A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE LETTER TO THE GALATIANS

BY DONALD FRANCOIS TOLMIE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTOR IN THE DEPARTMENT OF GREEK FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF THE FREE STATE BLOEMFONTEIN SOUTH AFRICA

PROMOTER: PROF. J. VAN W. CRONJÉ APRIL 2004
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Since my undergraduate studies in Greek more than twenty years ago, the concept of rhetorical criticism has fascinated me. This was primarily due to one of the Professors in Greek at the University of the Orange Free State, Cobus Cronjé. With his remarkable knowledge of ancient Greek rhetoricians and his unwavering enthusiasm for the academic study of persuasion he aroused and kept alive my interest in this fascinating aspect of human communication. During my Honours and Masters courses in Greek I spent much time investigating this theme further. However, my D. Th. studies in New Testament took me on a different road, that of the narratological analysis of some chapters in the Fourth Gospel. But I always knew that I would one day return to rhetorical criticism, and, in particular, its application to the Letter to the Galatians. It so happened that I could devote my time to this issue since 1995. Now, at the completion of this study, I wish to thank those who were involved in one way or another in this endeavour:

- Cobus Cronjé was an excellent promoter during my studies. His knowledge of ancient and modern theories of persuasion enabled me to undertake and complete this study with much satisfaction. He has not only been my academic guide, but also became a friend in the true sense of the word.
- I also wish to express my gratitude to the University of the Free State for the study leave granted to me on several occasions and for providing a climate favourable for research. In particular, I wish to express my gratitude to my colleague in the department of New Testament (now Dean of the Faculty of Theology), Hermie van Zyl, for his friendship and words of encouragement. He also made valuable suggestions with regard to Chapter 3.
- In 1997 the University of Durham awarded me a Visiting Fellowship for three months. A heartfelt word of thanks to Jimmy Dunn with whom I could discuss my research project, and from whom I received valuable advice.
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- Lastly, but most importantly, I wish to express my gratitude to my family, in particular, my parents, my wife, Ansa, and my three children, Carmien, Francois and Mialise. Without them this study would not have meant anything to me.

It is my earnest prayer that this study will not only contribute to the academic understanding of the Letter to the Galatians, but will also help us to understand God's Word in a better way. After all, Paul was right about what is really important in life: ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ ῥέονται συμφιλία καὶ αὐξάνεσθαι, quamquam sint in Christo et in verbo Dei."
(Gal. 5:6), and: οὐ̣ ἐ̣ γάρ περιτομήν τίνος οὐ̣ ἐ̣ ἄκροβςτιὰ αἴλα̣; καὶ̣ ἡ̣ κτίσιν' (Gal. 6:15).

D. Francois Tolmie.
Faculty of Theology,
University of the Free State,
Bloemfontein, South Africa,
### ABBREVIATIONS

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<td>AB</td>
<td>Anchor Bible</td>
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<td>ABD</td>
<td>Anchor Bible Dictionary</td>
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<tr>
<td>ABR</td>
<td>Australian Biblical Review</td>
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<tr>
<td>ACEBT</td>
<td>Amsterdamse Cahiers voor Exegese en Bijbelse Theologie</td>
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<tr>
<td>AcTh</td>
<td>Acta Theologica</td>
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<tr>
<td>AGJU</td>
<td>Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AnBib</td>
<td>Analecta Biblica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANRW</td>
<td>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AThANT</td>
<td>Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neues Testaments</td>
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<td>Bonner Biblische Beiträge</td>
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<td>BCPE</td>
<td>Bulletin du Centre Protestant d'Études</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BCSNT</td>
<td>Biblische Commentar über sämtliche Schriften des Neuen Testaments</td>
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<tr>
<td>BET</td>
<td>Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie</td>
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<tr>
<td>BEThL</td>
<td>Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium</td>
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<td>BFChTh</td>
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<td>CB.NT</td>
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A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE LETTER TO THE GALATIANS

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<td>CThMi</td>
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<td>EHS</td>
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<td>FRLANT</td>
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<td>GTA</td>
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<td>HisRhet</td>
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<td>HNT</td>
<td>Handbuch zum Neuen Testament</td>
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<td>HSNT</td>
<td>Die Heilige Schrift des Neuen Testaments</td>
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<td>JETS</td>
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<td>JR</td>
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<td>LEC</td>
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<td>LSCP</td>
<td>London Studies in Classical Philology</td>
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<td>NT</td>
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<td>NTA</td>
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<td>NTD</td>
<td>Das Neue Testament Deutsch</td>
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<td>SNW</td>
<td>Studies of the New Testament and its World</td>
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<td>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</td>
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<td>ZNW</td>
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<td>ZThK</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</td>
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PART 1

INTRODUCTION

As the title of this study indicates, this is a rhetorical analysis. Since "rhetorical" is one of those terms that can be used to indicate almost any form of literary criticism nowadays, it is necessary to clarify what I mean when using it. In this study I shall use it in the narrower sense of the word, that is, as referring to an approach which aims to analyse the ways in which a text is used in order to persuade its audience. However, before outlining my intention in more detail, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of recent rhetorical studies of Galatians in order to indicate how my study overlaps and differs from other rhetorical studies of the Letter to the Galatians.

1. Recent rhetorical studies of Galatians

1.1 H. D. Betz

H. D. Betz is credited with reviving interest in the rhetorical nature of Galatians. Building on his earlier research, Betz published his well-known commentary on Galatians in 1979. His main thesis is that Galatians is to be regarded as an example of the ancient "apologetic letter genre" and that it can therefore be analysed by means of Greco-Roman rhetoric and epistemology. One of the important distinctions in ancient rhetoric was the

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1 When "rhetorical" is used in a broader sense, it can refer to any aspect linked to the production, structure and reception of texts. See F. D’Angelo, "Rhetorical Criticism", in: T. Enos (ed.), Encyclopedia of Rhetoric and Composition. Communication from Ancient Times into the Information Age (New York: Garland, 1996), pp. 604-608, for a discussion of the way in which literary criticism tends to dissolve into rhetorical criticism nowadays.

2 I will use "audience" in order to refer to the first readers/hearers of the Letter to the Galatians.


three classes of rhetoric identified by Aristotle: forensic, epideictic and deliberative rhetoric. Forensic rhetoric dealt with courtroom oratory, in particular, speeches of accusation and defence, the basic issue being guilt or innocence. Epideictic rhetoric focused on ceremonial oratory, in particular, speeches of praise and blame, the basic issue being the honourable and the shameful. Deliberative rhetoric dealt with counselling the audience on a future course of action, usually within a political context, the basic issue being the expediency or harmfulness of a future act. According to Betz, as an apologetic letter, Galatians is an example of forensic rhetoric, as it presupposes the fictitious situation of a court of law: Paul is to be regarded as the defendant, his opponents as the accusers and the Galatians as the jury. Furthermore, Betz argues that the intended function of the letter is not only to persuade the Galatians to accept Paul's case, but also to serve as a "magical letter", as it contains both a conditional blessing and a curse that would become effective at the reading of the letter.

Based on his view that Galatians can be analysed in terms of the classical rhetorical system, Betz then applies the categories used in forensic defence speeches to the letter and provides a detailed (this should be stressed!) outline of the letter. I indicate only the broadest division:

1:1-5: Epistolary prescript
1:6-11: Exordium
1:12-2:14: Narratio
2:15-21: Propositio
3:1-4:31: Probatio
   3:1-5: First argument: an argument from indisputable evidence
   3:6-14: Second argument: an argument from Scripture
   3:15-18: Third argument: an argument from common human practice
   3:19-25: Digression on the Torah
   3:26-4:11: Fourth argument: an argument from Christian tradition
   4:12-20: Fifth argument: an argument from friendship
   4:21-31: Sixth argument: an allegorical argument from Scripture
5:1-6:10: Exhortatio
6:11-18: Epistolary postscript (serving as conclusio).

In his commentary Betz frequently refers to ancient rhetorical theory as well as to other ancient literature in order to explain Paul's argumentation.

Virtually all the reviews of Betz's commentary indicate a mixed reaction. On the one hand, the significance of his contribution is acknowledged – in particular, the way in which he shows his skill in the grammatical, lexical, historical and theological commentary on the text. On the other hand, reviewers are reluctant to accept the rigid way in which Betz applies the forensic rhetorical system to the letter. For example, C. K. Barrett hails the commentary

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7 Betz, Galatians, pp. 24-25.
8 Ibid., pp. 16-23.
as an "outstanding achievement in biblical rhetorical scholarship", yet at the same time he points out that Betz makes too much of the Greco-Roman rhetorical model, and that other factors should also be considered. Similarly, D. E. Aune\(^\text{10}\) sees the great strength of the commentary in Betz's emphasis on the need of understanding and interpreting Galatians within a larger genetic framework and the meticulous way in which he analyses the argument and content of the letter in terms of Greco-Roman rhetoric. Yet, he considers Betz's attempts to force the letter into the framework of the apologetic letter as a major drawback.\(^\text{11}\) Nevertheless, all subsequent rhetorical analyses have to situate themselves in relation to Betz's study.

1.2 Forensic or deliberative rhetoric?

One of the issues that has been receiving considerable attention is Betz's main proposal, namely that Galatians must be regarded as an apologetic letter\(^\text{12}\) and that it can therefore be analysed in terms of the categories developed in ancient rhetoric for the analysis of forensic speeches. This has been met with mixed reaction:

1.2.1 A number of scholars respond favourably to this proposal. Scholars such as Brinsmead, Ruegg, Hübner, Becker, Hester and Martin accept it – although in a qualified way:

- **H. Brinsmead\(^\text{13}\)** treats Galatians as a dialogic response to Paul's opponents. In this process he discusses the literary genre of Galatians and accepts Betz's classification of Galatians as an apologetic letter and then follows his outline of the structure of the letter with some minor qualifications.\(^\text{14}\)

- **U. Ruegg\(^\text{15}\)** also accepts Betz's proposal with regard to the apologetic nature of Galatians. His argument is similar to that of Betz: Galatians corresponds to the rhetorical structure of a legal plea as outlined by Quintilian, and should thus be classified as foren-
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sic. He also indicates how Betz's approach helps to illuminate Paul's strategy in the letter, his cultural background, personality and apostolic authority.

- **H. Hübner** also accepts Betz's proposal that Galatians is to be viewed as a forensic speech, yet draws attention to what he considers the most vulnerable part of Betz's reasoning, namely that he does not take into account that Galatians is a letter and not a speech:

> Wie kann die Gattung Verteidigungsbrief mit den Begriffen der Rhetorik auf einen
> Nenner gebracht werden? Noch fundamentaler gefragt: Wie steht es um das Verhältnis
> von antiker Epistolographie und Rhetorik? (Hübner's italics).

He then proceeds to answer the question himself. He argues that it is indeed possible to reconcile these two categories as Galatians is the letter of a man for whom preaching was an essential task, and that Paul followed this kind of style when he wrote letters. Hübner then proposes minor qualifications to Betz's rhetorical outline. For example, he classifies Galatians 3:1-5 as introduction to the *probatio*, and adds Galatians 5:1-12 to the *probatio* and not to the *exhortatio* as Betz does. In his *Biblische Theologie* Hübner confirms his view that Galatians is to be regarded as an apologetic letter.

- **J. Becker** also follows Betz. However, his outline of the rhetorical structure of Galatians differs slightly from that of Betz: Galatians 1:6-9 (*exordium*; v. 10 is regarded as a brief transition), 1:11-2:14a (*narratio*), 2:14b-21 (*propositio*), 3:1-5:12 (*probatio*) divided into two argumentative complexes (3:1-4:7; 4:8-31) followed by a conclusion (5:1-12), and, finally, 5:13-6:10 (*paraenesis*).

- In an article devoted to the rhetorical structure of Galatians, James Hester proposes some modifications to Betz's explanation of the rhetorical structure of Galatians: the *exordium* is delineated as 1:6-10 instead of Betz's 1:6-11; 1:11-12 is identified as the *sta-

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17 Ibid., p. 245.
18 Ibid., p. 245: "...daß Paulus Apostel war, und als solcher, sofern er schreibt 'redend schreibt.'"
19 Ibid., p. 249.
20 Ibid., p. 246.
21 H. Hübner, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments. Band 2: Die Theologie des Paulus und ihre neustamentliche Wirkungsgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), pp. 57-58. Hübner acknowledges that it would be possible to classify Galatians as an example of deliberative rhetoric instead of forensic rhetoric, but, nevertheless, maintains that, in principle, it is *apologetic* and that attack ("Angriff") would be possible in such a speech.
23 According to Becker, *Paulus*, p. 292, Galatians 2:14b-21 can be viewed as a small forensic speech ("eine kleine Gerichtsrede") with 2:14b as *exordium*, 2:15-17 as *narratio*, 2:18-20 as *probatio*, and 2:21 as *peroratio*.
24 J. D. Hester, "The Rhetorical Structure of Galatians 1:11-2:14", *JBL* 103:2 (1984), pp. 223-233. Note that in this article he does not intend to examine Betz's assertion that Galatians is a model of forensic speech.
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sis with 1:13-14 functioning as a transitio; the narratio is delineated as 1:15-2:10 instead of Betz's 1:12-2:14; and 2:11-14 is identified as digressio. In another article, Hester responds favourably to Betz's proposal that a forensic model is present in Galatians (at least through Gal 2:21), and discusses the topoi (in particular, quality and order) as well as a number of rhetorical devices used in Galatians 2:1-10. In an article published later, Hester develops his interpretation of Galatians 1:11-12 as the stasis statement of the letter. He points out that the stasis of Galatians is to be classified as one of qualitas. This is then linked to the epideictic genre, and he concludes that Galatians 1-2 is a carefully constructed epideictic discourse.

• T. Martin also analyses the rhetorical stasis of the Galatian controversy. He determines the principal stasis as Galatians 4:8-11 and the secondary stasis as Galatians 1:6-9. According to Martin, the principal stasis is one of quality. He then presents an analysis of Galatians to show how Paul argues his case based on this stasis. He concludes by noting that Betz is correct in identifying Galatians as an example of forensic oratory, since the breach of agreement between Paul and the Galatians was an issue that could have been tried in a court of law.

1.2.2 Several scholars do not accept Betz's classification of Galatians as an example of forensic rhetoric. Instead, they regard Galatians as a mixture of two rhetorical genres:

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25 See R. D. Anderson, Glossary of Greek Rhetorical Terms Connected to Methods of Argumentation, Figures and Tropes from Anaximenes to Quintilian (CBET 24, Leuven: Peeters, 2000), p. 68 note 111, for a brief description of what was meant by stasis. It was used in ancient rhetoric mostly in connection with judicial rhetoric and referred to the nature of the case to be argued. Usually four staseis were identified:

1. Concerning the fact of the occurrence, for example, did the accused actually commit the crime?
2. Concerning the definition of the crime, for example, can the deed committed by the accused really be classified as murder?
3. Concerning the quality, for example, were there any mitigating circumstances that justified the deed?
4. Concerning the procedural objections, for example, has the accused been brought before the appropriate court?

29 See also his "Epideictic Rhetoric and Persona in Galatians 1 and 2", in: M. D. Nanos (ed.), The Galatians Debate. Contemporary Issues in Rhetorical and Historical Interpretation (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2002), pp. 180-196, in which he argues that a "constellation of forms" (p. 195) related to the epideictic can be indicated in Galatians 1-2.
• *D. E. Aune*\(^{31}\) proposes that Galatians should be viewed as a *mixture* of two types of rhetoric, namely forensic and deliberative. According to this proposal, Galatians 1-2 is an example of forensic rhetoric (as Betz maintains), but Galatians 3-4 is an example of deliberative rhetoric, since, according to Aune, there is a clear change of style (in particular, the introduction of diatribe style) at the beginning of chapter 3.

• Aune's suggestion is followed by *G. W. Hansen*,\(^{32}\) whose primary aim is to describe the function of Paul's use of the Abraham story in the light of an epistolary and a rhetorical analysis. With regard to the rhetorical genre of Galatians, Hansen points out that Galatians 1:6-4:11 has the typical characteristics of forensic rhetoric, since Paul defends himself against false accusations in these chapters, and, at the same time accuses his opponents of spreading a false gospel. However, according to Hansen, there is a major shift in Galatians 4:12-20: the dominant tone becomes deliberative rather than forensic. Henceforth Paul's primary purpose is no longer to accuse/defend, but to persuade the Galatians to adopt a new kind of action.\(^{33}\) Thus, Galatians consists of a mixture of forensic and deliberative rhetoric.

• In his study of the rhetorical situation of 1 Thessalonians, Galatians and Philippians, *J. Schoon-Janßen*\(^{34}\) devotes attention to the way in which Paul uses the following aspects: epistolography, Greco-Roman rhetoric, diatribe style and Old Testament quotations. In his discussion of the way in which Paul uses Greco-Roman rhetoric he rejects Betz's proposal that Galatians must be viewed as an example of forensic rhetoric only. According to Schoon-Janßen, Galatians consists of a mixture of rhetorical genres: Galatians 1:10-2:14 can be classified as pure forensic oratory;\(^{35}\) Galatians 3:1 - 5:12 is a mixture of deliberative and forensic oratory, and Galatians 5:13-6:18 is pure deliberative oratory.\(^{36}\)

### 1.2.3

There is also a third perspective on the rhetorical genre of Galatians. Some scholars reject Betz's proposal that Galatians must be viewed as an example of forensic rhetoric, arguing that it should be classified as an example of deliberative oratory. Scholars such as Kennedy, Hall, Cosgrove, Vouga and Smit choose this option:

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\(^{31}\) "Review", pp. 325-326.


\(^{35}\) Schoon-Janßen, *ibid.,* p. 112, distinguishes three arguments ("Beweisgänge") in this section (Galatians 1:12-24; 2:1-10 and 2:11-14), and views the dialogical use of diatribe elements as important for delineating this section.

• **G. A. Kennedy** draws attention to the fact that Betz is unable to provide any example of forensic rhetoric that includes exhortation (as is found in Galatians 5-6). According to Kennedy, this is not the case with deliberative rhetoric, since Quintilian states that exhortation and discussion are two forms of deliberative rhetoric. Thus, it is better to classify Galatians as an example of deliberative rhetoric. According to Kennedy, this is confirmed by the fact that the basic argument in Galatians is that the action, which the audience has to take, is in their self-interest – the type of argument typical of deliberative rhetoric.

• **R. G. Hall** argues that the aim of Paul's argument in Galatians is not primarily to defend himself (as Betz assumes), but rather to urge the Galatians to cleave to him and his version of the gospel. Therefore Hall classifies Galatians as deliberative. He also provides a different outline of the rhetorical structure of Galatians:
  1. Salutation (1:1-5)
  2. Propositio (1:6-9)
  3. Proof (1:10-6:10)
     A. Narration (1:10-2:21)
     B. Further Headings (3:1-6:10)
  4. Epilogue (6:11-18)

• In his study of the relation between cross and Spirit in Galatians, **C. H. Cosgrove** points out that Paul's aim is to change the Galatians' present course of thinking and action with reference to the gospel, and argues that the letter should be classified as a deliberative speech. In his own outline of the letter, Cosgrove pays more attention to its epistolary nature and divides it as follows:
  1. Opening (1:1-5)
  2. Thanksgiving parody (1:6-10)
  3. Body (1:11-6:10)
     Part One: Apostolic Autobiography (1:11-2:21)
     Part Two: Central Argument (3:1-4:30)
     Part Three: Apostolic Exhortation (4:31-6:10)
        Opening (4:31-5:12)
        Paraenesis (5:13-6:10)
  4. Postscript (6:11-17)
  5. Closing Benediction (6:18)

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38 See Section 1.3.1 below for the methodology developed by Kennedy for rhetorical analysis.
40 Ibid., p. 287.
42 Ibid., p. 31.
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- In a short article on the rhetorical genre of Galatians, F. Vouga\(^\text{43}\) points out that one of the arguments that can be lodged against attempts to classify Galatians as an example of deliberative rhetoric is the exceptional length of the *narratio*. Therefore he draws attention to an ancient deliberative text that does contain a relatively long *narratio*, namely Demosthenes' *On the Peace*. Vouga argues that the *dispositio* of this speech corresponds exactly to that of Galatians,\(^\text{44}\) and that this may serve as confirmation that Galatians is indeed a deliberative speech.

- J. Smit\(^\text{45}\) raises several objections against Betz's rhetorical analysis and then presents his own analysis of the letter in terms of the rules designed for rhetoric.\(^\text{46}\)

  \[\begin{align*}
  & \text{Exordium (1:6-12)} \\
  & \text{Narratio (1:13-2:21)} \\
  & \text{Confirmatio (3:1-4:11)} \\
  & \text{Conclusio: Part 1: Conquestio (4:12-20)} \\
  & \text{Conclusio: Part 2: Enumeratio (4:21-5:6)} \\
  & \text{Conclusio: Part 3: Indignatio (5:7-12)} \\
  & \text{Amplificatio (6:11-18)}
  \end{align*}\]

  Smit concludes that Galatians corresponds entirely to the norms set for deliberative rhetoric in the ancient handbooks on rhetoric.\(^\text{47}\)

- W. B. Russell\(^\text{48}\) also regards Galatians as a deliberative speech. He basically uses the procedures outlined by G. A. Kennedy\(^\text{49}\) and outlines the rhetorical structure of the letter as follows:

  \[\begin{align*}
  & \text{Prescript/Salutation (1:1-5)} \\
  & \text{Prologue/Proem/Exordium (1:6-10)} \\
  & \text{Proof/Probatio/Confirmatio (1:11-6:10)}
  \end{align*}\]


\(^{46}\) Ibid., pp. 9-22. Note that Galatians 5:13-6:10 is omitted, because Smit views it as a (Pauline) fragment added to the letter at a later stage.


Neither Betz nor his critics have shown conclusively that Galatians was actually structured by Paul as a rhetorical speech with an epistolary prescript and conclusion. What they have shown, with varying degrees of success, is that Galatians can be analyzed rhetorically in terms of the structure of either an apologetic or a deliberative speech. They have shown convincingly that Paul's letters were influenced by rhetoric, either formally or as a part of Paul's involvement in the general culture of his time... Furthermore, these studies have shown that if the letter was structured rhetorically, the evidence clearly favors a deliberative speech.


\(^{49}\) See Section 1.3.1.
A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE LETTER TO THE GALATIANS

A. A historical argument proving the superiority of Paul's gospel via narration (1:11-2:21)
B. An experimental argument proving the superiority of their sonship-through-faith via Scripture fulfilment in six external proofs (3:1-4:31)
C. A causal argument proving the superiority of their present deliverance in Christ via community observation (5:1-6:10)
Postscript/Epilogue/Conclusio (6:11-18).

1.3 Alternatives

Not all scholars share the enthusiasm for the way in which Betz applies rhetorical criticism to Galatians. Most of them are not against the notion of rhetorical criticism as such, but feel uneasy about the rigid way in which Betz applies categories from ancient rhetorical criticism to Galatians. Accordingly, a number of alternative approaches are suggested:

1.3.1 One alternative is that ancient rhetoric may be used to analyse Galatians, although not in the way Betz does it. Several scholars can be mentioned:

- G. A. Kennedy views rhetoric as a universal phenomenon. In particular, he regards ancient rhetoric as a universal system that can be applied to all texts. Yet he does not follow the same approach as Betz. Instead, he develops his own methodology comprising of the following steps:
  - Determination of the rhetorical unit: It must have a beginning, a middle and an end. It should not be too large and, accordingly, it is better to analyse a large rhetorical unit in terms of its smaller constituent units.
  - Determination of the rhetorical situation: Determine why the rhetorical units were uttered and examine the audience, events, objects, relations, time and place. This phase also includes the identification of the rhetorical problem (for example, the disposition of the audience), the stasis and the rhetorical genre.
  - Determine the arrangement of the material, that is, the way in which it is divided into various parts, and determine how the various parts work together towards a unified purpose (or fail to do so). This should include a line-by-line analysis of the argument including such issues as its assumptions, formal features and stylistic devices.
  - Determination of the success of the arguments in meeting its goal.

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50 *New Testament Interpretation*. Kennedy's views on the rhetorical genre of Galatians is discussed in 1.2 above.
51 Ibid., pp. 10-11.
52 Ibid., pp. 33-38. See Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, pp. 28-29, on the difficulty in outlining the various steps distinguished by Kennedy.
• **R. M. Berchman**\(^{53}\) shares the view that Galatians should be viewed from the perspective of Greco-Roman rhetoric, but points out that scholars wrongly assume that a mimetic relationship exists between the theory and practice of rhetoric in antiquity. Instead "adaptability and flexibility are the hallmarks of Pauline rhetoric".\(^{54}\) In his analysis of Galatians 1:1-5 he focuses on logic, topic and genre. He argues that Paul exhibits a knowledge and use of Greco-Roman rhetoric, yet he does not use it in the prescribed way. Instead he adapts it to suit his persuasive needs. For example, Berchman believes that Paul employs all three species of rhetoric in Galatians 1:1-5: he argues forensically in 1:1-2, deliberatively in 1:3-4, and epideictically in 1:5.

• **C. J. Classen**,\(^{55}\) a classical scholar, begins by noting several questions raised by Betz's commentary. This is then followed by a general observation on an alternative way to use the categories from ancient rhetoric:

> When one turns to the categories of rhetoric as tools for a more adequate and thorough appreciation of texts, their general structure and their details, one should not hesitate to use the most developed and sophisticated form, as it will offer more help than any other. For there is no good reason to assume that a text could and should be examined only according to categories known (or possibly known) to the author concerned. For rhetoric provides a system for the interpretation of all texts (as well as of oral utterances and even of other forms of communication), irrespectively of time and circumstances…\(^{56}\)

To prove this point, Classen proceeds to show how Melanchton, who wrote three rhetorical handbooks, treated Galatians. Classen quotes various examples which show clearly how Melanchton made abundant use of the tools provided by ancient rhetorical criticism (thus proving the usefulness of the system), yet did not hesitate to introduce new categories and new terms if he deemed them necessary. Thus, according to Classen, ancient rhetorical criticism may be applied, but never in a rigid way. In his own analysis of Galatians, Classen shows how many features in Galatians can indeed be explained by means of classical rhetoric, but, equally important, how the categories of classical rhetoric are often inadequate to explain exactly what happens in Galatians. He explains this by the fact that Galatians is a letter and not a speech.\(^{57}\)

• **J. Fairweather**\(^{58}\) also draws attention to a very old rhetorical analysis of Galatians, namely that of John Chrysostom in his commentary on the Letter to the Galatians. According to Fairweather, this analysis is a valuable alternative to that of Betz in several aspects: Whereas Betz considers Galatians 2:15-21 to be a *propositio*, Chrysostom

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54 Ibid., p. 63.
55 *Rhetorical Criticism of the New Testament*.
56 Ibid., p. 5.
57 Ibid., pp. 23-24.
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rightly regards it as part of Paul's answer to Peter in Antioch. Furthermore, Chrysostom views the letter as being simultaneously apologetic and paraenetic — this is a better perspective than that of Betz who views it as apologetic only. According to Fairweather, Chrysostom also provides a better division of the argument in Galatians than Betz. She also discusses the question of what justification Paul had for regarding his discourse as being alien to the so of i of the world. She concludes that, although at the more superficial levels, Paul used many of the typical techniques employed in classical oratory, he nevertheless used a conceptual framework different from that of pagan sophists in that he used a "Christ-based" logic. 59

• The contribution of J. S. Vos 60 should also be mentioned as an example of scholars who use the ancient rhetorical system, but not in such a rigid fashion as Betz. His aim is to show how Paul's means of persuasion were based within contemporary Hellenistic culture, but also how these means of persuasion would have been evaluated differently in this culture. 61 In his analysis of Galatians 1:1-2:11 62 he criticises scholars who classify 1:6-9 as exordium, and instead opts for another model according to which 1:6-9 is identified as propositio and 1:10-5:12 as confirmatio. In another chapter, 63 Vos also uses information from ancient rhetorical theory to explain Paul's way of thinking in Galatians 3:11-12 (and Romans 10:5-10). According to him, the way in which Paul uses the hermeneutical opposition between Habakkuk 2:4 and Leviticus 18:5 in these verses is understandable if one realises that Paul was following the principles laid down in the Greco-Roman rhetorical handbooks concerning the legum contrariarum, that is cases where two laws oppose one another. 64

• One of the most important contributions to the debate on how rhetorical criticism should be applied to Paul's letters is the study by R. D. Anderson. 65 In this study Anderson, who studied classics before turning to theology, aptly reveals the weak foundations of many rhetorical analyses of New Testament texts. For example, in his discussion of the available sources for ancient rhetorical theory he points out several important aspects which New Testament scholars do not take into account when applying ancient rhetori-

61 Ibid., p. 27.
63 Die Kunst der Argumentation, pp. 115-133. Earlier version: "Die hermeneutische Antinomie bei Paulus (Galater 3.11-12; Römer 10.5-10)", NTS 38:2 (1992), pp. 254-270.
64 Vos, Die Kunst der Argumentation, p. 126, explains the fact that similar strategies are found in rabbinical praxis in two ways: 1. The rhetorical theorists described persuasive strategies that were used universally; 2. The procedures in courts of law were copied in other areas of life.
65 Ancient Rhetorical Theory.
cal theory to New Testament texts: that no uniform ancient rhetorical system existed; that there was quite a difference between philosophic rhetoric (such as that of Aristotle) and the kind of rhetoric practised in rhetorical schools; that actual rhetorical practice was more flexible than suggested by the seemingly endless distinctions and rules formulated in rhetorical school, and that our knowledge of ancient rhetoric is incomplete due to the fact that many of the sources were lost.\(^66\) As Anderson's overview of ancient rhetorical theories progresses, it becomes clear that these points are indeed correct. He points out some of the consequences for the way in which ancient rhetorical theory can be used:

- The fact that there was a difference between philosophical rhetoric and school rhetoric implies that works such as Aristotle's *Rhetoric* can only be used with reticence;\(^67\)
- It is pointless to classify a letter as deliberative or epideictic without considering the argumentative techniques in terms of the *topoi* associated with each genre;\(^68\)
- Since the philosophical tradition of argumentative patterns does not provide information as to how, when or where the *topoi* were to be used, modern rhetorical textbooks may even provide a better system for analysing Paul's argumentation;\(^69\)

The inevitably leads to the question: Can we use ancient rhetorical criticism at all when studying Paul's letters? Anderson's answer is that the only solution to this thorny issue would be to change one's approach. Instead of applying an ancient rhetorical model to one of Paul's letters as if he had known and followed it closely, the question should be rephrased as follows: how would this ancient rhetorical theoretician have applied his theory to Paul's letter? Of course, if one follows such an approach, one would learn more of the ancient literary theoretician's views of Paul's literary ability than of Paul's own views in this regard.\(^71\)

\(^{66}\) Ibid., pp. 35-97.
\(^{67}\) Ibid., pp. 66-67.
\(^{68}\) Ibid., pp. 97-98.
\(^{69}\) Ibid., p. 103.
\(^{70}\) Ibid., p. 90.
\(^{71}\) Ibid., pp. 104-105.
Anderson also provides a critical overview of the way in which New Testament scholars have applied ancient rhetorical theory to Galatians, Romans and 1 Corinthians before presenting his own rhetorical analysis of each of these letters. In the case of Galatians he does not attempt to provide a rhetorical outline in terms of any of the three rhetorical genres, since, in his opinion, the letter does not fall within the confines of a specific rhetorical genre. Furthermore, he argues against attempts to divide it into the traditional partes of a speech. Instead, he concentrates on understanding the argumentative flow in the letter, the lack of any rhetorical syllogisms and other ancient forms of argumentation in the letter, as well as certain stylistic issues. He describes his approach as "maximalist, and more akin to how Paul's letter may have been interpreted by a contemporary professor of rhetoric".

1.3.2 A second alternative to Betz's approach in his commentary on Galatians is to combine a rhetorical analysis with (an)other approach(es) to Galatians, for example epistolary analysis.

- A good example of such an approach is R. N. Longenecker. In his commentary on Galatians, Longenecker combines an epistolary analysis and a rhetorical analysis. In his

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72 It may be useful to cite Anderson's views on some of the studies mentioned to thus far:
- Betz (Galatians) is criticised for his unsuccessfull attempt to place Galatians within an "apologetic" letter tradition and the weaknesses in his use of the forensic model;
- Aune's ("Review", pp. 323-325) and Hansen's (Abraham in Galatians, pp. 57-59) attempts to classify Galatians as a mixture of forensic and deliberative genres are not convincing; these attempts should rather be regarded as an indication that the standard rhetorical genres do not fit the letter;
- Kennedy's (New Testament Interpretation, pp. 144-152) and Hall's ("Rhetorical Outline", pp. 277-287) attempts to base their arguments for the deliberative nature of Galatians on the occurrence of an exhortatio in the letter are refuted by the fact that rhetorical theorists never discussed exhortatio in any of the three genres;
- Hester ("Placing the Blame", pp. 281-307) is criticised for not understanding the nature of stasis theory and overlooking the fact that blaming in epideictic rhetoric was never directed at the audience.

(See Anderson, Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul, pp. 129-142.)

73 Ibid., pp. 124-125.

74 Ibid., p. 144. Anderson divides the letter into the following four sections:
1:1-10: Epistolary opening and rebuke.

75 See Hübner, "Verhältnis", pp. 241-250, who emphasises the importance of the fact that Galatians is a letter, too. Anderson, Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul, pp. 109-126, discusses the relationship between rhetoric and epistolography in more detail.

epistolary analysis, he rejects Betz’s statement that the epistolary nature of Galatians is not important for the understanding of the letter, and then proceeds with an epistolary analysis of the letter. This is followed by a rhetorical analysis unlike that of Betz. Longenecker rejects the scholastic and rigid way in which Betz applies rhetorical criticism to Galatians. Instead, he opts for what he calls a "synchronic" rhetoric analysis. Such an approach focuses on the composition of the text and not on the genetic relations to other ancient writings (as in Betz’s case). He then proceeds to discuss various rhetorical categories employed in antiquity (for example, the use of ethos as argument, argument by definition, argument by dissociation of ideas, etc.), and shows how Paul used similar techniques in Galatians.

- Another scholar who combines a rhetorical analysis and other approaches is V. Jegher-Bucher. Her study begins with an analysis of the Letter to the Galatians in terms of ancient epistolography, followed by an analysis of the letter from a rhetorical perspective: Galatians must be viewed as an example of deliberative rhetoric although the letter contains some elements of forensic oratory. Lastly, the letter is considered in terms of the issues of style and implied readers.

- D. Kremendahl also combines an epistolographic and rhetorical analysis. He accepts Betz’s classification of the genre of Galatians as "Verteidigungsbrief", but modifies it in two ways: 1. by restricting it to 1:1-5:6, and 2. by not limiting "apology" to a forensic setting. He divides the letter as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epistolographic</th>
<th>Rhetorical</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:1-5: Prescript</td>
<td>16-12: Exordium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:1-5:1 Argumentatio</td>
<td>3:1-5: &quot;Exordialer Auftakt&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:6-14: Refutatio I</td>
<td>3:15-4:7 Refutatio II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:2-6: Subscriptio</td>
<td>5:2-6: Peroratio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:7ff.: Postscriptum</td>
<td>5:7-12: Second Exordium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:11-15: Subscriptio</td>
<td>6:11-15: Second Peroratio</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

77 Ibid., pp. cv-cix.
78 Ibid., pp. cxiii-cxix.
81 Ibid., pp. 148-149.
82 Ibid., p. 160.
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1.3.3 A third alternative to Betz's approach is to perform a rhetorical analysis without using ancient rhetoric at all. A number of scholars follow this alternative:

- **P. E. Koptak**\(^{83}\) discusses Galatians 1:13-2:14 in terms of the rhetorical principle of identification as formulated by Kenneth Burke. This principle refers to any attempt to overcome human division or strife by establishing some common ground. Koptak then shows how Paul seeks to identify with the Galatians in this part of his letter, as well as how he attempts to help them identify with him.

- The study of **G. W. Hansen**\(^{84}\) has already been discussed above. As I have pointed out, he combines various approaches. One of the approaches he follows, is to consider Galatians in terms of the rhetorical techniques described by Perelman and Olbrecht-Tyteca.\(^{85}\) Hansen\(^{86}\) selects fifteen of the rhetorical techniques described in their book and shows how Paul uses them in Galatians. I mention four examples:
  - An **argument from authority** is used when Paul emphasises his authority as an apostle (for example, Galatians 1:1).
  - An **argument by definition** is used when Paul describes "his gospel" in various ways (Galatians 1:11, 12, 16).
  - **Arguments based on dissociation of ideas** are used frequently in Galatians as Paul regularly uses antithetical pairs, for example curse/blessing, works/faith and flesh/Spirit.
  - An **argument concerning the difference of degree and order** is used when Paul argues for a difference in order between law and promise (Galatians 3:19-4:17) whereas his opponents apparently do not share this view.

- **R. Meynet**\(^{87}\) argues against the use of ancient rhetoric in the analysis of Galatians. He prefers to interpret the letter by using what he calls "biblical rhetoric". He then discusses three characteristics of Biblical rhetoric, namely that it is concrete rather than abstract; that it tends to be paratactic; and that it is characterised, in particular, by two principal patterns of composition, namely concentric and parallel structures. This approach is then illustrated by a rhetorical analysis of Galatians 4:1-20.

- In his study on argumentation in Galatians 2:15ff., **M. Bachmann**\(^{88}\) provides several grounds for deciding not to follow the approach developed by Betz: it tends to ignore the fact that ancient rhetorical theories were developed for producing new speeches and not for evaluating or analysing existing speeches; if such a system is applied rigorously, it

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84 Abraham in Galatians. See 1.2 above
85 The New Rhetoric.
86 Abraham in Galatians, pp. 79-93.
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does not take into account the fact that orators were allowed considerable freedom when employing the techniques they were taught; it usually does not take into account that there can be a vast difference between ancient rhetorical theories on certain aspects, and, in the case of Galatians, it tends to ignore the occurrence of elements typical of popular approaches, such as diatribe style. According to Bachmann, this can be found in Galatians 2:17ff. Accordingly, Bachmann opts for a text-centred approach:


In his analysis of Galatians 2:15ff., Bachmann then adheres to this procedure and presents a detailed analysis of it in terms of a text-centred approach. It is only towards the end of his work that he returns to the issues usually considered in the more traditional rhetorical approaches to Galatians. For example, he concludes that Galatians is closer to deliberative rhetoric than to forensic rhetoric; he identifies Galatians 2:15-21 not as the propositio, but as the first argument ("erster Beweisgang"), and he presents his own rhetorical structure of Galatians.

• The study by Kern could also be mentioned here. The primary purpose of his study is to challenge the notion that Galatians is either a sample of classical rhetoric or that it could be interpreted in the light of ancient rhetorical textbooks. In this he succeeds admirably. Towards the end of the study he also makes some suggestions as to how one could analyse Paul's own discourse strategy. These include the following: (1) Consideration of the "common places" that Paul uses; (2) Consideration of his methods and motives for using devices such as example, irony, allegory, etc.; (3) Consideration of how

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89 Ibid., pp. 15-17.
90 Ibid., p. 21. Note that Bachmann also remains sceptical of applying modern rhetorical theories (such as those of Perelman and Olbrecht-Tyteca, New Rhetoric) to Galatians.
91 Ibid., p. 158. He proposes the following rhetorical structure:
1:1-5: Prescript.
1:6-10: Prooimion.
2:15-6:17: Argumentatio.
2:15-21: First argument.
6:18: "Eschatokoll".
the shape of the letter carries communicative force. He also adds other options, namely the analysis of the logic of Paul’s arguments; the analysis of Galatians 1-2 by means of narrative theory; a focus on the way in which rhetoric underwent changes in the hands of Christians; and, lastly, the use of newly developed approaches to rhetoric.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 260-261.}

1.4 Conclusion

From the above overview it is clear that no uniform approach to rhetorical analysis can be discerned in the rhetorical studies discussed. However, broadly speaking, one can distinguish several \textit{distinctive emphases} among scholars who study Galatians from a rhetorical perspective:

- A first type of approach can be typified as a rather rigid application of categories used in ancient rhetorical theory. Scholars following such an approach tend to take distinctions from ancient rhetorical theories and apply them to (some would say: force them upon) Galatians. Accordingly, they spend much time on issues such as the rhetorical genre of Galatians (forensic, deliberative or epideictic), careful delineation of Galatians in terms of the ways in which speeches were divided by ancient rhetoricians, and/or a description of Paul’s argumentation in terms of ancient rhetorical categories.

- A second type of approach seems to be followed by a group of scholars whose approach overlaps\footnote{Thus, it would also be possible to represent the first two types of approaches in terms of a continuum of approaches varying from a rather rigid application of ancient rhetorical theory to “milder” applications thereof.} the first group in that they also make use of (some of) the distinctions formulated in classical rhetoric. However, the difference lies in the fact that these scholars tend to use the ancient categories in a much less rigid way, since they try to bear in mind that Galatians is a letter and not a speech. This usually leads to a “milder” application of the rhetorical categories. Such a “milder” approach is then often combined with other techniques, for example epistolary analysis.

- A third type of approach – one that is not followed very often! – can be discerned in those cases where scholars make a rhetorical analysis of Galatians, but avoid using ancient rhetorical categories. One of two possibilities is then usually followed: 1. Modern rhetorical theories are applied to the letter, or 2. Argumentation is analysed strictly in terms of a text-centred approach in which case the letter itself serves as the starting-point for the analysis instead of applying a rhetorical model to the letter.
Excursus: A brief overview of approaches followed in rhetorical analyses of other Pauline letters

It appears that the rhetorical studies of other Pauline letters indicate more or less similar emphases to those outlined for Galatians. A few examples will suffice.

1. Studies based on a rather rigid application of ancient rhetorical categories.
- R. Jewett\(^\text{95}\) presents a rhetorical analysis of the proofs in Romans in order to outline its argument. He uses categories from the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and *Hermogones* to describe the argumentation in the letter. He identifies four "proofs" in Romans: *confirmatio* (1:18-4:25), *exornatio* (5:1-8:39), *comparatio* (9:1-11:30), and *exhortatio* (12:1-15:13).
- In his study of 2 Corinthians 8 and 9 H. D. Betz\(^\text{96}\) follows a more or less similar procedure as in his commentary on Galatians. He delineates 2 Corinthians 8 as follows: *Exordium* (vv. 1-5); *narratio* (v. 6); *propositio* (vv. 7-8); *probatio* (vv. 9-15); commendation of the delegates (vv. 16-22); authorisation of the delegates (v. 23), and *peroratio* (v. 24). He then classifies this "administrative letter" as consisting of two rhetorical genres, namely vv. 1-15 as being deliberative and vv. 16-23 as being forensic. 2 Corinthians 9 is divided as follows: *Exordium* (vv. 1-2); *narratio* (vv. 3-5a); *propositio* (vv. 5b-c); *probatio* (vv. 6-14), and *peroratio* (v. 15). Betz identifies the rhetorical genre of this "letter" as deliberative.
- J. Smit\(^\text{97}\) explores the course of argumentation and the genre of 1 Corinthians 12-14. He uses classical and Hellenistic rhetoric – in particular, *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, Cicero's *De inventione* and *De partione oratoria*, as well as *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. He begins by examining the framework of these chapters (1 Corinthians 12:1-3 and 14:37-40) in the light of views of the ancient rhetoricians on the *exordium* and *peroratio*. This is followed by an analysis of the argumentation in 1 Corinthians 12:4-30 and 14:1-33a in terms of rhetorical concepts such as *partitio* and *confirmatio*. Then he discusses the rhetorical genre of the three chapters. He concludes that chapters 12 and 14 should be classified as deliberative and chapter 13 as epideictic.
- T. S. Olbricht\(^\text{98}\) presents an Aristotelian analysis of 1 Thessalonians. He discusses three issues, namely proofs (*píwt*), style (*levxi*), and arrangement (*táxi*). With regard to the first aspect, he shows how Paul uses *ethos* as the major form of proof in the letter. Paul also uses *pathos* and *logos*, but to a lesser extent. With regard to style, he draws attention to the four virtues Aristotle held to be characteristic of good style: perspicuity, purity, loftiness and propriety. He notes that 1 Thessalonians seems to conform to these virtues: a proper stylistic balance pervades the letter; it seems to be suitably elevated; its Greek is pure, and it has the clarity and liveliness that Aristotle


wanted. With regard to the third aspect, arrangement, Olbricht indicates that the Aristotlean divisions are not helpful.

2. Studies based on a "milder" form of ancient rhetorical criticism.

- F. W. Hughes\(^99\) discusses the rhetoric of 1 Thessalonians. He describes his approach as taking into account both the "larger river of rhetorical tradition and the smaller streams which interacted with each other within the tradition",\(^100\) and specifically points out that one should not make rhetorical criticism into a "new kind of form-critical strait-jacket"\(^101\) into which letters could be forced. He identifies 1 Thessalonians as an example of epideictic rhetoric, dividing it as follows: Exordium (1:1-10), narratio (2:1-3:10), partitio (3:11-13), probatio (4:1-5:3), peroratio (5:4-11), exhortation (5:12-22), and final prayers and greetings (5:23-28). In his discussion he shows how Paul uses many of the strategies used by Greek and Roman orators.

- M. M. Mitchell\(^102\) investigates the language and composition of 1 Corinthians. In her study she makes ample use of ancient rhetoric, but in a very careful and refined way. Her approach to rhetorical criticism is evident in the following five "mandates" outlined at the beginning of her study:

1. Rhetorical criticism as employed here is an historical undertaking.
2. Actual speeches and letters from antiquity must be consulted in conjunction with the rhetorical handbooks throughout the investigation.
3. The designation of the rhetorical species of a text (as epideictic, deliberative, or forensic) cannot be begged in the analysis.
4. The appropriateness of rhetorical form to genre must be demonstrated.
5. The rhetorical unit to be examined should be a compositional unit, which can be further substantiated by successful rhetorical analysis.\(^103\)

Mitchell then proceeds to the issue of the rhetorical genre of 1 Corinthians. She argues that it should be classified as deliberative since the four elements she considers to be characteristic of deliberative rhetoric can be found in the letter. This is then followed by an analysis of the terms and topoi used in 1 Corinthians in order to show that they are similar to the terms and topoi used in the contemporary world for urging divided groups to become unified again. In the final part of her study she presents an analysis of the epistolary and rhetorical structure of the letter. Her point of departure in this section is that 1 Corinthians is a deliberative letter, a hybrid category in which the deliberative body is contained within an epistolary body. She concludes that 1 Corinthians exhibits thematic, rhetorical and compositional unity.

- In an article on persuasion in Philippians, A. H. Snyman\(^104\) utilises categories from ancient rhetoric, but emphasises that he does not follow it rigidly and rather wants to


\(^103\) *Ibid.*, p. 5. Note, for example, the second point stressed by her. This implies that she avoids any "mechanistic" application of ancient rhetorical categories as could easily happen in the case of the group discussed in the previous section.

use it as frame of reference for his empirical study. In particular, he uses the views of
the ancient rhetoricians on the various stages in the rhetorical process and on the
three modes of persuasion. This is not forced upon the text, but applied in the sense
of universal concepts. For example, Snyman shows how Paul uses *ethos*, *logos* and
*pathos* throughout Philippians 4:1-20. *Ethos* is used as Paul constructs his person in
such a way that his right to exhort the Philippians is substantiated. *Logos* is used in an
*enthymeme* in 4:3, in hypotactic constructions in 4:8-9, as well as in certain stylistic
devices. *Pathos* is used as Paul creates an identification between him and his readers,
by his various attempts to obtain their goodwill, as well as by certain promises orient-
ted towards the future.

- **J. W. Marshall** discusses Paul's ethical appeal in Philippians. He uses Aristotle's
views on *ethos* as a mode of proof as his point of departure, but indicates that the
confused way in which this was treated in antiquity invites further development. Ac-
cordingly, he develops his own ideas on the way in which ethical persuasion works in
dialogue with the ancient theorists. In particular, he adds two perspectives: 1. the fact
that the identification of the orator and the audience can become a powerful way to
create a positive *ethos*, and 2. the fact that *ethos* is situated primarily in the relation-
ship between the audience and the orator. He then applies these insights to Philippi-
ans and indicates how the rhetorical situation in Philippians forces Paul to depend on
ethical appeals to a very large extent. Furthermore, he shows how Paul uses various
methods in building *ethos* in the letter, for example identification, roles, style, the use
of imported texts, and inartistic *ethos*.

- **J. D. Kim** follows Kennedy's methodology in his analysis of Romans 9-11, but
first examines the theory of rhetorical situation and *stasis* critically before applying it
to this part of Romans. In successive chapters he then discusses the rhetorical situation
of Romans, the rhetorical unit and rhetorical situation of Romans 9-11, and, fi-
nally, presents a rhetorical analysis of Romans 9-11. He identifies it as an example of
forensic rhetoric, because Paul's purpose is to defend God against charges that his
word has failed. Chapters 9-11 are then divided as follows: *exordium* (9:1-5), *pro-
positio* (9:6a), *probatio* (Argument 1: 9:6b-29; Argument 2: 9:30-10:21; Argument 3:
11:1-11:32), and *peroratio* (11:33-36). In this analysis Kim explains Paul's rhetoric in
terms of ancient categories, for example, by identifying the various *stases* on which
Paul's argument is based.

