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'THE TRUTH OF THE GOSPEL':

A STUDY IN GALATIANS 2.15-21

by

Ezra Hon-Seng Kok

Thesis submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements

For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Durham

Department of Theology

April 1993

'THE TRUTH OF THE GOSPEL': A STUDY IN GALATIANS 2.15-21

Ezra Hon-seng Kok

Submitted for PhD, April 1993

ABSTRACT

This is a sustained detailed study of one central Pauline text - Gal 2.15-21. The passage contains several key Pauline terms and motifs which require interpretation, such as 'sinners', works of law and Law, faith of/in Christ, justification/righteousness, dying to law and living to God, co-crucifixion with Christ, several of which have become issues of considerable dispute in recent years. In order to prepare the ground for the main study on 2.15-21, Chapter 2 deals with three preliminary issues: what is the relationship between the Antioch episode and 2.15-21; what was the fundamental crisis at Antioch that called for Paul's theological response; and what is the more recent crisis in the Galatian churches, and how does this passage relate to the problem of Gentile Christians.

Chapters 3-7 then deal with Paul's argumentation in 2.15-21. Since the flow of argument and the inter-relationship between individual phrases and sentences is complex and difficult to determine, the study seeks to follow Paul's argument carefully, both theologically and grammatically. The general pattern involving μὴ γένοιτο in Paul's argumentation has turned out to be helpful in determining the function of 2.18 and 2.19-20 in relation to his rejection of the inference that 'Christ is a minister of sin' at 2.17c. Attempts are also made not only to understand what Paul is arguing for, but also why he so argues, the real reason underlying his basic conviction regarding and argumentation on behalf of 'the truth of the gospel'. On this we find the Gentile factor plays a crucial role both in Paul's mission and in his theological thinking. Chapter 8 is the summary and conclusions.

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DECLARATION

I confirm that no part of this material has been previously submitted by me in this or in any other university.

Signed: 

Date: April 25th, 1993.

STATEMENT OF COPYRIGHT

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PREFACE

My interest in Paul's Letter to the Galatians goes back as far back as ten years ago when I studied at *China Graduate School of Theology* (Hong Kong) under Dr R.Y.K. Fung, who had then just published his commentary on Galatians in Chinese (1982). After teaching in theology and New Testament at *Seminari Theoloji Malaysia* for five years, I was privilege to be selected for further studies as part of the faculty training program and sponsored by the Methodist Church in Malaysia (Chinese Annual Conference) together with the British Methodist Church, Overseas Division (MCOD).

Born and living in a multi-racial society, I am deeply aware of issue of ethnic identity and how sensitive and divisive it could be not least for the Christian community. So when I first started on my research in October 1989, I began to explore the relationship between Jewish and Gentile Christians in the early Christian movement and how different attitudes were developing along the way. At the same time I became more and more convinced by E.P. Sanders' *new perspective* on Palestinian Judaism, and excited by the *new perspective* on Paul, associated not least with my supervisor Professor J.D.G. Dunn. The subsequent monographs by Sanders (*Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*), H. Räisänen (*Paul and the Law*), F. Watson (*Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles*) and J.M.G. Barclay (*Obeying the Truth*) have further captured my attention and challenged me to look more carefully in Galatians. But with the stream of studies on Pauline theology, not to mention the outstanding commentaries on Galatians in the last twenty years, with familiar names like Schlier, Mussner, Betz, Bruce, Longenecker, it became clear that I had to focus on a reasonably narrow topic or passage if I were to deal with it in sufficient detail.

Then at the annual British NT Conference in Oxford September 1990, during an exciting exchange between Watson, Dunn and J.A. Ziesler in the Paul Seminar (that session was specially devoted to a review on Dunn's and Ziesler's commentaries on Romans), it became clear to me that a study on Galatians 2.15-21 would prove fruitful as a step towards a better understanding of Paul's thought. For the last two and a half years I have therefore concentrated very much on just these seven verses (!), trying to understand Paul's argumentation and the theology there expressed. The result of the investigation is now presented here in the thesis.

My thanks are due to many, only some of whom I can mention here. I am indebted especially to Professor Dunn, who supervised this study and whose work on the unity and diversity in the NT has widened my horizon. It is a great priviledge that I can study with one who has spent many years on Paul and is producing commentaries on his letters. Several others in Durham have also stimulated my studies on Paul, especially Professor C.E.B. Cranfield, Professor C.K. Barrett, Dr A.J.M. Wedderburn; the friendship and encouragement of Dr R.W.L. Moberly, Dr S.C. Barton, Rev Dr Lung-Kwong Lo, Dr Nicholas Taylor, Dr John K.M. Chow, Dr Bruce W. Longenecker, Mrs Ellen J. Christensen, Rev Peter Carrol, Rev J.H. Kim and Rev Mateen Elaas are also

memorable. I wish to thank Mrs Margaret Parkinson, the secretary for postgraduates, and also my two foreign language teachers, Frau Wollfraud Coles and Mrs Judith James. The staff in the Palace Green University Library are to be highly commended for their friendliness and helpfulness: my special thanks go to Mrs Hilda Guy, Carol Simmons, Alisoun Roberts, Hilary Smith, Mr George Armatage and Colin Gorman.

Living in a foreign land and studying in a foreign language for a few years has been quite a remarkable experience for me and my family. As for our family, we must record our sincere thanks to many individuals who have helped us financially in different ways, and especially to Miss Susan Barr (MCOD), Bishop Emeritus C.N. Fang, Bishop Denis C. Dutton (MCM), Rev Tiong-ling Koo (CAC), Rev David Foo, Rev Hwa Yung (STM), Rev Ezra Loke (BSM), Rev Dr John Roxborogh (now in New Zealand), Mr and Mrs John Ho, and members of Kuala Lumpur Chinese (Cantonese) Methodist Church. I am also grateful to the Tyndale House Council (Cambridge) for providing an additional grant when we were in need for the last two years. Christian brothers and sisters in Elvet Methodist Church and in Newcastle Chinese Christian Church have also enriched our experience in a foreign land and made our stay in Durham City a much more memorable experience. Last, but not least, I must thank my loving wife Loy-chun for her patience, care and sacrifice, and our energetic children Yin-shin and Wei-xin for their 'cooperation' in all these years. I dedicate this thesis to all my former teachers at *The Alliance Bible Seminary* (Hong Kong) and *China Graduate School of Theology* and to all the pioneers of *Seminari Theoloji Malaysia*.

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*, edited by D.N. Freedman (6 vols; NY: Doubleday, 1992)
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AnBib	Analecta biblica
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase (Berlin & NY: de Gruyter, 1972-)
AOT	*The Apocryphal Old Testament*, edited by H.F.D. Sparks (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984)
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
ATDan	Acta theologica danica
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review*
AusBR	*Australian Biblical Review*
b.	Babylonian Talmud (before title of tractate)
BAGD	W. Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, translated and adapted by W.F. Arndt and F.W. Gingrich from the 4th edition, 2nd edition revised by F.W. Gingrich and F.W. Danker (Chicago UP, 1979)
BDB	F. Brown, S.R. Driver, and C.A. Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1907)
BDF	F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, translated and edited by R.W. Funk from 19th German edition (Chicago UP, 1967)
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BEvT	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie
BGBE	Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
Bib	*Biblica*
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*
BU	Biblische Untersuchungen
BZNW	Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der Älteren Kirche
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CNT	Commentaire du Nouveau Testament
ConB	Coniectanea biblica
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad novum testamentum
CTJ	*Calvin Theological Journal*
CTM	*Concordia Theological Monthly*
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
EBib	Etudes Bibliques
EDNT	*Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament* (ET of *EWNT*; 3 vols; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990-)

ed/s	editor/s
EJMI	*Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters*, edited by R.A. Kraft and G.W.E. Nickelsburg (Atlanta: Scholars, 1986)
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
EQ	*Evangelical Quarterly*
esp.	especially
ET	English Translation
ETL	*Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses*
ExpT	*Expository Times*
EWNT	*Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, edited by H. Balz and G. Schneider (3 vols; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1978-80)
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FS	*Festschrift*
GNB	Good News Bible
GRLNT	*Greco-Roman Literature and the New Testament: Selected Forms and Genres*, edited by D.E. Aune (Sources for Biblical Study 21; Atlanta: Scholars, 1988)
GTA	Göttinger Theologischer Arbeiten
HBC	*Harper's Bible Commentary*, edited by J.L. Mays (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988)
HBT	*Horizons in Biblical Theology*
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion
Heb.	Hebrew
HKNT	Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUT	Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie
IB	*The Interpreter's Bible*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	*Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, edited by G. A. Buttrick et al (4 vols; Nashville: Abingdon, 1962)
IDBSup	Supplementary volume to *IDB* (1976)
Int	*Interpretation*
ISBE	*International Standard Bible Encyclopedia, Revised*, edited by G.W. Bromiley (4 vols; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979-88)
ITQ	*Irish Theological Quarterly*
JAAR	*Journal of the American Academy of Religion*
JB	Jerusalem Bible
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JES	*Journal of Ecumenical Studies*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JPL	J.D.G. Dunn, *Jesus, Paul, and the Law: Studies in Mark and Galatians* (London: SPCK, 1990) [collection of essays with additional notes]
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTS	Journal for the Study of the New Testament - Supplement Series
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KD	*Kerygma und Dogma*
KJV	King James Version
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LD	Lectio divina
LEC	Library of Early Christianity
LS	*Louvain Studies*

LSJ	H.G. Liddel and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, revised and augmented by H.S. Jones (9th edition; Oxford: Clarendon, 1940; supplement, 1968)
LumVie	*Lumière et Vie*
LXX	The Septuagint
m.	Mishnah (before title of tractate)
MeyerK	H.A.W. Meyer, Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
MHT	J.H. Moulton, W.F. Howard, and N. Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* (4 vols; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1906-76)
MM	J.H. Moulton and G. Miligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-Literary Sources* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1930)
MNTC	Moffatt New Testament Commentary
MT	Massoretic Text
n	note
NA^{26}	E. Nestle and K. Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (26th edition; Stuttgart: Deustsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979)
NAB	New American Bible
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NEB	New English Bible
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIDNTT	*New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*, edited by C. Brown (3 vols; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1975-78)
NIGTC	The New International Greek Testament Commentary
NIV	New International Version
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible (edited by H. Wansbrough)
NJBC	*The New Jerusalem Biblical Commentary*, edited by R.E. Brown, J.A. Fitzmyer and R.E. Murphy (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1990)
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum, Supplements
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTAbh	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTMI	*The New Testament and Its Modern Interpreters*, edited by E.J. Epp and G.W. MacRae (Atlanta: Scholars, 1989)
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
OBT	Overtures to Biblical Theology
PLJP	E.P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (London: SCM, 1983)
P & P	*Paul and Paulinism: Essays in Honour of C.K. Barrett*, edited by M.D. Hooker and S.G. Wilson (London: SPCK, 1982)
PPJ	E.P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (London: SCM, 1977)
PT1	*Pauline Theology, volume 1: Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, Philemon*, edited by J.M. Bassler (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991)
QD	Quaestiones disputatae
RelSRev	*Religious Studies Review*
RGG	*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, edited by K. Galling (3rd edition; 7 vols; Tübingen, 1957-65)
RivB	*Rivista biblica*
RNT	Regensburger Neues Testament
RSV	Revised Standard Version

SBFLA	*Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Liber Annus*
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSP	*Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*
SBM	Stuttgarter biblische Monographien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
Schürer	E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC - AD 135)*, revised and edited by G. Vermes, M. Black, F. Millar, M. Goodman and P. Vermes (3 vols; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1973-87)
SEA	*Svensk exegetisk årsbok*
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SNTW	Studies in the New Testament and Its World
StNT	Studien zum Neuen Testament
SR	*Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses*
ST	*Studia theologica*
Str-B	H.L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, eds, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash* (6 vols; München: C.H. Beck'sche, 1926-61)
t.	Tosepta (before title of tractate)
TBei	*Theologische Beiträge*
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (ET edited by G. Bromiley; 10 vols; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964-76)
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, edited by G.J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (ET; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974-)
TEV	Today's English Version
THKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
TP	*Theologie und Philosophie*
TPINTC	Trinity Press International New Testament Commentaries
TQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift*
TrinJ	*Trinity Journal*
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TynBul	*Tyndale Bulletin*
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
TZT	*Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*
UBS^3	*The Greek New Testament*, United Bible Societies, 3rd edition (Stuttgart, 1975)
UP.	University Press
UUA	*Uppsala universitetsårsskrift*
VF	*Verkündigung und Forschung*
vol/s	volume/s
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WEC	Wycliffe Exegetical Commentary
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal*
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
y.	Jerusalem Talmud (before title of tractate)
ZBNT	Zürcher Bibelkommentare NT
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZSNT	Zacchaeus Studies: New Testament

VERSIFIED GREEK TEXT OF GAL 2.15-21

Throughout this study Gal 2.15-21 will be cited as follows:

(2.15) Ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί·
(2.16a) εἰδότες [δὲ] ὅτι οὐ δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου
ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
(2.16b) καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπιστεύσαμεν,
(2.16c) ἵνα δικαιωθῶμεν ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου,
(2.16d) ὅτι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σάρξ.

(2.17a) εἰ δὲ ζητοῦντες δικαιωθῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ
(2.17b) εὑρέθημεν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτωλοί,
(2.17c) ἆρα Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας διάκονος;
(2.17d) μὴ γένοιτο.

(2.18a) εἰ γὰρ ἃ κατέλυσα ταῦτα πάλιν οἰκοδομῶ,
(2.18b) παραβάτην ἐμαυτὸν συνιστάνω.

(2.19a) ἐγὼ γὰρ διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον, ἵνα θεῷ ζήσω.
(2.19b) Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι·

(2.20a) ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ζῇ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός·
(2.20b) ὃ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί, ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ
(2.20c) τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντός με καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ.

(2.21a) Οὐκ ἀθετῶ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ·
(2.21b) εἰ γὰρ διὰ νόμου δικαιοσύνη, ἄρα Χριστὸς δωρεὰν ἀπέθανεν.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. OLD PROBLEMS, NEW APPROACHES, NEW PERSPECTIVE

1.1.1. Some Old Problems and New Approaches:

Paul's letter to the Galatians is one of the earliest Christian documents. This short letter with only six chapters, however, provides much valuable information about Paul himself, his unique conviction of a call by God to Gentile mission and subsequent mission activities, his relationship with the Jerusalem Church, some of the most important controversies among the first Christians in the formative period and also his theological response to crises occasioned by the expanding Gentile mission. Since F.C. Baur launched his seminal essay 'Die Christuspartei in der korinthischen Gemeinde, der Gegensatz des petrinischen und paulinischen Christentums in der ältersten Kirche, der Apostel Petrus im Rom' in 1831,[1] historical critical studies on Paul have become more aware of the complexity of the questions relating to Paul's opponents in Galatia, the character of early Jewish Christianity and the controversies between Paul and other apostles. Some of these historical problems have remained crucial for the NT scholarship ever since.[2]

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[1] In *TZT* 4 (1831), pp.61-206. See also his *Paul, the Apostle of Jesus Christ* (ET; 2 vols; London/Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1875-76), 1:105-45, 250-57.

[2] The questions are surveyed by F.F. Bruce in a series of lectures entitled 'Galatian Problems 1-5' published in *BJRL*: 'Autobiographical Data', 51 (1969), pp.292-309; 'North or South Galatians?' 52 (1970), pp.243-66; 'The "Other" Gospel?' 53 (1971), pp.253-71; 'The Date of the Epistle', 54 (1972), pp.250-67; 'Galatians and Christian Origins', 55 (1973), pp.264-84. Most of the discussions are reproduced in his commentary, *The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), pp.1-56. L.E. Keck, *Paul and His Letters* (2nd edition; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), p.128

In the last twenty years, particular studies have concentrated on the identity and theology of Paul's 'opponents' in the Galatian churches,[3] while others have focused on the historical references in the first two chapters in new reconstructions of Pauline chronology.[4] The question of when the letter was written and to what destination remains unresolved, though scholarly opinion seems to tend towards the North Galatia or *territory* hypothesis rather than the South Galatia or *province* hypothesis.[5] According to the *territory* hypothesis, Paul's letter to the Galatians is written to the 'foolish Celts' (3.1), the inhabitants of the more rural (northern) Galatia

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identifies F.C. Baur as the first and most important turning point in the historical-critical study of Paul.

[3]E.g. J. Eckert, *Die urchristliche Verkündigung im Streit zwischen Paulus und seinen Gegnern nach dem Galaterbrief* (BU 6; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1971); R. Jewett, 'The Agitators and the Galatian Congregation', *NTS* 17 (1970-71), pp.198-212; G. Howard, *Paul: Crisis in Galatia* (SNTSMS 35; Cambridge: CUP, 1979; new preface in 2nd edition, 1990), pp.1-19; B.H. Brinsmead, *Galatians - Dialogical Response to Opponents* (SBLDS 65; Chico: Scholars, 1982); J.L. Martyn, 'A Law-Observant Mission to Gentiles: The Background of Galatians', [1983] *SJT* 38 (1985), pp.307-24; cf. E.E. Ellis, 'Paul and His Opponents: Trends in Research', in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults: FS M. Smith* (edited by J. Neusner; 4 vols; Leiden: EJ Brill, 1975), 1:264-98; G. Lüdemann, *Opposition to Paul in Jewish Christianity* (ET; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989). See also §2.3. below.

[4]See e.g. J. Knox, *Chapters in a Life of Paul* (1950; revised edition; London: SCM, 1989); A. Suhl, *Paulus und seine Briefe* (StNT 11; Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1975); R. Jewett, *Dating Paul's Life* (London: SCM, 1979); G. Lüdemann, *Paul, Apostle to the Gentiles* (ET; London: SCM, 1984); N. Hyldahl, *Die paulinische Chronologie* (ATDan 19; Leiden: EJ Brill, 1986); P.J. Achtemeier, *The Quest for Unity in the New Testament Church* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987). The historical trustworthiness of evidence in Acts and the relationship between 2.1-10 and Acts 15 are crucial factors in one's reconstruction (cf. W.W. Gasque, *A History of the Criticism of the Acts of the Apostles* [1975; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1989]; C.J. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History* [WUNT 49; Tübingen: JCB Mohr, 1989]).

[5]See W.G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament* (ET; revised edition; London: SCM, 1975), pp.296-98; H. Conzelmann and A. Lindemann, *Interpreting the New Testament* (ET; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1988), pp.170-72; cf. D.A. Carson, D.J. Moo and L. Morris, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992), pp.290-94. The South Galatia thesis was championed by W.M. Ramsey, and recently Bruce, *Gal*, pp.3-18; R.Y.K. Fung, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), pp.9-28; R.N. Longenecker, *Galatians* (WBC 41; Dallas: Word, 1990), pp.lxxii-lxxxviii.

rather than the more densely populated urban area mentioned in Acts 13-14. What is clear is that the recipients are Gentile Christians (4.8; 5.2-3; 6.12-13).

In recent years we have seen some exciting investigations into the early Christian movement and the Pauline churches in particular by means of the *sociological approach*.[6] In a review of Pauline studies in recent years, V. Furnish observes that: 'Old questions about the environment of the early church are not just being revived but substantially redefined and refocused in an effort to probe more accurately the internal structure of early Christian groups and their position within and relationship to society at large'.[7] For example, what is the nature of the early Christian movement and how did it begin to separate from Judaism and the Jewish community?[8] How was (ecclesiastical) power or authority understood in the early Church, and how did its exercise affect Paul's relationships with the other church leaders and local Christian community authorities?[9] The sociological approach is applied particularly by Holmberg, J.D.G. Dunn and N. Taylor to shed new light on the old problem of Paul's (changing) relationship with the Jerusalem Church and the 'Pillars' according to Galatians 1-2.[10]

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[6]See W.A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1983); A.J. Malherbe, *Social Aspects of Early Christianity* (2nd edition; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983); J.E. Stambaugh and D.L. Balch, *The New Testament in Its Social Environment* (LEC 2; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986). Note also an earlier study by E.A. Judge, *The Social Pattern of the Christian Groups in the First Century* (London: Tyndale, 1960).

[7]V. Furnish, 'Pauline Studies', in *NTMI*, pp.321-50, here p.330; cf. B. Malina, 'The Social Sciences and Biblical Interpretation', *Int* 37 (1982), pp.229-42. See now the helful critical survey by B. Holmberg, *Sociology and the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990) and S.C. Barton, 'The Communal Dimension of Earliest Christianity: A Critical Survey of the Field', *JTS* 43 (1992), pp.399-427.

[8]Cf. R. Scroggs, 'The Earliest Christian Communities as Sectarian Movement', in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults*, 2:1-23; J. Gager, *Kingdom and Community* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1975); F. Watson, *Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles* (SNTSMS 56; Cambridge: CUP, 1986).

[9]See e.g. J.H. Schütz, *Paul and the Anatomy of Apostolic Authority* (SNTSMS 26; Cambridge: CUP, 1975); B. Holmberg, *Paul and Power* (1978; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980).

[10]See J.D.G. Dunn, 'The Relationship between Paul and Jerusalem according to Galatians 1 and 2', [1982] in *JPL*, pp.108-28; N. Taylor,

Meanwhile, another important new approach to the study of Galatians via *rhetorical* analysis is championed by H.D. Betz.[11] According to ancient rhetorical theorists,[12] most following Aristotle (*Ars rhetorica* 1.3.3), oratory is classified into three types according to the intended effect on the hearer: (1) judicial or forensic (**δικανικόν**, *iudiciale*); (2) deliberative (**συμβουλευτικόν**, *deliberativum*); and (3) epideictic or demonstrative (**ἐπιδεικτικόν**, *demonstrativum*).[13]

Paul, Antioch and Jerusalem (JSNTS 66; Sheffield: JSOT, 1992), pp.75-139.

[11]H.D. Betz, *Galatians* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979); cf. 'The Literary Composition and Function of Paul's Letter to the Galatians', *NTS* 21 (1975), pp.353-79. See also the 'pioneer' essay by J. Muilenburg, 'Form Criticism and Beyond', *JBL* 88 (1969), pp.1-18. On the commentary, see the reviews by W.A. Meeks, in *JBL* 100 (1981), pp.304-307; and by W.D. Davies, P.W. Meier and D.E. Aune, in *RelSRev* 7 (1981), pp.316-28, esp. by Aune, pp.323-28.

[12]For a comprehensive survey of the history of classical rhetoric, see esp. G.A. Kennedy: *The Art of Persuasion in Greece* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1963); *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World 300 BC - AD 300* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1972). Two other modern studies of Greco-Roman rhetoric are also worth noting: H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* (2 vols; Munich: Max Hueber, 1960) and J. Martin, *Antike Rhetorik: Technik und Methode* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft II/3; Munich: C.H. Beck, 1974). For a modern elaboration of rhetorical theory, see C. Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric* (ET; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969). Of particular relevance to NT studies are G.A. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation Through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), pp.3-38; B.L. Mack, *Rhetoric and the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), pp.25-48.

[13]Cicero, *De inventione* 1.5.7; *Topica* 23.91; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 2.21.23, 3.3-4; [Pseudo-Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 1.2.2. Generally speaking, judicial rhetoric is rhetoric of the law courts; it is addressed to the jury or judge with the goal of defending or accusing someone regarding *past* actions. Deliberative rhetoric is rhetoric of politics; it is addressed to the public assembly in order to persuade or dissuade the public regarding *future* actions. Epideictic rhetoric is rhetoric of ceremony; it is addressed to spectators in order to affirm communal values by praise or blame in the *present*. One can also broadly consider the major aims of different rhetoric in three questions: Is it just and lawful? Is it expedient and advantageous? Is it praiseworthy and honourable? For discussion, see Kennedy, *Interpretation*, pp.19-20; Mack, *Rhetoric*, p.34; D.E. Aune, *The New Testament in its Literary Environment* (LEC 8; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987), p.198; F.W. Hughes, *Early Christian Rhetoric and 2 Thessalonians* (JSNTS 30; Sheffield: JSOT, 1989), pp.30-32; G. Lyons, *Pauline Autobiography* (SBLDS 73; Atlanta:

According to Betz, Paul's letter to the Galatians belongs to the *apologetic* or forensic *genre*, but includes other epistolary and rhetorical features.[14] Thus one can imagine the situation of a law court in the reading of the letter: Paul becomes the defendant, the Galatians the jury, and the intruders or 'opponents' the accusers (p.24). It is argued that the primary object of Paul's defence is his gospel, 'the gospel of uncircumcision' (p.28). Betz also suggests that the letter contains features of a 'magical letter' because it carries a conditional *curse* at 1.8-9 and a conditional *blessing* at 6.16 depending on the reaction of the readers (pp.25, 32-33).

According to Betz, the letter frame consisting of 1.1-5 and 6.11-18 is quite distinguishable from the defense speech 1.6-6.10, and so Galatians is analysed into seven parts as follows:[15]

1.1-5	=	Epistolary Prescript
1.6-11	=	*Exordium* 'introduction'
1.11-2.14	=	*Narratio* 'statement of facts'
2.15-21	=	*Propositio* 'proposition'
3.1-4.31	=	*Probatio* 'proofs'
5.1-6.10	=	*Exhortatio* 'exhortation'
6.11-18	=	Epistolary Postscript/*Peroratio* 'conclusion'.

On 2.15-21 as the *propositio*, Betz explains:

> The function of the *propositio* is two-fold: it sums up the legal content of the *narratio* by this outline of the case and provides an easy transition to the *probatio*. Gal 2.15-21 conforms to the form, function, and requirements of the *propositio*. Placed at the end of the last episode of the *narratio* (2.11-14), it sums up the *narratio*'s material content. But it is not part of the *narratio* (p.114).

Thus in Betz's opinion, the old controversy whether or not 2.15-21 must be regarded as part of Paul's speech at Antioch could

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Scholars, 1985), pp.25-26.

[14]Betz, *Gal*, p.14; he points to Plato's pseudo-autobiography of Socrates (*Epistle* 7), Isocrates' *Antidosis*, Demosthenes' *De corona*, Cicero's *Brutus* and Libanius' *Oratio* as examples (p.15).

[15]See Betz, *Gal*, pp.16-23. Betz is followed quite closely by Brinsmead, *Gal*, pp.37-87; Lüdemann, *Paul*, pp.46-57; J.A. Fitzmyer, 'The Letter to the Galatians', *NJBC* 47:10; J. Ziesler, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (London: Epworth, 1992), pp.xv-xvi; defended partly by H. Hübner, 'Der Galaterbrief und das Verhältnis von antiker Rhetorik und Epistolographie', *TLZ* 109 (1984), pp.241-50; 'Galaterbrief', *TRE* 12 (1984), pp.5-14, here pp.5-6. Independent of Betz, Howard, *Paul*, pp.48-49 comes to a similar analysis of the letter.

also be settled according to the formal function of the *propositio* within the defense speech.[16] But it does appear that Betz's confidence in his 'apologetic letter genre' is based very much on the 'autobiographical' section in Galatians 1-2.[17] Another factor that possibly contributes to his reading of Galatians as a polemical letter is his recognition and conception of anti-Pauline opposition in the early church (cf. the *Kerygmata Petrou* and 2 Cor 6.14-7.1), and particularly the existence of 'opponents' in the Galatian churches.[18]

While Betz's application of rhetorical criticism has been widely welcomed, his analysis has been seriously questioned. Kennedy, R.G. Hall and J. Smit argue that Galatians is to be read as a *deliberative* letter;[19] J.D. Hester now thinks it is epideictic.[20] And recently even Betz himself has qualified his analysis by saying that 'the rhetoric of the letter is, on the whole, of the judicial type (*genus iudiciale*), but the element of dissuasion is also present (*genus deliberativum*). The two genres co-relate here as they do in other texts'.[21]

On the other hand, Longenecker and G.W. Hansen argue that rhetorical analysis should take into consideration seriously the *epistolary* tradition.[22] They insist that the letter should first be

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[16]Cf. Betz, *Gal*, p.113 n6 and p.114 n14.

[17]On authority in ancient biography, Betz, *Gal*, p.14 cites A. Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1971). See Aune, 'Review', p.324.

[18]Cf. Betz, *Gal*, pp.5-9; also pp.329-33, cf. '2 Cor 6.14-7.1: An Anti-Pauline Fragment?' *JBL* 92 (1973), pp.88-108.

[19]Kennedy, *Interpretation*, pp.144-52; R.G. Hall, 'The Rhetorical Outline for Galatians: A Reconsideration', *JBL* 106 (1987), pp.277-87; J. Smit, 'The Letter of Paul to the Galatians: A Deliberative Speech', *NTS* 35 (1989), pp.1-26.

[20]J.D. Hester, 'Placing the Blame: the Presence of Epideictic in Galatians 1 and 2', in *Persuasive Artistry: Studies in New Testament Rhetoric in Honor of G.A. Kennedy* (edited by D.F. Watson; JSNTS 50; Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), pp.281-307; cf. 'The Rhetorical Structure of Galatians 1.11-2.14', *JBL* 103 (1984), pp.223-33; 'The Use and Influence of Rhetoric in Galatians 2.1-14', *TZ* 42 (1986), pp.386-408.

[21]H.D. Betz, 'Galatians', *ABD* 2:872-75, here p.873.

[22]Longenecker, *Gal*, pp.c-cxix; G.W. Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians* (JSNTS 29; Sheffield: JSOT, 1989); cf. N.A. Dahl, 'Paul's Letter to the Galatians: Epistolary Genre, Content, and Structure' (unpublished

analysed as a *letter* rather than a speech, especially when 1.1-5 and 6.11-18 are clearly epistolary rather than oratorical.[23] They believe that the rebuke formula of 1.6 (θαυμάζω ὅτι) and the request formula of 4.12 (γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ, ὅτι κἀγὼ ὡς ὑμεῖς, ἀδελφοί, δέομαι ὑμῶν) are indications that Galatians is very possibly a 'rebuke-request' letter.[24] It is argued that within this basic *epistolary* structure Paul employs various *rhetorical* devices in the argumentation, including *both* forensic and deliberative rhetoric and Jewish rhetorical conventions.[25] And so they maintain that Betz's rhetorical analysis has to be modified according to this *epistolary* observation:[26]

1.1-5 = Salutation
1.6-4.11 = *Rebuke Section* (Forensic rhetoric prominent)
  Exordium (1.6-10)
  Narratio (1.11-2.14)
  Propositio (2.15-21)
  Probatio (3.1-4.11)
4.12-6.10 = *Request Section* (Deliberative rhetoric prominent)
  Exhortatio, part 1 (4.12-5.12)
  Exhortatio, part 2 (5.13-6.10)
6.11-18 = Subscription.

It is evident that the epistolary rhetorical analysis of Galatians needs further investigation.[27] More to the present point, it is also clear that, if one is to study 2.15-21, one must determine how Paul's argumentation at 2.15-21 functions rhetorically within the letter, and, in particularly, how 2.15-21 is related to the preceding passage of 2.11-14 on the Antioch Incident. For this reason, in order to prepare the scene for our detailed study on 2.15-21, a brief

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paper for the SBL Paul Seminar, 1973).

[23]Hansen, *Abraham*, pp.26-27: 'The classification of Galatians as an "apologetic letter" is more a reference to the rhetorical genre of Galatians than to its epistolary genre...neither Betz nor Brinsmead has given sufficient attention to an epistolary analysis of Galatians' (cf. pp.21-30, 55-60); Longenecker, *Gal*, pp.cv-cviii.

[24]Hansen, *Abraham*, pp.30-54; Longenecker, *Gal*, pp.cv-cix.

[25]Longenecker, *Gal*, pp.cix-cxiv, cxix; Hansen, *Abraham*, pp.60-79. Cf. Aune's suggestion on the mixture of various rhetorical techniques and styles ('Review', p.326).

[26]See Longenecker, *Gal*, pp.vii-viii; cf. Hansen, *Abraham*, pp.53-54, 67-70.

[27]We look forward to the forthcoming Sheffield thesis by P. Kern.

epistolary-rhetorical analysis of the letter is included (§2.1).

1.1.2. New Perspective on Judaism:

Though sociological approaches and rhetorical criticism have enlivened some of the old problems in the study of Paul and Galatians, the most important debate in recent years has focused on the *theological* content of the letter,[28] i.e. what is 'the truth of the gospel' (2.5; 2.14), what is at stake between Paul and 'the agitators' in Galatia, what is Paul's attitude to the Law and Judaism, what does Paul mean by 'died to the Law' (2.19a), what are 'works of the Law' (ἔργα νόμου) and why are they rejected by Paul (2.16).[29] The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the terror of the Holocaust during World War II have made Christian scholars generally more aware of Judaism and the shameful legacy of anti-semitism in the Church, and forced them to struggle to understand better the relationship between Judaism and Christianity especially in their formative period.[30]

There is a long tradition of interpretation, associated with Luther and the Reformation, in reading Paul's theology of salvation by grace and faith alone (*sola gratia, sola fide*) as against human

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[28]So J.M.G. Barclay, *Obeying the Truth* (SNTW; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988), p.3; cf. J.C. Beker, *Paul the Apostle* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1980), esp. pp.23-58; Ziesler, *Gal*, pp.105-10. Contrast Betz, *Gal*, p.24: 'Rhetoric, as antiquity understood it, has little in common with the truth, but it is the exercise of those skills which make people believe something to be true....it is not interested in establishing the truth itself'.

[29]See also the three main essays on the theology of Galatians in *PTl*: J.D.G. Dunn, 'The Theology of Galatians: The Issue of Covenantal Nomism' (pp.125-46; expanded in *JPL*, pp.242-64); B.R. Gaventa, 'The Singularity of the Gospel: A Reading of Galatians' (pp.147-59); J.L. Martyn, 'Events in Galatia: Modified Covenantal Nomism versus God's Invasion of the Cosmos in the Singular Gospel: A Response to J.D.G. Dunn and B.R. Gaventa' (pp.160-79).

[30]See e.g. the three volumes on *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition* (edited by E.P. Sanders et al; London: SCM, 1980-82); *'To See Ourselves as Others See Us'* (edited by J. Neusner and E.S. Frerichs; California: Scholars, 1985); *The Social World of Formative Christianity and Judaism: FS H.C. Kee* (edited by J. Neusner et al; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988). The revision of E. Schürer's *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. - A.D. 135)* by G. Vermes, M. Black, F. Millar, M. Goodman and P. Vermes (4 vols; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1973-87) has also contributed to better understanding.

dependence on works to earn salvation. At times, this line of interpretation associates Paul's attack on 'works of the Law' with an attack on self-righteous and self-sufficient attitudes on an individualistic level. In recent years, many scholars have protested against this line of interpretation: e.g. W.D. Davies, M. Barth, N.A. Dahl, K. Stendahl.[31] The strongest challenge was launched when E.P. Sanders published his ground-breaking work, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, in 1977.[32]

In the book Sanders criticizes some Christian scholars for having a distorted view of Judaism, as if Palestinian Judaism is a kind of legalistic religion.[33] According to Sanders, the basic thought or 'common denominator'[34] between different forms of Judaism is 'covenantal nomism', which is defined as: 'the view that one's place in God's plan is established on the basis of the covenant and that the covenant requires as the proper response of man his obedience to its commandments, while providing means of atonement for transgression'; 'The conception [of the covenant] is that God acts, that Israel accepts the action as being for them, that God gives commandments, that Israel agrees to obey the commandments, and that continuing to accept the commandments demonstrates that one is "in", while refusing to obey indicates that one is "out"'.[35] Sanders goes on

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[31]W.D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* (3rd edition; London: SPCK, 1970; 4th edition 1980 with new preface); M. Barth, 'Jews and Gentiles: The Social Character of Justification in Paul', *JES* 5 (1968), pp.241-67; 'Justification. From Text to Sermon on Galatians 2.11-21', *Int* 22 (1968), pp.147-57; N.A. Dahl, *Studies in Paul* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1977), esp. pp.95-120 ('The Doctrine of Justification: Its Social Function and Implications'); K. Stendahl, *Paul Among Jews and Gentiles and Other Essays* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976), including the ground-breaking essay 'The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West' [1963], pp.78-96.

[32](London: SCM, 1977). The book was preceded by 'Patterns of Religion in Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: A Holistic Method of Comparison', *HTR* 66 (1973), pp.455-78; 'The Covenant as a Soteriological Category and the Nature of Salvation in Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism', in *Jews, Greeks and Christians: Religious Cultures in Late Antiquity: Essays in Honor of W.D. Davies* (edited by R.G. Hamerton-Kelly and R. Scroggs; Leiden: EJ Brill, 1976), pp.11-44.

[33]Sanders, *PPJ*, pp.33-59; cf. G.F. Moore, 'Christian Writers on Judaism', *HTR* 14 (1921), pp.197-254.

[34]E.P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (London: SCM, 1985), p.336.

[35]Sanders, *PPJ*, pp.75, 237.

to describe the pattern or structure of covenantal nomism as:[36]

> (1) God has chosen Israel and (2) given the law. The law implies both (3) God's promise to maintain the election and (4) the requirement to obey. (5) God rewards obedience and punishes transgression. (6) The law provides for means of atonement, and atonement results in (7) maintenance or re-establishment of the covenantal relationship. (8) All those who are maintained in the covenant by obedience, atonement and God's mercy belong to the group which will be saved.

According to Sanders, obedience to the Law is conceived as important for *remaining in* the covenant community; the Jews of the day do not see the keeping of the law as the means to merit salvation. With this *new perspective on Judaism*, Sanders insists that Paul's polemic against 'works of the law' was not a rebuttal of self-righteousness, but about the position of Gentiles within the Christian churches.[37]

Though J. Neusner might be critical of Sanders' methodology and use of rabbinic material, he does not dispute Sanders' understanding of Judaism in terms of 'covenantal nomism'.[38] In a recent article Neusner has also summarized the nature of Jewish piety in the first century with the expression 'covenantal nomism':[39]

> To state matters simply, the life of Israel in the first century found structure and meaning in the covenant between God and Israel as contained in the Torah revealed by God to Moses at Mount Sinai. The piety of Israel, defined by the Torah, in concrete ways served to carry out the requirements of the

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[36]Sanders, *PPJ*, p.422; see also p.544; modifications in 'Jesus, Paul and Judaism', in *ANRW* II.25.1 (1982), pp.390-450, here pp.394-95.

[37]So Sanders in a subsequent study, *PLJP* (1983), sums up the essential issue in Galatians: 'The subject of Galatians is not whether or not humans, abstractly conceived, can by good deeds earn enough merit to be declared righteous at the judgment; it is the condition on which Gentiles enter the people of God' (p.18).

[38]J. Neusner, 'Comparing Judaisms', *History of Religions* 18 (1978-79), pp.177-91. See also Sanders' reply in 'Puzzling out Rabbinic Judaism', in *Approaches to Ancient Judaism* II (edited by W.S. Green; BJS 9; Chico: Scholars, 1980), pp.65-79, and their continuing exchanges: Sanders, *Jewish Law From Jesus to the Mishnah* (London: SCM, 1990), pp.309-331; Neusner, 'Mr Sanders' Pharisees and Mine: A Response to E.P. Sanders, *Jewish Law From Jesus to the Mishnah*', *SJT* 44 (1991), pp.73-95.

[39]J. Neusner, '"Covenantal Nomism". The Piety of Judaism in the First Century,' in *Major Trends in Formative Judaism*, 3rd series, *The Three Stages in the Formation of Judaism* (BJS 99; Chico: Scholars, 1985), pp.9-34, here pp.31-32.

> covenant. This holy life under the Torah has been properly called 'covenantal nomism,' a phrase introduced by E.P. Sanders to state in two words the complete and encompassing holy way of life and world view of Israel in its land in the first century (and not then alone).

This important work by Sanders, *PPJ*, is hailed by Dunn as 'breaking the mould' for contemporary Pauline studies and as providing 'the New Perspective on Paul' in his 1982 Manson Memorial Lecture (focused on Gal 2.16).[40] Similarly, in a review of recent Pauline scholarship, N.T. Wright observes that 'it is no exaggeration to say that the entire flavour of Pauline studies has been changed, quite probably permanently, as a result'.[41] And B.W. Longenecker goes one step further by saying that 'It is not too much to say that NT scholarship is currently working in a "post-Sanders" environment'.[42] We are fully convinced that the study of Pauline theology should take account of the paradigm shift in the *new perspective* on Judaism.[43]

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[40]Dunn, 'The New Perspective on Paul', [1983] in *JPL*, pp.183-214; quote from p.184. See also his elaboration in *Romans* (WBC 38; 2 vols; Dallas: Word, 1988), 1:lxiii-lxxii, and his forthcoming commentary on *Galatians* (BNTC; London: A & C Black, 1993).

[41]N.T. Wright, 'History and Theology', in *The Interpretation of the New Testament 1861-1986*, by S. Neill and N.T. Wright (2nd edition; Oxford: OUP, 1988), pp.360-449, here p.424; cf. 'The Paul of History and the Apostle of Faith', *TynBul* 29 (1978), pp.61-88; *The Messiah and the People of God* (DPhil dissertation; Oxford, 1980). See now *The Climax of the Covenant* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991); 'Romans and the Theology of Paul', *SBLSP* (1992), pp.184-213.

[42]B.W. Longenecker, *Eschatology and the Covenant* (JSNTS 57; Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), p.14. This work to a large extend fills in a gap which is not fully discussed by Sanders, cf. pp.17-18, 21-22, 40-157 on *4 Ezra*. Longenecker prefers to talk of 'ethnocentric covenantalism' (p.34).

[43]See also Watson, *Paul*, pp.1-22; Barclay, *Obeying*, pp.3-6; Ziesler, *Gal*, pp.xii, xv; *Pauline Christianity* (Revised edition; Oxford: OUP, 1990), p.104; D.B. Garlington, *'The Obedience of Faith'* (WUNT II.38; Tübingen: JCB Mohr, 1991), pp.4-6; cf. C. Rowland, *Christian Origins* (London: SPCK, 1985), pp.25-28. Though there are still some who demur, cf. S. Westerholm, *Israel's Law and the Church's Faith* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988); F. Thielman, *From Plight to Solution* (NovTSup 61; Leiden: EJ Brill, 1989); Carson, Moo and Morris, *Introduction*, pp.252-53, 298-300; M.A. Seifrid, *Justification by Faith* (NovTSup 68; Leiden: EJ Brill, 1992).

1.2. NEW PERSPECTIVE(S) ON PAUL

In the light of this new perspective on Judaism, how are we going to understand Paul's theology, especially the thorniest issue of the role of the Law in his thought?[1] What does Paul mean by 'works of the Law' (2.16), and why does he reject them? Why does Paul perceive Christ and the Law in dichotomous relationship (2.21b)? Or in Rom 10.4, what does Paul mean by 'Christ is the end of the Law' - τέλος as fulfilment, goal or termination?[2] And above all, how to account for Paul's seemingly contradictory comments on the Law, where some are positive, others more negative?

These questions have puzzled generations of Pauline scholars. Some suggest that Paul's thought might have developed from Galatians to Romans, and especially from a more negative critique of the Law to a more moderate positive understanding of the Law in Romans.[3] Beker argues that different situations had called for Paul's different formulations, and thus one should distinguish between 'contingency' and 'coherence' in Paul's thought.[4] But why does Paul criticize the Torah? Among some scholars, it is commonly argued that Paul's critique of the Law begins with the 'plight' of humankind - some draw

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[1]For overviews of recent scholarship on Paul and the Law, see J.M.G. Barclay, 'Paul and the Law: Observations on Some Recent Debates', *Themelios* 12 (1986), pp.5-15; D.J. Moo, 'Paul and the Law in the Last Ten Years', *SJT* 40 (1987), pp.287-307; D. Zeller, 'Zur neueren Diskussion über das Gesetz bei Paulus', *TP* 62 (1987), pp.497-99; F.F. Bruce, 'Paul and the Law in Recent Research', in *Law and Religion* (edited by B. Lindars; Cambridge: James Clarke, 1988), pp.115-25; B.L. Martin, *Christ and the Law in Paul* (NovTSup 62; Leiden: EJ Brill, 1989), pp.21-68.

[2]See the various views in J. Ziesler, *Paul's Letter to the Romans* (TPINTC; London: SCM, 1989), pp.257-58; cf. C.T. Rhyne, *Faith Establishes the Law* (SBLDS 55; Chico: Scholars, 1981); R. Badenas, *Christ the End of the Law* (JSNTS 10; Sheffield: JSOT, 1985).

[3]See e.g. J.W. Drane, *Paul: Libertine or Legalist?* (London: SPCK, 1975); H. Hübner, *Law in Paul's Thought* (ET; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1984); U. Wilckens, 'Zur Entwicklung des paulinischen Gesetzesverständnisses', *NTS* 28 (1982), pp.154-90; a brief version as 'Statements on the Development of Paul's View of the Law', in *P & P*, pp.17-26; R. Jewett, 'The Law and the Coexistence of Jews and Gentiles in Romans', *Int* 39 (1985), pp.341-56.

[4]Beker, *Paul*, pp.23-36, 94-108; cf. 'Paul's Theology: Consistent or Inconsistent?', *NTS* 34 (1988), pp.364-77; 'Paul the Theologian: Major Motifs in Pauline Theology', *Int* 43 (1989), pp.352-65.

attention to the weakness of the human flesh in failing to keep the Law perfectly (the quantitative view), others focus on the human attempt to keep the Law that contributes to boasting and in opposition to God's grace (the qualitative view).[5] According to this reading of Paul's theology, the logic of Paul's argument is basically 'from plight to solution' - an *anthropological* approach. The basic thrust of the argument is that humankind were under the bondage and the curse of the Law; God in answer to this human 'plight' supplies the 'solution' in the gift of grace in Christ.

In the current discussion on Pauline theology, especially in the light of the new perspective on Judaism, some previous solutions are tested again and some new readings are emerging. In the past ten years, certain works have been particularly challenging, and we have in mind especially the works of Sanders, Räisänen, Dunn, and Watson. In each case it is notable how central has been Galatians to the issues discussed and the arguments mounted.

1.2.1. E.P. Sanders:

Sanders is highly critical of the line of argument which based upon the *dysfunctionalism* of the law.[6] According to Sanders' assessment of Paul's thought, the real reason for Paul's rejection of the Law is *Christological*, and in his popular phraseology, Paul's logic proceeds 'from solution to plight'.[7] Sanders claims that:[8]

> Paul's 'pattern of religion' cannot be described as 'covenantal nomism', and therefore Paul presents an essentially different type of religiousness from any found in Palestinian Jewish literature... Paul in fact explicitly denies that the Jewish covenant can be effective for salvation, thus consciously denying the basis of Judaism...In short, this is what Paul finds wrong in Judaism: it is not Christianity.

Thus Sanders argues, Paul finds fault in the law, primarily not because of the unfulfillability of the Law or the weakness of the

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[5]See §3.3.2. on 'works of the law' for further discussion.

[6]See Sanders, *PLJP*, pp.20-25, 27-29.

[7]Sanders, *PPJ*, pp.442-47; *PLJP*, pp.35-36, 125, 150-51; *Paul* (Past Masters; Oxford: OUP, 1991), p.41.

[8]Sanders, *PPJ*, pp.543, 551, 552 (italics removed); 'The only thing that is wrong with the old righteousness seems to be that it is not the new one' (*PLJP*, p.140; cf. p.44).

human flesh, but rather in the *solution* Paul finds in Christ, his *exclusivistic soteriology*. In Sanders' opinion, Gal 2.21b (and 3.21) in fact provide the *key* (the real reason) for Paul's teaching about righteousness and the law: 'If righteousness could come through the law, Christ died in vain...If his death was *necessary* for man's salvation, it follows that salvation cannot come in any other way and consequently that all were, prior to the death and resurrection, in need of a saviour'.[9] Sanders therefore describes the logic of Paul's thought as follows:[10]

> the whole thrust of the argument is that righteousness was never in God's plan, intended to be by the law. This helps us see that the problem with the law is not that it cannot be fulfilled. Paul has a view of God's intention which excludes righteousness by the law; his position is *dogmatic* [*italics* mine]. It lies ready at hand to conclude that his revised view of the law in God's plan springs from his conviction that salvation is through the death of Christ (2.21). In the midst of a sometimes bewildering series of arguments, quotations, and appeals, there seem to be two sentences in Galatians in which Paul states unambiguously not only what his position is (which is never in doubt), but *why* he holds it.... Put in propositional terms, they say this: God sent Christ; he did so in order to offer righteousness; this would have been pointless if righteousness were already available by the law (2.21); the law was not given to bring righteousness (3.21). That the positive statement about righteousness through Christ grounds the negative one about the law seems to me self-evident.

Important to Sanders's reading of Paul's argumentation is the (subtle) distinction between *reasons* and *arguments*. It is explained that 'One of the factors which makes Paul's statements about the law hard to unravel is the general difficulty of distinguishing the reason for which he held a view and the arguments which he adduces in favor of it'.[11]

Despite its potential helpfulness in distinguishing between reasons and arguments, we are not told why Sanders selects 2.21 and

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[9]Sanders, *PPJ*, p.443; also *PLJP*, pp.27, 152, 159, 165 n34, 208.

[10]Sanders, *PLJP*, p.27. On pp.4-10 Sanders notes that the *negative* estimates of the law arise when Paul discusses the conditions for membership ('how to get in') and the positive ones when he discusses the behavioural norms for the Christian community ('how to stay in'), in which case the *coherence* lies with the central conviction regarding Christ.

[11]Sanders, *PLJP*, p.4; *Paul*, p.18: one should try to reconstruct 'what he thought, and why he thought it'.

3.21 as the key to Paul's thought, to be distinguished from all the other secondary arguments.[12] It is not clear also why Sanders insists that 'the debate in Galatians is a debate about "entry" [getting in] in the sense of what is essential in order to be considered a member *at all*' (*PLJP*, p.20) and not about 'maintenance' or 'staying in' especially with respect to 2.11-14, 3.2-5 and 4.10.[13] Thirdly, it is debatable whether the noun **δικαιοσύνη** ('righteousness') at 2.21b is concerned only with 'getting in' and serves only as 'transfer' terminology.[14] But Sanders' reading of Paul, particularly in distinguishing between Paul's real *reasons* and arguments, will continue to provoke scholars to dig deeper into Paul's thought and convictions.

1.2.2. H. Räisänen:

On the relationship of Paul and the Law, Räisänen rejects customary strategies of amelioration, whether it is interpolation, development, or dialectical thinking. He argues that 'Paul asserts both the abolition of the Law and also its permanently normative character' and so 'Paul's thought on the law is full of difficulties and inconsistencies'.[15] According to Räisänen, the 'development' hypothesis cannot hold because some of these self-contradictions and

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[12]Thus complained C.H. Cosgrove, *The Cross and the Spirit* (Macon: Mercer UP, 1988), p.12. See §7.3.4. on 2.21b.

[13]In fact, Sanders is well aware of this possibility: 'The controversy [in Galatians] centres on the admission rite, circumcision, but includes other aspects of the law as well, such as food and "days"' (*PLJP*, p.20; also his response to R. Gundry that the question in Galatians is how one stays in, not how one gets in; *PLJP*, p.52 n20).

[14]See Sanders' insistence that there is a major shift in meaning: 'righteousness in Judaism is a term which implies the *maintenance of status* among the group of the elect; in Paul it is a *transfer term*. In Judaism, that is, commitment to the covenant puts one "in", while obedience (righteousness) subsequently keeps one in. In Paul's usage, "be made righteous" ("be justified") is a term indicating getting in, not staying in the body of the saved' (*PPJ*, p.544; cf. pp.470-72, 518 n5; *PLJP*, p.6). See §3.3.4.

[15]H. Räisänen, *Paul and the Law* (WUNT 29; Tübingen: JCB Mohr, 1983; new preface in 2nd edition, 1987), pp.69, 264. After an overview of the problems, chapters two through five discuss Paul's divergent answers to basic questions in a topical fashion: Is the law still in force? Can the law be fulfilled? What is the origin and purpose of the law? Why are the works of law and faith in Christ opposed? See also his *Jesus, Paul and Torah* (JSNTS 43; Sheffield: JSOT, 1992).

inconsistency appear even within the *same* letter.[16] The problem can be traced to Paul's intellectual difficulties, especially when he is torn in two directions - the conviction that the law has been abolished, and the conviction that the law, having been given by God, is capable of being abrogated.[17] In Räisänen's view, Paul seems to come to important insights such as the Christian's freedom, not by way of logical proof but by way of *intuition*![18] In short, Paul's concept of the law oscillates; the meaning changes to fit the needs of his arguments in relation to his two conflicting convictions. 'The starting point of Paul's thinking about the Torah is the Christ event, not the law'.[19]

Dunn criticizes Räisänen's 'atomistic treatment' of the texts as a hindrance to an integrated and coherent view of Paul's positive and negative statements on the Law.[20] Wright criticizes Räisänen for not exploring the 'deep structure' of Paul's thought, the 'underlying (over-arching) structure' of Paul's belief system which lies beneath the various different (or appears to be contradictory) statements on the Law.[21] And S. Kim has gone further to accuse Räisänen of 'instead of giving a sustained exegesis of some crucial passages where it is necessary to understand the consistent logic of Paul, Räisänen often picks this or that verse from them and discusses it in diverse contexts in a fragmentary way...This sort of method naturally causes

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[16]Räisänen, *Paul*, esp. pp.7-8; *Jesus*, pp.17-21.

[17]Räisänen, *Paul*, pp.264-65; 'Paul got involved in intellectual difficulties, because he started from an aprioristic (Christological) conviction. Instead of considering the intention of the Law in its own right he deduced his statements about it straight from his Christological insights. That is why he ended up putting forward artificial and conflicting theories about the law' (p.154); cf. *Jesus*, p.32: '[Paul] argues from two premises which are incompatible with each other'.

[18]Räisänen, *Paul*, p.268; cf. A. Deissmann, *Paul* (ET; 2nd edition; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1926), pp.104-105; S. Sandmel, *The Genius of Paul* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), p.7.

[19]Räisänen, *Paul*, p.201; cf. pp.199-202. See also A.J.M. Wedderburn, 'Paul and the Law', *SJT* 38 (1985), pp.613-22.

[20]Dunn, *Rom*, 1:lxvii.

[21]Wright, *Climax*, pp.2-3, 17-18. Wright argues that the 'incorporative Christology' (the underlying *story*) which is the means of redefining the people of God and also of God himself could well be the key to Paul's thought (esp. pp.258-67).

one to hear Paul's accents differently and miss the consistent thread of Paul's argument'.[22]

1.2.3. J.D.G. Dunn:

A third line of approach is to distinguish between proper and improper usage of the law. Dunn argues that the problem was not 'legalism' in the traditional sense,[23] but Jewish exclusivism or nationalism which Paul regarded as an illegitimate perception of the law's significance. Crucial to Dunn's argument is the meaning attached to the phrase ἔργα νόμου ('works of the law').[24] Building on the observation of E. Lohmeyer and J.B. Tyson that ἔργα νόμου is best taken in the sense of 'service of the law' or 'nomistic service',[25] Dunn argues that by the unique phrase Paul is referring to *Jewish covenant markers* (identity-confirming and boundary-defining acts) such as the particular observances of circumcision, food laws and Sabbath which give expression to too narrow a nationalistic and racial conception of the covenant.[26] Therefore, Paul's critique of the law has a narrower but specific focus - the 'social function of the law' - it is directed at a misunderstanding of the law as a badge of national and covenant identity.[27]

Dunn also argues that at 2.16a Paul is 'appealing to an accepted view of Jewish Christians' and 'it is unlikely that Paul wrote

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[22]S. Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel* (WUNT II.4; 2nd edition; Tübingen: JCB Mohr, 1984), pp.346-47.

[23]As argued by e.g. C.E.B. Cranfield, 'St Paul and the Law', *SJT* 17 (1964), pp.43-68; *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (ICC; 2 vols; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1975-79), 1:220; 2:845-62; Hübner, *Law*, p.138.

[24]Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, pp.191-95; expanded in 'Works of the Law and the Curse of the Law (Gal. 3.10-14)', [1985] *JPL*, pp.215-41; *Rom*, 1:lxiii-lxxii.

[25]In this classic study, E. Lohmeyer, 'Gesetzeswerke', *ZNW* 28 (1929), pp.177-207 translates the phrase as 'Dienst des Gesetzes' and defines it as 'der religiösen Ordnung, die dem Menschen Gesetz ist' (p.202); J.B. Tyson, '"Works of Law" in Galatians', *JBL* 92 (1973), pp.423-31, esp. p.425.

[26]Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, pp.201-202 criticizes Sanders also for 'failure to perceive the significance of the little phrase "works of the law"'.

[27]Dunn, *Rom*, 1:192; *JPL*, p.4.

εἰδότες δέ'.[28] The word 'being justified' is covenant language: 'God's justification is rather God's acknowledgement that someone is in the covenant - whether that is an *initial* acknowledgement, or a *repeated* action of God (God's saving acts), or his *final* vindication of his people'.[29] And since 2.16a is the common ground for the debate between Paul and Peter, it should be seen as an *internal Christian debate* on the relevance of 'works of the law': thus 'in verse 16 Paul pushes what began as a qualification of covenantal nomism into an outright antithesis'.[30] Therefore the reason for the change from 'all living' (according to LXX) to 'all flesh' (πᾶσα σάρξ) at 2.16d is 'Paul has in view primarily and precisely those who think their acceptability to God and standing before God does depend on their physical descent from Abraham, their national identity as Jews'.[31] In summary, Dunn suggests that in 2.16 we can in fact see

> a very crucial development for the history of Christianity taking place...the transition from a basically Jewish self-understanding of Christ's significance to a distinctively different understanding, the transition indeed from a form of Jewish Messianism to a faith which sooner or later must break away from Judaism to exist in its own terms (p.198).

According to Dunn, Paul (and Pauline Christianity) seeks to remain within the bounds of first century Judaism/s (though uncomfortably) but attempts to redefine the boundary.[32] According to Dunn, Paul's underlying conviction is that Gentile Christians can and should remain Gentiles and need not 'judaize' or become Jewish proselytes; Gentile believers should be included as equal partners with Jewish Christians in the same community of God's people.[33]

Dunn's unusual interpretation of 2.16, however, has provoked some critical responses. For example, H. Hübner attacks Dunn on the meaning of ἔργα νόμου and also for not taking the particle δέ at

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[28]Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, p.189 and p.204 n25.

[29]Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, pp.189-91, here p.190.

[30]Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, pp.195-98, here p.196. Dunn argues that ἐὰν μή is exceptive in force and qualifies not only the verb but also ἐξ ἔργων νόμου (p.195; see also p.212).

[31]Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, pp.198-200, here p.199.

[32]Cf. Dunn, *JPL*, pp.40, 51, 198, 208; esp. *The Partings of the Ways* (London: SCM, 1991).

[33]Dunn, 'Theology', *JPL*, p.249.

2.16a in the *adversative* sense seriously enough;[34] Westerholm, T.S. Schreiner, D.J. Moo and C.E.B. Cranfield remain unconvinced that the meaning of ἔργα νόμου refers to 'covenant markers';[35] Bruce, Longenecker and Ziesler on the exceptive use of ἐὰν μή;[36] Thielman on the meaning of σάρξ;[37] and Räisänen on whether Paul intended to remain within Judaism.[38] In response to some of the criticisms and misunderstandings of his formulation of 'works of law' as Jewish covenant markers, Dunn has recently restated and refined his view on ἔργα νόμου.[39] The debate continues, and the interpretation of 2.16 remains a crucial problematic text for understanding Paul's theology.

1.2.4. F. Watson:

A fourth important contribution to the current debate is Watson's historical and sociological approach to Paul's argumentation in Galatians and Romans. Watson maintains that Paul's arguments are basically attempts to justify the existence of his Gentile churches *outside* the Jewish synagogues, and that he opposed those who wanted the Christian movement to remain within the legal and social bounds of Judaism.[40] According to Watson, one should see 'the cohesiveness of Paul's (conflicting) statements about the law not primarily at the theoretical level but at the level of practical strategy' (in fact one should distinguish between 'what Paul is saying' in the text and

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[34]H. Hübner, 'Was heißt bei Paulus "Werke des Gesetzes"?' in *Glaube und Eschatologie: FS W.G. Kümmel* (edited by E. Grässer and O. Merk; Tübingen: JCB Mohr, 1985), pp.123-33.

[35]Cf. Westerholm, *Israel's Law*, pp.117-19; T.R. Schreiner, '"Works of Law" in Paul', *NovT* 33 (1991), pp.217-44; cf. 'The Abolition and Fulfilment of the Law in Paul', *JSNT* 35 (1989), pp.47-74; D.J. Moo, *Romans* (WEC; 2 vols; Chicago: Moody, 1991-), 1:212-18; C.E.B. Cranfield, '"The Works of the Law" in the Epistle to the Romans', *JSNT* 43 (1991), pp.89-101.

[36]See Bruce, 'Paul', pp.124-25; Longenecker, *Gal*, pp.83-84; Ziesler, *Gal*, pp.23-24.

[37]Thielman, *Plight*, pp.63-65.

[38]H. Räisänen, 'Galatians 2.16 and Paul's Break with Judaism', *NTS* 31 (1985), pp.543-53. This is by far the most severe and detailed criticism of Dunn's interpretation. See §3.1. below.

[39]Dunn, *Partings*, pp.135-39; 'Yet Once More - "The Works of the Law". A Response', *JSNT* 46 (1992), pp.99-117; *Gal(ms)*, pp.4-6. More details in §3.3.2.(5).

[40]See Watson, *Paul*, pp.38-48.

'what Paul is doing').[41] Thus Watson insists, Paul 'makes use of various types of theoretical legitimation, which are not always compatible with one another as pure theory, but which all contribute to the same practical goal' (p.22).

On the origin of Paul's mission to the Gentiles, Watson argues that it does not stem from the Damascus experience (as Paul himself alleged in Gal 1.16), but is rather a consequence of his *mission failure* among the Jews. Thus the 'process' is reconstructed as:[42]

> 1. Paul began his missionary career by preaching to Jews only. 2. He and others first preached to Gentiles as a response to their failure among Jews. 3. They did not require full submission to the law from their Gentile converts. 4 Their abandonment of parts of the law of Moses was intended to make it easier for Gentiles to become Christians. 5. The Gentile mission thus involved the complete separation of the church from the synagogue.

Thus Watson asserts that 'The law was a problem for Paul not primarily for theological reasons, but because he needed to justify the fundamental decision to abandon parts of it and break with the Jewish community, in the face of criticisms from Jews and Jewish Christians'.[43] So Watson insists that 'faith in Christ is incompatible with works of the law because the church is separate from the synagogue' (p.47) and argues that 'the essential issue in Galatians is thus whether the church should be a reform-movement within Judaism or a sect outside it' (p.49). In conclusion Watson characterizes Paul as one 'who devotes his energies to the creation and maintaining of sectarian groups hostile to all non-members, and especially to the Jewish community from which in fact they derived' (pp.180-81).

Here then is one fundamental issue: did Paul really intend to break with Judaism totally and to separate the Christian churches

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[41]Watson, *Paul*, p.22. We hear reminiscences of Sanders' distinction between argument and *real* reason (*PLJP*, p.4).

[42]Watson, *Paul*, p.38; details on pp.28-38. See Kim, *Origin*, pp.58-59 and Räisänen's reaction in *Jesus*, pp.22, 186.

[43]Watson, *Paul*, p.38. Note also Watson's use of sociological notion of 'ideology legitimizing its state of [sectarian] separation' (pp.19-20) to argue that Paul's various statements on Israel and the law are 'secondary theological reflection on a primary historical and social reality' (p.31). See Holmberg's severe criticism in *Sociology*, pp.105-106, 112-13.

from the Jewish community completely?[44] Is it proper for Watson to emphasize only the discontinuities in Paul's view of *Heilsgeschichte* (promise/law, two covenants) but to fail to recognise the continuity of Abraham's seed, of the 'we' which includes both Jew and Gentile (3.14; 4.5), of a sonship coming to maturity (3.23-4.5), and of the law fulfilled, as with faith and in love (5.6, 14)?[45] In our opinion, Watson's provocative study will continue to challenge scholars to read *behind* 'what Paul is saying' in the text and to ask what was Paul's underlying conviction and what was his original intention.

1.2.5. Concluding Remarks:

It should be clear that the recent debate has brought several crucial issues to the fore. What is the underlying principle or conviction in Paul's thought? Is it exclusivistic Christology (thus arguing 'from solution to plight'; Sanders)? soteriology ('from plight to solution'; Thielman)? ecclesiology (Watson's 'sectarian separation'; cf. R.B. Hays' *ecclesiocentric* hermeneutic)?[46] Does Paul have a coherent view of the Law (Dunn)? Or is Paul's theology full of contradictions and inconsistencies (Räisänen)? What is Paul's estimate of the Jewish people, his 'kindred according to the flesh' (Rom 9.5)?[47] How do Christian convictions shape and contribute to his reading of *Torah*? How much does Paul's Gentile-mission conviction influence his reading of Torah?[48] The present state of discussion with regard to Paul's thought is summarized very well by Betz on a number of questions:[49]

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[44]See W.S. Campbell, 'Did Paul Advocate Separation from the Synagogue? A Reaction to Francis Watson: *Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles: A Sociological Approach*', *SJT* 42 (1989), pp.457-67.

[45]So questioned by Dunn, 'Theology', *JPL*, p.262; cf. Wright, *Climax*, p.14.

[46]R.B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven/London: Yale UP, 1989), esp. pp.84-121.

[47]See e.g. different views in W.D. Davies, 'Paul and the People of Israel', [1978] in *Jewish and Pauline Studies* (London: SPCK, 1984), pp.123-52; Sanders, *PLJP*, pp.171-206; L. Gaston, *Paul and the Torah* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1987).

[48]Sanders, *Paul*, p.7 insists that discussion on Paul's theological thought must relate to his mission activities. Cf. M.D. Hooker, 'Paul - Apostle to the Gentiles', *Epworth Review* 18/2 (1991), pp.79-89.

[49]H.D. Betz, 'Paul', *ABD* 5:186-201, here p.192. See also the list of

> Did he [Paul] work with a fixed theological 'system' in the back of his mind? Or did he develop his arguments *ad hoc*, based only on a limited set of assumptions? Did Paul have a consistent theology throughout his apostolic career, or did his theology gradually evolve in the context of mission and controversy in which he was constantly involved? If he worked from a fixed theological system, was that system pre-Christian (Pharisaic, rabbinic, or apocalyptic) with his Christian convictions simply overlaid or appended? Or was his theology something altogether new that grew out of his vision of Christ and his commission to take the gospel to the gentiles? In short, how creative and dynamic a theologian was the apostle Paul?

Of course it would be impossible to engage with all these issues in a single thesis. But the range of questions and the evident vitality of the debate raging round them encourages other voices to join in that debate and to focus on particular aspects in the hope of providing greater clarification of key texts or of pivotal arguments. Such a passage, in our opinion, is Gal 2.15-21.

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questions in Wright, *Climax*, p.15; cf. Furnish, 'Pauline Studies', pp.331-36; J. Plevnik, 'The Center of Pauline Theology', *CBQ* 51 (1989), pp.461-78.

1.3. WHY GAL 2.15-21?

The most obvious way to tackle such large issues and disagreements is to subject particular key texts to detailed examination. If it appears, at least to some scholars, that Räisänen's topical approach and rather 'atomistic' exegesis of certain texts is not the best way forward,[1] then it seems a *sustained detailed study* of key Pauline texts, following the argument carefully step by step, verse by verse, might be a better alternative.[2] In our opinion, Gal 2.15-21 is an appropriate case in point. It could indeed be argued that it is the single most appropriate passage for our purposes.

(1) The passage 2.15-21 provides probably the first integrated treatment of several *key Pauline terms* - 'Rechtfertigung in nuce'. One might hope, therefore, to find decisive clues as to his understanding of what Betz calls 'theological abbreviations' which require interpretation:[3] ἁμαρτωλοί ('sinners'; 2.15, 2.17b), ἁμαρτία (sin; 2.17c), δικαιόω (justify; 2.16a,c,d, 2.17a), δικαιοσύνη (righteousness; 2.21b), ἔργα νόμου ('works of Law'; 2.16a,c,d), νόμος (Law; 2.19a[2x], 2.21b), πιστεύω (believe; 2.16b), πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (faith *of* Jesus Christ or faith *in* Jesus Christ; 2.16a,c; cf. 2.20b), ἐν Χριστῷ (in Christ; 2.17a), ἀποθνῄσκω νόμῳ (die to Law; 2.19a), ζάω θεῷ (live to God; 2.19a), ζάω ἐν πίστει (live in faith; 2.20b), συσταυρόω Χριστῷ (co-crucify with Christ; 2.19b), χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ (grace of God; 2.21a).

(2) Its importance is however mirrored in the complexity of its syntax and the disputes it has occasioned. The *flow of argument* and the *inter-relationship* between individual phrases and sentences in

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[1] R.B. Hays in a book review criticizes Räisänen that he 'has adopted a method which requires him to discuss exegetical problems piecemeal, apart from any clear construal of the pastoral/historical situation to which the various letters with their incommensurate utterances about the Law are addressed' (*JAAR* 53 [1985], p.514). See also criticisms by C.E.B. Cranfield, 'Giving a Dog a Bad Name: A Note on H. Räisänen's *Paul and the Law*', *JSNT* 38 (1990), pp.77-85.

[2] Though Räisänen, *Paul*, p.xx in reaction protests that this might not be 'the most appropriate way to make a contribution'; cf. n34. But one at least can say, detailed treatment of key texts is an essential complement to thematic treatment such as Räisänen's.

[3] See Betz, *Gal*, pp.27-28, 115.

this pericope is complex and difficult to determine.[4] Scholars are especially well aware of the difficulties concerning the sentence structure of 2.15-16, the rhetorical pattern implied by μὴ γένοιτο ('by no means; certainly not') at 2.17d and how the two γάρ's at the beginning of 2.18 and 2.19 relate to the preceding argument. The threefold δέ's at 2.20ab are also an area of dispute. On top of these, the change of personal pronoun from 'we' at 2.15-17 to 'I' in 2.18-21a (but note the emphatic ἐγώ appears only in 2.19-20) has also captured the attention of some scholars.[5]

In consequence it soon became clear that the thesis would have to be devoted to 2.15-21 alone. At all events it is such a well packed 'nutshell' of Paul's theology on a sequence of currently most disputed issues that it demands attention as an especially important test case.[6]

Two further reasons prompted us to concentrate on 2.15-21. (3) For some time scholars have tended to focus their attention on the dispute between Paul and Peter at Antioch (cf. 2.11-14), on whether Peter accepted Paul's rebuke, and if not, what happened to Paul. The

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[4]See our selective survey on different interpretations in §1.4; 2.15-21 is undoubtedly one of those problematic passages in Pauline literature. Cf. G. Ebeling, *The Truth of the Gospel* (ET; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), p.120: 'Stylistically, these verses are marked by an extreme density of expression. As a result they pose significant problems of interpretation, in part with respect to the meaning of the terse theological formulas, in part with respect to the logical structure of the argument'; A. Suhl, 'Der Galaterbrief - Situation und Argumentation', in *ANRW* II.25.4 (1987), pp.3067-3134, here p.3098.

[5]See e.g. E.D.W. Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1921), pp.131-32; A. Oepke, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater* (THKNT 9; 3rd edition; edited by J. Rohde; Berlin: Evangelische, 1973), p.93; F. Mussner, *Der Galaterbrief* (HTKNT 9; 5th edition; Freiburg: Herder, 1988), pp.177-78; H. Schlier, *Der Brief an die Galater* (MeyerK 7; 15th edition; Göttingen: V&R, 1989), pp.96-97; E. Stauffer, 'ἐγώ', *TDNT* 2:342-62, here pp.356-58; cf. E. Farahian, *Le 'Je' Paulinien* (Analecta Gregoriana 253; Rome: Editrice Pontificia Universita Gregorina, 1988).

[6]By coincidence, our choice of 2.15-21 agrees with Kim's suggestion that a sustained exegesis of 2.11-21 is called for (*Origin*, p.349). On the other hand, surprising to us, in response to Kim's harsh and lengthy criticism (pp.345-58), Räisänen has reacted by clarifying Paul's call experience with regard to 1.11-17 (*Jesus*, pp.16-47) but has yet to meet the challenge of a sustained exegesis on 2.11-21.

Antioch Incident is also a historic focal point of dispute between the early Church Fathers,[7] and between F.C. Baur and J.B. Lightfoot in the last century.[8] But Dunn's essay 'The Incident at Antioch (Gal 2.11-18)' in 1983 has helped to locate the original dispute between Peter and Paul in the social and religious world of the Jewish community and also in the formative period of Paul's own mission.[9] We feel the time has come to build on the 'historical reconstruction' and to see if the clearer understanding of 2.11-14 sheds any fuller light on 2.15-21.

(4) An intensive study of 2.15-21 would fill a *gap* in recent studies of Galatians. In the last ten years, there have been numerous studies on various other parts of the letter: e.g. G. Lyons, J.D. Hester, B.R. Gaventa, and N.H. Taylor on the autobiographical section in Gal 1-2;[10] R.B. Hays, C.H. Cosgrove and G.W. Hansen on Gal 3-4;[11] J.M.G. Barclay (*Obeying*) on Gal 5-6; and very recently A. Wechsler (*Geschichtsbild*) on 2.11-14, and G.E. Gilthvedt on 2.19a.[12] So we

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[7]On different interpretations among the early Fathers, see J.B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (10th edition; London: Macmillan, 1890), pp.128-32; R. Kieffer, *Foi et Justification à Antioche* (LD 111; Paris: Cerf, 1982), pp.82-102; J. McHugh, 'Galatians 2.11-14: Was Peter Right?', in *Paulus und das antike Judentum* (edited by M. Hengel and U. Heckel; WUNT 58; Tübingen: JCB Mohr, 1991), pp.319-27.

[8]C.K. Barrett, 'Quomodo Historia Conscribenda Sit', *NTS* 28 (1982), pp.303-20. For a more detailed survey from Baur to recent scholars, see A. Wechsler, *Geschichtsbild und Apostelstreit* (BZNW 62; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1991), pp.30-295.

[9]Now in *JPL*, pp.129-82; cf. T. Holtz, 'Der antiochenische Zwischenfall (Galater 2.11-14)', *NTS* 32 (1986), pp.344-61; Taylor, *Paul*, pp.123-39; Wechsler, *Geschichtsbild*, pp.296-348.

[10]Lyons, *Pauline*, pp.75-176; Hester, 'Rhetorical Structure'; 'Use and Influence'; B.R. Gaventa, 'Galatians 1 and 2: Autobiography as Paradigm', *NovT* 28 (1986), pp.302-26; *From Darkness to Light* (OBT 20: Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), pp.17-51; Taylor, *Paul*, pp.123-42.

[11]R.B. Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ* (SBLDS 56; Chico: Scholars, 1983); Cosgrove, *Cross*; Hansen, *Abraham*. Note also the studies on 4.21-31 by G. Bouwmann, 'Die Hagar- und Sara-Perikope (Gal 4.21-31): Exemplarische Interpretation zum Schriftbeweis bei Paulus', in *ANRW* II.25.4 (1987), pp.3135-55; J.L. Martyn, 'The Covenants of Hagar and Sarah', in *Faith and History: Essays in Honor of P.W. Meyer* (edited by J.T. Carroll, C.H. Cosgrove and E.E. Johnson; Atlanta: Scholars, 1991), pp.160-92.

[12]G.E. Gilthvedt, *Dying 'through the Law to the Law' (Gal 2.19)* (PhD dissertation; Saint Andrews, 1990).

suggest, a study on 2.15-21 is both necessary and timely, not least in taking stock of recent scholarly discussions on the passage but also in an attempt to shed new light on Paul's argumentation and theological thinking with the new perspective on Judaism and on Paul.[13]

One important challenge confronting us is, Will the *new perspective* make any difference to the reading of Paul's argument in 2.15-21? What does Paul mean by saying that 'justification is ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ and not ἐξ ἔργων νόμου' (2.16c)? Why does Paul find fault in 'works of the Law'? Why is the objection 'Christ is a minister of sin' raised at 2.17c? How does Paul reject and respond to the (false) notion? What does Paul mean by 'I died to the Law διὰ νόμου' (2.19a)? What does Paul mean by 'living to God' and 'living ἐν πίστει' at 2.19-20? How does Paul come to the conclusion that 'if righteousness is through the Law, then Christ died in vain' (2.21b)? Furthermore, how does Paul's argument in 2.15-21 respond to the crises at Antioch and in the Galatian churches? What is the underlying theological 'conviction' beneath Paul's argumentation? What is the crucial concern of Paul that might have shaped or contributed to his theological thinking?

Before we move on to the analysis of the passage, however, it will be helpful to review how some commentators and scholars have wrestled with Paul's *overall argument* in 2.15-21.[14] This exercise itself should be quite sufficient to illustrate the wide range of opinions among scholars and also the difficulties which the passage poses for all exegetes.

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[13]It was well into the later stages of our intensive research that the detail study by M. Bachmann, *Sünder oder Übertreter* (WUNT 59; Tübingen: JCB Mohr, 1992) appeared. This confirms our initial feeling that a study on 2.15-21 is needed. Though our study might overlap in certain respects (e.g. the function of μὴ γένοιτο at 2.17d), our focus is more on Paul's argumentation in 2.15-21 itself, and on the theological formulation and response to the crisis at Antioch, rather than on treating the passage as a clue to the overall structure of the letter, p.24). See also §1.4.10. below.

[14]See also §4.2. and §5.2. for further detail discussions on various interpretations concerning 2.17 and 2.18.

1.4. A SELECTIVE SURVEY OF DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS ON 2.15-21

In this *selective* account of various different interpretations, we wish to achieve two purposes: to highlight the main crucial problem areas which will be taken up in the main study, and to illustrate the immense difficulty for all exegetes. The survey is roughly done in chronological order, but with more attention given to works written in the past fifteen years.

1.4.1. J.B. Lightfoot and E.D.W. Burton - Two Classic Views:

Bishop Lightfoot is one of the best and most influential exegetes in the English-speaking world. According to Lightfoot, 2.15-21 records Paul's response to the crisis at Antioch (2.11-14), but it is quite impossible to give a definite answer as to where Paul's remonstration to Peter ends in the speech.[1] Paul begins by saying why privileged Jews abandon the Law to become Christians in the act of conversion (2.15-16). But this abandoning of the law is not wrong (2.17-19a). According to Lightfoot, the rejection **μὴ γένοιτο** applies only to 2.17c: 'We may regard **Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας διάκονος** as an illogical conclusion deduced from premises in themselves correct' (p.116; i.e. the *realis* view). 2.17ab itself as a correct premise is read in the context of conversion: in order to become Christian one has to abandon the old ground of legal righteousness and to put oneself in the position of a Gentile-sinner (p.117). The rejection is then supported by two further reasons introduced by **γάρ**: (a) To abandon the law is not sin; the *real* sin (**παραβάτης**) is returning to the law again after abandoning it (2.18).[2] (b) To abandon the law is exactly what the law is prompting

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[1] Lightfoot, *Gal*, pp.113-14. 'The use of the word **ἁμαρτωλοί**, vv. 15, 17, marks the language of one speaking as a Jew to Jews, and therefore may be regarded as part of the original remonstrance; and yet, though there is no break in the continuity from that point onward, we find at the end of the chapter that St Paul's thoughts and language have drifted away from Peter at Antioch to the Judaizers in Galatia' (p.114).

[2] Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.117: 'It will have been seen that much of the force of the passage depends on the sense which the Jews attached to **ἁμαρτωλός**. Having passed on from this to **ἁμαρτία**, St Paul at length throws off the studied *ambiguity* of **ἁμαρτωλός** ("a non-observer of the law", and "a sinner") by substituting the *plain* term of **παραβάτης**'

and leading to (2.19a).[3] According to Lightfoot, the phrase διὰ νόμου refers not to the economical purpose (i.e. prophetic and transitory to lead people to Christ), but to its moral effects: 'The law reveals sin, it also provokes sin; nay, in a certain sense, it may be said to create sin' (p.118).

The idea of θεῷ ζήσω (2.19a) is then taken up and expanded in 2.19b-20. Lightfoot insists that the first person singular ἐγώ is not used in the autobiographical sense: 'Not "I Paul" as distinguished from others, for instance from the Gentile converts, but "I Paul, the natural man, the slave of the old covenant"' (p.117; cf. p.119). Since the old, natural being, the pre-conversion 'I' is gone, the new existence is 'I am merged in Christ' (2.20a), and (δέ in continuative sense) this new life, the post-conversion living, is 'spiritual, and its motive principle is faith in the Son of God who manifested His love for me by dying for my sake' (2.20b; p.119).

Similarly, Burton admits that one cannot be certain as to how much of 2.15-21 was actually uttered by Paul on the Antioch occasion, but insists that it is certainly more than 2.14b.[4] Thus Burton summarizes the content of 2.15-21 under the heading 'Continuation and expansion of Paul's address at Antioch, so stated as to be for the Galatians also an exposition of the gospel which he preached' (p.117). On the μὴ γένοιτο at 2.17d, Burton also observes that it applies only to 2.17c, the wrong conclusion deduced from correct premises.[5] But in contrast to Lightfoot, Burton insists that 'being found sinners' (2.17b) refers to the abandoning and disregarding of the statutes of the law by Jewish Christians, which is clearly implied in the Antioch incident.[6]

(*italics* mine).

[3]Lightfoot's main argument depends very much on the meaning of two key words: ἁμαρτωλός in the non-moral sense, and παραβάτης as the *real* sin, which is different from ἁμαρτωλός/ἁμαρτία.

[4]Burton, *Gal*, p.111; cf. pp.117-18. Similarly, C.K. Barrett, *Freedom and Obligation* (London: SPCK, 1985), pp.20-21.

[5]Burton, *Gal*, p.127: 'What μὴ γένοιτο denies is not the supposition εἰ...ἁμαρτωλοί and with it the conclusion based upon it, but the validity of the deduction of the conclusion from the premises. The apostle accepts the premises; denies that the conclusion follows'.

[6]According to Burton, Paul admitted that they had become 'sinners' (violators of law; 2.17b), but denied that they had become "actual

According to Burton, the rejection μὴ γένοιτο is then clarified by Paul in 2.18 (γάρ): one becomes a transgressor (παραβάτης) by insisting upon obedience to the statutes of the law. 'The word παραβάτης is doubtless chosen instead of ἁμαρτωλός in order to get rid of the ambiguity of this latter term...The παραβάτης is a violator of the law, not of the statutes, but of its real intent' (p.131). Thus this paradoxical statement itself requires proof, and has to be furnished in 2.19 (γάρ; p.131). However, Burton believes that the emphatic ἐγώ refers to Paul himself (p.132); and on διὰ νόμου, he too argues that it refers to the law's moral effects.[7]

With regard to the new life, Burton suggests that Paul's own impulses and will (2.20a; the pre-conversion Paul) are being displaced by those of Christ (2.20b; the post-conversion Paul).[8] On the meaning of χάρις at 2.21a, Burton argues that it refers to the 'special grace of God to Israel in giving them the law (cf. Rom 3.31)' and not to the gospel or to the death of Christ (p.140).

1.4.2. R. Bultmann:

In 1952 Bultmann presented a short but very different and controversial treatment of 2.15-18.[9] He begins by asking questions about 2.17: Is it a question or a statement? Is the premise at 2.17ab a *realis* or *irrealis*? Bultmann goes on to argue that 2.17ab is neither a rhetorical question nor an objection deriving from Paul's opponents; it is rather an absurdity (an *irrealis*) formulated by Paul

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sinners, wrongdoers, violators of God's will' (ἁμαρτία in the strict sense; 2.17c). 'The whole speciousness of the objection which Paul is answering turns on the seeming identity, the real diversity, of the conceptions of sin implied in ἁμαρτωλοί and ἁμαρτίας respectively' (*Gal*, p.126; other views are discussed in pp.127-30).

[7]Burton, *Gal*, p.133: 'Mosaic law in its legalistic interpretation - had by his experience under it taught him his own inability to meet its spiritual requirements and its own inability to make him righteous, and thus led him finally to abandon it and to seek salvation in Christ'; referring to 2.16, Rom 7 and also Phil 3.5-9.

[8]Burton, *Gal*, pp.137-38. The first δέ at 2.20a is continuative (explaining 2.19); the second δέ is sub-adversative (introducing the positive correlative to the first part of 2.20a; p.137); but the third δέ is again continuative and epexegetic (2.20b = 2.20a; p.138).

[9]R. Bultmann, 'Zur Auslegung von Galater 2.15-18', in *Exegetica* (edited by E. Dinkler; Tübingen: JCB Mohr, 1967), pp.394-99. See also his influential *Theology of the New Testament* (ET; 2 vols; London: SCM, 1952-55).

himself and designed to function 'in seiner gegen den Standpunkt des Petrus gerichteten Argumentation'.[10] Then by drawing comparison to the conditional statement of 2.21b, Bultmann prefers the illative particle ἄρα to the interrogative ἆρα and infers that 2.17 is also a *conditional statement* (Bedingungssatz) rather than a question (p.396). Thus Bultmann considers the sense of 2.17ab as being absurd, because the actual attempt of justification cannot be equivalent to sin. And he goes on to paraphrase Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας διάκονος (2.17c) as 'die (immer noch, wie bisher) in ihren Sünden stecken; er hat sie nicht von der Sünde befreit' (pp.395-96). Since this is a totally *absurd statement*, it is rejected by means of μὴ γένοιτο in 2.17d (p.396).

On 2.18 Bultmann argues that one becomes a transgressor (παραβάτης) when the law is rebuilt and one becomes stuck in sin (p.398). According to Bultmann, it is this so absurd conclusion that the opponents' goal of re-establishing the abolished Law would inevitably lead to (pp.397-98). Interesting also is Bultmann's assertion, without any argument at all, that 2.15 is 'ein geschlossener Satz' and is a 'Gegen-Satz' to 2.16 (p.394).

This controversial study by Bultmann then sparked off a series of exchanges in different directions, especially among German scholars. For example, J. Blank and U. Wilckens debate on the meaning of ἔργα νόμου ('works of Law') and why does Paul reject it (2.16). Blank argues that the fundamental problem with 'works of Law' focuses on the very *attempt* to obey the law as a means of justification as being sinful.[11] But Wilckens insists that the problem lies not with the law itself but with the *human inability* to obey the law perfectly.[12]

These two different views are also prominent in the commentaries by Schlier and Mussner on Galatians. For example, Mussner argues that

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[10]Bultmann, 'Zur Auslegung', p.394; cf. p.398.

[11]J. Blank, 'Warum sagt Paulus: "Aus Werken des Gesetzes wird niemand gerecht?"' in *EKKNT, Vorabeiten Heft 1* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), pp.79-95, esp. pp.87-90.

[12]U. Wilckens, 'Was heißt bei Paulus: "Aus Werken des Gesetzes wird kein Mensch gerecht"?' [1969] in *Rechtfertigung als Freiheit* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1974), pp.77-109. This position is also maintained in his *Der Brief an die Römer* (EKKNT; 3 vols; Zürich: Benziger/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1978-82), 1:173-76.

the main problem of ἔργα νόμου lies with humankind's failure to fulfil the demands of the whole law (cf. 3.10-12)[13] and so the weakness of the flesh (der Schwäche des Fleisches) has to be overcome by the new life in Christ (cf. 2.19-20).[14] But Schlier puts the emphasis on the Law as being characterized by *works* (ἔργα!), which has to be replaced by sheer faith in Christ.[15] According to Schlier, if the validity of the Law is reestablished (assuming that the object ταῦτα at 2.18a refers to the Law), one submits afresh to the *power* of the law and so is bound to become a transgressor of the law (cf. Rom 4.15; p.97).

On the other hand, H. Feld seizes on Bultmann's assertion on 2.15 and 2.16 as separate sentences to argue that the pericope could be read as a series of *counter arguments*.[16] According to Feld, Paul may have cited the words of his opponents or Peter in the Antioch conflict, and 2.17 may well be Peter's counter argument to Paul, which is immediately rejected by μὴ γένοιτο uttered by Paul (p.121). Hence Feld claims that the *un*-Pauline thought of 2.17 is in fact 'die Äusserung des normal judenchristlichen Standpunktes, nach dem das Gesetz neben dem Evangelium Bestand und Gültigkeit hatte' (p.129). Thus, the structure of the pericope may be construed as below:[17]

2.14b	Paul's stand (expressed in question)
2.15	Objection (possibly by Peter)
2.16	Paul's answer
2.17abc	Peter's counter-argument
2.17d-21	Paul's rejection and answer.

So it appears that the 'un-Pauline' thought of 2.15 and 2.17 is being explained away! Feld's suggestion is then expanded by G. Bouwman with qualification, especially with respect to the pericope 2.14b-18 as a diatribe in *chiastic* form as follows:[18]

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[13]Mussner, *Gal*, p.169; citing also Rom 3.20, 27-28; 4.2; 9.11-12, 31-32; 11.6; cf. Phil 3.6, 9; Eph 2.9; Tit 3.5; 2 Tim 1.9.

[14]Mussner, *Gal*, esp. pp.180-82, 223-31.

[15]See Schlier, *Gal*, pp.91-92.

[16]H. Feld, '"Christus Diener der Sünde": Zum Ausgang des Streites zwischen Petrus und Paulus', *TQ* 153 (1973), pp.119-31.

[17]See Feld, 'Christus', pp.122-31 for details.

[18]G. Bouwman, '"Christus Diener der Sünde". Auslegung von Galater 2.14b-18', *Bijdragen* 40 (1979), pp.44-54; the chiastic layout on pp.53-54.

A Paul (2.14b)
B the imaginary opponent (2.15)
C_1 Paul (2.16)
B^1 the opponent again (2.17)
A^1 Paul again (2.17d-18).

Bouwman further suggests that 2.14b-18 is bracketed by the historical account of 2.11-14a and the theological confession in 2.19-21; the 'you' of 2.14b has changed to 'I' in 2.18 (p.53). According to the chiastic layout, 2.16 then forms the centre of the pericope; in which theologically, Bouwman insists, it 'enthält *in nuce* seine ganze Rechtfertigungslehre' (p.51). However, it remains to be seen, whether it is justified to interpret 2.15 as an independent sentence not continued into 2.16.

1.4.3. G. Klein versus W.G. Kümmel:

On the other hand, some scholars, especially Germans, have been concerned with whether Paul in Galatians 3 (and Romans 4) outlines 'salvation history' or gives an 'existential interpretation' of the promise to Abraham. The debate is partly a response to G. von Rad's explanation of the relation between Old and New Testaments.[19] In reaction, Klein argues strongly that Paul does not share the concept of *Heilsgeschichte* at all,[20] not even in his exposition of justification in Gal 3-4 (pp.202-17). With reference to 2.15-16, Klein, following Bultmann, insists that the two verses are to be treated as separate sentences, referring to two different situations: the old dispensation, which is now past, and the eschatological time, which has now been reached (pp.181-85). Therefore it is argued that since the boundary between salvation and destruction is no longer identical with the clear (ethnic) boundary between Jews and Gentiles, it is of no importance soteriologically to belong to either group; the ἄνθρωπος at 2.16a refers to a new category ('third race') in

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[19]Cf. G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (ET; 2 vols; Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1962-65), 2:319-429.

[20]G. Klein, 'Individualgeschichte und Weltgeschichte bei Paulus: Eine Interpretation ihres Verhältnisses im Galaterbrief', [1964] in *Rekonstruktion und Interpretation* (BEvT 50; München: Chr. Kaiser, 1969), pp.180-224, here pp.219-21, 224.

place of the old categories of Jews and Gentiles.[21] Thus with regard to the shift from first person plural 'We' in 2.15-17 to first person singular 'I' in 2.18-21, Klein insists that Paul has moved from the perspective of group to the perspective of individual, from '*Weltgeschichte*' to '*Individualgeschichte*' (pp.201-202). According to Klein, the Jewish history is now totally 'secularized'.[22]

But Kümmel is unconvinced and calls into question Klein's basic insistence that 2.15 and 2.16 are to be treated as separate sentences; for Kümmel, 2.15 forms the subject for the long sentence.[23] On the context of Paul's argument, Kümmel takes 2.15-21 as not related to the preceding Antioch Incident, but only with reference to the situation in Galatia (pp.161-62). Thus Kümmel argues that ζητοῦντες δικαιωθῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ (2.17a) refers to the act of believing by Jewish Christians (p.164; cf. 2.16b), in which the accusation that 'Christ is a minister of sin' (2.17c) is certainly false because 'sie (wie die Heiden) Sünder *waren*'.[24]

On the flow of argument in 2.17-20, Kümmel argues that Paul sets alongside the negative hypothetical proof for μὴ γένοιτο in 2.18 the actual positive proof in 2.19-20 (p.169). According to Kümmel, both the 'I' in 2.18 and ἐγώ in 2.19-20 do not refer to Paul himself; the first person singular is purely a stylistic usage (cf. 1 Cor 6.12;

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[21]Klein, 'Individualgeschichte', pp.183-84, 201; repeated in his 'Sündenverständnis und theologia crucis bei Paulus', in *Theologia Crucis - Signum Crucis: FS E. Dinkler* (edited by C. Andresen and G. Klein; Tübingen: JCB Mohr, 1979), pp.249-82, esp. pp.267-68. On 'third race' see the discussion in P. Richardson, *Israel in the Apostolic Church* (SNTSMS 10; Cambridge: CUP, 1969), pp.22-25.

[22]On the mention of angels and a mediator in 3.19-20, Klein argues that the period of Moses is characterized as not just profane but actually demonic (pp.209-10). See also G. Klein, 'The Biblical Understanding of the Kingdom of God', *Int* 26 (1972), pp.387-418.

[23]W.G. Kümmel, '"Individualgeschichte" und "Weltgeschichte" in Gal. 2.15-21', in *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of C.F.D. Moule* (edited by B. Lindars and S.S. Smalley; Cambridge: CUP, 1973), pp.157-73, here pp.158-59.

[24]Kümmel, 'Individualgeschichte', p.165; 'Jews who are justified remain Jews, even though they recognise that the Law was powerless to make them righteous, so that from that point of view they were sinners like the Gentiles. It would be a complete misunderstanding to say that they had to *become* sinners in order to be justified' (p.172).

