faction who complain of rampant dictatorship in the opposition, are agents of the enemy. The same applies to the people who once left the main opposition to start their own political outfits like Tendai Biti, Welshman Ncube and Thokozani Khupe, who were welcomed into the new movement by Chamisa. Since he is the one who was ordained, he should not have welcomed them but should have loved them from a distance since they still harbour presidential ambitions.

This position, which is shared by most televangelists, ringfences divine election and ordination around one individual, regardless of the fact that he leads a democratic party in which everyone is free to harbour any aspiration and challenge any position at party congresses. Just like in the prime days of Robert Mugabe, having a different opinion from what he considered policy, could result in one being stoned, so is the trend in the charismatic leader Chamisa, whom his followers, sarcastically referred to as ‘the praise and worship group’, due to their readiness to ingest anything that comes from him without critiquing.

When Chamisa’s moves fail to yield results, the die hard supporters, who are the majority on social media platforms, as well find other scapegoats which they accuse as the excuse Chamisa. The common defence mechanism against anyone with a different point of view than Chamisa is always: go and start your own party’, simply implying that Chamisa is the owner of the party who can do what he wants, since he is divinely appointed as the Joshua of our time who is bigger than party collective processes, as has been shown in the party constitution presented recently at the high court, which declares him the all in all; the Chief signatory, chief spokesperson, treasurer of the party.

3.2 ROM. 13:1-7 AND PUBLIC OPINION INFLUENCERS

SYMPATHETIC OF RULING PARTY POLITICIANS

More so, the appropriation of the message of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 as referring to the current government, has been echoed by some Zimbabwean pastors of online congregations, some of whom are in the diaspora, and specialise not only in church

and politics, but are social media content creators, as well as stakeholders in the advertising and entertainment industry. One such prophet is Passion Java, a Zimbabwean charismatic preacher, based in the United States of America, whose flamboyance and youthfulness has of late attracted a considerable number of youths, who throng his bashes, recording studio, with more than a million of them following him on Social media. His message is clear and simple, 'President ED has been put in his place by God and people must re-elect him to finish his divinely appointed mandate.'

He also bases his argument of president Mnangagwa's divine appointment pointing to the numerous developmental projects that the Mnangagwa administration championed; the expansion of the main airport; the Robert Mugabe international airport, road rehabilitations on major highways, the construction of dams such as the Gwayi Shangani water project which has been on the cards since colonial times; 1912, through to the Mugabe era, but only coming to fruition now. Two peculiar aspects in this public figure, who also have wider appeal in such African countries as Tanzania, is that he claims to support and pledge allegiance only to the president, not to the political party to which he represents; ZANU PF.

Secondly, his support for the president is almost twined by his sarcasm directed towards the person of the major opposition party leader, the youthful Nelson Chamisa of the recently formed political outfit; the Citizens Coalition for Change, (CCC). Prophet Passion Java's message, against the revered opposition leader, commonly referred to as *mukomana* (freshful youth as opposed to the old *mudhara* Mnangagwa), is that he will never get into political office since the office is already occupied. This taunts the popular slogan propounded by the opposition through song and popular talk especially during rallies: *Ngaapinde Hake Mukomnana* (NHM), which literally means, let the young man (Chamisa) get into presidential office and rule.

In October 2022, a new movement; the Romans 13 Movement was founded by a youthful preacher; prophet Prince Wonderful who emphasised that it was divinely revealed to him that this pericope of Rom. 13:1b which has not yet been fully taken serious in Zimbabwe, be applied to the government of president Emerson Mnangagwa by anyone who claims to be a believer of Holy Scripture. This revelation 'seems not to take into cognisance the red flags that most have decried, especially the shrinking of democratic space and the fast pace in which Zimbabwe, which claims to be a constitutional democracy, is said to be heading towards a one party state', lamented one commentator.

3.3 PREVIOUS STUDIES OF ROM 13:1-7 IN THE ZIMBABWEAN CONTEXT

There seems to be at least four academic works on Rom. 13:1-7 studied from the Zimbabwean context that I have come across in my research. Two of these researches are not utilised at length because they more or less address the same time frames. Manditowepi (2009), addresses the utilisation of the text on the pulpit of preachers that were pro or against Mugabe during the peak of the Zimbabwean socio-economic period; 200-2009, as was addressed by Chamburuka (2009), intersection between civil power; (as opposed to spiritual power), legitimacy and popular approval, seem to be the factors that contributed in the formulation of interpretive positions by the two scholars whose works will be utilised below.

Under this section, at least two scholarly works, concentrating on two phases of the Zimbabwean context will be utilised at length; namely Chamburuka (2009) and Gusha (2020). The earlier studied Rom. 13:1-7 during the era of the Mugabe regime, and the later approached the text and its applicability in the present religio-political environment, popularly referred to as either the New Dispensation or the Second Republic, designations which seem to distinguish the ruling elite from the previous regime, though its main players.

Second Republic, here refers to the political dispensation born in 2017 ‘after a period of serious factional tensions within the ruling ZANU PF party that were threatening the security of the country.’ Noyes, (2020:III), specifies that this is thus a period of coming to power of president Emmerson Mnangagwa on the back of a military coup in November 2017, replacing president Mugabe who was in power for thirty-seven years.

The interpretation of Rom. 13: 1-7 when derived from theory

Whilst the interpretive positions of selected Christian denominations and preachers will be later tackled at length by deciphering sermons and speeches of church leaders, first to be attended to, however, are scholarly positions. To begin with, it is the scholarly position that the message of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 may best be deduced when approached from application of theorem to determine whether Paul meant exactly what stands written in the text or its opposite. Some Zimbabwean scholars, though not having written at length regarding the interpretation of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7, seem to share the opinion that Rom. 13:1-7 may best be considered an example of Passive Resistance and a weapon for the oppressed. The pericope may therefore need not be considered as it is, but the opposite of what is written in it might be what Paul actually intended for his audience, Gunda, (2021

Oberseminar contribution). There are at least two theories which are usually forwarded for this position; Bhakhitani's Double Discourse and J.C. Scott's Public and Hidden Transcript, which will be exposed below.

Scott's theory of Public and Hidden Transcripts

By Public and Hidden transcript, Scott meant that in a society of two classes; the superior and the subordinate; the lower class has two ways of engaging with the dominant class depending on whether the dominant class is present or absent. Public transcript then is subordinate discourse in the presence of the dominant whereas hidden transcript refers to the discourse that takes place "offstage," beyond observation by powerholders (Scott, 1990: 4).

This is to say that interaction between classes is basically an issue of acting; public performance required of those subjects to elaborate and systematic forms of social subordination; the worker to the boss, the tenant or sharecropper to the landlord, the serf to the lord, the slave to the master, the untouchable to the Brahmin, a member of a subject race to one of the dominant races. With rare, but significant exceptions, the public performance of the subordinate will, out of prudence, fear, and the desire to curry favour, be shaped to appeal to the expectations of the powerful. The public transcript, where it is not positively misleading, is unlikely to tell the whole story about power relations and it is also an indifferent guide to the opinion of the subordinates.

Scott's theory draws on numerous studies on peasant movements and is particular in having its roots in heavily dominated people such as African American slaves and European serfs. Orientation wise, it basically examines and investigates the subject of dominance and resistance. According to his theory, dominance and subordination have patterns which are cemented by certain aspects since time immemorial; the famous of which are religion and culture, which work in interrelationship with politics and economics. The interaction of the powerful and the dominated is thus summarised as two transcripts: the public and the hidden transcripts.

The greater the disparity in power between dominant and subordinate and the more arbitrarily it is exercised, the more the public transcript of the subordinates will take on a stereotyped, ritualistic cast. In other words, the more menacing the power, the thicker the mask (Scott, 1990:2). Furthermore, the public transcript is said to be propelled by disguise and surveillance such that the deference and consent displayed by the subordinate to the dominant is best understood as tactical in playing the fool to catch the wise. In ideological terms, the public transcript will typically, by its accommodationist tone, provide convincing evidence for the hegemony of dominant values, for the hegemony of dominant discourse.

It is designed to be impressive, to affirm and naturalise the power of dominant elites, and to conceal or emphasise the dirty linen of their rule, (Scott, 1990:18). The public transcript consists of mechanisms of public mastery and subordination for example rituals of hierarchy, deference, speech, punishment, and humiliation and ideological justification for inequalities (for example, the public religious and political worldview of the dominant elite), in order to manage the material appropriation (for example, of labour, grain, taxes), which is largely the purpose of domination. Whereas materialist analysis 'privileges the appropriation of surplus value as the social site of exploitation and resistance, our analysis here privileges the social experience of indignities, control, submission, humiliation, forced deference, and punishment (Scott, 1990:111).

In describing the hidden transcript: the off-stage engagement by subordinates in the absence of the dominant, Scott also sees it as a realm in which the subordinate expresses their anger. He points out that the articulation of anger requires language (an unarticulated feeling of anger is strictly hypothetical!) and that resistance is social (the individual resisting subject is an abstract fiction). The articulation of indignation and indigenous discourse of dignity require social space for their cultivation. The expression of anger in language, moreover, "will necessarily impose a discipline d form of it."

As "raw" anger becomes "cooked" indignation, the most resonant expression rises to the sub-cultural surface. if a particular expression of indignation and dignity "is to become the social property of a whole category of subordinates it must carry effective meaning for them and reflect the cultural meanings and distributions of power among them." Furthermore--- in contrast to much previous treatment of both Jesus's sayings and Paul's letters--- "the hidden transcript has no reality as pure thought; it exists only to the extent it is practised, articulated, enacted, and disseminated" (Scott, 1990: 118-119).

Two requirements are necessary for the cultivation of a hidden transcript. One is a "social space insulated from control, surveillance, and repression from above" (Scott, 1990:120-123). It is especially difficult for slaves to create and defend such sequestered spaces. Many peasantries already have relatively autonomous social spaces in their village communities with which the dominant do not interfere except to collect taxes or to further humiliate and subordinate those who fail to pay up.

Elites of course may deploy loyal retainers to keep the sites which are often won only through resistant struggles (Scott, 1990:124-133). The second, particularly if subject people's indignity is to be transformed from "raw" to "cooked," is the role of active human agents who cultivate and disseminate the discourse (Scott, 1990:123-124). Such carriers of the hidden transcript are often people who have become displaced and marginalised, which has perhaps made them unusually sensitive to fluctuations in the

fortunes of the subordinate and less vulnerable to the power that the dominant still wields over ordinary peasants or slaves (Horsley, 2004:10).

More so, if the hidden transcript is to give birth to a movement beyond local venting of indignation, moreover, a third component emerges in the discipline and infra-politics that develops between leaders and participants. The sequestered sites in which the hidden transcript becomes more “cooked” are little centres of localised powers in their own right; they serve to discipline as well as to formulate patterns of resistance.” Thus, the hidden transcript is a social product and hence a result of power relations among subordinates' ' as they struggle to win and defend a relative autonomy “in the teeth of power” (Scott:118-119).

Still on the dynamics of the hidden transcript, Scott delineates at least four varieties of political discourse among subordinate groups (Horsley, 2004:18-19). First, the ‘safest and most public form ... is that which takes as its basis the flattering self-image of the elites. Owing to the rhetorical concessions that this self-image contains, it offers a surprisingly large arena for political conflict” that exploit the elite’s ideological justification that they rule for the benefit of the people in certain ways. A second mode of popular political discourse is the hidden transcript itself. This, moreover, is the nurturing matrix of boulder forms of resistance. Third, in the area between the first two, “is a politics of disguise and anonymity that takes place in public view but is designed to have a double meaning or to shield the identity of the actors.”

Finally, the most explosive realm of politics is the rupture of the political *cordon sanitaire* between the hidden and the public transcript. Some brave subordinate who “cannot take it anymore”, speaks truth to power.” Such “moments of challenge and open defiance typically provoke either a swift stroke of repression or, if unanswered, often lead to further words and acts of daring.” In an unusually favourable conjunction of circumstances they may also lead to a wider popular movement, even one that might pursue a revolutionary vision of ending domination and establishing a just social order (Horsley, 2004:11).

Application of the Hidden Transcript to Rom. 13:1-7: Paul as being subversive

Some contemporary New Testament scholars have applied social scientific theories to the study of New Testament books in general and the study of Jesus and Paul’s relation to the empire in particular. J.C. Scott’s theory of the Public and Hidden transcript (Coded resistance), has been recently applied to the study of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 in particular and has yielded considerably positive attention among scholars such as R.A. Horsley, N. Elliot, A. D. Callahan W. Herzog, E. Heen, C. Kittredge and L. Bormann among others. N. Elliot will be cited at length in this work to represent scholars who view J.C. Scott’s theory as the most tenable one in the interpretation of

Rom. 13:1-7. On the other hand, A. Harill will be cited below to represent those who hold a contrary position.

Elliott viewed not only Paul, but also his contemporary Philo, as making use of the theory of Hidden Transcript in Rom. 13:1-7 and in the allegorical treatise *On Dreams* respectively. In his treatise, Philo insisted on discerning the political moment as the a kind of ‘barometer’ in gauging the correct engagement strategy to be adopted by oppressed Jews in view of their oppressors: When the times are right, it is good to set ourselves against [*anthistanai*] the violence of our enemies and subdue it: But when the circumstances do not present themselves, the safe course is to stay quiet.’

Elliott views Rom. 13:1-7 as a form of hidden transcript by positing that it be read as part of an ad hoc survival strategy in impossible situations by first Century Christians and a contextual reading of the pericope is to a greater extent likely to support this understanding. On this, he finds further support from Dunn (1998:679-80), who calls it “the realism of the little people who had the most to lose” in the event of civil unrest. Here Dunn seems to have employed Scott’s hypothesis of the traditions; the official tradition which purports to stand as representative of the status quo of the dominant and the acceptance of the subordinated to this reality, followed by the subordinated as a form of a hidden transcript, (J.C. Scott:1977).

W.R. Herzog, (1994:359), weighs in on this point and states that, “Paul advises the Romans to practise the arts of resistance but in ways that will not threaten the community lodged near the heart of the Roman system of domination. He has managed to sound obedient and loyal, but he has granted nothing to the actual empire, and his apparent advice about loyalty is coded language for how to survive in an authoritarian environment [...] Paul wrote to the church in Rome with full awareness that his transcript could fall into the hands of Roman secret police or informers. So, he wrote an ostensibly innocuous public transcript in the coded and ambiguous speech of the oppressed in order to avoid detection and in order to prevent the church from falling under Roman suspicion.

According to E. Bammel, (1984:369-70), It may stem from Emperor Claudius’ expulsion of the Jews (Christian Jews included) from Rome in AD 49 and their return to Rome after AD 54, which had repercussions on both the relationship between the Jewish community and the Roman authorities and the relationship between the synagogue and the church. Another situational reason forwarded by. M. Borg, (1972: 206), is that the reason for coining Rom. 13:1-7 was because Paul may have been worried that the rising revolutionary fervour among the Jews in Palestine might affect the Church as well as the Jewish community in Rome.

For R. A. Horsely, (2004:3), while holding the material dimension of domination and subjugation in focus, Scott shows how domination operates in the interrelated area of

human feelings and passions through cultural forms of interaction in ways that make material domination possible and effective. This theory may be in line with the view that Paul's action in publicly advocating for subjugation as a 'survival tactic' within a hostile environment. Though the tendency among social scientists has been a reductionist approach in either emphasising on the material on one hand, or the emotive on the other, Scott advocates for an approach which releases both the material and the formal.

Quoting R.A. Horsley, (1987:1-19), Herzog forwards that Jesus spoke and Paul wrote within "the imperial situation" in which a colonial power has subjugated a population and continues to exploit its resources to further its own hegemonic purposes. For, in a setting where power relations are asymmetrical, it will be much more likely that the political speech of the weak will dissemble, that is; it will feign obedience and loyalty to the colonial overlords while pursuing its own hidden agenda. Here Herzog echoes some support of J.C. Scott's theory of hidden and double discourse.

Though numerous contemporary scholars of Rom. 13:1-7 seem to adopt this theory in deducing Paul's message to his audience, my position is that Paul meant what he wrote in Rom. 13:1-7. Using the Speech act theory to authenticate this claim as advocated for by J. Vorster, (1990), the seriousness of the tax institution and the strength imbued in the hierarchical stratification of imperial Rome, that Paul indirectly ordered his audience not to honour civil authorities by paying taxes as theorised by the Hidden Transcript and double discourse theories will be rebutted. J.D Hester, (1998:76) says:

Why, then, hold on to the claim for the importance of illocutionary acts? Because speech act theory takes seriously the interaction of speech and hearers in the creation of meaning. Communication is the product of the process of a 'locution' becoming illocutionary, which in turn results in a per-locutionary activity. Speech does more than convey information even with a single interlocutor; it is pragmatic, resulting in someone doing something.

Given that Paul's letter was possibly read aloud around communities possibly in his absence, what audience made of the speech, situation and content may point to something else other than posing as a hidden transcript to discourage people from paying nor subjugating to Caesar.

Untenability of the application of the Hidden Transcript to Rom. 13:1-7?

The above theory, though applicable in other fields as has been the survey in Haiti where Scott came up with the theory in the area of anthropology, it might not necessarily be said to be the case given that Paul was writing social instructions which were valued as Gospel by his audience. Studies in the internal dynamics of the first century Roman Christian Community support that the audience of Paul was constituted by common people; slaves, women, children, and the poor, who might not have had

the know-how of deciphering the hidden transcript from the public one which was performed on stage. To therefore theorise that Paul's audience understood him as saying otherwise, and hence carried home the opposite of what he wrote to them might be to stretch the pericope too far. The seriousness of the matter in question as other issues like slavery, women subordination, subordination of the flesh to the demands of the spirit, may point to the issue of Paul meaning what he wrote.

Thus, whilst Scott has opened new horizons that go a long way in understanding the dynamics at place in the power relations between the dominant and subordination, some loopholes may need to be pointed out in the application of his theory to the study of Rom. 13:1-7.

Pursuant of this matter, the context in which he came up with his theory- the study of the severely oppressed and economically disadvantaged people of Haiti in the political and especially economic spheres, may be said to be different when compared to Paul's matrix in which obviously religion and politics or at least religious and political documents had some demarcation. He might therefore be said to be reading into Paul, not reading what Paul said, hence operating in the realm of conceptual anachronism.

Though the above utilised theory; Coded Resistance appears to be sensible to a contemporary reader, it still has to be established whether the audience of Paul; the addressee of the Epistle, were conversant with this strategy. Coded resistance was said to be the strategy since the early church consisted of economically marginalised groups whose weapon then comprised tactful resistance. Here Elliot is in dispute with the New Consensus group on the constituency of the early Christian community. Elliot postulates that due to the fact of the simplicity of the Christian Gospel, for example Jesus's mission statement in Lk. 4:16-21, appealed to the poor, women, slaves and the marginalised. What however waits to be reconciled is how these probably illiterate early Christian congregations were conversant in decoding the said code in Paul's message, given that the code appears complicated for simple minds.

Scholars in "New Consensus" held the position that the Pauline congregation consisted of a cross-section of Roman imperial society, including "middle-class" individuals concerned with "status ambivalence." According to this now conventional view, Paul's congregations were populated by a cross section of first-century urban society, made up of individuals enjoying vast very different levels of wealth, legal status, education, and other status indicators. The interaction of these different indicators is supposed to have resulted, for many of Paul's contemporaries, in a profound and pervasive sense of status ambivalence (Meeks, 1983: 12).

Fundamentally, the theory of coded resistance of the poor, when applied to the first century context, to some extent fails to take into consideration other sources that point to the existence of some affluent believers who were rich and Christian. Were they

part of Paul's audience too? B.W. Winter's theory of 'Christian beneficiation of the city', (1994:3), in his famous research on the first century *politeia*, evidence that rich Christians also consisted part of the urban population who saw themselves as citizens whose responsibility was to cater for the wellbeing of their cities. This is so because the early Church was on record, teaching a civic consciousness among its members. Their new-found faith did develop new perspectives on social ethics and thereby brought 'new songs' from old melodies in the sphere of *politeia*, to use Meeks' helpful analogy.

Moreso, the theory of Coded Resistance falls short in exposing the concrete phenomena imposed by Roman authorities that needed to be fought and so necessitated Paul to adopt it as a strategy to impart on his audience. Most likely, this letter was going to be read in public with the whole believing community present in their diversity. To then say that all went away having understood the intended meaning of the 'code', might be an academic error of reading into the text, and hence the danger of applying a modern technique in literature into an ancient context of early Christian believers and their pagan surroundings.

J.A. Harrill, (2011: 281-311) is of the position that Paul's first century context has to lead us towards the pericope's meaning. He identifies two tendencies in the contemporary studies of Rom. 13 which are all geared towards explaining away the message of the passage instead of taking what Paul is really teaching. The first tendency suggests an ironic reading of Rom. 13:1-7 since Paul uses counterfeit praise that intentionally contradicts his other statements on the "rulers of this age" (1 Cor. 2,8) in order to say the very opposite of what he actually means. Thus, Paul's rhetorical irony subverts in a covert way the very authorities that the surface meaning appears to commend.

For Meeks, (1983:295), if Paul wrote "coded and ambiguous speech" in order "to avoid detection", how can contemporary readers detect this "hidden" device? Modern scholarly claims about irony or a "hidden transcript" notwithstanding, Paul's language in Rom. 13 participates in the wider ideology supporting the domination of Rome. The support goes beyond urging the payment of taxes and belongs to the moral exhortation (paraenesis) that Jewish communities had already formulated and preached in diaspora synagogues the ἐξουσία are magistrates and functionaries of the imperial government upon which diaspora Jews habitually depended for good relations particulars during the times of local opposition.

The other challenge of using Hidden Transcript in the study of Romans 13:1-7 lies to a greater extent on the failure to take into consideration historical evidence, which is sometimes abandoned for theories. F.E. Udoh (2005: 4), sees this as a common trend among NT scholars especially in constructing models based on economic

anthropological theories about the behaviour of pre-industrial peasant economies, instead of studying the facts presented about the first century economy lucidly. Thus, instead of having Rom. 13 as a point of departure, most interpreters are having the contemporary value system and judgement as the starting point, and this approach is anachronistic if not apparently misleading in trying to tap the meaning of the pericope. Paul's apparently open support of Rome's office holders offends many modern readers, and much commentary attempts to neutralise the contradiction between Paul's statement on political offices and modern Christian ethics on government.

For Harill, Paul's rhetoric deals directly with Rome's civil authority and is the only place in Paul's undisputed letters that gives explicit attention to imperial office holders. The language has perplexed biblical interpreters and has historically supported not only royal absolutism (the divine right of kings), but also totalitarian regimes. The term of leadership is specific to holding office (like *archontes* 13:3), and its administration of bureaucratic functions (like *diakonos* 13:4), or the model of cultic liturgy (like *leitourgoi* 13:6). Scott's political theory, hidden transcript, Harill contends, falls in that of advancing the hermeneutics of insinuation; a strategy of reading that neutralises Paul's seeming acceptance of Roman authority.

To some extent, J.C Scott's theory of Public and Hidden transcript theory as well as Bhakhitani's Double Discourse, may be cited as examples of what Malina articulated as the understanding of texts on the basis of social and cultural scenarios that interpreters are able to construct in their minds. Taking cognisance of the validity of the scholarly critic forwarded by a group of scholars that is opposed to the application of models in the study of the New Testament, that 'the use of models constitutes the imposing of alien and inappropriate frameworks on first-century data, Elliott, (1993a:94-95), in this context, use of social scientific models will be applied following the parameters availed by the operational description which views a model as an 'abstract, simplified representation of some real world object, event or interaction, constructed for the purpose of understanding, control or prediction,' Malina, (1983:14).

Chamburuka on Rom. 13:1-7: A theological reflection

Considering the reasoning behind Paul's authorship of the pericope; P. M. Chamburuka, (2009:191-195), exposes the scholarly debates surrounding the context of Paul's authorship, the influence of the Old Testament and the Hellenist period on the thinking of Paul, the consequence of the message and how some scholars have considered it as an interpolation. The debate regarding the nature of the authorities to as objects of subjugation by their subjects as whether it refers to physical authorities or angelic powers, as is in the debate of Cullmann, (1955:26), and Barrett (1987) has

also been articulated. This teaching, which seems to be a Paul's 'state theology', Chamburuka, (2009:195), seems to be more situational since it was written during the period of *Pax Romana*, and probably Paul would have changed his mind regarding this pericope, had he lived to experience the brutal persecution of the Church by the same authorities that he praised.

The pericope is an antithesis of Revelation 13 which describes the authorities of its time as diabolic beast, monster and anti-Christ, Bornkamm, (1986:213). On the overall, the pericope seems one-sided in praising the rulers, without giving them an ethical standard on how they ought to rule as may be found in Dt. 17-21. It is made even worse by the fact that 'Paul does not prescribe how Christians should react when faced with terror, dictatorship, totalitarianism, and tyrannical governments. Judging from a 21st century perspective, his message is one sided, incomplete, subjective, biased, exploitative, and imperialistic. In other words, Paul seemingly gave the Roman authorities and later generation of rulers a blank cheque, which is subject to gross abuse and manipulation', (2009:195). Chamburuka (2009:196), the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 was not widely quoted before 1998/9, with the formation of the formidable opposition; the Movement for Democratic Change.

It was usually quoted by court prophets such as Nobert Kunonga, Andrew Utaunashe among others, who sought to justify Mugabe regime as divinely appointed to rule Zimbabwe, unlike the opposition which was a regime change tool remotely controlled by the West. The pericope may therefore not be taken as it is since it does not support the tenets of democracy. 'Roy Musasiwa even asserts that we now live in a 'democracy' and not a theocracy, it is therefore false to say that any party or any setoff rulers are given by God because we now choose or elect the leaders as the electorate, (The Christian Voice 2009:2), Chamburuka, (2009:197).

Rom. 13:1-7 in I. Gusha 2020

After assessing the volatility of the current dispensation, I. Gusha (2020), concludes that the text of Rom. 13:1-7 'does not directly speak to church-state relations but rather should be understood in its context of Paul's time. Appropriating the text to the second Republic requires us to delineate whether the governing authorities of the Second Republic are doing the will of God or whether they are terrorising people into obedience', Gusha (2020:1). In other words, Gusha is of the opinion that for the message of the text to be appropriated to the Zimbabwean situation, the conduct of those in authority in their handling of the people they govern, is the determining factor. He cements his position by expounding on Rom. 13:3-4, which 'is a controversial issue regarding the role of the government in punishing evildoers. I. Gusha (2020:7), 'the Roman Empire of Paul's time is alien to us, but we are making it our own in the

(Zimbabwean) Second Republic. The interpretation of the pericope is thus applicable within a democratic system of government like the United States.

Critique of Chamburuka (2009) and Gusha (2020)

By forwarding that the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 be studied in its rightful context, I. Gusha has to a larger extent affirmed how contemporary disciplines can work together in this case, exegesis, historiography and social history, may go a long way in enlightening the important factors surrounded the text which impinged on its message to both the real readers and the intended readers. The importance of the world of the text is further complemented by the world of the interpreter, which was also examined by Gusha. It was in this nerve therefore, that he quoted scholars who advocate for the use of the concept of appropriation as a way of transferring the findings of the former context to the contemporary context of the interpreter.

Following the logic of the concept of appropriation, and what Gusha expounded, it may be said that adopting the world of the text to make it the interpreter's own today may be arguably not the so important task as compared to the study of the ancient world of the text in order to compare and contrast it with the contemporary world of the believers and the interpreters. In the event that Paul's world is made ours, then those in political authority today, may not be held accountable if they adopt the dictatorship of the Roman Principate, which was the political system in Rome in the first century. Conversely, if the context of the first century is studied and established as closely as possible, then the application of the pericope under study in the contemporary Zimbabwean setup may receive some enlightenment necessary for the exercise.

As will be shown below, Paul wrote his letter before the advent of political parties contesting for authority via the ballot as is the case in today's Zimbabwe. Rome was hierarchically stratified; with two main groups in society, the rulers and the ruled; patricians and plebeians respectively. These groupings, especially the one of the rulers, was concentrated around certain families which were powerful and exchanged political office amongst themselves, not through the ballot as is in today's way of electing leadership in Zimbabwe, and this impacted the economic, social, political and religious life of Rome of the first century

More so, Gusha (2020) uses the spectacles of Western democracy to judge the applicability of the message of Rom. 13:1-7 to the Second Republic. One may however be bound to ask: is this not a contradiction in Gusha's conception given the above point of appropriation and the fact that Paul wrote within the context of the Principate? Again, what makes Western democracy, one of the political ideologies among many, be the adjudicator of a pericope which was penned at a period in time during which

Rome was dictatorship as a Principate under Nero? Going by the theory of appropriation therefore, the authorities of the Second Republic who are described as terrorising citizens, may as well be said to be in tandem with the Roman authorities and hence the message of the pericope rightly applies to them.

Gusha (2020), however concludes that Paul's message would be knowledgeable in present day America, since the leaders there are the opposite of what is in Zimbabwe. Does this conclusion therefore imply that what America is today is what the first century AD was as Paul was writing, since the text was meant for his immediate context? If so, then America and her rule of law is still very far from being the model of what a contemporary democratic society would be. Apart from proving the point Gusha is pressing, the current American proves otherwise and may appropriate Rome of the first century due to some gross human rights abuses especially those perpetrated against Americans of African origin. For instance, the killing in cold blood of George Floyd by a police officer in uniform, the unjustified acquittal of Kyle Rittenhouse, a teen who killed two men during racial justice protests in November 2021.

When it comes to the study of Rom. 13:1-7 within the Zimbabwean context, there seems to be an over concentration on ZANU PF and its history, with the conduct of the personalities such as Mugabe and Mnangagwa and their human rights violations ending up being topical to the extent of stifling the supposed study of the text and politics as an institution. This institution consists not only of the power of the office bearers, but even that of politicians outside government offices, who also have the power to effect action on the domestic and foreign level.

The point is here the lack of objectivity in the analysis of the political environment, since analysts argue from their parochial corner, have converted scholarship or activism into a profession, or write to cohere to the phenomenon of political correctness. A critical focus on the opposition has been missing in the above cited scholarly works, and may need to be incorporated in an attempt to map a broader context of authority and subordination in the Zimbabwean religio-political space.

Whilst the above mentioned positions help to illumine the position of different players in the interpretation of the pericope under study, there seems to be a scholarly gap in focusing on the interpretation of the pericope during the settler colonial period, in which missionaries and politicians of that time were sharing notes in the colonisation agenda. The following section is dedicated to the study of Rom. 13:1-7 during the colonial era, with the second part of this focus pursued further in the fourth chapter where I propose an alternative interpretation of the pericope after a critical focus of how the pericope was handled in the metropole, centuries before the arrival of settlers and missionaries to the colonies.

It is noteworthy that Paul did not present his message in a liberal democratic society like America, but in the context of the Roman Principate, in which Caesar had appropriated excessive power to himself, with the Senate reduced to a functionary status and the populace (patricians and plebeians), barely included in the decision making process of the empire. If this message was appropriate for his audience in that situation, can it not also apply to systems that do not follow liberal democracy as a model, or who strive but fail to follow the political systems of their contexts?

Why then may American liberal democracy be enthroned as the only matrix in which Paul must be read? O. O'Donovan (1996:230), seems to have a response to both questions via 'the providence thesis' and the 'essence of political authority thesis'. For him, the Davidic monarchy regardless of its strengths and weaknesses is the source of political norms, and 'was not Western (Christian) liberal democracy, and therefore does not itself conform to the normative political culture broadly in continuity with the Western liberal tradition...' The error of tying the moral legitimacy of a regime to the nature of political authority, , needs therefore to be avoided, (J. Cole, 2017:175)

According to Bergmann (2013:39), appropriation of Biblical texts means that the texts are applied outside of their original historical context to give insight to new issues. Rugwiji (2020:1), adds that to appropriate is to make something that was alien to become one's own. This means that even in our context, Paul's message may still be deciphered and appropriated.

More so, In the Zimbabwean context, there seems to be a weaponization of the message of Rom. 13:1-7, which is usually arm-twisted to satisfy the political preference of the concerned interpreter and or preacher. To a greater extent, Rom. 13:1b seems to be the most quoted part of the pericope, which is then hammered upon in mobilising the hearers to tag the said leader as of divine appointment, and this is usually associated with zero questioning.

As highlighted above, some scholars have noted the manipulative tendencies that are associated with court prophets, as they seek to authenticate the legitimacy of the ZANU PF regimes, who are still in power since independence. For them, the starting point should not be the ruling authorities, but their leadership style has to pass the litmus test of functioning within the principles of democracy, for them to deserve the qualification as being divinely appointed. For Gusha, this qualification is best exemplified by the United States government, since it is the epitome of democracy.

Though this sounds contemporary, there seems to be some issues regarding such an interpretive approach. Apart from being anachronistic, whereby interpreters use the spectacles of their time in tackling the text instead of making the text the point of departure, the elevation of democracy as The political theory, and its canonisation as the yardstick of godliness, leaves a lot to be desired. Consensus may not always be

held to be the criterion for what is right and true, and therefore the issue of leaving Scripture to be scrutinised by political ideologies not vice versa.

That vital part of the interpretation of the text during colonial times, and how that impacted on the current interpretive tendencies seems lacking. Hence, my current inquiry endeavours not only to observe how the concept of authority and allegiance was handled in the preaching and teaching of missionaries, but also how it impacted on the present by setting a precedent that arguably remains the same in our time.

The above scholarly works seem to lack a comparative eye, which is inspired by an observation of how the text of Rom. 13:1-7 was studied and interpreted, from the Roman Empire and preceding empires, especially the British Empire, whose expansionist agenda ultimately resulted in the contact between the text and the Zimbabwean context. As will be argued below, the aspect of Christian denominationalism, seems to have been strategically capitalised upon by the strategists of the British Empire in the divide and rule agenda.

The outpouring of missionaries, of whom were seemingly unanimous in exhorting the populace to accept settler authority as divinely ordained, and the ultimate shunning and suppression of indigenous authority systems, was carried out with a denominational icing which never left the Zimbabwean denominational Christianity to date. Those who resisted subjugation to the settler-missionary syndicate, ended up founding their religious communities that had this resistance as their identity maker. They like the inheritors of colonial christian denominations arguably needs the same reform as will be argued below, since they seem to be stuck in a resistance against protagonists who are long gone, though the systems they left in place persist in the numerous inheritors who are using the same for their parochial benefits. Before analysing the position of selected preachers regarding the pericope of Rom. 13, a brief overview of denominational Christianity, which I shall return to in detail later, follows.

3.4 A BRIEF HISTORY OF INTERPRETATION IN THE METROPOLE

As a point of departure, the seemingly fundamental question that I raise is whether the message of the pericope only applies to one political system or to any system there is? If it applied to Nero during Paul's time, regimes which approved slavery, imperialism, and colonialism in the name of God, surely, there must be something about the pericope and its message which does not stop at office bearers or a political ideology

in use. If so, what then is the point of gravitation and in which light can Rom. 13:1-7 be interpreted as it is?

In exploring this position further, Pope Boniface VIII's 1302 Papal bull; *Unam Sanctum Ecclesiam*, and its influence down the centuries, will be explored below. However, when applied to the study of Rom. 13:1-7, this understanding of the pericope more or less in a Christological-ecclesiological way was further developed by O. O'Donovan who as mentioned above, advocated for an understanding of power and authority in the salvific historical mission and victory of Christ. O. O'Donovan's argument that the contextual study of this pericope down the centuries in the West helped in finding some common denominator between religion and politics and thus social identity for the people in the creation of nation states. He then expounds interpretive positions of key interpreters whose positions posed as ideologies in achieving social-cohesion in their respective religio-socio-politico and economic space.

It seems as if what came to be the western political thought partly has its base in the interpretations of early Christian thinkers, even though some interpreters would later on break the tradition of having the Bible as a starting point in political theory. It is however noteworthy that political participation or non-participation in Zimbabwe is wholly an issue of the Bible and Christian denominational positions. In my interviews, I gathered that a considerable number participate in politics, motivated by push or pull factors that are outside the official positions of their churches. Amongst the university going ages, the influence of Humanist theorists such as Hobbes and Nietzsche, seem to influence their approach to politics broken away from using the Bible as the starting point. Thus, chances are also high that humanist positions influenced the political positions of missionaries to Zimbabwe.

Like Tertullian, missionaries were most likely patriots who considered serving the interests of the motherlands in colonies as somehow following the doctrine of subjugation. With some interpreters viewing the king as in charge of every sphere of life, other interpreters sought to draw a demarcation between the sacred and the profane; the world of the secular and that of the church (the holy). But did Paul hold such a view of society as he wrote the pericope under study?

Directly or indirectly, Paul's exhortation in Rom. 13:1-7 has been a subject of intense grapple in both Christian East and West: Byzantium, Rome, London, Berlin and Washington, where questions regarding the nature and extent of subordination, legitimate authority ranged from the place of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches in civil affairs, the Reformation, the discourse between church and state, national identity and philosophy among others. The interpretive positions of such figures as John Chrysostom, Augustine, pope Boniface VIII, Luther, and Calvin of the pericope of

Rom. 13:1-7, in the light of Historical and contextual theology will be examined below.

3.4.1 The Patristic Age and Rom. 13:1-7

According to O. O'Donovan and J.A O'Donovan, (1999:1), The age of the Church Fathers is the age in which the church grew to strength within the context of the politically united, but linguistically divided, Mediterranean culture of the Roman Empire... The four-hundred-year long period, which saw the Church grow from its beginnings as an eschatological movement in Palestinian Judaism to a dominating position in European society, inevitably saw more change in the Church's self-awareness than any other period in history. Thus, Church Fathers may be said to have been thinkers whose thought and reflections shaped dimensions of the Church not only eschatologically, but more especially in contributing to the setting up of society using Scripture and its contextual interpretation for this purpose.

Patristic Fathers² who commented on Paul and Rom. 13 seem to have done so influenced by the schools of philosophy to which they subscribed. In at least three passages of his *Apologeticus*, (Ap 30,32,33), Tertullian interpreted Rom. 13:1-7 to be in reference to Christian subjugation to the human civil government. First to be noted is his patriotism and loyalty to the Empire with its pagan emperor, his claim that the Christian God gave the emperor the sceptre just as he gave him his breath, and that the Christian has to subjugate him since he is second to God.

In his words, Tertullian is quoted to have said 'a Christian has to subjugate to the emperor since he is enemy to none, least of all to the Emperor of Rome, whom he knows to be established by his God, and so cannot but love and honour, and whose well-being moreover he must needs desire with that of the Empire over which he reigns so long as the world stands- for so long as that will Rome endure. To the emperor therefore we render such reverential homage as is lawful for us and good for him; regarding him as a human being next to God, who from God has received all his power and is less than God alone.'

Thus, for Tertullian, the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 refers to human superior powers, regardless of them being Christian or not. Given that Tertullian was writing during the time of persecution of Christians by the sitting Emperor, he did not see these persecutions as the reason to interpret Paul's message otherwise. It might have been said that for him, Paul who was patriotic also invites believers to be patriotic, more especially the Christian leaders and preachers. This is supported by W. Parson,

² The *Patrologia Latina*, by Jacques-Paul Migne, compiled between 1841-1855, will be largely used in this section. Its English version as utilised by Parson (1940), will specifically be quoted from.

(1940:346), who held that it was noteworthy that Tertullian is placing the pagan Emperor next to God and undoubtedly, it seemed to him as a Roman patriot that this was what Paul implied, leaving his Christian theology matching his patriotism so well. Though he was a sceptic in many things, he regarded this as a providential gift which is also an instrument of God's justice.

However, it was until the Middle Ages that some interpreters constricted Tertullian's position to apply exclusively to Christian Emperors, in their interpretation of the same pericope.

Moreover, Cyprian (200-258 AD), a contemporary countryman of Tertullian saw the emperor and his functionaries differently such that he interpreted the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 not from the spectacles of patriotism like Tertullian. For him, the whole source of government is sinful and unwilling by God. He seems to have adopted the position expressed by the Roman apologist Minucius Felix (whom Tertullian had vigorously opposed), in his *Octavius*, that the origin of the Roman Empire is a great crime against mankind, (Octavius 25). Here, Cyprian seems to detest any subjugation to the emperor as a fraud, and living in the time of persecution, (wielding the sword), he did not ascribe in anyway these actions as being done by God to unleash his wrath through the instrumentality of 'his servant', emperor Decius.

In his turn, Origen too interpreted Rom. 13:1-7 in a way which was a bit different from Tertullian and Cyprian. His key to the pericope was the phrase *πασα ψυχη* (every *soul*), which for him meant that a certain group of people is here being referred to, not Christians. This is so because in his teaching, Origen made a distinction between spirit and soul, showing some influence from Plato's doctrine of the trichotomy in man: body, soul and spirit. Those who belonged to Christ are one *spirit* with him and not one soul, and souls (worldly people), are the ones who are ordered to be subject to higher powers.

Worthy mentioning also is the interpretation of Irenaeus of Smyrna the bishop of Lugdunum/Lyon, which may be said to be reflecting the views of both the Eastern and Western Christendom since he identified himself with both. In his view of Rom. 13:1-7, especially issues to do with authority, (*Adversus Haereses* 40,4), he confirms that "the earthly kingdom was established by God for the help of the gentiles... so that fearing the human kingdom, men shall not devour each other as do the fish, but by passing the laws may strike down the manifold injustice of the gentiles" (Parson, 1940:343).

Therefore, in his treatment of punishment, as implied by ("wielding of the sword" in Rom. 13:4), Irenaeus seems to be reading in Paul the influence of old Stoicism on the notion of the origins of law and society. For him, the origin of authority lay in sin, not

in any natural law or inherent tendency of man. This came from God either as a punishment or corrective measure. For this reason, the principal effect of law is fear, and it is solely coercive in its action.³

For John Chrysostom, who seems to be following Plato, the highest authorities in the Church must obey the civil powers; be they priests, monks, prophets or evangelists. (Homilies on Romans, Hom.23). Authority is there for the sake of the common good, justice and order. He however observed that in his teaching, Paul does not speak of individual kings or leaders as having been put in place by God, but rather that leadership itself was established by God, who saw it fit that there be some who rule and others who are ruled as well as they rule (O'Donovan, 1999:92), that is why the text does not say ‘ “there is no ruler except from God, but speaking of the institution: there is no authority except from God, and those that exist have been instituted by God.”

This understanding, which seems to be influenced by Plato's teaching on social subordination to another, is similar to that which is found in the natural order, and is in accord with the Greek-Christian predisposition to find in government a direct mediation of God's beneficial providence (O'Donovan, 1999:90). Chrysostom analyses Paul's argument into two parallel trends of thought, one presenting the government as a deterrent to crime, the other as a beneficial support for virtue, though probably not right as it stands, is a thoughtful reading worthy of serious engagement. Giving an analogy of marriage, he mentioned that the institution is the one which was instituted by God for the good of the spouses. This may differ however with particular individuals contracting marriages, with some intending bad instead of good. This does not however contradict the idea that marriage in itself is for the good of spouses, so is leadership.

Thus, when the Book of Proverbs says, ‘by the Lord is a woman joined to a man’, (Prov. 19,144 LXX), it means that God instituted marriage not that he joins each couple individually. For we see many badly mismatched couples joined in lawful matrimony, and we would never attribute this state of things to God. But the point Proverbs makes is precisely what Christ said; “he who made them from the beginning made them male and female, and said ,’ for this reason a man shall leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife, and the two shall become one flesh”, (Matt. 19:4-5). Thus, there should be structures of government, that some should govern, and others be governed, that things should not drift haphazardly and at random, with whole populations tossed like waves to and fro, “this I say is the achievement of God's

³ This way of interpretation was later crushed by Thomas Aquinas who was influenced by Aristotelianism which saw law as emanating from man's nature. Jean Jacques Rousseau however re adopted it and further developed it in shaping his political philosophy.

wisdom. Equality of rank often breeds strife, and that is why God made many forms of rule and subordination: man and wife, child and parent, elder and younger, slave and free, ruler and ruled, teacher and student.

Power is therefore of divine origin, whereas offices are of human origin. Authority is thus natural to man so that there be order in the society. It is the thing that we obey, not the man who holds the thing. Thus, just as society is necessary, so too is authority necessary to human nature and therefore a natural phenomenon not a conventional one (Parson, 1940: 354).

Moreso, Chrysostom, Basil and Gregory of Nysa seem to be some of the outstanding interpreters whose positions contributed to the shaping of the Byzantine Christian empire. As an empire which lasted for more than a thousand years, with stratified roles in society, and a defined hierarchy in the Orthodox Church, the place of both church and civic leaders and the duty to revere them as divinely appointed is attested. Basil's homilies on Social Justice, seems to have done the setting out of the task and were outstanding in challenging civil rulers to act justly since they were divinely appointed. According to John Chrysostom, who has been chosen here to represent Eastern Christian thinkers, the words in Rom. 13:2: "Therefore, he who resists authority, resists what God has appointed", was coined by Paul for the sole intention of responding to some amongst Christians who might have had a focus on the Kingdom of heaven, while forgetting their earthly obligations.