- In his study of 2 Corinthians 8-9, **K. J. O'Mahony** takes note of criticism raised at
the way in which some scholars apply categories from ancient rhetorical criticism to
New Testament texts and thus adopts a new methodology. He begins with the de-
limitation of the text, using semantic fields, inclusions, chiastic and concentric struc-
tures, as well as indicators of time, place and protagonists. This is followed by a rhe-
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torical reading of 2 Corinthians 8-9 which is devoted to the following issues: *elocutio*, *dispositio*, *inventio*, and *genus* (i.e. in reversed order of the production of the text), followed by a final synthesis. In a final chapter O’Mahony compares his analysis of these two chapters to that of Betz, and discusses the question of Paul’s education. He argues that evidence from Hellenistic Judaism shows that Paul received an Hellenistic education, and that his own analysis of 2 Corinthians 8-9 also favours such a view.111

3. Studies avoiding the use of ancient rhetoric.

- F. Siegert112 presents an analysis of Paul’s argumentation in Romans, but uses a modern theory, namely that of Perelman and Olbrecht-Tyteca.113 He first presents a summary of their theory and illustrates all the aspects by means of examples from the Septuagint. After a detailed analysis of Romans 9-11 he presents a characterisation of Paul’s argumentation in terms of Perelman and Olbrecht-Tyteca’s theory. A few examples: Formally, Paul’s argumentation is characterised by aspects such as dissociation, analogies, metaphors, arguments *ad hominem*; climaxes and enthymemes. With regard to content, he indicates how Paul uses *topoi*, values, final arguments, examples, symbols and his authority during argumentation. In terms of interaction Paul takes the audience into account, uses *ethos* and *pathos*, and likes to use “figures of presence” and irony.

- J. N. Vorster114 discusses Paul’s strategies of persuasion in Romans 1:16-17. He does not confine himself to ancient rhetoric, but uses these two verses to show how one can expound the boundaries of rhetoric by means of approaches such as reception criticism, conversational analysis, pragmatics and modern rhetoric. He indicates that traditionally Romans 1:16-17 is often treated as *propositio* (in terms of the ancient rhetoric) or as transition (in terms of an epistolary analysis), but argues that in an integrational approach it can be identified as a *transitus*. Furthermore, he shows how it can be considered from various perspectives, for example the way in which *litotes* is used to confirm the credibility of the gospel and to underplay the unfavourable connotation attached to the good news. After considering the pragmatic function of Romans 1:16, he shows how dissociation (a concept borrowed from Perelman and Olbrecht-Tyteca115) functions in Romans 1:17.

- In his analysis of 2 Corinthians, J. A. Crafton116 utilises the theories of Kenneth Burke in order to explain Paul’s rhetorical strategy. Crafton delineates three “letters” in 2 Corinthians: the letter of initial response (2 Corinthians 2:14-6:13; 7:2-4); the letter of attack (2 Corinthians 10:1-13:13), and the letter of reconciliation (2 Corinthians 1:3-2:13; 7:5-16). He then uses Burke’s approach to outline the dramatic struggle in the conflict and proposes that the letters represent a progression from *pathema* (condition) through *poiea* (action) to *mathema* (reflection). In the first letter the impending

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111 Ibid., pp. 164ff.
113 *The New Rhetoric*.
115 *The New Rhetoric*.
struggle is defined and experienced. In the second letter Paul tries to dispose of the problem by driving the Corinthians out of it with a vigorous offensive, and in the third letter he remembers the conflict, but in such a way that the Corinthians are encouraged to view their relationship to Paul in terms of new formulations.

2. Approach to be followed in this study

From the overview presented in the previous section it is clear that the "normal" approach in rhetorical analyses of Galatians is to choose a particular rhetorical model in order to analyse the letter. Furthermore, it is clear that most scholars prefer to use the ancient rhetorical system in one way or another and that only a relatively small number of scholars opt for modern rhetorical approaches. The advantages of choosing a particular model (ancient or modern) as the point of departure for a rhetorical analysis are evident. This enables one to search the text accurately as most rhetorical models describe in rather exact terms what to look for. Furthermore, most rhetorical systems enable one to describe phenomena in the text in very accurate terms. However, it should also be pointed out that there are some disadvantages to such an approach. The most obvious disadvantage is that there usually exists a subtle interaction between the chosen model and its application to the text, in the sense that one tends to apply the specific rhetorical model in such a way as to justify the choice of that specific model. This frequently leads to an application of the model in such a way that it is "stretched" in order to be able to describe everything that happens in the text. Perhaps this takes place at a subconscious level. In any case, nearly all the rhetorical analyses discussed above do not even attempt to criticise the chosen model. A scholar would only very rarely admit that the model (or part thereof) does not seem to be able to explain everything that happens in the text. The opposite occurs much more frequently: many studies breathe an air of satisfaction, since they succeeded in "proving" that the particular model can explain everything in the text.

When one chooses the ancient rhetorical system, one faces another problem, namely having to link Paul to ancient rhetorical theory in some way. Only a few scholars achieve this by suggesting that Paul had actually been taught rhetoric at school. Most scholars, how-

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117 In some cases this may be a drawback, since some rhetorical systems are so complicated that it is rather difficult for "outsiders" who do not know the system to understand the analysis. This tends to be the case with models that attempt to describe the logical processes in argumentation very accurately. See, for example, C. H. Heidrich, "Montague-Grammars for Argumentative Dialogue", in: E. M. Barth and J. L. Martin (eds.), Argumentation. Approaches to Theory Formation (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1982), pp. 191-228.

118 In his discussion of the way in which New Testament scholars apply rhetorical criticism to Galatians, Romans and 1 Corinthians, Anderson, Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul, pp. 129ff., gives numerous examples in this regard. See also the severe criticism raised by Kern, Rhetoric and Galatians, pp. 90-119, against the way in which rhetorical categories are forced upon Galatians.

119 See, for example, Kremendahl, Die Botschaft der Form, pp. 30-31; and D. B. Martin, The Corinthian Body (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 51-52; B. C. Johanson, To all Brethren. A Text-
ever, are content to note either that the rhetorical system was general knowledge at the
time\textsuperscript{120} or that Greco-Roman rhetoric was merely an attempt at formulating universal princi-
pies followed whenever persuasion is attempted.\textsuperscript{121} However, even this remains problem-
atic, as Porter\textsuperscript{122} points out:

Thus, even though many scholars begin by recognizing that "rhetoric" may well be a
universal category to describe how humans in a given linguistic situation try to per-
suade others, they nevertheless perform what might be called "diachronic rhetorical
criticism", in other words, they confine themselves to the categories of rhetoric from
the ancient Graeco-Roman world. This progression is a non sequitur. It may be true
that the ancient Greek rhetoricians conceptualized and elucidated their theories more
clearly than any other cultural expression of the categories of rhetoric; its imply does
not follow that analysis must follow the patterns established by them. Other schemes
may be equally productive for analytic purposes.

Two other problems confronting scholars who apply ancient rhetorical schemes to
the Pauline epistles have been mentioned above,\textsuperscript{123} but will be pointed out briefly again.

First, despite significant overlaps between various ancient rhetorical models, no uni-
fied system existed in antiquity. Anderson\textsuperscript{124} puts it as follows:

(W)e must understand that "ancient rhetorical theory" is an inexact concept. There
was no uniform systematic set of dogmata in antiquity. Rhetorical theory developed
over the centuries in various ways. The rhetorical theorists often differed from each
other, sometimes even forming rival schools propagating their own peculiar doctrines.

\textit{Linguistic and Rhetorical Approach to 1 Thessalonians} (CB.NT 16, Stockholm: Almqvist Wiksell,
1987), p. 34, mentions the possibility that Paul acquired his competence formally as one of two possibili-
ties (the other one being that he acquired it through exposure to oratory). (Apparently D. Hellholm,
"Paulus fra Tarsos", in: T. Eide & T. Hägg [eds.], \textit{Dionysos og Apollon. Religion og samfunn in antik-
bens Hellas} [Bergen: Universitetet I Bergen, 1989], pp. 259-282, is of a similar opinion.) However, it is
highly unlikely that Paul had formal training in rhetoric. See M. Hengel, "Der vorchristliche Paulus", in:
– in particular, pp. 186-187. See also pp. 262-264.

\textsuperscript{120} See, for example, Olbricht, "1 Thessalonians", p. 221.

\textsuperscript{121} See, for example, Kennedy, \textit{New Testament Interpretation}, pp. 10-11; and Vos, "Antinomie", p. 264.

\textsuperscript{122} S. E. Porter, "The Theoretical Justification for Application of Rhetorical Categories to Pauline Epistio-
107-108. See also his "Paul of Tarsus and his Letters", in: S. E. Porter (ed.), \textit{Handbook of Classical
Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 330 B.C. – A.D. 400} (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 533-608 - in particular,
pp. 562-567.

\textsuperscript{123} See the discussion in 1.3 above.

\textsuperscript{124} Anderson, \textit{Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul}, p. 35. Anderson, \textit{ibid.}, pp. 291-292, contributes the
fact that some New Testament scholars apparently view ancient rhetorical criticism as a fixed unified
system to the fact that they rely on summaries of it, such as that of H. Lausberg, \textit{Handbuch der liter-
arischen Rhetorik} (München: Max Hueber, 1960). See also his "The Use and Abuse of Lausberg in Bib-
lical Studies", in: A. Eriksson, T. H. Olbricht & W. Übelacker (eds.), \textit{Rhetorical Argumentation in Bib-
lical Texts} (ESEC 8, Harrisburg: Trinity, 2002), pp. 66-76; and the detailed discussion of this issue by
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For example, Aristotle's three-fold distinction between ethos, pathos and pragma/logos as different kinds of proofs (frequently used by New Testament scholars) was not taken up by later Hellenistic rhetoric. Neither was his view on the enthymema used by later Hellenistic theorists. A quick glance at the way in which the carakthre lew system was used will confirm the diversity, too. For example, whereas Demetrius (De Elo-
cutione) distinguished four carakthre, Dionysios of Halicarnassus mentions only three.

Secondly, it should be borne in mind that ancient rhetoric was intended primarily for the production of speeches and not for evaluating them. Furthermore, the analysis of rhe-
torical speeches from antiquity shows that actual rhetorical practice quite often did not fol-
low theory very strictly. For example, Kennedy asks the question how closely an actual speech from the past reflects the rhetorical theory of the time, and then analyses Cicero's earliest surviving speech, Pro Quinctio (delivered in 81 B.C.E.). After careful analysis he concludes that Cicero's speech indeed illustrates many aspects of the rhetorical theories he had learnt, but, that, in some areas, he did not follow the ancient theoretical framework at all. According to Kennedy, this was due to certain practical problems not foreseen by the theorists and, furthermore, by the influence of Cicero's predecessors.

In the light of the considerations outlined above, I have therefore decided not to fol-
low the general trend in the rhetorical analysis of the Letter to the Galatians: I did not choose a specific rhetorical model – ancient or modern – to "apply" to the letter; I rather chose to reconstruct Paul's rhetorical strategy from the text itself, using the letter itself as the starting-
point.

Of course, it is impossible to read or analyse a text neutrally or in a totally objective way. I therefore deem it necessary to give a more detailed explanation of the approach I

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126 Some further examples to illustrate the diversity: M. H. McCall, *Ancient Rhetorical Theories of Sim-
ile and Comparison* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), shows a clear difference between the ways in which the relationship between comparison and metaphor was treated by Greek and Latin theo-
rists. J. T. Kirby, *The Rhetoric of Cicero's Pro Cluentio* (LSCP 23, Amsterdam: Gieben, 1990) begins his analysis of this speech of Cicero by asking:

> The question immediately arises as to what system one is going to use, what kanon
to measure the oratory of Cicero. (Quotation from p. 2.)

He then decides on an eclectic system, combining features from Aristotle, Quintilian and Cicero (pp. 3-
4).
128 Kennedy, *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World* (HisRhet 2, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 138-148. This can also be illustrated by investigating other speeches of Cicero. See, for example, the analyses of some of Cicero's speeches by P. MacKendrick, *The Speeches of Cicero. Context, Law, Rhetoric* (Trowbridge: Redworth, 1995) from which it appears, for example, that in some cases Cicero (see Against Catiline) did not use a narratio. See also C. Carey, "Rhetorical Means of Persua-
45, who concludes his analysis of the means used for persuasion in antiquity as follows:

> A persistent theme in this discussion has been the flexibility of oratorical practice of the classical period in comparison with rhetorical theory.
follow in the study. The starting-point guiding this analysis is the assumption that Paul tried to persuade the Galatians to accept his point of view, or, – if they still shared his point of view – at least not to accept the view of his opponents. This broad outline can be specified in more detail – as various scholars have done. I shall not repeat what can be found in any good commentary with regard to the choice between the North- and South-Galatia hypotheses and the precise nature of the opponents' teachings. Suffice it to say that I find the South-Galatia hypothesis convincing, and, in particular, Dunn's reconstruction of the situation that called forth Paul's letter: the letter must be seen as a response to a challenge from Christian-Jewish missionaries who tried to "correct" Paul's gospel. He had already lost the battle to them in Antioch, and when he got word from Galatia that they were proclaiming their version of the gospel in the churches he had founded, he was determined that it would not happen again in Galatia. Therefore, he wrote the letter to persuade the Galatian Christians that "his" gospel was the correct one. Even if one does not accept this specific historical reconstruction of the rhetorical situation, the broader picture remains unchanged: the letter is dominated by Paul's attempt to persuade his audience to remain committed to his version of the gospel.

With this view of the rhetorical situation as background, I shall endeavour in the rest of this study to reconstruct Paul's rhetorical strategy from the text itself. In practical terms: the rest of this study will present a text-centred descriptive analysis of the way in which Paul attempts to persuade the Galatians. In order to achieve this, I formulated what could be called a minimal theoretical framework to guide the analysis. This is not used as some kind of fixed methodology that could be applied rigorously to the text, but only as a general guideline. This can be summarised as follows.

The first step in the analysis of a particular section is the identification of what will be called the dominant rhetorical strategy in that section. In this regard I try to answer the following two questions, namely, first, "How can one describe Paul's primary rhetorical objective in the specific section?", and, secondly, "How does he attempt to achieve this objective?". Accordingly, I attempt to summarise the dominant rhetorical strategy in each section in one sentence so as to answer both questions. For example, in the case of Galatians 1:1-5 I identify the dominant rhetorical strategy as "Adapting the salutation to emphasise the divine origin of his apostleship" and, in the case of Galatians 3:1-5 as "A series of accusatory rhetorical questions used to remind the Galatians of earlier experiences".

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129 See, for example, F. F. Bruce, The Epistle to the Galatians. A Commentary on the Greek Text (NIGTC, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), pp. 5-18, 23-32; and Longenecker, Galatians, pp. lxxiii-lxviii, lxxxviii-c. For a different view regarding the identity of Paul's opponents, see M. D. Nanos, The Irony of Galatians. Paul's Letter in the First-Century Context (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002). According to Nanos, Paul's opponents were not Jewish Christians coming from outside, but Jews living in Galatia who tried to integrate the Galatian Christians into the larger Jewish community.


131 The Epistle to the Galatians (BNTC, Peabody: Hendrickson, 1993), pp. 5-19.
The identification of the dominant rhetorical strategy is then followed by a detailed analysis of Paul's rhetorical strategy in the particular section. I do not follow a fixed methodology in every section, but, in general, try to describe the main characteristics of Paul's strategy, depending on what happens in the particular section. In some instances I focus primarily on the type of arguments he uses and why they are effective. I use the expression "type of argument" in a very specific sense, namely to indicate the nature of the specific argument. The following two examples will elucidate this: in Galatians 1:1-5 Paul claims to be an apostle, because he has been called by God. To my mind, the type of argument he uses here can be called "an argument based on the notion of divine authorisation". In Galatians 3:1-5 he reminds the Galatians of what they experienced when they converted to Christianity. The type of argument he uses here may be described as "an argument based on experience". However, in some sections it is better to describe the way in which he argues instead of focusing on the type of arguments he uses. For example, in the case of Galatians 3:15-18 the best way to explain his rhetorical strategy is not to concentrate on the type of arguments he uses, but on the way he argues, namely that it is a process which could be described as the dissociation of covenant and law.

Furthermore, in some sections, I also find it necessary to distinguish between the dominant rhetorical strategy and "supportive" rhetorical strategies. In such cases Paul does other things in a section that cannot be related directly to the dominant rhetorical strategy, but are nevertheless important in terms of the overall argument in that section or in the letter as a whole. These strategies are therefore identified as supportive rhetorical strategies.

Lastly, I also indicate in every section what I wish to call "rhetorical techniques". This refers to the various ways in which Paul enhances the effectiveness of his communication. Most of the techniques that are identified, are well-known, for example, the use of metaphor, rhetorical questions, paranomasia, the way in which sentences are constructed and chiasm. In each section I attempt to identify all the rhetorical techniques Paul uses, as well as their purpose.

In Part Three (Conclusion) the results of the investigation are briefly summarised and some general remarks on Paul's rhetorical strategy in the letter are made. One of the important issues addressed in the conclusion is the organisation of the argument in the letter as a whole. Since this issue can only be discussed once the analysis has been completed, little attention will be paid to it in Part Two.

Two final remarks must be made, prior to the rhetorical analysis.

First, as will become evident, in this study Galatians is divided into eighteen sections. In many instances the demarcated sections overlap with sections/paragraphs as delineated in commentaries and other studies of the letter. However, in some instances, there are differences. It is therefore necessary to point out the principle I used in demarcating the sections. As this is a rhetorical study, I used the notion of a change in Paul's rhetorical strategy as the most important guideline for demarcating the various sections. In other words, every definite change in his rhetorical strategy is used to demarcate a new section. The reason for using this notion as a guideline is that it enables one to divide the overall argument in the le-
ter into smaller phases. Thus, each of the eighteen sections into which the letter is demarcated in the remainder of this study represents a new phase in Paul's argument.

Secondly, as this is primarily a rhetorical rather than an exegetical study, the emphasis will fall on rhetorical issues. However, in order to understand Paul's rhetorical strategy, one needs to understand what he is saying to the Galatians. In many instances, exegetical issues thus need to be addressed - in particular when there is no agreement among exegetes on the meaning of a phrase or expression. In most instances, footnotes are used to indicate the various possibilities, and motivate my own interpretation. However, in some cases the interpretations offered by exegetes are so diverse that I deemed it necessary to discuss the exegetical issues in more detail, in particular when conflicting interpretations could give rise to differences in understanding Paul's rhetorical strategy. Examples in this regard: why Paul went to Arabia (1:15-17); the line of thought in 2:11-21; the meaning of the expression ὑπὸ; κατὰ ἀνάκρισιν in 3:10, as well as the relationship between the statement in verse 10a and the quotation in verse 10b; the meaning of 3:19-20; the depiction of the law as a παιδαγωγὸς (3:23-25); the expression τὸ δὲ; ἀγας Σιναὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἁραβίαν/4:25; what Paul denies in 5:11; the meaning of the expression ἵνα μὴ; ἂν ἐκδίκηται τὰ ταύτα ποιήτε (5:17); the question whether a pattern can be discerned in the list of vices and virtues (5:19-23; an excursus is devoted to this interesting issue); the line of thought in 6:1-10; the interpretation of the blessing in 6:16, and the meaning of the expression τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (6:17 - discussed in an excursion).

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PART 2

RHETORICAL ANALYSIS

1. Phase One: Galatians 1:1-5: Adapting the salutation in order to emphasise the divine origin of his apostleship

In the opening salutation of his letters Paul usually follows a particular pattern: he employs the three traditional elements (sender, receiver and greetings), but normally describes the sender and receiver elements in more precise terms, changes the normal cai'rein to the fuller "grace to you and peace" and christianises it. However, it is also true that he never uses a static pattern for the opening salutation of his letters, but instead adapts it to the particular occasion. This also happens in Galatians: he adapts the salutation of this letter to the specific situation in several ways. It is important to realise that he does this to persuade the Galatians to adopt his point of view. The dominant rhetorical strategy in this section can thus be described as adapting typical letter elements (in this case, the salutation) in order to persuade the Galatians. Three aspects deserve attention, but, as will become clear, the first one is the most important.

Emphasis on the divine origin of his apostleship

To the modern reader, the fact that Galatians is the first of Paul's extant letters in which he introduces himself as an apostle is important, but, of course, the Galatians would not have realised this. However, the way in which Paul immediately proceeds to qualify his apostleship could not have gone unnoticed: ouk apæajnqouw oujde; diæajnqou ajlla; dia; jIhsou` Cristou` kai; qeou` patrov". The abruptness of these words is often noted in analyses of this passage. In a rhetorical study the important issue is to identify Paul's purpose in doing this. The most obvious answer is that he is defending his apostleship against accusa-

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133 Ibid., pp. 4-24.


ations by his opponents in Galatia – as pointed out by most scholars. However, this view is not shared by G. Lyons who insists that the antithetical constructions in the Pauline letters should be viewed as examples of pleonastic tautology, thus making it unnecessary to read them as actual charges lodged against Paul. He also points out that there are numerous examples of denials in the Pauline letters and that no responsible scholar will assume that all of them actually contain charges against Paul. According to him, scholars decide at random which of Paul’s antithetical statements include actual charges against him. Lyons argues that antithetical statements merely reflect Paul’s argumentative style and should be accepted as such, except in those cases where this assumption can be shown to be unintelligible. According to him, this is not necessary in the case of Galatians 1:1 and he therefore rejects the notion that Paul’s denial here reflects actual charges by his opponents. However, in my opinion such a minimalistic approach is highly questionable. Although it is true that not all antithetical statements in the Pauline letters reflect charges lodged against him by his opponents, it would be wrong to decide beforehand that almost none of them do. A better approach would be to consider each example within its specific context. In the case of Galatians 1:1, the abrupt and unexpected use of these words (in particular, in the salutation of a letter!) implies that the issue of his apostleship was so important for him that he used the first opportunity in the letter to address it. This would only make sense if misinformation with regard to his apostleship formed part of his opponents’ strategy. There is no interpretation that explains Galatians 1:1 and 1:11-12 adequately other than that Paul is reacting polemically against charges made by his opponents.

An examination of the contents of Paul’s statement in Galatians 1:1 reveals that its primary purpose is to emphasise in a forceful way the notion that his apostleship is de-

136 G. Lyons, Pauline Autobiography. Toward a New Understanding (SBL.DS 73, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), pp. 81-82 (note 18), provides a list of more than 20 scholars who explain it in this way.
137 Ibid., pp. 82-112. Vos, Die Kunst der Argumentation, p. 90, is of the same opinion.
138 See the detailed study by N. Schneider, Die rhetorische Eigenart der paulinischen Antithese (HUTh 11, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1970), in this regard.
139 See J. M. G. Barclay, "Mirror-Reading a Polemical Letter: Galatians as a Test Case", JSNT 31 (1987), pp. 73-93, who carefully designs a methodology for the "mirror-reading" of Galatians. I agree with the following comment he makes on the way in which denials (such as Galatians 1:1) should be interpreted:

If Paul makes a denial, we may assume, at least, those whom he addresses may be prone to regard what he denies as true, and at most, someone has explicitly asserted it. (Barclay’s italics.)

140 Barclay, ibid., p. 88, holds a similar opinion. He considers it certain/virtually certain that Paul’s opponents opposed the adequacy of his gospel and questioned his credentials as an apostle.
141 Lyon’s own attempts (Pauline Autobiography, p. 121) to explain the information that the letter provides with regard to the opponents’ “gospel”, confirm this. He suggests explanations such as that Paul is responding to “innocent questions” from the Galatians as to whether they should be circumcised or not. He also notes that perhaps they may have sent the same inquiry to Jerusalem at the same time.
142 One must be careful to understand this argument within the context of early Christianity and not to read later concepts of apostolic/church offices back into Paul’s statements. See, for example, H. Schlier,
pendent on (and thus authorised by) God and not on (a) human being(s). The type of argument he uses may thus be identified as *an argument based on the notion of divine authorisation*. It is based on the presupposition that, in order to be an apostle, one should have been called by God. In this case Paul claims that he is indeed an apostle, because he has been called by God. The importance of this argument from Paul’s perspective is evident from the fact that he introduces it at the outset of the letter.

It should also be noted that the way in which Paul conveys this notion to the audience enhances its effect. Instead of merely mentioning the positive side of the argument, he begins with two denials before expressing the notion he wishes to convey. The rhetorical technique he uses in this instance may be called *antithetic presentation*. This antithetic structure is more persuasive than a mere positive statement. It thus serves an accentuating purpose.

Furthermore, it should be noted that this is the only argument that is emphasised in Galatians 1:1-5: his apostleship is not only mentioned in passing, but it is also forcefully highlighted by means of the antithetical way in which it is expressed. The other notions in Galatians 1:1-5 are not emphasised to a similar extent, but are merely mentioned (see the discussion below). It is thus clear that the issue of the divine origin of Paul’s apostleship dominates the first five verses of the letter.

Is it possible to specify the charges, which Paul is refuting in this section, in accurate terms? As pointed out above, the opposition between human and divine spheres suggests that Paul’s opponents claimed that his apostleship was of human origin only. The change from "from human beings" to "through a human being" may reflect a two-pronged attack on Paul’s apostleship: his opponents may have claimed that his apostleship originated with the church leaders in Antioch and that it was mediated by way of a specific individual, for example, Peter or Barnabas. However, this is not certain. Nevertheless, the basic charge lodged against Paul is clear: his apostleship does not have divine authorisation and there is therefore no need to accept his version of the gospel.

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143 The fact that Paul mentions Jesus before God may be due to the fact that he had the Damascus experience in mind as Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 5, points out. Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 27, notes that the absence of a preposition before θεο’ results in a single prepositional phrase including both Jesus and God, thereby underscoring Paul’s conviction that all the authority of God was behind the revelation he received.

144 Scholars using ancient rhetorical systems could possibly classify this as an attempt to establish *ethos*, but it should be noted that Paul does not achieve this in the usual way. Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 145, points out that Paul does not employ the usual stock phrases; and Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians*, p. 79, mentions that ancient rhetoricians required that *ethos* had to be established by the speech itself and not by the (previous) reputation of the rhetor.

145 So, correctly, Classen, *Rhetorical Criticism*, p. 18.

The reference to co-senders

As usual, Paul also refers to co-senders in Galatians. Contrary to his usual procedure, he does not mention specific co-senders, such as Sosthenes (1 Corinthians 1:1) or Timothy (2 Corinthians 1:1) in Galatians, but rather indicates the co-senders as "all the brothers with me" (οἱ ἀδελφοί μου). The rhetorical function of these words is to convey the notion of a group of people standing behind him, endorsing and underscoring everything in the letter. It is also important to note that μου is used in an emphatic way in order to suggest solid support for his position. It must be noted, however, that Paul does not develop this issue to any extent. It is merely implied and can thus only be indicated as a supportive strategy.

Appeal to tradition

The third significant feature in Paul's persuasive strategy in this section is his frequent reference to core ideas in the early Christian tradition – in particular, in Galatians 1:1 and 1:4:

1:1 ... καὶ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ ἐγείραντον αὐτόν ἐκ νεκρῶν.
1:4: τοῦ διότι ημῶν ἐγέρθη ἐκ τῆς σκοτεινεύσεως, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐξηνεκτοῦ πονηροῦ κατὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἡμῶν, ῥήματα ἐξήγησαν τοῦ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν, ὥσιν καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα αἰώνων.

Both these statements refer to shared knowledge in early Christianity and it is almost certain that Paul is echoing well-known creedal formulae of the time. Three aspects should be noted.

First, a general remark should be made about the use of tradition when a person tries to persuade someone else. Tradition is an example of knowledge shared by both speaker and audience, and it may thus be used rhetorically in a highly effective manner, since its truth will not be disputed by the audience. In fact, the speaker can accept that the audience will believe it to be true. This shared knowledge may then be used as a common ground for supporting the view advocated by the speaker. This is also true in this instance. The type of argument Paul uses in this case may be called an argument based on Christian
Tradition. This type of argument is highly effective. In this regard the research by Eriksson should be pointed out, because he shows convincingly how effectively Paul uses Christian tradition as rhetorical proof in 1 Corinthians – not only on a logical level, but also in other ways. This is also true of Paul's use of Christian tradition in the Letter to the Galatians.

Secondly, one should ask what Paul's purpose is in using tradition at this stage in his letter. If one considers what is quoted here, it focuses on the inauguration of the eschatological age by Christ's resurrection, and, in particular, in the case of verse 4, on the interpretation of Jesus' voluntary death as something that happened according to God's will in order to effect eschatological liberation. Thus, one can summarise the notion which Paul wishes to convey as follows: (according to Christian tradition) Jesus Christ gave himself in order to liberate humankind from the present age of evil. This is extremely relevant to the issues debated in this letter, in particular, the notion of spiritual liberty which becomes so important in his argument later. However, it should be noted that he does not use tradition as a basis for proving anything at this stage. He merely mentions it. Thus, it seems fair to assume that his purpose in using tradition in this section is not so much polemical, but rather to "bind" the audience to him, and to achieve a common understanding as a potential ground for an agreement before proceeding to controversial issues later. This "binding effect" is further enhanced by the way in which he uses inclusive language as a rhetorical technique in this section: from "Paul and the brothers with me..." to "grace and peace to you" to ". . .from our Father . . .", and "Christ who gave himself for our sins ... rescue us". In fact, Paul only uses the inclusive "we" again in Galatians 3:14.

Thirdly, the fact that Paul does not use shared knowledge in a polemical way in this section is also important from another perspective. For example, one could speculate that it would have been fairly easy for him to slip in the crucial words "through belief (in Jesus Christ)", yet he refrains from doing so. The fact that he does not use the tradition in a polemical way in this instance highlights an important aspect of his rhetorical strategy. Appar-

151 What Eriksson writes in this regard about Paul's use of tradition in 1 Corinthians, is certainly true of Galatians, too:

Looking at the traditions from a rhetorical point of view, we can assume that, besides their logos or theological content, the tradition would also have had strong ethos and pathos. The ethos would derive directly from the authority the traditions had as saving messages. The pathos comes from the use the traditions had in the Corinthian church. Included would have been all those memories, saturated with emotional significance, from various stages of their initiation in the Christian group (which would have included conversion and baptism) and from their joint worship (including celebrations of the Lord's Supper) (Eriksson, Traditions as Rhetorical Proof, p. 134).

152 See R. A. Bryant, The Risen Crucified Christ in Galatians (SBL.DS 185, Atlanta: SBL, 2001), pp. 144-146, for a detailed discussion of this issue.
154 See Lührmann, Galater, p. 9.
ently, from his perspective, the most decisive issue in this battle was the issue of divine authorisation: if this crucial point could be settled in his favour, his message would automatically be accepted. Thus, the fact that he immediately tackles the issue of divine authorisation and avoids a polemical discussion of the contents of his gospel at this stage indicates that, from a strategic perspective, he thought that the best way to persuade the Galatians was not to begin with the contents of his gospel, but rather with the issue of divine authorisation – formulated in this section in terms of the divine origin of his apostleship. The apparent logic behind this strategy is that it is futile trying to convince them of "his gospel" if they are not convinced that the "he" of "his gospel" has been authorised by God.

To conclude: in Galatians 1:1-5 Paul's dominant rhetorical strategy can be described as "adapting the salutation in order to emphasise the divine origin of his apostleship". Of the three ways in which he adapts the salutation, the most important one is the way in which the sender element is adapted in order to convey the notion that he is an apostle, because he has been called by God (an argument based on the notion of divine authorisation). This notion is conveyed effectively by means of a rhetorical technique, identified as antithetic presentation.

Two other ways in which Paul adapts the salutation were also pointed out, namely the reference to co-senders (1:2) and an appeal to shared tradition (1:4-5) – the latter being enhanced by the use of inclusive language. However, Paul does not develop these, indicating that the emphasis does not fall on them, but on the divine origin of his apostleship.

2. Phase Two: Galatians 1:6-10: Expressing disgust at events in the Galatian churches in order to force them to reconsider their position

Scholars who choose to apply categories from ancient rhetorical criticism to the Letter to the Galatians usually identify this section (or part thereof) as the exordium. However, Vos has indicated that this is rather pointless, as in that case the concept must be used in a way that does not correspond to its use in antiquity, namely that its primary function was to prepare the listeners psychologically for the speaker and his case. Accordingly, I shall refrain from categorising this section in terms of ancient rhetorical distinctions, and, instead, draw attention to Paul's persuasive strategy here. The dominant rhetorical strategy in this section can be summarised as expressing his disgust at the events in Galatia. His primary purpose therefore seems to be to convey his emotional dissatisfaction with circumstances in Galatian churches. The occurrence of such intense feelings in this sec-

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155 For example, Betz, Galatians, p. 44 (he adds verse 11); Kennedy, New Testament Interpretation, p. 148; Becker, Paulus, p. 291; Ebeling, Wahrheit des Evangeliums, p. 55. Hall, "Rhetorical Outline", p. 285, identifies it as the propositio.
156 Die Kunst der Argumentation, p. 92. See also his critical discussion of Betz's reasons for classifying this section as exordium.
157 See Lausberg, Handbuch, p. 150:
Ziel des exordium ist es, die Sympathie des Richters (oder im weiteren Sinn: des Publikums) für den (parteimäßig vertretenen) Redegegenstand zu gewinnen.
tion explains the use of several forceful rhetorical techniques, which are effective for conveying such feelings, namely rebuke, vilification, a twofold curse and rhetorical questions. The sole purpose of these techniques is to persuade the Galatians to reconsider what they are about to do. I draw attention to the four strategies which Paul employs to achieve this.

Rebuke

One of the features noted most frequently by scholars in this section is the absence of an introductory thanksgiving. P. T. O'Brien has identified four functions, which the Pauline thanksgivings may fulfil, namely an epistolary function (introducing and presenting the main theme of the letter); a pastoral function (showing his concern for his readers); a didactic function (emphasising important concepts), and a paraenetic function. O'Brien has indicated that, for Paul, the introductory thanksgivings were never meaningless devices, but were always used as integral parts of his letters in order to set the tone and themes of what would follow. Thus, one could say that for Paul the thanksgiving conveyed a positive and special meaning. Accordingly, unlike Paul's other letters, the absence of a thanksgiving is very striking and he probably intended its omission as a definite sign of rebuke to the audience. However, the audience would seemingly not have realised that something was missing here, as they were not aware that Paul made a habit of including a thanksgiving at this stage, and it was not customary in Greek letters to include a prayer of thanksgiving. Numerous contemporary papyrus letters contain another element, namely a report of the writer's prayer for the recipients at the beginning of the letter, and, one may assume that his audience would have been familiar with this habit, and that its absence – if not taken as a direct rebuke – would, at least, have been strange to them.

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161 So, correctly, Kremendahl, Die Botschaft der Form, p. 99.

162 See the study by P. Arzt, "The 'Epistolary Introductory Thanksgiving' in the Papyri and in Paul", NT 36:1 (1994), pp. 29-46 – in particular, pp. 44-46. Note that his study indicates that there was no such thing as a customary "introductory thanksgiving" in the papyri letters contemporaneous with the New Testament letters, but that a set report of prayer does occur frequently.
Instead of a thanksgiving Paul uses qaumavzw – an element found regularly in letters of his time.\(^{163}\) He uses this expression of perplexity with great rhetorical effect in order to rebuke the Galatians.\(^{164}\) Qaumavzw o\(\delta\)i ou\(\wedge\)tw" tacew" metatiquesqe apo\(\theta\)u\(\kappa\)a\(\epsilon\)s\(\alpha\)nto\(\upsilon\)\(\varepsilon\)m\(\alpha\)\(\nu\) h\(\iota\)n\(\alpha\)\(\iota\) Cristou\(\alpha\)\(\epsilon\)neteron e\(\acute{\iota}\)jaggev\(\iota\)\(\nu\)ion. By using the word metatiquesqe he conveys his negative views on the Galatians’ turning away\(^{165}\) very forcefully, as it bears the negative overtones of desertion or betrayal.\(^{166}\) The rebuke is indeed harsh; he finds it shocking that they are becoming "traitors" so soon.\(^{167}\) He also emphasises the real nature of their action: they are deserting the ‘one who called them’. This is phrased in an ambiguous way. As a rule, he uses this expression to refer to God,\(^{168}\) but it could also refer to himself in this case, as there certainly is a close connection between Paul’s gospel and God’s calling. As Schlier\(^{169}\) puts it: "Ruf Gottes und apostolisches Kerygma des Paulus sind fur die hörenden Galater identisch.” Furthermore, it should be noted that he describes their behaviour as moving away from grace. Once again he uses an ambiguous expression: e\(\eta\) cavit\(\iota\) can refer either to the state into which they were called or to the means by which they were called. Perhaps one should rather assume that both are intended.\(^{170}\)

To summarise: in verse 6 Paul uses rebuke to express his disgust at the behaviour of the Galatians. In particular, he wishes to convey two notions to them: 1. that it is wrong to change sides so quickly, and 2. that they are actually turning against God.

Vilification of the opponents

\(^{163}\) Kremendahl, Die Botschaft der Form, pp. 99-103, discusses this in detail. He maintains: [D]ann wird diese Formel geradezu einem Signal für den Unwillen des Absenders und seine Unzufriedenheit mit den Adressaten. (Quotation from p. 103.)


\(^{165}\) The use of the present tense indicates that the process is still going on as Paul dictates his letter. See E. de W. Burton, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle of the Galatians (ICC, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1921), p. 18.

\(^{166}\) See Betz, Galatians, p. 48; and Dunn, Galatians, pp. 39-40.

\(^{167}\) The words ou\(\wedge\)tw" tacew" are ambiguous, and can be understood in any of the following ways (see Ebeling, Wahrheit des Evangeliums, p. 60): 1. So soon after their conversion; 2. So soon after his visit; 3. So soon after the arrival of the opponents; 4. Without waiting to hear from Paul. The first possibility seems to be the best choice.

\(^{168}\) Longenecker, Galatians, p. 15. J. Bligh, Galatians. A Discussion of St. Paul’s Epistle (London: St. Paul Publications, 1969), p. 83, believes that this ambiguity is intentional: Paul wants to convey the idea that the Galatians’ actions are a failure in loyalty to him.

\(^{169}\) Galater, p. 38.

\(^{170}\) See A. Oepke, Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater (ThHK 9, Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1973, 4. Auflage), p. 48. The first option is chosen by Schlier, Galater, p. 37; and Betz, Galatians, p. 48; and the second by Longenecker, Galatians, p. 15; and Ebeling, Wahrheit des Evangeliums, p. 64.
In verse 7 Paul shifts the focus from the Galatians to his opponents, and his argumentative strategy changes from rebuke to vilification of his opponents. Vilification was a widespread phenomenon in early Christian epistolography and in the Mediterranean world (and it still is in our time!). In this case Paul achieves this as follows:

- The opponents' message is denied the status of gospel: \( \epsilon\iota\iota\sigma\tau\rho\iota\iota\nuon\ \epsilon\upsilon\varphi\gamma\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\iota\ion,\ \eta\omega\kappa\varepsilon\iota\varepsilon\iota. \) Although he refers to their message at first as "gospel", he immediately corrects himself, thus using a rhetorical technique that could be called *correction*. The difference between \( \epsilon\iota\iota\sigma\tau\rho\iota\iota\nuon\) and \( \eta\omega\kappa\varepsilon\iota\varepsilon\iota\) should be noted. As a rule Paul does not make a distinction when he uses these words, but in this instance he uses them in the sense of "another of a different kind" and "another of the same kind", respectively. The notion Paul wants to convey is that the opponents' message is a different gospel which is not similar to the real gospel. Thus: it is not to be considered as gospel at all!

- Instead of naming his opponents directly, he refers to them merely as \( \tau\iota\sigma\iota\nu. \) This was common practice in antiquity. In this case its intended effect is to create the impression that his opponents are insignificant; that their names are not worth mentioning, and that they are few in number. This serves to vilify them.

- Paul uses words with very negative overtones. He accuses his opponents of "disturbing" the Galatians and of "changing" the gospel. The first word (\( \tau\alpha\rho\varsigma\varphi\omicron\omega \)) has the connotation of political agitation whereby turmoil and confusion are caused, and the second (\( \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\omicron\sigma\tau\epsilon\omicron\omega \)) suggests a change for the worse; a perversion of the gospel. In this way Paul succeeds in portraying the actions of his opponents in a very negative light, thereby casting doubts as to their intention and behaviour. Thus, the notion he wishes to convey, is that they are insincere people with evil motives.

### A twofold curse

In verses 8-9 another shift in Paul's persuasive strategy occurs. Now he uses a twofold curse. Pronouncing a curse is one of the most effective rhetorical devices one can use. In ancient rhetoric, the effectiveness of using curses was often noted. The twofold curse which Paul uses in verses 8 and 9 is structured very carefully. In the first curse he mentions

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172 In ancient rhetoric this was called *met abolh* and was thought to make the audience more favourable to one's case or to highlight the correction, thus impressing it upon the listeners. See Anderson, *Glossary of Greek Rhetorical Terms*, p. 71.


175 Betz, *ibid.*, p. 49.

176 Bruce, *Galatians* p. 82; and Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 43.

177 See Betz, *Galatians*, pp. 45-46.
two unlikely possibilities: that he or an angel would preach a different gospel to them. In the second curse he changes it to a more general curse which is "applied" to the situation in Galatia. Those who preach a gospel different from that which the Galatians received are now cursed.

In terms of its rhetorical function, Paul uses the twofold curse very effectively, thus achieving several objectives:

First, he continues the vilification of his opponents which he started in the previous verse. By pronouncing a curse on them he succeeds in portraying them in a very negative light: they are heading for God's judgement – and are to be avoided!

Secondly, by uttering such a curse Paul is claiming divine authority. In a sense, the use of the curse presupposes the argument that Paul used in the previous section, namely that he was called by God.

Furthermore, the twofold curse also serves indirectly as a very strict warning to the Galatians. Although it is phrased in such a way that it is directed against those who proclaim a gospel that is no gospel, its force is wider: if they accept the "gospel" proclaimed by the opponents they will share in their doom. The curse therefore serves as a warning to them to return to Paul's gospel or to suffer the consequences.

Lastly, by including himself under the curse (although it is presented as being a very unlikely scenario) Paul succeeds in conveying the notion that no human being in himself can serve as criterion for the truth of the gospel. In this way he conveys the message that the gospel is more important than any human being – even himself. It has its own existence and independence, as, in the last instance, it is based on divine authority.

178 See Kremendahl, Die Botschaft der Form, p. 83; Ebeling, Wahrheit des Evangeliums, p. 82; Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 60. Contra Bligh, Galatians, pp. 88-89; Betz, Galatians, p. 53; and Lühmann, Galater, p. 19.

179 The words μη προειρηκαμεν apparently refer to a previous occasion in Galatia during which Paul uttered a similar curse and not to the curse in the previous verse, as Schlier, Galater, p. 39, and Bruce, Galatians, p. 84, believe. See the discussion by M. Bachmann, "Gal 1,9: 'Wie wir schon früher gesagt haben, so sage ich jetzt erneut'", BZ 47:1 (2003), pp. 112-115.


181 J. A. Morland, The Rhetoric of Curse in Galatians. Paul Confronts Another Gospel (ESEC 5, Atlanta: Georgia, 1995), p. 15, puts it as follows:

The double anathema challenges the Galatian audience to regard the opponents as cursed persons. Such a curse cannot be overlooked once it has been uttered. The primary pragmatic aspect of the curse is that it puts before the Galatian churches a very serious choice: Either to accept the double anathema as a carrier of divine authority, and thus to isolate the opponents, or to reject it as false, and thus to question the authority of Paul himself. The curse claims to carry divine authority, and therefore it demands to be accepted as such. The only alternative is to reject it as false. Thus the situation cannot be as it was before in Galatia: Once the curse has been uttered, the churches are forced to choose between the authority of Paul and his opponents.

Refutation of criticism

In verse 10 the focus of Paul's rhetorical strategy shifts again. Before considering this aspect it is necessary to clarify the meaning of this verse – in particular, the first three rhetorical questions which can be interpreted in various ways. It is not always clear whether they are used in a positive or negative sense. The sense of the first phrase ἀποκρυψα ἐπιήσεως ἐπιέσεως is negative: Paul rejects the idea that he is doing what some philosophers and orators are accused of, namely using skilful techniques in order to persuade people.182 This is followed by a second phrase (ὃς ἑτοιμα ὑποδείγμα) to which the word ἐπιέσεως must be added. This could be taken in either a positive or a negative sense. If it is interpreted in a positive sense Paul is saying: I am not attempting to persuade people, instead I am concerned only with what God wants.183 If it is taken in a negative sense, it means: I am neither trying to persuade people, nor am I seeking to "persuade", i.e. manipulate God.184 It is very difficult to choose between the two possibilities as it could be either. Perhaps the fact that ἐπιέσεως should be supplied from the previous phrase indicates that its negative force should also be carried to the second phrase. In the third phrase ἔφητα ἰδρυτέων ἀποκρυψα ἐπιέσεως ἐπιέσεως the sense is once again negative. "Pleasing men" was seen as an unacceptable technique practised by orators and philosophers who adapted their message to suit the listeners.185 Instead, Paul claims that he does not follow such practices, as he would then no longer be a servant of Christ.

How should Paul's rhetorical strategy in verse 10 be described? This verse makes sense if one assumes that he is refuting criticism lodged against him by his opponents. Apparently, they accused him of adapting the gospel to make it easier for the Galatians to become Christians; he was therefore accused of trying to please them. That he was trying to manipulate God probably means that they accused him of trying to "persuade" God to accept the new Christians on easier terms than those prescribed by the law.186 Paul denies these accusations, and uses two rhetorical techniques to heighten the impact of his refutation, namely rhetorical questions and an example. The rhetorical questions he uses – probably to convey his emotion – highlight the criticism lodged against him. He then answers the last rhetorical question himself, and refutes the criticism by referring to what he has just done in the previous verses187 (this is the force of αὐτί as an example proving the opposite. He points out that the fact that he is prepared to pronounce a twofold curse on people indicates that he does not try to please human beings, but that he is concerned about the gospel only. He is indeed a servant of Christ!

182 Martyn, Galatians, p. 139.
183 Oepke, Galater, p. 53; Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 63; and Lyons, Pauline Autobiography, pp. 142-143.
184 See Ebeling, Wahrheit des Evangeliums, p. 63; "Gott überreden wollen, ihn geneigt machen wollen".
185 Betz, Galatians, p. 55.
186 Dunn, Galatians, pp. 49-51.
To conclude: In the above analysis I indicated the effective strategies Paul uses in this section: rebuke in verse 6 (achieved/enhanced by means of an expression of perplexity, skilful choice of words \([\text{metatiquesqe}]\) and [possibly] the omission of the thanksgiving); vilification in verse 6c-7 (achieved/enhanced by correction and the skilful choice of words: \(\text{tinev}, \text{tarasw}\) and \(\text{metastrew}\)); a twofold curse in verses 8-9; and refutation of criticism in verse 10 (achieved/enhanced by means of rhetorical questions and an example). If one focuses on content, it is possible to identify a large variety of notions which Paul seems to want to convey to the audience, namely that it is wrong to change sides so quickly (verse 6); that they are actually turning away from God (verse 6); that the opponents are proclaiming a false gospel (verse 6c); that the opponents are insincere and have evil motives (verse 7); that they are heading for God's judgement (verses 8-9); that he himself was called by God (verses 8-9); that, by accepting the "gospel" of the opponents they run the risk of sharing the fate of the opponents (verses 8-9); that the gospel is more important than any human being (verses 8-9), and that he is a servant of God (verse 10). Developed in more detail, most of these notions can serve as powerful arguments or proofs; yet, Paul merely mentions or suggests most of them. The reason for this seems to be that it is not his primary intention in this section to persuade the audience by means of individual rational arguments, but to combine all of this in order to convey his feelings to them. He wants them to realize his emotional dissatisfaction with the events in Galatia. It could therefore be stated that his primary aim throughout this section is to convey his negative feelings to them in such a way that they will reconsider what they are about to do. It is as if he is saying to them repeatedly: "Stop! You are on the wrong track! Don't do it!"