10.30).[25]

1.4.4. J. Lambrecht and A.M. Buscemi on 'Structure':

A more substantial treatment of the overall line of argument is proposed by Lambrecht.[26] He begins by admitting that '2.14b-21 contains Paul's rebuke to Peter at Antioch' ('Line', p.484) in which 2.18 certainly refers to the Antioch incident: 'It can hardly be doubted that with the phrase 'building up again' Paul is alluding to Peter's conduct at Antioch, since Peter had restored those prescriptions of the law which prohibit eating with Gentiles'.[27]

On the other hand, Lambrecht thinks that *both* the terms ἁμαρτωλοί and ἁμαρτία in 2.15 and 2.17 must be meant in the *radical* ethical [sic] sense,[28] and so he finds it difficult to recognise that the whole pericope 2.15-17 could have any reference to the Antioch incident at all (p.493). Lambrecht therefore contends strongly that 'the particle γάρ in Gal 2.18a (just as in 3.21c) probably introduces an idea which is new vis à vis the immediately preceding context'.[29] In effect it is argued that '[2.18-21] is *not* the direct explanation of Paul's negative answer to the question of v.17b; a relatively *new* train of thought begins in v.18. The denial of the objection that Christ promotes sin is *not* further developed in vv.18-21'.[30] Thus Lambrecht concludes ('Line', p.495):

> The pericope 2.14b-21 consists of three parts: v.14b (introductory question; second person singular); vv.15-17 (first train of thought which initially states the Pauline thesis and

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[25]Kümmel, 'Individualgeschichte', pp.167, 169-70; cf. *Römer 7 und das Bild des Menschen im Neuen Testament* (München: Kaiser, 1974), pp.121-23.

[26]J. Lambrecht, 'The Line of Thought in Gal. 2.14b-21', *NTS* 24 (1978), pp.484-95; cf. 'Once Again Gal 2.17-18 and 3.21', *ETL* 63 (1987), pp.148-53; 'Unreal Conditions in the Letter of Paul: A Clarification', *ETL* 63 (1987), pp.153-56.

[27]Lambrecht, 'Line', p.493; cf. 'Once Again', pp.149-50: 'The meaning of παραβάτης in v.18b is highly uncertain'. See further elaboration in 'Transgressor by Nullifying God's Grace. A Study of Gal 2.18-21', *Bib* 72 (1991), pp.217-36.

[28]Lambrecht, 'Line', p.491: 'It would appear that the ἁμαρτία in v.17b designates the same radical idea of sinfulness as the ἁμαρτωλοί in v.17a (and v.15)'; cf. 5.13, Rom 3.7-8, 6.15; 'Once Again', p.151.

[29]Lambrecht, 'Once Again', p.153.

[30]Lambrecht, 'Line', p.495; *italics* mine; see also pp.491-94.

then formulates in question form a wrong conclusion that is immediately rejected; first person plural); finally vv.18-21 (second train of thought dealing with the theme of living to God apart from the Law and Christ's living in the Christian; first person singular).

However, Lambrecht concedes that 'The broader context of Gal 2.11-14 and 18 seems to suggest that the expression **Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας διάκονος** points to Christ provoking and promoting non-observance of food-laws (and thus 'post-conversional' sin)'.[31] But he goes on to insist that 'Rom 1-3 warns us against such an understanding' and suggests that 'identical thoughts are present in Gal: not only justification (by faith apart from works of the Law) of Jews and Gentiles alike..., but also the idea of universal sinfulness...and the charge of promoting sin...'.[32]

Wrestling also with the structure of 2.14b-21, Buscemi begins by criticising Lambrecht's tripartite structure as unsatisfactory and suggests that the passage could indeed be divided into two parallel parts.[33] Buscemi insists that the key to the structure may lie with the force of **γάρ** (equivalent to adversative **δέ**) at 2.18 and the switch of person from 'we' in 2.14b-17 to 'I' in 2.18-21 (pp.64-65). Thus Buscemi suggests that the passage could be laid in parallel columns as below (pp.66-67):

First division (2.14b-17)	Second division (2.18-21)
a. thesis (2.14b)	a^1. thesis (2.18)
b. demonstration (2.15-16)	b^1. demonstration (2.19-20)
c. conclusion (2.17)	c^1. conclusion (2.21).

However, there are at least two crucial questions to be clarified. (1) It is not clear how the readers could consider the strong rejection **μὴ γένοιτο** in 2.17 as a 'conclusion' which is not substantiated with some elaboration or clarification; (2) to render the meaning of **γάρ** at 2.18 in the adversative sense ('but') seems to be a highly dubious procedure.[34] The problem of 'structure' inevitably

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[31]Lambrecht, 'Once Again', p.152.

[32]Lambrecht, 'Once Again', p.152. See §5.2.3. for his view on 2.18.

[33]A.M. Buscemi, 'La struttura letteraria di Gal 2,14b-21', *SBFLA* 31 (1981), pp.59-74.

[34]Cf. BAGD, '**γάρ**', 151 defines: 'conjunction used to express cause, inference, continuation, or to explain'; LSJ, '**γάρ**', I: 'introducing the reason or cause of what precedes' (338).

raises the question of how Paul employs μὴ γένοιτο in his rhetorical argumentation.

1.4.5. H.D. Betz (Rhetorical Approach):

A very different and fresh approach, not only to this passage but also to the whole structure of the Galatian letter, is argued by Betz. Since he understands the letter as belonging to the *apologetic* genre, the pericope 2.15-21 indeed 'conforms to the form, function, and requirements of the *propositio*'.[35] According to this formal observation, Betz divides the passage quite neatly into four units:[36]

2.15-16	=	the point of agreement (the doctrine of justification by faith)
2.17-18	=	the point of disagreement (the consequence for Gentile Christians)
2.19-20	=	the exposition (four theological theses)
2.21	=	the refutation (denial of an accusation).

But this 'division' has some gross consequences. For example, when 2.19-20 is explained in terms of 'four theological theses' (2.19a; 2.19b; 2.20a and 2.20bc), Betz seems to ignore how the various statements are interrelated; the three δέ's in 2.20 are not discussed fully (pp.121-25). On 2.15-16 as the point of agreement, Betz identifies 2.15 as the 'self-definition' of Jewish Christians as *Jews* and 2.16a as the 'self-definition' as *Christians*, and by so doing 'removes' the uneasy inherent tension which has daunted many exegetes.[37] Another unique point is Betz's refusal to explain how 2.18 and 2.19-20 relate to μὴ γένοιτο at 2.17d; once again the two problematic connective γάρ's are not discussed (cf. pp.120-21). One would suspect that Betz's reading of 2.15-21 is determined by his 'conclusion' that the passage could *not* be part of Paul's speech at Antioch (p.114), and so in effect Paul's argument does not respond to the (theological) issue which emerged in the Antioch Incident.[38]

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[35]Betz, *Gal*, p.114.

[36]Betz, *Gal*, pp.18-19, 115-25.

[37]See Betz, *Gal*, p.115; compare the insistence by Bultmann, followed by Klein, Feld and Bouwmann, that 2.15 is an independent sentence not connected to 2.16.

[38]Cf. Betz, *Gal*, pp.119-21 on the interpretation of 'being found sinners' in 2.17b and 'tearing down/building up' in 2.18.

1.4.6. R. Kieffer ('Humankind'):

In a detailed exegetical and historical study on 2.14b-21, Kieffer begins by arguing that Paul's argumentation is firmly related to the conflict over table-fellowship at Antioch (2.11-14) and so the debate must be seen in relation to the problem of Christian identity, whether one could remain Jewish or Gentile.[39] Kieffer suggests that the change of person or personal pronouns is a guide to the division of the passage into six units: singular 'you' (2.14b); plural 'we' (2.15-16); plural 'new we' (2.17); singular 'I' (2.18); singular 'new I' (2.19-20); singular 'I' (2.21, as a general conclusion; pp.16-17). On 2.15-16, Kieffer argues that a *double opposition* is implied:[40]

> the Jewish Christians are by origin different from the Gentile Christians, because they knew the system of the works of Law. But this regime [order of salvation] was proved to be useless when it is a question of conversion to Christ; the Gentiles will not be justified by a system they did not know earlier. In this double opposition between Jews by origin and Gentile-sinners on the one hand, and works of law and the faith in Jesus Christ on the other, a union ['conjonction'] between Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians results: the two groups are placed in future on the same side on account of their justification effected by Christ.

One crucial point in his argument is the interpretation of ἄνθρωπος at 2.16a. Following Klein, Kieffer insists that ἄνθρωπος is not used in the indefinite sense ('one'), but means 'Humankind' (homme) in contrast to 'Jews by birth' or 'Gentiles' at 2.15. It is argued that by introducing the word ἄνθρωπος at 2.16a, the historical particularity of the Jews by birth is eliminated and abolished. 'La frontière que la Loi pouvait établir entre "Juifs de naissance" et "païens-pécheurs" est abolie, puisque désormais tous sont considérés comme "homme" devant Dieu' (p.50).

Another crucial point is the talk of a *real death* of the person in the crucifixion with Christ at baptism and the *creation* of a new life in Christ in place of the old in 2.19-20.[41] Therefore, at the end of the exegetical study, Kieffer concludes that the solution for the

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[39]Kieffer, *Foi*, pp.13-15, 17-25.

[40]Kieffer, *Foi*, pp.38-39 (ET mine).

[41]See Kieffer, *Foi*, pp.67-75. Kieffer's argument depends very much on reading the second δέ of 2.20a as a strong adversative 'but' (p.71; following Mussner, *Gal*, p.182).

crisis at Antioch, the answer for a mixed ethnic Christian community, is to hold on to the important theological concept of a new 'Humankind' whereby the old distinction between Jews and Gentiles disappeared because in the new dispensation all 'Humankind' rely on their justification solely by faith in Christ (p.79). Thus in effect, Kieffer argues that the new identity ('authentic I'; ἐγώ) in Christ has replaced the old, previous ethnic identity, whether he or she is Jew or Gentile.

1.4.7. L. Gaston ('Two Ways'):

In recent years Paul's view of the Jewish Law has become a central concern to those interested in the roots of 'Christian anti-Semitism'.[42] In response some scholars argue that Paul did *not* believe that faith in Christ was necessary for Jews; (unbelieving) Jews could experience God's grace and continue in their faithfulness to Torah with its prescriptions for conduct, atonement and repentance, and by this means be accepted by God. In their opinion, faith in Jesus Christ was merely a way of allowing the *Gentiles* to become part of God's chosen people apart from converting to Judaism. In this case, they insist that for Paul the new privileges of faith in Christ for the Gentiles in no way cancel or render ineffective God's (prior) salvific grace to the Jews in Torah.

In 1986 Gaston attempted to offer an exegetical basis for this 'two way salvation' position even in 2.15-21.[43] Gaston believes that the argument of 2.15-21 does not refer to Paul's disagreement with Peter in Antioch, but instead 'sums up the narration...with special reference to 1.15-16 [Paul's calling]' (p.68). He insists that the first person plural 'we' at 2.15-17 refers not to Jews or Jewish Christians, but to 'we [Paul and his co-workers?] who are engaged in the Gentile mission' (p.68). Thus Gaston translates ἄνθρωπος at 2.16a as '[Gentile] human being' (p.65) insisting that 'Paul uses Adam or *anthrōpos* to discuss the situation of specifically non-Jewish

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[42]See, among others, R.R. Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide* (NY: Seabury, 1974) and J.G. Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism* (Oxford: OUP, 1983); cf. C. Klein, *Anti-Judaism in Christian Theology* (ET; London: SPCK, 1978).

[43]L. Gaston, 'Paul and the Law in Galatians 2-3', [1986] in *Paul*, pp.64-79, 208-12.

humanity' (p.66). Therefore, with reference to 2.16bcd, Gaston argues that 'Paul too is justified, not on the basis of the faithfulness of God on Sinai but through the faithfulness of Christ on Golgotha. Paul describes in the purpose clause...what happens to Gentile believers as a result of Paul's own commissioning and believing'.[44] According to Gaston, 'The distinction between Jew and Gentile is a fundamental one for Paul, and it is not to be dissolved in favour of a "third race"' (p.69). In conclusion, Gaston asserts that 'Paul affirms the new expression of the righteousness of God in Christ for the Gentiles and for himself as Apostle to the Gentiles without in any sense denying the righteousness of God expressed in Torah for Israel' (p.79).

In this highly 'experimental' paper, Gaston makes also some curious observations. For example, he insists that **ἔργα νόμου** 'works of law' is a subjective genitive, meaning the law when set apart from the covenant *works* for human cursing;[45] the **παραβάτης** at 2.18b translated as 'apostate', referring to 'covenant breaker' (p.67); the object of 'tearing down/building up' at 2.18a is the 'church' (p.71). On translating **Χριστὸς δωρεὰν ἀπέθανεν** (2.21b) as 'Christ has died as a free gift' (p.66), Gaston insists that 'the Greek word [**δωρεάν**] in itself always means "gratis, for nothing, without recompense, as a gift", and is so used by Paul (Rom 3.24; 2 Cor 11.7) and in the NT (Matt 10.8; 2 Thess 3.8; Rev 21.6; 22.17)' (p.67).

1.4.8. H. Neitzel and A. Suhl on 2.15:

While Klein and Kümmel debate the meaning of **ἄνθρωπος** at 2.16a and the relationship of 2.15 to 2.16, Neitzel and Suhl insist that **ἁμαρτωλοί** can only mean 'sinners' in the normal Pauline usage (referring to Rom 3.7; 5.8, 19; 7.13) and so think it is quite impossible for Paul to say 'Jews are not sinners' at 2.15.[46] They suggest that the seeming difficulty could be overcome by a different

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[44]Gaston, *Paul*, p.70. He maintains that at Phil 3.7-9 'Paul does not deny the righteousness (= election) given through the Torah to Israel when he affirms another righteousness given through Christ to Gentiles and also chooses the latter possibility for himself' (p.78).

[45]Gaston, *Paul*, p.69-70; cf. 'Works of Law as a Subjective Genitive' [1984], in *Paul*, pp.100-106; see §3.3.2.(4). below.

[46]H. Neitzel, 'Zur Interpretation von Galater 2.11-21', *TQ* 163 (1983), pp.15-39, 131-49, here p.24; Suhl, 'Galaterbrief', p.3103.

rendering of 2.15, depending on what the negation οὐκ refers to. According to Neitzel, the structure of 2.15 consists of two parts ('Jews by birth and not Gentiles'; 'sinners') and both parts stand in apposition to the first word ἡμεῖς (p.18). Thus his construction of the clause as below:

ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν
ἁμαρτωλοί

Suhl attempts the construction slightly differently. While agreeing with Neitzel that οὐκ does not qualify the noun ἁμαρτωλοί, Suhl insists that only the word ἁμαρτωλοί is related to the first word ἡμεῖς directly: 'We...sinners'.[47]

ἡμεῖς — φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν — ἁμαρτωλοί

According to this syntactical construction, the contrast indicated by οὐκ is between Ἰουδαῖοι and καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν. Thus Suhl argues that Paul has in mind 'Jews are also sinners, but only of a different origin'.[48] Suhl argues also that 2.15-16 should be read as one sentence, but insists that the δέ at 2.16a is adversative.[49] According to Suhl, the whole argument of 2.15-16 is in the context of conversion to Christian faith by Jews who are also sinners.[50]

1.4.9. G.W. Hansen and R.N. Longenecker:

While Betz's application of rhetorical criticism is appreciated by many, his analysis does not go unchallenged. We mentioned earlier that Hansen (1989) and Longenecker (1990) make qualifications to Betz's rhetorical analysis by drawing attention to the *epistolary* structure (see §1.1.1. above). While they are in basic agreement with

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[47]Suhl, 'Galaterbrief', p.3103; cf. *Paulus*, pp.23-24; 'Der Beginn der selbständigen Mission des Paulus: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Urchristentums', *NTS* 38 (1992), pp.430-47, here p.441.

[48]Suhl, 'Galaterbrief', p.3104-5. According to M. Barth, 'The Kerygma of Galatians', *Int* 21 (1967), pp.131-46, here p.142 n42, this suggestion is already found in Luther's first commentary on Galatians (cf. 'Jews', p.247).

[49]Suhl, 'Galaterbrief', p.3099 against Klein; 3101 n129 on Kümmel.

[50]See Suhl, 'Galaterbrief', pp.3099-3101, 3106.

regard to 2.15-21 as the *propositio* within the rebuke section (1.6-4.11), their analyses of the passage differ.

Hansen argues that the *propositio* is directly linked to Paul's rebuking speech to Peter at Antioch, and divides the *propositio* into three parts: (1) the point of agreement, 2.15-16; (2) the point of disagreement, 2.17-18; and (3) the thesis statement, 2.19-21.[51]

Longenecker, on the other hand, argues that the points of disagreement consist of 2.17-20, first stated negatively in 2.17-18; then positively in 2.19-20; 2.21 is the final concluding statement.[52] According to Longenecker, while 2.15-16 deals with the law as playing no positive role in one's becoming a Christian (contra 'legalism'), 2.17-20 is on the law having no positive role in one's continuing Christian living (contra 'nomism').[53] Thus Paul is dealing with *two* different issues. More telling is their different opinion on the question of *context*: Longenecker insists that 'the passage should be viewed as the propositional statement of Galatians' and thus be removed from the Antioch Incident (p.83). In this case the old question remains unsettled.

1.4.10. M. Bachmann (Sünder oder Übertreter):

Taking up the challenges of Sanders' new perspective and Betz's rhetorical criticism, Bachmann (1992) seeks to read 2.15-21 afresh and attempts even to analyse the structure of Galatians from the character of the passage.[54] In identifying the crux of the problem relating to the meaning of 'sinners' in 2.17b and παραβάτης at 2.18, Bachmann believes that a study of Paul's argumentation with μὴ γένοιτο could help unlock the logic of 2.15-21 (pp.25-30). On the function of μὴ γένοιτο, Bachmann argues that Paul employs it as a diatribe in a *stereotypical manner*: so μὴ γένοιτο is always used in

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[51]See Hansen, *Abraham*, pp.100-108 for details.

[52]See Longenecker, *Gal*, pp.80-95 for details.

[53]Longenecker, *Gal*, pp.82-83. In his opinion, 2.15-16 is taken up in 3.1-18; 2.17-20 in 3.19-4.7. His reading of Galatians reflects very much his understanding of first century (Pharisaic) Judaism as propounding 'legalism' and 'nomism' (p.86); cf. *Paul, Apostle of Liberty* (NY: Harper & Row, 1964), pp.65-85.

[54]Thus Bachmann's study (*Sünder*) basically consists of two major parts: 'Zur Struktur und Intention von 2,15-21' (pp.25-102) and 'Zum Aufbau des Briefes' (pp.103-60).

response to rhetorical questions; only the inferential part of the question is false, thus 2.17 must be a *realis*; it is sometimes accompanied by a change of person (e.g. from 'we' to 'I'); the reply is supported by arguments based on experience and Scripture; the reply may also be introduced in the form of a negative thesis or of an implication (cf. pp.31-54).

On 2.17, Bachmann argues that **εὑρέθημεν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτωλοί** can only refer to the act of *conversion* on the part of Jewish Christians which is indicated by **ἐπιστεύσαμεν** in 2.16b (pp.37-38). But on the second part of the false inferential question, Bachmann thinks there is a certain *break* between 2.17ab and 2.17c, and even considers that 'Christ a minister of sin' might well refer to post-conversion Christian living.[55] Then Bachmann argues that all the 'I' statements in 2.18-21 are purely a lively rhetorical stylistic usage: 'Das Ich ist...ausnahmslos Stilmittel, nicht (eigentlich) individuelles, sondern typisches Ich'.[56] Furthermore, he insists that the *first person* pronoun, whether singular 'I' (2.15-17) or plural 'we' (2.18-21), indicates a marking off from the 'you' in 2.14b and from the crisis of 2.13 (p.45).

Bachmann argues that while the refutations of 2.18 and 2.19ff continue with the preceding argument, they are also distinct in bringing forth *new* ideas and discussions (cf. pp.47-52). Thus he contends that 2.18 may indeed form the central key, with the argument running like:[57]

> denn wer im näheren oder weiteren Umkreis des Apostels Christus für einen Diener der Sünde, einen 'Sündenproduzenten' im Christenleben, hält (s. V.17b [=17c]), wird damit verbinden, daß die Linie, die nach V.15f sozusagen von den **ἔργα νόμου** zum

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[55]Bachmann, *Sünder*, p.40: 'Auch inhaltlich ist vielmehr von einem gewissen Bruch zwischen V.17a und V.17b auszugehen. Und das läßt die Möglichkeit erwägen, daß V.17b nich mehr von einer Funktion Christi bei der Bekehrung von gebürtigen Juden, sondern von einer solchen hinsichtlich ihres christlichen Lebens spricht'; other views in n88.

[56]Bachmann, *Sünder*, pp.41-45, here p.45; referring to Schlier, *Gal*, pp.96-97; Kümmel, 'Individualgeschichte', pp.166-70; J. Becker, *Der Brief an die Galater* (NTD 8; 17th edition; Göttingen: V&R, 1990), p.30.

[57]Bachmann, *Sünder*, pp.53-54. With regard to **παραβάτης** at 2.18, the problem lies with 'reestablishing' the validity of the Law which would eventually lead to transgression of God's *will* (cf. Rom 4.15; pp.46-47, 74-75).

Glauben an Christus geführt hatte, nicht unproblematisch ist, der spezielle mit dieser Orientierung offenbar oder zumindest scheinbar verbundene Abbau von Gesetzesbedeutung also rückgängig zu machen ist (s. V.18a). Wer derart denkt und handelt, erweist sich, so urteilt Paulus dann gemäß der Apodosis, als ein παραβάτης (s. V.18b)!

According to Bachmann, the Christ-event (Christusgeschehen) spoken of in 2.19-20 is employed to clarify the argument against 2.18b.[58] He regards the conditional sentences of 2.18 and 2.21b, both introduced in the form of εἰ γάρ, as parallel statements (pp.57-58). Therefore Bachmann suggests that the structure of the pericope consists of four units: 2.15-16; 2.17; 2.18 with 2.21; and 2.19-20.[59] Based upon the interpretation that 2.15-21 is a self-contained unit, Bachmann goes on to 'demonstrate' how different parts of 2.15-21 are being taken up in 3.1-6.17.[60]

For our purpose we would like to highlight three exegetical points which are crucial in Bachmann's reading. (1) He contends that there is a *break* (or shift) in thought within 2.17, thus splitting 2.17ab as referring to initial justification from 2.17c as referring to the problem of Christian living; (2) 2.18 does not merely support the rejection μὴ γένοιτο, but introduces a new thesis into the argument; (3) the pericope 2.15-21 forms the first round of the argumentation and is considered an independent unit unconnected to the Antioch Incident with 2.14b as the *partitio*.

1.4.11. J.A. Ziesler:

In a recent commentary on Galatians (1992), Ziesler insists that one must take Sanders' *new perspective* on Judaism seriously because

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[58]Bachmann, *Sünder*, p.54. On his *modus-tollens* structure of argument in relation to 2.17-20, see pp.54-55 n146.

[60]Bachmann, *Sünder*, pp.55-83; see diagram on p.59.

[60]Bachmann, *Sünder*, pp.110-150. In conclusion the letter is analyzed as below (p.158):

1.1-5 Prescript
1.6-10 *prooemium*
1.11-2.14 *narratio*
-ended with 2.14b as *partitio*
2.15-6.17 *argumentatio*
-2.15-21 (first demonstration)
-3.1-6.17 (second demonstration)
6.18 'Eschatokoll'.

there is no evidence that Paul was opposing such a merit-centred view of salvation in his letters.[61] Ziesler identifies the central problem in Galatians as 'whether when Gentiles become Christians they have to accept circumcision and what it entails in order to be full members of the people of God' (p.xiv). On the context of 2.15-21, following Betz, he believes that 'the rebuke to Peter delivered at Antioch has ended, and Paul now draws his conclusions for his Galatians readers/hearers' (p.21).

On 'works of law', while Ziesler agrees with Dunn that the phrase refers to the three great 'identity markers' of the Jewish community, namely circumcision, dietary laws and the Sabbath, he insists that 'most of Paul's argument is about the law without qualification or restriction (e.g. 2.19, 21; 3.11, 12, 19, 21, 23, 24; 4.21; 5.4 etc)' (p.25). Ziesler also disputes Dunn's rendering of ἐὰν μή in the exceptive sense, because it is unlikely that Paul makes 'a significant argumentative move in the middle of the verse from the Jewish Christian normal position to his own, without making the shift even half clear' (p.24). On the logic of Paul's argument in 2.18, Ziesler explains that the problem is the definition of *sin*:

> the real sin is not to sit loose to things like circumcision and dietary laws (as Paul's opponents presumably think). The real sin would rather be to start insisting all over again on law-observance as a condition of being in God's people, for that would amount to saying that Christ and faith in him were not enough. It would also be to re-assert the division between Jew and Gentile. The point is that for Paul the distinction between sinner and righteous is no longer determined simply by the Torah (p.27).

On παραβάτης (2.18b), Ziesler insists that it refers to the infringement of 'God's *will*' because the word 'law' simply does not occur (pp.22, 28). As for the enigmatic phrase διὰ νόμου at 2.19a, Ziesler suggests that Paul's autobiographical account in 1.13-16 could be a hint: 'it was *through the law* (i.e. through his zealous devotion to the law) that he came to meet Christ and then *died to the law*' (p.22). The focus of δικαιοσύνη in 2.21b is on 'living as God's people' which perhaps reflects 'the issue at Antioch which was

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[61] Ziesler, *Gal*, p.xv. Ziesler remarks that since 'perspectives on Paul have changed considerably in the last fifteen years' older works would not reflect this important change (p.xii).

primarily not about how one enters the people of God but about how one lives within it'.[62]

1.4.12. Others:

There are still many other variations on the above diversity of views. For example, W. Schmithals argues that the address by Paul to Peter at Antioch consists of *only* 2.15-18, though 2.19-21 are connected to 2.15ff in form.[63] But Fung argues strongly that 2.15-21 should be understood as *one unit*: the two **γάρ**'s at 2.18 and 2.19 introduce the reasons for Paul's rejection at 2.17d, and the idea of **δικαιοσύνη** at 2.21b (meaning justification) refers back to 2.15-16.[64] Fitzmyer, while following Betz's rhetorical analysis of Galatians as a polemical letter quite closely, insists that the objection (**μὴ γένοιτο**) by Paul at 2.17 is followed by *two reasons*: the first in 2.18 and the second in 2.19.[65] F.J. Matera insists that Paul's response to the objection at 2.17 is followed by *three* reasons: reestablishing the Law would show that Paul is a transgressor (2.18); Paul has died to the Law (2.19-20); and the Law does not grant righteousness (2.21).[66]

On **διὰ νόμου** at 2.19a, D. Lührmann, among many others, argues that it refers to the role of the law in the death of Christ: 'Im Kreuz Christi nämlich hebt das Gesetz sich selber auf, wie Paulus in 3.13 zeigen wird'.[67] But Bruce and U. Borse suggest that **διὰ νόμου** may well refer to Paul's personal experience, for the zeal of the law led

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[62]Ziesler, *Gal*, p.30; cf. *The Meaning of Righteousness in Paul* (SNTSMS 20; Cambridge: CUP, 1972), p.174.

[63]W. Schmithals, *Paul and James* (SBT 46; ET; London: SCM, 1965), pp.72-77.

[64]Fung, *Gal*, pp.112-26, esp. p.125 n81. Fung, p.120, following Kümmel, reads 2.18 as the negative proof and 2.19-20 as the positive one in support of Paul's rejection at 2.17d.

[65]Fitzmyer, 'Gal', 47:19; he believes also that 'the résumé of Paul's gospel in 2.15-21 sounds like an outline of Rom 1-8, with the same progress of thought' (47:9).

[66]F.J. Matera, *Galatians* (Sacra Pagina 9; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992), pp.98-99, 102-104.

[67]D. Lührmann, *Der Brief an die Galater* (ZBNT 7; 2nd edition; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1988), p.45.

him to persecute the church (cf. Phil 3.6).[68]

In a study on 2.11-21, P.C. Böttger argues against Sanders that Paul's rejection of the Law as a way of salvation is *anthropological* rather than Christological.[69] The problem with the Law lies with humankind being trapped in sin, submitted to its condemnation and unable to escape from the power of the Law (p.96; cf. p.92 on 2.18). However, Böttger insists that 'der Ablehnung des Gesetzes als Heilsweg bei Paulus keine Ablehnung des jüdischen Volkes wird. Juden und Christen haben die Väter gemeinsam' (p.100; cf. Rom 11.28).

1.4.13. Summary - Main Exegetical Questions:

There is no doubt that the flow of argument in 2.15-21 is not easy to follow; together with this problem, certain key words and phrases are also extraordinarily difficult to decode. As a preparation for our exegetical study, we would like to highlight some of the main problems as follows:

(1) Is Betz's rhetorical analysis of Galatians as apologetic letter correct? Is it right to identify 2.15-21 as the *propositio*, which then implies that Paul's argument does not relate immediately to the Antioch Incident (also Fitzmyer; Longenecker; cf. Bachmann's *argumentatio*)?

(2) What is the main issue in 2.15-21? Is Paul mainly concerned with justification by faith, the question of 'getting in' (e.g. Betz; Suhl; Fitzmyer; Fung; Bachmann)? Or is Paul also talking about 'living as God's people', the issue of 'staying in' (Dunn; Ziesler; cf. Longenecker)? What does Paul mean by **δικαιοσύνη** at 2.21b? Why does Paul say **δικαιοῦται** (present tense) at 2.16a (cf. Dunn)?

(3) What does Paul mean by the unique phrase **ἔργα νόμου**? Why does Paul contrast 'works of law' with 'faith of/in Christ' and reject the 'works of law' at 2.16? Is it because of human inability to keep the Law perfectly (Wilckens; Mussner; Moo)? Or does Paul object to the very act of obeying the Law as being sinful (Blank; Schlier)? Is Dunn correct in reading **ἔργα νόμου** as *Jewish covenant*

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[68]Bruce, *Gal*, p.143; U. Borse, *Der Brief an die Galater* (RNT; Regensburg: Pustet, 1984), p.117.

[69]P.C. Böttger, 'Paulus und Petrus in Antiochien. Zum Verständnis von Galater 2.11-21', *NTS* 37 (1991), pp.77-100.

markers (identity-confirming and boundary-defining acts) such as the particular observance of circumcision, food laws and Sabbath? With respect to 2.21b, why does Paul think **δικαιοσύνη** is not 'through the Law'? Does Paul begin with his exclusivistic Christology and argue 'from solution to plight' (Sanders)? Or does Paul argue 'from plight to solution' (Thielman)?

(4) What is the meaning of **ἁμαρτωλοί** in 2.15 and 2.17b? Does it always refer to 'sinners' in the moral sense (Lambrecht)? What does Paul mean by 'Gentile sinners' at 2.15? How should the syntax be understood in 2.15 (cf. Neitzel; Suhl)? What is the context of 'being found sinners' at 2.17b? Does it refer to the act of conversion (cf. 2.16b; Lightfoot; Betz; Bachmann)? Or does it refer to the continued living of Christian life (as in the Antioch Incident; Burton)?

(5) What is the meaning of **ἄνθρωπος** at 2.16a? Does Paul mean 'new Humanity', a 'third race' in contrast to Jews and Gentiles (so Klein; Kieffer)? Or does it refer specifically to 'Gentiles' only, the non-Jewish humanity (Gaston)? Or does it simply mean 'one', used in the indefinite sense?

(6) Related to the last two problems is the sentence structure of 2.15-16. Is it *one* long complicated sentence (Kümmel; Suhl)? Or does it consist of *two* separate sentences, 2.15 and 2.16 (Bultmann; Klein)? How do the different clauses relate to one another (cf. Betz; Ebeling)? Does Paul argue from 'the Jewish Christian position' in 2.16a to his own formulation in 2.16bcd (so Dunn)? Is it possible for Paul to make such a significant argumentative move in the middle of the sentence (cf. Räisänen; Hübner; Bruce; Longenecker; Bachmann; Ziesler)?

(7) Is 2.17 a *realis* (Lightfoot; Burton) or an *irrealis* (Betz)? What does **μὴ γένοιτο** object to? Is there a detectable pattern in Paul's usage (cf. Bachmann)? Is 2.17 a statement (Bultmann) or a question? Is 2.17 uttered by Peter (Feld; Bouwman)? What is the logic of the opposition ('Christ is a minister of sin'; 2.17c), and why is it rejected by Paul?

(8) How do 2.18 and 2.19-20 relate to the argument of 2.17? Is 2.18 the point of disagreement and 2.19-20 the exposition of four theses (Betz)? Does **γάρ** at 2.18 signal the beginning of a new section (Lambrecht; Buscemi)? Or is the objection (**μὴ γένοιτο**) supported by further clarifications, introduced by **γάρ** at 2.18 and 2.19-20 (Fung;

Fitzmyer; cf. Bachmann)? Does 2.21 also support the objection (Matera)? How do 2.18 and 2.19-20 support the objection to the accusation 'Christ is a minister of sin'? Does the 'I' in 2.18 refer to Paul himself? Does Paul employ the 'I' statements only in a stylistic rhetorical sense (Kümmel; Bachmann)?

(9) What does Paul mean by 'dying to Law' and 'living to God' at 2.19a? What does he mean by διὰ νόμου? Does the phrase refer to the moral effect of the Law in revealing sin (Lightfoot)? Or does it refer to the role of the Law in the death of Christ (Lührmann)? Or does it refer to the role of the Law in Paul's personal experience as a persecutor (Bruce; Ziesler)? What does Paul mean by 'co-crucifixion with Christ' (2.19b)? What role does this motif play in the argument of 2.19-20? What does Paul mean by 'living ἐν πίστει' at 2.20b?

(10) Further questions which run beyond 2.15-21 also cannot be ignored. How does Paul understand the (new) faith in Messiah Jesus in relation to Judaism, or more properly Judaisms (plural)?[70] Does Paul already assume the separation of the early Christian movement from Judaism (Sanders; Räisänen)? Or does Paul intend to break the church away from the synagogue (Watson)? Or does Paul intend to remain within Judaism, but seek to redefine the Jewish traditions (Dunn)? Does Paul believe in 'two ways of salvation', that faith in Christ is only a new privilege for Gentiles which does not cancel God's previous gift of Torah to the Jewish people (Gaston)?

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[70]It is now widely recognised that there was no single, uniform type of Judaism during this second Temple period; cf. *Judaisms and their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (edited by J. Neusner, W.S. Green and E. Frerichs; Cambridge: CUP, 1987); A.F. Segal, *The Other Judaisms of Late Antiquity* (BJS 127; Atlanta: Scholars, 1987).

1.5. PLAN OF STUDY

It is clear from the preceding review that one of the main problem areas concerns the flow of Paul's argumentation. Since the basic structure of 2.15-21 is analysed variously by different exegetes, we will seek to study the passage carefully and to follow the flow of thought closely as far as we can. It therefore seems best for us to proceed with the discussion verse by verse and with detailed analysis of the text.

It is necessary not only to take into consideration the rhetorical function of the passage within the letter (Betz; Longenecker) but also to ask how Paul's argument or theological formulation relates to the crisis of Jewish Christians at Antioch, if any, and to the later crisis faced by Gentile Christians in Galatia (Watson; Barclay). As a study on a key Pauline text, it will be necessary for us to interact with various discussions of Pauline theology and to assess various views when necessary. But our study remains basically an attempt to follow Paul's argument in 2.15-21 carefully, both theologically and grammatically. Even so, since 2.15-21 contains so many key features of Paul's theology *in nuce*, we hope our sustained detail study on 2.15-21 may contribute to a better understanding of Paul's theological thinking as a whole.

But before we can proceed immediately with our detailed study verse by verse, we need to locate 2.15-21 in the letter. Three questions immediately come to the fore: (1) How does Paul's argumentation at 2.15-21 relate to the Antioch Incident at 2.11-14? (2) If the two passages are not unrelated, then we have to ask, what was the fundamental crisis at Antioch that called for Paul's theological response? (3) What is the more recent crisis in the Galatian churches, and how does this passage 2.15-21 relate to the problem of Gentile Christians? Since these are crucial questions, and may indeed affect our reading of 2.15-21 one way or the other, we shall deal with these preliminary questions in Chapter 2.

For the sake of presentation in the main study, we will propose a preliminary general outline for the pericope 2.15-21 in §2.4. Based upon the suggested outline we will then discuss the passage in five smaller units: 2.15-16; 2.17; 2.18; 2.19-20; 2.21 (Chapters 3-7). Certain key Pauline words and phrases which are controversial (such

as ἁμαρτωλοί in 2.15 and 2.17b; ἔργα νόμου, πίστις Χριστοῦ, δικαιόω in 2.16; συσταυρόω in 2.19b) will be discussed in relation to the context of the overall argument. In most cases we will begin by introducing various views on the problem, and then come to our own conclusion as to what is the best explanation possible in the context, though we can hardly avoid leaving several problems unresolved.

Our hope is that the limited scope of this study (only seven verses!) will not only help us to come closer to understanding *what* Paul is arguing for in the letter, but also *why* he so argues, the *real* reason underlying Paul's basic conviction and argumentation (Sanders). It is our wish that the study will contribute to a better understanding of Paul, not least in his struggle to defend 'the truth of the gospel' for Gentile Christian believers in Galatia in the first century, but also because of the continuing relevance of Paul's theological struggle for the Christian Church today.

CHAPTER TWO

SOME PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

In order to come to a better understanding of Paul's argument in 2.15-21, one cannot isolate the passage but has to pay close attention to questions relating to its *context*. In the last chapter we came to the conclusion that three main issues are crucial for our understanding of 2.15-21. (1) How does 2.15-21 relate to the Antioch Incident in the preceding section 2.11-14? How closely related are the two pericopes? In what sense or degree is Paul's argument related to the crisis at Antioch? (2) What was at stake at Antioch? What was the burning issue in the Antioch Incident to which Paul might be responding in some measure in 2.15ff? (3) Finally, what is the wider immediate context, the more recent crisis in the Galatian Churches, to which Paul's argument in 2.15-21 is certainly related? Since the first question is going to determine how one understands 2.15-21 in relation to the Antioch Incident and so also to the Galatian situation, we would need to look more closely at how 2.15-21 functions within the letter, especially in the light of Betz's challenge (§2.1). Then we shall move on to discuss 2.11-14, how Paul describes the incident at Antioch and what was the crisis there as seen by Paul (§2.2), and finally we shall attempt to clarify the more recent crisis in the Galatian churches (§2.3). In this preliminary chapter, we wish to clarify some of the burning issues and to prepare the ground for our detailed analysis of Paul's argument in 2.15-21. A preliminary outline for the structure of 2.15-21 will be discussed at §2.4.

2.1. EPISTOLARY-RHETORICAL ANALYSIS AND THE CONTEXT OF 2.15-21

2.1.1. Introduction:

The first issue, how 2.11-14 and 2.15-21 are precisely related, is particularly important for exegetes; it affects to some degree their reading of the passage. For example: With whom is Paul debating? What does it mean by '**ζητοῦντες δικαιωθῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ**' ('seeking to be justified in Christ'; 2.17a)? Does it refer to the 'conversion' experience of Jewish Christians (cf. 'we believed in Christ Jesus' 2.16b)? Or does it refer to the wider context of Christian living, as indicated by the common table-fellowship between Jewish and Gentile Christians at Antioch (cf. 2.11-14)? What does Paul mean by **ἁμαρτωλοί** in 2.15b and 2.17b? In what sense were 'we found **ἁμαρτωλοί**' (2.17b)?

On the issue of the relationship between 2.11-14 and 2.15-21, scholarly opinion is divided. Some argue that Paul abruptly ceased discussion of the Antioch incident at the end of 2.14, and that his reply to Peter consists only of the question in 2.14b![1] In complete contrast, J. Bligh has even argued that Paul's speech extended as far as 5.10a: 'the Antioch Discourse included the whole of the second main division, *minus* 4.11-20, *plus* the opening section 2.15-3.4 and the concluding section 4.31-5.10 (with 6.16-18)'.[2] Most scholars would take a middle position, saying that Paul addresses Peter (and the Jewish Christians) formally, and the Galatians materially. It is only at 3.1 that Paul turns directly to the Galatian Gentile Christians.[3]

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[1]E.g. T. Zahn, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater* (HKNT 9; Leipzig: Deichert, 1905), pp.119-20; R.T. Stamm, 'The Epistle to the Galatians', *IB*, vol 10 (Nashville: Abingdon, 1953), p.482; R. Bring, *Commentary on Galatians* (ET; Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1961), pp.79-80, 86; Kümmel, 'Individualgeschichte', pp.161-62; Ziesler, *Gal*, p.21.

[2]J. Bligh, *Galatians* (London: St Paul, 1969), p.236. He also argues that all of Galatians is carefully structured in terms of chiasmus, that 4.1-10 is the 'central Chiasm' upon which his 'symmetrical structure of Galatians' is built (cf. pp.37-42; outline on p.39). See also the criticism by C.K. Barrett, 'The Allegory of Abraham, Sarah, and Hagar in the Argument of Galatians', [1976] *Essays on Paul* (London: SPCK, 1982), pp.154-70, here pp.155-57.

[3]So Schlier, *Gal*, p.87: 'Offenbar sind auch die VV.15-21 als Rede **ἔμπροσθεν πάντων** und also als Fortsetzung der Rede, die mit V.14

A recent attempt to defend the first view is that of Betz with his sophisticated rhetorical analysis of Galatians as an example of the 'apologetic letter' genre (see §1.1.1. above). In Betz's opinion, since 2.15-21 is the *propositio*, whose main function is to sum up the legal content of the *narratio* and to provide an easy transition to the *probatio*, Paul's argument in 2.15-21 does *not* really relate closely to the Antioch episode. Thus one can perceive a break in between 2.11-14 and 2.15-21.

If Betz is correct (followed by Longenecker), then one needs only to take account of the more recent crisis in the Galatian churches for interpreting Paul's argument in 2.15-21; the crisis at Antioch becomes not so important. But if the majority view is correct, should we not be more precise on the nature of 'double audience'? Thus in the following discussion we would like to take the opportunity to clarify questions like, With whom is Paul debating at 2.15-21? Are they Jewish Christians who were at Antioch or those who have come to Galatia, or Gentile Christians in Galatia? How does 2.15-21 relate to the whole letter? Why is 2.15-21 included?

2.1.2. Criticisms of Betz's Rhetorical Analysis:

One must agree that Betz's commentary on Galatians has marked a very significant step forward in biblical exegesis, especially in

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begann, von Paulus gedacht' (cf. pp.88, 104). Others include e.g. W. Baird, 'Galatians', *HBC*, pp.1204-11, here p.1207; Barclay, *Obeying*, pp.76-77; Becker, *Gal*, p.29; Borse, *Gal*, p.112; Böttger, 'Paulus', pp.78-86; Bruce, *Gal*, p.136; B. Byrne, *'Sons of God' - 'Seed of Abraham'* (AnBib 83; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1979), p.143; L. Cerfaux, 'The Letter to the Galatians', in *Introduction to the New Testament* (ET; edited by A. Robert and A. Feuillet; NY: Descles, 1965), pp.400-12, here p.404; R.A. Cole, *Galatians* (TNTC; 2nd edition; Leicester: IVP, 1989), p.119; Cousar, *Gal*, p.50; G.S. Duncan, *The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians* (MNTC; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1934), p.64; Dunn, 'Incident', *JPL*, pp.158, 172 n117; Ebeling, *Truth*, p.119; D. Guthrie, *Galatians* (NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973), p.86; Howard, *Paul*, p.24; K. Kertelge, 'Zur Deutung des Rechtfertigungsbegriffs im Galaterbrief', *BZ* 12 (1968), pp.211-22, here p.212; M.J. Lagrange, *Saint Paul, Epitre aux Galates* (EBib; 2nd edition; Paris: Gabalda, 1925), pp.45-46; H. Lietzmann, *An die Galater* (HNT 10; 3rd edition; Tübingen: JCB Mohr, 1932), p.15; Lührmann, *Gal*, p.41; H.A.W. Meyer, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (ET; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1884), p.110; Mussner, *Gal*, p.135; Oepke, *Gal*, p.87; J. Rohde, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater* (THKNT 9; Berlin: Evangelische, 1989), p.103; Watson, *Paul*, pp.61, 67-78.

view of the growing interest in rhetorical criticism among exegetes.[4] However, there is a growing number of scholars who are not satisfied with his analysis of Galatians as an apologetic letter;[5] others, like Longenecker and Hansen, have rightly argued for more emphasis on reading Galatians as a *letter*.[6] In terms of reading the letter as a whole, knowledge of ancient epistolography, Greco-Roman rhetorical traditions and how the two disciplines might be integrated in certain 'literary' letters could be very useful in shedding light on how Paul employs the skill of letter writing to advance his argument.[7] But space forbids us to go into all the details in this thesis. With respect to our present investigation, we can only concentrate on the crucial question: Is Betz's designation of 2.15-21 as the *propositio* in terms of *forensic* rhetoric, which would imply that Paul's argumentation does not relate directly to the Antioch episode, correct?

In recent critique of Betz, three observations have counted most heavily against him. (1) At first sight, the presence of *narratio* in chapters 1-2 seems to support Betz's assigning Galatians to the judicial genre. But, according to Aristotle (*Ars rhetorica* 3.16.11), *narratio* is often missing in deliberative speech, 'because no one can

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[4]See the review article by B. Fiore, 'NT Rhetoric and Rhetorical Criticism', *ABD* 5:715-19; cf. Furnish, 'Pauline Studies', pp.322-24; D.F. Watson, 'The New Testament and Greco-Roman Rhetoric: A Bibliography', *JETS* 31 (1988), pp.465-72; M.A. Powell, *The Bible and Modern Literary Criticism* (NY: Greenwood, 1992), pp.1-19.

[5]E.g. Gaventa, 'Galatians'; F. Vouga, 'Zur rhetorischen Gattung des Galaterbriefs', *ZNW* 79 (1988), pp.291-92; Cosgrove, *Cross*, pp.24-31; Matera, *Gal*, p.11.

[6]An earlier attempt to analyse Galatians as a letter is made by J.L. White, *The Form and Function of the Body of the Greek Letter* (SBLDS 2; Missoula: Scholars, 1972), esp. pp.49-56.

[7]On ancient epistolography, see esp. J.L. White, *Light from Ancient Letters* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986); 'Ancient Greek Letters', in *GRLNT*, pp.85-105; 'New Testament Epistolary Literature in the Framework of Ancient Epistolography', in *ANRW* II.25.2 (1984), pp.1730-56; cf. W.G. Doty, *Letters in Primitive Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1973); N.A. Dahl, 'Letter', *IDBSup*, pp.538-41; J.A. Fitzmyer, 'Introduction to the New Testament Epistles', *NJBC* 45:1-21. On how rhetoric could have influenced epistolography, see A.J. Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1988), pp.1-14, with ancient texts on pp.15-81; Aune, *Literary*, pp.158-225; S.K. Stowers, *Letter Writing in Greco-Roman Antiquity* (LEC 5; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986).

narrate things to come; but if there is narrative, it will be of things past, in order that, being reminded of them, the hearers may take better counsel about the future'.[8] And Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 3.8.11) recognizes also that one might find *narratio* being introduced in deliberative rhetoric.[9] Thus Kennedy is quite right to remind us that 'all species of rhetoric make use of narrative, but they use it for different purposes and in different ways' and it is very possible that Paul's use of narrative in Galatians is intended to establish his ethos and to support his claim of the truth of the gospel.[10] Hall also argues that Paul's particular use of *narratio* could indeed function 'as part of the proof, advancing reasons why some future action should be taken' in a deliberative speech.[11]

(2) It is questionable whether Galatians should be regarded as belonging to the *forensic* genre, as Kennedy rightly points out, 'what Paul is leading to in chapters 1-4 is the exhortation of chapters 5-6'.[12] The presence of the exhortation of 5.1-6.10 strongly indicates that the epistle is basically *hortatory* in nature, deliberative in intent.[13] Thus the strong *future* orientation of the letter renders

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[8]Aristotle, *'Art'*, p.451. See Kennedy, *Interpretation*, p.24; Lyons, *Pauline*, p.175; Hughes, *Early*, pp.36-38.

[9]Cf. Hughes, *Early*, p.33.

[10]Kennedy, *Interpretation*, p.145; cf. Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 3.8.10-11, 4.2.11-12. On persuasion, three kinds of argument could be used: (1) *ethos*, an appeal to the good character of the audience; (2) *pathos*, an appeal to their emotions; and (3) *logos*, an appeal to their reason. See Aristotle, *Ars rhetorica* 1.2.3-6; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 6.2.9-12 (cf. Kennedy, *Interpretation*, pp.15-16; Aune, *Literary*, p.199; Mack, *Rhetoric*, pp.35-36).

[11]Hall, 'Rhetorical', p.280. Hall goes on to argue that 'these defensive elements in the letter do not imply that Galatians is judicial or that it is partially judicial and partially deliberative. Instead they form one mode of ethical proof supporting the deliberative intent of the letter: Galatians is one of those works in which a characteristic of one species of rhetoric serves as a topic of persuasion in another. Those defensive elements of Galatians that might at first suggest assigning Galatians to the judicial species of rhetoric fit well the analysis of Galatians as deliberative' (p.282).

[12]Kennedy, *Interpretation*, p.146.

[13]Kennedy, *Interpretation*, p.145. Hall, 'Rhetorical', p.281 and Smit, 'Letter', p.19 draw attention to the strategy of weighing the advantage and disadvantage against each other at 5.2-6 as a characteristic feature of deliberative rhetoric. On appeal to 'self-interest' in order to motivate an audience to accept and to act

Betz's judicial reading very unlikely: 'the letter looks to the immediate future, not to judgment of the past, and the question to be decided by the Galatians was not whether Paul had been right in what he had said or done, but what they themselves were going to believe and to do'.[14]

Thus if Paul's letter to the Galatians does not belong to the *forensic* genre, then Betz's designation of 2.15-21 as the *propositio* which is not linked to the *narratio* is also called into question. In fact Kennedy prefers to call 2.15-21 'an epicheireme, or argument with the parts fully stated, which provides the conclusion to the first heading, Paul's authority, and introduces the specific issue which Paul must examine, the question of the law'.[15]

(3) A more devastating criticism of Betz's reading of *narratio* is that by Lyons. In an extensive study of Greco-Roman autobiographies (Cicero, Isocrates, and Demosthenes), Lyons found parallels with Paul's autobiographical statements in 1.10-2.21 (also 1 Thess 1.2-3.13) and argues that the rhetorical antitheses do not necessarily reflect a point-by-point rebuttal of hypothetical charges.[16] On the contrary, the autobiographical narrative should be read as Paul's effort to demonstrate his *ēthos* (character) to his readers and to define himself as one whom God has used whose life can serve as an edifying example.[17] According to this perception, Paul employs autobiography not to defend himself from the charges of opponents, but to demonstrate the consistency between his own

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on a recommended course of action in future, see Aristotle, *Ars rhetorica* 1.3.5; Cicero, *De inventione* 2.51.156 ('In the deliberative type, however, Aristotle accepts advantage as the end, but I prefer both honor and advantage'); *De inventione* 2.56.168-169; *De oratore* 2.81.333-337; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 3.8.1; [Pseudo-Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 3.2.3 (cf. Aune, *Literary*, p.199; Kennedy, *Interpretation*, pp.36-37).

[14]Kennedy, *Interpretation*, p.146. The exhortation had indeed caused Betz some difficulty (*Gal*, pp.253-54). See also the criticisms by Aune, 'Review', pp.325-26; Hall, 'Rhetorical', p.281.

[15]Kennedy, *Interpretation*, p.148; see also pp.17, 90.

[16]Lyons, *Pauline*, pp.17-73 on autobiography in antiquity and how biography should be properly read; pp.75-121 for criticism of Betz and many others for excessive, uncontrolled 'mirror reading' of Paul's antithetical remarks in the search for Paul's opponents.

[17]Cf. Lyons, *Pauline*, pp.136-76, 223-27.

behaviour and the gospel he preaches. Lyons concludes that 2.11-21 is to be seen as one unit which 'functions much like the customary autobiographical σύγκρισις *topoi*, which compares and contrasts the ethos of the autobiographer with that of other exemplary individuals'.[18] Thus the very strong reason why Betz regarded Galatians as an apologetic letter based on the *narratio* is undermined, and so also his designation of 2.15-21 is the *propositio* according to the *forensic* genre.

From the above discussion, we have to conclude that Betz's insistence that 2.15-21 as the *propositio* which is not related directly to the Antioch episode is quite unjustified. On the contrary, the alternative picture is all the more likely.[19] In fact, the 'majority' view is quite right to insist that it is very unlikely that Paul's reply to Peter should be limited only to the question in 2.14b (εἰ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ὑπάρχων ἐθνικῶς καὶ οὐχὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶς ζῇς, πῶς τὰ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις ἰουδαΐζειν), for the thought of the verse is incomplete without the explanation which follows.[20] The recurrence of 'Jews' (Ἰουδαῖος, Ἰουδαῖοι) and 'Gentiles' (ἔθνη, ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί) in 2.14b and 2.15 also links the two sections.[21]

According to Lyons, the structure of 1.10-2.21 can indeed be analysed in accordance with conventional autobiographical *topoi*:[22]

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[18]Lyons, *Pauline*, p.134; cf. pp.27-29. Lyons notes also that Galatians should be properly understood as a deliberative letter, pp.170-76.

[19]So Kennedy, *Interpretation*, p.148; Lyons, *Pauline*, p.134; Hall, 'Rhetorical', p.286; Smit, 'Letter', pp.11-12; Hansen, *Abraham*, p.100; Aune, *Literary*, pp.190, 207. Contra Betz, *Gal*, p.114; Brinsmead, *Gal*, p.51; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.83.

[20]So Burton, *Gal*, p.111; Schlier, *Gal*, p.87: 'V.14 allein hätte ja keinen Sinn'; Meyer, *Gal*, p.110; Schütz, *Paul*, p.152; Smit, 'Letter', p.3; Fung, *Gal*, p.105. *Contra* Bachmann's insistence that 2.14b functions as the *partitio* which separates 2.15-21 from the Antioch episode (*Sünder*, p.45, cf. pp.152-58).

[21]Cf. P.J. Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law* (CRINT III, Vol 1; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1990), p.229; Watson, *Paul*, p.67.

[22]Lyons, *Pauline*, p.135; followed by Aune, *Literary*, p.190; J.L. Bailey and L.D.V. Broek, *Literary Forms in the New Testament* (London: SPCK, 1992), pp.25-26. At this juncture, it is perhaps necessary to discuss the suggestion made by Hester. He recently changed his mind and withdrew his earlier view that 2.11-14 is a digression ('Placing', p.282; cf. 'Rhetorical', pp.231-33). Hester now argues that Galatians can be categorized as a 'letter of blame' (pp.288-91) and 1.11-2.21 is the *encomium* with a lengthy elaborated ἐπίλογος (p.306). He contends that the structure could be analysed as follows

I.	προοίμιον	1.10-12	-Paul's divine gospel
II.	ἀναστροφή	1.13-17	-Paul's ethos
	A.	1.13-14	-As a persecutor of the church
	B.	1.15-17	-As a preacher of the gospel
III.	πράξεις	1.18-2.10	-Paul's conduct
	A.	1.18-20	-In Jerusalem
	B.	1.21-24	-In Syria and Cilicia
	C.	2.1-10	-In Jerusalem
IV.	σύγκρισις	2.11-20	-Cephas and Paul
	A.	2.11-14	-Incidental: In Antioch
	B.	2.15-21	-General: Paul and Jewish Christians
V.	ἐπίλογος	2.21	-Paul does not nullify divine grace.

If Paul's argumentation in 2.15-21 is a continuation of his address to Peter (2.14b), then the first person plural ἡμεῖς at the beginning of 2.15 should include at least Peter and Paul himself, *Jews* who have come to believe in Christ.[23] On the other hand, when Paul turns to the Galatians directly, he addressed them in second person plural 'you' (cf. 3.1-5). We can therefore quite safely infer that Paul's discussion in 2.15-21 is in the first instance at least initially, if not primarily, directed at questions and concerns of *Jewish Christians* who had been caught up in the Antioch Incident.[24]

2.1.3. Observations on 2.15-21 within the Letter:

(pp.295-96):

1.11-12	προοίμιον (prologue)
1.13-14	γένος (race and origins)
1.15-17	ἀναστροφή (education)
1.18-24	πράξεις (achievements)
2.1-14	σύγκρισις (comparison)
	Chreia 2.14
2.15-21	ἐπίλογος (epilogue)

But in our opinion, to categorize Paul's self-description of his 'former life (ἀναστροφή) in Judaism' at 1.13-14 as the γένος topic, a reference to the ancestry or birth (p.298), is hardly what the word ἀναστροφή implies. The word occurs twice in Eph 4.22; 1 Tim 4.12; and six times in 1 Pet (1.15, 18; 2.12; 3.1, 2, 16) with an emphasis upon behaviour or the ethical aspect of conduct (see BAGD, 'ἀναστροφή' [61]). The context itself also suggests that Paul's concern is not his 'birth' but his 'former behaviour' as a persecutor of the church in contrast to his 'present commitment' as preacher of the gospel to the Gentiles (1.15-16).

[23]So Barrett, *Freedom*, p.18; Barth, 'Jews', p.246 n5; Becker, *Gal*, p.29; Cousar, *Gal*, p.50; Dunn, 'Incident', *JPL*, p.172 n117; Ebeling, *Truth*, p.119; Fung, *Gal*, p.105; Matera, *Gal*, p.92; Mussner, *Gal*, p.167; Schlier, *Gal*, p.87.

[24]Rightly Dunn, 'Incident', *JPL*, p.158; Barclay, *Obeying*, p.83.

How does Paul's argumentation with Peter and other Jewish Christians in 2.15-21 fit into the larger context of the letter? Why does Paul include 2.15-21 here? How does this dialogue with *Jewish* Christians contribute to his persuasion to the majority *Gentile* Christians at Galatia - the problem of 'double audience'? We cannot answer all these questions at this juncture, but we can begin to see certain links by looking at 2.15-21 within the epistolary rhetorical structure of the letter.

With reference to our discussion against Betz, we are even more persuaded to accept the view that Galatians belongs to *genus deliberativum*.[25] The paraenetic section of 5.1-6.10 is 'strong evidence that the epistle is in fact deliberative in intent'.[26] In addition, the *future* orientation of Paul's rhetoric is also a significant feature: Paul appeals emotionally to the Galatians to be on his side (cf. 4.12-20; 5.10) and warns them not to receive circumcision but to stand fast in the gospel (cf. 5.1-4).[27] From this perspective, the *narratio* which has a defensive tone is intended to establish Paul's credibility: 'for in deliberative rhetoric the *ēthos* or moral character and conduct of the speaker, if unknown or in doubt, must be established'.[28]

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[25]According to M.M. Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation* (HUT 28; Tübingen: JCB Mohr, 1991), pp.23-64 deliberative argumentation was characterized by four things: (1) a focus on future time as the subject of deliberation; (2) employment of a determined set of appeals or ends, esp. the advantageous; (3) proof by example; and (4) appropriate subjects for deliberation: e.g. religious ritual, legislation, war or peace.

[26]Kennedy, *Interpretation*, p.145. See also Aune, *Literary*, p.191; Stowers, *Letter*, pp.107-109; Mitchell, *Paul*, pp.50-53; Mack, *Rhetoric*, pp.41-42; Bailey and Broek, *Literary*, p.32.

[27]So Kennedy, *Interpretation*, p.146; Hall, 'Rhetorical', pp.280-81. Though P.E. Koptak, 'Rhetorical Identification in Paul's Autobiographical Narrative Galatians 1.13-2.14', *JSNT* 40 (1990), pp.97-115 did not attempt a rhetorical classification of the letter, he recognises also the *future* aspect: 'As the Galatians hear Paul tell his story of his past relationships, they are forced to decide whether they will stand with Paul and his understanding of the gospel, or with those who are urging them to be circumcised' (p.100).

[28]Aune, *Literary*, p.207. See again Aristotle, *Ars rhetorica* 1.2.3-6; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 6.2.9-12; cf. Hall, 'Rhetorical', pp.281-82. We are not clear why R. Jewett, 'Introduction to the Pauline Letters', *HBC*, pp.1120-29, here p.1121 identifies 1.18-2.21 as the 'travelogue'.

Since there is also clear evidence in the letter that Paul reacts to 'opponents' or 'trouble makers' (e.g. 1.7; 4.17; 5.10, 12; 6.12-13),[29] it is quite possible that Paul as a skilled speaker and writer has combined various rhetorical techniques and styles of diverse origins in his counsel to the Galatian churches.[30] With respect to such phenomena, Galatians is probably a *deliberative* letter with some *apologetic* features.[31] As a summary for our preliminary study on this continuing debate, we would like to follow Aune's analysis in proposing a tentative outline as follows:[32]

1.1-5	Epistolary Prescript
1.6-12	*Exordium* (the *stasis* is Paul's gospel)
1.13-2.21	*Narratio* (Paul's *ethos*)
	Paul's 'address' to Peter included (2.15-21)
3.1-4.31	*Probatio*
5.1-6.10	*Exhortatio*
6.11-18	*Conclusio*/Epistolary Postscript.

How does 2.15-21 relate to Paul's overall argumentation in the letter? With reference to the epistolary rhetorical outline, there is a strong hint that the meaning of 'gospel' is the key problem (the *stasis* of the letter) according to the *exordium*: the noun **εὐαγγέλιον**

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[29] *Contra* Lyons, *Pauline*, p.104. On mirror reading, see §2.3.2.

[30] In actual practice, speeches could be more complex and eclectic than the rhetorical handbooks might suggest. Aune, *Literary*, p.199 draws our attention to Cicero who had problems with the rigidity of the system and wanted to expand it and Quintilian who treated the categories with flexibility. See also Hughes, *Early*, p.31 (cf. Aristotle, *Ars rhetorica* 1.6.1 and 1.8.7); cf. Lausberg, *Handbuch*, pp.43-61; Lyons, *Pauline*, p.64.

[31] Following Aune, 'Review', p.326; *Literary*, p.207 (p.203); *contra* Hall, 'Rhetorical', p.282. See also Mack, *Rhetoric*, pp.35, 67; Bailey and Broek, *Literary*, pp.31, 36.

[32] See Aune, *Literary*, pp.207-208. Smit, 'Letter', pp.9-22 divides the deliberative 'speech' into seven parts: *exordium* (1.6-12); *narratio* (1.13-2.21); *confirmatio* (3.1-4.11); *conclusio*, part 1: *conquestio* (4.12-20); *conclusio*, part 2: *enumeratio* (4.21-5.6); *conclusio*, part 3: *indignatio* (5.7-12); *amplicatio* (6.11-18). Though Smit might be correct in understanding Paul's argument as deliberative, his failure to include the paraenetic material of 5.13-6.10 (regarded as a redactional fragment! pp.8-9, 25) greatly decreases confidence in his proposed outline. Furthermore, in our opinion, Smit's criticism of Betz's reliance on Quintilian while his own solution depends very much on Cicero's *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (pp.5-6) in no way solves the problem of 'sources' (cf. Mitchell, *Paul*, pp.8-9 n26).

appears three times and the verb εὐαγγελίζομαι four times immediately after the exclamation θαυμάζω at 1.6 and the disclosure formula 'γνωρίζω...ὅτι' at 1.11.[33] The term εὐαγγέλιον appears also in 2.2; 2.7; the verb εὐαγγελίζομαι in 1.16; 1.23; 4.13. It is important to notice that Paul defines his gospel in terms of his mission to the Gentiles: ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν (1.16); τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ κηρύσσω ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν (2.2); ἐνήργησεν καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη (2.8); and he is entrusted with τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας just as Peter with the gospel τῆς περιτομῆς (2.7).[34] The unique phrase 'ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου' ('the truth of the gospel'), then, appears twice: once in the context of opposing the imposition of circumcision on Gentile believers in Jerusalem (2.5), the other in the context of confrontation over table-fellowship at Antioch (2.14a). Thus there is a certain plausibility in suggesting that one should read 2.15-21 as part of Paul's clarification of what he meant by 'the truth of the

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[33]See White, 'NT Epistolary', pp.1741-44; 'Ancient', p.99; *Light*, pp.208-210, esp. n95 and p.219 n149. It is regrettable that D.J. Verseput, 'Paul's Gentile Mission and the Jewish Christian Community: A Study of the Narrative in Galatians 1 and 2', *NTS* 39 (1993), pp.36-58 fails to read the *narratio* in connection to 1.6-12, nor does he pay sufficient attention to the changing relationship between Paul and the Jerusalem church over the years. We are also not convinced by Cosgrove, *Cross*, pp.23-38 that we should join the 'conversation' at 3.1-14, esp. at 3.5. See Carson, Moo and Morris, *Introduction*, p.300; Matera, *Gal*, p.55. The NT use of εὐαγγέλιον and εὐαγγελίζομαι has its root taken from the OT, see esp. Isa 40.9; 42.7; 52.7; 61.1; Ps 95.1; Nah 1.15.

[34]There is much dispute over the genitive constructions τῆς ἀκροβυστίας and τῆς περιτομῆς in 2.7 (cf. 'the non-Pauline language', Betz, *Gal*, p.96; E. Dinkler, 'Der Brief an die Galater', in *Signum Crucis* [Tübingen: JCB Mohr, 1967], pp.270-82, here p.282). Some argue that they are genitives of *content*, meaning there are *two* different gospels kerygmatically: a gospel of non-circumcision and a gospel of circumcision (e.g. Baur, *Paul*, 1:124-25; A. Fridrichsen, 'The Apostle and His Message', *UUÅ* 1947:3, pp.1-23, esp. pp.9-11; Barrett, *Freedom*, pp.11-12, 105; Taylor, *Paul*, p.112; Lüdemann, *Paul*, pp.64-71 argues that 2.7-8 is part of Paul's pre-conference 'personal tradition'). But others argue that since there is only *one* gospel in the light of 1.7-8 the genitives are simply genitives of *indirect object*, meaning they are to preach the same gospel to different peoples (so Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.109; Schlier, *Gal*, pp.76-77; Mussner, *Gal*, pp.115-16; Bruce, *Gal*, pp.119-20; Lührmann, *Gal*, p.38; Cousar, *Gal*, pp.41-42; Fung, *Gal*, pp.98-99; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.55; Matera, *Gal*, p.76; Baird, 'Gal', p.1206; BAGD, 'εὐαγγέλιον', 2.b.α [318]). Burton's comment 'genitives of connection' is rather confusing (cf. *Gal*, pp.91-93).

gospel',[35] especially when certain opponents came to Galatia to persuade the Gentile Christians to accept another gospel (cf. 1.6-7) and to take up circumcision, Sabbath observances and probably also food laws (see §2.3.3).

From Paul's perspective, he employs the *narratio* to establish his credibility and to prepare the audience to trust him and to accept his exposition of 'the truth of the gospel' in 2.15-21. And if the 'opponents' are *Jewish Christians* (as most commentators agree), Paul's argumentation in 2.15-21 is all the more important because he wishes to prove how the (new) faith in Messiah Jesus can and should transform the traditional Jewish understanding (cf. 2.21b). At least, Paul would like to demonstrate how 'the truth of the gospel' is on his side.

Since the ultimate question in Galatians concerns *Gentile Christians*, whether or not they should accept circumcision and observe Sabbath and holy days, Paul's inclusion of the original 'address' to Peter and other Jewish Christians here is for the sake of persuading them now why these Jewish observances are not necessary at all in the community of God's people (cf. 5.6; 6.15-16). Though 2.15-21 is written as addressed to Jewish Christians, its ultimate goal is to persuade the Gentile readers how the self-understanding and behaviour pattern of Jewish Christians can be transformed by faith in Christ-crucified (cf. 2.19-20). The implied logic is, if Jewish Christians can come to a new understanding of their identity and lifestyle in faith, then why should Gentile Christians still adopt Jewish observances such as circumcision, food laws and Sabbath. In brief, Paul's argumentation in 2.15-21 is very much directed at questions concerning *Jewish Christians*, but the conclusion drawn will be of great significance to *Gentile Christians* at Galatia.[36]

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[35] *Contra* Gaventa, 'Singularity', pp.154-55 who identifies Christology as the key issue based on 1.1-5. We remain unconvinced by D. Cook, 'The Prescript as Programme in Galatians', *JTS* 43 (1992), pp.511-19 that all the fundamental themes are already present in the prescript 1.1-5.

[36] In our opinion, Bachmann's suggestion that 2.15-21 forms the first round of argumentation (with 3.1-6.17 as the second round; *Sünder*, p.158; cf. 110-51) is not entirely wrong, provided that he takes seriously that 2.15-21 is related to the Antioch Incident in the first instance and that Paul's immediate dialogue partners are Jewish Christians rather than Gentile Christians.

2.1.4. Further Comments:

If our epistolary rhetorical analysis of the letter is on the right track, the case that 2.15-21 consists in the first instance of Paul's 'address' to Peter in connection with the Antioch Incident is very much affirmed.[37] With this observation in mind, the occasion of 'ζητοῦντες δικαιωθῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ' and how 'we were found ἁμαρτωλοί' (2.17ab) should be somehow related to the experience of Jewish Christians in the Antioch incident. There are also some linguistic clues which might be helpful towards understanding 2.15-21 in relation to 2.11-14. For example, the imagery of 'tearing down, building up' (καταλύω; οἰκοδομέω) in 2.18 very likely echoes the act of 'withdrawing from table-fellowship' by Peter.[38] The recurring 'Jew/Gentile' antithesis in 2.14b and 2.15 probably reflects a similar mindset. The talk of 'living' in 2.14b (ἐθνικῶς καὶ οὐχὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶς ζῇς) is probably echoed in 2.19-20 (θεῷ ζήσω...ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ζῇ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός· ὃ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί, ἐν πίστει ζῶ...).

Despite the fact that one cannot yet be sure whether Paul had had the opportunity to deliver the speech at Antioch at all and whether 2.15-21 consists of the full speech delivered then,[39] the content of these verses certainly consists of Paul's theological *response* to the Antioch crisis. Thus in our main discussion on 2.15-21 below, we will try to understand Paul's argument and theological formulation in the light of his reaction to the *crisis at Antioch*, not least with regard to the issue of table-fellowship between Jewish and Gentile Christians. The important point one cannot lose sight of is that Paul's discussion here in 2.15-21 is basically his response to the concerns of *Jewish Christians*.

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[37]Also firmly argued and insisted on by Kieffer, *Foi*, pp.13-15.

[38]Cf. Lambrecht, 'Line', p.493; 'Once Again', pp.149-50; Watson, *Paul*, p.67; Barclay, *Obeying*, p.80. See also our discussion in Chapter 5.

[39]Cf. G. Bornkamm, *Paul* (ET; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1971), p.46: 'The words are not, of course, an exact transcript'; Fung, *Gal*, p.105.

2.2. THE CRISIS AT ANTIOCH (2.11-14)

In the last section we concluded that Paul's argumentation in 2.15-21 relates closely to the Antioch episode of 2.11-14, and so is his 'address' to Peter, a response to questions concerning *Jewish Christians* being raised by the crisis at Antioch. If the theological formulation of 2.15-21 functions initially as Paul's reply to Peter over the Antioch Incident, then any inquiry into 2.15-21 cannot avoid clarifying what the crisis at Antioch consisted of, what was at stake in it, to what Paul was replying, or what prompted the language and line of argument in 2.15-21.

2.2.1. The Context and Structure of 2.11-14:

2.11-14 itself is a complicated passage which never ceases to attract the attention of scholars because of the many historical questions that it raises. For example, who were the participants? When did the incident take place? Why did Peter come to Antioch? Was there one church made up of Jewish and Gentile Christians? Or were there two Christian communities? Why did Peter, Barnabas, and the remaining Jewish Christians choose to cease eating with the Gentile believers? What were the issues? Was Paul successful in confronting Peter? Some of these puzzling questions remain to be solved. But in the following discussion, we would like to focus first on *how* Paul introduces the event and *how* he describes the conflict.[1]

According to Lyons' analysis of 2.11-21 as the *σύγκρισις topos*, Paul's purpose is to compare and contrast himself with others.[2] The key person here is Peter (Πέτρος) or Cephas (Κηφᾶς, the Aramaic equivalent; 1.18, 2.9, 11, 14a);[3] the dramatic event took place at

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[1]Cf. the rhetorical goal according to Matera, *Gal*, p.87.

[2]Cf. Lyons, *Pauline*, p.134.

[3]The name 'Cephas' is a more common form used by Paul (cf. 1 Cor 1.12; 3.22; 9.5; 15.5), while 'Peter' is used only in 2.7-8. Both forms Peter and Cephas refer to the *same* person (so Mussner, *Gal*, p.116 n89; Bruce, *Gal*, pp.120-21; *contra* B.D. Ehrman, 'Cephas and Peter', *JBL* 109 [1990], pp.463-74). The assertion by G.D. Kilpatrick, 'Peter, Jerusalem and Galatians 1.13-2.14', *NovT* 25 (1983), pp.318-26 that the orginal text of Galatians had Πέτρος throughout and that the variants with Κηφᾶς were secondary remains unproven.

Antioch, a large cosmopolitan centre in Syria (2.11a).[4]

In the preceding account, Paul has used the word ἔπειτα ('then') three times, at 1.18, 1.21 and 2.1, to describe his conduct (πράξεις) which took place at different places (Jerusalem; Syria and Cilicia; Jerusalem again)[5] and also his changing relationships with Peter and the Jerusalem church.[6] But in 2.11a it is Peter who takes the initiative to come to Antioch; in this instance ὅτε δέ (cf. 2.12b; 2.14a) is used instead of ἔπειτα.[7] Almost certainly Paul is working in chronological sequence: the Antioch Incident occurred perhaps not long after the Jerusalem meeting.[8]

According to Paul's description of the conflict, there is possibly a chiastic structure in 2.11b-14a.[9] The meaning of κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντέστην (2.11b; Paul 'opposed him to his face') and εἶπον τῷ Κηφᾷ ἔμπροσθεν πάντων (2.14a; Paul 'said to Cephas before them all') is quite similar. Then the reason why Paul thought 'Peter

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[4]On the history and socio-political background of this Antioch on the Orontes, see G. Downey, 'Antioch', *IDB* 1:145-48; W.A. Meeks and R.L. Wilken, *Jews and Christians in Antioch in the First Four Centuries of the Common Era* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars, 1978); Longenecker, *Gal*, pp.65-71.

[5]Cf. Lyons, *Pauline*, pp.134-35; Smit, 'Letter', p.12.

[6]See Dunn, 'Relationship', *JPL*, pp.108-28; cf. R.E. Brown, K.P. Donfried and J. Reumann (eds), *Peter in the New Testament* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1973), pp.29-32; Holmberg, *Paul*, pp.14-57; Taylor, *Paul*, pp.61-122; Fung, *Gal*, p.105: 'Paul is successively Peter's guest (1.18-20), his fellow-apostle (2.1-10), and his critic (2.11-14)'.

[7]This linguistic note does not support the reconstruction that the Antioch incident preceded Paul's second Jerusalem visit of 2.1-10 (e.g. Zahn, *Gal*, pp.110-11; Cerfaux, 'Galatians', pp.411-12; recently Lüdemann, *Paul*, pp.57-58, 75-77, 291; A. Méhat, '"Quand Kèphas vint à Antioch..." Que s'est-il passé entre Pierre et Paul?' *LumVie* 192 [1989], pp.29-43). See the penetrating critique by J. Dupont, 'Pierre et Paul à Antioche et à Jérusalem', *RSR* 45 (1957), pp.42-60, 225-239; Dunn, 'Incident', *JPL*, pp.163-64 nn4, 6; cf. Matera, *Gal*, pp.88-89.

[8]So Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.111; T.W. Manson, 'The Problem of the Epistle to the Galatians', *Studies in the Gospels and Epistles* (edited by M. Black; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962), pp.168-189, here p.171; Betz, *Gal*, p.105 n436; Mussner, *Gal*, p.137; Bruce, *Gal*, p.128; Lührmann, *Gal*, p.29; Fung, *Gal*, p.106; Fitzmyer, 'Gal', 47:18; Ziesler, *Gal*, pp.17-18.

[9]On chiasm as a literary form commonly used, see Bailey and Broek, *Literary*, pp.12-13, 49-54; cf. N.W. Lund, *Chiasmus in the New Testament* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1942).

stood condemned' (ὅτι κατεγνωσμένος ἦν; 2.11b) seems to be elaborated in 2.12-14a.[10] The chiastic pattern may be set out as follows:

A Paul opposed Peter to his face (2.11b)
(κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντέστην)

B because Peter stood condemned (2.11b)
(ὅτι κατεγνωσμένος ἦν)

B^1 elaboration: Peter's fault in Paul's eyes (2.12-14a)
(introduced by γάρ)

A^1 Paul said to Peter in front of all (2.14a)
(εἶπον τῷ Κηφᾷ ἔμπροσθεν πάντων).

If our observation is correct, then Paul may well have intended to describe in *different ways* how and why Peter was at fault; the very brief comment 'Peter stood condemned' (2.11b) is expanded and clarified in 2.12-14a. Before the arrival of 'certain men from James' (τινας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου),[11] Peter was accustomed to eat with the Gentile Christians (μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν συνήσθιεν; 2.12a);[12] but when they (read

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[10]Cf. Fitzmyer, 'Gal', 47:18; Matera, *Gal*, p.85.

[11]According to NA^{26} and UBS^3 τινάς (masculine, plural, accusative) is the better reading and is supported by ℵ A B C D G etc, while τινά (singular) is in P^{46} $it^{d,e,gc,r}$ Irenaeus. It is possible that the τινά reading is an accommodation to ἦλθεν (instead of ἦλθον) in the second half the verse, which is perhaps an early scribal error. See B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London: UBS, 1971), pp.592-93; Bruce, *Gal*, pp.129-30; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.63; the singular form is prefered by Manson, 'Problem', pp.178-79; Cole, *Gal*, p.116. The more difficult question is the identity of these 'certain men from James' which is still a matter of dispute (see Jewett, 'Agitators', pp.198-212; Betz, *Gal*, pp.107-108; Taylor, *Paul*, p.128; cf. Acts 15.24). Scholars are divided whether ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου qualifies the noun τινάς or the verb ἐλθεῖν: if τινάς is qualified by ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου, then James is thought to be the leader (e.g. Ridderbos, *Gal*, p.96; Betz, *Gal*, p.108; Barrett, *Freedom*, pp.13-15); if ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου is joined to the verb ἐλθεῖν, then James becomes the sender (e.g. Schlier, *Gal*, p.83; Fung, *Gal*, p.107; Matera, *Gal*, p.89). According to Zahn, *Gal*, pp.114-15 the messengers were not sent by James, but had unlawfully claimed his authority (also Carson, Moo and Morris, *Introduction*, p.412). Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.112 remarks that 'nothing more can safely be inferred than that they belonged to the Church of Jerusalem'.

[12]Since συνεσθίειν is a general word meaning 'eating with' (Luke 15.2; Acts 11.3; 1 Cor 5.11; cf. Acts 10.41), it is not wise to narrow the sense only to participation in the Lord's Supper (e.g. Lietzmann, *Gal*, p.14; Schlier, *Gal*, p.83; Bornkamm, *Paul*, p.45; Lührmann, *Gal*, p.41; Keck, *Paul*, p.60). It is better to see the primary sense here as *table-fellowship*, having meals with Gentile Christians (so Burton, *Gal*, p.104; Betz, *Gal*, p.107; Cousar, *Gal*, p.46; Dunn, 'Incident',

plural ἦλθον)[13] arrived, Peter gradually drew back and separated himself from table-fellowship (2.12b). And worse still, Peter's example was followed by other Jewish Christians (οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖοι; 2.13a),[14] and even Paul's former mentor and co-worker Barnabas was carried away (2.13b).[15]

According to Paul's highly polemical comments,[16] there seem to be several reasons for Peter's condemnation: Peter fearing 'the circumcision party' (τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς; 2.12b);[17] his being

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JPL, p.151; Fung, *Gal*, p.106; see also V. Parkin, 'Συνεσθίειν in the New Testament', *Studia Evangelica* 2:3 [1964], pp.250-53). In any case the celebration of the Lord's Supper had probably not been separated or distinguished from the meal itself at this stage (see J.D.G. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament* [London: SCM, 1977], pp.161-68).

[13]According to NA[26] and UBS[3]; singular ἦλθεν is preferred by Origen. See Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.112.

[14]So Schlier, *Gal*, p.84; Betz, *Gal*, p.110 n473; Bruce, *Gal*, p.131; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.75; Taylor, *Paul*, p.125; similarly the τῶν ἐθνῶν in 2.12 are Gentile Christians.

[15]Paul certainly is disappointed with Barnabas here, cf. R. Bauckham, 'Barnabas in Galatians', *JSNT* 2 (1979), pp.61-70; Mussner, *Gal*, p.143; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.76.

[16]So Betz, *Gal*, p.109; Lührmann, *Gal*, p.42.

[17]It is unlikely that they are the same group as 'the certain men from James' in 2.12a, for one would have expected in that case merely αὐτούς (see Schmithals, *Paul*, pp.66-67; *contra* Mussner, *Gal*, p.141; Becker, *Gal*, p.28). The phrase οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς could have various meanings depending on the contexts: (1) the circumcised people, i.e. Jews, Rom 3.30, 4.9; Col 3.11; (2) the circumcised members of the church, i.e. Jewish Christians, Acts 10.45; Col 4.11; (3) the circumcision party, i.e. Judaizers within the church, Acts 11.2; Tit 1.10. Scholars are quite divided over the identity of these οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς in 2.12b. According to E.E. Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity* (WUNT 18; Tübingen: JCB Mohr, 1978), pp.116-28 they are a faction of *Jewish Christians* within the church (also Betz, *Gal*, p.109; Lüdemann, *Paul*, pp.123-24 n102). But it seems more likely that they are *militant Jews*, including non-Christian and believers (cf. 1.13-14): G. Dix, *Jew and Greek* (London: AC Black, 1953), pp.43-44; Bo Reicke, 'Der geschichtliche Hintergrund des Apostelkonzils und der Antiochia-Episode, Gal 2.11-14', in *Studia Paulina in honorem J. de Zwaan* (edited by J.N. Sevenster and W.C. van Unnik; Harlem: Bohn, 1953), pp.172-87; Bruce, *Gal*, p.131; Schmithals, *Paul*, p.67; Brown et al, *Peter*, pp.26-27 n58; Suhl, *Paulus*, p.77, cf. p.18; Dunn, 'Incident', *JPL*, p.171 n113; Cousar, *Gal*, p.47; Longenecker, *Gal*, pp.73-75; Ziesler, *Gal*, 20. The suggestions by Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.112 that οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς refers to 'converts *from* Judaism' or J. Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind* [ET; Richmond: John Knox, 1959], pp.87-89, 106-109 to *Gentile* Christians

hypocritical (*συνυποκρίνομαι, ἡ ὑπόκρισις*; 2.13);[18] and not walking straight forward towards the truth of the gospel (*οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσιν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*; 2.14a).[19] But it does appear that the multiple reasons are building up progressively, with 2.14a as the climax. This impression could be supported by a comparison of 2.12-14b with 2.4-5, a side event which only possibly happened at the meeting in Jerusalem (2.1-10).[20] Here one can see some form of similarity and contrast:

Paul in Jerusalem (2.4-5)	Peter at Antioch (2.12-14a)
false brethren crept in	certain men from James arrived
they compelled circumcision	they demanded 'food laws'
Paul withstood pressure	Peter did not
the Gospel is maintained	the Gospel is under threat.

In both instances, the heart of the matter is about 'the truth of the gospel' (*ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*; 2.5 and 2.14a). In Paul's mind, the specific problem now in Antioch, just as the earlier dispute with the 'false brothers' over circumcision in Jerusalem,

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are very unlikely.

[18]The sense of which is to play-act by masking one's true feelings (on parallels in Greek literature, see Betz, *Gal*, pp.109-110). However, in Jewish usage, *ὑπόκρισις* is always used in the negative sense: to pretend, to deceive (Sir 32.15; 33.2; PssSol 4.20, 22); more often it denotes 'apostasy' or 'defiance of God' (see U. Wilckens, '*ὑποκρίνομαι κτλ*', *TDNT* 8:559-70). Note the Maccabean martyr, Eleazar, who refused to pretend to eat pork and food sacrificed to idols in order to escape execution (2 Macc 6.18-31; 4 Macc 6.12-17).

[19]The word *ὀρθοποδεῖν* appears not to occur elsewhere, except in later ecclesiastical writers; see G.D. Kilpatrick, 'Gal 2.14 *ὀρθοποδεῖν*', in *Neutestamentliche Studien fur R. Bultmann* (BZNW 21; edited by W. Eltester; Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1957), pp.269-74; Betz, *Gal*, p.111; Bruce, *Gal*, p.132.

[20]Alternative views include Schlier, *Gal*, p.71 (Watson, *Paul*, pp.50-52; Matera, *Gal*, p.81) which suggests that the spying by 'false brethren' took place at Antioch *before* the Jerusalem meeting; Bruce, *Gal*, pp.116-17, followed by Fung, *Gal*, p.91, thinks that the event occurred *after* the Jerusalem meeting. We shall not enter into discussion on whether the Jerusalem meeting according to 2.1-10 refers to Acts 11 or Acts 15, and on whether, if 2.3-5 is a parenthesis within 2.1-10, it also happened during the conference. See Kümmel, *Introduction*, pp.301-303; Meeks and Wilken, *Jews and Christians*, pp.16-18; R.E. Brown and J.P. Meier, *Antioch and Rome* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1983), pp.36-39; Bruce, *Gal*, pp.115-16; Fung, *Gal*, pp.9-28; Longenecker, *Gal*, pp.lxi-lxxxviii; Carson, Moo and Morris, *Introduction*, pp.290-94.

touches the very heart of the gospel.[21] According to Paul's evaluation, Peter's behaviour in his withdrawing from table-fellowship with Gentile Christians is in fact not walking according to the truth; he is threatening 'the truth of the gospel'.[22] One can imagine that when Peter withdrew from table-fellowship, Jewish and Gentile Christians were also separated and the Christian community could no longer continue to exist as *one* body. In the face of this threat Paul found it necessary to confront Peter in front of all the others (2.14b) and to oppose him to his face (2.11b).[23] And so Paul questions Peter (2.14b):[24]

> εἰ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ὑπάρχων ἐθνικῶς καὶ οὐχὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶς ζῇς,
> πῶς τὰ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις ἰουδαΐζειν;

2.2.2. The Problem of Table-Fellowship at Antioch:

Why did Paul think Peter's 'changing behaviour' in withdrawing from table-fellowship would threaten 'the truth of the gospel'? What was the underlying issue that Paul saw as so intolerable that he feared the gospel of Christ was being compromised? What was at stake

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[21]Bornkamm, *Paul*, p.47; cf. Fung, *Gal*, p.110. See again our observation in §2.1.3. that εὐαγγέλιον and εὐαγγελίζομαι are key words in the *Exordium* (1.6-12) and in Paul's own self-understanding of his mission to the Gentiles (1.16; 2.2, 7-8).

[22]We do not agree that Paul's accusation against Peter was made only in regard to his actions indicating inconsistency or hypocrisy: e.g. Schmithals, *Paul*, p.70: 'It was only the inconsistency of Peter's conduct in view of its ominous consequences for his churches which provoked his criticism'; H.J. Schoeps, *Paul* (ET; London: Lutterworth, 1961), p.68: 'Peter, who was accustomed to table fellowship with the Gentiles, merely had misgivings and was weak-minded on the occasion'; Bruce, *Gal*, p.129: '[Peter was] condemned...(as Paul saw it) by the inconsistency of his own conduct'.

[23]Cf. the parenthesis 'πρόσωπον ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρώπου οὐ λαμβάνει' (God shows no partiality) at 2.6. See D.M. Hay, 'Paul's Indifference to Authority', *JBL* 88 (1969), pp.36-44; Cousar, *Gal*, pp.40-41. Paul seems to say that the authority of God should take precedence over humankind, whoever he or she may be. This order of authority might be reflected also in 1.1, 1.10, 1.11-12 and 6.14.

[24]Following UBS[3] and NA[26] (other variations in NA[26]); see Burton, *Gal*, pp.114-15; Betz, *Gal*, p.112 n493. We are sceptical of attempts to emend the text: e.g. J.C. O'Neill, *The Recovery of Paul's letter to the Galatians* (London: SPCK, 1972), pp.39-42 which omits ἐθνικῶς καὶ οὐκ; and Tomson, *Paul*, p.229 favours the shorter version which lacks καὶ οὐχὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶς.

that prompted Paul to rebuke Peter and to engage in the theological arguments of 2.15-21? In order to come to a better picture of the crisis, one needs to go back to 2.12 and ask, What was the nature of the table-fellowship that Peter enjoyed before the 'certain men from James' arrived? What was the kind of behaviour pattern or lifestyle which could be described as living 'like a Gentile and not like a Jew' (ἐθνικῶς καὶ οὐχὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶς; 2.14b)? What did the 'certain men from James' want to impose on the mixed racial community upon arrival which caused Peter to change his behaviour? What does Paul mean by Peter 'compelling Gentiles to judaize' (τὰ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις ἰουδαΐζειν; 2.14b)?

Dunn in the 1983 study 'The Incident at Antioch' attempts to clarify some of these questions by locating the original dispute in the formative period of the earliest Christian church and in the social, political and religious world of first century Judaism. Dunn draws attention to the *religious* significance of a shared meal in Judaism, how devout Jews were concerned with questions of who was and who was not an acceptable table companion and how food was being prepared.[25] He argues that the limits were determined 'partly by the explicit food laws in the Torah, particularly concerning unclean foods (Lev 11.1-23; Deut 14.3-21), and in differing degrees by the multiplying *halakoth* of the oral tradition concerning tithes and ritual purity';[26] there was also a wide spectrum of teaching and practice concerning the degrees of association - 'from the *am-ha-aretz* who knew not the law (cf. John 7.49) and Jesus who flouted it at one end, to the stricter Pharisees and "the many" of the Essenes at the other, with varying degrees of scrupulousness and disagreement about particular details in between' (p.141).

Dunn argues that there were two different attitudes towards Gentiles: while most devout Jews would refuse to have any social intercourse with Gentiles (for example, stories of Daniel, Tobit, and Judith were held forth as examples of the faithfulness and success of Jews who refused to eat Gentile food, cf. Dan 1.8-16; Tob 1.10-13;

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[25]Dunn, 'Incident', *JPL*, p.137.

[26]Dunn, 'Incident', *JPL*, p.137; see pp.137-41. On ritual purity, Dunn, p.139 refers to J. Neusner, *From Politics to Piety* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1973), p.86; *The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees before 70* (3 vols; Leiden: EJ Brill, 1971), 3:291-97.

Jdt 10.5; 12.1-20),[27] some for fear of idolatry and impurity associated with Gentiles (cf. *Makkot* 2.3; *Oholot* 18.7; *Eliyahu Rabba* 10; Jub 22.16; Aristeas 106, 139, 142), there were still some rabbis who maintained a very positive and welcoming attitudes towards Gentiles who showed themselves sympathetic to the religion of the Jews, not least in relation to proselytes, resident aliens and God-fearers.[28] Thus Dunn concludes: since there was a broad range of attachments to Judaism and Jewish ways from the side of sympathetic Gentiles, 'there would be a broad range of social intercourse between faithful Jews and God-fearing Gentiles, with strict Jews avoiding table-fellowship as far as possible, and those less scrupulous in matters of tithing and purity willingly extending and accepting invitations to meals where such Gentiles would be present'.[29]

With this spectrum of attitudes in mind, Dunn argues that 'the antithesis ἐθνικῶς/'Ιουδαϊκῶς [2.14b] is not precise enough to give us much help, since it could embrace a wide range of contrasts between practices typically Gentile and those typically Jewish' and suggests that the antithesis could be 'between what we may call a Noahic lifestyle and a Sinaitic lifestyle, the one being characteristic of God-fearing Gentiles, the other of loyal Jews'.[30] Since the word ἰουδαΐζειν could denote 'the range of possible degrees of assimilation to Jewish customs, with circumcision as the end-point of judaizing; ...evidently one could "judaize" without going the

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[27]But note: Daniel etc have shown how social intercourse was possible *despite* and even while maintaining food laws.

[28]Dunn, 'Incident', *JPL*, p.142-47. On the problem of Gentile impurity, see G. Alon, 'The Levitical Uncleanness of Gentiles' in *Jews, Judaism and the Classical World* (ET; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1977), pp.146-89; against A. Büchler, 'The Levitical Impurity of the Gentiles in Palestine before the Year 70', *JQR* 17 (1927), pp.1-81.

[29]Dunn, 'Incident', *JPL*, p.147; see also *Partings*, pp.38-44, 102-13.

[30]Dunn, 'Incident', *JPL*, p.148. On the seven Noahic laws, Dunn, p.144 refers to *b. Abodah Zarah* 64b; *b. Sanhedrin* 56ab; see G.F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era* (3 vols; Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1927-30), 3:339; Str-B 2:729-739; 3:37-38; S. Schechter, *Aspects of Rabbinic Theology* (1909; NY: Schocken, 1961), pp.206-207; K.G. Kuhn, 'προσήλυτος', *TDNT* 6:720-44, here pp.740-41; now D. Novak, *The Image of the Non-Jew in Judaism* (Lewiston/Queenston: Edwin Mellen, 1983); A.F. Segal, *Paul the Convert* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1990), pp.194-200.

whole way (circumcision)', it is not necessary to imply that Peter was compelling Gentile believers to adopt circumcision at 2.14b.[31] Dunn goes on to conclude that 'the Gentile Christians were already observing the *basic food laws* prescribed by the Torah' and what certain men from James demanded was a 'much more scrupulous observance of the rulings on what the dietary laws involved, especially with regard to ritual purity and tithing' (p.154).