The mentality was, "Here we are destined to enjoy the kingdom of Heaven, yet you so belittle and demean us as to demand subjection to rulers! His argument is clear that it is not rulers but God, once again to whom we are subject. To be subject to government is to obey God, but that is not how to put it, for instead he put it the other way round, as a warning, sharpening the issue: 'to ignore the demand is to rebel against God whose institution it is.

His point seems to be that we must not consider subordinating to rulers as doing them a favour, but instead it is our duty to do so. This obligation applies to everyone, priest and monk included, not to those in secular occupations whether you are an apostle, an evangelist, a prophet, or whatever, since this subjugation does not subvert religion; be subject, he says, not simply obey" (O'Donovan, 1999:92). Thus, Paul's strategy may here be achieving a double-edged role; inculcating obedience in the believers as well as calling pagan rulers to the faith.

For there was at that time a fair amount of slander directed at the apostles, accusing them of civil disturbance and revolution, and of acting and preaching for the overthrow of the community's laws:

When you show that the master, we acknowledge, gives this charge to his people, you silence the slander of those who describe us as agitators, and you give eloquent testimony to the true teaching. Do not be ashamed, then he tells us, of this subordination. God has instituted it and will penalise disregard of his provisions effectively. The punishment for recalcitrance is not routine, but grave, and there is no plea for exemption, you will be subject to the most severe of human penalties, with no one to defend you, and you will provoke God horribly. All of which is allusively implied in the words, ‘those who resist will incur judgement. (O’Donovan, 1999:93).

Coming to the issue of the obligation to pay tax, without going into detail about the benefits accruing to cities from their governments, such as civil order, peace, public services, including those responsible for military and economic arrangements, Chrysostom makes his case entirely from this one observation:

By contributing tax, you acknowledge that you receive benefits. See the wisdom and wit of blessed Paul! The thing that seems most onerous and oppressive, the system of exactions, he takes as proof that the government provides for us. Why give tax to the king? He asks. Is the payment not a recognition of his care in providing and protecting? Yet we would never have paid had we not known from the first that such a sovereignty was profitable.

This has always been the reason for the community’s decision to support their rulers: they neglect their own private business to look after the public business, and by spending all their time on it protect our interests. Still on this, Chrysostom reinforces his point by quoting 1 Tim. 2:2. This he did to emphasise Paul’s statement in Rom. 13:7 that “authorities are ministers of God attending to this very thing”. This is their life (making people pay), this is their concern that you may enjoy peace, hence people have to subjugate and pray for leaders: for it is no minor contribution to the conditions of our present life that they make, providing defences, keeping enemies at bay, suppressing disruptive forces in political communities, affording a final resolution of all disputes. Don’t raise objections about one or another abuse of government but look at the appropriateness of the institution as such, and you will discern the great wisdom of the person who ordained it from the beginning O. O’Donovan, (1999:95). More so, Chrysostom is in agreement with the Church Fathers who saw authority as coming about due to sin, for innocence has no need for both law and authority. On this he teaches that Paul did not say ‘not without reason is there a prince’, but rather not without reason does the prince carry a sword...

3.4.2 Chrysostom Sermon on Genesis 4,2

Well aware that some would argue against his position, forwarding that they were children of the Kingdom of Heaven, Chrysostom held that obedience to authorities is

a debt since they are ministers of God and this ought to be carried out as a religious duty. Instead of pointing at leaders who make ill use of the thing, he exhorts people to look at the good order that is in the institution itself. More to the argument in support of subjugation, Chrysostom goes even further in justifying combat and warfare as long as other issues. Since leaders are also for the good, their subjects came up with pacts to protect the leader- Commenting on this, W. Parson, (1940:354) has it that civil obedience consequently is something paid not to any man but to God and in this is the essence of Christian liberty: not a complete emancipation from subjection to secular powers, but obedience to God alone though externally shown to man as God's minister.

As a representative of Eastern political thought, Chrysostom's position in rendering *hupotasso* to mean justified subordination sharply contrasts the understanding in the West as represented by Irenaeus or Lactantius who both forwarded the doctrine of Original Equality.

3.4.3 Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Augustine's conception of civil authority and Rom. 13:1-7

In his popular book, *The City of God*, (Book XIX), together with his famous treatise against heresies, Augustine expounds on his interpretation of Paul's teaching in Rom. 13:1-7. According to most contemporary interpreters and commentators, Augustine's views to a greater extent shaped Western Christian political thought as we have it today and became the foundation on which most political philosophies of the West were built upon.

According to Augustine (*CG*, XIX.17),

The distinction between the absolute commitment to serve God and the provisional, qualified assent to earthly authorities is quite clear... the Heavenly City, or that part of sojourns on earth, makes use of the earthly peace only because it must, until the mortal condition that necessitates it passes away. But the earthly city has some philosophers whose doctrine is condemned by the divine teaching. The Heavenly City has in this matter to dissent and become obnoxious to those who think differently and in so doing, bear the brunt of their anger and persecutions. The Church therefore has a pragmatic obedience to earthly rulers, an obedience that nevertheless leaves it free to disobey and to bear the consequences of such disobedience.

O. O'Donovan, (1999:104), To the mediaeval scholastics he was an authority one could not afford to be in open conflict with, an ever-present thesis to which the revival of Aristotle was the antithesis. Most confident of his support were those who proclaimed papal pre-eminence over secular authority. Only Aquinas and Luther can claim anything like comparable influence, and theirs, though profound, has weighed mainly upon the schools of thought derived from them, while Augustine's has been

much more widely diffused. In the reformation however, it was not the papalists who seized on Augustine as their own, but the reformers who welcomed the privileging of love over law, motive over form, divine inscrutability over human custom, very much in support of secular innovative and authoritarian political trends. Yet in the twentieth century again, it has been ‘liberals’ and realists, those who repudiate the illusions of idealism in politics, who have seen in Augustine a natural master of suspicion, stripping away the finery with which the crude struggle for power tends to disguise itself. And these very different appeals to his authority have all, in a measure, been right.

Diverse as their interests were, we can trace a common thread which held from different Augustinianism” together: a disinterest we may say, in worldly political surface, in autonomous constitutional properties; an eye for God’s intervening direction and judgement of secular events; a due respect for agents who respond immediately to the divine command. According to St. Augustine, it was due to the fear that his teaching on Christian liberty (Gal. 4,31; 1 Cor. 7,23) might have led some Christians to refuse obedience to secular rulers and this would have been particularly dangerous in Rome. Augustine’s ideas will be deliberated at length in the section below, which focuses on Luther, since he was heavily influenced by the same, and implemented them practically in his context.

Moreso, according to St. Jerome, Paul spoke like that due to what was happening contemporarily in which Judaizers, still expecting temporal Messiahship and following Judas Galilaeus, were rebellious toward Rome. W. Parsons, (1940:2), this passage is universal in its bearing and refers explicitly to secular governments whose power is legitimate, derived from God and they are to be obeyed with a religious obligation.

3.4.4 Pope Boniface VIII’s teaching on authority

Since the pontificate of pope Gelasius I, the use of Scripture in the justification of the superiority of the spiritual power of the church over the temporary authority of kings, has been an issue of concern. Pope Boniface VIII’s 1302 papal bull; *Una Sancta Ecclesia*, (4-5.8), taught that the papacy was the authority being referred to by Rom. 13:1-7, to whom allegiance ought to be paid by everyone including kings:

4. In hac ejusque potestate duos esse gladios, spiritualem videlicet et temporalem, Evangelicis dictis instruimur. Nam dicentibus Apostolis, ‘Ecce gladii duo hic,’ in Ecclesia scilicet, cum Apostoli loquerentur, non respondit Dominus nimis esse sed satis. [Luke 22:38] Certe qui in potestate Petri temporalem gladium esse negat, male verbum attendit Domini proferentes, ‘Converte gladium tuum in vaginam.’ [Matthew 26:52] Uterque ergo est in potestate Ecclesiae,

spiritualis scilicet gladius et materialis. Sed is quidem pro Ecclesia, ille vero ab Ecclesia exercendus. Ille sacerdotis, is manu regum et militum, sed ad nutum et patientiam sacerdotis.

5. Oportet autem gladium esse sub gladio et temporalem auctoritatem spirituali subijci potestati: nam cum dicat Apostolus, ‘Non est potestas nisi a Deo, quae autem sunt a Deo ordinatae sunt,’ [Romans 13:1] non autem ordinatae essent, nisi gladius esset sub gladio, et tanquam inferior reduceretur per alium in suprema. Nam secundum beatum Dionysium, lex divinitatis est, infima per media in suprema reduci....

8. Est autem haec auctoritas, etsi data sit homini et exerceatur per hominem, non humana, sed potius divina, [potestas,] ore divino Petro data, sibique suisque successoribus in ipso [Christo], quem confessus fuit petra firmata, dicente Domino ipsi Petro, ‘Quodcumque ligaveris,’ [Matthew 16:19] etc. Quicumque igitur huic potestati a Deo sic ordinatae resistit; Dei ordinationi resistit, [Romans 13:2] nisi duo sicut Manichaeus fingat esse principia: quod falsum et haeticum [esse] judicamus: quia testante Moyse, non in principiis, sed in principio coelum Deus creavit et terram. [Genesis 1:1]

In summary, the above papal bull declared that the supreme spiritual man; the Roman Pontiff, is superior to all authority on earth, and so cannot be judged by anyone except God who put him in the place of Peter. In fact, it is the part of the pontiff’s vocation not only to be in charge of spiritual leaders whose offices are inferior to his, but also to adjudicate when civil authority falters. Thus, the fullness of both civil and spiritual authority resides in the pope.

The above interpretation was reinforced by the doctrine of the two swords, which was again Boniface VIII’s interpretation of Lk. 22,36-38 in which Jesus asked how many swords the Apostles had and when they said they had two, he said they were enough. Boniface VIII interpreted these swords to mean two types of authority; one civil and the other religious, and concluded that these reside absolutely in the pope, the Vicar of Christ, who delegated it to the clergy who for some time had jurisdiction even in civil issues such that civil leaders took orders from them.

It was one major interpretation which was vigorously opposed by some within the Catholic Church, with the likes of Sodeleto worthy of mention. Protestant Reformers as well wrote extensively in opposition of this interpretation since it was the bedrock on which the socio-religio-politico economic order was built for centuries.

3.4.5 The interpretation of Rom. 13:1-7 in the Modern period

The main question stemming from the pericope under study during the modern period, (16th-17th Century), seems to have oscillated from those that preoccupied the discussion in the mediaeval period. With the rise of Protestantism, debate became less on whether Paul was referring to spiritual authority standing behind sitting governments or physical human beings in office without any spiritual backing. The question regarding the power of the papacy in secular affairs was predominant.

With the papists advocating for the position that the pope is the absolute authority in both spiritual and secular matters and was the one referred to by Paul as a recipient of allegiance not only from ordinary people, but also from kings and lords, the anti-pope movement either sought to relegate the authority of the pope to spiritual matters only or to all together usurp even the spiritual authority, leaving the papacy with no recognition whatsoever. The influence of Socratic apologetics was adopted by the anti-pope movement in the light of Rom. 13:1, in which the *clausula Petri* was promoted. Here the emphasis is on obedience directly to God and not to the pope who was also commanded like any other soul to subject himself to ruling authorities. According to U. Wilckens, (1989:49),

Dieser Ansatz wird dann in den reformatorischen von 1520 ausgeführt. In der Schrift. An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des christlichen Standes Besserung bricht Luther mit der These von der Überordnung der kirchlichen über die weltliche Gewalt; vielmehr habe diese in ihrem Bereich auch über alle Kleriker Gewalt: in Rom. 13:1, sei in *πᾶσα ψυχὴ* auch der Papst eingeschlossen.

Notable regarding these positions is that interpreters were not holding them necessarily along denominational lines, leaving some catholic interpreters either arguing for the total avoidance of the office of the pope in any discourse on authority, as well as other protestant thinkers arguing for the retention of spiritual authority in the papacy for example. According to D. Steinmetz, noteworthy in this development, is the issue that as the debate on the conception of which position to adopt in the 16th Century regarding the power dynamics, a going back to Augustine, Thomas Aquinas as well as other Mediaeval thinkers was employed by papalists and anti-pope thinkers, who all found the justification of their positions in the same.

Thomas de Dio, Cardinal Cajetan and Girolamo Cardinal Seripando, concluded that in Rom. 13:1-7, Paul is referring solely to secular magistrates as recipients of subjugation by every soul under their jurisdiction. Martin Luther and Jacopo Cardinal Sadoletto do not agree. Luther especially, advocates for a dualistic approach to the issue, which gives a share of the privilege to be recipients of submission in spiritual matters to spiritual leaders on one hand, and a portion of the privilege to receive subjugation from the populace in secular matters to civil leaders.

According to Parsons (1940:360), the teaching of Paul in Rom. 13:1-7 was understood in the West to have taken up and complemented the revolutionary teaching of the Saviour which formally announced the separate and distinct spheres of the temporal and spiritual rule of mankind. God and Caesar were seen to be both having their respective claims on man's conscience. Therefore, Caesar has to be also regarded as a minister of God.

Though the above appears logical, the pitfall it seems to have is that of not distinguishing between what is coming from God and what is of human origin, between authority and office! St. Paul gave the reason; Caesar's power also comes from God; or rather it is God's power exercised by man for man's good. In the western world, an example of the appropriation of the message of Rom. 13:1-7 may be seen in the interpretation of St Augustine onwards who viewed the surrender of the populace including the Church, to civil authority for the sake of order, law, justice among others. According to J. N. K. Mugambi (2002:26), separation of religion from politics can be traced from the fifth century, when Augustine published his famous book *City of God*. In that view he contrasted divine reign with human regimes. In his view, divine reign was the ideal against which human regimes could be evaluated. Rome with all its splendour, was corrupt, exploitative and oppressive. *The City of God* would be free from all shortcomings, and many times more glamorous. During the European Reformation, Martin Luther carried this contrast further, and proposed the two-kingdom doctrine. Considering Rom. 13:1-7 which has been grappled on at length by Luther, it has to be said that this passage was foundational in the formation of the Western political thought. However, it has to be pointed out that this crystallisation was without some antagonism, especially regarding the demarcation of powers between the papacy and the lords.

3.4.6 Germany: Martin Luther on authority in general and Rom. 13:1-7 in particular

Borrowing from Augustine's interpretation, Luther's argument is controlled in his distinction of the two realms or kingdoms (*Reiche*), and their corresponding governments (*Regimente*), variously designated as "temporal" (*das weltliche Reich*) and "spiritual" (*das geistliche Reich*) or as the kingdom of God or of Christ (*Reich Gottes/Christi*) and the kingdom of the devil or of the world (*Teufels Reich/ Reich der Welt*). These broadly signify the antithetical communities of fallen, corrupted human nature and of humanity united to Christ: the former a frail a transient network of external human relationships resting on selfish and destructive strivings after worldly goods; the later a spiritual reciprocity of persons securely resting on shared faith, humility and love.

The governments ordained by God for the two communities consist, on the one hand, of "the Spirit", the former constraints wills through external demands and sanctions, the later harmonises them freely and inwardly. (this means that civil authority focuses on jurisdiction that is extrinsic to the human subject, whereas spiritual authority focuses on that which is intrinsic to humanity and both these authorities were ordained

by God to carry out their respective vocations.) Both regiments serve “the kingdom of Christ ” in the struggle for human souls against "the kingdom of the devil”, but only in strict separateness. Their confusion, always the devil’s work, occurs when any human authority tries to legislate and enforce true Christian faith, thereby usurping the Spirit’s work and denying both divine freedom and human conscience, O. O’Donovan, (1999:582).

In order to describe the conditions under which Christians live in the world, Luther utilised two traditional schemes: the concept of the two kingdoms or governments of God and the concept of the three estates. He dislodged both schemes from their place in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages and used them flexibly. The two kingdoms doctrine underwent a twofold development with Luther. First it became dualistic in the eschatological dimension of antagonistic conflict between God’s kingdom (*regnum Dei*) and the devil’s kingdom (*regnum diaboli*). Both kingdoms fight to control the human being. To the kingdom of God and the spiritual realm belong ‘all true believers who are in Christ and under Christ’ (WA 11,249,26-27).

The second level of duality consists in the relationship between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of man, which is intruded also by the kingdom of the devil. Since the fight is to preserve the individual person who lives within the human kingdom, God thus put in place two bulwarks to ward off the influence of the devil and his emissaries. These two bulwarks are civil authority and spiritual authority which must be held as separate and distinct, in *modus operandi* though they both emanate from the same God. Civil authority uses the Sword in its fight against the agents of the devil, and its focus is to ensure the creation of external peace for the Christians since they are still a minority in a world in which non-believers are the majority. Spiritual authority uses the Word, and its focus is the creation of inner peace. The agents of the former are civil magistrates, whereas the agents of the latter are preachers of the Word.

Second, it became binary in juxtaposing two equally significant types of God’s governance. The concrete plane on which Christian life in this world takes place in the juxtaposition of two realms. God reigns directly through the preaching of the gospel in the spiritual realm (realm *spirituale*) and directly through governmental action in the secular realm (realm *mundaneum* or *corporale*). E. Wolgast (2017:368). God has erected two different governments among people: one spiritual , governed by his Word without the sword, through which people become pious and just through the Word to eternal life, nevertheless will be compelled through the secular government to be pious and just before the world. (WA19.629,17-24, LW46.99). In the first realm, the reward is eternal life; in the other, the rewards are secular goods : peace, order and justice. Both governments extend over true Christians, hypocrites and non-Christians. Most

are and remain unchristian even if they are all the same, baptised people who are called Christians (1523,WA11.251,36-37).

For them the sword and the secular kingdom are unnecessary; if they were only true Christians, governing authorities and force would not be required. These Christians however, are also part of the world. In the conceptualization of the dialectical ‘simul’ (Wolgast 1977,33-40), which Luther liked to use, the apparently insoluble differences were overcome ‘at the same time.’ Christians are not only justified but at the same time also sinners (*simul iustus et peccator*), and in these two identities they stand under the domination of the secular government. In fact, when receiving an office as a ruler, one becomes a citizen of both worlds; a Christian person and a secular person, a *duplex persona, fidelis et politicus* (Tornvall, 1947:166-184).

Luther often placed the functions and attributes of God’s two kingdoms in opposition whereby the fundamental equality of both realms was effectively abolished by the higher significance of the spiritual realm: faith versus external order, introduction to eternal life through preaching versus enforcement of an ordered and peaceful life in the world through the ruling authorities, obedience towards God’s Word versus obedience towards governmental mandate of the sword, the equality of Christians versus the inequality of subjects. The representative of the spiritual realm is the preacher; the representative of the secular realm is the prince.

Luther seems outstanding in his advocacy for the superiority of civil authority over spiritual authority in the day-to-day running of society. This he does by empowering the ordinary Christian, cleric or lay, as a key stakeholder in God’s household. His works; *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation* 1520, *Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen* (1520), *Von weltlicher Obrigkeit, wie weit man ihr Gehorsam schuldig sei* 1523, seem to be vindicating civil rule and authority as itself a Christian vocation. Luther understood the state’s power (secular authority, *magistratus*) personally, not institutionally, on the basis of his realm of experience and understanding of the imperial constitution. For him, the ruling authority was the emperor (*magistratus superior*); beneath him were the princes and the municipal councils of ‘free cities’ (*magistratus inferior*).

For him, the ἐξουσία that Paul refers to in Rom. 13:1 may be interpreted as referring to the powers that control human societies in religion and in politics. The political has to control the religious and the later may not hesitate to employ the earlier especially in the wielding of the sword for there to be order in the society. Luther substantiates this position in his 1515-16 lectures on Romans, in which he argues that Paul had in mind both secular and spiritual authorities as he came up with the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7. For Luther, secular leaders were however dispensing their duties fairly well, certainly better than the spiritual authorities whose stewardship of the church has left

it in rags and tatters. His spiritualisation of the Church was counterbalanced by an extension of civil power; but an extension invigorated and circumscribed by the theological rationale of the priesthood of all believers, O' Donovan, (1999: 581).

Only the pastor of a congregation has the regular public prerogative and duty to preach and administer sacraments; likewise, the secular magistrate alone has the power to publish and coercively enforce laws. In his 1526 pamphlet on whether *Soldiers Too Can be Saved*, Luther stated: 'I may boast here that since the time of the Apostles the temporal sword and government have never been so clearly described or so highly valued as by me, as even my enemies must admit.' For some scholars, Luther was here referring to his 1523 tract *Secular Authority: To What Extent it Should be Obeyed*, which he considered to be the classical statement of his political statement, W.D.J.C. Thompson, (1984:2). Three years later in *On War against the Turks* he repeated the claim though in a slightly different form: 'No other teacher, has written so nobly or so usefully about temporal government since the time of the Apostles unless it be Augustine,' W.D.J.C. Thompson, (1984:1).

More so, it has to be noted that Luther, whom some consider to not have been a consistent political thinker, saw himself as on more or less the same pedestal as the apostles and church fathers like St. Augustine, in drawing his teachings especially that of non-resistance from the pericopes of Rom. 13:1-7 and 1 Pt. 2. For him, the basic principle of Christian political teaching was the duty of obedience to superiors, a doctrine which was clearly instructed by the apostles -- as was the equally important qualifying principle 'we must obey God rather than man' .W.D.J.C. Thompson, (1984:2).

It may need to be pointed out that Luther and like-minded thinkers of his time, seem to have antagonised the widespread teaching of their time, which held the pope to be vested with overall spiritual and temporal power as taught by pope Boniface VIII. Though some of these scholars might not have quoted Rom. 13:1-7 directly, their positions seem to touch on the aspects within the pericope, as well as reacting positively or negatively to teachings that built upon it, such as Boniface VIII's 1302 papal bull: *Una Sanctam*.

3.4.7 Geneva Reformers: Melancthon and Calvin on Rom. 13:1-7

Melancthon treats the concept of the grounds of obedience of a Christian within the state. For him, this obedience has to emanate from the natural law and from reason and has to be treated contextually. Neither does the ground of obedience to the state get justification from the Mosaic law codes nor from the Pauline passage on *hupotasso*. Rather, the principles suggested from both when applied to particular day to day

running of the state, may be obeyed by the Christian in so far as they do not contradict both natural law and reason. Thus, the positive laws of the state are derived from the principles of natural law which are prehensible to human reason. Not every society views the fundamental principles of law in exactly the same way and there are legitimate differences between the polity of the Saxons and the French.

When Paul urges every Christian to be subject to the higher powers, he does not expect Saxon citizens to obey the laws of France or the French to obey the laws of England. Nor does Paul expect all Christians to model their polity on the law codes of Moses. Indeed, in matters of polity, the law codes of Moses are binding on Christians only to the extent that they conform to the principles of natural law, O. O'Donovan, (1990:77).

On the other hand, reason has its limitations. It does not see that there is a second ground for Christian obedience in God's own ordination of the state and the rule of law. The state and the political order are ordained by God, not as an unavoidable evil that must be tolerated, but as a good that should be revered and celebrated. The state protects the bodily life of its citizens and promotes the welfare of the human race. The magistrate must be obeyed, not only because the rule of law is better for human life than anarchy, but because God has made such obedience mandatory. To disobey the state in its licit commands is to commit mortal sin and put oneself in danger of eternal damnation.

In his turn, Calvin, following Melanchthon, sides with Cajetan and Seripando against Luther and Sadoletto. Paul has in mind only secular magistrates. Whatever needs to be said about offices and order in the institutional Church (and Melanchthon and Calvin agree that a good deal needs to be said) it is simply not the subject of the passage. In Calvin's words, which as well represents the view of Melanchthon, 'the whole of the discussion concerns civil government (*de civilibus praefecturis*). Those, therefore, who bear rule over men's consciences attempt to establish their blasphemous tyranny from this passage in vain.

According to O'Donovan (1990:75), in his treatment of Rom. 13:1-7, Calvin seems more interested in uncovering the *Sitz im Leben* of the text, than in tracing parallel passages, however appropriate and suggestive. He believes that Paul wrote Romans 13 in order to restrain the 'restless spirits' who thought that Christian liberty means the abolition of all earthly powers. Since the Roman Empire was involved in the persecution of early Christian communities, it seemed doubly absurd to many Christians to render obedience to authorities who were 'contriving to snatch the kingdom of Christ.' In Calvin's view, it was therefore particularly important for Paul to lay great stress on the authority of the magistrate.

Calvin draws an analogy between the restless spirits of the first century and the malcontents of his own, though the reference is veiled and no group is singled out by

name. Calvin's philological interests in the passage are fairly minor. He appeals to the causative γαρ in Greek (13:3a), mentions the Hebrew usage of the word 'praise' (13:3b), and alludes generally and vaguely to the political teaching of the philosophers (13:13b). He does not however cite a single authority by name, biblical, philosophical, literary, legal or theological. Perhaps it was because such citations appear to interfere with the lucid brevity for which Calvin is striving.

Up until this discourse, it may be noted that the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 and its numerous interpretations helped in shaping the theo-politics of past centuries. An attempt to break from the tendency of viewing politics and ordering society from the point of view of Biblical interpretations was made by a certain section of theorists, who based their theories on Natural Law. It may however be argued that though thinkers like Grotius, Hobbes and Machiavelli claimed to have liberated their discourse on political theory from the point of departure of such pericopes as Rom. 13:1-7, residues of the same may be ciphered from their socio-political theorems.

According to O'Donovan (1999:787), Grotius, for all his embrace of the program of a humanist science, was a true heir of the theological tradition; Hobbes, for all his wealth of theological opinions, broke with the structure of the Christian political thought. In his famous words, found in the Prolegomena of his work: *The Right to war and Peace*, Grotius proved a digression from political thought *etiamsi daremus Deum non esse*, even were we to accept that God did not exist--- they mark Grotius as the pioneer of the natural law theory. Grotius was controversial in the Netherlands in that he claimed to be representing the mindset which was representative of the Dutch laity as opposed to that of the clergy. For him, a doctrinally freer Erastian Reformed tradition was prevalent in the Dutch laity as opposed to the supralapsarian Calvinism prevailing among the Dutch clergy; the earlier came to be viewed as the remonstrant and the later as the Counter-Remonstrant, who influenced for his arrest together with his companion Oldenbarnevelt through the prince of Orange at the Synod of Dort in 1619. (O. O'Donovan, 1999:788).

The fact that Grotius's works were indexed by the Vatican, made them appeal to young politicians who sought to create a political moral theory that was independent of God. As a result, Grotius' influence cut across denominational lines: in some quarters he was believed to be effectively a Roman Catholic, in others, effectively a Socinian (Unitarian). His interest in the English Church earned him Anglican admirers who claimed him for their interests... he believed there was a primitive, authentic Christianity, which could be established on the basis of the Scriptures and the fathers of the undivided church. It was incumbent upon all Christians to seek the unity of the Church on the basis of this ancient doctrine and practice.

In his book: *The Right of War and Peace*, though not quoting directly from Rom. 13:1-7, Grotius tackled the aspect of the importance of civil authority and seems to be justifying the aspect of subordination as divinely willed. This is important especially in the area of observing agreements. According to him, 'it is a principle of natural Right to observe agreements. It was necessary for human society for there to be some means by which one might bind oneself, and no other natural means can be imagined. And this principle is the source from which civil Rights derived; for in the formation of civil society or in its subjection to a ruler or rulers, a promise is made, or deemed to have been made implicitly by the very nature of the undertaking, to abide by whatever the majority, or those entrusted with power should decide' (O'Donovan, 1999:794).

Moreover, Grotius's position seems to justify the state and her activities especially in line with what Paul mentioned in relation to the common good. For Grotius, this the state achieves in her numerous ways in maintaining justice under which taxation may be considered. In his reading of Aristotle as well as conflict with Aquinas and the Scholastics.

He appears to have plainly interpreted the passage as ordering everyone to be under civil leadership. As no one can resist God but to his own ruin, he threatens that they shall not be unpunished who in this respect oppose the providence of God. Let us then beware, lest we incur this denunciation. And by judgement, I understand not only the punishment, which is inflicted by the magistrate, as though he had only said that they would be justly punished who resisted authority; but also the vengeance of God...

According to B.C. Wearne, (2018:2), But there has indeed been a long history of Christian and Calvinist historiography that wants to assert that the West is part of a glorious history that flows from the same Genevan reformer... But generally speaking, the attempt these days to appeal to a glorious history 'is usually confined to a fundamentalist reaction that promotes 'Christian nationalist' mythology, blind to the evils and blight of colonial advancement', because of its historicist desire to make the so-called 'Christian heritage' into a normative point of reference.

There is however much scholarly consideration of the way in which Christianity in its many streams, has influenced the development of what we would call open democratic public governance, the rule of law, the independence of the courts, a free press, and the unfettered investigations of science (But it would be a big stretch to suggest that the form of our contemporary political institutions is simply the result of Christian, let alone reformed or 'Calvinist' influences or even, negatively, primarily a reaction against such Christian-imperial or Christian-colonial influences.

More so, the various interpretations of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 appears to have been influenced or conditioned by the interpreters' background or points of departure. Empire founders whose ideals were instrumental in the founding and organisation of

their respective societies, tended to have conclusions that were different from interpreters in the third world who might have sought to counter the dominant interpretations given by the earlier, some of which promoted mentalities and myths that degraded the identity of the later. According to the 'Reichsbischof' Ludwig Müller (1863-1945), founder of the 'German church', whose ideologies were shaped around the NSDAP ideologies of community, helped in the formulation of a creed which professed superiority and subordination in race, nationality and religious factors:

We stand on the ground of positive Christianity. We profess an affirmative faith in Christ, fitting our race and being in accordance with the German Lutheran mind and heroic piety. Mere compassion is charity and leads to presumption, paired with bad conscience, and effeminates a nation. We know something about Christian obligation and charity towards the helpless, but we also demand the protection of the nation from the unfit and inferior. We see a great danger to our nationality in the Jewish Mission. It promises to allow foreign blood into our nation... Marriages between Jews and Germans must be prohibited, (Ludwig Müller, statement on the beliefs of German Christians (June, 1932).

Observing that the Reformation was apart from centring around doctrinal issues but also political ones, especially the extent to which papal authority would stretch, Pope Sixtus V came up with Counter Reformation strategies which all geared towards the re-affirmation that both civil and spiritual power were by right the patrimonies of the Church by Divine command. One of the non-verbal approaches in his counter reformation strategies was the erection of the statue of the apostle Peter on the famous column of Trajan which is currently present in the forum of Trajan in Rome. This statue is particular in having Peter holding his two keys: one representing civil authority and the other representing spiritual authority. This was spectacular in that Trajan, known as the *optimo princeps*, (the best ruler), whose 30 metre tall column heralding the Dacian wars that he fought victoriously, with his ashes traditionally being deposited at the foot of the column, and his statue originally at the top of the column, was pulled down to be replaced by the statue of Peter, the *princeps apostolorum*: The prince of the apostles. (Dobbs, T, 2017 :The Statue of St. Peter on Trajan's Column <https://medium.com/in-medias-res/the-statue-of-st-peter-on-trajans-column-f6fe57080319>.)

3.4.8 Rom. 13:1-7 and the elevation of the British Monarch in religious affairs

As early as the 16th Century, the idea of centralising both religion and politics in the person of the British monarch had taken shape. With Kings like James championing the official translation of the Bible into acceptable English, which became the King James Version, authority in religious affairs took shape. The presiding legislation, like

the 1534 Act of Supremacy, cemented the idea, as well as officialising the marriage between church and state, and the shaping of both politics and religion according to British ideology and aspiration. Arguably, this development cross-pollinated with the development of British philosophical identity as distinct from other identities like Germany Idealism, in which British Empiricism and Utilitarianism, in a way pervaded not only secular, but also religious space. Subjugation to the authority of the monarch became the norm, and the slogan for the queen and for the country became the slogan up to today, though England claims to be a democracy, yet the monarchy remains a major shareholder of decision making in both religion and politics.

The autonomy of the state was proclaimed by the philosophy of the Enlightenment, prepared by the Renaissance. However, the preparation of this autonomy may also be credited to Stoicism whose semi-religious ideas that supported Natural Law that permeated Christian ideas and supported them. The Enlightenment however, managed to divorce the explanation about the State, from these semi-religious conceptions, and managed to explain Natural Law in a not so religious way.

In Britain, theorists like Thomas Hobbes, who like Luther as will again be shown below, took a swipe at papal authority by watering down the pillars on which it stood. In his theory of 'the Equality of All under the One', Hobbes seems to be subscribing fully to Luther's protestation against the Roman Church that:

there is no superior among Christians, but Christ Himself and Christ alone. [For] what kind of authority can there be where all are equal and have the same right, power, possession, and honour?

When it comes to Hobbes, according to J. Mitchell, (1993:78), to put it boldly, Hobbes' theory is a theology from which can be deduced certain conclusions about how worldly affairs must be attended to. Who the sovereign is cannot be disentangled from how Hobbes views the relationship between humankind and God!

The influence of philosophers was propagated by preachers whose preaching on authority shaped public opinion to comply with the dispensation in place and its aspirations. In J. Chandos (2008: 461), the revolutionary Cromwell is recorded to have preached on Rom. 13:1 and his interpretation addressed the plural rendering of *exousias*- authorities, to refer to the many human civil authorities to whom an individual is obliged to honour. 'Let every Soul be subject unto the higher Powers; for there is no Power, but of God: 'the Powers, that be, are ordained of God.'

Dear beloved brethren and sisters, it is true, this text is a malignant one; the wicked and ungodly have abused it very frequently, but (thanks be to God) it was to their own ruin: yet their abuse shall not hinder us from making a right use of it. Everything is subject to be abused, be it never so holy or good: the men of God, the creatures of God, all are subject to injuries and abuse; the Council of State, the Parliament, the Army, the General, have been, and daily are abused; nay,

even myself have not escaped the violence of those seducers, whose tongues are sharper than a two-edged sword. (J. Chandos, 2008:461).

My text, you see, is Scripture; and Scripture must be believed, next to our divine revelations, be it what it will; but the Malignants, they would interpret it one way, and we, the Saints, interpret it another. Now let anybody judge, whether they, or we, are to be believed: whether, I say, the Cavaliers, that sought to uphold tyranny and Antichrist; or we, that in those ungodly uprightness of our hearts, fought for liberty and freedom, and for establishing the kingdom of King Jesus. Surely, beloved, it is we that are in the right of it: I think none of you will deny it. But let us look yet a little further: 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers,' &c. What those higher powers are, I have told you before; they are the Council of State, the House of Commons, and the Army; and God forbid but all men should obey them: that is, that the people be subject to the Council of State, the Council of State to the House of Commons, they to the Army, the Army to the General and the General to me. To me, I say, who have plotted, advised, counselled, and fought for both you and them (J. Chandos, 2008:464). But now, that I spoke of kings, the main question is. 'Whether, by Higher Powers, are 'meant Kings, or the Commoners?' Truly, beloved, it is a very great question amongst those that say they are learned; but, I think verily, they make more stir about it, than needs: for may not everybody, that can read, observe, that Paul speaks in the plural number, 'the higher powers?' Now, had he meant subjection to a king, he would have said, 'Let every soul be subject to the higher power;' that is, if he had meant one man: but, by this, you see, he intended more than one; for he bids us 'be subject to the higher 'powers,' that is, the Council of State, the House of Commons, and the Army. I hope I have cleared this point: so now then I will come closer to the words themselves, and shew you truly and plainly, without any gaudy *rhetoric*, what they signify unto us, that you be not deceived: and I tell than ordinarily endowed with the spirit of discerning. I confess there are you, this is not to be done by every spirit, but only by such, who are more J. Chandos, (2008:462).

Furthermore, instances are also found within the same period that the pericope was used in the gender battle between those who held that women do not have souls and so excluded as addresses of the pericope, and those who argued for their inclusion:

For, first, beloved, by these words, 'Let every soul,' &c. we may understand that every one of us have souls; whence I raise this doctrine: that it is an ungodly, irreligious, profane, and idle tenet amongst the wicked, to think, or say, that women have no souls. Mark, my beloved, to think, or say, &c. for there are many now-a-days, that think, and will not speak what they think; and others, that speak, and will not think what they speak: but we are none such-Dear sisters, it is a great abuse to your honourable sex. And now, truly, I will turn to you only; for you have been our daily and nightly comforters: indeed, la, ye have!

You have raised our drooping spirits, though never so much dejected; you have got us stomachs, when we had none, and furnished us with flesh, on all occasions; we never found you unwilling, or unready to help us, when we were the farthest from home. Believe it: when I lay before Pembroke-castle, my landlady, where I quartered, who had once been a Malignant, and then but newly crept into the state of grace; she, I say, had a good soul within her; she was brim-full of the spirit, and I yet she was very handsome; which is strange: for seldom we find a perfection without an imperfection.-Commonly, women that are fair without, are either false or foul within; but to me she was neither.

However, the text has also been used by those in power to cement their stay and mobilise their subjects into accepting their rule. This was foundational and made societies begin from somewhere, which they upgrade depending on the practicality of the chosen system sometimes after centuries. Cromwell is a hero because his views of authority and subjugation made England what it is today even long after the British empire is gone, for example the case of Ireland and the mobilisation of the British population towards attaining the expansion agenda:

Truly, beloved, I think myself and my son Ireton may prove of greater use to the republic, than any other; and if we be but once the acknowledged governors thereof by the people, we believe we shall answer their expectations to a hair's-breadth; which if ever we be, then, beloved, it is I and my son who are the higher powers meant in my text, to whom subjection is commanded. For (as I told you before) it cannot be to one single man, must be to two or more; and truly, if the people shall think us (as we think ourselves) worthy of that trust, we shall discharge it faithfully, and study to merit it at their hands. But mistake me not; I do not mean by merit as the Papists do, that is, to deserve it at their hands, for the good works we have done: no, no, we will acknowledge it to be merely out of the free grace and mercy of the people; for when we have done all we can for them, we confess we are but unprofitable servants.

I thank them, they have made me general for Ireland; and you know I am upon the point of going thither, in great hopes of reducing those rebellious traitors to our obedience. But then, beloved, so many of you as go along with me, must be mindful of my text; that is, you must be subject to me, and my lieutenant-general. Whensoever we bid you go, you must run; when we bid you storm, you must do it, though it be against nothing but stone-walls. You owe us your lives and your limbs, and all that you have; whensoever we demand them, you ought to surrender, and that freely, not grumbling; for you must submit to the higher powers.

And now, beloved, as we must not conceal anything from one another, I shall make bold to requite your ingenuity by the instancing one other doubt, with a danger, at the end of it; which although it may startle you at first sight, yet be of good courage, be faithful and strong; it admits of an easy solution: and that is the accord of the Scots with their new king.-Truly, I must confess my designs were never, till now, so diverted and confounded; for I must tell you, I have revered that short, but pithy precept of my father Machiavel, *Divide et impera*. So long as I could keep them at odds amongst themselves, I feared not but to order them, as I pleased. But now it is too true, that both the parliament and priests of that kingdom have attained Argyle of high-treason; that is, for holding the hands of the Scots, (2008:469) until we executed that exemplary piece of justice on the King: and that therefore they intend to cut his head off; which if they do, then, beloved, they destroy our only friend in that kingdom' and the differences, on foot there, must needs expire with his breath: which being once done, they will have nothing left to do, but vie authority with us, and threaten a second invasion (J. Chandos, 2008:467).

Rom. 13:1-7 has also been used to rally the army under the leadership of commanding generals and so avoid rebellions and the toppling of civil leadership through coups:

And indeed, my beloved, it was no small work we had, to subdue those malignant spirits of the city; considering, how audaciously they once with stood our authority, and despised our government; how peremptorily they petitioned for a personal treaty with the King, and sent their servants into Colchester, Surry, and Kent, to force us thereunto; how bitterly they inveighed and railed against the honourable proceedings of the Parliament and Army; how

largely they contributed to bring in a foreign nation to invade us, whilst, yet, they denied us the payment of our arrears, or to continue the necessary taxes, or excise, for our future maintenance; who had preserved them and their families, from the rapine and cruelty of a barbarous enemy. But, beloved brethren, I mean not to rip up all old matters. Let it suffice, that being thus warned by their mishap, you fall not into the like sin of disobedience to higher powers; there being no powers but of God; the powers that be, being ordained of God.

In the event of coming into office of one contending party after a civil war, aspects within Rom. 13:1-7 were also used to cement and justify the new leadership. This may be seen again in the battle against the monarchy and the instalment of the parliament system in the Britain of Cromwell's time:

But I have strayed too far from my text. I will now come to the remaining words thereof, and so conclude: 'For there are no powers but of God,' etc. The Council of State, the House of Commons, the Council of War, and the High-Court of Justice, when it was, were all powers of God; and the following words of my text give you the reason: 'For the powers that be, are ordained of God.' Be they just or unjust, they are all of God, God ordained them; and so he did that tyrannical power of the late King, and those belly gods the Bishops, to punish us for our infirmities.

But now that he hath graciously removed those powers, he hath ordained ours, to preserve, cherish, elevate, comfort, and delight the saints, and to rule and govern the land in sincerity and in truth; to distribute justice, equally and impartially according to his will.-But the time is spent, and I must be marching.-I desire therefore, my dear brethren and sisters, that you daily pour out your prayers and supplications, for us; and for our success against the wicked and ungodly that are risen up against us; and that you cease not to comfort one another, with mutual embraces and spiritual kisses, to delight and sweeten your passage through this vale of misery: and that you take especial care to strengthen and corroborate yourselves, with capon and cock-broth, that I may find oil in your lamps, at my return. (Chandos, 2008:470).

Moreso, in its application in the context of denominationalism in Britain, Rom. 13:1-7 seems to have been influential as a shaper of political identity.

According to B. Kidd (1902:9),

Since the great development of ideas to which Lessing, Herder, Jacobi, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel contributed, reached its full limits in Germany, and became in part discredited in the land which produced it, it may be perceived that Western thought, so far as it has endeavoured to rest itself on a scientific basis of phenomenology, has come to pursue a clearly defined line of development along which it has slowly contracted upon one central idea. Following this line of development in the movement begun in England with the English deists, carried still farther on the continent of Europe under the theories of the French Revolution, and in its return wave culminating in England in that utilitarian theory of ethics and of the State, in the ascendant in England during the greater part of the nineteenth century, we have the meaning of this central conception now clearly in view.

In ethics it found its consistent expression in the unhesitating assertion that, in the last resort, human conduct required no principle of support whatever but that of self-interest in society well understood. This was the assertion which, developed in the theories of continental writers like Condorcet, Diderot, and Helvétius, reached in one of its phases in England its highest

expression in the writings of John Stuart Mill. It is an assertion which, under many forms, exercises at the present time a dominant influence in a wide range of ethical thought throughout our civilisation.

Carried into the sphere of religion the same fundamental conception had its correlative affirmation equally clearly, and equally unhesitatingly expressed. This was that the direction of progress in our Western world was to empty the concepts of the system of religious belief associated with our civilisation of that distinctive quality which projected their meaning beyond the limits of political consciousness.

From this long quote, it can be deduced that Christian churches were considered as part of the social institutions of their time, which also contributed in defining the aspirations of the nations. This domestication, which seems to have its roots as early as the edict of Milan in 313 AD during Constantine's time, seems to have been adopted and aligned alongside other social institutions to meet the overall aspiration of Western European powers down the centuries. The socio-political matrix especially in Western Europe will help position the place of Christian churches within their rightful contexts in the metropole, which were however different from the colonial matrixes.

In other words, it seems certain that it supplied mortar for the bedrock of Western civilization on whose foundation Western political, sociomoral and economic systems were based. With the rise of self-determination and Protestantism in Europe, different theologies cropped and got nationalised, made contextual and became particular ideologies on which nationalism revolved, at times culminating in National Churches. Chosen epochs; the late nineteenth century Europe and America, and other key periods in history in which Christianity was domesticated as a key component in bolstering nationhood, will be cited as augmenting my argument.

As mentioned earlier, metropole refers to the continent of origin from which missionaries and colonists emanated before their residence in colonies. According to Smith, (1802: 735), the Latin word (*colonia*) signifies simply a plantation. The Greek word *apoikia*; ἀποικία, on the contrary signifies a separation of dwelling, a departure from home, a going out of the house but though the Roman colonies were in many respects different from the Greek ones, the interest which prompted to establish them was equally plain and distinct.

Both institutions derived their origin either from irresistible necessity, or from clear and evident utility. The establishment of the European colonies in America and the West Indies arose from no necessity: and though the utility which has resulted from them has been very great, it is not altogether so clear and evident. The process of aligning theology or Christianity to the socio-political order of the time involved also the handling, directly and indirectly of such pericopi as Rom. 13:1-7, which was reinterpreted to suit the new reality.

This also included the development of contextual objects of subjugation at home; where the populace was mobilised through literature, to subjugate to the king, or political offices, as well as the glorification of valour and militarism abroad; where winning of war for the country was considered a highest form of patriotism. In this process, traditional values such as peace and equality, were shunned and ignored as signs of frailty, with a lot of scholarly material, broadcasted by the media, derogating conferences and groups that sought to promote peace as an ethic for the metropole in the diaspora. Instead militantism, aggression, abroad, as well as assertiveness at home were cultivated.