3. Phase Three: Galatians 1:11-24: Recounting events from his life in order to prove the divine origin of his gospel

3.1 Introduction

Before discussing Paul's persuasive strategy in this section, it is necessary to consider the question whether Galatians 1:11ff. should be classified as narratio in terms of the ancient rhetorical system. In his commentary on Galatians, Betz classifies Galatians 1:12-2:14 as narratio, since, in his opinion, it corresponds to Cicero's definition of a narratio in De inv. 1.19, namely a narrative that functions as an exposition of events, which have occurred or are supposed to have occurred. Furthermore, Betz indicates that Galatians 1:12-2:14 can be classified as the first of three types of narratio distinguished by Cicero, namely one that contains an exposition of a case of law. Several scholars follow Betz in classifying

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188 Galatians, p. 58.
Galatians 1:12-2:14 (or, at least, sections of it) as narratio. Examples: Brinsmead,\(^\text{189}\) Longenecker,\(^\text{190}\) Becker,\(^\text{191}\) Smit,\(^\text{192}\) Cranford,\(^\text{193}\) Morland,\(^\text{194}\) and Kremendahl.\(^\text{195}\)

However, there are also scholars who do not agree with Betz. Kennedy,\(^\text{196}\) who classifies Galatians as an example of deliberative rhetoric, argues that Betz is wrong in classifying Galatians 1:12-2:14 as a judicial narratio, as it does not give an account of the facts that are at issue. Instead, Kennedy classifies the narratio in Galatians as an example of narration of the external matters that may have a bearing on the case and that may contribute to understanding the speaker, but are not directly an issue – this view matches better his classification of the letter as an example of deliberative rhetoric. Classen,\(^\text{197}\) also, finds Betz's classification of 1:12-2:14 as narratio erroneous. Like Kennedy, he points out that it does not present an account of the facts at issue. He also draws attention to the fact that Marius Victorinus, who was an expert on rhetoric more than fifteen centuries ago, noted that this section in the Letter to the Galatians resembles a narratio, but that it has a different function, namely to confirm Paul's authority (confirmata igitur auctoritate).\(^\text{198}\) Anderson\(^\text{199}\) also criticises Betz for classifying this section as narratio. He points out that, if it were narratio, one would at least expect a description of how the Judaisers came into being and of their history of troublemaking in Galatia.

The criticism against Betz's position – in particular, that of Classen and Anderson – is so sound that one cannot follow him in classifying Galatians 1:11-2:14 (or sections of it) as narratio. In addition to the arguments raised by these scholars, I wish to draw attention to two further issues that make me question its classification as narratio:

189  *Galatians*, pp. 49-50.
190  *Galatians*, p. 20.
191  *Paulus*, p. 291.
192  "Deliberative Speech", p. 11.
193  "Rhetorical Reading of Galatians", pp. 5-6.
194  *Rhetoric of Curse*, p. 129.
197  *Rhetorical Criticism*, pp. 24-25.
198  S. A. Cooper, "Narratio and Exhortatio in Galatians according to Marius Victorinus Rhetor", *ZNW* 91:1/2 (2000), pp. 107-135, discusses Victorinus' views in this regard in detail. See his conclusion:
   Particularly troublesome to me was his (i.e. Victorinus’ – DFT) willingness to use technical terms in an eclectic manner – e.g., narratio – without providing any corresponding mention of the other elements of the rhetorical arrangement; ... Had Victorinus thought that a rhetorical analysis, in the strict sense of the term, would have helped him to explain Galatians, I can see no reason why he would not have provided it. Thus his failure to do so seems to point strongly to the conclusion that the modern attempts to press Galatians into a rhetorical outline are a form of forcing the evidence. (Quotation from p. 131.)
First, by classifying it as *narratio* one immediately assumes that Paul is following an ancient rhetorical model – which is very difficult to prove, in particular, if one takes into account that his use of narrative material in this section does not correspond to the way in which a *narratio* was used in antiquity and that the category must be "stretched" in order to fit in what he does in Galatians 1:11-2:14. Furthermore, if Paul were well-acquainted with the ancient rhetorical system, it does seem rather strange that he would use a *narratio* only in the Letter to the Galatians, and in none of his other letters.  

Secondly, to my mind, the biggest drawback in describing Galatians 1:11-2:14 as *narratio* lies in the fact that this inevitably leads one to a degradation of the argumentative value of this section of the letter, since as *narratio* it is normally regarded as merely *preparatory* for the "real" arguments still at hand. This can be illustrated from Betz's views in this regard. He states explicitly that the *exordium* and the *narratio* are only preparatory steps leading to the *probatio* that begins in Galatians 3:1. Of course, one could claim that the real "theological" arguments only begin in Galatians 3:1, but this does not mean that the first two chapters must necessarily be degraded as being merely preparatory – a "warming up" for the real arguments ahead! Due to the emphasis we as theologians place on Paul's theology, we naturally tend to view theological arguments to be of a higher order than the other arguments Paul uses in this letter. However, a distinction must be drawn between the obvious theological content of Paul's arguments and their persuasive value. Even though Paul's arguments in Galatians 1:11ff. may appear to be less "theological" in nature, this does not imply that they must be viewed as inferior arguments or as less persuasive than the arguments used from Galatians 3:1 onwards. The fact that Paul uses them first points to the opposite! One would normally use one's best arguments first. The important point is that Paul is already trying to *prove* something in Galatians 1:11ff., namely the divine origin of his gospel, or – in other words – that his gospel has divine authorisation. This is not merely paving the way for what follows later. It is a crucial part of his persuasive strategy. If he were to fail in convincing his audience of the divine origin of his gospel, even the best theological arguments in the world would not convince them! From his perspective, he just had to convince them first that his gospel was not "home-made", but of divine origin. In this regard Galatians 1:11ff. plays a strategic role: the events which he recounts serve the same purpose,

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201 Betz, *Galatians*, p. 128. In this regard Betz is followed by other scholars such as Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 97, who calls Galatians 3:1-4:11 the "most important argumentative section of Paul's letter", and Becker, *Paulus*, p. 292, who calls Galatians 3:1-5:12 the "Zentrum der Darstellung".


namely to prove exactly this point. This has been noted often by commentators who do not try to force an ancient rhetoric model onto the letter. To quote one example: Burton204 summarises the purpose of Galatians 1:11-2:21 as 'proving the apostle's independence of all human authority and direct revelation to Christ'205 (my italics). Thus, the fact that Paul employs so much narrative material in Galatians 1:11ff. relates more to the particular persuasive strategy he chooses than to the careful following of an ancient rhetorical scheme. Accordingly, I shall not classify it as narratio, but rather point out the various phases in Paul's argument as he recounts events from his life.

3.2 Galatians 1:11-12: A concise statement highlighting the basic issue

Before Paul sets out to recount events from his life, he introduces a concise thematic statement206 in which he concisely formulates the basic argument which he is about to use, namely the claim of divine authority for his gospel: Gnwriwv gar uqmin, adelpfojto; euaggelion to; euaggelision uphejmov ofi ouk etin kata; ahorwpon: oude; gar egw; para; ahorwpo parelabon auo; oule epidaqhn ajla; diEapokaluyewv jhsou Cristou'. Once again, it seems fairly certain that Paul is reacting against accusations lodged against him by his opponents in Galatia.207 As was pointed out earlier in the discussion of Galatians 1:1-5, it seems as if they claimed that Paul's apostleship, and accordingly his gospel, were of human origin only. They therefore argued that the Galatian Christians need not adhere to it. The events which Paul is about to recount will prove them wrong. The purpose of the thematic statement is to draw the audience's attention to the argumentative purpose of what follows.

Verses 11-12 basically concern the divine origin of Paul’s gospel. In this thematic statement he explicitly denies the human origin of his gospel by means of three statements before claiming that he received it diEapokaluyewv jhsou Cristou'. First, it is necessary to clarify precisely what he means in these two verses. He begins by denying that his gospel is kata; ahorwpon. By means of this phrase he emphasises the non-human quality of his

204 Galatians, p. 35.
205 Other examples: P. Stuhlmann, Das paulinische Evangelium. 1. Vorgeschichte (FRLANT 95, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968), p. 63, correctly identifies the theme of the first two chapters of Galatians as "der paulinische Apostolat, das paulinische Evangelium und deren Legitimität" (my italics); Anderson, Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul, p. 128, maintains that "[t]he following narrative concerning himself, therefore, has the nature of an argument" (Anderson's italics); and Classen, Rhetorical Criticism, p. 25, notes that "[t]he apostle is anxious first of all to establish or reestablish his own authority before discussing any details". See also Jegher-Bucher, Galaterbrief, p. 120, who criticises Betz for calling Galatians 1:13-2:14 narratio and, instead, identifies it as argumentatio.
206 This is noted regularly in commentaries, for example, by Lührmann, Galater, p. 22; and Dunn, Galatians, p. 51.
207 Although this is disputed by some scholars, for example, Vos, Die Kunst der Argumentation, p. 98, the most obvious way to understand the emphasis these issues receive in Galatians, is that Paul is reacting to accusations made by his opponents. See Barclay, "Mirror-Reading", pp. 88-89; Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 62; and J. Becker, Der Brief an die Galater (NTD 8, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981, 2. Auflage dieser Bearbeitung), p. 16.
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gospel: it does not conform to human criteria or human considerations, and it does not function in a human way or in terms of human preferences. By means of the next two phrases he provides the reason for his claim that his gospel does not have a human quality: its origin is non-human; he did not "receive" it from human beings. The word *paralambânw* is a *terminus technicus* for receiving tradition, and, thus, Paul is denying that the origin of his gospel can be traced back to a process whereby tradition is handed on from one person to another (for example, the way in which the Galatians received the gospel from him according to 1:9). Furthermore, he emphasises the non-human origin of his gospel by denying that it was "taught" to him. The word *eîdêrqhvn* refers to a basic catechesis, a rather lengthy process for instructing new converts to Christianity. As Dunn points out, this second denial is not tautologous; in fact, Paul is "seeking to cover all the loopholes": the origin of his gospel cannot be linked to human beings in any way at all.

The threefold denial is followed by a positive statement: he received his gospel diē *apokaluyew* ḫjou` Cristou`. Although Paul's basic idea (that his gospel is of divine origin) is crystal clear, the concise way in which he expresses himself makes it difficult to pinpoint the exact meaning of his words. Two issues deserve more attention:

The first issue concerns the use of the genitive construction "of Jesus Christ". Commentators are divided with regard to the question whether it should be interpreted either as a subjective genitive (Jesus Christ revealed the gospel to Paul) or as an objective genitive (God – implicit subject – revealed Jesus Christ to Paul). As both interpretations are grammatically possible, the context must be considered. However, this does not make it easier, since, as Silva points out, the context leads us into two different directions. The immediate context (verses 11-12) emphasises the origin of Paul's gospel (he did not receive his gospel from human beings), thereby suggesting something similar for the rest of the verse which would mean a subjective genitive is to be preferred. On the other hand, if we take the context as slightly wider and include verse 16a (*apokaluyai ton uîjhn aujtou` ejn ejmoiv*), as well

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208 Schlier, *Galater*, p. 44.
212 Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 66.
213 *Galatians*, p. 53.
216 *Explorations*, pp. 64-68.
as keep in mind the fact that Paul normally speaks of God and not Jesus as the source of revelation, it appears that an objective genitive is the best choice. Perhaps Silva points us in the right direction. He believes that the use of the genitive construction in this verse should not be regarded as a deliberate attempt to increase fullness of meaning, but rather as a case of imprecision. Paul does not express himself clearly in this instance, and most probably did not have any specific syntactical connection in mind. This indeterminacy gives the audience freedom to interpret the genitive as subjective, objective, or even both—depending on the way in which information from the context is used.

The second issue concerns the meaning of the word \( \text{apistokaluyi} \). To understand its meaning in this case (and in verse 16), one must bear in mind that Paul does not always use the word in the same sense. In some instances (for example, 1 Corinthians 14:6, 26, 30 and Galatians 2:2), it is used in the sense of a divine indication of action that is to be undertaken. In other instances (for example, 2 Corinthians 12:1, 7) it is used in the sense of ecstatic experiences which may not serve as final criterion for apostolic authority. In Galatians 1:12, 16, however, it is used in yet another sense. When Paul speaks of the revelation of Jesus to him, he does not mean it in the sense of yet another revelation among a number of revelations or ecstatic experiences, but as a decisive eschatological revelation that made Jesus Christ the foundation and content of his gospel. Kertelge's explanation of the meaning of \( \text{apistokaluyi} \) in Galatians 1:12, 16 summarises the meaning of the word in an excellent way:

Die Apokalypsis Jesu Christi ist danach die entscheidende, in das Leben des Paulus eingreifende Selbstmitteilung Gottes, wodurch Paulus als dem Offenbarungsempfänger "wahrnehmbar" (und mitteilbar) wird, daß er, Gott, durch keinen anderen das Heil heraufführt als durch Jesus Christus, der sein Sohn ist und der als Grund des Heiles aller auch Inhalt des Evangeliums geworden ist, das der Apostel den Heiden verkündet.

Thus, by describing what happened to him on the road to Damascus as \( \text{apistokaluyi} \) in this sense, Paul is emphasising the importance of this event. From his perspective it was so important that it could rightly be used as the decisive criterion in his struggle against the opponents in Galatia. If one realises this, it also becomes clear why Paul uses the issue of divine authority as the corner stone of his argumentative strategy in Galatians 1 and 2.

217 Burton, Galatians, p. 41.
218 Explorations, p. 68. Note that Silva himself eventually interprets it as an objective genitive.
219 For example, Schlier, Galater, p. 47; and Becker, Galater, pp. 16-17.
220 The following discussion is based on K. Kertelge, "Apokalypsis Jesou Christou (Gal 1,12)", in: his Grundthemen paulinischer Theologie (Freiburg: Herder, 1991), pp. 266-281.
221 This is my translation of Kertelge's "... eher einen bestimmten Anstoß, eine Anregung zum Handeln im Sinne Gottes", See Kertelge, "Apokalypsis Jesou Christou ", p. 53.
224 As Stuhlmacher, Das paulinische Evangelium, p. 68, puts it:
The type of argument Paul uses in verses 11-12 can thus be described as an argument based on the notion of divine authorisation: as he received his gospel from God and not from human beings, it is true. As pointed out in the discussion of Galatians 1:1-5 in Section 1, he uses the same kind of argument there. Yet, some difference in focus can be detected. In the case of Galatians 1:1-5, he claimed divine authorisation for his apostleship, but in Galatians 1:11-12 he links divine authorisation primarily to his gospel. Although the two issues are very closely related, a distinction must be drawn between them – in particular, because the frequent mention of εὐαγγελίων and εὐαγγέλισμαι in verses 6-12 (seven times!) indicates that it is his gospel and not his apostleship that receives the most emphasis in this section. As arguments claiming divine authorisation can be highly effective, they are frequently used and frequently abused. Paul’s claim must therefore be substantiated. He sets out to do so from verse 13 when he recounts events from his life. These events serve as proof of his claim. One could thus state that he uses biography as proof in verses 13ff. in order to substantiate his claims in verses 11-12. In verses 11-12, however, his aim is primarily to highlight the basic notion he wants to convey.

Furthermore, it should also be noted that the statement in verses 11-12 has a bridging function. On the one hand, it summarises and reiterates the human-divine opposition that plays such an important role in the first ten verses of the letter. On the other hand, it prepares the audience for what is coming, and enables them to understand clearly what he wants to prove.

Before paying attention to the way in which Paul relates the events that serve to prove his claim, some of the rhetorical techniques he uses in verses 11-12 in order to enhance the effect of the statement must be noted:

- At the beginning of the statement Paul uses the word γνωρίσω. This is a common disclosure formula in Hellenistic letters and Paul normally uses it to introduce formal assertions (for example, 1 Corinthians 12:3; 15:1 and 2 Corinthians 8:1). In this instance it serves as a marker drawing the audience’s attention to what follows. The direct address, which Paul uses here, ἀδελφοί has a similar function in that it serves as an indication to the audience that something new is introduced.
may even have a conciliatory purpose as Dunn suggests, but this is not absolutely certain.

- The phrase **to; eujaggevlion to; eujaggelisqevn** is an example of **paranomasia**. As I pointed out earlier, "gospel" is a very important word in the first section of the letter. The use of paranomasia is a technique that enhances its perceptibility in this instance.

- In these verses Paul uses **antithetic presentation** similar to that used in Galatians 1:1. In this case the effect would be the same. The **oujk... oujdev... ou[te ... ajllav** structure increases the force of the statement and focuses the attention on the last words in the statement, namely **diÆ ajpokaluvyew* jhsou'Cristou', words containing the important notion he wants to convey.

### 3.3 Galatians 1:13-14: Paul's former life in Judaism

In verse 13 Paul begins to recount events from his life in order to prove the statement in verses 11-12. It is crucial to realise that Paul now uses his biography to substantiate the claim that he received his gospel from God. He does not provide an objective account of his earlier life, but selects only certain events from it, which he presents in such a way as to substantiate his claims. This makes it difficult if one sets out to make a historical reconstruction of Paul's life; but this is not the aim of this study. The emphasis is rather on Paul's rhetorical strategy, which will dominate the discussion of Galatians 1:13ff.

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230 *Galatians*, p. 52.


> Die Änderung, die eine Wortkörper durch eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit, Gleichheit oder Verschiedenheit, durch Änderung von Buchstaben, Häufung der Kasusformen, Bedeutungswechsel und die Änderung der Quantität erfährt.

232 J. A. Fischer, "Pauline Literary Forms and Thought Patterns", *CBQ* 39:2 (1977), p. 213, points out that the repetition of important words is a regular feature of Paul's style:

> [I]t should be noted how these frequently used words tend to be keynotes and spin off into word-chains by synonyms, poems, word-plays and antithetical expressions.

233 Kertelge, "The Assertion of Revealed Truth as Compelling Argument", p. 341, correctly points out that Paul's "historical substantiation" is a substantiation in a restricted sense only, since what Paul tries to prove is "a fundamental event that cannot be grasped in a purely historical sense".


In verses 13-14 Paul describes his former life in Judaism. He mentions two outstanding characteristics of this phase in his life, namely first, the fact that he persecuted and even tried to destroy the "church of God", and secondly, his exemplary life in Judaism. How does recalling these events suit Paul's persuasive strategy? Scholars explain Paul's purpose in several ways:

- Most scholars suggest that Paul's purpose in mentioning these events is linked in one way or another to his attempt to prove the non-human origin of his gospel. Some examples: Lightfoot argues that Paul's purpose is to show that he so staunchly adhered to the principles of Judaism that no person could have changed his views so radically. According to Mussner, Paul wants to show that he was "immune" to any Christian influences before God called him on the road to Damascus. Rohde maintains that Paul wants to prove that he was so antagonistic towards the Christian community that he could not possibly have received the gospel from them.

- Paul's purpose in mentioning these events may also be linked to the current danger in Galatia in that he wants to point out that, at one time in his life, he did more than what his opponents are propagating in Galatia. For example, according to Ebeling, Paul wants to show that he once practised that which his opponents proclaim, with much more rigidity than they could claim, and that he knows the Jewish lifestyle better than they do.

- Verseput opposes the idea that Paul is defending the source of his gospel and the legitimacy of his apostleship in Galatians 1 and 2. In his opinion, Paul's aim is to prove that his non-Jewish mission is an independent work of God, separate from the Jewish church. With regard to verses 13 and 14, he argues that Paul's reason for emphasising the radical nature of his former life in Judaism is to support the legitimacy of his present position, because such a radical reversal could not easily be doubted.

- Gaventa also rejects the idea that the primary function of Galatians 1 and 2 is apologetic and argues that Paul's primary aim is to portray himself as an example or paradigm of the way in which the gospel works. With regard to verses 13-14 Gaventa

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with Hall that Paul's version and that of Acts are equally unreliable. Although Paul's version is heavily influenced by his polemic, it should be given some preference in an historical reconstruction. See Becker, Galater, pp. 19-20, in this regard.


237 Galaterbrief, p. 80.

238 Galater, p. 54.

239 Wahrheit des Evangeliums, p. 104. Note that Ebeling accepts a twofold purpose for this section, the first one being to emphasise God's grace towards Paul. See also K. W. Niebuhr, Heidenapostel aus Israel. Die jüdische Identität des Paulus nach ihrer Darstellung in seinen Briefen (WUNT 62, Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1992), pp. 20-21.


241 Ibid., p. 40.

points out the juxta-positioning of this section and verses 15-17. This emphasises "the bi-
ography of reversal"243 whereby Paul wants to show the kind of response commanded
by the gospel.

According to Smit,244 Paul's main purpose in his letter to the Galatians is to emphasise
the unity between Jews and Gentiles in Christ. He maintains that the autobiographical
section serves the same purpose, namely it presents Paul's life as an example of how
Paul, a Jew, followed the road to the Gentiles in the light of the dawn of the Messianic
era. In this regard the function of verses 13-14 is one of contrast: Paul's zeal for Judaism
serves as a contrast for his current zeal for the Gentiles, as is evident in the rest of the
narrative.245

In order to decide between the various possibilities outlined above, verses 13 and
14 should best be considered in their immediate context. In this regard two aspects deserve
attention. First, the fact that Paul recounts these events directly after verses 11 and 12,
which emphasise the non-human origin of his gospel, indicates that they are related to this
issue. Secondly, the next section (verses 15-17) emphasises the same issue in that Paul
claims that it was God who called him and revealed Jesus to him. Furthermore, the words
used at the beginning of verse 15 (περὶ δὲν δὲ) suggest a contrast between what hap-
pened at his calling and the events narrated in verses 13-14.246 Thus, the first possibility out-
lined above seems to be the correct one. Paul's primary purpose in recounting the events in
verses 13-14 should be linked to the non-human/divine origin of his gospel. Furthermore
verses 13-14 should be viewed as preparatory for what follows in verses 15-17.

To what extent does Paul's version of his former life in Judaism prepare for verses
15-17? It is difficult to determine the exact nuance in this regard. To my mind, a decision
could be made if one were to take into account that the basic antithesis in verses 13-14 is
between Paul as a devout follower of Judaism on the one hand, and the εκκλησία του θεού
(corresponding to the Old Testament idea of the ἡ θεωρία του θεού) on the other hand. As
Mussner247 points out, the emphasis falls on the words τού θεού. In his attempts to be a
faithful and obedient follower of God, Paul was – ironically! - acting against God! To put it
concisely: the basic idea is that of a fanatic Paul against God. This seems to imply that such a
man would never change due to human influence. The only way in which this could happen
was by divine intervention.

Lastly, it is also important to draw attention to two supportive techniques, which
Paul employs in this section:

243 Ibid., p. 315.
pp. 337-362.
245 Ibid., pp. 346, 352-353.
246 So, correctly, D. C. Arichea & E. A. Nida, A Translators Handbook on Paul's Letter to the Galatians
247 Galaterbrief, p. 79.
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• He begins by pointing out to his audience the fact that he is not telling them something new, but that he is only reminding them of something they already know. How they were informed of his former life is uncertain. Perhaps Paul or his opponents told them about it; or, perhaps he merely assumes that they will know about it. In any case, from a rhetorical perspective it is always very effective to use the audience’s knowledge as a building block in one’s argument, as they then feel that their own knowledge confirms what is said to them.

• Paul’s frequent use of hyperbole in this section should be noted. Take note of the following examples: When he describes his persecution of the church he uses the words καὶ ἐπερβολήν, thereby indicating an excess of what would be expected as normal behaviour. Apart from ἐξιδώκων he also uses the word ἐποκρύψαν to describe his activities. This is a very harsh word used to describe his persecution as an attempt to in fact destroy the church. Verse 14 illustrates a similar tendency to exaggerate. He describes his progress in Judaism as προήκοπτον εἰς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπάνω πολλοῦ; συνήλικὼ ἡμῶν — a description not only indicating that he had outdone his contemporaries, but also breathing a strong sense of superiority. He even describes his behaviour as πέρισσοτέρων χρωμάτων ἐπὶ τῶν πατρίκων μου παραδόγειν. Although the words πέρισσοτέρων χρωμάτων do not refer to any Zealot activities, they are a very graphic depiction of someone whose life is dominated totally by his ancestral traditions. To conclude: Paul’s frequent use of hyperbole in this section should be regarded as a supportive rhetorical technique. As this section aims to portray the former Paul as a fanatic who would never have changed had God not intervened, he has to recount his former life in such a way as to convey his total devotion to Judaism forcefully. This explains the frequent use of hyperbole in this section.

3.4 Galatians 1:15-17: Paul called by God

The aim of Paul’s persuasive strategy in this section is fairly clear: he recounts his call on the road to Damascus in such a way that it substantiates his claim in verses 11-12.

248 Dunn, Galatians p. 55.
249 Becker, Galater, p. 17, points out that there must have been a relatively wide known Saul-persecutor-tradition in Christian circles.
250 Longenecker, Galatians, p. 27.
251 See Silva, Explorations in Exegetical Method, pp. 70-72, for a good discussion of the conative force of the two verbs in this verse.
252 L&N 20.37. Niebuhr, Heidenapostel, p. 41, correctly points out that Paul only mentions the fact and intensity of his attempts; the verbs he uses do not denote the methods he employed.
253 Dunn, Galatians p. 59.
254 See the detailed discussion by Niebuhr, Heidenapostel, pp. 26-38.
255 Following K. Stendahl, Paul among Jews and Gentiles and Other Essays (London: SCM, 1977), pp. 7-23, many scholars nowadays refer to Paul’s Damascus experience as a call rather than a conversion, since it did not entail a change of religion. For a different view, see P. F. Craffert, "Paul’s Damascus Ex-
in two ways: first, the notion that it was God who called him dominates the account, and secondly, he claims that he did not consult "flesh and blood" after it happened. In terms of content, both issues are important and as such are sufficient, compelling evidence that he did not receive his gospel from human beings, but from God. Nevertheless, Paul phrases both aspects of this argument very precisely for maximum persuasive effect.

With regard to the first part of the argument, the core of Paul's claim is that whatever happened during his Damascus experience must be described as revelation: God revealed his Son to him\(^{256}\) \(\text{αποκαλύψεως τον υπνον αυτου εν εμοί,}\) so that he may proclaim his Son to the Gentiles.\(^{257}\) The significance of the concept "revelation" was discussed earlier in this section, and it therefore suffices to mention that the portrayal of this experience as revelation places it in a special category of events, thereby serving as full proof that he received his gospel from God and not from men.\(^{258}\) Furthermore, it should be noted how this effect is enhanced by the fact that Paul employs typical Old Testament words and concepts – in particular, from the prophetic tradition – to describe this event. Take note of the following examples:

- Although \textit{eὐδοκησέν} was a popular Hellenistic word, Paul's usage of it corresponds to the usage of the term in the LXX and other Jewish Greek writings.\(^{259}\) He uses the word to describe his Damascus experience in terms of a typical Old Testament concept,
namely that his call was based on the sovereignty of God’s graceful decision towards human beings.261

• The words ἀφορίσα, reflect another very important concept in the Old Testament, namely the notion of God’s separation of people/things for his service. The word ἀφορίζω is used in the LXX for a number of Hebrew words denoting the idea of separation.262 One of these is the word מָצָא which from the term Pharisee is derived.263 As Schlier indicates, the fact that Paul uses this word identifies his calling as “heilige Beanspruchung und Vorherbestimmung”.

• The rest of verse 15 also echoes Old Testament usage – in particular, the language used in prophetic literature. The following comparison indicates how Paul’s description of his call is influenced by notions found in Deutero-Isaiah and Jeremiah:

Galatians 1:15:

οอาจารισα' me ek kollia' mhtrov mou kai; kaleva' dia; th' camito' au-

του

Isaiah 49:1 (LXX):

ek kollia' mhtrov mou ekavesen to; φοναμου.

Jeremiah 1:5 (LXX):

προ; tou' me playai se eh kollia/epistamaise

kai; pro; tou' se ekelqehn ek mhkra' hgiaka se, prothn el; eignh
teqelkave.

• Paul’s description of the task entrusted to him may even reflect notions from prophetic literature. In this regard, Hübner points out that Paul’s words ιγα euaggelizwmai aujto; ejn toi` eignesin should be seen as parallel to Isaiah 49:6 (ιδου; teqelkave eij
diaqzhkhn gemou' eij f w' eignh tou'eihalwe eij swthriam eψ' eψcavou th' gh').

This notion is also found in Jeremiah 1:5 (quoted above).

From the discussion thus far it is clear that Paul’s version of his Damascus experience is not an objective version of what happened to him. He is not merely stating what happened; he is arguing! By applying typical Old Testament words and, in particular, the words of the great prophets, to his life, he is not only conveying the notion that God called


261 Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 81, cites the following examples: 1 Samuel 12:22, Psalm 39:14 and 67:17 (LXX).

262 K. L. Schmidt, "אפיריז" TDNT 5, pp. 454-455, mentions approximately ten different Hebrew words in this regard.

263 Perhaps Paul intended a word pun with his former life as Pharisee, but, as Bruce, Galatians, p. 92, and Rohde, Galater, p. 60, point out, his audience would hardly have detected it.

264 Galater, p. 53.

265 See F. Wilk, Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus (FRLANT 179, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), pp. 292-296, for a more detailed discussion of these "evidente Anspielungen" to Isaiah 49 and 42. Wilk detects a "wahrscheinliche Anspielung" to Isaiah 52:10 in Galatians 1:16, too (p. 299).

266 Biblische Theologie, pp. 61-62. See also R. E. Ciampa, The Presence and Function of Scripture in Galatians 1 and 2 (WUNT 2.102, Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1998), pp. 117-118.
him, but also portraying himself as equal to these prophets.  

Thus, Stenger is correct when he maintains that Paul's primary purpose in these verses is to "legitimise" ("legitimieren") his gospel.

The second part of Paul's argument refers to his actions immediately following his Damascus experience. The core of this part of his argument is that he did not consult "flesh and blood" after his call, but, that he went to Arabia. Thus, Paul's claim in verses 16c-17 is another manifestation of the God-human antithesis underlying his persuasive strategy from Galatians 1:1 onwards. In terms of this strategy the fact that he did not consult human beings after his call serves as an excellent substantiation of the divine origin of his gospel. (Take note that, in terms of this antithesis, contact with Jerusalem is linked to the human side in the God-human antithesis!)

Attention should also be devoted to the careful way in which he structures verses 16c-17. In the first place, the difference between the sentence structure in verses 15-17 and that in the rest of Galatians 1:11-24 should be pointed out. With regard to sentence structure in the New Testament, the usual distinction can be summarised as that between paratactic and hypotactic sentence structure. In the former case, a series of ideas are formulated in such a way that each is presented as a single, complete idea followed by the ensuing complete idea. This type of sentence structure dominates Galatians 1:12-24 (verses 15-17 are the exception). In the case of hypotactic style, the various ideas are connected by conjunctions to express a certain relationship or hierarchy between the various ideas.

As such, one idea may receive more emphasis than another. This is the case in verses 15-17. Note how the use of the hypotactic sentence structure results in the main verbal clause (underlined) being "kept back" until the end of verse 16:

{Ote de; eudowkhsen »oJ qe;» oJ ajforivsa me ejk koiliva mhtrov mou kai; kalew; dia;th; capito aju; apokalyai ton upn aju; epi eijmoi i;»a euggelismwmai aju;on ep to;» ednesin, eugew ouj prosaneqevmhn sark;:kai; aima.}

267 Hübner, Biblische Theologie, p. 61, argues that Paul is in fact presenting himself as superior to Isaiah, but, to my mind, it is difficult to prove that this is what Paul intends.
269 Apparently Paul is using a technique that was used often in early Christianity to prove apostolic/prophetic authority. See Becker, Galater, p. 19, in this regard.
270 See, for example, BDR §458, who use slightly different words, namely "anfügend" and "periodisch/abgeschlossen".
271 Ibid., §438.
272 I refrain from calling verses 15-17 a period as Becker, Galater, p. 19, does, since it is not really a period in the classical sense of the word. (BDR §464 point out that true artistic periods are not found in the Pauline literature.)
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This sentence structure emphasises the main verbal clause, because the first part of the sentence ὀτε δὲ alerts the audience to the fact that the main idea is still outstanding, and they will therefore have to "wait" until it is finally mentioned. Accordingly, the focus of attention is shifted to the idea in the main verbal clause, namely εὐχέρεως οὐ προσανέχθη σάρκι καὶ αἷμα. Furthermore, the fact that Paul uses antithetic presentation causes the focus of attention to immediately shift forward. Paul's claim that he did not consult flesh and blood would immediately elicit a response from the audience such as: "If he did not consult flesh and blood, what did he do then?". This effect is intensified by the use of the word εὐχέρεως, implying that something else took place "immediately". Accordingly, the focus shifts to the next statement, namely οὐ δὲ ἀποστόλου, as this statement is also formulated negatively, the focus of attention is moved forward to the next statement which – at last! – is formulated positively: ἄλλα ἀφίησθαι ᾄραβι. (Note that the οὐ, οὐγείων, άλλαv structure used here has a similar function as those in Galatians 1:1 and 1:11-12, namely to emphasise the positive statement.) Accordingly, we may speak of a double focus of attention in verses 15-17: Paul emphasises two aspects: first, the fact that he did not consult flesh and blood following his Damascus experience, and, secondly, the fact that he immediately went to Arabia.

This usually leads to the question: Why did Paul go to Arabia? There are basically two potential answers. Some scholars suggest that Paul went to Arabia to withdraw from human beings and/or have spiritual communion with God. It appears that this suggestion, which was popular in earlier days (it was advocated by scholars such as Lightfoot276 and Burton277), has lost its attractiveness in modern times. Nowadays it is only seldom accepted, for example, by Rohde278 and Wright.279 Most scholars prefer the other possibility, namely

273 So correctly indicated by Becker, Galater, p. 19.
274 According to Dunn, Galatians, p. 67, the word prosaneqemhn denotes "to consult in order to be given a skilled or authorative interpretation". Thus, Paul claims that the significance of the revelation was immediately clear to him.
275 Thus euγεiow modifies not only one/both negative clauses, but also the affirmative clause. See Bruce, Galatians, p. 94; and Rohde, Galater, p. 60.
276 Galatians, p. 62.
277 Galatians, pp. 55-58.
278 Galater, pp. 62-63.

he might be conceived of as doing what a puzzled, newly commissioned prophet might do, complaining (like Moses, Jeremiah, and others) that he is not able to undertake the work he has been assigned. (Quotation from p. 687.)
that Paul went to Arabia to preach the gospel.\footnote{For example, M. Hengel & A. M. Schwemer, \textit{Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien. Die unbekannten Jahren des Apostels} (WUNT 108, Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1998), pp. 175-179; Bligh, \textit{Galatians}, p. 135; Betz, \textit{Galatians}, p. 74; Lührmann, \textit{Galater}, p. 27; Bruce, \textit{Galatians}, p. 96; and Becker, \textit{Galater}, p. 19.} The brevity of Paul's statement makes it difficult to decide – in particular, as "Arabia" has various connotations: desert, Mount Sinai (see Galatians 4:25), or simply the Nabatean kingdom.\footnote{The last one seems to be the correct option. See J. Murphy-O'Connor, "Paul in Arabia", \textit{CBQ} 55:4 (1993), pp. 732-737.} This makes it difficult in this case to outline Paul's rhetorical strategy in detail. The only aspect of his rhetorical strategy that is certain is that he understands the events in "Arabia" to be the opposite of "consulting" human beings and going to Jerusalem. In other words, in Paul's opinion, the fact that he went to "Arabia" serves as proof of the divine origin of his gospel; his taking one of the other two options would have implied that his gospel was of human origin.

Any further reconstruction of the way in which Paul uses his visit to Arabia as argument is based on speculative historical reconstruction. As pointed out above, this speculation is twofold:

- Perhaps he went to Arabia to preach the gospel. In this case, the fact that he does not mention the purpose of his visit can be explained in two ways. Perhaps he assumes that this will be obvious to his audience, as he just stated in verse 16 that the purpose of the revelation to him was ἐκ μετανοίας ἀναπτύσσομαι ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἔντεκνος. If this is indeed the case, the fact that he does not foresee that this would not be obvious to the audience should be considered as a weak point in his rhetorical strategy. Another possible explanation is that he went to Arabia to preach, but that his missionary work was not successful.\footnote{E. Haenchen, \textit{Die Apostelgeschichte} (KEK 3, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1961, 13. Auflage), pp. 281-282.} If this is the case, Paul would be reluctant to mention the purpose of his visit.

- The second possibility is that he went to Arabia for another reason, namely to withdraw from human beings or for religious contemplation. If this is the case, his stay in Arabia only functions as a contrast in that it represents contact with God \textit{versus} contact with other Christians/Jerusalem. If this is the case, the fact that he does not state this explicitly must be considered as a weak point in his rhetorical strategy.

My own speculation tends to favour the last option. If Paul had gone to Arabia to preach the gospel, this fact would have been such a powerful argument that it is highly unlikely (or a case of extreme "sloppiness" in his rhetorical strategy) that he would not have mentioned it explicitly. As his argument in Galatians 1 reads now, he mentions his missionary activities in verses 21-24 for the first time – that is only after his first contact with Jerusalem (his visit to Peter). The fact that this weakens his argument regarding his independence of Jerusalem suggests to me that his reason for not mentioning the purpose of his visit to Arabia was that his purpose was not preaching, but something else.
Lastly, a very subtle part of Paul's strategy in verse 17 should be noted. When he mentions that he did not go to Jerusalem, his statement is formulated as follows: oujde; aηnhlqon eij` Jerosovuma pro; tou; pro; ejmou` apostovlou". Rather than stating "I did not go to Jerusalem to the apostles", Paul mentions that he did not go to "Jerusalem to those who were apostles before me". Whereas the first statement would leave his own position undefined, the second one makes it clear that he should also be regarded as an apostle with a status similar to that of the apostles in Jerusalem. Although they were called to be apostles before him, he was an apostle just like them. Thus, in a very subtle way Paul is reiterating the claim already made in 1:1: he is an apostle called by God and therefore equal to the other apostles.

3.5 Galatians 1:18-20: Paul's first visit to Jerusalem

In this section Paul turns to his first visit to Jerusalem. In terms of the rhetorical situation in Galatians, his relationship to Jerusalem was a very sensitive issue, as it is almost certain that his opponents claimed that their gospel was backed by the authority of Jerusalem.283 Because of this and as a result of the importance of Jerusalem in early Christianity, Paul cannot – and probably does not want to – ignore it in his argument. In any case, he cannot possibly ignore Jerusalem as he has visited it twice at the time of writing the letter. However, in Paul's persuasive strategy, Jerusalem does not have the same function as in his opponents' strategy. In their opinion, the fact that they could link (or, at least, tried to link) their authority to Jerusalem must have been one of the cornerstones in their persuasive strategy. In Paul's argument, this strategic place is occupied by another argument, namely the divine origin of his gospel. Accordingly, Jerusalem must play a different role in his argument. This was obvious in the previous section. In verses 15-17 he pointed out that his immediate reaction after his call was to go to Arabia rather than to Jerusalem - which would have been the obvious thing to do.284 For him the fact that he did not go immediately to Jerusalem serves as proof that his gospel was of divine origin. Thus, in the previous section Jerusalem is used in a contrastive way to emphasise the divine origin of his gospel. In verses 18-20 his rhetorical strategy is more or less similar. His aim is to recount his first visit to Jerusalem and his contact with Peter in such a way that it cannot in any way weaken the important notion of the divine origin of his apostleship.285 This is achieved in the following way:

- Paul emphasises the long period of time between his call and his first visit to Jerusalem. He went to Jerusalem for the first time only in the third year286 after his call. 287 This

284 Ebeling, Wahrheit des Evangeliums, p. 108.
285 See Suhl, "Galaterbrief", p. 3095, who correctly emphasises the "apologetische Tendenz" in this section.
286 The words meta; e[th triva must be understood as inclusive ("in the third year" and not "after three years"). See Longenecker, Galatians, p. 37.
is not merely a chronological indication. It serves an argumentative purpose, since, for Paul, the considerable length of time between his call and his first visit to Jerusalem serves as an indication that he did not need any authorisation from Jerusalem.

- Paul describes the purpose of his visit to Jerusalem as ἰστορήσαι Κήφαλ. Unfortunately the fact that ἰστορήω is a hapax legomenon in Pauline literature (and in the New Testament) makes it difficult to pinpoint the exact nuance of this word, and this has led to a difference in opinion. Most scholars claim that the word means "to get acquainted with" (German: "kennenzulemen") without any connotation of getting information from someone.288 This is disputed by Dunn289 who argues that the word usually includes the idea of "finding out about or from", and maintains that this notion distinguishes ἰστορήω from ὁράω in verse 19. However, Hofius's290 well-substantiated analysis of the way in which ἰστορήω is used in classical literature and in literature contemporary to the New Testament tips the scale favours the first possibility.291 Furthermore, one should guard against ignoring the distinction between what in fact happened when Paul visited Peter – or "Cefas" as he usually calls him292 – and his rhetorical strategy when he recounts the events to the Galatians. From a historical perspective, it is inconceivable that he would not have spoken to Peter about issues such as his Damascus experience, Jesus or the gospel. This aspect is rightly emphasised by Dunn.293 However, these actual events should not be confused with Paul's rhetorical strategy when he uses this part of his biography as an argument in order to convince the Galatians. Whatever really happened during his visit to Peter disappears behind the word ἰστορήω which is deliberately chosen to minimise any notion that he went to Jerusalem in order to have his gospel sanc-

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287 It is not certain whether μετα; ἐφ τρίῳ should be read from his Damascus experience or from his return to Damascus. Due to the importance of the Damascus events in Paul's life, the first option seems to be the best. See Lietzmann, Galater, p. 8; and Schlier, Galater, p. 58. Furthermore, from the fact that Paul uses the length of time as argument, it is to be expected that he would attempt to make it as long as possible. This also seems to be applicable in the case of the "fourteen years" of Galatians 2:1.

288 For example, Burton, Galatians, p. 59; Lietzmann, Galater, p. 9; Mussner, Galaterbrief, pp. 94-95; and Rohde, Galater, p. 65.


291 See also Vos, Die Kunst der Argumentation, p. 102 note 63, in this regard.

292 See Galatians 1:18; 2:9, 11, 14 and 1 Corinthians 1:12; 3:22; 9:5; 15:5. The only exception is Galatians 2:7-9. Thus, it seems to have been Paul's habit to call him Cefas, and therefore one must be careful not to read too much into this, for example, as Lührmann, Galater, p. 35, does, who maintains that Paul deliberately avoids the name Peter, because he does not want his Greek-speaking readers to be reminded of its association with πέτρα.

293 "Relationship", p. 465. So also Longenecker Galatians, p. 38.
tioned by or to learn from Peter or the other apostles. He maintains that his only purpose was to go to Jerusalem to get acquainted with Peter. Thus, this word in effect portrays his first visit to Jerusalem as that of one apostle visiting another apostle as his equal with no other purpose than to get acquainted. Accordingly, the rhetorical effect of this word is only understood correctly if one realises that it was chosen to suppress other notions such as Paul being taught by/receiving tradition from/being authorised by Peter.

• **Paul mentions the length of his visit:** fifteen days. Although much can be achieved in fifteen days, it seems that Paul intends to contrast this relatively short period with the much longer "three years" mentioned earlier in this verse, thereby suggesting the impossibility of the notion that he received his gospel from Peter during this visit. As Bornkamm puts it:

> Von einem spät nachgeholten Katechumenat und missionarischen Schnellkursus bei Petrus kann also nicht die Rede sein.

• **Paul denies that he saw another apostle, except James,** during this visit. The way in which he structures this sentence makes it unclear whether he includes James among the apostles. In any case, Paul emphasises that he hardly had any contact with any other important bearer of tradition in Jerusalem during his short stay. The only exception was James, but his contact with him was limited to "seeing" (ἐιδὼν) – even less than the ἠτορήθαι which he uses to describe his stay with Peter.

• **Lastly, Paul uses a solemn oath to emphasise the trustworthiness of his account:** 

> α] de; γράφω υμίν, ἐγὼ ἡμῶν τοῦ ἀγίου οὗτος οὐ μεινω

An oath is a very powerful rhetorical device and the fact that Paul uses it in this instance may be an indication that his version of his visit to Jerusalem is controversial. By using an oath, Paul is doing his utmost to convince his audience of the fact that his version of his first visit to Jerusalem (substantiating the basic notion of the divine origin of his gospel) is indeed correct. Of course, due to its powerful effect, an oath can easily be abused to disguise a lie as a di-

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294 So, rightly, Dunn, *Galatians* p. 73. See also Kremendahl, *Die Botschaft der Form*, p. 74.
297 The most natural way to understand Paul's words is that James is included among the apostles. For good discussions of this issue, see Lightfoot, *Galatians*, pp. 84-85; Burton, *Galatians*, p. 60; Bruce, *Galatians*, pp. 100-101; and Rohde, *Galater*, p. 67. Should one decide that Paul does not include James among the apostles in this instance, it does not imply that he considers him to be of a lower status than the apostles, as is evident from his use of the word τόν αγίον τοῦ κυρίου.
298 See J. P. Sampley, "Before God, I Do Not Lie' (Gal 1.20). Paul's Self-Defense in the Light of Roman Legal Praxis", *NTS* 23:4 (1977), pp. 477-482, for a good discussion of the effective way in which oaths were used in Roman courts.
299 It is not certain which part of the text is covered by the oath, but it is at least certain that the part immediately preceding it (verses 18-19) is included. See Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 96; Sampley, "Paul's Self-Defense", pp. 481-482; and Lührmann, *Galater*, p. 35.
vinely sanctioned truth. However, in this case, this possibility is ruled out by the context: as a God-fearing apostle Paul would surely not use an oath falsely. In fact, within the religious context in which Paul uses the oath, it presupposes that God will punish anyone who uses it falsely. Its use will therefore enhance his credibility and demonstrate his honesty.

3.6 Galatians 1:21-24: Paul's missionary work

Scholars’ opinions differ regarding the aim of this section. According to Ebeling, it should be viewed as only a "Nachtrag" used to conclude the first part of Paul's biographical account. On the other hand, Verseput, who argues that Paul's aim in Galatians 1 and 2 is to safeguard the independence of his mission, considers this section to be the climax of Paul's argumentation! To my mind, both views are incorrect. In this section Paul still follows the same rhetorical strategy as in the previous verses, namely to prove that his gospel is of divine and not human origin. His version of his missionary work in the period following his first visit shows this in two ways:

First, he emphasises that he had no contact with Jerusalem during this time. As pointed out earlier in this section, Paul associates contact with Jerusalem with the notion of the human origin of his gospel. Therefore, in terms of this strategy, the absence of any contact with Jerusalem will substantiate his denial that he received his gospel from human beings. He is doing precisely that in verses 21-22. In verse 21 he indicates that he went to Syria and Cilicia after his visit to Peter, implying that he was far away from Jerusalem, its leadership and tradition-bearers during this time, and that, accordingly, he could not have received his gospel from them. In the next verse he emphasises that he remained unknown to the churches of Judea. This description of the churches of Judea (tai ekkleis th Joudaia) includes the church in Jerusalem. By emphasising that he remained unknown to these churches (including Jerusalem), Paul thus affirms that he had no contact with them at all. Take note that the periphrastic construction (mhn de; agnooumeno) emphasises duration: he continued to remain unknown to them during this period.

Secondly, he points out the reaction of the churches in Judea (including Jerusalem!) to his missionary work during this period. The emphasis falls on verse 24: kai; epowazon eph einoi ton geou. During this long period the churches in Judea continued to hear of his mis-

301 Anderson, Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul, p. 150. It is important to bear the warnings in the Old Testament (for example, Leviticus 19:12) in mind, too.
302 Wahrheit des Evangeliums, p. 111.
304 Schlier, Galater, p. 63; and Bruce, Galatians, pp. 103-104.
305 Mussner, Galatierbrief p. 98; and Dunn, Galatians, p. 80.
306 The use of the periphrastic construction is similar to that in the previous verse. See Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 99.
sionary work and they glorified God because of him. In terms of Paul's strategy, the fact that these churches glorified God for his missionary preaching serves as proof that they thereby acknowledged that God was behind it. In order to understand Paul's strategy, it is important to distinguish between acknowledgement and authorisation. To link his gospel to the authority of the churches of Judea would be disastrous in this rhetorical situation, because a similar claim was made by his opponents. To point out that its divine origin was acknowledged by the churches in Judea is different, since God is still regarded as the primary source of authority behind Paul's gospel. If they changed their minds at a later stage, this does not affect the divine authorisation of his gospel.

It is also worth noting how carefully Paul chooses his words in verses 23-24. The message that reached the churches of Judea is formulated as follows: ὁ διώκων ἡμᾶς ποτὲ εὐαγγελίζεται τὴν πίστιν ἧν ποτὲ ἐπορεύει. Two aspects deserve attention:

- The words used by Paul to describe his former life are exactly the same words used in verse 13 (διώκων and ἐπορεύει). In this way he suggests that he was (and still is) trying to establish the same church and gospel, which he persecuted earlier. His message was not something new or different, but the same gospel held by the churches of Judea before he was called.

- For the first time in the letter Paul uses the key word πίστις. Until now the object of the word ἐφοροῦμαι has been formulated in various ways, namely: proclaiming something that differs from what Paul proclaims (Galatians 1:8); proclaiming something that differs from what the Galatians received (Galatians 1:9); proclaiming the gospel (Galatians 1:11); and proclaiming Jesus Christ as God's Son (Galatians 1:16). Now for the first time it is linked to the notion of faith in the striking phrase "proclaiming the faith". In this way Paul introduces the concept of faith, one of the most important concepts in his subsequent argument. Take note of the clever way in which he introduces the concept. According to verses 23-24, the churches of Judea were glorifying God for the fact that he was proclaiming "the faith". According to Paul's version of that period in his life, the churches of Judea were glorifying God then for the fact that he was proclaiming "the faith" – a message similar to the one he still proclaims now in this letter!