In Dunn's opinion, two further observations support his 'intermediate' reading: (1) Since a high proportion of the earliest Gentile converts were likely to have been from the ranks of God-fearers, it is more likely that they would have continued to observe the Jewish dietary laws in some measure upon joining the new sect. It is also unlikely that the Jewish believers at Antioch would have abandoned the law completely; that would have provoked strong reactions from local Jews long before the Antioch Incident.[32] (2) The chronological order of 2.1-14 makes it unlikely that the men from James were insisting that Gentile believers who had already undertaken basic dietary observances should go the whole way and become proselytes by being circumcised. It is also not appropriate to call Peter's conduct in such case as 'living like a Gentile'.[33] Therefore, Dunn submits that

> The table-fellowship at Antioch had not totally disregarded the law but probably had paid due heed to the basic dietary laws of the Torah...The men from James, however, were shocked at what seemed to them a minimal level of Torah observance and a far too casual and unacceptable attitude to the Torah. They would no doubt point out that the earlier agreement made in Jerusalem had in no way changed the obligations to Torah obedience resting on the Jewish believer, and must have insisted that the Jewish believers in Antioch conduct themselves with greater discipline

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[31]Dunn, 'Incident', *JPL*, p.154; p.149 referring to Esth 8.17 (LXX); Theodotus in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 9.22.5; Josephus, *Jewish War* 2.17.10 (§454) and 2.18.2 (§§462-3); cf. Plutarch, *Life of Cicero*, 7.6; Ignatius, *Magnesians* 10.3; *Acts of Pilate* (A) 2.1.

[32]Dunn, 'Incident', *JPL*, p.152 (cf. pp.144-45); thus Dunn rejects the view that the community had already abandoned laws of table-fellowship, and what 'certain men from James' insisted upon was a *greater observance* of the law, perhaps the enforcement of the (apostolic) 'decree' referred to in Acts 15.29 (e.g. D.R. Catchpole, 'Paul, James and the Apostolic Decree', *NTS* 23 [1976-77], pp.428-44).

[33]Dunn, 'Incident', *JPL*, p.153-54; thus he finds it difficult to agree with Suhl, *Paulus*, p.71; Howard, *Paul*, p.25; Betz, *Gal*, p.112; Schlier, *Gal*, p.86.

> and greater loyalty to the Torah, more like their fellow believers in Palestine and with a similar regard for the heritage of Jewish tradition and custom (p.158).

Dunn's thesis has not escaped criticisms. For example, P.F. Esler queries whether it was ever possible for Jews and Gentiles to have table-fellowship in this period: since Gentiles were thought to be actually impure 'it is difficult to imagine how it would be possible for any genuine table-fellowship to occur even between Jew and Gentile in a Jewish home'.[34] According to Esler, the only possible meaning for ἰουδαΐζειν in 2.14b is 'to become Jews through circumcision' (p.88).

On the other hand, Holtz argues that the meaning of ἐθνικῶς can hardly denote a lifestyle somewhat on the pattern of the Noahic commandments: the contrast ἐθνικῶς ζῆν - ἰουδαΐζειν is not a matter of relative less-or-more adherence to food laws, but describes a basic transformation of lifestyle.[35] According to Holtz, it was already an established custom in the Antioch church for Jewish and Gentile Christians to enjoy *free* table-fellowship with one another, apparently on an equal footing which knew no conditions or restrictions.[36] Similarly, Gilthvedt argues that the term ἐθνικῶς generally refers to one who no longer lives in observance of Jewish customs and law, or who lives in contrast to them: 'Peter's religious status is that of being a Jew who, having given up his Jewish way of life, lives like a Gentile (ἐθνικῶς), no longer observing the Jewish law (οὐκ Ἰουδαϊκῶς)'.[37] And Sanders has come out strongly against Dunn that tithing and purity laws was ever a factor in the Antioch dispute.[38]

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[34]P.F. Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts* (SNTSMS 57; Cambridge: CUP, 1987), pp.73-86, here p.86. Cf. Howard, *Paul*, p.xix.

[35]Holtz, 'Zwischenfall', p.351.

[36]Holtz, 'Zwischenfall', pp.347-48, 352-53; followed by Fung, *Gal*, p.107.

[37]Gilthvedt, *Dying*, pp.174, 177; referring to Betz, *Gal*, p.112; Bruce, *Gal*, p.133.

[38]E.P. Sanders, 'Jewish Association with Gentiles and Galatians 2.11-14', in *The Conversation Continues: Studies in Paul and John in Honor of J.L. Martyn* (edited by R.T. Fortna and B.R. Gaventa; Nashville: Abingdon, 1990), pp.170-88; cf. *Jewish Law*, pp.166-236; *Paul*, p.53.

In contrast to Esler, Tomson has come to a similar conclusion that there are at least two divergent views on relations with Gentiles.[39] Segal remarks that 'there is no law in rabbinic literature that prevents a Jew from eating with a gentile'.[40]

In reply to criticisms, Dunn points out that Esler's discussion of the issue is basically in terms of 'two monolithic and undifferentiated blocks - Jews and Gentiles' and has not taken seriously the evidence that there are some 'less scrupulous Jews' and some 'God-fearing Gentiles' in the spectrum.[41] Dunn's argument that there is a range of levels of social interaction possible between Jews and Gentiles in the Diaspora indeed cannot be denied.[42] This observation is confirmed by S.J.D. Cohen:[43]

> A Gentile can show respect or affection for Judaism in seven ways, by: (1) admiring some aspects of Judaism; (2) acknowledging the power of the god of the Jews or incorporating him into the pagan pantheon; (3) benefiting the Jews or being conspicuously friendly to Jews; (4) practising some or many of the rituals of the Jews; (5) venerating the god of the Jews and denying or ignoring the pagan gods; (6) joining the Jewish community; (7) converting to Judaism and 'becoming a Jew'.

Similarly, S. McKnight concludes that 'the wall between Judaism and paganism may have been high, but it was a wall made from steps and there were Gentiles at each level'.[44] From this perspective, it is not necessary to interpret the antithesis ἐθνικῶς καὶ οὐχὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶς as watertight differentiation as if one can be either entirely Jewish (i.e. full observance of the law) or entirely Gentile (i.e. total

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[39]See Tomson, *Paul*, pp.230-36; he also thinks purity laws are out of the question, pp.228-29; cf. Ziesler, *Gal*, p.18.

[40]Segal, *Paul*, pp.231-33.

[41]See Dunn, 'Incident', *JPL*, pp.180-81.

[42]Josephus (*Contra Apionem*, 2.123, 209-210, 261, 280-286; *Antiquities*, 3.217) and Philo (*De vita Mosis*, 2.17-25) indicate the considerable attractiveness of Jewish customs for non-Jews, including the sabbath and the food laws; similarly, some Roman sources also confirm the attraction exerted by Judaism for many (cf. Plutarch, *Life of Cicero*, 7.6; Juvenal 14.96-106; Cassius Dio 67.14.1-3; Suetonius, *Domitian*, 12.2).

[43]S.J.D. Cohen, 'Crossing the Boundary and Becoming a Jew', *HTR* 82 (1989), pp.13-33, quote from pp.14-15.

[44]S. McKnight, *A Light Among the Gentiles* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), p.100; see also pp.11-29, 90-101.

abandoning of the law) with no intermediate possibilities at all.[45]

On the question whether the expression ἐθνικῶς ζῆν can refer to a lifestyle characteristic of God-fearing Gentiles with a moderate observance of food laws or to a complete disregard of all Jewish laws, the issue is probably more difficult to settle. Dunn, in reply to Holtz, refers again to the circumstantial evidence that it is very unlikely that Jews and former God-fearers who became Christians had abandoned Jewish observances in toto in the middle decades of the first century.[46] 'Complete abandonment of the law *in toto* in this area would have created a stir among the local Jews long before' the Antioch Incident.[47] Furthermore, 'the smaller the gap between the "men from James" and a complete disregard for the law, the wider the gap between the "men from James" and those who subsequently demanded circumcision of Gentile converts'.[48] Another consideration which might help solve the meaning of ἐθνικῶς ζῆν in 2.14b is what Dunn now refers to as the polemical context of Paul's accusation: the contrast between 'living ἐθνικῶς' and 'living 'Ιουδαϊκῶς' could well be an exaggeration.[49] Thus the meaning of 'living ἐθνικῶς' is determined very much by how 'living 'Ιουδαϊκῶς' is defined and by whom; see esp. Jub 6.32-35; PssSol 8.13 where some Jews condemn other Jewish practice in similar terms.[50] In this respect, the factional expression

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[45]Cf. Schürer, 3.1.161: 'in the Hellenistic-Roman period a large number of gentiles, who attached themselves more or less closely to Jewish communities, took part in the Jewish divine service and observed Jewish precepts sometimes more, sometimes less completely'.

[46]Dunn, 'Incident', *JPL*, p.179; cf. *Partings*, pp.125-26.

[47]Dunn, *Partings*, p.131; cf. Tomson, *Paul*, p.228.

[48]Dunn, 'Incident', *JPL*, p.179.

[49]Dunn, *Partings*, pp.131-32. Cf. Sanders, 'Jewish Association', p.186: 'Paul's statement that Peter had been "living like a Gentile" (Gal 2.14) was exaggerated' (cf. pp.176-80); Tomson, *Paul*, p.230; Verseput, 'Paul', p.52 n34.

[50]Dunn, *Partings*, pp.131-32 suggests that at 2.14b, as in 2.15, Paul was not using his own language (by that time Peter had ceased 'living like a Gentile'), but the factional language used against Peter earlier by the men from James. In this respect the present tense ζῇς could well be an echo of the rebuke brought by the James people (p.306 n61; similarly Tomson, *Paul*, p.230). This seems to be a better explanation than Zahn, *Gal*, p.118 and Howard, *Paul*, pp.xx-xxii that the present tense indicates Peter had continued 'to live like a Gentile' in other matters.

'living ἐθνικῶς' does not necessary mean total abandonment of everything that would normally have marked out a Jew.[51]

With regard to the limited evidence we have from Paul (only 2.11-14) and the polemical nature of his description of the crisis, we should perhaps allow the *circumstantial evidence* to inform even more our reconstruction of the nature of the table-fellowship before the arrival of the men from James. In our opinion, Dunn's observation is in the right direction: The more likely that the earliest Gentile converts came from the ranks of God-fearers or 'Jewish sympathizers'[52] the less likely is the opinion that Jewish and Gentile Christians had already abandoned all Jewish observances before the crisis.[53]

Secondly, according to Paul's account in 2.1-14, the Jerusalem church had made a concession on *circumcision* for Gentile believers, but nothing concerning Jewish dietary laws or other aspects of Jewish lifestyle seems to have been discussed. Thus it is very unlikely that Peter could have compromised or backed down on the demand for circumcision which had already been discussed and agreed upon; it is also unthinkable that Barnabas would have been swayed. However, it is more understandable that the question of *food laws* would emerge not long after the Jerusalem meeting. Thus the word **Ἰουδαΐζειν** in 2.14b can hardly refer to Peter compelling Gentile believers to be circumcised, but it is more likely to mean 'to adopt a (characteristically) Jewish way of life' - to adopt Jewish customs, to attend Jewish synagogues, to identify in some measure with Jews.[54]

On weighing the evidence, therefore we find ourselves more

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[51]Dunn, *Partings*, p.132; *contra* Betz, *Gal*, p.112: 'Cephas' total emancipation from Judaism'; Holtz, 'Zwischenfall', pp.351-52; Böttger, 'Paulus', p.80.

[52]Cf. **οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν** (Acts 13.16, 26; cf. 10.2, 22); **οἱ σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν** (Acts 13.43, 50; 16.14; 17.4, 17; 18.7). On 'God-fearers' and 'Jewish Sympathizers', see esp. Schürer, 3.1.165-76; McKnight, *Light*, pp.110-14; Cohen, 'Crossing', pp.31-33.

[53]Contra Holtz, 'Zwischenfall', pp.347-48, 352-53; Fung, *Gal*, p.107; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.78; Baird, 'Gal', p.1207; cf. Ziesler, *Gal*, p.20.

[54]So Dunn, 'Incident', *JPL*, p.149; *Partings*, p.125; Matera, *Gal*, pp.87, 91; cf. Mussner, *Gal*, p.145 n53: 'In das **Ἰουδαΐζειν** ist zwar bei den antiochenischen Heidenchristen nicht die Beschneidung eingeschlossen, aber das Leben nach den jüdischen Speisegesetzen'; Cohen, 'Crossing', p.33; Schürer, 3.1:161-65, 169-74; *contra* Duncan, *Gal*, p.62; Howard, *Paul*, pp.25-27; Schlier, *Gal*, p.87; Betz, *Gal*, p.112; Esler, *Community*, p.88.

persuaded by Dunn's *relative* interpretation of the antithesis between living ἐθνικῶς and living Ἰουδαϊκῶς. 'From the perspective of the men from James, the modest level of law-observance in the table-fellowship at Antioch was tantamount to abandoning the law altogether; the Jewish believers at Antioch were already too far down the slippery slope to complete apostasy'.[55]

2.2.3. The Theological Crisis According to Paul:

What is the underlying issue that Paul cannot tolerate at all? According to Paul's account, the crucial point is that the earliest Christian community as epitomised by the incident at Antioch is now confronted by the issue of Jewish *food laws*, another significant identity and boundary defining marker for the Jewish people.[56] The mixed Christian community is challenged not only by the crucial question over food laws, but also by its *theological implications* for Jewish and Gentile Christians.[57] Thus the immediately pressing question for Paul to deal with is, how should *Jewish Christians* conduct their living before God? Should they continue to define their lifestyle by covenantal nomism? What is the proper behaviour pattern ('staying in') for Jewish Christians in a mixed community? Should one be a Jew and continue to be Jewish in order to remain in God's covenant?[58]

The question, however, concerns not only the Jewish Christians, but *all* Christians, especially when they belong to one community. Thus how should *Christian living* be properly and correctly defined in the light of God's eschatological act in Christ Jesus? According to

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[55]Dunn, *Partings*, p.132 (italics removed). Dunn has in effect conceded Sanders' criticism in relation to tithing, but on purity see his qualification and response in pp.109-10.

[56]On the significance of dietary laws within the scope of covenantal nomism, see Dunn, *Partings*, pp.30-33.

[57]Cf. Cousar, *Gal*, p.47; Lührmann, *Gal*, p.42; Ziesler, *Gal*, p.20; Fung, *Gal*, p.111.

[58]Cf. Barclay, *Obeying*, pp.76-77, 81-83. See also the critique on Sanders' one-sided reading of 'getting in' by R.H. Gundry, 'Grace, Works, and Staying Saved in Paul', *Bib* 66 (1985), pp.1-38. The Antiochean incident seems to be about how *Jewish Christians* with a 'new identity' should live and conduct their 'behaviour pattern'; the problem is not simply about how one can 'get in', but how to 'stay in'.

Paul, if *Jewish Christians* have to be Jewish for any reason, to continue to define their behaviour pattern according to covenantal nomism, then by implication it is also necessary for *Gentile Christians* to 'judaize'. It is therefore quite possible that Paul considered Peter's changing behaviour as compromising the very nature of the gospel: the passive act of 'withdrawal from table-fellowship with Gentile Christians' was tantamount to an active act of 'compelling Gentiles to live like Jews' (*ἰουδαΐζειν*). What is considered proper for *Jewish* Christians would be by implication also proper and necessary for *Gentile* converts. Jewish covenantal nomism becomes obligatory even for Gentile believers.[59]

However, Paul cannot and will not compromise on the equal status of Gentile Christians in the community of God's people; neither can he accept the consequence that the Christian Church be split into two, a Jewish Christian part and a Gentile Christian part.[60] From Paul's underlying convictions,[61] Gentile believers should remain *Gentile* and need not be Jewish in order to be accepted by God in Christ: Gentiles are accepted by God as Gentiles.[62] Therefore the option for Gentile Christians to 'live '*Ιουδαϊκῶς*' is ruled out by Paul completely.

In response to the crisis at Antioch Paul had to clarify the issue of appropriate behaviour patterns for *Jewish Christians*, and to redefine Christian identity and behaviour patterns more clearly so that the Christian community of Jews and Gentiles can remain as *one* in Christ. For Paul, the enquiry goes further. How should *Jewish*

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[59]This again shows why we think Paul's discussion with *Jewish Christians* in 2.15-21 can helpfully contribute to the ultimate goal of his argument before the Galatian Gentile Christians (§2.1.3).

[60]That both Jewish and Gentile Christians are equal members in the community and that there can be only *one* people of God are vital (non-negotiable) presuppositions for Paul (Ziesler, *Gal*, pp.14, 18; cf. Schütz, *Paul*, pp.154-55; J.P. Sampley, *Pauline Partnership in Christ* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980], p.40).

[61]Cf. J.D.G. Dunn, '"A Light to the Gentiles": the Significance of the Damascus Road Christophany for Paul', [1987] *JPL*, pp.89-107; *Partings*, p.122.

[62]Sanders, *Paul*, p.50. See again how Paul defines his gospel as 'the gospel *τῆς ἀκροβυστίας*' (2.7) and his calling to preach *ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν* (1.16; Rom 1.5; cf. Eph 3.8; 1 Tim 2.7; Acts 9.15; 15.12); also T.D. Gordon, 'The Problem at Galatia', *Int* 41 (1987), pp.32-43.

Christians relate the (new) faith in Messiah Jesus to their traditional understanding of covenantal nomism? Is the gospel of Christ-crucified merely an additional tag onto 'righteousness through the law' (cf. 2.21b)? Should they continue to live 'Ιουδαϊκῶς as if nothing had happened? Is covenantal nomism still compatible with life 'in Christ'? Ultimately, what is the standard - Torah, Christ, or both? Thus the immediate purpose for Paul in 2.15-21 is to persuade his fellow *Jewish Christians* that a new perspective is needed with respect to the gospel of Christ.[63]

There are matters we will have to take up in the discussion of 2.15-21 as such. For the time being, we shall make a few observations on 2.15-21 which have emerged from the above discussion. (1) It is crucial to note that Paul's first talk of 'justification by faith' (2.16) arose out of the Antioch crisis. The immediate context is not about 'How can I find a gracious God?' or 'How can I be saved?' (as some theologians used to think), but about 'How can Jews and Gentiles live and worship together in one community?' Indeed, Paul's discussion is found in a *community* context, with respect to how Gentile Christians can be included within the messianic community of Israel.[64]

(2) It seems the question of 'living ἐθνικῶς or 'Ιουδαϊκῶς' at 2.14b has given way to the talk of 'living to God' (θεῷ ζήσω) at 2.19a and 'living in faith' (ἐν πίστει ζῶ) in 2.20, because Christian identity (whether Jewish or Gentile by origin) is by nature 'being co-crucified with Christ' (Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι; 2.19b). It would appear that Paul wanted to convince other *Jewish Christians* that the responsible behaviour pattern before God is no longer defined by 'ἐθνικῶς or 'Ιουδαϊκῶς'; the focus is to be found in Christ and faith!

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[63]According to Dunn's reconstruction, the Antioch Incident has marked a significant step forward in Paul's theological thinking because 'Paul had come to see that the principle of "justification by faith" applied not simply to the acceptance of the gospel in conversion, but also to the whole of the believers' life'; 'The covenantal nomism of Judaism and of the Jewish believers...was in fact a contradiction of that agreed understanding of justification through faith' ('Incident', *JPL*, pp.158-59). See also *Partings*, pp.134-35; cf. Matera, *Gal*, p.91.

[64]See Stendahl, *Paul*, pp.23-40, 78-96; cf. Dunn, 'Incident', *JPL*, p.130-31; *Partings*, p.14; Ziesler, *Pauline*, p.89.

(3) Is it not possible that the reason why some Jewish Christians took an extra cautious attitude towards table-fellowship with Gentile Christians is related to their *fear* of 'being found sinners' (ἁμαρτωλοί; cf. 2.17b)? If sin is defined by Torah observance, would not negligence or transgression be condemned as wholly unacceptable? Is this a possible reason why Paul has to move from the issue of *food laws* to *Torah* itself ('dying to law'; 2.19a)?

2.3. THE CRISIS IN THE GALATIAN CHURCHES

2.3.1. Introduction:

In order to understand more fully Paul's rhetorical response to the Galatian churches, one should also attempt to define the rhetorical *situation* of the unit, i.e. the *Sitz im Leben* of the letter.[1] Although commentators disagree about the precise circumstances which occasioned Paul's letter to the Galatians, all recognise that there is a sense of urgency in Paul's response. It is therefore necessary for us to interpret Paul's theological argument in 2.15-21 not only in light of his previous conflict with Peter and other Jewish Christians at Antioch, but also in light of his present, urgent, pastoral response to the Gentile Christians in Galatia.

The urgency of Paul's reaction is clearly seen in the opening section: instead of the usual thanksgiving period, Paul begins with θαυμάζω, an expression of dissatisfaction and astonishment in the *exordium* (1.6-12). Paul goes on to express grave concern over the Galatian Gentile believers, and accuses them of abandoning the God who called them and of turning to a different gospel, which is not really another gospel (εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον, ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο; 1.6b-7a).[2] Paul warns them also of the 'trouble-makers' (οἱ ταράσσοντες)[3] who are trying to pervert the gospel of Christ (1.7b); they are urged to stand firm in the gospel (1.8-9).

When Paul turns again directly to the addressees at 3.1, in a series of rhetorical questions ('Who has bewitched you...? Did you receive the Spirit by works of the law, or by hearing with faith?...'; 3.1-5), he reminds them of their experience of the Holy Spirit. Coming to the end of the theological discussion, Paul expresses again his concern for the Galatians (4.8-20), including his

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[1]See Kennedy, *Interpretation*, pp.33-38 for the steps in rhetorical criticism.

[2]See Burton, *Gal*, pp.22-24.

[3]Cf. Acts 15.24, 'some persons from us have troubled (ἐτάραξαν) you with words, unsettling your minds...' (see also Acts 17.8,13). Barclay, *Obeying*, p.36 n1 suggests that Paul's choice of terms for his opponents may echo OT references such as Josh 6.18, 7.25; Judg 11.35; 1 Sam 14.29; cf. 1 Macc 3.5; 7.22.

fear that his labour might have been in vain (4.11; cf. 2.2).[4] According to Paul's assessment of the crisis in the Galatian churches, the *gospel* of Christ was at risk.

Since Paul saw the crisis in Galatian churches, the instability of the Gentile believers, as somewhat closely related to the external threat coming from the trouble-makers, he launches his most severe attack on the opponents at 5.7-12 in the midst of the *exhortatio*. Paul calls them 'agitators' (οἱ ἀναστατοῦντες; 5.12), a term used of subversive political activities.[5] Paul accuses them of hindering the Galatians from obeying the truth (5.7); their persuasion is highly questionable (5.8);[6] they and/or their teaching is like 'a little yeast [which] leavens the whole batch of dough', an infection which soon spread to the whole body (5.9).[7] In highly polemical language, Paul even expresses the wish that they would castrate themselves (5.12) and thus cut themselves off from the community![8]

Then in the final postscript/*conclusio* of 6.11-18, Paul compares again the opponents with himself and seeks to discredit them further. Paul says, the opponents boast in the flesh (ἐν σαρκί) and concern themselves with circumcision, to the extent of compelling Gentile believers to be circumcised in order to avoid persecution for the cross of Christ (6.12-13); but he himself would boast in nothing except the cross of Christ (6.14) and is convinced that 'neither

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[4]Presumably Paul regains his confidence in 5.10a - it is a confidence in the Lord that the Galatian believers would not take the other view; οὐδὲν ἄλλο φρονήσετε probably echoes 1.6-7.

[5]The aorist form of the verb ἀναστατόω is used in Acts 17.6 ('these men who have turned the world upside down have come here also') and 21.38 ('Are you not the Egyptian, then, who recently stirred up a revolt'); cf. Dan 7.23 LXX. The sense of οἱ ἀναστατοῦντες is much stronger than οἱ ταράσσοντες in 1.7. See BAGD, 'ἀναστατόω' (61); Betz, *Gal*, p.270; Bruce, *Gal*, p.238.

[6]Betz suggests that Paul is thinking of Satan behind their persuasion (*Gal*, p.264 with n107); cf. Fung, *Gal*, p.236.

[7]The proverb is quoted also in 1 Cor 5.6; cf. Hos 7.4. On the imagery see Fung, *Gal*, pp.235-36; Matera, *Gal*, p.184.

[8]According to LXX Deut 23.1, a eunuch is called ἀποκεκομμένος and he is debarred from the assembly of the Lord (cf. Philo, *Legum Allegoria* 3.8; *De Specialibus Legibus* 1.325; see Bruce, *Gal*, p.238). Some suggest that Paul's sarcasm may allude to the ritual emasculation of the *galloi*, priests of Cybele-Attis (Ridderbos, *Gal*, pp.194-95; Fitzmyer, 'Gal', 47:12). The irony is recognised by scholars: see Betz, *Gal*, p.270; Räisänen, *Paul*, p.76; Sanders, *Paul*, p.53.

circumcision counts for anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creation' (6.15).[9]

Thus, the crisis in the Galatian churches, as Paul saw it, was closely related to the intrusion and disturbance caused by the opponents, or 'trouble-makers' or 'agitators' as Paul called them.[10] In the following, we shall briefly discuss the *wider context* by looking at the complex questions relating to who are Paul's opponents in Galatia? where did they come from? what is their message?[11] Then we shall attempt to give an explanation as to how and why Paul's opponents could insist on bodily circumcision even for Gentile believers which so clearly contradicts the original agreement arrived at at the Jerusalem meeting (cf. 2.7-9)? Finally, we shall look at how strategically 2.15-21 could contribute to Paul's overall argument.

2.3.2. A Brief Note on 'Mirror Reading':

Before we proceed further, it is proper for us to explain what we mean by 'mirror reading' and why we have to use this method with caution. By 'mirror reading' we mean that by reflecting or reversing some of the words or comments in the text like a *mirror*, we can partially reconstruct the other side of the story. But the method itself has come under severe criticism by Lyons at the end of his critique of existing scholarly approaches to the quest for Paul's opponents. Lyons finds the method of reconstruction based on 'mirror

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[9]On the triple death in 6.14, see P.S. Minear, 'The Crucified World: The Enigma of Galatians 6.14', in *Theologia Crucis - Signum Crucis. FS E. Dinkler* (edited by C. Andresen and G. Klein; Tübingen: JCB Mohr, 1979), pp.395-407.

[10]Traditionally scholars used to call them 'Judaizers', but we would like to use the term 'opponents' or 'agitators' as in 5.12, and to preserve the original sense of ἰουδαΐζειν which means to adopt Jewish customs or to live like a Jew. In this original sense the real 'judaizers' are not Paul's opponents, but the Gentile believers in Antioch and Galatia. Recently, Martyn ('Law-Observant') thinks the term 'agitators' reflects too much of Paul's bias and suggests that a more neutral label such as 'teachers' might be better. But we are not sure the opponents would have owned this title either. In the following we will continue to employ the term 'agitators' interchangeably with 'opponents' in the *evaluative* sense rather than in the descriptive sense (see Hansen, *Abraham*, p.87).

[11]See surveys of various views by Jewett, 'Agitators', pp.198-200; Eckert, *Verkündigung*, pp.1-18; Schlier, *Gal*, pp.19-24; Mussner, *Gal*, pp.11-29; Howard, *Paul*, pp.1-19; Brinsmead, *Gal*, pp.9-22.

reading' totally inadequate and comes close to condemning the method itself.[12]

In our opinion, Lyon's warning against excessive 'mirror reading' is timely, but tends to be too pessimistic. His criticism is now met by a careful study by J.M.G. Barclay.[13] He argues that since we can know something about the identity and the message of the agitators in the Galatian churches only by relying on what Paul has said about them in this letter, our only literary source, we have to engage in some kind of 'mirror reading', but carefully.[14] Certainly there are dangers and pitfalls in the method, especially in reading our own image or concerns into the text, in over-interpreting the evidence, or not taking Paul's polemics carefully.[15] Thus Barclay suggests seven appropriate criteria for the exercise, namely: type of utterance; tone; frequency; clarity; unfamiliarity; consistency; and historical plausibility.[16] In conclusion we agree with Barclay that 'What is needed is a carefully controlled method of working which uses logical criteria and proceeds with suitable caution'.[17]

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[12]See Lyons, *Pauline*, pp.96-112.

[13]See J.M.G. Barclay, 'Mirror Reading a Polemical Letter: Galatians as a Test Case', *JSNT* 31 (1987), pp.73-93; summary in *Obeying*, pp.37-40. Cf. J.L. Sumney, *Identifying Paul's Opponents* (JSNTS 40; Sheffield: JSOT, 1990), pp.77-113.

[14]Cf. Longenecker, *Gal*, p.lxxxix: 'despite its difficulties, dangers, and frequent abuse, mirror reading is the only method here available to us'; Betz, *Gal*, p.6: 'Not everything that Paul denies is necessarily an accusation by his opposition, and not everything that he accuses his opponents of doing or thinking represents their actual goals and intentions. Paul's references must be interpreted in terms of their rhetorical origin and function before they can be used as the basis for conclusions about the opponents'; Matera, *Gal*, pp.6-7.

[15]Barclay, 'Mirror', pp.79-82; cf. Lührmann, *Gal*, p.104. For example in assessing the motivation of Paul's opponents: Are they really in fear of persecution for the sake of Christ (5.7-12; 6.12-13)? This difficulty is acknowledged and discussed by Mussner, *Gal*, pp.27-28; Eckert, *Verkündigung*, pp.22-26, 234-36; Borse, *Gal*, p.23 seems to be over-confident and dependent on Paul's remarks in saying that the opponents' zeal for circumcision is out of self-interest and cowardice.

[16]For details, see Barclay, 'Mirror', pp.84-85. The *scale of certainty* sliding from what is 'certain or virtually certain', through 'highly probable', 'probable', 'possible' and 'conceivable' to what is 'incredible' is a helpful reminder for all scholarly reconstructions (p.85; cf. Sanders, *Jesus*, pp.326-27).

[17]Barclay, 'Mirror', p.84. It does appear that Brinsmead, *Gal* is

2.3.3. The Identity and Message of the Agitators:

With this cautionary remark in mind we shall proceed with the reconstruction of who are these 'trouble-makers' (1.7) or 'agitators' (5.12) in Galatia. In the letter Paul fiercely accuses the opponents of perverting the gospel of Christ (1.7); bewitching the Galatians (3.1); seeking their own good and trying to shut the Galatians out (4.17); hindering the Galatians from obeying the truth (5.7); compelling the Gentile believers to be circumcised in order to boast in the flesh and to avoid persecution for the cross of Christ (6.12-13); and yet they seem not to keep the law themselves (6.13a). They are like a little leaven in the lump (cf. 5.9). Paul calls for their expulsion (cf. 4.30) and wishes they would exercise self-castration (cf. 5.12).

Who are these agitators? Where do they come from? Most scholars agree that the agitators are *one* homogeneous group which had come from *outside* the Galatian congregations.[18] The singular ὁ ταράσσων ('trouble-maker'; 5.10) seems to suggest there is a ringleader.[19] According to 2.12, there were 'certain men from James' coming to Antioch, presumably coming from Jerusalem where James was one of the 'Pillars'. Similarly, the conflict over circumcision between Paul and the 'false brethren' was fought behind the scenes during the Jerusalem meeting (2.3-5). And if the verb 'compel' (ἀναγκάζω) which is used in 2.3 and 6.12 (cf. 2.14) is yet another indication that

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guilty of over-reading too much *into* the whole letter. See the devastating review by D.E. Aune in *CBQ* 46 (1984), pp.145-47 and comments by Barclay, 'Mirror', pp.82-83.

[18]E.g. Jewett, 'Agitators', p.204; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.xciv; Barclay, *Obeying*, p.43; Kümmel, *Introduction*, pp.298-99; Carson, Moo and Morris, *Introduction*, p.295; Matera, *Gal*, p.8. Contra the 'two-front theory' of W. Lütgert, *Gesetz und Geist* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1919) and J.H. Ropes, *The Singular Problem of the Epistle to the Galatians* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1929) that Paul is combatting Judaizers and libertine pneumatics in the community. It is also unlikely that the opponents were *local* Jewish Christians as argued by J.B. Tyson, 'Paul's Opponents in Galatia', *NovT* 10 (1968), pp.241-54. Hansen, *Abraham*, pp.86-87 reminds us that the change of person from second to third can also be a rhetorical device to drive a wedge between the opponents and the Galatian believers.

[19]Barrett, *Freedom*, pp.14-15, p.68. But some think the singular form is generic, thus similar to the plural form in 1.7 (Betz, *Gal*, p.267; Fung, *Gal*, p.238; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.232). See Bruce, *Gal*, pp.235-36.

Paul seems to see them as a similar group,[20] then it is very probable that the agitators might come from *Jerusalem* (note also the prominence of Jerusalem in 4.25-26 and in the *narratio*).[21]

On the basis of 1.6-9 and Paul's accusing them of perverting the gospel, it seems clear that the opponents were *Jewish Christians*, though there are some difficulties related to the textual problem of **οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι** in 6.13a, and whether it is in the middle or passive voice.[22] A few scholars have argued that the opponents were judaizing Gentiles ('those who are getting themselves circumcised'; **περιτεμνόμενοι** as permissive middle),[23] or Jewish-Christian *Gnostics* according to Schmithals,[24] but the majority of scholars remain convinced that they were *Jewish Christians* from Jerusalem (cf. 4.30; see also Acts 21.20).[25] The use of the *present* participle

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[20]It appears that there is some sort of continuity in the conflicts at Jerusalem, Antioch and now in Galatia. According to Eckert, there is a sort of conection: 'zumindest einen geistigen Zusammenhang' (*Verkündigung*, p.235). But we cannot assume that they must be the same people. See Kümmel, *Introduction*, p.301; Betz, *Gal*, p.7; Barrett, *Freedom*, p.6. In our opinion, Watson's conclusion that 'the strongest reason for identifying Paul's opponents in Galatia with the "men from James" is that exactly the same problem had arisen in Galatia as at Antioch: Should Gentiles submit to the law of Moses?' (*Paul*, p.61) seems to be overstated (cf. pp.59-61).

[21]E.g. Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.29; Kümmel, *Introduction*, pp.298-301; Jewett, 'Agitators', p.204; Eckert, *Verkündigung*, p.235; Borse, *Gal*, p.23; Barclay, *Obeying*, pp.43, 52; Hansen, *Abraham*, p.174; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.xciv; Matera, *Gal*, p.9-10.

[22]**περιτεμνόμενοι** (present passive participle) is attested by ℵ A C D K P et al; **περιτετμημένοι** (perfect passive participle) by P^{46} B F_{gr} (G) L Ψ etc. According to Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, p.598 **περιτεμνόμενοι** is the stronger reading. The arguments for various options are fully discussed in Richardson, *Israel*, pp.84-89; Howard, *Paul*, pp.17-19.

[23]Munck, *Paul*, pp.87-90; cf. E. Hirsch, 'Zwei Frage zu Galater 6', *ZNW* 29 (1930), pp.192-97; W. Michaelis, 'Judaistische Heidenchristen', *ZNW* 30 (1931), pp.83-89; Schoeps, *Paul*, pp.65, 77; A.E. Harvey, 'The Opposition to Paul', in *Studia Evangelica* IV (1968), pp.319-32.

[24]W. Schmithals, 'The Heretics in Galatia', *Paul and the Gnostics* [ET; Nashville: Abingdon, 1972], pp.13-64; expanded and updated in 'Judaisten in Galatien?' *ZNW* 74 (1983), pp.27-58. See the criticisms by R.McL. Wilson, 'Gnostics in Galatia?' in *Studia Evangelica* IV (1968), pp.358-67; Eckert, *Verkündigung*, pp.64-71, 231; Drane, *Paul*, pp.46-51, 89-91.

[25]E.g. Lightfoot, *Gal*, pp.52-53; Ridderbos, *Gal*, pp.15-16; Eckert, *Verkündigung*; Kümmel, *Introduction*, p.298; Betz, *Gal*, p.7; Hübner, *Law*, p.61; Bruce, *Gal*, pp.25-27, 31-32; Kim, *Origin*, p.67 n2; Borse, *Gal*, p.23; Barrett, *Freedom*, p.22; Hansen, *Abraham*, p.174; Barclay,

περιτεμνόμενοι may well be demanded by the argumentative context, as Jewett explains:[26]

> It is easy to see why Paul did not choose this past form of the participle: that would imply that anyone who had been previously circumcised, even as a child, would be standing in opposition to the law. But Paul is not concerned here with the presence of circumcised persons - like himself - in the church; he is concerned instead with those who now demand circumcision for Gentile Christians.

According to 5.2-3 and 6.12, 'circumcision' must have been high on the agenda of these Jewish Christian opponents.[27] This is also reflected in Paul's theological statement at 5.6 ('neither circumcision nor uncircumcision, but faith working through love') and 6.15 ('neither circumcision nor uncircumcision, but a new creation').[28] Furthermore, on 'mirror reading' Paul's self-defence at 5.11 ('if I still preach circumcision')[29] and his fierce word on the

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Obeying, p.42; 'Mirror', p.88; Fung, *Gal*, pp.7-8; Lüdemann, *Paul*, p.45; Mussner, *Gal*, pp.25, 29; Longenecker, *Gal*, pp.xcv, 292; Carson, Moo and Morris, *Introduction*, p.295; Ziesler, *Gal*, p.114.

[26]Jewett, 'Agitators', p.202. According to Burton, *Gal*, pp.351-54, 6.13a refers not to the opponents but to the Galatian Gentile believers. But this rendering would require a change of subject halfway through 6.12-13, which is very unnatural. See Bruce, *Gal*, p.269; Fung, *Gal*, p.304.

[27]See esp. Eckert, *Verkündigung*, pp.31-71; Barclay, *Obeying*, pp.45-60. Cf. Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.27; Burton, *Gal*, p.liv; Kümmel, *Introduction*, p.298; Jewett, 'Agitators', pp.200-204; Bruce, *Gal*, p.27; Barrett, *Freedom*, p.14; Schlier, *Gal*, p.19; Hansen, *Abraham*, p.170; Lührmann, *Gal*, p.104; Fung, *Gal*, p.8; Lüdemann, *Paul*, p.45.

[28]This antithetical construction οὐ-οὐδέ-ἀλλά is quite prominent in Paul (also in 1.1; 1.11-12; 1.16c-17; 4.14; cf. 1 Thess 2.3-4). See Lyons, *Pauline*, pp.107-12; J.L. Martyn, 'Apocalyptic Antinomies in Paul's Letter to the Galatians', *NTS* 31 (1985), pp.410-24.

[29]It is more likely that ἔτι refers to Paul's *pre*-conversion times, i.e. before his being commissioned by God on the road to Damascus (e.g. Burton, *Gal*, p.286; Bruce, *Gal*, p.236; Fung, *Gal*, pp.238-39; *contra* Ridderbos, *Gal*, pp.193-94). Watson's thesis (see §1.2.4), that Paul first worked as a missionary to Jews only without questioning the law, and only subsequently turned to preaching to Gentiles in response to failure among the Jews, seems to build on rather flimsy evidence (5.11; 1 Cor 9.20-21; Rom 11.11). According to Watson, 'Paul acknowledges that he once preached τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς περιτομῆς, but uses his experiences of persecution by the Jewish community to prove that he does no more' (*Paul*, p.30). But according to Paul's own description, the radical transformation took place on the Damascus road when he was changed from a persecutor of the Church to an apostle to the Gentiles (1.13-16; cf. Rom 1.5; 11.13; 15.15-16).

opponents at 5.12 ('mutilate themselves'), there is also an echo of *circumcision*. From the clues we find in Paul's discussion on 'Abraham' (cf. 3.6-18, 29; 4.21-31),[30] it appears very likely that the opponents had appealed to the Abraham story in Gen 17 to argue that Gentile believers should also follow the example of Abraham, to believe in God and to be *circumcised*.[31] 'Any uncircumcised male who is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin shall be cut off from his people; he has broken my covenant' (Gen 17.14).[32] In many ways, the Jews of early Judaism looked to Abraham as a model of obedience to God, Abraham being the model Jew and forefather of Jewish society.[33]

As for how much of the Torah the agitators expected the Gentile Christians to observe, scholars continue to debate whether they demanded obedience to the law as a whole or whether they were prepared to allow the Galatians to be selective or superficial in their observance of it. The debate centers around three crucial texts: 4.10; 5.3; 6.13a.[34] According to 4.10, the agitators seem to have insisted on Jewish observances of holy 'days, months, seasons, and years'.[35] Though exactly what each of these terms signifies

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[30]More and more scholars acknowledge the possibility that Paul's discussion on 'Abraham' is a response to the opponents' interpretation; cf. Eckert, *Verkündigung*, pp.75-76; Barrett, *Freedom*, pp.22-24; 'Allegory', pp.158-168; Hübner, *Law*, pp.16-17; Martyn, 'Law-Observant', pp.317-23; Barclay, *Obeying*, pp.53-54; Hansen, *Abraham*, pp.171-74; Lührmann, *Gal*, p.105; Matera, *Gal*, p.9. See esp. Sanders' reconstruction of the opponents' message (*Paul*, pp.54-55).

[31]On Abraham as the first true proselyte, see Jubilees 11.15-17; Apocalypse of Abraham 1-8; Josephus, *Antiquities* 1.154ff; Philo, *De Virtutibus* 212ff; Genesis Rabbah 46.2. Cf. Hansen, *Abraham*, pp.180-98.

[32]In a wide range of Jewish literature, there is a close association between the themes of Abraham, circumcision, and covenant: e.g. Jub 15.9-35; Sir 44.19-20; Theodotus, fragment 5 (in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 9.22.7); 1 Macc 1.15, 60-63; *m. Aboth* 3.12; *b. Sanhedrin* 99a; *b. Yoma* 85b; *b. Shabbath* 135a; Philo, *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin* 3.46-52; Josephus, *Antiquities* 1.192 (cf. Acts 7.8; Rom 4.9-10).

[33]See Watson, *Paul*, pp.136-38; Dunn, *Rom*, 1:200-201; Longenecker, *Eschatology*, p.212.

[34]See Barclay, *Obeying*, pp.60-65.

[35]Cf. Gen 1.14; Jub 1.14; 6.34-38; 1 Enoch 72-82; Col 2.16. Schoeps, *Paul*, p.77 argues that they are Sabbaths, calendar months, Jewish festivals and probably jubilee years; Fitzmyer thinks 'Days like the

remains debatable, Burton is probably right to observe that 'the four terms without mutual exclusiveness cover(ing) all kinds of celebrations of days and periods observed by the Jews'.[36] Some suggest that Paul's remark that 'every man who lets himself be circumcised is obliged to keep the *entire law*' (5.3)[37] seems to indicate that the agitators were insincere in their demand of the law and did not tell the Galatians the whole truth.[38] Others propose that they taught the Galatians to observe only a portion or a selection of the Law, but gradually increasing their demands.[39] It is perhaps more probable that Paul's comment 'keeping the whole law' is just a *reminder* that whoever accepts circumcision thereby accepts the obligation of the whole Torah and to take on a whole and wholly Jewish way of life.[40] Similarly, the remark at 6.13a ('even the circumcised do *not* themselves obey the law') might seem to suggest that the agitators were not observant Jews, or did not hold to a rigid understanding of the Law.[41] But one should probably not take the comment in 6.13a at

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Sabbath and *Yom hakkippurim* are meant; months like the 'new moon'; seasons like Passover and Pentecost; years like the sabbatical years' ('Gal', 47:26); very differently, Jewett, 'Agitators', pp.207-208.

[36]Burton, *Gal*, p.234. See also Bruce, *Gal*, pp.205-206; Barclay, *Obeying*, pp.63-64; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.182. If it is Jewish calendrical observances that Paul refers to, it is indeed quite shocking that Paul polemically associates these Jewish observances with their former pagan worship (cf. 4.3, 8-9), but this need not imply that Paul is confused over the description of 'what men were liberated from' (so argued by Räisänen, *Paul*, p.23).

[37]There is no reason to read **ὅλον τὸν νόμον** in 5.3 and **ὁ πᾶς νόμος** in 5.14 as two different **νόμοι** (*contra* Hübner, *Law*, pp.36-41; see Bruce, *Gal*, pp.230, 241; Sanders, *PLJP*, pp.96-97).

[38]E.g. Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.219; Schlier, *Gal*, pp.231-32; Mussner, *Gal*, pp.347-48; Brinsmead, *Gal*, pp.64-65, 119.

[39]So for instance, Jewett, 'Agitators', pp.207-208 suggests that the agitators had a subtle policy: they 'tactfully did not mention that circumcision imposed the obligation to obey the entire range of the law...the agitators were not disturbed as long as quick and observable results could be achieved'. Similarly, Sanders, *PLJP*, p.29 suggests, 'Paul's opponents may have adopted a policy of gradualism, requiring first some of the major commandments (circumcision, food, days), a policy which was probably not unique among Jewish missionaries'.

[40]Barclay, *Obeying*, p.64; cf. Kümmel, *Introduction*, p.300; Ziesler, *Gal*, pp.74-75.

[41]Longenecker, *Gal*, p.293.

face value, but read it as a polemical comment: Paul's purpose is to undermine the credibility of the opponents - the agitators advocate circumcision for the sake of self-interest and self-glorification only.[42] It is possible that the agitators placed too much emphasis on the distinctive Jewish observances, such as circumcision, food laws, Sabbath and holy days, and tended to neglect the remainder of the Torah (cf. 5.14), and thus were open to Paul's criticism.[43]

From the above analysis, including filling various 'gaps', the conflict between Paul and the Jewish Christian opponents is obviously an internal debate, an intra-Christian conflict.[44] It does appear that Paul reacts to the opponents' interpretation of the Torah, especially with regard to the necessity of *circumcision*. Sanders' comment on the opponents is worth quoting in length:[45]

> It should be emphasized that Paul's opponents, when they insisted that Gentile Christians should become Jews, did not oppose the salvation of all people. They held, rather, that Israel knew the will of the one God of the universe, and that the universe should conform to that will, expressed in the law of Moses, though more recently revealed in Christ. Universal salvation, on this understanding, would be achieved by full proselytisation to the Jewish messianic sect: acceptance of the election of Israel, the law of Moses, and the saving death of the Messiah Jesus.

The crucial issue was whether or not it was necessary for Gentile converts to undergo circumcision, i.e. to become proselytes to Judaism in order to enter the Abrahamic family (cf. 3.7, 9, 14, 22, 26, 29; 4.7) and to adopt the Mosaic law, notably Sabbath and holy days (with Jewish dietary laws implied as seen from the Antioch episode), as their pattern of life.[46]

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[42]Barclay, *Obeying*, pp.64-65; cf. Lührmann, *Gal*, p.101; Matera, *Gal*, p.231.

[43]Cf. Kümmel, *Introduction*, p.300: 'the reproach that the opponents do not themselves obey the law (6.13) obviously ties in with the fact that their primary interest is in circumcision, not in having the Galatian Christians observe the law'.

[44]Mussner, *Gal*, p.29 reminds us that even if the opponents Paul was combatting were Jewish Christians, Paul is not anti-Judaistic. See also Lührmann, *Gal*, p.106 on different Christian missions.

[45]Sanders, *Paul*, p.51.

[46]Barclay, *Obeying*, pp.235-36; cf. Matera, *Gal*, p.11. One should note that observances of circumcision, food laws, Sabbath and holy days are main signs of obedience to the Jewish law; they are also points

2.3.4. Towards a Historical Reconstruction:

If Paul's opponents in Galatia were demanding *circumcision* even from Gentile believers, did that not contradict the original Jerusalem agreement according to 2.7-9? In our opinion, Dunn has proposed a very plausible explanation: the Incident at Antioch (cf. 2.11-14) had marked a watershed or turning point in the formative period of the early Christian Church.[47] According to Dunn's reconstruction, the differences between Paul and other Jewish Christians became more apparent after the conflict over mixed table-fellowship at Antioch.[48]

During the Jerusalem conference, the 'Pillars' of the Jerusalem Church and Paul and Barnabas of the Antioch Church agreed that *circumcision* was not required of Gentile believers. But apparently they had different understandings: from the perspective of the 'Pillars', this might be just a matter of concession, i.e. *only* circumcision was not required; but Paul seems to understand the agreement more as a matter of principle, i.e. circumcision stands for all levels and activities of 'judaizing'.[49] And so when the conflict over *food laws* broke out at Antioch, both parties were surprised at the other's reactions. From Paul's perspective, if circumcision was not required of Gentile believers, logically and consistently, food law observances should not be demanded. But this logic apparently was not shared by the more conservative 'certain men from James' whose

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which chiefly marked out the distinctions between Jews and Gentiles (cf. Sanders, *Paul*, pp.61, 90).

[47]See Dunn, 'Incident', *JPL*, pp.160-61; 'Theology', *JPL*, pp.255-56; *Partings*, pp.134-35; cf. *Unity*, pp.253-54.

[48]Bornkamm, *Paul*, p.39: 'We may be sure that the Jerusalem church did not adopt Paul's gospel in its entirety and all its logical implications'. Holmberg, *Paul*, pp.21-22 too understands that there are at least three different interpretations of the Jerusalem agreement (i.e. Paul at the radical 'liberal' extreme, the opponents at the conservative end, and Peter, James and Barnabas the 'middle' position), but it is not clear whether the disagreement appeared already in the conference itself.

[49]Dunn, 'Theology', *JPL*, pp.251-52; *Partings*, p.130. Cf. F.F. Bruce, *Paul* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), p.181: 'Paul's position on the circumcision question was clear-cut because he had thought it through; the Jerusalem leaders had not as yet had any occasion to think it through, and so their position was not so clear-cut'; also Eckert, *Verkündigung*, pp.24-25.

basic concern had to do with Jewish Christians. They would argue that while circumcision as the final step of judaizing was not required, that was merely a concession for Gentile converts, Jewish observances such as food laws certainly were not abolished.

According to this reconstruction, it is quite possible that some Jewish Christians were shocked by Paul's logic, and may even have called for a reevaluation of the original *concession* in the Jerusalem agreement. For the more conservative 'false brethren' and the agitators in Galatia, indeed, the original concession on circumcision should never have been made in the first place and should now be abandoned. Furthermore, they might argue that the logic of consistency would require them to impose *circumcision* even on Gentile believers, together with all the other Jewish observances, in order that the Christian church could remain united as *one*. It is possible that the agitators understand their 'circumcision' mission as completing or complementing (cf. 3.3) Paul's unfinished work among the Gentile believers.[50] This is also the logic of the 'victory' of the men from James at Antioch over Paul. According to the opponents' missiological policy, Gentile believers would become incorporated into the majority Jewish Christian community.

And so when the agitators embarked on the 'circumcision' mission in the Galatian churches, Paul disagreed and reacted fiercely to their teaching. Since Paul saw a certain similarity between the present crisis in Galatia and the previous crisis at Antioch (note the verb 'compel' in 2.14b and 6.12), he thought it necessary to recount the confrontation he had with Peter, how he alone stood firm in the *gospel* in contrast to Peter who changed his behaviour because of pressure from the 'men from James'. And since Paul saw similarity and continuation in the two crises, he 'repeated' also his succinct theological response to Peter and other Jewish Christians now for the Galatians.

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[50]One can compare the agitators to the more conservative Jew from Galilee, Eleazar, and Paul to the more lax Jewish merchant Ananias in the story of the conversion of Izates, king of Adiabene told by Josephus, *Antiquities* 20.2.4 (§§38-48). Cf. D. Cohn-Sherbok, 'Some Reflections on James Dunn's "The Incident at Antioch"', *JSNT* 18 (1983), pp.68-74, here p.70: 'it would have only been natural for observant Jewish Christians to demand from their co-religionists the same strict observance of Jewish law as that found within mainstream Judaism'.

2.3.5. Concluding Remarks:

We need to observe that the main debating point between Paul and his Jewish Christian opponents is not Christology, whether or not Jesus is the Messiah (a Christological question if Paul is debating with non-Christian Jews), but *ecclesiology*, about how Jewish and Gentile Christians can worship and live as equal partners in a community of believers. They disagree as to whether the (new) faith in Messiah Jesus require a redefinition of one's self-understanding as a Jew, and how radical such a redefinition would have to be. From the opponents' point of view, faith in Messiah Jesus is clearly not seen as an alternative to Torah observances; the two aspects are very well regarded as complementary components, and so covenantal nomism is not called into question.[51]

With respect to the opponents' demand for circumcision and other Jewish observances even on the Galatians, their basic presumption is that being a *Gentile* Christian is not good enough; one has to become a Jewish proselyte and to live as a Jew in all respects. In actual practice, according to their missiological viewpoint, the Gentile Christian has to adopt Jewish identity and behaviour patterns, a thoroughgoing judaizing on the part of the Gentile convert. Their belief is that Jewish identity and lifestyle are superior, and so 'living 'Ιουδαϊκῶς' is a necessary and logical step for Gentile Christians!

Since the agitators were also *Jewish Christians*, like Peter, and their attempt to 'compel' was worse than Peter's act of withdrawing from table-fellowship at Antioch, Paul presumably found it necessary to recount his theological argumentation at Antioch for the Galatians now. Thus one can expect to find Paul combating these Jewish Christian presumptions also in 2.15-21. In terms of strategy, Paul may well take this opportunity to undercut his opponents' demand for circumcision and Jewish lifestyle from Gentile believers by challenging their 'living 'Ιουδαϊκῶς' presumption. If Paul could succeed in arguing that covenantal nomism was not necessary even for

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[51] In terms of salvation history, these Jewish Christian opponents would probably insist on the *continuity* of God's act: the gracious gift of Torah to Israel is now followed by the sending of Messiah Jesus.

Jewish Christians in 2.15-21, then the very basis for Gentile Christians to accept circumcision and to adopt a Jewish lifestyle would be undermined.

Despite the likelihood that Paul lost in his appeal to and rebuke of Peter at Antioch,[52] he wanted the Gentile Christians in Galatia to *focus* on the main theological argument in 2.15-21 (see §2.1.3. on 'double audience'). Thus two issues may be expected to come out again: (1) one would expect Paul to clarify the precise relationship between faith in Messiah Jesus and covenantal nomism for Jewish Christians (cf. 2.15-16; 2.21b); (2) if Paul disagreed with his opponents that 'living '**Ιουδαϊκῶς**' is the necessary lifestyle, then Paul no doubt had to provide an alternative lifestyle, appropriate for both Jewish and Gentile Christians (cf. 2.19-20; see again §2.2.3). In the event Paul wished to demonstrate how he had or would have defended his understanding of 'the truth of the gospel'.[53]

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[52]The fact that Paul is silent on the outcome of the argument at Antioch probably implies that he was unsuccessful (so Bornkamm, *Paul*, p.47; Brown and Meier, *Antioch*, p.39; Dunn, *Partings*, p.134). For a list of scholars who think Paul won the conflict and of those who think Paul lost, see Holmberg, *Paul*, p.34 n117.

[53]Thus in the letter Paul tries not only to persuade the Galatian Gentile Christians to stand firm in the *gospel* of Christ (cf. 1.7-9), to stand by his side and to imitate him (cf. 4.12; the autobiographical narrative as a demonstration of his *ethos*; Gaventa, 'Galatians', pp.321-22; Koptak, 'Rhetorical', p.108), but above all to accept his explanation and theological formulation of the gospel of Christ.

2.4. A PRELIMINARY OUTLINE FOR 2.15-21

At the end of this lengthy preliminary ground clearing chapter, we are now more ready to embark on our main study on 2.15-21. In terms of rhetorical analysis, 2.15-21 is Paul's 'address' to Peter with respect to the crisis at Antioch which in turn has vital implications for the Gentile believers in the Galatian churches (see our clarifications in §2.1). This is why we have had to investigate the nature of the crisis over mixed table-fellowship between Jewish and Gentile Christians at Antioch (§2.2) *and* the crisis over circumcision and Jewish observances caused by the Jewish Christian agitators in Galatia (§2.3).

In sum we must emphasize that one should try to read Paul's argumentation in 2.15-21 as his response to the concerns of *Jewish Christians* caught up in the crisis at Antioch (see §2.2.3). At the same time it is also important that we do not lose sight of the wider context of the Galatian crisis; the Galatian Gentile Christians were in danger of being persuaded by some agitators to judaize and to accept circumcision (§2.3.3). Thus when Paul recounts his theological argumentation in 2.15-21, he has also in mind the Jewish Christian opponents and their explicit demand of circumcision and Jewish lifestyle from Gentile Christians (§2.3.5). Paul's argument may function to undermine his opponents' assumption. In our view, Paul's response to the concerns of Jewish Christians, how they should define their identity and behaviour pattern with respect to the new faith in Messiah Jesus, will have direct consequences for the pastoral needs of the Gentile Christians in Galatia.

The main task of our project is to study 2.15-21 in detail and to follow Paul's argumentation as best we can. But as we saw in our selective account of various interpretations in §1.4 above, one major difficulty confronting all scholars is how to determine the flow of argument which is closely related to the basic structure of 2.15-21. In our opinion, two indicators could be useful for determining the basic structure of this tightly argued text: the change of person,[1]

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[1]So Kieffer, *Foi*, pp.16-17; Cousar, *Gal*, p.50; Baird, 'Gal', p.1207; with variations. Cf. C.E.B. Cranfield, 'Changes of Person and Number in Paul's Epistles', in *P & P*, pp.280-89.

and the use of μὴ γένοιτο at 2.17d.

According to the first indicator, there is a shift of person from second person singular 'you' at 2.14b to first person plural 'we' at 2.15-17 and then to first person singular 'I' at 2.18-21a. The last statement of 2.21b is in the third person; it refers to 'Christ'. Upon closer observation, one could also notice that the first person singular pronoun ἐγώ appears only at 2.19-20, but not at 2.18 or 2.21a (though the verbs κατέλυσα, οἰκοδομῶ, συνιστάνω, ἀθετῶ are first person singulars). Similarly, the first person plural ἡμεῖς appears in 2.15-16 but not in 2.17. Thus 2.15-21 can be subdivided into six units of unequal lengths: 2.15-16 'We' (emphatic ἡμεῖς); 2.17 'We'; 2.18 'I'; 2.19-20 'I' (emphatic ἐγώ); 2.21a 'I'; 2.21b 'Christ'.

As for the second indicator, the use of μὴ γένοιτο as a rhetorical device by Paul, there seems to be a basic rhetorical structure which consists of an assertion of varying length, a question based on a false inference from the previous assertion, a strong negation and finally clarification/s or reason/s for rejection.[2] This observation can be helpful for understanding the links between various parts in 2.17-20. According to Lyons, 2.21 serves also as the appropriate conclusion (*conclusio*; ἐπίλογος) to the entire *narratio*.[3] The conditional statement of 2.21b (introduced by γάρ) is more appropriately taken as proof for the preceding statement 2.21a.[4] Thus when these indicators are taken together, it is possible for us to arrive at a preliminary outline for 2.15-21 as follows:

1. 2.15-16	'We' - the Assertion
2. 2.17	'We' - the Question and Negation (μὴ γένοιτο)
3. 2.18	'I' - Clarification 1 (γάρ)
4. 2.19-20	'I' - Clarification 2 (γάρ)
5. 2.21	'I' - Concluding Remarks;
	'Christ' (2.21b links up to 2.21a; γάρ).[5]

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[2]For our discussion on the rhetorical pattern, see §4.3. below.

[3]Lyons, *Pauline*, p.135.

[4]So Burton, *Gal*, p.141; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.95; contra Bachmann, *Sünder*, pp.58-59 who insists that 2.21b is parallel to 2.18.

[5]Compare our basic outline with the *propositio* according to Betz, *Gal*, p.114 which consists of four parts: the point of presumed agreement (2.15-16), the point of disagreement (2.17-18), the exposition (2.19-20) and the refutation (2.21). See also the

For the main part of our study we will refer to this preliminary outline as a general framework for the verse by verse analysis. Since Paul's argument in 2.15-21 is related initially to the Antioch Incident, we will constantly ask ourselves, How does Paul respond to the problem of 'living ἐθνικῶς or 'Ιουδαϊκῶς' (cf. 2.14b) as it had arisen out of the Antioch crisis? Should Gentile Christians live 'Ιουδαϊκῶς? Did Paul argue that Jewish Christians should live ἐθνικῶς?[6] What is the alternative lifestyle for Jewish Christians which is also appropriate for Gentile Christians? How does Paul redefine the crux of Christian faith? What is the precise relationship between covenantal nomism and faith in Messiah Jesus? What does Paul mean by 'justification by faith and not by works of the law' (2.15-16) with respect to the community context? What is the role of Torah in Christian living? etc (see also §1.4.13).

Since Paul's clarification on the identity and behaviour pattern for *Jewish Christians* is also related to the current crisis in the Galatian churches, we shall keep in mind the question how his formulation and redefinition of Christian faith helps to respond to the pastoral need of the Gentile Christians in Galatia, and how it may it undercut his opponents' argument. In our discussion we shall pay attention not only to *what* Paul argues in 2.15-21, but also to *why*, the *real* reason underlying Paul's argumentation (esp. §7.2). But now to the exegesis of 2.15-21.

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modification on 2.18 as the first reason by Fitzmyer, 'Gal', 47:19.

[6]This is one of Watson's basic theses: 'To seek to be justified by faith in Christ thus means to live like a Gentile, i.e. to live as a member of a Pauline congregation, separated from the Jewish community' (*Paul*, p.67). In Watson's view, Paul advocates 'Jewish Christians live ἐθνικῶς'.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ASSERTION - 'JUSTIFICATION' DEFINED (GAL 2.15-16)

3.1. INTRODUCTION

According to our preliminary outline of 2.15-21 (§2.4), Paul begins the discussion with his Jewish dialogue partners with the assertion of 2.15-16. The assertion is presented as a common understanding of 'justification' shared also by Peter and other Jewish Christians. Since it is on the basis of this assertion that Paul tackles the 'disagreement' in 2.17 ('Is Christ a minister of sin?'), it is important that we should follow Paul's argumentation in 2.15-16 carefully and observe how he begins to respond to the crisis of Jewish Christians at Antioch.

The interpretation of 2.15-16 has always been complicated, and is frequently debated by scholars. There are two major sets of problems:

(1) The problem of syntactical construction.[1] How are the different clauses related to one another? How is 2.15 related to 2.16a? Is 2.15 an independent sentence which is not continued into 2.16 so that one may even put a full stop at the end of 2.15 (Bultmann; Klein; NEB)? Or, is 2.15 merely the first clause of the long and complicated sentence 2.15-16, so that the subject of 2.16b 'καὶ ἡμεῖς' is joined back to 2.15 (thus 2.16b is the main clause qualified by other clauses)?[2]

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[1] As Suhl, 'Galaterbrief', p.3098 puts it: 'Strittig ist, wie V.15 und V.16 syntaktisch aufeinander zu beziehen und inhaltlich zu bestimmen sind und wie man die daraus vermeintlich zu ziehende Folgerung verstehen muß'; cf. Ebeling, *Truth*, p.120.

[2] This is the majority view: e.g. Schlier, *Gal*, p.88; Mussner, *Gal*, p.167 n2; Bruce, *Gal*, p.137; Kieffer, *Foi*, pp.36-37; Ebeling, *Truth*, pp.122-23; Fung, *Gal*, p.112; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.83; Hansen, *Abraham*,

The syntactical structure of 2.15 itself is also debated. Does the noun ἁμαρτωλοί relate directly to καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν and form a unit (thus the two parts of 2.15 are synonymous: 'we are Jews by birth *and* not Gentile sinners')?[3] Or does ἁμαρτωλοί relate to ἡμεῖς, the first word of 2.15 instead, as Suhl and Neitzel contended?[4] Closely related to this syntatical issue is the meaning of the disputed particle [δέ] at the beginning of 2.16a.[5] Does this δέ mean 'but' (a strong adversative) so that 2.15 and 2.16a refers to two contrasting principles (Jewish vs. Christian)?[6] Or should δέ be rendered as a connective particle, without contrast?[7]

Another question is the similarity of 2.16a and 2.16c. They seem to be parallel and repeating statements. Are they repeated for the purpose of 'reinforcing the truth that faith in Christ is the sole and sufficient means of justification'?[8] Or repeated with 'different emphasis each time, so that it is increasingly illuminated'?[9] Or more specifically, 'in verse 16 Paul pushes what began as a qualification of covenantal nomism into an outright antithesis'?[10]

(2) The meaning of key words and unique phrases. Here are a few significant Pauline terms: δικαιοῦν, which is being used in three

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p.101.

[3]E.g. Kieffer, *Foi*, p.37; Bruce, *Gal*, p.137; Fung, *Gal*, 113; also RSV; NRSV; NJB; NIV; NEB; KJV.

[4]See §1.4.8. They insist that Paul has in mind both Jews and Gentiles are equally 'sinners'. See §3.2.2. below.

[5]The textual evidence for the particle δέ is rather evenly balanced. It is read by ℵ B C D*, but omitted by P^{46} A D^{2} TR syr^{hel} cop. It is considered doubtful by NA^{26}. According to Betz, *Gal*, p.115 n29, δέ points to the contrast between φύσει and εἰδότες; Lagrange, *Gal*, p.47 comments that it is not a full-stop, nor a comma, but a pause.

[6]So Klein, 'Individualgeschichte', pp.181-85; he accuses the rendering by Wilckens and Kümmel as not making any sense ('Sündenverständnis', pp.267-68 n101).

[7]So Kümmel, 'Individualgeschichte', p.159: 'kopulative Bedeutung'; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.83: 'The postpositive [sic] δέ is one of the most commonly used Greek particles, which often sets up some contrast between clauses but is also used simply as a connective without contrast. Here it appears simply as a conjunction ("and"), merging with the participle it follows'.

[8]Fung, *Gal*, p.117; also Ridderbos, *Gal*, p.100; Kieffer, *Foi*, p.37.

[9]Ebeling, *Truth*, p.124.

[10]Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, p.196; 'Theology', *JPL*, pp.252-54.

different tenses (present δικαιοῦται in 2.16a; aorist δικαιωθῶμεν in 2.16c; and future δικαιωθήσεται in 2.16d);[11] ἔργα νόμου, which occurs here for the first time in the letter but three times here alone (2.16a,c,d);[12] πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ('faith *of* Jesus Christ' or 'faith *in* Jesus Christ'),[13] which occurs with different prepositions (διά in 2.16a; ἐκ in 2.16c).[14] Other words that have attracted considerable scholarly debate include the meaning of ἁμαρτωλοί (2.15),[15] ἄνθρωπος (2.16a),[16] and σάρξ (2.16d).[17]

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[11]Is there any significance in the different tenses being used? The disagreement between Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, pp.207-208 and Räisänen, 'Galatians', p.545 lies partly in how significant is the use of different tenses in 2.16; cf. Longenecker, *Gal*, pp.84-85.

[12]Besides the classic study by Lohmeyer, there is now a renewed interest in the phrase, notably in the debate between Dunn and Schreiner, Moo, Westerholm, Cranfield (cited in §1.2.3). See also M. Barth, *Ephesians* (AB 34; 2 vols; NY: Doubleday, 1974), 1:244-48; D.P. Fuller, 'Paul and "The Works of the Law"', *WTJ* 38 (1975-76), pp.28-42; D.J. Moo, '"Law", "Works of the Law", and Legalism in Paul', *WTJ* 45 (1983), pp.73-100; R. Heiligenthal, 'Soziologische Implikationen der paulinischen Rechtfertigungslehre im Galaterbrief am Beispiel der "Werke des Gesetzes". Beobachtungen zur Identitätsfindung einer frühchristlichen Gemeinde', *Kairos* 26 (1984), pp.38-53; R.G. Hamerton-Kelly, 'Sacred Violence and "Works of Law". "Is Christ then an Agent of Sin?" (Galatians 2.17)', *CBQ* 52 (1990), pp.55-75; 'Sacred Violence and the Curse of the Law (Galatians 3.13): The Death of Christ as a Sacrificial Travesty', *NTS* 36 (1990), pp.98-118. On different views regarding this phrase, see §3.3.2.

[13]The controversy surrounds the ambiguity of the genitive Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ: Is it an objective genitive ('faith *in* Jesus Christ') or a subjective genitive ('faith[fulness] *of* Jesus Christ')? Two recent strong proponents for the subjective view are Hays, *Faith*, pp.139-91; 'ΠΙΣΤΙΣ and Pauline Christology: What is at Stake?' *SBLSP* (1991), pp.714-29; cf. 'Christology and Ethics in Galatians: The Law of Christ', *CBQ* 49 (1987), pp.268-90; 'Crucified With Christ', in *PT1*, pp.227-46; and M.D. Hooker, 'ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ', *NTS* 35 (1989), pp.321-42. But J.D.G. Dunn strongly reacts against this view in 'Once More, ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ', *SBLSP* (1991), pp.730-44. See §3.3.3. below.

[14]Is there any material difference with the two prepositions (cf. Rom 3.30)? Many (e.g. C.K. Barrett, *The Epistle to the Romans* [BNTC; 2nd edition; London: AC Black, 1991], p.80; Bruce, *Gal*, pp.139-40) regard the change as purely stylistic; but this is recently challenged again by S.K. Stowers, 'ΕΚ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ and ΔΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ in Romans 3.30', *JBL* 108 (1989), pp.665-74. See the *excursus* under §3.3.3. below.

[15]Cf. K.H. Rengstorf, 'ἁμαρτωλός', *TDNT* 1:317-33; Dunn, 'Incident', *JPL*, pp.150-51; 'Pharisees, Sinners, and Jesus', [1988] *JPL*, pp.61-88, here pp.71-77.

[16]See §1.4.13.(5) above, and §3.2.1 and §3.3.5. below.

[17]The meaning of σάρξ is fairly controversial in Pauline theology.

More recently, the debate on 2.16 specifically, and Pauline theology in a broader perspective, is very much associated with Dunn and his 'New Perspective'. Dunn, among other things, argues strongly that δικαιοῦν is covenant language,[18] and by ἔργα νόμου Paul has in mind the *Jewish covenant markers*, the identity-confirming and boundary-defining acts, such as circumcision, food laws, Sabbath observances which were widely regarded as characteristically and distinctively Jewish.[19] According to Dunn, the earliest Christian movement is a form of *Jewish Messianism* found still within the social religious matrix of Judaism, and the debate between Paul and Peter is an *internal* Christian debate on the relevance of the Jewish 'works of the law' for the mixed Christian community.[20]

Since Räisänen has come up with the most severe criticisms of Dunn's reading, we shall highlight some of his main challenges. On the *break* between the Christian church and Judaism, Räisänen insists that it occurred much earlier:[21]

> it was *not Paul*, who first introduced into the new community of faith the pressure toward a break!...Above all, it was not he who first came forward with *exclusive Christological claims*. The break with Judaism became logically inevitable at the very moment when the claim was raised that faith in *Jesus* is the *only* way to salvation.

On the interpretation of 2.16, Räisänen challenges Dunn on several points. (1) Agreeing with Sanders, he insists that the verb δικαιοῦσθαι is primarily a *transfer* term - 'a usage

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Among others, see esp. Bultmann, *Theology*, 1:232-46; E. Schweizer, F. Baumgärtel, and R. Meyer, 'σάρξ', *TDNT* 7:98-151; A. Sand, *Der Begriff 'Fleisch' in den paulinischen Hauptbriefen* (BU 2; Regensburg: Pustet, 1967); 'σάρξ', *EWNT* 3:549-57; E. Brandenburger, *Fleisch und Geist* (WMANT 29; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1968); R. Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms* (AGJU 10; Leiden: EJ Brill, 1970), pp.49-166; H. Seebass and A.C. Thiselton, 'Flesh σάρξ', *NIDNTT* 1:671-82. It is generally agreed that the meaning of σάρξ at 2.16d (and Rom 3.20) is related to Paul's modification of the scriptural quotation of or allusion to Ps 143.2 (LXX 142.2), but it is not clear why Paul modifies it. See §3.4.2.

[18]See now J.D.G. Dunn, 'The Justice of God: A Renewed Perspective on Justification by Faith', *JTS* 43 (1992), pp.1-22.

[19]See further §3.3.3.(5) below.

[20]Cf. Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, p.198; *Partings*.

[21]Räisänen, 'Galatians', p.550.

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characteristically different from pre-Christian Jewish usage' and its usage is radically different from the noun **δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ** in the OT.[22] The *present tense* of **δικαιοῦται** in 2.16a has little significance; it refers to the same thing as in the aorist and future tenses (2.16cd).[23] (2) **πίστις/πιστεύειν** implies conversion: it is faith in *Jesus Christ*, and this is something *novel* in Judaism; thus the faith decision (aorist **ἐπιστεύσαμεν** of 2.16b) is presented as a *new* step, an act of conversion.[24] (3) **ἐὰν μή** must mean 'but' in the adversative sense. 'There is no formal indication of a contrast between the beginning and the end' and 'it is extremely unlikely that Paul hit upon this piece of reasoning in the middle of a sentence in his public address'.[25] (4) The formulation of 2.16a 'may well be due to Paul himself' rather than a traditional formula.[26] In conclusion, Räisänen asserts that:[27]

> Jews as well as Gentiles must *enter* the new community. This necessarily implies that the old covenant no longer works. Such a soteriological exclusivism reveals the degree of *dis*continuity between Judaism and Paul. Faith in Jesus involved quite a *new step* for a Jew...In effect, the Jew had to be grafted into a third tree, as it were. Even he had to become a **καινὴ κτίσις**. It was a new beginning.

From the above brief survey on the debate, there would no doubt be general agreement that 2.15-16 is extremely complicated, not only in terms of syntactical constructions, but also in the meanings of individual words and phrases. The recent debate between Dunn and Räisänen (and also Sanders) depends very much on how the crucial **εἰδότες ὅτι**-clause of 2.16a is understood. The debate has also highlighted once again many old questions. For example, what is

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[22]Räisänen, 'Galatians', p.545; referring to Sanders, *PPJ*, pp.470-72, 501, 518 n5, 544; *PLJP*, pp.5-10.

[23]Räisänen, 'Galatians', p.545; also p.551 nn21, 27.

[24]Räisänen, 'Galatians', p.546; cf. p.549.

[25]Räisänen, 'Galatians', p.547; also Bachmann, *Sünder*, p.61 n174. Bruce, 'Paul', p.125 accuses Dunn 'to translate **ἐὰν μή** by "except" in this construction seems...to run counter to Greek idiom' (cf. *Gal*, pp.101, 138).

[26]Räisänen, 'Galatians', pp.547-48.

[27]Räisänen, 'Galatians', p.549; he comments that Paul criticises not only the 'identity markers' but also the law 'as such and as a whole' (p.548).

Paul's theological context? Are the δικ-root words being used as Jewish covenantal terminology? What is Paul's relationship with early Jewish Christianity? What is Paul's relationship with the Jewish people, and Judaism/s at large? The list can go on and on.

Since 2.15-16 is so complicated, we shall divide the discussion below into three main parts. §3.2. is on 2.15, the identity of 'we'. The meaning of ἁμαρτωλοί, both with reference to the syntactical structure of 2.15 and to the general use of the word in contemporary Jewish setting, will be discussed. We hope this will help to explore the possible covenantal framework of Paul's discussion in 2.15-16.

§3.3 is on 2.16a, which forms the major part of our discussion. We shall attempt to understanding 2.16a as the faith of the early Jewish Christians, a common Jewish Christian conviction, in the light of the εἰδότες ὅτι formula (§3.3.1). The meaning of ἔργα νόμου, πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ and δικαιοῦν will be discussed after brief survey of the debate. Then we shall discuss the meaning of ἐὰν μή and ask what is the possible relationship between ἔργα νόμου and πίστις Χριστοῦ in the mind of Jewish Christians according to 2.16a (§3.3.6). Does ἐὰν μή mean 'except' (exceptive) or 'but' (adversative)? Does it qualify the whole preceding statement (οὐ δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου) or only the principal part (οὐ δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος)?[28] As an intermediate concluding summary, we shall relate our interpretation of 2.16a to the social framework for an understanding of early Jewish Christianity (§3.3.7). We hope this proposal might help us to resolve in part the disputed δέ at the beginning of 2.16a, and so the relationship between 2.15 and 2.16a.[29]

§3.4. is then on 2.16d, the meaning and purpose of Paul's quotation of or allusion to Ps 143.2 (LXX 142). The reason why Paul modifies the original LXX reading and replaces πᾶς ζῶν by πᾶσα σάρξ with reference to the context of argumentation will be discussed.

At the end of this long discussion we hope to be in a better

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[28]This grammatical subtlety is very crucial for Dunn's argument. According to Dunn, Paul argues from the 'both/and' principle in 2.16a to the 'either/or' antithesis in 2.16c. See 'New Perspective', *JPL*, pp.195-98, 212; *Gal(ms)*, pp.6-7.

[29]Though we incline to accept the authenticity of the particle δέ here, the textual evidence is rather evenly balanced so that it would be 'unwise [for us] to build much on either reading' (Barclay, *Obeying*, p.78 n9; commenting on Hübner's criticism of Dunn).

position to see how Paul would have understood the common 'agreement' which he asserted. We will also make some remarks on the purpose of Paul's seemingly repetitive statements in 2.16a and 2.16c, and on the overall argumentation in 2.15-16. Implications will then be drawn from our interpretation of ἐὰν μή in 2.16a for 2.17.

3.2. THE IDENTITY OF 'WE' (2.15)

3.2.1. Different Renderings of 2.15:

The meaning of 2.15 is indeed difficult to determine, apparently because there is no verb or participle, and it is not clear how 2.15 is related to 2.16. In a certain sense, the thought of 2.15 does look 'un-Pauline'![1] As we have already noted above, there are two main problems involved: (a) Is 2.15 an independent sentence? Or does it continue into 2.16? And what is the significance and meaning of δέ at the beginning of 2.16a? (b) What is the meaning of ἁμαρτωλοί? And how is ἁμαρτωλοί related to ἡμεῖς in 2.15? Some of these problems may be illustrated in four recent attempts at exegesis within the circle of German scholarship.

(1) 2.15 as an independent sentence. According to Klein, the particle δέ at the beginning of 2.16a introduces a new sentence and a new idea.[2] Thus 2.15 is about the old dispensation where Jews were not 'sinners' soteriologically; Jews and Gentiles belonged to two different categories with their fate already determined by birth (φύσει).[3] The ethnic division of Jews and Gentiles is almost equivalent to the soteriological division of Jews (as non-sinners) and sinners. But this previous boundary (Grenze) is now rendered obsolete by the new eschatological boundary according to 2.16a.[4] Since Jews and Gentiles are now justified on the same basis and Jewish 'works of law' are no longer a possibility for justification, Jews and Gentiles are sinners alike.[5] So Paul, according to Klein,

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[1]So for example, some suggest that 2.15 has to be concessive (Burton, *Gal*, p.119; Ridderbos, *Gal*, p.98); or Paul speaks 'from the provisional stand point of the Jews' (Stauffer, *TDNT* 2:362; Fung, *Gal*, p.112); or there is a note of irony on Paul's part (Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.115; Lagrange, *Gal*, p.46; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.83). According to Kieffer, *Foi*, pp.37, 39 it is both concessive and ironical.

[2]Klein, 'Individualgeschichte', p.181; 'Sündenverständnis', p.267.

[3]Cf. Klein, 'Individualgeschichte', p.181: 'Denn wenn hier die "Juden von Natur" den "Sündern aus den Heiden" konfrontiert werden, so heißt das bündig, daß die Juden naturgemäß der Disqualifikation als Sünder nicht unterliegen'.

[4]Klein, 'Individualgeschichte', p.182.

[5]Klein, 'Individualgeschichte', p.183; cf p.192: 'Im Glauben an Christus werden auch Juden zu solchen, von denen sie sich bis dahin gerade *als* Juden, φύσει (V.15), unterschieden: zu ἁμαρτωλοί'.

employs the word ἄνθρωπος (2.16a) to talk of a new category - des 'Menschen' - in place of the old categories of Jews and Gentiles; the distinction between Jews and Gentiles is therefore dissolved in favour of a 'third race'.[6]

(2) 2.15 as continuing into 2.16. According to Kümmel, 2.15-16 must be taken as one sentence: the subject ἡμεῖς qualified by φύσει...ἁμαρτωλοί and εἰδότες δὲ...Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ is taken up by the main sentence καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπιστεύσαμεν in 2.16b.[7] Kümmel insists that the particle δέ is rendered as copulative ('and'),[8] and Paul has a consciousness of Salvation History (referring to 2 Cor 6.2; 1 Cor 1.7). Therefore 'Jews who are justified remain Jews, even though they recognise that the Law was powerless to make them righteous, so that from that point of view they were sinners like the Gentiles'.[9] Kümmel observes also that ἁμαρτωλοί is not used in the Christian sense, but in the traditional Jewish style: Gentiles, the lawless ones, are 'sinners' (cf. Mark 14.41; par Matt 26.45; Luke 24.7).[10] He argues that the meaning of ἄνθρωπος (as in Rom 3.28) is nothing but similar to the indefinite pronoun τὶς (jemand; someone; anyone; cf. 1 Cor 4.1; 11.28; Gal 6.1; 6.7); the word ἄνθρωπος basically refers to humankind in contrast to God.[11] Thus the 'we' of Jewish Christians remain as *Jews*.

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[6]Klein, 'Individualgeschichte', p.183; followed by Kieffer, *Foi*, p.50. In many respects, Kieffer's argument is quite close to Klein, but he insists that 2.15-16 is one continuing sentence (*Foi*, p.36 n44). According to Kieffer, the substance of 2.15 refers only to the *former* situation of Jews, of whom Paul himself is one and he has *now* passed over to Christianity (p.37; see also p.38 n47). Cf. Bruce, *Gal*, p.138: 'As in Rom 3.28, ἄνθρωπος may be more than the equivalent of the indefinite pronoun τὶς. The Jew or the Gentile now stands before God as a human being, neither privileged (as Jews) nor underprivileged (as Gentiles)'.

[7]Kümmel, 'Individualgeschichte', pp.158-59. Similarly, Wilckens, 'Was', p.88 n23; cf. 'Christologie und Anthropologie im Zusammenhang der paulinischen Rechtfertigungslehre', *ZNW* 67 (1976), pp.64-82.

[8]Kümmel, 'Individualgeschichte', p.159.

[9]Kümmel, 'Individualgeschichte', p.172.

[10]Kümmel, 'Individualgeschichte', p.160, referring to Rengstorf, *TDNT* 1:317-33.

[11]Kümmel, 'Individualgeschichte', pp.160-61; cf. *Man in the New Testament* (ET; London: Epworth, 1963), p.40 n45. The emphasis of 2.16a is therefore not on the subject ἄνθρωπος, but on the predicate '...ot by works of law, but by faith of Christ'.

(3) 2.15 continues into 2.16, but Jews are also classified as 'sinners' in a theological sense (Suhl and Neitzel; for details, see §1.4.8). They insist, since it is impossible for Paul to say that 'Jews are not sinners', ἁμαρτωλοί should be attached directly to ἡμεῖς and so a different syntactical rendering of 2.15 is necessary.[12]

In sum, it is quite obvious that the meaning of ἁμαρτωλοί is the key problem. But before we move on to study the possible meanings of ἁμαρτωλοί in the wider Jewish context, we deem it necessary to begin with the *syntactical structure* of 2.15, especially when some find it necessary to propose new reconstructions in order to solve old theological difficulties.

3.2.2. The Syntactical Structure of 2.15:

It is to be appreciated that fresh attempts are continually made to unravel Paul's argument, but we are yet to be convinced by Suhl and Neitzel on their rendering of the verse. Because, if Paul were to say 'Jews are also sinners like the Gentiles, but only of a different origin' (as argued by Suhl), Paul would have written 'ἡμεῖς φύσει ἐξ Ἰουδαίων καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί' instead of φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι so that ἐξ Ἰουδαίων may form a parallel opposite to καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν.[13]

Similarly, if Paul intended to negate only ἐξ ἐθνῶν and not ἁμαρτωλοί (as argued by Neitzel), one would expect to find ἔθνη in the nominative case to correspond to the nominative case Ἰουδαῖοι. It would then look like this: 'ἡμεῖς, φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οὐκ ἔθνη, ἁμαρτωλοί'.[14]

Therefore, with the majority of scholars, the most natural way of reading is to join ἁμαρτωλοί to the immediate preceding phrase οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν to form a unit. Thus the subject ἡμεῖς at the beginning of

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[12]H. Boers, '"We Who Are by Inheritance Jews; Not from the Gentile Sinners'", *JBL* 111 (1992), pp.273-281, esp. pp.278-80 seems to attach ἁμαρτωλοί to ἡμεῖς; note his punctuation. However, the comment is too brief for us to discuss and to interact with it adequately. We shall await his fuller treatment in his forthcoming monograph on Galatians and Romans.

[13]See also Bligh, *Gal*, p.196 n29 in reply to M. Barth; Bachmann notes that Ἰουδαῖοι is a substantive, not an adjective (*Sünder*, p.60 n168).

[14]Barclay, *Obeying*, p.78 n7 also criticises Neitzel's reconstruction of the verse for leaving the word ἁμαρτωλοί 'hanging awkwardly and unexplained at the end of the verse'. See also Bachmann's criticism, *Sünder*, pp.80-81.

the clause is qualified by φύσει ('by birth'),[15] and then followed by Ἰουδαῖοι and οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί (see the layout below).[16]

ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι
καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί

As for the meaning of φύσις, it refers to the 'natural endowment or condition, inherited from one's ancestors'.[17] For example, the expression ἐκ φύσεως in Rom 2.27 refers to the uncircumcised Gentile by virtue of his birth. In Eph 2.3 the previous situation of Jewish Christians is described quite remarkably as τέκνα φύσει ὀργῆς ('by nature children of wrath') like the rest of humankind.[18] Similarly the expressions κατὰ φύσιν and παρὰ φύσιν in the olive tree imagery (Rom 11.17-24) refer to the tree by nature.[19] For our purpose here, it is sufficient to notice that the subject ἡμεῖς is qualified specifically with reference to birth and original descent.[20]

3.2.3. The Meaning of ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί:

But what does Paul mean by 'we...not Gentile sinners'? Is Paul implying that Jews are *not* sinners? If Jews are *not* equally sinners, is it not contradictory to what Paul himself says in Rom 1-3? Then how is it possible to reconcile this with Rom 3.9b, 'all, both Jews

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[15]Grammatically, φύσει is dative of respect; cf. MHT 3:220; M. Zerwick and M. Grosvenor, *A Grammatical Analysis of the Greek New Testament* (3rd edition; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1988), p.567.

[16]Cf. Betz, *Gal*, p.115; Stauffer, *TDNT* 2:361; Rengstorf, *TDNT* 1:328: 'the antithesis to φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι shows that ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί is a single concept'; Dunn, *Gal(ms)*, p.3.

[17]BAGD, 'φύσις', 1 (869). The word φύσις appears twelve times elsewhere in the NT (4.8; Rom 1.26; 2.14, 27; 11.21, 24(3x); 1 Cor 11.14; Eph 2.3; Jas 3.7 and 2 Pet 1.4); it always refers to nature or natural order. Cf. H. Köster, 'φύσις κτλ', *TDNT* 9:251-77.

[18]See Köster, *TDNT* 9:274-75; cf. R. Schnackenburg, *The Epistle to the Ephesians* (ET; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991), pp.92-93; A.T. Lincoln, *Ephesians* (WBC 42; Dallas: Word, 1990), pp.98-99.

[19]The meaning of Rom 2.14 is disputed partly because it is not clear whether φύσει is to be connected with the words before, τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα (e.g. Cranfield, *Rom*, 1:156-57; P.J. Achtemeier, *Romans* [Atlanta: John Knox, 1985], p.45) or with the words after, τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιῶσιν (e.g. Wilckens, *Rom*, 1:133-34; Dunn, *Rom*, 1:98-99). See also Räisänen, *Paul*, pp.103-105.

[20]So Köster, *TDNT* 9:272; Kieffer, *Foi*, p.39: 'Le mot *physis* indique l'origine naturelle, ce qui est donné par nature'; Ridderbos, *Gal*, p.98; Fung, *Gal*, p.113 n4.

and Greeks, are under the power of sin'?[21] Alternatively, is Paul using the word ἁμαρτωλοί in a manner similar to the comment in Phil 3.6, 'as to righteousness blameless under the law'? Or is Paul using ἁμαρτωλοί in a non-theological way, as a Jewish technical terminology for Gentiles? We shall turn to the usage of ἁμαρτωλός in Paul and the wider Jewish context.

The word ἁμαρτωλός is used very rarely by Paul: only twice in Galatians (2.15; 2.17b)[22] and four times in Romans (3.7; 5.8; 5.19; 7.13; cf. 1 Tim 1.9, 15). Comparatively, the word ἁμαρτία is more common: no less than fifty one times; but quite unusually, ἁμαρτία occurs only three times in Galatians (1.4; 2.17c; 3.22),[23] compared to forty times in Romans.[24]

Dunn has demonstrated quite convincingly that the word ἁμαρτωλός has a range of other meanings, besides the usual prominent Pauline concept of 'sinner'.[25] We can possibly classify the different senses broadly under three categories:

(1) as a technical term for Gentiles: they are 'Torah-less'; their conduct lay outside the boundary of the law. Because they do not have the Torah, they do not belong to the covenant people, and therefore they do not keep the law;[26]

(2) as the morally or ethically 'wicked' (Heb. רָשָׁע) and those

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[21]Cf. Suhl, 'Galaterbrief', p.3103; Lambrecht, 'Line', pp.490-91.

[22]For the meaning of ἁμαρτωλοί and ἁμαρτία in 2.17bc and the logic of Paul's argument, see Chapter 4 below.

[23]In the parenetic section, παράπτωμα ('trespass') is used at 6.1 instead of ἁμαρτία. See W. Michaelis, 'παραπίπτω, παράπτωμα', *TDNT* 6:170-72, here p.172. Barclay *Obeying*, p.211 suggests that the word σάρξ seems to be the alternative to ἁμαρτία in the discussion in Gal 5-6.

[24]Rom 3.9, 20; 4.7, 8; 5.12, 13, 20, 21; 6.1, 2, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23; 7.5, 7, 7.8(2x), 11, 13(2x), 14, 17, 20, 23, 25; 8.2, 3, 10; 11.27; 14.24; 1 Cor 15.3, 17, 56; 2 Cor 5.21; 11.7; Col 1.14; 1 Thess 2.16; 2 Thess 2.3; cf. Eph 2.1; 1 Tim 5.22, 24.

[25]See also Dunn, *Rom*, §5.3.1; *Partings*, pp.102-107; cf. M.J. Borg, *Jesus* (NY: Harper & Row, 1987), pp.91-92, 96, 131-33; *Conflict, Holiness & Politics in the Teaching of Jesus* (NY: Edwin Mellen, 1984), p.84.

[26]Cf. Jub 23.23-24; PssSol 1.1; 2.1-2; Ps 9.17; Tobit 13.8[6]; 4 Ezra 4.23; Luke 6.33/Matt 5.47; Mark 14.41 [10.33]/Matt 26.45/Luke 24.7. See Dunn, 'Pharisees', *JPL*, pp.73-74; *Partings*, p.103; Rengstorf, *TDNT* 1:323-26; Longenecker, *Eschatology*, pp.30-31.

who practise lawlessness (ἀνομία): Jews who are guilty of immorality and of abusing or transgressing the Torah deliberately;[27]

(3) as a *factional* term for the 'outsiders' who do not share the view or observe the Torah according to the interpretations of the 'insiders'. Quite usual in intra-Jewish polemic, those who claimed to be 'righteous' could regard another faction as 'sinners' because they fail to conform to their (*sectarian*) definition of 'righteousness'.[28] 'The sin of the "sinners" is that they stand outside the boundaries of righteousness as defined by the "righteous"'.[29]

It is quite clear now that the word ἁμαρτωλοί has a range of different meanings in the Jewish circle, and its meaning depends very much on the person or party who uses the term and especially how he or she defines the *boundary* for acceptance.[30] One should therefore turn to its *context* to decide its meaning.

According to 2.15 the noun ἁμαρτωλοί is qualified by ἐξ ἐθνῶν. The noun ἔθνος or the plural form ἔθνη corresponds to the Hebrew word גוים, which is commonly used for foreigners and Gentiles by the Jews.[31] In the NT period, the terminological distinction between Jews and Gentiles is firmly fixed, so that *'am* designates the elect

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[27]E.g. the ἀνομία in Pss 27.3; 54.3; 91.7; 100.8; 124.3 - LXX; Sir 41.5-8; the prostitute in Luke 7.39; cf. Matt 21.32. See Dunn, 'Pharisees', *JPL*, p.73; 'Incident', *JPL*, 151; Rengstorf, *TDNT* 1:321-22. P. Fiedler, 'ἁμαρτία', *EDNT* 1:65-69, here p.66 insists that 2.15 refers to this category of the 'sinful Gentile world'. He has also rejected the parallels in Luke 6.32-34 with Matt 5.46-47 and Mark 14.31 pars. In our view, he has not done justice to the Gospel materials.

[28]See Dunn, 'Pharisees', *JPL*, pp.74-76; *Partings*, pp.104-105 on the discussions on the calendrical dispute in Jubilees (6.32-35; also 23.16, 26), 1 Enoch (1-5; 82.4-7); the sectarian interpretations in the DSS; the attack on the opponents of the 'devout' in the Psalms of Solomon, and also the dispute over ritual purity in the Testament of Moses.

[29]Dunn, 'Pharisees', *JPL*, p.77.

[30]Compare the ten degrees of holiness according to *m. Kelim* 1.6-9 (cf. Dunn, *Parting*, p.39). On 'clean and unclean' see B.J. Malina, *The New Testament World* (London: SCM, 1981), pp.122-52; cf. J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (ET; London: SCM, 1969), pp.271-74. However, impurity is not equated with sin; it is considered *sin* when one enters the temple while impure or intends to transgress the prohibition on purpose (see Sanders, *Jesus*, pp.182-85; *Jewish Law*, p.33).

[31]See BAGD, 'ἔθνος', 2 (218).

'people' of God, the λαός, and *goyim* the 'peoples', i.e. humankind outside Israel, the 'Gentiles'.[32] This usage of ἔθνος/ἔθνη reflects quite clearly the self-understanding of Jews and Judaism.[33]

Since the preposition ἐκ probably denotes origin as to family, race, or people,[34] the whole phrase 'ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί' would refer to some people as *sinners with respect to their racial origin*: they are 'Gentiles' and so 'outsiders' according to the Jewish usage. This strongly suggests that the meaning of ἁμαρτωλοί is in category (1) above: Gentiles are called 'sinners' because they are 'non-Jews' and are outside the boundary of the Jewish people.[35] In this respect, the two nouns ἁμαρτωλοί and ἔθνη are almost synonymous, and 'Gentile-sinners' is very likely to have been a common religious phraseology used by Jews with reference to Gentiles.[36] It is quite possible that the language was used by 'the men from James' when they spoke against the mixed table-fellowship between Jewish and Gentile Christians at Antioch, and is now echoed by Paul for the purpose of argumentation.[37]

3.2.4. Concluding Remarks on ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι:

Though we have spent some time discussing the meaning of ἁμαρτωλοί in the Jewish context and the syntax of 2.15, the emphasis should in fact fall on the first part of the clause: ἡμεῖς φύσει

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[32]See N. Walter, 'ἔθνος', *EDNT* 1:381-83. Cf. S.J.D Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah* (LEC 7; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987), pp.34-35.