Looking at Anglicanism and Wesleyanism, which came as church missionaries without linking them to their political context within the metropole, blinded Africans who received politically minded missionaries, who used the colony as the matrix of playing the politico-ideological war, with conservatism pitting liberalism, represented by Anglicanism and Wesleyanism respectively, with Catholics not allowed anywhere near', signalling that church denomination was in fact political ideology. This therefore supports the point in motion that the fragmentation and polarity in the colonies spilled from the metropole before it got heightened when indigenous people got evangelised and accepted the gospel without full comprehension of where denominationalism emanated from and what it stood for.

3.5 ROM 13:1-7 AS INSPIRATIONAL IN WORKING TOWARDS METROPOLITAN ASPIRATIONS?

The Europeanization program, spearheaded by especially British colonialists in Africa was argued to be incomplete since emphasis was on commerce and civilization, whilst excluding European Christianity, according to some quarters. A. L., Conklin, (1997: 1), however, argues that:

civilization is a particularly French concept; the French invented the term in the eighteenth century and have celebrated the achievements of their own ever since. At no point in modern history, however, did the French make more claims for their civilization than during the 'new' imperialism of the Third Republic. Of course, all European powers at the end of the nineteenth century claimed to be carrying out the work of civilization in their overseas territories; but only in republican France was this claim elevated to the realm of official imperial doctrine. From about 1870, when France began to enlarge its holdings in Africa and Indochina, French publicists, and subsequently politicians, declared that their government alone among the Western states had a special mission to civilise the indigenous peoples now coming under its control – what the French called their *mission civilisatrice*. This idea of a secular *mission civilisatrice* did not originate under the Third Republic; it nevertheless acquired a particularly

strong resonance after the return of democratic institutions in France, as the new regime struggled to reconcile its aggressive imperialism with its republican ideals.

The notion of a civilising mission rested upon certain fundamental assumptions about the superiority of French culture and the perfectibility of humankind. It implied that France's colonial subjects were too primitive to rule themselves, but were capable of being uplifted. It intimated that the French were particularly suited, by temperament and by virtue of both their revolutionary past and their current industrial strength, to carry out this task. Last but not least, it assumed that the Third Republic had a duty and a right to remake 'primitive' cultures along lines inspired by the cultural (religion being the chief agent), political and economic development of France....

French superiority was the premise on which the empire was built, fuelled the civilisation mission, and this won consensus in the metropole. In the colonies, French Administrators- vastly outnumbered, and equipped with little more than their prejudices- relied upon the familiar categories of 'civilization' and its inevitable opposite, 'barbarism' to justify and maintain their hegemony overseas, A.L. Conklin, (1997: 2).

3.5.1 The Clapham Sect and the centrality of missionaries in the Europeanization agenda

Outspoken regarding this lack was the Clapham Sect whose headquarters were in London. After campaigning for the abolishment of slavery through the efforts of William Wilberforce, one of its Evangelical Christian and politicians alongside such charismatic characters as Plymouth, the Sect proposed that missionaries were supposed to be allowed to go to new colonies to bring the light of the gospel to the dark cultures there.

With the lessons gotten from the East India Company whose policy was non-involvement in the social and religious affairs of the Hindus in India, the Clapham Sect argued for the indispensability of European Christianity in the civilization agenda of Africa. Since the invasion of India by the British through the East India Company was earlier than the invasion of Africa especially sub-Saharan Africa, lessons of the Indian Mutiny uprising in India which were mainly due to the non-involvement of missionaries in the affairs of the locals, were said to be avoidable in Africa if missionaries were to be given an earlier role. Of course, missionaries were always sent mainly as chaplains to colonialists and other British personnel away from home in the colonies. The Clapham Sect proposed the interaction of missionaries with the indigenous peoples and this was seen to be effective. After winning a majority vote in both the houses of the Commons and the Lords, missionaries were thus allowed to go

on a mission to Africa beginning with Sierra Leone especially its capital Freetown whose inhabitants were repatriated slaves.

Instrumental in the advent of intense missionary work in Southern Africa was the London Missionary Society missionary cum physician David Livingstone. An anti-slave trade activist himself, Livingstone was disheartened to discover that though cross Atlantic slave trade had been abolished, the Indian pacific slave trade instigated by Arabs, Persians and Indians was at the peak. Livingstone thus saw his new vocation as that of campaigning against this slave trade, went home and mobilized the Queen to position the Royal Navy so as to bar African slaves from leaving. Those ships with the American flags however continued to ferry slaves.

Like his Clapham counterparts, Livingstone was convinced that slavery was anti-Christian. Following the mindset of Adam Smith as opposed to that of the philosopher John S. Mill, Livingstone at first subscribed to Liberalism as opposed to Imperialism. So were the Evangelical missionaries who argued against the position that slave trade was a lucrative business for the British Empire. For them, the British Empire was going to achieve greater prosperity if it liberalised the markets and allowed liberty in trade instead of instigating compulsion which was anti-Christian. After labouring in vain, Livingstone gave up his role as a missionary, only to take up a new role of being an explorer, with his book; *Missionary Travels and Research in South Africa*, being overwhelmingly instrumental to the economic interests and fortunes of the Empire in the colonial efforts. Being awarded gold medals as well as a privileged private audience with the queen, undeniably, the convictions of Livingstone and those of the Clapham Sect were set to be accepted as the new strategy towards the agenda of British prosperity.

The empire thus recognized the involvement of missionaries who were to go to colonies as volunteers. According to Fugason, Like the non-governmental aid organisations of today, Victorian missionaries believed they knew what was best for Africa. Their goal was not so much colonisation as ‘civilization’: introducing a way of life that was first and foremost Christian but was also distinctly North European in its reverence for industry and abstinence. The man who came to embody this new ethos of empire was David Livingstone. For Livingstone, commerce and colonisation – the original foundation of the Empire were necessary, but not sufficient. In essence, he and thousands of missionaries like him, wanted the empire to be born again. fully establish this agenda and its intended role in shifting the allegiance of Zimbabweans from their local ruling authorities both physical and spiritual, a recourse to the Clapham Sect, one of the matrices in which the campaign for the involvement of missionaries within the BSAC, may put the argument into perspective.

In other words, they were especially sent to prevent a repeat of the mistake committed by the East India Company whose settlement of India in 1859, overlooked the Anglicanization of the new colony thereby leaving the populace free to pursue their Hinduism as a religion. In obedience to such individuals as David Livingstone however, the BSAC prioritised the important role of Christianity in the Europeanization of the Zimbabwean culture.

The point which is endeavoured to be reinforced by this material is that missionaries were twin agents of settlers in the politics of empires. N., Etherington, (2010: 178), in the Pacific, missionaries sought protection of their interests in Fiji, New Zealand, Tahiti, Tonga and lesser islands. In Africa they were embroiled in the lead-up to the Zulu War as well as the annexations of Nyasaland, Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Uganda. In the West Indies and West Africa they were deeply implicated in the politics of slavery and abolition.

3.5.2 Missionaries and The Berlin Conference

The subject regarding missionaries and their indispensable role in civilising Africa according to European standards, was a topic of discussion at the Berlin Conference, which ran from November 1884 to February 1885. Article VI of the Berlin Act says:

All powers exercising sovereign rights or influence in the aforesaid territories bind themselves to watch over the preservation of the native tribes, and care for the improvements of the conditions of their moral and material well-being and help in suppressing slavery, and especially the Slave Trade. They shall without distinction of creed or nation, protect and favour all religious, scientific, or charitable institutions and undertakings created and organised for the above ends, or which aim at instructing the natives and bringing home to them the blessings of civilization.

Christian missionaries, scientists, and explorers, with their followers, property and collections, shall likewise be the objects of special protection. Freedom of conscience and religious tolerization are expressly guaranteed to the natives, no less than to subjects and to foreigners...’
<http://web.jjay.cuny.edu/~jobrien/reference/ob45.html> (accessed 24/11/20 11:33 PM).

3.5.3 The 1910 Edinburgh World Missionary Conference : Commission VII

This was a conference of missionaries of protestant churches that was held in Scotland with the agenda of sharing notes on the strategy they would apply in the missions. About eight thematic committees were set, each brainstorming a specific theme. This current task will focus on the topic tackled by thematic committee VII entitled *Missions and Governments*. It is at this point that Ross, (2010: 11), notes that the

Conference did not acquire sufficient distance from the Western Imperialism which was at its height at that time. The enthusiasm and drive which marked the Conference drew much more than it realised on the optimistic self-confidence of imperial expansion and technological advance.

The territorial understanding of Christian expansion was allied with an activist mentality and a military metaphor. The reports and speeches abounded with metaphors such as 'army', 'crusade', 'council of war' 'conquest ', 'advance' and 'marching orders.' The aggressive and confrontational understanding of Christian mission which characterised Edinburgh 1910 has provoked much resentment and does not serve to commend Christian faith today, Ross, (2010: 12). The agenda of Edinburgh in playing down established indigenous systems and forcefully replacing them with theirs, had been previously applied in Zimbabwe of the 16th century, by a Catholic mission led by Fr Gonzalo da Silveira. Instead of using indigenous established system to be modified a little bit in order for them to pose as containers in which the kerygma then became the content, the Catholicization of Portugal's quest for free market, territory and gold, reigned supreme such that everything had to reflect the Portuguese system.

O.Vengeyi, (2013: 189), since the coming of the Portuguese missionary Gonzalo da Silveira from about 1500 AD, paving way for colonisation has been the responsibility of missionaries... to do this, propaganda was a necessary ideological tool. Although he is recorded to have had managed to get contact with the king whom he baptised together with his court, the efforts of Gonzalo da Silveira were not that fruitful in that he met his fate after few years of ministry and was killed by the locals with his body thrown into the Zambezi River.

S. Mudenge, (1986:115), forwards that Fr. Gonzalo was an agent of imperialist interests sent to pave the way for colonisation by ideologically dispossessing the Shona of their history, religion and culture, essential aspects for the struggle. Fr. Silveira therefore wanted to disarm the Shona in preparation for Portuguese colonialism who worked under the instructions of the Portuguese king who sent him to Mutapa.

This collaboration of the missionary with the king to whom he paid allegiance possibly in obedience to the command to subjugate to ruling authorities and teaching others to do the same and its set up, may be picked from the response of the king when he heard about the demise of Fr. Silveira in 1561. O. Vengeyi, (2013: 187), holds that it was in response to this murder that the king demonstrated his knowledge of Gonzalo's mission, when he demanded unfettered rights over gold claims and trade. When Mutapa refused, Portugal invaded the Mutapa kingdom. Upon failure of the General Barreto expedition, the Portuguese undertook to divide so as to rule Zimbabweans by

sponsoring numerous coups to destabilise the kingdom. In other words, the Portuguese began to sponsor rebels, their puppets, but Mutapa prevailed over all of them.

Thus, the beginning of the shifting of both physical and spiritual allegiance from the king to the settlers may be gleaned for the actions of the rebels within the Mutapa state who might have envisaged the Portuguese and their agenda in the empire as worthwhile and hence the need to submit to their orders even when they involved the taking up of arms and fighting against their own.

It is worthy, noting that initially, kings from host countries were the ones who funded and sent missionaries on a mission to new territories. They were mostly sent in the company of other professionals in different fields such as explorers, colonialists, anthropologists, miners, farmers, etc. Many Catholic missionaries were sent by Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, England, obviously at different times and their mission was to buttress the efforts of other professionals, as they implemented the agenda of their host countries.

3.6 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

The interpretive positions regarding authority and subjugation in Zimbabwe, to some extent seem to be influenced by a degree of relativism which is usually fuelled by denominational affiliation to specific political parties. This seems to be the observation, after an investigation into the relationship between the church and state, politics and preachers, was conducted within the framework of the history of Zimbabwe concerning the inquiry on whether there was such an interplay between religion and politics.

Zimbabwean scholars whose writings have been explored above, seem to have explored power, limiting it to the ruling party, with no mention of the huge stake that the opposition and civil society play in the power dynamics in Zimbabwe. The colonial period and the interpretation of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 has been left out by scholars, though it is arguably fundamental in assessing authority and subjugation, whose residue is felt in the contemporary Zimbabwean polarised religio-political environment.

This chapter has therefore stretched its focus to key happenings in the Metropole, especially in periods around the scramble for Africa in which the discourse about power, subjugation and taxation were adapted to suit the impending agenda of extending metropolitan monopoly capital. The argument is therefore that the contemporary self-serving interpretation of Rom 13:1-7 stretches even far back in

time, to a period where the Holy Writ was prejudiced by subjectivism and utilitarianism as metropolitan capitals; scholars and thinkers, bent it to incline to what was good for their people.

Thus, the tendency to interpret subjugation to ruling authorities basing on the interests of the interpreter, which is evident today, in a way dates back to the time of some missionaries whose political agenda was to foster compliance of the locals to the new established settler administration which was hierarchical in having the Native Commissioners, the Resident Commissioner before the High Commissioner who was based in South Africa, though there was an indigenous power structure which had administered indigenous affairs for centuries.

Since Christianisation was synonymous to Europeanization and Anglicanization, missionaries seem to have used their denominational doctrines, coupled by the aspirations of their mother countries, to further blend with the Bible and further alienate the locals from each other with no hope of one day re-blending using Christianity and Biblical interpretation as a force of unity. With overwhelming evidence from their mother countries, of such documents as the letter of king Leopold II of Belgium, and the Missionaries Act of 1857, the encouragement of David Livingstone at the Cambridge lecture, to this extent, some missionaries may be viewed more or less as people who propagated the soft power grip of Western imperialism.

While hard power was being propagated through the barrel of the gun, soft power appeared to have been propagated via evangelization in which locals were taught to submit to the incoming forces with docility. The unfolding of events and stratagem with well adapted interpretations of Biblical passages set the tone of how the Bible would later on be interpreted. It may be observed that the Biblical theme of subjugation to ruling authorities was interpreted to mean the transference of allegiance from the local rulers to the new settler administration.

What missionaries and indigenous church founders did then, contemporary preachers seem to be doing today as they encourage their congregants to recognize whom they feel to be the legitimate leader. This may be witnessed by the rallies of the political parties to which they attend, reflections and prayers they give during such functions as well as their pulpit deliveries.

Strongly apparent seems to be the *modus operandi* of the ever-mutating Pentecostal movements and apostolic churches, in which the will of the founder becomes the constitution, seems to have tiptoed into party politics, with followers seemingly caught up in the dilemma of cognitive dissonance.

As has been shown above, there may not be as yet a Zimbabwean nation to talk about, but parochial ring-fencings where even the phenomenon of prophecy currently

rampant in Zimbabwe, seem to be but stampings of the perspective, bias and slants of denominational leaders. With a deficiency of the Zimbabwean pride to identify oneself with, denominations and political party leaders seem to pose as identity makers. These subset identities have fed into personal power cultism and an inefficiency in institutional systems including constitutions, since individuals are elevated more than collective bodies. Though individual choices even against denominational position, to a greater extent are still a pertinent factor, denominational leaders seem not ready to forego the denomination's position since this is mostly associated with denominational identity. The following Chapter attempts a critical exegesis of Rom 13:1-7 in its context.

CHAPTER 4:

JUDGE: THE USE OF ROMANS 13

CHALLENGED BY A NEW READING OF THE TEXT

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 3, I have endeavoured to accomplish at least three tasks; to outline the interpretive positions of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 within the Zimbabwean context which is to a greater extent a product of existential circumstances raised in Chapter 2. I also highlighted selected interpretations in the reception of the pericope in metropolitan centres from where some missionaries to Zimbabwe are expatriates. This was after I highlighted and critiqued the interpretive positions held by different Zimbabwean stakeholders ranging from preachers, public opinion influencers and socialites sympathetic with both the opposition and the ruling party, as well as the position of Zimbabwean New Testament scholars whose academic works I have dealt with. Following up to the existence of some scholarly gaps raised in previous chapters, scholarship seems to have paid little or no attention to critically examine the discourse around power and subjugation during the colonial period, in which the theme manifested itself in all sectors of interaction. Another vital deficiency seems to be the tendency of leaving out the impact of opposition politics in the discourse of power and subjugation in Zimbabwe. Almost all Zimbabwean scholars mentioned above seem to be silent about this essential constituency in the context of personal power where individual charismatic leaders seem to command huge followings more than political institutions, as is the case with Nelson Chamisa and prosperity gospel preachers. This chapter intends to build on the ground work already laid by various scholars as it intends a critical exegesis of the pericope, and at the end suggest an alternative interpretation of the pericope. It will pay attention to the Pauline first century context, as well as some contexts which I argue as scholars like V. Zsifkovits (1964), and J. R. Harrison (2011), has argued, to be paramount in interpreting the text under study.

More so, this chapter deals with the critical exegesis of Rom. 13:1-7, with much concentration on the pericope's grammar, morphology and syntax as the leading components to come up with an alternative message of the text. Of particular focus will be three concepts, which seem to be key in the pericope; ὑποτάσσω, (subjugation)

ἐξουσία (authority or power) and ἀπόδιδωμι (paying back tax). A one time reading of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 seems to present Paul; a Christian preacher, as endorsing sitting ruling authorities, obliging his audience to obey them as if without questioning, as well as exhorting the subjects to pay *telos* (taxes) and *phoros* (tributes), as proof of their allegiance to the God appointed ruling authorities. Seemingly, Paul sounds to be strong in support of arguably one of the lucrative contributions to Rome's economic muscle; taxation, as well as the central institution which sanctions and collects the taxes; the civil imperial authorities.

Though elsewhere Paul presents himself or is presented as having been in constant confrontation with some ruling authorities, reconciling those instances with this seemingly pro-empire and pro-emperor stance leaves a lot to be desired. Is Paul contradicting himself? If not, how then may the pericope be interpreted both in relation to its context as well as a global inter-textual analysis especially in relation to those passages in which Paul seems to have clashed with the authorities that this pericope seems to be endorsing?

Will the outcome of these questions in establishing Paul's teaching regarding the place of a believer in the civil state contribute in the shaping of social cohesion in Zimbabwe, as has been the case in other contexts? Thus, U. Wilckens, (1989:52),

Auch die Führer der Schweizer und Oberdeutschen Reformation sehen in Röm. 13 den biblischen Fundamentaltext politischer Ethik. Wie Luther, so stand auch Zwingli in einem Zweifrontenkrieg zwischen Altgläubigen und Schwärmern.

Which translates that the contextual interpretation of the pericope of Rom. 13, 'offered a political ethic not only for Germany but also for Poland and Switzerland', and hence the careful study of the pericope for the benefit of Zimbabwe is likewise imperative.

In addition to the above, a critical focus on the person of Paul, together with the first century context in which he wrote may aid in coming up with an alternative interpretation of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7, as well as responding to some extent to some pertinent questions. Likewise, considerable space will be dedicated to a focus on the issue of taxation which Paul sounds emphatic about in the pericope. Within the overall framework of the thesis methodology, this section concentrates on Action. after Seeing how the pericope is being treated to drive different agendas in the Zimbabwean religio-political matrix, followed by Chapter 2 which Judged the Zimbabwean interpretations in the light of the historical reception and use of the text Tracing the reception and interpretation of the pericope in history, the task is here to critically study the literary dimension of the text which also is complemented by social Scientific Criticism. Is Paul being mimicked by the Zimbabwe Interdenominational Indigenous Churches Council, (ZIICC), in their support of the ruling government as well as their pledge to do likewise to any government that will come afterwards? The response to

this question will be arrived at by critically exposing the contemporary Zimbabwean scenario which Chapter 1 argued to be partly the legacy of the colonial era and its colonial denominational christianity.

Main Question

By commanding his audience to subjugate to ruling authorities by paying taxes and tribute, can Paul be considered to have been a pro-Empire, patriotic preacher who advocated for the same for his audience regardless of the nature of the ruling authorities?

Other Exegetical questions

The above main question will be buttressed by other sub-exegetical questions which concentrate on the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7:

1. Can the use of the expression ‘Πᾶσα ψυχη’ in the opening address of the pericope lead us to the real audience of Paul’s message? Could this be clearing ground for what may be termed the Pauline- Church-state policy which however includes every citizen (in the principle what binds Christians binds all)?
2. What did Paul mean by ordering subjugation (ὑποτάσσω in the imperative mood), as the conduct expected of his audience in the pericope? Where else has ὑποτάσσω been used and how has it been rendered?
3. ἐξουσία, (spiritual or human powers), αγαθος (good in general and morally good) and κακως (evil/bad) in v.3, have more than one meaning, and this may result in having diverse interpretations. In which way is Paul using these concepts and, in this context, what may be said to be justifying the chosen understanding?
4. If ἐξουσία here refers only to human, civil authority, is Paul referring to the Jewish or Roman sitting, civil authorities? If he is referring to Roman authorities, can this passage be said to be having affinities with such passages as Isaiah 45,1 and Jeremiah 29,11, in which foreign pagan leaders like Cyrus, are considered servants of God by Jewish religious leaders?
5. Can the interpretation of ἐξουσία to mean spiritual powers behind the civil leaders as is its other possible meaning, agree with the dynamics of the whole pericope?
6. How may the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 be read side by side with such passages as Revelation 13, which seem to advocate for detachment or total non-involvement of believers in worldly affairs, since Christians have another home in the heavens?

7. Does the morphological and syntactical issues in the pericope; (movement from singular to plural in the triple address of civil leaders; two times as θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονός ἐστιν (for he is the servant of God) in 13:4, and one time as λειτουργοὶ γὰρ θεοῦ εἰσιν (ministers of God), be a pointer that Paul was addressing different levels of civil leaders and so ultimately support that Paul was pro-Empire? If so, how can it be reconciled with such passages which emphasise on the kingship of the crucified Christ which some scholars point as proof that he was anti-Empire?
8. If Paul was endorsing civil leaders of his time in the pericope under study, can he be said to have contradicted Jesus who seem to have been against them on one hand, and in support of them on the other: ‘give to Caesar what belongs to Caesar, If you were not given that authority from above... etc, versus go and tell that fox...?’
9. Can the origins of taxation and knowledge of how the tax institution was conducted in the first century Roman context be established ?
10. Can the position of other religious leaders, both Jewish and Christians, on the issue of taxation be established?
11. What is the theology of this pericope?

An attempt on the above exegetical questions will be made below with the help of Biblical passages from both the Old Testament (OT) and the New Testament (NT), either dealing directly with the concept of ὑποτάσσω to civil ἐξουσία, or seemingly prescribing expected conduct of citizens in relation to ruling authority, will also be studied alongside the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7. Furthermore, the issue regarding the biography of Paul and his coming on to the Christian limelight will be explored. This will be aided by studying the first century AD, the context of Paul’s ministry. This will also be done with reference to Biblical passages which seem to reveal Paul’s identity and position regarding authorities of his time, and how his contemporary fellow preachers viewed him. A critical reading and interpretation of such passages will give direction to the thesis. Thus, the point of departure here is that in order to understand the message of Rom. 13:1-7, an understanding of Paul’s identity and mission in relation to the empire may be paramount. This will be propelled by such questions as:

- i) Material about Paul’s confrontation with both the Jewish and Roman authorities is autobiographical. What is then is the status of autobiography as authentic witnessing in determining the implied relationship of an auto-biographer and what they write about?
- ii) The silence of later NT writers about Paul seems deafening. Could it be that his rejection by companions is a pointer to their suspicion about his actions in relation to the empire which made them distance themselves from him, with Rom. 13:1-7 being an eye-opener to this relationship?

iii) Some scholars like Kallas, have concluded that Rom. 13:1-7 is an interpolation after not only studying the incongruencies of the pericope in relation to the context of Romans, but also as a way to evade the contradictions emanating from reconciling Paul's autobiographical material regarding his relation to the state. Are there pointers intra and inter-textually, in a sort of a global beaming of Paul, which may argue against Paul's anti-empire supposed stance?

4.1.2 Rom. 13:1-7: Establishing the Analysed Text

Text Critical issues

There is a textual variant in 13:1.

Whilst such Uncials as \aleph A B D¹ L P (*Sinaiticus*, *Alexandrinus*, *Vaticanus*, *Bazael*, *Lucianus*, respectively) as well as many manuscripts; (Ψ 33. 81. 104. 365. 630. 1175. 1241. 1505. 1506. 1739. 1881 m lat sy co), agree with the text ($\{$ *txt* NA²⁸) in having Πᾶσα ψυχή ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποταστέσθω, the following manuscripts; \mathfrak{B}^{46} D* F G it; Ir^{lat} Ambst (NT Papyri P46, *Codex Bazae* original, later Ireneus, and *Codex Ambrosianus* respectively), have πασαις εξουσαις υπερεχουσαις υποτασσεσθε', which is a different rendering. (NA²⁸ Critical Apparatus: 2012) It is different in that whilst our text has Πᾶσα in the singular, the said manuscripts have πασαις which is plural, and omits ψυχη, (soul) which might have been treated as smoothing the text by removing the Hebraism in Πᾶσα ψυχη, (every soul).

Secondly, whilst the NA²⁸ rendering has some accentuation and breathing, the later do not have: ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις versus εξουσαις υπερεχουσαις. Lastly, there is also some differences in the forms of the main verb of the sentence; ὑποτάσσω. Whilst NA²⁸ has ὑποταστέσθω; Present Passive Imperative 3rd Singular agreeing with Πᾶσα ψυχη, the above renderings have ὑποταστέσθε; Pres. Pass Imper 3rd Plu, agreeing with πασαις. In translation, it may be rendered as 'Be subordinate to all the governing authorities' versus 'let every soul be subordinate to the governing authorities.' The NA²⁸ rendering may be the preferred one since it seems to be giving emphasis enough to what Paul is teaching, in making the issue of subordination personal and an obligation imposed on every individual (Passive voice and imposition). It will be the one adopted for this current enquiry.

The Greek text supposed with an English translation Delimitation and context

Greek Text	English Translation
Rom 13:1-7 (NA ²⁸)	Rom 13:1-7 (T.S. Matanga)
<p>¹ (a) Πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτασσέσθω.</p> <p>(b) οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐξουσία εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ θεοῦ,</p> <p>(c) αἱ δὲ οὗσαι ὑπὸ θεοῦ τεταγμέναι εἰσίν.</p> <p>² (a) ὥστε ὁ ἀντιτασσόμενος τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ διαταγῇ ἀνθέστηκεν,</p> <p>οἱ δὲ ἀνθεστηκότες ἑαυτοῖς κρίμα λήμψονται.</p> <p>³ οἱ γὰρ ἄρχοντες οὐκ εἰσὶν φόβος τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἔργῳ ἀλλὰ τῷ κακῷ.</p> <p>θέλεις δὲ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν· τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖ, καὶ ἕξεις ἔπαινον ἐξ αὐτῆς·</p> <p>⁴ θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονός ἐστιν σοὶ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν. ἐὰν δὲ τὸ κακὸν ποιῆς, φοβοῦ· οὐ γὰρ εἰκῆ τὴν μάχαιραν φορεῖ· θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονός ἐστιν ἕκδικος εἰς ὀργὴν τῷ τὸ κακὸν πράσσοντι.</p> <p>⁵ διὸ ἀνάγκη ὑποτάσσεσθαι, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν.</p> <p>⁶ διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ φόρους τελεῖτε· λειτουργοὶ γὰρ θεοῦ εἰσὶν εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο προσκαρτεροῦντες.</p> <p>⁷ ἀπόδοτε πᾶσιν τὰς ὀφειλάς, τῷ τὸν φόρον τὸν φόρον, τῷ τὸ τέλος τὸ τέλος, τῷ τὸν φόβον τὸν φόβον, τῷ τὴν τιμὴν τὴν τιμὴν[1] (Rom. 13:1-7 NA28)</p>	<p>¹ Every soul must be subordinate to the ruling authority</p> <p>because there is no authority except by God</p> <p>and the ones that exist were put in place by God.</p> <p>² Therefore, the one opposing the authority has resisted the ordinance of God.</p> <p>³ For rulers are not a terror to good conduct but to evil / bad one. Do you wish not to fear authority? then do good and you will have praise from it. ⁴ For he is a servant of God for your good, but if you do bad be afraid because he is not bearing his sword in vain for he is a servant of God avenging in punishment the one practising bad. ⁵ Therefore, one necessarily has to be subordinate not only because of punishment but also because of conscience. ⁶ Because of this, you also pay tax since they are ministers of God actively engaged in this thing. ⁷ You must pay out all the obligations; taxes to whom they are due, customs duty to whom they are due, reverence to whom reverence is due, salary to whom salary is due.</p>

According to J. Kallas, (2016:367), the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 is an interpolation which clearly Interrupts the flow of the argument started in Rom. 12,9, interrupted in 12,21 which is then picked up in 13:8 ff Possibly this interpolation comes from the early redactors of Paul. Therefore, the pericope may be considered as post-Pauline. Though there might be some valid arguments in Kallas' thesis, my submission is that though Rom. 13:1-7 sounds different from its surrounding texts, it still may be treated as a Pauline composition, which is an independent unit with agreement in theme, language and vocabulary.

A closer, study of this pericope may prove J. Kallas otherwise, in that while the pericopes surrounding it may be said to be focusing on the theme of personal and what

may be said right conduct in the Christian household (*oikonomia*), Rom. 13:1-7 concerns itself with the position of a Christian in a broader societal matrix. With the earlier having used persuasive language, qualifying the genre to be likely an exhortation, Rom. 13:1-7, uses imperative language, (as witnessed by the verbs in the imperative mood and the repetition of the use of the coordinating conjunction γάρ possibly for causative purposes), possibly to demonstrate the urgency of the matter Paul is addressing. This difference in language then, may be a point of justification in treating 13:1-7 as an independent unit more than an interpolation. C.E. B. Cranfield, (1975:445), raises three points with regards to the relation of 13:1–7 to its context:

(i) That there is a lack of connection between this section and its immediate context,
(ii) That it interrupts the continuity between 12,21 and 13:8. This is also supported by Michel who regards the section as ‘*eine selbständige Einlage*’, a parenthesis independent of its context which Paul has inserted here. For him, it is certain that 12,21 has its proper sequel in 13:8: he appeals, in particular, to the repetition of μηδενί, which both in 12,17 and in 13:8 introduces a paraphrase of the commandment of love to one’s neighbour. Michel goes so far as to say that no specifically primitive-Christian motif is to be heard in the section;

(iii) That between this section and its context there are positive incongruities. Thus it is urged: (a) that the style and argumentation differ considerably from those of the context, being reminiscent of ‘Jewish-Hellenistic wisdom-teaching’; (b) that the absence of any trace of eschatological reserve with regard to the state is surprising after 12,2 (μη συσχηματιζεσθε τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ and τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοός) and in the same chapter as 13:11–14; (c) that this section is altogether non-Christological, reference being made only to the ordinance of God as Creator; (d) that the idea of the state with its use of force is far removed from that of love which is the theme of 12,9–21 and 13:8–10, C.E.B., Cranfield, (1975: 456).

Furthermore, according to J.A. Fitzmyer, it appears that both the pre- and post-pericope passages agree on the exhortation that believers should not conform themselves to this passing world but rather be concerned about the affairs of the Church, providing for the needs of the saints and overcoming evil with good.

Still on this, there are some scholars who still forward that Rom. 13:1-7 may not be treated in isolation from the flow of the whole exhortatory section of Romans. According to C. Morrison, (1961: 64), the whole context of the passage is practical and there appears to be no serious difficulty in stating that Rom. 13:1-7 is part of the extended exhortation which began in Chapter 12: ‘Bless those who persecute You.... If possible, so far as it depends upon you, live peaceably with all... let every person be subject to the governing authorities...’

Thus, the congruency of the pericope to its immediate context is seen in its forwarding of a dominant theme in this hortatory section of the Book; that of being at peace with everyone' 12,18- now it includes the governing authorities. According to Borg, 13:1-7 continues the thought of 12,14-21 and is intended as a statement with particular meaning to the Roman Church in its particular situation. Why is Paul urging the Roman Church to submit to Roman authority? Because he is convinced that what Christ does is to span the chasm between Jew and Gentile, a conviction that he expresses not only in Romans (1,16, 3,23-24,29-30) but elsewhere as well (Gal. 3,28; Eph. 2,11-21).

Though the above points pertaining to the harmony between 13:1-7 and its immediate context have found expression, the position that will be adopted for the current inquiry is that 13:1-7 may be studied as an independent pericope; structurally, syntactically and morphologically.

Structure and Dynamics

¹ Πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτασσέσθω. A

οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐξουσία ἐμὴ ὑπὸ θεοῦ,

αἱ δὲ οὗσαι ὑπὸ θεοῦ τεταγμέναι εἰσίν.

² ὥστε ὁ ἀντιτασσόμενος τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ B

τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ διαταγῇ ἀνθέστηκεν,

οἱ δὲ ἀνθεστηκότες ἑαυτοῖς κρίμα λήμψονται.

³ οἱ γὰρ ἄρχοντες οὐκ εἰσὶν φόβος τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἔργῳ ἀλλὰ τῷ κακῷ. X

θέλεις δὲ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν· τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖ,

κ αἱ ἕξεις ἔπαινον ἐξ αὐτῆς·

⁴ θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονός ἐστιν σοὶ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν.

ἐὰν δὲ τὸ κακὸν ποιῆς, φοβοῦ· οὐ γὰρ εἰκὴ τὴν μάχαιραν φορεῖ. B'

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 **A'**

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 τιμὴν.

A v1- everyone must subordinate to sitting authorities since

they are God-instituted.

B v2 - The one who is resisting incurs judgement

vs 3,4a- the duty of rulers as servants of God,

X is to reward good and punish evil

B¹ vs. 4b,c,d- rebels will have the sword wielded against them

an execution of God's wrath

vs. 5,6,7 - be subject internally; out of conscience

A¹ and externally by paying your dues

My proposal is that the Structure of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 is concentric; **A B X B¹ A¹** where the main verbs in A and A¹; ὑποτασσέσθω and ἀπόδοτε respectively, are in agreement as the later clarifies and completes the earlier. Thus, whilst ὑποτασσέσθω stipulates an order to be followed, ἀπόδοτε specifies both the 'what' and 'how' of the stipulation—paying tax and giving honour to whom honour is due (another way of

saying obey authorities). There is therefore an inclusion in the pericope in that v.1 opens with ὑποτάσσω, and v.7 closes the pericope with the how of ὑποτάσσω; ἀποδίδωμι!

More so, B₁ seems to forward the address started in B whose thrust has to do with those who are currently opposing the ruling authority, (interpreting the participle ὁ ἀντιτασσόμενος as substantive since it has a definite article). B¹ thus articulates that sanctioning descent is also the mandate of leaders who in doing so will be operating as servants of God unleashing his wrath. X is the midpoint where the leaders (plural); ‘οἱ γὰρ ἄρχοντες οὐκ εἰσὶν φόβος...’ are exonerated or cleared as not being a terror of good deeds but of bad ones.

It sounds as if the leaders themselves do not falter since faulting is presented as an option that may be wilfully chosen by the recipients of Paul’s message. (even their use of ‘the sword’ is justified in B¹). The civil authorities are described not only as having positive authority to protect the good but are also wielding a sword to enforce terror on offenders by omission in the society. *According to Cranfield, this verse is puzzling because in it, Paul seems to take no account of the possibility of the government being unjust and punishing good work and praising evil.* For this reason, X may be referred to as the hinge holding the arguments laid out in the pericope.

Leaders execute divine mandates on behalf of God, and whatever they do is good for the state. Terror is thus in line with the will of God who gave the jurisdiction. *Thus, verses 3 and 4 offer much light in elucidating the social context of Paul’s teaching, and also opens up for the investigation of the worldview which is influencing Paul as he forwards this teaching.*

Herzog and Stein, (1994:357), have also envisaged a concentric structure or a chiasm in the pericope. The difference between my proposed concentric structure and that of Herzog is that his is based on his argument that Paul is here dissembling by producing in the public what would otherwise be called a hidden transcript of the oppressed Christian group. Though he may seem to be supporting the empire, in actual fact, he is taking a dig in it because he is here reflecting on the good empire which does not exist.:

A be subject to God-instituted authority 13:1

B Rebels who resist incur judgement 13:2

C true rulers reward good and punish evil; in this they show

Themselves God’s servant (*diakonos*) for your good 13:3, 4a

B’ wrong doers get the sword as an expression of wrath by God’s

Servant, (διάκονός), 13:4b,c,d

A' be subject out of conscience 13:5

Thus, Herzog builds his concentric structure up to verse 5 since it sufficed to bring out his argument of dissembling, whereas my concentric structure considers the whole pericope, seeing an inclusion in v. 1 and 7, since I view the issue as oscillating around the issue of subordination with paying tax as the highest form of the same.

Dynamically, there is some internal movement in the text which may be seen in the way authorities are being addressed. First as ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις, second as οἱ ἄρχοντες, third as θεοῦ διάκονός and finally as λειτουργοὶ θεοῦ εἰσιν. This seems to be a kind of ascendancy from ordinary authorities via leaders to servants of God and finally ministers of God, with the latter having a religious nuance. To be noted however is that there is movement from reference of the authorities and leaders in plural, to reference in singular when it comes to the title servant of God, and back to plural when referring to them as ministers of God. When understood in this way, the argument thus seems as if the obligation to subjugate has to follow from the nature and identity of these leaders, who might be executing their duties on behalf of another sitting human leader who is but the servant of God. Could this be the emperor?

Harrison, (2011:310), In other words, Romans 13:1-7 sits in a wider section of teaching that deals with the believer's social relations outside the Body of Christ and discusses in that context the highly sensitive issue of cooperation with the Roman authorities. The pericope itself 'is a coherent piece of political rhetoric with an *inclusio* of imperatives introducing and concluding the passage,¹³³ specifically, ὑποτασσέσθω (let be subject) and ἀπόδοτε (give) As J.D.G. Dunn concludes, 'In short, one of Paul's principal concerns 'was clearly to draw out the ethical and social consequences of his exposition of the gospel in its corporate character' Within this context of the Body of Christ being an agent of transformation in social relations, how does Paul view the ruler in Romans 13:1-7?

4.1.3 Literary devices

Paul argues syllogistically at least two times in the pericope, making syllogism as one of the literary devices he utilised. The first instance is 13:1 which may be highlighted as an example of what may be called an '*inverted syllogism*' since it is particular in its way of stating an argument, by mentioning the conclusion first before the premises:

CONCLUSION - Πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτασσέσθω.

PREMISE 2: οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐξουσία εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ θεοῦ,

PREMISE 1: αἱ δὲ οὗσαι ὑπὸ θεοῦ τεταγμέναι εἰσίν.

Tilting the flow of his argument and begin with the premises and end with the conclusion, it might be as follows in translation:

Premise 1 All authorities or offices were established in their place by God.

Premise 2 There is no authority if not from God

Conclusion: *Therefore*, every soul MUST be subordinate to governing offices.

Furthermore, there is also the use of figurative language; ‘wielding the sword’ possibly is used to stand for punishment of offenders by authorities. Repetition as a reinforcing device is also employed as may be seen in the repetition of the coordinating conjunction γαρ at least 7 times for causative and explanatory purposes. More so, there is also the use of a rhetorical question; you wish to stay in good books with the leader, don’t You?... Therefore, do your duty. There is also the use of analogy in the pericope just as there is the use of apposition in which rulers are in apposition to authority so are ‘servants’ and ‘ministers’ of God to the same.

Finally, comparison as a device is also used. In this case, it is the comparison between those that live according to the expectations of authorities versus those that refuse to subjugate. Their fate is also put in antithetical parallelism where those who abide live fearlessly, whereas dissenters will have the sword of divine anger wielded against them. Since the argument within the pericope seems to oscillate around subjugating to authorities through payment of taxes, those who fail to subjugate and those complying, a closer attention to authorities (who have been addressed in four different ways ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις, οἱ ἄρχοντες, θεοῦ διάκονός and λειτουργοὶ θεοῦ εἰσιν), the concept of subjugation ὑποτασσέσσω as well as the tax system in the ancient world, follows. Where is Paul getting these concepts?

4.1.4 Intra-textual reading of the concept ἐξουσία in the Epistle to the Romans

The term ἐξουσία appears four times in the Epistle to the Romans. Its first use is found in Rom 9,21: ἢ οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν ὁ κεραμεὺς τοῦ πηλοῦ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φυράματος ποιῆσαι ὃ μὲν εἰς τιμὴν σκεῦος ὃ δὲ εἰς ἀτιμίαν (NA²⁸, 2012). Here, ἐξουσία has the sense of ‘right’ in the case of a potter over his clay, to make out of the same lump either a container for valuables or less valuables.

Thus, the will that an owner of a thing exercises over it, may be said to be their ἐξουσία in relation to the same. The second and third appearances of ἐξουσία are found in the opening verse of the pericope under study; Rom. 13:1 in which it is mentioned two times. In 13:1, ἐξουσία is found in the phrase ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις in which it is feminine, dative, plural noun in agreement with the verb ὑπερεχούσαις, which is

Present, active feminine Dative Plural Participle of ὑπερέχω, which literally means ‘to have power over’.

In its third appearance, (13:1b), ἐξουσία is in the nominative feminine singular and seems to be having the sense of authority in general to have been instituted by God, outside of whom there is not any other authority. In its fourth and final appearance, 13:2, ἐξουσία is used in the singular, feminine, dative case; τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ where it seems to be referring to the object of opposition by the ὁ ἀντιτασσόμενος. Thus, in its four appearances, ἐξουσία has been used in the relationship of a superior being (the porter), to his object of use (clay), analogically referring to the relationship between God and his creation. It has also been used in the relationship of the rulers and the ruled possibly human to human.

4.1.5 Intertextual reading of ἐξουσίαις in the NT and the OT

The point of departure in this section will be to examine how Paul used ἐξουσίαις elsewhere, apart from 13:1, after which its use in the Gospels and other NT books will be examined before referring to its use in the Septuagint, (LXX), which was the Bible of the NT authors. It is worth noting that ἐξουσίαις is the plural form of the singular ἐξουσία. This use of the term in the plural is also found in at least three other places within the Pauline corpus though in different contexts; Eph. 3,10; 6,12 and Col. 2,15 respectively. In these three verses, ἐξουσίαις is used in agreement with ταῖς ἀρχαῖς or τὰς ἀρχάς which came to be translated ‘principalities and powers’ in most English editions: 10 ἵνα γνωρισθῇ ὡς τὰς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἢ πολυποίκιλος σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ (Aland, K. et al., [Novum Testamentum Graece](#) (Stuttgart 28th Edition 2012).

Eph. 3,10 (RSVCE): that through the church the manifold wisdom of God might now be made known to the principalities and powers in the heavenly places.

12 ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πάλη πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας, πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τούτου, πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις (Aland, K. et al., [Novum Testamentum Graece](#) (Stuttgart 28th Edition 2012) Eph 6,12:

Eph. 6,12 (RSVCE): For we are not contending against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world rulers of this present darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places.

15 ἀπεκδυσάμενος τὰς ἀρχάς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας ἐδειγμάτισεν ἐν παρρησίᾳ, θριαμβεύουσας αὐτοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ (Aland, K. et al., [Novum Testamentum Graece](#) (Stuttgart 28th Edition 2012) Col. 2,15).

Col. 2,15 (RSVCE): He disarmed the principalities and powers and made a public example of them, triumphing over them in him.

More so, in Col. 1,13 and Eph 2,2, **ἐξουσία** (which is used in the genitive case), has a sense of power in reference to negative power, depicted as ‘powers of darkness’ and ‘of the air’ respectively:

Col. 1,13 (RSVCE): He has delivered us from the dominion of darkness and transferred us to the kingdom of his beloved Son,

This negative power is also depicted, though in the singular, in Rev. 13:2b-3.5, in which the dragon which emerged from the sea is said to have given the beast his **ἐξουσία, δύναμιν** and **θρόνον** : ‘...

(RSVCE): And to it the dragon gave his power and his throne and great authority. 3 One of its heads seemed to have a mortal wound, but its mortal wound was healed, and the whole earth followed the beast with wonder. 5 And the beast was given a mouth uttering haughty and blasphemous words, and it was allowed to exercise authority for forty-two months

This may also be seen for example, in Ac. 26,18 in which **ἐξουσία is also linked as belonging to Satan**: Ac 26,18 (RSVCE): to open their eyes, that they may turn from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins and a place among those who are sanctified by faith in me.’

However, Rev. 13: 5.7,12 seem to ascribe this authority to have been given to the dragon possibly by God, who is said to have permitted him for his final activity, ‘so that nothing takes place apart from the **ἐξουσία** or will of God.’ Since this is apocalyptic language, possibly, the message here is not so much about the spiritual beings, but about the authority of human beings which they exercised negatively against the saints. Still, **ἐξουσία** is used in reference to this negative use of power by the human power. It is worth noting that when **ἐξουσία** is used in reference to negative kingdoms or spirits, many translators render it ‘power’ in English. There seems to be a distinction between power and authority in the translation of **ἐξουσία** where the later refers to its positive use.