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307 The phrase ἐπὶ ἐφοροῦμαι indicates Paul as the ground or basis of the praise. See Longenecker, Galatians, p. 42.
308 Betz, Galatians, p. 81, rightly points out that, if Paul's opponents derived from these churches, Paul had a good point in that their current behaviour contradicted their earlier behaviour.
309 This fact speaks against the view of E. Bammel, "Galater 1:23", ZNW 59 (1968), pp. 108-112, who maintains that verse 23 is actually a quotation ("eine verschüttete Quelle aus der Urgemeinde" – p. 112) from the Judean churches themselves. It is more likely that Paul presents the report in his own words.
310 Longenecker, Galatians, p. 42.
311 "Faith" is used in this instance in an objective sense. Schlier, Galater, p. 63, puts it as follows: (E)n tweder 'der Messiasglaube als Heilsweg' oder die Glaubensbotschaft als objektive Macht.
3.7 Conclusion

From this discussion it is evident that Paul's rhetorical strategy in this section is dominated by what was identified as an argument based on the notion of divine authorisation. In verses 11-12 the basic claim is presented to the audience by means of a concise thematic statement. Several rhetorical techniques were identified, namely the use of a disclosure formula, direct address, paranomasia and antithetic presentation. In verse 13ff. Paul substantiates his claim in verses 11-12 by recounting events from his life that serve as proof that he did receive his gospel from God. Thus he uses biography as proof in 1:13ff. The events he recounts serve to substantiate his claim, because they focus in one way or another on the decisive role God played in Paul's life.

In the case of verses 13-14 it seems as if Paul recounts his former life in Judaism in such a way that he can convey the notion that someone as fanatic as he was, could only have been changed by divine intervention. Two supportive techniques used by him in this section were also identified, namely reminding them of something they already know and hyperbole.

In verses 15-17 he recounts his call on the road to Damascus in such a way that it substantiates his claim in verses 11-12 in two ways: first, the notion that God called him dominates the account, and secondly, he claims that he did not consult "flesh and blood" after it happened. Several supportive rhetorical techniques were identified, namely the fact that he employs words from the prophetic tradition to describe what happened to him, the use of hypotactic sentence structure, and antithetic presentation.

His first visit to Jerusalem (verses 18-20) is recounted in such a way that it cannot weaken the notion of the divine origin of his gospel in any way: he emphasises the long period of time between his call and the visit; he describes the purpose of his visit as merely ἡστορήσας ἑαυτὸν; he mentions the relatively short duration of the visit; he denies meeting any other bearer of the tradition except James, and he emphasises the trustworthiness of his account by means of an oath.

In verses 21-24 he recounts his missionary work in such a way that he conveys two notions to the audience, namely that he had no contact with Jerusalem during this time, and that the churches in Judea reacted by acknowledging that God was behind his work. Paul's skilful choice of certain words (διώκων, ἐπορεύει and πιστίς) was also highlighted.

4. Phase Four: Galatians 2:1-10: Recounting his second visit to Jerusalem in order to prove the acknowledgement of the content and origin of his gospel by the authorities in Jerusalem

In this passage Paul recounts events from what later became known as the Jerusalem conference.312 One should not view this account as an objective historical account of the

312 Most scholars agree that Paul refers to the events narrated in Acts 15. For a different view, see Longenecker, Galatians, pp. lxii-lxxxviii.
events in Jerusalem. The rhetorical situation is similar to that of Galatians 1:13-24: his own recollection and interpretation of events from his past are used as proofs with the situation in Galatia in mind. This makes it notoriously difficult to reconstruct the "real" historical events, in particular, in the light of the differences between Paul's version in this instance and that in Acts. However, this is beyond the scope of this study. This study aims to determine the argumentative purpose of this passage in terms of the overall rhetorical strategy which Paul follows in his letter. Thus, despite all the interesting historical issues in this passage, the discussion will focus primarily on the dominant persuasive strategy in this section.

In order to understand the argumentative function of this passage, one should take note of the fact that there is a slight change in Paul's rhetorical strategy in this passage compared to that in the previous passages. As pointed out, the main purpose of his strategy thus far was to persuade his audience of the divine origin of his gospel, without devoting much attention to the content of his gospel. This changes in Galatians 2:1-10. In this passage he devotes considerably more attention to the content of his gospel. However, this does not imply that he neglects the other issue, namely the divine origin of his gospel/apostleship. Both are important and to a large extent, interrelated. Accordingly, the purpose of Paul's argumentative strategy in this passage can be summarised as an attempt to prove that both the content and the origin of his gospel were acknowledged by the authorities in Jerusalem. In order to outline this strategy, the following three issues deserve further scrutiny:

- the shift towards the content of his gospel in this passage;
- Paul's continued emphasis on the divine origin of his gospel/apostleship, and
- his ambivalence towards Jerusalem.

The first issue, namely the shift towards the content of his gospel in this passage, is obvious from the following aspects:

- In the description of the purpose of his visit it is evident that the emphasis has shifted to the content of his gospel, as he describes the purpose of his visit as follows: καὶ ἀνετείκνυσθαι τοῖς ἐφηγευμένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑγνήσεως – a clear indication that the issue was the content of his gospel.
- After the introduction in verses 1-2 in which he tells when he went to Jerusalem, who accompanied him, what prompted him to go, what the purpose of his visit was, and what his feelings were, he moves to the outcome of his visit (verse 3). Significantly, the

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313 See, for example, how Paul himself becomes the main character in this version whereas Barnabas is marginalised, as Taylor, "Paul's Apostolic Legitimacy", p. 73, points out.


315 The only exception is Galatians 1:23 where he introduces the concept "faith" for the first time.

316 So correctly noted by Vos, Die Kunst der Argumentation, p. 104; and Smit, "Paulus, de galaten en het joodisme", p. 347. The way in which Verseput and Bligh view the purpose of this passage is not acceptable. According to Verseput, "Paul's Gentile Mission", pp. 41-52, Paul's purpose is to prove the independent legitimacy of his mission among the Gentiles; and, according to Bligh, Galatians, p. 173, this passage is mainly preparatory for the next section, and therefore subordinated to it.
first thing he mentions in this regard is the fact that Titus was *not* circumcised in Jerusalem – an issue that forms part of the content of his gospel. At first glance, Paul's statement may seem out of place, as the audience would rather expect him to recount in more general terms whether "those who were held in repute" judged his gospel positively or negatively. However, the fact that he immediately emphasises the fact that Titus was not forced to be circumcised indicates the importance of this issue for his persuasive strategy. This fact implies that the question whether non-Jews must be circumcised or not when they become Christians was one of the major issues in the debate between Paul and his opponents, as the content of his gospel apparently differed from theirs in this respect. However, Paul is able to provide a very forceful argument in this regard when he visited Jerusalem for the second time, he was accompanied by an uncircumcised non-Jewish Christian who was *not* forced to be circumcised. In this way, the *content* of his gospel is the focus of the attention – in particular, the fact that, among other things, he proclaims that non-Jews do not need to be circumcised when they become Christians. The way in which he recounts the events in Jerusalem indicates that he claims that this was acknowledged even in Jerusalem despite pressure from some people to have Titus circumcised.

- In verses 4 and 5 Paul uses two important concepts to emphasise the content of his gospel. The first concept is ἡ ἐλευθερία. The notion of freedom in Christ is one of the important concepts in Paul's gospel. Although he does not describe the freedom in exact terms, the contrast with the attempts of the false brethren to enslave them ἀνακυκλώσειν (verse 5) suggests that he refers to freedom from the law.

- The second concept Paul uses in verses 4-5 to highlight the content of his gospel is ἡ ἀλήθεια του εὐαγγελίου (verse 5). This expression describes the nature of his gospel,
namely that it is truthful/reliable, and this includes the idea that its content is true. As Kertelge323 points out, the truth of Paul's gospel is factually based on its content, namely that it is the gospel of Jesus Christ. Within this context, the truth of the gospel is viewed in terms of the antithesis between the insistence that Titus should be circumcised and Paul's staunch resistance in this regard, thus implying a very close relationship between not being circumcised and the truth of the gospel.

• The content of Paul's gospel is again explicit in verses 6 and 7, in which he recounts how his gospel was acknowledged by the Jerusalem leaders when they reached an official agreement.324 In verse 6 he claims that they did not add anything (οὐδὲν προσανέγγειντο) to his gospel — a clear indication that they were satisfied with its content. In the next verse the content of his gospel is again evident when he calls it to εὐαγγέλιον ἀκροβυστία (the gospel of uncircumcision) compared to that of Peter which is called the gospel τῆς περιτομῆς. Paul's choice of words, as well as the contrast between his gospel and that of Peter, indicate the important place the content of his gospel still receives in terms of his rhetorical strategy. In passing, it should be noted that the way in which Paul makes room for Peter's "gospel of circumcision", and apparently views it as on a par with his own gospel, can be regarded as a weak point in his rhetorical strategy since this leaves room for several counter-arguments.325 The fact that Paul has to do this may reflect the uneasy compromise reached in Jerusalem.

From the above discussion it is clear that Paul devotes considerably more attention to the content of his gospel in this passage. As pointed out above, this is mentioned several times in strategic places in this passage. In particular, the content of his gospel is related to the notion that non-Jews need not be circumcised when they become Christians.

The second issue is that of Paul's continued emphasis on the divine origin of his apostleship/gospel. As indicated earlier, this issue dominated his rhetorical strategy in Galatians 1. In this regard two crucial notions, which he wishes to convey to the audience, have been identified, namely that he was called by God to be an apostle, and that he received his gospel from God. Although he devotes more attention to the content of his gospel in this passage, he does not neglect the divine origin of his gospel/apostleship. This is evident from the following two issues:

323 "The Assertion of Revealed Truth", p. 347. See also Lührmann, Galater, p. 38:
Es geht um die Identität des Evangeliums als Konsequenz seines Inhalts, den Paulus in der Antithese von Gesetz und Glaube begreift.

Burton, Galatians, p. 86, identifies the genitive as a possessive genitive, meaning "the truth is the truth contained in, and so belonging to, the gospel."


325 See, for example, the discussion of the implications of this distinction by Schütz, Paul and the Anatomy of Apostolic Authority, pp. 149-150.
• His emphasis that he went to Jerusalem \textit{kata\,apokaly\,yn} (verse 2). Although he now attaches a wider meaning to the word \textit{apokaly\,yn} than in 1:12,\textsuperscript{326} this assertion nevertheless places his second visit to Jerusalem in the same category as his call.\textsuperscript{327} Although it is not exactly clear which kind of revelation Paul refers to here,\textsuperscript{328} the important notion which he succeeds in conveying is that of himself as someone who acts in accordance with God's plans. This idea is closely related to his earlier insistence on the divine origin of his apostleship/gospel. Furthermore, it is also important to take note how the effect of this statement is enhanced by the syntactic structure used. He uses a concise parenthetic sentence (only four words!) to convey this information to the audience.\textsuperscript{329} This enhances the forcefulness of this statement.\textsuperscript{330}

• The way in which Paul describes the reason for the decision made by the Jerusalem leaders. In this regard three aspects in verses 7-9 deserve attention as they serve to reinforce the notion of the divine origin of Paul's apostleship/gospel. First, in verse 7 he mentions that the leaders saw \textit{(\textit{g},\textit{out} \textit{e} \textit{v})} that he had been \textit{entrusted} with the gospel of uncircumcision. The word \textit{pepist\,eumai} is a common Pauline expression and stresses the divine origin of his gospel, or, as Schlier\textsuperscript{331} puts it, "die Unveräußerlichkeit des Evangeliums als göttlichen Besitz und zugleich sein Hergabe an den Apostel". Secondly, a similar idea is formulated in the parenthesis in verse 8: the same One who had empowered Peter had also empowered Paul. The fact that Paul uses a parenthesis here can be interpreted in two ways. Either it could be intended to provide further information as to the insight reached by the Jerusalem leaders, or it can be seen as a comment from Paul's own perspective as he now looks back at the insight reached by the Jerusalem leaders; thus confirming the correctness of their insight. The last interpretation seems more likely. In any case the basic idea is that the divine origin and empowering of his ministry is emphasised. Thirdly, in verse 9 a roughly similar idea is expressed yet again, as Paul con-

\textsuperscript{327} Betz, \textit{Galatians}, p. 85.
\textsuperscript{328} Dunn, \textit{Galatians}, p. 91, mentions the following possibilities: a prophecy, a vision, a dream, or a God-given conviction.
\textsuperscript{329} See the analysis of Galatians 2:1-5 by Boers, \textit{The Justification of the Gentiles}, pp. 59-60.
\textsuperscript{330} Anderson, \textit{Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul}, p. 150. The forceful effect of such brief statements has been recognised since antiquity. See, for example, Demetrius, \textit{Eloc.}, 241: "Length paralyses intensity, while much meaning conveyed in a brief form is the more forcible" (as translated in the Loeb Classical Library). In modern theory R. H. Stacy, \textit{Defamiliarization in Language and Literature} (Syracuse: University Press, 1977), p. 61, explains it as follows:
\begin{quote}
What might ordinarily be a single self-enclosed statement is sometimes broken up, by the extraction of a phrase which is made to stand independently as a sentence fragment, into two separate elements... This is a very obvious retarding device. (Thus focusing the audience’s attention on this statement – D.F.T.)
\end{quote}
\textsuperscript{331} Galater, p. 76.
continues with the sentence that he started in verse 7: "gnōnte thn caurin thn dōgeišaw moi." He points out that the Jerusalem leaders recognised the divine grace bestowed upon him. Although he does not mention his divine calling explicitly, he seems to imply this in this expression.

Thus, although Paul devotes considerably more attention to the content of his gospel in this passage, he does not neglect the notion of the divine origin of his apostleship/gospel.

The third issue to be considered is what I would call Paul's ambivalence towards Jerusalem. In the discussion of his rhetorical strategy in Galatians 1:18-20 (his first visit to Jerusalem) I pointed out that Jerusalem does not have the same function in Paul's persuasive strategy as in that of his opponents. In their opinion, the fact that they could link (or, at least, tried to link) their authority to Jerusalem must have been one of the cornerstones in their persuasive strategy. In Paul's argument, however, this strategic position is occupied by something else, namely the divine origin of his gospel. Accordingly, in Galatians 1 Jerusalem plays a different role in his argument, since he uses the limited contact he had with Jerusalem as an argument in favour of the divine origin of his gospel. In Galatians 2:1-10 his relationship to Jerusalem is once again the focal point, and Paul treats Jerusalem argumentatively in a roughly similar way as he did in Galatians 1. However, an interesting development can be detected in this section in the way he grapples with the authority of the Jerusalem church. This could be summarised as a "yes, but... strategy" or, as I described it above, his ambivalence towards Jerusalem.

On the one hand, he finds it impossible not to acknowledge Jerusalem's authoritative position in Christianity, and he in fact tries to use this position to his own advantage. On the other hand, he tries his utmost to present an alternative perspective on Jerusalem's "authority" – a perspective that suits his own persuasive strategy better.

The first issue (that Paul finds it impossible not to acknowledge Jerusalem's authoritative position) may be indicated several times in this passage. The mere fact that he spends so much time discussing his second visit to Jerusalem (ten verses; the longest passage devoted to one event thus far) is in itself a clear indication that he acknowledges Jerusalem's position in Christianity. Furthermore, the fact that the decision of the Jerusalem leaders (verses 6-10) is very important to him is obvious from his detailed account thereof. In verse 9 the description of James, Cefas and John as στυλοι is indicative of the way in which Paul perceives them, since this honorific epithet (similar to that found in Judaism) indicates an ac-

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332 According to Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 109, "i̇fōν v e" (used in verse 7) denotes the "apprehension of the outward tokens of his commission, as evinced by his successful labours", whereas "gnōnte e" indicates the "conviction arrived at in consequence that the grace of God was with him", but this distinction seems artificial.

333 Burton, Galatians, p. 95; Becker, Galater, p. 25; Bruce, Galatians, p. 121. For a different interpretation, see Longenecker, Galatians p. 56.

334 Stowasser, "Konflikte" p. 65, refers to a "zweispältige Eindruck von Jerusalem als Autorität und Nicht-Autorität".
knowledgement of their authority. Paul's point, of course, is that these leaders did not add anything to his gospel and acknowledged the divine origin of his apostleship.

Paul's acknowledgement of the authority of Jerusalem also seems to "slip out" in verse 2 when he states that he submitted his gospel to the leaders in Jerusalem.\footnote{Betz, \textit{Galatians}, p. 99 (footnote 404); and Mussner, \textit{Galaterbrief}, p. 120. See R. D. Aus, "Three Pil- lars and Three Patriarchs: A Proposal Concerning Gal 2:9", \textit{ZNW} 79:3-4 (1979), pp. 252-261, for a discussion of the possible Jewish background of this concept.} Scholars do not agree on the meaning of this clause. The syntactic construction which Paul uses (\textit{mhn} followed by the subjunctive) indicates fear,\footnote{See J. H. Moulton, \textit{A Grammar of New Testament Greek. Vol III: Syntax} (by N. Turner), (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1963), p. 99; M. Zerwick, \textit{Biblical Greek. Illustrated by Examples by Maximillian Zerwick S.J. English Edition Adapted From the Fourth Latin Edition by Joseph Smith S.J.} (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1994), §344; and BDR §370.2 ("Gefühl der Besorgnis"). Burton, \textit{Galatians}, pp. 73-75, provides an excellent discussion of the clause.} and, taken at face value, Paul is in fact saying that he submitted his gospel to the Jerusalem leaders fearing that his mission work thus far would prove to be in vain. Since such an admission seems to contradict or even undermine his argument in this section, scholars often interpret the clause differently. Some deny that this clause expresses fear and understand it as an accusation made by the false brethren\footnote{For example, Mussner, \textit{Galaterbrief}, p. 103, interprets it as an indirect question, and maintains that Paul was not in the least in doubt, and merely wanted to obtain official confirmation ("offiziell festgestellt wissen") that he was right.} or see the fear expressed in this instance as a theoretical possibility only;\footnote{Rohde, \textit{Galater}, p. 77.} others admit that Paul expresses fear, but links his fear to other issues, for example, his concern that his opponents may thwart his efforts to establish a church based on a liberal basis;\footnote{Lightfoot, \textit{Galatians}, p. 104.} his concern for the unity of the church;\footnote{Bruce, \textit{Galatians}, p. 111; and Longenecker, \textit{Galatians}, p. 49.} his concern for the continued existence of the non-Jewish churches;\footnote{Becker, \textit{Galater}, pp. 22-23.} or the present concerns of the Galatian Christians and his opponents in Galatia.\footnote{Betz, \textit{Galatians}, p. 88.} To my mind, the clause should be interpreted in accordance with the normal usage of this syntactic construction, thus implying that Paul submitted his gospel to the leaders in Jerusalem, because he was afraid that his missionary work would be proven fruitless if they were to reject his gospel. In other words, he is in effect stating that Jerusalem's acceptance of his gospel was absolutely vital to the success of his missionary work, thereby assigning a role to Jerusalem which he in fact denies in terms of his argumentative strategy in the rest of this passage (see the discussion below). However,
the fact that this admission seems to "slip out" is a weak point in his persuasive strategy and a perfect illustration of the pressing rhetorical situation in which he finds himself, \(^{344}\) namely that the acceptance of Jerusalem's authority is a given reality which he must accept.

The other side of this issue is the way in which Paul tries to present an alternative perspective on the authority of Jerusalem. This is best summarised as an attempt to convey the notion that God has the final authority in this matter – a fact implying that Jerusalem has *limited* authority only. This side of Paul's strategy in this passage underlies several of his statements. For example, the fact that he mentions that his second visit only took place after fourteen years \(^{345}\) suggests that he had been proclaiming his gospel for *many years* independently of Jerusalem before submitting it before the Jerusalem authorities. Furthermore, the fact that he emphasises that he went to Jerusalem *kata; apokavluyin* suggests not only that he was not summoned by them, \(^{346}\) but also that he himself saw no need to visit Jerusalem a second time or obtain permission of the authorities.

In this regard, the way in which Paul uses the concept *

\(^{344}\) J. Murphy-O'Connor, "To Run in Vain (Gal 2:2)", *RB* (2000) 107:3, p. 388, argues that it is unlikely that Paul would have made such a mistake, and, instead, proposes that Paul uses it as a rhetorical trick, "a conscious literary sleight of hand carefully designed to hoist the intruders with their own petard". However, to my mind, this wrongly presupposes that Paul primarily had the opponents in mind as addressees of the letter.

\(^{345}\) It seems best to calculate the fourteen years from Paul's Damascus road experience and not from his previous visit to Jerusalem. See P. Klein, "Zum Verständnis von Gal 2:1. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Chronologie des Urchristentums", *ZNW* 70:3-4 (1979), pp. 250-251.

\(^{346}\) Rohde, *Galater*, p. 76.

\(^{347}\) *Galatians*, pp. 157-158. These are: 1. They seem to be (and are); 2. They seem to be (and are not); 3. They think they are (and are); 4. They think they are (and are not); 5. They are thought to be (and are); 6. They are thought to be (and are not); 7. They are regarded as; 8. They are held in regard; 9. They are famous; 10. They are powerful; 11. They are rulers.

\(^{348}\) For example, Lietzmann, *Galater*, pp. 9-10; and Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 109.


\(^{350}\) Suhl, "Galalterbrief", p. 3096.

\(^{351}\) For example, Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 152.

\(^{352}\) For example, Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 49.
stand the nuance in this instance. Verse 6 provides a clearer indication – not from the use of the concept dokouhte", but rather from the way in which Paul combines it with other ideas:

\[
\text{apodet\wokouht\woneihai\wv\ -\ oiboiwpote\ h\san\ ou\wei\ moi\ dia\ evei:\ pros\ wpon\
\wokouht\a\\phi\wone\ ou\j\lamb\we\i\ -\ epoi\gar\ oljdokouhte\ ou\wei\ prosaneqento...}
\]

In this verse any positive associations, which the audience may have linked to the concept dokouhte", are relativised in two ways. First, as Lightfoot\(^{353}\) points out, the addition of ei\ai\ tiv adds a "tinge of disparagement". Furthermore, the parenthesis (a technique used to alert the audience to the content of the statement) puts any notions of eminence that may be associated with the leaders in Jerusalem into perspective: whatever one's position in life may be,\(^{354}\) God is the One who has the final authority, and he does not judge by external appearance.\(^{355}\) In other words, when human authority/honour is compared to that of God, human authority fades – to such an extent that Paul can even state in this regard: ou\wei\ moi\ dia\ evei.\(^{356}\) This emphasis reflects Paul's strategy in this passage rather well, as he links his apostleship and gospel primarily to God and not to the dokouhte" in Jerusalem. This statement therefore serves as a very effective way to relativise their authority.\(^{357}\) In verse 9 Paul uses the word dokouhte" again, but this time it has a more positive meaning than in verse 6.

From the discussion thus far it has become clear that what Paul mentions about Jerusalem in this section is dominated by two issues. On the one hand, he finds it impossible not to acknowledge the authoritative position Jerusalem occupies in Christianity. On the other hand, he wishes to convey the notion that God is the One who has the final authority in any matter. However, it is very important to ask the question: which of these two issues is awarded the decisive role (from Paul's perspective, of course!)? The way in which he structures the verses that describe the outcome of his visit provides the answer.

\[
\text{alla; touphantivn idomte\ o\i\ pepisteumai to; eu\ggevion th' akrobustia',
ka\wef\ Pe\kro\' th' peritomh\' o\jgar epargh\we\i\ Per\wmi\'i\ apostolhn th' peri-
tomh' epargh\we\n kai\i\ epoi\eif\ t\a; eg\weh, kai\i\n n\we\nme\i\ th\n k\a\wef th\n doqei\am\\\m\oi,}
jak\\we\n\\\o\i; kai; K\i\f\\a\i; kai; j\\we\n\weh', o\i\j dokouhte' stu\lo\i\ e\\\i\ai, dexion\ ep\\\we\k\\\\a; kai;i\n B\\\wa\na\k\\\\a; k\i\n\\we\\\\a;...'}
\]

The two participial constructions (underlined) are used in a causal way and (together with the parenthesis in between) provide the reason for the reaction of James, Cefas and

353 Galatians, p. 103.
354 It is not certain what Paul has in mind when he uses the words pot e h\san, but they probably refer to the status of the leaders during the conference. See Betz, Galatians, p. 95, for a good discussion. B. Haesler, "Sprachlich-grammatische Bemerkungen zu Gal. II 6", ThLZ 82 (1957), p. 394, correctly points out that one cannot use this statement for drawing any conclusions as to what their status was or whether they still were alive when Paul wrote the letter.
355 E. Lohse, "proswpo\\hmyia", TDNT 6, p. 780, explains the meaning of the idiom used in verse 6 as follows: "God is a judge who cannot be corrupted and who has no regard for persons." Anderson, Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul, p. 152, describes Paul's usage in this instance as an example of a kekrimevnon (usage of an opinion that is commonly accepted in order to prove a point).
356 See Betz, Galatians pp. 94-95, for a good discussion of the doctrine of adiaphoron in antiquity.
357 So, correctly, Arzt, Bedrohtes Christsein, p. 172.
John, namely their *insight into the divine origin of Paul's gospel/apostleship*. Because they realised the divine origin of Paul's gospel/apostleship, they reached an agreement with Paul and Barnabas. Thus, Paul wants to convey the notion that they did not *approve* his gospel as if they had the final authority on this matter. They only *acknowledged* the fact that he was used by God. Once again, his point is that the final authority in this matter rests with God. Thus, one can state that he attempts to convey two important notions to the audience in this regard. The first notion is simply that the authorities in Jerusalem acknowledged his apostleship and gospel – a very powerful argument: the last time he visited Jerusalem the leaders acknowledged the divine origin of his gospel. The second notion can be summarised as follows: if one must choose between obeying the authority of God and that of the authorities of the church in Jerusalem, one must obey God. In Paul's rhetorical strategy these two notions are combined into an uneasy tension, thus leading to his ambivalence towards Jerusalem. On the one hand, he wishes to use the prominent place Jerusalem occupies in Christianity to his own advantage, whereas on the other hand, he wishes to safeguard himself against his opponents' claims that their views are backed by Jerusalem.

Now that Paul's overall rhetorical strategy in this section has been outlined, it is necessary to draw attention to other issues in this section:

- Paul uses a very interesting rhetorical technique in this section: he recounts events that happened in Jerusalem a long time ago in such a way that they are linked to the situation in Galatia. This happens in two instances:
  
  First, in verse 5 he explains the reason for his action as follows: *ινα ἡ ἁγιάσματα του ἀγγέλου διαμείνῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς*. By adding the last two words, he attempts to convey the impression that his fight against the false brethren for the truth of the gospel in Jerusalem was, in fact, aimed at the current situation in Galatia!
  
  Secondly, the way in which Paul *vilifies* the "false brethren" in this section should also be noted. The words he uses carry rather negative overtones. He describes them as *γεωδαδεψευτοι* who infiltrated *παρεισάκτου* the meeting in Jerusalem, and spied on their freedom (*κατασκοπήσαι*) in order to enslave them (*...ινα ἡμᾶς κατα-*)

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358 Strictly speaking, Paul's apostleship is not mentioned directly in this passage, but as it received so much emphasis earlier, the audience will undoubtedly associate the divine origin of his gospel with the divine origin of his apostleship.

359 This discussion is limited to aspects that could have been important *rhetorically*. Therefore, the following exegetical issues are not discussed: if the usage of "Peter" instead of Paul's usual "Cefas" is significant; if Paul is quoting from an official document in verse 7ff.; if the fact that James is mentioned first in verse 9 is significant; and why the word *ἀποστολή* (verse 8) is only used in respect of Peter and not Paul. To my mind, these aspects are so subtle that the audience would have missed their rhetorical significance (if any).

360 It would be possible to interpret the "our" in verse 4 *(θαυμα τευχερίας ἡμῶν)* as including the Galatians, but from the rest of the sentence it is clear that it is the "false brethren" who tried to enslave "us", and this excludes the Galatians, as another group was active in Galatia.
The notion which Paul wishes to convey in this instance is roughly similar to the one identified in Galatians 1:7, namely that they are insincere and have evil motives. What did the "false brethren" do to deserve this description? They wanted Titus to be circumcised – one of the matters which Paul's opponents were encouraging in Galatia. In other words, by vilifying the false brethren in Jerusalem Paul is indirectly vilifying those who preach similar things.

The rhetorical technique Paul uses in both cases above may be called *making past events transparent for the situation in Galatia*.

- Paul's use of *metaphors* in this section should also be noted. In a sense, most of what is said in religious discourse is metaphorical, but in this rhetorical study the focus falls on the use of metaphor as a rhetorical technique. One can identify two instances in this section. In verse 2 Paul uses a metaphor from athletic imagery (*μὴ ψωπέω εἰς κενὸν τρέων ἡμῶν ἐγκαίμισα*), thereby conveying possible failure in a very graphic way. In verse 4 he uses the metaphors freedom/slavery for the first time in the letter: *ὁμογένειας παραχθεὶν τὴν εὐεργείαν ἡμῶν ἡμᾶς ἐξόμοιον ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα ἡμᾶς καταδουλώσωσιν.* The freedom/slavery metaphors will play a key role in Paul's argument in the rest of the letter, and represent an excellent choice. By using them, he succeeds in reducing the choice between his gospel and that of his opponents to a very simple option, and simultaneously succeeds in portraying the gospel of his opponents as something very undesirable.

- The way in which Paul describes his own actions once the agreement was reached (verse 10) should also be noted. According to his version, the only condition was that he and his party should continue to remember the poor. He then adds: *οὔτως ἐπούσασα ἑαυτῷ τὸ ποιῆσαι.* These words portray Paul as a man who keeps to his side of an agreement. The fact that he *eagerly pursued* to fulfil his promise also indicates that he is a honourable man. It should also be pointed out that, if the Galatians themselves had contributed to this collection in the past, this would serve as further evidence to them that he was accepted by Jerusalem.

- A more difficult question to answer is whether the two *anacolutha* in this passage are rhetorically significant. The first one is found in verses 4-5 in which the subject and main verb are absent. In order to complete this sentence scholars have made various suggestions, the best of which being to repeat *ἡδογκασαμένος* (used in verse 3) at the beginning of verse 4. The second anacoluthon is found in verse 6 where Paul begins a new sen-

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362 The "poor" are primarily the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem. See Longenecker, *Galatians*, pp. 60-61, for a good discussion.


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tence, interrupts it with a parenthesis, and then restarts the sentence in a different way. Are these anacolutha accidental or intended to have a special effect on the audience? Perhaps the best way to answer this question is to acknowledge that it is impossible to determine whether Paul uses them intentionally, since the anacolutha in his letters normally seem accidental365—as F. W. Farrar366 pointed out more than a century ago. However, even though one cannot be certain that Paul uses the two anacolutha on purpose, one can try to establish their possible effect on the audience, as this does not depend on their being used intentionally. In this respect two possibilities can be mentioned. In antiquity it was speculated that the use of anacolutha helped to portray the speaker as a person who speaks earnestly from his heart.367 In modern research another possibility has been raised, namely that the possible effect of an (intentional or unintentional) anacoluthon is that the grammatical irregularity may elicit the audience’s attention, and focus his/her attention on the content of the sentence.368

The two anacolutha in this passage could most probably have had this effect on the audience. If this is the case, the first anacoluthon would focus their attention on the poor behaviour of the false brethren in Jerusalem (similar to that of his opponents in Galatia!), and the second one on the fact that the leaders in Jerusalem did not add anything to his gospel.

To conclude: I have argued that Paul's dominant rhetorical strategy in this section can be summarised as "recounting his second visit to Jerusalem in order to prove the acknowledgement of the content and origin of his gospel by the authorities in Jerusalem". Compared to the previous sections, he now devotes more attention to the content of his

tion of circumcising Gentile converts was first raised” to the end of verse 5. J. B. Orchard, "The Ellipsis between Galatians 2,3 and 2,4", Bib 53 (1973), pp. 469-481, argues that verses 4 and 5 do not refer to the situation during Paul’s visit to Jerusalem, but to the current situation in Galatia, and suggests that verse 4 should be understood as follows:

But the whole present upsetting and distressing affair is because of the interference of the false brethren (p. 481).

However, this seems rather unlikely. A. C. M. Blommerde, "Is There an Ellipsis between Galatians 2,3 and 2,4?", Bib 61:1 (1975), pp. 100-102, argues that there is neither an ellipsis between verses 3 and 4 nor an anacoluthon in verse 6, but that Galatians 2:2-9 is one long period overloaded with parenthetic clauses. However, as J. B. Orchard, "Once Again the Ellipsis between Gal. 2,3 and 2,4", Bib 57 (1976), pp. 254-255, points out, his "proposed syntactic tour-de-force” is not convincing.

365 For examples of other anacolutha in Paul’s letters, see Romans 5:12ff.; 15:23ff.; 1 Corinthians 9:15; 2 Corinthians 5:6ff. and 7:8ff.

I do not reckon anakolouthon, or unfinished construction, among St. Paul's figures of speech, because his numerous anakolutha are accidental, not rhetorical. They are due to his eagerly pressing forward with his subject... Perhaps the nearest approach to a rhetorical anakolouthon in St. Paul is Gal ii.6; 2 Thess. ii. 3, 7.

367 Hermogones, Id 2:7.
368 See Stacy, Defamiliarization in Language and Literature, p. 61:

Intentional anacolutha (like unintentional ones) can, by disrupting the syntax, alert the reader or complicate or retard his perceptive processes and introduce an element of discontinuity.
gospel without neglecting the divine origin of his gospel/apostleship. Three characteristics of Paul's rhetorical strategy in this section were highlighted and discussed, namely the shift towards the content of his gospel; a continued emphasis on the divine origin of his gospel/apostleship, and his ambivalence towards Jerusalem. Several of the rhetorical techniques he uses were also identified, namely the use of concise statements, making past events transparent for the situation in Galatia; vilification; the use of inclusive language; the use of metaphor, and (possibly) the two anacolutha. Lastly, two weak points in Paul's rhetorical strategy were also pointed out, namely the use of the expression mhv pw" ἔφεκεν τὸ πρᾶγμα in verse 2, and the fact that he leaves room for the notion that there may be two different versions of the gospel, one for the Jews and one for the non-Jews.

5. Phase Five: Galatians 2:11-21: Recounting his version of the incident at Antioch in order to show how he stood firmly for the "truth of the gospel"

Before discussing Paul's rhetorical strategy as he recounts his version of the incident at Antioch, it is important to indicate the line of thought in this section, as Pauline exegetes hold different views in this regard.

In verse 11 Paul begins with a short summary of what happened in Antioch: some time after the content and origin of his gospel had been acknowledged by the authorities in Jerusalem, he opposed Peter to his face, because Peter stood condemned before God; all right-thinking people would have realised that he acted wrongly, or he

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370 Instead of ἐπείδα used in 1:18, 21; 2:1, Paul uses ὀτε ἐδώκιν 2:11, which is best translated as "but when", thus striking "a note of discontinuity" (Martyn, Galatians, p. 231). Wechseler, Geschichtsbild, p. 297, who points out that Paul uses ὀτε several times in Galatians when "jeweils adversativ ein Umschwung des berichteten Geschehens eingeleitet wird", discusses Paul's use of this word in Galatians 2:11 in detail (pp. 297-305) and shows that the most natural way to interpret it seems to be that the Antioch incident followed the events at Jerusalem (contra Lüdemann). See also Bligh, Galatians, pp. 178-180.

371 This is the meaning of κατὰ προσώπον. See L&N 83.83; and BDAG(prōswpon).

372 Schlier, Galater, pp. 82-83, mentions several possibilities (reprehensibilis, reprehendus, reprehensus, accusatus), but opts for "condemnatus in dem Sinn, daß ihm sein eigenes Verhalten selbst verurteilt hatte." This interpretation is also favoured by Ligthfoot, Galatians, p. 111; Burton, Galatians, p. 103; and Bruce, Galatians, p. 129.

373 Mussner, Galaterbrief, pp. 138-139; and Longenecker, Galatians, p. 72.
should have known that his own conscience condemned him. As Wechseler points out, the earlier use of a passivum divinum (2:7, 9) seems to tip the scale in the direction of the second interpretation but this is not absolutely certain. In any case, it is clear that Paul uses the word to portray Peter’s actions in an extremely bad light.

In verses 12-13 Paul provides more information. According to verse 12, Peter had been eating regularly with the non-Jewish members of the Christian community in Antioch, but withdrew and separated himself when certain individuals from James arrived, because he feared "those of the circumcision". Paul’s account is so brief that several matters are unclear: the exact relationship between James and the people who arrived in Antioch; the nature of the meals which Peter shared with the non-Jewish Christians, and the identity of "those of the circumcision" of whom Peter was afraid.

With regard to the first issue, the nature of the relationship between the people who arrived in Antioch and James, the text does not provide sufficient information to make a final decision. As Mussner points out, ejêlîh can be linked syntactically either to tînâ" or to apò; tînâ". In the second instance, the emphasis on James is somewhat stronger, although it is not certain whether the people who arrived in Antioch were an official delegation from James. Accordingly, some exegetes speculate that these people just arrived in Antioch without being sent formally by James, whereas others view them as an official delegation from James. The fact that Paul explicitly mentions the name of James, as well as the fact that Peter seems to have listened to these people, tip the scale in favour of viewing this group of people as being officially linked to James. They were most probably sent by James to address the developments in Antioch. However, it should be pointed out that there is no evidence in the text that they formed part of the group of people in Jerusalem whom Paul calls "false brothers" in 2:4-5.

With regard to the second issue, the nature of the meals which Peter shared with the non-Jewish Christians, scholars generally choose between the following options: the meals referred to were either the Lord’s Supper or ordinary meals, or both. Once again, no

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374 Dunn, *Galatians* p. 117.
375 Ibid.
377 Galaterbrief, p. 139.
378 For example, Rohde, *Galater*, p. 107.
380 Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 73.
381 The use of the imperfect suggests that this had been Peter’s habit for at least a while. See Burton, *Galatians*, p. 104; and Betz, *Galatians*, p. 107.
384 For example, Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 232.
clear picture can be gained from the text. However, the fact that the Lord's Supper consisted of a complete meal makes a particular choice for either the Lord's Supper or ordinary meals unnecessary.\footnote{Dunn, \textit{Galatians}, p. 119; and R. Jewett, "Gospel and Commensality: Social and Theological Implications of Galatians 2:14", in: L. A. Jervis & P. Richardson (eds.), \textit{Gospel in Paul. Studies on Corinthians, Galatians and Romans for Richard N. Longenecker} (JSNT.S 108, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), p. 248. See also Esler, \textit{Galatians}, pp. 93-116, for a sociological perspective in this respect.} In any case, the main issue is clear: the difference in opinion had to do with the issue of \textit{koinôfagía}: the Jewish purity requirements that had to be observed irrespective which meals were involved.\footnote{Betz, \textit{Galatians}, p. 107.} Thus, as Jewett\footnote{Jewett, "Gospel and Commensality", p. 249. See also C. Böttrich, "Petrus und Paulus in Antiochien (Gal 2,11-21)"}, \textit{BTthZ} 19:2 (2002), pp. 230-233, for a good discussion of the importance of table communion in Judaism.\footnote{R. Jewett, "The Agitators and the Galatian Congregation", \textit{NTS} 17 (1971), pp. 198-212. See also Longenecker, \textit{Galatians} p. 74; Witherington, \textit{Grace in Galatia}, p. 156; and J. Muddiman, "An Anatomy of Galatians", in: S. E. Porter, P. Joyce and D. E. Orton (eds.), \textit{Crossing the Boundaries. Essays in Biblical Interpretation in Honour of Michael D. Goulder} (BIS 8, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), p. 263.} Thus, as Jewett\footnote{Galatians, pp. 236-240.} describes it, the problem was the issue of "commensality across cultural lines" – something that had become a regular feature of the church in Antioch.

With regard to the third issue, the identity of "those from the circumcision", the Greek expression \textit{oiJ ejk peritomh`} could be interpreted in two ways, namely as referring either to non-Christian Jews or to Jewish Christians. Some scholars interpret the phrase as referring to non-Christian Jews, for example, Jewett\footnote{As Wechseler, \textit{Geschichtsbild}, p. 333, puts it: Petrus fürchtet sich also vor Christen, genauer vor Judenchristen und konkret vor den Jakobusleuten. See also Rohde, \textit{Galater}, p. 106.} who interprets the phrase as referring to zealot Jews in Judea who were antagonistic towards other Jews who had Gentile sympathies and who were thus putting pressure on the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem in this regard. However, it seems more probable that the words \textit{oiJ ejk peritomh`} refer to Jewish Christians. Who were these Jewish Christians of whom Peter was afraid? Martyn\footnote{Wechseler, \textit{Geschichtsbild}, p. 334.} discusses this matter in detail and argues that the words \textit{oiJ ejk peritomh`} are a technical term referring to a specific party in the Jerusalem church, the so-called circumcision party, who demanded consistent and universal separation from non-Jewish Christians. However, the only evidence that he provides for this interpretation of \textit{oiJ ejk peritomh`} is his interpretation of Acts 11:2. Thus, to my mind, these words should be interpreted as referring to Jewish Christians in general, and in this specific instance, primarily to the people from James\footnote{Wechseler, \textit{Geschichtsbild}, p. 334.} who had apparently succeeded in convincing the Jewish Christians in Antioch not to share meals with non-Jewish Christians. Apparently Peter was afraid of them in the sense that he could lose his prominent position as missionary to the Jews.\footnote{Wechseler, \textit{Geschichtsbild}, p. 334.}
In verse 13 Paul describes what happened further: the other Jewish Christians – simply denoted as οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι – as well as Barnabas followed Peter's example. Their action is described as συνυποκρίνομαι and ὑποκρίσιμος. These words have a negative connotation and are used to indicate an action whereby people give an impression of having certain purposes and motivations, whereas in reality they have quite different ones. The words imply that Peter and the other Jewish Christians acted in one way, but they actually believed something else.

In verse 14 Paul uses a metaphor to continue the negative description of the conduct of Peter and the other Jewish Christians: οὐκ ὑποποδοῦσιν πρὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀλήθειας τοῦ εὐαγγελίου. The word ὑποποδέω – a hapax legomenon in the New Testament – is used to describe their actions in a metaphorical way as those of people who were not walking on the right road towards the truth of the gospel.

Paul begins his response to Peter by reproaching him for the fact that, although he was not living like a Jew (Ἰουδαῖος) himself, he was compelling non-Jewish Christians to live like Jews (Ἰουδαίοι). The significance of the two words is roughly similar, indicating someone who "customarily practises Jewish patterns of behavior" and therefore potentially indicating any of a large range of degrees of assimilation to the Jewish lifestyle. In this context the two words most probably refer to forcing non-Jewish Christians in Antioch to partake in common meals prepared in accordance with the Jewish dietary laws.

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392 See L&N 88.227: "to pretend, to act hypocritically, pretense, hypocrisy". In German the best translation would be "heucheln". See the detailed discussion by Wechseler, Geschichtsbild, pp. 336-343. It seems best not to overemphasise the "original meaning" of the words as Martyn, Galatians, p. 234, does when he states that Paul saw in them "actors reciting lines written by someone other than themselves", since the word had been used for some time in the more general sense of "to create a public impression that is at odds with one's real purpose or motivation" as indicated in BDAG (ὑποκρίσιμος).

393 It is difficult to pinpoint the exact meaning of the word. Three possible meanings have been suggested: "to walk straight or upright", "to make straight for the goal" or "to be on the right road". Each one of these is accepted by some scholars, but most scholars seem to prefer either the second or the third option. For example, the second option is preferred by Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 144 ("Sie gehen nicht auf dem geraden Weg [geradewegs] auf die Wahrheit des Evangeliums zu"), and the third option by G. D. Kilpatrick, "Gal 2.14. ὑποποδοῦσιν", in: W. Eltester (Hrsg.), Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag (BZNW 21, Berlin: Töpelmann, 1954), p. 274. Wechseler, Geschichtsbild, pp. 343-348, provides a very good interpretation of the word:

Sie befanden sich nicht nur auf einem Umweg und sie "erwischten" nicht nur die falsche Abzweigung (um etwa auf anderen Wege wieder zurückzukommen), sondern sie bewegten sich im Endeffekt in Gegenrichtung.

394 For a discussion of the concept "truth of the gospel", see the discussion in part 4 of this chapter.

395 Longenecker, Galatians, p. 78, distinguishes between the two words as follows: Ἰουδαίος means "to become a Jew", and Ἰουδαίοι means "to live like a Jew".

396 L&N 41.32.

397 Dunn, Galatians, p. 129.
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It is not exactly certain how verses 15 and 16 are structured syntactically. Some scholars take verses 15 and 16 as one unit, thus viewing it as a complex period. It would also be possible to view verses 15 and 16a as one syntactic unit, and 16b (kai;jetai ...) beginning a new syntactic unit. However, the best option appears to be the one proposed by Eckstein, namely to view verse 15 as a separate syntactic unit, a so-called nominal sentence, with eijóte beginning a new syntactic unit. In the nominal sentence in verse 15 Paul introduces the typical Jewish perspective on humanity, according to which humankind can be divided into two groups: Jews and non-Jews, the last group being described as apóartwloiv—a word which had come to function more or less as a terminus technicus for Gentiles. This distinction serves as the background for verse 16, a rather complex sentence. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the emphasis falls on kai;jetai:even we (being Jewish) believed in Christ Jesus.

Verse 16 can be divided into four parts:

• A causal phrase (16a):
  eijóte »de;¼ o{ti ouj dikaiou`tai a[nqrwpo ejx e[rgwn novmou e;n mh;dia; pístew »jhsou Cristou...

• Main sentence (16b):
  ...kai;jetai eij Criston jhsou episteusamen

• Final clause (16c):
  ...i{na dikaiowhmen e;j pístew Cristou'kai;ouj ek ef gwn novmou

• A causal phrase (16d):
  ...o{ti ejx e[rgwn novmou ouj dikaiowhsetai pása savx.

The first word Paul uses in the causal phrase (verse 16a) is eijóte—a reference to common knowledge shared by all Christians—at least from Paul's point of view. According to this shared knowledge, there is only one way a human being can be justified, not by works of the law (ek ef gwn novmou), but through belief (dia; pístew »jhsou'Cristou). Modern scholars interpret the three concepts introduced by Paul in verse 16, in various ways. This extensive debate will not be repeated here, because, although the way in which one interprets these concepts could have an important effect on the way in which one under-

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398 For example, Schlier, Galater, p. 88; Suhl, "Galaterbrief", p. 3099; and Dunn, Galatians, pp. 131-133.
399 T. Zahn, Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater (KNT 9, Leipzig: A. Deichertse Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1905), p. 120, mentions this possibility, but rejects it.
402 Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 15, calls it "gemeinsame Grundüberzeugung" and "Konsens".
403 eja;n mhv best understood in this instance in the sense of a "but" excluding the previous option. See Bruce, Galatians, p. 139; and Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 115. Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 21, translates it as "sondern vielmehr" or "sondern allein". W. O. Walker, "Translation and Interpretation of eja;n mhv Galatians 2:16", IBL 116:3 (1997), pp. 515-520, discusses this issue in detail and argues convincingly that the phrase should be translated as follows: "... a person is not justified except through faith in Jesus Christ" (p. 517).
stands Paul's theology, it does not really have an effect on the way in which one understands his rhetorical strategy in Galatians. Accordingly, I shall explain briefly how I understand these three concepts.

When using the concept *justification*, Paul obviously refers somehow to the salvation which God bestows upon human beings. However, the exact nuance he has in mind is in dispute and is being debated *ad infinitum*. To my mind, scholars who emphasise the forensic-juridical and soteriological-eschatological aspects in their interpretation of this concept, are correct. Thus, when human beings are justified by God, it means that they are acquitted by God, thereby receiving eschatological salvation.

The phrase εὐγενήμονει could be interpreted merely as meaning "actions prescribed by the law", but it seems more likely that Paul employs it in a wider sense to refer to an entire religious system. Thus – to use Eckstein's distinction – not merely *Gebotserfüllungen*, but *Toraobservanz*:

Paulus denkt bei den εὐγενήμονει offensichtlich nicht nur an die konkreten Einzeltaten der Gebotserfüllung, sondern an die grundsätzliche Bejahung und umfassende Befolgung der ganzen Torah, die sich in Haltung und Tun konkretisierende Toraobservanz.

Although there may have been other views on the relationship between "works of the law" and justification in contemporary Judaism (as E. P. Sanders indicates), Paul does not seem to share this view. He uses it to refer to a religious system according to which one had to do the works of the law in order to gain God's favour.

In the case of the phrase διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, scholars interpret the phrase as referring either to the belief of Jesus Christ (i.e. the faithfulness of Jesus Christ or his faithful death on our behalf) or to belief in Jesus Christ. Although both interpretations are grammatically possible, the fact that Paul explicitly refers to believing in Christ Jesus in the very next phrase (ἡμεῖς εἶμι Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν εἰπτευθαμένον) indicates

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405 See, for example, Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, pp. 16-17.