[33]Note the description of Jews as 'the circumcision' and Gentiles as 'the uncircumcision' in 2.7-9 (cf. Rom 2.26; 3.30; 4.9; Col 3.11; Eph 2.11). On this dividing line, see Dunn, *Partings*, p.29; J.J. Collins, 'A Symbol of Otherness: Circumcision and Salvation in the First Century', in *'To See Ourselves as Others See Us'*, pp.163-86.

[34]See BAGD, 'ἐκ', 3.b (235).

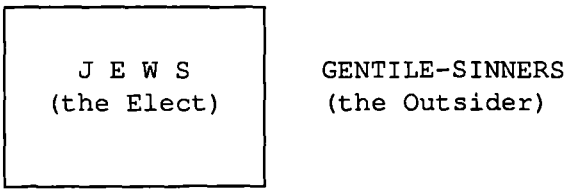
[35]So Rengstorf, *TDNT* 1:328; Dunn, 'Incident', *JPL*, p.151; 'Theology', *JPL*, p.248; Schlier, *Gal*, p.89; Matera, *Gal*, p.99; *contra* Suhl and Neitzel. It is indeed not necessary to reconstruct 2.15 in order to make sense of the word ἁμαρτωλοί and to reconcile it with other Pauline references.

[36]So Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.115; Ridderbos, *Gal*, pp.98-99; Fung, *Gal*, p.113; Barclay, *Obeying*, p.77 n7; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.83. Note GNB: 'indeed, we are Jews by birth and not "Gentile sinners" as they are called'.

[37]Bruce, *Gal*, p.137: '"Sinners of the Gentiles" may be a quotation from the vocabulary of law-abiding Jews'; Fitzmyer, 'Gal', 47:19; Dunn, *Gal(ms)*, p.3.

Ἰουδαῖοι. With φύσει, it is emphasized that their being Jews is based on their being born and bred Jews, not proselytes, far less resident aliens or God-fearers. The self-definition of 'we Jews' is set in contrast to Gentile-sinners.

This picture of social distinction between Jews and Gentiles as two distinct ethnic groups is quite prominent in the NT period. One can trace this social distinction back to the Jewish religious conviction of being God's elect people (*Israel*) and the possession of *Torah*. Thus comments J. Neusner: 'To be a Jew may similarly be reduced to a single, pervasive symbol of Judaism: Torah. To be a Jew meant to live the life of Torah, in one of the many ways in which the masters of Torah taught'; 'The most important meaning of the word Torah lies in its defining who is Israel and who is not'.[38] Indeed, the possession of *Torah* forms one differentiating factor between Jews and Gentiles: Jews consider themselves a special class, the elect people of God, and Gentiles, the 'sinners' and outsider.[39] Jews also understand themselves as the recipients of God's grace and members of God's *covenant*, belonging to the community of God's people (cf. Rom 2.17-20; 3.1-2; 9.4-5). In social and religious terms, Jews perceive themselves as *insiders* and regard Gentiles as *outsiders*: between them is the *boundary*.[40]



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[38]Quotation from J. Neusner, *Judaism in the Beginnings of Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1984), p.13 and *Major Trends in Formative Judaism* (BJS 60; Chico: Scholars, 1983), p.101 respectively. See also his *Judaism: The Evidence of the Mishnah* (University of Chicago, 1981), pp.72-75.

[39]So Meeks, *First Urban Christians*, p.97; Räisänen, *Paul*, p.16. See also Longenecker, *Eschatology*, pp.27-31.

[40]Cf. Malina, *NT World*, p.133. The division of humankind into two categories is not just common in Jewish circle; it is also reflected in 3.28 and forms part of the struggle in early Christian mission (cf. Acts 10.28; 11.12; 15.9 etc). According to Paul's own portrayal of his mission to the Gentiles, he is very much concerned with the inclusion of Gentiles and their equal status with Jewish believers in the Christian Church (see esp. 1.15-16; 2.7-9; 2.14b).

Thus we agree with Kertelge and Dunn that this is the sort of typical *Jewish covenantal framework* within which Paul is introducing his discussion in 2.15. 'Mit dem Gegensatz **'Ιουδαῖοι - ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί** betont Paulus aufs stärkste die Grenze zwischen Juden und Heiden, wie sie auf Grund des jüdischen Erwählungsbewußtseins besteht'.[41]

Since the subject **ἡμεῖς** (and the whole idea) of 2.15 is picked up again in 2.16b, **'καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς Χριστὸν 'Ιησοῦν ἐπιστεύσαμεν'**, Paul's concern in the argument is the religious experience of Jews, or to be more exact, *Jewish Christians*.[42] From the perspective of Jewish Christians, this self-understanding of *Jews* and the social-religious boundary between Jews and Gentiles are somehow transformed by the coming of Messiah Jesus and their commitment to believe in Christ (2.16abc).[43] When one compares 2.15 with 2.16c, Paul seems to have denounced any privileges for the Jews and value in observing 'works of the Law'. But had this rejection already occurred in the minds of *Jewish Christians* according to 2.16a? How would the self-identity and boundaries of the people of God have been redefined in the light of their *new* experience in Christ according to 2.16a?

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[41]Kertelge, 'Zur Deutung', p.213; Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, p.190; cf. Bachmann, *Sünder*, p.60.

[42]Rightly, Kümmel. This observation is shared by almost all scholars: e.g. Burton, *Gal*, p.123; Duncan, *Gal*, p.65; Ridderbos, *Gal*, p.100; Schlier, *Gal*, p.88; Betz, *Gal*, p.117; Bruce, *Gal*, p.139; Byrne, *Sons*, pp.143-44; Kieffer, *Foi*, pp.36-37; Fung, *Gal*, p.117; Barclay, *Obeying*, pp.81-83; Hansen, *Abraham*, p.101; Baird, 'Gal', p.1207; Mussner, *Gal*, p.168; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.83. Gaston remains unconvincing when he insists that the subject in 2.16 refers not to Jewish Christians but to *Paul* himself and other *Gentile* Christians (*Paul*, pp.69-70; followed by Gager, *Origins*, pp.232-35).

[43]Barclay, *Obeying*, p.78. Contrast Neusner who insists on a clear-cut distinction: 'For the Christian, therefore, the issue of Messiah dominated, for the rabbinic Jew, the issue of Torah; and for both, the question of salvation was crucial' (*Judaism*, p.13; cf. Gordon, 'Problem', pp.38-41). One can also compare the dramatic change of attitude reflected in Paul's own experience in Phil 3.5-9. The importance or value of the Law in Paul's life was greatly demoted and transformed by the value Paul now ascribes to Christ Jesus. So Kieffer, *Foi*, p.41 lists the comparisons as follows:

gain -- loss in regard of Christ
rubbish -- knowledge of Christ, which is supreme
righteousness based on Law -- righteousness comes from God.

3.3. THE FAITH OF JEWISH CHRISTIANS (2.16a)

In the last section we have clarified that the subject ἡμεῖς is qualified by φύσει: with reference to birth or natural origin, 'we' are Jews and not 'Gentile-sinners'. It is important to notice that the language of 2.15 reflects a typical Jewish covenantal framework. We have also noted that the ἡμεῖς is picked up again by καὶ ἡμεῖς in 2.16 so that 2.15-16 should be read as one long sentence, and it concerns the religious experience of *Jewish Christians*.

But between 2.15 and 2.16b, there is the ὅτι-clause introduced by εἰδότες [δέ] (2.16a). What is the purpose of this participial clause? Does it introduce a new idea that cancels out the previous statement in 2.15 (so Klein)? Or is it a parenthesis stating the reason why Jews came to believe in Christ?[1] Or is it just a circumstantial participle, adding an associated fact to what was stated in 2.15?[2] The question is, How would early Jewish Christians understand their (new) faith in Messiah Jesus in relation to their self-understanding as God's chosen people?[3]

Before attempting to answer the question why 2.16a is introduced by Paul here (and what role does it play in his overall argument), we would like to begin by studying the theological *content* of the εἰδότες ὅτι-clause. Since 2.16a contains crucial 'theological abbreviations' like ἔργα νόμου and πίστις Χριστοῦ and the important verb δικαιοῦν, all appearing for the first time in the letter and in a rather formulaic way,[4] we shall study this clause in more details.

3.3.1. The Significance of εἰδότες [δὲ] ὅτι Formula:

To begin with, we must pay attention to the introductory word:

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[1]E.g. Schlier, *Gal*, p.88; Ebeling, *Truth*, p.122; Burton, *Gal*, p.119; Matera, *Gal*, p.102.

[2]So Longenecker, *Gal*, p.83.

[3]Cf. Mussner, *Gal*, p.168, a new 'Glaubenswissen' for Jews; Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, p.198. On the Messiahship of Jesus, see esp. N.A. Dahl, *Jesus the Christ* (edited by D.H. Juel; Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1991), pp.15-47.

[4]Cf. Baur, *Paul*, 2:123-47; he discusses Paul's doctrine of justification under two headings: (1) the negative aspect: ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὐ δικαιοῦται ἐξ ἔργων νόμου; (2) the positive aspect: ὁ ἄνθρωπος δικαιοῦται ἐκ πίστεως.

εἰδότες. On the usage of εἰδότες (and οἴδαμεν) in the NT, Munck has an important observation: 'The formula that Paul uses to introduce the view of Peter and the other Jewish Christians, εἰδότες (or οἴδαμεν), occurs frequently in his letters, usually introducing a dogmatic proposition as something commonly known'.[5] Similarly, BAGD comments that 'The formula οἴδαμεν ὅτι is frequently used to introduce a well-known fact that is generally accepted'.[6]

Since the theological formulation of 2.16a is introduced by the adverbial participle εἰδότες followed by the ὅτι-clause, it indicates that Paul is referring to something commonly held by the early Christian Church. 'The appearance of ὅτι, which is probably a ὅτι *recitativum*, signals that what follows could even be set in quotes as something widely affirmed'.[7] Since the subject of εἰδότες undoubtedly refers back to 2.15 ('we Jews') and forward to 2.16b, one has to conclude that 2.16a is or reflects a common understanding of Christian faith shared by *early Jewish Christians*.[8]

With this observation, one could draw at least three inferences: (1) the theological content of 2.16a is very likely to be pre-Pauline, though the exact formulation itself may be contributed by Paul himself;[9] (2) the idea of justification by faith of/in Christ (πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) is not the centre of contention; the dispute between Paul and other Jewish Christians seems to lie elsewhere; (3) it is quite likely that 2.16a forms the common ground whereby Paul is

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[5]Munck, *Paul*, p.126. Besides 2.16, Munck includes also the following references: Rom 2.2; 3.19; 5.3; 6.9; 7.14; 8.22, 28; 1 Cor 6.2, 3, 9; 8.4; 2 Cor 1.7; 4.14; 5.1, 6; Col 3.24; 4.1; 1 Thess 3.3, 5.2; 2 Thess 3.7; cf. Eph 5.5; 6.8, 9; 1 Tim 1.8, 9; Titus 3.11; Jas 3.1; 1 Pet 1.18; 1 John 3.2, 5, 14, 15; 5.15, 18, 19, 20. Cf. Becker, *Gal*, p.29.

[6]BAGD, 'οἶδα', 1.e. (556). Likewise, J. Lambrecht and R.W. Thompson, *Justification by Faith* (ZSNT; Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1989), p.33 comments on Rom 3.28: 'when Paul uses the phrase "we hold" (*logizometha*) he is indicating that what is here presented is something with which all his readers could be expected to agree, that what he is saying is already fixed teaching in the church...but the significance of it has often gone unrecognized'.

[7]Longenecker, *Gal*, p.83.

[8]A similar observation is made by R.B. Hays, '"Have We Found Abraham to Be Our Forefather According to the Flesh?" A Reconsideration of Rom 4.1', *NovT* 27 (1985), pp.76-98, here p.85; cf. *Faith*, p.141.

[9]Cf. Räisänen, 'Galatians', pp.547-48.

trying to work out his argument and to clarify it in 2.16bc.

In the following discussion, the theological content of this ὅτι-clause will be studied as the faith of early *Jewish Christians*. The significance of this observation will become still clearer when the differences between 2.16a and 2.16c are recognised.[10]

3.3.2. The Meaning of ἔργα νόμου:

According to Paul's statement at 2.16c (ἵνα δικαιωθῶμεν ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου), ἔργα νόμου and πίστις Χριστοῦ are in antithetical positions. But what does Paul mean by this unique phrase ἔργα νόμου, and why does Paul find fault in them?

In the Pauline corpus the phrase ἔργα νόμου appears only eight times (2.16a,c,d; 3.2, 5, 10; Rom 3.20, 28) and always as ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, except Rom 3.28 where the reading is χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου.[11] In Galatians, it is quite significant that ἔργα νόμου occurs for the first time and three times in 2.16 alone. The phrase is used as a counterpart to πίστις [Ἰησοῦ] Χριστοῦ in 2.16a,c (cf. Rom 3.28) and to ἀκοὴ πίστεως ('hearing of faith') in 3.2, 5.[12] However, in contrast to οἱ ἐκ πίστεως in 3.9, the phrase is used with ὅσοι in 3.10a to mark out a particular group of people. In 3.10, ἔργα νόμου is somehow

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[10]The fact that 2.16a and 2.16c do look quite similar but are not exactly identical has attracted the attention of some scholars. In both instances ἔργα νόμου and πίστις Χριστοῦ appear side by side, but there are yet some distinctive differences in the two clauses that demand explanations:
(1) Why are ἔργα νόμου and πίστις Χριστοῦ connected by ἐὰν μή in 2.16a (compare to καὶ οὐκ in 2.16c)? What is the precise relationship between ἔργα νόμου and πίστις Χριστοῦ in 2.16a?
(2) What is the significance of the present tense δικαιοῦται in 2.16a (as compare to δικαιωθῶμεν in 2.16c and future δικαιωθήσεται in 2.16d)?
(3) Is there any intended difference in meaning between the two prepositions διά and ἐκ connected with πίστις Χριστοῦ?

[11]Shorthand descriptions of the phrase probably occur in 2.21b (Betz, *Gal*, p.126), 3.11a (Betz, *Gal*, p.146), and Rom 3.21a (Cranfield, *Rom*, 1:201; cf. Dunn, *Rom*, 1:165). A similar expression is found in Rom 2.15 (τὸ ἔργον τοῦ νόμου), but in this case Paul is not contrasting 'the work of the law' with justification, and ἔργον is singular instead of plural.

[12]On the meaning of this controversial phrase ἀκοὴ πίστεως, see the discussions in Betz, *Gal*, p.128; Hays, *Faith*, pp.143-49; S.K. Williams, 'The Hearing of Faith: ΑΚΟΗ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ in Galatians 3', *NTS* 35 (1989), pp.82-93; Longenecker, *Gal*, pp.102-103.

related to a 'curse' (ὑπὸ κατάραν; 3.10b) which is made clearer still in 3.13 as 'the curse of the law' from which Christ has redeemed.[13] Then, apparently as an allusion to Ps 143.2, the phrase ἐξ ἔργων νόμου is added by Paul in 2.16d (similarly Rom 3.20). But in Paul's subsequent discussion in the letter, the word νόμος seems to become more and more prominent (e.g. 2.19a; 3.19-24; 5.4, 18). Do they carry the same meaning (ἔργα νόμου = νόμος)?[14] Or are they different?[15] If ἔργα νόμου and νόμος are not identical, then why does Paul seem to move from ἔργα νόμου (2.16) to νόμος (2.19a)?[16]

There has been considerable debate over the question whether Paul rejected the *Torah* and the meaning of this little problematic phrase ἔργα νόμου. But it is important that one should strive to 'decode' ἔργα νόμου and to understand Paul's argument against it within the *new perspective* on Judaism, not as a legalistic religion but in terms of 'covenantal nomism' (see §1.1.2). In current discussions there are no less than five different views:[17]

(1) Focus on meritorious achievement (the qualitative view: 'works of law' implies legalism). One major proponent of this view is Bultmann.[18] According to Bultmann, although no one can keep the law

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[13]But why are they, ὅσοι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, under the curse? What is the logic of Paul's argument in 3.10-14? This issue has recently attracted much scholarly attention again: e.g. F.F. Bruce, 'The Curse of the Law', in *P & P*, pp.27-36; Hays, *Faith*, pp.206-212; Sanders, *PLJP*, pp.20-29; Dunn, 'Works', *JPL*, pp.225-32; T.L. Donaldson, 'The "Curse of the Law" and the Inclusion of the Gentiles: Galatians 3.13-14', *NTS* 32 (1986), pp.94-112; Thielman, *Plight*, pp.65-72; Hansen, *Abraham*, pp.116-27; C.D. Stanley, '"Under a Curse": A Fresh Reading of Galatians 3.10-14', *NTS* 36 (1990), pp.481-511; Hamerton-Kelly, 'Curse'; J.P. Braswell, '"The Blessing of Abraham" Versus "The Curse of the Law": Another Look at Gal 3.10-13', *WTJ* 53 (1991), pp.73-91; Wright, *Climax*, pp.137-56.

[14]So Kieffer, *Foi*, p.46; Westerholm, *Israel's Law*, pp.117-18.

[15]So Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, p.211; cf. pp.201-202.

[16]On the enigmatic phrase διὰ νόμου in 2.19a, see §6.2.2. below.

[17]Cf. Schreiner, 'Works', pp.218-24; Moo, 'Paul', pp.292-98; R.B Sloan, 'Paul and the Law: Why the Law Cannot Save', *NovT* 33 (1991), pp.35-60.

[18]See Bultmann, *Theology*, 1:262-67; 'Romans 7 and the Anthropology of Paul', in *Existence and Faith* (ET; edited by S.M. Ogden; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1961), pp.147-157; 'Christ the End of the Law', in *Essays Philosophical and Theological* (ET; London: SCM, 1955), pp.36-66.

perfectly, the fundamental problem of humankind is the very attempt to justify oneself by works so that one can boast before God: 'Because *man's effort to achieve his salvation by keeping the Law* only leads him into sin, indeed this effort itself in the end *is already sin*'.[19] Similarly, commenting on the antithesis between works of law and the radical faith of Christ in Rom 3.28, Käsemann remarks that works of the law are condemned as 'a higher form of godlessness than transgression of the law'.[20] Keck insists that 'the real meaning of law, *nomos*, for Paul is not provided by the Jewish view of Torah...Rather, Paul's eye is on the impingement of the law on the self, and this leads him to discern the "lawness of law"'.[21] The unique emphasis of this view is the claim that the very attempt or intention to obey the law as a means of justification is sinful.[22]

The strength of this view is the existential application to the present day. But one has to ask, is this the first century Judaism Paul confronted in Galatians and Romans? The fundamental problem with this view, in our opinion, is its *distorted* understanding of Judaism as a legalistic religion upon which their criticism of Torah-

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[19]Bultmann, *Theology*, 1:264; see also his '**καυχάομαι**', *TDNT* 3:645-54.

[20]Käsemann, *Rom*, p.103; see also pp.88-90.

[21]See Keck, *Paul*, pp.81-85, here p.83.

[22]Also G. Bertram, '**ἔργον**', *TDNT* 2:635-52, esp. p.651; Blank, 'Warum', pp.87-90; Duncan, *Gal*, pp.65-66, 92-96; Bring, *Gal*, pp.87-90, 120-25; Betz, *Gal*, pp.116, 144-46; Schlier, *Gal*, pp.91-92, 132-35; Klein, 'Sündenverständnis'; F. Hahn, 'Das Gesetzesverständnis im Römer- und Galaterbrief', *ZNW* 67 (1976), pp.29-63, esp. pp.36, 39, 43-44; Hübner, *Law*, pp.38-41, 113-24; 'Was heißt', pp.131-32; H. Weder, 'Gesetz und Sünde. Gedanken zu einem qualitativen Sprung im Denken des Paulus', *NTS* 31 (1985), pp.357-76; M. Black, *Romans* (NCBC; 2nd edition; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), pp.62-63; cf. Str-B 3:160ff.

Though Longenecker regards first century Judaism as nomistic, he argues that the attempt of certain Jewish Christians to impose 'works of law' upon Gentile Christians has made it legalistic. 'So Paul here in 2.16 uses **ἔργων νόμου** not to just refer to "the badges of Jewish covenantal nomism", though that may have been how other Jewish believers thought of them, but as a catch phrase to signal the whole legalistic complex of ideas' (*Gal*, p.86). Arguing against Dallas dispensationalism, Fuller insists that 'works of the law' refers not to the Mosaic Torah itself, but only to the *distortion* the Law as a means of trying to bribe God ('Paul'; cf. *Gospel and Law* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980], pp.88-105, 199-204). Cosgrove, *Cross*, p.53 n31 has now retracted his earlier view expressed in 'The Mosaic Law Preaches Faith: A Study in Gal. 3', *WTJ* 41 (1978-79), pp.146-71.

observance and *legalism* is based.[23]

(2) Focus on human inability to obey the law perfectly (the quantitative view). This view is very much associated with A. Schlatter and Wilckens, and is recently defended vigorously by Moo, Westerholm and Cranfield.[24] There are two fairly strong arguments for the view, namely (a) Paul's argumentation in Romans 1-3 seems to move 'from plight to solution';[25] (b) the logic of Gal 3.10-12, as Moo puts it:[26]

> inability to 'do' the law is part and parcel of Paul's argument in Gal 3.10. The quotation of Deut 27.26 in this verse, which explains why (γάρ) a curse comes upon all those who 'are of the works of the law', attributes the curse to 'not remaining in *all* that is written in the book of the law to do them'. In other words, the curse is specifically explained to be the result of *failure to do the law*.

Furthermore, Moo insists that the meaning of 'works of the law' in Rom 3.20-28 should be defined by the use of ἔργα in chapter 4 and claims that '*ta erga tou nomou* should be viewed as a particular subset of *erga*'.[27] Thus Moo concludes that Paul's criticism of ἔργα νόμου is 'not because they are *nomou* ('of the law') but because they are *erga* ('works')'.[28] The problem with 'works of Law' is

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[23]See again Sanders, *PPJ*, pp.33-59; cf. Watson, *Paul*, pp.1-10.

[24]A. Schlatter, *Der Glaube im Neuen Testament* (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1927), pp.323-33; Wilckens, *Rom*, 1:131-37, 142-46, 173-78, 244-50; 'Statements', pp.21-24; Moo, *Rom*, 1:175-77, 212-18; 'Law', pp.90-99; Westerholm, *Israel's Law*, pp.109-30; Cranfield, 'Works', pp.100-101; cf. *Rom*, 1:197-98. See also A. van Dülmen, *Die Theologie des Gesetzes bei Paulus* (SBM 5; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1968), pp.31-35, 173-79; Gundry, 'Grace', pp.12-23; J. Lambrecht, 'Gesetzesverständnis bei Paulus', *Das Gesetz im Neuen Testament* (QD 108; ed. K. Kertelge; Freiburg: Herder, 1986), pp.112-27; Cole, *Gal*, pp.120, 39. Thielman, *Plight*, pp.28-45, 59-72, 115-22; Martin, *Christ*, pp.24-25; G.N. Davies, *Faith and Obedience in Paul* (JSNTS 39; Sheffield: JSOT, 1990), pp.115-27.

[25]Moo, *Rom*, 1:175; Gundry, 'Grace', pp.27-28; Westerholm, *Israel's Law*, pp.151-64.

[26]Moo, 'Law', pp.97-98. See also Moo, *Rom*, 1:175-77, 212-18; Wilckens, 'Zur Entwicklung', pp.166-69; Gundry, 'Grace', pp.23-27; Fitzmyer, 'Gal', *NJBC* 47:23; O. Hofius, '"All Israel Will Be Saved": Divine Salvation and Israel's Deliverance in Romans 9-11', in *The Church and Israel: Romans 9-11* (The Princeton Seminary Bulletin, Supplementary Issue 1; NJ: Princeton, 1990), pp.19-39, here p.23 n34.

[27]Moo, 'Law', p.95; also Cranfield, 'Works', p.97.

[28]Moo, 'Law', p.97; 'Works of the law are inadequate not because they

anthropological, human weakness and inability. According to Thielman, this is precisely why Paul used the word σάρξ instead of the original LXX ζῶν in 2.16d - σάρξ indicates the 'weakness and corruptibility' of humankind.[29]

Certainly this view is better than the qualitative view, but it itself is not without difficulty. In particular, in the reading of Paul's argument in 3.10, one has to assume a 'suppressed' premise in the syllogism:

a. All who fail to do the *whole* law are cursed (3.10b);
b. (suppressed) No individual in fact does the *whole* law;
c. Therefore all who are ἐξ ἔργων νόμου are cursed (3.10a).

Furthermore, one has to lay strong emphasis on ποιῆσαι ('doing') and πᾶσιν ('all things'): because all fail to fulfil the law in *every* detail, all are under the curse. One also has to assume that Paul has a rigorist attitude towards the law and insists on a hundred percent fulfilment.[30] According to this view, salvation in essence is to the *doer*! But one has to ask: is this not quite contradictory to the 'covenantal nomism' of first century Judaism?[31]

Secondly, it is often insisted that ἔργα νόμου is only a *subset* of ἔργα: thus the meaning of the latter ἔργα in Romans 4 would define the ἔργα νόμου in Rom 3.20 and 3.28. But is this a logical reading?

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are "works of *the law*", but, ultimately, because they are "works"' (*Rom*, 1:218).

[29]Thielman, *Plight*, pp.61-65. On σάρξ, see further §3.4.2. below.

[30]According to the school of Shammai, even a ninety nine percent achievement is reckoned as a failure, whereas the school of Hillel would treat fifty one percent achievement as a pass-mark (cf. C.G. Montefiore and H. Loewe, *A Rabbinic Anthology* [London: Macmillan, 1938], pp.594-597, 664 n33). It is however still debated by scholars whether Paul was, like his teacher Gamaliel, a Hillelite according to tradition. It is maintained by J. Jeremias, 'Paulus als Hillelit', in *Neotestamentica et Semitica: Studies in honour of M. Black* (edited by E.E. Ellis and M. Wilcox; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1969), pp.88-94; but questioned by Hübner, *Law*, pp.18-19, 44 n16. But as Sanders points out, whether Paul was a Hillelite or a Shammaite, it is not the 'weighing' that matters; the rabbinic theology of this period assumed all who were within the covenant would attain salvation (*PPJ*, p.138 n61).

[31]See also Sanders, 'On the Question of Fulfilling the Law in Paul and Rabbinic Judaism', in *Donum Gentilicium: New Testament Studies in Honour of D. Daube* (edited by E. Bammel, C.K. Barrett and W.D. Davies; Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), pp.103-26.

Is it not more natural to approach the latter ἔργα in the light of the earlier ἔργα νόμου?[32]

Thirdly, this view tends to neglect the immediate context in which Paul first introduced the phrase ἔργα νόμου into the argument (2.16). In the preceding context itself, the explicit issues are circumcision (2.1-10), food laws and table-fellowship (2.11-14). In contrast, the question of *human inability* to fulfil *all* the requirements of the law does not seem to be the issue at all.[33]

(3) Inability to obey the law *and* meritorious achievement (both quantitative and qualitative view). This view lays emphasis on *both* the human inability to fulfil the law perfectly due to sin (3.10; 6.13 and Rom 8.3-4?) *and* the legalistic spirit to gain righteousness by doing good works (i.e. *works* of the law). For example, on 2.16, Bruce suggests that works of law are deprecated because of 'the performing them in a spirit of legalism', but maintains that 3.10 is concerned with 'the unfulfillable character of the law: by the standard of the law every one is "under a curse" because no one is able to keep it in its entirety'.[34] In like manner, this view shares both the strengths and weaknesses of the two views above.

(4) A very different view is suggested by Gaston: 'works of law' as a subjective genitive.[35] According to Gaston, grammar should be given priority over theology in deciding the meaning of ἔργα νόμου: since the genitive constructions of δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ, πίστις Χριστοῦ and τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκός are all subjective genitive, it is likely that

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[32]Thus Dunn, in our opinion, is right to insist that 'ἔργα in [Rom] 3.27; 4.2, 6; 9.12, 32; and 11.16 is shorthand for the ἔργα νόμου of 3.20 and 28' (*Rom*, 1:154); 'The ἐξ ἔργων [Rom 4.2] should not be taken as a more generalized statement than ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, as the parallel with 3.20 and the similar usage in 3.27-28 clearly indicate' (*Rom*, 1:200).

[33]See §2.2.3.(1).

[34]Bruce, *Gal*, pp.137, 159. Also Burton, *Gal*, pp.120, 164; W. Sanday and A.C. Headlam, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (ICC; 5th edition; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1902), pp.76, 94; F.J. Leenhardt, *The Epistle to the Romans* (ET; London: Lutterworht, 1961), pp.96-97, 108-111; Guthrie, *Gal*, pp.87-88, 96-98; L. Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), pp.171-72, 185-87; Kim, *Origin*, pp.282-83; Fung, *Gal*, pp.113-14, 142-43.

[35]This grammatical possibility is discussed, but rejected, by Lohmeyer 'Gesetzeswerke', p.178; cf. Schlier, *Gal*, p.91.

ἔργα νόμου is also subjective.[36] Secondly, the law always brings forth evil effects: it brings knowledge of sin (Rom 3.19), sin (5.13), Adam's fault (5.20), authority over a human being (7.1), deception (7.11), death (Rom 7.10), and above all 'wrath' (4.15).[37] Thus he concludes, when Paul refers to 'works of law', he is thinking of works which are *produced by* the law outside the context of covenant, and the works produced are only evil.[38]

Gaston's suggestion does look interesting, but it can hardly make any sense at all in Paul's argumentation. With reference to 2.16 (and Rom 3.20), if Gaston is right that ἔργα νόμου designates the evil deeds produced by the law, one wonders why Paul should ever bother to deny that justification comes ἐξ ἔργων νόμου. In fact, no one (including Paul's opponents) would ever affirm that one would be righteous *by evil works*![39]

(5) Focus on the *social* function of the law: 'works of the law' as signifying distinctions between Jews and Gentiles.[40] According to Dunn, the problem with 'works of the law' is not that they are 'works', nor that they are 'of the law'; the key to Paul's critique of the law lies with the *social function* of Torah:[41]

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[36]Gaston, *Paul*, pp.102-104, nn22-28; he insists that 'grammar must take precedence over theological presuppositions' (p.106).

[37]Gaston, *Paul*, p.105. He insists also that 'the work of law' in Rom 2.15 refers to the evil deeds of Gentiles which are condemned in 1.18-32 (pp.69, 105).

[38]Gaston, *Paul*, p.106; see also pp.35-44.

[39]See also criticisms by Dunn, *Rom*, 1:154; Schreiner, 'Works', p.231.

[40]Besides Dunn (§1.2.3), the social aspect of Torah is also reflected and taken up in some recent studies: Sanders, *PPJ*, p.489; *PLJP*, pp.17-64, 100-104, cf. 154-60; Räisänen, *Paul*, pp.162-77, 259; Watson, *Paul*, pp.63-67, 129-30, 139-41, 198 n79; Heiligenthal, 'Soziologische', pp.41-45; Gordon, 'Problem', pp.36-40, 43; Hansen, *Abraham*, p.102; Barclay, *Obeying*, p.82; Longenecker, *Eschatology*, pp.201-202, 205-206, 212-13; Segal, *Paul*, pp.124-25; Wright, *Climax*, p.240. The *sociological* dimension is often neglected by modern readers, so comments Cohen, *Maccabees*, pp.60-61: 'In the eyes of the pagans of antiquity the essence of religion was neither faith nor dogma, but *action*...for both Jews and gentiles the boundary line between Judaism and paganism was determined more by *Jewish observances* than by Jewish theology' (*italics* mine).

[41]Dunn, *JPL*, p.4; 'Works' *JPL*, pp.216-19 drawing on the sociological studies of Hans Mol and Mary Douglas to elaborate the relationship between identity and boundary.

the law functioning to mark out Israel's distinctiveness as the people of God, both in terms of Jewish self-identity (the people who delight and boast in the law - cf. Rom 2.17-20, 23), and as forming a boundary between Jews (those 'inside the law') and Gentiles (those 'outside the law').

A close parallel to Paul's phrase is 'deeds of the Law' (מעשי תורה in the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QS 5.21, 23; 6.18; 4QFlor 1.1-7; and the recently published text 4QMMT); they refer to the distinctive obligations laid upon the sectarian by his membership of the Qumran community. In practice, the *ma'seh torah* refer to the Qumran's sectarian understanding of what the law requires thus distinguishing the covenanters from fellow Jews, outsiders and enemies.[42]

A further crucial hint is the context of 2.16. When the phrase ἔργα νόμου was first introduced by Paul here, the immediately preceding context undoubtedly refers to the controversy over *food laws* between Paul and Peter in the Antioch Incident (2.11-14). Probably also included is the other great issue, *circumcision*, raised by the 'false brothers' in Jerusalem (2.1-10). Thus it becomes very likely that by 'works of law' Paul intended his readers to think of distinctive or particular observances of the law such as circumcision and the food laws.[43]

Similarly when the phrase is introduced in Rom 3.20 and 3.28, Paul probably has in view *Jewish pride* in their status as the people of God (2.17-20, 23), with circumcision serving as the distinguishing mark of the Jew (2.25-29); this Jewish boasting in the law is now ruled out by the gospel stated in 3.21-26.[44] Paul's 'target was rather the devout Jew in his presupposition that as a member of the covenant people he could expect God's righteousness to be put forth in his favor because he was "within the law"'.[45] The treatment of Abraham in

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[42]See Dunn, *Partings*, pp.136-37; 'Yet', pp.103-104; *Gal(ms)*, p.5. See further L.H. Schiffman, 'The Temple Scroll and the Systems of Jewish Law of the Second Temple Period', in *Temple Scroll Studies* (edited by G.J. Brooke; Sheffield: JSOT, 1989), pp.239-55, esp. pp.245-51; 'The New Halakhic Letter (4QMMT) and the Origins of the Dead Sea Sect', *Biblical Archaeologist* 53 (1990), pp.64-73.

[43]Dunn, *Partings*, pp.136-37; *Gal(ms)*, p.6; cf. Räisänen, *Paul*, p.259.

[44]Dunn, 'Works', *JPL*, pp.221, 238; *Partings*, p.137; 'Yet', p.110-11.

[45]Dunn, *Rom*, 1:155; see also 'Yet', pp.104-10; Longenecker, *Eschatology*, pp.201, 206-11. While Westerholm, *Israel's Law*, p.120; Cranfield, 'Works', p.93 are right to insist that Rom 3.20 concludes

Romans 4 should also be seen as directed against the standard Jewish view that Abraham as the ideal Jew was justified by his faithfulness in Torah observance and obedience in the matter of circumcision and the offering of Isaac (see Sir 44.19-21; 1 Macc 2.52; Jub 17.15-18; 18.16; 19.8; cf. Jas 2.21-23).[46] Thus the meaning of ἐξ ἔργων in Rom 4.2 should be defined by ἔργα νόμου in the preceding context (3.20, 27-28).[47]

Therefore, Dunn argues that the ἔργα νόμου attacked by Paul does not mean legalism or 'work in general' or evil works produced by law, but *specific* 'works of the law' or covenantal nomism.[48] Paul's critique is not the Law *per se*, but the law abused.[49] 'Works of the law' characterize the whole mind set of 'covenantal nomism'; it 'denotes the attitude of covenantal nomism as typically understood in the second Temple Judaism in general, as focused in the principal identity-confirming and boundary-defining acts (like circumcision and food laws), since they excluded the Gentile by definition'.[50]

This view, in our opinion, fits very well with the crisis Paul was confronting in Galatia: the problem is very much related to whether Gentile believers should adopt Jewish identity markers such as circumcision (5.2-6, 11-12; 6.12-16; cf. 2.3-5), Sabbath and holy days (4.10), as their pattern of life (see §2.3.3). The Jewish Christian opponents were engaged in a mission of 'cultural imperialism' as we may call it. Secondly, as in our critique of the second view above, we indicated that the preceding *context*, especially 2.1-10 and 2.11-14, points undoubtedly to the explicit

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the argument began at Rom 1.18, they tend to miss the thrust of Paul's indictment of the Jews in Romans 2.

[46]Dunn, 'Works', *JPL*, p.239; *Rom*, 1:198-205; 'Yet', pp.111-12; Longenecker, *Eschatology*, pp.211-15. It is unfortunate that Moo, 'Law,' pp.95-96 and Westerholm *Israel's Law*, pp.119-20 fail to take the Jewish background into consideration. On Abraham as the model Jew in early Judaism, see references cited in §2.3.3 (p.88).

[47]Dunn, *Rom*, 1:154, 200; also Wright, 'Romans', p.192.

[48]Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, p.194; 'Works', *JPL*, p.238; followed by Ziesler, *Gal*, p.25; Matera, *Gal*, pp.93, 99.

[49]Dunn, *Partings*, p.138; 'New Perspective', *JPL*, pp.200-202; 'Works', *JPL*, p.224.

[50]Dunn, *Partings*, p.137. Note: Dunn did *not* claim that 'works of law' denoted only circumcision, dietary restrictions and Sabbath keeping ('Yet', p.100-102).

issues of circumcision and food laws, the essential Jewish markers. Thirdly, even Cranfield has to concede that the prominent references to circumcision in Galatians and expressions like ὁ Ἰουδαϊσμός in 1.13-14, αἱ πατρικαί μου παραδόσεις in 1.14, μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν συνεσθίεν in 2.12, ἐθνικῶς καὶ οὐχὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶς ζῆν and Ἰουδαΐζειν in 2.14b have lent considerable support to our view.[51] Furthermore, this understanding of ἔργα νόμου as traditional Jewish covenant identity-confirming and boundary-defining markers makes very good sense within the covenantal framework of 2.15: 'Die ἔργα νόμου in V.16 sind also der Ausdruck des jüdischen Selbstbewußtseins von V.15'.[52] Therefore, the unique phrase ἔργα νόμου has become for Paul a convenient catch-phrase in referring to those typical Jewish covenantal identity-confirming and boundary-defining markers or 'badges of Jewish membership' in the Galatian debate, with particular reference to circumcision, food laws and Sabbath observances.[53]

According to Paul's formulation at 2.16c, ἔργα νόμου as badges of Jewish membership in the covenant are rejected and replaced by πίστις Χριστοῦ. Why does Paul find fault in ἔργα νόμου? One obvious reason is that if covenantal membership is defined also by ἔργα νόμου, Gentiles by nature would have been excluded right away, unless they judaize and to go all the way to receive circumcision. In a mixed Christian community, Gentile believers would either be regarded as 'second class citizens' or would be compelled to live Ἰουδαϊκῶς in order to have full communion with Jewish Christians.[54] It becomes clear that Jewish ἔργα νόμου would undermine the equal status of Gentile believers in the Christian church. Thus it is quite probable that Paul added the phrase in 2.16d to drive home the fact that these Jewish markers cease to play any role in God's dealing with humankind and in defining membership of God's people (see §3.4.3).

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[51]Cranfield, 'Works', pp.91-92, 100.

[52]Kertelge, 'Zur Deutung', p.215.

[53]Cf. Cohen, *Maccabees*, p.74: 'For the pagans of the Greco-Roman world the most characteristic features of Judaism were, aside from circumcision, the observance of the Sabbath and the abstention from certain foods (notably pork)'.

[54]See also Wright, *Climax*, p.240; Barclay, *Obeying*, pp.82, 239. Contra Martyn, 'Events', p.165 that law observance is rejected because it is 'merely a *human activity*'.

3.3.3. The Meaning of **πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ**:

According to 2.16c the antithetical alternative to **ἐξ ἔργων νόμου** is **ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ**. Similarly, this phrase **πίστις (Ἰησοῦ) Χριστοῦ** is quite ambiguous and has attracted the attention of many scholars.[1] It occurs only four times elsewhere in the undisputed Pauline epistles (3.22; Rom 3.22, 26; Phil 3.9).[2] A similar construction is found in 2.20b, **πίστις** followed by genitive **τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ**.[3] One can draw at least two basic observations from the six occurrences. (1) In the case of 2.16b, it is quite obvious that the verb **ἐπιστεύσαμεν** with **εἰς** takes **Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν** as the direct object. In fact 2.16b is sandwiched between two **πίστις Χριστοῦ** phrases: **διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ** (2.16a) and **ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ** (2.16c). (2) If the **πίστις Χριστοῦ** formulation is rendered as objective genitive ('faith *in* Jesus Christ'), there seems to be some sort of redundancy in 3.22 (**ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ** and **τοῖς πιστεύουσιν**), Rom 3.22 (**διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ** and **πάντας τοὺς πιστεύοντας**) and Phil 3.9 (**διὰ πίστεως Χριστοῦ** and **ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει**).

In the contemporary debate there are basically two main views on **πίστις Χριστοῦ**:[4]

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[1]Hays, *Faith*, pp.158-62 has a very good historical survey of the debate. A summary of different views is found in K. Kertelge, *'Rechtfertigung' bei Paulus* (NTAbh, NF 3; Münster: Aschendorff, 1967; 2nd edition, 1971), pp.162-66; F. Neugebauer, *In Christus* (Göttingen: V&R, 1961), pp.150-56.

[2]According to P^{46} the **πίστις Χριστοῦ** formulation is found in 3.26 ('**διὰ πίστεως Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ**'); but it is generally agreed that '**διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ**' is more reliable (NA^{26}; cf. Betz, *Gal*, p.181 n7; Bruce, *Gal*, p.183). In Eph 3.12 the expression **διὰ τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ** is quite unique compared to other **πίστις Χριστοῦ** formulations: note the definite article (cf. Barth, *Ephesians*, 1:347 n111; Dunn, 'Once', p.733).

[3]The dative article **τῇ** goes with the dative **ἐν πίστει** to which the whole phrase **τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ** stands in apposition (Burton, *Gal*, p.139).

[4]According to Kertelge, *Rechtfertigung*, pp.165-66, there are two other views which are not followed by many: (1) **πίστις Χριστοῦ = πίστις ἐν Χριστῷ**, the so-called 'mystical genitive' or 'genitive of fellowship' suggested by Deissmann, *Paul*, pp.161-65; and (2) **πίστις Χριστοῦ** as the confession of the Church, argued by E. Wissmann (*Das Verhältniss von πίστις und Christusfrömmigkeit bei Paulus* [FRLANT, NF 23; Göttingen: V&R, 1926]). H. Ljungmann, *Pistis* (Lund: Gleerup, 1964), pp.37-47 seems to affirm both the subjective and the objective views.

(1) 'Faith *in* Jesus Christ' (**πίστις Χριστοῦ** as objective genitive). This has been the most common view among scholars.[5] It has been generally accepted (assumed?) that **'Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ** is assuredly an objective genitive, and so the expression must be read as 'faith *in* Jesus Christ'.[6] Many refer to **'εἰς Χριστὸν 'Ιησοῦν ἐπιστεύσαμεν'** of 2.16b as a clear indication that **πίστις Χριστοῦ** must be objective genitive: the act of believing has 'Jesus Christ' as the direct object.[7] The implied logic is: the noun **πίστις** is defined by the verb **πιστεύω**.[8] And so the repetitions in 3.22, Rom 3.22 and Phil 3.9 are explained as means of *emphasis*; they are not tautological![9] Some even refer to the grammatical construction of **ἔργα νόμου**, the antithesis of **πίστις Χριστοῦ**, in 2.16ac to argue that the alternative is between

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[5]This includes a vast majority of earlier German scholars (see Kertelge, *Rechtfertigung*, p.163 n4). We can include also: Betz, *Gal*, 118; Burton, *Gal*, p.121; P. Bonnard, *L'Épître de Saint Paul aux Galates* (CNT; 2nd edition; Neuchâtel/Paris: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1972), p.53; Borse, *Gal*, p.113; Bruce, *Gal*, p.139; Duncan, *Gal*, pp.65-66; Fitzmyer, 'Gal', 47:19; Fung, *Gal*, pp.114-15; Guthrie, *Gal*, p.90; Kieffer, *Foi*, pp.48-49; Mussner, *Gal*, p.170; Rohde, *Gal*, p.110; Barclay, *Obeying*, p.78; Hansen, *Abraham*, pp.102-103; Sanday and Headlam, *Rom*, pp.83-84; Barrett, *Rom*, p.70; Black, *Rom*, p.58; Cranfield, *Rom*, 1:203 n2; Wilckens, *Rom*, 1:188, 198; Käsemann, *Rom*, p.94; Moo, *Rom*, 1:224-25; J. Murray, *Romans* (NICNT; 2 vols; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1959-65), 1:363-74; P. Stuhlmacher, *Der Brief an die Römer* (NTD 6; Göttingen: V&R, 1989), p.57; Kim, *Origin*, p.299; Westerholm, *Israel's Law*, pp.111-12 n12; Martin, *Christ*, pp.115-18; Kertelge, *Rechtfertigung*, pp.170-78; W.H.P. Hatch, *The Pauline Idea of Faith in its Relation to Jewish and Hellenistic Religion* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1917), p.38; A.J. Hultgren, 'The *Pistis Christou* Formulation in Paul', *NovT* 22 (1980), pp.248-63. See also BAGD, 'πίστις', 2.b.β (663).

[6]So Burton, *Gal*, p.121: 'The evidence that **πίστις** like **ἐλπίς** and **ἀγάπη** may take an objective genitive is too clear to be questioned'; Betz, *Gal*, 118 even speaks of the subjective genitive as a 'false idea' which is contrary to 'context analysis'; Bultmann in a long article on **πιστεύω** in *TDNT* 6:174-228 did not even discuss the issue (see 6:204 n230; cf. *Theology*, 1:89-90, 317-18).

[7]E.g. Schlier, *Gal*, p.92-93; Mussner, *Gal*, p.170; Bruce, *Gal*, p.139; Fung, *Gal*, p.115; Hansen, *Abraham*, p.103; Bachmann, *Sünder*, p.61; M.J. Harris, 'Appendix: Prepositions and Theology in the Greek New Testament', *NIDNTT* 3:1171-1215, here p.1213; Hofius, 'All', p.21 n20; Hultgren, '*Pistis*', pp.254-55, 261.

[8]So C.F.D. Moule, 'The Biblical Conception of Faith', *ExpT* 68 (1957), p.157 (also p.222) against T.F. Torrance, 'One Aspect of the Biblical Conception of Faith', *ExpT* 68 (1956-57), pp.111-14, 221-22.

[9]E.g. Burton, *Gal*, p.197; Barrett, *Rom*, p.70; Dunn, *Rom*, 1:166; 'Once', pp.739-40.

our (human) ἔργα νόμου and *our* (human) πίστις in Christ (both are objective genitives).[10]

(2) 'Faith(fulness) *of* Jesus Christ' (πίστις Χριστοῦ as subjective genitive). This view has not been popular among scholars in the past, but is gaining wider acceptance in recent years, especially among North American scholars.[11] Though absolute certainty is impossible to attain, a strong case for the subjective view could be achieved when we take the following *indications* and *pointers* together.[12]

(a) In Paul's writing, there are twenty cases where πίστις is followed by a proper noun or pronoun in the genitive and they are all unmistakably subjective genitives.[13]

(b) The expression ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ (Χριστοῦ) (3.22; Rom 3.26) has a precise parallel in Rom 4.16, ἐκ πίστεως Ἀβραάμ, which is clearly a subjective genitive.[14]

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[10]Hultgren, '*Pistis*', pp.259-60; Dunn, *Rom*, 1:166-67; 'Theology', *JPL*, p.263 n53; *Gal(ms)*, p.8; Kieffer, *Foi*, p.49.

[11]For bibliography, see Longenecker, *Gal*, p.87 (but it is a mistake to include Lührmann). Besides Hays, Hooker and Longenecker, recent adherents and contributors include: Cousar, *Gal*, p.53; *A Theology of the Cross* (OBT; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), pp.39-40; Matera, *Gal*, pp.100-102; S.K. Williams, 'The Righteousness of God in Romans', *JBL* 99 (1980), pp.241-90, esp. pp.272-77; 'Again *Pistis Christou*', *CBQ* 49 (1987), pp.431-47; L.T. Johnson, 'Rom 3.21-26 and the "Faith of Jesus"', *CBQ* 44 (1982), pp.77-90; Morris, *Rom*, pp.174-75; L.E. Keck, '"Jesus" in Romans', *JBL* 108 (1989), pp.443-60; Davies, *Faith*, pp.106-110; D.A. Campbell, *The Rhetoric of Righteousness in Romans 3.21-26* (JSNTS 65; Sheffield: JSOT, 1992), pp.58-69, 214-18; Wright, 'Romans', p.189; Gaventa, 'Singularity', p.157; G. Howard, 'Faith of Christ', *ABD* 2.758-60.

[12]For example, Johnson and Williams have appealed to grammatical arguments; Hooker to exegesis and logic of Paul's argument; Hays to grammatical and theological arguments. It does appear that the evidence of translation in the Vulgate, the Peshitta Syriac and the Sahidic Coptic as claimed by Howard, *Paul*, p.95 n191, partly repeated in *ABD* 2:759, would not settle the problem: see Hooker, 'ΠΙΣΤΙΣ', p.322 n1; Keck, 'Jesus', p.453.

[13]Twenty times refer to the faith of the Christian believers; twice to the faith of Abraham (Rom 4.12, 16); once to a person who believes (Rom 4.5) and another to the faith(fulness) of God (Rom 3.3). Cf. G. Howard, 'Notes and Observations on the "Faith of Christ"', *HTR* 61 (1967), pp.459-65, here pp.459-60; Hays, *Faith*, p.163.

[14]Hays, *Faith*, pp.164, 171; Keck, 'Jesus', p.456. One wonders why Dunn, 'Once', p.734 insists that Rom 4.16 is 'a genuine exception' with the possibility that 'Paul unconciously slipped into (or

(c) According to the 9th edition of LSJ (1940) there is not a single instance where **πίστις** is followed by an objective genitive.[15]

(d) If **πίστις** is understood in terms of the Hebrew word אמונה, which includes the meaning of both 'faith' and 'faithfulness', then the phrase **πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ** would be similar to **πίστις τοῦ θεοῦ** ('faithfulness of God') in Rom 3.3 and **πίστις Ἀβραάμ** ('faith of Abraham') in Rom 4.16, which are both subjective genitives.[16] Note also Hays, with reference to J. Haussleiter, that one cannot make the distinction between 'Treue' and 'Glaube' in the Greek **πίστις**: both ideas are contained in the single word.[17]

(e) Hooker draws attention to the phenomena that in all the **πίστις Χριστοῦ** passages, the wider contexts show that Paul's concern is not simply with 'life in Christ', but also with the activity of the *earthly Jesus*, as in Galatians 3 and Philippians 2.[18] Paul also made reference to the faithful obedience and death of Christ in Rom 5.19 (**διὰ τῆς ὑπακοῆς τοῦ ἑνός**; 'by the one man's obedience') and Phil 2.8 (**γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου**; 'became obedient to the point of death').[19]

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maintained) the anarthrous use'. The figure of Abraham introduced in Romans 4 is better taken as the model for Christian faith, in a paradigmatic sense rather than typological (see Hooker, **'ΠΙΣΤΙΣ'**, pp.325-26).

[15]Cf. D.W.B. Robinson, '"Faith of Jesus Christ" - A New Testament Debate', *Reformed Theological Review* 29 (1970), pp.71-81, here pp.71-72; Hays, *Faith*, p.164. On the occurrences of **πίστις** in Hellenistic Jewish literature, Howard, *Paul*, p.95 n191 concludes that it 'is rarely, if ever, followed by the non-subjective personal genitive'.

[16]Longenecker, *Gal*, p.87; cf. A.G. Hebert, '"Faithfulness" and Faith', *Theology* 58 (1955), pp.373-79; Torrance, 'One Aspect', p.111. See also the caution in Hays, *Faith*, pp.160-62 and Hooker, **'ΠΙΣΤΙΣ'**, p.336 n1 (referring to the criticism of J. Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* [London: OUP, 1961], pp.161-205).

[17]See Hays, **'ΠΙΣΤΙΣ'**, p.718.

[18]See Hooker, **'ΠΙΣΤΙΣ'** pp.326-33, 336. For example, 3.22 might refer back to the death of Christ on the cross in 3.13; Phil 3.9 reaches back to the Christological Hymn in chapter 2; sandwiched between Rom 3.22 and 3.26 is a reference to 'his blood' (3.25).

[19]See R.N. Longenecker, 'The Obedience of Christ in the Theology of the Early Church', in *Reconciliation and Hope: FS L.L. Morris* (edited by R. Banks; Exeter: Paternoster, 1974), pp.142-52; Hays, *Faith*, pp.166-67; Keck, 'Jesus', p.457. However, Cosgrove, *Cross*, p.56 argues that since Paul speaks of the **ὑπακοή** and not the **πίστις** of

(f) According to the subjective view, the (apparent) redundancies in 3.22, Rom 3.22 and Phil 3.9 would be removed.[20] Hays suggests that one can even say the concept **πίστις/πιστεύειν** is used with a *double directionality*.[21] For example, in 3.22 the promise which was given to Abraham is given to those who believe (**τοῖς πιστεύουσιν**) as a result of or on the basis of *Christ's faith* (**ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ**).[22] With the subjective view, these passages would present an equal emphasis on *both* the objective basis (the faithfulness of Christ) *and* the subjective demand (the act of believing by believers).

(g) If there is a pre-Pauline (Jewish Christian) tradition in Rom 3.25-26a,[23] the subjective view would strengthen the coherency of the tradition and help to resolve the puzzle of '**διὰ τῆς πίστεως**' in 3.25a. Many have attributed the phrase **διὰ τῆς πίστεως** to Paul's

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Christ in Rom 5.19, it shows that Paul's concern is not the faithfulness of Christ, and therefore **πίστις Χριστοῦ** could not be a subjective genitive. But we think the use of **ὑπακοή** here can partly be explained by the context, which demands a reference to obedience, in contrast to Adam's disobedience (Hooker, 'ΠΙΣΤΙΣ', p.337 n1), and partly by the close relationship of faith and obedience in Paul's thought as in Rom 1.5 (**εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως**).

[20]So Hays, *Faith*, p.158; Keck, 'Jesus', p.454; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.88. Hooker, 'ΠΙΣΤΙΣ', p.322 challenges the objective view by asking: 'For if the sentence already contains an expression of the believer's response to God's action, do we need another?'

[21]Hays, *Faith*, p.163.

[22]We interpret **ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ** modifying the verb **δοθῇ** rather than the noun **ἡ ἐπαγγελία**, thus putting the emphasis on *present* ratification (so Hays, *Faith*, pp.158, 167; Keck, 'Jesus', p.455; Hooker, 'ΠΙΣΤΙΣ', p.329). The alternative, which is less likely, is to read **ἡ ἐπαγγελία** with **ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ**. Then the emphasis is more on the promise as *originally made*, which is said to be being made on the basis of Christ's faith.

[23]See Dunn, *Rom*, 1:163-64; B.F. Meyer, 'The Pre-Pauline Formula in Rom 3.25-26a', *NTS* 29 (1983), pp.198-208; P. Stuhlmacher, *Reconciliation, Law, and Righteousness* (ET; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), pp.94-109. The extent of the tradition is disputed. On this point we adopt the most popular view. Other opinions include Käsemann, *Rom*, pp.95-101 who includes also 3.24; C.H. Talbert, 'A Non-Pauline Fragment at Romans 3.24-26?' *JBL* 85 (1966), pp.287-96, who argues for 3.25-26 as a post-Pauline interpolation in the middle of a Pauline sentence; A.J. Hultgren, *Paul's Gospel and Mission* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), pp.62-69 who takes 3.21-26 to be entirely Pauline, with 3.23-26 consisting of a portion of a homily delivered by Paul on the day of atonement.

insertion into the tradition,[24] but no satisfactory answer has been given why the phrase appears precisely here.[25] But if διὰ τῆς πίστεως is part of the tradition, 3.25-26a might consist of two parallel statements, one referring to Christ and the other to God:[26]

ἱλαστήριον διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι
τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν πάρεσιν... ἐν τῇ ἀνοχῇ τοῦ θεοῦ

This observation certainly strengthens the case that διὰ τῆς πίστεως could be original and is not inserted by Paul. And if διὰ τῆς πίστεως is original, all the three phrases in 3.25a would be referring to Christ: 'whom God put forward as the ἱλαστήριον, through [his] faithfulness [made concrete] in his blood'.[27]

(h) At 2.20b when Paul goes on to talk about living ἐν σαρκί ('in flesh') as living ἐν πίστει ('in faith'), the noun 'faith' is qualified by τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. The interesting point is the following description: τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντός με καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ('the one who loved me and gave himself for me'; 2.20c). Both participles are in the *active* voice; the Son of God is portrayed as the *active* agent.[28] It is thus quite possible that an *active* sense is also involved in the genitive τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, possibly as subjective genitive ('the faithfulness of the Son of God').[29]

(i) Lastly, we do not think an argument for either subjective or objective view can be based on the genitive construction of ἔργα νόμου. Since one can insist that the alternative is between *our*

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[24]E.g. Käsemann, *Rom*, pp.97-98; Kertelge, *Rechtfertigung*, pp.51-53; Wilckens, *Rom*, 1:193-94; Meyer, 'Pre-Pauline Formula', p.204; Dunn, *Rom*, 1:172.

[25]See the criticism by S.K. Williams, *Jesus' Death as Saving Event* (HDR 2; Missoula: Scholars, 1975), pp.41-45; Keck, 'Jesus', p.457.

[26]I owe this observation to Dr. B.W. Longenecker; see also Cousar, *Theology*, p.58.

[27]Keck, 'Jesus', p.457. See also Hays, *Faith*, p.173; Johnson, 'Rom 3.21-26', pp.79-80; cf. Davies, *Faith*, p.110.

[28]The question of whether 2.20c is Pauline creation or pre-pauline formula (see §6.1. below) would not affect our basic observation that the participles are in the active voice.

[29]See Hays, *Faith*, pp.167-69 (drawing on the syntactical parallelism to Rom 5.15; opened to the possibility as a genitivus auctoris - 'the faith which comes from Christ'); Keck, 'Jesus', p.455; contra Longenecker, *Gal*, p.94. On the purpose of 2.20c, see §6.4.4. below.

(human) ἔργα νόμου and *our* (human) πίστις in Christ (both as objective genitives),[30] it is equally possible that the alternative is between *our* ἔργα νόμου and *Christ's* πίστις (one objective and one subjective).[31] It does appear that this line of argument is inconclusive: it can move in either direction! This should warn us not to base the argument on the comparison of the two phrases.[32]

In sum: It is highly possible that πίστις Χριστοῦ is subjective genitive.[33] Certainly, the debate is far from over, and we believe that future investigation should concentrate on the nature and function of πίστις in Paul's thought and the role of Abraham in Galatians 3 and Romans 4.[34] For the time being, with Longenecker, we can at least say: 'Paul uses πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in his writings to signal the basis for the Christian gospel: that its objective basis is the perfect response of obedience that Jesus rendered to God the Father, both actively in his life and passively in his death'.[35]

The test for us is, can we maintain the *subjective* view in 2.16ac? Does the subjective view help us to make better sense of Paul's argumentation in 2.16? We think it does.

To begin with, it is quite obvious that the verb ἐπιστεύσαμεν with εἰς has 'Christ Jesus' as the direct object of believing in 2.16b.[36] Hooker is right to remind us that 'however we interpret the phrase πίστις Χριστοῦ, we shall in no way undermine the believer's

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[30]So Dunn and Hultgren.

[31]So Keck, 'Jesus', p.454; Matera, *Gal*, p.100; cf. Martyn, 'Events', p.168.

[32]In our view, Hooker's comment that '[Paul] does not normally speak of *our* works, but of the works of *the Law* in us; the logical antithesis to this is not *our* faith but *the faith of Christ*' ('ΠΙΣΤΙΣ', p.336; also p.341) is highly questionable. See also our refutation of Gaston's reading of 'works of law' as subjective genitive in §3.3.2.(4).

[33]See now Ziesler's qualified remarks in *Gal*, p.24, cf. *Rom*, p.109.

[34]Cf. Dunn, 'Once', pp.735-38, 741-42; Hays, 'ΠΙΣΤΙΣ', pp.722-23, 725-26; see also P.J. Achtemeier, 'Apropos the Faith of/in Christ: A Response to Hays and Dunn' (unpublished paper, 1991).

[35]Longenecker, *Gal*, p.87.

[36]Compare Rom 4.24b (τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγείραντα Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἐκ νεκρῶν) which has 'God' as the direct object. Even then we do not think it is necessary to deny the unmistakable fact in 2.16b (e.g. Williams, 'Again', p.444; cf. Hays, 'ΠΙΣΤΙΣ', pp.725-26, in contrast to *Faith*, p.142).

answering response to the activity of God. The crucial question is: how is that righteousness received, and how is the answering response made?'[37] According to the subjective view, Paul would have mentioned *both* crucial aspects of Christian faith in 2.16bc: the existential act of believing response, and the objective ground based on the faith[fulness] of Christ.[38] One can even sense there is a rich interplay of **πίστις** and **πιστεύειν** in Paul's presentation in 2.16bc and some sort of double directionality just as one finds in 3.22, Rom 3.22 and Phil 3.9.

With reference to the **εἰδότες ὅτι**-clause in 2.16a, the validity of **πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ** is not a question at all for either Paul or his Jewish Christian dialogue partners. What is problematic, at least for Paul, is the continuing validity of **ἔργα νόμου**, the traditional Jewish identity-confirming and boundary-defining markers, in the whole process of justification. What is absolutely clear is that at 2.16c, **ἔργα νόμου** is definitely replaced by **πίστις Χριστοῦ** (they appear as two antithetical options).[39] It does appear that Paul is drawing on the unquestionable fact, the religious commitment of Jewish Christians in their initial step of 'believing in Christ Jesus' (2.16b), to *highlight the importance and primacy* of **πίστις**. From this perspective, we do not think it is the purpose of 2.16b to define the meaning of **πίστις Χριστοῦ** in 2.16ac.[40]

Excursus on **ἐκ πίστεως** *and* **διὰ πίστεως**:

The **πίστις Χριστοῦ** formulation occurs with two different

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[37]Hooker, 'ΠΙΣΤΙΣ', p.337. *Contra* Martyn, 'Event', p.169 playing down the need and significance of active faith response.

[38]Hays, *Faith*, p.175 only argues that this is '*as defensible as* the traditional exegesis' (cf. p.142). But Keck, 'Jesus', p.454 is more confident that this interpretation in fact removes the 'un-Pauline, wooden redundancy'.

[39]Our interpretation depends on the reading of **ἐὰν μή** as exceptive, qualifying the whole preceding phrase at 2.16a. We shall argue for this in §3.3.6. below.

[40]It becomes clear that we disagree with the argument that the function of **πιστεύω** taking an object would automatically define the characteristic of the noun **πίστις** and so **πίστις Χριστοῦ** must be objective genitive (*contra* Hultgren, '*Pistis*', pp.254-55). It is even more puzzling how Hultgren can call 2.16b the parenthetical clause! See §3.2.4. on 2.16b as the main clause of the long sentence.

prepositions in 2.16: **διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ** (2.16a; cf. Rom 3.22 and Phil 3.9) and **ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ** (2.16c; 3.22 and Rom 3.26). The question is: Is there any substantial difference in meaning between **ἐκ πίστεως** (**Ἰησοῦ**) (**Χριστοῦ**) and **διὰ πίστεως** (**Ἰησοῦ**) **Χριστοῦ**? Does Rom 3.30 ('since God is one; and he will justify the circumcised **ἐκ πίστεως** and the uncircumcised **διὰ τῆς πίστεως**') really speak of God justifying Jews and Gentiles in different ways?

Most commentators have followed Augustine (*Spirit and the Letter* 29.50) in viewing the changes of preposition from **διά** to **ἐκ** in 2.16 and the variations in Rom 3.30 as merely stylistic or rhetorical.[41] According to Kieffer, there are two possible reasons for the changes at 2.16: (1) it might be influenced by the formula cited in 3.12 ('**ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται**'; cf. Hab 2.4), and (2) it forms a parallelism to **ἐξ ἔργων νόμου**.[42]

But some follow Origen and Theodore of Mopsuestia in drawing a distinction between the two prepositions.[43] For example, N. Turner suggests that Paul is really saying that the Jews are justified by faith, and the Gentiles are justified by the same faith, namely, by the faith of the Jews.[44] V. Hasler asserts that Paul's argument shifts from Christ as 'Heilsmittel' (**διά**) to Christ as 'Heilsmittler' (**ἐκ**).[45] H. Boers proposes that Jews are justified by sharing the faith of Abraham, while Gentiles are justified by sharing faith in the One who raised Jesus from the dead.[46]

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[41]E.g. Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.115; Burton, *Gal*, p.123; Cranfield, *Rom*, 1:222; Bruce, *Gal*, pp.139-40; Rohde, *Gal*, p.110; Dunn, *Gal(ms)*, p.8; *Rom*, 1:189; Wilckens, *Rom*, 1:248; Morris, *Rom*, pp.188-89; Lambrecht and Thompson, *Justification*, p.40; Ziesler, *Rom*, p.119; Moo, *Rom*, 1:255; Moule, *Idiom*, p.195; Hays, '**ΠΙΣΤΙΣ**', p.722 n31.

[42]Kieffer, *Foi*, p.52. Cf. Dunn, *Rom*, 1:189; Mussner, *Gal*, p.174.

[43]E.g. Sanday and Headlam, *Rom*, p.96; Schlatter, *Glaube*, p.335; Schlier, *Gal*, p.92; Kertelge, *Rechtfertigung*, p.184. Fung's comment is rather ambiguous (*Gal*, p.116). The way BAGD defines **διά** as 'through' (A.III.1.d.[180]) and **ἐκ** as 'by reason of, as a result of, because of' (3.f.[235]) possibly emphasizes the different meanings of the two prepositions.

[44]N. Turner, *Grammatical Insights into the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1965), pp.107-10.

[45]V. Hasler, 'Glaube und Existenz. Hermeneutische Erwägungen zu Gal 2.15-21', *TZ* 25 (1969), pp.241-51, here pp.244-45.

[46]H. Boers, 'The Problem of Jews and Gentiles in the Macro-Structure of Romans', *Neotestamentica* 15 (1981), pp.1-11, here pp.7-8.

Recently Stowers has argued that 'Paul's use of different prepositional phrases with πίστις for Jews and Gentiles in [Rom] 3.30 is neither accidental nor merely stylistic'.[47] Stowers claims that 'an interesting pattern emerges in Paul's use of the prepositions: διά appears when the Gentiles are in view and ἐκ when either or both Jews and Gentiles are under discussion' (p.669); 'διά describes a more specific act than ἐκ. The former points directly to the cross and its meaning for Gentiles, whereas ἐκ πίστεως is broader and also describes Abraham's behaviour...Paul consistently applies διὰ τῆς πίστεως to the redemption of the Gentiles. The case is different for ἐκ πίστεως, which can refer to both Jews and Gentiles' (pp.671-72). He contends that 'Paul can apply ἐκ πίστεως to Jews in [Rom] 3.30 but not διὰ πίστεως' (p.674).

It is however fairly obvious even to Stowers himself that Gal 2.16 would present a severe difficulty to his argument. In fact Stowers has to adopt the rather problematic reading suggested by Gaston that the 'we's' in 2.16 no longer refer to the Jewish Christians in 2.15, but rather to Paul and *Gentile* Christians.[48] It is beyond doubt that it is justification for *Jewish* Christians that Paul is talking about in 2.16; and significantly, the phrase used is 'διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ' (2.16a). This evidence clearly undercuts Stowers's whole argument that 'Paul consistently applies διὰ τῆς πίστεως to the redemption of the Gentiles' (p.672). From the uses of both ἐκ πίστεως and διὰ πίστεως in 2.16, it is quite clear that Paul can apply *both* prepositions in relation to *Jewish* Christians.

But does Paul intend to signal a significant difference by changing the preposition from διά to ἐκ in 2.16 - as if διά points to the means and ἐκ points to the source?[49] Such an attempt to draw a sharp distinction between the two prepositions is quite rightly rejected by Burton as being 'unjustifiable refinement, not legitimate exegesis'.[50] But we still have to ask, why should Paul change the

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[47]Stowers, 'ΕΚ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ', p.674.

[48]Stowers, 'ΕΚ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ', pp.670-71. See §3.2.4. above.

[49]So Schlier, *Gal*, p.92: 'διά bezeichnet den Glauben als das Mittel der Rechtfertigung, während ἐκ...als das Woher des Gerechtwerdens' (cf. Fung, *Gal*, pp.116-17).

[50]Burton, *Gal*, p.122.

preposition at all?

In our opinion the changes from **διά** to **ἐκ** could be better explained by the context in relation to Paul's argumentation at 2.16c. According to Kieffer's second remark, the use of **ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ** might be a *parallelism* to **ἐξ ἔργων νόμου**.[51] To have both **πίστις Χριστοῦ** and **ἔργα νόμου** governed by the *same* preposition **ἐκ/ἐξ** in the modal sense 'by means of'[52] would possibly heighten the antithetical nature of the two options, in which Paul makes it absolutely clear that **ἔργα νόμου** is rejected and replaced by **πίστις Χριστου**. This observation once again confirms the majority view that the change from **διά** to **ἐκ** at 2.16c is not grammatical, but rhetorical.[53]

3.3.4. The Meaning of **δικαιοῦται (δικαιοῦν)**:

In 2.16a **δικαιοῦται** is the key verb upon which **ἐξ ἔργων νόμου** and **διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ** depended. This is a crucial **δικ**-root word in Pauline vocabulary.[54] In Galatians, most of the **δικ**-root words appear in chapters two and three. The verb **δικαιόω** is used seven times (2.16a,c,d, 17a; 3.8, 11, 24);[55] the noun **δικαιοσύνη** four times (2.21b; 3.6, 21; 5.5);[56] and **δίκαιος** once only in 3.11 (quoting Hab

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[51]Kieffer, *Foi*, p.52. Our suggestion does not intend to deny the possible influence of Hab 2.4, which is quoted in 3.12 and Rom 1.17, in Paul's choice of preposition.

[52]G. Lüdemann, '**ἐκ(ἐξ)**', *EDNT* 1:402-403, here p.403.

[53]Similarly the variations in Rom 3.30 are rhetorical and stylistic. The two statements could be some sort of parallelism:

'God will justify **περιτομὴν** **ἐκ πίστεως**
and **ἀκροβυστίαν** **διὰ τῆς πίστεως**'.

[54]In the NT, the verb **δικαιοω** appears thirty nine times, of which twenty five are used by Paul. There are seven other occurrences which possibly also related to Paul: the preaching attributed to Paul in Acts 13.38-39; the Pauline tradition in 1 Tim 3.16 and Tit 3.7; the 'reaction to Paul' in Jas 2.21, 24-25. As for the noun, **δικαιοσύνη** occurs ninety two times, of which fifty are in Paul.

[55]In Romans fifteen times: 2.13; 3.4, 20, 24, 26, 28, 30; 4.2, 5; 5.1, 9; 6.7; 8.30(2x), 33; but twice only in 1 Cor 4.4; 6.11.

[56]Much more frequently in Romans (thirty four times): 1.17; 3.5, 21, 22, 25, 26; 4.3, 5, 6, 9, 11(2x), 13, 22; 5.17, 21; 6.13, 16, 18, 19, 20; 8.10; 9.30(3x), 9.31; 10.3(3x), 4, 5, 6, 10; 14.17. Others are found in 1 Cor 1.30; 2 Cor 3.9; 5.21; 6.7, 14; 9.9, 10; 11.15; Phil 1.11; 3.6, 9(2x). Cf. Eph 4.24; 5.9; 6.14; 1 Tim 6.11; 2 Tim 2.22; 3.16; 4.8; Tit 3.5; Jas 2.23.

2.4; cf. Rom 1.17b). Of special significance is the important phrase **δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ** which occurs in 2 Cor 5.21; Rom 1.17; 3.21-22, 25-26 and 10.3.[57] A slightly different form is found in Phil 3.9 (**τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην**).[58] The importance of these **δικ**-root words to the understanding of Pauline theology in general and the argument of Romans in particular is widely recognised by most scholars.[59]

In a cautionary comment on **δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ**, Barrett[60] suggests that the phrase should include the idea of an activity of God, the status of righteousness given by God (**θεοῦ** as genitive of origin; the status of righteousness as a *gift* from God)[61] and the covenantal faithfulness of God (**θεοῦ** as subjective genitive; **δικαιοσύνη** as the saving activity of God):[62] 'the reader must be cautious before dismissing any of them from the consideration of any passages'. On

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[57]The phrase is also found in Matt 6.33a; Jas 1.20 and 2 Pet 1.1b. Cf. Testament of Dan 6.10: 'Turn, then, from unrighteousness of every kind and hold fast to the righteousness of the law of the Lord (**τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ τοῦ νόμου κυρίου**)' (ET from *AOT*, p.566).

[58]Cf. Williams, 'Righteousness', p.258.

[59]See the extensive bibliography in *NIDNTT* 3:374-77 and Dunn, *Rom*, 1:36-37. Include also J.C. Beker, 'The Faithfulness of God and the Priority of Israel in Paul's Letter to the Romans', in *The Romans Debate* (edited by K.P. Donfried; revised and expanded edition; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), pp.327-32; R.B. Hays, 'Justification', *ABD* 3:1129-33; K. Kertelge, '**δικαιοσύνη**' and '**δικαιόω**', *EDNT* 1:325-34; F. Lang, 'Gesetz und Gerechtigkeit Gottes in biblisch-theologischer Sicht', *TBei* 22 (1991), pp.195-207; Moo, *Rom*, 1.75-86; R.K. Moore, 'Issues Involved in the Interpretation of ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ ΘΕΟΥ in the Pauline Corpus', *Colloquium* 23 (1991), pp.59-70; J. Reumann, 'Righteousness (NT)', *ABD* 5:745-73; M.L. Soards, 'The Righteousness of God in the Writings of the Apostle Paul', *BTB* 15 (1985), pp.104-109; Stuhlmacher, *Reconciliation*, pp.68-93; A.J.M. Wedderburn, *The Reasons for Romans* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988), pp.108-123. A detailed survey of the interpretation from the second century to the twentieth is found in P. Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit Gottes bei Paulus* (FRLANT 87; Göttingen: V&R, 1965), pp.11-73; cf. Campbell, *Rhetoric*, pp.138-56. A helpful survey on the debate by German scholars is found in the appendix by M.T. Brauch in Sanders, *PPJ*, pp.523-42.

[60]Barrett, *Rom*, p.31; cf. Wedderburn, *Reasons*, pp.116-17, 151-52 n14.

[61]So e.g. Bultmann, *Theology*, 1:285; H. Conzelmann, *An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament* (ET; London: SCM, 1969), pp.218-20; Cranfield, *Rom*, 1:92-99.

[62]So e.g. E. Käsemann, '"The Righteousness of God" in Paul', in *New Testament Questions of Today* (ET; London: SCM, 1969), pp.168-82; *Rom*, pp.23-30; Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit*, pp.74-101; Kümmel, *Theology*, pp.196-98.

the meaning of the verb **δικαιοῦν**, generally speaking, Roman Catholics have tended to argue for the effectual sense ('to *make* righteous'),[63] and Protestants for the forensic view ('to *count* righteous').[64]

What is the meaning of **δικαιοῦται** (present tense and passive voice) in the common Jewish Christian understanding of faith at 2.16a? In the recent debate, the crucial question is: Is **δικαιοῦν** *transfer* terminology - an expression for 'getting in', signifying how one is being accepted by God (Sanders; Räisänen)? Or is it a *covenantal* terminology, which also includes the idea of 'staying in', describing how one is continually maintained by God (so Dunn; see §3.1)? Put in a different way: Does **δικαιοῦται** imply a form of radical conversion, even for Jewish Chistians, an exit out of Judaism into a new religion called Christianity - a 'third tree'?[65] Or is it a question of 'moderate' conversion, a transference from one form of Judaism to another form of Judaism, a Messianic sect, which is still within the wider *Judaisms*?[66] In a sense one has to ask, what is the theological framework of Paul's use of **δικαιοῦν**?

One way to proceed with this controversial Pauline question is to begin with the idea of 'God's righteousness' in the OT and Jewish background. Though there is no exact parallel to **δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ** in the LXX, there are close parallels in Deut 33.21, 'The Lord wrought righteousness (**δικαιοσύνην κύριος ἐποίησεν**)'; 1 Sam 12.7, 'I will relate to you all the righteousness of the Lord (**τὴν πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην κυρίου**)'; Mic 6.5, 'the righteousness of the Lord (**ἡ δικαιοσύνη τοῦ κυρίου**) might be known'.[67]

However, an exact equivalent is found in the War Rule 1QM 4.6: 'When they march out to battle they shall write on their standards,

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[63]E.g. Kertelge, *Rechtfertigung*, pp.115-20, 158-59, 282; Schlier, *Gal*, pp.89-91; Kieffer, *Foi*, p.44; cf. Matera, *Gal*, p.93.

[64]E.g. Bultmann, *Theology*, 1:271-78; Ridderbos, *Gal*, p.99; Fung, *Gal*, pp.125-26; 'The Forensic Character of Justification', *Themelios* 3 (1977-78), pp.16-21; Moo, *Rom*, 1:82-84. On the earlier debate between Catholic and Protestant scholars, see Ziesler, *Meaning*, pp.1-14.

[65]Räisänen, 'Galatians', p.551; a 'third race' over against Jews and Gentiles (so Sanders, *PLJP*, pp.171-79; cf. pp.29, 56-57 n53, 78-79).

[66]So Dunn, 'New Perspective' *JPL*, pp.195-98, 208-209; *Partings*, pp.73-74, 143; cf. Segal, *Paul*.

[67]ET from *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament* (London: Samuel Bagster & Sons, n.d.), pp.279, 370, 1101.

Truth of God, Justice of God (צדק אל), *Glory of God, Judgement of God,* followed by the whole ordered list of their names'.[68] Very close parallels also occur in the Community Rule 1QS 10.25-26 and 1QS 11.12:[69]

> I will impart/conceal knowledge with discretion and will prudently hedge it within a firm bound to preserve faith and strong judgement in accordance with the justice of God (לצדקת אל). I will distribute the Precept by the measuring-cord of the times, and ... righteousness (צדק) and lovingkindness towards the oppressed, encouragement to the troubled heart';
>
> If I stumble, the mercies of God shall be my eternal salvation. If I stagger because of the sin of flesh, my justification shall be by the righteousness of God (בצדקת אל) which endures forever.

This clearly indicates that 'righteousness of God' was already an idiom or theological term in pre-Christian Palestinian Judaism.[70]

But what does the word 'righteousness' denote in the Jewish context? Without going into the complex details, we would like to mention just a few dominant features in the OT[71] and the DSS.[72] For example, it has been pointed out by H. Cremer that צדקת/צדק is essentially a concept of *relation*: righteousness is something one has in one's relationship as a social being.[73] God's righteousness is

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[68]Hebrew text from E. Lohse (ed), *Die Texte aus Qumran* (4th edition; München: Kösel, 1986); ET from G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (3rd edition; London: Penguin, 1987), p.109.

[69]ET in Vermes, *DSS*, pp.78-79.

[70]Cf. Fitzmyer, 'Pauline Theology', 82:39.

[71]See esp. J.J. Scullion, 'Righteousness (OT)', *ABD* 5:724-36; cf. Kertelge, *EDNT* 1:326-28; von Rad, *OT Theology*, 1:370-76; J. Reumann, *'Righteousness' in the New Testament*, with responses by J.A. Fitzmyer and J.D. Quinn (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982), pp.12-22; Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit*, pp.113-45; Ziesler, *Meaning*, pp.17-46.

[72]See esp. Sanders, *PPJ*, pp.305-312; cf. Dahl, *Studies*, pp.96-105; O. Betz, 'Rechtfertigung in Qumran', in *Rechtfertigung: FS E. Käsemann* (edited by J. Friedrich, W. Pöhlmann and P. Stuhlmacher; Tübingen: JCB Mohr, 1976), pp.17-36; H. Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran* (ET; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1963), pp.63-67; W. Grundmann, 'The Teacher of Righteousness of Qumran and the Question of Justification by Faith in the Theology of the Apostle Paul', in *Paul and Qumran* (edited by J. Murphy-O'Connor; London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1968), pp.85-114; Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit*, pp.148-66; Ziesler, *Meaning*, pp.85-94.

[73]H. Cremer, *Die paulinischen Rechtfertigungslehre im Zusammenhange ihrer geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1900), esp. pp.34-38. See also E.R. Achtemeier, 'Righteousness in the OT', *IDB* 4:80-85; Ziesler, *Meaning*, pp.36-40; Dunn, 'Justice', p.16.

often associated with the *saving activity of God* on behalf of His people, especially in the Psalms and Isaiah 40-66.[74] The Israelite people understood the acts of God in their history as demonstration of 'God's righteousness' (Deut 33.21; Judg 5.11; 1 Sam 12.7; Ps 103.6; Mic 6.5; Dan 9.16).[75] In the Psalms the righteous acts of God which are praised by the people often relate to their experience in time of need (e.g. 5.8; 7.8; 9.4; 22.31; 35.24; 40.11; 51.12; 71.24; 112.9). In Second Isaiah, frequently 'God's righteousness' is almost an equivalent to *salvation* (σωτηρία; see 45.8; 46.13; 51.5-6, 8; 56.1).[76]

Quite significant is the idea of 'God's righteousness' in a *covenantal* context.[77] Thus Ziesler remarks: 'In the Hebrew tradition, early and late, God's righteousness is the way he acts, and notably the way he acts in maintaining the covenant'; 'The righteousness of God is his acting to sustain his people, his loyalty to his own promises, and his total reliability'.[78] The basic idea is that God takes upon himself the obligations to be the God of Israel, both to rescue her and to punish her enemies (e.g. Exod 9.27; 1 Sam 12.7; Dan 9.16; Mic 6.5) and to maintain his covenant faithfulness to his people (cf. Deut 7.9; Isa 49.7; Pss 36.5; 40.10; 89.1-2; 92.2; 119.90).[79] Despite Israel's infidelities, God's faithfulness is

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[74]Scullion, 'Righteousness', p.731; cf. Käsemann, 'Righteousness', pp.172, 174; Wilckens, *Rom*, 1:213-14; Stuhlmacher, *Rom*, p.31.

[75]Cf. Stuhlmacher, *Rom*, p.31. The creative act of God in a *cosmic* sense, noted by Käsemann, 'Righteousness', pp.180-82, is argued and expanded by H.H. Schmid, *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung* (BHT 40; Tübingen: JCB Mohr, 1968) and H.G. Reventlow, *Rechtfertigung im Horizont des Alten Testaments* (BEvT 58; Munich: Kaiser, 1971). See also the qualifications in Reumann, *Righteousness*, pp.21-22 and Stuhlmacher, *Reconciliation*, pp.91-92.

[76]Cf. Kertelge, *EDNT* 1:328. See also Pss 22.31; 35.28; 40.10; 69.27; 71.15, 16, 19, 24; 88.12; 98.2; 119.123; Mic 6.5; 7.9. Cf. S. Lyonnet, 'Pauline Soteriology', in *Introduction to the New Testament* (ET; edited by A. Robert and A. Feuillet; NY: Desclee, 1965), pp.820-65, here pp.833-34.

[77]The concept of covenant is quite pervasive, if not dominant, in the OT. See e.g. E.W. Nicholson, *God and His People* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), esp. pp.191-217.

[78]Ziesler, *Meaning*, p.186; *Rom*, p.70. Similarly, Wilckens, *Rom*, 1:212 n604: 'Gemeint ist ein Tun als Gemeinschaftstreue'; cf. Kertelge, *EDNT* 1:328.

[79]See Ziesler, *Rom*, pp.70, 96.

constant (cf. Neh 9.5-37; Dan 9.4-19; 1 Esd 9.6-15).[80] Thus Dunn concludes that God's righteousness is manifested in his gracious action to restore his own and to sustain them within the covenant (e.g. Pss 31.1; 35.24; 71.15; 143.11; Isa 45.21; 51.5, 6, 8; 62.1-2).[81]

In the Qumran texts we find not only the Semitic equivalent צדק אל (1QM 4.6; 1QS 10.25; 11.12; cf. 11.14-15), but also praises to God for his righteous (salvific) acts and the establishment of his covenant (e.g. 1QS 1.21; 10.23; 1QH 7.9).[82] Above all are the striking assertion of God's righteousness in contrast to man's sinfulness and God's righteousness as approximately equivalent to God's grace.[83] A typical example is 1QS 11.2-5, 12-15:[84]

> As for me, my justification (משפטי) is with God. In His hand are the perfection of my way and the uprightness of my heart. He will wipe out my transgression through His righteousness (בצדקותו). For my light has sprung from the source of His knowledge; my eyes have beheld His marvellous deeds, and the light of my heart, the mystery to come. He that is everything is the support of my right hand; the way of my steps is over stout rock which nothing shall shake; for the rock of my steps is the truth of God and His might is the support of my right hand. From the source of His righteousness (צדקתו) is my justification (משפטי), and from His marvellous mysteries is the light in my heart.
>
> As for me, if I stumble, the mercies of God shall be my eternal salvation. If I stagger because of the sin of flesh, my justification (משפטי) shall be by the righteousness of God (בצדקת אל) which endures for ever. When my distress is unleashed He will deliver my soul from the Pit and will direct my steps to the way. He will draw me near by His grace, and by His mercy will He bring my justification (משפטי). He will judge me in the righteousness (בצדקת) of His truth and in the greatness of His goodness He will pardon all my sins. Through His righteousness (בצדקתו) he will cleanse me of the uncleanness of man and of the sins of the children of men, that I may confess to God His righteousness (צדקו), and His majesty to the Most High. Blessed art Thou, my God, who openest the heart of Thy servant to knowledge!

According to Sanders, while the community is fully aware of

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[80]Lyonnet, 'Pauline Soteriology', p.834.

[81]Dunn, 'Justice', p.17; *Rom*, 1:41; citing also Pss 51.14; 65.5; 98.2; Isa 8.21; 46.13; 63.1, 7.

[82]Kertelge, *EDNT* 1:328.

[83]Sanders, *PPJ*, p.310. Cf. Longenecker, *Eschatology*, p.25.

[84]ET in Vermes, *DSS*, pp.78-80.

human inadequacy before God and that salvation comes only by God's election, the only way to remain *tsaddiq* or perfect is to do the commandments of God as specified by the sect's covenant and not to sin. 'Doing the law is the *condition of remaining elect*'.[85]

From this brief survey it is noticeable that the idea of God's righteousness is a *covenantal concept, which involves God's covenant faithfulness and God's saving acts for His people.*

The crux of the recent debate on the theological framework of Paul's **δικαιοῦν** is, whether or not **δικαιοῦν** (and **δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ**) is used by Paul as Jewish covenantal terminology. According to Dunn, Ziesler, Wright and Hays, the answer is Yes: the Jewish covenantal concept of God's righteousness is taken over by Paul in his own discussion of justification by faith.[86] So Dunn explains: since righteousness and justification are the language of relationship, 'the relationship envisaged is something dynamic and presupposes that the divine partner acts on behalf of, in and with the defective human partners, drawing them into the relationship, sustaining them within it, and acquitting them in the final judgement'.[87] With the Pauline **δικ**-words understood as *covenantal concepts*, the phrase **δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ** could embrace the senses of 'God's activity [both] in drawing into and sustaining within covenant relationship', and the verb **δικαιοῦν** both the forensic sense 'to *count* righteous' and the effectual sense 'to *make* righteous'.[88] Thus the **δικ**-words, both verb

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[85]Sanders, *PPJ*, p.312. Cf. Grundmann, 'Teacher', p.99: 'Through faith one belongs to the alliance; in the fulfilment of the Law one attests this belonging' (see pp.86-99).

[86]Dunn, 'Justice', p.17; *Rom*, 1:41; *Gal(ms)*, pp.3-4; Ziesler, *Rom*, p.70; Wright, *Climax*, pp.203, 214, 267; 'Romans', p.186; Hays, 'Justification', pp.1131-32; '**ΠΙΣΤΙΣ**', p.728; shared by R. Scroggs, 'Salvation History: the Theological Structure of Paul's Thought', in *PTI*, pp.212-26, here pp.217-18. The covenant idea is also noted by Kertelge but unfortunately he did not follow it through (*EDNT* 1:328, 331-32).

[87]Dunn, 'Justice', p.17; cf. *Gal(ms)*, p.4.

[88]Dunn, *Rom*, 1:41-42; the genitive **θεοῦ** is both a subjective genitive and a genitive of origin. 'God's justification is rather God's acknowledgement that someone is in the covenant - whether that is an *initial* acknowledgement, or a *repeated* action of God (God's saving acts), or his *final* vindication of his people. ...integral to the idea of the covenant itself, and of God's continued action to maintain it, is the profound recognition of God's initiative and grace in first establishing and then maintaining the covenant' ('New

and noun, could refer to the act of transfer ('getting in') and the ongoing process ('staying in').[89]

In our opinion, 'God's righteousness' as a Jewish *covenantal* concept is to be adopted.[90] There are some further hints that support this view. The usage of some traditional materials quoted by Paul himself (e.g. 2 Cor 5.21; Rom 3.25-26) already indicates that the concepts of justification and **δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ** were well known in Jewish Christianity before Paul.[91] Since this is also indicated by other traditional materials (e.g. 1 Pet 3.18; 1 Tim 3.16; 1 Cor 1.30; 6.11; Rom 4.25) which refer to Jesus as **δίκαιος**, God in justifying (**δικαιόω**) and **δικαιοσύνη** (**θεοῦ**), Reumann concludes that 'Justification/righteousness terminology first appears in primitive Christianity not in the original work of some one theologian like Paul but as part of the common apostolic faith, in Jewish and more particularly Jewish-Hellenistic communities'.[92] In this sense Käsemann is certainly right to comment that 'the expression **δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ** was not invented by Paul'.[93]

Perspective', *JPL*, pp.190-91).

[89]Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, pp.207-208. Within this *covenantal* framework, it would be quite inappropriate to attribute very different meanings to the verb and noun as argued by Ziesler, namely that the verb is used in a forensic sense but the noun in an ethical sense (cf. *Meaning*, pp.172-74; *Pauline*, p.97; followed by Longenecker, *Gal*, p.85).

[90]The *covenantal framework* does make space for the cautious comment on the verb by Barrett, *Rom*, p.71. Compare also Käsemann's understanding of divine righteousness as a gift which has the character of power because 'gift and Giver remain inseparable' ('Righteousness', p.168; cf. pp.170-76).

[91]Kertelge, *EDNT* 1:328; Stuhlmacher, *Rom*, p.31. On 2 Cor 5.21, see also Kertelge, *Rechtfertigung*, pp.99-107; Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit*, pp.74-78; E. Käsemann, 'Some Thoughts on the Theme, "The Doctrine of Reconciliation in the New Testament"', in *The Future of Our Religious Past: Essays in Honour of R. Bultmann* (ET; edited by J.M. Robinson; London: SCM, 1971), pp.49-64. For bibliography on Rom 3.24-26, see those cited in §3.3.3(g).

[92]Reumann, *Righteousness*, p.39; see pp.29-40.

[93]Käsemann, 'Righteousness', p.172. Cf. Mussner, *Gal*, p.168: 'Der Inhalt dieses Glaubenssatzes ist freilich in seinem ersten Teil keine Neuentdeckung des Paulus'; Hays, 'Justification', p.1130: 'Whether these formulations are pre-Pauline or not, they bear witness to the same sphere of Jewish-Christian theological conceptualities reflected in other NT writings'.

Another very important clue is Paul's allusion to Ps 143.2 at 2.16d and Rom 3.20.[94] According to L.C. Allen, this psalm could be divided into four parts:[95]

1. an appeal to God (143.1-2);
2. a lament (143.3-4);
3. an expression of confidence (143.5-6);
4. and a further series of petitions (143.7-12).

The striking thing is 'The basis of the appeal for aid is made plain at the outset and reiterated throughout the psalm: it is Yahweh's commitment to the *covenant*. The psalmist is a member of God's *covenant* family, and his pleas issue from within that *relationship*'.[96] Another significant point is the LXX phrases **ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου** and **ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ σου** which translate the Hebrew באמנתך and בצדקתך in the verse immediately preceding the one to which Paul alludes (143.1-2a).[97] Even if 2.16d (and Rom 3.20) is just an echo of Ps 143.2, one cannot ignore the dominant idea of God's faithfulness and God's righteousness in the background.[98]

Also to be noted is the *covenantal* framework of 2.15 (see §3.2). The expression 'Jews/Gentile-sinners' reflects the typical Jewish self-understanding of ones who belong to God and have been born within the covenant. Jews understand themselves as recipients of God's grace and members of God's covenant. They are the *insiders* and Gentiles are called 'sinners' and regarded as *outsiders*. This type of terminology clearly reflects a covenant consciousness. Also, the phrase **ἔργα νόμου** which refers to the Jewish 'covenant markers', the identity-confirming and boundary-defining acts (§3.3.3), highlights once again the covenant consciousness of the Jewish tradition. Furthermore, since the **εἰδότες ὅτι**-clause of 2.16a is associated with the understanding of faith by Jewish Christians, one should regard

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[94]Cf. Kertelge, 'Zur Deutung', p.215; Lyonnet, 'Pauline Soteriology', pp.831-37. On the question of allusion or citation, see §3.4.1.

[95]L.C. Allen, *Psalms 101-150* (WBC 21; Waco: Word, 1983), p.282.

[96]Allen, *Psalms*, p.284 (*italics* mine).

[97]See also R.B. Hays, 'Psalm 143 and the Logic of Romans 3', *JBL* 99 (1980), pp.107-15, esp. pp.113-15.

[98]Cf. Ps 143.11-12: 'For your name's sake, O Lord, preserve my life. In your righteousness (**ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ σου**) bring me out of trouble. In your steadfast love (חסד) cut off my enemies...for I am your servant' (NRSV).

the theological content as pre-Pauline, reflecting the common conviction of early *Jewish* Christianity.