Moreover, another different sense of the term is found in Ac.9,14; 26,10,12, in which Paul is said to have had **ἐξουσία** from the chief priests, to bind believers in Jesus. Here, **ἐξουσία** may be said to be used in the sense of human, delegated power, with a religious mandate since chief priests were religious leaders. In 1 Cor. 9,12.,18 and 2 Thess. 3,9, Paul uses **ἐξουσία** as an indirect object, in which it has the sense of ‘right over something’. In the later citation, Paul and Barnabas did not receive material support from the churches they were ministering to, though they had the right

(ἐξουσία), to do so: 2 Thess. 3,9 (RSVCE): 9 It was not because we have not that right, but to give you in our conduct an example to imitate

Moreover, in the Gospels, ἐξουσία is mentioned in some passages which speak directly of God's incontrovertible freedom (Verbum) to act as maybe seen in Lk. 12,5 which speaks about God's power not only to kill, 'but also to throw into Gehenna', and so has to be feared: φοβήθητε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν γέενναν: (Fear him because after killing, he has the authority to to throw into gehenna).

This freedom to give ἐξουσία to whomever he wants, may be seen in Jesus' response to Pilate during his trial, that Pilate had ἐξουσία because he was given it by God, without which he would not be in his position; Jn. 19,10–11 (RSVCE): 10 Pilate therefore said to him, "You will not speak to me? Do you not know that I have power to release you, and power to crucify you?" 11 Jesus answered him, "You would have no power over me unless it had been given to you from above..."

Furthermore, the Gospels portray ἐξουσία as important in understanding the person and work of Jesus Christ, denoting his divinely given power and authority to act. This is especially captured in the clash between Jesus and Jewish leaders, as found in the Gospels. In Mt. 7,29, ἐξουσία describes the impression made by Jesus' and his teaching: 'he taught them with **authority** not as what their scribes would do'. After Jesus cleansed the temple in Mk. 11,28, Jewish leaders enquired about the ἐξουσία to justify his conduct. This resulted in the ensuing of a dialogue regarding ἐξουσία and ποιῶ (authority and action) amongst them:

Still on this, Jesus is also quoted to have given ἐξουσία to his Apostles after his resurrection, the ἐξουσία of which he was given by God: 'ἐδόθη μοι πᾶσα ἐξουσία ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς...' Mt. 28,18: (RSVCE): '...All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me...'

Coming to the Catholic letters, ἐξουσία is also found in Titus 3,1 and in 1 Pt. 2,1-3. In the former, it is found together with ὑποτάσσεσθαι, an inflation of the verb ὑποτάσσω as is also found in Rom. 13:1: Ὑπομίμησκει αὐτοὺς ἀρχαῖς ἧ ἐξουσίαις ὑποτάσσεσθαι... (Aland, K. et al., *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Stuttgart ^{28th} Edition 2012) Titus 3,1.

It is also curious to note that ἐξουσίαις is rendered in the plural, unlike most of the above instances in which it is found in the singular, excluding the instances of its use in relation to principalities. The observation this far is that, in the NT ἐξουσία means right, power, authority, or permission, and there is mention of the ἐξουσία of God, Jesus Christ, spiritual beings like angels, Satan, and civil leaders.

Regarding the Septuagint (LXX), concordance information has it that the term ἐξουσία is used 59 times, usually in reference to humans, occasionally to God, to angels,

demons or other spiritual powers. Evidence of the use of ἐξουσία, associated with authority that is personal to angels as spiritual beings, which may not be delegated, is also found in the LXX. This may be seen in 2 Macc. 3,24:

‘But just as Heliodorus was arriving at the treasury with his bodyguards, **the Lord of spirits** and all **authority** produced an apparition so great that those who had been bold enough to accompany Heliodorus were panic-stricken at God's power and fainted away in terror.’

However, Dt. 32,8 seems to be exposing the concept of delegated authority to lesser spiritual or divine beings, (rendered as ‘angels of God’ in Ralfs’ LXX), possibly from a highest deity; ὁ ὕψιστος, to oversee foreign nations possibly for cosmic geographical rule and political power: ὅτε διεμέριζεν ὁ ὕψιστος ἔθνη ὡς διέσπειρεν υἱοῦς Ἀδαμ ἔστησεν ὄρια ἐθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ. Thus, the concept of authority as associated with spiritual beings is evident in the LXX.

Intra-textual reading of ὑποτάσσω in the Epistle to the Romans

Literally, ὑποτάσσω means ‘to place under in an orderly fashion’. However, in some cases, the meaning depends on the context and the grammatical voice (active, middle, passive), where ὑποτάσσω is used. In the active voice, it means ‘to subjugate, or place in submission’. In the middle, it may mean ‘the willingness to subject oneself to another’. In the passive, the sense is that of ‘forced subjection by the other,’ C. Morrison, (1960: 68)

Intra-textually, the concept ὑποτάσσω is found in Rom 8,7 where it is used in the context of the failure of the human mind to subject to the law of God due to its carnality. The form; *Hypotássetai*; which is pres. Mid. Ind 3rd Sing is used. “Because the carnal mind is enmity against God: for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be”. In Rom. 8,20 ὑποτάσσω is mentioned in the context of the subjugation of creation to God. “For the creature was made subject (*hupetágē*; aor. pass. indic. 3d person sing. of *hupotássomai*) to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who has subjected the same in hope.” In this context, a superior being; God is the agent of the action of subjugation, and the inferior reality, creation, is the one receiving the action. Thus, ὑποτάσσω is here used in a relationship between a superior and an inferior and the accomplishment of the action depends on the will of the superior.

More so, ὑποτάσσω is also found in Rom. 10,3 where it is used in relation to the righteousness of God and Israel. *hupetágēsan*, Aor. mid. indic. 3rd pl), is the used verbal form: “For they, being ignorant of God’s righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, *have not submitted themselves* unto the righteousness of God.” In this context, ὑποτάσσω is the expected conduct or response

of Israel to the righteousness of God which was not however executed due to her ignorance of the same righteousness. Thus, ὑποτάσσω again is here used as the norm in a relationship of an enlightened subject to a superior reality possibly for the subject's good.

In Rom. 13:1 ὑποτάσσω is again used in the relationship of a citizen to the ruling authorities. The imperative mood seems to be quashing, expressing that this is to be followed. (VERBUM)

Inter-textual reading of ὑποτάσσω in the LXX and the NT

The sense of ὑποτάσσω as subjugation, used by Paul is also found in the LXX in such pericopii as 1 Chr. 29,24; Ps. 17,47; Esth. 3,13; Wis 6,3 and 2 Macc. 8,9,22. That authority has been put in place (*tasso*) by God, is also found in the extra Biblical writings of Isocrates who argues that the gods 'appoint' those who are considered best to rule (*Oration to Philp 5.151*), and Epictetus who says that rulers are appointed by God, Simplicius, (*Commentary on Epictetus's Encheiridion 23.1*).

More so, according to the Complete Word Study New Testament Dictionary, (WSNTDICT), (1993:5293), ὑποτάσσω has up to about 11 different nuances in the NT; ranging from the subordination of creation to corruption as designed by God, of Christians to ruling authorities, of wives to husbands, and children to parents, among others. These nuances are mainly distinguished by the verbal aspects and mood, depending on the context in which they are used. For instance, the use of ὑποτάσσω in the active voice, to mean subdue maybe seen in Phil. 3,21. Here, the word *hupotáxai* (Aor. act. inf.), indicates the total subjugation of everything including the human body, referred to as the body of our humiliation; a humiliation brought about by our disobedience and fall in and through Adam. "Who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself." The second use in the active voice may be seen in Heb. 2,5: "For not unto the angels hath he put in subjection [*hupétaxen*, Aor. act. 3rd person, speaking of God not placing the world under angels, but under His Son] the world to come, whereof we speak."

Furthermore, inter-textual instances of ὑποτάσσω in the Middle voice; *hupotássomai*, which means to subject oneself or place oneself in submission, are also found. For example, regarding the relation of a wife to her husband as may be found in Eph. 5,22; Col. 3,18; 1 Pet. 3,1, 5; Titus 2,5. In these verses the duty of the wife to submit herself to her own husband is clearly enunciated (Gal. 3,28; 1 Pet. 3,7). But this is not due to her being inferior to her husband, for they are both equal before God. It is a willing personal subjection demonstrated in Eph. 5,21, "submitting yourselves [*hupotassómenoi*] one to another in the fear of God." This also extends to other

relations; servants to their masters, (Titus 2,9; 1 Pet. 2,18), the young to the old, (1 Pet. 5,5), the ruled to the rulers Titus 3,1; 1 Pet. 2,13) and the spirit of believers to God (Heb. 12,9; James 4,7), (Verbum. Accessed 23.10.21).

Moreover, in the Passive voice, ὑποτασσω has a sense of being subjugated without consent or willingness. For instance, in the subjection of demons or evil spirits to the seventy disciples sent out by Jesus (Luke 10,17, 20), these disciples noted to Jesus the power they had over demons saying, “Lord, even the devils [*daimónia* demons] are subject unto us through thy name.” The verb used is *hupotássetai* (Luke 10,20). This is in the press. pass. indic. form which indicates that the subjugation of demons or evil spirits was done by force in the name of Christ. 1 Cor. 15,27, mentions the subjugation of all things under the feet of Christ. The sense seems to be expressed better if this ὑποτασσω is rendered as forcible subjection.

However, the passive voice which usually expresses forcible subjugation as mentioned above is not the one used, but the active one in *hupetaxen*; (aor act 3rd sing). In this particular case therefore, it may be said that the grammatical voice that is used, supported by the context, are both essential for the likely rendering of the concept. “For he has put all things under his feet. But when he saith, all things are put under him *hupotéktai*, perf. pass. ind. (indicating forcible subjugation), it is manifest that he is excepted, which did put all things under him *hupotáxanti*, aor. act. indic. 3d person, indicating forcible subjugation.” This speaks of Christ (15,24) when in the end ‘He will hand over the kingdom to God the Father. After Christ “has put all things under his feet,” He then submits himself to the Father as the Messiah, having accomplished his task of redemption.’ This is also found in post NT writings such as 1 Clem 61,1. (Verbum).

4.2 AN OVERVIEW ON THE STATUS OF FOREIGN RULING AUTHORITIES IN THE MT

According to J. R. Harrison, (2011: 209), Paul’s positive regard of authorities can best be understood in the context of the OT and Second Temple Jewish understanding of authority. In this vein therefore, it is noteworthy that in the Torah, the guardianship of nations is somewhere portrayed to have been entrusted in the custody of spiritual beings. Dt. 32,7-8, may be cited as representing this understanding, of the involvement of spiritual beings in earthly affairs. According to C. Morrison (1960:19), this passage is concerned with the occasion when mankind was divided into nations and Israel is

said to have been set apart as YHWH's portion, as other nations were put under the care of *the sons of God*.

Since it concerns power over, and subjugation to, Dt.32,7-8 may arguably be said to have also contributed as a base in the debate whether Paul was influenced by this understanding as he coined Rom. 13:1-7:

Dt. 32,8-9 (RSVCE): When the Most High gave to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of men, he fixed the bounds of the peoples according to the number of the sons of God (variant reading) / sons of Israel. ⁹ For the Lord's portion is his people, Jacob his allotted heritage.

עָלְיוֹן גּוֹיִם בְּהַפְרִיטוֹ בְּנֵי אָדָם
תָּבַל נִחְלָתוֹ כִּי תִלַּק יְהוָה עִמּוֹ יַעֲקֹב

[[Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia: SESB Version](#). (Stuttgart ^{electronic ed.}2003)

Some interpreters of this passage of the MT, observe and question whether עָלְיוֹן ('Elyōn) in 32,8 is the same as יְהוָה (YHWH) in 32,9? Those who understand the former, who translates Most High, and the latter who translates YHWH, understand the two as distinct. This then becomes a pointer to the issue of different nations (גּוֹיִם) and בְּנֵי אָדָם, (sons of adam and nations), as being under the patronage of בְּנֵי לְמַסְפָּר יִשְׂרָאֵל 'the number of the sons of Israel', (However, the Critical apparatus of the BHS notes that the Syrian versions as well as Origen's Hexapla renders it as 'Sons of El' or sons of Elohim, which is probably closer to the original reading compared to 'sons of Israel' as in the MT rendering), whereas Israel is under the patronage of YHWH who is one of the spiritual beings like others, and becomes his portion according to v.9; יַעֲקֹב תָּבַל נִחְלָתוֹ יְהוָה עִמּוֹ.

When applied to the issue of human governing authorities, it may seem reasonable to infer that they represent the 'sons of God' who stand behind them as assigning authorities just as they were assigned by the Most High. If these were Israel's leaders, then they represent YHWH and if they were of other nations, then they were under the command of their particular son of God. C. Morrison, (1960:19), as the concept of folk angels remained current into the later Roman period, we learn from the Midrash that the angels which Jacob saw in his dream ascending and descending the heavenly ladder were the angelic princes of the people.

This interpretation may be supported by Job 1,6. 2,1 in which 'the sons of God (s)'; (בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים) (sons of God), are said to have presented themselves 'before God' (עַל-):

Job 1,6 (RSVCE): 6 Now there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan also came among them

לְהִתְיַצֵּב עַל־יְהוָה וַיָּבֹאוּ גַם־הַשָּׁטָן בְּתוֹכָם וַיְהִי הַיּוֹם וַיָּבֹאוּ בְנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים:

[*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia: SESB Version.*](#) (Stuttgart^{electronic ed.}2003) Job 1,6.

Likewise, Psalms 82,1 seems to be depicting the context of a Divine Council in which God (אֱלֹהִים) takes his stand in the midst of other spiritual beings (שָׁפְטִים):

Psalms 82,1 (RSVCE): 1 God has taken his place in the divine council; in the midst of the gods he holds judgement.

יִשְׁפֹּט נֹצֵב בְּעֵדוּת־אֱלֹהִים בְּקִרְבֵּי אֱלֹהִים אֵלֹהִים

[*\[Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia: SESB Version.*](#) (Stuttgart^{electronic ed.}2003) Ps. 82,1].

According to C. Morrison, (1960:18), this conception of the heavenly court was a favourite theme connected with the spirit world of Judaism, in which the bene elohim or kedoshim (holy ones), formed the *familia* on high with whom all divine decisions were discussed before God (alone) ordained what should come to pass in the earth below.

Furthermore, still in the Torah, this relationship of *Elohim* and the leader of the people seems to have been presented in Ex.22:27, in which the subject is prohibited to curse God and the leader of his people:

אֱלֹהִים לֹא תִקְלָל וְנָשִׂיא בְּעַמֶּיךָ לֹא תִאָּר²⁷

There is the use of strong prohibitive language though different verbs for cursing are used for God and the ‘lifted one’ or the leader: לֹא תִקְלָל - a strong negation + verb Piel yiktol 2nd Mas Sing קלל. Thus, the verb קלל which is strongly negated is used in prohibiting the cursing of God.

In וְנָשִׂיא בְּעַמֶּיךָ לֹא תִאָּר, the strong negation (לֹא תִאָּר + verb Qal yiktol 2nd Mas Sing אָר) is used in reference to the human leader. Therefore, the pericope might be treating as serious the ill talk (which is another example of lack of reverence) towards the leader by the subject: ‘You shall not **revile** God, nor **curse** a ruler of thy people’ (JPS). The understanding is apparently clarified in the Septuagint, (LXX) in which almost the same verb is used for God and the leader in coining the prohibition of their cursing by the subjects:

θεοὺς οὐ κακολογήσεις καὶ ἄρχοντας τοῦ λαοῦ σου οὐ κακῶς ἐρεῖς [Rahlfs, A. – Hanhart, R. (ed.), [*Septuaginta: SESB Edition*](#) (Stuttgart, 2006).

Ex. 22,28 (RSVCE): You shall not revile God, nor curse a ruler of your people.

In θεοὺς οὐ κακολογήσεις, κακολογήσεις = verb (κακολογέω), Future, Indicative Active 2nd Singular, which translates to ‘I curse.’ Likewise, in καὶ ἄρχοντας τοῦ λαοῦ σου οὐ κακῶς ἐρεῖς, κακῶς ἐρεῖς = adverb + verb (εἶπον). Future Indicative Active 2nd Sing. In this command, cursing God as a transgression is put side by side with the revile against the leader of his people.

In other words, the command sounds as if offences against the king are of a serious nature and weigh the same as cursing God. To some extent, this command has some link with the pericope under study in so far as it isolates the office of the leader of the people as important and somehow linked to the divine.

Furthermore, when the Book of Samuel, which has passages on the origins of kingship in Israel is considered, it may be concluded that the status of human civil authority in the MT seems to have undergone a kind of evolution. This evolution may be said to be starting on a negative note, as the demand for a king comes from the people (after their defeat in war), not from God.

This context seems to be drawing a distinction between kings now being requested, and judges who had up to now, led Israel. Thus, though both judges and kings were human beings, the weight of their leadership seems to have been distinct, with judges exercising their role on behalf of God. The people asked for a human king in their quest to be like other nations around them. Given that Israel was a Theocracy with Judges, and prophets ruling people as God’s agents, the demand by the people for a human king in 1 Sam. 8, was negatively viewed. The words spoken by the Lord to Samuel; , ‘it is not Samuel that they have rejected, but the Lord himself’, supports this.

This negative tone against human kingship however changes in the second phase of this evolution. God seems to have finally accepted the institution of human kingship, to the extent of giving kings ‘after his own heart’, as may be asserted in the case of the Davidic dynasty, with especially David having enjoyed an esteemed status of being ‘a son of God’. Engaging in civil leadership was viewed as doing a divine duty and hence given honour. The figurative expression of their status as shepherds and Israel as the flock, mimicked the role of the Lord who was but the Shepherd of Israel his flock. Though ὑποτάσσω is not directly used, its implication may be felt indirectly; the flock must be orderly arranged under the shepherd for their good.

A third phase seems to have been held during the post-exilic period in which God’s acceptance of human kings seems to have stretched out to also include non-Israelite, foreign authorities through whose instrumentality he worked for the blessing or punishment of Israel and their actions to be accounted only by him. Isaiah 45:1, Jer 29:4-7 as well as Ezra/ Nehemiah, have passages that may be interpreted as supportive of this view:

Isaiah 45:1

כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה לְמַשִּׁיחוֹ לְכוֹרֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר־הִתְקַדַּשְׁתִּי בְיָמָיו לְרַדְּ-לְפָנָיו גּוֹיִם וּמַתְנֵי מַלְכִים אֶפְתָּח
לְפָתַח לְפָנָיו דְּלָתַיִם וּשְׁעָרַיִם לֹא יִסָּגְרוּ

‘Thus Says YHWH to his anointed Cyrus; whose right hand I have grasped, to subdue the nations before him and ungird the loins of kings, to open doors before him that gates may not be closed...’

The divine declarative formula; כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה, (Thus says YHWH), is here used in introducing Cyrus, a Persian king, credited by the Ezra-Nehemiah Corpus as well as Deutero-Isaiah to have contributed immensely in the return of the exiles (בְּנֵי־הַגְּלוּתָהּ) (sons of the exile) to Jerusalem from Babylon and Persian under the leadership of Ezra, Nehemiah and Sheshbazzar. Outstanding in Is 45,1 is the reference of Cyrus as the Messiah of the Lord like David. If the people were to view him as such as they went back to Canaan, then subordination to him and unquestionable allegiance was the expected behaviour.

More so, in Jeremiah 27:3-12 the kings of Edom, Moab, of the sons of Ammon, Tyre and Sidon are told that Nebuchadnezzar is the chosen servant of God to whom all land has been given. People are even commanded not to listen to prophets and diviners who were mobilising them not to subjugate to Babylon. This positive view of a foreign, powerful king at least for some time, is also reflected in Jer 29,7 in which Jews in Babylon were taught ‘to seek for the welfare of the city, שְׁקוּם הָעִיר, since it is in this that their welfare will also found, יִהְיֶה לָכֶם שְׁקוּם.’

וַיְדַרְשׁוּ אֶת־שְׁקוּם הָעִיר אֲשֶׁר הִגַּלְתִּי אֶתְכֶם לְשִׂמָּה וַיְהִי־לָלוּ בַעֲדָהּ אֶל־יְהוָה כִּי בְשָׁלוֹמָה
יְהִי שְׁקוּם:

‘Seek for the peace (imperative) of the city that I made you go into, and pray (imperative) for it to the Lord so that in giving it peace, he may also give You peace.’

The verbs in this passage are curious and enlightening in their instruction to the *bane ha golah* in the exilic period in Babylon. They are ordered to seek the peace of the city which the Lord made them to be exiled (the *Hiphil* suggests that the Lord is the one who used other people as instruments in carrying the people into exile). In other words, this imperative to seek peace might be in a way encouraging them to subordinate to Babylonian authorities for the smooth running of city affairs.

Likewise, in the Apocryphal books, a positive view of foreign leaders is somewhere evidenced, for example in Sir. 10,4; Wis. 6,3 and Baruch 1,10-12. In Baruch, the relationship of members of the cult as acknowledging the civil authority is evident.

And they said: "Herewith we send you money; so buy with the money burnt offerings and sin offerings and incense, and prepare a cereal offering, and offer them upon the altar of the Lord our God; ¹¹ and pray for the life of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and for the life of Belshazzar his son, that their days on earth may be like the days of heaven. ¹² And the Lord will give us strength, and he will give light to our eyes, and we shall live under the protection of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and under the protection of Belshazzar his son, and we shall serve them many days and find favour in their sight,

[Catholic Biblical Association (Great Britain), [*The Holy Bible: Revised Standard Version, Catholic edition*](#) (New York 1994) Bar. 1,10-13].

On the other hand, however, it may be said that in the MT prophetic literature, human kingship, especially that of foreign nations, is negatively assessed though the overarching view that both good and bad kings are under the ultimate control of God. According to D. Van Duren (2016:13), though some OT passages such as Proverbs 8,15-16 may be said to be foundational to Rom. 13:1-7, the Noahic Covenant of Gen. 8-9 plausibly was in Paul's mind as he addressed his audience. To appreciate the following argument, readers should keep in mind that Paul must have known the Hebrew Bible extraordinarily well. This is supported by N. T. Wright, (2013:13) who forwards that "Israel's scriptures were as familiar to Paul, and as readily available in his well-stocked mind, as Beethoven's sonatas to a concert pianist."

The Noahic covenant of Genesis 8,21-9,17 (especially 9,5-6), provides a crucial background for reading Romans 13:1-7, and that reading Romans 13 in this way clarifies whether Paul meant to prohibit resistance to civil magistrates in all circumstances. According to the Noahic covenant, God commissioned the human community generally to pursue and enforce justice, and Paul, with his attention to magistrates, must have meant to focus that obligation rather than nullify it. Although scripture itself offers no precise guidelines about when disobedience, resistance, or even rebellion against authorities may be the righteous course, the primal obligation that the Noahic covenant ascribes to the people as a whole continues to stand behind, and hence to qualify, Paul's exhortations in Romans 13.

One of the seven Noahide laws is of particular interest here. Paul's teaching that God has ordained civil authorities (Romans 13:1-2) to administer justice (13:3-4)-in context, Paul speaks specifically about the authorities of pagan Rome-corresponds closely to the notion that Gentiles should enforce just laws.

Next to be considered is the conception of extra-Biblical sources, both Jewish and those of the Greco-Roman cosmology. This consideration is based on the view that as a product of both the Jewish and the Greco-Roman mindset, Paul might have been influenced by the same in coining the pericope under study. A study of these cosmologies may thus contribute to a contextual understanding of Rom. 13:1-7.

4.2.1 ἐξουσία and ὑποτασσῶ in the Greco-Roman and extra-Biblical Jewish sources

In his treatment of *exousias huperousais* and their establishment in their offices by God, Paul seems to have drawn not only from the Jewish tradition but also from the Greco-Roman cosmology which was itself influenced by the cosmologies of ancient civilizations. F. Dvornik, (1974:3), traces the origins in the Near East, which is the cradle of human culture and civilization. Ancient Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, and Persia and the Hittites who left a rich inheritance in the political field which elaborated upon the concept of an absolute hereditary monarchy, thus bringing the concept of royalty into the closest association with that of divinity. Egypt even goes so far as to adopt the principle of a divine royalty and to devise a religious cult in its honour.

Ancient Near Eastern worldviews arguably impinged in one way or another on both the Jewish and Greco-Roman cosmologies and appears to have been vivid in Hellenistic Judaism since it was influenced by both. In the ANE, cosmology was closely related to the affairs of state as to the cycles of nature, and the correlation between nature and human activity was the basis for their mythopoeic thought, C. Morrison, (1968: 71). This means that the affairs of the physical state were not viewed divorced from the other realm, in an attempt to understand, maintain or correct the desired world order.

In Egypt for example, the office and person of the pharaoh was considered divine. The Pharaoh as the son and image of the Creator, was the guarantee of social stability through the integration of nature and society in an abiding harmony. Here, the conception of spiritual forces as standing behind human, earthly institutions, is noticeable. The governed population then had to respond to the pharaoh with subjugation since he represented the gods. According to J.A. Wilson, (1946:62), ‘before moving directly to a consideration of the state and its place in the Egyptian scene, we should consider two questions which provide a setting for that consideration, in that they have a bearing on the relation of the state to the universe and on the function of the state to the benefit of man: did the ancient Egyptian see an essential difference in substance between man, society, the gods, plants, animals and the physical universe? Did he believe the Universe to be benevolent, hostile, or indifferent to him?’

The pharaoh was the other substitute for the gods. He was himself one of the gods and was the land’s representative among the gods. He was also the official intermediary between the people and the gods, the one recognized priest of all gods. “Endowed with divinity, the pharaoh had the protean character of divinity; he could merge with his fellow gods and could become any of them. In part, this was symbolic, the acting of a

part in religious drama or the simile of praise. It is however important to note that the Egyptian did not distinguish between symbolism and participation; if he said that the king was Horus, he did not mean that the king was playing the part of Horus, he meant that the king *was* Horus, that the god was effectively present in the king's body during the particular activity in question.

How can the king be the god-king unless the god-king is present in him, so that the two become one? A single text magnifying the king equates him with a series of deities: 'He is Sia', the god of perception; he is Rē'; the sun-god he is Khnum' the god who brings mankind into being on his potter's wheel; he is Bastet' the goddess who protects; and he is Sekhmet' the goddess who punishes. To some extent, the way of describing this relationship between pharaoh and the gods, and ministers of God, may be said to be having some affinity with the Egyptian way of viewing the king as the intermediary priest.

More so, J. Kugler (1977) also argues of the divine status or the kingship of the Pharaoh, which was arguably adopted by Luke in his presentation of the divine kingship of Christ in his gospel. The discourse of the Pharaoh as the son of Rē, though not clear as to when it started, seemed to have taken its toll when the status of Pharaoh as a pyramid builder shifter to his role as the builder of sanctuaries of the Sun god, which may evidence to the fact of the proliferation of this cult in Egypt:

J. Kügler, (1997:17):

Der König als "Sohn des Re" In der 4. Dynastie, genauer bei König Djedefre (2528-2520 v.Chr.), Sohn und Nachfolger des großen Pyramidenbauers Cheops, taucht zum ersten Mal der Titel auf, der ab der 5. Dynastie dann zum kanonischen Bestandteil der komplexen und seit dem Mittleren Reich fünfteiligen Königstitulatur gehört und den Pharaos bis zum Ende der ägyptischen Geschichte begleiten wird: "Sohn des Re" (s3 Rc.w). Im Hintergrund stehen tiefgreifende religiöse Veränderungen, die man heute nicht mehr genau beschreiben kann, die aber etwa dadurch erkennbar werden, daß die Könige nun keine gewaltigen Pyramiden mehr bauen, sondern stattdessen ab der 5. Dynastie die Sonnenheiligtümer im Mittelpunkt der königlichen Bauanstrengungen stehen.

Das läßt darauf schließen, daß der Glaube an den Sonnengott in dieser Zeit einen enormen Bedeutungszuwachs erfahren haben muß. Gerade aufgrund des Wechsels von den großen Pyramiden zu den Sonnenheiligtümern hat man den Titel "Sohn des Re" als Anzeichen für ein neues, bescheideneres Selbstverständnis des Herrschers interpretiert und hier Anzeichen für eine Minderung der Göttlichkeit des Königs gesehen. HORNUNG hat dieser These widersprochen. Er will die Sohnesformel nicht als Rangminderung verstanden wissen, sondern als einen Versuch, ein unbestimmtes Verhältnis zu einer Gottheit genauer zu definieren. Die Rede von der Sohnschaft "ist eher eine Klammer, die künftig den Götterherrscher und sein irdisches Ebenbild aufs engste verbindet, oder ein kollektives Regierungsprogramm, das die ägyptischen Könige verpflichtet, die Schöpfungstaten des Sonnengottes auf Erden zu wiederholen."

Unabhängig davon, ob die These von MORENZ als Beschreibung einer Grundlinie der Entwicklung nicht doch zutrifft, überzeugt jedenfalls die Deutung des Titels als Ansatz einer

Explikation der Beziehung zwischen König und Gott. Eine narrative Entfaltung des Titels im Sinne einer Geburts-legende gibt es für das Alte Reich nicht. Genauer: Für eine solche Legende haben wir keinen Beleg aus dem Alten Reich. Wir wissen also nicht, wie sich die Ägypter dieser Zeit vorstellten, daß der König zum Gottessohn wurde. De facto geschah dies durch die Thronbesteigung, aber ob sich damit dann auch Vorstellungen von göttlicher Zeugung verbanden, oder ob man eher "adoptianistisch" gedacht hat, das alles muß offenbleiben.

However, the father son relationship between the prominent god and the pharaoh did not so much point to the diminished form of status on the part of pharaoh, as it emphasised more regarding his close relationship with the deity.

So J. Kügler, (1997:17),

In der Perspektive ägyptischen Denkens über die Vater-Sohn-Relation wäre dann der Aspekt der Zeugung nicht einmal der wichtigste. "In den Fragen der biologischen Herkunft dominierten die Vorstellungen vom Mutterleib die vom Vatersamen, in der Abkunft vom Vater stehen die kulturellen und geistigen Aspekte, Amt und Unterweisung, im Vordergrund." Wo das Hauptgewicht liegt, wird deutlich, wenn wir uns die wesentlichen semantischen Zuordnungen zu den beiden gesellschaftlichen Rollen vergegenwärtigen...

More so, the pharaoh's double role of protecting those who do good as well as punishment of those who trespass, may be said to have affinity with Paul's description of the civil ἐξουσία who wield a sword in their hand and who pose as a terror to those who do evil. The Greek word κακός in Rom. 13:4 may be translated 'evil' instead of 'bad' as done by most translators. If that is done then, the role of punishing the trespassers by the civil authority may thus be viewed from the spiritual point of view not a moral one as may be implied by bad. (Are not these senses found in Paul's need for subjugation for the sake of order in the state; paying taxes to obtain favour and avoid the wielding of the sword by the king who is a representative of divine providence?)

According to J.A. Willson, (1946:65), understanding, supreme rule, building up of the populace, protection and punishment were all attributes of the king; the king was each of them; each of these attributes was manifest in a god or goddess; the king was each of these gods or goddesses.``

Furthermore, with the development of astrology in the Near East, the idea that events which happen on earth are controlled by stars and heavenly bodies, was further reinforced. "For C. Morrison, (1968:78), the basis of astrology was the older belief in the correspondence between the activities of the gods above and the events of human history below. This idea also had to do with the place of the State in the Cosmos. The influence of astrology thus pervaded some civilizations including the political activities of the Greco-Roman world, as well as the political thinkers of that successive times.

For instance, Stoicism fed from astrology the position that the universe is united and harmonious in that it is ruled by divine Providence not chance. Hence the universe and its order and established authority in the cosmos. With the influence of such a mindset, divination was employed as people sought to know what lay in future for them, by means of magic, they hoped to alter or improve it; with amulets and other symbols, they hoped to acquire and maintain the favour of the powers which reigned over them.

Likewise, Paul's exhortation to do good also fits in the position of Stoicism: a branch within Hellenistic philosophy, one of the pillars that shaped Roman political thought. When it comes to consideration of the status of authorities in Greek philosophy, Stoicism stands up in support of civil rulers. Stoics like Zeno, Panaetius, Epictetus, Cicero (*On the Republic* and *On the Laws*), Seneca, Marcus Aurelius, whose theories were widespread during the time of Paul, authorities ought to be obeyed. Panaetius had taught as early as the 2nd century BC that 'the life of virtue ought to be characterised by composure of mind, contentment with one's circumstances, and submission to God's Providence.

In accepting the conditions of life, a virtuous man supports established government and engages in public service. Leading Stoics emphasised on 'cultivating republican virtue', as well as the pursuit of the good of the society, since ancient democracy had gone awry in the decline of public virtue and the rise of self-interest, as Roman patricians sought their own selfish interests above those of the republic, R.A. Horsley, (2003:34). This preoccupation with the common good is depicted in Paul's teaching on governments being preoccupied with taxation for the good of the citizens and was earlier echoed by Cicero who in *Republic* 1:39, defined the nature and purpose of civil government as 'a commonwealth is the affairs of a people. But a people is not any collection of human beings brought together in any sort of way, but an assemblage of people in large numbers associated in an agreement with respect to justice and the common good.'

Apart from the Stoics and their influence in Greco-Roman political thought, the influence of the political philosophy of Pythagoras may not be underestimated in the thinking of Paul and his contemporaries backwards. According to E.R. Goodenough, (after examining several Pythagorean fragments dating from the Hellenistic period), these fragments offer a key to the philosophy of the Hellenistic age which considered the state to be within a universal divine order in which the king occupies a unique position as an earthly instrument for universal harmony. Though the mindset of philosophers may be held to have been different from ordinary people who might not have envisaged the correspondence between king and god, world and state, the individual's concern for civil peace and justice was not so different from his hope for the favourable disposition of the seasons and good health.

C. Morison, (1968:79), mentions Plutarch's conception regarding Rulers and their position: 'rulers are ministers of God for the care and safety of mankind, that they may distribute or hold in safe keeping the blessings and benefits which God gives to men.' This understanding of the power of the king may be the one motivating Paul as he is writing about those occupying civil offices. Moreover, the movement from singular to plural in Paul's discussion of ἐξουσία in v 1 and v3, may to some extent be said to be having some affinity in the Egyptian power set up and its principle of substitution. This principle held that, if the king could represent a god, it is also true that the king could be represented by a man. The business of kingship was too detailed for absolute rule by a single individual, so that certain responsibilities must be deputised even though state dogma said that the king did all. Similarly, state dogma might insist that the king was the sole priest for all the gods; but it was impossible for him to function every day in all the temples; that function must also be deputised.

Thus, the Roman emperor also was deputised by magistrates and other state functionaries in collecting tax and running the happenings of the empire] was made the son of *Rē* for the specific purpose of ruling *Rē*'s chief concern, the land of Egypt. He was Lord of the two lands' because it was the function of government to make Upper and Lower Egypt an effective single nation. Thus, the two Lords', Horus and Seth, were united in the person of the king. This cosmological view may be in a way gleaned from the centrality that ruling authorities are being accorded as ministers of God to adjudicate the worldly affairs seemingly on his behalf.

During the principate period of the Roman empire, honouring the emperor was even seen as a divine duty of everyone who resided in the empire. This mentality stretched to even surpass the time of Paul's authorship of his letter to the Romans, and its influence may also be sensed in the discourse against certain heresies in early Christianity. An example here may be the case involving Origen's rebuttal of Celsus, (*Origen Against Celsus 8.63*), who advocated for the worshipping of daemons instead of the Christian God, because those in authority on earth hold power only by the help of daemons.

In this scenario therefore, the belief that behind sitting human ἐξουσία, stands some invisible power to be given reverence by citizens, maybe another way of viewing the issue of authority and individual response to it. The 20 BC poem by Augustan poet Virgil; *Aeneid* for example, presents Rome (*Virgil; Aeneid 1,279*), as 'chosen by the gods to exercise rule without end and as inaugurating a golden age of superior cultural blessing. Paul's teaching in Rom. 13:1-2 seems to have some affinity with this metanarrative and so may to this extent fit in this imperial *propaganda* program. Thus, Paul may to this extent and background be considered a sympathiser of the state whose role was to convince Christians, who by now were growing in population, to be

patriotic and submissive to the empire. If not, then his message may certainly have been manipulated by imperial propagandists as they left no one behind, (Christians included), in their attempt to resuscitate Augustus in Nero especially in his early days in office.

On the other hand, however, in some Roman historical sources, the concept ἐξουσία is striking in that its nuances seems to be limited only to the human civic order. For example, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a Roman historian, used ἐξουσία at least two times in his books 8 and 11 respectively, on the History of Rome, ((*Dionys. Hal. 8,44.4; 11,32.1*), to refer to human superior authority and authority of the magistrate, respectively. This may indicate that this term was also used to refer to ordinary human authority. On the other hand, however, Paul's command in Rom. 13:1-7 regarding the position of civil authorities has been opinioned by some scholars to be distinct from that of the Greco-Roman cosmology. While rulers were pampered with eulogies and held close to gods both in Egypt, Athens and Rome, Pau addressed them as servants and ministers of God. According to J.R. Harrison (2011:309),

Paul clearly demoted the imperial ruler in importance when we consider the Greek and Roman background evidence. The ruler is merely God's servant (Rom. 13:4a, 4b [διάκονός], 6 [λειτουργοί]). Notwithstanding, Paul's approach contrasts markedly with the Greek and Roman sources that present the ruler in luminous hues. The Graeco-Roman writers exalt the ruler as the image of God, the vice-regent of God who is foreknown and commissioned by him, the embodiment of animate law, the priestly intermediary between his people and the gods, the summation of divine virtue and wisdom, head of the body politic, the soul of the *res publica*, and, finally, the world benefactor and the dispenser of mercy. Strikingly, Paul is deliberately silent about these accolades. In fact, the real emphasis of the passage is upon the obedience of believers to the ruler rather than the transcendent status of the ruler.

Moreso, in the Jewish literature of the Intertestamental period, there seems to be no direct mention of the Hebrew equivalent of *exousia* in relation to foreign authority. However, a positive view of all leaders seems to have been widespread, to some extent. In the letter of Aristeas to *Philocrates*, (15,195,225), it is mentioned that 'all kings receive their wealth, fame and power from God. Even Josephus (J.W. 2,140; Ant 15.374), states that the Essences swore an oath to observe faithfulness 'to all men, but especially toward rulers since no one is able to rule apart from God.' In later Jewish writings such as the Mishnah, Rabbi Hanina (priest of the first century AD), is credited with saying 'pray for the peace of the empire, since but for the fear of it, men would swallow one another alive. Following this argument, M. Bockmuehl, (2000:150), forwards that Romans 13 reflects "a point of view that is remarkably compatible with later rabbinic ideas of the legitimacy of Gentile government along with the Noahide

obligation to establish and honour civil authorities and law courts. This is supported by J.R., Harrison (2011: 265), who forwards that

Undoubtedly, Paul's strong emphasis on the importance of the believer's submission (Rom. 13:1, 5) to the authorities has to be understood against the teaching of the Old Testament, the literature of Second Temple Judaism, and the dominical traditions about the establishment of the authorities by God (13: 1b, 1c, 2a). The theocentric emphasis of the entire passage underscores that Paul had strongly imbibed the exilic traditions of the Hebrew scripture regarding God's sovereign control of the Gentile nations and their rulers for his purposes. The pseudepigraphic and apocryphal literature of Second Temple Judaism underscores the same point.

This was also in agreement with the position of some leaders in Rabbinic Judaism, in which some rabbis manifest a positive view of imperial authorities: 'Pray for Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and for his son Belshazzar, that their life on earth may last as long as the heavens; so the Lord will give us strength and light to walk by, and we shall live under the protection of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon and of Belshazzar his son, we shall give them long service and gain their favour.' 2011:(266). In The Testament of Levi and that of Solomon, (*TestLevi* 3,8; *TestSol* 20,15 B); Jewish sources, which were also widespread in Paul's time, have sections which seem to forward the thesis that human governments mirror the spiritual beings who stand behind them.

The view of authorities was not however entirely positive since there were movements especially in Judaism which propagated that Roman occupation was evil and so needed to be physically fought by any faithful Jew. According to Josephus, (*J.A.* 18,4-10; *J.W.* 2.118), others went to the extent of founding movements that forwarded rebellion and resistance to leadership, as the task critically at hand, for example, Judas the Galilean the founder of the fourth philosophy; the Zealots, active in the Jewish war of 66-74 AD, establishment of Masada. This is also furthered by G.W.E. Nickelsburg, (1981) and J.C. Collins, (1984), who held that some Jewish apocalyptic literature of the same period was also against civil governments and expressed longing for the time when God's rule will be established to the utter thwarting most especially of pagan nations that oppress Israel.

Considering the above snippets surrounding the human authority in a natural state, it is evident that the tug-of-war regarding the status of human kings, over-arches the known sources of the time of Paul, both Jewish and Greco-Roman. This then becomes difficult to say with certainty how Paul understood the concept, even as he rendered it in the plural; *exousiais hyperokontas*. Could these be natural human beings or the powers that stand behind them who are actually in charge as these human beings are sitting on thrones? As mentioned above, some scholars who dealt with the same pericope seem to be divided along these lines; one group supposing that the spiritual

powers are the ones that are in reference, others saying Paul might have been influenced by Rabbinic teaching to identify ἐξουσία with human secular authority as might also be found in Matt. 8,9; human civil authority. Possibly, a third position may also be advocated.

Those advocating for an understanding of the pericope as referring to human leadership, point to the issue of the civil roles of leadership, especially the collection of tax, as an authenticator of this understanding. In numerous definitions of ἐξουσία, Rom. 13:1.2-3 are frequently cited as examples in which the term is used to refer to human officials or governments as bearers of ruling authority, W. Arndt et al:353). This is also supported by Josephus (*J.W. 2.140.*), making Rom. 13:1b; ‘...for there is no authority if not from God...’, as quoting an ancient saying which has been used in numerous sources to refer to human authority. After an investigation on ἐξουσία and ὑποτασσω regarding the senses in which they were used, some observation may be highlighted: Both in the Old and New Testament, the only pericope in which these two concepts are directly used together is Rom. 13:1-7.

In 1 Pt. 2:13-14; ὑποτασσω is used alongside πάση ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει, (‘every human creation’), presumably to specify ἐξουσία:

13 Be subject for the Lord’s sake to every human institution, whether it be to the emperor as supreme, 14 or to governors as sent by him to punish those who do wrong and to praise those who do right. (RSVCE).

According to A. Clinton, ‘this then becomes the first commentary of Rom. 13:1 which clarifies that authority being referred to is human and not spiritual as what Cullman suggested’. If A. Clinton’s suggestion is anything to go by, then Paul, a Christian leader may be said to have advocated for the recognition of the pagan Roman Emperor and his entourage, whose offices he justifies having had been instituted by God. This would also justify what would be promulgated by the same offices who are positively depicted, and who seem to have as part of their mandate the wielding of the sword as a way of whipping transgressors into line. Important to note is that in doing so, they will be administering God’s anger on transgressors.

This tentative finding under this section which has so far dealt with the exegesis of Rom.13:1-7, trying to respond to the main exegetical Question: Is Paul being pro-Empire in this pericope? My tentative response is that to a greater extent, Paul sounds to be both pro-Emperor as well as pro-empire in this pericope. This position was arrived at after critically analysing the grammar, syntax and morphology of the pericope, coupled by an inter-textual comparative study of Scriptural passages in both the LXX and the MT, as well as the NT, which were as well follows up on Patristic, Medieval and Modern empires, in which I learnt that successive great empires seem to

have adopted this slant, which they utilised for cohesion and prosperity purposes in the quest for self-determination.

For this argument to be complete, it seems imperative to follow up on the second part of the *inclusio*; the payment of tributes and taxes, which will be treated below as the ‘how’ part in the command to subjugate to ruling authorities. The nature of the institution of taxation in the ancient world will be investigated: Who paid which tax; were there compulsory taxes for all? Was there an ideological underpinning supporting the institution of taxation? Thus, were taxes always collected by compulsion, or was there some kind of ideological underpinning, possibly religious in persuading the populace to pay? What mode of payment did they employ especially in the Roman empire?

The enquiry thus relies on the taxes that Paul mentioned in Rom. 13:6-7, and tries to establish what they consisted in, as well as trace how they were viewed not only in the Rome of Paul’s time, but also in the earlier times in the Republic as well as in ancient empires.

The context of Paul’s authorship will be studied, in an endeavour to situate his directives. However, this will be done taking cognisance of the difficulties associated in the study of context and the shortcomings associated with theorising on the ancient world based on passages that are not ubiquitous in the NT. Authority and taxation are not dealt with at length in the NT, and so making a hypothesis out of something mentioned in passing becomes problematic. This complication of linking text with context or seeing the context from the snippets of the text will be dealt with in the critique section below. The following exercise follows the argument that the command that people pay taxes and tributes which are specifically mentioned in the pericope, Paul outlined something tangible and topical which was to be the ambient in which subjugating to civil ruling authorities was going to be concretised. Through the application of principled eclecticism, the findings of economics in the investigation of the economies of earlier empires will here be applied.