406 Bruce, *Galatians* p. 137. See also Schlier, *Galater*, p. 91.

407 *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 25.

408 Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 23. See also Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 169, who describes it as "ein religiöses Prinzip".


412 For example, Longenecker, *Galatians*, pp. 87-88.

413 For example, Martyn, *Galatians*, pp. 251, 275-277; and Witherington, *Grace in Galatians*, pp. 179-180.
that the phrase πιστεύω Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ should be interpreted in the same way. In the main clause (verse 16b) and the final clause (verse 16c) he introduces no new concepts, but repeats the important concepts (justification, works of the law and belief in Christ) several times.

Paul concludes this sentence with a reference to Psalm 142:2 (LXX), which he modifies in three ways: 1. The words ἐνώπιον σου are omitted; 2. The words πᾶς ἐν ἑννεάκοινοι are changed to πᾶσα σάλων, and 3. The words ἐξ ἐγκνώμονοι are added. These changes make it difficult to state with absolute certainty that Paul is in fact quoting Psalm 142:2, but it seems to be his intention at least to "echo" this verse.

Verse 17 raises several problems. One of the important issues is whether the condition is real or unreal. Several scholars, among whom Mussner, argue that it should be viewed as an unreal condition. However, this cannot be accepted for two reasons: First, if Paul intended the condition to be unreal, it is likely that he would have used the particle ἀ- as he does in 3:21. Secondly, if the condition were unreal, then the answer in verse 17b would not have been μὴ γενόμενο, but "yes".

Another issue in verse 17 deserves attention, namely whether the apodosis should be considered as a statement or a rhetorical question. The way in which Paul normally uses μὴ γενόμενο helps one to decide on this matter: Eckstein points out that in all thirteen instances where Paul uses μὴ γενόμενο, it follows a question – a fact indicating that the apo-

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414 See R. B. Matlock, "Detheologizing the ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ Debate: Cautionary Remarks from a Lexical Semantic Perspective", NT 42:1 (2000), pp. 1-23, and "Even the Demons Believe: Paul and πιστις Χριστου", CBQ 64:2 (2002), pp. 300-318, for a good discussion of the whole issue. The objective interpretation of the genitive is preferred, among others, by Burton, Galatians, p. 121; Schlier, Galater, p. 93; Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 170; and A. J. Hultgren, "The Pistis Christou Formulation in Paul", NT 22:3 (1980), pp. 248-263. Dunn, Galatians, p. 138, provides several other important arguments for interpreting the genitive as objective: 1. The objective interpretation would have been the most natural way in which the readers would have interpreted the expression; 2. There are no other verbal phrases in the Pauline literature that function as equivalent to the interpretation of the phrase as the "faith of Christ"; 3. The key text Paul uses in Romans and Galatians (Gen. 15:6) clearly indicates that he is thinking of Abraham as having been justified by his (own) faith; 4. The fact that the expression operates as an antithesis to "works of law" indicates that it should also be understood as a (an alternat)ive human response. R. A. Harrisville, "ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ: Witness of the Fathers", NT 36:3 (1994), pp. 233-241, points out that there is no clear indication that the Church Fathers ever interpreted the phrase in a subjective way.

415 Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 175, prefers to call it a "Kontextzitat" and not a "Reflexionszitat". See also Rohde, Galater, p. 112.

416 Hübner, Biblische Theologie, p. 65; and Dunn, Galatians, p. 140.

417 Galaterbrief, pp. 176-177.


419 Lambrecht, "Once Again", p. 151. See Rohde, Galater, p. 113, for several examples in this respect.

420 For example, U. Borse, Der Brief an die Galater (RNT, Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1984), p. 115.

421 Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 34. See also J. Lambrecht, "The Line of Thought in Gal. 2,14b-21", NTS 24 (1978), pp. 489-490, in this respect.
dosis in 2:17b is a rhetorical question, too. In this regard, it should also be pointed out that it is not absolutely sure which ἢ should be read in the apodosis. It could either be ἢ ("a marker of a negative response to questions, usually implying anxiety or impatience") or ὥ ("a marker of result as an inference from what has preceded: so, then, consequently, as a result"). It is very difficult to make a decision. The fact that the rhetorical question is followed by μὴ γεωμέτρω seems to make ἢ the logical choice. However, the fact that Paul does not use ἢ elsewhere, as well as the fact that ὥ also makes good sense in this instance, make ὥ a better choice.

In the light of all the choices made thus far, the sense of verse 17 can be summarised as follows: It is true that in seeking to be justified in Christ, even "we" (that is, Jews such as Paul and Peter) have been found to be sinners, but this does not mean that Christ is a servant of sin. When Paul uses the expression "being found sinners", he seems to be referring to it that the fact that Jews believed in Christ implied that they were – surprisingly – sinners like the Gentiles, too. The notion which Paul rejects – that Christ is a servant of sin – most probably reflects a "polemical slogan" by his opponents, namely that what Paul teaches about Christ and justification, somehow implies that Christ promotes and facilitates sin. His purpose therefore seems to refute this criticism.

In verse 18 Paul shifts from the first person plural to the first person singular. Some scholars argue that this switch is merely stylistic, but there is more to it. There are at least two reasons for this shift. First, the persons referred to in verses 18-21 differ from those referred to in verses 15-17. In verses 15-17 Paul refers to Jewish Christians, including himself and Peter, whereas in verses 18-21 he includes non-Jewish Christians. What Paul states here is therefore not merely true of himself, but of all Christians who can identify with his point of view. Secondly, in verse 18 Paul moves beyond the common tradition shared by all Christians, and interprets it in a controversial way, namely as implying a choice between either "tearing down" (verse 18) or living in grace (verses 19ff.).

To what does Paul refer when he speaks of tearing down and rebuilding? The various answers provided by scholars indicate that most of them are of a similar opinion, though they

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422 L&N 69.14.
423 L&N 89.46. Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 117, summarises the difference between the two as follows: "Ἡ ἢ hesitates, while ἢ concludes."
424 Schlier, Galater, p. 95 note 8; and Rohde, Galater, p. 113.
425 Bruce, Galatians, p. 141; and Lambrecht, "Line of Thought", pp. 489-490.
426 This aspect is rightly emphasised by Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 32.
427 Lambrecht, "Line of Thought", p. 495. See also Lambrecht, "Once Again", pp. 151-152.
428 Betz, Galatians, p. 121. See also Kremendahl, Die Botschaft der Form, p. 194.
429 For example, Schlier, Galater, p. 96.
430 See the detailed discussion by Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 43.
431 Thus, it is wrong to restrict the "I" to Peter alone, as Burton, Galatians, p. 130, does.
do not emphasise the same aspect. Examples in this regard are: the Mosaic law; dietary laws; the law as wall separating Jews from Gentiles, and a Torah-observant lifestyle and community. Although all these answers contain elements of truth, it seems better to keep as close as possible to the content of this section, and to identify the object of Paul's tearing down as dikaioušqai eκ efgwn nomou. Thus, Paul is stating that it is impossible for him to turn back and accept again that it is possible for human beings to be justified by means of the law. Instead, he argues that such a choice would make him a parabavhn. The word parabavh used in this context refers to the law in the sense of setting aside its real intent. It is a synonym of aJmartwlov which Paul used earlier, but it was probably chosen instead of aJmartwlov in order to distinguish between involuntary sinning (as was the case with the Gentiles) and conscious breaking of the law.

In verse 19 the phrase dia; nomou nomw/ ajpevqanon – in particular, the first part (dia; nomou) – has led to different interpretations. What does Paul mean when he says that he (and all believers) has died through the law? Examples of the answers given by scholars to this question are that the law shows people the way to grace in Christ; the law (which had been intended by God as a life-giving power) becomes a deadly power for humankind, because human beings cannot keep it; that it was the intention of the law to lead people to a situation where they would not be dependent on its jurisdiction for their daily living, or that Paul refers to his earlier zeal for the law (as narrated in Galatians 1:13-16) which brought him face to face with the risen Christ. The basic problem with all these answers is that they seem to do justice neither to the force of the word ajpevqanon, nor to the phrase Cristw`/ sunestauvrwmai used in the next sentence. Therefore, it seems better to follow scholars who link this phrase to the death of Christ, by interpreting it as referring to the fact that the believer participates in the death of Christ – a death that had been brought about by the curse of the law as Paul states in Galatians 3:13. The second part of the phrase (nomw/ ajpevqanon) is easier to understand: Paul uses it to indicate that the law has lost its

432 For example, Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 117.
433 For example, Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 178.
434 For example, Bligh, Galatians, p. 210; and Martyn, Galatians, p. 256.
435 For example, Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 187.
436 So correctly, Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 50.
437 Longenecker, Galatians, p. 91.
438 Dunn, Galatians, p. 143.
439 For example, Lietzmann, Galater, p. 17; and Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 118.
440 Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 180; and Rohde, Galater, p. 115.
441 Longenecker, Galatians, p. 91.
442 Dunn, Galatians, p. 143.
443 For example, Schlier, Galater, p. 101; Bruce, Galatians, p. 142; Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 62; Martyn, Galatians, p. 257; and Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 189.
power over believers, since they have been released from its dominion into a new life in Christ. In verse 20 Paul develops the implications of his statement in verse 19, describing the radical personal transformation experienced by those who believe in Christ. According to verse 20a, they experience a new controlling factor in their lives: since they have died by and to the law, and have been crucified with Christ, their "old" human beings are no longer in control. Instead, they have Christ living in them. In verse 20b the nature of their lives is described further in terms of an existence in faith in Jesus Christ. To this Paul adds the phrase του’ uiβου’ tou’ qeou’ tou’ aγαθ’υ σαντο’ me kai; ραραδου’ το’ εχ’ υτον υπ’ ερ’ υμου’, which seems to echo central ideas in the early Christian tradition.

In verse 21 Paul claims that he does not nullify the grace of God. This should not necessarily be seen as a reaction to an accusation made by Paul's opponents (either in Antioch or Galatia), since it makes more sense as an indirect assault upon the points of view expressed by Peter in Antioch and the opponents in Galatia – similar to his statements in 1:6 and 5:4. The absurdity of their point of view is made clear in a conditional sentence in verse 21b: ειν’ γαρ δια; νομου δικαιοσυνη, ανα Χριςτο’ δωρεαν απεκαναν.

Now that I have outlined my understanding of the flow of thought in this section, attention should be paid to Paul's rhetorical strategy in this section. First, however, some remarks about the way in which scholars who follow the "usual approach" and employ the categories of ancient rhetorical schemes in their rhetorical analysis of Galatians, view this section. It should immediately be pointed out that there does not seem to be much agreement among them on the classification of Gal 2:11-21. For example, Betz and some other scholars.

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444 Bruce, Galatians, p. 143; and Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 189. Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 68, links this expression to Romans 6 and 7, in particular, the example that Paul provides in Romans 7:1-6:

Analog dazu sind die Gläubigen nun durch ihr Sterben mit Christus aus der Bindung an das Gesetz rechtswirksam und definitiv befreit..., so daß der Anspruch, den Sünde und Gesetz auf den Menschen erheben, erloschen ist.

445 The έγκαταστάσεις Paul uses in this instance, is still the "paradigmatic I". See Lietzmann, Galater, p. 17, and Martyn, Galatians, p. 259.

446 The genitive του’ uiβου’ should be understood as an objective genitive, in line with the way in which it was interpreted in verse 16.

447 This is disputed by G. Berényl, "Gal 2,20: a Pre-Pauline or a Pauline Text?", Bib 65:4 (1984), pp. 490-537, but see Dunn, Galatians, p. 147; Bruce, Galatians, p. 145; Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 183 and Rohde, Galater, p. 117.

448 For example, Schlier, Galater, p. 104; and Martyn, Galatians, p. 259.

449 Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 76.

450 Grammatically it is not clear whether the condition is simple or unreal (no verb in the protasis and an aorist without α in the protasis), but it seems best to understand this as a simple condition. See Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 77. Contra Betz, Galatians, p. 126; and M. Winger, "Unreal Conditions in the Letters of Paul", JBL 105:1 (1986), pp. 110-112.

451 Galatians, pp. 137-139.
classify 2:11-14 as part of the *narratio* and 2:15-21 as the *propositio*. Hester disagrees with Betz and identifies 2:11-14 as a sayings *chreia*, followed by an elaboration of the *chreia*. Like Betz, Kennedy also classifies 2:11-14 as part of what he calls "the extended narrative of 1:13-2:14", but identifies 2:15-21 as an *epicheireme*, that is an argument with the parts fully stated, functioning as a conclusion to the first heading. According to Hall and Smit, 2:11-21 as a whole is part of the *narratio*. However, other scholars have revealed the flaws in the arguments for identifying 2:15-21 as *propositio*, *epicheireme* or *chreia*. For example, Fairweather and Kern show convincingly that 2:15-21 does not match the ancient categories for *propositio*. Likewise, Anderson points out that attempts to identify 2:11-14 as a *chreia* and 2:15-21 as its development may be an interesting suggestion, but that it does not really match the category *chreia*. Thus, instead of trying to classify 2:11-21 according to ancient rhetorical categories, the following discussion will focus on Paul's rhetorical strategy.

In order to attempt to understand Paul's rhetorical strategy in this section, certain basic assumptions must be made as to what really happened in Antioch and how these events were related to the situation in Galatia. This is a very difficult task, but one can assume at least the following:

1. One of the important issues in Antioch was whether or not Christians from non-Jewish origin should accept typical Jewish practices (in particular, following dietary regulations) when they became Christians.
2. Paul viewed any attempt to force Christians from non-Jewish origin to adopt Jewish practices as a falsification of the Christian gospel.
3. He suffered defeat in Antioch because his views in this regard were rejected by the majority of Christians there.

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455 "Rhetorical Outline", pp. 284-287.
456 "Deliberative Speech", pp. 11-12. See also Cranford, "Rhetorical Reading of Galatians", pp. 5-6.
457 If one is set on following one of the ancient rhetorical schemes – an approach that I do not wish to follow! – this is the most successful option, since 2:11-21 still forms part of the "story" which Paul uses as argument. See the remark by Kern, *Rhetoric and Galatians*, p. 105, as well as Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, pp. 147-157, who includes it as part of the "narrative apology".
460 *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, pp. 135-137.
461 As Becker, *Galater*, p. 70, points out, Paul surely would have mentioned it if he had won the argument. That Paul suffered defeat in Antioch is also accepted, among others, by Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p.
4. The problems in Galatia were related to what happened in Antioch, at least in the sense that the same kind of issue led to conflict in Galatia. It also seems possible that the Christians in Galatia had heard what had happened in Antioch from Paul's opponents in Galatia.\footnote{Bligh, *Galatians*, p. 175; and Taylor, "Paul's Apostolic Legitimacy", p. 76.}

Against this background Paul's dominant rhetorical strategy in this section can now be outlined. As in the previous sections, he is again recounting events from his earlier life in such a way that autobiography is used as argument. His dominant strategy can be summarised in the following points:

1. Paul does not mention that he suffered defeat in Antioch at all. Since the Galatians are perhaps aware of this, there is no need for him to mention this and draw their attention to something that could be used as an argument against his own views.

2. He recounts the events in Antioch in such a way that his own behaviour is viewed as a defence for the "truth of the gospel". In this regard verse 14 plays a crucial role in his rhetorical strategy: \(\text{ο} \text{τιδε \ ο} \text{υκ \ ογοδου\'σιν \ προ\' \ ην \ α} \text{j} \text{η} \text{ξιαν \ το\' \ ευ-}\text{γγελιο\'u...} \)

3. Here he provides the reason for his reaction: he realised that the truth of the gospel was at stake. In other words, what happened in Antioch is shifted to a higher level than a mere choice between Peter and Paul. It becomes a choice between the truth of the gospel and its falsification.

3. He attempts to convey the notion to the audience that his gospel is backed by Christian tradition and Scripture. In fact, he portrays the behaviour of Peter and other Jewish Christians (and implicitly that of the opponents in Galatia) as a departure from the tradition that all Christians shared. As indicated above, he uses the word \(\text{ε} \text{j} \text{δο\'u} \text{e} \) in verse 16a to indicate the shared Christian tradition according to which human beings can be justified in only one way, namely through faith and not by the works of the law. It cannot be established whether his version of Christian tradition would have been accepted by all other Christians (in particular, his opponents) as an accurate representation.\footnote{A. A. Das, "Another Look at \(\text{ε} \text{j} \text{δο\'u} \text{v}\) in Galatians 2:16", *JBL* 119:3 (2000), pp. 529-539, is probably right when he proposes that the words \(\text{ε} \text{j} \text{δο\'u} \text{v}\) in the shared Christian tradition could be interpreted in two opposing ways, and that Paul and his opponents both interpreted it in such a way as to suit their own views.} However, from his perspective, his summary is correct, and it therefore could be used as part of his rhetorical strategy to persuade Peter (and, in an implicit way, the audience of his letter). Furthermore, he uses Scripture as argument in verse 16 when he "echoes" Psalm 142:2 (LXX).\footnote{See Ciampa, *The Presence and Function of Scripture*, pp. 184-194, for a detailed discussion of this issue.} In a religious debate such as the one in Galatians, bas-
ing one's argument on the scriptural tradition accepted as authoritative by all who are involved is a convincing argument, and this seems to be why Paul "echoes" Psalm 142:2. It cannot be established whether the audience would have had sufficient knowledge of Scripture to realise that Paul is referring to it. Therefore, in this instance, it appears that it is preferable to draw a distinction between rhetorical strategy as intended by Paul, and the actual effect it had.

4. He narrates the events in Antioch in such a way that it becomes transparent for the Galatian crisis. This is achieved in the following way: in verse 15b he begins to recount his words to Peter in Antioch, and then, somewhere along the lines, shifts his argument to a more general level so that it is applicable to what is happening in Galatia. Scholars have spent considerable time to determine exactly where Paul's words to Peter end as it is notoriously difficult to determine this with certainty. However, it is the wrong question to ask where Paul's words to Peter end. It is part of Paul's rhetorical strategy in this section to shift the focus so gradually from Antioch to the situation in Galatia that the audience is, in a sense, caught unaware when they suddenly realise that he is no longer addressing Peter, but themselves. From the perspective of the audience, the effect of this technique can be described as follows: at first, their attention is focused on the events in Antioch, their roles being that of an audience "listening" to the argument between Paul and Peter in Antioch. However, towards the end of the section the audience find themselves in a different situation: they have been drawn into what Paul is telling. Peter as addressee and Antioch as situation have faded; instead they have become the addressees and the focus has shifted to issues in Galatia. The fact that this change occurs so gradually and to a large extent unnoticed makes it so highly effective, in particular, because the things that Paul recounts having told Peter and the things that the Galatians (somewhere towards the end) realise are addressed directly to them, are highly relevant to the situation in Galatia. To highlight some of them: expecting non-Jewish Christians to live like Jews is totally wrong; people are justified by faith in Christ and not by the works of the law; the law has lost its power over Christians; believers have died with Christ, and they have Christ living in them… In Paul's view these are important for the problems in Galatia. This is what the "truth of the gospel" is about!

Finally, several supportive rhetorical techniques used by Paul in this section should be highlighted:

First, he once again uses vilification in that he portrays his opponents in Antioch (and implicitly the opponents in Galatia who hold similar views) in very negative terms. In verse 11 he describes Peter's position as kataagnwsmevno" hν, standing condemned (before God); in verse 12 Peter is portrayed as someone who acts cowardly by succumbing to pressure because of fear of "those from the circumcision" (upystellen kai; ανωιζένεν εξ πειρηματος του; εκ πειρηματος); in verse 13 the behaviour of the other Jewish Chris-

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465 See, for example, the comments by Lightfoot, Galatians, pp. 113-114; and Betz, Galatians, p. 113, note 6.
tians is described as *hypocrisy*;\(^{466}\) in verse 14a the behaviour of Peter and the Jewish Christians is described by means of a very effective *metaphor* as *ou\(\dot{\kappa}\) o\(\dot{\iota}\)qopodou\(\dot{\iota}\)sin pro\(\dot{o}\) t\(\grave{n}\) a\(\acute{j}\)h\(\acute{\eta}\)q\(\acute{e}\)ian tou\' e\(\acute{u}\)\(\acute{g}\)g\(\acute{e}\)li\(\acute{\iota}\)ou, and in verse 14d Peter is accused of *forcing* non-Jewish Christians to live like Jews.

Secondly, in verses 16 and 17a some important key words and phrases are repeated several times:

\[
ej\textit{dovte} "\textit{de}k\textit{\omega}c\textit{\iota} o\textit{u}j dik\textit{ai}outai\ a\textit{\eta}q\textit{r}w\textit{p}o" ek\ ej\textit{f}w\textit{on} n\textit{om}wou\ ej\textit{b}n\ mh;\ di\textit{a}p\textit{ist}e\textit{w}m\ ej\textit{h}\textit{c}ou\r\textit{c}ou\r\textit{c}ristou\r\textit{kai};\ h\textit{\eta}\textit{m}ei\r\textit{r}i; ej\textit{f} Cristou\r\textit{jhsou\r\textit{en}} ep\textit{iste}uw\textit{amen}\iota; i\textit{\varphi}a\textit{ dikai\textit{w}q\textit{w}men\ ek\ di\textit{a}w\textit{to\textit{t}h};\ \textit{C}\textit{ristou\r\textit{kai; ouk}\ ek\ ej\textit{f}w\textit{on} n\textit{om}wou\ oti\ ek\ ej\textit{f}w\textit{on} n\textit{om}wou\ ouj\ di\textit{kai\textit{w}qh\textit{w}ta\textit{p}asa\ sa\textit{v}w. "eij\textit{d}e;zht\textit{ou}nte" dikai\textit{w}q\textit{w}hai\ \textit{e}p\textit{Cr}istw\r\textit{w}..."
\]

*Repetition* can be a very effective rhetorical technique, in particular, when it is used to emphasise contrastive key concepts as in this instance. Furthermore, the way in which Paul uses *chiasm* in verse 16 to emphasise the notion of belief in Jesus Christ should also be pointed out:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
...ej\textit{b}n\ mh;\ di\textit{a}p\textit{ist}e\textit{w}m & A \\
jhsou\r\textit{en} & B \\
\textit{C}\textit{ristou\r\textit{kai}; \h\textit{\eta}\textit{m}ei\r\textit{r}i; & C \\
ej\textit{f} Cristou\r\textit{jhsou\r\textit{en}} ep\textit{iste}uw\textit{amen} & A
\end{array}
\]

By using *chiasm* he not only succeeds in repeating the notion of belief in Christ in a very neat way, but also focuses the attention on the important words *kai;\ h\textit{\eta}\textit{m}ei\r\textit{r}i;* in its centre.

Thirdly, he uses *rhetorical questions* in 2:14 and 17 very effectively. In verse 14 he uses a rhetorical question to highlight Peter's mistake (*eij\textit{su};\ j\textit{\iota}dou\textit{\alpha}i\textit{c} u\textit{p}a\textit{c}w\textit{\nu}n \textit{e}\textit{\pi}\textit{\eta}\textit{\kappa}\textit{\iota}w\textit{\kappa}\textit{\eta}i;\ ou\textit{c}i;\ j\textit{\ou}d\textit{ai}k\textit{w}\textit{k}\textit{\iota};\ \textit{zh};\ p\textit{\w}\textit{\iota};\ \text{ta;\ ej}\textit{\beta}n\ a\textit{\pi}\textit{\alpha}k\textit{\alpha}k\textit{\ae}i\textit{\eta};\ i\textit{\\upmu}d\textit{a}i\textit{f}e\textit{\iota};\textit{\varepsilon}\), and in verse 17 he uses another rhetorical question to refute criticism lodged against him by his opponents (*eij\textit{de};\ zht\textit{ou}nte* dikai\textit{w}q\textit{w}hai\ \textit{e}p\textit{Cr}istw\r\textit{w}\textit{e}uj\textit{g}\textit{e}\textit{\nu} \textit{h}men\ \textit{kai};\ au\textit{\varphi}oi;\ a\textit{\\nu}\textit{mr}t\textit{w}\textit{l}\textit{\iota}w\textit{\iota}v\ \textit{a}\textit{ta} \textit{C}\textit{risto};\ \textit{a}m\textit{art}i\textit{a};\ \textit{d}i\textit{a}w\textit{m}o\textit{no};\textit{\varepsilon} E\textit{). In both cases the use of a rhetorical question rather than a mere statement enables him to convey the thought with more emotional effect.\(^{467}\)

Lastly, the effective way in which he uses *metaphorical language* in verses 19-20\(^{468}\) (primarily the contrast between life and death) to heighten the impact of what he wants to convey, should be noted:

\[
ej\textit{gw}; \textit{ga}r\ \textit{d}ia;\ nom\textit{ow}\ \textit{n}\textit{omw}\ \textit{ap}\textit{e}\textit{g}\textit{w}\textit{\alpha}\textit{n}on,\ i\textit{\varphi}a\ \textit{gw}l\textit{zh}\textit{bw};\ \textit{C}\textit{ristw\r\textit{l}s}u\textit{n}e\textit{st}a\textit{u}w\textit{m}wai;\ \textit{zw}\textit{\de};\ ou\textit{ke}\textit{ji};\ ej\textit{gw}l\textit{zh}\textit{de};\ ej\textit{m}w;\ \textit{C}\textit{risto};\ \textit{oj}\textit{de};\ nu\textit{h}\ \textit{zw}\textit{\de};\ \textit{s}\textit{arki}\textit{ve}\textit{ji};\ \textit{p}\textit{\iota}t\textit{e}\textit{i};\ \textit{zw}\textit{\de};\ \textit{h}l\textit{t}ou\ \textit{u}p\textit{u}tou\ \textit{geou};\ \textit{tou} \textit{ag}\textit{a}\textit{ph}\textit{w}\textit{a}nto;\ \textit{me}\ \textit{kai};\ \textit{par}\textit{a}d\textit{o}t\textit{c};\ \textit{\varepsilon}\ \textit{\\varphi}ut\textit{on}\ \textit{u}p\textit{er}\ \textit{e}\textit{m}w;\textit{ou}.
\]

\(^{466}\) The way in which Paul describes Barnabas' behaviour (*kai;\ Barnab\textit{a};\ su\textit{n}a\textit{ph}\textit{e}q\textit{h} au\textit{j} w\textit{th}l\textit{up}k\textit{-}\textit{r}i\textit{sel}*) could be his way of shifting the blame for Barnabas' "hypocrisy" slightly to the other Jewish Christians.


\(^{468}\) Another example of the effective use of metaphorical language in this section is *ou\(\dot{\kappa}\) o\(\dot{\iota}\)qopodou\(\dot{\iota}\)sin pro\(\dot{o}\) t\(\grave{n}\) a\(\acute{j}\)h\(\acute{\eta}\)q\(\acute{e}\)ian tou\' e\(\acute{u}\)\(\acute{g}\)g\(\acute{e}\)li\(\acute{\iota}\)ou in verse 14.
The effectiveness of this metaphorical language is due to the fact that the audience is provided with a new, unusual point of view on the issue, thus focusing their attention more intensively on the matter.\textsuperscript{469} 

To conclude: The dominant rhetorical strategy, which Paul follows in this section, can thus be summarised as follows: recounting his version of the incident at Antioch in order to show how he stood firmly for the "truth of the gospel". The concept "truth of the gospel" is the focal point. He uses (his version of) the events in Antioch as proof that at that time he already fought for the truth of the gospel against attempts to falsify the gospel – the same truth that is under attack in Galatia at this stage, thus implying that he is still fighting for the truth of the gospel. The following four aspects summarise his rhetorical strategy in this section:

1. The fact that he does not mention that he suffered defeat in Antioch.
2. The fact that he portrays his own behaviour in Antioch as a defence of the truth of the gospel (thus again biography is used as proof).
3. The impression that he creates that his gospel is in accordance with Christian tradition and Scripture. (This could be indicated as a supportive strategy.)
4. The fact that he makes the events in Antioch transparent for the Galatian crisis. This is achieved by shifting the focus gradually and unnoticed from what happened in Antioch to the situation in Galatia. In this process he also highlights several key notions that form part of the "truth of the gospel" – notions that were important in Antioch, but, more importantly, are crucial for the problems in Galatia.

This dominant rhetorical strategy is enhanced by means of several supportive techniques, namely the vilification of his opponents; repetition (including chiasm); two rhetorical questions; refutation of criticism, and the effective use of metaphorical language.

6. Phase Six: Galatians 3:1-5: A series of accusatory rhetorical questions used to remind the Galatians of events they experienced that support his gospel

Before discussing Paul's rhetorical strategy, the demarcation of the section should be motivated. Verse 6 could be regarded as part of the section beginning at 3:1, as Bruce\textsuperscript{470} does. However, this does not seem to be the right choice. Although verse 6 begins with the word κατάφθανώ, it does not signify a very strong link between the rhetorical question in verse 5 and the example of Abraham discussed from verse 6 onwards,\textsuperscript{471} as one can detect a definite change in rhetorical style (a discussion of the example of Abraham instead of a series of rhetorical questions), as well as in content (an example from Scripture instead of arguments

\textsuperscript{469} See Stacy, \textit{Defamiliarization in Language and Literature}, p. 90, in this respect.

\textsuperscript{470} \textit{Galatians}, p. 152. See also Kern, \textit{Rhetoric and Galatians}, p. 110.

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based on the experience of the audience). Thus, this section should rather be demarcated as Galatians 3:1-5.

Paul's dominant rhetorical strategy in this section can be summarised as the use of a very effective series of accusatory rhetorical questions in order to remind the audience of events they experienced. According to Paul these events were such that they could be used effectively against the views propagated by his opponents. If a speaker can appeal to events experienced by the audience, and these experiences appear to agree with the view he/she expresses, this constitutes a very powerful and effective argument, as people are not prone to doubt their own experience. They have no other option but to agree. This is exactly what Paul achieves in this section. As will become apparent from the analysis that follows, his argument in this section is based on earlier experiences of the Galatians which they now cannot deny. This includes the effect his preaching of the crucified Christ had on them, and (more importantly) their experience of the Holy Spirit when they became Christians. Since they had not even been aware of the "other gospel, that is no gospel" (Gal. 1:7) at the stage when they experienced these things, there would be no other alternative but to link these experiences to the gospel as Paul proclaimed it. This will be discussed in more detail in the rest of this section.

Before discussing this issue, it is necessary to draw attention to a very effective rhetorical technique which Paul uses several times in this section. Instead of conveying his arguments to the audience by means of statements, he uses a series of rhetorical questions, thereby conveying his argument to the audience forcefully. When several rhetorical questions are combined as Paul does in this instance, they become a very powerful tool. Lemmer

472 Silva, Explorations in Exegetical Method, p. 87, provides two further reasons to substantiate the demarcation of 3:1-5: 1. The "sandwich effect" between 3:2 and 3:5, and 2. The dominant use of the third person in 3:6-22. See also the discussion by Hübner, Biblische Theologie, pp. 70, note 99; and the demarcation by Holmstrand, Markers and Meaning, pp. 165-166.

473 Bligh, Galatians, p. 225, correctly points out that one should not place a major break between 2:21 and 3:1. See also the discussion by W. B. Russell, The Flesh/Spirit Conflict in Galatians (Lanham: University of America Press, 1997), p. 121, who emphasises the notion of Christ's crucifixion as the significant link between this section and the previous one.

474 Scholars following a classical rhetorical system usually classify this section as part of the probatio. See, for example, Betz, Galatians, p. 128, who views it as the first argument of the probatio; and Smit, "A Deliberative Speech", p. 13, who views it as the opening of the probatio (or confirmatio as he calls it, following Cicero and the Rhetorica ad Herennium). Anderson, Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul, pp. 157-158, views 3:1-5 as a continuation of the διάβασμα set up by Paul in his speech to Peter. B. L. Mack, Rhetoric and the New Testament (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), pp. 69-70, classifies 3:1-5 as part of the section 2:14-3:5, consisting of Paul's question to Peter, Paul's gospel and Paul's question to the Galatians, followed by the major thesis in 3:6. However, this makes the transitions in 2:16 and 3:6 seem much clearer than they in fact are.

475 Thus, "undeniable evidence", as Betz, Galatians, p. 130, calls it. See also Dunn, Galatians, p. 151, who views 3:1-5 as Paul's "other main trump card" (the first being the Jerusalem agreement).

points out that, by using this series of rhetorical questions, Paul succeeds in suppressing all cognitive resistance the audience may have, shifts the blame to the opponents, and transfers the burden of proof to those in disagreement, thereby providing himself with a psychological advance. Thus, Paul's decision to present the various arguments based on the personal experience of the Galatians by means of rhetorical questions is very effective. This strategy is further enhanced by several other supportive techniques as will be pointed out.

In the first rhetorical question (3:1) Paul focuses on the Galatians' experience of his preaching. He reminds them of his preaching which is described as "portraying" (προεγραφή) the crucified Christ before their eyes. The best way to interpret προεγραφή in this context is to understand it in a metaphorical sense as referring to the vivid way in which he proclaimed the message of the "crucified Christ". The notion which Paul wishes to convey is that someone who has experienced his vivid preaching on the crucified Christ should not be inclined to accept a false gospel. Take note that he conveys this to the audience in the form of a rebuke, thus conveying it with more force. It should also be noted how the harshness of the rebuke is further enhanced by the way in which he addresses them as Ἐλαβότοι Γαλαται:

- First, this is the first time since 2:5 that he addresses them directly. Furthermore, this is the first time in the letter that he calls them Γαλαται – he only rarely does so in his letters (see 2 Corinthians 6:11 and Philippians 4:15). In this case, it very effectively refocuses their attention explicitly on their own situation in Galatia – a very apt place to do so, as he has just recounted what happened in Antioch and has made it transparent for the Galatian situation. It should also be noted that the ὅ used at the beginning of the direct address usually indicates emotion. Thus, by the direct address Paul not only succeeds in points out that ancient rhetorical theorists may have questioned Paul's use of so much παρά at this stage, since it was supposed to be reserved for an effective peroration at the end of the speech, but that the nature of the letter explains the high degree of παρά throughout.

477 Bryant, The Risen Crucified Christ, p. 171, correctly points out that Paul, who frequently downplays his rhetoric, celebrates it in this instance, but that this does not imply that he subordinates the message to his effective preaching in this instance.

478 See L&N 33.191: "(T)o provide information in a vivid manner – 'to describe vividly, to portray.'" B. S. Davis, "The Meaning of προεγραφή in the Context of Galatians 3.1", NTS 45:2 (1999), pp. 213-229, presents a detailed overview of the way in which this word has been interpreted by exegetes. Davis correctly interprets the word as "proclaimed or portrayed publicly" (p. 205), but to my mind he then goes too far when he links it to the stigmata Paul mentions in Galatians 6:17, and proposes that Paul claims that he publicly displayed the crucified Christ by means of these stigmata in his body. Good discussions of προεγραφή are provided by Burton, Galatians, p. 144, who interprets it as "placarding"; Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 83, who links it to Paul's "feierliche Proklamation des Evangeliums"; and Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 207, who interprets it as "die in der Öffentlichkeit der Welt, so auch bei den Galatern, erschallende Kreuzespredigt."

479 In Attic ὅ does not convey any emotion, but it does in Koine Greek. See Bruce, Galatians, p. 147. It could also be written as ὅ, which would make it an exclamation rather than an interjection, but this is not necessary, since ὅ is used often in Paul and the New Testament, as Longenecker, Galatians, p. 100, shows.
refocusing the attention of the Galatians, but also conveys his emotion and distress about their behaviour, thus signifying the seriousness of the situation.\textsuperscript{480} 

- Secondly, it should be pointed out that the word \textit{\textalpha\textgamma\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textomicro
opponents in an extremely bad light, namely as people with evil motives, and even suggests that demonic powers could be operating through them. It is also possible that Paul is deliberately playing with the notion of sight: the Galatians "saw" the crucified Christ as a result of Paul's vivid preaching, but since then they have "been seen", and have become the victims of the opponents who manipulate the "evil eye".

The second rhetorical question is introduced by the phrase τοῦτο mονον qεκw maqei̱h a̱j Ευ̱μw, a technique focusing the audience's attention very effectively on what follows, and indicating that what follows, is a decisive argument. In the rhetorical question Paul again uses an argument based on earlier experience, but in this instance he does not focus on his vivid preaching, but on a closely related issue, namely their receiving the Holy Spirit. In that time, "receiving the Spirit" was a way of referring to conversion and the beginning of one's Christian life. This must have really made an impact on the lives of those who experienced it, and, in this instance, it must have included ecstatic experiences, which they would have remembered and cherished. This makes it a very powerful argument in Paul's hands and he therefore confronts them with a choice to which there could only be one answer: not by the works of the law, but εξ ἄκοιν πίστεως! This Greek phrase can be interpreted in various ways as ἄκοιν can refer either to the act of hearing or to that which is heard (the message). Furthermore, the genitive can be interpreted in various ways, namely subjective, objective or exegetical. Accordingly, scholars have suggested the following interpretations:

1. hearing the faith, i.e. hearing the message of faith;
2. hearing with faith;
3. hearing of faith, i.e. a hearing coming from faith;

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489 Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 84.
490 See D. J. Lull, The Spirit in Galatia. Paul's Interpretation of Pneuma as Divine Power (SBL.DS 49, Chico, CA: Scholars Press), 1980, pp. 54-59, on the issue of "proclamation as the Sitz im Leben of the initial possession of the Spirit".
491 Dunn, Galatians, pp. 151-152; and Rohde, Galater, p. 132. Martyn, Galatians, p. 284, maintains that the Spirit was one of the chief topics which the opponents used to mislead the Galatians, but to my mind this cannot be substantiated.
492 F. Vouga, An die Galater (HNT 10, Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1998), p. 67, points out a paradox in that the symmetric form in the two phrases is used to contrast two asymmetric ideas.
494 According to Hays, The Faith of Jesus Christ, pp. 144-145, this interpretation does not receive much attention from modern interpreters, but was accepted more often in earlier times, for example, by Calvin.
495 For example, Bruce, Galatians, p. 149 ("…hearing the gospel and believing it"); and Rohde, Galater, p. 131 ("…ein Hören des Glaubens, wobei das Hören ein Vorgang ist, also ein rezeptives Verhalten.").
496 For example, Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 135 ("…a hearing which comes from faith"); and Williams, "Α Κ Ο Η Ρ Ι Σ Τ Ε Ζ Ω Σ", p. 90 ("…'the hearing of faith', that 'hearing' which Christians call faith").
4. the message about faith, i.e. the message with faith as its content;\textsuperscript{497} and
5. the message of faith, i.e. the message resulting in faith.\textsuperscript{498}

It is impossible to make a decision with absolute certainty, but I am inclined to favour the second or third interpretations, as they convey the notion of the Galatians' own experience better, thus matching the logic better: in verse 1 Paul reminded them of what they have seen when he preached the crucified Christ. In verse 2 he asks them if they received the Spirit as a result of doing the works of the law, or of hearing with/of faith. Another possibility that should be considered is that we may in fact be trying to be more specific than Paul himself intended this phrase to be taken. It could be possible that the only notion he really wanted to convey was the opposition between law and p\textit{\iota\nu\iota\sigma\tau}\textit{\iota}i\textsuperscript{\textit{\eta}}. The Galatians would be forced to give the following answer: \textit{ej\alpha\kappa\omicron\omicron\omicron' p\iota\tau\varepsilon\omicron\omicron\iota}'\textsuperscript{\textit{\eta}}. They could understand it in any (or in any combination!) of the five ways outlined above, yet he would still have achieved his goal.

Although verse 3 should technically be viewed as one rhetorical question and not as two separate questions, or as a statement followed by a rhetorical question,\textsuperscript{499} the audience would have experienced it as two separate rebukes: the first implying that they were foolish \textit{(ou\kappa\omicron\eta\varepsilon\tau\omicron\iota\iota e\tau\omicron)} and the second providing the reason why this was the case. In this rhetorical question Paul still uses the Galatians' experience of the Holy Spirit as basis, but now he accuses them of inconsistency;\textsuperscript{500} it is foolish to begin with the Spirit, and then to "make complete" with the flesh. Take note how the contrast between flesh and Spirit is emphasised effectively by means of chiasm:

\begin{align*}
\text{\epsilon\eta\varphi\alpha\rho\varphi\lambda\alpha\mu\omega\eta\omicron\iota} & \quad \text{A} \\
\text{p\nu\eta\uomicron\omicron\omicron\iota\iota} & \quad \text{B} \\
\text{n\u\omicron} & \quad \text{C} \\
\text{s\alpha\omicron\iota;} & \quad \text{B} \\
\text{\epsilon\pi\omicron\tau\varepsilon\iota\e\varepsilon\omicron\omicron\omicron} & \quad \text{A}
\end{align*}

By placing \textit{n\u\omicron} in the centre of the chiasm, Paul focuses on the audience's deplorable situation at that stage: they who have "begun" with the Spirit, are \textit{now} "making complete" with the flesh! "Beginning with"\textsuperscript{501} the Spirit" refers to those events which Paul indicated in verse 2 as "receiving the Spirit". This is sharply contrasted with \textit{s\alpha\omicron\iota; \epsilon\pi\omicron\tau\varepsilon\iota\e\varepsilon\omicron\omicron\omicron}. Thus far he has used the word \textit{s\alpha\omicron\iota} in a neutral sense (Galatians 1:16; 2:16; 2:20); however, it is now used in a negative sense. When he uses it in a negative sense, he refers to "human nature in its un-

\textsuperscript{497} For example, Betz, \textit{Galatians}, p. 133 ("…the proclamation of faith").

\textsuperscript{498} For example, Martyn, \textit{Galatians}, p. 289 ("…the faith-eliciting message in which Christ is proclaimed").

\textsuperscript{499} Mussner, \textit{Galaterbrief}, p. 208; Rohde, \textit{Galater}, p. 102; and Eckstein, \textit{Verheißung und Gesetz}, p. 88.


\textsuperscript{501} Some exegetes classify both datives (Spirit and flesh) as datives of manner (for example, Eckstein, \textit{Verheißung und Gesetz}, p. 89), whereas others classify them as datives of instrument (for example, Lietzmann, \textit{Galater}, p. 18; and Rohde, \textit{Galater}, p. 133), but as Bruce, \textit{Galatians}, p. 150, indicates this distinction is more grammatical than substantial.
regenerate weakness”, but in this instance there is also a definite allusion to the rite of circumcision – one of the important issues in the debate in Galatia.

In the fourth rhetorical question, Paul again uses the audience’s experience of the Spirit as basis: tosau`ta ejpavqete eijkh`/É Although the word pæcsw is normally used in the New Testament and the LXX to indicate suffering, it cannot be understood in a negative sense in this instance, since – as Silva points out – such an interpretation does not seem to match the context in this case, and, furthermore, there are no indications in the rest of the letter that the Galatians actually suffered for their faith. Accordingly, it is best to understand it in the sense of “experiencing something”, in this case referring to their receiving of the Spirit, with tosau`ta (meaning "so much/such remarkable things") referring to all their experiences when they converted to Christianity. Thus, Paul uses the rhetorical question to warn them that all these experiences will have been in vain if they accept the "gospel" of the opponents. Nobody likes it to waste time and effort, and this makes this warning very effective.

The fourth rhetorical question is followed by the short phrase ei[ ge kai; eijkh`/. Exegetes are not sure how this should be interpreted and, accordingly, several suggestions have been made. The way in which it has been interpreted can be summarised as follows:

1. expressing Paul's hope that the situation is not yet irretrievable;
2. expressing confidence that God will bring them back to the gospel;
3. expressing Paul's view that all their experiences had indeed been in vain, and
4. expressing a threat.

In order to make a choice, one should carefully examine the function of the words gev and kai The particle gev is appended to the word it refers to, and usually indicates emphasis. In this case the word kai adds further emphasis. Thus the phrase could be trans-

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502 Bruce, Galatians, p. 149.
503 Betz, Galatians, p. 134; and Amadi-Azuogo, Paul and the Law, p. 110.
504 Longenecker, Galatians, p. 104.
506 So, correctly, BDAG (pæcsw).
507 Contra Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 135. See also Borse, Galater, p. 124; Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 210; and Dunn, Galatians, pp. 156-157.
508 Martyn, Galatians, p. 285.
509 For example Bruce, Galatians, p. 150; Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 210; Dunn, Galatians, p. 157; and Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 215.
510 This forms the first part of Schlier's interpretation (Galater, p. 124). See also Martyn, Galatians, p. 284.
511 For example, Oepke, Galater, p. 101; and Borse, Galater, p. 124.
512 This forms the second part of Schlier's interpretation (Galater, p. 124). See also Rohde, Galater, p. 134.
513 BDAG (gèv); and BDR §439.
lated in English as "if indeed in vain" or "if, – yes, if – in vain". Thus, to my mind, Paul is expressing doubt, thereby leaving the possibility open that the situation could still change. This implies that the first interpretation presented above is the best choice. Furthermore, it should be noted that the next rhetorical question is built on Paul's argument thus far. The content of this rhetorical question seems to support this interpretation, in particular, the fact that Paul uses two present participles (ἐπιρρήγων and ἐνέργων) when he refers to God's provision of the Spirit. It seems as if he is saying that God is still supplying them with the Spirit and that he is still working miracles among them through the Spirit. This could be the reason why Paul is still hoping that there could be a change in their behaviour.

If this interpretation of εἰ γέ καὶ εἰκή is correct, then the rhetorical technique employed by Paul can be identified as a form of correction, where a speaker softens a previous statement (in this case τόσαύτα ἐπαγετε εἰκή). Pragmatically this implies that he knew that the Galatians would not like it if he maintained that all their spiritual experiences were in vain. Yet, he suggests this possibility, but immediately softens the statement by expressing his doubt about it, thus strengthening their aversion to the idea and conveying the notion that the situation could still be changed.

In the last rhetorical question he basically repeats the question of verse 2, but there are some changes: instead of focusing on the receiving of the Spirit, he now focuses on God who (still) provides the Spirit and works miracles in their midst. The word δύναμει definitely refers to experiences similar to those suggested in verse 2, but these are indicated more explicitly now. Despite these changes, the underlying notion still remains the same: they received and experienced the Holy Spirit on account of his gospel, and not on account of the gospel of the opponents.

To conclude: Paul's dominant rhetorical strategy can be described as the use of several proofs based on the audience's personal experiences when they converted to Christianity: they experienced Paul's preaching and received and experienced the Holy Spirit, because they accepted his gospel – before they even had been aware of the "gospel" of the opponents. The fact that he uses a series of rhetorical questions to confront the audience with these experiences, make his strategy highly effective. Furthermore, some other rhetori-
cal techniques that he uses in this section have been identified, namely direct address, vilification, the use of phrase to focus the attention of the audience on a particular issue, chiasm and correction.

7. Phase Seven: Galatians 3:6-14: An example and arguments based on the authority of Scripture to counter the Scriptural arguments of the opponents

It is almost certain that Paul is reacting to some of his opponents' teachings in this section. Thus, in order to understand his rhetorical strategy, one must attempt to reconstruct the teachings of the opponents as accurately as possible. Although such a reconstruction is difficult, one can assume that Abraham played an important role in their arguments, and that their teachings in this regard more or less reflected the typical way in which Abraham was interpreted in Jewish circles. The gist of what the opponents taught can be summarised in two statements.

1. They maintained that one had to be circumcised in order to become a true descendant of Abraham and thus be included in the covenant. One can assume that they used Genesis 17:4ff. as Scriptural proof in this regard.

2. They somehow linked God's covenant with Abraham to the Mosaic law, thus emphasising the necessity of "works of the law".

Against this background Paul's dominant rhetorical strategy in this section can be described as follows: he opts for a rather difficult road in that he opposes the opponents' 523
teaching on Abraham by presenting a reinterpretation of Abraham that differs dramatically from the typical Jewish traditions on Abraham. In his reinterpretation of Abraham he not only ignores the strongest proof text of the opponents (Genesis 17:4ff.), but using Genesis 15:6 as starting-point, he presents an alternative picture of Abraham, an Abraham as an example of one justified by faith, faith being understood in terms of a framework in which it is placed in opposition to works of the law. This is then followed by a series of proof texts from Scripture focusing on two opposing key concepts, namely "blessing" and "curse".

Nearly everything that Paul does in this section is based on the notion that his gospel is indeed based on Scripture (and thus has divine sanction). In terms of the overall rhetorical strategy in the letter, he now turns to a new kind of argument, namely an argument based on the authority of Scripture. Although he has alluded to Scripture previously (Galatians 2:16), he now uses it as an extensive argument for the first time. In this instance, he combines the illustrative effect of an example with the notion of the authority of Scripture. Stanley's thorough study of the way in which Paul uses quotations as part of his rhetorical strategy in Galatians, should be mentioned here. I highlight some of the aspects he discusses which are important for understanding the way in which Paul employs quotations in this chapter.

1. Paul must have expected that his appeal to Scripture would reinforce his standing with the Christians in Galatians, since it highlighted the bond that united them around the God of Israel.
2. Apparently he hoped that his skill in handling the community's holy text would make his audience favourable towards accepting his point of view.
3. His appeal to Scripture was based on the belief that it has the last word on any issue, since it transcends all human discussion and argumentation.
4. He usually embedded his quotations within carefully structured arguments.