From the above considerations, it becomes very unlikely that Paul's usage is so radically different from the traditional Jewish understanding. We are therefore more convinced that **δικαιοῦν** and **δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ** are Jewish *covenantal* concepts.[99]

With **δικαιοῦν** and **δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ** as covenantal concepts, what does Paul mean by 'justification by faith' at 2.16? As in most cases **δικαιοῦν** is used in the passive voice (sometimes called 'divine passive'); 'God' is always the implied active agent (cf. 2.16d) and humankind is always on the receiving side. The verb **δικαιοῦν** denotes covenantal relationship between God and humankind.[100]

According to both 2.16a and 2.16c, the key **δικαιοῦν** verb is qualified by **πίστις Χριστοῦ**. From the new perspective of Jewish Christians, covenantal relationship with God must have been modified by one new and indispensable factor: **πίστις Χριστοῦ** (2.16a).[101] From Paul's perspective, covenantal relationship with God is however defined by just *one* indispensable factor, **πίστις Χριστοῦ**: **δικαιωθῶμεν ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου** (2.16c). And there is one thing in common: both Paul and Jewish Christians fully agree that covenantal relationship with God depends on **πίστις Χριστοῦ**. From the fact that Paul can draw on their believing response to Christ in 2.16b, the quarrel between Paul and Jewish *Christians* here is nothing about whether or not Jews should accept Jesus as the Messiah. The conflict is in fact an inter-Christian debate.

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[99]Thus we are unconvinced by Sanders that 'There is a major shift; for to be righteous in Jewish literature means to obey the Torah and to repent of transgression, but in Paul it means to be saved by Christ... in Paul it is a *transfer term*' (*PPJ*, p.544); 'The passive verb "to be righteoused" in Paul's letter almost always means to be *changed*, to be *transferred* from one realm to another...The passive of *dikaioun* does not easily bear this meaning - changed, transferred, incorporated in another person - but Paul forced it to do so' (*Paul*, p.48); cf. Bachmann, *Sünder*, p.39 n81; Martyn, 'Events', p.179.

[100]The cosmic dimension and God's relationship with creatures are more clearly seen in Rom 8.18-25.

[101]Whether **ἔργα νόμου** is replaced by **πίστις Χριστοῦ** or modified by **πίστις Χριστοῦ** according to 2.16a, '**πίστις Χριστοῦ**' is not in doubt according to those Jews who have come to believe in Messiah Jesus. The grammatical connection of the two phrases by **ἐὰν μή** will be discussed in §3.3.6. below.

Another problem is the use of **δικαιοῦν** in different tenses in 2.16. Is there any significance in the fact that **δικαιοῦται** present tense is found in 2.16a? According to Ziesler, there are roughly different aspects in different tenses: the past tense can be transfer terminology, from unacceptability to acceptance (cf. Rom 5.1), while the future refers to the Last Judgement and the verdict of God, and the present to the continuing acceptance by God.[102] Therefore it is not impossible that Paul uses different tenses in 2.16 to stress different aspects of justification. So Dunn argues that 'the range of tenses in Gal 2.16 probably denotes a richer theology of justification than Räisänen allows'.[103]

With **δικαιοῦται** in the present tense denoting the way justification happens when it happens, whether now or in the future,[104] one could probably say, the concern of early Jewish Christians is largely the *continuing process* of 'staying in' and proper behaviour before God. This observation concurs with our study on the Antioch Incident in which the issue of debate between Paul and Peter involves what they mean by 'proper behaviour' for Jewish Christians in their common table-fellowship with Gentile Christians (§2.2). The question is more on the side of 'staying in' rather than 'getting in'. According to their new-found faith in Messiah Jesus, continuing justification before God no doubt depends on **πίστις Χριστοῦ** (and **ἔργα νόμου**).

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[102]Ziesler, *Rom*, p.86.

[103]Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, p.208. The verse is paraphrased as: 'Since man is justified through faith in Jesus Christ (the present tense can cover the whole process), we have believed in Christ Jesus (aorist = "transfer") in order that we might be justified from faith in Christ and not from works of law (the aorist tense can refer to the goal of the whole process, as in 2.17 - the point being that justification is by *faith* from start to finish) because (as will become apparent at the last judgement) "no flesh will be justified by works of the law"'.

[104]Wright's note on the three tenses of justification did not really explain the *present* tense in the grammatical sense yet ('Romans', p.192).

3.3.5. The Meaning of ἄνθρωπος:

Within the εἰδότες ὅτι-clause the subject of δικαιοῦται is ἄνθρωπος, without the article. According to BAGD, the anarthrous ἄνθρωπος is used in its wholly *indefinite sense* (equivalent to τὶς), which almost means 'one'.[105] The majority of scholars adopt this view in 2.16a (and Rom 3.28).[106]

However, some have tried to argue that ἄνθρωπος is used in a more *specific sense*. For example, Klein insists that the term ἄνθρωπος in 2.16a (and Rom 3.28) is quite specific; it refers to 'a new category of humankind' which eliminates the distinction between Jew and Gentile: in the act of justification, a new 'humanity' or 'third race' is created (see §3.2.1.[1]). As for Gaston, the term ἄνθρωπος speaks specifically of '(Gentile) human being' (non-Jewish humanity) in contrast to Jews. Upon this reading, Gaston insists that a different salvation based on the faithfulness of Christ on Golgotha is now available for Gentiles in contrast to the faithfulness of God on Sinai which is still for Jews.[107]

But there seems to be little evidence for such reading of ἄνθρωπος in Paul's letters. It is rightly pointed out by Kümmel that the word ἄνθρωπος always denotes a contrast between *God and man* (in the vertical sense), not man and man (on the horizontal level).[108] This basic God/man contrast is also quite apparent in Galatians. For example, Paul defines his apostleship not coming ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων nor δι' ἀνθρώπου but through Jesus Christ and God the Father (1.1); he

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[105]BAGD, 'ἄνθρωπος', 3.a.γ (69); referring to 2.16; 6.7; Rom 3.28; 1 Cor 4.1; 7.26; 11.28; Matt 16.26; Jas 2.24.

[106]E.g. Burton, *Gal*, p.120; Betz, *Gal*, pp.116, 307 n160; Ridderbos, *Gal*, p.99; Schlier, *Gal*, p.89; Mussner, *Gal*, p.172 n29; Fung, *Gal*, p.113; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.82; Käsemann, *Rom*, p.103; O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer* (MeyerK 4; 5th edition; Göttingen: V&R, 1978), p.156; Wilckens, *Rom*, 1:247; Leenhardt, *Rom*, p.111; Black, *Rom*, p.63; Cranfield, *Rom*, 1:221 n4; Morris, *Rom*, p.187; Dunn, *Rom*, 1:187; Moo, *Rom*, 1:253; G. Howard, 'Romans 3.21-31 and the Inclusion of the Gentiles', *HTR* 63 (1970), pp.223-33, here pp.232-33; Lambrecht and Thompson, *Justification*, p.34.

[107]See also §1.4.7. Based on this two salvation theory, Gaston argues that it is not necessary for Jews to believe in Messiah Jesus. Cf. Barth, 'Jews and Gentiles', p.247.

[108]Kümmel, 'Individualgeschichte', p.161. See also Bultmann, *Theology*, 1:231; J. Jeremias, 'ἄνθρωπος', *TDNT* 1:364-66, here p.364; A. Sand, 'ἄνθρωπος,' *EDNT* 1:100-104, here p.100.

pleases not ἀνθρώπους/ἀνθρώποις but God (1.10); his gospel is not κατὰ ἄνθρωπον nor received παρὰ ἀνθρώπου, but through the revelation of Jesus Christ (1.11-12).[109] None of the contrasts indicates a certain ἄνθρωπος over against other humankind.

Secondly, it is pointed out by M. Black in a classic study, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, that the indefinite use of ἄνθρωπος (= τὶς) might be a semitism, possibly influenced by the Hebrew אִישׁ and the Aramaic *barnash*.[110] Thus, in our view, the suggestions by Klein and Gaston are in danger of over-interpreting the word ανθρωπος and of reading unnecessary theological meaning into the term at 2.16a.

According to this *indefinite* sense of ἄνθρωπος at 2.16a, the scope of justification grace is understood as being available for 'anyone' who would believe in Messiah Jesus. It is clear that the covenantal relationship with God is now modified by πίστις Χριστοῦ according to their new conviction in Messiah Jesus and is made possible for 'anyone'. Indeed, some Jews did come to believe in Christ Jesus (2.16b). Since καὶ ἡμεῖς refers to the same subject 'we' in 2.15, there is no indication that Jews who believed in Messiah Jesus ceased to be Jews; nor did they become a third race.[111] Furthermore, one can see that the main emphasis of 2.16a does not lie with the subject ἄνθρωπος, but with the predicate 'ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ' that qualifies the key verb δικαιοῦται (rightly, Kümmel). The crucial question is how ἔργα νόμου and πίστις Χριστοῦ are related.

One question that might arise: Does ἄνθρωπος refer to 'anyone' within the Jewish community only (in a narrower sense)? Or does it

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[109]Cf. Betz, *Gal*, pp.38 n18, 56-57 n125, 116 n32. See also 2.6; 6.1; 6.7. On the meaning of κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω in 3.15, see Betz, *Gal*, pp.154-56.

[110](3rd edition; Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), pp.106-107. See also E.C. Maloney, *Semitic Interference in Marcan Syntax* (SBLDS 51; Chico: Scholars, 1981), pp.131-35.

[111]Cf. Beker, 'Faithfulness', pp.329-30: 'although Paul uses the terminology of *anthropos* (Rom 3.28) and *pas/pantes* (11.32), he never loses sight of the fact that Jews and Gentiles are two distinct peoples who even in Christ cannot be fused into one general category of *homo universalis*. ...it is wrong to suppose that the emphasis on *pas* or *anthropos* blots out the ethnic specificity of two different peoples, Jews and Gentiles'.

mean 'anyone' universally regardless of their racial origin (in a broader sense)? It is possible that some could have limited the '*ἄνθρωπος*' only to those within the Jewish community.[112] But as for Paul himself, the question is probably non-existent by now: the mission to the uncircumcised/Gentiles is already defended at the Jerusalem conference and agreement has been reached with the Jerusalem Church (cf. 2.7-9), though now in the Galatian crisis the circumcision issue has arisen again. It is also not unlikely that some would have expanded the scope of '*ἄνθρωπος*' to include even the 'Gentile-sinners'. And if this is true, the divine covenant originally established between God and Israel only is understood to have broadened out and universalized to include also the Gentiles.

3.3.6. The Meaning of *ἐὰν μή*:

As we have just mentioned, the crucial question in the *εἰδότες ὅτι*-clause lies not with the subject *ἄνθρωπος*, but in the predicate: how *ἔργα νόμου* and *πίστις Χριστοῦ* are related. The verb *δικαιοῦται* is qualified adverbially[113] by *ἐξ ἔργων νόμου* and *διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* which are connected by *ἐὰν μή*. The question is: How would the early Jewish Christians possibly understand the relationship between *ἔργα νόμου* and *πίστις Χριστοῦ* according to the *εἰδότες ὅτι*-clause?

Here one is confronted by two related difficulties: a grammatical question and an exegetical decision. What is the meaning of this contracted conjunction *ἐάν* with the negative *μή*? Is *ἐὰν μή* exceptive in force (close to *πλήν*) and to be translated as 'but only'? Or is it an adversative 'but' (equivalent to *ἀλλά*)? If *ἐὰν μή* is exceptive in force, does it introduce a qualification to the whole preceding statement (*'οὐ δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου'*),[114] or

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[112]Cf. the hesitancy of Peter in the Cornelius incident and strong reactions from certain of the 'circumcision party' (Acts 10.1-11.18), and even some Hellenists 'speaking the word to none except Jews' (11.19).

[113]The suggestion that *ἐξ ἔργων νόμου* should be joined to the subject *ἄνθρωπος* adjectivally is rightly rejected by Schlier, *Gal*, p.89 n5.

[114]So Dunn (§1.2.3). This interpretation is also suggested by L. Cerfaux, *The Christian in the Theology of St. Paul* (ET; London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1967), p.379 n2; cf. Reumann, *Righteousness*, p.55. Dunn, in his response to the criticism of Bruce, reaffirms the basic argument by drawing attention to (a) the force of *ἐὰν μή* as properly exceptive and not adversative; (b) there is some degree of ambiguity

only to its principal part ('οὐ δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος')?[115]

On the first question, most grammarians agree that εἰ/ἐὰν μή is properly *exceptive* and not just adversative,[116] though it is not certain whether this usage is due to the semitic influence (Hebrew אלא) or it is just a Greek usage.[117] Certain cases in the NT might have an adversative sense (e.g. Matt 12.4; Luke 4.26-27 and Rev 21.27),[118] but the *exceptive* use of εἰ μή is clearly found in Mark 4.22, 6.4-5 and 2 Cor 13.5. Commenting on 1.7, Lightfoot maintains that 'εἰ μή seems always to retain at least in this stage of the language, its proper *exceptive* sense, and is not simply *oppositive*, though it frequently approaches nearly to ἀλλά'.[119] Similarly, it is partly because of this ambiguous meaning of εἰ μή at 1.19 that the controversial question of James's apostolic status is asked.[120] Thus in our opinion, one should not rule out the exceptive use at all in 2.16a.[121]

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as to the force of exception as with the εἰ μή of 1.19 ('New Perspective', *JPL*, pp.212, 214).

[115]E.g. Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.115; Burton, *Gal*, p.121; Meyer, *Gal*, p.114 (against Holsten); Lagrange, *Gal*, p.47; Schlier, *Gal*, p.92 n6; Kieffer, *Foi*, p.51 n67 (criticising Cerfaux); Bruce, *Gal*, p.101; Becker, *Gal*, p.29; Fung, *Gal*, pp.115-16 n23; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.84; Ziesler, *Gal*, p.24.

[116]So BDF §§376, 448(8); BAGD, 'ἐάν', 3.b.(211); 'εἰ', IV.8.a(220); H. Balz, 'ἐάν', *EDNT* 1:367. Cf. E.D.W. Burton, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in New Testament Greek* (3rd edition; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1898), §§274, 471; R. Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* (2 vols; 3rd edition, edited by B. Gerth; Hannover and Leipzig: Hahnsche, 1898-1904), §577.8; H.W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Revised by G.M. Messing; Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1956), §§2346, 2777, 2966.

[117]On Semitic influence, see Black, *Aramaic Approach*, pp.113-14; MHT 3:330; Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, §469. On the possibility of Greek usage, see Maloney, *Semitic Interference*, pp.92-99.

[118]See MHT 2:468; MHT 4:92, 150; Black, *Aramaic Approach*, pp.114. Cf. Räisänen, 'Galatians', p.547 (citing also 1.7); Gaston, *Paul*, p.66. Certainly 2.16 is also included by some as one of the clear examples for the adversative use.

[119]Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.76. Note also his comments on 1 Cor 7.17 in *Notes on Epistles of St. Paul* (edited by J.R. Harmer; London: Macmillan, 1895), p.227. See also Burton, *Gal*, pp.22-24, 60, 121.

[120]See the summary in Mussner, *Gal*, pp.95-96, Fung, *Gal*, pp.77-78.

[121]So Burton, *Gal*, p.121; Bruce, *Gal*, p.101; Fung, *Gal*, p.115; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.84; *contra* Ridderbos, *Gal*, p.99 n17. Cf. Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, §470: 'ἀλλά [but only] was to be expected rather than

The second question is: If ἐὰν μή is exceptive in force, what does it modify at 2.16a? Grammatically speaking, it is *ambiguous*. So, for example, even when Burton disagrees that ἐὰν μή may qualify the whole preceding statement because theologically it is *un*-Pauline and it is contradictory to what is expressed at 2.16c, he has however agreed that ἐὰν μή 'may introduce an exception to the preceding statement taken as a whole or to the principal part of it'.[122] It does occur to us that the reason why ἐὰν μή could not qualify the whole preceding statement is based on theological grounds: the reading proposed by Dunn and Cerfaux is quite *un-Pauline*.[123] But is this a sufficient argument?

In our opinion this theological objection is not very valid. To begin with, there is no compulsion that 2.16a must be wholly Pauline in thought. The objection has probably neglected the significance of the εἰδότες ὅτι formula introducing the clause at 2.16a, which indicates that the theological content of the ὅτι-clause should be read as reflecting a common understanding of faith shared by early Jewish Christians (§3.3.1). One should therefore avoid interpreting 2.16a as equivalent to the truly Pauline idea as in 2.16c. From this perspective, one cannot reject the proposed reading by Dunn and Cerfaux just because it is *un*-Pauline.

On the other hand, if 2.16a is rightly understood as reflecting the early Jewish Christian understanding of faith, one would be confronted by the ambiguity of ἐὰν μή and all its possible diverse interpretations. This might indicate the complexity of the problem and also the cause of conflict at Antioch in the first place (cf. 2.11-14). It is possible that Paul and some other Jewish Christians might have understood the 'common' tradition quite differently. For some Jewish Christians, at least, the exceptive ἐὰν μή would (if not should) qualify the whole preceding statement; their new conviction

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εἰ μή in...Gal 2.16'.

[122]Burton, *Gal*, p.121.

[123]E.g. Kieffer, *Foi*, p.51; Fung, *Gal*, p.115; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.84; MHT 4:91-92. Duncan, *Gal*, p.65: 'Such may indeed have been the view of some Jewish-Christians...but it was certainly not Paul's view'. This is also the main argument by D.R. Goodwin, 'ἐὰν μή, Gal. ii.16', *JBL* 6 (1886), pp.122-127, esp. p.126 against the Revised Version in the last century.

πίστις Χριστοῦ was only complementary to their covenantal ἔργα νόμου. One must ask, from the perspective of Jewish Christians, 'Why should a Jewish belief in a Jewish Messiah make any difference to these long-established Jewish distinctives?'[124] But for Paul himself, πίστις Χριστοῦ and ἔργα νόμου stand in antithetical position (2.16c). According to Paul, πίστις Χριστοῦ is the only *one* and *necessary* covenant marker, even for Jewish Christians. And so from Paul's perspective, he would certainly like to read the exceptive ἐὰν μή qualifying the verb only.

This reading of ἐὰν μή in the exceptive sense and qualifying the whole preceding statement becomes even more probable when we take into consideration the *social setting* of early Jewish Christianity and the wider spectrum of Judaism/s in the First Century. It is now widely recognised by scholars that Judaism of the Second Temple period is marked by *sectarianism*.[125] According to Cohen, a *sect* is 'a small, organised group that separates itself from a larger religious body and asserts that it alone embodies the ideals of the larger group because it alone understands God's will'.[126] From the sectarian perspective, one can draw further 'boundaries *within* a boundary' to assert one's distinctive identity.[127]

Many scholars too recognise early Jewish Christianity as a form of Jewish Messianism (cf. Acts 24.5, 14; 28.22).[128] Thus comments M.D.

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[124]Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, p.196. Cf. C.F.D. Moule, *The Birth of the New Testament* (3rd edition; BNTC; London: AC Black, 1981), p.57: 'For Judaism, granted the divine election belonging initially to all who were within the Sinai Covenant, what mattered was to keep within the Covenant by faithfulness to the Law; and comparably, the extreme Judaistic wing of Christianity may, for its duration, not have been far from such a position'.

[125]See Cohen, *Maccabees*, pp.124-173 for a good overview. Cf. M. Smith, 'Palestinian Judaism in the First Century', in *Israel* (edited by M. Davis; NY: Harper & Brothers, 1956), pp.67-81; Neusner, *Judaism* [1984], pp.25-28; L.H. Schiffman, 'Jewish Sectarianism in Second Temple Times', in *Great Schisms in Jewish History* (edited by R. Jospe and S. Wagner; NY: Center for Judaic Studies and Ktav, 1981), pp.1-46; Rowland, *Christian Origins*, pp.65-75.

[126]Cohen, *Maccabees*, p.125.

[127]I owe the phrase to my fellow postgraduate Ellen Christensen.

[128]So Cohen, *Maccabees*, pp.165-167. Cf. Davies, *Paul*, p.xxxiv (against Sanders); W.A. Meeks, *The Moral World of the First Christians* (LEC 6; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986), pp.98-108; Scroggs, 'Earliest Christian Communities'; Rowland, *Christian Origins*, pp.75-80; L.M.

Hooker: 'the majority of the first generation of Christians regarded themselves as faithful Jews, and saw their faith in Jesus as the fulfilment of Judaism. Christianity began as a messianic sect within Judaism'.[129] In general, earliest Christianity has *not yet* emerged as a totally distinctive religion or a different body separated from the wider Judaism in the first century.

From this *sectarian* perspective, Christian Jews, those who were convinced that Jesus is the promised *Messiah*, would certainly regard faith in the Messiah as a necesary expression of Judaism. 'Faith in Christ was not to be an act of pietism for an elite, but was to be the new norm for Judaism'.[130] And those Jews who did not accept the *Messiah* Jesus would be regarded as 'sinners'.[131] From the perspective of *Jewish Christians*, the covenant boundary would be redefined to *include* also the Messianic faith in Jesus, and probably as a most important marker. If we use the idea of 'boundaries within a boundary', one can see there are two sequences of boundaries: the Messianic faith in Jesus forms an inner boundary within the basic Jewish boundary. Seen from the sectarian perspective, it is not necessary for Jews to cross the boundary and cease to be Jews when they accept the *Messiah* Jesus. After all, Jewish Christians were not converted to a pagan god or to any non-Jewish religion. Socially and ethnically speaking, Christian Jews remained Jews!

If we read 2.16a from this religious and social dimension, **πίστις Χριστοῦ** would possibly function as an 'inner' sectarian covenant boundary marker for Jewish Christianity. And since Jewish Christians would not perceive themselves as crossing the original Jewish covenant boundary in their new commitment to *Messiah* Jesus, it becomes very unlikely that they would cease observing the **ἔργα νόμου**, the traditional Jewish covenant markers. Thus in our opinion, **ἐὰν μή** in the exceptive sense qualifying the whole preceding statement is

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White, 'Shifting Sectarian Boundaries in Early Christianity', *BJRL* 70/3 (1988), pp.7-24, here pp.9-15.

[129]M.D. Hooker, *Continuity and Discontinuity* (London: Epworth, 1986), p.9. Cf. E.E. Ellis, *Pauline Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), p.133.

[130]Cohen, *Maccabees*, pp.167-68. This dimension is rightly observed by Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, pp.195-96.

[131]See Cohen, *Maccabees*, p.168.

more probable. In sum, we think Dunn's conclusion is quite justified: 'The Jewish Christians evidently believed (as the Antioch incident demonstrated) that "works of law" continued to be the appropriate if not essential expression of that faith in Jesus Christ, for Jewish Christians at least. But Paul (now) found it necessary to clarify the ambiguity into outright antithesis'.[132]

According to this reading of **ἐὰν μή**, 2.16a and 2.16c are not repetitious nor tautologous. They reflect different perceptions of how **ἔργα νόμου** and **πίστις Χριστοῦ** are related. Though Paul's reinterpretation and clarification is radical, it is not a totally new invention. Paul can still claim that his interpretation is firmly based upon the 'common' Jewish Christian tradition of 2.16a. The crisis at Antioch must have forced Paul to clarify the *ambiguity* into *outright alternatives*, from a possible 'both-and' (**πίστις Χριστοῦ** and **ἔργα νόμου**) to a straight 'either-or' (**πίστις Χριστοῦ** and not **ἔργα νόμου**).

3.3.7. Summary: Towards a Social Understanding of 2.16a:

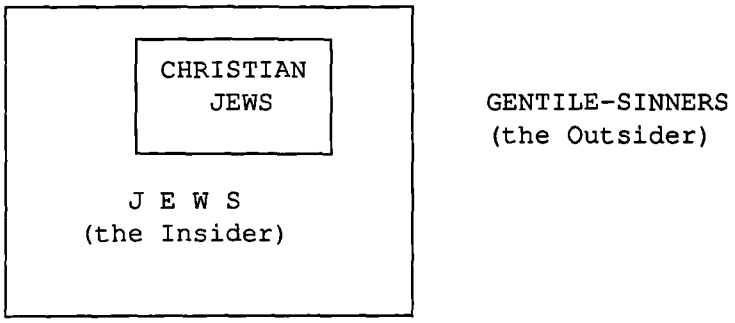
In the above lengthy discussion, we have tried to wrestle with the **εἰδότες ὅτι**-clause as expressing the common understanding of faith shared by early *Jewish Christians*. We are quite convinced that **δικαιοῦν** remains a Jewish covenantal term, and the unique phrase **ἔργα νόμου** is employed by Paul as a catch-phrase referring particularly to the traditional Jewish covenantal identity-confirming and boundary-defining markers, such as circumcision, food laws and Sabbath observance. Furthermore we have also argued that it is very unlikely that Jewish Christians would have forsaken the 'covenant markers' in their commitment to the *Jewish Messiah* Jesus. And if our reading of 2.15 and 2.16a is basically correct, Jewish Christians would certainly have understood their *covenantal* relation with God as now being modified by a new factor: faith in *Jesus* as Messiah. The original covenantal framework according to 2.15 is not discarded, but is only qualified by **πίστις Χριστοῦ**.[133]

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[132]Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, p.212; cf. *Gal(ms)*, pp.6-7.

[133]Cf. Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, p.208: 'Justification by faith *in Christ* is...the Jewish-*Christian* refinement of Jewish election theology'.

At this juncture, we would like to suggest a possible solution to the disputed particle δέ, and so the ambiguous relationship between 2.15 and 2.16a.[134] We would like to suggest that the general picture of sectarianism in first century Judaism and the idea of 'boundaries *within* a boundary' might be of help. One can see 2.15 and 2.16a as a sequence of boundaries: the first and basic boundary is the traditional covenant boundary between *Jews* and Gentiles; the second boundary is an inner and smaller one, the Christological boundary between *Christian* Jews and non-Christian Jews. It could be illustrated roughly as below:



From this perspective, the particle δέ probably indicates some degree of contrast, but not an outright contrast (probably translated as 'and yet').[135] For Jewish Christians, the act of believing in *Messiah* Jesus is not a stepping out of God's covenant or breaking away from Judaism. From their own perception, [Jewish] Christianity is not a new form of religion standing over against Judaism at large. Therefore, it is not justified to talk of a 'break' with Judaism at this juncture.[136]

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[134]Besides the problem of textual evidence, the meaning of δέ is not so straightforward too. It is defined by BAGD, 'δέ', (171) as 'one of the most commonly used Greek particles, used to connect one clause with another when it is felt that there is some contrast between them, though the contrast is often scarcely discernible. Most common translations: *but*, when a contrast is clearly implied; *and*, when a simple connective is desired, without contrast; frequently it cannot be translated at all'. See also K.-H. Pridik, 'δέ', *EDNT* 1:278-79.

[135]We think our reading is more likely than that of either Kümmel or Longenecker who treat δέ as a simple connective, or that of Klein and Hübner, 'Was heißt', pp.126-30 who assume only the adversative force. Furthermore, Klein's argument that 2.16 is a separate sentence is guilty of reading δέ as equivalent to ἀλλά.

[136]*Contra* Räisänen, 'Galatians', pp.548-50; Sanders, *PLJP*, pp.68, 172, 56-57 n63. See also Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, pp.208-209.

3.4. THE MEANING AND PURPOSE OF PAUL'S ALLUSION (2.16d)

3.4.1. Is Paul Alluding to Ps 143.2 (LXX 142.2)?

It is customary for Paul to introduce a Torah quotation with an introductory formula using verbs such as γέγραπται as in 3.10, 3.13, 4.27 or λέγει in 3.16, 4.30.[1] And it is also fairly obvious that Paul has a series of Scriptural quotations interlocking with his argumentation in 3.6-29.[2] But is 2.16d another quotation from or allusion to Scripture by Paul?[3]

A comparision of Paul's wording in 2.16d and Rom 3.20a with LXX Ps 142.2 shows the similarities and differences:

LXX:	ὅτι	οὐ δικαιωθήσεται	ἐνώπιον σου	πᾶς ζῶν
Gal:	ὅτι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου	οὐ δικαιωθήσεται		πᾶσα σάρξ
Rom:	ὅτι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου	οὐ δικαιωθήσεται	πᾶσα σάρξ	ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ

MT : כי לא יצדק לפניך כל־חי

Since the LXX is equivalent to the meaning in MT, the Hebrew

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[1]See E.E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (London: Oliver & Boyd, 1957), pp.22-25; *The Old Testament in Early Christianity* (WUNT 54; Tübingen: JCB Mohr, 1991), pp.79-91. Cf. B.M. Metzger, 'The Formulas Introducing Quotations of Scripture in the NT and the Mishnah', *JBL* 70 (1951), pp.297-307; J.A. Fitzmyer, 'The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in the Qumran Literature and in the New Testament', *NTS* 7 (1960-61), pp.297-333. On λέγει κύριος, see Ellis, *Prophecy*, pp.182-87.

[2]For example, 3.6 (Gen 15.6; cf. Gen 12.3; 18.18); 3.8 (Gen 12.3 and/or Gen 18.18); 3.10 (Deut 27.26); 3.11 (Hab 2.4); 3.12 (Lev 18.5); 3.13 (Deut 21.23); 3.16 (Gen 22.18; cf. Gen 12.7; 13.15; 17.7). See Ellis, *Paul's Use*, p.152; P. Borgen, *Bread from Heaven* (NovTSup 10; Leiden: EJ Brill, 1965), pp.48-51. On 3.8, Sanders, *PLJP*, p.21 n24 argues that Paul quotes only Gen 18.18 (against B. Lindars, *New Testament Apologetics* [London: SCM, 1961], p.225).

[3]Many do think it is a quotation: e.g. Bruce, *Gal*, p.140; Schlier, *Gal*, p.94; Becker, *Gal*, p.30; Borse, *Gal*, p.114; Fitzmyer, 'Gal', 47:19; Barrett, *Freedom*, p.19; Dunn, *Gal(ms)*, p.9; Matera, *Gal*, p.94; cf. Michel, *Rom*, p.144 n7; Ziesler, *Rom*, p.104; Wilckens, *Rom*, 1:173; N. Walter, 'Gottes Erbarmen mit "allem Fleisch" (Röm 3,20/Gal 2,16) - ein "femininer" Zug im paulinischen Gottesbild?" *BZ* 35 (1991), pp.99-102, here p.99 (also n2). But Mussner, *Gal*, p.174, Moo, *Rom*, 1:209 and D.A. Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums* (BHT 69; Tübingen: JCB Mohr, 1986), p.18 seem to be more sceptical because of the differences.

text is not the main problem here. According to 2.16d there are three differences with LXX: (1) **ἐνώπιον σου** is omitted; (2) **ἐξ ἔργων νόμου** is added; and (3) **πᾶς ζῶν** is changed to **πᾶσα σάρξ**. However, in Rom 3.20a, **ἐνώπιον σου** is not totally omitted, but is changed from second person singular to third person singular **ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ**.

On the other hand, there are clear signs of *similarity*. The closeness of 2.16d, and especially Rom 3.20a, to the LXX 142.2 does indicate Paul's possible intentional *allusion* to the text, though it may not be convincing enough to be called a Scriptural citation.[4] The omission of **ἐνώπιον σου** in 2.16d is not very decisive, since it may have been regarded as redundant because the future tense **δικαιωθήσεται** probably already refers to the eschatological judgement.[5] On the other hand, when it is retained by Paul as **ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ** in Rom 3.20a, it makes little difference to Paul's overall argumentation.[6] And it is probably right not to read too much into the omission of **ἐνώπιον σου** in 2.16d.[7]

It does appear that 'The statement itself contains both a quotation from Scripture and Paul's interpretation which is made part of the quotation, so that the whole forms a statement of theological doctrine'.[8] Because of this interplay of quotation and

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[4]So Ellis, *Paul's Use*, p.154; Lindars, *NT Apologetics*, p.224; Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, p.198 n37; *Rom*, 1:153; Kieffer, *Foi*, p.52; Fung, *Gal*, p.117. A convenient list of quotations and allusions in the Pauline epistles is found in Ellis, *Paul's Use*, pp.150-85.

[5]So Betz, *Gal*, p.119; Schweizer, *TDNT* 7:129; Fung, *Gal*, p.118; Hansen, *Abraham*, p.240 n33. Though **δικαιωθήσεται** may be a logical or gnomic future (so Bultmann, *Theology*, 1:274; Lambrecht and Thompson, *Justification*, pp.40-41), it does not necessarily deny the futuristic eschatological aspect (Dunn, *Rom*, 1:97, 153; cf. Ziesler, *Gal*, p.27).

[6]According to Hays, *Echoes*, p.51 Paul 'has transmuted the psalmist's direct address to God ("No living being will be justified before you") into a declarative generalization by changing the personal pronoun from second to third person singular'.

[7]So Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, p.205 n38. *Contra* Fitzmyer, 'Gal', 47:19 ('Paul omits "before you", diminishing the psalmist's forensic nuance"); Schlier, *Gal*, p.95 ('was die Gerichtssituation undeutlicher macht').

[8]Betz, *Gal*, p.118. Cf. Dahl, *Studies*, p.124: 'For Paul, the Holy Scriptures are the words of God, of a God who through them speaks directly to the present. Conversely, present experience and events of the recent past belong within the Scriptural sphere. For Paul, there is an ongoing interplay between interpretation of Scripture and Christian existence in the present. Scripture helps to interpret

interpretation, the two remaining variations do demand explanation. In the following we shall engage with the questions: Why does Paul change **πᾶs ζῶν** to **πᾶσα σάρξ**? and why is **ἐξ ἔργων νόμου** added to the scriptural allusion?

3.4.2. Why Paul changes **πᾶs ζῶν** to **πᾶσα σάρξ**?

Many think the changes make little difference in meaning: the **πᾶσα σάρξ** in 2.16d is interpreted as a Hebraism (= כל בשר) meaning 'all humankind', which is equivalent to the indefinite **ἄνθρωποs** in 2.16a (cf. 1 Cor 1.29).[9] This *neutral* sense of בשר, which is quite often translated by **σάρξ** in LXX, frequently denotes humanity in its frailty, weakness and mortality in contrast to the power of God (cf. e.g. Gen 6.3; Pss 56.4; 78.39; Job 10.4; 2 Chr 32.8; Isa 31.3; 40.6-8; Jer 17.5).[10] According to this usage **σάρξ** is not used in the negative sense or to be identified as the seat or sphere of sin.[11]

But, if **πᾶσα σάρξ** and **πᾶs ζῶν** are basically similar in meaning, why should Paul alter the word at all? Could there be some reason behind the changes which is closely related to his argumentation in Galatians? It is therefore quite reasonable that some scholars argue

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events and experiences, and events and experiences help to reinterpret Scripture'.

[9]E.g. Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.116; Burton, *Gal*, p.124; Bultmann, *Theology*, 1:233; Betz, *Gal*, p.118 n52; Bruce, *Gal*, p.140; Becker, *Gal*, p.30; Cranfield, *Rom*, 1:198; Mussner, *Gal*, p.172 (n26 against Jewett); Wilckens, *Rom*, p.173 n472; Barclay, *Obeying*, p.204; Rohde, *Gal*, p.112; BAGD, '**σάρξ**', 3 (743); Sand, *EWNT* 3:551. According to Segal, **σάρξ** and **ἄνθρωποs** are indeed synonymous, but he goes on to argue that 'Paul characteristically uses *flesh* to refer to all humanity without faith. Those who are converted through *summorphosis* have a spiritual body and are in Christ, as Enoch is in the son of man' (*Paul*, p.132). For Segal, this mystical transformation or *summorphosis* in the ontological sense is related to the act of Christian baptism (pp.133-38; on *summorphosis*, see pp.22-25, 63-64, 69-71, 141-42). We shall leave the discussion on mystical *summorphosis* till we come to 2.20ab, see §6.4. below.

[10]See BDB, 'בשר', 5 (142); cf. Gal 4.13-14; 1 Cor 15.50; 2 Cor 10.4; Rom 8.3. There are only isolated examples of the association between sin and flesh in later Judaism outside of Qumran (Sir 17.31; 23.17; Test Jud 19.4; Test Zeb 9.7; 1 Enoch 1.98; 81.5). See Barclay, *Obeying*, p.187-92, esp. n36.

[11]The *negative* sense is frequently expressed by Paul in antithesis to **πνεῦμα** (e.g. 3.3; 5.16-17, 19; Rom 2.28; 8.6, 9; Phil 3.3-4) or in the form of the **κατὰ σάρκα/κατὰ πνεῦμα** antithesis (cf. 4.29; Rom 8.4-5). See Dunn, *Rom*, 1:13.

for a more specific sense in the word σάρξ here. For example, Jewett argues that the change is deliberate and *polemical* in purpose: 'Paul substituted σάρξ for ζῶν because he wished to counter the Judaizers' claim that circumcised *flesh* was acceptable as righteous by God'.[12] Quite independently, Dunn arrives at a similar conclusion: 'In speaking of "all flesh" Paul has in view primarily and precisely those who think their acceptability to God and standing before God *does* depend on their physical descent from Abraham, their national identity as Jews'.[13]

But Thielman, in reaction to Dunn and Jewett, insists that σάρξ is used in the *ethical* sense, with echoes of human sinfulness as in Psalm 143:[14]

> σάρξ has a decidedly ethical meaning in 5.17-26 where 'fruits of the spirit' are contrasted with 'works of the flesh'...the most reasonable conclusion would be that it carries this ethical nuance in 2.16, 3.1-5 and 4.21-31, and that in 2.16 Paul takes pains to change the wording of the Septuagint in order to say that humanity, because of its weakness and susceptibility to sin, cannot keep the law.

On the other hand, Barrett argues for a more *existential* sense: 'When he [Paul] thinks of the unjustifiability of man before God he naturally speaks of man as *flesh*'; 'Here "flesh" signifies myself in my attempt to justify myself'.[15] For Walter, πᾶσα σάρξ is introduced by Paul in order to allude to the Genesis Flood-tradition, the hopelessness of humankind and the mercy of God (cf. Gen 6.12).[16] And Gaston suggests that that 'Paul does not use the LXX's *pas zōn* is probably because he uses *zaō* in a theological sense in 2.19-20'.[17]

It occasions little surprise that there is no consensus on the

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[12]Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms*, p.98; cf. pp.112-14.

[13]Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, p.199; cf. *Rom*, 1:155; *Gal(ms)*, p.9.

[14]Thielman, *Plight*, p.63; cf. Meyer, *Gal*, p.115. For Thielman, the σάρξ in 4.23, 29 'still carries the ethical connotation of "humanity viewed from its inclination to sin"' (p.64); Psalm 143 has the idea of 'from plight to solution' (pp.64-65).

[15]Quotes from Barrett, *Freedom*, p.19 and *Rom*, p.67 respectively. 'Flesh' is defined as 'man's innate tendency to egocentricity' (*Freedom*, p.77; see also his treatment on 'flesh' pp.71-77). Cf. Bultmann, *Theology*, 1:232-46.

[16]Walter, 'Gottes Erbarmen', pp.100-102.

[17]Gaston, *Paul*, p.60.

meaning of σάρξ at 2.16d, especially in light of the long dispute on the meaning of σάρξ and the σάρξ-πνεῦμα dualism in the last century of Pauline scholarship.[18] In the following we would like to suggest another possible solution for the change to πᾶσα σάρξ in 2.16d.

It is now quite commonly recognized by scholars that Paul uses the term σάρξ with a range of meaning, extending from a more or less neutral usage to a much more negative usage.[19] And one would possibly encounter such a phenomenon also in the seventeen occurrences in Galatians. Here we shall briefly look at the other sixteen occurrences.

The phrase σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα in 1.16 is a typical Jewish usage which denotes humanity or humankind: Paul did not consult any 'human being' after his Damascus experience.[20] Since Paul can refer to the present living of Christians as both ἐν σαρκί and ἐν πίστει in 2.20b seemingly without any contradiction, the term σάρξ could simply mean 'body' and is not used in any negative manner.[21] In 3.3 Paul sets before the Galatians the ironic question: 'Having started with the Spirit, are you now ending with the flesh (σαρκί)?' The way Paul phrases the questions in 3.2-5 clearly associates σάρξ with ἔργα νόμου on the negative side, but πνεῦμα, ἀκοὴ πίστεως and δυνάμεις on the positive side.[22] The weakness of the flesh (τῆς σαρκός) in 4.13-14

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[18]In addition to those cited in §3.1. above, the discovery of the DSS has further prompted some scholars to attempt comparisons with Pauline theology, particularly on the connection of flesh and sin. Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms*, pp.49-95 has a very good history of research; cf. Sand, *'Fleisch'*, pp.3-121; Kuss, *Rom*, pp.521-29. An excellent overview of issues is now found in Barclay, *Obeying*, pp.178-215.

[19]See esp. the persuasive argument by J.D.G. Dunn, 'Jesus - Flesh and Spirit: An Exposition of Romans 1.3-4', *JTS* 24 (1973), pp.40-68, esp. pp.43-49. Cf. A.C. Thiselton, 'The Meaning of Σάρξ in 1 Corinthians 5.5', *SJT* 26 (1973), pp.204-28.

[20]BAGD, 'σάρξ', 3 (743); Schweizer, *TDNT* 7:128; Betz, *Gal*, p.72; cf. Matt 16.17; 1 Cor 15.50; Eph 6.12; Heb 2.14.

[21]BAGD, 'σάρξ', 5 (744); cf. Phil 1.22, 24; Phlm 16; in contrast to Phil 3.3-4. In 2 Cor 10.2-3 Paul seems to draw a distinction between living ἐν σαρκί (acceptable) and κατὰ σάρκα (unacceptable); but in Rom 8.4-9 both phrases seem to be identical and equally negative (cf. Cranfield, *Rom*, 1:387; Barclay, *Obeying*, p.181). See further §6.4.3. below.

[22]Cf. Schlier, *Gal*, p.123; Barclay, *Obeying*, p.86 n26; Dunn, 'Works', *JPL*, p.225. Some even restrict the reference of σάρξ here to

certainly refers to the physical sense, a real illness of Paul.[23] But in the course of the allegory in 4.21-31, Paul contrasts the births of Abraham's two sons: Ishmael as **κατὰ σάρκα** (4.23, 29) and Isaac **κατὰ πνεῦμα** (4.29; **δι' ἐπαγγελίας** 4.23). In the application to the Galatian context, Isaac (**ὁ κατὰ πνεῦμα**) stands for those who enjoy freedom in Christ, and Ishmael (**ὁ κατὰ σάρκα γεννηθείς**) probably represents only the Jewish Christian opponents,[24] those who insist on racial or ethnic or national identity (cf. 4.28-31).[25] In the ethical section of 5.13-6.10, Paul discusses the relation of believers to **σάρξ** and **πνεῦμα**: Galatians are warned of the dangers of the flesh (5.13, 16), the works of the flesh (5.19-21), and not to sow to the flesh (6.8), for they have already crucified the flesh (5.24). The desires of the flesh are in conflict with the desires of the Spirit (5.17); but if one is led by the Spirit, one would bear the fruit of the Spirit (5.18, 22-23).[26] At 6.12-13 Paul explicitly makes a connection between **σάρξ** and circumcision (the fundamental Jewish identity marker): he accuses the opponents of wanting a good showing **ἐν σαρκί** by obliging the Galatians to undergo circumcision in order that they may glory **ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ σαρκί**.[27]

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circumcision (Burton, *Gal*, p.148; Duncan, *Gal*, p.81; Betz, *Gal*, pp.133-34; Fitzmyer, 'Gal', 47:21). Though **σάρξ** is set against **πνεῦμα** here, it does not necessarily carry a negative ethical sense (e.g. Longenecker, *Gal*, p.103; BAGD, '**σάρξ**', 7 [744]).

[23]BAGD, '**σάρξ**', 2 (743). Cf. Betz, *Gal*, p.224; Bruce, *Gal*, p.208; Fitzmyer, 'Gal', 47:27; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.190.

[24]Longenecker, *Gal*, p.217. In our opinion, Hansen, *Abraham*, pp.142-54 has quite convincingly argued against the general view that the expulsion at 4.30 refers to all Jews or Judaism in general (e.g. Burton, *Gal*, pp.267-68; Betz, *Gal*, p.251; Barclay, *Obeying*, pp.179, 207).

[25]Cf. Dunn, 'Theology', *JPL*, pp.249-50. One can hardly agree with Thielman, *Plight*, p.64 that **σάρξ** is used in the *ethical* sense. **σάρξ** is defined as 'earthly descent' by BAGD 4 (743).

[26]BAGD, '**σάρξ**', 7 (744); cf. 1 Pet 2.11; 2 Pet 2.10, 18; 1 John 2.16; Jude 23. On 5.13-6.10 as a whole, see esp. the valuable study by Barclay, *Obeying*, pp.106-177, 202-215 and pp.9-23 on the history of research; cf. D.K. Fletcher, *The Singular Argument of Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (PhD dissertation; Princeton, 1982).

[27]Dunn, 'Theology', *JPL*, p.250; Barclay, *Obeying*, p.179; '**ἡ σάρξ** = the flesh that is circumcised' (BAGD, '**σάρξ**', 1 [743]). The connection between circumcision and flesh (cf. Col 2.11, 13; Eph 2.11) is quite clearly related in Gen 17: the covenant God made with Abraham is described as 'the everlasting covenant in your *flesh*' (17.13); in LXX

From this unavoidably brief look at the word σάρξ in Galatians (not including 2.16d yet), it is quite obvious that Paul uses the term with *various meanings*.[28] Barclay thus argues that Paul may well have exploited the *semantic ambiguity* of the word σάρξ in the argumentation:[29]

> A term with such a wide semantic field is potentially ambiguous. In normal circumstances the context would indicate which sense is implied, but for a skilful writer like Paul such a term provides opportunities to link disparate entities by word-association and develop his polemic on this basis...This term [σάρξ] was ambiguous enough to include reference to libertine behaviour, social disunity and law-observance...Thus Paul's skilful choice of vocabulary enables him to exploit the semantic ambiguity of σάρξ within the πνεῦμα-σάρξ dualism.

If this observation is basically correct, the word σάρξ no doubt plays an important role especially in the latter part of Galatians. It is not a matter of surprise, then, that Paul should change the phrase from πᾶς ζῶν to πᾶσα σάρξ at 2.16d in order to highlight the term σάρξ and to prepare the way for his subsequent argumentation. This procedure had at least two advantages. While the word is changed from ζῶν to σάρξ, one cannot accuse Paul of changing the text or meaning: one could still understand the word σάρξ primarily as 'all humankind' (= Hebraism). At the same time, the word σάρξ is flexible enough for hearers or readers to associate it with other meanings (circumcision? national or ethnic pride? self-indulgence? etc) depending on their cultural and religious background.[30] With this semantic ambiguity of the word σάρξ, Paul is able to adapt the

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the word בשר here is always translated by σάρξ (17.11, 13-14, 24-25; cf. Lev 12.3; Ezek 44.7, 9). The LXX also adds references to σάρξ in the context of circumcision in Gen 34.24; Jer 9.25. See also Sir 44.20; Jdt 14.10; Jub 15.13-33; 4 Ezra 1.31 (Barclay, *Obeying*, p.180 n4).

[28]Cf. Barclay, *Obeying*: 'The simple term σάρξ could be used quite naturally in relation to such diverse entities as "self-indulgences", "the tissue cut in circumcision" and "humanity"' (p.204); 'Paul uses σάρξ as an "umbrella-term" under which he can gather such disparate entities as libertine behaviour, circumcision, a range of social vices and life under the law' (p.209).

[29]Barclay, *Obeying*, pp.203-212, here pp.204, 211-12.

[30]On the other hand, the allusion to the Flood-tradition as suggested by Walter, 'Gottes Erbarmen', p.102 seems to be less obvious, at least in Galatians.

Scriptural allusion to the present situation and still remain loyal to the text at the same time.[31]

3.4.3. Why Paul adds ἐξ ἔργων νόμου?

By alluding to Ps 143.2, Paul is able to appeal to the authority of Torah to substantiate his argument and conviction in 2.16.[32] It is argued quite sufficiently by Ellis that Paul generally quotes from the LXX, but with a freedom that allows him to modify the text-forms and to adapt them to an eschatological, Christological perspective.[33] Some of these variations could be explained by the hermeneutical method *Midrash Pesher* employed: 'As an *interpretive activity* the midrashic procedure (1) is oriented to Scripture, (2) adapting it to the present (3) for the purpose of instructing or edifying the current reader or hearer'.[34]

> In selecting a particular version or in creating an *ad hoc* rendering Paul views his citation as thereby more accurately expressing the true meaning of the Scripture. For Paul, as for the rabbis, the 'letter' was sacred; but unlike the rabbis, Paul valued the 'letter' not for itself alone but for the meaning which it conveyed...Pauline exegesis might be termed 'grammatical-historical plus'. The apostle does not ignore the historical significance of the text; neither does he play fast and loose with the grammar if care is taken to understand the precise purpose and meaning of his citation. The grammar and the historical meaning are assumed; and Pauline exegesis, in its essential character, begins where grammatical-historical exegesis ends.[35]

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[31]According to our suggestion, the *polemical* sense of σάρξ is not excluded at all. One advantage of the *polemical* interpretation by Jewett and Dunn is in relating closely and concretely to the historical situation in Galatians.

[32]Burton, *Gal*, p.123; Michel, *Rom*, p.144; Wilckens, *Rom*, 1:174; cf. Ellis, *Paul's Use*, p.25.

[33]Ellis, *Paul's Use*, pp.83-84, 115-39. According to Ellis, there are four theological presuppositions underlying the use of the OT in the NT: (1) eschatology; (2) typology; (3) a corporate understanding of man and of Messiah; and (4) a conception of Scripture as a hidden Word of God and an idea of *charismatic exegesis* (cf. *OT in Early Christianity*, pp.101-121). See also D.M. Smith, 'The Pauline Literature', in *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture. FS B. Lindars* (edited by D.A. Carson and H.G.M. Williamson; Cambridge: CUP, 1988), pp.265-91.

[34]Ellis, *OT in Early Christianity*, p.92, see pp.91-101.

[35]Ellis, *Paul's Use*, pp.146-47. See also pp.150-52 on how certain text-forms are different from the OT in Paul's quotations.

In line with such practice, it is not a surprise that Paul would add ἐξ ἔργων νόμου to the Scriptural allusion in order to adapt and to apply the text to the present context at 2.16d (and Rom 3.20a). In fact 2.16d is just stating the *negative* side (how justification does *not* happen)[36] of what Paul had just said on the *positive* side in 2.16c (how justification *does* happen).[37] If *initial* justification is possible only through believing response to the faith of Christ, and not by works of law, the same principle should also apply to the outworking of justification and *final* justification consistently.[38] In this manner, ἐξ ἔργων νόμου is added, and Ps 143.2 is applied to the present context. If the psalmist is powerless and hopeless, crying out to God for help and fully dependent on God's covenant faithfulness in the original context of Psalm 143, now Paul would say not even Jewish status or praxis or covenant markers would make any difference either.[39]

In sum: By alluding to Ps 143.2, Paul is able to appeal to the authority of Torah to support his assertion already stated in 2.16c. If justification is ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ, it can never be ἐξ ἔργων νόμου. Covenant membership does *not* depend on ἔργα νόμου, the traditional Jewish identity-confirming and boundary-defining markers. And by changing πᾶς ζῶν to πᾶσα σάρξ, Paul is able to echo the idea of human powerlessness and total dependence on God, and also to hint polemically at the various meanings of σάρξ at the same time. In this

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[36]In 2.16d, the οὐ...πᾶς construction is another Hebraism (equivalent to לא...כל), which has the same meaning as οὐδεις ('no one'; cf. Mark 13.20; par Matt 24.22). See BDF 302(1); BAGD, 'πᾶς, πᾶσα, πᾶν', 1.a.α (631); Moule, *Idiom*, p.182; Maloney, *Semitic Interference*, pp.137-39. The sense is abundantly clear and straightforward: '*no one* will be justified by works of law'. The negation οὐ which applies to the verb in fact qualifies the subject πᾶσα σάρξ ('all flesh will not' = 'nobody will'). It is therefore not proper to translate as 'all shall *not* be justified by works of law' which then suggests that *someone somehow* might be justified by other means! See also the criticism by Segal, *Paul*, pp.130-32 on the two salvation hypothesis associated with Stendahl, Gaston and Gager.

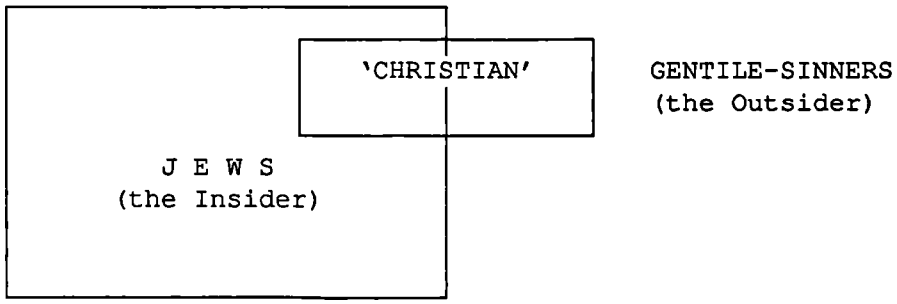
[37]In the words of 2.16c Paul has already made clear that traditional Jewish 'works of law' play no part and no role in justification. Contra Matera, *Gal*, p.94 the changes 'substantially alter[ing] the meaning of the original psalm verse'.

[38]Cf. Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, p.209.

[39]Cf. Dunn, 'Theology', *JPL*, p.254.

way, Paul would consider his clarification of the common Jewish Christian understanding of faith in 2.16a as final: covenant membership depends solely only on *faith* - the faith of Christ and the believing response to Christ (2.16bc).

Since Paul now considered the traditional Jewish covenant identity-confirming and boundary-defining markers **ἔργα νόμου** as wholly irrelevant and unnecessary, his perception of the Christian community and her relationship with the wider Jewish community can be illustrated roughly as below:[40]



[40]Since the Jewish **ἔργα νόμου** would not be observed in Paul's Christian community, one can imagine her relationship with the wider Jewish community could be very tense. Cf. W.A. Meeks, 'Breaking Away: Three New Testament Pictures of Christianity's Separation from the Jewish Communities', in *'To See Ourselves as Others See Us'*, pp.93-115: '*Theologically* it is correct to say that the scriptures and traditions of Judaism are a central and ineffaceable part of the Pauline Christians' identity. *Socially*, however, the Pauline groups were never a sect of Judaism' (p.106).

3.5. CONCLUDING REMARKS ON 2.15-16

In our opinion, the interpretation of 2.16 by Dunn in 'The New Perspective of Paul' commends itself to be as more plausible and as basically correct. The main problem with the view of Räisänen (among others) is not taking the adverbial participle **εἰδότες** at the beginning of 2.16a seriously enough. One should try to read the theological content of the **εἰδότες ὅτι**-clause as reflecting a common understanding of faith by early Jewish Christians rather than as Paul's own theological formulation as in 2.16c. We also find the general social and religious setting of Judaisms in the first century, especially Jewish sectarianism, helpful in clarifying certain problems, in particular the covenantal framework of 2.15 and the meaning of **ἐὰν μή** together with the disputed **δέ** in 2.16a. The sentence structure of 2.15-16 (emphasis added) can thus be seen as below:

ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί·
  εἰδότες [δὲ] ὅτι οὐ δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου
    ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπιστεύσαμεν,
  ἵνα δικαιωθῶμεν ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ
    καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου,
  ὅτι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σάρξ.

From the above exegetical analysis of the 'agreement' between Paul and Jewish Christians, we would like to highlight a few findings. (1) According to the Jewish Christian understanding of faith, the **εἰδότες ὅτι**-clause in 2.16a, covenant membership could be defined by *both* **ἔργα νόμου** (traditional Jewish covenantal identity-confirming and boundary-defining markers) *and* **πίστις Χριστοῦ** (faith *of* Christ; subjective genitive). This interpretation is much more probable, since early Jewish Christians most probably did not leave Judaism or cease to be observant Jews when they believed in the *Jewish Messiah* Jesus. Furthermore, Jewish Christianity more likely remained a Jewish messianic sect within the wider Judaisms.

(2) In the midst of his argumentation, Paul still stands firmly within the Jewish covenantal framework and the 'common' understanding of faith as in 2.15-16a. But Paul seems not afraid to draw quite

radical conclusions in redefining the relationship between ἔργα νόμου and πίστις Χριστοῦ as in 2.16cd. The ambiguity of 2.16a is clarified and sharpened in 2.16c: δικαιωθῶμεν ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου; the rejection of ἔργα νόμου is made even more abundantly clear in the scriptural allusion to Ps 143.2 at 2.16d. In the argumentation, Paul draws on the religious experience of Jewish Christians (2.16b) to highlight the importance and primacy of *faith*. At this juncture we are not told explicitly why ἔργα νόμου are rejected, except that the Jewish 'works of law' would by definition have excluded Gentiles from the people of God and undermined the equal status of Gentile believers in the mixed Christian community. The 'Christological' rejection of ἔργα νόμου seems to come back only later in 3.10-14, another problematic passage.[1]

(3) According to Paul the apostle to the Gentiles, covenant membership for Christian community is defined *only* by πίστις Χριστοῦ and *not* by Jewish race, with its badges of circumcision, dietary laws, Sabbath observance and all attempts to keep the Torah (see further 2.19a, died to Law). ἔργα νόμου and πίστις Χριστοῦ cannot co-exist as valid covenant markers for a mixed Christian community. In the event Paul defines covenant membership, whether entry or remaining, getting in or staying in, as dependent only on *faith*: the faith of Christ and the human response of believing in Christ. The aspect of faith is taken up again in 2.20b, when Christian existence 'ἐν σαρκί' is defined as living 'ἐν πίστει' with focus on Christ, the Son of God, as 'the one who loved me and gave himself for me' (see §6.4. below).

(4) With respect to the crisis at Antioch, Paul would now insist that non-observance or negligence of Jewish food laws does not really matter. According to Paul's perception of justification by faith and Christian community, covenant membership depends only on πίστις

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[1] In response to Martyn's complaint that if the main subject in Galatians is about the Law, why does Paul keep them waiting (until 2.16?) and whether Paul's argumentation is a redefinition of covenantal nomism (cf. 'Events', pp.163-66, 179), we maintain that it is Paul's rhetorical strategy to highlight the dominance of Christ in chapter 1 and to persuade the Galatians to come to his side through the *narratio* before he takes on the issue of ἔργα νόμου directly. With 'Christ' as the established basis (cf. 1.4), it makes Paul's further redefinition of modified covenantal nomism to focus solely on πίστις Χριστοῦ much easier at 2.16c.

Χριστοῦ, and not on ἔργα νόμου. Thus there is no theological ground for Peter to compel Gentile believers to judaize, nor is there any necessity for Jewish Christians to live Ἰουδαϊκῶς, or for Gentile Christians to adopt Jewish lifestyle. As for the situation in the Galatian churches, there is no theological basis, whatsoever, for the Jewish Christian opponents to require Jewish identity and lifestyle, circumcision and other Jewish observances of Gentile believers. Justification by God depends only on πίστις Χριστοῦ and human response in believing; ἔργα νόμου has absolutely no part in one's covenantal relationship with God. The social implication of 'justification by faith' is that Gentile Christians could socially join the Christian Church without giving up ethnic and cultural identity. The way to maintain Christian unity and to secure equal status of believers of various ethnic origins in a mixed community is not by denying one's ethnic identity nor by promoting the identity of a 'third race', but by having a clear focus on Christ and faith (see again §3.3.5. on ἄνθρωπος, and Chapter Six on 2.19-20).

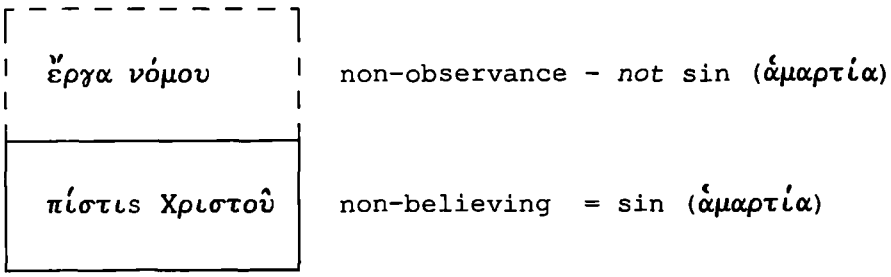
(5) With the interpretation of ἐὰν μή in the exceptive sense and as qualifying the whole preceding clause at 2.16a, from the perspective of some Jewish Christians covenantal relationship with God is defined by both ἔργα νόμου and πίστις Χριστοῦ. Thus we can infer that, in their understanding, covenantal nomism includes both ἔργα νόμου and πίστις Χριστοῦ, and thus all Jews were expected to believe in Messiah Jesus and to abide by 'the works of law' (see diagram A).

ἔργα νόμου	non-observance = sin (ἁμαρτία)
πίστις Χριστοῦ	non-believing = sin (ἁμαρτία)

(A) Modified Covenantal Nomism according to 2.16a

According to this modified Jewish Christian understanding of covenantal nomism, negligence or non-observance of ἔργα νόμου, whether it is circumcision, food laws, or Sabbath observance, would be condemned as *sin* (ἁμαρτία) by the community. But for Paul (cf.

2.16cd), the covenant boundary has been further redefined in such a way that ἔργα νόμου are excluded and πίστις Χριστοῦ has become the *only* boundary marker for all believers (see diagram B). The only crucial and decisive factor for one's covenantal relationship with God is πίστις Χριστοῦ; non-observance or negligence of ἔργα νόμου does not really matter.



(B) Covenantal Nomism redefined by Paul according to 2.16bcd

Thus covenantal nomism, in Paul's view, consists only of πίστις Χριστοῦ; Jewish ἔργα νόμου are excluded. But it does appear that the Torah tradition is more on the side of Jewish Christians (cf. 2.16a), and possibly this is one of the reasons why Peter could be swayed to withdraw from mixed table-fellowship with Gentile believers at Antioch. However, for Paul the conception of *sin* is redefined in the light of his new perspective on πίστις Χριστοῦ as the *only* covenant boundary marker. Consequently, the traditional Jewish conception of sin, defined largely by Torah and interpretations of Torah, has to be considered unsuitable for the mixed Christian community.[2]

According to Paul's argumentation, the understanding of 'justification by faith' in 2.15-16 forms the 'common' basis for his tackling the 'disagreement' with his Jewish Christian dialogue partners in 2.17. With the above clarifications on Paul's assertion, we shall attempt to understand the logic of Paul's μὴ γένοιτο in 2.17.

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[2]Cf. Barclay, *Obeying*, pp.82-83: 'The Antioch dispute begins with the eminently practical issue of eating-habits and...a central aspect of the debate is the definition of "sin" and whether behaviour which ignores the law is always and at all costs to be avoided. Paul's conclusion sketches the outline of a new way of life, not based on law but shaped by Christ and conducted "in faith"'.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE QUESTION AND NEGATION (GAL 2.17)

4.1. INTRODUCTION

The argument of 2.17 is very complex and has been variously interpreted.[1] The δέ dialectically carries on the discussion from 2.15-16, the 'common ground' between Paul and other Jewish Christians in the understanding of justification.[2] The statement of 2.17 itself consists of two premises (both are governed by the conditional particle εἰ 'if')[3] and a conclusion: (1) 'we are seeking to be justified in Christ' (2.17a); (2) 'we were found sinners' (2.17b); (3) therefore, 'Christ is a minister of sin' (2.17c).[4] The conditional sentence (in the form of a question)[5] is followed by a strong rejection μὴ γένοιτο (2.17d). Some of the key questions are summarized very well by Betz as follows:[6]

Is the entire sentence a question or a factual statement,

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[1]For various positions taken by scholars in the past, see Burton, *Gal*, pp.127-30; Lambrecht, 'Line', pp.484-89; cf. §4.2; for various views on 2.18, see §5.2. below.

[2]The assertion by Schmithals, 'Judaisten', pp.40-41 that 2.17-20 as a whole is a digression ('Indessen bringt V.17 zunächst eine Digression', p.38) and so 2.15-16 is only joined back at 2.21 is in danger of removing the argument of 2.17(-21) from the 'gospel' defined by Paul at 2.15-16.

[3]On conditional sentences, see BDF §371.

[4]Cf. Burton, *Gal*, p.127; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.89.

[5]Most exegetes take 2.17 as a question although a few demur, in particular Bultmann, 'Zur Auslegung', p.395; C.F.D. Moule, 'A Note on Gal 2.17, 18', *ExpT* 56 (1944-45), p.223; *Idiom*, p.196; Borse, *Gal*, pp.114-15. Most English translations render 2.17 as a question, probably with the exception of NJB. See §4.3. on Paul's pattern of argumentation, and §4.6.1. on ἆρα.

[6]Betz, *Gal*, p.119; cf. Longenecker, *Gal*, p.89.

answered by the **μὴ γένοιτο** ('by no means')? Is the first conditional clause an *irrealis* or a *realis*? In what sense can Christ be understood as 'a servant of sin'? Does v.17 contain a charge made by opponents, which Paul takes up and disproves?

Scholarly opinion is divided into two camps. (1) The *irrealis* view regards 2.17b as an incorrect proposition and reads **μὴ γένοιτο** as applying to both the premise and its inference, i.e. 2.17bc in the form of a *reductio ad absurdum*. The emphasis is on *how* 'we' become **ἁμαρτωλοί**. So the main questions are: In what sense does the '**ζητοῦντες δικαιωθῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ**' of 2.17a contribute to their being found 'sinners', and how does that *absurd* premise (2.17b) in turn lead them *logically* to sin (**ἁμαρτία** of 2.17c).

(2) In the *realis* view the objection **μὴ γένοιτο** applies only to the illogical inferential question ('**ἆρα Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας διάκονος**'; 2.17c), and both 2.17a,b are regarded as correct propositions. The emphasis is on *how* the correct premises in the protasis (2.17ab) lead to the wrong conclusion (2.17c): In what sense does 'Christ' promote 'sin'?

Since most exegetes read '**ζητοῦντες δικαιωθῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ**' (2.17a) as synonymous to 'believing in Christ' as stated in 2.16, few question the correctness of the first premise.[7] Scholars have rather concentrated on the difficulties regarding the meaning of the preposition **ἐν** (whether it is locative or instrumental),[8] why the infinitive **δικαιωθῆναι** ('being justified') is aorist,[9] what is the function of the present participle **ζητοῦντες** ('seeking') in relation to the verb **εὑρέθημεν** ('we were found') in 2.17b,[10] and why are 'we' still 'seeking' (**ζητοῦντες**).[11]

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[7]So Burton, *Gal*, p.127; Betz, *Gal*, p.119; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.89. M.L. Soards, 'Seeking (*zetein*) and Sinning (*hamartolos* & *hamartia*) According to Galatians 2.17', in *Apocalyptic and the New Testament: Essays in Honor of J.L. Martyn* (edited by J. Marcus and M.L. Soards; JSNTS 24; Sheffield: JSOT, 1989), pp.237-54 is the only exception I have found who questions premise (1). See §4.4.1.

[8]Cf. A. Oepke, '**ἐν**', *TDNT* 2:537-43, esp. pp.541-42; Burton, *Gal*, p.124; Bonnard, *Gal*, p.54; Fitzmyer, 'Pauline Theology', 82:121; Fung, *Gal*, p.119; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.89. See §4.4.3. below.

[9]Cf. Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, pp.207-208; Suhl, 'Galaterbrief', p.3106; Wechsler, *Geschichtsbild*, p.382.

[10]Cf. Schmithals, *Paul*, pp.74-75.

[11]Cf. Betz, *Gal*, p.119 n59; Guthrie, *Gal*, p.91.

With regard to 2.17b, Burton identifies two crucial problems: What is the sense of ἁμαρτωλοί? Is the proposition admitted or denied?[12] Or as Lambrecht puts it: 'What kind of sin does Paul have in mind, pre-conversional sin or post-conversional transgression, basic sinfulness or only non-observance of the food laws?'[13]

As for 2.17c, most would agree that the meaning of ἁμαρτία refers to sin in the strict and proper (radical) sense, the usual Pauline usage,[14] but disagree on how the argument flows from 2.17b to 2.17c.[15]

In §4.2. below we shall begin by briefly summarizing two major views current among scholars: the *realis* view and the *irrealis* view. Since scholars of both persuasions have wrestled with the meaning of ἁμαρτωλοί, we will observe this distinction also in our selective survey below under four broad categories.[16] Then in §4.3. we shall concentrate on the rhetorical usage of μὴ γένοιτο in Paul to see if there is any common structure or general pattern involved in the argumentation. We hope this study on μὴ γένοιτο will help to resolve, partly at least, the controversial question of whether 2.17b is a *realis* or an *irrealis*, and also contribute to determining the

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[12]Burton, *Gal*, p.127.

[13]Lambrecht, 'Once Again', pp.151-52. Lambrecht, 'Line', pp.490-91 insists that both ἁμαρτωλός and ἁμαρτία are 'sin in the most radical sense (also Böttger, 'Paulus', p.91). On the other hand, Burton, *Gal*, pp.125-26 argues that ἁμαρτωλοί is used in the relative Torah sense, 'violators of law', while ἁμαρτίας changes to its proper sense, 'conduct which is not in accordance with true righteousnesss' (also Räisänen, *Paul*, p.76 n173).

[14]So Burton, *Gal*, p.127; Oepke, *Gal*, p.93: 'dies letztere [ἁμαρτίας] ist sich im sittlichen Vollsinn zu verstehen'. Bruce, *Gal*, p.141 seems to differ.

[15]This question of logic appears not so difficult for the *irrealis* view because after all the false conclusion of 2.17c is based on the false premise of 2.17b. But the question is more important for the *realis* view: it has to establish how the false conclusion of 2.17c could derive from the correct premises in 2.17ab. For different ways, see §4.2.2. below.

[16]In our survey of different views below we do not intend to be exhaustive. Other than those discussed below, for earlier commentators who take the *irrealis* view, see the list in Burton, *Gal*, p.127; include also B.F. Westcott, H.W. Beyer, P. Bonnard, and most of the ancient commentators.

function of the two γάρ's at the beginning of 2.18 and 2.19-20.[17] In the next three sections we shall then concentrate on the meaning of 2.17a, 2.17b and 2.17c in turn. Throughout the discussion, we insist, the crisis of table-fellowship between Jewish and Gentile Christians at Antioch (2.11-14) plays an important part in Paul's argumentation.[18]

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[17]We have here in mind Lambrecht's argument for a *caesura* or break at the end of 2.17, thus removing 2.18-21 from 2.15-17 (see §1.4.4). Cf. W.F. Arndt, 'On Gal. 2.17-19', *CTM* 27 (1956), pp.128-32, here p.128: 'the line of thought in these three verses of Galatians is difficult to determine...The words, taken by themselves, are simple enough. It is the relation of the various statements to one another and the question what Paul is pointing to in v.18 that compel us to do some special searching'.

[18]See again our epistolary-rhetorical observations in §2.1. *Contra* the assertions by Kümmel, 'Individualgeschichte', p.164: 'Für das Verständnis des schwierigen Verses 17 muß davon ausgegangen werden, daß Paulus sich in 2.15ff nicht mehr mit dem Verhalten des Petrus in Antiochien auseinandersetzt'; A. Suhl, 'Die Galater und der Geist. Kritische Erwägungen zur Situation in Galatien', in *Jesu Rede von Gott und ihre Nachgeschichte im frühen Christentum. FS W. Marxsen* (edited by D.A. Koch, G. Sellin and A. Lindemann; Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1989), pp.267-96, here p.282: 'Gal 2.17 läßt sich nun aber schwerlich noch aus der Situation in Antiochien verstehen, hier schiebt sich vielmehr der gegenwärtige Konflikt in Galatien vollends in den Vordergrund'.

4.2. DIFFERENT VIEWS ON 2.17

In view of the immense controversy over the interpretation of 2.17, it is necessary and only fair for us to present the different views and suggestions before we proceed with our detailed analysis of the verse. The exercise below serves to highlight the crucial exegetical questions yet to be resolved, and to dismiss certain readings which are judged less likely or improbable.

4.2.1. Some *Irrealis* Interpretations:

4.2.1.1. ἁμαρτωλοί in relation to the act of conversion -

Some argue that in the act of conversion, Jewish Christians are required to abandon the Law as a means of salvation in order to believe in Jesus Christ, and so have become sinners. Since to be justified is to give up the law as the means of salvation, and it is Christ who causes them to neglect the law, Christ becomes responsible ('minister of sin'). So argues C.J. Ellicott:[1]

> The argument is in fact a *reductio ad absurdum*: if seeking for justification in Christ is not only to lead us to be accounted sinners, - not merely as being without law and in the position of Gentiles, but as having wilfully neglected an appointed means of salvation, - then Christ, who was the cause of our neglecting it, must needs be, not only negatively but positively, a minister of sin.

Similarly, Bligh insists that Paul is *not* dealing with table-fellowship in 2.17. He argues that in the eyes of the unconverted Jews, the Jewish Christians have become sinners in the process of their *conversion* to Christ: 'In order to turn to Christ and seek justification from him, they had to turn their backs on the law - *interiorly*, by acknowledging that the law could not give justification'.[2]

But some argue that the absurdity of 2.17b is found rather in

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[1]C.J. Ellicott, *St Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (3rd edition; London: Longman, 1863), pp.40-41.

[2]Bligh, *Gal*, p.199. Cf. 'St Paul is talking to Jews many of whom have so far avoided social contact with Gentile Christians. ...St Paul is not directly concerned in v.17 with the problem of table-fellowship with Gentiles. He is trying to correct the attitude of the Jewish Christians to the law in their own spiritual lives' (pp.199-200). But as we can see from 2.12, Peter was eating with Gentile Christians.

the *actual attempt* to seek justification in Christ. In this case the circumstantial (adverbial) participle **ζητοῦντες** is rendered as causal ('why') and the infinitive **δικαιωθῆναι** as the 'getting in' conversion act. So argues Schmithals, following Bultmann and Althaus, that the premise is wrong because 'the actual attempt to become justified through Christ' cannot be regarded as sin.[3] Since **μὴ γένοιτο** always follows a question as elsewhere in Paul, Schmithals argues that both premise and conclusion are totally wrong perceptions rejected by Paul straight away.[4]

But this line of interpretation seems to suggest that Paul's opponents at Antioch or in Galatia are *non-Christian* Jews who do not share the same faith in Messiah Jesus as in 2.16.[5] According to 2.15-16, the 'we' refers to Jews who also believed in Christ Jesus (2.16b), and it is therefore almost impossible that Jewish *Christians* would identify 'seeking justification in Christ' as sin. And if there is any such attack on the gospel, they too would have joined hands with Paul to counter the accusation.

According to Böttger, the sense of **ἁμαρτωλοί** refers to sin in the absolute sense.[6] 2.17b is considered false because, Böttger argues, in the act of conversion, i.e. to be **ἐν Χριστῷ**, one can no longer be **ὑπὸ νόμον**, which is responsible for sin: 'Die Rechtfertigung durch den Glauben muß also eine Befreiung von der Macht des nomos sein'.[7] Therefore, with reference to 2.20a, **ζῇ δὲ ἐν**

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[3]Schmithals, *Paul*, p.75; cf. Bultmann, 'Zur Auslegung', p.396; H.W. Beyer and P. Althaus, *Der Brief an die Galater* (NTD 8; Göttingen: V&R, 1965), p.20; followed Cosgrove, *Cross*, pp.137-38.

[4]Schmithals, *Paul*, p.75. On two points he, however, differs with Bultmann: (1) 2.17 should be read as a question, and not a statement; (2) the key to interpreting is the dispute concerning Peter, as in the context of 2.11-16, and not 2.20-21.

[5]See §2.3.3; Paul's opponents in Galatia were Jewish Christians.

[6]Böttger, 'Paulus', p.91: 'Zweierlei steht für Paulus außerhalb jeder Diskussion: 1. daß der **ἐξ ἔργων νόμου** Seiende (3.10) ins Sündigen geführt wirt (Gal 3.19a, 22; 1 Kor 15.56), bzw. unter dem Fluch steht, Gal 3.10. 2. daß der durch Christus Gerechtfertigte in keinem Fall Sünder ist, 2 Kor 5.21'.

[7]Böttger, 'Paulus', p.91; the Law is seen as a power drawing people into sin (referring to 2.18; interpreting **ταῦτα** as the Law). 'Die Instanz, die zu Sündern erklärt, ist nicht etwa eine Gruppe jüdischer oder judaistischer Gegner, die Menschen außerhalb des nomos nur als **ἁμαρτωλοί** ansehen können, sondern, wie Vers 18 sogleich bestätigen

ἐμοὶ Χριστός, Böttger argues that the inference that 'Christ is an accomplice of sin' is totally blasphemous; one cannot hold to the powerfield of κύριος and ὑπὸ νόμον simultaneously.[8]

Another interesting alternative is argued by Betz: While Paul and the Jewish Christians agree on the doctrine of justification by faith for Jewish Christians at 2.15-16 (the point of argreement), they disagree on its implication for *Gentile Christians* in 2.17 (the point of disagreement).[9] 'αὐτοί ("they themselves") does not refer to v.15, but to those who seek to be justified in Christ' (p.120 n61). And so there is a 'break' in thought between 2.15-16 and 2.17. Betz goes on to argue that the premise of 2.17b is wrong because *Gentile Christians* who are seeking *justification* in Christ (2.17a) just like the Jewish Christians according to the principle of faith in 2.16 cannot be regarded as still 'sinners', i.e. those living outside of the realm of God's salvation.[10]

> If Jewish Christians are not 'sinners from the Gentiles', which of course they are not, the *same* must be true of the Gentile Christians because they, in the *same* way, are 'seeking to be justified "in Christ"'. The fact that one is a Jew or a Gentile is irrelevant, if salvation comes through faith in Christ.

With this rendering of 2.17b, the second premise is found wrong, and so the concluding question of 2.17c must be false too. Betz also conjectures that Paul might have adopted a slogan from his opponents in 2.17c.[11]

On the whole Betz seems to be quite right in identifying 2.15-16 as the common ground between the Jewish Christians and Paul (though with some modifications by Paul), and 2.17 as the disagreement. But we have serious doubts that Paul has already shifted from his discussion of the experience of Jewish Christians to Gentile Christians here at 2.17. It is more likely that the real shift appears at 3.1.[12] Secondly, we are not convinced that the crucial

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wird, - ungleich gefährlicher! - das Gesetz selbst' (pp.91-92). On this view of ταῦτα as the Law, see our criticism at §5.3.1.

[8]Böttger, 'Paulus', pp.91-92.

[9]Betz, *Gal*, p.119.

[10]Betz, *Gal*, p.120 (*italics* mine).

[11]See Betz, *Gal*, p.120.

[12]See §2.1.2. On the 'we' of εὑρέθημεν as Jewish Christians, as

question in Galatians is about the doctrine of justification, how to 'get in'. But as we have seen, the main problem or the real issue at Antioch is more about appropriate behaviour patterns, how to continue 'staying in'.[13]

4.2.1.2. ἁμαρτωλοί with regard to post-conversional acts -

On the other hand, some scholars insist quite rightly that the meaning of 2.17, and ἁμαρτωλοί in particular, should be interpreted in the light of mixed table-fellowship between Jewish and Gentile Christians in the Antioch Incident.[14] For example, Mussner forcefully argues that when Jewish Christians were eating with Gentile Christians at Antioch, they did not observe the Law because they believed that 'die Rechtfertigung allein in Christus zu suchen ist'.[15] On the basis of faith, they regarded the Jewish rituals as adiaphora and had given up 'das gesetzliche Leben' in their table-fellowship with Gentile Christians. But then they withdrew from fellowship thinking that they had been sinful in living ἐθνικῶς. The consequence of their turning back is: 'durch ihr Streben (ζητοῦντες) die Rechtfertigung in Christus (und nicht mehr in den Werken des Gesetzes) zu suchen, sind sie dadurch "auch selbst" ἁμαρτωλοί geworden (sc. wie die gesetzlosen Heiden)'.[16] But this cannot be true because justification is found *only* in Christ, and so an absurd question is posed at 2.17c which is rejected by μὴ γένοιτο.[17]

Kieffer argues similarly. Before the conflict at Antioch, Jewish Christians were eating freely with Gentile Christians because they believed that justification comes through Christ *exclusively* and not

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indicated by the same 'we' (ἡμεῖς) of 2.15-16, see §4.5.1. below. See also the criticism by Kieffer, *Foi*, p.56 n73.

[13]See §2.2. If the idea of sin is still defined by Torah and/or its interpretation, any non-observance would be condemned as sinful; Jewish Christians would by all means avoid table-fellowship with Gentile Christians. It becomes vital for Paul to define a new ground of existence in Christ and faith (2.19-20), which is no longer dominated by the question of ἐθνικῶς or Ἰουδαϊκῶς (cf. 2.14b).

[14]So Kieffer, *Foi*, p.55; Hansen, *Abraham*, p.100 (contra Betz).

[15]Mussner, *Gal*, p.176.

[16]Mussner, *Gal*, p.176, cf. n41.

[17]See Mussner, *Gal*, pp.176-77 n45 against Bultmann.

by works of the law (cf. 2.15-16).[18] But when they reintroduced the 'prescriptions légales' as indicated in 2.18, some Jewish Christians thought they had become 'sinners' like the Gentiles when they ate freely with Gentile Christians; but Paul denies it (p.55). For Paul, it is impossible for one who seeks justification in Christ to remain a 'sinner' except in that one is misled by the erroneous conscience (conscience erronée; pp.58-59). The expression 'being found sinners' is equivalent to 'la conscience d'avoir péché', and since this is a false perception, the second premise of 2.17b must be unreal.[19] The fear and inconsistency of Jewish Christians imply also their insufficiency in the faith of Christ (2.21), such that humankind has to be justified by both faith and law.[20]

In like manner, Hansen (following Fletcher) argues that there are two very different perspectives involved in the argument of 2.17.[21] In terms of the Law, *Jewish Christians* who ate with Gentiles and disregarded certain statutes of the law are regarded by Paul's opponents as 'sinners' (= those outside the covenant): having table-fellowship with Gentile Christians is judged sinful. But this perspective is not acceptable to Paul in terms of the 'truth of the gospel': 'by the standard of the gospel, table-fellowship of Jewish Christians with Gentile Christians was not sinful' (p.105). Thus the conclusion of the opponents (2.17c) is wrong, because what they judge to be sinful (eating with Gentiles) is not really sinful.

This view recommends itself on several points. In particular, it is quite right to insist that the interpretation of ἁμαρτωλοί should be in close connection to the problem of table-fellowship at Antioch;

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[18]Kieffer, *Foi*, p.55.

[19]Kieffer, Foi, p.55 (citation from p.59); cf. 'Ma conscience fausse interprète ma situation actuelle comme inacceptable devant Dieu' (p.59).

[20]Kieffer, *Foi*, p.59. 'Une interprétation cohérente de notre passage ne permet donc pas de voir au v.17 une proposition conditionnelle réelle ni de distinguer entre péché et transgression. La formule μὴ γένοιτο récuse avec véhémence deux hypothèses irréelles, que Paul, selon son procédé rhétorique habituel construit, pour montrer l'impasse à laquelle aboutissent les thèses de ses adversaires. Paul sait pertinemment qu'il n'a pas péché en cherchant à être justifié en Christ et qu'en conséquence, le Christ n'est pas ministre du péché' (pp.59-60).

[21]Hansen, *Abraham*, pp.104-106; cf. Fletcher, *Singular*, p.256.

the identity of 'we' refers to Jewish Christians; focal attention is on the *conduct* (behaviour pattern) of Jewish Christians which is questioned basically from the perspective of the Law, but Paul argues from a different perspective, 'the standard of the gospel'.[22] But there is one major problem: Is it Paul's usual rhetorical pattern to reject both the premise/s and the conclusion with μὴ γένοιτο?[23] On the other hand, is it necessary to equate the sense of sin in the term ἁμαρτωλοί with that in ἁμαρτία in 2.17c, as Hansen seems to imply?[24]

According to Lietzmann, the problem could be approached from 2.19-20. He argues that *Jewish Christians* were considered 'sinners' only according to the standard of the Law. When Jews are converted to Christ they abandon the law and eat with Gentiles; they are thus regarded as ἁμαρτωλοί from the Jewish viewpoint.[25] Since it is Paul's 'Christ' who leads them to live as 'sinners', they want to hold 'Christ' responsible for breaking the law as in Matt 9.11 (p.16). But Paul denies any such accusation by arguing that Jewish Christians have died to the law and are now living a new life with Christ (2.19-20). The old basis stands no more: 'Die Sündigerklärung auf Grund des Gesetzes trifft mich nicht mehr'.[26]

An interesting but very problematic rendering of 2.17 has recently been argued by Hamerton-Kelly, based on the concept of

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[22]Though the Jewish Christians tend to perceive the problem of table-fellowship in terms of the *Law*, it does not mean that they did not think or claim to be acting by the standard of the *gospel*. See further §4.6.3. below.

[23]Apart from arguing against Bultmann that 2.17c should be read as a question (*Foi*, pp.53-54), we are not clear how Kieffer comes to the conclusion that by μὴ γένοιτο Paul rejects *both* the 'false' premise *and* the consequential false conclusion (pp.55, 59-60).

[24]For a different explanation, see §4.5.2. and §4.6.3. below.

[25]Lietzmann, *Gal*, pp.15-16.

[26]Lietzmann, *Gal*, p.16. It is right that Lietzmann refers to 2.19-20 on why Paul rejects the traditional Jewish viewpoint, because if we follow Paul's rhetorical pattern of μὴ γένοιτο, the γάρ at 2.19 would eventually lead us to the reason why Paul rejects the *false conclusion* of 2.17c (see §4.3. below). The Christian existence should be perceived from a new perspective, the perspective of Christ, and not the law. If judged according to the law, they are 'sinners'; but it is not so according to the gospel. Once again Lietzmann's rendering has to be modified slightly when we take into consideration Paul's μὴ γένοιτο pattern, i.e. the negation applies only to the *false* conclusion and not the premises.

'sacred violence', a theory of religion proposed by R. Girard.[27] He insists that Dunn's 'social function of the law' has not gone far enough to grasp 'the full significance of the death of Christ for Paul's attitude to the law'; he contends that

> To anticipate, the exclusionism of the Jewish way of life is not merely a misuse of the law...but is an expression of the violence endemic in 'nomistic service' as a representative of all religious systems, that was revealed in this case by the fact that *the Jewish system killed Christ*.[28]

And so he insists that by **ἔργα νόμου** Paul intends 'the Jewish way of life described in 2.14 by the word **ἰουδαϊκῶς**, characterized by exclusiveness and epitomized by the murder of Christ and the persecution of his followers'.[29] Therefore, by 'works of law', it refers to the Jewish way of life, which is then a 'system of sacred violence'.[30]

Secondly, Hamerton-Kelly argues that the *conversion* experience of Jewish Christians, and Paul in particular, is like an *exit out of* Judaism (and the Jewish way of life).[31] Thus he argues, Torah has to be abandoned *totally*,[32] and it should play absolutely no part at all in Christian living.[33] Therefore he contends that when Jewish (and

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[27]Major works on 'sacred violence' are listed in Hamerton-Kelly, 'Works', p.58 n12; explanation in 'Curse', pp.102-105, 116-17.

[28]Hamerton-Kelly, 'Works', pp.57-58 (*italics* mine).

[29]Hamerton-Kelly, 'Works', p.62. Its true nature is revealed in the killing of Christ; its distortion and deceit is being revealed by the Cross.

[30]See Hamerton-Kelly, 'Curse', pp.102, 104, 106-107.

[31]Hamerton-Kelly, 'Works', p.59 n15 commenting on Paul's experience as conversional: '"Conversion" is more accurate than "call" because Paul did understand himself to be leaving Judaism'. See also p.59 n16; 'Curse', pp.99-102.

[32]Hamerton-Kelly, 'Works', pp.62-63, insists that Paul's abandonment of the law is total (*contra* Sanders): Paul rejects the Mosaic law completely and replaces it with the 'law of Christ' (p.63, citing Hays). The rejection of the law is not just concerning 'getting in' but also 'staying in' (p.64); 'the law, as the instrument of sacred violence, was given only to contain trespasses for the time being (3.19); and not directly by God but through angels, because God is not a God of violence. Nevertheless, as an instrument of the surrogate victim mechanism it served its negative purpose in its time, holding society together until the truth could be made known...' ('Curse', pp. 116-17).

[33]Hamerton-Kelly, 'Works', pp.65-74 argues that according to Paul's

all) Christians are converted to Christ, they are called to live as 'Gentile sinners' and to consider this 'Gentile way of life' (living ἐθνικῶς) as not sinful at all, but as indeed 'Christ's way of life'.[34]

According to Hamerton-Kelly, the second premise 2.17b cannot be true because to adopt 'Christ's way of life' (i.e. to live as 'Gentile sinners') for Jewish Christians is part and parcel of their *conversion* from and out of Judaism. Therefore living as 'Gentile sinners' does not make Christ the servant of sin; on the contrary, to return to the Jewish way of life ('works of law') would make Christ a servant of sin.[35]

This strongly anti-Torah (and anti-Jewish) interpretation seems to be closer to Marcion than to Paul. According to Hamerton-Kelly, the Christ-faith is the stark alternative to Torah and has nothing to do with the whole of Jewish tradition; only *discontinuity* is emphasized. But this perception does not fit too well with Paul's argumentation in Galatians: Paul indeed takes pains to explain aspects of *continuity* by drawing attention to the promise of God to Abraham and the fullness of time in Christ.[36]

Secondly, though Paul censures the 'Jewish way of life', he does not approve a 'Gentile way of life' as the 'Christ's way of life' either. In our opinion, Hamerton-Kelly's perception of conversion for Paul and Jewish Christians as wholesale abandoning of the religious (biblical) tradition does not fit Paul's self-understanding (cf. 1.13-16). Lastly, we remain unconvinced by his reading 'works of law' as a 'system of sacred violence' (see §3.3.2.[5]).

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formulation of moral norms, there are seven features: (1) inclusiveness; (2) the law of Christ; (3) theological sanctions; (4) Christological sanctions; (5) Pneumatological sanctions; (6) traditional sanctions and apostolic authority; and (7) rational sanctions and personal responsibility; but Torah is *not* included.

[34]Hamerton-Kelly, 'Works', p.61 n19: 'The point is that we have been living as "Gentile sinners" because Christ wants us to live that way. Thus Christ's way of life is contrasted with the Jewish way'. See pp.60-62 for his dramatic paraphrase of 2.14-21.

[35]Hammerton-Kelly, 'Works', p.62.

[36]See Barclay, *Obeying*, pp.96-105 on the tension of *apocalyptic* discontinuity and *salvation historical* continuity in Paul's thought.

4.2.2. Some *Realis* Interpretations:

4.2.2.1. ἁμαρτωλοί in the context of conversion experience -

Many who read 2.17 in the context of conversion have argued that ἁμαρτωλοί refers to *pre*-conversion 'Gentile-*status*' sinfulness. When Jewish Christians are converted to Christ, they have abandoned faith in the Law as a 'means of salvation' and thus become identified with 'Gentile sinners', being reduced to the spiritual rank of Gentile 'sinners'. Being 'ἁμαρτωλοί' is meant in the relative sense: taking the (disadvantaged) position of 'Gentile sinners' (2.15). They insist that the idea of 'sinners' does not relate back to the Antioch incident; the aorist infinitive ζητοῦντες (2.17a) refers to the act of conversion.[37]

But it is less clear on this understanding how the *false* inference of 2.17c could derive from 2.17b.[38] Fung argues that 2.17c refers to the charge of antinomism: 'the conclusion does not follow that Christ thereby becomes an agent of sin (in the sense of a promoter of actual wrongdoing)'.[39] Fung (following Burton) argues that the meaning of 'sin' changes from the formal sense to the radical sense: Jewish Christians become 'sinners', but they do not 'sin'.[40]

According to Bruce, the emphasis is on the *total number* of sinners being increased as a consequence of conversion:[41]

> when law-abiding Jews like Peter and himself cease to look to the law as the basis of salvation of their justification before God and find that justification in Christ instead, they put themselves effectively on a level with 'sinners of the

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[37]For interpretations following roughly this pattern, see Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.117; Fung *Gal*, p.119; include also Zahn, *Gal*, p.127; Oepke, *Gal*, pp.91-93; Kümmel, 'Individualgeschichte', p.165; Lagrange, *Gal*, pp.49-50; Byrne, *Sons*, pp.144-45; Klein, 'Individualgeschichte', pp.191-92 (but insists that καὶ αὐτοί refers not to 2.15, but points back only to 2.16, a new group of people, p.190; see §4.5.1. below).

[38]Besides commenting on ἁμαρτίας διάκονος as 'direct contradiction in terms', Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.117 did not pursue the question further.

[39]Fung, *Gal*, p.120.

[40]Fung, *Gal*, p.120; citing 5.13-26 and Rom 6.1, 15 as the possible accusations that 'Paul's doctrine encourages sin'. On 5.13-26, Fung comments: 'More likely he (Paul) is taking issue with the false position that freedom from the law issues in moral license - a conclusion either mistakenly drawn by his own converts or, more probably (cf. on 2.17, 21; 5.6), wrongly considered by his opponents to be the consequence of his preaching' (p.243).

[41]Bruce, *Gal*, pp.140-41.

> Gentiles': they have, in that sense, 'been found sinners'... [but] in the argument of Paul's opponents, if law-abiding Jews had now to be reckoned as 'sinners', just like those who live without the law, then the number of sinners in the world was substantially increased, and so (as they understood Paul's position) Christ was made a servant or agent of sin.

But Paul disagrees on the inference because, Bruce explains, the law-free gospel of justification by faith did not make them sinners for the first time, they were already sinners (p.141, cf. Rom 3.23).

But we have serious doubts that this rendering (the *total number* of sinners increased in the world as a consequence of conversion) is the question that troubled the Galatian Christians. If it was a major concern, would we not expect to encounter the theme again in the letter?