The above exercise; of knowing how the concepts used by Paul were used or at least understood within his context, seems vital for interpretation since it limits the danger of anachronism. This is supported by Zsifkovits (1964:17), who sees the danger of bringing in to the text modern concepts of say authority, power, subjugation, state, and tax that were not otherwise unknown to the world of Paul:

Es ist schon viel darüber geschrieben worden, was der Staat sei, worin sein Wesen und seine Funktion bestehe, wo die Grenzen seiner Zuständigkeit liegen. Dabei gehen die Meinungen in diesen Fragen weitgehend auseinander, nicht zuletzt deshalb, weil der Staat tatsächlich ein so komplexes Gebilde ist, daß seine ganze Wirklichkeit nicht leicht mit einer kurzen Definition umschrieben werden kann. Dazu kommt noch, daß der Staat im Laufe der Geschichte

verschiedene Formen angenommen hat, so daß z. B. der antike Staat keineswegs derselbe ist wie unsere modernen Demokratien und Diktaturen.

Dabei hat sich nicht nur die zugrundeliegende Staatsmetaphysik geändert - inwiefern der antike Mensch den Staat unmittelbar den Göttern verbunden sah, während wir dem Staat im Diesseitig-Welthaften, also im profanen Raum seinen Platz zuweisen- sondern der Staat ist auch insofern ein anderer geworden, als er seinem Umfang und Apparat nach ganz andere Ausmaße angenommen hat. Aus all dem folgt zunächst, daß bei einer biblischen Untersuchung über den Staat schon von vornherein Vorsicht geboten ist, um einen Anachronismus zu vermeiden, der aus dem Neuen Testament Dinge über den modernen Staat herausläse, die im Neuen Testament gar nicht enthalten sind, weil eben gewisse Gegebenheiten noch nicht vorhanden waren. Es ist überhaupt wichtig, auch bei einer biblischen Untersuchung mit klaren Begriffen ans Werk zu gehen, denn nur dann wird man den überzeitlichen Gehalt des betreffenden Offenbarungswortes dem ganzen Umfang nach zu erheben imstande sein.

Sonst läuft man nämlich Gefahr, auf dem Wege anachronistischer Begriffsverwischung auf der einen Seite bibelfremde Dinge ins Neue Testament hineinzutragen, während man auf der anderen Seite infolge zu geringer Sachkenntnis Dinge übersieht, die in der Bibel wohl enthalten sind, jedoch richtig herausgelesen werden wollen. Mit anderen Worten: Nur wenn man sich z. B. darüber im klaren ist, was die Begriffe Staat, Obrigkeit, Autorität, Macht, Liebe, Steuer usw. in biblischer Zeit aussagten, welche Bedeutung sie dagegen heute haben, wenn man sich dann vor allem darüber im klaren ist, was bei all diesen Begriffen das gleichbleibende Moment von damals und heute ist, dann wird man auch wissen, welche überzeitlichen religiösen und ethischen Forderungen von der Bibel her den diesen Begriffen zugrundeliegenden Wirklichkeiten gegenüber erwachsen.

4.2.2 Rom. 13:6-7; Tribute and tax payment, as the 'how' of subjugating?

As mentioned above, this section follows up on the structure of the thesis which treated Rom. 13:1 and Rom. 13:7 as an *inclusio*. The use of the imperative in ordering subjugation to authority as well as in the payment of tax and tolls seems to be stressing on the same point, whereby tax payment may be held to be the tangible proof of subjugation to ruling civil authorities. It is this point that further scores a point for the school of thought that advocated the treatment of *exousias* as human civil authorities and not angelic powers, because civil authority were the recipients of the taxes who were committed to this cause. This as well endeavours to add a voice in support of the hypothesis to interpret this pericope as it is presented to the reader, as opposed to those who employ such theorem as the Hidden Transcript and the Double Discourse, which conclude that Paul meant the opposite of what is written in the pericope. The following translation of Rom. 13:6-7 extracted from my proposed translation of the passage, Rom. 13:6-7, will be used in this section:

⁶ **Because of this**, you also **pay tax** since they are ministers of God actively engaged in this thing. ⁷ You must **pay out** all the obligations; taxes to whom they are due, customs duty to whom customs duty is due, reverence to whom reverence is due, **salary** to whom salary is due. **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 τιμὴν.

[Aland, K. et al., *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Stuttgart ^{28th Edition}2012) Rom. 13:6-7].

It is my observation that there exists a gap in theological scholarship pertaining to the interpretation of this pericope. This gap might have been caused by theologians who suggest models and hypotheses in the interpretation of the pericope, instead of consulting the data from other disciplines which have especially studied in depth the Roman context of Paul's message, with the spectacles of their area of speciality. These disciplines include economic history, archaeology, exegesis, economics and political science. Some of the findings of these disciplines have been utilised above in the study of Paul within both the Jewish and Roman matrix. With the help of principled eclecticism, the findings of the said disciplines seem to be helpful in widening the spectrum in an attempt to understand the context in which the passage was authored.

An overview of authority and taxation in the Roman Republic and the Principate

As a point of departure, it is noteworthy that the rise to dominance of Rome, from being a village into being a political powerhouse for over 500 years, seems to have been supported by close to well established institutions. According to Tan, Rome, which began as a rural, Italian village, ended up dominating the known world of that time thereby establishing city-states which as well contributed to the well-being of this once upon a time village. Apart from possibly strong armies, and war machinery, a good administration, especially economic administration, may be credited to Rome's success.

This administration structure of highly organised functions of government, O.W. Reinmuth, (1934:xxxiv) argues, was adopted by Rome from its Ptolemaic predecessors, especially regarding the role of the provincial prefect of Egypt, in connection with the central government. possibly had different methods of mobilising economic resources from within Italy as well as from outside the Italian Peninsula. Though the administration of Egypt was unique and may not qualify Egypt to be labelled as other provinces, it may be used as a schema in determining the uses of revenue and taxation since there is wider documentation regarding the subject in Egypt.

The uniqueness of Egypt lay in the fact that her prefect; the representative of the emperor in Alexandria, was hand-picked by the emperor himself, beginning with

Octavius, excluding the role of the senate, and would be cited as proof of how the princeps was moving towards the direction of sole rule, there by becoming an emperor. Senators were not even allowed to visit Egypt without the permission of the emperor and the emperor directly controlled his prefect in Egypt. According to O. Reinmuth, (1934:2), this was so due to the vast wealth of natural resources in Egypt such that the one who controlled the fertile Nile valley also had the potential to determine the politics of Rome.

Thus, prefects to Egypt were carefully chosen, usually selected from among the equestrian order, or members of the praetorium guard, who were tried and tested loyal cadres. Another proof of her advancement seems to have been the earlier evolution of the idea to have a kind of 'state' treasury, which might have been responsible for the administration of the public funds. A conventional understanding of state in this respect will be inspired by Weber's definition of a state as a centralised collection of institutions that monopolises the setting of binding rules and the legitimate coercive right to enforce them within a demarcated territory, J. Tan, (2017: xxii).

This to some extent seems inspired by Paul's description of authority as wielding the sword, a sign of coercion. Thus, the ability to gather economic resources and distribute them amongst the populace or utilise them for either the advancement of social amenities such as public roads, bridges, public baths or for the defence of the same, appears to have been genius considering the timeline in which these were installed. Taxation, which evolved from booty as will be demonstrated below, seems to have had been one of the major contributors to Rome's economy, and hence, a look at taxation in selected periods of the Republic and the Principate follows below in an endeavour to understand Paul's message in the pericope under study, in its context.

Generally, Roman history can be divided into three distinct periods: the period of kings (c.625-510 BCE), Republican Rome (510-31 BCE), and Imperial Rome (31 BC- 476 AD). Some phases within the republican and the Imperial periods will be investigated due to the availability of sources referencing the institution of taxation. According to A. Momigliano (1934: 83), these periods have fairly available literature which also covers Roman provinces like Syria which had Judea, thanks to Josephus and the preserved decrees of the Caesars as well as talmudic writings: *... le seguenti ricerche possano in qualche modo pretendere di dare un concetto esatto del governo romano, indiretto o diretto, in Giudea e quindi contribuire alla migliore conoscenza della politica provinciale romana nella sua singolare ricchezza e pieghevolezza di istituti e di accorgimenti: non e da dimenticare che la Giudea, grazie a Flavio Giuseppe e soprattutto ai decreti di cesare che egli ci ha conservato, e forse la provincia romana del I sec. A.C e del I Sec d. C. che noi conosciamo meglio.* Though there is a danger of falling into anachronism in dealing with exact data regarding what was transpiring

in the year in which Paul wrote, at least there is some documented information regarding the economic and political scenario, generations before Paul as well as after him.

As a Republic, authority lay with the senate in Rome, who governed following the principle of subsidiarity. It is also worth noting that as a republic, Rome was monist.

More so, as a principate, Rome was ruled by an emperor who was supreme, and considered first among equals. In both the later republican and the Principate phases, there seems to have been a relationship between power and material possession. Those who had access over and control of economic enablers appeared to have had power over others, which manifested itself in different aspects of life. Large private fortunes often represented the surplus from low efficiency agriculture accumulated over a number of generations and concentrated in fewer and fewer hands by social tendencies that reduced the birth-rate among the upper classes, Tan, (2017:xxviv).

These fortunes also reflected a degree of economic disparity permitted by the widespread use of slaves, many of whom would retain little of what they produced beyond what was needed for subsistence. Extreme inequalities of the wealthy were hardly unusual in ancient Mediterranean societies. But the explicit and active domination of Roman social structures by wealth and by wealth requirements is an integral feature that deserves special notice, R. Duncan-Jones, (1974:3). This disparity on the level of possession, which resulted in a steep stratification and hierarchical organisation of society, resulted in the expansion and domination of the powerful as they went out of Rome to other areas which they subdued.

Second to be mentioned is the issue of class or status distinction amongst the inhabitants of Rome's area of influence. The overall distinction was between a Roman citizen and a non-Roman citizen. Within the circle of citizens, there was a distinction between the Patricians or ruling families, and the Plebeians or commoners. On the ladder of leadership, different posts were erected to concentrate on the smooth flow state administration, in this case, regarding the economy. These offices came to be sophisticated the further one went out of Rome. In relation to taxation among Romans, the office of the quaestor was established as early as 420 BC, with four quaestors being elected each year by the *Cornitia Tribuita* an assembly of the people. The number was however increased to ten after 276 BC. Also, there were taxes that were specific to Roman citizens, which however evolved with the passage of time. Alongside consuls, prefects, *publicani* and quaestors were assigned in the Roman provinces to collect tax revenues. These offices are important to mention because they serve to clarify the taxes and tributes that provinces especially were supposed to contribute.

4.2.3 The evolution of taxation: τέλος in the Republic and the Principate

Some economic historians are of the opinion that before the phenomenon of compulsory taxation in Rome, rich families were responsible for contributing towards the sustenance of public social amenities like the construction of roads, bridges and the funding of the army. As Rome began to expand in conquering not only some parts of Italy, but also the Mediterranean, the responsibility shifted from the aristocracy to the citizens, especially when it came to fund wars. Augustus is credited to have introduced a robust tax system in the republic, which was upheld by Claudius, dwindled by Nero, and ultimately re-strengthened by Vespasian after the fall of Nero in the Principate. There seemed to have been an evolution in taxation in which the tax paying burden moved from the elite families of Rome, to include other Roman citizens before being imposed on the conquered provinces who ended up contributing a huge chunk. This however does not mean that the elite and the citizens totally ceased to pay taxes, for snippets are there in history where they were sometimes required to pay specific taxes during particular times.

As mentioned above, consuls, governors and prefects who were assigned in various Roman provinces implemented strategies which were applicable to their contexts, as they aligned the tax system, with the chief aim being however the prosperity for Rome. According to Wallace, in Roman Egypt whose tax system was likely similar to Roman Syria and Palestine, there was a wide variety of taxes that may be grouped into six: taxes on land, produce, and animals, capitation taxes, taxes on professions and occupations, sales taxes, taxes pertaining to priests and temples, and customs and transit taxes, R.J. Cassidy, (1979:577).

According to the Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon (BDAG:998-9), τέλος was used from the 4th C BC to the 3rd C AD for indirect tax, customs duty and toll. In the NT, it is used two times to refer to either 'toll' or 'tribute' in Mt. 17,25. When τέλος is used with ὠνέομαι, (which literally means 'I buy'), they make up the determinative compound word (then τελώνιον which means custom house.), where the noun for tax collector τελώνης comes from, which in its turn denotes a person who purchases from the state the rights to official taxes and dues and who collects these from the people who owe them. Collecting these taxes is rendered as tax-farming in the TDNT, (8,88). This is quoted from *Dimitrakos*, 7149 in which purchasing, and farming are said to be rarely distinguished in Greek. (as may be seen in *Ostraka* I, 525, n3). According to the Moulton and Milligan Greek Dictionary (630-631), τέλος revenue or alien tax as in Rom. 13:7.

During the Republican and Principate periods what Paul refers to as *τέλος* in the pericope under study, might have been used as an equivalent of the Latin *portorium*; the customs duty levied throughout the provinces at seaports and on major trade routes, and *vectigal*, revenue derived from auctions, slaves, inheritance and use of public property, as indirect tax. In Paul's time, some of these taxes were collected by the *publicani* who were privately contracted by the state.

It was also carried out by civil authorities under the supervision of provincial governors and imperial procurators. All inhabitants of the Empire, including those in Rome were subject to most of these indirect taxes. According to A. H.M. Jones among indirect taxes, the most important were import and export duties levied at the frontiers of the city territory.

During the Republic, there were also customs that were levied at Italian ports as harbour dues, and a 5% tax on the manumission of slaves. Another indirect tax was the 1 % sales tax on the proceeds of public auctions, which was a lot since public auctions were frequent, especially in the settlement of estates. Augustus imposed this tax (*Tac., Ann.*, 1,78,2 (Cic Att 16,1; *Livy VII* 16,7), for the benefit of the pension bureau (*aerarium militare*). Tiberius reduced it to 1/2 of 1% after acquiring Cappadocia, but later raised it again. According to Cicero, these customs were however abolished in 60 BC. Tacitus, (*Tac., Ann.* XIII 50f), however notes that these customs were again levied in the Principate.

For J.N. Bailey, (2004:27), during most of the early Empire, contractors collected this tax, probably on a quota basis. The estimated percentages were likely as follows; the main indirect tax was an import tax of 25% at the borders of the empire, 2 or 2.5% at provincial borders within the empire. The border *vectigal* included such obligations as a 2-4% tax on slaves, a 5% tax on large inheritances, and a 1 % tax on sales by auction. These taxes however varied from year to year. Their value would obviously have varied greatly according to the commercial importance of the city concerned: a great port like Alexandria or a caravan city like Palmyra gained a considerable revenue, but the average inland city would not collect much.

Market dues on various kinds were universal, and licence taxes were often imposed on certain trades, A. H.M. Jones, (1974: 27). Additionally, a 4% special sales tax on slaves was also introduced and it was used to pay the city police (*vigiles*), (Dio. LV 31,4). In the early days, this tax had been payable by the buyer, but Nero made the seller responsible. Since Paul wrote in the time of Nero, when this change was introduced, possibly he might be mobilising citizens to pay, in case there might have been some resistance on this and similar taxes and tributes.

Noteworthy is that some taxes that were classified under *telos*, for instance the 5% tax on the manumission of slaves, was handled by contractors and turned into the *Aerarium* or public treasury. The *quaestores arerarii*, were responsible for overseeing

the *Aerarium* where they were responsible for the distribution of war spoils between the *aerarium* and the military since military spoils as well as tribute from provinces was kept in the Temple of Saturn. A. H.M Jones, (1974: 27), where overall quaestors were in control. The key role of quaestors was to administer these public funds, on behalf of high-ranking officials of the state in the pursuit of their agendas, such as military conquest.

Roman citizens, especially the wealthy aristocracy, occasionally paid a direct tax called *tributum*. or war tax. This was a direct contribution to fund the war machinery and it seems to have been unpopular amongst the citizens, such that it was once abolished in 167 BC, since Rome was so flush from conquest, JHIL 22, (2020: 563). However, according to N. Claude, (1976), this direct tax was occasionally revived during the civil wars of the first century BC. In practice, it closely resembled the Athenian *esiphora* in that it was assessed apparently on all forms of property, land houses, slaves, animals, personal effects and money, as declared in the quinquennial census, Cicero, (Flacc. 80).

Tributum was another tax which was kept at the *aerarium*, which some scholars have identified as the 5% inheritance tax and was not used except in critical moments. As an old republican tax, it was at first accumulated as a sacred treasure to be used only in times of Gallic invasions. During the early empire it was gathered by contract and went to the *Aerarium*, but in Vespasian's day it went to the emperor's treasury because Vespasian took in the returns even if he did not supervise the collection, F. Tenney, (1975:50). However, the 5% inheritance tax was not levied on very close heirs, though it did affect legacies for charitable purposes and was collected for military pension treasury (*aerarium militare*), J.N. Bailey, (2004: 27). A unique feature of this *tributum* was however that when the war was over and the treasury was well filled, it was often repaid, Dionysius (Hal V. 47,1). One key aspect of war tax is that it had a link with cult in that it was collected and kept in the temple of Saturn, in its both forms, *aerarium romani* and *aerarium militare*.

On the other hand, subjected people paid direct tax to Rome through the instrumentality of Roman personnel or their agents who were assigned or contracted to work in provinces. what Paul referred to as Φόρος in Rom. 13:7, seems to have affinities with tribute- a designation for a direct tax paid by subject people. In the Roman province of Spain, a century before Paul, Appian mentions about the φόρουσ τουσ όρισθέντασ έπι Γράκου; 'the tribute under Gracchus Tiberius', who was a governor of Hither Spain around 179 BC. This was within the context of the treaty arrangements he made with the defeated Celtiberians. Due to this, some scholars have concluded that Gracchus Tiberius stands at the transition point from booty to taxation in the provinces. Writing in the context of the Empire, with some considerable

exposure to provincial taxation, (since he evangelised in the Mediterranean basin), Paul might have noticed the practice of tribute payment and hence he exhorts his audience to pay tribute in its forms.

This is so because Provincial tributes varied in nature and manner of collection since Rome frequently tried to adapt her methods to those that had already been in vogue. In Spain for instance, Carthage had earlier on imposed a light burden in order to make her conquest easy, and Rome in order to invite people to the new allegiance during the Punic War had lightened rather than increased the tax burden. Hence a definite amount was agreed upon for each community and the towns collected these dues without the interference of the Roman publicans. The *Stipendium* of Spanish communities was equal to about half a tithe.

Furthermore, tithe was another form of Φόρος, which was also there during the Republican era. It was found to be operating in Sicily in 241 BC when Rome annexed it. Though it was only concentrated in the Carthaginian and Syracuse zones (annexed 212 BC). For its smooth flow, the *lex Hieronica* officiated the tithes system in Syracuse, but the Romans then had to apply it to the whole of Sicily after its annexation. It was sold annually at Syracuse, city by city and crop by crop (wheat, barley, fruits), and the contracts normally went to Sicilians or resident Romans, sometimes to the city government themselves. Probably, tithe followed the tax farming system in Athens in which the government would sell the taxation rights to the highest bidder before the farming season which would result in private companies collecting taxes which included the quantity they had already offered to the government, their expenses plus some profits. Tithe taxation was applied to Asia by Gaius Gracchus in 123-2 BC.

In Sicily too, except in cases of several friendly cities which were left immune and of public lands which Rome had inherited from the former sovereign or expropriated at the time of conquest, the grain lands were subjected to tithes, fruit lands to a double tithe, and pasture lands to a cattle head-tax. These tithes were estimated jointly by the community and the Roman official, and the collection contracted accordingly, Frank Tenney, (1975:104). Their contribution of direct tax seems to have been determined by their geographical position within the republic or empire and this resulted in some contributing cash as Φόρος, as others were contributing grain or other commodities available in their localities.

More so, when broken down, it can be established that the people of the provinces paid numerous direct taxes which came in different names and categories.

Thus, within the provinces, Φόρος could be *tributum capitis* (personal tax), and or *tributum soli* (property tax), introduced by Augustus, and collected by local magistrates and turned over to the Roman government. *Tributum capitis* was a poll tax

levied on all provincial inhabitants, the amount varying from place to place and year to year. The *tributum soli* was assessed not only on real estate but on all personal and commercial property at rates varying per year. There seemed to have been different types of taxes depending on where the person was positioned within the empire. People who stayed in Rome seem not to have paid tribute or direct tax Φόρος, Jon Nelson Bailey, (2004:23).

According to A. M. H. Jones (1974:164), most of the taxes levied on provinces were assessed from agriculture (except for the customs; *portoria*), and this was reasonable enough since agriculture produced nearly all the wealth of the empire. Primary forms of *phoros* included *stipendium* or tithe and pasture dues. Cicero refers to the *censoria locatio* in clarifying that between Sicily and the other provinces, judges, there is an important difference in the system of land taxation. In the others, either a fixed tax, called a stipendiary tax, has been imposed as it has been on the Spaniards and most of the Carthaginians, as if it was a reward for victory and a penalty of defeat, or it is let out by censors, as it is under the *Sempronian* law concerning Asia, P. Kay, (2014: 3).

Livy explains *stipendium* further as taxation levied for the payment of the army: in the early years of the Second Punic War, the commander of the Roman army in Spain, which had received no money or supplies from Rome, wrote asking for corn and clothing; pay, he said, if the treasury was in difficulties, he would find a way of getting out of the Spaniards. A few years later, [after the Roman troops had mutinied owing to areas of pay, Scipio Africanus required money from a defeated Spanish people to pay his soldiers. Livy, (XXVIII 25, 9f).

It was not only levied on Spain, but also from the more barbarous and unruly provinces including Gaul, where *publicani* would have found dangerous to reach. In Africa however, *stipendium* was used for poll tax, A.H.M Jones, (1974:162). In this way then, *stipendium* as a form of *phoros* was paid by provinces to sustain the republican army. This seems to have been a sharp change from the ancient practice in which soldiers divided booty amongst themselves after a battle and captured men of the conquered who themselves became soldiers to fight in the next battle. Paying tribute by providing military personnel.

In addition to tithe, there was also a pasture tax called *scriptura* which was probably assessed on the number of cattle grazed. Furthermore, in Roman Africa, *Tributum capitis* was a poll tax, levied at a flat rate on adults, from the age of 12 or 14 to 65, sometimes on males only, as in Egypt, sometimes on both sexes as in Syria. According to Wallace, (1969:191), besides this poll tax proper, payable at different rates in different *nomes*, and at reduced rates or not at all by certain privileged classes, there were other capitation taxes (*merismoi*) for specific purposes, and others again payable

by certain classes (for example, Jews), and also *cheironaxia*, fees to practise a trade or a craft.

For this to be effective, Augustus introduced the concept of regular censuses for the purposes of registering property as well as counting the population. This tax was collected by provincial city authorities (magistrates or liturgical officials probably referred to by Paul?) since they had registers of newly born who were to be added to the list, or the deceased to be scrapped from the list, and in Egypt censuses were done after every 14 years since it was the age of maturity. There were in some cities, taxes on the manumission of slaves and on sales. All these taxes were normally farmed.

The advantage of this taxation system was that it excluded the role of the *publicani* by altering the whole basis of taxation (previously collected) from a proportional levy, where yield was unpredictable, to a fixed levy based on assessed property. The selling of taxes to the *publicani* however continued especially regarding those taxes whose yield could not be determined in advance, notably the customs, but their operations were controlled by imperial procurators, A.M.H. Jones, (1974:166).

Some scholars evidence that during the time of Nero (54-68 AD), the period in which Paul wrote the pericope under study, taxation seemed to have been suppressed as a major contributor to the empire's income.

According to Tenney (1975:43), though taxation was one of the major income generators for other emperors of the Julio-Claudius dynasty, the major source of income for Nero came from extensive confiscations to the extent of confiscating six estates that comprised half of Africa *proconsularis* as recorded by Pliny. As many estates fell into the imperial hands, they were either given to favourites or sold away for ready cash, resulting in the increase in rentals to the imperial Fiscus, while the tithe tribute due the *Aerarium* decreased.

However, this may not be dismissive of taxation as it is mentioning a decrease not an abolishment of the tax institution due to Nero's shift of focus, who might still have utilised taxes since he spent lavishly on buildings and entertainments. Tacitus records that after the great Neronian fire, the emperor sent envoys all over the world (practically compelling) contributions for the rebuilding of Rome, and the pressure on cities and individuals is said to have been severe and grinding, (*Tac. Ann.* 15,45,1).

Considering the language of Rom. 13:Rom. 13:1-7, could Paul be ordering his audience to pay these contributions which were some kind of obligatory tax? To be noted however is that Nero's order was situational and not regular procedure. If so, then a situational interpretation of the pericope may be possible. Looking at emperors who came before him like Augustus and Claudius, and those who came after him especially Vespasian, it might be noted that a more uniform and rational system of

taxation seems to have boosted the income of the empire. According to A.M.H., Jones, (1974:164), an ancient source; (App., Bell. Syr 50), informs us that Augustus introduced two main taxes: *tributum soli* and *tributum capitis*. The first closely resembled the Athenian *eisphora*, being assessed not only as its name might seem to imply on land, classified as arable, vineyard, olive yard, meadowland woods but also on houses, slaves and ships. The tax was a percentage of the assessed value and is known to have been 1 percent in Cilicia and Syria.

F. Tenney, (1975:47), though it was scaled down during Nero's reign, this taxation system, introduced by Augustus, continued for the next two and a half centuries. Vespasian, who came after Nero, found the treasuries insolvent, with 40,000,000,000 sesterces (about \$2,000,000,000), needed to meet immediate needs. Following the precedents of Caesar and Claudius, he again widened the scope of imperial control at the expense of the Senate and its *Aerarium* and, though he did not take the final step in the creation of central Fiscus, he laid a broader basis for its creation. In addition to selling some buildings, he raised the tribute and instituted new taxes in Italy and all provinces. Though there is vague information regarding the nature of this new tax regime, some scholars have forwarded that he doubled the *vectigalia* of some provinces and revived the tribute that was cancelled by Galba. Also, he is said to have introduced a large number of petty taxes, for example the one of urinals that suggested to Titus the phrase, tainted money, F. Tenney, (1975:47).

However, by mentioning Φόρος in the plural in the letter, Paul seems to be referring to the fact that Roman Christians were paying tribute which was not paid in the rest of Italy. J.N Bailey, (2004:23) suggest four possible solutions as to why Paul mentions that:

- a) he makes a mistake in stating that Romans pay such a direct tax.
- b) he is not using the term Φόρος as an equivalent for *tributum* but some other type of tax.
- c) he is indeed referring to some sort of *tributum*, or direct tax, that the Romans paid, but one that is otherwise unknown,
- d) he is including an element from his preaching to churches in the Roman empire, making a statement that applies to Christians throughout the provinces, particularly in the areas where he has worked, but not necessarily to Christians at Rome.

An overview of taxation in the Roman Near East: Background of Paul's world

This section endeavours to extract the state of taxation in the areas that Paul evangelised. The observation is that Rome did not have a blanket like taxation policy on the colonies that were under its rule. While there seems to have been uniform

regarding which taxes and tributes subjugated people would contribute, there was also room for governors, consuls and quaestors assigned to different areas, to impose extra other taxes most especially for their private coffers. It is said that of the ten million dollars provided in Cicero's consulship, the larger part came from provincial tributes which differed in amount and method of collection according to the treaty or exaction made at the time of the conquest. Sicily with its tithes and rents on public lands provided about one tenth of this, the tithe alone amounting to about one million bushels of wheat.

Asia furnished one and a half million dollars in Hadrian's day after Caesar had somewhat lightened her burden. ... since enlarged, Gaul provided two million in Augustan period... in comparison with these provinces, if we consider size, productivity, and the conditions of conquest of each, we may venture to assume about one million dollars from Spain, apart from her mines, half a million for Sardinia and Corsica, a million for Africa with her public lands, a million for Macedonia, and half a million for Cilicia. The other revenues mentioned may well account for three million dollars.

To these amounts, Pompey added the revenue of Syria, Bithynia, and Pontus, amounting about six million dollars; Caesar conquered Gaul thus adding at least one and one half, and Augustus annexed Egypt which, largely being royal property, and consequently now completely at the disposal of the treasury, brought in a full ten million dollars. If some minor taxes introduced by Augustus are added, then the Empire during the first century had an annual budget of about thirty million dollars. (Note that the currency used was not dollars).

As the populace contributed, there seems to have been no knowledge of the end result of their contributions, F. Tenney, (1975: 104). Thus, Roman officials who farmed taxes in Roman Africa, Roman Syria and Palestine, Roman Asia Minor and Roman Greece, applied different techniques depending on their contexts. Roman Syria and Palestine, Asia Minor, and Greece, will be studied since Paul had contact with these regions, and implanted churches the audience of whom might be the subject of address in his message of Rom. 13:1-7. A historic dimension regarding taxation in Mesopotamia will also be supplied, since it may give some historical facts of payments in the Near East both within the civic and cultic context of tax and tithe, which continued in Israel.

According to F. M. Heichelheim, (1975:123-255), during the contact of Rome and Syria Palestine, the first Roman organisation of taxes in Syria and Palestine was begun by Pompey and elaborated by his successor Gabinius. The poll taxes and the land taxes of the Roman Near East were collected directly by officials during the time of the Principate; only the customs tolls and similar taxes were farmed out to the publicans as it was in the time of the Republic.

Moreover, a clearer picture of taxation in the provinces may be gotten from Roman Egypt as mentioned above. Though Egypt was an exceptional case which was controlled directly by the emperor himself through some prefects that he personally appointed without the intervention of the senate, some scholars are of the opinion that the model of taxation used in Egypt maybe said to have had been the same model applied to other provinces. Wallace, (1969:279-285), has it that Egypt had numerous taxes some of which were major whereas others were miscellaneous. He mentions at least twenty-four miscellaneous taxes, most of which originated from Ptolemaic Egypt or earlier periods, and likewise perpetuated by the Imperial Rome. These are, Ἀπαρχή, βικαρίου, Γραμματικὸν φυλακιδῶν, Εἰσιτήριον, Ἐκατοστή, τέλος ἐπιξένων, Ἐπιστατεία φυλακιδῶν, Ἐπιστολικόν, Ἐπίτριτον, Ἐρετικόν, Ζευγματικόν, Μέλι καὶ κηρός, Τέλος κορμῶν τριῶν, Λιθικόν, Παραζυγή ζυγῶν, Προστατικόν, Πλεῖθος, Πρόστιμον, Στεπτικόν, Στεφανικόν, Σωματικόν, Τέλος ταφῶν (?), Τόκος διοική(σεως) and Τραπ(εζιτικόν).

For the immediate context, only selected miscellaneous taxes will be expounded basing on three criteria: either because they were strong in the province(s) during the time of Paul, or because they have some affinity with the taxes mentioned by Paul; in Rom. 13:7: τέλος and Φόρος.

Στεφανικόν (*Stephanikon*), or crown-tax originated in the Ptolemaic period and was not confined to Egypt. According to Wallace, (1969: 281), like other monarchs, the Ptolemies had upon their accession received gold crowns which were ostensibly the voluntary offerings of their loyal subjects. The voluntary character was largely theoretical, and moreover, as time went on, cash offerings became more acceptable to the rulers than actual crowns. Roman emperors found the acceptance of such gifts from their provincial subjects agreeable; and the *aurum coronarium*, levied as a tax, became an important source of revenue for the fiscus. Moreover, in the Imperial period, payments of the crown-tax were first attested in ostraca from the reign of Claudius, and the payment amounted to 2 ½ drachmae. To the same year are perhaps to be assigned receipts from Tentyra where amounts of 1 drachma 2 obols and 2 *drachma* 4 obols are recorded, Wallace, (1969: 282).

In its turn, the Παραζυγή ζυγῶν, (*Parazugē zugōn*), is according to Wallace, (1969: 280), found in three documents from the Arsinoite *nome* dated in the middle of the first century after Christ. Perhaps, these payments represent the *adaeratio* of the liturgy of furnishing a team for service to the state. Another possibility is that they were made for a licence, like the Τέλος αμαξίων.

More so, the Ἀπαρχή (*Aparkē*) is used of a tax paid at the time of reporting the birth of a house-born slave ... the term was also used to refer to inheritance tax and to a tax paid by Jews, Wallace, (1969: 280). According to M. E. Stevens, (2010:4), when

dealing with the issue of payments in the NE, 'a distinction needs to be made between taxes and gifts, in which taxes represent the systematic exaction of surplus from subjugated populations, whereas gifts belong to the sphere of benevolent rule and the consent of the governed.' This distinction seems to have hinged on at least three factors; social status, the quality of the commodity in question and the distinction between tax and tribute. Social status in that the rank of the parties involved defined the transaction; when there was inequality then the lesser party paid tax, whereas where there was parity, the parties presented gifts. Peasants paid taxes and the nobility gave gifts. On the qualitative level of goods: commodities for taxation vs. prestigious goods for gifts.

There is again the issue of some lack of clarity between tax vs. tribute; the amounts that subject regions within the empire paid to the central government were known as tax, whereas amounts paid by countries subdued but still governed by a local ruler and an Assyrian appointee, for example, were known as tribute. As distinct from booty, which was plunder, tribute was connected with formal requisition, which was brought directly to the king possibly annually, not through the provincial system and consisted of non-bulk items with the exception of horses, M. E. Stevens, (2010:100). It may thus be said to have been a show of allegiance and subjugation. Thus, tribute and tax were different.

While in Mesopotamia there was a distinction on the agencies of collecting temple or state tax, with state taxation, tribute, booty and gifts flowed into the palace household and was used for the ambitious building projects as well as supporting the army, the situation was a bit different in Egypt in which the temples storehouses and granaries especially in Thebes were central for the collection of tax. One scholar even suggests that the burial of boats near funerary temples was related to the collection of taxes by divine powers, M. E. Stevens, (2010:107). Thus, the temple was a provincial collection point for government tax and temples were exempt from paying tax, since they were key elements in maintaining state revenue and providing economic stability for Egypt as a whole, thereby qualifying them as a branch of government administration. Even with the advent of the Ptolemaic period (3rd century BCE, the state banks were the collection agencies for state money taxes, whilst the state granary system received and accounted for taxes in kind and rents... Temples remained important for the said purpose, J.J. Janssen, (1979:509). Thus, taxes were given a religious connotation.

Furthermore, it also may be noted that these regularised payments were made to local shrines as well as to major temples. A worshipper could also present gifts and offerings- which were spontaneous, voluntary contributions- over and above the amount of the annual tithe in appreciation for the benevolent acts of the deity or to compensate for sinful acts. In their turn, "taxes' ' were regularised payments owed to

the governing political authority, often charged as a percentage of income or as a specified activity fee. In other words, taxes were a secular version of tithes.

Analogous to sacred gifts and offerings to the temple, 'tribute,' was an occasional contribution to the political authority, typically offered by a lesser political authority to avert military action. An individual, especially a farmer or a herder, was demanded to satisfy the tax obligation of both the palace and the temple. The Bible does not however make this clear-cut distinction between tithe and tax. It does so, maybe because its emphasis was not so much as to produce receipts about the economic life in Israel, but to give the theological significance of the same.

If research is however widened to cover the archaeological findings at ancient temple sites in places like Mesopotamia, evidence from the excavated temple archive show this distinction, and may to some extent clarify some aspects regarding payments in the ancient world. Mesopotamia had compulsory revenue for both the temple and the secular space, M. E. Stevens, (2010:98). About five types of secular tax may be distinguished; the *hamussu*-tax, literally the fifth, mentioned in the Neo-Assyrian text, (which is an indictment against state administration officials): 'up to the present moment, none of the high officials of your land has brought the tribute of the city of Barhalza... may the king question the scribes of the governor of Barhalza... saying, Wherefore have you not given the tribute for Ashur' for non-payment of tax into the temple" (RCAE no. 532). A second type of tax was the *igisuu*-tax was collected from merchants, military commanders among others, with its portion being forwarded to gods and temples.

In Neo-Babylonia, there seems to have been a type of taxes called *nisihtu*-tax which was paid by workmen in the fields in order to be able to move their barley, (CAD N/2:271). The Assyrian king Sargon (721-705 BCE) is quoted as saying 'I imposed on them a *siibtu*- tax, which was a tax imposed on cattle, sheep and goats, which was to be paid annually to Beel and his son. These animals were then supplied for the regular offerings of the temple. The general term for temple revenue of all kinds appears to have been *irbu*, which covered offerings, tithes, taxes and fees paid in silver, commodity staples such as barley, dates), sheep and other animals, M. E. Stevens, (2010:99). The argument is here that these may be referred to as taxes since they were obligatory from persons in the temple's district, and they represented a form of institutional exaction.

As in Mesopotamia and Egypt, paying tax was common in Israel, likewise centred around the Jerusalem temple. In addition to the tithes of agricultural produce and animals, Israelites paid a shekel tax to support the Jerusalem temple economy; *teruma* to Adonai Ex. 30,13, Neh. 10, 33-34; 2 Chr. 24,8-12, or the Mosaic tax. Philo even mentions that diaspora Jews shipped their contribution to the Jerusalem temple, which

were collected at certain banking places around the Mediterranean basin, M. E. Stevens, (2010:111).

Though Israelites paid temple tax, they were not exempt from fulfilling their financial obligations to the reigning political authorities, for the administration of the state, including the support of the royal household as was earlier on mentioned by Samuel when they asked for a king; 1 Sam. 8,11-17. That Israelite kings also collected tax, especially in necessity times, may be seen in 2 Kings. 23,33.35 in which king Jehoiakim collected tax to pay tribute to Pharaoh Neco. This was however met with discomfort with people especially farmers and headers who were mostly affected. Apart from this, Second Temple Israel also had to pay tribute to Persia's imperial coffers and three types are mentioned in Ezra 4,13.20; 7,24 the *middaa*; which was a tribute to be paid in silver or in kind to the king personally; the *belo*, which was probably a poll tax based on the person's capacity to work and the *halak* which was a land tax based on property ownership. M. E. Stevens, (2010: 111).

F. E. Udoh, (2005:5) argues that during the Hasmonean reign, Jews enjoyed some relative independence from paying tribute to foreign powers. Pompey's conquest in 66 BC however disrupted this independence and began a new era (initially chaotic) of dependence on Rome. Different periods of Roman rule in Judea however brought about significant changes in the taxation systems to which the Jews were subject. According to Josephus and the evidence he cites from the Roman decrees and the *senatus consulta*, a turning point for Judea happened in 47 BCE when Julius Caesar awarded the Jews as an *ethnos*, the legal right to live according to their customs.

In addition to this, he stripped the *publicani* company of the authority to collect tax. This then meant that apart from the immunity from military services, billeting the Jews were exempted also of paying the burdensome indirect taxes that were paid to Rome by provincial communities. This was after the Jews and Hyrcanus II supported Julius Caesar's campaign in Alexandria. This system or immunity given by Caesar was disrupted after his death by Cassius, who was the master of Syria from 43 BCE until the end of the civil war in 42 BCE. The system was reconfirmed by Antony in 42 BCE, but the direct tribute imposed by Caesar was not levied upon the Jews after Herod's appointment as king in 40 BCE. This was when Judea became a client kingdom under Roman hegemony and was treated like other client kingdoms in the empire since it ceased to be affiliated to the province of Syria as before, when she was paying direct tribute. Thus, there seems to have been a cry for this privilege among the Christian Jewish circles, and for Paul to command the payment of taxes without weighing this, much leaves to be desired.

Moreover, some scholars are of the opinion that some forms of taxation like *stipendium* were in fact the old arbitrarily assessed levy of money from the subject communities which the Persian empire had previously employed. At day's end, it is noteworthy that

taxation did not originate with the Romans. Earlier empires had imposed some form of tribute on their subjects, the residue of which might have been still in the memory of both Paul and his audience. A general survey on the tax regime in the ANE thus follows, the intention being to observe if the context also had taxes similar to: τέλος and Φόρος.

Of interest, is the question whether *phoros* was linked to cult in ANE powers, as has been observed in the case of Rome in which the successful collection of *phoros* was celebrated in the context of the cult, with the proceeds kept in the temple of Saturn and inscriptions of garland quaestors and governors who brought in more tribute for the prosperity of Rome being erected in temples. For instance, Livy quotes an inscription which the senior Ti. Gracchus set up in the temple of Mater Matuta in 174, to record the subjugation of Sardinia. It was written: ‘*vectigalibus resistitus exercitum salvum atque incolumem plenissimum praeda domum reportavit*, that is: with the taxes having been restored, he brought home his army, safe, unharmed, and laden with booty, P. Kay, (2014:3).

Taxation in Judah during Herod’s time onwards

According to Temmey, (1975:233) Appian, it was on account of rebellions against Roman authority in Pompey, that the kingdom of Herod the Great seems to have been exempt from Roman taxes during the Augustan period, with the exception of the φόροι (*tributum*) for Samaria and Idumea which the king had been compelled to pay in the earlier part of his reign. Herod is somewhere too mentioned to have been appointed to some official post in Rome’s financial administration. Caesar did not only promote Antipater to be the ἐπιτροπος τῶν πραγμάτων in the Jewish state but made him responsible for the Roman taxes and προσδοι Ἰουδαίας, which were due to Rome, went through the hands of the Herodian family even before Caesar abolished the συνέδρια of Gabinius and made the rulers of the new Jewish state responsible for the Roman taxes, Joseph, (*Ant XIV*, 9,5,180. 233).

R. A. Horsley, (2003:13), postulates that Herod intensified the economic exploitation of people in order to support his elaborate regime and lavish court, his extensive building projects as well as his astounding munificence to the imperial family and to Hellenistic cultural causes. It was precisely these harsh taxations that resulted in the social unrest which led to the revolt of the Christian Movement as well as the 66 AD revolt. In Paul however, the same Christian movement was pro- taxes, undoing its foregoing principle. This role of Paul would later on be adopted by missionaries who went side by side with colonising companies to British territories whose agenda was possibly not only to evangelise and win souls for heaven, but also to win docility amongst the colonised groups.

The role of the temple in the collection of tax was especially witnessed during the time of Herod, in which direct income tax on agricultural produce reached one third or one

quarter from cereals and one half from fruit, and this was only one of the taxes collected. There were also indirect taxes, fixed taxes and temporary taxes. Different forms of payment were known in Israel in which the tithe was a cultic ritual throughout the ANE, a mandatory contribution from agriculture and animals, or the equivalent payment in precious metals. Evidence suggests that the compulsory tithe probably amounted to one-tenth of the yearly production or income.

Furthermore, taxation during Herod's reign seems to have been hard on the general populace leading to the unpopularity of the subject and to how peasants grew poorer. Most scholars concur that this taxation was meant for the support of the lavish life and military campaigns that mainly benefited the elite and their interests. Scholars are however divided on whether Herod continued to pay tribute to Rome. On one hand, some scholars forward that as a client king of the Romans who had prevented the ambitious expansion of the Parthians who were archenemies of Rome in Syria,

Herod seems to have cemented his fidelity to Rome by doubling the taxes on the populace in order to pay a lump sum tribute which he was not exempt from paying though he was a friend of the empire. Thus, Herod continued paying tribute. This group of scholars consists of Horsley, among others. For these scholars, the claim is that under Herod, Jewish peasants were crushed by a system of triple taxation; Herod's own excessive taxes were paid on top of tribute to Rome, and temple taxes and tithes, F. E. Udoh, (2005:117).

R.A. Horsley, (1998: 78), supports this by saying that the same tributary political-economic system [from the Persians to Julius Caesar], was perpetuated, only in a more complicated way, when the Roman Senate installed Herod as their client-king over Judea and the rest of Palestine... the Romans were thus providing an 'income' for their client kings as well as indirect rule over territories along their eastern frontier... Herod however left the Temple and high priesthood intact, still requiring economic support from tithes and offerings despite its reduced political function... three layers of payments due, taxes to Herod and tribute to Rome as well as the tithes and offerings to Temple and priesthood.

Elsewhere, R.A. Horsley, (1998:90), implies that the high priest regime received tithes given to them by the Romans, though it is not clear if this continued to happen under Herod's rule. This fiscal pressure seems to have been one of the chief causes of uprisings in Judea from the time of Pompey's conquest of Palestine to the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE. When Romans laid greater Judea under tribute, they confirmed the Hasmoneans in their positions and sanctioned the continued payment of taxes to the high priestly government in Jerusalem...

Roman imposition of Herod as king then created a third layer of taxes. Herod's rule in Palestine was 'efficient' to say the least. Given his ambitious building projects,

renowned munificence to imperial figures and the Hellenistic cities and lavish palaces as well as a network of fortresses, he had to utilise every possible source of revenue to the maximum without ruining the economic base; the temple of the gods in Samaria, the Jewish temple in Jerusalem, as well as the construction at Masada in the middle of the desert near the dead sea, are Herod's ambitious projects worth noting.

On the other hand, however, some scholars deny that Judeans under Herod continued paying tribute to Rome. Scholars like Udoh are of this idea. A section of scholars in this group points rather to two taxes that Judeans were to pay: temple tithes and offerings as well as tax to the Herodian palace. For them, there is no evidence from Josephus or other historical sources of the continued payment of annual tribute to Rome. There is scarcely evidence that Judea continued to pay *phoros* in the form of *tributum soli* which was tribute on landed property, which was decreed by Julius Cesar and the Senate in 47 BCE (A.J. 14.201-10). Julius Caesar asked for a percentage of the annual produce, and possibly this continued as a system of paying this *tributum soli*.