524 See G. M. M. Pelser, "The Opposition Faith and Works as Persuasive Device in Galatians (3:6-14)", *Neotest 26*:2 (1992), pp. 389-405, for a good discussion of this issue. See also Fischer, "Pauline Literary Forms", p. 216, who describes the dominance of the antithetical pattern as one of the most striking features of Paul's style.

525 Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 158, points out that the way in which Paul combines an example and the authority of Scripture in this instance, raises his argument to the level of what was called a "necessary proof". According to Fairweather, "Galatians and Classical Rhetoric: 1 & 2", p. 17, Chrysostom described Paul's argument on Abraham as a topon agwnistikwaton, i.e. a special point of controversy/a powerful debating point.


527 See Stanley, "Biblical Quotations", pp. 712-716, for a more detailed discussion of these and other issues.
5. He often adapted the wording of the quotation in order to make the link between it and his argument clear.

As Stanley also points out, we can only guess whether Paul's use of Scriptural quotations in fact succeeded:

If the rhetorical effectiveness of a biblical quotation depends on the recipients being able to understand and approve the author's handling of the text, then Paul must be judged ineffective in many of his appeals to Scripture. But if we situate Paul's practice within the social context of early Christian veneration of the Jewish Scriptures, we see a more effective rhetorician at work. Even if the audience did not fully understand Paul's quotations, their high regard for the source text would have ensured a fair hearing for the arguments in which they were embedded. And the fact that Paul could quote and interpret such a holy text would have reinforced his status in the eyes of those to whom his letters were directed, thus enhancing the success of his rhetoric.  

Paul's rhetorical strategy in this section will now be discussed in more detail.

In verses 6–9 he presents his own interpretation of the history of Abraham. The word καταλέγω (at the beginning of verse 6) is not used as an introductory formula for a quotation,  

but serves to indicate an analogy. Paul expects the audience to answer "ἐξ ἀλήθειας πιστεύω" to his question in verse 5, whereas in verse 6 he uses καταλέγω in order to draw their attention to a similar case: in the same way Abraham believed. Thus, in terms of rhetorical strategy, he is taking their own experience of the Spirit as point of departure, and attempts to substantiate and interpret it from Scripture. He quotes Genesis 15:6 almost verbally (only Abraham's name is added), goes against the grain of the typical Jewish interpretation of the verse, and, instead, uses the two keywords "faith" and "justification" as an interpretative mould to shape an Abraham different from the one portrayed by the opponents, namely an Abraham who was justified by his faith. In terms of the conceptual framework in which Abraham is presented in this instance, the notion of faith still functions in terms of an either – or, as in the previous section. Accordingly, this quotation from Genesis 15:6 plays a crucial role in Paul's rhetorical strategy and can rightfully be called the "entscheidendes

528 Stanley, "Biblical Quotations", p. 723.
529 Contra Betz, Galatians, p. 40; and Dunn, Galatians, p. 160. See Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 217, for reasons why this cannot be the case.
530 See Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 136 ("and so it was with Abraham"); Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 96 ("es ist wie bei Abraham"); Martyn, Galatians, p. 296 ("things were the same with Abraham"); and S. K. Williams, "Justification and the Spirit in Galatians", JSNT 29 (1987), pp. 94 ("so too, just so, or in the same way").

[Paul opts] for the hermeneutical priority of Spirit-experience. This choice leads him, to be sure, not to a rejection of Scripture, but to a charismatic rereading of it.

532 Thus, Paul is dissociating two phenomena (works of law and faith) which most Jews would have thought to be closely associated with one another (Longenecker, Triumph of Abraham's God, p. 131). As Hübner, Biblische Theologie, p. 71, puts it:

Dem Abraham der Beschneidungsdiatheke wird der Abraham der Glaubens- und Verheißungsdiatheke entgegengehalten. (Hübner's italics.)

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Eingangszeitraum of this section. In verse 7 Paul presents his interpretation of this verse. He draws the attention of the audience to his own definition of the children of Abraham: not those who can be linked physically to Abraham or those who keep the law and are circumcised, but those people (οἱ ἐκ πίστεως) who have faith.

In verses 8-9 Paul develops his argument further. His basic rhetorical strategy remains unchanged in that he is still relying on the authority of Scripture to persuade the Galatians. He combines two texts from Genesis (which the opponents probably also used), namely Genesis 12:3 and 18:18, in order to form a single quotation, which he carefully embeds in his own interpretative framework: because Scripture foresaw that those who believe would be justified, it already proclaimed the gospel in advance.

By means of this personification (called prosopopaea in ancient rhetorical theory) Paul creates a vivid picture of Scripture foreseeing future events. It should also be noted that personification of Scripture was well-known in the Jewish tradition as a typical way of expressing the notion

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534 ginwskete can be either indicative or imperative, but in both cases its pragmatic function is that of an "Aufforderung". See Vouga, Galater, p. 72.
535 Schlier, Galater, p. 128; and Martyn, Galatians, p. 299.
536 Attempts to interpret this phrase as referring to those who are given life on the basis of Christ's faith (for example, Hays, The Faith of Jesus Christ, p. 201) are not convincing. See Silva, Explorations in Exegetical Method, p. 179; Hansen, Abraham in Galatians, p. 113; and Dunn, Galatians, pp. 162-163, for a refutation of this view. Good translations for oǐ ἐκ πίστεως are "those whose existence before God is derived from faith" (Betz, Galatians, p. 141); "those who rely on faith" (Longenecker, Galatians, p. 114); and, in German, "Glaubensleute" (Lietzmann, Galater, p. 18).
537 δέ εσ is used copulatively. See Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 107; and Rohde, Galater, p. 138.
538 Martyn, Galatians, p. 301.
539 The participle προσδοκῶν should be understood in a causal sense. See Burton, Galatians, p. 160; and Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 220.
540 This is a hapax legomenon in the New Testament. Some scholars opt for a "softer" interpretation of the word, for example, Schlier, Galater, p. 130, but this is not correct. It should be understood in the sense of "proclaiming the gospel beforehand". See Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 112; Hays, Echoes of Scripture, p. 107; and Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 227. As Hays, ibid., p. 107, points out, what Paul is doing in this instance, is to read a temporally prior promise/event through the filter of gospel fulfilment in order to determine its true meaning, something which can only be discerned retrospectively. Koch, Die Schrift als Zeuge, p. 307, provides an apt summary of Paul's hermeneutical procedure here:

Die Schrift bringt ein vergangenes Handeln Gottes zur Sprache, das für die gegenwärtige Gemeinde begründende Funktion hat.

541 Anderson, Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul, p. 163, points out that ancient rhetorical theorists advised that this should only be used towards the end of a speech because of its emotional character. To my mind, Paul's use of it corresponds more to Jewish usage than to ancient rhetorical practice.
542 For parallels from Jewish literature, see Martyn, Galatians, p. 300; and Betz, Galatians, p. 143.
of the authority of Scripture, namely that God himself speaks through Scripture. Thus, Paul uses the quotation to confirm God's promise that all the nations would be blessed in Abraham, but, of course, he interprets this in his own way. The blessing promised to Abraham is not linked to Abraham's "works", but to his belief; ἐν σünde understood in the sense of "in you, the one who received the promise, and the one who believes." Thus, he can conclude (see ἔν τῷ) in verse 9: those who believe (thus including believing non-Jewish Christians) would be blessed in τῷ ὑπὲρ Ἀβраαμ. The word πιστός can mean either "faithful" or "believing" in this instance, but because Paul emphasised Abraham's faith in verse 6, it is likely that he uses it here in the sense of "the believing Abraham".

The next step in Paul's argument is found in verses 10-12. Instead of the notion of "blessing", its opposite ("curse") comes into focus now. He begins with the statement that οἳοι γὰρ ἐξ ἐφεξῆς νόμων εἰσίν are under a curse, and then quotes Deuteronomy 27:26 as a proof text. His quotation differs from the LXX in several ways:

Paul: ἐπικαταβάτωσ αὐτοῦ ὁ οὐκ ἐμμενεῖ πασίν τοῖς γεγραμμενοῖς ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ποιήσαι αὐτὸν.

LXX: ἐπικαταβάτωσ αὐτοῦ ἐὰν ἡμεῖς ἐστιν πασίν τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτὸν.

He omits ἡμεῖς, ἐν before πασιν and τουν after του νομου. Furthermore, he uses τοῖς γεγραμμενοῖς τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ νομου instead of τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ νομου. These differences may be due to the fact that he quotes from memory or uses an LXX version different from ours. One should not, therefore, accept that Paul made these changes deliberately.

The general trend of what Paul is saying in verse 10 is clear, namely that those who rely on the works of the law in their relationship to God are cursed. However two issues among 

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543 Bruce, Galatians, pp. 155-156; Hübner, Biblische Theologie, p. 74; and Dunn, Galatians, p. 164. One should be careful not to over-interpret this figure of speech as Hays, Echoes of Scripture, pp. 106-107, and Martyn, Galatians, p. 300, do.


545 Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 222; Bruce, Galatians, p. 157; Longenecker, Galatians, p. 116; and Garland, "Paul's Defense of the Truth", p. 174. For a different opinion, see Dunn, Galatians, p. 167; and Martyn, Galatians, p. 302.

546 ἕκατερο δεύτερο indicates another step in the argument. See Betz, Galatians, p. 145; and Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 122.

547 Burton, Galatians, p. 163, correctly calls it an "argument e contrario".

548 Hübner, Biblische Theologie, p. 75, points out that the way in which Paul contrasts "blessing" and "curse" in this instance is an indication of how deeply his thinking had been influenced by the Old Testament, since these two categories are "fundamentale Existenzweisen" in the Old Testament.

549 Betz, Galatians, p. 145, points out that the differences between Paul's quotation of Deuteronomy 27:26 and the LXX are not limited to Paul, but are also found elsewhere in the manuscript tradition.


551 To my mind, "those who rely on the works of the law" is a good translation of οἳοι εἰς ἐφεξῆς νόμων. See also Schlier, Galater, p. 132: "die Menschen, die das Prinzip ihrer Existenz in den Gebotsverführungen haben"; Martyn, Galatians, p. 307: "those whose identity is derived from observance of the
remain problematic, namely the meaning of the expression ὑπὸ καταβαν, as well as the relationship between Paul's statement in verse 10a and the quotation in verse 10b. This will now be discussed.

- **What is meant by the expression ὑπὸ καταβαν?**

  The way in which scholars respond to this question can be reduced to two options:

  1. Many scholars assume that Paul is saying that those who rely on the works of the law are under the threat of being cursed. For example, Longenecker\(^{552}\) explains Paul's logic as follows: He warns the Galatians that if they take up the requirements of the law, they also accept the threat of being cursed for non-fulfilment of the law.\(^{553}\)

  2. Other scholars interpret the phrase as follows: it does not refer to the threat of being cursed, but to the possibility of sharing a curse, which Israel was experiencing at that stage. This interpretation can be traced back to Noth\(^{554}\) who argues that the way in which Paul uses the quotation accurately reflects the original meaning and perspective of the Deuteronomist, namely that the curse on Israel was operative at the stage when Deuteronomy was finished. Thus, what Paul would be saying to the Galatians is that, by accepting the requirements of the law, they were in fact placing themselves under the curse, which Israel was experiencing at that stage. Noth's interpretation is followed by several modern scholars, usually with some modifications.\(^{555}\)

  Although Noth and those who follow his line of approach present an interesting alternative, the major objection against this view is that in Paul's time Judaism does not really reflect a sense of awareness of still being under the curse of the exile. The attitude of Judaism reflected by Paul in Galatians (e.g. Galatians 1:13-14) and elsewhere (e.g. Romans 2:17-20; 10:2-3 and Philippians 3:6) does not seem to be that of people aware of

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\(^{552}\) Galatians, p. 117.


still being under the curse of the exile. Thus, one should rather accept that Paul uses the words \( \rho\theta\sigma\varsigma \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\nu\gamma \) to indicate a threat of being cursed and not the threat of sharing the curse experienced by the Jews at that stage.

- **How should the relationship between Paul's statement in verse 10a and the quotation in verse 10b be understood, in other words in which way does Paul perceive the quotation as proving what he wants to say?**

This question elicits numerous answers, the most important of which being the following:

1. Many scholars, such as Lietzmann, Burton, Thurén, Longenecker, Sass, and Schreiner, are of the opinion that Paul assumes that it is impossible for anyone to do everything required by the law, and therefore he emphasises the word \( \varphi\alpha\zeta\iota\zeta\iota\nu\ ) in the quotation, thus claiming that anyone who wants to keep the law is under a curse, because it is impossible for him/her to keep the entire law.

2. Closely related to the previous interpretation is that of scholars who are of the opinion that Paul does not necessarily imply that it is impossible for people to keep the law, but that this is what happens in practice, because in reality nobody succeeds in keeping the law. As Hübner puts it: "Paulus hält sich aber an das Faktum der Nichterfüllung. Eine Erklärung dieses Faktums bietet er zumindest hier nicht."

3. According to Dunn, Paul has in mind here that those who rely on the law, may indeed be doing what is required by the law, and they, in fact, have good intentions, but they understand and practise the law in a deficient manner, because they are not doing what the law really requires them to do. The law really requires the obedience which expresses faith (Rom i:5), the love which is the outworking of such faith (Gal. v:6), not requirements of the law understood and practised in such a way as to deny the sufficiency of the very faith on which the covenant was based. (Dunn’s italics.)

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557 Galater, p. 19.
558 *Galatians*, p. 164.
560 *Galatians*, p. 117.
563 *Biblische Theologie*, p. 75.
4. Schlier rejects the idea that one should add a missing premise such as "nobody can fulfil/actually fulfils the whole law". Instead, he maintains that the quotation assumes that the law can be kept and that the law is kept. According to Schlier, Paul emphasises the word ποίησαι and does not use the quotation in order to explain why those who rely on the law are cursed. He merely uses it to confirm ("bekräftigen") that they are indeed cursed.

5. According to Sanders, one should not overemphasise the word πᾶσιν in the quotation. He points out that one should try to understand how Paul chose his quotations in Galatians 3. In the case of verse 10, Paul was seeking for a passage that connects "law" and "curse". Deuteronomy 27:26 is the only passage in the LXX in which this happens. Thus, Paul uses the quotation only to link the notions of "law" and "curse".

6. According to Martyn, Deuteronomy 27:26 was used by Paul's opponents, as it suited their theology well: if the Christians in Galatia would not do what the law requires, they would be under a curse. According to Martyn, Paul accepts this text as it stands, but interprets it as referring not to those who are not observant of the law, but to those who are observant of the law. In this way he actually removes the distinction between the two groups, implying that the curse of the law falls upon both those who observe the law and those who do not observe the law.

7. Garlington discusses Paul's use of quotations in Galatians 3:10-14 from the perspective of what he calls "role reversal": in the light of Christ's coming and the presence of the Spirit, fidelity to God has been redefined, and devotion to the law must be considered as infidelity and apostasy. Paul uses Deuteronomy 27:26 in the light of this role reversal in an ironical way: by "keeping" the law, Paul's opponents are in fact "not keeping" it in the correct eschatological way, namely as pointing Israel to Jesus of Nazareth.

The fact that scholars provide so many different answers to the question as to how Paul considers this quotation to support his statement is in itself an indication of how difficult it is to give a satisfactory answer. This is mainly because the quotation appears to state the exact opposite of what he wants to prove. In order to choose the best answer from the possibilities outlined above, one should decide whether Paul would have quoted Scripture, and then interpret it as stating the exact opposite of what it really states. If one answers "no" to this question, one could opt for any of the options chosen by Schlier, Sanders, Martyn and Garlington, as they somehow assume that it does not really matter to Paul that the text states the opposite of what he wishes to prove. However, if one responds "yes" to this question – and

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567 Galater, p. 133.
569 Galatians, p. 311.
this seems to me to be the correct answer – only the first three options could be considered. Of these, the one proposed by Dunn (that the law really requires much more than merely doing the right things, but obedience that expresses faith and love that is the outworking of such faith) seems so far removed from what the quotation actually says, that it cannot be accepted. This leaves one with the other two options, namely that Paul is of the opinion either that no one can ever do what that law requires, or that, although he thinks it is possible to do what the law requires, no one actually does what the law requires. However, both seem to be totally unJewish and unPauline. One can only refer to what Paul writes in the Letter to the Philippians 3:4 (Εἰτι" δοκεῖ αἱ ἄλλο pepoιqevnai e̱ ἱ σαρκί̱ v̱ g̱ w̱ ; m̱ a̱ ḻ ḻ o̱ ṉ ) and 3:6 (κατά; δικαίος ὑπὸ τὴν ἐν ἀνομία γενομένον ἀθέμπτο`). However, there is another possibility that could be considered. If one rephrases the second possibility (that no one keeps the law in practice), it could provide a logical link between verse 10a and 10b without being unJewish and unPauline. It could be rephrased as follows: although it is possible to keep the law in the fullest sense of the word, not all people succeed in doing so. Bearing in mind that Paul is addressing non-Jewish Christians who are not used to keeping the law, this could make sense. In fact, he even accuses his (Jewish!) opponents of not keeping the law in Galatians 6:13. If this interpretation is correct, there is a logical link between his statement in verse 10a and the quotation from Deuteronomy 27:26: he is warning the Galatians that by following his opponents, they run the risk of coming under the curse of the law, since, to his mind, they will not be able to do everything the law requires. Nevertheless, the fact that it is so difficult to provide a logical link between the quotation and Paul's statement in verse 10a should be indicated as a weak point in his rhetorical strategy. If modern exegetes take long hours to come up with a possible logical link, the audience would definitely not have been able to make sense of it in a few moments!

Now that the meaning of verse 10 has been clarified, Paul's rhetorical purpose with this verse should be established. He is basically still using the authority of Scripture in order to persuade the Galatians as he did in verses 6-9. Whereas it was used in verses 6-9 to present an alternative interpretation of Abraham, it is used differently in verse 10.

First, the quotation is used in order to vilify the opponents: they are people that are cursed! As Esler puts it: this is an example of "extreme and rigid stereotyping".

Secondly, the quotation is used as a warning to his audience. Paul is warning them that any one who decides to follow the advice of his opponents will in fact run the risk of coming under the curse of the law. This warning is in a sense related to the twofold curse that he uses in 1:8-9, but it is preferable to classify it as a rhetorical warning rather than a curse, since it is not worded as strongly as the curse in Galatians 1:8-9. The quotation in Ga-

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This is noted regularly by exegetes, for example, Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 310; Cranford, "The Possibility of Perfect Obedience", p. 243; Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 171; and Esler, *Galatians*, p. 187.

572 *Galatians*, p. 187.

latians 3:10b could be classified as a curse, but Paul's own statement in verse 10a is worded like a warning rather than an explicit curse.\footnote{For a different view in this respect, see Morland, \textit{The Rhetoric of Curse}, pp. 51-68 and 198-214.}

In verses 11-12 Paul continues.\footnote{\textit{dév} at the beginning of verse 11 is interpreted by exegetes as being either adversative (for example, Longenecker, \textit{Galatians}, p. 118; Eckstein, \textit{Verheißung und Gesetz}, p. 133; Witherington, \textit{Grace in Galatia}, p. 234; and Bonneau, "The Logic of Paul's Argument", p. 74) or copulative (for example, Lightfoot, \textit{Galatians}, p. 137; and Betz, \textit{Galatians}, p. 146). To my mind it should be taken as adversative, indicating the contrast between "keeping the law" (mentioned in verse 10) and "not being justified by the law" in verse 11.}

Although there are still signs of warning, it is not emphasised in these two verses. Instead Paul uses the authority of Scripture in order to refute his opponents' views. He points out that the fact that\footnote{\textit{oìti} can only be translated as "that" in this instance and not as "because". See H. Hanse, "\textit{DΩΛΩΝ. Zu Gal. 3:11}", ZNW 34:2 (1935), pp. 299-303.} no one can be justified by the law, is clear, since Scripture states: \textit{ο\textbackslash{ý}δικαίον \textbackslash{e} k \textbackslash{p}ι\textbackslash{σ}τ\textbackslash{e}w \textbackslash{z}ή\textbackslash{v}ε\textbackslash{t}α \textit{ai}} (verse 11). This quotation is from Habakkuk 2:4. Compared to the LXX, Paul's question reflects a significant change in that \textit{mou'} (added by the LXX-translator to emphasise God's faithfulness) is omitted,\footnote{This omission seems to be deliberate. See the discussions by Koch, \textit{Die Schrift als Zeuge}, pp. 127-128; and "Der Text von Hab 2:4b in der Septuaginta und im Neuen Testament", ZNW 76:1-2 (1985), pp. 68-85.} thus leaving him with a quotation that better serves his purpose. He interprets this text in a rather unique way,\footnote{For discussions of the way in which this text was interpreted in Judaism, see H. Weder, \textit{Das Kreuz Jesu bei Paulus Ein Versuch, über den Geschichtsbezug des christlichen Glaubens nachzudenken} (FRLANT 125, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), p. 186; E. P. Sanders, "Habakkuk in Qumran, Paul and the Old Testament", in: C. A. Evans & J. A. Sanders (eds.), \textit{Paul and the Scriptures of Israel} (JSNT.S 83, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), pp. 98-117; and R. Zuurmond, "'De rechtvaardige zal door geloof leven'. Habakuk 2:4 bij Joden en Christenen vóór het jaar 135", \textit{ACEBT} 6 (1985), pp. 162-174.} using it to link justification to faith, apparently understanding it as "the one who is justified by faith shall live".\footnote{Some scholars, e.g. Schlier, \textit{Galater}, p. 131, Mussner, \textit{Galaterbrief}, p. 227, Betz, \textit{Galatians}, p. 145 and Borse, \textit{Galatier}, p. 128, prefer to translate it as "The righteous shall live by faith", but the translation above seems to reflect Paul's argument better. See Amadi-Azuogo, \textit{Paul and the Law}, p. 140; Eckstein, \textit{Verheißung und Gesetz}, p. 143; and Becker, \textit{Galater}, p. 36. That Paul interprets this quotation as referring to Christ's faith, as Hays, \textit{The Faith of Jesus Christ}, pp. 150-157, believes, is highly unlikely.} In verse 12 he then focuses on the difference\footnote{\textit{dev} is best taken as adversative in this instance. See Longenecker, \textit{Galatians}, p. 119; and Witherington, \textit{Grace in Galatia}, p. 235.} between faith and the law, claiming that the law is not \textit{e\textbackslash{y} k \textbackslash{p}ι\textbackslash{σ}τ\textbackslash{e}w}. Paul takes the expression \textit{e\textbackslash{y} k \textbackslash{p}ι\textbackslash{σ}τ\textbackslash{e}w} from the quotation in verse 11, but uses it in a new context, indicating the relationship between law and faith, namely that law and faith have nothing to do with each other,\footnote{Eckstein, \textit{Verheißung und Gesetz}, p. 144; and Mussner, \textit{Galaterbrief}, p. 231.} and that they constitute different – even opposing – categories. Then he quotes Leviticus 18:5 in order to point out that the law focuses on "do-
ing” and not on "believing”. Paul's quotation does not differ significantly from the LXX, since he only omits ἁγνῳσμὸν. As Koch583 indicates, this results in a quotation in which even more emphasis is placed on ὀψία σα ".

In verse 13 Paul begins rather abruptly with a new statement in which he shifts the attention to Christ. Take note of the use of hyperbaton in the sentence construction. By placing ἡμᾶς before the verb and directly next to Χριστὸς it is emphasised. Furthermore, it appears that Paul is echoing a well-known traditional Christian confession in this verse:584 that Christ died in order to free "us"; seemingly understood by Paul in an inclusive sense: all of "us" who believe in Christ. 585 Paul links Christ's death, in particular, to the removing of the curse of the law, i.e. the curse pronounced by the law586 upon those who do not keep everything it requires (verse 10). Christ removed this curse by becoming "a curse". Although this expression may have shocked the Galatians, Paul was not the first person to use it to refer to someone being cursed. 587 Paul mentions that Christ redeemed "us" from the curse of the law by becoming a curse himself, i.e. by being cursed by God. 588 That the way Christ died shows that he was cursed by God is proven by Paul by quoting Deuteronomy 21:23. 589 This text, which originally did not refer to crucifixion, was interpreted in early Judaism as an indi-

583 Die Schrift als Zeuge, p. 120. Koch also points out that the reason why Paul omits ἁγνῳσμὸν both in this instance and in verse 10 (where he quotes Deuteronomy 27:26) may be due to the fact that he models these quotations on Deuteronomy 21:23 which uses ἡμᾶς (quoted in verse 13). Koch's explanation seems to be better than that of Longenecker, Galatians, p. 121, and Martyn, Galatians, p. 316, who suggest that Paul omits it because the opponents applied it to pious Gentiles.

584 Becker, Galater, p. 381; Betz, Galatians, p. 149; and Longenecker, Galatians, p. 122.


586 The genitive should be interpreted as a subjective genitive. See Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 155. Contra Schlier, Galater, p. 136; and Betz, Galatians, p. 149.

587 Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 233, cites several examples from the Old Testament and early Judaism where this expression is used (though not of Christ).

588 Becker, Galater, p. 38. To my mind, it is not necessary to draw a distinction between the curse of the law and the curse of God as if the curse of the law were not the curse of God (as is maintained by Burton, Galatians, p. 164; Martyn, Galatians, p. 321; and Rohde, Galater, p. 144).

589 Paul's version differs from the LXX in three ways: 1. ἐπικαταματον instead of κεκαθράμενον; 2. Omission of ὑπὸ γεων; 3. Addition of ὁ before κρεμασμένον. It is not clear whether Paul made these changes himself or whether he used a text different from ours. One should therefore not make too much of these changes.
cation that a crucified person was cursed by God. It was probably used by Jews to refute the claims that Jesus was the Messiah. Perhaps Paul himself used it earlier in his life to refute the claims of Christians. Nevertheless, in the present context, he uses it in a positive way, namely as proof that Christ "became a curse" when he was crucified, thereby redeeming those who believe from the curse of the law.

How would one describe Paul's rhetorical strategy in verse 13? To my mind, it should be viewed as a statement presenting Paul's gospel as an alternative to the "gospel" of the opponents – a "gospel" which, according to Paul, inevitably leads one to being cursed. Paul appears to suggest that it would be both unwise and unnecessary to accept the "gospel" of the opponents. In doing so, one runs the risk of being cursed, whereas Christ has already redeemed one from the curse of the law. Secondly, it is important to note the fact that Paul once again refers to Christian tradition, indicating again that his gospel is supported by Christian tradition.

In verse 14 he uses two ἵνα-clauses to explain the purpose of Christ's death. According to verse 14a, Christ died so that the Gentiles could share in the "blessing of Abraham", i.e. the blessing promised to Abraham. According to verse 14b, Christ died so that "we" – once again to be understood as "all of us who believe" – should receive the promised Spirit through faith. It should be noted that Paul uses the two ἵνα-clauses to provide a short summary of his argument in Galatians 3:1-12 – in reversed order. In fact, the entire section (Galatians 3:1-14) is structured in a chiastic way:

A: 1-5: You received the Spirit because you believe
B: 6-9: Abraham believed, was justified and received the promise that all nations would be blessed in him
C: 10-12: Those who try to keep the law in order to be justified are under the curse of the law
C: Cristo; hμα; ekhgo`sen ek th' kataw` tou' nomou genomeno; uper hμη; kataw`, oti geogra`ta; epikatawato; pα; ojkrnemonic` epi;xuvou,
B: i`ga eil` ta;`e`nθ h`e`ulogia tou` Abraam genhtai e` Cristw;` hjsou;
A: i`ga thn epaggel`iαn tou` pneu`matow` la`wmen di;a; th` pistew`.

To conclude: in Galatians 3:6-14 Paul’s dominant rhetorical strategy is the use of the authority of Scripture (as interpreted by him!) in order to persuade the Galatians that his gospel is the correct one. The basic notion he wishes to convey to the Galatians may be summarised as follows: According to Scripture, those who have faith are justified and blessed by God, whereas those who rely on the works of the law are cursed. This is presented to the audience by means of a series of proof texts which are interpreted in such a way that it is clear that his gospel is supported by Scripture. This is done as follows:

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592 In the light of the chiastic structure, the relationship between the two ἵνα-clauses should be viewed as co-ordinate.
In verses 6-9 he interprets proof texts from Genesis in his own way in order to refute the way in which his opponents interpret what happened to Abraham. According to him, Genesis 15:6 shows that Abraham was justified because he believed. This indicates that those who have faith are children of Abraham. Furthermore, he argues that in Genesis 12:3 and 18:18 God promised Abraham that all nations would be blessed in him. This implies that those who believe will be blessed in/with Abraham. Two rhetorical techniques were identified, namely the adaptation of sentence structure in order to convey emphasis and personification.

In verse 10 Paul uses Deuteronomy 27:26 as proof text to show that "those who are of the works of the law" are cursed. Two rhetorical techniques have been identified, namely vilification and the use of a warning. It has also been shown that the fact that he does not provide or explain the logical link between the quotation and his statement in verse 10a should be indicated as a weak point in his strategy. In verses 11-12 he uses proof texts from Habakkuk 2:4 and Leviticus 18:5 in order to refute the notion that justification can be achieved by the law. In verse 13 he uses Deuteronomy 21:23 to prove that Christ died accursed. In the accompanying statement he uses the traditional Christian interpretation of Christ's death (that he died to redeem human beings – take note of the inclusive language used in this instance), emphasising the notion of redemption of the curse of the law. In verse 14 Paul uses two co-ordinated iνa -clauses to provide a short summary of the argument in Galatians 3:1ff., thereby giving a chiastic structure to the entire section.

8. Phase Eight: Galatians 3:15-18: An a minori ad maius argument used to dissociate covenant and law

Scholars describe Paul's rhetorical strategy in this section in various ways, namely as the use of an analogy or an exemplum (in particular, as a similitudo) in terms of ancient rhetoric, but it should rather be called an a minori ad maius argument, as this reflects his use of a well-known Jewish exegetical technique here. He highlights a particular characteristic of a human διά qhkh and applies it to the divine διά qhkh.

Paul presents his argument in such a way that it is not always easy to follow it, in particular, as verse 16 could be regarded as disrupting the flow of the argument. One could summarise the flow of the argument as follows:

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593 Bruce, Galatians, p. 169; and Esler, Galatians, p. 192.
594 Betz, Galatians, p. 154; and Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 240.
595 Schlier, Galater, p. 144; Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 236; Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 172; and Anderson, Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul, p. 163.
596 Called תמע ק in Hebrew. According to D. I. Brewer, Techniques and Assumptions in Jewish Exegesis Before 70 CE (TSAJ 30, Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1992), p. 17, this is the exegetical technique most commonly employed of all the middleth in Jewish exegesis before 70 C.E.
597 For example, Lietzmann, Galater, p. 20, describes it as "ein Fremdkörper"; Burton, Galatians, p. 181, as "parenthetical"; and Amadi-Azuogo, Paul and the Law, p. 163, as "an obvious literary interruption".
Verse 15: A characteristic of a human διάθηκη: once ratified, no one can set it aside or add to it.
Verse 16a: Content of the divine διάθηκη: Promises were "spoken to" Abraham and his "seed".
Verse 16b-d: Exegetical clarification: The "seed" = Christ.
Verse 17: Application: The divine διάθηκη was ratified by God beforehand; thus, the law, which came 430 years later, could not annul it, and make the promise ineffective.
Verse 18: Reiteration: If the inheritance is from the law, it is no longer from the promise, but God gave the inheritance through the promise.

Why does Paul use this argument? It seems reasonable to assume that his opponents emphasised the importance of the divine covenant, which in their minds proved that those who believed in Christ had to keep the law. If this is the case, Paul uses the a minori ad maius argument in this section in order to dissociate divine covenant and law, his logic being more or less as follows: in order to understand the divine διάθηκη, one should think of a human διάθηκη; once ratified, a human διάθηκη cannot be changed. This is even more true of the divine διάθηκη, and so on. Furthermore, another benefit of considering the divine διάθηκη in terms of a human διάθηκη is that it is easy to introduce the concept χρονονομία – a concept which plays an important role later in his argument.

In verse 15 he begins his argument by pointing out one of the characteristics of a human διάθηκη. He begins with the words Ἀδελφοί, κατὰ; ἀνεγρώπων λέγω. Scholars interpret his use of Ἀδελφοί in various ways. Since for the purpose of our interpretation we do not have the accompanying facial expression, body language and tone of voice, it is difficult to pinpoint its function, but the best guess seems to be that Paul uses it to normalise the tone of the letter, in particular, after the severity of the rebuke in Galatians 3:1-5. As Witherington indicates, the fact that Paul uses Ἀδελφοί increasingly towards the end of the letter, may be part of an overall strategy to "move from alienation to reunion" in the letter.

Scholars interpret the phrase κατὰ; ἀνεγρώπων λέγω, found only in Pauline literature (not elsewhere in Greek literature), in various ways, for example, as an indication of a proof "die noch der Prüfung am Verhalten Gottes harrt", as an indication that Paul is aware that the illustration he is about to mention is "a weak and inadequate parallel to the covenant of God", or as an indication that he distances himself at the outset from the
tion that the law is an attempt to cancel God's promises to Abraham. However, it seems as if the best interpretation of this expression is offered by Bjerkelund who compares Paul's expression to similar expressions in Rabbinic literature and shows that it apparently functioned as a technical expression indicating arguments not found in Scripture, but elsewhere. As Bjerkelund puts it:

Auf menschliche Weise reden, heisst in der Form eines Streitgespräch zu argumentieren oder ein Gleichnis zu gebrauchen un (sic!) von dem aus zu argumentieren... Der Hinweis auf Tatsachen ist ein charakteristisches Merkmal dieser Gleichnissform. Der Apostel führt aus dem Leben gegriffene Tatsachen an und zwängt auf dieser Grundlage bestimmte Schlussfolgerungen herbei. Das Gleichnismoment liegt in dem Vergleich: Was auf der einen Ebene gilt, gilt ebenso, ja in noch stärkerem Masse auf der anderen.

Thus, Paul uses the expression κατά; αὐτὸς λέγω to indicate his shift to another type of argument. Instead of using arguments from Scripture (as he did in 3:6-14), he now uses an illustration from daily life.

Since the same word is used in Greek for "will" and "covenant", Paul must ensure that his audience will grasp that he refers in verse 15 to a human will and not to the divine covenant. Therefore he adds the word "human": οἵων αὐτὸς λέγω κεκυρωμένην διάσχισθαι... He points out: similarly, once a human will has been ratified no one may annul it or add to it. This statement of Paul is very problematic, as one could definitely change one's will in his times if one wished to do so. Accordingly, scholars make various suggestions to make sense of Paul's words, for example, that he is referring to the fact that no one else may change one's will, or that one has to assume that Paul is referring to a situation where the testator has already died. Other scholars are of the opinion that Paul is not.

607 Ibid., p. 100.
608 Contra Burton, Galatians, p. 179, who seems to be the only exegete to interpret διάσχισθαι in verse 15 as "covenant".
609 οἵων may mean either "similarly" or "although", but it should be understood in this instance as "similarly". See the discussions by L&N 64.11; BDAG(ὁ); Longenecker, Galatians, p. 127; and Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 176. Paul's use of οἵων seems to reflect an archaic use of οἵων, but see J. Jeremias, "Ο Μ Ψ 5 (1 Kor. 14,7, Gal. 3,15)", ZNW 52 (1961), pp. 127-128, and R. Keyrell, "Ο Μ Ψ 5 ", ZNW 54 (1963), pp. 145-146, for two examples from Koine Greek. Scholars such as Lietzmann, Galater, p. 20; Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 140; Bruce, Galatians, p. 169; and Dunn, Galatians, p. 169, prefer to translate οἵων as "although/even".
611 For example, Lietzmann, Galater, p. 20.
612 For example, Anderson, Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul, p. 164.
speaking about wills in general, but that he has a very specific kind of will in mind, for example:

- Ramsay\textsuperscript{613} is of the opinion that one should understand Paul's words in terms of Greek (not Roman) law. According to Ramsay, the custom in Greek cities was that one could not change a will once it had been registered in the public record office, except if it contained a clause permitting it to be changed.\textsuperscript{614}
- Bammel\textsuperscript{615} suggests that Paul is referring to a Jewish institution called δια δοθείαν, according to which property could be donated to someone while the donor was still alive, without the possibility of it being annulled later.\textsuperscript{616}
- Lim\textsuperscript{617} draws attention to PYadin 19, a Greek papyrus (dated 16 April 128 C.E.) from the Babatha archive, a "deed gift" from a person called Judah to his daughter, Sholamzious, according to which he gives her some of his property while he was still alive. She was to receive the rest of his property after his death. According to Lim, Paul might have had this kind of document in mind in Galatians 3:15.

The problem with the views of Ramsay, Bammel and Lim is that there is no evidence of a widespread phenomenon in antiquity that would warrant Paul's seemingly sweeping statement that a human will could not be changed once it had been ratified.\textsuperscript{618} It should rather be assumed that Paul is not referring to a particular kind of will.\textsuperscript{619} In that case, only two alternatives remain. The first possibility is that Paul does not express himself clearly and that he is referring to the fact that a will may not be changed by someone else or that he is thinking of a situation after the testator's death. The other possibility is that he is in fact creating the illustration in such a way that it will suit his argument later. In both cases, however, it constitutes a flaw in his rhetorical strategy, as it could cause his audience not to agree with what he is saying about a human will. In order for an \textit{a minori ad maius argument} (or any kind of argument based on the notion of similarity between two cases) to be effective, the audience should agree that the characteristic highlighted and used by the speaker/author is a valid

\begin{itemize}
  \item Ramsay\textsuperscript{613} W. M. Ramsay, \textit{A Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians} (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1899), pp. 349-356.
  \item Bammel, "Gottes ΔΙΑ ΑΘΗΚΗ", pp. 313-319.
  \item Bammel\textsuperscript{615} See also R. Yaron, \textit{Gifts in Contemplation of Death in Jewish and Roman Law} (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960), for a discussion of the \textit{donatio mortis causa} according to which ownership of property could be transferred while the donor was still alive (a gift that was considered to be irrevocable).
  \item Lim\textsuperscript{617} This conclusion is also reached by Longenecker, \textit{Galatians}, p. 130; and Betz, \textit{Galatians}, p. 155.
  \item Lim\textsuperscript{618} See Hübner, \textit{Biblische Theologie}, p. 82 n. 131; Smit, "Naar een nieuwe benadering", p. 217; Martyn, \textit{Galatians}, p. 338 n. 154; and D. J. Williams, \textit{Paul's Metaphors. Their Context and Character} (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1999), pp. 148-149.
\end{itemize}
characteristic of the selected example. This does not seem to be the case in Paul's current argument.

One would also expect that, in order to have maximum effect, the "application" will follow immediately after the relevant characteristic has been highlighted. Yet Paul first directs the attention of his audience to the content of the divine διαθήκη, namely the promises that were spoken to Abraham and his seed (verse 16a). Paul mentioned ἐπαγγελία for the first time in 3:14, and he uses the word now to refer to the content of the divine διαθήκη. In the light of Galatians 3:1-14 one can assume that Paul uses ἐπαγγελία to refer to God's promises to Abraham, such as those with regard to his offspring (cf. 3:6-7) and him being a blessing to the nations (cf. 3:8). Verse 16a is then followed by an exegetical explanation in which Paul uses typical Jewish exegetical techniques in order to highlight the difference between the singular σπέρματι and the plural σπέρμασιν. To modern minds, this kind of exegesis may seem arbitrary — in particular, since in this case the singular is used often in a generic sense. However, within rabbinic circles the kind of argument Paul uses in this instance would have been accepted as valid. According to Paul, the singular in the quotation καὶ τῶ σπέρματι σου refers to a specific individual, namely Christ.

What is Paul's purpose with verse 16? It appears that he adds this verse in order to safeguard the outcome of the a minori ad maius argument. He makes sure that the audience knows the content of the divine διαθήκη, and that it basically concerns Jesus Christ. However, one should ask if he is not in fact overcomplicating the matter, in that what he may conceive as strengthening the argument, in fact weakens it, since it shifts the attention of the audience to another issue, thereby allowing the characteristic of the human διαθήκη just pointed out to fade into the background. Perhaps it would have made better sense to withhold what is said in verse 16 until after the application in verse 17. The fact that he begins

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620 Paul uses ἐπαγγελία in the plural; possibly since he may be thinking of the various ways in which the basic blessing of Genesis 12:1-3 was repeated later on. See Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, pp. 180-181; and Smit, "Naar een nieuwe benadering", p. 217 n. 28.

621 ἐφρεγχάν is used in this instance in the sense of "zusprechen". See Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 180.

622 Schlier, Galater, p. 144, points out that, for Paul, the identity of διαθήκη and ἐπαγγελία is so self-evident that he could easily replace διαθήκη by ἐπαγγελία.

623 Dunn, Galatians, p. 184. See Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 239; Rohde, Galater, p. 149; Bruce, Galatians, p. 173; and D. Daube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism (London: Athlone Press, 1956), pp. 438-444, for examples from the Old Testament and rabbinic exegesis where "seed" is interpreted as referring to specific individuals.


625 According to some scholars, for example, Burton, Galatians, pp. 182, 509 (who thinks the whole phrase was added by an editor), Wright, Climax of the Covenant, pp. 162-163, and Longenecker, Galatians, p. 132, Paul is referring to Christ in the sense of a corporate personality, but this goes against the drift of Paul's argument in which he contrasts the plural and singular.

626 As Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 179, puts it, "(e)r sichert… mit V.16 die theologisch richtige Anwendung des juristischen Grundsatzes".
the application (verse 17) with the phrase τοῦτο δε λέγω may be an indication that he is aware of the fact that he has to "refocus" the attention of the audience on the basic issue, since the intended effect of this phrase is to draw the attention of the audience.\textsuperscript{627} The application itself (verse 17) is straightforward: like a human διαθήκη, God's διαθήκη could not be changed; therefore the law could not annul the covenant and make the promise ineffective, since the law came 430 years after the covenant. The time span of 430 years (it was in fact much longer\textsuperscript{628}) mentioned by Paul is based on a very old tradition that dates back to the Pentateuch.\textsuperscript{629} If the audience accepted Paul's statement in verse 15 that a human διαθήκη cannot be changed at a later stage, they will also accept his application of it to the divine διαθήκη in verse 17: the law could not change God's covenant with Abraham in any way. As indicated above, Paul's purpose in doing this, is to dissociate covenant and law. In Judaism covenant and law were always kept together. It is evident that in the process he portrays the law in a negative way.\textsuperscript{630}

In verse 18 he basically reiterates\textsuperscript{631} what he mentioned in verse 17 (though in different words) in that he again dissociates law and covenant (represented here by the notions of κληρονομία and επαγγέλια): if\textsuperscript{632} – as his opponents think\textsuperscript{633} – the κληρονομία (that is, all the good things that God gives, such as justification redemption from the curse of the law, receiving the Holy Spirit, and so on\textsuperscript{634}) comes from the law, then it does not come from the promise God made to Abraham. Verse 18b points out that it cannot be true that the κληρονομία comes from the law: God showed himself to be gracious\textsuperscript{635} through the prom-

\textsuperscript{627} Betz, Galatians, p. 157.

\textsuperscript{628} According to Rohde, Galater, p. 150, it must have been roughly 600 years, and according to Bruce, Galatians, p. 173, it must have been roughly 645 years.


\textsuperscript{630} Contra Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 186.

\textsuperscript{631} Thus verse 18 should not be regarded as a conclusion of his argument in the sense that it represents a further and final stage in his argument in this section (contra Lührmann, Galater, p. 62). Paul is confirming what he has just said. As L. Hartman, 'Galatians 3:15-4:11 as Part of a Theological Argument on a Practical Issue', in: J. Lambrecht (ed.), The Truth of the Gospel (Galatians 1:1-4:11) (BMSBES 12, Rome: Benedictina, 1993), p. 134, puts it: "Thus, in verse 18, Paul gives the wedge an additional blow."

\textsuperscript{632} Paul uses a real condition in this instance. See Silva, Explorations in Exegetical Methods, p. 184; and J. Lambrecht, "Unreal Conditions in the Letters of Paul: A Clarification", EThL 63:1 (1987), p. 153. As Lambrecht correctly points out, this kind of conditional sentence can be summarised as: "Let us suppose that A is true; it then follows that B is true." Thus Paul is not necessarily accepting the truth of the conditional statement.

\textsuperscript{633} εἰς γὰρ seems to represent an ellipsis in this instance. See Silva, Explorations in Exegetical Methods, p. 86. One should thus add something such as "Because, if what my opponents say/if the 'other gospel' is true and the κληρονομία is from the law..."

\textsuperscript{634} As Esler, Galatians, p. 194, puts it: κληρονομία is a "master designation for a cluster of desirable attributes attached to those who have faith in Christ".

\textsuperscript{635} This is the meaning of καταργοῦμαι. See BDAG (καταργοῦμαι).
ise. Thus again, Paul is dissociating law and promise, arguing that the law is secondary to the promise.

To conclude: in this section Paul's major rhetorical strategy can be identified as the use of an *a minori ad maius* argument: a particular characteristic of a human διαθήκη is singled out and then applied to the divine διαθήκη. Paul's purpose in doing this is to *dissociate* covenant and law, thereby giving priority to the covenant with Abraham (which is linked almost exclusively to Christ) and downplaying the importance of the law. This strategy can be schematised as follows:

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Divine covenant
Inheritance
Promise(s)
Law
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Furthermore, two weak points in Paul's rhetorical strategy have also been identified:

1. The fact that his statement that a human διαθήκη could not be changed once it was ratified must have sounded strange (if not outright untrue) to his audience. Since this aspect is crucial for his argument, it could have had the effect that some of his audience would have thought the argument to be unconvincing.

2. By adding extra thoughts in verse 16 Paul seems to be overcomplicating the entire argument, making it less effective.

Other minor rhetorical techniques have also been identified in this section, namely the use of ἀφελφινώ to normalise the tone of the letter, the use of Scripture, and the use of a phrase to focus the attention of the audience on a particular issue.

9. Phase Nine: Galatians 3:19-25: Explaining the purpose of the law in such a way as to emphasise its inferiority

In this section Paul does not provide new arguments, but pauses, seemingly to explain the function of the law. He apparently realises that what he said thus far about the law (for example, a notion such as the "curse of the law") would make the Galatians wonder why God gave the law if it does not seem to have a positive function. Realising that his audience may have this question on their minds, Paul adopts a very clever rhetorical strategy in this instance. He indicates that he intends to address the purpose of the law, although he proceeds to explain its purpose in such a way that it emphasises its *inferiority* to the prom-

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636 Scholars demarcate this section in various ways: 3:19-29 (for example, Becker, *Galater*, p. 42); 3:19-24 (for example, Holmstrand, *Markers and Meaning*, pp. 170-171, 197); 3:19-25 (for example, Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 136); or 3:19-4:7 (for example, Rohde, *Galater*, p. 152). The demarcation used above is based on the fact that Paul basically uses the same rhetorical strategy throughout this section (that is, emphasis on the inferiority of the law).

637 Betz, *Galatians*, p. 163, classifies this section as a *digressio* (see also Russell, "Rhetorical Analysis", p. 427); and Thurén, *Derhetorizing Paul*, p. 81, classifies verses 15-29 as *refutatio*. I prefer not to use any of these two descriptions, but, instead, to describe the rhetorical function of the section as outlined above.
ises of God/faith throughout. In other words, although it may seem to the audience that he has changed the topic, the basic message is to a large extent similar to the one in the previous sections: not the law; only faith! In this instance, Paul conveys this message by means of a continued emphasis on the inferiority of the law. This section can be divided into the following three segments, which have the same underlying rhetorical strategy, namely emphasis on the inferiority of the law:

1. Verses 19-20: A rhetorical question followed by a series of concise statements in which he points out the inferiority of the law.
2. Verses 21-22: A second rhetorical question followed by two further statements emphasising the inferiority of the law.

In the first segment (verses 19-20) Paul begins with a rhetorical question τινος ἡ νόμῳ (translated best in English as "Why, then, the law?"), thereby focusing the attention of the audience on the purpose of the law. Paul then uses a series of concise statements to answer this question. Due to brevity of the statements, scholars find it difficult to determine their exact meaning and their impact on understanding his theology. However, in a study to explain his rhetorical strategy, one should bear Bligh's comments in mind:

This provocative utterance is not arrived at slowly by a careful process of thought. It is flung out in the heat of debate – and the hearer is left to consider in what sense or senses it is true.

This is indeed the case. As theologians, we may be used to pondering difficult sections such as these for hours before reaching a decision, but in trying to determine their rhetorical function it is important to bear in mind that they were uttered – and expected to be heard by the Galatians – in a few seconds. If it were Paul's primary intention to convey knowledge as to the purpose of the law, he would have spent more time doing so, explaining it with considerably more thought. His primary intention rather appears to be to use this series of concise statements to convey one basic notion, namely that the law is inferior to faith. Furthermore, it is helpful to distinguish in this section between how Paul intended these statements to be understood and how the Galatians probably would have understood them, since, due to the brevity of the statements, his intention may not have been conveyed as he expected.