Another strong defender for the *realis* view and ἁμαρτωλοί in the context of *pre*-conversion experience is Lambrecht. While maintaining that with μὴ γένοιτο Paul objects only to the wrong conclusion and 2.17c is definitely a question,[42] Lambrecht argues strongly that 2.17 and 2.18 belong to two *separate* units because the particle γάρ at 2.18 is *not* used in the usual causal sense but is rather equivalent to 'a slightly adversative' δέ.[43] In Lambrecht's opinion, Paul's argument with the rejection μὴ γένοιτο is not followed by 2.18; in fact he says: 'If we take γάρ of v.18 in the sense of "but", i.e. more or less as the equivalent of a δέ, introducing a new start, this gives us a greater latitude in the interpretation of the phrase παραβάτην ἐμαυτὸν συνιστάνω in v.18'.[44] Secondly, Lambrecht insists that there are two mutually exclusive views of 'sinners' present in the immediate context of 2.14 and 2.15:[45]

> First: through and since our becoming Christians we were found to be sinners because we started to live like the Gentiles (cf. v.14), not observing the Law, eating with the Gentiles: sinners because of post-conversional acts. Second: already before we

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[42]See Lambrecht, 'Line', pp.489-90; he is inclined to read the illative ἄρα here. He argues that the basis for considering the verse as a *realis* does not lie with the absence of an ἄν in the apodosis, but in 'the train of thought and, above all, a comparison with Paul's way of reasoning elsewhere' (p.490; 'Once Again', p.151).

[43]Lambrecht, 'Line', pp.491-93; 'Once Again', p.153. See the criticism in Kieffer, *Foi*, p.60; cf. Cranfield, *Rom*, 1:106-107.

[44]Lambrecht, 'Line', p.493.

[45]Lambrecht, 'Line', p.485.

believed in Jesus Christ we were sinners, just like the Gentiles (cf. v.15):-sinners because of pre-conversional acts.

Assuming that 2.15-17 is a separate unit (thus not related to 2.14 nor 2.18), Lambrecht argues that the meaning of ἁμαρτωλοί in 2.17b has the same meaning as in 2.15. 'ἁμαρτωλοί does not point to the sinful conduct of those who had become Christians, but rather refers back to that fundamental sinfulness which in v.15 is said to be characteristic of the Gentiles: we too, as Jews, before we believed in Christ, were sinners just like the Gentiles'.[46]

It does appear that Lambrecht understands ἁμαρτωλοί in the sense of radical *ethical sinfulness*.[47] So he argues, when Jewish Christians are converted to Christ they too become aware of their pre-conversional state of fundamental sinfulness and unredeemed situation, just as the sinful Gentiles who are in need of salvation.[48] They come to *realization* of their own radical sinfulness at conversion: the meaning of ἁμαρτωλοί does not refer to the rather formal and 'Torah' sense as in 2.14, but must refer to the radical sense, the same idea as ἁμαρτία in 2.17c.[49]

On 2.17c Lambrecht argues that the opponents accused Paul of

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[46]Lambrecht, 'Line', pp.490-91; cf. p.495. Though we agree with him on linking 2.17 to 2.15, we disagree sharply with his interpreting ἁμαρτωλοί in the ethical sense in 2.15 (see §3.2.3 above).

[47]Cf. Schlier, *Gal*, p.95: 'Das εἰ...εὑρέθημεν ist nicht ein Irrealis, sondern der Apostel fasst die tatsächliche Situation ins Auge: "wir", er und die Judenchristen, sind bei unserem Christwerden auch selbst - wie die Heiden - als "Sünder" "erfunden" worden. Das ist zuzugeben, denn das geht aus dem ζητεῖν δικαιωθῆναι hervor'. Though Schlier maintains that ἁμαρτωλοί refers back to 2.15, he surprisingly insists that 'aber versteht das "sündig sein" doch nicht mehr in dem relativen Sinn, den es dort hat, wo Paulus ein jüdisches Urteil aufnahm' (p.95 n6). Schlier considers 2.15 a 'Konzession'. According to Schlier, the charges seem to include 'Christ not able to justify' and 'Christ befriending the unrighteous and depriving the law' (pp.95-96).

[48]Lambrecht, 'Line', p.486 insists that 2.17a is linked to 2.16b.

[49]Lambrecht, 'Line', p.486 insists that the meaning of ἁμαρτία is undoubtedly in the 'deeper' radical sense, as in 5.13, Rom 3.7-8, 6.1, 15, and not in the 'rather formal, external sense' (cf. p.490 n23). In 'Once Again', p.152, he draws further attention to the comparison with Romans 1-3 where the emphasis of sin in the 'universal and radical' sense and similar false accusation against Paul is found. He insists also that there is no change of meaning between ἁμαρτωλοί and ἁμαρτία (p.151 n17 criticises Räisänen).

promoting sin: 'Paul's system leads to antinomism and immorality';[50] 'the question whether Christ promotes sin (v.17b) can be understood in the sense that we "will do evil so that good (= Christ's justification) may come" (Rom 3.8)'.[51]

But in our view, to insist that 2.15-17 forms a separate unit *not* related to the Antioch Incident can hardly be correct (see §2.1). In fact his concession that 'the broader context of 2.11-14 and 2.18 seems to suggest that the expression **Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας διάκονος** points to Christ as provoking and promoting non-observance of food laws (and thus "post-conversional" sin'[52] is more likely to be correct.

4.2.2.2. **ἁμαρτωλοί** with regard to *post*-conversional acts -

Some argue that the idea of 'sinners' in 2.17b refers to the post-conversional state of *ethical sinfulness* in Christian living: the 'sanctification' interpretation.[53] According to Longenecker, though Christians may still be found in sin (in the ethical sense) and fail to achieve the higher moral standard for living, it is not Christ's purpose to promote sin or further sin's interests: 'For while forensic righteousness and ethical righteousness are intrinsically part and parcel of one another, the latter, sadly, is not always worked out in life as it should be'.[54] But according to the judaizing opponents, (law-free) Christians need to live according to the Torah to check licentious living and to govern Christian living: Christ alone is not able to check libertinism; they need also to accept the Jewish nomistic lifestyle.[55] Thus Longenecker argues, though Paul agrees with the opponents' observation that 'Christians, though claiming a higher standard for living, yet sin' Paul disagrees

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[50]Lambrecht, 'Line', p.491.

[51]Lambrecht, 'Once Again', p.150. On the opponents' wrong logic, see 'Line', pp.487-88; cf. Wechsler, *Geschichtsbild*, p.383.

[52]Lambrecht, 'Once Again', p.152.

[53]This was argued by J. Wesley, *Explanatory Notes on the New Testament* [1754] (London: Epworth, 1977), p.685 and K. Wieseler (as discussed in Meyer, *Gal*, p.118; Burton, *Gal*, p.128).

[54]Longenecker, *Gal*, p.90.

[55]Longenecker, *Gal*, p.89; see also his analysis of two problems, Jewish nomism and Galatian libertinism, faced by Paul in Galatia (pp.xcvi-xcvii).

with them that 'Jewish nomistic lifestyle' would be the solution to libertinism, on the contrary, he argues for the role of the Holy Spirit as in 5.13-26 (p.90).

It is quite obvious that this 'sanctification' interpretation could stand only if the meaning of 2.17 is not related to its immediate context.[56] Secondly, we do not think it is possible to interpret ἁμαρτωλοί of 2.17b in the ethical sense, especially in connection with 2.15.[57]

Another way to understand the meaning of ἁμαρτωλοί in the *post*-conversional context is to relate it to *Torah-observance*. So argues A.T. Hanson:[58]

> If we trust in Christ and not in the Torah for justification, and then are found scrupulously adhering to the *Halakha* which forbids Jews and Gentiles to eat together, we are sinners. Sinners according to the Law, because we have rejected the Torah as a way of life in the past and are therefore condemned by it, having anyway broken the Halakha. But we are also sinners in Christ, because we show by our actions that we no longer trust in him, so we have fallen back into the realm of sin, wrath, and Law. But Christ cannot be blamed for this.

Thus the act of returning to law-observance is condemned as sinful in two senses: (1) according to the Law: the period of non-observance after conversion is condemned; (2) according to Christ and faith: the act of returning to law means no longer trusting in Christ. But Christ is not responsible for this our sin: 'Christ is not a διάκονος ἁμαρτίας but a δοῦλος ἀληθείας'.[59]

According to Hanson, it is assumed that Jewish Christians understood Torah and Christ as two opposing alternatives (*either-or*);

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[56]This is exactly what Longenecker, *Gal*, pp.c-cxix has tried to argue by epistolary and rhetorical analysis; following Betz, he regards 2.15-21 as the *propositio* (p.83). Cf. O'Neill, *Recovery*, p.43 who argues that 2.17 is a later scribal insertion because 'this is a general theological problem which the Church always has to face, but it is hard to see what direct relevance the treatment of the problem here could have had in the tense meeting between Paul and Cephas'.

[57]See also the criticisms in Burton, *Gal*, p.128; Cole, *Gal*, pp.121-22; Soards, 'Seeking', p.242.

[58]A.T. Hanson, *Studies in Paul's Technique and Theology* (London: SPCK, 1974), pp.28-29; followed by R. Yates, 'Saint Paul and the Law in Galatians', *ITQ* 51 (1985), pp.105-124, here p.108.

[59]Hansen, *Studies*, p.29. Comparison is also made with Rom 3.5-6 where God is being accused of being responsible for sin (p.28).

when they are converted to Christ, they have left Torah altogether and taken up a 'non-Jewish' lifestyle. But this may not be the case as reflected in the Antioch Incident (2.11-14), and probably not according to the tradition reflected in 2.16a.[60] According to the self-understanding of Jewish Christians, works of law and faith of Christ may be regarded as complementary aspects (*both-and*): taking the Torah seriously in daily living does not imply rejection of Christian faith.

Another better solution is expounded by Burton that the hermeneutical key to 2.17 is the *change of meaning* from ἁμαρτωλοί to ἁμαρτία: 'The whole speciousness of the objection which Paul is answering turns on the seeming identity, the real diversity, of the conceptions of sin implied in ἁμαρτωλοί and ἁμαρτίας respectively'.[61] The meaning of ἁμαρτωλοί in 2.17b refers to the *post*-conversional experience of Jewish Christians in the Torah-oriented sense: they were regarded by some others as 'sinners' for not observing the law scrupulously. But Paul argues that this is not really sin (ἁμαρτία) and so moves on to redefine Christian existence. Similarly, Räisänen argues:[62]

> Whereas ἁμαρτωλός takes up the same word in v15, ἁμαρτία in 17b has a different meaning. Paul admits that he has become a 'sinner' in a relative (Torah-oriented) sense (v17a), but denies that this makes Christ a servant of 'sin' in a pregnant sense. This means that those who, according to the norms laid down in the law, are 'sinners' nevertheless do not necessarily live in sin. That is, the law does not provide reliable criteria of sin.

This line of argument is also developed by Barclay:[63]

> The fact that Jews abandon the law for the sake of table-fellowship with Gentiles is 'sin' from a Jewish perspective but not for one who has died to the law; hence although Jewish Christians are technically 'sinners' in eating with Gentiles, it cannot be said that Christ has promoted sin in any absolute sense...Thus, part and parcel of his *redefinition* of Jewish-Christian identity is Paul's *redefinition* of appropriate patterns of behaviour. The Antioch dispute begins with the eminently practical issue of eating-habits and we have

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[60]See §2.2.2. on the nature of table-fellowship before the men from James arrived, and §3.3. on 2.16a.

[61]Burton, *Gal*, p.126; see esp. pp.124-27.

[62]Räisänen, *Paul*, p.76 n173; also 'Galatians', p.552 n55.

[63]Barclay, *Obeying*, pp.80-82 (*italics* mine).

seen that a central aspect of the debate is the *definition* of 'sin' and whether behaviour which ignores the law is always and at all costs to be avoided.

Summary Remarks: Among many other exegetical difficulties, three crucial questions do come out very sharply in the above survey. But as we have already clarified in §2.1. above, the Antioch Incident should provide the key to understanding 2.17. Thus interpretations which take 2.17 as referring to the 'conversion' experience of Jewish Christians (§4.2.1.1. and §4.2.2.1) are highly improbable. The question for us is, Does the first premise '**ζητοῦντες δικαιωθῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ**' (2.17a) agree with our observation that the meaning of **ἁμαρτωλοί** should be seen in the context of 'staying in'? The second vital question is, Does Paul's objection **μὴ γένοιτο** apply to both the false premise and the logical conclusion (i.e. 2.17bc), or to the illogical conclusion only (i.e. 2.17c)? The third question is, If 2.17c is the false inference, in what sense does 'Christ' promote 'sin'?

4.3. ON RECOGNISING THE PATTERN OF ΜΗ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ (2.17d)

In order to come to a better understanding of Paul's logic of argument at 2.17, whether he rejected both the false premise and the logical conclusion (2.17bc) or the illogical conclusion only (2.17c), it is necessary to pay some attention to the phrase **μὴ γένοιτο** at 2.17d. The expression **μὴ γένοιτο** appears fifteen times in NT, all but one (Luke 20.16) in Paul's letters. With the exception of 6.14,[1] each occurrence follows a *question* (2.17;[2] 3.21; Rom 3.4; 3.6; 3.31; 6.2; 6.15; 7.7; 7.13; 9.14; 11.1; 11.11; 1 Cor 6.15). On the usage of **μὴ γένοιτο** in Paul's argumentation, Lightfoot comments that it 'always negatives a false but plausible inference from premises taken for granted'.[3] Burton too has a similar observation:[4]

> When standing alone (it is otherwise only in 6.14) it invariably follows a rhetorical question and rejects the suggested thought as one which the previous premises, themselves accepted as true, do not justify; and usually...a conclusion which may be speciously but falsely deduced from his own previous statements.

A significant step forward in understanding **μὴ γένοιτο** was R. Bultmann's dissertation, *Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe* in 1910, in which he demonstrated that the phrase was typical of the diatribe.[5] Recently, however, some of Bultmann's conclusions have been challenged and refined especially by A.J. Malherbe, S.K. Stowers and Rhyne.[6]

It is generally agreed in this discussion that Epictetus provides a valuable comparison in usage with Paul.[7] When the uses of

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[1]See BAGD, '**γίνομαι**', I.3.a (158) for LXX examples.

[2]See §4.3.2.(1) below.

[3]Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.117.

[4]Burton, *Gal*, p.126.

[5](FRLANT 13; Göttingen: V&R, 1910; reprinted in 1984), esp. pp.66-68 on Paul. Scholars usually referred to his conclusions with regard to Paul's use of diatribe, e.g. Schlier, *Gal*, p.96 n3; Mussner, *Gal*, p.176 n44; Wilckens, *Rom*, 1:164 n435; Black, *Rom*, pp.14-15.

[6]A.J. Malherbe, 'ΜΗ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ in the Diatribe and Paul', *HTR* 73 (1980), pp.231-40; S.K. Stowers, *The Diatribe and Paul's Letter to the Romans* (SBLDS 57; Chico: Scholars, 1981); Rhyne, *Faith*, pp.32-59. A brief summary of Bultmann's dissertation is found in Stowers, *Diatribe*, pp.17-25, 123-24, 153-54, 177, 183.

[7]Cf. Malherbe, 'ΜΗ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ', p.232 n8; Stowers, *Diatribe*, p.229 n79;

μὴ γένοιτο in Paul (mainly in Romans) are compared, some common features become apparent. We suggest that some of these would in turn help us to understand the function of μὴ γένοιτο in 2.17, and also to determine the relation of 2.18 and 2.19-20 (the function of two γάρ's) to the argument of 2.17.[8]

4.3.1. Some Common Features of μὴ γένοιτο in Paul:

(1) The position of μὴ γένοιτο: it can stand either at the beginning of a new section or at the end. In Paul it is generally employed to begin a new stage in the argument (Rom 3.4, 6; 6.2, 15; 7.7, 13; 11.1, 11; 1 Cor 6.15). It is also likely that μὴ γένοιτο appears at the end of Rom 3.31 to strengthen an affirmation before moving on to Romans 4.[9] μὴ γένοιτο is a rhetorical device used by Paul to deny emphatically *false conclusions*[10] that could be drawn from

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see also Rhyne, *Faith*, pp.34-41. The translation by W.A. Oldfather, *Epictetus: The Discourses as Reported by Arrian* (LCL; 2 vols; Cambridge: Harvard, 1925) is used. Occurrences of μὴ γένοιτο are found in 1.1.13; 1.2.35; 1.5.10; 1.8.15; 1.10.7; 1.11.23; 1.12.10; 1.26.6; 1.28.19,24; 1.29.9; 2.8.2,26; 2.23.23; 3.1.42,44; 3.7.(3)4; 3.23.13,25; 4.7.26; 4.8.26; 4.11.33,36.

[8]This is also one of Oepke's contributions in describing the pattern of Paul's argumentation with μὴ γένοιτο: 'Der immer stark rhetorische Aufbau des Textes ist überall, wo sie vorkommt, ziemlich der gleiche: 1. paulinische Voraussetzung (Röm 3.3f und 3.5f mit εἰ aus dem Vorhergehenden aufgenommen), 2. daraus scheinbar logisch sich ergebende, sachlich jedoch abzulehnende dialektisch-gegnerische Folgerung (etwas anders nur I Kor 6.15) in Frageform, 3. Ablehnung der Folgerung, 4. präzisierte Gegenbehauptung oder, wenn mit γάρ angeknüpft (Röm 9.14f; 11.1; Gal 3.21), Begründung der Ablehnung' (*Gal*, p.92). But Oepke insists that 2.18 only explains the question of 2.17c, 'Die Begründung des μὴ γένοιτο erfolgt aber nich geradlinig [rectilinear]. Dieser Umstand hat dazu verführt, hier zunächst eine Erläuterung der in V.17b ausgesprochenen Frage, die Begründung ihrer Verneinung dagegen erst in VV.19f finden zu wollen' (p.93).

[9]Cf. Malherbe, 'ΜΗ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ', p.232; Stowers, *Diatribe*, p.148: 'Objections and false conclusions occur at the beginnings of major turns in the discourse or new sections of the argument'; Dunn, *Rom*, 1:190-91; Hays, 'Have', pp.83-88. A more detail discussion on Rom 3.27-4.25 is found in Stowers, *Diatribe*, pp.155-74; cf. Rhyne, *Faith*, pp.63-93.

[10]Cf. Stowers, *Diatribe*, p.119: 'Objections and false conclusions are closely related phenomena in the diatribe. An objection raises a problem, contradicts or takes exception to something in the author's line of argument. A false conclusion is indicated when the author himself or an interlocutor states a false inference deduced from the author's position. False conclusions are usually stated rhetorically

his theology. It is then followed by the 'teacher' correcting the error of 'student/s'.[11] It is usually introduced 'when the argument has reached a point where some important thesis, basic principle or claim is sharply stated and false inference might logically be drawn'.[12]

(2) The introduction of the interlocutor's objection: the objection can be introduced in various forms,[13] and the particle **οὖν** seems to be Paul's favourite (3.21; Rom 3.31; 7.13; [9.19]; 11.1; 11.11; 11.19; 1 Cor 6.15).[14] According to Malherbe, Paul's 'introductions always contain causal particles or have causal force, thus connecting the false conclusion to what precedes...In Paul it is always made clear grammatically that the objection is a false conclusion to what he has said'.[15]

(3) The objection itself: 'the objections in Epictetus and Paul are always in the form of rhetorical questions, which already points to their absurdity in both writers'.[16] The objections are absurdities;

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and usually imply an objection. Objections and false conclusions are often the same or very similar in form'; 'It is even more unique that so many of these objections are false conclusions. Paul uses false conclusions far more frequently in Romans than Epictetus does in any of his diatribe' (p.148).

[11]This *pedagogical* characteristic is emphasized strongly by Stowers: the intention is not polemical (*Diatribe*, p.153); it is 'going to school'! (p.77); it presupposes a student-teacher relationship (p.175); its function is to expose error and to lead him to a deeper understanding (pp.176-77). *Diatribe* is defined by Stowers as 'discourse and discussions in the school where the teacher employed the "Socratic" method of censure and protreptic. The goal of this part of the instruction was not simply to impart knowledge, but to transform the students, to point out error and to cure it' (p.76).

[12]Stowers, *Diatribe*, p.177; cf. pp.150-51; see further 'The Diatribe', in *GRLNT*, pp.71-83.

[13]The problem with Bultmann's analysis (*Stil*, p.10) according to Malherbe, 'ΜΗ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ', pp.232-33 is that he had limited the introductory formula too narrowly to **φησί** and **ἀλλ' ἐροῦσιν**. For other forms of introduction, see Stowers, *Diatribe*, pp.125-27.

[14]Besides **οὖν**, Paul has used other forms of introductions, such as: **τί οὖν;** (Rom 6.15 [3.9]), **τί ἐροῦμεν;** (Rom 3.5), **τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν** (Rom 6.1; 7.7; 9.14), **τί γάρ** (Rom 3.3) and **ἆρα** (2.17); see Stowers, *Diatribe*, pp.133-34, 149, 231 n106.

[15]Malherbe, 'ΜΗ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ', pp.234, 239.

[16]Malherbe, 'ΜΗ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ', p.235. Stowers, *Diatribe*, p.127: 'Both objections and false conclusions occur in the form of questions; but false conclusions are predominantly found as questions'; 'Paul

they do not represent possible alternative views for Paul. 'In pagan diatribe the objection is frequently simply a rhetorical form the speaker uses to give greater clarity and emphasis to his thought'.[17]

(4) The statement that follows **μὴ γένοιτο**: Malherbe argues that Paul always provides a *reason* for his rejection of the false conclusion.[18] It is important to note that the support of **μὴ γένοιτο** usually provides the theme (or key words) in the following discussion.[19] The supporting statements in Paul can be quotations or allusions to Scripture, *exempla* (himself; Abraham; 'ego'?), analogies and comparisons, or contrary assertions.[20]

(5) Towards a Pauline Pattern. Stowers observes that the

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prefers false conclusions with their typical form as *questions* rather than objections put forth as statements. An objection in the form of a statement occurs only in [Rom] 11.19 and 4.2. Objections stated as questions are found in [Rom] 3.1a & b, 9.19 and 4.1. False conclusions put forth as *questions* occur in [Rom] 3.3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 31; 6.1, 15; 7.7, 13; 9.14; 11.1, 11' (p.134; *italics* mine).

[17]Malherbe, **'ΜΗ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ'**, p.234; agreeing with Bultmann, *Stil*, pp.10-11. On this Stowers draws also our attention to the danger of 'mirror-reading' too much into the objection: 'The fictitious objector is often anonymous, colorless and almost without any identity' (*Diatribe*, p.129; cf. p.135). He even concludes that 'the imaginary interlocutor in the diatribe and Romans is not an opponent but a student or fellow discussion partner' (p.117; see pp.79-118 for his discussion on 'imaginary interlocutor'). See again our clarifications on 'mirror-reading' and Paul's opponents in the Galatian churches (§2.3. above).

[18]Malherbe, **'ΜΗ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ'**, p.239, cf. pp.235-37; see also Stowers, *Diatribe*, pp.153-54, 177. *Contra* Bultmann, *Stil*, pp.67-68, who concludes that Paul seldom answers objections, he simply slaps down the objection, suppresses the opposing viewpoint, and offers no intellectual solutions, only reaches his propositions through experience and intuition; Gaston, *Paul*, p.70: 'As often in Paul, such a false conclusion is simply vehemently denied and not argued'.

[19]Stowers, *Diatribe*, p.151; Malherbe, **'ΜΗ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ'**, pp.236-37: 'With the exception of Rom 3.31, which ends a section of an argument, and perhaps Gal 2.18(?), it is characteristic of Paul that the support of **μὴ γένοιτο** thus introduced provides the theme of the discussion that follows...The suppression of the opposing viewpoint is thus not quite as short or abrupt as one might be led to believe by Bultmann, and we should do well to stress the observation that a coherent statement follows **μὴ γένοιτο** in Paul'.

[20]See Malherbe, **'ΜΗ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ'**, p.236; Stowers, *Diatribe*, pp.136-37; Rhyne, *Faith*, p.58. It is more usual for Paul to quote from or allude to Scriptures to play this important part, e.g. Rom 3.4, [3.9-18, 4.3ff], 7.7, 9.15, [10.19], 11.2, 11.11; 1 Cor 6.16. For various pagan forms of reaction, see Stowers, *Diatribe*, pp.130-33.

structure includes the objection, rejection, reason of rejection and new developing themes: 'In Paul and the diatribe (especially Epictetus) the false conclusion is part of a larger form which includes an exclamation, the objection, a rejection and a reason or reasons for rejection'.[21] Similarly, Rhyne concludes that there is a *general pattern* in Paul's use of rhetorical questions: 'a basic pattern underlies Paul's use of questions negated by **μὴ γένοιτο**: assertion (of varying length), question based on a false inference from the previous assertion, negation and immediate clarification or grounding'.[22]

4.3.2. Observations on 2.17 as a Rhetorical Question:

When we compare 2.17 with other Pauline passages, some of these **μὴ γένοιτο** *features* are also found, and in our opinion it is almost beyond doubt that 2.17 conforms to the *general pattern* and *function* of Paul's **μὴ γένοιτο**. For example, the strong rejection **μὴ γένοιτο** is followed by a reason or clarification, in which Rhyne regards 2.18 as the 'self-evident answer' and possibly 2.19-20 too, which is also introduced by the **γάρ**.[23] Another important indication is the introduction of important terms and themes for further discussion following the rejection:[24] this would include **ἀποθνῄσκω, ζάω, νόμος, Χριστός, θεός, ἐγώ, πίστις**, if both 2.18 and 2.19-20 are regarded as Paul's 'reasons'.[25]

Based upon these vital observations, we suggest that we can draw a few important conclusions regarding the argumentation of 2.17 and also the rhetorical structure of 2.17-20 as a whole. 2.21 looks like a summary conclusion rounding off the argument.

(1) The objection '**Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας διάκονος;**' introduced by

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[21]Stowers, *Diatribe*, p.136, cf. pp.124, 133, 151, 177.

[22]See Rhyne, *Faith*, pp.41-58; quote on p.58.

[23]Rhyne, *Faith*, p.52.

[24]Stowers, *Diatribe*, p.151. Cf. pp.136, 152, 131, p.230 n97 (on **ἐγώ**); p.235 n173 (on **ἀποθνῄσκειν**).

[25]Malherbe, 'ΜΗ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ', p.236 regards 2.18 as 'perhaps' without committing himself. However 2.19-20 definitely provides the main theological terms for Paul's discussion in the letter; this seems to coincide with Betz's *expositio* which sets forth four 'theses' (*Gal*, p.121). But unfortunately Betz did not explain the function of the **γάρ**'s in both 2.18 and 2.19.

interrogative particle ἆρα (or inferential ἄρα) should be read as a *rhetorical question* and not a statement.[26]

(2) 2.17c as a question should be regarded as the *false illogical conclusion* drawn from correct premises, and 2.17ab should be by all means interpreted as a *realis*.[27] Thus the *realis* view should concentrate on the question: how the correct premises of 2.17ab could lead to the wrong conclusion at 2.17c.[28]

(3) A strong case can, in our view, be made for regarding 2.18-20 as related *directly* to Paul's objection μὴ γένοιτο at the end of 2.17d; to impose a *caesura* at 2.18 does not do justice to Paul's rhetorical questioning.[29] It is Paul's customary style to support his negation μὴ γένοιτο by 'clarification or grounding', whether it is a sentence or two, or a whole paragraph or even paragraphs.[30]

(4) Since both 2.18 and 2.19-20 are similarly introduced by explanatory γάρ's, it is more likely that they consist of Paul's reasons or groundings for his objection: 2.18 being the first

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[26]Malherbe, 'ΜΗ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ', p.234; Rhyne, *Faith*, pp.51-52. Rightly so by majority of scholars: e.g. Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.117; Meyer, *Gal*, pp.117-18; Burton, *Gal*, p.126; Oepke, *Gal*, p.93; Schlier, *Gal*, p.96 n3 (n2 on Bultmann's interpretation); Klein, 'Individualgeschichte', p.189; Kümmel, 'Individualgeschichte', p.165; Betz, *Gal*, p.119 n56; Bruce, *Gal*, p.141; Lambrecht, 'Line', p.489 n16; Kieffer, *Foi*, pp.53-54; Barclay, *Obeying*, p.79 n11; Rhode, *Gal*, p.113; Fung, *Gal*, p.120 n46; Watson, *Paul*, p.199 n92; Hansen, *Abraham*, p.240 n41; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.90. *Contra* Bultmann, Moule, Borse, NJB. See also BDF §§384, 440.2; BAGD, 'γίνομαι', I.3.a (158); MHT 3:330. On interrogative ἆρα or inferential ἄρα, see §4.6.1. below.

[27]Thus the *irrealis* view in §4.2.1.2. is not preferable. Cosgrove, *Cross*, p.138 insists that 2.17 is exceptional: 'Paul is not bound to use μὴ γένοιτο rhetorically always in the same way' (citing Epictetus, *Diss.* 4.7.25-27 as an exception to the general rule to justify rendering 2.17 as *reductio ad absurdum*). In our opinion, it is better to keep close to Paul's rhetorical pattern, if it makes good sense of the argument.

[28]Some suggest that the wrong conclusion at 2.17c could be wrongly deduced from Paul's theology (Stowers, *Diatribe*, p.179), or wrongly argued by the Galatian 'opponents' (Suhl, 'Galater', p.282), a slogan adopted by Paul from the opponents (Betz, *Gal*, p.120), or even derived from objections in the synagogue (cf. Schmithals, 'Judaisten', p.39). In our opinion, the important point is not the origin of 2.17c, but how the false consequence relates to the correct premises. See §4.6. below.

[29]*Contra* Lambrecht, 'Line', pp.491-92.

[30]Rhyne, *Faith*, p.58; cf. R. Tannehill, *Dying and Rising with Christ* (BZNW 32; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1967), p.55.

clarification and 2.19-20 the second.[31]

(5) Lastly, the structure of 2.17-20 as a whole and the interplay of the various parts (assertion, false inference, negation and clarifications) of the argumentation are more likely to be *Paul's own* formulation. There is no evidence that 2.17abc should be regarded as objections said either by Peter or by Paul's opponents.[32]

With these observations in mind, we are confident that the conditional clause of 2.17ab is a *realis* (i.e. Paul's rejection **μὴ γένοιτο** applies only to the false illogical conclusion, 2.17c). The task for us is to understand *how* the false conclusion can be founded on the correct premises of 2.17ab, and in what sense does 'Christ' promote 'sin'.

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[31]So rightly Fitzmyer, 'Gal', 47:19. Cf. Schlier, *Gal*, p.96: 'Paulus verneint die Frage und begründet dann diese Verneinung in zweifacher Weise (twofold ways). Zuerst so, daß er das Gegenteil der Rechtfertigung in Christus in seiner Konsequenz als Übertretung hinstellt (v.18), dann so, daß er den positiven Nachweis dafür führt, daß Christus nicht der Sünde seine Dienste leiht (v.19f)'; Fung, *Gal*, p.125 n81; *contra* Oepke, *Gal*, p.93.

[32]*Contra* Feld, 'Christus', pp.126-31 who argues that **ζητεῖν δικαιωθῆναι** is so un-Pauline that it must derive from Peter; Bouwman, 'Christus', pp.52-53.

4.4. THE FIRST PREMISE (2.17a)

4.4.1. Soards: Is the First Premise Correct?

According to our observations on **μὴ γένοιτο** in 2.17, the first premise (2.17a) together with 2.17b should be understood as correct premises. But in a recent study, Soards challenges the majority view by arguing that 'seeking to be justified' of the first premise is inappropriate behaviour: such human activity is sin; it has made 'Christianity to be a new form of "covenantal nomism"'.[1] Soards insists also that the term **ἁμαρτωλός** must have the same radical meaning of **ἁμαρτία** as in 2.17c and must refer to 'one who is set against the will of God' as in Rom 5.19.[2] On the grammatical side, Soards makes two suggestions. (1) He argues that the adverbial participle **ζητοῦντες** is not circumstantial, but should be rendered as supplementary: to complete the idea of the verb **εὑρέθημεν**. (2) Then he insists that the verb **εὑρέθημεν** should be joined to '**ζητοῦντες δικαιωθῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ**' of 2.17a to form the protasis leaving behind **καὶ αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτωλοί** (part of 2.17b) to form the apodosis.[3]

On the theological side, Soards' argument depends very much on his interpretation of the participle 'seeking' (**ζητοῦντες**) and the concept of 'faith' (**πίστις**). He argues that the verb **ζητεῖν** expresses the idea of 'striving to attain something that one presently does not have' and it is 'an activity generated completely by humans that ultimately does not extend from the activity of God' (p.245). And this 'seeking' is in direct contrast to **πίστις**, which is defined as coming from God. 'Faith' is, as he puts it:[4]

> not something humans do of their own accord... **πίστις** is an active force that *came* into the human realm; in fact it *was revealed* (Gal 3.23). **πίστις** is a [sic] *fruit of the spirit* (Gal 5.22) that in the human context *hears* (**ἡ ἀκοὴ πίστεως**, Gal 3.2, 5). Thus humans *believe* (**πιστεύειν**) as the spirit grows faith in their lives and that faith hears [the gospel].

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[1] Soards, 'Seeking', p.247.

[2] Soards, 'Seeking', p.246. The other view (**ἁμαρτωλός** as one who is outside the law) is discussed but rejected, cf. pp.239-41.

[3] Soards, 'Seeking', p.244. Thus 2.17 is translated as: 'But if we were found seeking to be justified in Christ, indeed we ourselves are sinners - then is Christ an agent of sin? Certainly not!' (p.243; note the comma inserted after the word 'Christ').

[4] Soards, 'Seeking', p.245 (*italics* mine).

Thus Soards concludes that ζητεῖν as a human endeavor is contrary to divine activity.[5]

Based upon Rom 10.3 and 10.20, where Israel's 'seeking' and God's 'rejection' seem to be found together, Soards argues that 'God breaks into the lives, not of those seeking God, but of the very ones not seeking' (p.246). So he argues further, in 2.17, when δικαιοῦν is coupled with ζητεῖν it implies that such behaviour is inappropriate: 'Divine initiative does not produce seeking that results in humans having an encounter with God; in fact, this verse may mean that seeking is antithetical to God's self-revelation to humans' (p.246).

Therefore Soards concludes that 'for Paul, in "seeking to be justified in Christ" human beings declare that justification is not the work of God alone and that God needs or requires human assistance in order to actualize justification' and so if 'one is found, as Cephas was and as the Galatians are, "seeking to be justified in Christ", then, one is a sinner' (p.248). 2.17c becomes then the logically wrong *inference* drawn from the activity: 'if such seeking is necessary then Christ has furthered sin's cause; he has not redeemed humanity from its plight'.[6]

But, does Soards understand the grammatical construction of 2.17a correctly? Is he not reading too much into the verb ζητεῖν and misunderstanding the meaning of it? Furthermore, we find his interpretation of ἁμαρτωλοί faulty,[7] and his explanation of 'faith' (πίστις) highly questionable and in danger of confusing different meanings of πίστις used by Paul in the letter.[8] For the time being we

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[5]Soards, 'Seeking', p.245. Cf. 'Living "in Christ" one relates to God in faith (or trust) and is no longer driven by sin's deception, "seeking to be justified", as are those living in the present evil age. Paul's gospel is this: One who lives by the gracious power of God "in Christ" is free - *free from* the endless endeavors of the self-maintained righteousness of the law ("seeking to be justified") and *free for* living in the spirit, walking in the spirit, waiting for the hope of justification which is the work of God' (p.250).

[6]Soards, 'Seeking', p.248. He prefers ἄρα the illative or inferential particle to ἆρα the interrogative particle, but maintains that 2.17c is an inferential question (p.239).

[7]See §3.2.3 above on ἁμαρτωλοί in 2.15 and §4.5.2. below.

[8]For example, in 3.23, πίστις refers to the objective revelation of God in historical perspective (cf. Betz, *Gal*, p.176 n120); but in 5.22, πίστις refers to the virtue of 'faithfulness' (Betz, *Gal*, p.288

will not discuss the meaning of ἁμαρτωλοί in 2.17b, but we will concentrate on his (mis)understanding of the verb ζητεῖν, especially when he seems to ignore the relationship of 2.17a to 2.16.

4.4.2. The Meaning of ζητεῖν:

H. Greeven defines the verb: 'ζητεῖν covers the seeking of man and the orientation of his will in the widest sense'.[9] The verb is used some four hundred times in the LXX to translate בקש. It can be used in the religious sense to describe human relationship to God, to denote 'the conscious turning of the Israelites to their God with all their being, or that of Yahweh to his people'.[10] It is also used positively in 1QS 1.1-2: '...that they may seek God with a whole heart and soul, and do what is good and right before Him';[11] 'seeking God' is honoured as a positive attitude.

The verb ζητεῖν is used some twenty times in the Pauline epistles.[12] For Paul the verb can be used in different contexts: positively (as in Rom 2.7; 1 Cor 14.12; Col 3.1; cf. Matt 6.33, 7.7-11); negatively (Rom 11.3; 1 Cor 1.22; 2 Cor 13.3; Phil 2.21; cf. John 5.18, 7.18); and in both ways (1 Cor 4.2; 10.24, 33; 2 Cor 12.14).[13] According to Paul at least, the action of 'seeking' is not judged right or wrong in itself, but in relation to its objective: what one is seeking. It is only judged wrong when the objective is wrong.

As for Rom 10.3 (the text Soards based his interpretations on), Paul did not say unbelieving Jews are judged wrong because of their ζητοῦντες; quite clearly, Paul refers to their τὴν ἰδίαν [δικαιοσύνην] ζητοῦντες στῆσαι ('seeking to establish their own [righteousness]'). There is an emphasis on the infinitive στῆσαι ('to

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n158); and only in 3.2, 5 πίστις refers to the human response in believing (Betz, *Gal*, p.133 n50). Cf. Cranfield, *Rom*, 2:697-98.

[9]H. Greeven, 'ζητέω', *TDNT* 2:892-93, here p.893.

[10]H.-G. Link, 'Seek (ζητέω)', *NIDNTT* 3:530-32, here p.531; cf. S. Wagner, 'בקש', *TDOT* 2:229-41, esp. pp.236-39.

[11]ET in Vermes, *DSS*, p.62.

[12]Gal 1.10; 2.17; Rom 2.7; 3.11; 10.3, 20; 11.3; 1 Cor 1.22; 4.2; 7.27[2x]; 10.24, 33; 13.5; 14.12; 2 Cor 12.14; 13.3; Phil 2.21; Col 3.1; 1 Thess 2.6; cf. 1 Tim 2.16.

[13]Acknowledged also by Soards, 'Seeking', p.245.

establish') and the possessive adjective ἰδίαν ('their own'), which claims that δικαιοσύνη belongs only to Jews and there is no place for Gentiles.[14] It is not the 'seeking' itself that makes them wrong. Similarly, in Rom 10.20 (quoting Isa 65.1) the salvation of God comes upon the Gentiles not because of their 'non-seeking', but despite their non-seeking.[15]

From the above observation one can hardly agree with Soards' questionable interpretaton: 'seeking is antithetical to God's self-revelation to humans'.[16] Quite to the contrary, as Link puts it:[17]

> Paul gives the clearest statement of the contrast between man's self-assertion and his seeking of God when he rebukes Israel for wanting to establish its own righteousness (Rom 10.3), and sets over against it the way of faith which seeks to attain to righteousness in Christ (Gal 2.17).

4.4.3. The Meaning of ἐν Χριστῷ (in 2.17a):

This 'in Christ' phraseology in its various forms appears a total of one hundred and sixty four times in the Pauline writings apart from the Pastorals.[18] In Galatians, the prepositional phrase occurs in basically two forms: ἐν Χριστῷ ('Ιησοῦ) in 1.22, 2.4, 2.17, 3.14, 3.26, 3.28 and 5.6; ἐν κυρίῳ in 5.10 (cf. ἐν νόμῳ in 3.11, 3.21 and 5.4).

The original study, *Die neutestamentliche Formel 'in Christo Jesu'*, by Deismann sparked off a heated debate, and the debate has

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[14]So Wright, 'Paul', pp.82-83; Sanders, *PLJP*, pp.36-45, esp. p.38; Räisänen, *Paul*, p.174; *Jesus*, pp.30-32; Williams, 'Righteousness', pp.282-83; Dunn, 'Works', *JPL*, p.223; *Rom*, 2:587-88; Ziesler, *Rom*, pp.256-57; Longenecker, *Eschatology*, pp.218-19. See also BAGD, 'ἴδιος'; LSJ, 'ἴδιος'; BDF §286. *Contra* Cranfield, *Rom*, 2:515; Westerholm, *Israel's Law*, pp.114-116.

[15]See Cranfield, *Rom*, 2:540; Dunn, *Rom*, 2:631; cf. Morris, *Rom*, p.395. Soards's comment seems to imply that God favours the 'not-seeking' as such ('Seeking', p.246).

[16]Soards, 'Seeking', p.246. Similarly, we do not find Guthrie's comment ('the apostle thinks of it as a quest requiring effort. Indeed, the expression is particularly appropriate for those who, in spite of being Christians, imagine their own effort will contribute something to secure acceptance with God'; *Gal*, p.88) helpful at all.

[17]Link, *NIDNTT*, 3:532. Similarly, Kieffer, *Foi*, p.58 identifies the 'seeking' here as an act of faith; cf. Meyer, *Gal*, p.117.

[18]Longenecker, *Gal*, p.152 citing the figure of A. Deissmann, *Die neutestamentliche Formel 'in Christo Jesu'* (Marburg: Elwert, 1892).

not yet been settled. A number of serious studies have then emerged, and the debate is still continuing.[19]

The meaning of ἐν Χριστῷ has to be considered carefully, each occurrence in its own context. There are at least two factors that contribute to our difficulties in understanding it: the preposition ἐν has become highly versatile and has a variety of meanings besides the spatial sense;[20] the possible imitation of the Hebrew construction with ב in the instrumental sense.[21] Thus we should be cautious not to attribute mere locative sense in every occurrence.

In Paul there are instances where the 'formula' is used as a synonym for 'Christian'[22] or in the instrumental and causal sense.[23]

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[19]Just to mention a few important ones: E. Lohmeyer, 'Σὺν Χριστῷ', in *Festgabe für A. Deissmann* (Tübingen, 1927), pp.218-57; A. Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* (ET; London: Black, 1931); E. Käsemann, *Leib und Leib Christi* (Tübingen: JCB Mohr, 1933); F. Büchsel, '"In Christus" bei Paulus', *ZNW* 42 (1949), pp.141-58; E. Best, *One Body in Christ* (London: SPCK, 1955); M. Bouttier, *En Christ* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962); *Christianity According to Paul* (ET; London: SCM, 1966); F. Neugebauer, 'Das paulinische "in Christo"', *NTS* 4 (1957-58), pp.124-38; *In Christus*; A. Wikenhauser, *Pauline Mysticism* (ET; NY: Herder & Herder, 1960); W. Kramer, *Christ, Lord, Son of God* (ET; London: SCM, 1966), esp. pp.141-46; Kuss, *Rom*, pp.319-81; C.F.D. Moule, *The Origin of Christology* (Cambridge: CUP, 1977), pp.47-96 ('The Corporate Christ'); A.J.M. Wedderburn, 'The Body of Christ and Related Concepts in 1 Corinthians', *SJT* 24 (1971), pp.74-96; 'Some Observations on Paul's Use of the Phrases "in Christ" and "with Christ"', *JSNT* 25 (1985), pp.83-97. It is quite impossible to list all the major works on this topic, for fuller bibliographical reference, see: BAGD, 'ἐν', I.5.d (259); *TDNT* 2:537; Fitzmyer, 'Pauline Theology', 82:121. Undoubtedly, we agree with Moule, *Origin*, p.68 and Wedderburn, 'Some', p.91 that this extremely complex issue demands more systematic work.

[20]Moule, *Origin*, p.54; Wedderburn, 'Some', pp.84-86. Thus BAGD, 'ἐν' has classified the different usage cautiously under four categories: place, time, causal or instrumental, and various other uses. W. Elliger, 'ἐν', *EDNT* 1:447-49 has five categories instead. See also BDF §§195, 218-20; Harris, *NIDNTT* 3:1190-92.

[21]BDF §219; BAGD, 'ἐν', III (260). See Elliger, *EDNT* 1:448 (1 and 4).

[22]Moule, *Origin*, p.54 lists 1 Cor 3.1 and Rom 9.1. Cf. Bultmann, *Theology*, 1:329; Conzelmann, *Outline*, p.209.

[23]Moule, *Origin*, pp.54-55, cites Gal 2.17 and 1 Cor 1.2, but indicates clearly that 'there are overtones to which a mere English "by" or "through" hardly does justice'; cf. Conzelmann, *Outline*, pp.210-11. The instrumental sense is stressed particularly by Büchsel, Bouttier and Wedderburn. For example, Wedderburn, 'Some', pp.88-90 draws on the use of ἐν with reference to Abraham in 3.8-9, 14, 16 to argue for

But Moule insists that 'there remains a residue of occurrences where it is difficult to escape the impression that Paul is using ἐν with a name for Christ in a genuinely (though metaphorically) locative sense....Christ (or the Lord) seems to be the "place", the *locus* where believers are found'.[24]

It is quite obvious that the 'formula' indicates close relationship between individuals and Christ.[25] But scholars are divided on how to envisage that 'relationship'. Dunn[26] distinguishes four major views in regard to this 'in Christ' formula in recent debate: (1) the objective saving work of Christ [for which he cites Neugebauer, Kramer, and Conzelmann]; (2) the community of faith, i.e. the ecclesiological view [citing Käsemann];[27] (3) Christ as a corporate personality [citing Best];[28] (4) Christ as a sort of atmosphere in which Christians live, i.e. the mystical view [citing Deissmann].[29] In contrast, Dunn has put the emphasis on the dynamic

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the instrumental sense; cf. 'Body', pp.88-90. Longenecker, *Gal*, p.153 identifies 2.17 (3.14 and 5.10) under this category.

[24]Moule, *Origin*, pp.55-56. He includes Rom 8.1; 16.7; 1 Cor 15.22; 2 Cor 5.17; Phil 3.8-9 as clear examples; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.153 has Gal 2.4, 3.26, 3.28, 5.6 under this category.

[25]BAGD, 'ἐν', I.5.d (259-60); Davies, *Paul*, p.87. It is understood that prepositional phrases indicate close relationship between Christ and believers; cf. Fitzmyer, 'Pauline Theology', 82:116; W. Grundmann, 'Χρίω', *TDNT* 9:550.

[26]Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit* (London: SCM, 1975), p.324.

[27]Probably we can include Bultmann, *Theology*, 1:311-14, 327-29; Betz, *Gal*, p.119: 'this "seeking to be justified" is done by participation in the "body of Christ"' (cf. p.186).

[28]This concept of 'corporate personality' has been questioned strongly by J.R. Porter, 'The Legal Aspects of the Concept of "Corporate Personality" in the Old Testament', *VT* 15 (1965), pp.361-80 and J.W. Rogerson, 'The Hebrew Conception of Corporate Personality: a Re-examination', *JTS* (1970), pp.1-16; cited by Wedderburn, 'Some', p.97 n52. It appears to us that Moule's 'inclusive personality' might fall under this category also: 'Paul does seem to conceive of the living Christ as more than individual, while still knowing him vividly and distinctly as fully personal. He speaks of Christian life as lived in an area which is Christ; he speaks of Christians as incorporated in him...[He] was found to be more than individual. He was found to be an "inclusive" personality. And this means, in effect, that Paul was led to conceive of Christ as any theist conceives of God: personal, indeed, but transcending the individual category' (*Origin*, p.95).

[29]Deissmann, *Paul*, p.140; also argued by Turner as 'The Mystical En',

aspect: 'a consciousness of Christ'.[30]

For our present purpose, we are concerned with 2.17a in its context. Against Soards' argument that 'seeking justification in Christ' is a sinful act, we notice that the 'ἐν Χριστῷ ('Ιησοῦ) formula' is *never* used in any negative sense in the letter: the churches in Judaea ταῖς ἐν Χριστῷ (1.22);[31] the freedom which believers have ἐν Χριστῷ 'Ιησοῦ (2.4);[32] the blessing of Abraham might come ἐν Χριστῷ 'Ιησοῦ (3.14);[33] believers are all children of God ἐν Χριστῷ 'Ιησοῦ (3.26);[34] believers are all one ἐν Χριστῷ 'Ιησοῦ (3.28);[35] for ἐν Χριστῷ 'Ιησοῦ neither circumcision nor uncircumcision counts for anything (5.6).[36]

We also notice that Paul uses various verbs in the *positive*

Grammatical, pp.118-22; MHT 3:262-64.

[30]Dunn, *Jesus*, p.324; cf. *Rom*, 1:324: 'the idea of redemptive power as enacted "in Christ"... the whole thought here is still under the influence of 5.12-21: "in Christ" as part of eschatological humanity. Hence the ἐν Χριστῷ denotes not mere location, but something more dynamic in terms of relationship'. Cf. Grundmann, *TDNT* 9:550 interprets Christ as the spiritual field of force.

[31]Cf. 1 Cor 1.2; Phil 1.1; Col 1.2; 1 Thess 1.1; 2 Thess 1.1; [Eph 1.1]. 1 Thess 2.14 has a similar reference to 'churches in Judaea ἐν Χριστῷ 'Ιησοῦ'.

[32]'Freedom' is one of the major themes in the letter: the noun ἐλευθερία appears four times (2.4; 5.1, 13[2x]; cf. Rom 8.21; 1 Cor 10.29; 2 Cor 3.17); the adjective ἐλεύθερος six times (3.28; 4.22, 23, 26, 30, 31; cf. Rom 6.20; 7.3; 1 Cor 7.21, 22, 39; 9.1, 19; 12.13; Col 3.11; [Eph 6.8]); the verb ἐλευθερόω once (5.1; cf. Rom 6.18, 22; 8.1, 21). The other verb ἐξαγοράζω ('redeem') in 3.13 and 4.5 also carries the idea of freedom. Cf. Betz, *Gal*, p.255 n24; Barclay, *Obeying*, pp.108-110.

[33]Besides 'blessing' (3.14) and 'freedom' (2.4), Paul has a number of expressions for this new life-principle: redemption (Rom 3.24; cf. 8.2; Col 1.14; [Eph 1.7]); eternal life (Rom 6.11, 23; cf. 2 Tim 1.1); love of God (Rom 8.39); grace of God (1 Cor 1.4; cf. 2 Tim 2.1); 'yes' (2 Cor 1.19-20); will of God (1 Thess 5.18); upward calling of God (Phil 3.14). Cf. grace in kindness (Eph 2.7); promise (Eph 3.6); truth (Eph 4.21); salvation (2 Tim 2.10).

[34]See also 4.5-7; Rom 8.14-17, 23; 9.4-5; [Eph 1.5]. The word υἱός as Christological title: 'Son of God' four times (2.20; Rom 1.4; 2 Cor 1.19; [Eph 4.13]); 'his Son' or 'the Son' thirteen times (1.16; 4.4, 6; Rom 1.3, 9; 5.10; 8.3, 29, 32; 1 Cor 1.9; 15.28; Col 1.13; 1 Thess 1.10).

[35]Cf. Rom 10.12; 12.5; 1 Cor 12.13; Col 3.11; [Eph 2.21-22].

[36]This 'neither...nor...but' construction also appears in 6.15 and 1 Cor 7.19; cf. Martyn, 'Apocalyptic', pp.410-24.

sense with the 'ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ formula': sanctified ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (1 Cor 1.2); grace of God was given you ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (1 Cor 1.4); in every way you were enriched ἐν αὐτῷ (1 Cor 1.5); all be made alive ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (1 Cor 15.22); leads us in triumph ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ (2 Cor 2.14; ἐν αὐτῷ in Col 2.15); the veil is taken away ἐν Χριστῷ (2 Cor 3.14); God reconciling the world ἐν Χριστῷ (2 Cor 5.19); we might become righteousness of God ἐν αὐτῷ (2 Cor 5.21); you have come to fulness of life ἐν αὐτῷ (Col 2.10), etc.[37]

From these various expressions with 'ἐν Χριστῷ' we can deduce that the formula is used to express close relationship between Christ and Christians and to cover the whole of Christian experience, from initial acceptance by God to the final vindication.

But then we still have to ask, what is the meaning of ἐν Χριστῷ in 2.17a? Two explanations are possible. If we draw attention to the parallel expressions of διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ and ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ in 2.16 and its instrumental use in 'ἐν νόμῳ οὐδεὶς δικαιοῦται' (3.11; cf. Rom 5.9, ἐν τῷ αἵματι), it is quite possible that ἐν is instrumental: an imitation of LXX and an equivalent of διά.[38] But in light of the expressions Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι ('I have been crucified with Christ') and ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός ('Christ in me') in the following argument of 2.19-20, the full force of locative ἐν would be quite likely.[39] Certainty is quite impossible; we would only suggest that the preposition ἐν might be specially chosen because it is flexible enough for Paul to move from one sense to another in the

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[37]Other references in Ephesians include: grace (1.6); salvation accomplished by God (1.20); raised and seated in the heavenly places (2.6); created for good works (2.10); now brought near in Christ (2.13); have boldness and confidence (3.12); forgiveness (4.32); receive inheritance in Christ (1.11-14). See also the list in T.W. Manson, *On Paul and John* (SBT 38; London: SCM, 1963), p.77.

[38]So Burton, *Gal*, p.124; Oepke, *TDNT* 2:542; *Gal*, p.92 n228; Bonnard, *Gal*, p.54; Fitzmyer, 'Gal', 47:20; Wedderburn, 'Some', p.89; Reumann, *Righteousness*, p.56; Kieffer, *Foi*, p.58; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.89.

[39]BAGD, 'ἐν', I.5.d (260). Cf. Hays, *Faith*, pp.250-51: 'Christians are justified precisely because they participate in the crucified and justified Messiah, whose destiny embodies theirs. This compatibility of the two motifs appears most clearly in Gal 2.17, where Paul uses the expression δικαιωθῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ. Here justification and participation in Christ is merged'; Matera, *Gal*, p.95; Ziesler, *Gal*, p.27: 'in the sphere of Christ's power'.

argument.[40]

4.4.4. The Meaning of δικαιωθῆναι:

What does the aorist infinitive δικαιωθῆναι refer to? Does it refer only to the initial act of conversion, the 'getting in' process (cf. Rom 5.1)? For those who assume that the aorist tense must have referred to action in the past, they would insist that 2.17a refers to the act of conversion and so reject the possibility that 2.17b 'being found sinners' might even refer to post-conversion acts.[41]

But we do not think it is necessary to limit the sense of δικαιωθῆναι only to the initial act of conversion. In 5.5, reference is clearly made to the future aspect of δικαιοσύνη (cf. Rom 5.19).[42] In 2.16 the verb δικαιόω is used in three tenses (δικαιοῦται, δικαιωθῶμεν, δικαιωθήσεται), probably to indicate the whole process of Christian experience, from initial acceptance to final vindication.[43] The future, eschatological aspect (cf. Rom 1.17; 3.20; 5.9-10) must be held in conjunction with the present reality (cf. Rom 5.1; 5.9; 1 Cor 6.11).

We should also notice the use of aorist verbs in Rom 8.29-30: προέγνω ('he foreknew'), προώρισεν ('he predestined'), ἐκάλεσεν ('he called'), ἐδικαίωσεν ('he justified'), ἐδόξασεν ('he glorified'). Paul uses a series of aorists to describe the divine purpose of God in His acts to cover the whole salvation process from beginning to end. The aorist tense does not necessarily apply only or exclusively

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[40]Sometimes, *ambiguity* might be Paul's technique (cf. Barclay, *Obeying*, pp.140, 204; §3.4.2. on 'flesh'). Compare also Moule's cautious warning (*Origin*, p.55) and Fung's 'combination of both the locative and instrumental sense' (*Gal*, p.119).

[41]E.g. Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.117; Schlier, *Gal*, p.95; Bruce, p.140; Klein, 'Individualgeschichte', pp.190-91; Kümmel, 'Individualgeschichte', p.164; Suhl, 'Galaterbrief', pp.3106-3108; Fung, *Gal*, p.119; Zerwick and Grosvenor, *Grammatical Analysis*, p.568; Rhyne, *Faith*, p.51; Wechsler, *Geschichtsbild*, pp.381-82.

[42]As Betz, *Gal*, p.262 puts it: 'ἐλπὶς δικαιοσύνης ("hope of righteousness") spells out the eschatological character of the Christian salvation - "justification by faith" is a matter of "hope" in God'. Cf. Bultmann, *Theology*, 1:273-74; Reumann, *Righteousness*, p.58, cf. p.383; Seebass & Brown, *NIDNTT* 3:365; Barclay, *Obeying*, p.93; Fitzmyer, 'Gal', 47:29; 'Rom', 51:61; Morris, *Rom*, p.146. For other interpretations on 5.5, see Fung, *Gal*, pp.224-28, 232-35.

[43]See §3.3.4 (p.146); cf. Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, pp.207-208.

to past events.[44]

Thus it is not necessary to limit the aorist **δικαιωθῆναι** to the 'getting in' conversion act; the aorist **δικαιωθῆναι** can also include the seeking of justification as an ongoing goal.[45] 2.17a may indeed refer to the whole process of continuing 'staying in' before the final eschatological vindication by God.

4.4.5. The Meaning of **ζητοῦντες** in Relation to 2.17b:

Another question is how to relate the participle **ζητοῦντες** to **εὑρέθημεν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτωλοί** (2.17b). Since the participle **ζητοῦντες** is anarthrous,[46] it is probably of circumstantial (adverbial) use: 'denoting some attendant circumstance and qualifying the main verb like an adverbial phrase or clause'.[47] It is indeed quite difficult to render the adverbial participle precisely. Some have read the participle as the *reason* why 'we were found sinners';[48] others as the *time* when 'we were found sinners';[49] still others as the *means* through which 'we were found sinners'.[50] We should be cautious not to read too much into the adverbial participle, but to render it vaguely as 'while' (following KJV, NAS and NIV). We do not think 2.17a tells us

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[44]While it is noted that glorification refers to the future completion of God's saving purpose and predestination, election and calling to the past, 'justification' could refer to either the initial 'getting in' (as in Rom 5.1 and 1 Cor 6.11) or to the future (as in Rom 2.13), or 'indeed the whole process of salvation linking these two decisive moments' (Dunn, *Rom*, 1:485).

[45]See Burton, *Gal*, p.129; Dunn, 'New Perspective', *JPL*, p.208; *Gal(ms)*, p.9. With this possible meaning of **δικαιωθῆναι**, it is indeed not improper to read 2.17b 'sinners' as referring to post-conversion experience, especially when the Antioch incident (2.11-14) is in the background, see §4.5.2. below.

[46]It is not very proper for Betz, *Gal*, p.119 to render the participle adjectivally as 'we who are seeking'; criticised by Lyons, *Pauline*, p.93 n76.

[47]Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, §2046 (cited Soards, 'Seeking', p.238). On the uses of participles, see BDF §§411-24; MHT 3:150-62.

[48]This rendering in the causal sense is by far the most common among commentators, e.g. Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.116; Fung, *Gal*, p.119; Bligh, *Gal*, p.199; Schmithals, *Paul*, p.75, referring to conversion.

[49]For example, Bruce, *Gal*, p.140 and Becker, *Gal*, p.30 refer to the time of conversion; but Lietzmann, *Gal*, p.15 puts the emphasis on the consequence of conversion.

[50]As rendered by Mussner, *Gal*, p.176; Rhyne, *Faith*, p.51.

the reason why or how 'we were found sinners'; but it may indicate the circumstances within which 'we were found sinners'. The reason why and how 'we were found sinners' (2.17b) may indeed be found elsewhere, probably in the context of the Antioch Incident (2.11-14),[51] which we shall discuss next.

In sum, besides the continuing ambiguity of ἐν Χριστῷ, our discussion has indicated that 2.17a is a correct premise. This is in fact consistent with the use of μὴ γένοιτο elsewhere: the objection is raised not against the premise/s, but against the inferential question. The real problem and debate between Paul and the other Jewish Christians centre on why they disagree on 'Christ a minister of sin' (2.17c). By now we should have demonstrated that Soards' suggestion ('seeking' equivalent to 'sinning') is quite untenable.

Our discussion has also indicated that 'seeking to be justified in Christ' (2.17a) may refer to the continuing 'staying in' process until the final eschatological vindication by God.[52] Furthermore, we think the adverbial participial clause of 2.17a refers not to the reason or how one becomes a sinner in the act of conversion, but simply indicates the circumstances upon which 'we (Jewish Christians)[53] were found sinners' (2.17b).

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[51]This is rightly maintained by Burton, *Gal*, pp.124-31 and argued convincingly by Kieffer, *Foi*, pp.55-59; cf. pp.17-24. Though Longenecker, *Gal*, pp.80-81 rightly renders the participle as 'while', he fails to read 2.17b in the Antioch context and thus errs (in our opinion) by interpreting ἁμαρτωλοί in the ethical sense (pp.89-90).

[52]Cf. Tannehill, *Dying*, p.56: 'the continuative present participle [ζητοῦντες] is not equivalent to the aorist ἐπιστεύσαμεν in v.16, but refers to the life of faith which Paul, and those with him, have been leading'.

[53]See §4.5.1.

4.5. THE SECOND PREMISE (2.17b)

It is important that we should try to understand 2.17b as a correct premise in accordance with Paul's general pattern of argumentation using **μὴ γένοιτο**.[1] Despite this crucial rhetorical observation, there are still uncertainties concerning the sense of **ἁμαρτωλοί** and the meaning and circumstances of how 'even we ourselves were found [to be] sinners' (**εὑρέθημεν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτωλοί**). Once again, in our opinion, the proper way to understand the argument of 2.17b is to set it in the context of the Antioch episode.

4.5.1. The Meaning of εὑρέθημεν καὶ αὐτοί:

The main verb **εὑρέθημεν** is qualified by **καὶ αὐτοί** in connection with **ἁμαρτωλοί**. The plural pronoun **αὐτοί** in its intensive use goes with the unexpressed subject 'we' of the verb **εὑρέθημεν** meaning 'we *ourselves*'.[2] The conjunction **καί** is used here rather as an adverb, in the intensive/ascensive sense, 'even'.[3]

According to BAGD, the verb **εὑρίσκω** ('find, discover') used in the figurative sense means 'intellectual discovery based upon reflection, observation, examination, or investigation'.[4] Sometimes the verb **εὑρίσκω** is complemented by participle and infinitive; at times an unexpressed infinitive **εἶναι** ('to be') has to be supplied:

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[1] So Rhyne, *Faith*, p.52; Stowers, *Diatribe*, p.179. This rhetorical observation is also vital for our understanding of Paul's argument in 2.17c. In the next section we shall investigate in more detail how and why the wrong inference may be drawn from correct premises according to the general pattern and function of **μὴ γένοιτο**.

[2] If the pronoun **αὐτοί** stands alone, it could be used as personal pronoun 'they' (emphatic or unemphatic). If it goes with a noun in attributive position (between the article and the noun), it functions like an adjective meaning 'the same'; if it stands in predicate position (before or after the noun), it means 'themselves'. In the case of 2.17b, **αὐτοί** qualifies the verb (cf. Luke 24.39, 22.71). See BDF §§283(4), 288; Moule, *Idiom*, pp.118-22; W. Radl, '**αὐτός**', *EDNT* 1:179-80.

[3] BAGD, '**καί**', II.2 (393); cf. 1 Cor 2.10; 2 Cor 1.8; and possibly Rom 3.26b. Thus some translations have taken care to render the sense of **αὐτοί**: 'we ourselves' (RSV, NRSV, NIV); 'we ourselves also' (KJV, NASB); 'we too' (NJB). But NAB ('we are shown to be sinners') seems to miss out the emphatic **καὶ αὐτοί**.

[4] BAGD, '**εὑρίσκω**', 2 (325); cf. H. Preisker, '**εὑρίσκω**', *TDNT* 2:769-70.

'to find (someone) to be (something)'.[5] In our case here, an infinitive εἶναι could be supplied between εὑρέθημεν καὶ αὐτοί and ἁμαρτωλοί to complete the sense: 'even we ourselves were found *to be* sinners'.[6]

Since the verb εὑρέθημεν is in the passive voice, there is some speculation with regard to by whom or what 'we were found sinners': by God, by non-Christian Jews, by opponents, by their own erroneous conscience, by their own self-awareness, etc.[7] Since Paul did not inform us exactly by whom or what, it is better not to overpress the passive force or to be over-confident in our speculation.[8]

But what is the identity of 'we' in the main verb εὑρέθημεν? The most sensible way is to read the first person plural 'we' as relating back to the emphatic ἡμεῖς in 2.15-16 (ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι...καὶ ἡμεῖς...),[9] and so regard the unexpressed subject 'we' as the *same* subject 'we', *Jewish Christians* (including Paul and Peter) in the preceding discussion.[10] There is no indication that Paul has shifted away from the 'we' as Jewish Christians to someone else. Thus we are puzzled by Betz's insistence that the subject 'we' has already changed from Jewish Christians at 2.15-16 to *Gentile Christians* at 2.17![11] At this point, we would say, Paul is still using the example

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[5]See BAGD, 'εὑρίσκω', 1.c and 2 (325); BDF §416(2).

[6]Cf. Hays, 'Have', p.82. The complement (the unexpressed εἶναι plus predicate nominative or adjective) could follow the main verb εὑρίσκω (as in 1 Cor 15.15 and here at 2.17) or precede the verb (in 1 Cor 4.2; 2 Cor 5.3).

[7]Cf. Klein, 'Individualgeschichte', p.187; Lambrecht, 'Line', p.490 n25; Mussner, *Gal*, p.177; Kieffer, *Foi*, pp.58-59.

[8]So rightly warns Burton, *Gal*, p.125; Mussner, *Gal*, p.177: 'Von wem "erfunden worden wären"? Das sagt Paulus nicht'.

[9]So rightly, Suhl, 'Galaterbrief', p.3107: 'daß καὶ αὐτοί (auch selbst [wir]) V.17aβ auf καὶ ἡμεῖς (auch/sogar wir) V.16, und dieses wiederum auf ἡμεῖς (wir) V.15 zurückbezogen ist'; *contra* Klein, 'Individualgeschichte', p.190. Klein's problem arises basically because of his erroneous rendering of 2.15 as a separate statement which is not continued into 2.16. See our clarifications at §3.2.4 and §3.3.7.

[10]So Meyer, *Gal*, p.117; Burton, *Gal*, p.125; Lagrange, *Gal*, p.49; Kümmel, 'Individualgeschichte', p.164; Schlier, *Gal*, p.95; Mussner, *Gal*, p.176; Cousar, *Gal*, p.50; Barclay, *Obeying*, p.78; Rohde, *Gal*, p.113; Wechsler, *Geschichtsbild*, p.381: 'Καὶ αὐτοί nimmt καὶ ἡμεῖς in V.16 auf, es geht also wie bereits in V.15 um *Judenchristen*'.

[11]Betz, *Gal*, pp.119-20. If Paul had in mind the experience of Gentile

of Jewish Christians as a test case for the Galatian Gentile Christians.[12] Therefore, the question is, how *even* 'we' *Jewish Christians* were found to be 'ἁμαρτωλοί'.[13]

4.5.2. The Meaning of ἁμαρτωλοί ('Sinners'):

What does it mean to be found 'ἁμαρτωλοί' if set against the background of the Antioch Incident? At §3.2.3. we argued that the meaning of ἁμαρτωλοί in the Jewish background can cover a range of different senses. Sometimes ἁμαρτωλοί is used almost as a technical term for Gentiles because they are 'Torah-less'; at times it is used by some Jews (as 'insiders') as a factional term to accuse other Jews (as 'outsiders') who do not share their views or observe the Torah in accordance with their interpretation. Thus the meaning of ἁμαρτωλοί depends very much on the person or party who uses the term and how he/she defines the *boundary* for acceptance in sectarian debates.

Since the term ἁμαρτωλοί covers a range of different meanings, one should be extremely cautious in determining its usage here in 2.17. It is therefore important that its meaning should be guided by the immediate context, and not by Romans (e.g. 3.7, 5.8, 19, 7.13).

Though it is generally agreed that the meaning of ἁμαρτωλοί in 2.17b should be similar to 2.15,[14] there is still considerable debate

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Christians rather than the same subject matter (the experience of Jewish Christians) in 2.15-16, which implies a rather sharp break in thought, one would expect at least a clearer indication by Paul. But unfortunately there is no such evidence that Paul had changed the basic subject matter at this point yet; cf. 3.1, 'O foolish Galatians!' See also Wechsler's criticism, *Geschichtsbild*, pp.381-82 n474.

[12]Cf. Barclay, *Obeying*, p.83: 'Paul has been chiefly concerned with the identity and life-style of *Jewish-Christians*'.

[13]There is a sense of progression compared to Gentile ἁμαρτωλοί in 2.15 (cf. Longenecker, *Gal*, p.89). But Suhl's rendering of 2.17b seems to miss out the ascensive sense of καί in conjunction with εὑρέθημεν: 'Das εὑρέθημεν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτωλοί (auch wir sind als Sünder erfunden worden) setzt *kein neues Datum*, sondern nimmt lediglich auf, was V.15 zumindest schon mitschwang, für die theologische Erkentnis des Paulus aber ohnehin selbstverständlich ist' ('Galaterbrief', p.3108; *italics* mine). See again our criticism of Suhl's rendering of 2.15 that Jews are also ἁμαρτωλοί, §3.2.2.

[14]E.g. Burton, *Gal*, p.125; Oepke, *Gal*, p.92; Lagrange, *Gal*, p.49; Schlier, *Gal*, p.95 n6; Tannehill, *Dying*, p.56; Betz, *Gal*, p.120 n63; Fitzmyer, 'Gal', 47:20; Rhyne, *Faith*, p.51; Fung, *Gal*, p.119; Baird, 'Gal', p.1207; Barclay, *Obeying*, pp.78-79; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.89;

over its meaning. Some have argued that ἁμαρτωλοί is to be understood in the absolute 'ethical' sense, more or less determined by the idea of ἁμαρτία ('sin') in 2.17c.[15] But as we have clarified above, the meaning of ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί in contrast to ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι in 2.15 does not refer to 'sinners' in the ethical sense; on the contrary, it refers to Gentiles as 'sinners' with respect to their racial origin because they are 'non-Jews' and are outside the *boundary* of the Jewish people.[16]

Another alternative is to read the meaning of ἁμαρτωλοί in 2.17b totally different from 2.15. For example, at 2.15 Rengstorf maintains that ἁμαρτωλοί refers to the Jewish view of one outside the νόμος, but has gone on to suggest that ἁμαρτωλοί at 2.17 refers to 'guilty humanity which is without Christ and therefore unreconciled'.[17] Though it is not entirely impossible for Paul to use the same word in two such different senses in the argument, we deem it unlikely that it happened in such a short space as our text.[18]

A third possibility is to understand the meaning of ἁμαρτωλοί in 2.17b as similar to 2.15, that is, in the relative, Torah-based factional sense: ἁμαρτωλοί refers to 'those outside the law' according to the Torah and/or its interpretation.[19] When the meaning of ἁμαρτωλοί in 2.17b is set against the preceding background of common table-fellowship between Jewish and Gentile Christians at Antioch,[20] 'ἁμαρτωλοί' could well refer to the *post*-conversion experience of Jewish Christians in their non-observance or negligence of certain ἔργα νόμου (Jewish 'works of law') when they ate with Gentile Christians, who were regarded as unclean. In the eyes of some

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Rohde, *Gal*, p.113.

[15]So Lambrecht and Soards. Cf. Barth, 'Justification', p.155.

[16]Cf. Oepke, *Gal*, pp.92-93; Betz, *Gal*, p.115 n25; Dunn, 'Incident', *JPL*, p.151. See §3.2.4.

[17]Rengstorf, *TDNT* 1:328; S.J.De Vries, 'Sin, sinner', *IDB* 4:361-76, here p.371; Schlier, *Gal*, p.95 n6.

[18]See also Rhyne, *Faith*, p.145 n107.

[19]Cf. Burton, *Gal*, p.125; Borse, *Gal*, p.115; Dunn, 'Incident', *JPL*, pp.150-51; *Gal(ms)*, p.10; Räisänen, *Paul*, p.76 n173; Ziesler, *Gal*, p.27.

[20]This crucial factor is pointed out rightly by Burton, *Gal*, p.129; Kieffer, *Foi*, p.55; Hansen, *Abraham*, p.105; Rohde, *Gal*, p.113; *pace* Lambrecht, Suhl, Bruce, Fung.

more conservative Jewish Christians (e.g. the men from James, 2.12), the 'lax' attitude or behaviour of Paul, Peter and other Jewish Christians was considered unacceptable - they had gone beyond the traditional boundary of acceptance! According to this reading, the *aorist* tense εὑρέθημεν refers not to the distant, initial conversion experience of Jewish Christians,[21] but to the more recent, specific experience of conflict at Antioch, which is also clearly an event in the *past*.[22]

It is also quite possible that the word ἁμαρτωλοί (in 2.15 and 2.17b) might have been employed originally by the men from James in persuading Peter to waver and to withdraw from table-fellowship with Gentile Christians (2.12). In this case, the sense of ἁμαρτωλοί might have been pre-determined by the 'opponents' and not by Paul himself. For the sake of argumentation, Paul may well make a concession on the use of the term ἁμαρτωλοί, but he is quick to reject the false inference that 'Christ be minister of sin' (2.17c).

Therefore it is obvious that the meaning of ἁμαρτωλοί in 2.17b can hardly be in the 'ethical' sense, nor in the context of conversion experience, but must be in the relative, Torah-based factional sense, used in a sectarian polemical context. Its meaning could well be 'sinners' in the eyes of others, which is determined very much by their standard and understanding of Torah. Thus we can probably say: According to the more traditional Torah perspective, the 'lax' behaviour of some of these Jewish Christians at Antioch could well be counted as 'sin' by other more conservative minded Jewish Christians. It is also possible that when their common table-fellowship with Gentile Christians was questioned by others, their own (erroneous) conscience condemned them as 'sinners'.[23]

In sum, the meaning of ἁμαρτωλοί should be seen in close connection to 2.15 and in continuation with the crisis over mixed table-fellowship at Antioch. Since the subject 'we' of εὑρέθημεν intensified by καὶ αὐτοί undoubtedly refers back to the ἡμεῖς of

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[21]As insisted by e.g. Kümmel, 'Individualgeschichte', p.164; Klein, 'Individualgeschichte', pp.190-91; Suhl, 'Galaterbrief', pp.3106-3108; Wechsler, *Geschichtsbild*, pp.381-82; Bachmann, *Sünder*, pp.37-38.

[22]Rightly, Burton, *Gal*, p.129 (against Lightfoot, Zahn and Siefert).

[23]A slight modification of Kieffer's suggestion, *Foi*, pp.58-59.

2.15-16, the second premise 'εὑρέθημεν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτωλοί' must be understood as the experience of *Jewish Christians* in crisis. The 'lax' behaviour of some Jewish Christians was considered inappropriate by others more conservative, and they were therefore accused of being 'ἁμαρτωλοί'. It follows that Paul is still dealing with the problem of *behaviour pattern* for Jewish Christians: how Jews who had believed in the Messiah Jesus should conduct their lives in a manner acceptable to God (cf. 2.19-20) in a mixed Christian community.

4.6. THE FALSE CONCLUSION (2.17c)

If indeed the Antioch Incident still controls the sequence of Paul's thought, what is the meaning of the *false inference* 'Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας διάκονος' (2.17c) according to the rhetorical pattern of μὴ γένοιτο? What is the logic or inference of the argument? In our investigation of the meaning of 2.17c, we have to wrestle with some kind of logical inference developing from 2.17ab to 2.17c, *reasonable* enough to convince some Jewish Christians at least, but not Paul. And it is therefore important that our interpretation of the *inference* should reflect the 'reasonableness' of both sides.

4.6.1. Particle: Interrogative ἆρα or Inferential ἄρα?[1]

Apart from 2.17c, the interrogative particle ἆρα occurs only twice in the NT: Luke 18.8 and Acts 8.30. This particle ἆρα, which is usually incapable of direct translation, indicates anxiety or impatience and introduces only direct questions.[2] If ἆρα is the genuine reading in 2.17c, 'Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας διάκονος' is undoubtedly a direct question, which is then negated by Paul's μὴ γένοιτο.

On the other hand some exegetes incline to the inferential particle ἄρα ('so, then, consequently'), probably because ἄρα is used quite often by Paul (about twenty seven times).[3] On its function, Thrall notes: 'In itself the particle ἄρα may possess either an

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[1]The interrogative particle ἆρα is adopted by UBS[3] and NA[26], and accepted by e.g. Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.117; Lagrange, *Gal*, p.50; Schlier, *Gal*, p.95 n8; Mussner, *Gal*, p.176; Klein, 'Individualgeschichte', p.189; Tannehill, *Dying*, p.55 n1; Hahn, 'Gesetzesverständnis', p.54 n76; Rhyne, *Faith*, p.51; Kieffer, *Foi*, p.54; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.90; Zerwick and Grosvenor, *Grammatical Analysis*, p.568; Rohde, *Gal*, p.113 n66. On the other hand, the inferential particle ἄρα is preferred by e.g. Burton, *Gal*, p.126; Oepke, *Gal*, p.92 n229; Bruce, *Gal*, p.141; Lambrecht, 'Line', pp.489-90; Soards, 'Seeking', p.239; Fung, *Gal*, p.119 n44. Some earlier commentators suggest changes to ἆρ' οὖ which is seldom followed by others, see Meyer, *Gal*, p.118.

[2]BDF §440.2; BAGD, 'ἆρα', (104); G. Schneider, 'ἆρα', *EDNT* 1:149.

[3]It appears in 2.21b; 3.7; 3.29; 5.11; 6.10; Rom 5.18; 7.3, 21, 25; 8.1, 12; 9.16, 18; 10.17; 14.12, 19; 1 Cor 5.10; 7.14; 15.14, 15, 18; 2 Cor 1.17; 5.14; 7.12; 1 Thess 5.6; 2 Thess 2.15; cf. Eph 2.19. Twelve times in Paul, including 6.10, ἄρα is strengthened to ἄρα οὖν; see M.E. Thrall, *Greek Particles in the New Testament* (NTTS 3; Leiden: EJ Brill, 1962), pp.10-11; A. Horstmann, 'ἄρα', *EDNT* 1:148-49.

adverbial force, expressing interest or surprise, or a connective sense, implying consequence'.[4] If it is the illative particle ἄρα being used here, 2.17c seems to connect more firmly to 2.17ab.

But Moule reminds us that 'with either accent (ἆρα or ἄρα), this is an inferential particle'.[5] Though interrogative ἆρα is not used by Paul elsewhere, one cannot rule out the possibility of its being employed here. We incline slightly to read interrogative ἆρα here because the strong rejection μὴ γένοιτο usually follows a question.[6] But for our purpose, whether it is ἆρα or ἄρα, 2.17c remains an inferential *question*.[7]

4.6.2. The Meaning of Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας διάκονος:

Compared to the ambiguous term ἁμαρτωλοί which appears only six times in Paul, the word ἁμαρτία is used by Paul much more frequently: no less than fifty one times. At §3.2.3, we noted that ἁμαρτία occurs only three times in Galatians (1.4, 2.17c and 3.22) and not once in the paraenetic section; instead παράπτωμα (6.1) and σάρξ are used. We suspect there might be some ambiguity with the word ἁμαρτία in the Galatian debate which demands Paul's clearer (re)definition.[8]

Elsewhere the word ἁμαρτία (often in the singular) is used by Paul as an active evil force or power radically against God which holds humankind in bondage (e.g. Rom 6.17, 20; 7.14).[9] Sometimes ἁμαρτία is personified, as in 2.17c.[10] It is quite usual to find Paul

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[4]Thrall, *Greek Particles*, pp.10-11; cf. p.36. See further BAGD, 'ἄρα', (103-104); J.D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* (2nd edition; Oxford: Clarendon, 1954), pp.32-43; Moule, *Idiom*, p.164; K.W. Clark, 'The Meaning of ἄρα', in *FS F.W. Gingrich* (Leiden: EJ Brill, 1972), pp.70-84.

[5]Moule, *Idiom*, p.164. The comment by Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.117 that 'ἆρα hesitates, while ἄρα concludes' might be slightly oversimplified.

[6]Cf. Fitzmyer, 'Gal', 47:20; Matera, *Gal*, p.95.

[7]So Burton, *Gal*, p.126; Lambrecht, 'Line', p.490; Barclay, *Obeying*, p.79 n11. See also §4.3.2.(1).

[8]See suggestions by Michaelis, *TDNT* 6:172; Barclay, *Obeying*, p.211.

[9]See BAGD, 'ἁμαρτία', 3 (43); Fiedler, *EDNT* 1:67-68; E.P. Sanders, 'Sin, Sinners (NT)', *ABD* 6:40-47, here pp.44-46; Fitzmyer, 'Pauline Theology', 82:82-88, and the bibliography cited. It is simply called 'the radical sense' by Lambrecht, 'Line', p.491.

[10]Mussner, *Gal*, p.176 n43; Dunn, *Gal(ms)*, p.10; see also Manson, *Paul*, pp.27-28; G. Stählin, *TDNT* 1:296.

putting 'sin' and 'Christ' in sharp contrast. So for example, in 1.4 the 'present evil age' and **τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν** are put on the same side, from which Christ had come to deliver.[11] Similarly, in 3.22 human existence is described as **ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν** ('under [the power] of sin') until Christ.[12] The same polarity is found in 2 Cor 5.21 and Rom 8.2-4. To be observed therefore is the inference that having both 'Christ' and 'sin' side by side in the inferential question **'Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας διάκονος'** (2.17c) is quite absurd, and thus also false.[13] It is indeed hard to imagine that Christ would have anything positive in relation to sin.[14]

Though it is agreed that the conclusion (2.17c) is wrong and **ἁμαρτία** is used in the radical (demonic) sense, it is quite difficult to translate **διάκονος**: 'agent' (RSV), 'minister' (KJV; NASB), 'servant' (NRSV), 'encouraging' (NAB), 'promotes' (NIV), 'at the service of' (NJB). Besides 2.17c, the word is used by Paul usually coupled with a genitive.[15] The original frame of reference for the use of **διακονέω, διακονία** and **διάκονος** in secular Greek was that of table service (cf. Luke 12.37; Acts 6.2); from this meaning the wider sense of 'to care for one's living' (cf. Matt 25.44; Phlm 13) and finally 'to serve' in general (cf. Mark 10.45; Luke 22.26-27) were derived.[16]

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[11]1.4 looks like a traditional material adopted by Paul, cf. 1 Cor 15.3. The death of Christ is set in the context of salvation history and apocalyptic (see Schlier, *Gal*, pp.32-34; Betz, *Gal*, p.42; Barclay, *Obeying*, pp.99, 205; Fung, *Gal*, pp.40-41).

[12]The prepositional phrase **ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν** describes 'sin' as a force or power within the world which has negative effects on humankind (cf. Rom 3.9; 7.14; see BAGD, **'ὑπό'**, 2.b [843]; Dunn, *Rom*, 1:148-49). 3.22 **'ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν'** is also the beginning of a series of **ὑπό** phrases: **ὑπὸ νόμον** ('under law' 3.23; 4.4-5); **ὑπὸ παιδαγωγόν** ('under a custodian' 3.25); **ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπους καὶ οἰκονόμους** ('under guardians and trustees' 4.2); **ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου** ('under the elemental spirits of the universe' [RSV] 4.3).

[13]Cf. Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.117; Fiedler, *EDNT* 1:67: 'the absurdity of the question...becomes apparent'.

[14]Interestingly, note the contrast between 2.17a (Christ associated with justification) and 2.17c (Christ related to sin).

[15]Rom 13.4(2x); 15.8; 16.1; 1 Cor 3.5; 2 Cor 3.6; 6.4; 11.15, 23; Phil 1.1; Col 1.7, 23, 25; 4.7; possibly 1 Thess 3.2; cf. Eph 3.7; 6.21; 1 Tim 3.8, 12; 4.6.

[16]See A. Weiser, **'διακονέω, διακονία, διάκονος'**, *EDNT* 1:302-304; BAGD, **'διακονέω; διακονία; διάκονος'** (184-85); H.W. Beyer, **'διακονέω κτλ'**, *TDNT* 2:81-93.

Thus its basic idea includes promoting,[17] encouraging and helping,[18] ministering,[19] and executing the activity on behalf of someone.[20]

But as Weiser points out, **διάκονος** is not the same as **δοῦλος**: 'The **δουλ**-words express a relationship of dependence and the subordination of the **δοῦλος** to the **κύριος**. **Διακονέω** and its cognates, on the other hand, express much more strongly the idea of *service* on behalf of someone'.[21] Thus the inferential question '**Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας διάκονος;**' seems to imply an accusation that 'Christ' (or more specifically Paul's 'Christ' or christology) has promoted the interest of sin or contributed to the advancement of sin.[22]

4.6.3. In What Sense Does 'Christ' Promote 'Sin'?

Basically both Paul and the other Jewish Christians agree on the premises (2.17ab) but not on the inferential conclusion (2.17c). With regard to 2.17b, Paul may well concede on the use of **ἁμαρτωλοί**, but he will never accept the conclusion that '**Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας διάκονος**'. But how would the other more conservative Jewish Christians or Paul's 'opponents' understand the logic or the relation between **ἁμαρτωλοί** and **ἁμαρτία**? Would they agree that 2.17c is false? Probably not. But how do we account for their fundamentally different understandings?

We suggest that our observations on the early Jewish Christian

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[17]Cf. Beyer, *TDNT* 2:89: 'In Jewish eyes everyone who does not keep the Law is a sinner; this applies to all Gentiles, with whom Jews may not hold table fellowship. Thus, if Christ causes the Jews who follow Him to renounce the provisions of the Law, He is extending the domain of sin which embraces all the Gentiles'. Beyer goes on to suggest a second alternative, to render **διάκονος** as 'servant' (meaning: enslaved to) and approaches the question of 2.17c from 2.20. Jewish Christians eating with Gentile (Christians) cannot be regarded as sinners. Since 'Christ Himself lives and acts in the man who trust in Him', if the man is found a sinner, Christ too is 'enslaved in sin'. The absurdity of the conclusion illustrates the falsity of the presupposition (the Jewish view of sin).

[18]So BAGD, '**διάκονος**', 1.b. (184).

[19]See K. Hess, 'Serve (**διακονέω**)', *NIDNTT* 3:544-49.

[20]Weiser, *EDNT* 1:302-303; cf. Soards, 'Seeking', p.246.

[21]Weiser, *EDNT* 1:302; *contra* Beyer, *TDNT* 2:89.

[22]Cf. Meyer, *Gal*, p.119: 'one, through whom *sin* receives service rendered, *sin* is upheld and promoted'; Burton, *Gal*, p.126: '**ἁμαρτίας διάκονος** is not **ἁμαρτίας δοῦλος**, "one who is in bondage to sin" (cf. John 8.34), but "one who ministers to sin", one who furthers the interests of sin, promotes, encourages it'.

understanding of faith, as reflected in the εἰδότες ὅτι-clause of 2.16a, could help to resolve this puzzle. On 2.16a, we argue that some Jewish Christians might have originally understood the traditional Jewish covenant boundary markers (ἔργα νόμου) as being supplemented by the new found faith (πίστις Χριστοῦ): ἔργα νόμου are not abandoned nor are they replaced by πίστις Χριστοῦ.[23] According to their understanding, observance of ἔργα νόμου remains a sign of 'staying in' and of being loyal in the covenant: strict observance of ἔργα νόμου could be considered obligatory for *all* Jewish Christians; on the other hand, non-observance or negligence on the part of Jewish Christians would be condemned as sinful (see diagram A in §3.5.[5]).

But for Paul, the covenant boundary has been further redefined in such a way that ἔργα νόμου are excluded and πίστις Χριστοῦ has become the *only* boundary marker (cf. 2.16cd). Covenantal nomism, in Paul's view, therefore consists only of πίστις Χριστοῦ; negligence or even non-observance of ἔργα νόμου does not amount to sin (see diagram B in §3.5.[5]).

Now if we compare this observation on 2.16 with the problem of logic in 2.17bc, we think we can come closer to understanding why some Jewish Christians would regard 'being found sinners' for not observing Jewish food laws scrupulously as equivalent to sinning against God. According to their perception of reality, being found 'ἁμαρτωλοί' for not observing ἔργα νόμου carefully amounts to sin (ἁμαρτία) against God. (See modified diagram A^1 below).

ἔργα νόμου	non-observance = 'sinners' = real sin (ἁμαρτία)
πίστις Χριστοῦ	

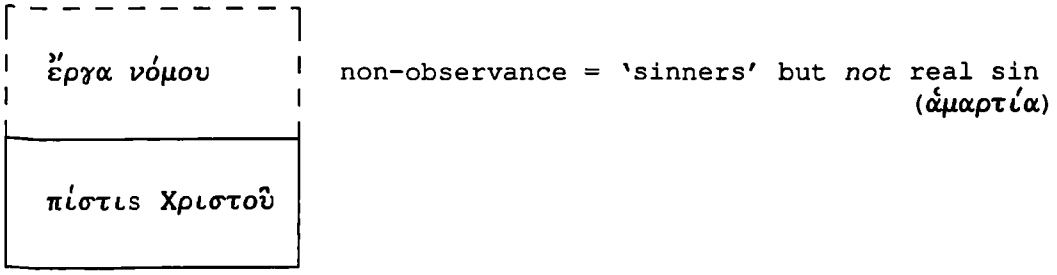
(A^1) Sin and Covenantal Nomism according to Jewish Christians

But from Paul's perspective, the conception of *sin* is redefined in the light of his (new) confidence that πίστις Χριστοῦ is the *only*

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[23] See §3.3. above, esp. §3.3.6. (ἐὰν μή in the exceptive sense).

covenant boundary marker. It follows therefore even though he and other Jewish Christians were being accused of being '**ἁμαρτωλοί**' for not observing the Jewish food laws scrupulously, their behaviour should *not* be seen as sin (**ἁμαρτία**) against God. (See modified diagram B^1 below). For Paul, the traditional Jewish conception of sin, defined in terms of 'works of the law', is no longer applicable to or suitable for a mixed Christian community.



(B^1) Sin and Covenantal Nomism Redefined by Paul

In our opinion, this line of interpretation gives us a better sense of how and why some Jewish Christians *really* feared that their behaviour would become 'sin' before God; in fact, their *inferential conclusion* was not totally absurd according to the complementary relationship of **ἔργα νόμου** and **πίστις Χριστοῦ** (cf. 2.16a). From Paul's perspective, according to his redefinition of the covenant boundary with **πίστις Χριστοῦ** as the only necessary marker, Christian lifestyle and behaviour pattern before God are not defined by **ἔργα νόμου**. It becomes therefore Paul's objective to argue with and to convince other Jewish Christians, or to guide them into *truth* according to the *pedagogical* function of **μὴ γένοιτο**, that being found '**ἁμαρτωλοί**' does not really mean committing **ἁμαρτία** in the radical sense of the word. Thus there is a *shift* of meaning from **ἁμαρτωλοί** to **ἁμαρτία**.[24] To the question '**Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας διάκονος;**' Paul answers, loud and clear, '**μὴ γένοιτο**'.

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[24]Our interpretation in this respect is quite close to Burton, Räisänen and Barclay in §4.2.2.2. above. Cf. Oepke, *Gal*, p.93: 'Die enge Beziehung zwischen **ἁμαρτωλοί** und **ἁμαρτίας** muß erhalten bleiben'. We submit that our line of interpretation makes better sense than Bachmann's *break* between 2.17ab and 2.17c (see §1.4.10 above).

4.7. SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS ON 2.17

According to our investigation, three factors turn out to be absolutely crucial for the interpretation of 2.17. (1) The line of argumentation should be read according to the general pattern of **μὴ γένοιτο** in Paul's rhetorical dialogue, thus the second premise 2.17b is a *realis*.[1] (2) Since our passage 2.15-21 as a whole is related closely to the preceding passage 2.11-14, the meaning of **ἁμαρτωλοί** in 2.17b should be read in the light of the Antioch Incident.[2] (3) Since the most logical way to read the subject 'we' of **εὑρέθημεν** (note the emphatic **καὶ αὐτοί**) is to refer to the same 'we' (**ἡμεῖς**) in 2.15-16, it is almost beyond doubt that Paul is still discussing the crisis of *Jewish Christians* in 2.17.[3]

We have therefore observed also that the sense of 'sin' is quite different in **ἁμαρτωλοί** (2.17b) and **ἁμαρτία** (2.17c); in fact there is a *shift* of meaning from the traditional Torah-oriented sense **ἁμαρτωλοί** to the radical sense **ἁμαρτία**. With reference to the context of the Antioch Incident, **ἁμαρτωλοί** is to be understood not in an ethical sense,[4] but from a sectarian perspective: some Jewish Christians were regarded by others as 'sinners' for not observing the law scrupulously in their common table-fellowship with Gentile Christians at Antioch. According to the perception of reality by some Jewish Christians (cf. 2.16a), being 'sinners' for not observing the traditional Jewish identity-confirming and boundary-defining markers **ἔργα νόμου** is logically and definitely sinful before God.

But Paul argues against such a traditional Jewish definition of 'sin' from his new perspective of faith and Christ, the 'truth of the gospel' (2.5, 14a). According to Paul's rather radical understanding or redefinition of justification, the covenant boundary is defined by **πίστις Χριστοῦ** alone; the traditional Jewish boundary markers **ἔργα**

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[1] See §4.3; thus we consider the various *irrealis* interpretations in §4.2.1. less likely.

[2] Thus we consider 'conversion' interpretations like §4.2.1.1 and §4.2.2.1 very unlikely.

[3] *Contra* Betz, *Gal*, pp.119-20, who attempts to drive a wedge between 2.15-16 and 2.17.

[4] *Contra* the 'ethical' interpretations, such as Lambrecht's *pre*-conversional sinfulness or Longenecker's *post*-conversional sin.

νόμου are now totally replaced by πίστις Χριστοῦ (cf. 2.16cd). Thus being found 'sinners' (ἁμαρτωλοί) in the Jewish sense is not 'sin' (ἁμαρτία) in the absolute sense before God. The *shift* of meaning from the Torah-oriented sense ἁμαρτωλοί to the radical sense ἁμαρτία best illustrates the *fear* of some Jewish Christians (non-observance is in fact 'sinful' according to Torah) and how Paul has to *redefine* 'sin' carefully in light of Christ and faith.