Jesus in comparison with Paul on taxation

In his life and teaching, Jesus is recorded to have either mingled with or commented about and spoke to civil authorities. Matthew records him to have mingled with tax collectors some of whom converted and became his disciples, like Levi. In Luke 13:31-34, some Pharisees advised Jesus to move out of that place in haste because Herod plotted to kill him. In response, Jesus told them to go in haste and tell that fox; ἀλώπηξ; ... though this may not be said to be his all-time view of Herod, it may be said to be a kind of a window into Jesus' regard for the Jewish authority Herod. Disregarding Herod as a client king may also translate to disregarding Rome, the appointing authority.

More so, more scholars seem to interpret Jesus's words in Mk. 12,22: 'Give to Caesar what belongs to Caesar...', as his endorsement of the Roman authority, dominantly represented by the payment of tribute to Rome. This interpretation thus led some to conclude that Jesus did not condemn Roman rule since he was preaching about a spiritual kingdom, while Caesar headed the temporal kingdom. Thus, as Jesus was propagating a spiritual kingdom as a messenger of God, so too did Caesar cater for the earthly kingdom, as assigned to him by God. Hence paying taxes to Caesar was seen as a religious duty in respect not only of Caesar, but of God who assigned him to man the earthly order. However, some scholars critique the above position as 'a later self-protective and accommodationist Christian projection.'

First to be pointed in proving that Jesus castigated Rome, is a careful consideration of his response to the Pharisees and Herodians who wished to entrap him regarding the legality of paying tribute to Rome. According to R.A. Horsley (2003:98), if we want

to hear Jesus's response in its historical context of Israelite peoples under Roman imperial rule, then we must cut through the modern assumption about the separation of religion from political-economic affairs. In asking about the coin in this episode, Jesus did not only expose his entrappers in possessing a coin which was anathema for a Jew to handle but may also be said to have evaded the question they initially asked and chose to address the imperial cult which was minted on the coin.

Thus, though some interpret 'give Caesar what belongs to Caesar' as Jesus' endorsement of paying tax, and 'to God what belongs to God', may be interpreted to be indicating that the issue at hand was not about tax but about who is divine between Caesar and God. The statement may be said to be aiming at pointing out that divinity belongs to God only. Since the passage in question has the drachma, as the coin that Jesus asked to be handed, an investigation into the significance of drachma in taxation, may further support the above position. As will be shown below, in dealing with Matt. 17,24-27, drachma was a cultic tax which was given to Rome for the Capitoline, a cultic shrine in Rome. When understood from the context of Matt. 17,24-27, it may further reinforce that Jesus is here opposing contributions to the Capitoline not to the Jerusalem temple.

More so, some evidence which supports that the pericope may be understood as particularly tackling the issue of cultic tax, is that the populace in Egypt, Syria-Palestine, seems to have contributed their *tributum* to Rome in other forms, (in kind) rather than in cash. According to Brunt, (1990:531), much revenue from rents and taxes was exacted in kind, especially in provinces which produced the much-needed grain and personnel to be recruited for the army. As Josephus (*Vita* 71; *BJ* II.363) records, Egypt for example provided one-third of the grain required for the city of Rome, Africa two-thirds (alongside Sardinia and Sicily which had ranked with Africa as the *tria frumentaria subsidia* though Josephus does not mention them) it would have been senseless for the government to exact taxes in money from the producers and then to use it to buy what they produced. Thus, the publicans collected revenue in kind in such areas, and there is also evidence of some granaries or stores of imperial corn that existed in the villages of Upper Galilee in 66 C.E.

In his study of Mark 12 side by side with Rom. 13:1-7, Herzog (1994:340) responds to scholars who view the later to be a continuation of the earlier, by stating that 'this conclusion has proven to be problematic for anyone familiar with the brutal and oppressive nature of Roman colonial rule or the troubled history of totalitarian states in the twentieth century... not surprisingly, interpreters continually look for ways to qualify the obedience so obviously called for in the texts, and they have exercised ingenuity in devising solutions. Like Augustine in his city of God centuries after, Paul was convinced that Nero and his administration were servants of God. This may have

been necessary according to B. N Kaye, (2014: 11), maybe because he knew of some ascetic, other worldly tendency in Rome. The difficulty even in holding on to this is that it is only speculation in that the passage does not say why Paul gives the extended explanation, nor is there sufficient indication of Paul's awareness of the Romans and their attitude.

More so, as already mentioned above, the discourse in Matt. 17,24-27, presents a scenario in which Jesus is depicted in the context of tax payment:

Matt. 17,24–27 (RSVCE): When they came to Capernaum, the collectors of the half-shekel tax went up to Peter and said, "Does not your teacher pay the tax?" 25 He said, "Yes." And when he came home, Jesus spoke to him first, saying, "What do you think, Simon? From whom do kings of the earth take toll or tribute? From their sons or from others?" 26 And when he said, "From others," Jesus said to him, "Then the sons are free. 27 However, not to give offence to them, go to the sea and cast a hook, and take the first fish that comes up, and when you open its mouth you will find a shekel; take that and give it to them for me and for yourself."

Scholars have grappled with the type of tax represented in the Greek version; τὰ δίδραγμα, and κῆνσον, which in the Greek is rendered in the plural: where these taxes civil or cultic? Some scholars forward that it was the annual temple tax which was obligatory for every Jewish man who was twenty years and above.

Others however note that the vocabulary points to civil taxes; 'kings of this world', *kensos telos*, point that these taxes were destined for Rome, though collected in Palestine. In his study of the Lukan version S. Guijarro (2021: 2), mentions the *Fiscus Judaicus* in the time of Domitian time, which ordered Jews to pay taxes directly to Rome. These taxes were once destined for the Jerusalem temple, but would at that time be redirected in the renovation of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline in Rome.

When applied to the Matthean community, it puts Jesus in dialogue with their situation post 70 AD, as they battled Roman taxation. The context, therefore, is a religious one in which Roman civil taxes are discussed according to S. Wallace. This sense of τέλος in reference to taxes within a cultic context is also found in Num. 31,28.37-40 of the LXX, in which the tax is also used in relation to the cult to refer to God's tribute and stands as a translation of the Hebrew טָרְחָה. defined as 'toll', or 'indirect tax.'

Regarding the issue whether Jesus endorsed taxation, the insight in the pericope that he paid it in an unconventional way, (from the fish's bell), and that 'children of the kingdom must not pay, but here 'they should pay so as not to scandalise them', may be held not to be Jesus' endorsement of taxes to Rome but its blow.

When compared to Paul's situation, some differences may be noted. Jesus dialogues the issue of taxation whereas Paul commands the payment of taxes, sounding to be pro-empire and accepting civil obedience in Rom. 13:1-7. Marcus Barth refers to the revolutionary tendency... among the Christians in Rome who were called to order in

this text. Here the apostle speaks of the authorities established by God, the state as a minister of God to you for your good, which does not bear the sword in vain, to whom tax is due. Paul is positively inclined towards the state compared to Jesus. Martin Hengel (1974:253) notes that Pharisaic eschatology had even more political and nationalistic colouring, on the lines of, say, Ps. Sol. 17. As a Pharisee therefore, Paul would probably have borne arms for the Empire if he had been asked to. He solidifies this further by contrasting the prayers for the leaders in 1 Tim. 2,2 with the action of Eleazar who stopped the sacrifices for the emperor in 66 AD.

Furthermore, Jesus seems to have addressed the issue of physical poverty directly and by this displayed that he was pro-poor especially at the beginning of his ministry in Luke 4,1ff. If interpreted otherwise, his words seem to be giving a dig at the rich and probably the aristocracy who included leadership, who were responsible for the poverty of the masses. N.T.T. Wright (2013:9) comments that by gathering around Jesus, these poor people witnessed in Jesus someone who had come for them and who was ready to reverse the status quo: Jesus' message was after all is inescapably political. He denounced rulers, real and self-appointed. He spoke of good news to the poor. He led large groups of people off into the wilderness, a sure sign of revolutionary intent. He announced the imminent destruction of the temple. At the start of the festival celebrating Israel's liberation, he organised around himself what could only have looked like a royal procession. And he deliberately and dramatically acted out a parable of the temple's destruction, thus drawing on to himself the anger of the authorities in a way which he could never have done by healing lepers and forgiving prostitutes (though we should not miss the revolutionary note in his offer of forgiveness, whose real offence was in the by-passing of the temple cult.

The remaining burning question after all this is: does the single pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 suffice in making us conclude that Paul was pro- Empire?

Considering Romans 13 therefore, the questions; Could this have been accidental or some eye opener to the real Paul and his real mission is hinted at? Is not Rom. 13:1-7 a synopsis of Paul's view of the Empire and its dominance as God willed? The response to these is that the teaching is not accidental, which may either make Paul an implant of the authorities whose role was to infiltrate the Jesus Movement as proclaimed by the twelve and offer another alternative which was pro- Empire, or a patriot who advocated for the divine instrumentality of the imperial authorities.

Though many scholars argue that if the first century context is reconstructed, it may be seen that Paul was in actual fact being anti-empire in Rom. 13, since he was applying the arts of resistance especially what J.C. Scott named the theory of hidden and public transcript, Rom. 13:1-7 and its frankness in being pro- civil authorities and ultimately pro-Empire can neither be brushed aside, nor explained away easily.

However, on the other hand, in arriving at this teaching, Paul might have seen the Christian attitude of the first century in which believers were preoccupied with the *Parousia* to the utter neglect of their responsibilities in the contemporary situations they found themselves in. Arguably, apart from being composed of gentile Christians, early Roman Christians also included Jews who like their counterparts in Judaism might have been preoccupied with the issue of Roman occupation of Jerusalem alongside God's promises to Israel, resulting in the ensuing of a dilemma. Paying taxes to the Empire would mean their acknowledgement of the legitimacy of Roman rule and their inferiority. Therefore, Paul had to address this issue just as he addressed other crises in different communities, with the only difference that in this case, he is addressing the Roman community (which he did not found) on an issue which the addressees did not consult for his opinion, but which was applicable to all the Provinces under Roman rule.

Messianic Judaism's attitude towards Roman rule especially regarding taxation

It is noteworthy that the Jews in Palestine (including Jewish Christians) who might be addressed by Paul in Rom 13 if taken as universal, did not only pay tribute to Rome but were expected to pay at least three layers of taxes back home. The first was the tax to Herod which was distinct from the tithes and offerings they were supposed to pay to the Hasmoneans and the priestly elite who ran the temple.

Tribute payment to dominant powers has been a feature that has been resisted by some sections of Israelite society since its advent. With some however siding with the dominant powers to the extent of being their agents in the collection of tribute and other taxes destined for Rome, some were anti-Rome, while others maintained a middle position. All these perspective regarding Rome, maybe said to have been collected in later Jewish writings like the Mishnah, in which some scholars argue that the anti-Rome mantra amongst Jewish rabbis, was a later development which was adopted with the coming on the throne of Hadrian (117-138 AD), who was viewed as an archenemy of the Jews and their religion.

Hadrian was likened to the Greek emperor Antiochus Epiphanes, and from this time on, Rome came to be regarded as an evil empire. Rabbis reread and re—interpreted Scripture as may be seen in *Genesis Rabbah* 63,9 in which Rome was likened to Esau and Edom, whose fall was imminent and after whose reign, Jacob will reign too; quoting Genesis 25,26. And after this his brother emerged, his hand clasping Esau's heel and his name was Jacob, P. Garnsey, (1978:270). A particularly widely accepted interpretation is the identification with Rome of the fourth beast of Daniel7, 'whose teeth are of iron and his nails of brass', and also the 'little horn' which subdued three kings (Babylon, Persia, Greece. Rome will however be overthrown and replaced by

the world domination of Israel, under God's Messiah. This displays an acceptance of many rabbis of the apocalyptic view of world history.

It is however noteworthy that Rome since earlier times of Roman dominance, Rome was also identified with the Biblical enemies of Israel (the Amalekites- *Pesikta Rabbati* 12.4), and various passages of Scripture were reinterpreted by numerous exegetical techniques to apply to the evil empire; Isaiah 21,11f watchman, what of the night?' is ascribed to Rome by textual emendation, P. Garnsey, (1978: 271). Even the emergence of revolutionary groups such as the Zealots, may be evidence enough to witness some discontent with Roman rule, including taxation in Palestine.

On the other hand, however, Paul's teaching in Rom. 13:1-7 seems to be consistent with the Jewish belief in God's intervention in history to accept that the success of Rome was a sign of divine support, even if it entailed the continued Roman subjection of Israel. Likewise, the rabbis who accepted Roman rule, saw it as in line with God's use of the empire to fulfil his plans as he had done before. Though the Jews were unwilling to credit any foreign power with an independent existence and purpose, the wealth and might of Rome displayed by its security and permanence, made a formidable influence even on the minds of those rabbis who held that human power is vanity.

Defeats of Israel were ascribed to the sins of the people, and emergency of Rome was ascribed to the sins of Jewish kings. Thus, some section within Rabbinic Judaism, which is a culmination of Pharisaic Judaism, had a positive view about Rome that: just as Moses was brought up in pharaoh's palace, so also does the king messiah reside in Rome, P. Garnsey, (1978: 273).

The encouragement was therefore to wait for God's time, cooperating to the fullest with Rome and opposing some currents within Judaism who were pushing for open resistance against Rome and her burdensome taxation. In Josephus's own speeches also, (*JW* 5, 363-419. 6,99-110), the Romans are described to be respecting their enemies' religious monuments, they are masters of the whole world; and it is wrong to resist them. In any case, it is not Jewish to fight; Jews should put their trust in God's justice. This section of Jews opposed the ambitions of the zealots, which they said do not represent what is best in Judaism; and zealots are sinners who have polluted Jerusalem.

Josephus's attitude against the zealots is also echoed in the Jewish Rabbinic literature and other later traditions which blame the zealots as the ones responsible for the destruction of the Jewish Temple. This is especially the case when anecdotes surrounding the appointment of Yohanan ben Zakkai, the most influential pharisee leader who was appointed by the Romans to be the leader of the Jewish community in Judea. The zealots are said to have burned the temple barley granaries and this resulted

in Yohanan ben Zakkai leaving the city, and Vespasian then came to fight them. Thus, the destruction of the temple in 70 AD was blamed on the zealots, not on Rome, by Jewish official position of the time.

Josephus (*JW*, 2, 345-404), also quotes Agrippa to have been against the 66 AD Jewish uprising. Agrippa is said to have addressed a speech in which he said that the more honest and sincere elements of the people are in favour of peace. The war party is motivated by their youthfulness, by an unreasonable hope of liberty, and by the protest of rich rewards. Many other nations, even the Britons- have submitted to Roman rule. Finally, he argues that even God himself is on the side of the Romans, otherwise they could never have built up such a powerful empire.

More so, this positive view of Rome was even interpreted with the support of Jewish Scripture. Some of the famous interpretations and teachings include the Scriptural support given to the Roman myth of the foundation of the city, which was invested with divine sanction. This Jewish myth runs as follows: God is the helper of the fatherless' (Ps. 10,14). When Romulus and Remus were left orphans, F. E. Udoh (2005:272), God brought a she-wolf to suckle the infants and in due course they grew up and became great kings and laid the foundations for the future city of Rome. Thus, Rome was founded by Divine providence and must not be opposed since doing so may be similar to opposing God.

According to F. E. Udoh, (2005:275), The empire was above all viewed positively by this section within Judaism which advocated for cooperation and subjugation, since it was viewed as an epitome of justice for all. This might have made Paul deny trial before Gallio preferring to be tried by the emperor at Rome. In *Genesis Rabbah* 9,13 Simeon ben Lakish is quoted to have taught 'God saw everything that he had made, and behold, it was good' (Gen. 1,13, referred to the empire, 'because it attempts to establish justice for mankind. Another rabbi is quoted to have said: 'when you desired to bring justice into the world,' you entrusted it to two men, Romulus and Remus, so that each could veto what the other proposed.

Rabbi Yose's middle position may be seen in his statement, recorded in the Jewish Pesahim 118^b that the Romans and the Jews are brothers, and that Romans persecuted the Jews on God's instructions, to punish them for neglecting their religion. This has been the classic point of the breakability of Israel, in seeing their God as using foreign nations to punish them—it is still their God in charge. (*Genesis Rabbah* 67,7).

Rabbi Judah is supported by a later rabbi, Yose en Kisma who is said to have survived the 70 AD destruction of Jerusalem as a young man, and later died honoured by Roman authorities in Caesarea Philippi during the third war. According to F. E. Udoh, (2005:268), When rabbi Jose lay dying, he was visited by rabbi Hananiah ben Teradion to whom he said, 'brother Hananiah, do you not realise that it is heaven who has

ordained this nation to rule? For even though they have laid waste to his home, burnt down his temple, slain his saints and persecuted his servants, still the empire is firmly established (b Abodah Zarah 18^a).

Taxation in the metropole

The history of taxation and the place of Rom. 13:1-7 and other Biblical texts in sustaining the institution, are noticeable in England, Germany and Italy. With the reality of papal estates, and the place of monks, priests and bishops as lords who were responsible for tax collection for the Vatican is recorded in church history. Since the interpretation of ruling authorities meant the pope and his curia, likewise, the obligation to pay tax to the same results. Protesting kings like Philip the Fair of France met with nothing but excommunication and labelling as infidels. The taxes of the church are being collected by the government in Germany currently. With the division of power, possibly following Augustine's position further developed by Luther, complementarity between church and state seems to be promoted.

Critique of the tax institution

Though Augustus introduced a taxation system that dealt with the corruption of the *publicani*, who had caused a huge outcry, still his introduction of targeted taxes appeared to be somewhat discriminatory. Exhorting the payment of *merismo* by a Christian apostle, would possibly have been seen as supporting discrimination. That being the likely scenario, may be useful to investigate how the populace, especially the subjugated ethnicities reacted to the issue of taxation. Paul commanded his audience to pay taxes even if they were abuses associated with the exercise and these abuses seem to have been evident to the taxpayers. Instead of addressing the injustices surrounding the institution, which resulted in wide outcries and occasional riots not only in Jewish Palestine, for there is also evidence of some corruption in Egypt, Paul still viewed it as a divine duty to pay tax even if the amount paid was not going into state coffers.

According to K. Hopkins, (1980:122), problems generally cropped up since the taxes that were charged by the Roman central government were generally low and this created the opportunity for high private profits. The lower the rate of taxation, the greater the private profit which could be exacted from a finite surplus. And the lower the rate of taxation, the less effective was state supervision of private profiteering from public office. One special case of private profit-making was tax farming. Since the government had relatively few personnel of its own in provinces, this led to the government to auction the rights to collect tax in the provinces; in this way the

government secured its revenue in advance and cut out some of the fluctuations caused by bad harvests.

It transferred both the risks of tax-estimating and the administrative costs of tax-collection to private enterprise. Private investors speculated that, in spite of government supervision, they could nevertheless get more out of provincial taxpayers than they had themselves paid to the central government. Tax farming was a mechanism of transferring some of the profits of the empire to investors, who belonged to the Roman elite and sub-elites, who were not directly involved in conquest (as soldiers) or in government (as senators). Contracting private companies who inflated taxes for their personal enrichment at the expense of the poor peasants and the government:

Because the central government had few representatives of its own in the provinces, it devolved the collection of taxes and the distribution of the tax-load onto intermediaries, who were typically prosperous landowners and local town-councillors (*decuriones*). The central government in the High Empire had no direct relationship with individual taxpayers... The central government simply fixed the total amount of tax which each town and its surrounding area should pay; local town-councillors then arranged who should pay what, on the basis of a public declaration of the value of each property. There was ample room for abuse, since political power was concentrated in the hands of those who could benefit most from a maldistribution of the tax-load. The oppressed could and occasionally did appeal successfully to the emperor for help in securing justice.

But local leaders must often have had friends in the entourage of the provincial governor or at court, who could be bribed to block an appeal or to present it in an unfavourable light. As a consequence, there was little to stop poorer peasants from paying a disproportionate share of taxes; taxation was regressive. and we should expect there to have been substantial differences between (a) what peasants paid in tax and (b) what rich landowners paid on similar land, and between (c) what tax-collectors collected and (d) what they transmitted to the central government. This problem seems to have been known as witnessed by some successful appeals of the peasants before the emperor which resulted in the intervention by the emperor for their favour.

Whilst Paul ordered his audience to subjugate through paying their taxes, some Jewish teachers like him, viewed taxation as negative and discriminatory thereby teaching their followers to resist them. This was so due to abuses that were surrounding taxation together with how exorbitant they were for the common people. Others however, viewed taxation and Roman rule as positive and thus taught their followers to abide. These viewed Roman rule, though a national disgrace, was however a just punishment for people's sins, and not a sign that God has abandoned his people.

According to K. Hopkins, (1980:204), there was a fundamental distinction in Roman taxation between taxes levied and taxes transmitted. The central Roman government was primarily interested in taxes transmitted, that is, the amount of taxes that eventually reached its coffers. The *actual* amounts of taxes levied by tax collectors on the ground were likely to have been significantly higher and they were probably unfairly distributed; the powerless paid a disproportionately high share of taxes, while the powerful, who supervised the collection of taxes or the distribution of the tax burden, understandably let themselves off lightly.

Rabbinic Judaism on Roman Rule

Generally, Rabbinic Jewish views of the Roman dominance may be summarised in the views of the 3 leading Jewish rabbis; Rabbi Judah (bar Ilai), Rabbi Yose (ben Halafta) and Rabbi Simeon (bar Yohai), who are pictured sitting and discussing about Roman occupation. Rabbi Judah was pro-Rome, Yose maintained a middle position, and Judah was anti-Rome. Some leading rabbis also were affiliated along these lines. Their positions are captured in an episode recorded in the Rabbinic B Shabbat, in which Judah initiates the conversation by praising the successes of Rome; “how splendid are the works of these people!

They have built marketplaces, baths and bridges. Rabbi Yose said nothing, and Rabbi Simeon answered him; \everything they have made they have made only for themselves; market places, for whores, baths to wallow in; bridges to levy tolls (*B Shabbat* 33b cf *Abodah Zarah* 2b). in *Lamentations Rabbah*, 1,13,41) Simeon’s opposition of the Roman toll or *phoros* is said; ‘if you see a Persian horse tethered in Palestine, look for the feet of the messiah. More so, the general verdict of Rome was not favourable especially when it pertained to Rome’s want for tax in money. A common accusation against the empire is its rapacity and eagerness for gold; the eyes of Edom are never satisfied (41), 274. In this context, the great wealth of Rome counts against her (42), particularly since it was felt that the plunder of the Jerusalem temple had made a disproportionate contribution to this wealth (Hama bar Haninah, *Genesis Rabbah* 70.8). taxation and conscription are both mentioned as the cause of discontentment, with taxation being depicted as the pressing issue.

Just as a bramble snatch at a man’s clothing, so that even if he detaches itself on one side, it sticks to the other, so the empire of Esau annually appropriates Israel’s crops and herds. Even before that, it pricks them with the poll-tax. And even as this is executed, Esau’s men come to the people of Israel to levy conscripts (*Pesikta Rabbati* 10.1 cf. Midrash Psalms 10.6) 275.

You go into the country and you meet a bailiff; you come back to town and bump into a tax-collector; you go home and find your sons and daughters starving, (Simeon ben

Lakish, B Sanhedrin 98b). Taxation was also disgusted with the promotion of wealthy men to public office (Yohanan, *Genesis Rabbah* 76,6). This led to the coinage of the maxim: beware of the government. They never recruit a man except to serve their own needs. They feign love when it suits them, but they do not stand by a man when he is in difficulties (*Mishnah Aboth* 2.3). the empire thus became a symbol of blasphemy, robbery, rape, murder among other ills. While it has been arrived at above that Paul might be tapping his concept of ἐξουσία to refer to human civil authority and the *hupotasso* of the general populace to the same, from Jewish sources, it has to be forwarded that on the other hand, he might have tapped from Greco-Roman sources or from his personal conviction as a Jewish-Roman citizen.

Given that Paul seemed to be proud not only of being a pharisee but also a Roman citizen, who seemed to have confidence in the Empire's judiciary system by demanding an audience with the emperor and refusing to stand trial before Festus in Ac 25. it may be postulated that in Rom. 13:1-7 Paul is putting down what he believes regarding the social order. This he might be doing either as an ordinary citizen sympathetic to the ruling elite, or as a functionary working on behalf of the system. This point of view may partly respond to scholars who seem shocked as to how Paul would endorse the emperor at a time in which the emperor cult was in the hive. Paul's silence in not condemning such practises at least directly, may on one hand be regarded as suspicious and suggestive of his working together with the system may be secretly, though on the other hand this may be regarded as being diplomatic.

According to Bruce N. Kaye, (2014:12),

Paul's claim that ruling authorities are wholly good is shocking if not surprising of his nature. This is so because from our standpoint in history, it is apparent to us that governments are not generally wholly good, nor wholly bad. As he might have looked back at his nation's history as a Jew, even the history of the Mediterranean world, the fact that governments are not wholly good is evident. Not only were governments ambivalent, but abuses around such governmental institutions as taxation, were likewise injurious to the populace as has been traced above. Given that a lot of sources present Nero as a negative ruler, with a very bad reputation, the question that may arise while dealing with 13:1-7 is whether such a positive view of government can be contemplated during Nero's reign? If the answer is positive, that Paul wrote at the time for his immediate situation, then he might be writing to justify his favourable attitude to the government. For Paul to then command both the subjugation to sitting authorities as well as the payment of taxes without alluding to abuses around both, leaves more questions than answers.

It might be therefore necessary to trace Paul's biography and his career in becoming the most important Christian figure, to the extent of seemingly overshadowing the twelve Apostles, with his teaching adopted as the Christian Gospel in the empire. The question Who was Paul?, apparently easy, is complicated not only because of the scarcity of biographical information in his Epistles, even in the Lukan account in the Acts of the Apostles, where his call to apostleship is mentioned alongside other

apostles and collaborators. The information that is available regarding Paul's relationship with civil leadership is autobiographical, with no witness amongst NT authors who write a lot about this important figure.

4.3 PAUL'S BIOGRAPHY: DECONSTRUCTING PAUL

Some scholars have argued that the biography of an author may help a reader understand something about their theology. In the case of Paul, W. Fenske (2003:25) argues that this might be true, and also that the study of Paul may be treated in at least two periods; before his conversion:

Selbstverständlich sind Theologie und Biografie engstens miteinander verbunden. Eine Biografie ermöglicht es, theologische Inhalte formulieren zu können. Die biografischen Hinweise werden aus pragmatischen Gründen jedoch vorgeschaltet: Es sollen Wiederholungen vermieden werden; man möchte gerne wissen, mit wem man es zu tun bekommt und das möglichst in einer Übersicht. Darüber hinaus lassen sich nach unseren Kenntnissen nicht alle theologischen Aussagen biografisch verankern, so dass im Zuge der Darlegung der Theologie so mancher biografische Aspekt unter den Tisch fallen würde. Der Versuch beides dennoch miteinander zu verbinden, mag darin zu sehen sein, dass den theologischen Darstellungen Hinweise zu den Briefen und der Grund für ihre jeweilige Abfassung vorgeschaltet werden. Die Vorschaltung der Briefe soll anzeigen, dass Paulus seine Theologie auch in der Diskussion mit der Gemeinde und den Gegnern präzisiert hat. Lukas spricht davon, dass Paulus unter Gamaliel die Toraauslegung gelernt habe (22,3). Für eine längere Anwesenheit in Judäa spricht der Hinweis im Philipperbrief, dass er Pharisäer gewesen sei (3,5).

Though the testimony of Acts regarding Paul will be exposed below, this section overly subscribes to John Knox and G. Lüdemann's proposal, as found in E.P. Sanders, (1983:168), that in the study of Paul, his own letters must always be taken as primary, Acts as no better than supporting.'

Be that as it may, it is vital to point out that the account of Luke in the Acts of the Apostles furnishes us with some details about Paul which may be enlightening in our quest to understand him within the first century context of his activities. One piece of information relevant to this quest is that Paul was a Roman citizen. Another one is that Paul secured letters from the high priest with approval to go and persecute believers in Syria.

Many questions may follow from this; ranging from the etymology of his name, how Paul became a citizen, what became of his Jewishness and to whom was citizenship awarded or rather who earned Roman citizenship especially amongst non-Patrician members of the Roman empire? What was Paul's relationship with the institution of

the Jewish priesthood, particularly Caiaphas who probably was the high priest during Paul's time as he was during the death of Jesus?

According to Josephus (JA. 18.2.2), Joseph Caiaphas was an appointee to the high priesthood by the Roman governor Valerius Gratus who served the interests of Rome. Could Paul be seen in this light?

Taking into consideration some themes addressed by Paul in both the authentic and disputed Pauline Epistles, several questions to do with Paul's identity may as well be raised especially when the first century context is established. Though scholars are unanimous that the first century context can only be speculated since it is difficult to establish, at least some aspects may be reconstructed. For instance, the hierarchical structure of Roman society, the existence of the institution of slavery, that Jesus and Paul ministered during the Principate. In some sections of his Epistles, Paul seems to concur with other authors on the first century Roman empire.

Regarding the question on the etymology of Paul's name, W. Fenske (2003:25) inquires further:

Ist aus dem Namen „Paulus" zu schließen, dass er (bzw. seine Vorfahren) ein freigelassener Jude war, der das römische Bürgerrecht von seinem Patron übernommen haben kann (vgl. Hengel mit Hinweis auf Philo, Gai 155.157)? Der Name Paulus" könnte als Cognomen gedeutet auf seine Nähe zum aemilianischen Geschlecht verweisen. Allerdings ist die Linie der Paulli im aemilianischen patrizischen Geschlecht mit Aemilius Paullus 160 v.Chr. wohl ausgestorben (Neue Pauly, Art. Aemilius 181). In der Apostelgeschichte wird von einem L. Sergius Paulus gesprochen (13,6-12), der ca. 42 nach Schwierigkeiten mit Tiberius am Ende von dessen Regierungszeit (Seneca, benef. 3,26) auf Zypern gewirkt hat.

Gerade in diesem Zusammenhang ist in der Apostelgeschichte von einem Namenswechsel des Apostels die Rede: „Saulos aber, der auch Paulos heißt"; darüber hinaus wird der Gegenspieler von Barnabas und Paulus mit Blindheit geschlagen, was laut Apostelgeschichte auch dem Apostel im Zusammenhang seines Erlebnisses vor Damaskus wiederfahren war. Das bedeutet, dass sich in dieser Erzählung Anklänge an das Leben des Apostels finden. Allerdings kann hieraus keinerlei Schlussfolgerung gezogen werden. Möglich ist die lautliche Angleichung des offiziellen griechischen Namens an den Namen, der auf die Vorfahren verweist. Allerdings wird „Saulus" im griechischen Bereich lautlich abweichend überwiegend mit „Saoulos" wiedergegeben. „Paulus" heißt lat. „gering" – dass dieser Name Programm sein kann, vermutete Augustin.

Furthermore, the citizenship of Paul has been raised as possibly revealing in understanding Paul and his teachings. Paul was a Roman citizen and at the same time a native of Tarsus. How he acquired his citizenship, as well as the extent of his relationship with Roman appointees to the high priesthood to the extent of persecuting Christians before his conversion, remains elusive:

Wenn der Hinweis auf das Bürgerrecht stimmt, würde Paulus der gehobenen Schicht zugehören, allerdings scheint seine Tätigkeit als Zeltmacher eine gegenteilige Schlussfolgerung zuzulassen, wenn er denn nicht kostbare Leinzelte hergestellt hat. Es mag jedoch auch ein Bruch mit seiner Heimatstadt

vorliegen, so dass er als Pharisäer erst in Judäa einen Handwerkerberuf erlernte. Hier stellt sich jedoch wieder die Information in den Weg, dass Paulus laut Lukas nach seinem Damaskuserlebnis und seinem Wirken in Arabien nach Tarsus gegangen und dann von Barnabas nach Antiochia geholt worden sei.

Ähnlich auch Paulus selbst: Nach Damaskus sei er nach Syrien (Antiochien) und Zilizien (dessen Hauptstadt Tarsus ist) gegangen (Gal 1,21). Das heißt, dass ein radikaler Bruch mit seiner Heimatstadt nicht vorgelegen haben kann. Es zieht ihn zur Missionierung seines Heimatgebietes wie auch Barnabas nach Zypern gezogen ist.

Nach all diesen Überlegungen, Beobachtungen, Vermutungen, lässt sich deutlich sagen: Paulus ist Jude, er ist (wie in christlicher Tradition Jesus) Nachkomme des Stammes Benjamin und trägt (laut Apostelgeschichte) den Namen des ersten jüdischen Königs aus dem Stamm Benjamin, Saul, und bringt sich in Verbindung mit Pharisäern (Phil 3,5; vgl. Röm 9,5; 11,1 und Gal 1,14). Seine Gewandtheit im Umgang mit alttestamentlichen Schriften zeigt, dass er eine Schrift Ausbildung besessen hat.

When he seemed to support the institution of slavery; slaves, obey your masters (Col. 3,22), patriarchy; a woman must learn in silence and has no authority in front of an assembly of believers, (1 Cor. 13:34-35), can he not be said to have been sustained the status quo no matter the push factor which necessitated him to take that stance? Even in his apparent Platonic dualism which puts emphasis on the spiritual over the mundane (Rom 8), the day to day implication of this approach could do what? In his self-introduction, Paul identified himself as a Pharisee and a student of Gamaliel. Even after his conversion, chances are high that the ideological perspective of his Pharisaic Jewish school influenced his understanding of Jesus. Paul's seemingly pro-empire and pro-tax echoes in Rom. 13:1-7 were also shared by Pharisees leading rabbis who according to some historical sources, favoured Roman invasion of Jerusalem as God's will, so as to give an end to Sadducees defilement of the temple cult.

These Pharisaic attitudes were later recorded in the Second Century AD, culminating in the compilation of the Mishnah in the 3rd Century AD, as a collection of Rabbinic Judaism's oral Torah. In the early Second Century, the attitude towards Roman rule and taxation influenced the interpretation of Scripture within the context of the empire. According to Nicholas de Lange in P.D.A Garnsey (1978:266):

prayers for the welfare of the empire stand side by side with prayers to overthrow it and the establishment of the messianic empire. Jewish messianism could tolerate Roman rule but it could also erupt in savage violence as it did in the Second Jewish revolt, at the end of the reign of Trajan.

Some scholars are unanimous on the 57 AD date of authorship of the Epistle to the Romans. Periods surrounding this time, important events which arguably shaped the pericope under study, happened. According to S.J Hafeman, (1994), Claudius' change of Augustus' policy in treating the Jews that were in Rome, whom he drove away, impacted on Christian membership in that gentile Christians were spared as the Jews were purged in AD 49.

Emperor Claudius was later on succeeded by his son Nero after his assassination by his wife Agrippina, and this impacted much on the political landscape of the Roman Empire. With curious policies broadcasted by massive *propaganda*, Nero promised a period of total calm and tranquillity in the empire which was going to surpass Augustus' *pax Romana* whose impact did not last. To achieve this, Nero developed a well-oiled machinery that was responsible for articulating a well-polished image of Rome's self-presentation in its imperial *propaganda*. This included, among other things, the readoption of works from the yester-empire poets and popular individuals like philosophers, sophists, and thinkers, who had access and potential to influence public opinion in re-constructing republican virtue.

Jesus and Paul compared

There is an ongoing scholarly debate on the relationship between Jesus and Paul. D. Wenham, (1995:33) poses two questions to this quest; how much did Paul know and care about Jesus's ministry and teachings? And how far did Paul agree or disagree with Jesus theologically? To respond to these, Wenham employed three criteria 1) Paul sometimes said he was drawing from Jesus' words or the reader is alerted to this by formal 'tradition indicators' such as 'to those who are married I command ... not I but the Lord' or "to the rest I say, not the Lord"; 2) verbal and formal similarity between a tradition of Jesus and a saying of Paul, 3) similarity of thought between Paul and Jesus. The conclusion he gives after these considerations is that Paul is much better described as a follower of Jesus than the founder of Christianity.

With some scholars forwarding that Paul continued Jesus's teaching, others propose the necessity of always giving a distinction between the Jesus tradition and the historical Jesus in the Pauline corpus. For these scholars, not only did Paul authoritatively quote from the Jesus tradition, but he also quoted from Jewish Scriptures which he creatively and stylistically used for his rhetorical purpose as he sought to convince his audience.

According to L. Yongbom, (2015: 29) although Paul rarely quotes the Jesus tradition explicitly (1 Cor. 9,14; 11,23-25; 15,3-6), he at times alludes to it and uses it as authoritative words to support his instruction (1 Cor. 7,10-11;9,14; 1 Thess. 4,15-17). Paul uses the Scriptures and the Jesus tradition similarly in that he considers them as authoritative and cites them in a variety of ways and creatively applies them to the real-life situation (*Sitz im Leben*) of his readers for his rhetorical purposes. This may be proven from such passages as Gal 4, 1 Cor. 9, 1 Thess. 3, 1 Cor 11.

On the other hand, however, some scholars view Paul as having started something distinct from Jesus on various lines. The attitude towards Roman dominance, is one of the cited examples which indicate this distinction. While Paul seemed to accept and

endorse Roman dominance as willed by God, Jesus seemed to prophetically condemn the same as the evil representation of the Satanic kingdom. As Paul neither specifically mentioned Rome in his vast writings, nor symbolically fought her, Jesus seemed to antagonise Rome physically and spiritually.

In his confidence that the Roman imperial order stood under the judgement of God's imminent kingdom, Jesus launched a mission of social renewal among subject peoples. In contrast with Paul (as well as other scribal intellectuals who were waiting patiently for God's decisive intervention in history" to terminate imperial rule, Jesus and his immediate followers understood God to be acting already in people's lives and communities. The imperial order was still in place. Convinced that Roman rulers and their Herodian and high-priestly clients had been condemned by God, however, Jesus acted to heal the effects of empire and to summon people to rebuild their community life.

R.A., Horsley (2003:105), is of the conviction that in the words: 'the kingdom of God is at hand', Jesus pressed a program of social revolution to re-establish just egalitarian and mutually supportive social-economic relations in the village communities that constituted the basic form of the people's life.

This, though some scholars read from Paul's narration of the ordeals he went through at the hands of authorities and so conclude that he was anti- empire, some pointers strongly support that Paul was pro-empire. Like Luke in the Acts and later on like Clement, Paul and his Hellenistic background and actions seem to be pro Empire. According to P. W. Walaskay, (2009: 65) :

This positive view of the empire must have raised some very complex and difficult problems for Luke. First, we know that some, perhaps much, of the Christian community did not share Luke's perspective. There was a tendency for some to deprecate the imperial government. A speedy and catastrophic end of the empire was anticipated; the kingdom of Caesar would be replaced by the kingdom of Christ. At best, the government could be tolerated until the *parousia*; at worst, Rome was a ravenous beast. Luke may have been concerned to counter such anti-Roman sentiment in order to help the church survive in the given political order.

He reflects Paul's teaching on obedience to the state,' and he shares the spirit of Clement's prayer: '... grant that we may be obedient to thy almighty and glorious name, and to our rulers and governors upon the earth. Thou, Master, hast given the power of sovereignty to them through thy excellent and inexpressible might, that we may know the glory and honour given them by thee, and be subject to them, in nothing resisting thy will' (1 Clem. 60.4-61.1).

4.4. How else may one explain Paul's authorship of Rom. 13?

The fundamental quarrel between the Roman empire and the Christian Church was that the Church refused to identify that the two orders; religion and political government, reside with the emperor and thus separated them each to be confined to its proper sphere. The political government advocated for their combination. Paul might have responded to this early wrangle and so responded by elevating the Emperor to a higher plane like Jesus who had elevated Caesar, and saw his power deriving from God himself, W. Parson, (1940:355).

Some scholars have also suggested that Paul's teaching within the context of the Roman imperial order actually militate against Caesar and his dominance as the universal benefactor of the Roman nation:

While Paul did not intend to establish a new constitution for the Roman state, he heralded the headship of Jesus as 'Son of God' and 'Lord 'over a counter-imperial household. As Christ's priestly representative, Paul announced the inauguration of the reign of grace and demanded the obedience of the nations (Rom. 1:6-7. 13-17. 5,12-21. 15,8-12.15-19. 16,25-26). Christ, the firstborn of God's household (Rom 8:29b), not only fulfilled the Old Testament apocalyptic hope," but he also eclipsed the Roman ruler as the world benefactor by means of his cosmic soteriological benefits that undid the reign of sin and death (5,12-21. 8,18-39).

He bonded together his household members through the cross and the Spirit in a loyalty commitment that transcended culture (Rom. 1,14), race (3,28-30) and geography (15,18-29). This new household of faith at Rome, which elevated its Jewish founding fathers (Abraham: Rom. 4,11-12.16-18 and Isaac: 9,10) over the Julian founding fathers, usurped roles traditionally allocated to the ruler and established a radical set of social relations that transformed the patronal dynamics of the Roman world (Rom 12:1-15,33).

This was so because of the believers' stubborn refusal to acknowledge the priority of the ruler as the universal pater. (b) The believer's extension of mercy within the Body of Christ stood on in his own body, that is, the state. Because of the mercy of God , believers were to exercise mercy in cheerfulness. There is no discussion in Paul, as there is in Seneca, as to whether the demands of justice have been met in the exercise of *clementia* ('mercy') over against *miser cordia* ('pity'). The issue of 'justice' for believers had been decisively settled in the cross of Christ through faith in Christ ...(Rom. 1,17. 3,24-26). The larger issue of the righting of injustice will be resolved at the Judgement Day (Rom 2:2, 5-16, 14:10).

In the meantime, believers were to live as slaves to righteousness (Rom. 6:9). To be sure, the ruler legitimately exercises God's judgement in the present (Rom. 13:2b.3a.4-5a), but he does so as God's servant and not as *ἄμψυχος*. Extraordinarily, therefore, believers could exercise mercy to anyone in the present, no matter that person's worth. Paul's counter-imperial Body of Christ had trumped the body of Caesar in democratising mercy and grace to the weak without thereby compromising the demands of divine justice. (c) The priestly role of the ruler is usurped and democratised as believers offer their own bodies as living sacrifices to God (Rom

12,1)with Paul, as a λειτουργός Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, performing his priestly service of the gospel of God (Rom. 15,15: The role of the ruler as Pontifex Maximus has been totally sidelined by the priesthood of all believers.

However, though the above position makes reasonable sense, it may be suggested that if that was Paul's intention and approach, it possibly aided the reign of Caesar instead of giving a dig giving a final rest to it. Elevating the Lordship of Christ who was now physically unseen in the physical world of his hearers, possibly shifted their attention to an 'other worldly being' giving no room for physical contenders to the Principate authorities. In this sense then, rather than neutralising Caesar's authority, Paul's exhortation may be said to have actually cemented it by commanding his hearers allegiance to a heavenly being, while saying nothing directly to the rebuttal of the given dispensation of earthly civil rulers, to whom subjugation and not only obedience was expected from their subjects.

This point is supported by J.R., Harrison, (2011), who forwards that

Paul's eschatology always trod a careful path between the already and the 'not yet' in terms of its pastoral application in the present age. The ruler exercised his God-assigned role in the running of civic communities. Consequently, believers had to render him the appropriate obedience, taxes and honour (Rom. 13:1a, 5a, 6-7), even though the 'day' was drawing increasingly 'near (Rom. 13:12)...Even if the ruler were to wield the sword unjustly, a hypothetical situation that Paul does not discuss, his strategy in handling such a situation would be very clear: believers should not retaliate with vengeance but overcome evil with good (Rom. 12,14-21). Thus Paul refused to endorse the violent and bloody path that the 'Fourth Philosophy' took against Rome, a route that would result in a terrible loss of life because of its tragic miscalculation regarding Rome's determination to suppress all rebellion, (2011: 180).

Therefore, viewed from an otherwise position, Paul's command seems to have reinforced the political and economic system of the Roman Principate who was a dictator.

Like his companion Luke, I argue that Paul was also a theologian who artistically wove together the component threads of theology, history (tradition), apology (the present situation), and eschatology (hope). ... a clear message to the church; an *apologia pro imperio*, which would help the Christian community live effectively with the social, political, and religious realities of the present situation until the advent of God's reign, W. A. Walkay (2009:67).

4.5 TOWARDS AN ALTERNATIVE INTERPRETATION OF ROM. 13:1-7

After observing the literary nature of the pericope under study, the possible context in which it was written, and the non-exhaustive history of its interpretation during the Roman principate, successive contexts throughout history to the present which included, dictatorships, monarchies and democracies, the pericope to a greater extent may be interpreted in the Zimbabwean context, (as opposed to Gusha 2020 who limits the appropriateness of the message of Rom 13:1-7 to North America since it is a democracy, and for him the text applied to such democracies).

My argument is that Zimbabwean New Testament scholars seem to have put the cart before the donkeys in their conclusion on the inapplicability of the message of the pericope without an in-depth study of what that message can be said to be. More so, there seems to be a lack of a critical eye on the historical reception of the pericope from Pauline times up to the arrival of the Bible and the introduction of Western systems to traditional Zimbabwe which I already suggested as being important in attempting to arrive at an alternative interpretation in a comparative and multidisciplinary way.