• τῶν παραβαγών καὶ προσετείχ: In this statement two issues raise problems, namely the interpretation of καὶ and the connotations associated with προσετείχ.

With respect to the first issue, the choice is notoriously difficult. It is well-known that καὶ can mean either "because of" or "for the purpose of", thus giving rise to conflicting

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638 τι would be translated either adverbially as "why?" or pronominally as "what (is)?". The first is the best choice here. See the discussions by Burton, Galatians, p. 187; and D. B. Wallace, "Galatians 3:19-20: A crux interpretum for Paul's View of the Law", WThJ 52:2 (1990), pp. 231. For a different view in this respect, see Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 191.

639 Galatians, p. 293. Note that Bligh is referring in particular, to verse 19a, but to my mind one can apply these words to the entire segment (verses 19-20).
interpretations of how Paul views the purpose of the law in this instance: either to identify/reduce/deal with\textsuperscript{640} sin or to provoke/produce\textsuperscript{641} sin. Due to the brevity of the statement, it could be any one of these two interpretations. One can be certain about the rather vague notion that he is associating the law with transgressions; this in itself could be indicative of the inferiority of the law, since faith is usually associated with concepts such as justification or life. If one is pressed to choose one of the options outlined above,\textsuperscript{642} my guess would be that Paul is thinking of the law as provoking/producing sin.

There is more certainty regarding the use of \textit{prosetevqh}. Paul uses this word to deliberately echo the preceding \textit{a minori ad maius argument} in which he mentioned that it is impossible at a later stage to add to a human will.\textsuperscript{643} In his view this would be an indication of the inferiority of the law.\textsuperscript{644}

How would the Galatians interpret Paul's statement \textit{tw`n parabavsewn cavrin prosetevqh}? Although Paul may use this statement to indicate the inferiority of the law, they would probably not understand it in this way. Since Paul's rhetorical question in verse 19a would create the expectation that he is about to explain the purpose of the law, they would assume that he is about to say something positive about the law, and this would incline them towards interpreting this statement in a positive way, perhaps as "the law was added at a later stage (understood in a neutral sense) by God\textsuperscript{645} in order to identify/deal with/reduce transgressions".

\textbullet\ \textit{a[cri" ou| e[lqh/ to; spevrma w|/ ejphvggeltai}; This statement can be explained more easily. It is clear that Paul's intention is to indicate the inferiority of the law in terms of its temporary nature.\textsuperscript{646} It only had a function \textit{until} the seed (that is, Christ) would come. Now that Christ has come, the law no longer has a function.

How would the Galatians interpret this statement? Since its meaning is quite clear they would only be able to understand it more or less in the way Paul intends it: as an in-

\textsuperscript{640} See, for example, Mussner, \textit{Galaterbrief}, p. 246; Dunn, \textit{Galatians}, p. 190; Longenecker, \textit{Galatians}, p. 138; Smit, "Naar een nieuwe benadering", p. 219; Witherington, \textit{Grace in Galatia}, p. 256; and Thurén, \textit{Derhetorizing Paul}, p. 84.


\textsuperscript{642} Perhaps Wallace, "Galatians 3:19-20", p. 238, is correct in saying that the ambiguity in Paul's statement may be due to the fact that he does not yet have a precise idea himself at this stage; "that he had not yet sharpened his thinking beyond this initial broad statement".

\textsuperscript{643} Hartman, "Galatians 3:15-4:11 as Part of a Theological Argument", p. 141.


\textsuperscript{645} They would most probably interpret the passive as indicative of God's action. See Wallace, "Galatians 3:19-20", p. 231; and Thurén, \textit{Derhetorizing Paul}, p. 82. To my mind, this is the way in which Paul intends it. See the discussion of \textit{diatagei}, \textit{diagge\ellw} further on, too.

\textsuperscript{646} According to the typical Jewish view the law was eternal. See Schlier, \textit{Galater}, p. 246; and Mussner, \textit{Galaterbrief}, p. 246.
dication that the law may have had a (good?) function at some stage, but that that is the past.

- **diatagei, diēangevwn**: In this statement there are two closely related issues which are interpreted differently by scholars, namely the meaning of δια in this context and the nature of the angels. With respect to the meaning of δια it could indicate either instrument or origin. If it is used to indicate instrument, Paul would be stating that God used the angels as agents to give the law. If it is used to indicate origin, Paul would be stating that the angels themselves gave the law. With respect to the second issue, the nature of the angels, most scholars assume that Paul is speaking of God's (that is, good) angels, but this is disputed by Hübner who is of the opinion that Paul is thinking of evil angels.

This statement is best interpreted in a most straightforward way, namely that Paul is stating that God used angels to give the law. The brevity of the statement makes it highly unlikely that he intends to convey the notion that the law did not originate with God, but from either good or bad angels. If this were his intention he would have expressed it in a much clearer way in order to convey the idea, because it could be conclusive evidence of the inferiority of the law. However, this is not what he is stating here. In fact, it is all but certain that in pursuing the idea that the law did not come from God he would be damaging his rhetorical strategy – something he would surely have realised. In this instance, he is merely stating that God used angels to give the law. To him this is an indication of the inferiority of the law. At this stage, the Galatians would not have realised this. They would probably interpret his reference to the angels as something quite

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647 BDR §223.
651 Thurén, *Derhetorizing Paul*, pp. 81-83.
653 διαταγει literally means "ordered (through the angels)" in this instance. See BDAG (διαταγειω).
positive.\textsuperscript{654} Paul's intention that this is indicative of the inferiority of the law will only become clear to them when they read the next verse.

- \textit{\oe n \oe i:ri;\ mesi\'b\ou}: Of the four statements on the law, this is the easiest to understand. Paul refers to the fact that the law was given by a mediator, nowadays\textsuperscript{655} almost without exception interpreted as referring to Moses,\textsuperscript{656} through whom\textsuperscript{657} God gave the law. Although the Galatians would not realise this at this stage, Paul regards even this statement as indicative of the inferiority of the law.

- \textit{\old;\mesi\'h\ e\ho; \ou\k \e\'t\in, \old;\geo; \e\i;f \e\'t\in}: Without doubt, this statement is the most difficult to explain of all that Paul writes in the Letter to the Galatians (perhaps because he does not express himself clearly?). Although the essence of his argument is clear, its details remain obscure.\textsuperscript{658} He wishes to contrast the way in which the law was given with the way in which the promise was given. According to him, the law was given by means of mediation, but the promise came directly from God. This he interprets as indicative of the inferiority of the law, since the way in which the promise was given corresponds to the nature of God, in particular, his oneness, whereas the giving of the law does not.

As far as the details of his argument are concerned, verse 20 is best translated as "the mediator is not of one, but God is one."\textsuperscript{659} Of all the many possible interpretations suggested for this sentence, the following three seem to be the best:

1. Paul claims that a mediator presupposes the existence of \textit{two parties} between whom the mediation occurred – something which does not correspond to the oneness of God.\textsuperscript{660}

2. The \textit{use of a mediator as such} implies that several parties were involved in the giving – something which contrasts with the fact that God is one, implying that such a procedure is inferior to one where God acts directly.\textsuperscript{661}

3. The use of the mediator represents a \textit{plurality} (in this case, the group of angels) – something which does not correspond to the oneness of God.\textsuperscript{662}

\textsuperscript{654} Longenecker, \textit{Galatians}, p. 140.

\textsuperscript{655} In earlier times this statement was frequently interpreted as referring to Christ. See Lightfoot, \textit{Galatians}, p. 145, for examples in this respect.

\textsuperscript{656} Though see Gaston, "Angels and Gentiles in Early Judaism and in Paul", p. 74.

\textsuperscript{657} The expression \textit{\e\h; \c\e\i;ri\i\is} is a stereotypic expression in the LXX indicating "through the mediation of Moses". See Eckstein, \textit{Verheißung und Gesetz}, p. 203.

\textsuperscript{658} As Dunn, \textit{Galatians}, p. 191, puts it: "a not very successful (as subsequent confusion has shown) epigrammatic play-off between God's oneness and the fact that mediation implies more than one".

\textsuperscript{659} Betz, \textit{Galatians}, p. 171.

\textsuperscript{660} See, for example, Lightfoot, \textit{Galatians}, p. 146; and Longenecker, \textit{Galatians}, p. 142.

\textsuperscript{661} For example, Betz, \textit{Galatians}, p. 171.

\textsuperscript{662} See, for example, A. Oepke, "\mesi\'h\," \textit{TDNT} 4, p. 618; Schlier, \textit{Galater}, p. 161; and Mussner, \textit{Galaterbrief}, pp. 248-249 (who provides an illuminating sketch illustrating his interpretation). Note that Oepke restricts the plurality to the angels and does not think that Paul also has the plurality of the re-
The second interpretation makes the best sense. Would the Galatians have understood the details of Paul’s argument? Probably not, but they would surely at least have grasped that Paul wishes to state that the way in which the law was given proves that it is inferior to the promise.

Does Paul in fact answer the question he asked at the beginning of this segment? To my mind, he does not. Of everything he says about the law in this segment, only the first statement (ἐν τῷ παραβάσειν καὶ προσετῇ) refers to the function of the law (be it in an ambiguous way). This should be viewed as a deliberate rhetorical strategy that he uses in this section: he is aware of the fact that his audience may be wondering why the law was given, and then asks a question highlighting this issue. Thus, he creates the impression that he will answer the question and will provide a description of the function of the law. However, instead of explaining the function of the law, what he says about the law focuses on its inferiority. This rhetorical technique could be called rerouting the attention of the audience.

At this stage, Paul probably realises that the Galatians may be thinking that the law is against the promises of God. In the second segment, verses (21-22), he begins again with a rhetorical question, focusing the attention of the Galatians on this issue: οὗ τὸ νόμον κατὰ τὸν εἰσέβασιν ἡμῶν νομοθετεῖται; He answers this question himself with an emphatic mh; gev noito, and then continues εἰς τὸν εἴδωλον τοῦ νόμου αὐτῷ ἡ ἡδικασμόν. This statement should not be regarded as a motivation for mh; gevnoito, as it in fact introduces a new idea.665 Instead of explaining why he states that the law is not against the promises of God, he immediately continues to point out the inferiority of the law (again!): it cannot make alive (that is, make righteous, bless and provide spiritual life) and therefore righteousness is not possible through the law.667 Instead, the real

cipients in mind (Oepke, ibid., p. 619, note 770). See also T. Callan, "Pauline Midrash: The Exegetical Background of Gal 3:19b", JBL 99:4 (1980), p. 567, who thinks that Paul is referring to the fact that Moses acted on behalf of both the angels and the people, which means that he was "complex", rather than "simplex", thus differing from the simplicity of God.

663 See Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 208, for various interpretations of κατὰ τὸν in this instance (indicating – in his words – either a "Konkurrenzverhältnis", "Widerspruch" or "Gegensatz"). Whichever of these is chosen will not have any effect on the way in which Paul’s rhetorical strategy is described above.

664 As Bruce, Galatians, p. 180, points out, the direction of Paul’s argument actually prepares one to expect an affirmative answer in this instance.

665 Scholars frequently interpret ἐγνωσόμαι as causal in this instance. See, for example, Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 251; and Silva, Explorations in Exegetical Method, p. 85. The statement is then usually interpreted as meaning that the law had a different function and that it could therefore not be against the promises of God. However, as Lambrecht, "Line of Thought", p. 495, and "Once Again", pp. 149-151, shows, it makes much more sense to interpret ἐγνωσόμαι in this instance as introducing a new idea.

666 Lührmann, Galater, p. 64.

667 Paul uses an unreal condition in this instance, which means that the condition is not fulfilled. See Lambrecht, "Unreal Conditions in the Letters of Paul", pp. 153-156, for a good discussion. See also his critical remarks on p. 154 on the view of Winger, "Unreal Conditions in the Letters of Paul". 

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situation is different: according to Scripture, everything\textsuperscript{669} is confined under sin. As was the case earlier (see Galatians 3:8) Paul again personifies Scripture in this instance:\textsuperscript{670} \textit{ajlla; sune\kappa\iota\plorer\iota h\iota\gamma\rho\alpha\varphi\iota\tau\alpha; panta up\iota; ap\alpha\rrow\iota\tau\iota\nu\iota\nu\iota\nu.} By means of this personification he succeeds in creating a very vivid picture of humankind as confined/imprisoned\textsuperscript{671} "under sin". That Paul uses "Scripture" instead of "law" in this instance, is not accidental. He does so because he has a specific passage in Scripture in mind,\textsuperscript{672} but, more importantly, because using "law" here would ascribe a much too positive function to the law, namely that it confined humankind under sin in order that the promise would be given to those who believe in Christ (as the \textit{i\lowercase{f}a\lowercase{a}}-clause indicates\textsuperscript{673}). The fact that Paul distinguishes between Scripture and law in this instance,\textsuperscript{674} preferring to use "Scripture" instead of "law", should serve as an indication that his aim is not to discuss the role of the law in this segment in a positive manner.\textsuperscript{675} His primary intention is to contrast the law which cannot make alive (verse 21) with faith through which the promise is given to those who believe in Christ\textsuperscript{676} (verse 22), thereby underlining the inferiority of the law.

Does Paul in fact answer the rhetorical question with which he begins this segment? To my mind, he does not. He again uses the technique of rerouting the attention of the audience: instead of explaining why the law is not against God's promises, he emphasises the inferiority of the law: it cannot make alive; the only way out of this situation of confinement/imprisonment is faith by which the promise is received.

\textsuperscript{668} \textit{ajlla;} indicates a stark contrast. See Burton, \textit{Galatians}, p. 195; and Longenecker, \textit{Galatians}, p. 144.
\textsuperscript{669} The neuter is used to refer to the whole human situation. See Bruce, \textit{Galatians}, p. 180.
\textsuperscript{670} Bruce, \textit{Galatians}, p. 181, seems to overinterpret the personification when he states: [T]he written law is the official who locks the law-breaker up in the prisonhouse of which sin is the jailor.
\textsuperscript{671} This is the meaning of \textit{sugkleivw} in this instance. See BDAG (\textit{sugkleivw}); Burton, \textit{Galatians}, p. 196; Eckstein, \textit{Verheißung und Gesetz}, p. 208; and Martyn, \textit{Galatians}, p. 370. Contra Mussner, \textit{Galaterbrief}, p. 252. The classification of this verb by L&N 13.125 & 44.9 is not adequate.
\textsuperscript{672} For suggestions as to which passage(s) Paul may have had in mind, see Lightfoot, \textit{Galatians}, p. 146; Dunn, \textit{Galatians}, p. 144; and Longenecker, \textit{Galatians}, p. 194.
\textsuperscript{673} As Eckstein, \textit{Verheißung und Gesetz}, p. 210, note 139, puts it: Demgemäß bezieht sich die Aussage des \textit{i\lowercase{f}a\lowercase{a}}-Satzes in V.24 nicht auf die Intention des Gesetzgebers, sondern auf die übergeordnete Absicht des Gesetzgebers. (Eckstein's italics.)
\textsuperscript{675} Eckstein, \textit{Verheißung und Gesetz}, p. 208, note 119.
In the last segment (verses 23-25) Paul continues his emphasis on the inferiority of the law. The most important persuasive technique he uses in this case is the use of metaphorical language in describing the situation "before the faith came".

1. *υπὸ νόμον ἐφοροῦμεν συγκλειόμενοι εἰς τὴν μελλουσαν πίστιν ἀποκαλυφθαί*.
   - In the first instance, he picks up the metaphor of imprisonment/confine introduced in verse 22, reinforcing its effect by adding another metaphor in which this situation is further described as *υπὸ νόμον ἐφοροούμενα*. The verb he uses in this instance means "to hold in custody/confine"; and thus, he once again depicts the situation under the law metaphorically as being in prison/custody. As such, this again points to the inferiority of the law. It had not only a temporary function (until "the faith" came), but until then it had the function of confining/imprisoning humankind.

2. *ὡς τε ονόμα παῖδαγωγόν* ἡμῶν γέγονεν εἰς Χριστὸν*.
   - In the second instance, Paul uses personification to depict the law as a *paidagwgoς*. The exact nuance he has in mind is disputed; it therefore seems best to begin by identifying the various connotations that could be associated with this concept in antiquity. Apart from Galatians 3:23-25, *paidagwgoς* is used only once in the remainder of the New Testament. In 1 Corinthians 4:14-15 Paul contrasts the "thousands of *paidagwgoiv* which the Christians in Corinth may have had, with himself, the only "father" they have. The most that can be gained from this statement is that it is based on the assumption that a closer relationship exists between a father and his children than between the *paidagwgoς* and the children he has to look after. For more information on the *paidagwgoς* one should investigate classical and Hellenistic sources, which create the following picture.

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677 The article is used in this instance to refer to the previous verse, meaning "the faith just spoken of". See Burton, Galatians, p. 198; and Dunn, Galatians, p. 197.
678 This in itself is another use of personification (of Scripture), though not developed to any extent (see A. von Dobbeler, "Metaphernkonflikt und Missionsstrategie. Beobachtungen zur personifizierenden Rede von Glauben in Gal 3,23-25", ThZ54:1 [1998], p. 18) – perhaps because Paul is echoing the LXX in this instance where this expression means "being revealed" or "appear". See Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 213.
679 *υπὸ* and the accusative is used to indicate "unter der Gewalt und Herrschaft des Gesetzes" (See Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz., p. 214).
680 See BDAG (Φουρέω); and Hansen, Abraham in Galatians, p. 134. Von Dobbeler, "Metaphernkonflikt und Missionsstrategie", pp. 20-21, attempts to link the metaphors Paul uses in this instance to family life, but this is not convincing.
681 See the discussion of Paul's use of inclusive language later in this section.
683 This discussion is based on the studies by N. H. Young, "Paidagogos: the Social Setting of a Pauline Metaphor", NT 29:2 (1987), pp. 150-176; L. L. Belleville, "Under Law' : Structural Analysis and the Pauline Concept of Law in Galatians 3.21-4.11", JSNT 26 (1986), pp. 53-78; Oepke, Galater, pp. 120-
their life children were usually placed under the supervision first of a τήρη ("wet-nurse") or a τρώφ ('nurse') and then of a παιδαγγωγό, a domestic slave who was responsible for the children from the time they woke up in the morning until they went to bed at night. The παιδαγγωγό supervised the children's daily activities, their hygiene and studies. However, he was not a teacher (διδάσκαλο), and only had to accompany the children to and from school, often carrying their books and utensils. He was also responsible for teaching the children good manners and proper behaviour — a task which necessitated rebuke and punishment. Accordingly, παιδαγγωγό sometimes had a reputation for harshness and were often depicted with a cane, a whip or a rod. On the other hand, many παιδαγγωγοι fulfilled their task with kindness and in some cases life-long bonds of friendship existed between a παιδαγγωγό and the child he supervised. The παιδαγγωγό task ended when the child came of age.

This summary indicates that people could have associated a number of connotations with the concept παιδαγγωγό in antiquity, namely:

- to guide;
- to discipline;
- to protect/care for;
- to be strict; and
- a temporary measure.

In the exegesis of this concept, this led to various and often contradictory interpretations of Paul's depiction of the law in this instance, as not all scholars emphasise the same aspect. Some of the suggestions made by scholars are:

- the temporary task of the law;
- the strict temporary supervisory task and custodian care of the law;
- the moral supervision of the law;
- the elenctic function of the law;
- the harshness of the law;
- the protective task of the law;
- the situation under the law as a period of childhood, a captive situation equal to slavery;
- the strict supervision of the law, preparing people for maturity and freedom.

123; D. J. Lull, "'The Law Was Our Pedagogue': A Study in Galatians 3:19-25", JBL 105:3 (1986), pp. 481-498; and Betz, Galatians, pp. 177-178. See also Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 262.


688 Betz, Galatians, p. 178; Becker, Galater, p. 44; and Lietzmann, Galater, p. 23.


the law as something that comes between God and humankind, obscuring the direct relationship between them.\textsuperscript{692}

If Paul's personification of the law in this case is considered out of context, any one of these interpretations would be a legitimate way of interpreting it. However, within the context in which he employs it, there are definite guidelines which can assist one in determining its function, namely:

- the sharp contrast between the time before and after faith indicates that Paul wishes to emphasise the temporary nature of the law, and
- the way in which the verbs \textit{sugklei\omicron} and \textit{froure\omicron} are used earlier in this section to refer to notions of confinement/prison/custodian suggests that Paul has the same kind of nuance in mind.

Thus, it appears that Paul uses the portrayal of the law as \textit{paidagwgo\omicron} primarily to indicate the temporary and captive nature of the law — a situation that changed completely once faith came. The underlying argument in this case (and earlier on in this section, too) is that the time of the law has passed; returning to a life under the law (which the Galatians considered doing) would be senseless — as senseless as it would be for an adult to acquire a \textit{paidagwgo\omicron} (in our world: a nanny). It would be identical to returning from freedom to captivity.

Lastly, Paul's use of inclusive language in this segment should be pointed out. In verse 23 he uses the verbs in the first person plural and in verse 24 he personifies the law as \textit{our paidagwgo\omicron}. Exegetes tend to get encumbered by theological questions such as if Paul could really describe the earlier situation in the lives of the Galatians as being under the law. However, as Hartman points out, instead of focusing on theology, one should rather take note of the rhetorical effect which Paul wants to achieve here:

Also here the effect is that the contents come closer to the people involved in the communication and that a certain concluding effect is achieved... The shift to "we" language has the rhetorical effect of engaging the listeners, and of bringing speaker and hearer on the same footing... Thus I suggest that there is much less theology than rhetorics behind the "we" of verse 23.\textsuperscript{693}

To conclude: in this section the dominant rhetorical strategy is the continued emphasis on the inferiority of the law (compared to the promises of God/Faith). This strategy is achieved primarily by using rhetorical questions to focus the attention of the audience on specific issues (3:19, 22), followed by the rerouting of their attention to the inferiority of the law (3:19-20; 3:21-22), and the use of metaphorical language, in particular, personification (3:22, 23, 24). In addition, Paul uses inclusive language in a effective manner.

\textsuperscript{691} Borse, \textit{Galater}, p. 137.
\textsuperscript{692} Von Dobbeler, "Metaphernkonflikt und Missionsstrategie". p. 22.
\textsuperscript{693} Hartman, "Galatians 3:15 -4:11 as Part of a Theological Argument", pp. 141-142. For other exegetes who also interpret the "we" as referring to all people who believe in Christ and not only Jewish Christians, see Becker, \textit{Galater}, p. 44; Bruce, \textit{Galatians}, p. 182; Silva, \textit{Explorations in Exegetical Method}, p. 178; and Anderson, \textit{Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul}, p. 166.
10. Phase Ten: Galatians 3:26-29: Reminding the Galatians of their baptism as proof that they became children of God by faith

The type of argument Paul uses in this section can be classified as an argument based on experience – the same type of argument used in Galatians 3:1-5. As was pointed out at that stage, it is a very effective argument, as people do not doubt their own experience. In this instance, he reminds the Galatians of their baptism, and, in particular, of its significance (as he views it) for the situation in Galatia. In order to understand the force of Paul’s argument one must bear in mind how crucial rites and rituals were in ancient times, more so than in modern times. As baptism was the central initiation rite in Christianity, Paul’s argument in this case would probably have had a very powerful effect on the Galatians. The basic notion he wishes to convey is that they became children of God because they had faith – as their baptism proves.

In verse 26 he begins as follows: \(\text{Paul te\(\,\)gar ui\(\,\)jou\(\,\)e\(\,\)the\(\,\)e\(\,\)the \(\,\)di\(\,\)pist\(\,\)e
\(\,\)ejn\(\,\)Crist\(\,\)w\(\,\)jhsou\).\) This statement has two functions. On the one hand, Paul uses it further to motivate the notion that he ended the previous argument with, namely of "us" no longer being under a \(\text{paidagwgo}\(\)\) anymore since "faith" has come. This is that "we" (which has now been changed to "you") are (mature) sons now. On the other hand – and more importantly – he uses this statement to focus their attention on a new issue, namely the link between sonship of God and faith. Thus, in terms of content, the emphasis falls on the notion "sonship of God by faith". By switching from "we" to "you" he attempts to draw their attention forcefully to the implications of the link between sonship and faith for all of them: all of you are sons of God in Christ by faith.

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695 See, for example, Lietzmann, Galater, p. 23; Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 148; Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 266; and Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 218.
696 The use of \(\text{gavr}\) in this instance is thus best explained as being both causal and continuative (so, correctly, Dunn, Galatians, p. 201; and Longenecker, Galatians, p. 151) and not as only causal (for example, Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 218; Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 260; and Rohde, Galater, p. 163.)
697 In Judaism, the expression "sons of God" was viewed as a honorific epithet that would be given to Jews at the end of time. In Christianity it was reinterpreted and applied to all people (including Gentiles) who believed in Christ. See Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 270; and Betz, Galatians, p. 185.
698 To my mind, the reason for this switch is primarily rhetorical (to indicate how important this notion is to the Galatians). Thus, it should not be viewed as an indication that Paul now focuses on another group of addressees (contra Betz, Galatians, p. 185).
699 The words \(\text{ejn Crist\(\,\)w\)jhsou}\) do not express the "object" of faith in this instance (faith in Christ), but is semantically linked to \(\text{ui\(\,\)jou\(\,\)e\(\,\)the}\), indicating the sphere (German "Bereich") within which sonship of God is experienced. See Mussner, Galaterbrief, pp. 261-262; Longenecker, Galatians, pp. 155-156; K. Schäfer, Gemeinde als "Bruderschaft". Ein Beitrag zum Kirchenverständnis des Paulus (EHS 23/333, Frankfurt: Lang, 1989) pp. 80ff; and L. Klehn, "Die Verwendung von \(\text{ejn Crist\(\,\)w}\) bei Paulus. Erwägungen zu den Wandlungen in der paulinischen Theologie", BN 74 (1994), pp. 69-70.
In verse 27 Paul mentions baptism for the first time: for if one echoes Christian baptismal tradition or even a Christian baptismal liturgy. Many scholars assume that this is indeed the case – although not all of them agree on the way in which the underlying tradition/liturgy should be reconstructed. Nevertheless, his rhetorical strategy is clear: he reminds them of their baptism. One could even state that, by echoing the baptismal tradition/liturgy, he may in fact attempt to re-enact that profound moment in their lives, making them listen to more or less identical words they heard when they were baptised: sons of God... have been baptised into Christ... have put on Christ. Furthermore, it is important note the fact that Paul echoes the baptismal tradition/liturgy in this instance in order to emphasise the link between baptism and faith. This is primarily achieved by the prominence of the words in verse 26. Thus, he reminds the Galatians of their baptism, but then baptism as proof of the importance of faith through which they became sons of God.

In verse 28 Paul continues to echo baptismal tradition/liturgy. In verses 26-27 he focused the attention of the Galatians on their experience of baptism, emphasising the importance of faith. Now another issue is highlighted: namely the implication of baptism for Christian unity:

701 If verse 26 echoes Christian baptismal tradition (as it seems to do), the Galatians would probably have realised that Paul has baptism in mind, but he mentions baptism explicitly for the first time in verse 27.
702 I use "echo" instead of "quote" in this instance, because one cannot reconstruct the exact words used in the baptismal tradition/liturgy with absolute certainty. Furthermore, one should bear in mind that this tradition was probably transmitted in various forms.
703 The background of this metaphor is disputed. It could either be the Old Testament/LXX (for example, Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 262; and Bruce, Galatians, p. 186), the Roman practice according to which boys that had reached manhood exchanged the for a (for example, Williams, Paul’s Metaphors, p. 94), or the donning of a new robe after baptism (for example, Martyn, Galatians, pp. 376-377). To my mind, the first of these seems to be the correct one. It should be noted that this metaphor had formed part of the Christian tradition for a long time at this stage, and, would therefore have lost most of its rhetorical effect.

704 It appears that in this instance, but that he deliberately inserted it. See Schäfer, Gemeinde als "Bruderschaft", pp. 45-46; Hansen, Abraham in Galatians, p. 137; and Martyn, Galatians, p. 378.

Taufe und Glauben sind offenbar zwei Seiten vom Eintritt in die Christusgemeinschaft.
Daß dies der Fall ist, ist hier von entscheidender Bedeutung für die Argumentation, denn es kann zum Schlüß führen, daß dem Samen Abrahams – Christus – zugehörige Erbe auch den Galatern gehört.
This part of the tradition/liturgy focuses on the fact that the distinctions normally considered to be very important in antiquity lost their importance in Christianity. Although Paul does not state it explicitly in this case, the fact that he uses this part of the baptismal tradition/liturgy also (he could have omitted it), serves as an indication that his intention may be to warn the Galatians that these distinctions (in particular, the first one) would have to be reintroduced if they followed the advice of his opponents. But this would contradict everything their baptism stands for: *pawte* gar *uJmei* ei| e|ste e|n Cristwl| hso|u*. As in verse 26 the direct address is used again to bring the implications for the Galatians forcefully across. Note the effective use of hyperbaton in the sentence construction in the last phrase: *pawte* gar *uJmei* ei| e|ste e|n Cristwl| hso|u*. Cronjé explains this as follows: *pawte* and e|n Cristwl| hso|u* are foregrounded by virtue of their occupation of the extreme positions of the sentence; the placing of ei| between *uJmei* and e|ste causes a discontinuity which highlights both *uJmei* and ei|. Thus *pawte*, *uJmei*, ei|, and e|n Cristwl| hso|u*, the main elements of the foregoing argument, are all stylistically highlighted by the manipulation of the word order.

In verse 29 Paul rounds off the entire argument from 3:6 onwards: and if *you* (once again emphasised) are of Christ (as signified by baptism; Galatians 3:26-28) you are the seed of Abraham (see Galatians 3:16; 3:6-9, 14) and heirs (see Galatians 3:19ff.) according to the promise (see Galatians 3:14-22).

To conclude: Paul's major rhetorical strategy in this section is the use of an argument based on the experience of the Galatians in that he reminds them of their baptism, employing a Christian baptismal tradition/liturgy. The purpose of this is to convey the notion that their baptism serves as proof that they became sons of God and seed of Abraham through faith in Christ. The effect of this argument is further enhanced by a switch in the way in which he addresses them, and hyperbaton (3:28).

11. Phase Eleven: Galatians 4:1-7: An analogy to guardianship used in order to contrast spiritual slavery and sonship of God

In this section Paul’s dominant rhetorical strategy is the use of an analogy. As indicated in the case of 3:15-18 where he also uses analogy, this type of argument can be very

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706 Following BDAG (εi|), and BDR §98 note 4, scholars usually translate ουκ εi| as "there is not" or "es gibt nicht", but it makes more sense to translate it as "es hat keine Bedeutung" or "spielt keine Rolle" as proposed by N Baumert, Antifeminismus bei Paulus? Einzelstudien (FzB 68, Würzburg: Echter, 1992), pp. 24, 29, 315-328.

707 For good discussions of this issue, see Dunn, Galatians, p. 206; and Lührmann, Galater, pp. 66-70. For a wider perspective, see A. Funk, Status und Rollen in den Paulusbriefen. Eine Inhaltsanalytische Untersuchung zur Religionssoziologie (ITS 7, Innsbruck: Tyrolia-Verlag, 1981).

708 "Defamiliarization in the Letter to the Galatians", p. 223.

709 The genitive is used in this instance to indicate "belonging to Christ". See Rohde, Galater, p. 166; and Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 240.
A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE LETTER TO THE GALATIANS

effective, due to its simplicity and straightforwardness: a situation is first described and then "applied" to the issue under discussion. In this case, he describes a situation that would have been well-known to his audience: a father died\(^{710}\) and has left everything to his son, the heir. However, as the son is still a minor, his heritage is managed by \(\text{ἐπιτροποί} (\text{guardians})\) and \(\text{οἰκονομοί} (\text{administrators})\) until he reaches the age set by his father. Some scholars attempt to match everything Paul says in this instance with painstaking care to the legal situation of his time,\(^ {711}\) but such an effort seems to miss the point. Although Paul's example comes from a judicial background,\(^ {712}\) his primary interest is not to match some specific legal statutes, but – as happened before\(^ {713}\) – the example is moulded in such a way that it will serve his application further on. What is important, therefore, is not the exact nature of the \(\text{ἐπιτροποί} \text{and οἰκονομοί};\)\(^ {714}\) at what age a person was considered in antiquity not to be a minor anymore; or whether a father was allowed to set such an age himself or not. For Paul the important issue in this analogy is the notion of slavery, or – in more detail – the notion "like a slave until the time set by the Father". This is obvious from the fact that the notion of slavery (or its opposite) is mentioned several times later: \(\text{ἥνεκα δεδομένων} (\text{verse 3}), \text{ἡ ἁγιάσμα} \text{οὐκ εἰσι ἐναλλά;} \text{αὐτῷ} (\text{verse 5}); \text{οὐκ εἰσι ἐναλλά;} \text{αὐτῷ} (\text{verse 7}).\) In fact, he uses the analogy as a basis for a number of closely related metaphors, which he uses very successfully: slavery (verse 3, 7), redemption (verse 5), adoption as sons (verse 5), Fatherhood (verse 6), sonship (verse 7), and inheritance (verse 7).

In verse 3 he begins with the application of the analogy. Like the heir is under the authority of guardians and administrators, "we" once were slaves \(\text{ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα}.\) The ex-

\(^{710}\) Paul does not state this explicitly, but this should be assumed. See Lietzmann, \textit{Galater}, p. 24; Lightfoot, \textit{Galatians}, p. 163; and Rohde, \textit{Galater}, p. 167.

\(^{711}\) This is the best translation of \(\text{ἐπιτροποί}.\) See Lietzmann, \textit{Galater}, p. 24; Burton, \textit{Galatians}, p. 212; Betz, \textit{Galatians}, p. 203; and Bruce, \textit{Galatians}, p. 192.

\(^{712}\) This is the best translation of \(\text{οἰκονομοί}.\) See Lietzmann, \textit{Galater}, p. 24; Mussner, \textit{Galaterbrief}, p. 267; and Betz, \textit{Galatians}, p. 203.

\(^{713}\) See, for example, Belleville, "Under Law", pp. 60-63; and J. M. Scott, \textit{Adoption as Sons of God. An Exegetical Investigation into the Background of} \(\text{UARIOΣΙΑ} \text{in the Pauline Corpus} \text{(WUNT 2/48, Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1992)}, \) pp. 135ff.

\(^{714}\) This could be either Hellenistic or Roman. For scholars who prefer a Hellenistic background, see Schlier, \textit{Galater}, p. 189; Becker, \textit{Galater}, p. 47; and Witherington, \textit{Grace in Galatia}, p. 282. For scholars who prefer a Roman background, see Belleville, "Under Law", p. 61; and Betz, \textit{Galatians}, p. 202. Whether it is Hellenistic or Roman, it does not really affect the way in which one understands Paul's rhetorical strategy in this instance.

\(^{715}\) See the discussion of the possible background of the will mentioned by Paul in 3:15-18 in the discussion of Section 8.

\(^{716}\) So, correctly, Lightfoot, \textit{Galatians}, p. 164:

The language is intended, as the plurals show, to be as comprehensive as possible. It is therefore vain to search for the exact technical term in Roman (or Hellenistic – DFT) law corresponding to each word.

The use of the plurals is probably due to the fact that Paul wants his description to correspond to \(\text{τὰ στοιχεῖα} \) mentioned later. See Schlier, \textit{Galater}, p. 189; and Martyn, \textit{Galatians}, p. 388.
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act meaning of τα; stoicei`a is much debated, but the following issues are important in terms of Paul's rhetorical strategy:

• Whatever its normal meaning\textsuperscript{717} may have been, he clearly uses the concept in a figurative sense in this instance, denoting elementary and restrictive religious practices. In short, the inferiority of τα; stoicei`a in comparison to faith is the main notion he wishes to convey.

• Although the concept in itself may have been interpreted in various ways by his audience, the context within which he uses it provides them with sufficient indicators that would help them to grasp the basic thrust of what he has in mind, namely:
  - the fact that ὑπο; τα; stoicei`a corresponds to ὑπο; epitropou' ἐστίν καί; οἰκονομο`ν suggests that it refers to something similar to being "under guardians and administrators";
  - the structural correspondence between the expressions ὑπο; epitropou' ἐστίν καί; οἰκονομο`ν (verse 2), ὑπο; ἄμαρτιαν (3:22), ὑπο; νόμον ἐφ' ὑπομονήματα (3:23), ὑπο; παιδαγώγων (3:25)\textsuperscript{718} – which all have negative connotations – and ὑπο; τα; stoicei`a would probably have been noticed by the audience and interpreted as an indication that the concept τα; stoicei`a refers to something negative, and, finally,
  - the use of ἡμεῖς δεδοῦλοι ὕποπτοι would have removed any doubt the Galatians may still have had concerning the basic thrust of the expression.

• He deliberately chooses a concept sufficiently wide to cover both Judaism and other forms of religion. It is also important to note the rhetorical effect this may have had. As Hartman\textsuperscript{719} points out:

> Once more the solidarity between Paul (and other Jewish Christians) and the Gentile Christians is expressed: there is no principal difference between them.

In verses 4-5 Paul describes the change that had taken place. He begins with another descriptive expression: τὸ; πληρώμα τοῦ; κόσμου. The correspondence between ἀφρίθθα προκεςμίω τοῦ; πατρὸς (verse 2) and τὸ; πληρώμα τοῦ; κόσμου indicates that the expression τὸ; πληρώμα τοῦ; κόσμου is used as an indication of God's initiative: it was his decision


\textsuperscript{718} This occurs further on, too. See ὑπο; νόμον in verses 4 and 5.

\textsuperscript{719} Hartman, "Galatians 3:15-4:11 as Part of a Theological Argument", p. 146.
to set "us" free. He achieved this by means of his Son, who freed those under the law, in order for "us" to be adopted as sons. It should be noted that there is a slight difference between the way in which he begins the analogy in verses 1-2 and the way in which he applies it in verses 3-5. In verses 1-2 the emphasis falls upon an heir being like a slave until the time set by the father. In the application he focuses on (religious) slaves that are freed and adopted as sons at the time set by the Father. However, the difference appears to be so slight that it would probably have had no effect. Perhaps the audience would not even have noticed it.

In verses 6-7 Paul reaches the important part. He points out the implication of the analogy for the Galatians: they are sons of God. That this is the case is proven by the fact that they received the Spirit who makes them aware that God is their Father, urging them to call out: "Abba, Father". In verse 7 he again emphasises the important aspect: not slaves (of the stoics), but sons of God! In the next phase (Galatians 4:8-11) he will drive this home in a forceful way.

Besides analogy which forms Paul's dominant rhetorical strategy in this section, he uses several other supportive rhetorical strategies and techniques to enhance the effect of the analogy – mainly in the part in which he applies the analogy. Two supportive strategies may be highlighted:

- As he has done before, he again appeals to shared Christian tradition. Scholars have repeatedly pointed out that one can detect a pre-Pauline Christological tradition or perhaps even a formula in verses 4-5. Since he embeds it within his own argument it is difficult to reconstruct it with absolute certainty, but it possibly consisted of the following:
  
  
  ekapesteilen oJ qeo; to;n uiJo;n aujtou' i{na th;n uiJoqesivan ajpolavbwmen. 

  In any case, what is important in terms of his rhetorical strategy, is that his appeal to Christian tradition supports his argument very effectively – in particular, by making the

720 So, correctly Martyn, Galatians, p. 389:
Paul does not think of gradual maturation, but rather of punctiliar liberation, enacted by God in his own sovereign time.
721 o{î is causal here, as most exegeset accepts.
722 kra`zon in this instance has the connotations of intense and spontaneous joy. See Burton, Galatians, p. 224; Bruce, Galatians, p. 200; and Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 291.
724 Perhaps the phrase genovmenon ek gunaikov formed part of the tradition, too. See Kramer, Christos, p. 110; and Fuller, "Conception", p. 41.
application more convincing. It is almost certain that the audience would have known this tradition and would have accepted its truth without questioning.

• In this section Paul also uses an argument based on the experience of the audience. In verse 6 he refers to their experience of the Spirit. As was pointed out in the other instances in which he uses the same type of argument, this kind of proof is very effective as it is based on the fact that people accept the trustworthiness of their own experiences. In this case, he uses the fact that the Galatians experience the Spirit in their lives as proof of their sonship of God – thereby further strengthening this important aspect of the argument.

Several rhetorical techniques should also be pointed out:

• In verse 1 Paul uses the expression λέγω δὲν. Its purpose seems to be twofold, namely to focus the attention of the audience on the issue that follows, and to indicate that what follows is related to the previous argument, in particular, that it picks up the imagery of inheritance and expands on it.

• The hyperbole Paul uses in verse 1 should also be noted. In describing the situation of the heir he says οὐδὲν διάφερει δουλῶν κυρίον πάντων ἡμῶν. Of course, strictly speaking, this statement is not true. However, he does this on purpose. By portraying the situation of the heir in the worst possible way, he is already preparing his audience for what he is about to say about being under ταῦτα στοιχεῖα. Furthermore, the fact that he compares the situation of the heir to that of a slave is very important for the emphasis on spiritual slavery further on.

• The manner in which Paul varies the way in which he addresses the Galatians in this section should also be noted:

  Verses 3-5: we
  Verse 6: you (plural) are children...
  Verse 6: our (hearts)
  Verse 7: you (singular)

Some scholars are of the opinion that he uses "we" to refer to Jewish Christians only, but to my mind this is another example of his use of inclusive language to refer to all Christians, and, in particular, to identify with his audience. Furthermore, the change from the first person (plural) to the second person (plural and singular) is rhetorically sig-

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725 Dunn, Galatians, p. 211.
726 See Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 163; Lietzmann, Galater, p. 24; Rohde, Galater, p. 166; and Hartman, "Galatians 3:15-4:11 as Part of a Theological Argument", p. 145.
727 Also noted by Betz, Galatians, p. 203; Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 226; Smit, "Naar een nieuwe benadering", p. 224; and Anderson, Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul, p. 170.
728 For example, Belleville, "Under Law", p. 68; Longenecker, Galatians, p. 164; and Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 284.
729 Note that the inclusive language probably formed part of the tradition which Paul echoes in verses 4-5.
730 So, correctly, Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 268; Rohde, Galater, p. 168; Schlier, Galater, p. 183; Eckstein, Verheißung und Gesetz, p. 228; and Smit, "Naar een nieuwe benadering", p. 224.
significant, not only because it indicates a change in address from all Christians to the Galatians (what he is saying to the Galatians in this instance, is true of all Christians\textsuperscript{731}), but also because he uses it as a means of driving home a crucial idea: you Galatians (plural) are sons of God, and, in particular, you, individual Galatian (surprisingly\textsuperscript{733} singular!) is a son of God and not a slave.

- The skilful way in which Paul \textit{chooses words and expressions} in this section has been noted in the discussion of the analogy, for example, his use of expressions such as τα; στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου and το; πλήρωμα τοῦ κόσμου; and the structural similarity between ὑπὸ; ἐπίτροπον ἐστὶν καὶ οἰκονομοῦν, ὑπὸ; αἵματιν, ὑπὸ; νόμον ἐφοροῦμενα, ὑπὸ; παιδαγωγοῦ, ὑπὸ; τα; στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου and ὑπὸ; νόμον. Add to this the designation of the Spirit as τὸ; πνεῦμα τοῦ οἱκεῖου αὐτοῦ in verse 6. This expression occurs only here in Paul. Exegetes tend to concentrate on the theological implications of this expression (quite rightly!), but it may be important to consider it from a rhetorical perspective, too. Paul possibly formulates it in this specific way to bring it in line with the general emphasis on the notion of sonship in this section: in verse 4 Christ is described as the \textit{Son} of God; in verse 5 adoption as \textit{sons} is used to describe the purpose of Christ being sent to earth; in verses 6 and 7 the Galatians are described as the \textit{sons} of God. Thus, the description of the Spirit as the Spirit of his \textit{Son} seems to be a deliberate attempt to adapt the designation of the Spirit to match the specific context of sonship. One should also attempt to establish the possible effect Paul has in mind when he uses the expression. Perhaps he hopes that the novelty of the expression will be noticed by the Galatians, and that its strangeness will focus their attention on its \textit{content}, which serves to emphasise the idea of sonship and links it to the other important idea: because they are \textit{sons} of God, they experience the Spirit of his \textit{Son} crying in their heart "Father". In other words, their sonship, the fact that God is their Father, their experience of the Spirit, and (belief in) the Son of God are linked.

- Finally, the skilful way in which Paul organises the \textit{sentence structure} in verses 4-5 should be pointed out. He uses short phrases, enabling him to achieve a rhythmical pattern, and organises four of them in a chiastic\textsuperscript{734} pattern:

\begin{aligned}
oτε ἐδηλώσατε τὸ; πλήρωμα τοῦ; κόσμου, 
ἐκατέστησαν οἷς ὑπὸ; τὸ; ἵππο; αὐτοῦ; 
genomenon ἐκ γυναῖκοι, 
genomenon ὑπὸ; νόμον, 
iὰ τοῦ; ὑπὸ; νόμον ἐκατορθίσατε, 
iὰ τὴ; πνεῦμα ἀπολαβήσατε. 
\end{aligned}

\text{A} \text{B} \text{A}

\text{731} The fact that this is true of all Christians may be the reason why Paul (accidentally?) slips back to the first person plural in verse 6b. Or is it due to underlying Christian tradition on the way in which the presence of the Spirit is experienced?

\text{732} So, interpreted correctly by scholars such as Burton, \textit{Galatians}, p. 224; Lietzmann, \textit{Galater}, p. 167; and Longenecker, \textit{Galatians}, p. 175, too.

\text{733} This aspect is rightly emphasised by Eckstein, \textit{Verheißung und Gesetz}, p. 244.

\text{734} Lightfoot, \textit{Galatians}, p. 166.
Why would Paul do this? In my opinion, it should not merely be seen as an attempt at embellishment. It serves his purpose in another way, too. If one succeeds in expressing ideas in such a neat way, it helps one to focus the attention of the audience on its content, too.

To conclude: Paul's dominant rhetorical strategy in this section is the use of an analogy to contrast the difference between the metaphorical notions of spiritual slavery and sonship of God. The purpose of this is to remind the Galatians of the radical spiritual change that took place when they converted to Christianity, something which is endangered by the "gospel" of the opponents – as will become clear from the next section. The dominant rhetorical strategy is supported by two other strategies, namely the echoing of Christian tradition in verses 4-5, and the use of the audience's experience of the Spirit as proof in verse 6. He also uses several rhetorical techniques, namely an expression focusing the attention of the audience in verse 1 (legatev de); hyperbole in verse 1; moving from inclusive language ("we") to direct address ("you" – plural followed by singular) in verses 3-7; the skilful choice of words such as ta stoicheia tou kosmou (verse 3), to plhwrma tou cronou (verse 4) and to pneuma tou uijou aujou (4:6), and the way in which he organises sentence structure in verses 4-5 (short rhythmic phrases, and a chiasm).

12. Phase Twelve: Galatians 4:8-11: Rebuking the Galatians for turning to religious slavery again

Although this section is closely linked to the previous one in that it is also devoted to the issue of (religious) slavery/freedom, it should rather be considered on its own, since Paul does not use the same rhetorical strategy in this instance. In the previous section he used an analogy to contrast religious slavery and sonship of God. He emphasised the radical change effected by the coming of God's Son, in particular, the fact that the Galatians became sons of God. In other words, it could be stated that the previous section focused on what Christ did and how it affected the Galatians when they converted to Christianity. In this section the contrast between religious slavery and sonship is still important, but now Paul focusses only on the issue of religious slavery, linking it to the recent developments in Galatia. Furthermore, the tone changes. In the previous section he basically just affirmed the change effected by Christ, but in this section he becomes quite emotional, the tone of this section being dominated by rebuke. Paul's dominant rhetorical strategy in this section can thus be summarised as rebuking the Galatians for turning to religious slavery once again. He uses several techniques to achieve this. The most important one is the use of a rhetorical question in verses 8-9. These two verses will therefore be discussed first.

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735 Most scholars follow this approach. See Burton, Galatians, p. 227; Schlier, Galater, p. 201; Bruce, Galatians, p. 201; Becker, Galater, p. 49; Betz, Galatians, p. 213; and Martyn, Galatians, p. 409. Some view verses 8-11 as part of verses 8-20 (for example, Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 291; Lührmann, Galater, p. 70; and Rohde, Galater, p. 179; see also Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 295), but to my mind this is not the best choice.
In verse 8 Paul begins by reminding the Galatians of the way they lived before their conversion, thus *appealing to their own personal experience*: Ἄλλα; τὸ ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔνωσιν ζητεῖν οὐ ἢν γεοίν. In his description he uses the kind of language typical of Jewish missionary practice, but, it should be noted that he specifically uses the metaphor ἔνωσις as it is more appropriate for the context of slavery. In verse 9a he describes their new way of life as Christians: νῦν δὲ γνωσίματε ἡμᾶς, μᾶλλον δὲ γνωσίματε ὑπὸ αὐτού. He describes it as a way of life in which they are "known" by God by using ἱστορικώς in the typical Old Testament sense – aptly described by Burton as "having become the objects of favourable attention". By means of the technique of *correction* (μεταβολή) he highlights the fact that God took the initiative in this process.