As we have also noted, the purpose and function of μὴ γένοιτο in Paul's rhetorical dialogue is to expose the error of the *false inference* (no matter how logical and sensible originally) and to guide his 'dialogue partner' into deeper theological understanding, here the new ground of existence for Christian living. In our present context, if Paul could convince other Jewish Christians that being 'sinners' (ἁμαρτωλοί, for not observing the Jewish 'works of law' such as food laws) is not 'sin' (ἁμαρτία), then he can possibly persuade them not to abandon table-fellowship with Gentile Christians as in the unfortunate incident at Antioch. By implication, if Paul's argument is accepted, then there is no ground for his Jewish Christian opponents in Galatia to persuade the Gentile Christians to take up 'works of law' as their lifestyle and to undergo circumcision to become proselytes.[5]

From our investigation, it seems that Paul's basic underlying concern, whether at Antioch or for the Galatian churches, is *ecclesiological*: the visible unity of God's people, consisting of both Jewish and Gentile believers. The problem is, how should one envisage the *unity* of a multi-racial Christian community? So if it is (divinely) necessary for Jewish Christians to observe the 'works of law' as their continuing 'staying in' process, two consequences would follow: either the mixed Christian congregation splitting into two separate groups along racial lines (the apparent danger already at Antioch, 2.13); or Gentile Christians being compelled to 'judaize' in order to be united with Jewish Christians (the potential threat as

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[5]According to our study §2.3. above on the crisis in the Galatian Churches, the 'opponents' in Galatia are very likely to be Jewish Christians who were also committed to the Gentile mission, but in contrast to Paul insisted on law-observance and Jewish lifestyle. The 'dialogue partners' whom Paul took issue here are not non-Christian Jews.

seen by Paul, 2.14b). But Paul, as the Apostle to the Gentiles, is convinced that the Gentile believer is to be accepted *as* Gentile without needing to 'judaize'; at the same time he is concerned to maintain church unity, that the Christian Church should remain *one* community. It therefore becomes necessary for Paul to develop a third alternative in which Gentile converts are not undermined and church unity is maintained, i.e. to argue for a new ground of Christian existence in Christ and faith (cf. 2.19-20), which is no longer defined in accordance with the traditional categories of ἐθνικῶς or Ἰουδαϊκῶς (cf. 2.14b).

On a wider issue, is Paul arguing against Torah and for leaving the Jewish faith altogether even for Jewish Christians? Or is Paul trying to reinterpret the heritage of Abraham and to claim that Christian believers (both Jewish and Gentile) are the true heirs of Abraham? According to our interpretation, Paul did not accept the traditional Jewish(-Christian) definition of sin; he seeks to redefine it in the light of Christ and faith, 'the truth of the gospel'. Later on Paul also seeks to argue for a right kind of 'Torah' observance - an appropriate Christian behaviour pattern for all Christians. Paul does refer to the Law in a positive manner (such as 5.14; 6.2; Rom 3.31; 8.4; 13.8-10). Such careful and difficult reinterpretation of Scripture would be quite unnecessary if Paul is arguing for a 'new' religion, or for an exit out of Judaism.[6]

Lastly, though Paul rejected the false inferential question 'Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας διάκονος' with a firm response μὴ γένοιτο, it is necessary for him to substantiate further why 'Christ' in fact does *not* promote 'sin' (2.17c). We turn now to Paul's clarifications in 2.18-20.

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[6]Thus we consider Hamerton-Kelly's interpretation of Paul has made the break between Christianity and Judaism occur much too early.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FIRST CLARIFICATION (GAL 2.18)

5.1. INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS ON 2.18-20

According to Paul's pattern of argumentation with μὴ γένοιτο, the objection is generally supported by further clarification/s (see §4.3. above). In our passage, the illogical conclusion that 'Christ' promotes 'sin' (2.17c) is rejected by Paul according to his perception of the 'gospel' as clarified in 2.15-16. The objection (μὴ γένοιτο; 2.17d) is then further supported by the arguments in 2.18-20. In the following discussion we shall read 2.18 and 2.19-20, which are both introduced by γάρ, as the first and second clarifications in support of Paul's rejection at 2.17 and try to understand how these two statements work in his overall argumentation.

(1) Despite this general observation on the formal structure of the passage, we still have to clarify problems relating to the *flow of argument*, how the two clarifications of 2.18 and 2.19-20 relate to one another and to the preceding argument of 2.17. For example, what is the purpose of 2.18? Does 2.18 aim to clarify the second premise of 2.17b and to function much like a parenthesis as some suggest? Or does 2.18 aim more specifically to answer the false inference of 2.17c? (On various interpretations, see §5.2. below).

As for the explanatory γάρ at 2.19a, does it relate back to the immediate preceding argument of 2.18 (explaining why 'rebuilding' is unacceptable to Paul), or does it relate more directly to Paul's rejection at 2.17 and serve to introduce the second clarification? The main question is, how do 2.18 and 2.19-20 relate to 2.17 and how they support Paul's μὴ γένοιτο at 2.17d more precisely. In our discussion below we will try to investigate how Paul has gone on to counter the false notion that 'Christ is a minister of sin' in the

argument of 2.18-20.

(2) Another characteristic in the passage which certainly demands our attention is the use of first person singular 'I' in 2.18-20 (cf. 2.21a) in contrast to first person plural 'we' in the previous section of 2.15-17 (§1.3.[2]). Does 'I' refer to Paul himself (as a personal 'I' by which Paul means himself in opposition to others)? Or does 'I' refer to Paul himself, but in such a way that all other Christians are also included (as a typical 'I')? Or 'I' as a purely rhetorical device (as a fictive 'I' with the aid of which Paul presents a general idea in a lively manner, without necessarily including himself)?[1]

On the one hand, the identity of the first person singular 'I' at 2.21a ('I do not nullify [ἀθετῶ] the grace of God') seems to be less controversial: the confession-like concluding statement is more likely a reference to Paul's own conviction and commitment.[2] But it is less clear with the non-emphatic 'I' at 2.18 (note the suffix of the verbs: κατέλυσα ['I tore down, I demolished'],[3] οἰκοδομῶ ['I build up again, I restore'],[4] συνιστάνω ['I prove, I demonstrate'],[5] and also the reflexive pronoun ἐμαυτόν ['myself']).[6] Does the 'I' at 2.18 refer to Paul himself?[7] Or does it function purely as a rhetorical device and not having any person specifically in mind?[8] Or

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[1]See G. Theissen, *Psychological Aspects of Pauline Theology* (ET; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1987), p.191 on the three main possibilities as identified in principle. With regard to 'I' in Rom 7.7-25, see the clear summary of views in Cranfield, *Rom*, 1:342-47; cf. BDF §281.

[2]So Stauffer, *TDNT* 2:357; Dunn, *Gal(ms)*, pp.15-16; O. Modalsli, 'Gal. 2.19-21; 5.16-18 und Röm. 7.7-25', *TZ* 21 (1965), pp.22-37 calls it 'Selbstbekenntnis und Beschwörung' (p.28).

[3]BAGD, 'καταλύω', 1.b.β (414); cf. Betz, *Gal*, p.121 n70.

[4]BAGD, 'οἰκοδομέω', 1.c (558); see also §5.3.1. below.

[5]This weaker sense is reflected in RSV, NJB, NIV, NRSV, following BAGD, 'συνίστημι', I.1.c (790); while the stronger sense ('I establish, I constitute') is found in Schlier, *Gal*, p.97 n3 (possibly Bruce, *Gal*, p.136). The rendering of συνιστάνω is difficult (cf. Betz, *Gal*, p.121 n73; Lambrecht, 'Transgression', p.223).

[6]It is not clear how Betz, *Gal*, p.121 suddenly introduced a third party 'Gentile Christians' at this point.

[7]So insisted by Gaventa, 'Galatians', p.318; Theissen, *Psychological*, p.198; Gaston, *Paul*, p.70; Dunn, *Gal(ms)*, p.11.

[8]E.g. Betz, *Gal*, pp.120-21; Bachmann, *Sünder*, pp.43-45; Zerwick and Grosvenor, *Grammatical Analysis*, p.568; cf. Duncan, *Gal*, pp.69-70.

does Paul employ the rhetorical device to make reference to Peter's inconsistency in changing his behaviour at Antioch tactfully?[9]

As for the emphatic use of ἐγώ at 2.19-20 ('I [ἐγώ] through the law' and 'I [ἐγώ] no longer live'), does 'I' have in mind primarily Paul himself while also applicable to others?[10] Or does Paul use the pronoun ἐγώ only in a representative sense, as a rhetorical device for 'anyone'?[11]

(3) There are certain words and phrases in the passage which require clarifications in order to come to a better understanding of Paul's argumentation. For example, though the sentence structure of 2.18 looks simple, there is considerable debate over its meaning. What does ἃ κατέλυσα ταῦτα ('those things which I tore down') refer to? Are they the Law (τὸν νόμον) or something else?[12] What is the meaning of παραβάτην ἐμαυτὸν συνιστάνω ('I prove myself a transgressor')? In what sense do 'I' become a 'παραβάτης', and παραβάτης of what?[13]

On 2.19 itself, there are also numerous problems, in which almost every word or phrase is full of controversy. For example, what is the meaning of the dative construction in νόμῳ ἀπέθανον ('I died

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[9]E.g. Meyer, *Gal*, p.120; Burton, *Gal*, pp.130-132; Oepke, *Gal*, p.93; Ridderbos, *Gal*, p.94; Modalsli, 'Gal', p.23; Barrett, *Freedom*, p.20; Mussner, *Gal*, p.178; Borse, *Gal*, p.115; Rohde, *Gal*, p.115. See also §5.4 below. The difficulties are discussed by Theissen, *Psychological*, p.198 and Klein, 'Individualgeschichte', p.195.

[10]E.g. Burton, *Gal*, p.132; Duncan, *Gal*, p.70; Oepke, *Gal*, p.94; Bruce, *Gal*, pp.143-44; Zerwick and Grosvenor, *Grammatical Analysis*, p.568; Rohde, *Gal*, p.115; Dunn, *Gal(ms)*, p.12.

[11]E.g. Ridderbos, *Gal*, p.103; Kümmel, *Theology*, p.214; Betz, *Gal*, pp.121-22; Tannehill, *Dying*, p.57; Lambrecht, 'Line', p.495; Longenecker, *Gal*, pp.90-91; Gaventa, 'Singularity', p.158.

[12]There are various suggestions for ἃ κατέλυσα ταῦτα; see §5.3.1. It is rightly insisted by Neitzel, 'Zur Interpretation', pp.135-36 that attention should also be paid to this little relative pronoun ἅ, though we disagree with his finding.

[13]Because there is no noun following παραβάτην as its object, most exegetes tend to supply an objective genitive νόμου in order to clarify the meaning. NIV translates 'law-breaker'. J. Schneider, 'παραβαίνω κτλ', *TDNT* 5:736-44 argues that 'Transgression is sin only where there is disregard for the ἐντολή of God' (p.739); 'In the NT the παραβάτης is one who transgresses a specific divine commandment' (p.741). But some challenge this observation, cf. Lambrecht, 'Transgression', pp.230-35. See §5.3.2. below.

to Law')/θεῷ ζήσω ('I might live to God') at 2.19a?[14] What is the meaning of διὰ νόμου, and how does it relate to the subject 'I' (and/or verb ἀπέθανεν)?[15] At 2.19b one is confronted with the unique Pauline formulation 'with Christ' (σὺν Χριστῷ) which demands some clarifications.[16] Thus what is the meaning of Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι ('I have been crucified with Christ')? How and when were believers being crucified with Christ? Coupled with this problem is, how does this asyndeton sentence (i.e. without any connective) relate to 2.19a and to the idea of 'dying to Law' in 2.19a?[17]

Because of its many complex difficulties, some of which are clearly beyond the scope of our present study, we do not intend to present a detail exegesis of the passage, but choose rather to concentrate on the flow of argumentation and seek to clarify how the two statements of clarification support Paul's rejection of the false inference 'Christ is a minister of sin' (2.17c).

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[14]See esp. the study by C.F.D. Moule, 'Death "to Sin", "to Law" and "to the World": A Note on Certain Datives', in *Mélanges Bibliques en hommage au R.P. Béda Rigaux* (edited by A. Descamps and A. de Halleux; Gembloux: Duculot, 1970), pp.367-75; §6.2.1. below.

[15]For various views see Meyer, *Gal*, pp.122 (for earlier commentators); Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.118; Schlier, *Gal*, p.99; Räisänen, *Paul*, pp.57-58; Kieffer, *Foi*, pp.68-69; Gilthvedt, *Dying*, pp.97-115. See also §6.2.2. below.

[16]There is tremendous debate over the crucial phrase 'with Christ' among Pauline scholars, see esp. W. Grundmann, 'σύν - μετά with genitive', *TDNT* 7:766-97; J. Dupont, ΣΥΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΩΙ (Paris: Desclée, 1952); R. Schnackenburg, *Baptism in the Thought of St. Paul* (ET; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964); E. Schweizer, 'Dying and Rising with Christ', *NTS* 14 (1967-68), pp.1-14; P. Siber, *Mit Christus leben* (ATANT 61; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1971); E. Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon* (Hermeneia; ET; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971), at 2.14 and 2.12; Käsemann, *Rom*, pp.160-64; L. Goppelt, *Theology of the New Testament* (ET; 2 vols; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981-82), 2:98-105; Beker, *Paul*, pp.274-75; A.J.M. Wedderburn, *Baptism and Resurrection* (WUNT 44; Tübingen: JCB Mohr, 1987); K. Grayston, *Dying, We Live* (Oxford: OUP, 1990), pp.8-163. See also those works on 'in Christ' at §4.4.3. above (p.200).

[17]It is generally recognised that the idea of 'death' is repeated in 2.19b (cf. Mussner, *Gal*, p.180). The question is, does 2.19b aim to explain how the dying to Law took place, so that the perfect συνεσταύρωμαι coincides with the aorist ἀπέθανον, 'I died'? Or does 2.19b provide the 'objective' theological basis for how the 'subjective' dying to Law in 2.19a could take place? We shall deal with this controversial issue briefly at §6.3. below.

5.2. DIFFERENT VIEWS ON παραβάτην IN 2.18

Before we list the alternative views with summaries of their key arguments we would like to begin by making some general observations on the sentence structure. According to BDF's classification, Paul's first clarification here at 2.18 is introduced in the form of a first class conditional sentence, a condition of fact (εἰ, not ἐάν).[1] In the protasis of 2.18a the two key verbs κατέλυσα and οἰκοδομῶ are in the form of an opposition,[2] and the neuter plural ταῦτα is qualified by ἃ κατέλυσα. In the apodosis of 2.18b the verb συνιστάνω takes the reflexive pronoun ἐμαυτόν in the accusative case as the direct object and the noun παραβάτην as the predicate accusative.[3]

In current discussion, broadly speaking, exegetes tend to identify the meaning of παραβάτης either with the *previous* act of 'tearing down' (κατέλυσα) or with the more *recent* act of 'building up again' (πάλιν οἰκοδομῶ).[4] At the same time there are also different ways of relating the sense of παραβάτης. For some the meaning of παραβάτης is related to the act of conversion, while others have made a connection with Torah observance in the Antioch Incident. And so there are essentially three alternatives. For the first group of views καταλύω was a negative, sinful action; building up again is a retraction which manifests and confesses the wrong nature of the

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[1]BDF §371: 'εἰ with the indicative of all tenses denotes a simple conditional assumption with emphasis on the reality of the assumption (not of what is being assumed): the condition is considered "a real case"' (see BDF §§371-76 on conditional sentences; cf. Moule, *Idiom*, pp.148-52). Therefore BDF §281 suggests that 2.18 as a real case can by no means apply to Paul himself.

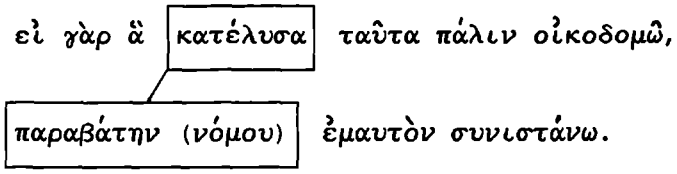
[2]Cf. Bruce, *Gal*, p.142: 'One way or another, someone who builds up what he formerly demolished acknowledges his fault, explicitly in his former demolition or implicitly in his present rebuilding. If the one activity was right, the other must be wrong'; Barrett, *Freedom*, p.20: 'if I start to build up again the things which I pulled down I must have been wrong at some stage'. On the opposition between καταλύω and πληρόω at Matt 5.17, see the survey of various views in U. Luz, *Matthew 1-7* (ET; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989), pp.260-65.

[3]See BDF §157(4); Moule, *Idiom*, p.35.

[4]For earlier commentators, see Lietzmann, *Gal*, pp.16-17; Neitzel, 'Zur Interpretation', pp.132-35. In our presentation of different views below we have introduced further refinement to the clear presentation, and particularly the diagrams, by Wechsler, *Geschichtsbild*, pp.384-95.

previous destruction. As for the second and third group of views, the emphasis is put on the main verb οἰκοδομῶ of the protasis (2.18a) which corresponds in tense with συνιστάνω. But there is considerable disagreement over the nature of 'transgression', whether it refers to the *consequence* of rebuilding (view 2) or to the act of rebuilding *itself* (view 3). As for the third view in particular, though 'transgression' is identified with the act of rebuilding *itself*, the debate is over the object of rebuilding (the reference of ἃ κατέλυσα ταῦτα) and why it is considered a 'transgression'.

5.2.1. παραβάτης in *Previous* 'Tearing Down':



(1a) Some argue that the 'transgression' refers to the *previous action of relaxation* of the Law in the interest of Gentile-Christian fellowship; the period of non-observance (cf. κατέλυσα) turns out, in retrospect, to have been a time of arbitrary laxity if the food regulations are reinstated. Thus 2.18b is rendered as 'I *show* myself to *have been* a transgressor'. On this view, παραβάτης refers to Peter's previous behaviour seen from a Jewish perspective, a usage similar to the meaning of ἁμαρτωλοί in 2.15 and 2.17. According to this view, 2.18 functions as a parenthesis, which takes up the idea of 2.17b (εὑρέθημεν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτωλοί) and concretizes it through an explanation. It is maintained that the imagery of 'tearing down' and 'building up' refers to the vacillating behaviour of Peter at Antioch.

A strong proponent of this view is Mussner: 'Wenn er das tut, erklärt er selber seine bisherige Tischgemeinschaft mit den Heidenchristen als etwas Sündiges und stempelt sich damit selber als einen "Übertreter" des Gesetzes. Begründet wird also im V18 näherhin die vorhergehende Aussage εὑρέθημεν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτωλοί'.[5] Similarly it is argued by Räisänen: 'It was *this* construction that Peter was in fact building up again through his changed behaviour, thus indicating

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[5]Mussner, *Gal*, pp.178-79.

that his previous life style had been an error, a transgression'.[6]

This interpretation has a clear advantage in that it relates very well to the changing behaviour of Peter at Antioch. But there are some difficulties. (i) At the end of 2.17, one expects Paul to substantiate his rejection **μὴ γένοιτο** why Christ is *not* a 'servant of sin'. But this rendering of the argument of 2.18 in the form of a parenthesis, trying to pick up again the idea of 'sinners' at 2.17b, seems to be moving backwards rather than forward and not replying to the question at 2.17c.[7] (ii) The present tense **συνιστάνω** seems to indicate present or future actions rather than past behaviour.

(1b) Another opinion is to identify the 'transgression' with the *previous act of conversion*. It is said that in their acceptance of faith in Christ Jewish Christians have torn down the Law as a means of justification. Thus it is argued that if one returns to the Law again, that would imply one's previous trusting faith in Christ has been a serious error. So argues Lightfoot: 'If, after destroying the old law of ordinances, I attempt to build it up again, I condemn myself, I testify to my guilt in the work of destruction'.[8]

But this explanation which focuses on the conversion experience has the severe disadvantage of not able to relate to the question of behaviour or 'staying in' as reflected in the Antioch Incident.

5.2.2. **παραβάτης** as a *Consequence* of 'Building Up':

εἰ γὰρ ἃ κατέλυσα ταῦτα πάλιν οἰκοδομῶ, παραβάτην (νόμου) ἐμαυτὸν συνιστάνω.

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[6]Räisänen, *Paul*, p.259; see also n159. This view is also found in e.g. Lührmann, *Gal*, p.45; Borse, *Gal*, p.116; Watson, *Paul*, pp.67, 198 n83; Barclay, *Obeying*, p.80; Cosgrove, *Cross*, p.138.

[7]So criticised by Tannehill, *Dying*, p.55.

[8]Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.117. This view is also found in, e.g. Oepke, *Gal*, p.93: 'Nachträgliches Wiederinkraftsetzen des Gesetzes bedeutet also nichts Geringeres, als daß Petrus sich mit seinem Christusglauben in Widerspruch [*contradiction*] setzt, diesen Glauben nachträglich zu einem schweren Unrecht [*a serious mistake*] stempelt'; Schmithals, *Paul*, pp.75-76; J.G. Machen, *Machen's Notes on Galatians* (edited by J.H. Skilton; Philadelphia: Presbyterian & Reformed Publishing, 1972), pp.149-153 (the **γάρ** in 2.18 does not give a reason for Paul's negative answer to the question at 2.17c, but explains how the question came to be raised, p.153); Bring, *Gal*, p.91.

(2a) Quite a number of scholars who read the verb συνιστάνω in a *future* sense have referred the 'transgression' to *actual wilful transgression* of the Law which is said to be the inevitable consequence of reestablishing the Law (cf. πάλιν οἰκοδομῶ) as an authority in the believer's life. According to this view, 2.18 functions to explain 2.17c, why 'Christ is not a minister of sin': it is not Christ who makes one sin, but 'I' the one who submits afresh to the dominion or power of the Law and so is bound to become a transgressor of the Law (cf. Rom 4.15). In terms of this view, sometimes the Law is said to increase and even to stir up sin (referring to 3.10; 3.19; Rom 4.15). On this view παραβάτης refers to *actual sinning*. This view was expounded by W. Mundle as follows:[9]

> die Sphäre des Gesetzes ist eben die der Übertretungen, man kann nich unter dem Gesetze leben, ohne ein παραβάτης zu werden und sich dadurch den Zorn Gottes (Rom 4.15), den Fluch des Gesetzes zuzuziehen (Gal 3.10ff): Das Gesetz wieder aufrichten heißt sich als παραβάτης erweisen, alles das wieder rückgängig machen, was Christus gebracht hat.

Similarly it is argued by Schlier: '...dann begeben sie sich wieder unter die Macht [*power*], unter der es παραβάτης gibt (Rom 4.15), dann machen sie sich wieder zu solchen, die die Tora halten müssen und sie übertreten'.[10]

In our opinion this rendering of 2.18 in close relation to the question of 2.17c captures quite well the flow of argumentation and highlights rightly the contrast involved: not Christ, but 'I' (though some explanation is needed why emphatic ἐγώ is not used). But we still have to ask, Is it correct to identify ἃ κατέλυσα ταῦτα with the Law? And does the Law really draw people to sin as an evil *power*?

(2b) Another suggestion by Bruce which reads 2.18 also as an

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[9]W. Mundle, 'Zur Auslegung von Gal 2.17-18', *ZNW* 23 (1924), pp.152-53, here p.153.

[10]Schlier, *Gal*, p.97. This view is followed by many, e.g. Bultmann, 'Zur Auslegung', p.398; Klein, 'Individualgeschichte', p.199; pp.196-198 on rejecting the parallelization of 2.17b and 2.18; Becker, *Gal*, p.30, but maintains that ταῦτα refers to 'die gesetzliche Schranke [*barrier*] zwischen Juden- und Heidenchristen'; Ridderbos, *Gal*, p.103; Kümmel, 'Individualgeschichte', p.168; Feld, 'Christus', p.130 n40; Bouwmann, 'Christus', pp.48-49; Wilckens, 'Was heißt', p.93; Fung, *Gal*, p.122; Böttger, 'Paulus', p.92 (cf. pp.96-97); Bachmann, *Sünder*, pp.46-47, 74-75.

answer to 2.17c, why Christ is not a minister of sin, insists that 'the clause **παραβάτην ἐμαυτὸν συνιστάνω**...is almost equivalent to **εὑρέθην ἁμαρτωλός**'.[11] According to Bruce, the person who reinstates the law as if it is still in force in salvation history now would imply that anyone who sought salvation elsewhere other than in Christ *remains* unjustified, i.e. one is still found in sin.

In our opinion this interpretation like (1a) above fails to relate our passage to the burning issue relating to behaviour pattern (how to 'stay in') as reflected in the Antioch Incident.

5.2.3. **παραβάτης** in the *Present Act* of 'Building Up':

εἰ γὰρ ἃ κατέλυσα ταῦτα πάλιν οἰκοδομῶ,

παραβάτην (?) ἐμαυτὸν συνιστάνω.

(3a) Burton, in particular, suggests that the object of 'transgression' is the Law (objective genitive **νόμου** will be supplied) and finds the key to the understanding of 2.18 in its connection to 2.19.[12] According to this view, the paradoxical statement of 2.18 requires proof and is furnished in 2.19a which is linked by the explanatory **γάρ**; this **γάρ** in 2.19 does not relate back to 2.17. With this rendering of **γάρ** at 2.19 the 'transgression' is found in the act of reestablishing (cf. **πάλιν οἰκοδομῶ**) the Law or the statutes of the Law as if it is still valid: the rebuilding *itself* is wrong precisely *because* it goes against *the real intent* of the Law as divinely conceived, i.e. to lead one to die to it so that one may live to God (2.19a). On this view, the meaning of **παραβάτης** is again considered different from the Jewish sense of **ἁμαρτωλοί** in

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[11]Bruce, *Gal*, p.142, cf. Bultmann, 'Zur Auslegung', p.399.

[12]Burton, *Gal*, pp.130-31: 'The reasoning of this sentence is of the type e *contrario*. So far from its being the case that I commit sin by violating statutes of the law, it is, on the contrary, the fact that if I build up again those commands of the law which I broke down, I show myself therein a transgressor...The statement that not by disobeying but by obeying the statutes of the law he becomes a transgressor is, of course, obviously paradoxical and itself requires proof; this is furnished in v.19'. Cf. Ellicott, *Gal*, pp.41-42.

2.15 and 2.17.[13]

(3b) But some identify the 'transgression' with Peter's *present behaviour of withdrawing* from table-fellowship with Gentile Christians: **πάλιν οἰκοδομῶ** refers to the rebuilding of boundary and separation. According to this view, the act of rebuilding itself is considered a more direct and more serious violation of God's Law (or God's gospel) than the technical breach of a regulation which the opponents called 'sin'. The transgression is nothing other than what is expressed in 2.21a, 'the grace of God'. On this view, **παραβάτης** refers to real sin, which is set in contrast to the sense of **ἁμαρτωλοί** in 2.15 and 2.17. So expounded by Duncan as follows:[14]

> By the subtle substitution at this point of a new term in place of the ambiguous word 'sinner' of the previous verse, Paul, with a poignant sense of reality, drives home the plea that conduct such as he now describes is a more direct and more serious violation of God's Law than that which the Judaizers call 'sin'; it is conscious wilful transgression.

(3c) This last view is now expanded by Lambrecht in a recent study, 'Transgressor by Nullifying God's Grace', taking up ideas from Burton and Duncan that the 'transgression' refers not to the previous action of 'tearing down' nor the future consequences of 'building up' but to the act of *rebuilding itself*.[15]

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[13]This view is also reflected in e.g. Bligh, *Gal*, p.210; Guthrie, *Gal*, p.89; Byrne, *'Sons'*, p.146 (by reerecting the wall of separation between Jews and Gentiles constituted by the Law I 'transgress' the Law); Longenecker, *Gal*, p.91.

[14]Duncan, *Gal*, p.69. Followed by e.g. Ziesler, *Righteousness*, p.173: 'The real sin is not in infringing the Law, but in disloyalty to Christ and to the new way of acceptability in and through him, vv.18f. Paul the Christian has died to the Law, both as a means of salvation and as the way of righteousness. So then, if you take the Law as your standard, Christians are sinners, but Paul does not take the Law as his standard, and thus cannot accept the definition of sinner. On the contrary, the real sin would be to revert to the way of law-righteousness, v.18'; Cousar, *Gal*, p.51; Hansen, *Abraham*, p.106: 'the contrast between **παραβάτης** and **ἁμαρτωλοί** suggests that Paul views the rebuilding of the law rather than the breaking of it as the real transgression...While he admits that breaking them would cause him to be classified with the **ἁμαρτωλοί** (v.17) from the perspective of the law, he goes on to insist that any submission to those commands of the law which he had broken would in fact constitute transgression (v.18) from the perspective of the gospel'.

[15]See Lambrecht, 'Transgressor', pp.231-34; cf. 'Line', pp.488-89, 493-94. Wechsler, *Geschichtsbild*, pp.391-93 has come to a very

Lambrecht argues that the 'unexpressed' direct object of παραβάτης is not the Law (as in Burton), but could refer to the *new command* in 2.19a that Christians must live for God; in which case the building up again of the Law would make obedience to that new command no longer possible.[16] Furthermore, Lambrecht finds also a 'content parallelism' between 2.18a and 2.21b in the two 'hypothetical statements' and suggests that 2.18b ('transgressor') might correspond to 2.21a ('nullifying the grace of God').[17] In conclusion he says:[18]

> It is the restoration itself which also transgresses the new command to live solely for God...by the restoration of the Law Paul would destroy God's grace and become *ipso facto* a transgressor of that new command to live for God...Paul does not want to become a transgressor by nullifying the grace of God.

Summary Remarks: From the above survey, two crucial questions come out very sharply which demand our closer attention. (1) It is essential that the exact reference of ἃ κατέλυσα ταῦτα in 2.18a should be clarified. (2) With reference to παραβάτην ἐμαυτὸν συνιστάνω of 2.18b we have to ask, what is the meaning of παραβάτης, and what is the possible unexpressed direct object of παραβάτην here. It is our hope that at the end of this section we can come close to a possible interpretation of this problematic and vague statement of Paul.[19]

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similar conclusion.

[16]Cf. Lambrecht, 'Transgressor', p.234: 'To be sure, because of the Pauline use of παραβάτης and because of the specific content of v.18a (restoration of Law prescriptions) one expects after "transgressor" the objective genitive "Law": one tends spontaneously to supply its absence. Yet, immediately afterwards, v.19a points to a new situation: Paul is dead to the Law; and in v.19b there is the ἵνα-clause which formulates the new command: a Christian must live for God. Does the transgression of v.18b not precisely consist in the building up again of the Law which would make obedience to the new command no longer possible?'

[17]Lambrecht, 'Transgressor', pp.222, 235.

[18]Lambrecht, 'Transgressor', pp.235-36; his additional observations as 'proofs' on p.235.

[19]Because of its immense difficulties, Hasler, 'Glaube', p.246 n8 and Schmithals, 'Judaisten', pp.41-43 suggest that the verse could well be a later scribal interpolation. But to excise a (difficult) text without any text critical support is a desperate expedient.

5.3. TWO NOTES OF CLARIFICATION ON 2.18

5.3.1. What does ἃ κατέλυσα ταῦτα refer to?

The opposition between κατέλυσα and οἰκοδομῶ in the protasis indicates that one way or another, either the act of 'tearing down' or the 'building up' must be wrong (cf. Mark 15.58; Rom 14.19-20).[1] Since κατέλυσα is an aorist, while οἰκοδομῶ is in the present tense and is qualified by πάλιν, the act of 'tearing down' must be an earlier action done previously.[2] This past action of 'tearing down' could refer to the time of conversion, or more likely, to the more recent event at Antioch. More important is the interpretation of how one understand the neuter direct object ἅ (and ταῦτα with reference to οἰκοδομῶ).

The imagery of 'building up' often has a positive meaning and reference, sometimes with God as the builder and Israel as the object, which is an important OT tradition not least in the book of Jeremiah.[3] The verb οἰκοδομέω in the NT is used both in the literal sense (e.g. Mark 12.1 par; 15.29 par) and also combined with various objects in a figurative sense (e.g. Matt 16.18; 1 Pet 2.5).[4] This metaphor of 'building up' is also an important concept in Paul's thinking especially with regard to his specific apostolic activity or ministry and the spiritual task of the Christian community.[5] Though

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[1]There are also similar rabbinic expressions of contrast between *satar* (καταλύειν) and *banah* (οἰκοδομεῖν), e.g. *b. Berakot* 63a: 'They spoke to him: Thou has built up (by praising us), thou canst not now tear down (by calumniating us; thy tearing down would contradict thy building up); thou hast already fenced around, thou canst not make a break'; *b. Nedarim* 40a: 'R. Shimeon b. Eleazar (c.190) said: When the young men say to thee: Build, and the old: Tear down, listen to the old men and not to the young; for the building of the young is a tearing down, and the tearing down of the old a building up; a sign of this is Rehoaboam, the son of Solomon' (cited by O. Michel, 'οἰκοδομέω', *TDNT* 5:136-44, here p.142). See also Str-B 1:876; 3:379, 537-38.

[2]Cf. Klein, 'Individualgeschichte', p.198.

[3]See Jer 1.10 (his own prophetic call); 12.16; 24.6; 31.4, 31.28; 33.7; 42.10; 45.4. For extra-biblical Jewish references, see Michel, *TDNT* 5:137-38.

[4]See BAGD, 'οἰκοδομέω', 558; Michel, *TDNT* 5:138-39.

[5]The verb appears only nine times: Rom 15.20; 1 Cor 8.1; 10.1, 23; 14.4[2x], 17; Gal 2.18; 1 Thess 5.11; the noun οἰκοδομή ten times: Rom 14.19; 15.2; 1 Cor 3.9; 14.3, 5, 12, 26; 2 Cor 5.1; 10.8; 12.19;

οἰκοδομεῖν is often used in the positive sense, it is used in the *negative* sense here: 'the usage in 2.18 is on the whole unique in Paul' says Michel.[6] Thus in the protasis of 2.18a, the wrong act is not the 'tearing down' (καταλύειν), but the very act of 'building up' (οἰκοδομεῖν).

As we have already noted, the direct object of οἰκοδομῶ, ταῦτα in the accusative case, is a neuter plural demonstrative pronoun which is qualified by a neuter plural relative pronoun ἃ followed by κατέλυσα. But what does Paul has in mind with ταῦτα?

There are some curious suggestions, such as sin,[7] or the church.[8] Most scholars, however, think that the neuter plural ταῦτα obviously refers to the *Law* (ὁ νόμος; masculine singular).[9] Eg. Oepke remarks that 'so wären die Worte ἃ κατέλυσα ταῦτα besser durch

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13.10; cf. Eph 2.21; 4.12, 16, 29) in Paul's writings. See Michel, *TDNT* 5:140-42; Dunn, *Rom*, 2:825; G.D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), p.137.

[6]Michel, *TDNT* 5:142, cf. 'οἰκοδομεῖν, in distinction from Pauline usage elsewhere, has here a negative character; it is not a soteriological term; for it signifies the restoration and confession of the ancient order of the Law, the very opposite of its ordinary sense. The use of οἰκοδομεῖν in Gal 2.18 is in every way unique and not at all typical' (n13, citing P. Vielhauer). Cf. Kieffer, *Foi*, p.65: 'Une certaine ironie peut être sous-jacente au texte'.

[7]E.g. M. Luther, 'Lectures on Galatians' [1535], in *Luther's Works* (ET; vols 26 and 27; Saint Louis: Concordia, 1963-64), pp.151-55, when one accepts the gospel, sin is torn down; but when one abandons the gospel, sin is built up again. 'By the gospel I have destroyed sin, sadness, wrath, and death' (p.152); J. Calvin, *The Epistle to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians and Colossians* (ET; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965), p.41: 'for he [Paul] had preached the faith of Christ in such a way as to connect with it the ruin and destruction of sin. For John teaches that Christ came not to build up but to destroy the kingdom of sin (1 John 3.8). And so Paul declares here that in preaching the Gospel he had restored true righteousness that sin might be destroyed'. But it is not clear how Luther and Calvin arrived at this interpretation from the context itself. See also the criticisms in Ebeling, *Truth*, p.133 and Neitzel, 'Zur Interpretation', p.135.

[8]In order to argue that the direct object of tearing down and building up could refer to the 'church', Gaston, *Paul*, p.71 insist (against Michel) that Paul's usage of οἰκοδομεῖν here at 2.18 is the *same* as elsewhere. For other suggestions, see Bruce, *Gal*, p.142.

[9]Or in Betz's comments, the words 'law' and 'works of law' become interchangeable (*Gal*, p.121).

einfaches τὸν νόμον zu ersetzen';[10] Schlier, 'Das, was der Christ aufgelöst und außer Geltung gesetzt hat, ist das Gesetz bzw. sind seine Forderungen (demands) und die Leistungen (performances), die gegenüber dem Gesetz geschahen, als Mittel und Wege, um zur Gerechtigkeit zu kommen'.[11] Similarly, Fung after identifying the object as 'the law, which set up the wall of partition (cf. Eph 2.14) between Jews and Gentiles by means of the its demands' goes on to say 'and which, by the same means, could be *perverted* into an instrument for supposedly attaining merit before God'.[12] Or more nuanced by Longenecker: 'The phrase ἃ κατέλυσα ταῦτα...refers to the law as both the basis for justification and a necessary form of life'.[13]

But is it proper to identify ταῦτα (and ἅ) with τὸν νόμον? Probably not. In our opinion, it does appear that a more straightforward reading is to relate this neuter plural ταῦτα to ἔργα νόμου, which appears three times in 2.16 and plays quite a significant part in the argumentation. This observation is shared partly by Mussner: 'Hinter dem unbestimmten Objekt ταῦτα verbirgt sich entweder die Vorstellung von bestimmten Verboten des Gesetzes wie die rituellen Speiseregeln (ritual food laws) oder die Vorstellung vom Gesetz als Scheidewand (barrier), die nach jüdischer Auffassung Juden und Heiden voneinander trennt'.[14]

But Ebeling insists that one should 'dig deeper than the words of the text seems to require' (i.e. the ceremonial law alone) and argues that ταῦτα (and ἅ) should refer to 'ἔργα νόμου in general...everything that fulfillment of the law might be expected to

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[10]Oepke, *Gal*, p.93. Cf. Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.117: 'The pulling down and building up have reference doubtless to the Mosaic law, though expressed as a general maxim (ταῦτα)'.

[11]Schlier, *Gal*, p.97.

[12]Fung, *Gal*, p.120 (*italics* mine). Cf. Guthrie, *Gal*, p.89: 'It would be sinful to reimpose law as a method of salvation'; Cole, *Gal*, pp.122-23: 'The Judaizers, with their reintroduction of law-keeping as an essential of salvation, are painfully rebuilding the very structure of human "merit" that, for Paul, had come crashing in ruins on the Damascus road'. Also insists Rohde, *Gal*, p.114 that seeking justification in Christ is 'ein Auflösen des Gesetzes: Wer die Gerechtigkeit in Christus sucht, sucht sie nicht mehr im Gesetz, ist aus dem Gesetz herausgetreten und hat es für sich niedergerissen'.

[13]Longenecker, *Gal*, pp.90-91.

[14]Mussner, *Gal*, p.178; cf. Eph 2.14.

gain in terms of one's standing in the eyes of God'.[15] Similarly, Neitzel argues that 'Paulus mit dem Relativpronomen die Suche nach dem Gerechtfertigtwerden aus Gesetzeswerken, d.h. die jüdische Lebensweise, meint: **τὸ ζητεῖν δικαιωθῆναι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου**' in 2.17.[16] But in our opinion this type of 'deeper' reading into **ἔργα νόμου** as a human religious search for justification tends to misunderstand Paul's original context of conflict and to forget the social dimension and implications of the gospel.[17]

Certainly, Paul's objection to **ἔργα νόμου** is not directed mainly to its ritual aspect as Mussner seems to indicate. In §3.3.2. above, we have already clarified the meaning of **ἔργα νόμου** as Jewish covenantal nomism which focuses on principal identity-confirming and boundary-defining markers such as circumcision, Jewish food laws and Sabbath observance. It is these traditional badges of Jewish covenantal membership that had caused much trouble and division in a mixed Christian community, not least in the disruption of table-fellowship at Antioch.

Thus with reference to the incident at Antioch, there is no doubt that Paul refused to back down and to reintroduce again (**πάλιν οἰκοδομῶ**) the divisive Jewish food laws (**ταῦτα** = **ἔργα νόμου**) which had been torn down previously before the arrival of the men from James (cf. 2.12) because Paul was convinced that Christian community should remain as *one* body and not be divided.[18] On the other hand, it is Peter who gave in to pressure to 'rebuild' the Jewish **ἔργα νόμου** and so divided the community. And since the protasis of 2.18a is introduced by **εἰ** (not **ἐάν**) which implies a real case, the non-emphatic 'I' can hardly apply to Paul himself, but could be a rhetorical device ('Stilmittel') to make reference to people like

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[15]Ebeling, *Truth*, pp.133-34.

[16]Neitzel, 'Zur Interpretation', p.136.

[17]See esp. Dahl, *Studies*, pp.95-120; Stendahl, *Paul*, pp.1-7, 78-96, 129-33.

[18]For Paul, if covenantal membership is defined also by traditional Jewish **ἔργα νόμου**, Gentiles by nature would have been excluded right away, unless Gentile Christians 'judaize' all the way and receive circumcision. But this assimilation policy (that Gentiles could join the Jewish community by becoming proselytes; cf. Barclay, *Obeying*, p.235) greatly threatens the very heart of Paul's gospel: 'the truth of the gospel' *for* the Gentiles (2.5). See again §2.2.3. and §3.5.

Peter.[19]

5.3.2. What is the Meaning of παραβάτην in 2.18b?

What would happen if Paul were to rebuild the ἔργα νόμου? In the protasis of 2.18b Paul says 'παραβάτην ἐμαυτὸν συνιστάνω'. But what does it mean by παραβάτης? And παραβάτης of what? As we have seen, most scholars would assume that the unexpressed object of παραβάτην is the Law (νόμου) and argue that it refers to the sinful transgression of the divine Law (e.g. view 2a). But some argue that the term here is equivalent to ἁμαρτωλοί ('sinners' in the Jewish sense) because 2.18b is seen as parallel to 2.17b (e.g. view 1a and Bruce). For Gaston, παραβάτης is to be translated 'apostate'.[20] And Lambrecht now argues that the unexpressed object could refer to the new command which is found in 2.19a (see 3c above).

The issue is complicated partly because Paul did not express clearly the object of παραβάτην here.[21] But Paul did provide the noun νόμου in Rom 2.25 ('do you dishonor God διὰ τῆς παραβάσεως τοῦ νόμου') and 2.27 ('you who have the written code and circumcision but are παραβάτην νόμου').[22] As with regard to another closely related noun παράβασις ('transgression, overstepping') which appears four times in Paul, transgression is always related to the Law (3.19; Rom 2.23; 4.15) except in Rom 5.14 with reference to Adam's transgression of God's commandment (cf. Gen 2.16-17).[23] It does appear that

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[19]So Burton, *Gal*, p.130; Mussner, *Gal*, p.178; Tannehill, *Dying*, pp.56-57; Schlier, *Gal*, p.96; Kieffer, *Foi*, p.62; Barclay, *Obeying*, p.80 n13; Böttger, 'Paulus', p.92; *pace* Lambrecht, 'Transgression', pp.221-22; Gaventa, 'Galatians', p.318; Theissen, *Psychological*, p.198; Dunn, *Gal(ms)*, p.11. See again BDF §281; cf. MHT 3:39-40. For further discussion on ἐγώ in 2.19-20, see §5.4. and §6.5. below.

[20]Gaston, *Paul*, p.67; cf. Segal, *Paul*, pp.202, 211.

[21]Bachmann, *Sünder*, p.46; cf. Burton, *Gal*, p.131 even suggests that the word may reflect the usage by the opponents, thus adding to the ambiguity and uncertainty.

[22]Similarly, νόμου is also clearly expressed with reference to παραβάτης in Jas 2.9 and 2.11.

[23]παράβασις appears also in 1 Tim 2.14 (with reference to Eve's transgression of God's commandments); Heb 2.2 (the word of angels) and Heb 9.15 (the Law of God under the first covenant). The verb παραβαίνω ('I transgress, I break') appears only three times in NT but not in Paul. In Matt 15.2 the transgression refers to the tradition of the elders and 15.3 the commandment of God; the usage in

παραβάτης as a legal term always has the Law (or God's command) in mind,[24] and carries a more serious connotation than the Jewish sense of ἁμαρτωλοί as in 2.17b.[25] Therefore we consider it quite appropriate to supply the word νόμου mentally after παραβάτην in 2.18b, thus 'a transgressor of Torah'.

Acts 1.25 is intransitive, 'to go aside' (BAGD, 'παραβαίνω', 1 [611]). For a brief discussion of these terms, see also M. Wolter, 'παράβασις, παραβαίνω, παραβάτης', *EWNT* 3:32-35.

[24]Rightly Schneider, *TDNT* 5:739, 741. Cf. Betz, *Gal*, p.121 n71; Lambrecht, 'Transgressor', p.231 (but not p.234); Cranfield, *Rom*, 1:170; Dunn, *Rom*, 1:215; Barrett, *Rom*, p.106; Morris, *Rom*, p.207.

[25]Thus we do not think 2.17b and 2.18b should be seen as parallel statements; contra Bultmann, 'Zur Auslegung', p.399; Bruce, *Gal*, p.142; Soards, 'Seeking', 249.

5.4. TOWARDS A POSSIBLE READING OF 2.18 AND 'I'

If our clarifications above are on the right track, Paul seems to suggest that if anyone were to rebuild the ἔργα νόμου (just as Peter did under pressure), one would 'prove' or 'make' oneself a real transgressor of *Torah* (παραβάτης [νόμου]). On this understanding Paul's statement is indeed paradoxical:[1] what some Jewish Christians considered to be absolutely necessary, the observance of traditional Jewish identity-confirming and boundary-defining markers (ἔργα νόμου), has turned out to be a transgression of *Torah*. In contrast, Paul seems to suggest that non-observance (cf. καταλύειν) of Jewish covenantal nomism amounts to real obedience to God and of Torah.

Then how does this paradoxical statement of Paul relate to the argument of 2.17. In our opinion, Paul's statement of 2.18 is not a parenthesis repeating the idea of 2.17b ('sinners') which would amount to moving backward in argument, but is rather moving *forward* as the first clarification in response to the illogical question of 2.17c ('Is Christ a servant of sin?'). Immediately after the strong negation μὴ γένοιτο at 2.17d, Paul moves on to say, it is *not Christ* who makes one sin, *but* 'I' myself. It is the 'I' who rebuilds the ἔργα νόμου who is responsible for transgressing God's Torah.

Since our rendering of the flow in argument implies a contrast between Christ and 'I', the question why the emphatic ἐγώ did not appear in 2.18 but only in 2.19-20 seems less problematic.[2] Firstly, it is quite possible that Paul would like to reserve the emphatic ἐγώ for the clear and unambiguous *positive* statement, 'the second clarification', which he is going to make in 2.19-20.[3] This use of emphatic ἐγώ referring to Paul himself in fact is quite consistent and prominent in Galatians:[4] e.g. ἐγώ did not receive from man

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[1]Cf. Burton, *Gal*, p.131; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.90.

[2]In a sense our rendering of 2.18 in relation to 2.17c shares the same difficulty with view 2a. See also the critical questions posed by Lambrecht, 'Line', p.488.

[3]So Oepke, *Gal*, pp.93-94; Rohde, *Gal*, p.115; cf. Stauffer, *TDNT* 2:357: 'At this point [2.19] Paul has to use I rather than We because he sees more plainly and acts more consistently than Peter'; Mussner, *Gal*, p.179; Meyer, *Gal*, pp.121-22.

[4]Stauffer, *TDNT* 2:356; Hasler, 'Glaube', p.247; Bouwmann, 'Christus', p.53 n51; Theissen, *Psychological*, pp.198-201, also highly critical

(1.12); ἐγώ beseech you, become as ἐγώ (4.12); now ἐγώ Paul say to you (5.2); ἐγώ have confidence in the Lord (5.10); but if ἐγώ still preach circumcision (5.11); the world has been crucified to me κἀγώ to the world (6.14); ἐγώ bear the marks of Jesus (6.17).[5] Secondly, since the 'I' of 2.18 can hardly refer to Paul himself but reflects the disapproved conduct of Peter, it is likely that Paul intends to make a contrast between himself and Peter.[6] Thus it becomes quite likely that Paul first introduced the first person singular 'I' at 2.18 to signal a contrast with 'Christ' (2.17c) but reserved the emphatic ἐγώ for the real 'I' in 2.19-20.[7]

In sum Paul regards the 'rebuilding again' (πάλιν οἰκοδομῶ) of traditional Jewish ἔργα νόμου as a real transgression of *Torah*. In order for Paul to convince other Jewish Christians that this 'tearing down' (καταλύειν) is acceptable, and is indeed a correct response to the gospel of Christ, he no doubt has to substantiate his argument: he needs further support and argument for the case. And to this we shall turn to Paul's second clarification at 2.19-20.

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of Kümmel's 'fictitive I'; contra Bachmann, *Sünder*, pp.43-45.

[5]Similar emphasis is found in the use of ἐμοῦ/μου (1.11; 1.14[2x]; 1.15; 1.17; 2.20c; 4.14; 4.19; 4.20; 6.17), ἐμοί/μοι (1.2; 1.16; 1.24; 2.3; 2.6; 2.8; 2.9; 2.20a; 4.15; 4.21; 6.14[2x]; 6.17) and ἐμέ/με (1.15; 2.20c; 4.12; 4.14; 4.18) throughout the letter. All the references above are found in K. Aland's computer concordance.

[6]We maintain that this line of interpretation is less problematic compared to Theissen's insistence that the εἰ condition at 2.18 has to be an *exception* and so the 'I' could refer to Paul himself. We concede that there is one possible weakness in our reading of two different 'I''s at 2.18 and 2.19a. It will strengthen our case if Paul had used an adversative particle such as δέ or ἀλλά at the beginning of 2.19a to indicate the contrast. But we suspect, Paul would consider the shift to emphatic ἐγώ at 2.19 is enough to signal the intended comparison between himself and Peter.

[7]The comparison with Peter, one of the Pillars, is also found in Paul's account of the Jerusalem meeting: *Peter* was entrusted with the gospel to the circumcised and *Paul* the gospel to the uncircumcised (2.7); *Peter* for the mission to the circumcised and *Paul* to the Gentiles (2.8).

CHAPTER SIX

THE SECOND CLARIFICATION (GAL 2.19-20)

6.1. SOME PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

Before we engage ourselves with the problems of individual words and phrases, we would like to begin by making some important general observations on 2.19-20. The second clarification is again introduced by γάρ as in 2.18. The first statement 'ἐγὼ γὰρ διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον, ἵνα θεῷ ζήσω' (2.19a) is very nicely structured: it consists of two sharply contrasting principles, 'dying to Law' and 'living to God', one negative and the other positive. The polarity is signified not only by the nouns, with both νόμῳ and θεῷ in the dative case, but also by the verbs, ἀποθνήσκω ('I die') and ζάω ('I live').[1]

When we look at the next two statements of 2.19b and 2.20, it is very likely that two key ideas in 2.19a are taken up and elaborated. For example, the idea of 'death' in 2.19a (ἀπέθανον, aorist tense) is being echoed in Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι, 'I have been crucified with Christ' (perfect tense) of 2.19b.[2] On the other hand, the idea of 'living to God' is being taken up and expanded in a series of statements on 'living' in 2.20ab: I no longer *live;* Christ *lives* in me; the life I now *live* in the flesh I *live* by faith.[3] So Mussner observes that 'Der Terminus ζῆν in V19 gab dem Apostel ein entscheidendes Stichwort, das vier Sätze mit demselben Term aus sich

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[1]Duncan, *Gal*, p.70; cf. T.J. Deidun, *New Covenant Morality in Paul* (AnBib 89; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1981), p.123: 'radical and definitive severance'.

[2]Cf. Mussner, *Gal*, p.180; Modalsli, 'Gal 2.19-21', p.24.

[3]Bruce, *Gal*, p.143; Modalsli, 'Gal 2.19-21', p.27. Note also the threefold δέ's in 2.20ab, see §6.4.1. below.

entläßt, von denen je zwei zusammengehören'.[4]

Then in regard to the phrase **ἐν πίστει**, Paul immediately defines it with the dative article **τῇ** followed by **τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ** ('the faith *of* the Son of God').[5] Again, this unique phrase 'Son of God'[6] is further qualified by **τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντός με καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ** (2.20c). The content of which seems very likely to be Paul's quotation, or at least an adaptation, of a pre-Pauline traditional formula.[7]

Thus the different statements in 2.19-20 could be related as in the following sentence layout:[8]

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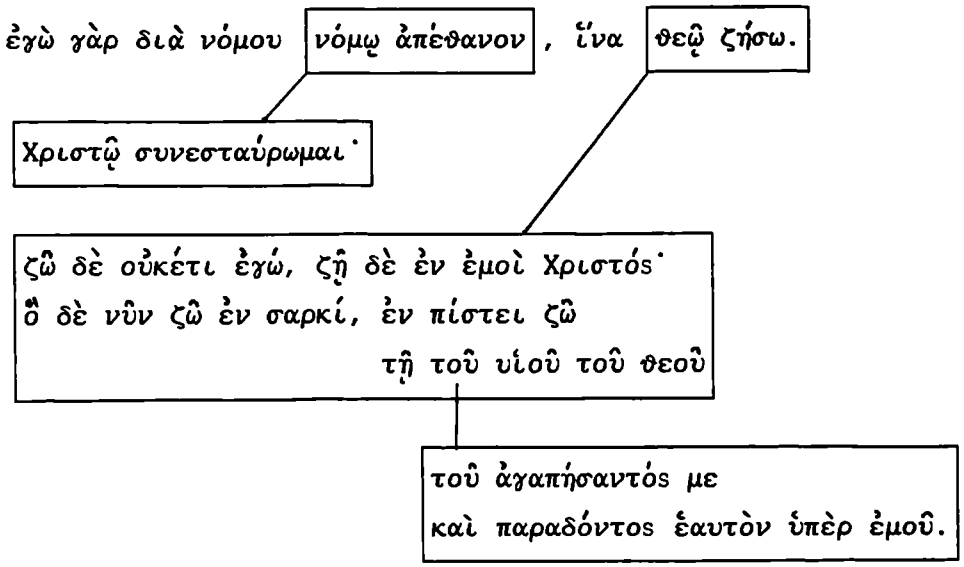
[4]Mussner, *Gal*, p.182.

[5]The expression **υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ** is well supported by ℵ A C D^2 and almost all the versions and patristic witnesses (see UBS^3), though **θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ** receives support from P^{46} B D^* F G (b) MVict. On 'Son of God' as the correct reading, see Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, p.593; contra O'Neill, *Recovery*, pp.44-45. We are more inclined to read **τοῦ υἱοῦ** in relation to faith as subjective genitive, see §3.3.3. above.

[6]See also 1.16; 4.4-6; cf. Rom 1.3-4, 9; 5.10; 8.3, 29, 32; 1 Cor 1.9; 15.28; 2 Cor 1.19; Col 1.13; 1 Thess 1.10. On whether the title 'Son of God' and the sending formula implies pre-existence and so incarnation of Christ, see e.g. Kramer, *Christ*, pp.108-128, 183-94; Conzelmann, *Outline*, p.200; Goppelt, *Theology*, 2:68-79 (bibliography on pp.68-69); Dunn, *Christology*, pp.33-46; *Rom*, 1:420-21; Keck, *Paul*, pp.43-49; E. Schweizer, 'What Do We Really Mean When We Say "God sent his son..."?' in *Faith and History: Essays in Honor of P.W. Meyer* (edited by J.T. Carroll, C.H. Cosgrove and E.E. Johnson; Atlanta: Scholars, 1991), pp.298-312, for divergent views.

[7]On 2.20c as a pre-Pauline formula, see esp. Kramer, *Christ*, pp.118, 187-89 and K. Wengst, *Christologische Formeln und Lieder des Urchristentums* (SNT 7; 2nd edition; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1973). G. Berényi, 'Gal 2.20: a Pre-Pauline or a Pauline Text?' *Biblica* 65 (1984), pp.490-537, esp. pp.509-523, however, argues that 2.20c is more likely a Pauline creation because the use of **παραδίδωμι** with reflexive pronoun is considered quite different from **δίδωμι**. Anyway, Paul might be quite flexible in modifying the traditional material for his own argument (cf. Hasler, 'Glaube', pp.243-44; Dunn, *Gal(ms)*, p.15): note the strongly personal reference 'me' and 'for me' here (cf. Rom 7.24-25; 2 Cor 12.8-10; Phil 1.21; 3.8; 4.13). On other Pauline texts with similar thought, see Betz, *Gal*, p.125 n107; Bruce, *Gal*, p.145.

[8]Cf. Guthrie, *Gal*, p.90; Brinsmead, *Gal*, p.73: 'The first dying/living construction makes anthropological assertions, whereas the second centers in Christological assertions'.



But there are still some very difficult questions lying ahead for us in these two verses. For example, what does Paul mean by 'dying to Law' and 'living to God' (2.19a)? What is the function of nouns in the dative case (*νόμῳ* and *θεῷ*) in relation to verbs of dying and living? Furthermore, what is the meaning of the enigmatic phrase *διὰ νόμου* at 2.19a? How does *διὰ νόμου* qualify the main verb *ἀπέθανον* adverbially in relation to the preceding subject *ἐγώ* ('I died through the Law to the Law')?[9] What does Paul mean by '*Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι*' (2.19b) - when and how did the co-crucifixion with Christ happen? What does Paul intend to convey by 'I live *ἐν σαρκί* and *ἐν πίστει*' at 2.20? In the following discussion, it is quite impossible for us to go into detail on all the exegetical and theological questions, but we shall concern ourselves chiefly with the main thought in 2.19-20, how it relates to Paul's rejection at 2.17 (*μὴ γένοιτο*) and supports Paul's argument in response to the crisis at Antioch.[10]

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[9]BDF §203: 'The line of demarcation between adverb and preposition is naturally difficult to draw' (cf. §§184, 214-16). See 6.2.2. below.

[10]It is important to observe that Paul has already introduced some key theological terms such as Law, God, Christ, faith, dying and living in 2.19-20 here as part of his clarification against the false inference at 2.17c (see §4.3.2. above). One would also notice that Paul's continuing talk of *living* to God, Christ *living* in him and he *living* in faith clearly echoes his previous comments on Peter's life (cf. 2.14b). This phenomenon is one that supports our observation that the interpretation of 2.15-21 should take into consideration the context of Antioch seriously.

6.2. THE MEANING 2.19A

6.2.1. The Meaning of 'Dying to Law' and 'Living to God':

The imagery or concept of dying to one power/force and living to another is at the heart of 2.19a. A similar pattern of transfer and contrast is also found in Rom 7.4: 'you have died to the Law (ἐθανατώθητε τῷ νόμῳ) through the body of Christ (διὰ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ),[1] so that you may belong to another, to him who has been raised from the dead in order that we may bear fruit for God' (cf. 7.6). On the other hand, Paul talks of dying to *sin*, 'we died to sin' (ἀπεθάνομεν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ) in Rom 6.2, in contrast to living to God (cf. 6.10-11).[2] Though the word 'dying' is not used in Gal 6.14, it is important to note that Paul talks of being crucified to the world: 'ἐμοὶ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται κἀγὼ κόσμῳ' (the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world). The question is, what does Paul mean by words connoting dying which are followed by νόμῳ, ἁμαρτίᾳ and κόσμῳ.[3]

Moule suggests that the construction of 'dying' with the dative was possibly created by Paul by analogy with 'living' followed by the dative in a relational sense, and thus designates respect ('in the sight of' or 'in relation to').[4] And if the sense of *dying* to the Law (just as dying to sin or to the world) is equally strong and negative, this dative of relationship could well be understood in terms of possession or rule: the ownership over one's life has passed from the (negative rule of) Law to God through death.[5] However, some

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[1]One should note the remarkable difference in the words which follow the preposition διά in 2.19a and in Rom 7.4. In our opinion, one should be cautious in using an interpretation of Rom 7.4 as a key to understand 2.19a (cf. Burton, *Gal*, pp.133-34; Gilthvedt, *Dying*, p.116).

[2]Rom 6.10-11: 'The death he died he *died to sin*, once for all, but the life he lives he *lives to God*. So you also must consider yourselves *dead to sin* and *alive to God* in Christ Jesus' (RSV; italics added).

[3]Cf. The idea of 'living to God' is used in hellenistic Judaism referring to heroic martyrs (4 Macc 7.19, 16.25) or to the few capable of contemplating the higher quality (Philo, *De Mutatione Nominum* 213; cf. Dunn, *Rom*, 1:324); Luke 20.38. See Wedderburn, *Baptism*, p.43 n1.

[4]Moule, 'Death', pp.369-70, 374-75; cf. Burton, *Gal*, pp.132, 134; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.91. On dative of respect, see BDF §197.

[5]So Tannehill, *Dying*, pp.18, 57-58; Schnackenburg, *Baptism*, p.62;

scholars maintain that the dative case construction is a dative of (dis)advantage: it 'serves to designate the person whose interest is affected'.[6] In this case, the disadvantage (*incommodi*) with respect to Law is compared to the advantage (*commodi*) with respect to God: 'Das "Sterben zuungunsten des Gesetzes" hat für den Christen den positiven Sinn und Zweck: ἵνα θεῷ θήσω'.[7]

In any case, to make a decision between the two explanations is not easy. However, one should pay more attention to how the connection between 'dying to Law' and 'living to God' is indicated by the conjunction ἵνα: 'Der Ton liegt in dem ἵνα-Satz auf θεῷ'.[8] The ἵνα indicates purpose and goal: dying to Law immediately suggests living to God.[9] The change from 'I died' (aorist ἀπέθανον) to 'I might live' (aorist subjunctive ζήσω) is also considered irreversible, a one-way street.[10] 'With death obligations towards the law have ceased'.[11]

According to Paul, the decisive transfer took place through death: 'to die to Law' refers to the past (the aorist ἀπέθανον simply indicates the fact of the experience);[12] but 'to live for God' is a

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Schlier, *Gal*, p.100; Bruce, *Gal*, p.143; Beker, *Paul*, p.187; Lührmann, *Gal*, p.45; Sanders, *PPJ*, pp.466-68; Ziesler, *Rom*, p.175; Ebeling, *Truth*, pp.138-39; Gilthvedt, *Dying*, pp.81-82; Grayston, *Dying*, p.72.

[6]So BDF §188.2; Ridderbos, *Gal*, p.104 n32; Zerwick and Grosvenor, *Grammatical Analysis*, p.568; W. Thüsing, *Per Christum in Deum* (NTAbh 1; Münster: Aschendorff, 1965), pp.79-81.

[7]Mussner, *Gal*, pp.179-82, here p.182; cf. Cranfield, *Rom*, 1:336; Dunn, *Rom*, 1:362; Moo, *Rom*, 1:373-74; BAGD, 'ζάω', 3.b (337).

[8]Mussner, *Gal*, p.180 n61.

[9]Ridderbos, *Gal*, p.104; Schnackenburg, *Baptism*, p.63; Bligh, *Gal*, p.213 ('the emphatic part of v.19 is the purpose clause'); contra Calvin, *Gal*, p.42 who insists that the conjunction ἵνα breaks off with the preceding statement.

[10]So Betz, *Gal*, p.122; Guthrie, *Gal*, p.89; Ebeling, *Truth*, pp.141-42; Deidun, *New*, p.123; Dunn, *Gal(ms)*, p.12.

[11]Schoeps, *Paul*, p.193; cited approvingly by Bruce, *Gal*, p.143. Cf. 'as soon as a man is dead, he is free from the obligation of the commands' (R. Johanan in *b. Shabbath* 30a, based on Ps 88.6); Barrett, *Rom*, p.129; Tannehill, *Dying*, p.18.

[12]Wedderburn, *Baptism*, p.350. On aorist tense, see BDF §§318, 331-34. Since the concepts of 'dying to the Law' and 'being crucified with Christ' are somehow distinct but interrelated (at least the context of 2.19 demands it), we shall discuss the question *when* and *how* did the 'death' happen in §6.3.3. below.

continuing existence, both in the soteriological sense as a life *beyond* death and in the ethical sense as a life *for* God in Christ (cf. Rom 6.10-11; 2 Cor 5.15).[13] It seems clear that for Paul the emphasis lies not so much on the 'plight' of one under the Law but the positive outcome through death in one's life, 'living to God'. Thus the decisive *transfer* from previous dominion under the Law to new existence under the power of God could be the main idea; the 'disadvantage' to **νόμῳ** is compared to the 'advantage' to **θεῷ**.

Therefore when Paul insists that the present 'living to God' comes as a consequence of 'dying to Law', it could be quite inconceivable to a Jewish mind that such a constrast between God and *Torah* should be posed, as indeed it would be very shocking to any Jew who regarded highly the divine gift of *Torah* to the chosen people of Israel.[14] But for Paul, Christian existence can no longer be defined by *Torah* and its interpretation; in fact, Christian living in its true character is to be perceived in a new perspective - a radical reorientation which involves 'for God, in Christ and in faith' (see below). Therefore, this statement of 2.19a clarifies one step further why Paul rejects the traditional *Torah* definition of 'sin' at 2.17 and why he refuses to reestablish the 'works of Law' in the first place (cf. 2.18a). For Paul, *Torah* no longer commands the life of Christians, including those of Jewish origin.

6.2.2. The Meaning of **διὰ νόμου** (2.19a):

But why and how does Paul come to this radical understanding? What does Paul mean by saying that he died **διὰ νόμου**? Grammatically how does the prepositional phrase **διὰ νόμου** relate to the subject **ἐγώ**

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[13]Betz, *Gal*, p.122 n82. In our opinion, it is not necessary to limit the meaning of 'to live' to either one or the other: e.g. Burton, *Gal*, p.135, Mussner, *Gal*, p.182 insist on the ethical sense and Cosgrove, *Cross*, p.140 only the soteriological sense, insisting that 2.19a is not concerned with 'living to God' as a form of new ethical existence, but only with the eschatological life as a result of crucifixion with Christ and death to the law. Bultmann, as usual, is more concerned with its existential sense: to live not for self, but for God, and to give up one's self (**ἐγώ**) to die (cf. *Theology*, 1:210, 301, 331).

[14]Cf. Ebeling, *Truth*, p.147; Kieffer, *Foi*, p.70: 'Le résultat de son raisonnement est de créer entre vivre pour la Loi et vivre pour Dieu une opposition qu'un Juif naturellement ne saurait accepter'; Mussner, *Gal*, p.180.

and/or the verb ἀπέθανον? What is the meaning of διά with the genitive?[15] The problem is quite heavily debated and there are no less than five different views on διὰ νόμου in 2.19a.

(1) The view of two different laws: while νόμῳ refers to the Law of Moses, διὰ νόμου is identified with the law of faith (cf. Rom 3.27; 8.2) or the law of Christ (cf. 6.2; 1 Cor 9.21).[16] But since there is nothing in the verse or its context to warrant distinguishing two laws, it is very unlikely that the terms νόμῳ and διὰ νόμου could refer to different laws.[17] Furthermore, the νόμος in both cases must be the Mosaic Law,[18] otherwise the paradox and the whole point of the passage would be lost.[19]

(2) The preparatory psychological view: the Law pointed beyond itself to Christ in its pronouncement of the death sentence over the hopeless sinner who is not able to fulfil the requirements of the law.[20] So Mussner argues that 'Wer er nicht erfüllt, verfällt seinem todbringenden Fluch. Und in der Tat ist es für Paulus so, daß niemand die strengen Forderungen des Gesetzes erfüllen kann. Und so sind alle "durch das Gesetz" dem Tod verfallen "gestorben"'.[21]

But if it is the role of the Law in pointing out the

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[15]According to A. Oepke, 'διά', *TDNT* 2:65-70 there are five uses of διά with genitive: spatial, temporal, modal, instrumental, and causal. See also BAGD, 'διά', A.I-IV (179-81); BDF §223.

[16]E.g. Lagrange, *Gal*, p.51, following Ambrosiaster: '*hoc dicit, quia per legem fidei mortuus est legi Moysis*'; Luther, *Gal*, pp.161-64; Neitzel, 'Zur Interpretation', p.138 ('law of faith' and 'law of works'; cf. pp.138-42; p.139 n86 on earlier commentators).

[17]Schlier, *Gal*, p.99; Mussner, *Gal*, p.181 n68.

[18]Most scholars now recognize that νόμος, with or without the article, refers to the Law which Moses received from God (see BAGD, 'νόμος', 3 [542]; Rohde, *Gal*, p.115; contra Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.117).

[19]Meyer, *Gal*, p.122.

[20]E.g. Calvin, *Gal*, p.41; Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.118; Lietzmann, *Gal*, p.17; Zahn, *Gal*, p.133; Burton, *Gal*, p.133; Duncan, *Gal*, p.70; Beker, *Paul*, p.187: 'through its divine judgement over me' (though he goes on to elaborate in Christological terms); Cole, *Gal*, p.123. Cf. Modalsli, 'Gal 2.19-21', p.26: 'In dreierlei Hinsicht ist Paulus διὰ νόμου mit der Hoffnung auf das Gesetz fertig geworden: 1. das Gesetz war ihm zum Selbst-Leben und Gott-tot-Sein geworden; 2. es hatte ihn zum Tode verurteilt; 3. es wurde durch die wahre Erhellung seines Wesens auf seinen rechten theologischen Ort extra locum iustificationis zurückgewiesen'.

[21]Mussner, *Gal*, p.180.

insufficiency of the Law, would it not be better for Paul to write **διὰ τὸν νόμον**?[22] And this moral effect explanation (with focus on 'weakness of the flesh') seems not apparent at all in our passage.[23]

(3) An alternative preparatory explanation for the Law's pointing to Christ is to appeal to the pedagogical role of the Law in salvation-history: the Law confines everybody under sin before the coming of Christ (cf. 3.19-25) and its role is temporary with respect to the coming of Christ (cf. 4.4).[24] In view of Paul's teaching elsewhere, this salvation-historical explanation seems more plausible, but its main weakness is failure to explain how the argument of 2.19a supports Paul's rejection at 2.17 and why the first personal pronoun **ἐγώ** is being used here.[25]

(4) The causative or Christological view: since the Law is instrumental in causing the death of Christ (cf. 3.13), believers who are crucified with Christ (cf. 2.19b) died through the Law too. Thus **διὰ νόμου** means 'through the Law in its role in the death of Christ' and is considered close to **διὰ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ** in Rom 7.4.[26] According to Tannehill, 'This is not something which happens primarily in the individual's mind, but a matter of an eschatological change through God's action' and **διὰ νόμου** corresponds to **Χριστῷ**

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[22]So Meyer, *Gal*, p.123; cf. Bring, *Gal*, p.96. On **διά** with accusative, see BDF §222.

[23]Räisänen, *Paul*, p.57 considers this psychological view 'can be safely dismissed'; though interestingly he went on to speculate on Paul's experience under the law, the psychology of conversion (pp.229-36).

[24]E.g. Betz, *Gal*, p.122; cf. Bligh, *Gal*, pp.211-12; for earlier commentators, see Meyer, *Gal*, p.123.

[25]Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.118 further argues that this explanation appeals more to the 'reason and intellect' rather than to the 'heart and conscience', but the whole tenor of 2.19 points rather to the moral and spiritual change wrought in the believer.

[26]E.g. G.R. Beasley-Murray, *Baptism in the New Testament* (London: Macmillan, 1962), p.141; Becker, *Gal*, p.30-31; Bring, *Gal*, pp.94-97; Brinsmead, *Gal*, p.75; Bultmann, 'Zur Auslegung', p.397; Cosgrove, *Cross*, p.139; Deidun, *New*, pp.122-23; van Dülmen, *Theologie*, p.26; Fung, *Gal*, p.123; Gilthvedt, *Dying*, pp.101-115; Hansen, *Abraham*, pp.107-108; Kieffer, *Foi*, pp.68-69; Kümmel, *Theology*, p.214; Lührmann, *Gal*, p.45; Meyer, *Gal*, p.122; Oepke, *Gal*, p.95; Ridderbos, *Paul*, p.210 (in contrast to *Gal*, p.104); Schlier, *Gal*, pp.100-101 (refers to Eph 2.14ff; Col 1.20ff, 2.14); Schnackenburg, *Baptism*, pp.62-63; Watson, *Paul*, p.199 n95.

συνεσταύρωμαι of 2.19b.[27]

But how does the Law actually *cause* the death of Christ? Though attempts are made by some trying to explain how the Law had a part in the crucifixion of Christ,[28] the explanations are still not entirely satisfactory. Thus it is criticised by Räisänen: 'It is difficult, however, to find in Paul the idea that the law *caused* the death of Christ; that the death of Christ caused the curse pronounced by the law to be removed is surely something different'.[29] Secondly, this Christological explanation of **διὰ νόμου** builds on the assumption that the phrase is equivalent to **διὰ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ** in Rom 7.4, which is not entirely the same.[30] And if it is Paul's intention to draw a 'sharp contrast between Christ and Law' here,[31] would it not be more straightforward and clear for Paul to write **διὰ Χριστοῦ** instead of **διὰ νόμου**? Thirdly, this view again did not explain quite

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[27]Tannehill, *Dying*, pp.58-59; cf. Oepke, *Gal*, p.95: 'Paulus denkt konkreter und objektiver'.

[28]According to Gilthvedt, *Dying*, pp.101-108 two possible explanations are given: (a) The Law is only an agent or means of death (**διὰ νόμου**, instrumental with genitive of cause), while sin is actually the primary cause for the death of Christ (see P. Benoit, 'The Law and the Cross according to St Paul', *Jesus and the Gospel* [ET; 2 vols; London: Darton, 1974], 2:11-39, here p.33; Schlier, *Gal*, pp.100-101; Sanders, *PLJP*, p.83); (b) The Law is the primary cause (**διὰ νόμου**, genitive of author or origin), the 'remote' power and cause behind the scenes which brought about both the secondary or 'proximate' cause (the crucifixion of Christ) and its consequence, freedom from the law for believers. Cf. Fitzmyer, 'Gal', 47:20: 'Its proximate cause is the crucifixion of Christ himself, but its remote cause is the law, the curse which was leveled against Christ (3.13). The Mosaic law and the mentality that it produced among human beings were responsible for the refusal to put faith in Christ and for the crucifixion of him - and thus indirectly for the emancipation of Christians who believe in him'; Ebeling, *Truth*, p.147; Gilthvedt, *Dying*, pp.105-106, 108-113, the causative 'death-bringing character' of the law.

[29]Räisänen, *Paul*, p.58. He is rather more content with the ambiguity of the phrase: 'Perhaps the general and somewhat vague idea that, by pointing to Christ as the redeemer, the law pointed beyond itself and thus paved the way for the Christian's liberation from it, is a sufficient explanation' (p.58; n76 cites R. Gyllenberg, who assumes intentional ambiguity behind the abbreviation).

[30]One should also notice that in Rom 7.4 the subject **ὑμεῖς** is plural and the verb **ἐθανατώθητε** is in the passive voice, while the subject **ἐγώ** is singular and the verb **ἀπέθανον** is in the active voice in 2.19a. See Burton, *Gal*, pp.133-34; cf. Ziesler, *Gal*, p.22.

[31]So argues Rohde, *Gal*, p.116.

adequately why the first personal pronoun ἐγώ is used in 2.19a.

(5) The personal view: the Law is seen as the accompanying condition or situation in which 'I' (ἐγώ) Paul lived and died (the prepositional phrase διὰ νόμου is attached also to the subject ἐγώ and verb; διά in the modal sense).[32] Thus comments Bruce:[33]

> there may also be a note of personal experience in ἐγὼ...διὰ νόμου. Paul continues to use the first person singular as he speaks for Jewish Christians in general, but the emphatic ἐγώ (while it perhaps anticipates the ἐγώ of v.20) suggests that he knew in a special way what it meant to die to law 'through law'.

According to this grammatical construction, it is quite possible that ἐγὼ...διὰ νόμου would suggest something about Paul's own unique experience of the Law before coming to Christ. In our opinion, this personal view has also the advantage of reading the emphatic personal pronoun ἐγώ in referring to Paul himself,[34] and so in sharp contrast to the unacceptable behaviour of 'I' of Peter at 2.18. The 'I' Paul had died to the Law and so refused to compromise on reintroducing the Jewish food laws in mixed table-fellowship at Antioch, while the 'I' of Peter and other Jewish Christians did not realize that they had died to the Law and had gone back to submit themselves under the jurisdiction of Torah and Jewish traditions.

Thus if this grammatical reading is correct, one could even look back to 1.13-14, the first incident in the *narratio* on his *ethos*, to see what ἐγὼ...διὰ νόμου had meant to Paul himself. There Paul describes his former life in Judaism as one of extreme fanaticism: in

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[32]Borse, *Gal*, p.117 ('ein modale Bedeutung', citing Rom 2.27; 4.11; 2 Cor 5.7). This view is preferred by Ziesler, *Gal*, p.22; found in Dunn, *Gal(ms)*, p.12; cf. Kim, *Origin*, pp.281, 294; Grayston, *Dying*, pp.72-73. Though the phrase διὰ νόμου is used in the instrumental sense at 2.21b, it is however not necessary to assume that the same grammatical usage is used here at 2.19a (contra Gilthvedt, *Dying*, p.106).

[33]Bruce, *Gal*, p.143.

[34]So J.D.G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit* (London: SCM, 1970), pp.106-107: 'He [Paul] recalls what becoming a Christian meant in his own case (ἐγώ - v.19) - it was an experience of spiritual death (to the law) resulting in new life (centred on and determined by the indwelling Christ). It was not something which happened objectively "outside of" Paul, operating externally of him; it was essentially a subjective experience, a spiritual transformation in the core of his personality'. Dunn is also highly critical of the sacramental view of baptism.

his full zeal (περισσοτέρως ζηλωτής)[35] for the traditions of the fathers, he persecuted the church of God violently and even tried to destroy it (cf. 1.23; 1 Cor 15.9; Acts 8.3; 22.3-5; 26.9-11). 'It was Paul's zeal for the law that made him so ardent a persecutor of the church (cf. Phil 3.6)'.[36] In this respect, the Law, to which Paul had been so utterly dedicated, had blinded him and led him to this grievous sin against God until the point when God confronted him in revealing His Son to him on the road to Damascus and called him to preach among the Gentiles (1.15-16). Thus when Paul was confronted by Christ, he considered himself to have died to the Law, together with also all the Jewish traditions and customs he had previously served - he discarded his zeal for maintaining the Law and the tradition.[37] Paul considered himself to have died on the road to Damascus. His radical turn-about from Law to God, from zealousness for the traditions of the fathers to zealousness for the mission among the Gentiles, took place when God seized him in the Christophany.

Thus in our opinion, Paul's unique experience of **διὰ νόμου** might have played a part in his radical *separation* between living to God and Torah observance. One can either belong to Christ or to Law. The Law has for Paul turned out to be a hindrance in 'living to God'.[38] Thus at 2.20b, Paul goes on to define 'living to God' as living by the faith of the Son of God and not by **νόμος**, just as he has defined 'justification' in relation to **πίστις Χριστοῦ** only, excluding the role of **ἔργα νόμου** (2.16c).

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[35]On the nature and function of zeal in second-Temple Judaism, see M. Borg, 'The Currency of the Term "Zealot"', *JTS* 22 (1971), pp.504-512; T.L. Donaldson, 'Zealot', *ISBE* 4:1175-79. On the social context of Paul's persecution of the Church and his zeal for the law, see T.L. Donaldson, 'Zealot and Convert: The Origin of Paul's Christ-Torah Antithesis', *CBQ* 51 (1989), pp.655-82, esp. pp.668-80.

[36]Bruce, *Gal*, p.143; cf. Keck, *Paul*, pp.27-28.

[37]Cf. Gaventa, 'Galatians', p.322 on Paul's single-minded response to the gospel.

[38]Rohde, *Gal*, p.116.

6.3. THE MEANING OF Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι (2.19b)

Thus when Paul says that the old 'I διὰ νόμου' has died to Law, immediately one might ask: How does the dying to Law come about? Is the experience merely psychological on Paul's part? How does this asyndeton statement Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι relate to 2.19a? In the following discussion, we shall try to understand how and why Paul introduces the significant theological motif, σὺν Χριστῷ ('with Christ'; and here συ(ν)σταυρόω Χριστῷ, 'dying with Christ'),[1] to account for the decisive transfer and to defend that his new understanding of (past) dying to Law and (present) living to God is no mere idiosyncratic decision on his part but the inevitable outworking of Christ's death.[2]

6.3.1. Σύν-Compounds in Paul:

According to Grundmann, the basic meaning of the preposition σύν with the sociative dative is 'with' and the term has a personal character. σύν carries the idea of togetherness, sharing a common task or destiny.[3] Thus the unique Pauline σὺν Χριστῷ (or equivalent formulation) has in view personal fellowship in the sense of coming to and being with - 'together with'.[4] Of the twelve instances of verbs with the formulation (σὺν Χριστῷ, σὺν Ἰησοῦ, σὺν αὐτῷ),[5] three times they are used in relation to the post-parousia situation: to be with Christ in heaven (mainly in 1 Thess 4.13-5.11), five in respect

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[1]Tannehill, *Dying*, p.6 warns that 'The motif of dying and rising with Christ may be said to be present when Paul refers to the believer's participation in Christ's death or resurrection by means of a construction which relates two elements which stand in the same contrast to each other as "death" and "life" and are related in thought to these terms'.

[2]So Dunn, *Gal(ms)*, p.12; Guthrie, *Gal*, p.90; Kim, *Origin*, p.294.

[3]Grundmann, *TDNT* 7:770. BAGD, 'σύν', 1 and 2 (781): σύν with the dative of the persons denotes accompaniment and association, or do something or experience something with someone. See also BDF §221.

[4]Grundmann, *TDNT* 7:781.

[5]Since there is no fixed formulation, it is better to think of it as a motif and not as a fixed formula (Grundmann, *TDNT* 7:782 n79; Tannehill, *Dying*, p.6; contra Lohmeyer, 'ΣΥΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΩΙ'). See also U. Luz, *Das Geschichtsverständnis des Paulus* (BEvT 49; München: Chr. Kaiser, 1968), pp.305-306; Wedderburn, *Baptism*, p.342 n1.

to after death (Phil 1.23; 2 Cor 4.14; 13.4; Rom 6.8; 8.32), and four with reference to the present life as already having been made alive with Christ (Col 2.13, 20; 3.3-4).[6]

In the Pauline writings, there are fourteen **σύν-** compounds,[7] which are used to describe the common privilege, experience and task of believers and a sharing in Christ's death and life. Grundmann remarks that 'The verbs and adjectives with **σύν-** make it apparent that man **σὺν Χριστῷ** is caught up in the Christ event'.[8]

At 2.19b, the **σύν-** compound is **συ(ν)σταυρόω**, which appears elsewhere in Paul only once in Rom 6.6 (**συνεσταύρωθη**; aorist passive) and three other times in the gospel tradition (Matt 27.44, Mark 15.32 and John 19.32; cf. Matt 27.38; Mark 15.27).[9] In the passion

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[6]See Grundmann, *TDNT* 7:782-86; Dunn, *Rom*, 1:321-22; cf. Grayston, *Dying*, pp.74-75. Schweizer, 'Dying', pp.1-2 maintains that the original concept of **σύν** in Paul, especially in the case of 'with Christ' was eschatological, and that its original sense refers to the future life with Christ after the parousia (refers to 1 Thess 4.17; 2 Cor 13.4; Rom 6.8b; Phil 1.23; 3.20; 2 Cor 4.11, 14; 1 Thess 5.10). In general, he says, 'in Christ' refers to the believer's earthly life as a member of the church, while 'with Christ' is eschatological (cf. Conzelmann, *Theology*, p.211: 'The difference between **ἐν** and **σύν** is that life "in him" is [dialectically] present; life "with him" is future'; Beker, *Paul*, pp.274-75). But in certain cases, this post-parousia being 'with Christ' is extended back into the period between death and parousia, and even back into the present earthly life of believers in either apocalyptic or baptismal contexts (p.3, refers to 1 Thess 5.1-2; Rom 14.8-9; 8.32). We are, however, not entirely happy with the so-called baptismal context; see (1) below.

[7]**συναποθνήσκω** (2 Cor 7.3; cf. 2 Tim 2.11); **συσταυρόω** (Gal 2.19b; Rom 6.6); **συνθάπτω** ('bury with', Rom 6.4; Col 2.12); **σύμφυτος** (a verbal adjective meaning 'grown together', deriving from **συμφύομαι**, Rom 6.5); **συνεγείρω** ('rise up with' or 'resurrect with', Col 2.12; 3.1; cf. Eph 2.6); **συζάω** ('live together with', Rom 6.8; cf. 2 Tim 2.11); **συζωοποιέω** ('make alive together with', Col 2.13; cf. Eph 2.5); **συμπάσχω** ('suffer with', Rom 8.17; cf. 1 Cor 12.26); **συνδοξάζω** ('glorify with', Rom 8.17); **συγκληρονόμος** ('co-heir', Rom 8.17; cf. Eph 3.6; Heb 11.9; 1 Pet 3.7); **σύμμορφος** ('having the same form as', Rom 8.29; Phil 3.21); **συμμορφίζω** ('confer the same form', Phil 3.10); **συμβασιλεύω** ('rule together with', 1 Cor 4.8; 2 Tim 2.12); **συγκαθίζω** ('set someone with', Eph 2.6). See Grundmann, *TDNT* 7:786-87; Bouttier, *En Christ*, pp.38-53; cf. Moo, *Rom*, 1:426-33.

[8]Grundmann, *TDNT* 7:767; cf. Dunn: 'the communality of believers [is] rooted in a dependence upon their communality in Christ' (*Rom*, 1:313).

[9]The noun **σταυρός** ('cross') appears in 6.12, 14; 1 Cor 1.17-18; Phil 3.18; Col 1.20; 2.14; [Eph 2.16]; and the verb **σταυρόω** in 3.1; 5.24; 6.14; 1 Cor 1.13, 23; 2.2, 8; 2 Cor 13.4.

narrative, the two criminal robbers were crucified literally on their crosses alongside Jesus, but certainly Paul is not talking about physical or natural death here at 2.19b nor in Rom 6.6.[10]

For our purpose, what does Paul mean by 'being crucified with Christ'? In what sense are believers being caught up in the Christ event? Furthermore, when and how does the 'co-crucifixion' (perfect **συνεσταύρωμαι**, 2.19b; cf. aorist **ἀπέθανον**, 2.19a) happen? Or, in other words, how and when does the believer's participation in the saving significance of the cross take place?

6.3.2. Three Different Views on 'Co-Crucifixion with Christ':

Once again there is fierce debate among scholars on this crucial question, and three views are prominent:

(1) The sacramental objectivism view: Schweizer argues that the context of 'being crucified with Christ' in 2.19b is *baptismal*, and the idea of post-parousia 'with Christ' is thus interpreted back into crucifixion with Christ; 'In the work of the Spirit given by baptism the coming aeon has broken into this present'.[11] Schnackenburg insists also that the perfect tense **συνεσταύρωμαι** is interpreted by the aorist tense **ἀπέθανον**: 'the "crucifixion with" (Christ) of the Christian at the time of his personally becoming a Christian, i.e. at his baptism'.[12] The event of death is seen as an *objective* event which happens *to* the baptizand in the act of baptism, and through it the real elimination of 'the old man' and also the creation of a new basis of life.[13] The strongest proponent for this view is probably

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[10]BAGD, '**συσταυρόω**', 2 (795); Bruce, *Gal*, p.144; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.92. It is, however, unclear whether Paul knows about this gospel tradition. On the speculation that Paul's use of the verb in 2.19b is rooted in the scene on Calvary, see Duncan, *Gal*, p.71; cf. Wilckens, *Rom*, 2:60-61 suggests that Paul's 'with Christ' language might originate in Christian traditions concerning following Jesus even in his crucifixion. But Wedderburn, *Baptism*, pp.346-47 argues that it is more likely an adaptation by Paul of an old idea (solidarity of the many with a founder) for a new purpose (dying with Jesus as one for whom Jesus died); and Paul might indeed be the originator of the 'with Christ' concept (p.356, also pp.50-52); cf. Grundmann, *TDNT* 7:782.

[11]Schweizer, 'Dying', pp.3, 6; cf. Rom 6.4-8; Col 2.12-13, 3.1 as baptismal references; Mussner, *Gal*, p.181.

[12]Schnackenburg, *Baptism*, pp.63, 66; cf. Lagrange, *Gal*, p.52.

[13]So Fitzmyer, 'Gal', 47:20: 'The perfection of Christian life...

Schlier, who speaks not only of Christian (water) baptism as the occasion for the participation in the death of Christ but also in effect speaks of a real extinction of the old man and creation of a new ground of living:[14]

> Das Sterben, mit dem ich dem Gesetz entnommen bin, fand in der Taufe statt (cf. Rom 6.6). Es ist ein mit dem Tode Christi Zusammenwachsen und darunter eine reale, wenn auch verborgene Tilgung des bisherigen Menschen und seiner von der Sünde durchherrschten Lebenbasis. Es ist zugleich die Erschaffung eines neuen Lebensgrundes, in dem der Mensch in Christus Jesus für Gott geöffnet ist.

But the main weakness with this explanation is that baptism is not mentioned by Paul explicitly here at all,[15] though baptism may be alluded to at 3.27.[16] One should avoid interpreting the theology of baptism in Romans 6 into 2.19; 'In fact, it may be just the other way around; Gal 2.19 may contain the theological principle by which Paul interprets the ritual of baptism in Romans 6', says Betz.[17] And if Paul were to draw on the theology of baptism to support his argument here, one would expect **διὰ** [**τοῦ**] **βαπτίσματος** (or **ἐν** [**τῷ**] **βαπτίσματι**) rather than **διὰ νόμου** at 2.19a.[18] Betz further points out that Paul seems to express the same restraint about baptism as we find in 1 Cor

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reshapes human beings anew, supplying them with a new principle of activity on the *ontological* level of their very beings. A *symbiosis* results of the Christian with Christ...' (*italics* mine). See §6.4. on 2.20 below.

[14]Schlier, *Gal*, pp.99-100. Others who refer to baptism at 2.19 include, e.g. Hatch, *Pauline*, p.44; Oepke, *Gal*, p.116; Mussner, *Gal*, pp.180-81; J.D.H. Downing, 'Possible Baptismal References in Galatians', in *Studia Evangelica II* (1964), pp.551-56; J. Blank, *Paulus und Jesus* (StANT 18; München: Kösel, 1968), p.299; Käsemann, *Rom*, p.161; Lohse, *Colossians*, p.103; Deidun, *New*, p.123; Brinsmead, *Gal*, pp.73-74; Reumann, 'Righteousness', p.764; Kieffer, *Foi*, p.69.

[15]Barrett, *Freedom*, p.20; Borse, *Gal*, p.117; Hasler, 'Glaube', p.247; even Kertelge, *Rechtfertigung*, pp.239-42 has to make concessions on baptism and argues for a weaker version.

[16]See Fung, *Gal*, pp.172-75; Kim, *Origin*, p.307. But Dunn, *Baptism*, pp.109-113, Betz, *Gal*, pp.186-89, Ellis, *Pauline*, pp.30-33, 79 remain highly suspicious that water baptism is even in view here at 3.27, against Schlier, *Gal*, pp.128-31.

[17]Betz, *Gal*, p.123. Käsemann, *Rom*, p.163 points out also that even in Romans 6, the basic motif is 'the fellowship of our destiny with that of Christ' and not an explicit statement of Paul's doctrine of baptism (cf. Tannehill, *Dying*, pp.7-14, 39-43).

[18]Cf. Tannehill, *Dying*, p.59.

1.13-17. When Paul speaks of dying together with Christ at 5.24 and 6.14, he does not mention baptism either.[19]

(2) The subjective existential view: Although Bultmann did not publish any special study on this topic, he uses the idea of dying and rising with Christ in key places to expound his understanding of the significance of the cross and resurrection for Paul. According to Bultmann, dying with Christ takes place when one is confronted with the kerygma and gives up one's old self-understanding. In particular, Bultmann spoke of the personal subjective response, faith as an active act of commitment, to the kerygma preached as the occasion of participation in Christ's death.[20] The meaning of dying with Christ is thus reduced almost to personal human experience.

With this strong existential flavour, Bultmann is guilty of over-emphasis on faith as a human activity and of arguing in effect that Paul's Christology is in danger of collapsing into soteriology: 'Thus, every assertion about Christ is also an assertion about man and vice versa; and Paul's Christology is simultaneously soteriology'.[21] Though one cannot ignore the importance of 'faith' in Paul's thought and the subjective element of ἐγώ in our passage, the historical Christ event nevertheless should not be neglected.[22]

(3) The apocalyptic or eschatological view: the death of believers took place *when* Christ died on the cross; *when* Christ the representative died, all (potential believers) were already included in that decisive death of Christ.[23] With the following considerations,

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[19]Betz, *Gal*, p.123. Schlier's catholic sacramentalism is criticised severely by Bonnard, *Gal*, p.56 and Betz, *Gal*, pp.123-24 (refers to S. Schulz, 'Katholisierende Tendenzen in Schliers Galater-Kommentar', *KD* 5 [1959], pp.33-41).

[20]For Bultmann's understanding of the cross, see *Theology*, 1:292-314; *Faith and Understanding* (ET; London: SCM, 1969), pp.208-209, 214, 240-41, 306-310; on faith, see *Theology*, 1:314-30. See also Kümmel's strong insistence on believing faith rather than baptism as the occasion for the believers' belonging to Christ (*Theology*, pp.212-16).

[21]Bultmann, *Theology*, 1:191. See also E. Käsemann's criticism in *Jesus Means Freedom* (ET; London: SCM, 1969), pp.61-65.

[22]See Tannehill on modifications of Bultmann's view (*Dying*, pp.5-6, 40, 73-74).

[23]Tannehill, *Dying*, p.59; Ridderbos, *Gal*, p.105: 'The believers, by virtue of their corporate belonging to Him, were included in that dying'; Wedderburn, *Baptism*, p.389: '[Paul speaks of] the Christian

we submit that this view may best explain the idea of believer's 'dying with Christ'.