An examination of how the power-subordination discourse in Rom. 13:1-7 was unfolding in the metropole even before the advent of democracy as a political system, how it was handled by missionaries as they navigated their way between established traditional Zimbabwean political systems as well as the settler western government system in their approach via missions, schools, civil administrative authorities, have been explored. As missionaries and journalists played the role of public opinion shapers during colonial times, which leadership was divinely instituted between the traditional system and the settler system? Thus, this usually avoided area in the study of the Bible in public space appears to be but critical in the overall comprehension and appreciation of the quagmire which Zimbabwe is immersed in and which social organisation has not yet aligned to the contemporary scenario.

My judgement regarding the critical observation of the Zimbabwean matrix is that Zimbabwe is fragmented and polarised and this has been cited as emanating from unbridled denominational Christianity which is left to ring fence people, alienating them from any aspirations of nationhood and participating in nation building at different levels. Though some have argued that the multiplicity of denomination which are mostly contradictory to each other, paying allegiance and emphasising importance on sometimes contradictory aspects, is multiplication in the Spirit on one hand, and an exercise of the constitutional right to religious freedom on the other hand, few have

seriously interrogated the contribution of these to the fragmentation impasse. of the current Zimbabwean society.

In embracing mainline denominations and maintaining what they were from their countries of origin, there seems to be a lack of background as to why denominations in the first place. This throws in the discourse of power and subordination aspects that are different from the metropole, in that Zimbabwe like the rest of the mission territory which may also be called colonies, became venues of spillage between the religio-political fights whose socio-political genesis few scholars are privy to know.

To begin with, the ruling authorities mentioned in the text are here considered to be referring to human rulers who wield control on others due to the power they have over them. In the case of traditional power systems, Cullman's position that the text stipulates that the recipients of subjugation; the ruling authorities, are in fact angelic powers that stand behind human rulers, may to some extent be considered. This is so because the interplay between Western political systems and Zimbabwean indigenous systems is still active, whereby in the earlier people are elected into political office, and in the later they become leaders by supernatural appointment.

As raised earlier, this makes the authority-subjugation dynamics in Zimbabwe complicated and may need to rope in all power players since there are evident spillages that give rise to such phenomena as personal power cultism, contributed to also by the sophistication of colonialism and the role of Christian denominationalism there. For this reason, the analysis of the power dynamics explored not only in the ruling government, but also opposition political parties as well as civic society.

Suggested preliminaries in a situational interpretation of Rom. 13:1-7

My suggestion is that a situational reading and application of the message of the pericope might be appropriate. This interpretation has as its point of departure that Rom. 13:1-7 may be considered as a well calculated approach by Paul as a survival tactic for Roman Christians within a situation that had a potential of leaving them vulnerable.

Studies around the church and the Synagogue in relation to imperial legislation like taxation, have shown that Jewish affiliates of Synagogues in Rome were exempt from some taxes since they were contributing towards the half shekel temple tax. This exemption seems to have excluded Jewish affiliates of the church, and this might have necessitated Paul to encourage them to fulfil their tax obligations to avoid clashes with civil authority as was the unrest regarding head tax in Alexandria in 38 AD:

Stefan Krauter, (2009:24),

Gerade dadurch aber gerade die junge christliche Gemeinde in eine gefährliche Situation und lenke das Misstrauen des Staates auf sich. Daher sei äußerste politische Zurückhaltung geraten. 132 Insbesondere gehöre dazu die penible Ableistung der Steuerschuld, zumal Paulus die Steuerunruhen in Rom und auch der über der Frage nach der Kopfsteuer entstandene Pogrom von 38 n. Chr. in Alexandrien als warnende Beispiele bekannt seien.

An exhortation to Christian citizens to subjugate to authorities for the sake of order may need to be applied. This therefore means that a societal organogram of the ruler and ruled need to be reinvigorated in the seemingly confused scenario in Zimbabwe in which the centre of authority seems shaky due to evident and inevident factors. The seeming tendency is also to despise local leadership to the preference of one's candidate of a given political party. Likewise, clashes between elected members and traditional leaders and manipulation of the later as instruments of vote buying may be resolved if a rigorous exercise of merging the two systems to come out with a political system that addresses the context is adopted.

Furthermore, since the pericope mentions also that the ruling authorities are servants of God for the good of the ruled, a balanced approach which calls for accountability on the authorities; traditional or elected, as well as the ruled, may need to be cultivated. Inspiration may be drawn from Catholic Social teaching as regards the Common Good and the concept of natural law to be observed especially by leaders. The ruled on their part may be admonished for not cooperating especially as some evidently engage in clear acts of sabotage as they benefit from the perpetual strife caused by malfunctioning institutions. An example may be in the issue in which individual political leaders and their agents engage in illegal economic activities that go against efforts by authorities to resuscitate the economy. This has been recently seen as the governor of the reserve bank introduced the New currency called the Zimbabwean Gold (ZiG) on 5 April 2024, to deal with the rising cost of living. (<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-04-24/-zig-usd-zimbabwe-s-zig-a-step-toward-abandoning-us-dollars-official-says>)

On 20 April 2024, sixty five illegal money changers were arrested for contravening the Exchange Control Act as they already traded the ZiG for foreign currency at a black-market rate that made the value of the new currency tumble even before the introduction of physical notes and coins on the 30th of April.

(<https://www.voanews.com/amp/zimbabwe-authorities-troubled-by-tumbling-new-currency/7581122.html>).

In my interview with IP8, a member of an Apostolic church affiliated with ZIICC, he expressed no kind words with economic saboteurs who clearly work with the country's detractors. According to him,

'Zimbabwean youths especially in urban areas suffer from a disease called the malice of will. This can only be solved if they are all taken for ideological orientation for them to think and feel with the country. *Vanhu vakasungwa ava dai vapiwa mutongo wakaomarara, kana hupenyu hwese mujeri nekuti vanoshandiswa nemuvengi.* (The arrested forex dealer must be given stiffer penalties even life imprisonment since they are agents of the country's enemies).

When I asked him how an agent of the country's enemies could get the newest notes even before they are officially put into circulation, IP8 had no kind words for those officials and politicians who are anti-progress though they are part of the system.

According to him, '*Zviri pachena kuti vamwe vakuru muhurumende ndivo vanotoshanda nevakomana maChange money aya. Ndokusaka vamwe vacho vachiitwa catch and release pasina mutongo. Patasvika senyika pavakuda kubudirana pachena nekuti tatambura nguva yareba. Vakomana ivava vakanyatsorohwa vanodura vanhu vari kuvashandisa nyika yoziva chokwadi.*' (It is clear that some government officials work with some of these illegal money changers that is why some of them never stand a serious trial even when they are arrested. The state we are at as a country now requires transparency and truth telling because we have suffered way too long. If the moneychangers are thoroughly beaten, they will divulge their handlers and the whole nation will then know.

The lack of the national ethic as well as the evasion of civil responsibility may be inculcated by a situational reading of Rom 13,1-7 as well as the crafting of legislation along the lines of civil responsibility. Since it is also a pericope on what may be termed ethical matters of good and bad, reward and punishment, these aspects need serious inculcation in the populace.

This therefore calls for a re-immersion in Social scientific approaches especially as propounded by scholars in Pauline studies who seem to have done well within their contexts in their ongoing study of the applicability of the message of Rom 13:1-7 using social scientific tools:

S. Krauter (2009:25),

Über die Grundthesen der '*New Perspective on Paul*' wird derzeit heftig diskutiert. Von der Frage ihrer generellen Angemessenheit ganz abgesehen ist aber in Hinblick auf die Auslegung von Röm 13,1-7 zu würdigen, dass über die traditionelle motiv- oder begriffsgeschichtliche Forschung hinaus soziologische und kulturalanthropologische Erkenntnisse einbezogen werden. Die starke Fixierung auf das Thema der kollektiven Identität mag fragwürdig erscheinen, dass

jedoch eine ideengeschichtlich geprägte und auf das Individuum konzentrierte Sichtweise auf Röm 13,1-7 defizitär ist und durch die Betrachtung des sozialen und kulturellen Umfelds ergänzt werden muss, ist sicher richtig.

Zu würdigen ist auch, dass versucht wird, Röm 13,1-7 in eine Beziehung zum Zentrum der paulinischen Theologie zu setzen, was in den klassischen Auslegungsversuchen in dieser Weise nicht gelang - oder auch programmatisch gar nicht erst versucht wurde, wie etwa bei Käsemann. In Röm 13,1-7 werden, so die *New Perspective*, Regeln politischer Klugheit angesichts des neuen Verhältnisses zum Staat aufgrund der allmählichen Loslösung vom jüdischen Ethnos aufgestellt. Dieser Vorschlag ist auf jeden Fall dahingehend weiterführend, dass das Judentum hier in die Betrachtung miteinbezogen wird.

Just as Paul wrote, fully cognisant that there were sticky issues around Nero's leadership, in the same way that 1 Peter 2 which was written in the middle of a severe persecution, reiterated the same message of honouring civil authority, so also may be the honouring of current civil authorities in Zimbabwe be upheld. The syncretic environment in the Zimbabwean religio-political landscape may be resolved by starting from what is there; a recognition that authority does not necessarily mean office holder. The ruling government, through the instrumentality of democracy, may need to seriously engage with other political players with the intention of securing a common denominator. This preliminary stage also requires opposition politicians to acknowledge and appreciate that regime change may be difficult as long as they seem to push it seemingly aligned to countries that the liberation movement has labelled hostile. They also may need to acknowledge some key fundamentals, which they may ride upon to bring about national social cohesion with the ideological backing of a situational interpretation of Rom. 13:1-7. One such national quest pertains to the land issue.

In the context of democracy as a prominent ideology, the interpretation here supports the localisation of democracy with the intention of modifying it to be a Zimbabwean one, not to maintain the current scenario where it appears to be something imposed from outside.

After the acknowledgement of a starting point which may be facilitated by the political actors themselves, the authority that they have may also be activated into addressing the chief contributor of fragmentation and polarity in Zimbabwe; namely, denominational Christianity. The inspiration from the Patristic and Mediaeval eras in which such interpreters of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 forwarded the themes of patriotism by starting right away from where they were, could solve issues.

As long as there remains no significant reform on the religious scene by making religion a constitutional issue in which churches are regulated by law and even taxed, then the social cohesion that may be an incentive from organised religion, may not be achieved and as long as people are fragmented and remain in perpetual strife in the

name of God, then the divide and rule of the colonial era continues its toll, thereby making Zimbabwe another human Babel, where chaos and disorganisation hinder progress.

4.6 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

As mentioned in the introduction, this thesis is a comparative study of the metropole and the colony in relation to the treatment of authority and subjugation in general as well as the classical interpretation of Rom. 13:1-7 which seems to have been actualised and blended in institutional functionality in particular. This chapter has thus investigated how the pericope has been received and practically lived out down the centuries. What seems apparent is that Rom.13 has been one of the chief biblical texts in the formative stages of social cohesion and national prosperity in the global North as it was instrumental in rallying citizens around the given civil authorities, suppressing the fragmentation which comes with denominationalism, as well as giving a Christian icing to the political expansionist aspirations which saw the imperial expansion dream in England suppressing the Little England concept. Subjugation to ruling authorities thus saw settlers as well as missionaries like David Livingstone, going out as well as mobilising university students to go out and amass territories and resources as they extend white monopoly capital 'for the queen and for their country'.

The nationalistic interpretation of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 also witnessed some ideological support from philosophers whose positions were as well Christianised and together with the rallying around the Queen or the military commander, witnessed the justification of invasions of the territories of the races that were considered barbaric, with the ideological justification from such ideologies as Social Darwinism, and hence the overall justification of self-determination by the metropole in the noble Godly vocation of civilising the savage.

This mission was carefully crafted, taking into consideration the finding of African social anthropology, which exposed the communitarian nature of most tribal societies. Disbanding them thus required the coinage of messages that vilified the indigenous people's points of convergence, and for this mission, Christian denominationalism in one country, though out rightly resisted in European individual countries, became a suitable whipping boy for the divide and rule agenda. The encouragement for social cohesion that a contextual interpretation of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 saw the

enactment of such legislation as the Act of Supremacy in England, as well as the widespread principle; *cuius regio eius religio* in Germany.

After the examination of both contexts on the Mediterranean; the metropole on one side and the colony on the other, the burning question to my inquiry is; what then may be an alternative interpretation of Rom.13:1-7, given that the authority-subordination concept preached by most missionaries favoured settler authority over indigenous one, yet in the metropole, where they came from, it was applied to aboriginal authority? The following chapter will therefore constitute the final stage; ACT of the overall thesis methodology. Its thrust will be to approach the demands and operations of ZIICC with the instrumentality of my proposed interpretation of the pericope. This will be further augmented by some suggestions as to what Zimbabwe may need to do right now as it battles corruption, fragmentation, neocolonialism, dictatorship and comprehensive sanctions.

CHAPTER 5

ACT: WHAT ZIMBABWE MAY NEED TO DO

5.1 INTRODUCTION

As mentioned earlier, with this work, I intend a solutions oriented approach to the Zimbabwean multifaceted problems with the instrumentality of Rom 13:1-7 and its historical interpretive gains, both in the metropole and the colony. The above enquiry will therefore be incomplete if it leaves out concrete suggestions of action as a way forward for Zimbabwe in proffering the much needed solutions. The see section has highlighted that the Zimbabwean crisis is more of a religious one than it is a political, economic or otherwise. not that people are not praying the most, but rather that the utilitarian dimension of religion has not been explored for national benefit. In this respect, religion as an ideological source of social cohesion amidst the fragmentation resulting from extreme forms of denominationalism, needs to be put at the centre of the conversation.

More so, for it to be progressive, a conversation about Action within the Zimbabwean context, may need to take cognisance of the fact that different players who approach the Zimbabwean impasse from different points of gravitation have been and are still proffering solutions. Within the context of denominational christianity, directly or indirectly, the contents of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 and its appropriation on the current government as divinely appointed, is central to the ideological position of the recently founded Zimbabwe Interdenominational of Indigenous Churches Council, (ZIICC) one such board which propagates the need for action, with a positive view of the current ZANU PF government as the point of departure towards realising whatever goals towards cohesion or nationhood. Are there any ways in which ZIICC is different from previous groupings? How may one assess its progress this far?

The following pages will therefore outline ZIICC's contributions in offering solutions to the Zimbabwean problems according to the judgement they arrive at basing on their interpretation of Rom 13:1-7. I shall critique their solutions and as well suggest a consideration of other points of common appeal from Catholic Social Teaching, mainly from three papal Encyclicals; *Rerum Novarum*, (1891), *Ecclesiam Suam* (1964) and *Populorum Progressio* (1967). The Catechism of the Catholic Church especially on tax payment as well as the teachings of the Vatican II document; *Gaudium et Spes* will also be critiqued.

5.2 ZIICC AND ROM. 13:1-7: A CASE STUDY

Indigenous Churches represented by the ZIICC, interprets ὑποτάσσω; subordination and subjugation of Rom. 13:1-7, to mean total submission and unquestionable allegiance of believers to the ruling ZANU PF government without further ado. This also means an imperative participation towards the fulfilment of governmental targets, as the National Developmental Strategy 1 (NDS1) in line with Vision 2030, whose endeavour is to leave no one or no place behind in the transformation of Zimbabwe into an upper middle-income economy by the year 2030.

Together with the newly founded Romans 13 Movement, ZIICC views its vocation as none other than sealing the third component of president E.D Mnangagwa's mantra: '*Nyika inovakwa, igotongwa nekunamatigwa nevene vayo*', (Zimbabwe will only be build, ruled and prayed for by its rightful owners). ZIICC as the *mapostori* and *maZiyoni* for ED, (Apostolic and Zionist churches for Economic Development), has its demands from the ruling government in its wish to complete the circle of being to the ruling party what missionary founded churches were to the settler colonial governments.

ZIICC's programs of Action

Since the inception of the New Dispensation, ZIICC has heightened its operations as it seemingly offers ideological and cohesional support to the ruling ZANU PF government. these actions range from mobilising and conducting national prayer days, endorsing ruling party initiated inter-political party fora like the Political Actors Dialogue (POLAD), as well as engaging religious authorities in London to help facilitate the unconditional removal of the 'illegal comprehensive economic sanctions unilaterally imposed on Zimbabwe by Britain and her Western allies.

Through this way of interpreting ὑποτάσσω, the ZIICC has already endorsed the sitting government, which some especially in the mainline Churches and opposition politics castigate as illegitimate usurpers who subsequently ascended to the echelons of power after the November 2017 *coup d'état*, the July 2018 rigged harmonised elections, as well as the 23-24 August 2023 elections which were reported by most observer missions to have been marred by various irregularities.

As it appears, this way of interpreting ὑποτάσσω is marred with numerous irregularities, and thus justifies as indispensable a serious interrogation of the concept. Key questions may thus be interrogated head-on; does ὑποτάσσω means that

contemporary believers ought to simply obey anything that those in authority gazette, in a top-down approach? Does Paul's concept of authority in: 'there is no authority if not from God...', (13:1b), also considers the question regarding HOW someone gets into political authority or simply considers occupation of office while ignoring as immaterial the 'how' part in ascendancy to that authority?

Likewise, the venue for the weekly national prayers moved from the city sports centre to the state house, with some pointing the issue of security as the one at play. IP7, a member of an African church belonging to ZIICC, however interpret this move as 'a re-witnessing of palace prophets of the calibre of Dan who seemed to have been a court prophet who was pro-David and the Davidic propaganda, acting as a rubber-stamper of the king's move as Divinely sanctioned.' (IP 7, interview 27 February 2021). The strategy seems clear; the government has seen the indispensability of working with religious leaders to get its programs done.

ZIICC and the Political Actors Dialogue (POLAD)

The Political Actors Dialogue is a platform created by President Emmerson Mnangagwa after the 2019 elections, which consists of most political parties which contested in the elections, minus the presidential candidate Nelson Chamisa whose new political party name is yet to be revealed after the loss of the name and presidency of the MDC-Alliance in the Supreme Court ruling of 2020. ZIICC views POLAD as a legitimate platform which may be progressive in resolving some pending issues in Zimbabwean politics.

5.2.1 ZIICC and the introduction of the National Thanksgiving and Dedication Day

Since 2017, the 26th of December has been introduced on the national calendar as national thanksgiving and dedication day. This initiative has been forwarded by the ZIICC who pledged to read from the same template as the leadership of the Second Republic, with the intention of rallying the nation together in celebrating the successes of the yesteryear, as well as praying for the success of the coming year. The ZITF grounds in Bulawayo has been chosen as the venue for these celebrations. President Mnangagwa has attended this ceremony and delivered speeches since its introduction. In his speech delivered on 26th December 2021, the president used the opportunity to summarise the achievements of his government that ranged from developmental projects for the betterment of communities; rehabilitation of roads, dams among

others, regardless of the sanctions imposed on the economy. He later on ascribed his successes to the Almighty who gave him and his government wisdom, not only to implement programmes, but also to handle the covid19 pandemic well in a manner that greatly reduced fatalities.

Church leaders affiliated to the ZIICC took turns to articulate the importance of the working together of the church and the state. According to Bishop Andrew Utaunashe the chairperson of the Faith for the Nation in Zimbabwe, and the interdenominational council of churches: ‘as a church we encourage its head of state and government, to aggressively pursue nation building initiatives in the spirit of Godly patriotism, unity, ownership and inclusiveness’. Mr. Makhosini Hlongwane, we are very fortunate to have a board of churches that have a developmental consciousness and orientation and that seeks to work closely with the government and assist where they can, and the issue of sanctions is a crucial area where they can play a part working very closely with the government.

Mutendi- nothing beats sitting down as one person to iron out any differences that exist or might arise. Mnangagwa- we are thankful of the God Almighty call to unity and prayer and action Annual national thanksgiving and dedication prayers the country will be rebuilt despite the challenges brought about by sanctions and covid. God gave my government wisdom to handle this pandemic to implement and be successful. ‘The church-state relations must be that of constant dialogue, as the two meet the congregant and the party supporter, at either their churches or rallies, and all want this human being to live better, Reuben Barwe, (reporting for ZBC News at 8, 26/12/21. ZBCnewsonline.zw).

5.2.2 ZIICC and the re-engagement mantra

Moreover, the 6-11 November 2021 COP26 summit on climate change held in Glasgow, Scotland, witnessed the stepping on British soil by a Zimbabwean president after decades of non-invitation of Zimbabwe to England. some commentators have viewed this as a sign of the easing of tempers between the ‘New Dispensation’ or the payback of president Mnangagwa’s engagement and re-engagement strategy, which seeks to position Zimbabwe as a friend of all and an enemy to none’ (Tafadzwa Mugwadi,).

Though initially no proof of meaningful engagement has been brought to the fore for the public to see, at least this step was celebrated by ZANU PF supporters as a huge success to the extent of holding a whisky party which since went viral with some saying the whisky shoppers whose video clip went viral on social media were part of the presidential delegate to the COP 26 summit, which one of the youth vehemently

denied stating that he is a ZANU PF supporter staying in the UK celebrating the coming of his president, before demanding an apology to those who peddled the fake news that he came from Zimbabwe as part of the presidential delegation.

Fast track to 2 May 2024, the relations between Zimbabwe and the UK seem to be warming up for the better, with the new ambassador of the UK, Peter Vowels being quoted on the National broadcaster, ZBC, saying that they are serious about ironing out the difference between Harare and London to propel trade between the two nations:

We are really serious about making sure we remove the trade barriers between Britain and Zimbabwe. The first step we have agreed with Zimbabwe and other countries is the Economic Partnership Agreement; (EPA), that means Zimbabwe businesses connects us British markets with duty free, cost free, not just now but in also in the future, and that is important and there is more to do on that to make sure that every company in Zimbabwe connects maximum benefit...

<https://youtu.be/7qClutibqh8?si=CU5OnmodcOhQ8-wV> (Accessed on 03/05/2024)

This change in tone between these two nations has been celebrated by Harare as the fruition of the engagement and re-engagement philosophy which Britain now realises as important for trade in a mutually beneficial way.

In my telephone interview with IP 10, I asked her if this is any cause for celebration especially after the news that the banking, trade and commerce sectors will be revitalised soon. As an economist and an affiliate of a Zionist church which is not affiliated to ZIICC, she seemed sceptical about the whole issue.

According to her, 'Britain is really feeling the post-Brexit heat, coupled by the enormous competition caused by China and Russia in Africa as they scramble for resources once again. Zimbabwe's desperation to win British recognition by re-engaging must therefore be carefully traded. This is not however the case with the current leadership because they seem to be so obsessed in proving especially to their haters that they are doing something. It is in this desire to prove a point that they will end up settling for less beneficial deals to the interests of the Zimbabwean nation as a whole.

When I interviewed IP 1 whom I initially interviewed on 17/01/2010, again, in a telephone conversation, regarding the seeming policy shift in the relations between the UK and Zimbabwe and the possibility of the lifting of the comprehensive sanctions that are still affecting the Zimbabwean economy, his response was positive. For him, 'the death of opposition politics in Zimbabwe left the British with no option but to negotiate with ZANU PF, a thing which could have never happened if Tsvangirai was still alive. Britain has interests in Zimbabwean mineral resources as well as other

benefits. Though it may take some time, the possibility of the wavering of British sanctions on Zimbabwe as well as the ZIDERA bill maintained by the US, is near.’

It may be noted that unlike in the 19th Century Britain where Christian denominations at least agreed on the national agenda though differed on attitude and execution, to the extent of founding political parties, one consisting of Methodists and another, being made up of Anglicans, the cradle of the Labour and Conservative political parties respectively, the phenomenon of denominationalism in Zimbabwe is something else. To start with, sharp divisions exist on the aspect of the fundamental, especially when it comes to the church and its contribution in achieving national interests. Some international denominations seem to be passive, in still being conditioned by the directions of the interests of their foreign headquarters in what to do or not as the local church.

Regarding this phenomenon, Bodin, the father of the term sovereignty, preached the doctrine of religious toleration, and discouraged the issue of the imposition of uniformity by the state. However, tolerance may need to have some limits, and this is important for Zimbabwe; ‘The state should seek to prevent the rise of new sects and heresies, as these might lead to social disturbances, M.W. Montgomery, (1973 :65). But was it the same for the colonies?

Not only is this letter the earliest extant Christian document to list precisely the twenty-seven books that eventually formed the generally accepted canon of the New Testament, but Athanasius is also the first Christian author known to have applied the term “canonised” (κανονισόμενα) specifically to the books that made up his Old and New Testaments. Athanasius's canon is explicitly closed: “In these books alone,” the bishop declares, “the teaching of piety is proclaimed. ‘Let no one add to or subtract from them’ (LXX Dt.12,32).” The significance of this document goes beyond these formal and terminological issues, however, for the extant fragments of the letter provide a glimpse into the social and political factors that accompanied the attempted formation of a closed canon of the Bible in one ancient Christian setting.

Christianity in fourth century Egypt was characterised by diverse and conflicting modes of social identity and spiritual formation: study groups led by charismatic teachers, Melitian communities centred around the veneration of martyrs, and the emerging structure of imperial orthodoxy headed by Athanasius all presented themselves as legitimate expressions of Christian piety. Within this complex setting, the formation of a biblical canon with a proper mode of interpretation was an important step in the formation of an official catholic church in Egypt with its parish-centred spirituality.

Whilst the above scholarly works investigated about the aspect of authority and subjugation during the Mugabe and Mnangagwa eras, in this thesis I argue that the starting point has to be the arrival of settlers and missionaries and how denominational Christianity became handy in the transference of authority from the aboriginal to the new. It is therefore in critically evaluating this period that a bigger picture, to which the subsequent eras were but inheritors, may be understood. Who a missionary was and what he sought to achieve in preaching the gospel in the approach they applied, may need to be approached in the light of what will be later on investigated; how the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 was arguably instrumental in establishing the common denominator for developed nations in the metropolis; the countries of origin for the businessman and missionary who came to Zimbabwe.

5.2.3 ZIICC and the Western sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe

Within Christian denominations, the topic regarding the nature and existence of sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe by the West appears to be a complex one. Those campaigning for the removal of sanctions and those who oppose such campaigns, both appear to be lacking some adequate understanding regarding this complex issue, or strategically opts not to break down the complexity to the ordinary Zimbabwean for the sake of ascertaining the nature and impact of the same.

At day's end, the sanctions discourse remains as a political tool at the hands of both the ruling and the opposition parties; with the ruling party holding the positions that there are comprehensive sanctions on Zimbabwe, which were imposed by the West to effect regime change in Zimbabwe. The major opposition holds that Zimbabwe as a country is not under Western sanctions, instead, ZANU PF human rights abusers are the ones that are under travel restrictions which bars them from visiting Europe.

For the opposition, the biggest sanction that Zimbabwe has is ZANU PF, which must be removed from office at all costs. Surprisingly, even though documents regarding sanctions are in the public domain, there seems to be deafening silence around the issue in Zimbabwean NT scholarship and applied Biblical Studies regarding the issue. Even at Ecumenical level, as churches write pastoral letter commenting on the economic meltdown in the country, barely do they mention the detrimental effect of the comprehensive sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe, though it is a fact world over that no nation can thrive in economic isolation, as the current crunch in Russia is fast showing, due to sanctions and its war in Ukraine.

However, there seems to be some hope of an awakening within the ecumenical bodies as witnessed by

their statement on sanctions, in a recent pastoral letter. In their seven paged letter, highlighting thirteen points, dated 22 October 2021 and signed by the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops Conference, (ZCBC), the Zimbabwe Council of Churches, (ZCC), the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe (EFZ) and the UDACIZA, the ZHOCD called for the removal of all sanctions on Zimbabwe and for the government of Zimbabwe to address the issue raised by the sanctions regimes through a citizen centred process, (ZHOCD 2021:7). This unanimous acknowledgement of the existence of sanctions on Zimbabwe which are harming the ordinary person seems to be the first of its kind given how in the past decades there seems to have been lack of consensus on the type of sanctions that are on Zimbabwe. For both the proponents of the fact that there were sanctions against Zimbabwe and those that say there were no sanctions, there seems to be some alarming confusion on what the word sanctions really mean.

This was arguably the first time that the church unanimously agreed that Zimbabwe is under comprehensive sanctions which affect the ordinary person, witnessing a shift in stance compared to previous years in which there was either silence on the matter by the church or the denial of the existence of comprehensive sanctions imposed on the country, resulting in some to believe that the sanctions on Zimbabwe refer to travel bans. This was most likely due to some lack of research and understanding by the Church about the intricacies of this complicated matter, and a reliance on social media news especially Facebook, without dedicating some time to study the effects of ZIDERA on the ordinary citizen. Not only did the ecumenical body write a pastoral letter. Some members, but also sent an eight member delegation of clerics from different Christian bodies whose diplomatic mission targeted the Anglican Archbishop of Canterbury; the Most Reverend Justin Welby, who is the 105th Head of the Church of England and by extension, of the worldwide Anglican Communion, ‘to make a case against illegal Western Sanctions on Zimbabwe, which have been stymying Zimbabwe’s normal, interactive development since 2002.’ (Operation Restore Legacy Facebook page: Zimbabwe clerics’ major diplomatic breakthrough in lobbying against illegal Sanctions against Zimbabwe, 9/11/21. accessed on 10/11/21, 16:52 hrs).

The delegation also requested the Archbishop to deliver their petition to the British Government which, ‘upon leaving the European Union, domesticated the raft of EU’s sanctions against Zimbabwe though the EU (to its credit), has been easing its punitive measures against Zimbabwe, in sharp contrast to the stance of vindictiveness pursued by both London and Washington,’ (Operation Restore Legacy Facebook page: Zimbabwe clerics’ major diplomatic breakthrough in lobbying against illegal

Sanctions against Zimbabwe, 9/11/21. accessed on 10/11/21, 16:52 hrs). Since the Anglican is the state church of England which seems to endorse the politics of its day in the cooperation between religion and politics in the UK, there seems to be a strong and serious adoption of such a model by Zimbabwean clerics, in which the Church seems to be more than ever partnering with the government in forwarding what they envisage as a Zimbabwean agenda not a partisan one as how other critics have pointed out.

It was in this vein that the Zimbabwean clerics organised the Zimbabwe Churches' Sanctions Relief Initiative (ZICSRI), a document which they handed to the archbishop accompanied by the words of bishop Wutawunashe that ; 'Zimbabwe has been under sanctions for 50 years ever since the time of Ian Smith. Now the present sanctions are crippling the poor and are not tutoring anybody..' He then requested for the archbishop of Canterbury's voice to support their petition to awaken the conscience of British politicians to consider the poorest who are suffering due to the effects of the illegal sanctions.

The archbishop of Canterbury responded by highlighting that the petition was very important and promised to to read it and discuss it with the people here and see how they can advocate for the relief of the poorest, while ensuring that those who steal and to take money from the country that is not theirs are themselves not the beneficiaries from the sanctions relief.' The observation on this is that the archbishop maintains his country's foreign policy in treating the case of Zimbabwe and as a spiritual leader in that country, he may be said to have already supported the position of politicians who 'were put in authority by God.'

Moreover, these events also took place immediately after the UN rapporteur Alena Douhan was in Zimbabwe on a fact finding mission on the impact of sanctions on the ordinary Zimbabweans. Her findings were also quoted by bishop Wutaunashe during their meeting with the archbishop of Canterbury. These results compiled in her final report, were met with mixed feelings, especially a strong backlash from the opposition and investigative journalists who viewed the report as cooked, before going for the person of the rapporteur, her nationality as well as her past reports on human rights issues in Venezuela. She was dismissed as a supporter of dictators since she comes from Belarus and so supported the 'dictatorship' in Zimbabwe. As usual, the issue ceased to focus on the impact of sanctions on the ordinary citizens, and ended up focusing on the person- of the rapporteur.

Though above we spoke about the tripartite division of Christian churches as pro anti or disinterested in politics, there is also an issue that seems evident of individual clerics who have their individual opinions that may be opposed to those of the religious body

to which they belong. Clerics like Fr. Fidelis Mukonori (SJ) who belongs to the Catholic Church whose position regarding the performance of the government on human rights issues, questions subjugation to the same.

The Newsday of 9 November 2021 carried an article entitled: 'Address urban rot first, Chamisa told,' quoting a known cleric: Obadiah Musindo who is sympathetic of the government, castigating the opposition leader Nelson Chamisa's new strategy in taking his campaign to the rural areas. 'He should show the people what his councils have achieved under his reign. the roads in all urban councils are a mess, garbage is everywhere, sewage freely flows into people's homes and Chamisa has not even tried to take responsibility for that.' This cleric has been quoted on most occasions as quoting Rom. 13:1-7 literally as referring to every person, opposition leaders included, to subject themselves to the ruling party regardless of whether their ascension to the reigns of power has been marred by irregularities.

Whilst the existence of punitive measures imposed comprehensively against Zimbabwe by the EU and the US are well documented, with some Zimbabwean investors like Strive Masiyiwa experiencing their heat hindering them to invest substantially in Zimbabwe, the majority of the populace is deceived by the propaganda machinery which broadcasts that there are no sanctions at all in Zimbabwe, only travel targeted ones exist. Strive Masiyiwa has this to say, in his tweet posted on his official twitter handle 'As an entrepreneur, on many occasions I have had initiatives for my country Zimbabwe, which could have created tens of thousands of new jobs. When I have discussed them with either investors and banks, they have turned me away saying: we don't want to violate sanctions in your country.' '...in my case I was forced to go to China to secure loans to support our Zimbabwean businesses. But this was not always ideal. I have spoken about it publicly on many occasions, even in the US and China itself. It is not right that we as a business should have to work under such conditions, when all we want is to create jobs and livelihoods for ordinary people.

5.3 CRITIQUE: THE CASE OF ZIICC; OLD WINE IN NEW SKINS?

The operations of ZIICC as the endorser and kingmaker of the new dispensation follows a certain trend of similar organisations back in Zimbabwean history. This may arguably be traced as far back as the arrival of European missionaries, with the appointment of chaplains of the Pioneer Column, which was the military wing of the

British South Africa Company, which is responsible for the colonisation of Zimbabwe. With the churches evidently working with politicians and businessmen in the form of colonialists then, the advent of similar movements within African founded churches, which taught their members to pay allegiance not to the settler government but to the leaders of the black nationalist fighters, may prove that the black majority since then, appreciated the utilitarian nature of Christianity in cementing and commanding authority from the seems to be a replacement of ACCZ just as Mnangagwa replaced Mugabe.

The ACCZ and ZIICC have affinities; the former was founded during the reign of Mugabe and had the former first lady Grace Mugabe as its patron. The latter was founded during the advent of the Second Republic and has the first lady Auxilia Mnangagwa as its patroness. The interpretation of Rom. 13:1-7 by ZIICC appears to be aligned to this intention firstly by legitimising the current government which is disputed by some Zimbabweans to have ascended into office through vote rigging. In its fight for legitimacy, the ruling party desperately needs this type of Biblical interpretation which convinces the majority of Zimbabwean Christians who are members of Indigenous Churches, that their being in power was willed by God and hence they ought to endorse them and their policies without paying attention to how they got into office.

Scapegoating

This may be gleaned from the message from the leaders of these Churches who spoke on the day of launching the ZIICC, lamenting to have been segregated since colonial times yet in fact they are the ones who stood and continue to stand for the black Zimbabwean in their doctrines. ZIICC seems to be convincing its congregants as well as politicians that Western founded churches are enemies of the state since they take orders from their 'foreign headquarters.' For this reason, they do not have the interests of the country at heart but seek only to expose that which tarnishes the image of Zimbabwe. Since Indigenous Churches stand by the government and openly instruct their congregants to support the government, the government must in turn capacitate their efforts by allocating them state land for free, (as done by settlers to foreign founded churches when they came) and a permanent seat in parliament.

The argument is that ZIICC and the politicians in Zimbabwe are set on a coalition to mutually benefit from each other and this will have consequences on the whole country. In his speech during the launch of ZIICC, the Zimbabwean president ordered relevant government ministries to urgently consider the demands of the organisation, allocation of free state land, a permanent seat in parliament among other resources. In

return, churches reciprocated by openly campaigning for the ruling party during their gatherings in the name of Scripture, thereby strengthening an election pact.

The fight against sanctions and corruption needs to first be complemented by adequate knowledge of how these two affect the ordinary Zimbabwean before the nation moves together in castigating both. parochialising and politicising otherwise life and death issues further disenfranchises the ordinary Zimbabwean who is day and night deprived of a decent, human living. On 4 March 2024 ,the US government reviewed the sanctions on Zimbabwe, with some prospects that ZIDERA may be on its way to be repealed after two decades in force. They also reviewed the targeted sanctions list to which they added members of the praesidium and some prominent linked to them, for the guilt of corruption, human rights abuses and externalisation of the country's wealth.

Commenting on this development, Prof. Ibbo Mandaza one of the fearless critics against the ZANU PF regime, registered his displeasure in the operations of the American government which unilaterally deal with the sanctions issue without making any effort of disclosing to the Zimbabwean populace the extent of the externalisation which they accuse officials of.

5.4 SUPPLEMENTING THE WORKS OF THE ZIICC

The demands by ZIICC are to some extent justifiable and when seen in the light of Rom. 13:1-7 and its reception in different contexts, these demands when fine-tuned, may help in building institutions not strong men who are bigger than the national cause. The push for a ministry of religion whose operations are budgeted for by the state, and the promotion of serious study of contextual christianity, becomes continual may be paramount. The translation of the Bible straight from the Hebrew and Greek languages into the Shona language, which birthed the *Bhaibheri rineDheuterokanonika*, has been the recent proof that Ecumenical collaboration may produce something tangible, which redresses some aspects which even for long have been overlooked, (as been the translations into Shona from English revised translations). A step further is urgently needed, which sheds off the denominational garb when it comes to interpretive positions, which ultimately may lead to the suppression of contradicting groupings, which currently promote fragmentation in the name of multiplying in the spirit.

Colonial christianity is less than two hundred years in existence on Zimbabwean soil. When analogically put side by side with the development of Eastern Christianity, time wise we are in the Patristic Age in which the current fathers and mothers of the Zimbabwean church may need to put in place structures and fundamentals that future generations may build upon. This may be done with frankness of the leaders and the led, in which the church necessarily needs the state to provide laws, finances and enforcement to the child that will be born out of the deliberations of current diverse views. In the metropole, the recognition of this fact which led to state religions seems to be an unlocking key that ushered in even economic progress and social cohesion which up to today feeds into the national systems, resulting in sustainability that is cherished by all, resulting in great migrations from fragmented Zimbabwe which lacks nothing but systematic order, to the metropole. In this way then, a civil view of authority, which puts the city of men in the forefront of clearing the path for the city of God, beginning from the leaders that are there, may ultimately fulfil the intentions of the protracted war of liberation where independence will not only be reduced to the physical aspect, but also to the ideological one which touches on socio-economic progress.

Case studies of such nations as Zambia and Ethiopia who attempted the regulation of religion in their backyard, and especially the operations of the Ethiopian Orthodox church, may help. So does a revisit at the yester-centuries continental resolutions such as the Moratorium, and the Africa *Munus*, may answer the preliminary party of the How question in implementing these proposals, without falling in the danger of falling into the breeding personal power cultism which is rife due to the centre which is not holding in both politics and religion.

The task will ultimately incorporate every discipline; exegetes, theologians, spiritualists, historians, social anthropologists, lawyers, economists and politicians, among others and this multidimensional approach to the implication of a situational interpretation of the pericope may be appropriated in Zimbabwe. This may ultimately give rise to a Zimbabwean version of such pairs as Paul and Nero, Athanasius and Constantine, Augustine and Theodosius I, the archbishop of Westminster and the British Parliament, the Vatican and the European Union, the Caliphate and the Sultanate in Islam, the Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox with the Russian government, among others.

The Obstacles of Nationalism

62. There are other obstacles to creation of a more just social order and to the development of world solidarity: nationalism and racism. It is quite natural that nations recently arrived at political independence should be quite jealous of their new-found but fragile unity and make every effort to preserve it. It is also quite natural for nations with a long-standing cultural

tradition to be proud of their traditional heritage. But this commendable attitude should be further ennobled by love, a love for the whole family of man. Haughty pride in one's own nation disunites nations and poses obstacles to their true welfare. It is especially harmful where the weak state of the economy calls for a pooling of information, efforts and financial resources to implement programs of development and to increase commercial and cultural interchange. . . .
and Racism

63. Racism is not the exclusive attribute of young nations, where sometimes it hides beneath the rivalries of clans and political parties, with heavy losses for justice and at the risk of civil war. During the colonial period it often flared up between the colonists and the indigenous population, and stood in the way of mutually profitable understanding, often giving rise to bitterness in the wake of genuine injustices. It is still an obstacle to collaboration among disadvantaged nations and a cause of division and hatred within countries whenever individuals and families see the inviolable rights of the human person held in scorn, as they themselves are unjustly subjected to a regime of discrimination because of their race or their colour.

Liberating patriotism Reform, Not Revolution

30. The injustice of certain situations cries out for God's attention. Lacking the bare necessities of life, whole nations are under the thumb of others; they cannot act on their own initiative; they cannot exercise personal responsibility; they cannot work toward a higher degree of cultural refinement or a greater participation in social and public life. They are sorely tempted to redress these insults to their human nature by violent means.

31. Everyone knows, however, that revolutionary uprisings—except where there is manifest, longstanding tyranny which would do great damage to fundamental personal rights and dangerous harm to the common good of the country—engender new injustices, introduce new inequities and bring new disasters. The evil situation that exists, and it surely is evil, may not be dealt with in such a way that an even worse situation results.

Involvement of the current legislature

This thesis supports the idea of starting from where we are and what we have. That being the case, parliamentary debates and deliberations regarding the status of religion as an institution of sense in Zimbabwe need to be brought to the fore. Accompanying legislation to regulate how religion operates, which holy days of obligation need to be observed, the minimum qualification of spiritual leaders among others. This may be done in close collaboration with different church bodies like the ZCBC, the EFCZ, ZIICC, ZHOCD, among others. In all these, the objective of achieving a common denominator as well as upgrading theology to enable the issue of relevance when theologising within the current dispensation.

This may further stretch to the institution of primary and secondary education, where religious consciousness may need to be upgraded and somehow made compulsory up to high school level. Syllabi covering such themes as church state relations, the place of a Christian believer in the civil state may need to be inculcated in the youths

beginning from school, and not leave such important themes as aspects to be tackled by sometimes ill equipped religious ministers who operate with no framework to evaluate and offer checks and balances to their operations.

Domestication of relevant political ideologies

Political ideologies such as social democracy, socialism and liberal democracy have been adopted in Zimbabwe from political party level, where constitutions express the respective political ideology of a given grouping. Due to this adoption of ideologies formulated and imported from elsewhere, alignment of Zimbabwean political groupings has left Zimbabwe torn between either Washington, Beijing or Moscow with little or no contribution from lived experiences or a rich political history of pre-colonial Zimbabwe.

A dialogue with traditional religio-political systems achieved through national consultation, spearheaded by a newly created ministry in charge of the integration of religion and politics, for the purposes of coming up with a homegrown systems whose judges will be the Zimbabwean nation itself not foreign adjudicators who rightly follow their borrowed ideologies and so make conclusions based on their standards.

In all this, civil, ruling authorities may need to avail the space to exegetes, theologians and scholars of religion and politics in god will, though this drastically redresses what sustains their continued dominance in power; a thoroughly fragmented christian religion where no one agrees with anyone due to the influx of points of view which even finds no difference between orthodox and heterodox.

Involvement of the international community

Just as the international community is involved in humanitarian issues, as well as in the election observer missions in which they avail funding for the success of the programs in which they are involved in, so also may the involvement of experts in the setting up of systems relevant to the Zimbabwean situation.

5.4.1 Inculcation of civil responsibility

In his 30 November 2023 budget presentation for the year 2024, which for the first time in Zimbabwean history, introduced new taxes; a 1% tax on houses whose value is US\$ 400 000. 00 and above ii) tax on beverages with a certain amount of sugar, iii) hiking of toll gate fees and iv) passport fees. <https://youtu.be/Z-FhAW-kLcw?si=6433ZwzG4PKA50tN>

The feedback from most commentators was negative given that those in the formal sector are underpaid, as well as the huge unemployment percentage in the country. This same lamentation seemingly is the same with the one currently being expressed in Kenya, after William Ruto's government introduced tax regimes that most of the people felt were oppressive, and countering his election promises. In the limelight of taxation that I dealt with in this thesis both in the metropolis and during Paul's time, it is my argument that rightfully used proceeds of taxation are a huge fundraiser for any government and may be a breakthrough in taking Africa out of its financial woes, which would ultimately replace debt from international creditors and donations from well wishers, as Africa's major source of income.

What is however of urgency, is the coinage of a theology of taxation in the light of Rom. 13:1.6-7, where the church need also to be taxed since it is making huge sums of money which are going into individual churchmen pockets to fuel their lavish lifestyle in the name of eating on behalf of God. Some have even gotten into partnership with individual government ministers, in swindling the unsuspecting public, with nothing going into state coffers. The coinage of a theology of taxation will perhaps be in line with the theme of Christian beneficence, which has also been driven deeper by research into the tax institution and its place in religion within the relevant empires especially the Greco-Roman Empires, and the interpretation of the same by Jewish rabbis as may be found in Jewish extra biblical sources, as well as by Church Fathers.