(a) This view takes quite seriously the apocalyptic framework in Paul's thought and argues that the believer's 'dying with Christ' should be seen in the context of the two-aeon framework (cf. 1.4; Rom 12.2; 1 Cor 1.20; 2.6, 8; 3.18; 2 Cor 4.4).[24] According to 1.4, the sacrificial death of Christ is described in an apocalyptic framework: Christ 'gave himself for our sins to deliver us from the present evil age' (**τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πονηροῦ**).[25] According to 4.4-7, the coming of Christ ('God sent forth his Son') marks the turning point in the salvation history of God for humankind: 'the time had fully come'; the Holy Spirit is sent into believers' hearts; redemption and adoption become reality.[26] Note also Paul's use of revelatory language: the noun **ἀποκάλυψις** (1.12; 2.2; Rom 2.5; 8.19; 16.25; 1 Cor 1.7; 14.6, 26; 2 Cor 12.1, 7; cf. 2 Thess 1.7; Eph 1.17; 3.3) and the verb **ἀποκαλύπτω** (1.16; 3.23; Rom 1.17, 18; 8.18; 1 Cor 2.10; 3.13; 14.30; Phil 3.15; cf. 2 Thess 2.3, 6, 8; Eph 3.5).[27] Paul describes also the radical character of his experiences in Christ as **καινὴ κτίσις** ('new creation'; 6.15): all things have become new (2 Cor

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acknowledging an experience already previously undergone by Christ on his behalf; in fact he goes further, and says that the Christian in some sense shared in that experience in the past *with Christ*'; Cosgrove, *Gal*, p.51: 'What he affirms is that the death of Christ has happened at a datable point in history but that believers are included in that event with him'. See also Gilthvedt, *Dying*, pp.86-87, 94-96, 114-15.

[24]Keck, *Paul*, pp.12-13, 74-75; Kümmel, *Theology*, pp.144-46; and esp. Beker, *Paul*; cf. Dahl, *Studies*, p.11 n10. On the significance of the cross as the end of the old era, see Barclay, *Obeying*, pp.100-104, 206, referring to 2.19-20, 5.11 and 6.14-15.

[25]See Betz, *Gal*, p.42 n58.

[26]Cf. Tannehill, *Dying*, p.15. With reference to the death of Christ under the curse of the Law, the blessing of Abraham and the promised Holy Spirit are *now* extended even to Gentile believers (cf. 3.13-14). According to M.D. Hooker, one can detect a structure of interchange in 3.13-14 and 4.4-5 (cf. 2 Cor 5.21; 8.9): see her essays collected in *From Adam to Christ* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), pp.13-69; Cousar, *Theology*, p.115.

[27]See esp. K. Kertelge, 'Apokalypsis Jesou Christou (Gal 1.12)', in *Neues Testament und Kirche: Für R. Schnackenburg* (edited by J. Gnilka; Freiburg: Herder, 1974), pp.266-81; Kim, *Origin*, pp.71-74.

5.17; cf. Rom 8.20-21).[28]

(b) The life and death of Jesus Christ the Messiah marks the decisive turning point in the extension of God's salvation history. Thus Dahl explains:[29]

> Because Jesus is the Messiah, the Christ-event is understood as an eschatological event...The coming, the death, the resurrection, and the exaltation of Christ are events that signal the end of time and mark the end of the old aeon and the inauguration of the new. The doctrine of the justification of the sinner, the concept of dying and rising 'with Christ', and the idea of the new being 'in Christ' must be understood within this eschatological framework.

There is thus in Paul's thought a sharp contrast between 'once' and 'now'.[30]

(c) The immediately preceding context of Rom 5.12-21, i.e. the Christ/Adam comparison, might provide a key to Paul's 'incorporative' language (into/with/in) used in Romans 6.[31] According to 5.12-21 (cf. 1 Cor 15.21-22, 45), the first man Adam and the Last Adam Christ are two contrasting representatives for all humanity: 'The transgression of Adam brought not only sin into the world, but also death to all men, and so will the righteous act of Christ - and the grace of God through him - which has brought justification, also bring eternal life to the "new community" of the justified'.[32] In Paul's thought,

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[28]See Davies, *Paul*, pp.37-41; Keck, *Paul*, p.75; cf. Beker, *Paul*, pp.205-206: 'The cross, then, is the apocalyptic turning point of history. The breaking-in of the new age means the destruction and judgment of the old age. Although the cross points to the negative side of God's coming triumph, the "negation" of the cross proclaims as well the joyful reality of its "affirmations"'.

[29]Dahl, *Jesus*, p.21; cf. Hays, 'Crucified', esp.231-34 on the 'foundational story' (*Faith*, p.256 on narrative Christology); see also Dunn, *Partings*, pp.78-79.

[30]Dahl, *Studies*, p.103 (citing P. Tachau, *'Einst' und 'Jetzt' im Neuen Testament* [Göttingen: V&R, 1972]); also *Jesus in the Memory of the Early Church* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1974), pp.33-34.

[31]So Keck, *Paul*, p.56; Dunn, *Partings*, pp.191-92; Hooker, *Adam*, p.43. On this important passage, Rom 5.12-21, see major commentaries and works listed in Dunn, *Rom*, 1:269-70.

[32]N.A. Dahl, 'Two Notes on Romans 5', *ST* 5 (1952), pp.37-48, here p.48; cf. Davies, *Paul*, p.268: 'Paul ascribes to the obedience of Jesus an efficacy that avails for "many"; he argues that just as the disobedience of Adam had involved all mankind in sin, so the obedience of Christ, the Second Adam, had the power to raise all men to righteousness'.

Christ is the founding figure in the new dominion. And since it is by no means accidental that the σύν- compounds are introduced in Romans 6 *after* 5.12-21, it is right for us to understand Paul's 'with Christ' motif in the context of the decisive epochal eschatological event of Christ.[33]

(d) In close connection to the idea of 'in Christ', the union of the individual with Christ is such that 'the experiences of Christ are re-enacted in the experience of the individual Christian. The life, death, resurrection and glorification of Jesus cease to be mere external facts of history but living realities in the Christian's own life'.[34] In short, Dunn's summary is helpful for clarification:[35]

> 'in Christ' is a salvation-historical status. 'Into Christ' is transfer terminology - from Adam, into Christ. 'With Christ' and 'through Christ' describe the believer's participation in salvation-effective events - from death, through/with Christ to life. 'The body of Christ' reminds us that we experience this not as individuals but as a corporate entity.

6.3.3. Remarks on 'Co-Crucifixion with Christ' in 2.19b:

Therefore, by Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι Paul means 'I' Paul (as one of the many believers) had been included directly in the crucifixion of Christ there and then.[36] The moment of this 'crucifixion' is therefore not that of Christian baptism, but primarily and basically

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[33]Rightly Tannehill, *Dying*, p.26: '5.12-21 provides an introduction for chapter 6, indeed, it lays the foundation for the discussion of sin, law, and death which follows in Rom 6-8' (also pp.21-27, 39-40); Dunn, *Rom*, 1:313: 'Fundamental is the eschatological claim that with Christ's death a whole epoch has passed and a new age begun'; G. Wagner, *Pauline Baptism and the Pagan Mysteries* (ET; Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1967), p.290; contra Wedderburn, *Baptism*, p.348 who insists that when Paul first used the idea of our having died with Christ at Gal 2.19 there is no mention of Adam or of Christ as the eschatological Adam. In reply to this objection, we maintain that it is not possible for Paul to spell out every detail for his argument. After all, the main argument here is not concerning believer's 'co-crucifixion with Christ'; Paul is simply drawing on the motif to explain his subjective experience of 'dying to Law' in 2.19a.

[34]Davies, *Paul*, p.88; see also pp.36-57. One should not however overpress the 'living realities' as already fully realized in Christian living.

[35]Dunn, *Partings*, p.192.

[36]Contra Longenecker, *Gal*, p. 92 who insists that 'The perfect tense of the verb signals the believer's once-for-all act of commitment, with that act having results and implications for the present'.

the decisive death of Jesus on Calvary: '[Christ] has died for all; therefore all have died [ἀπέθανον, aorist]' (2 Cor 5.14; RSV).[37] Thus it makes very good sense that Paul's talk of his 'dying to Law' in the subjective sense, as part of his existential reorientation of life as confronted by Christ in 2.19a, is grounded in and supported by the historical epochal event of believers' 'having been crucified with Christ' (2.19b).[38] The *transference* takes place by *participation* in Christ's death and by *identification* with Christ.

With respect to Paul's understanding of 'co-crucifixion' with Christ as a present reality and final 'co-resurrection' with Christ still in the future,[39] Christian living in the 'between time' is one of 'already, but not yet'. While the resurrection with Christ lies in the future, there is a sense in which believers already share his resurrection life, because they are *in him* (cf. Rom 6.4, 11, 13; 2

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[37]Goppelt, *Theology*, 2:102: 'Already through the dying of Christ all have been marked by the cross before they know it!'; Wedderburn, *Baptism*, p.65; Kümmel, *Theology*, p.214; V. Furnish, *II Corinthians* (AB 32A; NY: Doubleday, 1984), p.327 explains that the perspective is cosmic and eschatological with reference to the idea of new creation at 5.17.

[38]Contra Deidun's insistence that '2.19a is applicable first and foremost to Christ: only of him can it be said *sensu proprio* that he "died to the Law through the Law's own doing"' and then 'the asyndetic v.19b explains why Paul can apply to himself (as Christian) what is applicable *sensu proprio* only to Christ: through baptism he is united with the death of Christ' (*New*, pp.122-23).

[39]It is significant that Paul chose to use the *future* tense to talk about resurrection with Christ in Rom 6.5b ('we shall [ἐσόμεθα] certainly also be knit together with the very likeness of his resurrection') and 6.8b ('we shall also live [συζήσομεν] with him'). These two verbs should not be read as logical futures (as insisted by Schnackenburg, *Baptism*, p.38; Beasley-Murray, *Baptism*, pp.138-39; Leenhardt, *Rom*, p.161; Fitzmyer, 'Rom', 51:65) or current futures (Cranfield, *Rom*, 1:308, 312); they are temporal or eschatological futures (so the majority of scholars, e.g. Tannehill, *Dying*, pp.10-11; G. Bornkamm, *Early Christian Experience* [ET; London: SCM, 1969], p.78; Barrett, *Rom*, pp.115-16; Goppelt, *Theology*, 2:103; Kümmel, *Theology*, p.212; Beker, *Paul*, p.197; Keck, *Paul*, pp.6, 57; Ziesler, *Rom*, p.158; Dunn, *Rom*, 1:318, 322; Hooker, *Adam*, pp.43-44; Deidun, *New*, p.124; Sanders, *PPJ*, p.449; Cousar, *Theology*, pp.102-103). Cf. 2 Tim 2.18. On the other hand, the idea of believers as *already* having been made alive with Christ is spoken of quite clearly in Col 2.11-13, 3.1-14; cf. Eph 2.5-6 (Beker, *Paul*, p.274; Keck, *Paul*, p.6) and has thus created some problems for scholars. See Lohse, *Colossians*, pp.104-105; Wedderburn, *Baptism*, pp.72-76; Moo, *Rom*, 1:388; Conzelmann and Lindemann, *Interpreting*, pp.202-203.

Cor 5.17).[40] With the *already* dimension, one is *assured* of the power of Christ's resurrection, the presence of the 'pneumatic' Christ and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. Thus says Beker: 'the Spirit is usually so directly associated with the victory of the resurrection of Christ that it is much more the power of the future triumph of God in the present than the power of the cross for our present cruciform existence'.[41] But one should, however, not ignore or neglect the *not yet* dimension, as if resurrection with Christ was a past event.[42] For Paul, tension and paradox are still part and parcel of the present Christian living in reality, and one should therefore try to hold the 'eschatological tension' in balance.[43]

Thus Phil 3.10 sums up quite well Paul's understanding of Christian existence: 'that I [Paul] may know him and the power of his resurrection, and may share his sufferings, becoming like him in his death' (RSV). The present participle **συμμορφιζόμενος** ('being conformed') denotes a continuing process, with resurrection as a future goal. Knowing Christ is to experience both the power of his resurrection and fellowship of his sufferings, and this knowing has to do with conformity to his death and anticipation of the resurrection from the dead.[44] Hooker summarizes the point succintly:

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[40]Moule, *Origin*, p.124; Hooker, *Adam*, p.44; cf. G.M. Styler, 'The Basis of Obligation in Paul's Theology and Ethics', in *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament*, pp.175-87.

[41]Beker, *Paul*, p.212; cf. R. Kieffer, 'Christ's Resurrection and Ours: The Structure of Pauline Thought', *Religious Studies Bulletin* 2 (1982), pp.15-23, esp. p.20.

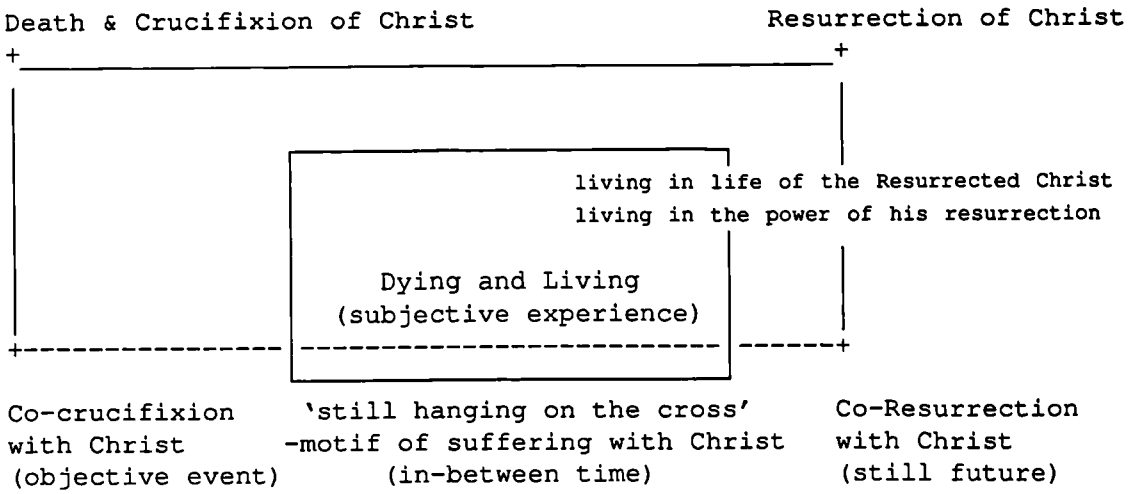
[42]So is the problem found in the Corinthian church: 'The error of the Corinthians had been, in part at least, their stressing of the realized power of the new age present in the congregation, to the neglect of the powers of death and the old age still at large there. Paul, for his part, was content to live with the tension and the paradox of this combination, of power in the midst of weakness' (Wedderburn, *Baptism*, p.359). Also Keck, *Paul*, pp.57-58; Hooker, *Adam*, p.54; Cosgrove, *Cross*, p.192; S. Hafemann, *Suffering and the Spirit* (WUNT 2/19; Tübingen: JCB Mohr, 1986), pp.65-67.

[43]Conzelmann, *Outline*, p.281; Dahl, *Studies*, p.11; Barclay, *Obeying*, p.206; Longenecker, *Eschatology*, pp.256-57. Keck, *Paul*, pp.75-78 prefers to talk in terms of participation and anticipation: 'Participation accents the present accessibility of the future; anticipation accents the future of that in which one participates. Participation emphasizes the "already", anticipation the "not yet"'.

[44]Cousar, *Theology*, p.160; P.T. O'Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), p.403: 'It is the

'To say "Christ died for us in order that we might live" is only half the story: we need to die with him in order to live with him. Dying with Christ is a continuing process, and this means resurrection can never be really realized in this life' and in fact for Paul 'Christian discipleship means identification with the crucified Lord'.[45]

In brief, the pattern of Christian living according to Paul can be illustrated roughly as below:



Therefore, with regard to the verb **συνεσταύρωμαι** in 2.19b, there are three further points we need to emphasize: (a) the perfect tense denotes an action of the past resulting in a continuing state;[46] (b) the passive voice indicates that it is an act of God through Christ;[47] and (c) it is the death/crucifixion of Christ rather than the resurrection being mentioned.[48] Since Paul is not ignorant of Christ's

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power of his resurrection, known and experienced in and under the concrete participation of his sufferings, that is in view'.

[45]Hooker, *Adam*, pp.48-49, 55. In a way, Paul's 'with Christ' motif is quite comparable to Jesus' insistance on discipleship as the way of life (so Manson, *Paul*, pp.74-75; Goppelt, *Theology*, 2:104; Kim, *Origin*, p.326). On Col 1.24, Lohse, *Colossians*, pp.69-70 argues that the believers' share in Christ's suffering is not mystical.

[46]So Wedderburn, *Baptism*, p.350: 'death continues on into the present'; Dunn, *Gal(ms)*, p.13: 'I have been nailed to the cross with Christ, and am still hanging there with him' (cf. *Jesus*, pp.331-32); Guthrie, *Gal*, p.90; Cousar, *Gal*, p.61; O'Brien, *Philippians*, p.410.

[47]Cf. Beasley-Murray, *Baptism*, p.142; Cosgrove, *Cross*, p.176.

[48]It is thus remarkable that the death of Christ is referred to or

resurrection, but chose instead to mention only crucifixion, the emphasis is rather more on the believer's identification with Christ in his death and crucifixion. 'Das Perf. συνεσταύρωμαι drückt das Gekreuzigtwerden mit Christus als einen existentiellen Dauerzustand [permanent condition] aus'.[49] Thus it is right to say that 'participation in the crucified Christ has become the believer's settled way of life' and 'Union with Christ is nothing if it is not union with Christ in his death'.[50] Hence 'Paul evidently thought of his life as a Christian as one in transition between Christ's death and Christ's resurrection (hence the future tense in Rom 6.5b), as a process of being conformed to that death (Phil 3.10)'.[51]

In short, it seems very possible that Paul models his life (dying to Law and living to God) on the Christological pattern (cf. Rom 6.10; 2 Cor 13.4).[52] For Paul, the present subjective experience of Christians *now* is based on the objective eschatological event of Christ *then*.[53]

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alluded to in 1.4; 2.21b; 3.1, 13; 4.5; 5.11, 24; 6.12, 14, 17, while resurrection is mentioned only once, as part of a traditional formula in 1.1 (Cosgrove, *Cross*, p.79 n69; Gaventa, 'Singularity', p.156).

[49]Rohde, *Gal*, p.116 n79; also Mussner, *Gal*, p.181.

[50]Citations from Bruce, *Gal*, p.144 and Dunn, *Unity*, p.195.

[51]Dunn, *Gal(ms)*, p.13 (also *Jesus*, pp.330-34); Grayston, *Dying*, p.74: 'The direct assertion that we both die *with* Christ and are raised *with* Christ seems almost elaborately avoided'. Contra Ellis, *Pauline*, p.11 n32 who insists that the believer's present (corporate) resurrection life with Christ or in Christ appears also in 2.19-20; Rom 6.10-13; vaguely in Beasley-Murray, *Baptism*, p.141; Hansen, *Abraham*, p.108.

[52]Cf. Barrett, *Freedom*, p.20: 'This macro-cosmic purpose and role are reproduced in the microcosm of the individual life'. In like manner we agree with Lührmann, *Gal*, p.45 that Paul's description of his experience depends more on the Christology: 'Die Logik der Sätze beruht nicht primär auf seiner individuellen Erfahrung [experience], die höchstens Vorbild sein könnte, nicht aber theologisch vermittelbar wäre, sondern auf der Christologie'.

[53]In like manner, we wish also to understand the believers' participation in the saving significance of the cross of Christ as based on *both* the past decisive epochal eschatological event of Christ *and* the present direct involvement of individual's faith and existence.

6.4. THE MEANING OF 'I LIVE ἐν πίστει' (2.20)

According to our above discussion, it becomes clear that the idea of Paul's 'dying to Law' (the first part of 2.19a) is taken up and grounded on the Christological basis, the idea of co-crucifixion with Christ in 2.19b. In what follows, we would like to discuss how 'living to God' (the second part of 2.19a) is being elaborated in 2.20. Undoubtedly, when Paul criticized Peter's 'misbehaviour' over breaking off table-fellowship with Gentile Christians at Antioch, a wider and urgent question was raised as to how Jewish Christians should conduct their lives in light of the new faith in Messiah Jesus and in a mixed community of Christian believers. It therefore becomes necessary for Paul to define here, more exactly, what 'living to God' is.

6.4.1. The Meaning of Three δέ's:

2.20ab consists of three statements which are introduced by the particle δέ ('and'; 'but'). While the first δέ (usually untranslated) is continuative: to relate the thought back to 2.19a, the second δέ is adversative, that is to introduce a positive correlative to the preceding negative statement ('[and] I no longer live, *but* Christ lives in me').[1] The third δέ at 2.20b is again continuative, to express a further feature of the rationale begun in 2.19a and to clarify in an epexegetical manner what Paul means by 'Christ lives in me' in 2.20a.[2]

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[1]So Burton, *Gal*, pp.137; Oepke, *Gal*, p.95: 'Das erste δέ führt einfach die Erörterung weiter, das zweite dagegen hebt den Gegensatz zwischen der negativen Aussage und der positiven Kehrseite heraus'; Bonnard, *Gal*, pp.56-57. Though Deidun, *New*, p.123 agrees with us on the meaning of the two δέ's, he insists that 2.20a relates not to 2.19a but to 2.19b, thus explaining the meaning of Christ's death. It is true that the Christological motif of 2.19b still asserts its influence on how Paul perceives Christian living, the repeating catchword 'ζῆν' favours our observation that 2.20 links up more directly to 2.19a, to the idea of 'living to God' (the second half of 2.19a). Similarly, Hays, *Faith*, p.168 misses the vital link by joining 2.20 directly to 2.19b.

[2]Schlier, *Gal*, p.102 n3: 'Das δέ ist in V.20b = "und". Denn es liegt kein Gegensatz, sondern eine Fortführung des Gedankens vor'; Betz, *Gal*, p.124; Meyer, *Gal*, p.125; Oepke, *Gal*, p.96. See also Fung, *Gal*, pp.123-24; Longenecker, *Gal*, pp.92-93.

Some have, however, suggested that the three δέ's could be translated as 'but, and, but': the first δέ at 2.20a is adversative and functions as a corrective to 2.19b, and then the third δέ again corrects the over mystical concept of 2.20a.[3] The problem is, with this rendering of three δέ's, Paul's thought seems to be quite confusing, and one can say Paul is not entirely clear on his expansion of 'living to God'. It is quite rightly questioned by Hays that 'If Paul did intend a sudden turnabout in 2.20b, would it not be necessary for him to use ἀλλά or some more clearly adversative expression?'[4] In our opinion, this rendering of δέ's fails to recognize the general structure of 2.19-20 and, in particularly, neglects the more direct link of 2.20 to 2.19a as evidenced by the catchword ζῆν (see §6.1. above).

6.4.2. 'I No Longer Live' (2.20a):

But what does Paul mean by 'ζῶ οὐκέτι ἐγώ' and 'ζῇ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός' at 2.20a? Some argue that Paul is talking about mystical depersonalization - the personhood of 'I' is being replaced, displaced and negated by the presence of Christ. According to this view, Paul denies even his own very existence: Paul literally no longer lives (οὐκέτι in a real and literal sense).[5] And Betz's comment is close to this view too: 'since the "I" is dead, another agent must do the "living in me" if the statement "I shall live for God" (v.19) is to be accepted'.[6]

But one should resist the danger of isolating 2.20a as an independent theological statement.[7] In fact 2.20a is closely related

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[3]E.g. Lagrange, *Gal*, p.52; Mussner, *Gal*, pp.182-83; Kieffer, *Foi*, pp.71 n99, 74; Rohde, *Gal*, p.116 n82.

[4]Hays, *Faith*, p.169.

[5]Some Catholic scholars tend to combine the sacramental baptism view with the depersonalization view: the original person of 'I' is dead and replaced by a 'new man' created sacramentally in Christ in baptism (e.g. Schlier, *Gal*, pp.101-103; Cerfaux, *Christian*, pp.331, 356; Fitzmyer, 'Gal', 47:20); Deidun, *New*, p.124: 'the Risen Christ himself has become the subject of the Christian's ζῆν, superseding the old ἐγώ and thus creating a new, "supernatural" personality'.

[6]Betz, *Gal*, p.124; cf. his distinguishing four 'theses' in 2.19-20 (pp.121-22).

[7]See Conzelmann, *Outline*, pp.209, 211; Kümmel, *Theology*, p.220.

to 2.19a and 2.20b. One should even emphasize that it is the same 'I' (Paul) who had previously died to Law and was now living to God, the same 'I' who now lives in faith. Since there is no indication that the 'I' had changed to a different person ontologically, it is better to consider the adverb **οὐκέτι** in a metaphorical sense: 'I no longer live' in the sense that Paul is dethroned, he is no longer in power or jurisdiction over his own life.[8]

On the other hand, there is no doubt that Paul also talks in mystical language with '**ζῇ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός**' (Christ indwelling).[9] In general, Paul talks of the reality of personal communion between Christians and God in two ways: (1) from the side of Christians, with phrases like 'in Christ', 'in Christ Jesus/Jesus Christ', 'in him', or 'in the Lord';[10] and (2) from the side of God, which is more typical of Paul, with expressions like 'Christ by his Spirit', or 'the Spirit of God', or simply 'the Spirit' dwelling 'in us' or 'in you'.[11] Thus the idea of 'Christ indwelling' the believer is much less common in Paul (Rom 8.10; 2 Cor 13.5; Col 1.27; cf. Eph 3.16-17). But in light of the interchange of expressions in Rom 8.9-11,[12] one can probably say that experientially the risen Christ himself is present to the believers through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit.[13] 'It

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[8]So Davies, *Paul*, p.197; Ebeling, *Truth*, pp.148-49. See also the reaction against the mystical view by M. Dibelius and W.G. Kümmel, *Paul* (ET; London: Longmans, 1953), p.108; Ridderbos, *Paul*, p.232.

[9]The noun mysticism or adjective mystical is a disputed and contentious category. See the discussion on 'Christian mysticism' by Longenecker, *Gal*, pp.92-93, 153-54. Some scholars tend to give too much prominence to Paul's view of participation and union (e.g. Deissmann, *Paul*, p.297; Schweitzer, *Mysticism*), while others tend to de-emphasize the mystical character of Paul's theology (e.g. Bultmann, *Theology*, 1:311; Conzelmann, *Outline*, p.184; Bornkamm, *Paul*, p.155). See also Sanders, *PPJ*, pp.453-54, 522-23.

[10]See passages in §4.4.3. above.

[11]E.g. 3.2; 4.6; Rom 5.5; 8.9, 11, 15-16, 23, 26; 1 Cor 3.16; 12.13; 2 Cor 1.22; 5.5; cf. Eph 1.13-14; 2 Tim 1.14. The outpouring of the Spirit was expected as the mark of the new age in prophetic literature (e.g. Isa 32.15; 34.16; 44.3; Ezek 11.19; 36.26-27; 37.4-17; Joel 2.28-32).

[12]See Cranfield, *Rom*, 1:388-89; Sanders, *PPJ*, p.462; Dunn, *Rom*, 1:430; Moo, *Rom*, 1:523. On the meaning of 'Spirit of Christ' (and the problematic passage 2 Cor 3.17-18), see Dunn, *Jesus*, pp.318-26; *Christology*, pp.136-49; Wright, *Climax*, pp.175-92.

[13]Burton, *Gal*, p.137; Davies, *Paul*, pp.177-78; Ridderbos, *Paul*, p.232:

makes little practical difference whether he [Paul] speaks of Christ living in them or the Spirit dwelling in them', says Bruce.[14] Dunn goes on to explain:[15]

> Experientially, it comes to the same thing: the awareness of a new focus of identity expressed in different goals and new inner dynamic, with Christ as the inspiration and Christ-likeness the paradigm...Theologically, it means that for Christians the Spirit of God is also now to be recognized as the Spirit of Christ and the personal existence of the post-resurrection Christ can not be thought of simply as having an individual bodily focus.
>
> Christ's presence is always bound up with the gift of the *pneuma*.[16]

In our opinion, one should try to hold both the mystical dimension ('Christ lives in me') and the existential dimension ('I no longer live') together. The indwelling Christ has not created 'magically' a new being in the believer, the 'I' remains the same person. At the same time, the lordship over one's life has transferred from 'I' to Christ and so a radical reorientation of life is taking place (cf. Phil 1.21).[17] 'The old "I" was dead, and had been replaced by a new focus of personality'.[18] As H.A.A. Kennedy puts it:

'the pneumatic fellowship with Christ'; Bultmann, *Theology*, 1:328; Sanders, *PPJ*, p.450; Beker, *Paul*, p.308; Barrett, *Freedom*, p.20; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.93.

[14]Bruce, *Gal*, p.144. Note, Moule, *Origin*, pp.56-58 (cf. Conzelmann, *Outline*, p.210) remains sceptical and insists that 'Christ in me' and 'I in Him' are not complete reciprocal.

[15]Dunn, *Gal(ms)*, p.14; cf. *Jesus*, pp.318-26; *Christology*, pp.136-49.

[16]See Bouttier, *Christianity*, pp.46-48. It is, however, not necessary to insist like Betz, *Gal*, p.124 that 'The underlying assumption is that the resurrected Christ (1.1) is identical with the "Spirit" (2 Cor 3.17a) which is given to the Christians'. See Cerfaux, *Christian*, pp.349-51; Dunn, *Partings*, pp.201-203; Keck, *Paul*, p.47.

[17]Cf. Bruce, *Gal*, p.144: 'The risen Christ is the operative power in the new order, as sin was in the old'; Ridderbos, *Gal*, p.105; Guthrie, *Gal*, p.90; Barclay, *Obeying*, p.81: 'his life is taken over by Christ'; Fung, *Gal*, p.124: 'Paul fully retains his identity as an "I" who sustains an "I-Thou" relationship with Christ'; Grayston, *Dying*, p.73: 'Not as a new ego, raised from the death of his former ego, but as a person indwelt by (the risen) Christ'.

[18]Dunn, *Gal(ms)*, p.13. It is therefore quite wrong to infer, as R. Reizenstein suggested, that there is a 'double personality' in Paul (see the criticisms by Davies, *Paul*, pp.196-97). Hays's comment that 'there is a complex overlay of two Subjects' (*Faith*, p.262) is also

'the relation of the human individual Paul to Jesus the historic person is never lost in a vague and impalpable experience'.[19]

6.4.3. Living '**ἐν πίστει**' and '**ἐν σαρκί**' (2.20b):

At 2.20b Paul goes on to elaborate what he means by 'living to God' and 'Christ living in me' in actual practice. At this point Paul switches from '*Christ* lives in me' to '*I* live in the faith of the Son of God'.[20] The 'life' (**ὃ...ζῶ**; literally 'that which I live')[21] which 'I live **ἐν πίστει**' is qualified by **νῦν** ('now') and **ἐν σαρκί**. The adverb **νῦν** is related to the **οὐκέτι** in 2.20a and points to the present Christian existence in contrast with the past; there is no indication in the text that Paul intends a contrast with the future life after death in heaven. This **νῦν** refers to *now*, the present time subsequent to the change expressed in 'I died to Law' in contrast to Paul's pre-Christian life.[22]

As for the prepositional phrase **ἐν σαρκί**, it is possible that the word 'flesh' is used in a non-theological sense, meaning 'the (continuing) mortal body' (as in 2 Cor 10.3).[23] Then **σάρξ** 'designates the human condition under the aspect of provisionality,

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open to misunderstanding.

[19]Cited approvingly by Davies, *Paul*, p.197.

[20]Meyer, *Gal*, p.125; Oepke, *Gal*, p.96: '**ἐν πίστει ζῶ** steht also parallel zu **ζῇ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός**'.

[21]The relative pronoun **ο** ('that; what') is probably an accusative of content in relation to the verb **ζῶ** (parallel in Rom 6.10). Thus it can be taken simply as a substantival synonym for 'life' (so Meyer, *Gal*, p.126; Burton, *Gal*, p.138; MHT 3:245-46; Zerwick and Grosvenor, *Grammatical Analysis*, p.563; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.93). See also BDF §§153, 154. Alternatively, Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.119 (Schlier, *Gal*, p.102 n4) takes **ὅ** as limiting and qualifying the idea of life ('*So far as* I live now in the flesh...') in contrast to the fuller life in future, and BAGD takes **ὅ** as defined by the following phrase 'in the faith' (7.c. [584]). See Betz, *Gal*, p.125 on the difficulty.

[22]Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.119; Meyer, *Gal*, p.125; Burton, *Gal*, p.138; Lagrange, *Gal*, p.52; Oepke, *Gal*, p.96; Betz, *Gal*, p.125 n98; Guthrie, *Gal*, p.90; Deidun, *New*, p.125 n76; Longenecker *Gal*, p.93; contra Kieffer, *Foi*, pp.74-75; BAGD, '**ζάω**', 1b (336).

[23]BAGD, '**σάρξ**', 5 (744); Meyer, *Gal*, p.125; Schweizer, *TDNT* 7:126; Lagrange, *Gal*, p.52; Ridderbos, *Gal*, p.106; Kümmel, *Theology*, p.174; Fung, *Gal*, p.124; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.93; Deidun, *New*, p.125; Beker, *Paul*, p.218; O'Brien, *Philippians*, pp.125, 363.

transitoriness'.[24] Yet, even according to this meaning, one senses a *tension* between 'in flesh' (the present earthly existence) and 'in faith' in the risen Christ; while the present still continues, the future has already broken in.[25]

But as we have seen in §3.4.2. above, the word σάρξ is used by Paul with a range of meanings, extending from a more or less neutral sense to a much more negative sense. And the polemical sense in which 'flesh' is associated with ethnic identity, with circumcision as a prime example, is more clearly seen at 6.12-13. We suspect Paul's main concern here is not so much with regard to the 'weakness of the flesh' (der Schwäche des Fleisches),[26] but the problem of Jewish ethnic identity and nomistic lifestyle with respect to the new faith in Messiah Jesus as seen in the crisis at Antioch.[27] It is therefore quite possible that by placing ἐν σαρκί and ἐν πίστει side by side Paul intends to *refocus* his Jewish identity away from *Torah*. Thus Dunn argues:[28]

> The point then is that Paul does not deny or renounce his continuing Jewishness in order to live as a Christian. His claim is rather that the life he now lives as a Jew born and bred ('by nature' - 2.15; 'in the flesh') he now lives by a different orientation - no longer by reference primarily to the law, but now by his faith in the Son of God.

The focal point is that, ἐν πίστει becomes for Paul 'the specific ground element in which my life moves and acts and is developed. It is prefixed emphatically, in contrast to the entirely

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[24]Conzelmann, *Outline*, p.174; Rohde, *Gal*, p.117 n84.

[25]Bruce, *Gal*, p.145; cf. Betz, *Gal*, p.125; Keck, *Paul*, p.101; Cousar, *Gal*, p.61; Barclay, *Obeying*, p.205 n77. According to Bultmann, *Theology*, 1:236: 'the formula ["in the flesh"] expresses an explicit or implicit antithesis to a life "in the Spirit" (Rom 8.9), "in Christ" (Phlm 16), "in faith" (Gal 2.20) or the like'.

[26]As insisted by Mussner, *Gal*, pp.182; Rohde, *Gal*, p.117; Westerholm, *Israel's Law*, pp.165-169, 216.

[27]BAGD, 'ζάω', 3a (336) also sees a correspondence of 2.20b to 2.14.

[28]Dunn, *Gal(ms)*, p.14; cf. Byrne, *Sons*, p.146: 'The former person, conscious of superior race and status, no longer lives. There is only Christ - in whom, as a later section (3.26-28) will teach, there is no room for such distinctions'. On how the imagery of crucifixion applied to the ethical sphere in 5.24-25, see Barclay, *Obeying*, pp.117-18.

different pre-Christian sphere of life, which was the **νόμος**'.[29]

6.4.4. The Significance of 2.20c:

Paul could have stopped at 2.20b, with **ἐν πίστει** that defines 'Das Christusleben ist Glaubensleben, ist durch Glauben vermittelt'.[30] But the fact that Paul goes on to qualify 'faith' with **τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ**, followed by the traditional formulation 'who loved me and/even (**καί**)[31] gave himself for me' (2.20c), suggests that Paul intends to *focus* the attention not only on faith but on Christ at the same time.

With reference to the traditional formulation at 2.20c, it is generally observed that **με** and **ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ** are intimate and personal references, reflecting Paul's own intense personal feelings.[32] And some have also drawn our attention to the imagery on the love (**ἀγαπήσαντός**) and self-sacrifice (**παραδόντος ἑαυτόν**) of Christ: *even* the Son of God had taken an *active* role for me and for humankind.[33] But one should ask, why does Paul 'append' it here? Why does Paul draw on love and self-sacrifice of Christ?

We suggest that Paul might intend to intensify the image of Christ crucified once again, and may even draw on the self-sacrificial life of Christ as the model, the pattern of life,

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[29]Meyer, *Gal*, p.126. Thus we can only agree with Barrett's first part of the comment 'The old law-dominated, self-regarding life is gone' (*Freedom*, p.20).

[30]Oepke, *Gal*, p.96.

[31]Meyer, *Gal*, p.126 renders the **καί** as explanatory; Kieffer, *Foi*, p.76 suggests that 'Le *kai* a probablement le sens additif "et cela au point de": l'amour a poussé le Christ à même se livrer pour moi'; cf. Guthrie, *Gal*, p.91: 'The main wonder is the love which prompted it [the self-giving upon the cross]'.

[32]E.g. Bruce, *Gal*, p.146; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.94; Dunn, *Gal(ms)*, p.15; O'Brien, *Philippians*, p.389 n41; cf. 1.15-16; 6.14; Rom 7.24-25; 2 Cor 12.8-10; Phil 1.21; 4.13; 1 Tim 1.16; 2 Tim 1.12; 4.7-8.

[33]Bruce, *Gal*, p.145: '"Son" describes the close bond of love between God and Jesus and thus emphasises the greatness of the sacrifice. ...The Son of God title has for him [Paul] the function of describing the greatness of the saving act of God who offered up the One closest to Him (quoting Schweizer, *TDNT* 8:384). Here, however, it is the active role of the Son of God that is emphasized'. The connexion between the title Son of God and the death of Christ is much less common in Paul (cf. Rom 5.10; 8.32). On **ὑπέρ**, see Betz, *Gal*, p.126 n109.

for all Christian believers.[34] Since the 'I' is co-crucified with Christ and is still hanging there (2.19b), the life of the Christian believer is being drawn into the life of Christ, the command over 'I' being taken over by Christ. Thus in conjunction with 2.20a, one is drawn into the inevitable consequence that the indwelling Christ is none other than the crucified Christ[35] who gave himself and that cruciform life-style of Christ is going to impinge on the life of faith.[36]

Thus a new frame of reference is established by Paul. This new 'Christian' living of faith is focused and oriented with *Christ* at the very centre in contrast to those who are above all concerned for their own ethnicity.[37] While 'I' remains active in life, 'The whole context portrays Christ as the active agent and Paul as the instrument through which and/or for whom Christ's activity comes to expression'.[38] The fundamental guiding principle for 'living to God' is no longer the Law (nor works of Law) which 'I' have died to, but the faith of Christ. In brief, Paul defines his own conviction of 'living to God' (with behaviour pattern being the main concern) as a life *in faith* and *of Christ*, one which is transformed and moulded by Christ crucified - the cruciform life-style.

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[34]With reference to Hooker's imagery, the interchange in Christ demands ethical reorientation to become a lifestyle for others: 'the gospel demands conformity to Christ's death...the "lifestyle" is that of one who emptied himself, became poor, and identified himself with sinful mankind. That is the pattern of living to which Paul points Christians' (*Adam*, pp.65, 69). This does not however mean that one should interpret Christ's death as purely exemplary, as in the nineteenth century liberal theology.

[35]Goppelt, *Theology*, 2:89: 'For Paul Christ was the crucified One'.

[36]Beker, *Paul*, p.301; cf. Hays, *Faith*, p.201 suggests that ἐν = instrumental *by*, and so 2.20 means 'I participate in the pattern of faith enacted by the Son of God' (p.250).

[37]Contra Stauffer, *TDNT* 2:362 who seems to suggest that Paul rejects totally his ethnic identity: 'Paul rejects the position of Gal 2.15 in 2.19 and that of Phil 3.6 in 3.7'.

[38]Hays, *Faith*, p.169; cf. 'ΠΙΣΤΙΣ', p.727.

6.5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS ON 2.18-20

As a summary for the main ideas in 2.19-20, we would like to make the following observations: (1) Paul in response to the *crisis at Antioch*, in response to the urgent question of proper behaviour pattern for Jewish Christians,[1] defines 'living to God' (proper behaviour pattern) as 'living in faith' (ἐν πίστει), rather than in Law or by Law. For Paul it is a 'living in faith' determined by Christ-crucified, rather than by one's own old *ego* or 'flesh'. 'It is no longer the relationship of the flesh which is important for Paul (ethnic identity) but relationship with God's Son'.[2] For Paul, it is vital that *Torah* and in particular all the Jewish traditional covenant markers be demoted and cease to be the centre of Christian living; in the light of the decisive eschatological Christ event, 'I' have died to Law. Therefore, with reference to the crisis over table-fellowship in a mixed Christian community and how Jewish Christians should conduct their 'living to God' in light of the new faith in Messiah Jesus, Paul insists that the *Torah* and 'works of law' should not be the criteria any longer. From Paul's perspective, genuine table-fellowship could resume without any barrier when his fellow Jewish Christians too accept 'Christ' as the only valid covenant marker for *all* Christian believers.[3]

(2) When Paul expanded on his own conviction of 'living to God' he draws on the concept of co-crucifixion with Christ (2.19b) and the indwelling of Christ (2.20a), by which he will make it impossible for anyone to put the accusation that his 'Christ is a minister of sin' (cf. 2.17c). In fact Paul seems to have seized upon the opportunity

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[1]Our observation is also shared by Schnackenburg, *Baptism*, p.65; contra Cosgrove, *Cross*, pp.131-32, 137 who insists that 2.19-20 transcends the Antioch horizon and the discussion has proceeded on a new level.

[2]Dunn, *Gal(ms)*, p.14.

[3]Watson is right to observe that according to 2.19-20, 'the old norms are no longer in force' (*Paul*, p.68), but we disagree with him on that being Paul's intentional device to separate the churches from the Jewish community. Our interpretation shows that Paul intended to remain within the Jewish tradition but seeks to redefine the role of Torah and the boundary markers so that Gentile Christians can join the community of God's people and participate as full members *without* 'living 'Ιουδαϊκῶς'.

not only to defend his argument (γάρ in connection to μὴ γένοιτο), but also to go on the offensive and to counter attack the false accusation.[4] Ridderbos is quite right in observing that 'the thought that Christ should be the minister of sin turns out to be the very opposite of the truth'.[5]

(3) When Paul elaborates on 'living to God' he highlights the characteristic of *cruciform life-style*. The indwelling Christ is not just the risen Christ, the Second Adam who brings about the eschatological new age,[6] He is also the Christ crucified, the Son of God 'who loved me and gave himself for me'.[7] One can draw the implication that the Christ-form life is also a life *for others*, and it would not be too far-fetched if Paul were to invite Jewish Christians to adopt the Christ's model of sacrificing oneself *for others* that they should also live not for themselves but for God, Christ, and others (see §7.2. on Paul's *pro* Gentile position).

(4) We submit that our observation and analysis of 2.19a as the basic statement which is then elaborated in 2.19b and 2.20 makes better sense of the overall argument. While Betz is correct in recognizing the importance of 2.19-20 in the letter and in Paul's thought, we have now come to the conclusion that his rhetorical analysis of 2.19-20 as the *expositio* consisting of four fairly independent theological 'theses' has somehow misled him to ignore their interrelatedness - he does not discuss the three δέ's. According to our interpretation, the 'I' (emphatic ἐγώ) of 2.19a refers undoubtedly to Paul himself, while the 'I' of 2.18 has Peter in mind. In effect, 2.18 and 2.19a imply a contrast between Peter and Paul.

According to our clarifications above (esp. §5.2.4), we suggest that the 'I' is a rhetorical device used by Paul to compare and to contrast two different behaviour patterns and two different responses to the crisis at Antioch: (Peter) to resubmit to 'works of Law' and

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[4]Cf. Becker, *Gal*, p.30.

[5]Ridderbos, *Gal*, p.105.

[6]Oepke, *Gal*, p.95; Bruce, *Gal*, p.144; cf. Rom 5.12-21 and 1 Cor 15.22, 45-47.

[7]Emphasized by Ebeling, *Truth*, p.149: 'The Christ who lives in me is the crucified Christ'; Cousar, *Cross*, p.143; Dunn, *Gal(ms)*, p.14.

so divide the Christian community; (Paul) to reorient one's life ἐν πίστει according to Christ and so both Jewish and Gentile Christians can possibly worship and have common table-fellowship together.

In the argument Paul presents himself primarily as an example for other *Jewish Christians*, how one's self-understanding as a Jew (cf. 2.15) can be transformed and reshaped by Christ. Later on, Paul also submits himself as an example (paradigm) for Gentile Christians at Galatia (cf. 4.12) that they should resist adopting Jewish 'works of Law' as some Jewish Christian 'agitators' were trying to persuade them to do. Thus the 'I' Paul of 2.19-20 can become a paradigm for both Jewish and Gentile Christians: 'living to God' is living ἐν πίστει with respect to Christ crucified.[8]

At this juncture we have to attempt to resolve the daunting question of how the two clarifications of 2.18 and 2.19-20 relate to the false accusation at 2.17c. How are we going to make sense of Paul's argumentation in 2.18-20 as a whole? According to our observations on μὴ γένοιτο, Paul's rejection is directed at the illogical question, 'Is Christ a servant of sin' (2.17c) and it is followed up by two clarifications. At 2.18 Paul argues that 'Christ' is not at all responsible for one's coming to be a transgressor: on the contrary, it is 'I' (= Peter) who attempts to rebuild the divisive 'works of law'. Then at 2.19-20 Paul moves on to compare himself (emphatic ἐγώ) with Peter and to clarify further his μὴ γένοιτο by elaborating on the fact that Christ is not at all a 'servant of sin', but is indeed the source of life, with whom 'I' Paul had been co-crucified (Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι; 2.19b). Thus the main structure of argument can be seen roughly as below:

False accusation: 'Christ a minister of Sin'

Paul's rejection: 'No' (μὴ γένοιτο)

Clarification 1: Christ is not responsible, but 'I' (= Peter) is (2.18)

Clarification 2: 'I' ἐγώ Paul in contrast to Peter (2.19a)

[counter-attack] Christ has nothing to do with sin; Christ is in fact the life-giver, the centre of 'I' (Paul's life) (2.19-20).

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[8]See Dahl, *Studies*, p.72; Gaventa, 'Galatians', pp.320-21; Lyons, *Pauline*, pp.164-71 on imitation of Paul (cf. Phil 3.4-11).

According to our observation, the argument of 2.18 is slightly more defensive in tone, trying to clarify who is responsible. But the argument of 2.19-20 is more on the *offensive*: Paul takes the opportunity to argue one step further and to destroy any possible false understanding of his theological position. Christ is in no way responsible for sin or for promoting sin; Christ is indeed the climax in God's salvation plan, and is also the turning point and centre of Paul's life. Thus when Paul draws on the idea of 'co-crucifixion with Christ' (2.19b) as the objective ground for his own subjective conviction of 'dying to Law' and 'living to God' (2.19a), Christ, God's decisive act in Christ, forms the key. Christ is no minister of sin or death; rather in Christ is life!

Secondly, the two statements of 2.18 and 2.19a are also very nicely paralleled. On the one hand, what some Jewish Christians judged to be a correct and proper response, i.e. to reestablish traditional Jewish works of law, has turned out to be disastrous in Paul's view. On the other hand, what some Jewish Christians thought to be unbelievable and disrespect to the Law, i.e. died to the Law through the law in order to live to God, was argued by Paul as the inevitable consequence of 'co-crucifixion with Christ' (2.19b). In both cases, Paul has challenged the very basic assumptions of his fellow Jewish Christians. Paul insists that what they thought is truth or correct is wrong, precisely because (Jewish) Christian identity and lifestyle is no longer defined by Torah, but is to be transformed with respect to Christ, 'the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me' (2.20c).

Finally, the central idea is probably Paul's assertion that the new 'living to God' is defined as living 'in faith' with respect to Christ. In contrast to some Jewish Christians who might reason that negligence of 'works of law' is disloyalty to Torah and to God, Paul argues that negligence of 'works of Law' is not sin because one has already died to Law, and Torah has ceased to remain the foundation or guiding principle of one's life in Christ. In response to the crisis of disunity and division at Antioch, Paul defines the principle of Christian living as living ἐν πίστει with respect to Christ and not as living ἐθνικῶς nor Ἰουδαϊκῶς (cf. 2.14b).

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE CONCLUDING REMARKS (GAL 2.21)

7.1. INTRODUCTION

The fact that 2.21a is abruptly introduced, without connective, indicates that it is not a further argument following on from 2.20.[1] Paul may very well consider that the discussion unit 2.17-20 has come to an end, with the understanding that his rejection, clarifications and counter attacks on the false objection 'Christ a minister of sin' are sufficient, at least for the time being. Furthermore, according to Paul, the question of identity and behaviour pattern for Jewish Christians, as well as Gentile Christians, is now clarified: they are to be defined solely by Christ and faith; Torah has now lost its ultimate defining role in one's 'living to God' (2.19-20; cf. 5.18 'If you are led by the Spirit, you are not subject to the law').[2] Thus, the initial issue of the Antioch Incident, whether Jewish Christians should 'live ἐθνικῶς or 'Ιουδαϊκῶς' has been resolved. Therefore, with 2.21, Paul proceeds to conclude his direct discussion with Peter and other *Jewish Christians* on the Antioch crisis by stating his own conviction in summary form.

According to our preliminary outline, 2.21 is the ἐπίλογος, whose function is to conclude the *narratio* and to round off his 'address' to Peter and other Jewish Christians at Antioch before he has to move on to address the Galatian Gentile Christians more directly (cf. 3.1).[3] The *conclusio* consists of two parts: an 'I'

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[1]Contra Matera, *Gal*, p.103 who takes 2.21 as the third reason for Paul's rejection at 2.17.

[2]Cf. Gordon, 'Problem', p.39: 'Torah no longer deserves our most central religious allegiance'.

[3]See §2.4; Lyons, *Pauline*, pp.173-74; cf. Ebeling, *Truth*, p.150;

declarative statement of Paul ('Οὐκ ἀθετῶ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ'; I do not nullify the grace of God; 2.21a),[4] and a conditional statement summarizing his position ('εἰ γὰρ διὰ νόμου δικαιοσύνη, ἄρα Χριστὸς δωρεὰν ἀπέθανεν'; for if righteousness [is] through the Law, then Christ died for nothing; 2.21b).[5] The connective γάρ links 2.21b to 2.21a rather than to 2.17d. In the following paragraphs, we shall look at the two parts in turn.

7.2. PAUL'S DECLARATION (2.21a)

The words of 2.21a are quite unique. The verb ἀθετέω ('I declare invalid, nullify, set aside') occurs only five times in Paul (2.21a; 1 Cor 1.19; 3.15; 1 Thess 4.8[2x]).[6] The literal meaning of ἀθετέω is, as M. Limbeck explains, 'to *make* something *an* ἄθετον - *something invalidated*. In other words, *something* which is θετός ("established") - a law, a covenant, an oath, a promise - is *made invalid, declared invalid, or nullified* (=destroyed); a similar result is achieved when consent to the thing in question is withheld'.[7] The verb is sometimes used in a legal context, referring to trespass against or abrogation of formal agreements;[8] at times it seems to have closer relationship to Jewish thought, especially as it is shaped by the claim of Torah.[9] Thus the verb is a rather strong word, and many scholars recognize

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Cole, *Gal*, p.125.

[4]Lyons, *Pauline*, p.111 rightly points out that it is quite unnecessary to read the negation οὐκ as an indication of the refutation of a charge, as if when Paul says 'I do not...' it would imply 'as I am being accused of doing...' (cf. Cosgrove, *Cross*, p.142; *contra* Schlier, *Gal*, p.104; Betz, *Gal*, pp.126-27 which considers 2.21 the refutatio; Fung, *Gal*, p.125).

[5]A verb is missing in the protasis; cf. 'for if justification *were* through the law' (RSV); 'for if justification *comes* through the law' (NRSV); 'for if righteousness *could be gained* through the law' (NIV).

[6]Eleven times elsewhere in the NT: Mark 6.26; 7.9; Luke 7.30; 10.16(4x); John 12.48; 1 Tim 5.12; Heb 10.28; Jude 8.

[7]M. Limbeck, 'ἀθετέω', *EDNT* 1:35.

[8]E.g. Deut 21.14; Isa 1.2; Gal 3.15; 1 Cor 1.19; 1 Tim 5.12. On this legal overtone, see BAGD, 'ἀθετέω', 1 (21); LSJ, 'ἀθετέω', 31; C. Maurer, 'ἀθετέω', *TDNT* 8:158-59.

[9]E.g. Luke 7.30; John 12.48; cf. Isa 24.16 [LXX] τὸν νόμον; Jer 15.15-16, τοὺς λόγους.

that the meaning here probably reflects its legal technical sense: 'to set at naught a treaty or promise, to deal treacherously with, break faith with'.[10]

But what does Paul mean by 'not nullifying **τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ**'? The phrase '**ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ**' (subjective genitive) is obviously Pauline; the notion appears earlier in 1.3; 1.6; 1.15; 2.9, and later on in 5.4 and 6.18.[11] Specifically Pauline is the use of **χάρις** to expound the structure of the salvation event: 'In Paul **χάρις** is a central concept that most clearly expresses his understanding of the salvation event'.[12] And to be more specific, **χάρις** often refers to the Christ-event.[13] Thus Rom 5.15: 'For if the many died through the one man's trespass, much more surely have *the grace of God* and the free gift in the *grace* of the one man, Jesus Christ, abounded for the many'; 2 Cor 8.9: 'For you know the generous act [*grace*] of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, so that by his poverty you might become rich' (NRSV).[14] For Paul, this divine grace of God in Christ invites, at the same time, the believers to enter into positive interaction and relationship with God in faith (1.6; 1 Cor 1.4-5; 15.10; 2 Cor 6.1; cf. Eph 2.5, 8).[15]

There is a second important aspect of Paul's usage: **χάρις** with

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[10]Sampley, *Pauline*, p.40; cf. Betz, *Gal*, p.126: 'the term is rather strong and has legal overtones'; Kieffer, *Foi*, p.78; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.94 (cf. 1 Macc 11.36; 2 Macc 13.25; Ignatius, *Ephesians*, 10.3); Lambrecht, 'Transgressor', p.235. Maurer, *TDNT* 8:159 translates 'to make void or invalidate, not God's grace as such, but its practical value'.

[11]The word **χάρις** occurs one hundred times in the Pauline letters as against fifty six times for the rest of the NT. The concept of God's grace is evidently an important one for Paul. In his letters, the word **χάρις** occupies a special place in the salutation (1.3; cf. Rom 1.1; 1 Cor 1.3) and also in the final greeting (6.18; cf. Rom 16.20 [16.24]; 1 Thess 5.28). On grace, see H. Conzelmann (with W. Zimmerli), '**χάρις κτλ**', *TDNT* 9:372-402; and qualifications in J. Nolland, 'Grace as Power', *NovT* 38 (1986), pp.26-31.

[12]Conzelmann, *TDNT* 9:393; cf. *Outline*, pp.213-14.

[13]Betz, *Gal*, p.41 n46; see also Bultmann, *Theology*, 1:288-314; Dunn, *Jesus*, pp.202-205; K. Berger, '**χάρις**', *EWNT* 3:1095-1102; Fitzmyer, 'Pauline Theology', 82:66.

[14]See also Rom 3.24-25; 5.17, 20; Eph 1.6-7.

[15]Conzelmann, *TDNT* 9:394-95; Dunn, *Jesus*, p.202. Thus *sola fide* should correspond to *sola gratia* (cf. 5.4; Rom 4.14-16).

reference to his own apostolic office. For example, Rom 1.5, 'through whom we have received *grace* and apostleship [χάριν καὶ ἀποστολήν] to bring about the obedience of faith among all the Gentiles';[16] Rom 15.15-16, 'I have written to you rather boldly by way of reminder, because of the *grace* given me by God to be a minister of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles'.[17] This usage is also found in 2.9: the Jerusalem Pillars recognized the special mission entrusted to Paul for the uncircumcised as the *grace* [τὴν χάριν] that was given to him (cf. 2.7-8; 1.15).[18] Thus the same word χάρις, which is always in the singular, is used by Paul with different emphases.

Our problem is, what does Paul have in mind with τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ at 2.21a? Exegetes are divided. Some argue that it refers to God's special gift of *Torah* to Israel. According to Burton, Paul reacts to an accusation of his opponents at 2.21a: '[Paul] is making of no account the special grace of God to Israel in giving them the law (cf. Rom 3.31)'.[19] Similarly, Schlier argues that 2.21a is Paul's reproach (Vorwurf) to his Galatian opponents' accusation that he had destroyed God's grace, i.e. the Law or its righteousness, particularly circumcision.[20] Longenecker suggests that 'Probably the Judaizers were picking up on one of Paul's favorite terms, "grace", and turning it against him, asserting that his doctrine of grace apart from law is really a denial of God's grace to the nation Israel'.[21] In our opinion, this line of reading is unsatisfactory because it has to rely on the view that Paul is reacting to an accusation here, which we think is quite unlikely.[22]

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[16]The conjunction καί is probably an example of hendiadys, in which the apostleship is seen as a gracious gift undeserved by any human worth (Cranfield, *Rom*, 1:65-66); the grace embodied and manifested in apostleship (Käsemann, *Rom*, p.14; Dunn, *Rom*, 1:17; Barrett, *Rom*, p.22). On hendiadys, see BDF §442(16).

[17]See also Rom 12.3; 1 Cor 3.10; Phil 1.7; cf. Eph 3.2, 7-8. Berger, *EWNT* 3:1096; Kim, *Origin*, pp.25-26, see also pp.288-96, an excursus on Paul and the grace of his apostleship.

[18]Cf. Gordon, 'Problem', p.35; Gaventa, 'Galatians', p.316.

[19]Burton, *Gal*, p.140.

[20]Schlier, *Gal*, p.104; also Fung, *Gal*, p.125.

[21]Longenecker, *Gal*, pp.94-95.

[22]See also the critique by Mussner, *Gal*, p.184 n80; van Dülmen, *Theologie*, p.26 n47.

The majority of scholars on the other hand is of the opinion that τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ refers to God's salvific grace in Christ: 'God's grace is basically the gift of Christ, his person and all that he did, especially his dying out of love'.[23] This reading with reference to the unique grace of God, in and through the death of Christ, has the merit of relating χάρις to the immediate context: the eschatological death, crucifixion and present indwelling of Christ is mentioned in 2.19-20; also prominent is the reference to the death of Christ in 2.21b, which is again considered by Paul as the central event and decisive act of God in the salvation plan.[24]

However, some argue that τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ could refer to Paul's own calling to apostleship among the Gentiles. So Dunn comments: 'here Paul obviously has in mind "the grace of God" manifested in his calling and in his successful missionary work (1.15; 2.9)'.[25] Similarly, Sampley remarks: with 2.21 'Paul recapitulates the decisive matter in the conference, the grace of God at work, and declares that he, Paul, does not nullify that grace'.[26] With this reading, 2.21a sounds more like Paul's own confession, rather than a rebuke or a reproach. Thus Dunn argues that Paul asserts that he will stand firm with regard to God's *special gracious* ministry set apart for him, and warns that 'any retreat back to a Judaism, or Jewish Christianity, which insisted that Jew and Gentile should eat separately was to render invalid the whole gospel - as indeed also Israel's own election (Rom 11.5-6)!'[27]

As far as Paul's usage of χάρις is concerned, the last two views are equally possible. While the second view has the advantage of relating χάρις to the immediate context, the third view has the merit of reading the phrase with reference to Paul's earlier concern in the

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[23]Lambrecht, 'Transgressor', p.228; cf. Bultmann, *Theology*, 1:290; Betz, *Gal*, p.126; Meyer, *Gal*, p.126; Guthrie, *Gal*, p.91; Byrne, *Sons*, p.147; Beker, *Paul*, p.205; Bruce, *Gal*, p.146; Cousar, *Gal*, p.52; Ebeling, *Truth*, p.150; Fitzmyer, 'Gal', 47:20; Cole, *Gal*, p.126. Mussner, *Gal*, p.184 and Kieffer, *Foi*, p.78 put the emphasis on grace as the order of salvation.

[24]So Lightfoot, *Gal*, p.120: '"The grace of God" is manifested in Christ's death'.

[25]Dunn, *Gal(ms)*, p.15.

[26]Sampley, *Pauline*, p.40.

[27]Dunn, *Gal(ms)*, p.15.

autobiographical section. The question is, is there a possibility that Paul may have *both* ideas in mind at this juncture? We suggest two observations may indeed point to this possibility:

(1) The notion of God's grace being manifested in the gospel of Christ *and* in Paul's ministry is closely intertwined in chapters 1 and 2. For example, when Paul warns the Galatians not to desert the God who called them in the *grace of Christ* by turning to another *gospel*, he has also himself - the preacher of the gospel of Christ - in mind (cf. 1.6b-9). Similarly, Paul mentioned that after he had defended the *gospel* he preached among the Gentiles (2.2), the Pillars in response recognized his 'mission to the uncircumcised' as well as his 'gospel of uncircumcision' as the *grace* given him by God (cf. 2.7-9). Thus for Paul, the divine grace of God in commissioning him to the apostolic ministry among the Gentiles, and his 'gospel of uncircumcision' for the Gentiles, and the free grace of God in Christ which extends to the Gentiles are quite inseparable.[28]

(2) The observation of 2.21 as the *conclusio* suggests also that one can read **τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ** beyond the immediate bounds of its context. Thus Paul's declaration 'I do not nullify the grace of God' seeks to sum up everything defended earlier, including his understanding of 'the truth of the gospel' that centers solely on Christ and his specific calling and ministry among the Gentiles (1.15-16; 2.7-9; note the word **χάρις** appears in both occasions). Therefore, we are of the opinion that the context of argumentation indicates that Paul has *both* foci in mind with **χάρις** at 2.21a.[29]

If this observation is on the right track, then clearly Paul believes that the inclusive gospel of Christ which extends beyond Jews to embrace Gentiles as Gentiles and his own specific ministry among the Gentiles as commissioned by God stand or fall together. This explains, at least in part, why Paul fought so passionately and vigorously for 'the truth of the gospel' *for the Gentiles*, first in Jerusalem, then at Antioch, and now in the Galatian letter. For Paul,

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[28]Cf. Dahl, *Studies*, p.72: 'When Paul summarizes the content of the gospel, he often adds something about his own call and work' (cf. Rom 1.1-6; 1 Cor 15.3-11; 2 Cor 4.4-6; 5.17-21; Gal 1.6ff; 2.7-9).

[29]So Kim, *Origin*, p.294: 'The grace of God may well have a double reference to God's grace in sending and giving up his Son "for me" and to his salvation and call of Paul on the Damascus road'.

'the grace of God' which is manifested in the death of Christ is also the inclusive grace extending to Gentiles and welcoming Gentiles in the eschatological age; whoever undermines the equal status of Gentile believers in the community of God's people or tries to impose Jewish identity and lifestyle on them is denying God's grace as well as undercutting his ministry and calling his *grace of apostleship* to the Gentiles into question (1.15-16; cf. 1.6-10; 2.1-14).

Thus when the false brothers demanded that Titus be circumcised, Paul fought back (cf. 2.3-5); and now when the agitators came to Galatia to persuade Gentile believers to accept circumcision and to adopt a Jewish lifestyle, Paul pronounces *anathema* on them (1.8-9; cf. 5.12). The Antioch Incident was crucial because Paul saw that the changing behaviour of Peter, followed by other Jewish Christians, had put Gentile believers under pressure to judaize and to become part of the Jewish community. And Paul may well have perceived the situation as a precedent for 'living 'Ιουδαϊκῶς' unless he confronted Peter and put a stop to it. For Paul was convinced that unless Gentile believers were accepted *as* Gentiles and remained *as* Gentiles within the mixed Christian community, 'the truth of the gospel' would be compromised.

Thus with the declaration of 2.21a, Paul (the Jewish Christian) emerges as *the* example for the Gentile believers in Galatia. Contrary to Peter who failed to stand up for 'the truth of the gospel' at Antioch, Paul, the apostle to the Gentiles, regards the 'grace of God' highly above all things. In contrast to the Jewish Christian agitators who actively seek to compel Gentile believers to accept circumcision and to adopt a Jewish lifestyle, Paul is the true champion of 'the (inclusive) grace of God' and defender of the equal rights of Gentile believers.

7.3. PAUL'S SUMMARY STATEMENT (2.21b)

7.3.1. Some Preliminary Observations:

In order to reinforce his declaration at 2.21a, Paul introduces the summary statement which identifies the crux of the matter - Torah *or* Christ. It is often rightly observed that the opposition between Christ and Torah in 2.21b is reminiscent of the contrast between **πίστις Χριστοῦ** and **ἔργα νόμου** in 2.16.[1] The focus of the argument is slightly different: Paul aims at establishing **πίστις Χριστοῦ** positively in 2.16, but concentrates on the Law negatively and so rejects it in 2.21b. Thus 'In 2.21b wiederholt Paulus seine Aussage von 2.16 in radikalster Formulierung'.[2]

As we saw ealier when commenting on 2.16, there Paul evidently sought to redefine the traditional Jewish Christian understanding of justification, by *both* **πίστις Χριστοῦ** *and* **ἔργα νόμου** as seen in the **ὅτι**-clause (2.16a), into justification by faith dependent on **πίστις Χριστοῦ** *alone* (2.16cd). According to Paul's reformulation, the traditional Jewish identity-confirming and boundary-defining markers (**ἔργα νόμου**) will no longer play any part in defining covenantal membership, whether it is initial acceptance by God or continuing sustaining by God. At 2.19-20, Paul further developed the singular importance of Christ-crucified and faith in the self-understanding of Christian believers. As Paul saw it, the identity and behaviour pattern of Christians, whether Jews or Gentiles, had only one focus, which is Christ. Throughout the argumentation, the significance of Christ is affirmed and elevated, while the Jewish Torah and works of law are demoted.

'Christ or Torah', so Paul presents the antithesis.[3] The summary statement of 2.21b heightens the antithesis even further: **εἰ διὰ νόμου δικαιοσύνη, ἄρα Χριστὸς δωρεὰν ἀπέθανεν**. With the inferential particle **ἄρα** emphasizing logical result, Paul stresses the inevitable consequence of the presumption found in one's holding to the view

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[1]So Betz, *Gal*, p.126; Guthrie, *Gal*, p.91; Keck, *Paul*, p.81; Gordon, 'Problem', p.37; Fung, *Gal*, p.125; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.95; Cosgrove, *Cross*, p.143.

[2]van Dülmen, *Theologie*, p.26; cf. Bachmann, *Sünder*, p.63.

[3]Most scholars recognize the dichotomy, e.g. Meyer, *Gal*, p.127; Dahl, *Jesus*, p.21; Kieffer, *Foi*, p.78; Cole, *Gal*, p.126.

'διὰ νόμου δικαιοσύνη': if A, then B.[4] Since the conclusion 'Christ died in vain' can hardly be true, the supposition of the protasis has to be called into question.[5] Thus the form of argument in 2.21b is from Paul's point of view a *reductio ad absurdum*.[6]

But what does Paul mean by the expression 'διὰ νόμου δικαιοσύνη'? Why is it rejected? Why is 'διὰ νόμου δικαιοσύνη' incompatible with the death of Christ? Is the rather dogmatic assertion in 2.21b the starting point of Paul's criticism of the Law,[7] or is it the conclusion Paul reached?

7.3.2. The Meaning of διὰ νόμου δικαιοσύνη:

The phrase διὰ νόμου, as in 2.19a, refers to the Mosaic Law which is very much coloured by the sense of the typical Jewish 'works of the Law' (2.16) and by Paul's own experience of it in his previous lifestyle, zealously defending the boundary of the Jewish people (cf. 1.13-14; see §6.2.2). By διὰ νόμου, Paul has thus in mind the *Jewish* Law, the Law which found expression in the principal *Jewish* identity-confirming and boundary-defining markers, such as circumcision, food laws and Sabbath.

As for the meaning of δικαιοσύνη, though some recent commentators are still debating,[8] it is better to understand the verb

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[4]See BAGD, 'ἄρα' 3 (103); Thrall, *Greek Particles*, p.36.

[5]On the unreal indicative in conditional sentences without ἄν in the apodosis, see BDF §360. Similar cases are found in 3.18a; 5.11; Rom 4.2, 14; John 18.23 (see Burton, *Gal*, p.286; Cranfield, *Rom*, 1.240). Lambrecht, 'Transgressor', p.220 explains: 'the form of a condition of fact is indifferent to the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of what is stated. What we have is no more than the stringent logical connection'.

[6]Burton, *Gal*, p.141; Betz, *Gal*, p.126; Kieffer, *Foi*, p.78; Borse, *Gal*, p.119; Longenecker, *Gal*, p.95; Bachmann, *Sünder*, p.63.

[7]Sanders, *PLJP*, pp.27, 111; followed by Räisänen, *Paul*, p.108. See §1.2.1. Cf. Hays, *Faith*, p.197: 'The message of Christ's death carries with it as a corollary the negation of the Law'.

[8]For example, Fung argues that the noun δικαιοσύνη corresponds to the verb δικαιόω in 2.16 and has only a forensic sense: 'righteousness is that *status* of being in the right with God bestowed in justification, which is God's *act* of putting the believing sinner right with him' (*Gal*, p.126; cf. Burton, *Gal*, p.140; Betz, *Gal*, p.126; Guthrie, *Gal*, p.91; Bruce, *Gal*, p.147). Matera, *Gal*, p.97 insists that 'whereas the verb *dikaioun* describes the activity of acquitting and is usually forensic in nature, the noun *dikaiosyne* describes the result of the

δικαιοῦν and noun δικαιοσύνη (θεοῦ) as a *covenantal* relational concept (see §3.3.4). Thus the noun δικαιοσύνη has its focus on the covenantal relationship between God and his people; it covers the whole process of salvation, from initial acceptance by God into the relationship, to continued sustaining within it, and to final vindication by God.[9] With respect to God, δικαιοσύνη refers to God's righteousness in his covenant faithfulness; with respect to the people, it denotes how covenant membership is defined and maintained. Thus 'to be recognized as "righteous" by God was to be recognized as belonging to his people, members of that covenant, within the sphere of his righteousness/saving action (e.g. Pss 5.12; 11.7; 34.15-22; 55.22; Isa 60.21)'.[10]

With respect to Jewish theology, covenantal relationship with God was obviously determined by the law, especially when it came to maintaining one's status within the covenant. Thus the expression 'διὰ νόμου δικαιοσύνη' summarized quite well the belief of *Jews* at large: in order to continue staying in the covenant, one had to do what was laid down by Torah, 'covenantal nomism'.

7.3.3. The Meaning of Χριστὸς δωρεὰν ἀπέθανεν:

Thus in the apodosis, Paul makes clear that such Jewish Christian presumption is just unacceptable by drawing attention again to the significant death of Christ (cf. 2.19-20). Since Paul is debating with Jewish *Christians*, it is a shared understanding that the death of Christ cannot be 'in vain' or 'to no purpose' (δωρεάν).[11]

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activity for the human person. The believer is made upright by God's justice through God's justifying activity in Christ'. Longenecker, *Gal*, p.95 suggests that the noun picks up the forensic sense of the verb 'justify' as well as the ethical sense of the discussion in 2.17-20. Ziesler comments that 'although *righteousness* is more often than not here taken to mean "justification" and thus to denote entry into God's people, it is perfectly feasible to let it have its usual meaning "living as God's people"' with reference to the Antioch Incident (*Gal*, p.30; cf. *Righteousness*, p.174; *Pauline*, p.101).

[9]Recall the different tenses in 2.16-17a; future eschatological justification in 5.5; the issue of completion/continuation of Christian living referred to in 3.2-5.

[10]Dunn, *Gal(ms)*, p.16; cf. 'Justice', p.17.

[11]Accusative of δωρεά used as adverb; BAGD, 'δωρεάν', 3 (210); 'to no purpose' (RSV); 'for nothing' (NRSV). It is curious that Gaston, *Paul*, pp.67, 72 insists that δωρεάν be translated 'as a free gift'

It is 'shared indeed by all the apostolic preachers and writers, that the cross was no unfortunate accident, but was undertaken with a specific purpose' and 'Paul certainly presupposes Christ's death as the central action in the gospel story'.[12] But what implications does one draw from the death of Christ in relation to God's salvation plan? Two important points are mentioned by Paul in the letter:

(1) the death of Christ is related to the deliverance of humankind from sin and the inauguration of the endtime, a new stage in God's salvation plan (1.4; cf. 1.1, resurrection from the dead). And so the cross can impress on Paul a new perception of reality (6.14-15).

(2) Another significant point is 3.13-14, where Paul relates the death of Christ to redemption from the 'curse of the law' and so to the opening up of the blessing of Abraham to the Gentiles (cf. 3.26-29; 4.4-7). 'For Paul the death of Christ had evidently broken through the boundary and abolished the law in its boundary defining role'.[13]

These two ideas may reinforce one another so that for Paul the death (and resurrection) of Christ signifies not only an eschatological, epoch-marking event but also a new perception of God's covenantal righteousness. 'Whatever redemptive-historical purposes were served [by Torah] by protecting and distinguishing Israel from the Gentiles, the time has now come when the ascended Christ has poured out his Spirit on the Gentiles, winning them to faith in the God of Abraham'.[14] For Paul the time is come with the death of Christ that God has opened wide the door to accept Gentile believers *as* Gentiles into the community of God's people.

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and argues that 'righteousness through the law' remains a viable option for Jews. We admit that Gaston's rendering is possible in terms of lexicography: **δωρεάν** can mean 'gratis, for nothing, without recompense' (Rom 3.24; 2 Cor 11.7; 2 Thess 3.8; Matt 10.8; Rev 21.6; 22.17). But the *context* of Paul's argument makes it impossible. (1) Gaston neglects the resemblance of 2.21b to 2.16, the opposition between Christ and the law; (2) he ignores Paul's strong insistance on the negative role of the law in 2.19a and the vital significance of Christ's death in 2.19b. See also Kieffer, *Foi*, pp.78-79; G. Schneider, '**δωρεά**', *EDNT* 1:364.

[12]Quotes from Guthrie, *Gal*, p.159 (cf. p.91) and Hays, *Faith*, p.119.

[13]Dunn, *Gal(ms)*, p.17; cf. 'Works', pp.228-30; 'Theology', *JPL*, p.248.

[14]Gordon, 'Problem', pp.38-39; cf. Hansen, *Abraham*, p.108.

It is therefore clear in Paul's mind that the traditional Jewish presumption '*δικαιοσύνη διὰ νόμου*' (shared by some Jewish Christians, cf. 2.16a) cannot be acceptable any longer. Those who still think and act in terms of 'covenantal nomism' have not yet comprehended the full significance of Christ's death: they have not realized that the endtime has arrived, neither do they understand that the traditional boundary for the community of God's people has been redrawn with Gentiles included. Therefore, whoever still clings on to 'righteousness through the law' denies the full significance of the cross.[15] They do not yet understand the *inclusive* grace of God (2.21a).

7.3.4. Paul's Dichotomy: Christ or Torah?

With respect to the crisis at Antioch, the behaviour of Jewish Christians in withdrawing from mixed table-fellowship could be justified only if the covenantal relationship with God were in any way still determined by Torah and works of the law. Some may be fearful that their neglect of Torah might be a sin against God (cf. 2.17c). However, there is one fundamental problem with this traditional Jewish understanding of a 'righteousness' that Paul cannot tolerate: it entails discrimination against Gentile believers in the body of Christ (cf. 2.15, 'Gentile-sinners'). The presumption '*δικαιοσύνη διὰ νόμου*', even when it is qualified by faith in/of Christ (cf. 2.16a), demands Gentile believers to judaize and to accept circumcision in order to be accepted as full members of the Christian community. In this respect, the Jewish Christian agitators are precisely taking this step in persuading the Galatians to accept circumcision and to adopt a Jewish lifestyle. For Paul, this chauvinism and cultural imperialism can never be accepted in the Christian Church.

Thus the Antioch Incident must have forced Paul to define more sharply the incompatibility of Christ and the Jewish Torah. In order to safeguard the equal status of Gentile believers in the mixed

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[15]Cf. Dunn, 'Works', *JPL*, p.230: 'Christ's death was effective... precisely because it broke through the restrictiveness of the typical Jewish understanding of God's righteousness'; Wright, *Climax*, p.242: 'The cross brings to a halt any suggestion of Jewish national privilege'.

Christian community, traditional Jewish covenantal nomism must be discarded. For Paul, the only way for Gentile believers to remain as Gentiles and for the mixed Christian community to be united as one is to shift the focus away from Torah and to concentrate on *Christ alone* - the only foundation and unifying factor for the Church (cf. Eph 2.13-16). One cannot hold on to Christ and Torah at the same time with equal importance; neither can one supplement the faith of Christ with covenantal nomism. The stark choice has to be Christ or Torah. Thus in 2.21b Paul makes it absolutely clear that Torah and covenantal nomism have no defining role in the Christian Church; 'Christ' alone is the covenant boundary marker.

Though there is an element of truth in Sanders' reading of *exclusivistic Christology* in 2.21b, we do not think Paul's critique of the law arises simply because of his new found medicine 'christology'. Sanders argues that Paul thought 'backwards' (from solution to plight): since God intended to save the world, Jews and Gentile alike, by faith in Christ, the law could not have been given for 'life' or 'righteousness' (referring to 2.21; 3.21). Therefore 'the critique of the law is not experiential but...dogmatic. The law must do something bad, since it was not intended by God to save - since God saves through Christ'.[16]

But as we see it, the context of Paul's argumentation, especially the crisis at Antioch that calls forth Paul's reflection on the relationship between Christ and Torah, is motivated by *ecclesiological concerns* - how Gentile and Jewish Christians can worship and live in one community. The confrontation at Antioch forces Paul to deal with the question whether Jewish Christians should 'live ἐθνικῶς or 'Ιουδαϊκῶς' (cf. 2.14b), and so Paul comes to the conclusion that Christ must take the dominant role in every respect. Paul insists that faith of Christ is the only covenant boundary marker that matters; he argues that Christ is the focus of one's identity and lifestyle. Thus it may be better to say that Paul arrived at the exclusivistic Christology as the conclusion to which the Antioch incident forced him or at least forced him to articulate in clearer and sharper form.

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[16]Sanders, *Paul*, pp.99-100; the same logic is applied to humankind under Sin in Romans 1-2 (*PPJ*, p.499).

7.3.5. Concluding Remarks:

In sum, according to Paul, *Christ* alone is the covenant boundary marker, the identifying symbol which can unite Christian believers of whatever ethnic origin, Jews and Gentiles alike. In response to the crisis of the possible break up of the Christian community at Antioch, Paul insists that the exclusivistic Jewish Law observances, especially the Jewish identity-confirming and boundary-defining markers (ἔργα νόμου), cannot be maintained in a mixed Christian community. 'By observing those dimensions of the Torah which distinguished Israel from the nations, which reminded Israel that she was to be distinct from the Gentiles, Peter threatened the truth of a gospel which *includes* the Gentiles'.[17] To suggest that Gentile believers need to judaize and to live in full obedience to Torah, is on the one hand to say that Christ and faith in him are insufficient, and on the other hand, to say that only Jews, and those who are willing to become proselytes, can be full members of the people of God.[18] Paul refuses to bow to any of these ideas. Instead, he concludes: 'If covenant membership were through Torah, then Christ died in vain'.

Finally, it is quite remarkable how Paul perceived his apostolic ministry to the Gentiles as being in line with the intention of Christ's death (note again the double reference of χάρις in 2.21a; §7.2). For as the death of Christ has extended the covenant blessing to the Gentiles (3.13-14), so Paul's mission was to bring the gospel of Christ to the Gentiles (1.15-16; 2.7-9). Since the death of Christ has broken through the traditional boundary of the Law and of righteousness, Paul saw one of his tasks as defending the Gentile believers against the imposition of Jewish covenantal nomism (cf. 2.5). 'The truth of the gospel' is nothing less than God's free grace, as manifested in the death of Christ, extending to the Gentiles and welcoming Gentiles *as* Gentiles to participate as full members in the community of God's people. The *Gentile* factor thus plays a crucial role both in Paul's mission and in his theological thinking.

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[17]Gordon, 'Problem', p.36.

[18]Ziesler, *Pauline*, p.87.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The primary task we set for ourselves in this project has been to engage in a detailed exegetical study on Gal 2.15-21, which we hope will contribute to a better understanding of Paul's theological thinking. Since the ground-breaking study on Palestinian Judaism by Sanders, *PPJ*, it has become clear to many scholars that the new perspective on Judaism demands a new perspective on Paul also. However, scholars who are also committed to the new perspective have come up with diverse interpretations of Paul, which is not at all surprising. For example, Räisänen argues that Paul's thinking, especially with regard to Torah, is full of inconsistencies and contradictions, but Dunn and Wright insist that to attribute inconsistency to a theologian like Paul can only be a last resort. On the relationship between Paul and Judaism, Watson insists that Paul presses the Christian churches to separate from the synagogue and the Jewish people, but Dunn argues that Paul intended to remain within Judaism but sought to redefine the boundary (see §1.2).

In view of the continuing debate, our conviction has been that a sustained detailed study on Gal 2.15-21, where several key Pauline 'theological abbreviations' appear probably for the first time in his letters, might provide important clues as to his understanding of them. Since the pericope 2.15-21 is very compact and full of exegetical questions, some relating to key words and phrases like ἔργα νόμου, πίστις Χριστοῦ, ἁμαρτωλοί/ἁμαρτία, δικαιοῦν/δικαιοσύνη, ἐν/σὺν Χριστῷ, others on the flow of argumentation and the inter-relationship between individual phrases and sentences, our discussion above has proceeded rather slowly as a result. Coming to the end of the study, we would like to highlight some of the exegetical findings and to look at the argumentation of 2.15-21 as a whole.

(1) Understanding of 2.15-21 must take into consideration both

the immediate preceding context of the Antioch Incident (2.11-14) and the wider context of the crisis in the Galatian churches. Contrary to Betz's identification of 2.15-21 as the *propositio* which is not related directly to the Antioch episode according to the forensic genre, we argued that Paul's argumentation in 2.15-21 is undoubtedly related to the Antioch Incident (see §2.1.2). The discussion in 2.15-21 is in the first instance Paul's theological response to the concerns and questions of *Jewish Christians* who had been caught up in the Antioch Incident. The ἡμεῖς of 2.15-16 refers to Paul, Peter and other Jewish Christians who have come to believe in Messiah Jesus; the context of 'we were found sinners' (2.17b) refers to the experience of Jewish Christians over the crisis of mixed table-fellowship at Antioch (see §4.5).

(2) Since 2.15-21 is related to 2.11-14, we have also explored the nature of the crisis over mixed table-fellowship at Antioch and identified the main theological concerns as seen by Paul (see §2.2). With Dunn, we observed that the disagreement between Paul and Peter and other Jewish Christians was over the degree of food laws observance, which then raised fundamental questions over how one's lifestyle and behaviour patterns should be regulated in a mixed Christian community. The initial conflict over Jewish food laws, one of the vital Jewish covenantal markers, was not just about how one is initially accepted by God (the issue of 'getting in'), but about what kind of lifestyle or behaviour pattern is deemed acceptable before God (the issue of 'staying in').[1]

(3) According to Paul, the issue of 'staying in' raises a fundamental question concerning all Jewish Christians: Is 'covenantal nomism' (with ἔργα νόμου as a catch-phrase for the Jewish covenantal identity-confirming and boundary-defining markers, such as circumcision, food laws and Sabbath observances; §3.3.2) still binding? Since the crisis at Antioch occurred in a community context, whatever decisions were taken by Jewish Christians would have direct implications and consequences for Gentile believers. If Jewish Christians should continue to define proper behaviour patterns in

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[1]So Dunn; Barclay; Ziesler; contra Betz, Kümmel, Suhl, Fitzmyer, Fung, Bachmann, who insist that initial justification by faith, the question of 'getting in' is the main question.

terms of 'covenantal nomism', the so-called normal rules of the covenant people, they would either separate from the Gentile believers thus creating two communities which were not in full communion with one another (cf. 2.12b-13) or persuade the Gentile Christians to judaize (live 'Ιουδαϊκῶς) and to join the Jewish people in order to maintain unity in the Christian community (cf. 2.14b; see §2.2.3).

The Jewish Christian opponents in the Galatian churches had taken the second option in demanding Gentile believers to accept circumcision and to adopt Jewish identity and lifestyle (see §2.3.3). But Paul refused to accept the consequence of sacrificing the unity of the Christian Church; neither could he nor would he compromise on the equal status of Gentile believers in the community of God's people. Paul therefore argues for a third alternative: In 2.15-16 he insisted that the 'covenantal nomism' which discriminated against Gentile believers (cf. 'Gentile-sinners' 2.15) had to be rejected and replaced by πίστις Χριστοῦ as the sole foundation of one's covenantal relationship with God (see Chapter 3); in 2.19-20 Paul went on to argue that 'living to God' can no longer be defined by Torah (cf. 2.19a; already 'died to Law'), but is to be understood as 'living ἐν πίστει' with respect to the Son of God 'who loved me and gave himself for me' and transformed by Christ-crucified (see Chapter 6). In Paul's view, the self-understanding and behaviour patterns for (Jewish) believers in a mixed Christian community are to be informed by Christ and faith. Living 'Ιουδαϊκῶς is therefore unnecessary and inappropriate for Christian believers, Jews and Gentiles alike.

(4) On the flow of argument and the inter-relationship of various sentences, in particularly 2.17-20, we find the use of μὴ γένοιτο as a rhetorical device by Paul helpful in clarifying the function of various parts (see §4.3. on the general pattern and observations on 2.17 as a rhetorical question). The dialogical unit can be analysed in four parts: an assertion where 'justification by faith' is redefined (2.15-16); a question based on a false inference from the previous assertion (2.17abc; 2.17ab is a *realis*); a strong negation μὴ γένοιτο (2.17d); followed by two clarifications, 2.18 being the first and 2.19-20 the second. The discussion is concluded by an 'I' declarative statement of Paul (2.21a) and a summary

statement on Christ and Torah (2.21b).[2]

Since the objection μὴ γένοιτο applies principally to the false conclusion, it indicates that while Paul may make a concession on 'we were found ἁμαρτωλοί' (2.17b) for not observing the Jewish food laws scrupulously as in the common table-fellowship with Gentile believers at Antioch, he rejected the conclusion that 'Christ is then a minister of ἁμαρτία' (2.17c). According to Paul's argumentation in 2.15-16, the covenant boundary is redefined as consisting only of πίστις Χριστοῦ as the covenant marker (2.16cd); covenantal nomism is therefore not to be defined in terms of the Jewish ἔργα νόμου. With this (vital) redefinition of covenant boundary and covenantal nomism, Paul's conception of *sin* is also different from that of the Jewish Christians (cf. 2.16a; see §3.5.[5]). Therefore in tackling the 'disagreement' at 2.17, Paul objects that 'being found ἁμαρτωλοί' for not observing the Jewish food laws (one of the ἔργα νόμου) scrupulously amounts to sin, ἁμαρτία in the radical sense, before God (see §4.6.3). For Paul, the traditional Jewish conception of sin, defined in terms of 'works of the law', is no longer applicable to or suitable for a mixed Christian community. In the argumentation, therefore the sense of 'sin' is quite different in ἁμαρτωλοί and ἁμαρτία; in fact there is a *shift* of meaning from a sectarian Torah-oriented sense to the usual radical sense. If non-observance or negligence of ἔργα νόμου does not matter anymore, there is in fact no compelling reason for Peter and other Jewish Christians to withdraw from mixed table-fellowship with Gentile Christians at Antioch, nor is there any theological ground for the opponents to demand Gentile Christians in Galatia to accept circumcision and to adopt Jewish lifestyle and behaviour patterns.

(5) In 2.18 and 2.19-20 Paul goes on to provide clarifications for his μὴ γένοιτο at 2.17d. At 2.18 Paul argues that 'Christ' is not at all responsible for one's coming to be a transgressor of Torah (supply objective genitive νόμου after παραβάτην): on the contrary,

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[2]We have not been able to discuss the relationship between 'justification by faith' and 'participation in Christ' in Paul's thought because there is insufficient data in our passage. But as far as the argumentation in 2.15-21 is concerned, Paul does *not* seem to indicate any incompatibility between the two concepts (cf. Beker, *Paul*, pp.275, 286).

it is 'I' (acting as Peter had) who attempts to rebuild the 'works of law' (see Chapter 5). Then at 2.19-20 Paul moves on to compare himself (emphatic ἐγώ) with Peter and to clarify further why Christ is not at all a 'minister of sin' (2.17c), but is indeed the source of life, with whom 'I' Paul had been co-crucified (2.19b) and is continuing to impinge, transform and mould his life in faith (2.20). In brief, Paul defines 'living to God' (2.19a; with behaviour pattern as the main concern) as a life ἐν πίστει and Christ-crucified (see Chapter 6). Thus Paul's talk of 'living to God' (2.19a) and 'living ἐν πίστει' (2.20b) responds again to the crucial question of whether one should 'live ἐθνικῶς or 'Ιουδαϊκῶς' (cf. 2.14b). In Paul's view it is quite wrong for Peter and other Jewish Christians to compel Gentile believers to 'live 'Ιουδαϊκῶς'.[3] According to Paul's argumentation, the appropriate behaviour patterns for 'living to God' is no longer determined by questions of 'living ἐθνικῶς' or 'living 'Ιουδαϊκῶς' but is to be seen in the light of Christ and faith (see §6.5; cf. §2.3.5).[4]

(6) Since Paul's discussion in 2.15-21 concerns mainly *Jewish* Christians, while the letter is basically directed at *Gentile* Christians who were in the (dangerous) process of being persuaded by Jewish Christian opponents to adopt a Jewish identity and lifestyle, the argumentation in 2.15-21 could serve two purposes at least. (a) The original 'address' to Peter and dialogue with Jewish Christians could undermine the argument of the Jewish Christian opponents in Galatia; (b) the argument for an alternative lifestyle for Jewish Christians would have direct implications for Gentiles Christians (see §2.1.3). Since the opponents were engaged in a circumcision campaign (see §2.3.4. on the historical reconstruction) and were trying to impose Jewish identity and behaviour patterns on Gentile believers, Paul by referring to the Antioch episode would have challenged even the imposition of food law observances on Gentile believers. In effect, Paul questioned the validity of 'living

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[3]But it is equally wrong for Watson and Hamerton-Kelly to suggest that Paul therefore wanted the Jewish Christians to 'live ἐθνικῶς' and to break with Judaism totally. See §4.7.

[4]We thus disagree with Klein and Kieffer, among others, in their suggestion that the idea of a 'third race' could be a solution to the multi-racial Christian Church. See §3.3.5. on ἄνθρωπος in 2.16a.

'Ιουδαϊκῶς' as the pattern for Jewish believers. And if even Jewish believers should refocus their identity and lifestyle on πίστις and Christ-crucified instead of Torah and works of law, then there is indeed very little ground for anyone to persuade others to accept circumcision and to adopt a whole and wholly Jewish lifestyle. Thus the argumentation in 2.15-21 could serve the *two* 'audiences' at the same time: the Jewish Christians at Antioch (with the opponents in Galatia in mind) and the Gentile Christians in Galatia.

(7) It is important to notice that Paul sought to redefine the relationship between ἔργα νόμου (Jewish identity-confirming and boundary-defining markers) and πίστις Χριστοῦ (faith *of* Christ; §3.3.3) in 2.15-16. According to the traditional Jewish Christian understanding of faith as seen in 2.16a (cf. εἰδότες [δὲ] ὅτι), covenantal membership could well be defined by both ἔργα νόμου and πίστις Χριστοῦ, with ἐὰν μή in the exceptive sense qualifying the whole preceding phrase (see §3.3). According to this *both-and* understanding, non-observance or negligence of ἔργα νόμου would be condemned as unacceptable and sinful before God. But Paul, while still standing within the Jewish covenantal framework and the 'common' understanding of faith as in 2.15-16a, seeks to sharpen the antithetical relationship between ἔργα νόμου and πίστις Χριστοῦ in 2.16c (δικαιωθῶμεν ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου) so that the exclusive Jewish boundary markers are excluded from having any role in the mixed Christian community. Then in the concluding remarks, Paul makes it abundantly clear that the Jewish presumption 'διὰ νόμου δικαιοσύνη' is to be rejected in the light of God's inclusive grace signalled in the eschatological, epoch-marking death of Christ (2.21b; see §7.3). In effect, Paul posed a sharp dichotomy between Christ and Torah, πίστις Χριστοῦ and ἔργα νόμου. The socially exclusive boundary markers (ἔργα νόμου) have to be rejected, and Torah observance has to be redefined in order to safeguard the equal status of Gentile believers in the Christian Church.

As we have seen in the Antioch Incident (2.11-14), the behaviour of Peter, Barnabas and other Jewish Christians in withdrawing from table-fellowship with Gentile Christians threatened to call into question the equal status of Gentile believers in the mixed Christian community. Paul perceived the situation as Gentile believers being under pressure to judaize and to become part of the Jewish community,

or risk being regarded as 'second class citizens' in the Christian Church. But Paul is absolutely convinced that Gentile believers are to be accepted *as* Gentiles and to remain as non-Jews; any compromise on adopting or accepting the traditional Jewish covenant markers, such as circumcision, dietary laws or Sabbath observances, is going to undercut his ministry, and above all his self-understanding as the *apostle to the Gentiles* (1.15-16; cf. 2.7-9; Rom 1.5; 15.15-16). In order to safeguard the equal status of Gentile believers in the community of God's people, Paul fought passionately for 'the truth of the gospel' *for the Gentiles*, first in Jerusalem (2.5), then at Antioch (2.14a), and now in the Galatian letter. In Paul's mind, the grace of God which is manifested in the eschatological death of Christ is also the inclusive grace extending to Gentiles and welcoming Gentiles *as* Gentiles; whoever undermines the equal status of Gentile believers in the Christian Church or tries to impose a Jewish identity and lifestyle on them is denying God's inclusive grace as well as undercutting his apostolic ministry to the Gentiles (see §7.2). For Paul, 'the truth of the gospel' is nothing less than God's free grace welcoming Gentiles *as* Gentiles to participate as full members in the community of God's people. The *Gentile* factor indeed plays a crucial role both in Paul's mission and in his theological thinking.

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