The Catechism of the Catholic Church No. 2240 even says it clearly that a citizen has to pay tax as a duty of all citizens:

Submission to authority and co-responsibility for the common good make it morally obligatory to pay taxes, to exercise the right to vote, and to defend one's country: Pay to all of them their dues, taxes to whom taxes are due, revenue to whom revenue is due, respect to whom respect is due, honour to whom honour is due.[Christians] reside in their own nations, but as resident aliens. They participate in all things as citizens and endure all things as foreigners. ... They obey the established laws and their way of life surpasses the laws. ... So noble is the position to which God has assigned them that they are not allowed to desert it.

The Apostle exhorts us to offer prayers and thanksgiving for kings and all who exercise authority, "that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, godly and respectful in every way." (CCC 2240).

In the introduction of Church tax, German *Kirchensteuer* has also been recognised as another tax regime needing consultation. This will then need some watertight control measure to ward off rampant corruption which is reportedly found in the Revenue Authority. Just as the proceeds from *telos* were stored in the temple of Saturn during the Roman principate, so also may the ministry of religion be nominated to be in charge

of the religious tax purse, in collaboration with the ministry of finance as was the equestrian order and the praetorium. Most importantly, in its quest for Action and a way forward, Zimbabwe might not need to invent a new wheel, but utilise the guidance that is already set up somewhere. From house tax, hiking of toll gate fees, introduction of the sugar tax for beverages with sugar content, and a review of the Value added tax. This resulted in a huge outcry from the already struggling populace especially the civil servants most of whose salaries are far below the poverty datum line.

Though this is apparently harsh, it seems to be the way to go, provided the revenue will be put to national use. Though a lot of factors needed to be considered, the reality of the informal sector operating efficiently, with huge sums circulating there, which evade tax due to lack of formalisation, there need to be ways of collecting revenue from the same. This is supported by Justus Lipsius, (1589:4.11.5) who is quoted to have said *nulla tributa nullus status*; no tax no state. Citizen, not Donor funding and credit may need to fund the operations of the state in the spirit of Rom. 6:6-7, and foreign funding of state programs, where the so called developed countries will be using the taxpayers monies of their countries, to sustain livelihoods in the so called developing countries must be a thing of the past, as tax regimes which will be the funding of the government programs by the citizens, being the way to go. This may be the way out in Africa's financial independence.

5.4.2 Promoting a paradigm shift regarding party politics

On the day the minister of finance presented his 2024 budget; 30 November 2023, Nelson Chamisa, president of the CCC party posted the following message on his Facebook and X handles 2023: 'A SHARED ZIMBABWE. Zimbabwe needs a shared vision, shared values and shared goals. Yes, a shared national culture. A shared dream and a shared journey. We need a "common denominator" point to agree on a shared agenda for national development and transformation which will be adhered to by all irrespective of which party is governing or is in the alternative #OnePeople.' (<https://www.facebook.com/share/p/4UEnVbnEKi88SFdN/?mibextid=WC7FNe>)

This post left his followers guessing whether he was alluding to forming a government of National unity with Munangagwa's ZANU PF, at a time when he had initially controlled his followers to be hopeful in SADAC which was coming to Zimbabwe to overturn ZANU PF's claimed election victory and call for fresh elections, since every election observer mission points to the fact that elections were marred with irregularities. For most in the opposition and some leading journalists, uniting with ZANU PF is a bad idea, given its history of ultimately 'swallowing' unity accord

partners. Though this may be said to be evidenced by Nkomo's ZAPU in 1987 and Tsvangirai's MDC in 2009, another likely reason for campaigning against unity will be the ultimate loss of identity and employment for the said journalists and scholars who literary feed their families on the perpetual tension in Zimbabwean public arena. In the context of my thesis, Chamisa's call, MDC-T's establishment of the Morgan Tsvangirai School of ideology and ZANU PF's establishment of the Herbert Chitepo School of ideology, are all but red flags which indicate that something must be done, and done quickly, in order to address the polarisation and fragmentation which exist in the Zimbabwean post-independence state. The common denominator that Chamisa seems to be alluding to has here been argued as to be possibly found in rectifying institutions like religion whose correct alignment may offer the much needed social cohesion and ideological support to national aspirations.

Ecumenical Dialogue with tangible goals

Within the corridors of christian denominations worldwide as well as in Zimbabwe, Ecumenism once became a household word which was further buttressed by interdenominational services and prayer sessions. Though the idea of promoting collaboration and understanding amongst different christian churches sounds noble, what seems lacking are far reaching objectives and time frames. there seems to be no further response to the question 'after understanding and tolerating a different denomination then what?'

For this reason, there is an urgent need to set clear objectives and time frames, and in this case, Christian union with the inspiration of such passages as Jn. 17:1ff may need to be sought after, with the intention of bringing believers under one roof. Although this may appear an uphill struggle at first, it is worth it since it will help curb *sectarianisation* and hence fragmentation which militates against cohesion.

The current syncretic scenario which I *stipulatively* referred to as the 'human Babel' episode, more or less reflects the syncretism of the Egyptian Church of Athanasius's time, which led him with imperial support, to even close the Christian Canon of the Bible we use today, as reflected in his Festal Letter of 367 AD, according to D. Brake, (2010:51).

Egyptian Christian syncretism was made up of at least three opposing currents; Melitianism: (a Movement that grew around the person of Melitus a church leader who was against bishop John of Alexandria and the episcopal clergy that fled persecution and surrendered earlier copies of the Bible for burning by the imperial authorities), which emphasised on the cult aspect of religion seen in its preoccupation with the apocalyptic as well as the graves of martyrs over everything else. Secondly, there was

the gnostic slant mainly perpetuated by academia, which elevated esoteric knowledge and the person of the teacher above everything. Lastly there was the episcopal slant which emphasised on formalising religion so as to work hand in hand with other institutions.

In analogically the same way, these currents are more or less depicted in Zimbabwean christian denominationalism, which has those who claim to be led by the Spirit and like Jerusalem may not need Athens, those who upheld study and affirm that Athens has everything to do with Jerusalem, and finally those that maintained the *sobrietas* of the institutional aspect of religion, through following set rubrics and rites. The initiation of dialogical processes may therefore consult the Egyptian Church of Athanasius, around offering the much needed remedy, because as long as personal power and parochialism continue being reflected in the transfer of the principle of allegiance from denominational leader to a preferred political leader, then individuals may continue to be bigger than institutions including the constitution resulting in confused subjugation. This may be done urgently, whilst talks amongst denominations may be ongoing in determining what is orthodoxy and heresy in Christianity, thereby sealing the number of religions in Zimbabwe to something that is known and traceable as is the case in the metropole where opening a new religious community must first meet some set standards either under the concordats of individual states, the guidelines given by the ministry of the Interior as well as the Basic Law as in the case of Germany.

Moreover, it is in this dimension that the regulation of religion and churches may be thought of without being prejudiced by the right to religious freedom or its abrogation. The bottom line is that religion in Zimbabwe needs to be regulated, with the setting up of Biblical scholars commission of theologians, funded by the government, after recognizing that religion is an institution within society which may be harnessed and regulated. This has been done by such countries as Germany where the government puts aside some budget for the alignment of the Bible to the construction of their society hence the development and the working together of politics and religion is something to be cherished.

The current scenario of a lack of official symbiosis between the government and religion, which some justify as paramount in maintaining the autonomy of churches, to a greater extent is actually feeding into the personal power cultism where individual politicians who are innovative enough to manipulate religionists, dribble them for political grandstanding. This is traceable to colonial strategy as argued above, which far from moderating sectarianism, seems to have promoted it as it sought to scatter locals and so reduce chances of coordinated uprisings. maintaining it therefore will still be operating in the very muddy water which drove the Zimbabwean scenario in

the muddy water in which it is currently clogged. Gen 27,21-23 may be employed to describe this Zimbabwean scenario; “the voice is Jacob’s voice but the hands are Esau’s’ hands.”; leaders are black Zimbabwean leaders, but the instruments they employ regarding authority and subjugation are still colonial.

There is therefore unapologetically need to align them as has been attempted in the education sector with the introduction of the Education Bill 5.0, repealing the 1963 British native education system which concentrates on producing employees not entrepreneurs and employers.

Regarding the source of funds for the above-mentioned operations, Church tax may need to be introduced by the state. On the international level, insights from papal encyclicals to do with human progress, social justice and the common good, may thus offer the needed starting point since most of them are Ecumenical in their approach. One such Encyclical which preoccupied itself with the said matters which are tackled as well in the pericope under study is Paul VI’s *Popolorum Progressio*. Several paragraphs there in address different stakeholders and may be critiqued in the context of Zimbabwean dialogue after which a way forward may be established:

Balanced Progress Required

29. We must make haste. Too many people are suffering. While some make progress, others stand still or move backwards; and the gap between them is widening. However, the work must proceed in measured steps if the proper equilibrium is to be maintained. Makeshift agrarian reforms may fall short of their goal. Hasty industrialization can undermine vital institutions and produce social evils, causing a setback to true human values.

A Task for Everyone

32. We want to be clearly understood on this point: The present state of affairs must be confronted boldly, and its concomitant injustices must be challenged and overcome. Continuing development calls for bold innovations that will work profound changes. The critical state of affairs must be corrected for the better without delay. Everyone must lend a ready hand to this task, particularly those who can do most by reason of their education, their office, or their authority. They should set a good example by contributing part of their own goods, as several of Our brother bishops have done. In this way they will be responsive to men's longings and faithful to the Holy Spirit, because "the ferment of the Gospel, too, has aroused and continues to arouse in man's heart the irresistible requirements of his dignity.

Programs and Planning

33. Individual initiative alone and the interplay of competition will not ensure satisfactory development. We cannot proceed to increase the wealth and power of the rich while we entrench the needy in their poverty and add to the woes of the oppressed. Organised programs are necessary for "directing, stimulating, coordinating, supplying and integrating" the work of individuals and intermediary organisations. It is for the public authorities to establish and lay down the desired goals, the plans to be followed, and the methods to be used in fulfilling them; and it is also their task to stimulate the efforts of those involved in this common activity. But they must also see to it that private initiative and intermediary organisations are involved in this work. In this way they will avoid total collectivization and the dangers of a planned economy which might threaten human liberty and obstruct the exercise of man's basic human rights.

The Ultimate Purpose

34. Organised programs designed to increase productivity should have but one aim: to serve human nature. They should reduce inequities, eliminate discrimination, free men from the bonds of servitude, and thus give them the capacity, in the sphere of temporal realities, to improve their lot, to further their moral growth and to develop their spiritual endowments. When we speak of development, we should mean social progress as well as economic growth.

It is not enough to increase the general fund of wealth and then distribute it more fairly. It is not enough to develop technology so that the earth may become a more suitable living place for human beings. The mistakes of those who led the way should help those now on the road to development to avoid certain dangers. The reign of technology—technocracy, as it is called—can cause as much harm to the world of tomorrow as liberalism did to the world of yesteryear. Economics and technology are meaningless if they do not benefit man, for it is he they are to serve. Man is truly human only if he is the master of his own actions and the judge of their worth, only if he is the architect of his own progress. He must act according to his God-given nature, freely accepting its potentials and its claims upon him.

Basic Education

35. We can even say that economic growth is dependent on social progress, the goal to which it aspires; and that basic education is the first objective for any nation seeking to develop itself. Lack of education is as serious as lack of food; the illiterate is a starved spirit. When someone learns how to read and write, he is equipped to do a job and to shoulder a profession, to develop self-confidence and realise that he can progress along with others. As We said in Our message to the UNESCO meeting at Tehran, literacy is the "first and most basic tool for personal enrichment and social integration; and it is society's most valuable tool for furthering development and economic progress."

In the case of Zimbabwe however, education regarding things that really matter to turn around the economy, and transforming communities is urgently needed. This means that there may be a need to constantly review education curricula so that learners from primary school upwards may be equipped with knowledge about the available means of production, opportunities, threats to national progress among others. The newly launched Heritage based learning to be implemented in school starting in May 2024, which according to the minister of primary and Secondary education Mr. Moyo, 'Heritage based learning seeks to inculcate in learners

solutions based education, where learners address problems starting from community level, (interview on 20:00 Hrs News hour on 06/05.24).

More so, the issue of the detrimental effects of comprehensive sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe for example, is one such area in which the majority of the populace is not knowledgeable about, even though sanctions are a soft form of economic war that affect everyone especially the ordinary Zimbabwean:

(<https://www.facebook.com/share/v/zKg9XfrLF7YVoNb5/?mibextid=KsPBc6&startTimes=1000>).

I personally grew up in a city which is rich in mineral resources like Gold and chrome, to the extent of housing a national mining museum since colonial times. It is only now that I reflect how excluded we were by not formally being taught in school basic knowledge about gold extraction and processing, let alone how after school this God-endowed resource of my region would transform my life if I wish to venture into this business which is the mark and store of value worldwide. Our syllabus concentrated on issues like how tall is Mount Kilimanjaro and how to label a grasshopper!

In the background however, millions of tonnes were being shipped outside the country, and what we remained with up to today are the hips of gold waste contaminated with cyanide which has affected the health of livestock and human beings, as well as uncovered shafts which have affected even the stature of residential building as artisanal miners are re-excavating them further. Recently a classroom block at a primary school of my area, where I studied for my infantry education, fell into an underground shaft of an open cast mine whilst classes were ongoing.

(<https://youtu.be/7Ndhzml23GE?si=G4fBw2nU2Q17uROF>).

5.4.3 Conclusion

This chapter has suggested some courses of action, building on what ZIICC has already started doing, as well as raising red flags on those aspects that ZIICC may have the danger of falling in the same traps that rendered its predecessors ineffective. A leaf may be adopted from the Ukrainian case, which the necessary even in the middle of the war, by striving to liberate itself from the Russian controlled Orthodox , and this itself is suggestive of the utilitarian function of religion in society in the here and now, in this case by bringing cohesion and sense of direction to achieve the desired end. Insights from progressive, ecumenical literature may need to be drawn and implemented. In this case, paragraphs 80-86 in Paul VI's *Popolorum Progressio* are arguable an example of exhortation which leaves no one behind as it endeavours to unite not divide subsets within society:

A Final Appeal

80. We must travel this road together, united in minds and hearts. Hence We feel it necessary to remind everyone of the seriousness of this issue in all its dimensions, and to impress upon them the need for action. The moment for action has reached a critical juncture. Can countless innocent children be saved? Can countless destitute families obtain more human living conditions? Can world peace and human civilization be preserved intact? Every individual and every nation must face up to this issue, for it is their problem.

To Catholics

81. We appeal, first of all, to Our sons. In the developing nations and in other countries lay people must consider it their task to improve the temporal order. While the hierarchy has the role of teaching and authoritatively interpreting the moral laws and precepts that apply in this matter, the laity have the duty of using their own initiative and taking action in this area—without waiting passively for directives and precepts from others. They must try to infuse a Christian spirit into people's mental outlook and daily behaviour, into the laws and structures of the civil community. Changes must be made; present conditions must be improved. And the transformations must be permeated with the spirit of the Gospel. We especially urge Catholic men living in developed nations to offer their skills and earnest assistance to public and private organisations, both civil and religious, working to solve the problems of developing nations. They will surely want to be in the first ranks of those who spare no effort to have just and fair laws, based on moral precepts, established among all nations.

To Other Christians and Believers

82. All Our Christian brothers, We are sure will want to consolidate and expand their collaborative efforts to reduce man's immoderate self-love and haughty pride, to eliminate quarrels and rivalries, and to repress demagoguery and injustice—so that a more human way of living is opened to all, with each man helping others out of brotherly love. Furthermore, We still remember with deep affection the dialogue We had with various non-Christian individuals and communities in Bombay. So once again We ask these brothers of Ours to do all in their power to promote living conditions truly worthy of the children of God.

To All Men of Good Will

83. Finally, We look to all men of good will, reminding them that civil progress and economic development are the only road to peace. Delegates to international organisations, public officials, gentlemen of the press, teachers and educators—all of you must realise that you have your part to play in the construction of a new world order. We ask God to enlighten and strengthen you all, so that you may persuade all men to turn their attention to these grave questions and prompt nations to work toward their solution. Educators, you should resolve to inspire young people with a love for the needy nations. Gentlemen of the press, your job is to place before our eyes the initiatives that are being taken to promote mutual aid, and the tragic spectacle of misery and poverty that people tend to ignore in order to solve their consciences. Thus at least the wealthy will know that the poor stand outside their doors waiting to receive some leftovers from their banquets.

To Government Authorities

84. Government leaders, your task is to draw your communities into closer ties of solidarity with all men, and to convince them that they must accept the necessary taxes on their luxuries and their wasteful expenditures in order to promote the development of nations and the preservation of peace. Delegates to international organisations, it is largely your task to see to it that senseless arms races and dangerous power plays give way to mutual collaboration between nations, a collaboration that is friendly, peace oriented,

and divested of self-interest, a collaboration that contributes greatly to the common development of mankind and allows the individual to find fulfilment.

5.5 GENERAL CONCLUSION

The arrangement of chapters in the outline of this thesis has followed the logic of the overall methodology; See, Judge and Act, in a situational reading and interpretation of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 within the Zimbabwean context, following the principled eclectic approach. Following the said methodology, I endeavoured to critically observe and came out with the tentative conclusion that the Zimbabwean context is currently being bedevilled by fragmentation, polarity and toxicity due to a critical lack of a common denominator around which the populace may rally. These aspects have been argued to have their authentication in denominational christianity whereby christians who constitute the majority of the country's population do not agree on any theory of power, their place in a civil state, but rather sectarianize it on personal level, with chaos being the result. I have argued that this '*human Babel*', of some sort, which makes no meaningful social discourse possible though detrimental to the post-independent nation, was well crafted to achieve the divide and rule strategy during the establishment phases of settler institutions, got adopted and ridden upon by the current regime of the new black bourgeois with intense modification.

While the West seems concerned about the state of democracy and human rights situation, especially the rights of the minorities, wishing them to be aligned to western standards, there is a deafening silence regarding aligning church in Africa to how church is envisaged according to Western standards. The paradox is that following Auguste Comte's stages of social evolution, Zimbabwe, like most African states, is at a religious stage, whereby heresy and orthodoxy take their toll. more than five hundred years ago, history witnesses that the metropole passed through this gruelling phase and came up with some lasting solutions, like the Westphalia treaty of 1642. However, instead of sharing notes with the developing world which follows the standard gazetted by Western civilization, the current myth of putting the world at the same pedestal as the world strives to be a global village, in some way displays some hidden agendas.

Apart from introducing the inquiry, Chapter 1 also outlined the use of principled eclecticism for the study of such institutions as power, subjugation and taxation. The complexity of the Zimbabwean situation was argued to be in need of a multidisciplinary approach, since no one method may best capture the full picture in the unfolding of the dynamics.

Applying the first stage of the overall thesis methodology; See, Chapter 2 critically observed the Zimbabwean current situation as well as the historic power-subordination aspect from the present going backwards, up to the arrival and settling of missionaries and colonists.

Secondly, evaluated works by noted Zimbabwean NT scholars have been observed to have concentrated on two periods within post-colonial Zimbabwe: the First Republic of the Mugabe regime, (Chamburuka 2009), and the Second Republic (Gusha 2020), of the Mnangagwa regime. I have suggested and demonstrated that in order to appreciate the topic of power and subordination in the contemporary period, there seems to be an urgent need to critically expose how the contents of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 were interpreted during the advent of the settler colonial dispensation in traditional Zimbabwe. With the application of Social History as an ancillary chapter methodology, I have as well argued that the contemporary observable polarity and toxicity in the Zimbabwean socio-political realm, which is seemingly fed into by Christian denominationalism has its roots in the *divide et impera* tactic of some colonial missionaries, who were but agents of imperialism who served the interests of their countries of origins. Their well-calculated *modus operandi* helped in dismantling the indigenous religio-socio-political fabric that for centuries sustained traditional Zimbabwe before the advent of colonists and their settler denominational christianity.

A critical observation of how linguistic imperialism, western medicine, missionary education, among others, helped in transferring allegiance from established indigenous power structures for the settler one in all aspects of indigenous worldview was exposed. This witnessed the crystallisation of parochial and self-serving interpretation of authority and subjugation, which though present during pre-colonial times as people lived in tribal subsets, was heightened by the 'we and them' of denominational Christianity which vilified the other. The installation of settler authority was cemented by the imposition of compulsory payment of the hut, dog, and cattle taxes, which forced people to reduce their herd size, let alone be employed sometimes in dehumanising conditions in search of money to pay the demanded taxes. Since this thesis follows a solutions-oriented approach, it is therefore my argument that in order to best address the dysfunctional systems in contemporary Zimbabwe, there is need to go back to and seriously reform the roots; the colonial period.

This is so because it is during this period that institutions which would oil colonial systems of power and subjugation through taxation, were planted by settlers and missionaries. At day's end, the crisis in Zimbabwe may be called to be a religious one in that the ideological and social function of religion in bringing not only vision, but also national social cohesion, has not yet been activated in fragmented, post independent Zimbabwe.

This fragmentation is on record, as a pledge to avoid a repeat by the BSAC of the mistake committed by the East India Company in emphasising trade and commerce without the twin factor of colonial Christianity, which saw Hinduism persist and so hinder the overall success of Anglicisation which suffered uprisings mainly influenced by a solidified Hindu religion. It was in fact the efforts of Cyril Radcliff who in 1959 would install the *divide et impera* in the creation of Pakistan as a Muslim country and India as a Hindu nation, which made Indians fight each other up to today. Here, religion continues to be used as an instrument of discourse amongst indigenous people, in order to perpetuate the remote control of the resources and affairs of countries by former colonial strategists. The case of Nigeria in which Islam and Christianities were introduced in traditionally warring regions to perpetuate traditional strife as in the case of Northern and Southern Nigeria, is another intra-state example of this subtle approach especially in colonies with an abundance of natural resources.

In Chapter 3, the task was to critically observe how the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 has been used in the Zimbabwean chaos-infested context, in which it was observed that apart from the possibility of the Bible to offer sense and direction by rallying the populace around one common denominator, it in fact feeds into personal power cultism where individuals over institutions are on one hand elevated as the *exousia* worthy of receiving *hupotasso* in the imperative. On the other hand however, some scholars have ringfenced certain modern political ideologies as the rightful context in which the text may have sense, even though such ideologies were never existent during Paul's time. The observation then stretched to the metropole where the query focused on the reception and practical implementation of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 in the establishment of institutions in Christian East and West.

Insight from the observation of the reception and treatment of the pericope since the Apostolic Ages to the Age of Self-determination in the West; where the imperial race was rife, has enabled me to critique the Zimbabwean New Testament scholarship circles, where none of the consulted sources studied the pericope as a unit, with almost all basing their positions on 13:1. My observation is that there has been a one-sided contextual interpretation of the pericope, which is not exhaustive in confronting the complex authority-subordination dynamics in Zimbabwe. To a greater extent, interpretive positions which are held by scholars, preachers and public opinion shapers seem to be parochial, with those sympathetic of their heroes within either the ruling party or the opposition backing them as the suitable authority in question, to whom subjugation is due, and these are usually presented as mentioned above, as bigger than the party institutions which paradoxically puts them on vantage political pedestals, only to pose as bigger than their respective institutions, due to ill managed political

fame which ends sustaining personal power cultism. As yet, there is no interpretation of the pericope under study which situates it in the discourse of religion and politics as such, or the place of a Christian citizen in a civil state, let alone, a utilitarian or pragmatic approach which rallies and coordinates institutions for social cohesion as has been the case in formulating policies and theories in the West, arguably with the enlightenment obtained from such texts as Rom 13:1-7 as demonstrated above.

At least all consulted works interpret the *exousia* of 13:1 to be referring to human, civil government officials, and do not subscribe to Cullman's position of interpreting the powers as spiritual, angelic being standing behind human visible authority. It has also been suggested that theorems like J.C. Scott's Public and Hidden Transcript and Bhakhitani's Double Discourse, when applied, point out that Paul was actually being subversively anti-empire in Rom. 13:1-7. I have argued that this position has pitfalls in that apart from reading into the text instead of allowing the text; its grammar and syntax to communicate to the reader, it opts for anachronism by applying a 20th century theory case studied in Haiti in approaching a First Century pericope. Reading the pericope as Coded Resistance, though it agrees with such passages as Rev. 13, does not to a greater extent fit in the Greco-Roman cosmology which arguably might have influenced Paul's view of authority as may be drawn from Stoicism Platonism and Aristotelianism, philosophies that had a bearing of Hellenistic Jews as has been argued above. Likewise, the Hidden Transcript and the theory of Double discourse seems not to augur well with Palestinian Judaism and its teaching on the status of ruling authority, foreign ones included.

Chapter 3 went on to demonstrate how selected happenings in the metropole posed as the brewing pot of what was to be later implemented by settler players, missionaries included, in the colonies. For the agenda of Central-Southern Africa, David Livingstone mobilised British University students, especially at Cambridge University, to join the missions, for the purposes of 'civilising' the colonies. Livingstone's Cambridge University speeches, which clearly exude the extension of the *Pax Britannica*, as was the point with the French *civilisatrice* among French missionaries; together with the private audiences of Livingstone with the queen, which saw him turning from doctor to missionary and explorer, 'for the queen and his country,' all need to be evaluated in the power-subordination discourse which Biblical interpretation established. The Berlin conference of 1884, King Leopold's letter to missionaries, the Clapham Sect, the 1910 Edinburgh World Missionary Conference's Commission VII, all point to how the arrows were polished for the task, where authority was established to rightly refer to settler authority and no mention of traditional authority-subordination institutions in the colonies.

Metropolitan monopoly capital and profits were the proximate end in sight, and most expatriates served metropolitan interests at most. These missionaries were operating within denominations, some of which were major stakeholders in the British parliament which was divided between Anglicans and Methodists; rightists and leftists, and whose point of contention was not on the evils of expansion through the brutality of colonialism and imperialism, but on how to expand territory and offer denominational support in mobilising resources for the missions. No wonder Cecil John Rhodes, an Anglican, and his BSAC company, which they twinly headed together with a German Jew Alfred Beit, were given resources and Chaplains in their voyage to Southern Africa, who though primarily concerned with their spiritual needs which were obviously pro-motherland, ended up extending to the evangelisation of the local to accept and bow to the new master and doing so was interpreted to be God-ordained.

With missionaries at the forefront of Biblical translation following the logic of the metropole, the exercise seemed to have been halted when the desired outcome, which saw the Bible available to locals easily, which though made it easier for locals to hear the Word in their mother tongue, opened a floodgate of numerous, contradicting interpretations all labelled as works of the Spirit in the absence of some regulation.

Moreover, this inquiry further unlocked that there was not even a uniform exhortation for the indigenous people to subjugate to the British settler authority. In fact, European politics spilled to the colonies, leaving for example, missionaries who came from British occupied Ireland, or a competing empire like Germany, being instrumental as kingmakers among locals and so spearhead their awakening that would greatly contribute to the ignition and final victory of a liberation struggle against the British. It is in this light that outstanding figures like the Catholic Carmelite bishop Lamont from Ireland, who was an outspoken critic of the colonial establishment to the extent of being deported by Ian Smith, may be viewed. This is further cemented by a recent revealing book by a Jesuit Irish priest; H. Barry, entitled 'A Mission Divided' (2022), which also exposes an existence of a rift and its serious damages, between the British and Germany Jesuits in their approaches to mission. German Jesuits were usually assigned to serve in the peripheral missions, whilst British Jesuits were serving in the capital, ministering to affluent suburbs and generally maintaining the state's policy of segregation, which was closer to the apartheid policy in South Africa.

It is in the outskirts that the black nationalist leader Mugabe, would later on rise, having had instructions at a German Jesuit run Kutama Mission. The rise of black nationalism and the overwhelming support by the indigenous populations, most of whom were segregated against in colonial missionary founded churches, saw some breaking away and founding their churches which seem to have been an antithesis of the establishment, not only in outlook, but in their choice of allegiance between the settler

regime and the black nationalist fighters. Prophecies and visions which ideologically supported black liberation; like the *Jongwe* Prophecy of Muchadeyi Momberume of the Johane Marange Apostolic Church, (which contributed to the adoption of the black rooster as the symbol of the ruling ZANU PF party), pre-pointed the victory of the black man more than thirty years before independence.

With the mission accomplished and some expatriates returning to the metropole, while the indigenous were incorporated as local missionaries to their own people, little has arguably been done so far, intentionally or unintentionally to align and reform especially Zimbabwean Christianity, its Biblical interpretations to match the post war scenario. What used to be to a greater extent designed to benefit the metropolis, is today benefiting the new black bourgeois, which capitalises on this lack of a uniting factor amongst believers who are greatly disenfranchised in their view of politics. As it is making new inroads, neo-colonialism also seems to be one of the major beneficiaries of this divided and polarised people, which it continues to fund seemingly through the phenomenon of mega churches, which seem to have driven the last nail on the coffin of national social cohesion since they further alienated the believer from civic affairs, while emphasising individualism through miraculous ways rather than normal ways as expected in a functional setup. The detrimental effects of unchecked radical Pentecostalism, to family cohesion, have been exposed in the recent documentary about the late televangelist Nigerian preacher T.B Joshua which was produced by BBC news channel on 8 January 2024, which was received with mixed feeling by the confused Zimbabwean denominational Christianity, (https://youtu.be/3vvkUCesRdc?si=_cIRSVIIGvXEPZ6M)

The content of most prayers to God in Zimbabwe is ordinarily provided as basics in countries with well adapted institutions especially the church, governments, and the economy among others. The Zimbabwean churches in general still need serious alignment as well as civil authorities; starting with traditional leadership whose place has been purposefully usurped during colonial times, where it was replaced by the settler establishment, which appointed settler officials as the Native Commissioner, and District Administrators who usually worked with District Administrators consciously chosen from another competing tribe, (like Idumean Herod chosen to be king over the Jews by the Romans), in a way that would leave no room for the possibility of an authority-subjugation relationship amongst indigenous people themselves during the settler occupation period.

For instance, Ndebele District Administrators were appointed in predominantly Shona districts, to the extent of earning a title; *MUDZVITI*, which is in use today which evidenced the total displeasure by the locals of the divide and rule strategy of the settler regime.

The recent government reversal of the colonial suppression of the Kalanga chieftainship, which bundled the Kalanga people of Fulabusi under the Ndebele chiefs, if not an attempt by ZANU PF to make inroads into the opposition infested Matabeleland region, is a welcome idea in re-establishing indigenous authority subjugation systems which when properly managed, feeds into a national, variegated model.

In Chapter 4, I have critically studied the exegetical aspects of the Greek text of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7, as a first step in proposing an alternative interpretation of the pericope under study, and the second step of the overall thesis methodology; Judge, executed. Through inter textual analysis, I have argued that by ‘authorities’ Paul is referring to human civil imperial leaders, and not angelic beings as suggested by other interpreters. Again, through intertextual studies, the tradition of ordering Jews to subjugate to pagan civil authority, was suggested as the matrix in which Paul’s message may need to be deciphered. While in exile, Jer. 29:11, exhorted Israelites to be beneficent of Babylon; Ezra/ Nehemiah and Third Isaiah, saw in Persia what Paul could be seeing in Rome, since Rome was to Greece what Persia was to Babylon.

Historical studies about diaspora Judaism also unveil that Paul’s message was in line with the mentality of the time, in which Jews saw subjugating to pagan civil authorities as an assurance for their continued survival and prosperity. More so, extra Biblical sources both Jewish and Greco-Roman, in which some trends in early Rabbinic Judaism as well as philosophies like Stoicism, advocated for subjugation to civil authorities, and might be said to have influenced Paul’s teaching on subjugation to civil authorities.

Furthermore, the structural and dynamical studies of the pericope concluded that vs 1 and 7 are an *inclusio*, where v.7 possibly is the practical expression of the subjugation ordered in v.1. This therefore enabled the detailed exploration of the tax institution. In Zimbabwean scholarship of Rom. 13:1-7, none of the consulted articles explored the tax institution, possibly because the authors considered it as immaterial in decoding Paul’s message. My suggestion is however that the exploration of the tax institution from empires that interacted with Biblical people, may help in determining Paul’s message and tone.

My tentative findings are that since the tax institution was such an important aspect for the continued existence of Rome economically, by commanding his audience to pay taxes; *telos* and *phoros*; Paul is possibly being pro- empire. Though some interpreters have labelled Paul’s discourse in Rom. 13:1-7 as a form of coded language, the world of the text may be said to be pointing to the fact that Paul plainly meant what he encoded and might have intended it to be decoded as such by his audience. The encouragement to pay tax may therefore be inculcated in Zimbabweans coupled by

lessons on the Common Good and civil responsibility. Provided that these taxes are put to good use, Zimbabwean citizens will then be the funders of themselves and not wait for donor funds as the chief mainstay and driver of the economy.

However, it is noteworthy that a certain section in scholarship points to Phil. 3:17-21 as proof that Paul's stance in relation to the Roman Empire was negative. As argued above, though this to some extent holds water, it is not convincing enough to diffuse the pro-Empire and emperor stance in Rom. 13:1-7 given the ambivalence of Philippians and its applicability either to Judaizers or to proponents of the pagan, imperial cult. This is unlike Rom. 13:1-7, whose contents can be traced within its *sitz im Leben*, contexts before Imperial Rome, as well as other Empires, which came after Rome and which arguably, mimicked Christian Roman stratagem in their imperial agendas, which in turn won colonies, one of which is Zimbabwe.

In Chapter 5, the final step of the overall thesis methodology; ACT, has been engaged whereby the question centred around the way forward; what may Zimbabwe need to do. numerous suggestions have been raised, starting from ZIICC's point of departure, some suggested fine tuning of ZIICC's approach as well a proposal of other measures in the light of the studied contexts; the colonial period, the metropolitan situation and the Rome of Paul's time. The major take home is that Zimbabwe must begin from where it is, and operate with what it has, other than operation on utopic grounds, where anticipation for something to come from somewhere has prevented a lot of people from not working. This waiting and anticipation factor is especially demonstrated in the area of election outcome, where many people are made to remain in election mode and fail to recognise the leadership that is there, even though paradoxically, the whole world is engaging and working with the leaders. Real conscientization may need to be inculcated especially in the youth to appreciate that elections come and go after every five years, and theirs is to work for their improvement in between. examples of other countries where election results are contested, but still the national interest thrives as political players come together and pave a way forward, may need to be pointed out. all stems from the concept that institutions are bigger than individuals, and the country is bigger than political parties.

For this task, Public opinion in Zimbabwe needs to be worked on as well as legislation around religious communities. Here, the importance of the incorporation of scholars, researchers and journalists for the shifting of public opinion and for social cohesion, may be exemplified by the shift from being anti-empire into being pro empire and expansion in the founding of the British Empire. According to W. L. Langer, (1968: 82) the expansion of major empires, especially the British Empire, was facilitated by the incorporation of scholars, newspaper journalists in telling the story of the British to the general population for them to subscribe and feed into the aspirations of the

empire. Literature scholars such as Kiplin, Stevenson and Baden-Powell, among others and journalists thus shaped public opinion in shifting from the Little Englanders to Chamberlain and other expansionist activists. With the citizens supporting the Cobdenites who advocated for trade amongst themselves on the British island, as also represented by the Manchester doctrine of the Little Englander, scholars worked to shift this position resulting in Britain entering the race for expansion alongside France and Germany, though this posed some contradiction between the democracy they pledged to stand for, and imperialism which was imperative to get territorial expansion and secure future trade partners.

This is not however to justify imperialism, but to show the unity of purpose that a religion carefully aligned to other institutions and ultimately to national objectives, may make things happen.

My submission is that this weapon of oppression may be turned into an instrument of liberation if carefully engaged. In this case, instead of throwing away the Bible, which is undeniably the most popular document in the ordinary people's hands, urgent work needs to be done in reviewing syllabuses in seminaries and Bible Colleges, to determine how contextual hermeneutics may be linked with orthodox and collective national aspiration. If carefully aligned Biblical interpretations shaped public opinion to finally endorse imperialism as God ordained, how much more will a careful alignment provide ideological support by shaping public opinion today in the indigenisation agenda?

There is however a recent development in Zimbabwe, involving the voice of formal denominational leaders who now advocate for the total abandonment of the Bible and a reintroduction of African Traditional spirituality. Joshua Maponga, a former Adventist pastor, and now a motivational speaker around issues to do with the liberation of the African soul from western hegemony, is one example. Though I share some of his submissions, especially the need for leadership in the public sphere to find each other and share notes since they serve the same clientele, my reservations centre around his proposal to throw away the Bible since it is a Western document, used to whip the colonies in line.

Thus, just as Chrysostom studied Rom. 13:1-7 and interpreted it in a way that sustained social cohesion in the Byzantine Empire which arguably was adopted by Islam in its ideology of the relations between the caliphate and the sultanate, so did Augustine in studying Paul and came up with the doctrine of two states which was instrumental in the ordering of the Christian western Roman Empire of his time, as deposited in the

City of God, so also is there need for an Augustine of the Zimbabwean context, to read and help apply the pericope in a way relevant and beneficial to the current dispensation.

This going back to the sources of Christian foundation was done in the metropole as outstanding interpreters stamped to be the Augustine of their contexts, in the same way that kings sought to be the Constantine of their time. I have argued that the contextualisation of the message of the pericope contributed to prosperity for the metropole not only as the beneficiary of the spoils from the territorial expansionist agenda and free market acquisition from the missions, but also the social cohesion of rallying the metropolitan populace to support the expansionist agenda, as well as rallying them under the leadership of the divinely instituted kings and queens, army generals and patriotic aspirations seen in such titles as for the queen and my country. Thus, the tracing of authority and subjugation also led to the critical examination of how the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 was foundational in the setting up of metropolitan societies, in which national churches contributed immensely to social cohesion in the metropole, where in most cases denominationalism was suppressed, with civil leaders having a stake in the control of churches.

Up to now, there has not yet been an Augustine or Constantine of Zimbabwe and Africa, because the systems in use today are not home grown since they were inherited from agencies of imperialism who sharpened them to benefit their motherland, and now either continue to benefit the same or the new African bourgeois at the expense of the nation at large.

Areas in need of further research

The incorporation of the idea of traditional authority in the matrix needs further enquiry given that some rituals in ATR which may not be compatible with missionary Christianity, are involved. If the interpretation and application of the pericope of Rom. 13:1-7 suggested above is anything to go by, then reform needs to be done around this institution of traditional leaders, who are not elected by humans into office, and so to some extent match Paul's divine appointment of civil leaders, who are ministers and servants of God who 'wield their swords' for the promotion of the good. Since traditionally chiefs were believed to be endowed not only with civil authority, but also with spiritual one as chief custodians of the *Nyikadzimu*, via their delegated powers to the *Mhondoro* and *Masvikiro*, an exposition of the spiritual dimension of the *exousiai* may need to be reconsidered in the debates around the actual meaning of *exousia* in

Zimbabwe. This may renew the aspect of dialogue between Christianity and Indigenous religion, in an issue that is practical and existential. Ultimately, this will also lead to the liberation of these traditional leaders who are currently used as agents during elections, with mostly the ruling party using them as instruments for vote buying and intimidating the opposition, and so benefit the new black elite, which inherited the benefits of this disenfranchisement of traditional leadership from administering what they need to without partiality.

An effective way of recognising the positive gains of progress, would be to encourage traditional leaders to be frequently schooled in issues to do with constitutionalism, human rights and dignity in the exercise of duty. This is in line with D. Van Dren (2016), whose suggestion that ordinary citizens be endowed with power even under rightful leadership according to the Noahic Covenant of Gen. 8:26-9:5. They need to be taught of both their rights and obligations as beneficiaries of the setup in which they are found and it is in this that their power may rest.

Another issue which may need further inquiry pertains to yester-century documents on the autonomy of the churches post missionary age. The revisiting of suggestions and recommendations of such documents as the Nairobi Report: Moratorium on Missionary Sending, produced in 1976 by the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC), the Africa Munus (2010) among others, may help revive the way forward in establishing a self-sustaining local church, for example liberates especially missionary founded churches. It is not a secret that some missionary founded churches may not be having a stance contradictory of their foreign headquarters, though it might not be popular or promotive of the local church, for fear of losing aid which they so much require for their day to day survival. If however ecumenism has set goals, after which the church will dialogue with the state as a united front, possibly religion and politics will pull in the same direction, each knowing their place in a collaborative manner which is good for the country. There is also need to research on literature which covers cohesion, development and progress from across church denominations as has been highlighted above in the case of the papal Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, which tackle such issues.

Starting new church grouping around individual preachers has more or less turned to be a business venture, where competing preachers necessitate their followers to venture into unhealthy competition to the extent of hatred. This therefore shows that the idea of ecumenism is not yet present in all groupings. Legislation on religious groupings as has been promulgated in Rwanda where certain qualifications are expected for a body to be called church, may need to be borrowed and implemented.

So are lessons from the Zambian Ministry of religion, and the inspiration from the Ethiopian Orthodox church which of late has proven to be a voice offering checks and

balances to civil authorities, as well as a unitive force in warding off external threats. this has been witnessed by its campaign in the famous anti-war #NoMORE Movement.

<https://borkena.com/2021/11/21/nomore-movement-about-ethiopia-what-is-the-african/?amp>

The above will arguably be difficult to implement like any other new arrangement, but with time, the benefits will be realised. the constitutional right of freedom of religion, still remains intact, only that the freedom will be in the context of set regulations as is the right understanding of freedom as shown above in the quotation from Augustine.

In the final analysis, the revolutionary observation of W. Rodney (1972:27), is worth quoting:

The question as to who and what is responsible for African underdevelopment can be answered on two levels. Firstly, the answer is that the operation of the imperialist system bears major responsibility for African economic retardation by draining African wealth and by making it impossible to develop more rapidly the resources of the continent.

Secondly, one has to deal with those who manipulated the system and those who are either agents or unwitting accomplices of the said system. The capitalists of Western Europe were the ones who actively extended their exploitation from inside Europe to cover the whole Africa. In recent times, they were joined, and to some extent replaced by capitalists from the United States; and for many years now even the workers of those metropolitan countries have benefited from the exploitation and underdevelopment of Africa.

Rodney's observation however leaves out the African syndicate of the elite, which cuts across political groupings, and which inherited and capitalises on the fragmentation established in yester-centuries. Until this elite is stopped and systems that are accountable, which in turn offer checks and balances to those in civil authority, and which are constitutionally gazetted and mandated are put in place, the merry-go-round continues.

Cardijn's See Judge and Act methodology plus a comparative, contextual re-reading of Rom.13:1-7 may help in the setting up of order and sense.

APPENDIX

PROPOSED SHONA TRANSLATION: VAROMA 13:1-7

Mweya woga-woga unosungirwa kuzvidururira kune vakuru varikutonga, sezvo kusina hutungamiri kusara kwehunobva kuna Mwari, uye hutungamiri huri pazvigaro hwakaiswapo naMwari. Nekudaro, uyo arikupikisa hutungamiri arikupigiswa zvakagadzwa naMwari. Vatungamiri havasi vaparadzi kune maitiro akanaka, asi akaipa. Unoshuvira here kusatya hutungamiri? Chiita zvakakanaka kuti ugowana tunhidzo kubva kwahuri. Nekuti uyu muranda waMwari nekuda kwezvakanaka zvako, asi kana uchiita chakaipa itya nekuti haasi kuzunguzira bakatwa pasina nekuti muranda waMwari anotsividza sechirango wose arikuita zvakaipa. Naizvozvo, munhu anofanira kutongeka kwete nemhaka yekurangwa, asiwo nekuda kwehana. Nekudawo kweizvozvo, unosungirwa kubhadhara mutero kwavari, nekuti vatungamiriri vashandiri vaMwari vanosungirwa kuita iri sebasa. Unofanira kubhadhara zvose zvaunosungirwa; mutero kunofanira kubhadharwa mutero, mari dzepazambuko kunobhadharwa mari dzepazambuko, chiremera kunopiwa chiremera, uye muhoro kune abo vanofanira kupiwa muhoro.

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Interview partners – Overview

Number	Denomination	Function	Age	Gender	Date/place
IP1	Not mentioned	politician	mid 50s	M	17/01/2010, Beatrice, 04/05/24
IP2	Catholic	politician	late 60s	M	17/01/2010, Beatrice
IP 3	ZIONIST	member of ZIICC	48	M	21/02/21, Lower Gweru, Zimbabwe
IP 4	Catholic	expatriate, active priest	83	M	10/05/24, Switzerland
IP 5	Catholic	nun	70s	F	03/03/21
IP 6	Catholic	Zimbabwean priest	35	M	08/08/22, Gweru, Zimbabwe
IP 7	Apostolic	committee member of ZIICC	41	M	27/02/21, Concession, Zimbabwe
IP 8	Apostolic	member of ZIICC	50S	F	07/04/24 Kwekwe, Zimbabwe
IP 9	Catholic	expatriate, retired priest	91	M	11/05/24, Switzerland
IP 10	ZIONIST	non affiliate to ZIICC	38	F	03/05/24, phone conversation