The description in verses 8-9a serves as the setting for the introduction of the rhetorical question in verse 9b: πῶς ἐπιστρέφετε παύλιν ἐπὶ τα ἄσκησιν καὶ πῶς στοιχεῖα συνεργείετε Παύλιν ἀνωτέρως; Paul often used rhetorical questions earlier in the letter and in most instances they were used to convey a particular notion in a more forceful way. In this case the rhetorical question has a similar function. In my opinion, he uses it to convey his emotions concerning the Galatians' decision to accept the "gospel" of the opponents most emphatically. It is difficult to determine precisely which emotion he wishes to convey, primarily because we are not guided by his tone of voice and facial expression. According to Cronjé, who discusses this issue in detail, Paul wants to express "disappointment and grief" in this instance, but one should put it more emphatically. Paul is not merely expressing disappointment and grief, he is rebuking them.

Furthermore, it is important to note that the fact that he equates their observance of the law with the pagan religion prior to their conversion, would have shocked them. However, the skilful way in which he chooses his words ensures that they cannot misunderstand

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736 ὁ ὅποιον ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔνωσιν ζητεῖν could mean either "to those things that are not gods at all" or "to those gods who are not by nature gods at all". See Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 297. The later is to be preferred. See Schlier, *Galatians*, p. 201; and Witherington, *ibid.*, p. 297.
738 Galatians, p. 229.
739 So, correctly, Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 170. Other reasons for Paul's use of this technique have been suggested: that Paul wants to exclude gnostic views (for example, Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 202; and Betz, *Galatians*, p. 217), or that he is deliberately correcting his opponents (for example, Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 411).
740 See, for example, 1:10; 2:17 and 3:1-5.
742 Ibid., p. 423.
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him: by turning (ἐπιστεψετε used ironically in this instance\(^{745}\)) to τα\(\delta\)στοιχεία, they are yet again (Note the παλιν ... παλιν ἀφωγέν!) subjecting themselves to slavery (one of the key metaphors in 4:1-11). Paul's choice of τα\(\delta\)στοιχεία (now characterised even more negatively than in 4:3 as "weak" and "beggarly") is very effective. Not only does it recall the analogy used in 4:1-7, but it also helps him to convey very effectively the similarity of accepting the "gospel" of the opponents and serving gods who are no gods.

The rhetorical question is followed by a statement in verse 10 in which Paul describes the Galatians' new obedience to the law: ἡμεῖς παραθρείστηκαί ἑαυτούς ἀλλοτρίως. By emphasising their scrupulous obedience to a liturgical calendar he is still rebuking them. Although one could potentially link each term Paul uses in this instance to a specific day or feast in Judaism,\(^{746}\) his primary purpose is not to provide a complete list in this regard,\(^{747}\) but to confront – and, perhaps, even to ridicule\(^{748}\) – the Galatians with the kind of religious slavery they have turned to. The list is made even longer by poly‐syndeton\(^{749}\) (that is, the multiple use of conjunctions/connecting particles). This is probably due to the fact that he wishes to emphasise all the different things the Galatians have to do now.

In verse 11 he continues his rebuke: φοβομαι ὑμαῖν οὐχ ἐνθαρρύνω ἐντελῶς. This is basically an emotional argument,\(^{750}\) because its effect depends on the emotional bond between himself and the Galatians. Paul is rebuking them saying that, if they accept the "gospel" of the opponents, it will mean that his own hard work\(^{751}\) was in vain. Such an argument can only be effective if the relationship between speaker and audience is such that the audience would not like to disappoint the speaker – or, to put it differently – if the emotional bond between speaker and audience is stronger than that between the audience and the opponents.

To conclude: Paul's dominant rhetorical strategy in this section can be described as emotionally rebuking the audience for turning to religious slavery again. He relies on the fact

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\(^{745}\) So, correctly, Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 225. Some, for example, Smit, "Naar een nieuwe benadering", p. 227, and Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 411, call it "sarcasm!", but this seems too strong.

\(^{746}\) See, for example, Bligh, *Galatians*, p. 370; Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 227; and Burton, *Galatians*, pp. 233-234.

\(^{747}\) So, correctly, Rohde, *Galater*, p. 181; and Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 299.


\(^{750}\) One can describe the emotion in various ways. For example, scholars describe it as resignation (Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 304; and Rohde, *Galater*, p. 302), dubitatio/self-irony (Betz, *Galatians*, p. 219), or as an expression of anxiety (Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 42). Nevertheless, the basic strategy remains the same, namely a strategy based on the emotional bond between speaker and audience.

that people do not like to be slaves, knowing that if he succeeds in associating the "gospel" of his opponents metaphorically with religious slavery, he will win the Galatians back for his gospel. He conveys the rebuke primarily by means of a rhetorical question in verses 8-9, the effect of which is enhanced by strategies and techniques such as an appeal to their own personal experience, correction, metaphor, and irony. Furthermore, he uses a statement emphasising the various kinds of days/feasts (enhanced by polysyndeton) in verse 10 to confront (ridicule?) them with their new way of life. Lastly, he uses an emotional argument in verse 11, relying on the fact that the emotional bond between himself and the Galatians is such that they would not like to disappoint him.

13. Phase Thirteen: Galatians 4:12-20: A series of emotional arguments

Towards the end of the previous section Paul used an emotional argument (4:11). The present section is dominated by the same type of arguments.752 As indicated in the previous section when this type of argument was discussed, the effectiveness of an emotional argument depends on the emotional bond between the speaker and the audience. In order for this type of argument to be effective, the emotional bond between the speaker and the audience must be such that the audience would like to please the speaker, for example by not doing something that will disappoint him or by being willing to do what he asks them to do. In this section Paul uses a series of emotional arguments, and one can distinguish four different phases in this section – each with its own focus and with a different emotional tone. Each phase comprises a dominant rhetorical strategy, as well as various other rhetorical techniques, some of which are intended to enhance the rhetorical effect of the dominant strategy whereas other may be more artful.753

The first phase can be discerned in Galatians 4:12a-b: giwv a jwv, o{ti kagw; wJ uJmei`", ajdelfoiv, devomai uJmw`n. As indicated by devomai uJmw`n, this phase is dominated by Paul's pleading: he begs the Galatians to become "as he", because he has become as

752 This is recognised by most scholars. See, for example, Rohde, Galater, p. 183 ("ein persönliches Werben um die Liebe der Galater"); Dunn, Galatians, p. 232 ("a personal appeal"); Anderson, Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul, p. 171 ("a personal plea"); J. Lambrecht, "Like a Mother in the Pain of Childbirth. A Study of Galatians 4:12-20", in: A. Vanhoye (ed.), La foi agissant par l'amour (Galates 4,12-6,16) (BMSBES 13, Rome: Abbaye de S. Paul, 1996), p. 29 ("an emotional and autobiographical argument"); J. Smit, "Redactie in de brief aan de galaten. Retorische analyse van Gal. 4.12-6.18", TTh 26:2 (1986), p. 117 ("er op gericht het medelijden van de galaten te wekken"); and Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 305 ("pulling out all emotional stops"). According to Betz, Galatians, p. 221, Paul is offering a string of "topoi" belonging to the theme of friendship in this instance. (For a good overview of "topoi", see Anderson, Glossary of Greek Rhetorical Terms, pp. 117-120.) To my mind, Betz does not describe Paul's rhetorical strategy adequately. He may be correct in that what Paul is doing here may overlap to some extent with what ancient rhetoricians have done in their speeches when they employed the friendship "topoi", but this does not prove that Paul actually knew and employed this rhetorical technique in a conscious way. For other criticism of Betz's analysis of the passage, see Kern, Rhetoric and Galatians, p. 111; Dunn, Galatians, p. 231; and Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 305.

they were. As most scholars assume, Paul appears to be referring to the fact that he, once, had become like the Galatians when he visited them. On that occasion the Jewish law was not important to them, and thus his view of the Jewish law was similar to theirs. Now, due to the influence of the opponents, the Jewish law has become very important to them, and therefore he begs them to become like he has been (and still is). Thus, his rhetorical strategy is very simple: he uses pleading as an emotional form of persuasion, relying on the fact that their feelings towards him are such that they will do as he pleads. It is also important to note a rhetorical technique which Paul uses in this instance: he uses *αδέλφοι* as direct address in order to add affection to his appeal.

The second phase can be discerned in verses 12c-16. Paul's basic rhetorical strategy in this phase can be summarised as reminding the Galatians of their earlier behaviour which is then used as a basis for rebuking them for the current state of affairs.

In verse 12c he begins: *ουδέν με ἡδίκησατε*. This statement has a bridging function between the previous phase and the present one. On the one hand, it can be interpreted as part of the previous phase, and viewed as either motivating or continuing the thoughts expressed in verse 12a-b. On the other hand, and more importantly, it also serves as an introduction to what follows in that he uses it to depict the good behaviour of the Galatians in a general way: they did not wrong him. This can be classified as an example of understatement, because he in fact wants to tell them that they acted in a good way towards him.

754 It seems best to add *γεγονός* as the implied verb to *πάντ' ἠθέλησα*, See Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 189.

755 What follows, roughly reflects the interpretation accepted by most scholars. See, for example, Lietzmann, *Galater*, p. 27; Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 171; Schlier, *Galater*, p. 208; Borse, *Galater*, p. 149; Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 305; Rohde, *Galater*, p. 183; Becker, *Galater*, p. 52 (Note his careful rephrasing of the issue); and Betz, *Galatians*, p. 223. Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 208, interprets it generally ("I have come to regard myself as one of you"), but this seems too general. A. J. Goddard & S. A. Cummins, "Ill or Ill-Treated? Conflict and Persecution as the Context of Paul's Original Ministry in Galatia (Galatians 4.12-20)", *JSNT* 52 (1993), p. 99, interpret it as referring to an ongoing sharing of Paul's conflict and persecution, but this seems rather unlikely.

756 So correctly, Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 308. See also Betz, *Galatians*, p. 223. According to Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 232, Paul uses it to remind the Galatians that they were already part of God's family (See also Schlier, *Galater*, p. 209.), but to me this seems to be over-interpretation.

757 Contra Rohde, *Galater*, p. 184. See, for example, Lambrecht, "Like a Mother in the Pain of Childbirth", p. 15: "I am in a position to beseech you, since you did me no wrong." Note that Lambrecht also indicates that verse 12c serves as preparation for what follows.

758 For example, Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 306: although Paul lived like a Gentile when he was with the Galatians, they did not wrong him.

759 The asyndeton could be an indication that Paul is shifting to a new thought.

760 In antiquity the technique Paul uses was known as *ἀπεναντίωσι*. See Anderson, *Glossary of Greek Rhetorical Terms*, pp. 20-21.

761 For other interpretations of what Paul implies in this verse, see Burton, *Galatians*, p. 238, who identifies four possibilities: 1. You did not wrong me then, but you wrong me now, since you view me as your enemy; 2. You are right in saying that you did not wrong me then, but you are wronging me now in regarding me as your enemy; 3. You did not wrong me; you wronged Christ; 4. You did not wrong me; you wronged yourselves. (My summary.) Burton opts for the second possibility.
In verses 13-14 Paul reminds the Galatians of their attitude and actions on his first visit to them. He preached the gospel to them, because he was ill, but they did not despise or reject him – something that could happen very easily in those times. Instead they received him as an angel of God, as Christ Jesus! Note how Paul enhances the effect of this argument by means of several other rhetorical techniques:

- He structures the sentence in verse 14a in such a way as to soften the harshness of the expression to;n peirasmo;n uJmw`n at the beginning of the sentence. As Lightfoot puts it:

  These words are used without a distinct anticipation of what is to follow, the particular sense of the verb to be employed being yet undecided and only suggested afterwards, as the sentence runs on, by the concrete sense which the intervening words ejn th`/ sarkiv mou have given to peiras mou.

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762 This is the best translation of lo:provteron. See BDAG (provtero") and most exegetes.
763 diav followed by the accusative denotes cause, as most scholars correctly accept. Contra Lietzmann, Galater, p. 27 (who thinks that Paul uses the accusative by mistake); and E. Gütgemanns, Der leidende Apostel und sein Herr. Studien zur paulinischen Christologie (FRLANT 90, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), p. 175.
764 This is the most natural interpretation of the expression ajsqevneia th" sarkov. See BDAG (ajsqev-). Contra Bligh, Galatians, p. 384, who interprets this as referring to Paul's feeble physical condition after a stoning; T. W. Martin, "Whose Flesh? What Temptation?", JSTN 74 (1999), pp. 65-91, who claims that it refers to the Galatians' pre-gospel condition; and Goddard & Cummins, "Ill or Ill-Treated?", p. 95, who interpret it as referring to physical weakness due to the trauma of the persecution Paul experienced.

Scholars speculate on the nature of Paul's illness, suggesting epilepsy (for example, J. Klausner, Von Jesus zu Paulus [Jerusalem: Jewish Publishing House, 1950], pp. 308-309); illness of the eyes (for example, Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 310); severe headaches (U. Heckel, "Der Dorn im Fleisch. Die Krankheit des Paulus in 2 Kor 12,7 und Gal 4:13ff.", ZNW 84:1/2 [1993], p. 91); and malaria (for example, Borse, Galater, pp. 153-156). To my mind, the best guess is that Paul had problems with his eyes. But, ultimately it is but a guess.
765 This is the best translation of ejxouqenhvsate. See BDAG (ejxounqenevw); and L&N 88.133.
766 ejxeptuvsate literally means "to spit out" – a gesture used to prevent demons and evil spirits from entering one (See Lietzmann, Galater, p. 28), but in this instance it is used in a figurative sense, meaning "to reject". See L&N 34.37; Betz, Galatians, p. 225; and Longenecker, Galatians, p. 192.
767 In antiquity people frequently interpreted illness as demon possession and therefore tried to avoid ill people. See Betz, Galatians, p. 225; and Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 311.
768 a[ggelo" definitely means "angel" in this instance. See Burton, Galatians, p. 242; and Lambrecht, "Like a Mother in the Pain of Childbirth", p. 20 (as well as the response of the English-speaking scholars on p. 36.)
769 The genitive should be interpreted as objective, referring to the fact that Paul's illness was a temptation to them to despise or reject him. See Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 173; Burton, Galatians, p. 241; Lietzmann, Galater, p. 27; Rohde, Galater, p. 185; and Lambrecht, "Like a Mother in the Pain of Childbirth", p. 20. Contra Martin, "Whose Flesh?" who interprets it as referring to Paul's circumcised flesh; and Goddard & Cummins, "Ill or Ill-Treated?", p. 104, who interpret it as referring to the danger of falling away due to the threat of persecution.
770 Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 173.
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• He uses the *antithetic* ouk... oujdev... ajlla*vstructure* to emphasise the last part of the sentence, that is the idea that they accepted him as if he were an angel, as Christ Jesus.

• He again uses *understatement* in the phrase ouk ejouqenhsate oujde; ekeputwate. Note the *alliteration* here, too. Nida *et al.* make the following remarks with regard to the repetition of sounds:

  Repetition of sounds involves two principal differences: (i) those in which there is no special meaningful relationship attached to the lexical units and (ii) those in which similarities of sound correspond to a play on the meaning of the words.

In the latter case one may speak of "intentional repetition of sounds". In this instance, however, the use of alliteration seems to be of the former kind; and could thus be classified as merely artful.

• The most effective supportive rhetorical technique in this phase is the double use of *hyperbole* (following the double use of understatement): ajlla; wJ“ ajgelon qeou’ejdev- asqe me, wJ Cristo;n jhsou." As such he effectively emphasises the thought conveyed in this verse: the Galatians acted extremely well towards him.

The description of their good behaviour towards him is followed by a sharp *rebuke* (verse 15): pou` ou
 oJ makarismo; uJmw“ Paul uses the *rhetorical question* to convey the rebuke in a very forceful way: whatever happened to their happiness?

The rebuke is followed by another reference to their behaviour during his visit: marturw` ga;r uJmi`n o{ti eij dunato;n tou; ojfqalmou; uJmw` ejxoruvxante" ejdwvkate moi. He uses two rhetorical techniques to ensure that the content is conveyed in a very effective way:

• He uses a solemn *formula of assurance*: marturw` uJmi`n. Though it is not as emphatic as the oath formula in 1:20, it nevertheless functions more or less similarly. It serves as a solemn declaration, emphasising the truthfulness of what follows.

• He again uses *hyperbole*: if possible, they would have torn out their eyes and given them to him – a metaphoric way of referring to a supreme act of friendship, since in antiquity eyes were considered one's most costly organs.

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772 Ibid., p. 24.
774 This is the best translation of makarismo; uJmh, uJmh being interpreted as a subjective genitive. See L&N 25.118; and BDAG (makarismo;). Most scholars interpret it in this way (though see Rohde, *Galater*, p. 186). It is unlikely that Paul is referring to their happiness despite suffering (Goddard & Cummins, "Ill or Ill-Treated?", p. 110).
776 The condition is unreal; h
 should be added. Normally one would expect a[ŋ in the apodosis. See Lambrecht, "Unreal Conditions in the Letters of Paul", p. 156; and Lambrecht, "Like a Mother in the Pain of Childbirth", p. 21.
777 Literally, "dug out" (See L&N 19.42) – a rather gruesome picture, as Bligh, *Galatians*, p. 384, points out.
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This is followed by a rebuke (verse 16): \(\text{w}f\text{te e}\gamma\text{qro}; \text{u}\hhu\text{w h g}\text{gona a}\hj\text{heuwn u}\hj\text{h}. \) In this case he uses an "indignant exclamation"\(^{779}\) to rebuke them: it appears that he has become their enemy by speaking the truth!\(^{780}\)

The third phase can be discerned in verses 17-18. In verse 17 Paul suddenly switches his attention from the Galatians to his opponents (perhaps in an attempt to shift the blame?). He once again makes use of vilification with the result that the tone of this phase is rather bitter.\(^{781}\) In this case he vilifies his opponents by accusing them of having a hidden agenda: they are "deeply concerned" about the Galatians, but they do not have good intentions. Some scholars interpret the verb he uses in this instance (\(\text{zh}l\text{ou}\hj\)) as a deliberate attempt to depict the behaviour of the opponents as courtship,\(^{782}\) but it is more likely that he uses the word in a general sense to refer to "strong personal concern."\(^{783}\) According to him, this concern is not genuine. What the opponents really have in mind is \(\text{e}k\text{k}\text{l}\text{e}i\text{sai u}\hj\text{ma}^\ast \text{ qe}v \text{lousin, i}\hj\text{a au}\text{tou}^\circ \text{ z}h\text{lou\text{e}. \) They want to "isolate"\(^{784}\) the Galatians from him so that the

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778 So, correctly, Dunn, Galatians, p. 236; Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 310; and Borse, Galater, p. 150.
779 As Burton, Galatians, p. 245, points out, \(\text{w}f\text{te}\) does not introduce a question elsewhere in the New Testament. This sentence should therefore not be punctuated as a (rhetorical) question. I therefore do not classify it as a rhetorical question, but as an "indignant exclamation" (see Longenecker, Galatians, p. 193). Longenecker provides a good translation: "So (it seems) I have become your enemy because I am telling you the truth!"
780 "Speaking the truth" refers to the content of the gospel (cf. \(\text{h}][\text{a}][\text{h}][\text{e}][\text{a}][\text{t}][\text{ou}][\text{e}][\text{u}[\text{g}][\text{g}][\text{l}][\text{i}][\text{o}][\text{u}][\text{in}][\text{2:5}]\) which Paul conveyed to them. See Lietzmann, Galater, p. 29; Schlier, Galater, p. 212; and Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 309.
781 So, correctly, Breytenbach, Paulus und Barnabas in der Provinz Galatien, pp. 133-134.
782 See Betz, Galatians, p. 229; and Martyn, Galatians, p. 421.
783 So, correctly, A. Stumpff, "\(\text{zh}l\text{ow}\)", TDNT 2, pp. 886-888. See also L&N 25.46; and Lambrecht, "Like a Mother in the Pain of Childbirth", p. 21. Dunn, Galatians, p. 237, interprets it as referring to "Jewish 'zeal' to maintain and defend Jewish covenant prerogatives", but this has been rightfully criticised by Martyn, Galatians, p. 422, note 91.
784 \(\text{ejkklei}^\circ \text{sa}\) should be translated as "shut out", or more freely as "isolate". See Lambrecht, "Like a Mother in the Pain of Childbirth", p. 22; L&N 34.36 ("to exclude or remove someone from an association with"); BDAG(\(\text{ejkklew}\): "to exclude or withdraw from fellowship, shut out, exclude"). Paul most probably wants to say that the opponents want to shut out the Galatians from himself. See Schlier, Galater, p. 212; Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 310; Rohde, Galater, p. 198; and Longenecker, Galatians, p. 194. It is also possible to interpret it in another way, for example as referring to an attempt by the opponents to shut them out from Christ (Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 174); from fellow Christians/the church (Witherington, Grace in Galatia, pp. 313-314); or from the privilege of the gospel (Burton, Galatians, p. 246.) However, these interpretations seems less likely, since Paul is focusing primarily on the relationship between the Galatians and himself in this section (verses 12-20). Dunn, Galatians, p. 238, interprets it as referring to attempts by the opponents "to exclude all Gentiles other than proselytes from Christ, the Jewish Messiah, and from the eschatological community of his people", but see the criticism by Lambrecht, "Like a Mother in the Pain of Childbirth", p. 22, note 22, in this respect. According to C. S. Smith, " \(\text{e}k\text{kl}\text{e}i\text{sai}\) in Galatians 4:17. The Motif of the Excluded Lover as a Metaphor of Manipulation", CBQ 58:3 (1996), pp. 480-499. Paul uses the word to depict himself as an excluded lover, but, to my mind, this is unlikely, in particular, since Smith himself indicates that \(\text{e}k\text{kl}\text{e}i\text{w}\) is never used in this sense (only \(\text{apoklei}^\circ \text{w}\)). See p. 484, note 18.
Galatians are concerned about them (instead of him). The vilification is obvious: they are not truly concerned about the Galatians; only about themselves. Besides vilification, three other rhetorical techniques should be noted:

- In verse 18 Paul uses a rhetorical *aphorism*.⁷⁸⁵ It is not clear whether he formulates it himself or whether he quotes an existing aphorism: *kalon de; zhloustai ep kalw/ paughtote*. This could be translated as: "Good is always to be concerned about in a good way". To this he adds: *kai; mh; mou ev tw pareihai me pro; uhma*. The intended effect of such an aphorism is to point out a general truth accepted by all people, which can prove or support one's argument. In this instance, he uses it to motivate his negative characterisation of the opponents: evidently they are not acting according to this general truth.

- He also uses two rhetorical techniques based on repetition. The first one is *chiasm*, found in verse 17:

  zhloustin uhma* ... uhma* zhloute;

  The second one is (two instances of) *paranomasia*:

  zhloustin uhma* ouj kalw*, ajlai ekklestai uhma* qevousin, iqa aujtau; zhloute;
  kalon de; zhloustai ep kalw/paughtote...

  Both techniques function on a more artful level and they therefore do not in fact seem to enhance the rhetorical impact of what Paul is saying directly.⁷⁸⁶ However, they may support his strategy in an indirect way, since the words that are repeated, are the key concepts in these two verses. By using chiasm and paranomasia the attention of the audience may thus be focused more directly on these issues.

The *fourth phase* is found in verses 19-20. Compared to the previous two phases (dominated by rebuke and vilification) there is a drastic change in tone.⁷⁸⁷ Paul expresses his *affection and concern* for the Galatians in a compassionate way – though, of course, this is still aimed at shaming them into rejecting the opponents and returning to "his" gospel.⁷⁸⁸ In verses 19-20 he employs the following rhetorical techniques to express his affection and concern:⁷⁸⁹

- He uses the *direct address* *tevna mou* that leaves no uncertainty about his feelings towards the Galatians.

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⁷⁸⁶ Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 172, points out that Dionysius of Halicarnassus believed that paranomasia does not produce *paqo*.

⁷⁸⁷ It appears that the change in tone is triggered by the *ep tw pareihai me pro; uhma* in verse 18 which makes him want to visit them again (so, correctly, Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 195). Furthermore, it seems more sensible to end an emotional argument on an affective tone.


⁷⁸⁹ Verse 19 is not a sentence on its own, but is still part of the previous sentence. See Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 175; and Burton, *Galatians*, p. 248. Thus, the punctuation in Nestle-Aland⁷⁸⁷ should not be followed in this case. Otherwise it should be regarded as an anacoluthon. See Schlier, *Galater*, p. 213; and Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 312.
• He uses a very effective metaphor to describe his concern for the Galatians:

\[\text{τεκνα μου, ου\textsuperscript{131} πα\textsuperscript{132} α\textsuperscript{133} φων\textsuperscript{134} μερι\textsuperscript{135}\ ου\textsuperscript{136} μορφ\textsuperscript{137} \ν\textsuperscript{138} ου\textsuperscript{139} Χρ\textsuperscript{140} \ι\textsuperscript{141} \ \varepsilon\textsuperscript{142} \ \varepsilon\textsuperscript{143} \πο\textsuperscript{144} ε\textsuperscript{145} \upsilon\textsuperscript{146} \upsilon\textsuperscript{147} \...\]

To my mind, this is the most striking metaphor in Galatians, in particular, because Paul uses a concept that describes a typically feminine experience. The fact that this is such an unusual metaphor to use for a man, makes it highly effective, thereby conveying his deep (maternal!) concern and affection for them in a very forceful way. This will continue until Christ is "formed" in them.

• Paul uses an epistolary commonplace by expressing the desire to visit the Galatians. This is another indication of his concern for them. He states the reason for his wish as \[\text{ε\textsuperscript{148}ίλα\textsuperscript{149} χ\textsuperscript{150} τ\textsuperscript{151} ν\textsuperscript{152} \ ή\textsuperscript{153} μου}.\] This most probably refers to the fact that he will find it much easier to talk to them directly, as he will be able to change his tone of voice as needed in order to persuade them to accept his point of view. This, too, indicates his concern and affection for them.

• He explains the reason for his desire to visit them as \[\text{α\textsuperscript{154} πο\textsuperscript{155} ρο\textsuperscript{156} ω\textsuperscript{157} \ ο\textsuperscript{158} με\textsuperscript{159} \ η\textsuperscript{160} \ ι\textsuperscript{161} η\textsuperscript{162} \}.\] This is another example of the use of an expression of perplexity. In this case he uses it to

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791 This is a constructio ad sensum.

792 So, correctly, Cronjé, "Defamiliarization in the Letter to the Galatians", p. 222.

793 It seems best not to press this image. To my mind, Paul is not thinking of Christ as a foetus inside the Galatians. So, correctly, Lambrecht, "Like a Mother in the Pain of Childbirth", p. 21. Contra Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 176; Betz, Galatians, p. 234; and Longenecker, Galatians, p. 194.

794 \[\varepsilon\textsuperscript{163} \ \upsilon\textsuperscript{164} \upsilon\textsuperscript{165}\] can mean either "in each of you" or "among you". The last option seems to be the best choice, since elsewhere in the letter Paul generally thinks of the audience in a collective sense. Furthermore, \[\varepsilon\textsuperscript{166} \ \upsilon\textsuperscript{167} \upsilon\textsuperscript{168}\] is used in the next verse in a collective sense. See Lietzmann, Galater, p. 24; and Martyn, Galatians, p. 425. Contra Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 316.

795 This does not mean that Paul is insincere. See Anderson, Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul, p. 171.

796 The use of the imperfect (\[\varepsilon\textsuperscript{169} \ \upsilon\textsuperscript{170} \upsilon\textsuperscript{171}\]) indicates that the wish cannot be realised. See BDR §359.2; Burton, Galatians, p. 250; and Lambrecht, "Like a Mother in the Pain of Childbirth", pp. 24-25.

797 So, correctly, Burton, Galatians, p. 250; Becker, Galater, p. 54; Borse, Galater, p. 160; Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 196; Rohde, Galater, p. 190; and Lambrecht, "Like a Mother in the Pain of Childbirth", p. 25. Contra Schlier, Galater, p. 215 (Paul wants to speak to them in heavenly tongues), and G. W\textsuperscript{172}ilhelm\textsuperscript{173}, \[\varepsilon\textsuperscript{174} \ \upsilon\textsuperscript{175} \upsilon\textsuperscript{176}\]. ZNW65 (1974), pp. 151-154 (Paul wishes that he can speak loud enough so that they can hear him from Ephesus). Some scholars prefer to translate \[\varepsilon\textsuperscript{177} \ \upsilon\textsuperscript{178} \upsilon\textsuperscript{179}\] as "exchange" (his voice for the letter), for example, Betz, Galatians, p. 236; Longenecker, Galatians, p. 196; and Dunn, Galatians, p. 241, but this does not seem correct.

798 Betz, Galatians, p. 236; Smit, "Redactie in de brief aan de galaten", p. 117, and Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 316, call \[\varepsilon\textsuperscript{180} \ \upsilon\textsuperscript{181} \upsilon\textsuperscript{182} \upsilon\textsuperscript{183}\]. As Anderson indicates, it was not used in the same way by all rhetoricians.
convey his mixed feelings to the Galatians: he wants to help them, but is at his wit's end and does not know what to do. Like most of the other rhetorical techniques he uses, this has a persuasive function, too. By expressing his perplexity about their behaviour, he is in fact trying to change it.

To conclude, Paul’s dominant rhetorical strategy in this section is the use of a series of emotional arguments. This section can be divided into four phases. The first phase is dominated by pleading, supported by direct address as rhetorical technique. In the second phase he uses the Galatians’ former behaviour towards him as a basis for rebuking him. This is supported by various rhetorical techniques, such as understatement, adaptation of sentence structure, alliteration, hyperbole, rhetorical questions, a solemn declaration, and an exclamation. The third phase is dominated by the vilification of the opponents, supported by rhetorical techniques such as the use of an aphorism, paranomasia, and chiasm. In the last phase the tone changes again as he expresses his affection and concern for the Galatians. The rhetorical techniques used are direct address, metaphor, expressing the desire to visit them, and an expression of perplexity.

14. Phase Fourteen: Galatians 4:21-5:1: An allegorical argument, based on the authority of Scripture, used to urge the Galatians not to yield to spiritual slavery

The type of argument Paul uses in this section is similar to those used in 3:6-14, namely an argument based on the authority of Scripture. In this instance, he provides a short summary of the Sarah-Hagar story in verses 22-23, which according to him, was spoken allegorically. He then proceeds to explain its allegorical meaning, using two quotations from the Old Testament. Scholars do not agree on the description of what he is doing in this section: should it be described as allegory or typology, or as a mixture of both. As this issue is beyond the scope of this study, I shall refrain from discussing the details of the debate, and instead just call it allegory, since Paul apparently considers it an apt term for what he is doing in this instance.

799 This is the best translation of ἡ γοροῦμενα. See Anderson, A Rhetorical Theory and Paul, pp. 177-178, for a good discussion.

800 That it could indeed be described as allegory is accepted by scholars such as Schlier, Galater, p. 219; Bligh, Galatians, p. 393; and Koch, Die Schrift als Zeuge, p. 211.


802 For example, Becker, Galater, p. 57; Betz, Galatians, p. 239; and L. Goppelt, Typos: Die typologische Deutung des Alten Testaments im Neuen Testament (BFChTh 2/43, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966), p. 280.

803 See G. Galitis, “Gesetz und Freiheit. Die Allegorie vom Hagar und Sara in Gal 4,21-5,1”, in: A. Vanhoye (ed.), La foi agissant par l’amour (Galates 4,12-6,16) (BMSBES 13, Rome: Abbaye de S. Paul, 1996), pp. 52-67, for a comprehensive overview of this debate. I agree with Galitis that one could call the choice a "Pseudo-Dilemma", since the distinctions between allegory and typology are rather relative,
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The most important issue that has to be considered is how Galatians 4:21-5:1 conforms to Paul’s overall rhetorical strategy in the letter, in particular, why Paul uses this argument here. Scholarly opinion is divided on this issue:

- Some scholars, for example, Oepke, regard the entire argument as a kind of afterthought which Paul should in fact have used earlier in his discussion of the arguments from Scripture in 3:6-14. However, this is not acceptable. First, it is based on a wild guess as to what Paul had in mind when he dictated this part of the letter, and, secondly, it fails to recognise that 4:21-5:1 has a different focus. In Galatians 3:6-14 he used arguments from Scripture to prove that those who believe are children of Abraham. In Galatians 4:21-5:1 he focuses on another issue, namely that Abraham has two kinds of children, namely children who are (spiritually) free and children who are (spiritually) slaves. This differs from the argument used in 3:6-14, and it would in fact not be suitable in this instance.

- Barrett proposes that Paul’s opponents used an argument based on Hagar and Sarah in order to urge the Galatians to become “legitimate” children of Abraham. He must therefore present his own interpretation of the story in order to counter that of his opponents. The problem with this opinion is that it is difficult to prove with absolute certainty that the opponents did use this story. Of all the evidence provided by Barrett, the only issue that seems to point in this direction is the fact that Paul introduces the story without actually mentioning Hagar and Sarah explicitly. However, this is only a possible indication that Paul is aware that his audience knows the story, and not necessarily that they know it because the opponents used it. Barrett also assumes that the story corresponds to the views of the opponents better than that of Paul, as it would help them to convince the Galatians to be circumcised in order to

which means that one’s choice will always be subjective. I find his final decision acceptable though, namely:

Es wird vorgeschlagen, die Allegorie als Genus aufzufassen, und die Typologie als eine der Species der Allegorie (p. 65).

See also the favourite reaction to this by the other scholars (p. 72).

804 Galater, p. 251. See also Burton, Galatians p. 251. Anderson, Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul, p. 179, also assumes that this is an unlikely place for another Scriptural argument, and therefore views it as a continuation of Paul’s emotional appeal, namely as a sarcastic exposition of the Bible story. To me this seems rather unlikely.

805 So, correctly, Siker, Disinheriting the Jews, p. 45.


807 The other issues mentioned by Barrett, are 1. the use of ἔγγραφα that “allows the genuine Old Testament foundation of the Judaizers’ argument” (p. 9); 2. the fact that it is an unlikely part of the Old Testament for Paul to introduce from his own accord, and 3. the fact that the surface meaning of the story supports Paul’s opponents. To my mind, none of these really prove that the opponents used this story.

808 Ibid., p. 10.
become part of the true people of God. However, this is disputed and, one should not assume that the reason why Paul uses this argument is the fact that he has to counter the opponents’ use of it. The opponents could possibly have used this story, but to assume that this is definitely the case is to turn a guess into a fact. To reconstruct in detail the teachings of the opponents as some scholars do, is taking it even further!

• Some scholars believe that Paul's main reason for using the allegorical argument is that it gives him the opportunity to introduce the quotation from Genesis 21:10 in verse 30, using it as a direct order from Scripture to the effect that the Galatians should expel the opponents. This aspect forms part of his rhetorical strategy in this section, but it cannot be regarded as the main reason for using the allegorical argument. The problem with this opinion is that, after Paul uses the quotation, he immediately continues in the next verse with διον ἀδελφον ἐσμὲν παιδικὴς τεκνᾶ ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐφεύγειᾳ. This highlights the distinction between the Galatians who are spiritually free and those (in particular, the opponents) who are in spiritual slavery. This distinction plays a significant role in 5:1, too. If his primary emphasis were on the notion of expelling the opponents, he would either have ended the argument with the quotation, or enforced the notion by means of something else, for example by repeating the command or by concluding with an emphasis on the idea of expulsion.

• Betz attempts to explain Paul's purpose by referring to Greek and Roman rhetoricians. He points out Quintilian's advice that one should use one's powerful arguments either at the beginning or divide them between the beginning and the end. The problem is that some rhetoricians (for example, Rhetorica ad Herennium) did not consider allegory a powerful argument (due to its ambiguity), and this would imply that Paul is not following Quintilian's advice. However, Betz then proceeds to pseudo-Demetrius who regards "darkly-hinting expressions" as very powerful, and then argues that Paul's use of allegory may be classified as a similar case, implying that he ends his arguments with a very powerful argument. In this way Betz appears to "prove" that Paul's rhetorical strategy corresponds to the Quintilian's advice. However, Kern has pointed out his flawed reasoning:

810 Barclay, "Mirror-Reading", p. 89, deems it probable, but I would place it one category lower.
811 For example, Longenecker, Galatians, p. 199; and Martyn, Galatians, p. 434.
812 See, for example, Suhl, "Galaterbrief", p. 3129; Perriman, "Rhetorical Strategy", pp. 40-41; and Hansen, Abraham in Galatians, p. 146. See M. Bachmann, Antijudaismus im Galaterbrief. Exegetische Studien zu einem polemischen Schreiben und zur Theologie des Apostels Paulus (NTOA 40, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), p. 136, note 21, for a long list of scholars who accept this view.
813 Galatians, p. 240.
814 Russell, "Rhetorical Analysis", p. 428, is of a similar opinion.
815 Rhetoric and Galatians, p. 112.
When scholarship can choose between conflicting advice (from rhetorical handbooks – DFT) without a clear rationale for that choice, it raises the question of whether the options have any value at all…

How should one then describe Paul's rhetorical strategy in 4:21-5:1? The way in which he concludes this argument points us in the right direction. In verse 31 he concludes: diovaadelphia ouk esmen paidiskh\" tekena ajla; th\" eluegeva\". Paul's major rhetorical strategy can be inferred from this verse, namely to (again!) confront the audience with a *metaphorical contrast*, primarily the contrast between spiritual freedom and spiritual slavery (in this instance, in particular, the notion "son[s] of the slave girl" *versus* the "son[s] of the free woman"), but also the metaphorical contrast between flesh and promise. One or both of these metaphors occurs in nearly every verse in this section:

4:22 e\%a ek th\" paidiskh\" kai;e\%a ek th\" eluegeva\".
4:23 ajl;\%men ek th\" paidiskh\" kata;saaka gege\%ntai, ojde;ek th\" eluegeva\".
4:24 m\% men apo;ofou" Sina\'ei\% doule\%n genn\%\%a
4:25 doule\%i gar met at;\%n te\%\%n au\%h".
4:26 hjde;a\%w jerousalh\%\'eluegeva e\%t i m
4:28 kata;jsaak ebangelia\" te\%na e\%t ev
4:29 o\%kata;saaka genn\%\%h\%i; e\%pliwen ton kata;pneuma
4:30 e\%ka\%le\%th\%n paidiskh\%n kai;ton ui\%n au\%h"; ou\%gar mh;klhronom\%i;e\%jui\%p; th\" paidiskh\" met at;\%ou\%i\%pu\%th\" eluegeva\".
4:31 ouk esmen paidiskh\" te\%\%na ajla;th\" eluegeva\".
5:1 Th\\'eluegeria\%h\%a Cristo;\% eluege\%\%\%\%n; st\%kh\%\%te o\%\%b kai;mh;pa\%\%in zug\%doule\%\" ej\%\%esqe.

As I pointed out earlier, Paul also uses a similar metaphorical contrast in 4:1-7, namely that of *sonship versus slavery*. In 4:8-11 the metaphor of slavery also plays an important role, and now, after the emotional argument in 4:12-20, he again employs a metaphorical contrast. Although it is related to what he does in 4:1-7 and 4:8-11, three differences should be noted: First, the metaphorical contrast is now motivated by means of an argument from Scripture. Secondly, the focus of the contrast has shifted slightly in that Paul now contrasts two *types* of sonship (sonship characterised by slavery, and sonship characterised by freedom), and not sonship and slavery as such. Thirdly, the positive side of the metaphorical contrast is now given much more emphasis than in 4:1-7 and 4:8-11.

His purpose in using this metaphorical contrast is to a great extent similar to that in the previous instances, namely to convince the Galatians that they are spiritually free and to urge them not to yield to spiritual slavery (by accepting the "gospel" of the opponents) – as 5:1 indicates. This strategy suits the context well, since in the previous parts he frequently

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817 There may even also be a hint of slavery behind 4:17.
818 Malan, "Two Opposing Covenants", p. 439, rightly points out:
highlights the notion of spiritual slavery (see 4:1-7 and 4:8-11), and in subsequent parts spiritual freedom plays an important role, too. Thus, Paul's major argumentative strategy in this section may be summarised as an allegorical argument based on the authority of Scripture, confronting the Galatians with a metaphorical contrast between (spiritual) slavery and freedom in order to urge them not to yield to spiritual slavery by accepting the "gospel" of the opponents.\textsuperscript{819}

Furthermore, it is important to note another – yet secondary – aspect in Paul's rhetorical strategy in this section, namely the vilification of the opponents. To the Galatians it would be obvious where he places the opponents in his explanation of the allegory. The Galatians are the children of the promise like Isaac (verse 28), but the opponents are associated with Hagar; they are sons of the slave woman, like Ishmael; they are associated merely with the present Jerusalem (from which they claim their authority\textsuperscript{820}), and not with the Jerusalem above. In verse 29 he even describes their behaviour in Galatia (figuratively) as persecution\textsuperscript{821} – probably referring to their persistent efforts to persuade the Galatians to accept the law.\textsuperscript{822} In fact, it seems highly likely that he intends the Galatians to understand the (first part of the) quotation in verse 30 as a command from Scripture (thus from God) to "expel" the opponents,\textsuperscript{823} that is to stop listening to them and to no longer associate with them.

Prior to discussing the other rhetorical techniques Paul uses in this section, a brief outline of the flow of his argument follows:

\begin{quotation}
[T]he strategy of persuasion does not only lie in the argument of the pericope. Paul counts on the Galatians' aversion to bondage and slavery. He relies on their desire for freedom.
\end{quotation}

\textsuperscript{819} Other scholars also accept that this is Paul's purpose in this section although they do not necessarily express it in the same way as I do. See Hays, \textit{Echoes of Scripture}, p. 112; Siker, \textit{Disinheriting the Jews}, p. 112; Malan, "Two Opposing Covenants", p. 439; Galtis, "Gesetz und Freiheit", pp. 45-46; and Bachmann, \textit{Antijudaismus im Galaterbrief}, pp. 140-141.

\textsuperscript{820} So, correctly, Siker, \textit{Disinheriting the Jews}, p. 46. Note that by presenting the present Jerusalem and the Jerusalem above as opposing categories, Paul is simultaneously attempting to undermine the authority of Jerusalem. See also the discussion of Galatians 2:11-21 in Section 5.

\textsuperscript{821} It seems highly unlikely to me that Paul is referring to Jews (and not to his opponents) persecuting Christians, as some scholars (for example, Schlier, \textit{Galater}, p. 226; E. Baasland, "Persecution: A Neglected Feature in the Letter to the Galatians", \textit{Sth} 38:2 [1984], pp. 136; and Borse, \textit{Galater}, p. 175) believe. This would not make much sense in an argument against the opponents.


Verse 21 serves as the introduction to the argument. Paul uses several rhetorical techniques in this verse, two of them which are aimed at drawing the attention of the audience, namely the phrase ἤγετε μοι used in this instance as a phrase to focus the attention of the audience, and, secondly, a rhetorical question, which is not primarily used to express anger, but to focus the attention of the audience on the fact that he is now moving to a new argument. Furthermore he also uses irony. He addresses them as people who want to be under the law, asking them why they do not listen to the law.

In verses 22-23 Paul provides a short summary of the Hagar and Sarah story. It should be noted that his summary is dominated by contrasts, namely the contrast between slavery and freedom, and the contrast between flesh and promise. These contrasts do not

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824 Contra Borse, Galater, p. 166; and Rohde, Galater, p. 192.
826 So, correctly Burton, Galatians, p. 252. See also Dunn, Galatians, p. 245 ("he challenges the audience").
828 The use of ἐκλήσει might indicate that Paul thinks that they have not yet made up their minds, and that there still is a chance that he could win them back.
829 φοίνικαί is used here to refer to both "listen" and "understand". As Hübner, Biblische Theologie, p. 92, puts it: "ein Hinein-Hören in die tiefen Sinnschichten des Nomos".
play a significant role in the Old Testament story, but Paul highlights them in his summary, because he wants to use them in his explanation of the allegory in which these metaphors play a dominant role.

In verse 24 Paul begins to explain the allegory. According to him, the aspects mentioned in verses 22-23 represent two covenants. He focuses first on Hagar (Sarah is never mentioned explicitly or expounded allegorically; only the Jerusalem above and Isaac). Hagar represents the covenant from Mount Sinai, still giving birth to (spiritual) slavery. Once again, the importance of the metaphor of slavery in his rhetorical strategy in Galatians is obvious.

It is difficult to understand Paul's next statement (verse 25a), and this is complicated by the fact that there are various textual variants. The reading in Nestle-Aland is the best, that is the reading with Ἰάγους and with δὲ instead of γὰρ, thus leaving us with Ἰάγους Ἰσραήλ ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἰραμίᾳ. This could be translated as "and the Hagar Sinai mountain is in Arabia". It is difficult to understand Paul's logic in this case. Scholars have made various suggestions in order to make sense of this:

- Paul uses gematria: in Hebrew both "the current Jerusalem" and "the mother from Mount Sinai" total 999; and both the "Jerusalem to come" and "Sarah our Mother" total 607.
- In Arabic "hajar" means "rock" and is used frequently in references to mountains in the Mount Sinai area. Paul is aware of this fact and uses it to link Hagar to Mount Sinai.
- He is referring to a geographic link between Hagar, Mount Sinai and Arabia. According to Gese, Paul is of the opinion that Mount Sinai is in the vicinity of El-Hagra.

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831 ἄνα refers to all that is mentioned in verses 22-23. See Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 208.
832 This is the force of ἐκ τῶν in this instance. See Burton, *Galatians*, p. 257; and Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 319.
833 Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 330, correctly points out the importance of the present participle in this instance.
834 For more detailed discussions of the text critical evidence (and, in some cases, a choice that differs from that of Nestle-Aland), see Burton, *Galatians*, pp. 259-261; Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 322; Bouwman, "Die Hagar-und Sara-Perikope", pp. 3140-3141; and Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 332.
835 Supported by A B D L. ὅ C F G support the reading without Ἰὰγους.
837 According to R. A. Lipsius, *Briehe an die Galater, Römer, Philippier* (HNT 2.2, Freiburg: Mohr, 1892, 2. Auflage), p. 55, this was proposed by Grossmann.
838 See, for example, W. Bousser, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments. II* (Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1917), p. 66; and Betz, *Galatians*, p. 245.

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in the Arabian peninsula. According to some Jewish traditions, this was also the place where Hagar and Ishmael were separated from Abraham. Gese also refers to Targum Onkelos according to which the road to Sur (Genesis 16:7) is the road to Hagra.  

- It is a later gloss.  
- δέ should be read adversatively, and thus Paul’s logic is "even though Mount Sinai is in Arabia, it represents the present Jerusalem".  
- The clause represents an afterthought in case Paul’s audience does not know where Mount Sinai is.  
- The Anatolian background indicates that Hagar is presented in this instance as a Mountain Mother, the Meter Sinaiene.  

Gese’s suggestion is the best, and should be regarded as the best guess as to the link which Paul apparently wants to make between Hagar and Mount Sinai in order to motivate his identification of Hagar as the covenant from Mount Sinai.  

In verse 25b-c he continues by associating Hagar-Sinai with the present Jerusalem, again emphasising the notion of slavery: doulēvw gai r meta; twn tevknwn aujth`. His reference to "her children" to indicate the opponents would be obvious to the audience at this stage, since he associated them with the notion of religious slavery earlier in the letter.  

In verse 26 Paul moves to the opposing metaphor (freedom) in that he contrasts the present Jerusalem with its opposite, the Jerusalem above, which is free and which is "our" mother.  

Note the inclusive language whereby he attempts to associate the Galatians with himself – over against the opponents.

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839 H. Gese, "to; de; Âgar Sin后勤o` eítin ãêôth/ Ârabiv/(Gal 4.25)", in: his Vom Sinai zum Zion. Alttestamentliche Beiträge zur biblischen Theologie (BET 64, München: Kaiser), pp. 49-72.  
841 Burton, Galatians, pp. 259-260.  
842 Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 322.  
843 Dunn, Galatians, p. 251.  
845 The word sustoicevw literally refers to "being in the same rank/series". See G. Delling, "stoicevw", pp. 669-670; Lührmann, Galater, p. 31; Dunn, Galatians, p. 252; and BDAG(sustoicevw). To my mind, it could be translated in this instance as "belonging to the same category".  
846 Strictly speaking, one would expect Paul to contrast the "present Jerusalem" (temporally qualified) with the "coming Jerusalem" (temporally qualified) and not with the "Jerusalem above" (spatially qualified), but this may be due to Paul’s emphasis on realised eschatology in this instance. Although the heavenly Jerusalem is of the future, it is a present reality to which "we" already belong. See A. T. Lincoln, Paradise Now and Not Yet. Studies in the Role of the Heavenly Dimension in Paul’s Thought with Special Reference to his Eschatology (SNTS.MS 43, Cambridge, University Press, 1981), p. 21; and A. M. Schwemer, "Himmische Stadt und himmlisches Bürgerrecht bei Paulus (Gal. 4.26 und Phil. 3.20)", in: M. Hengel, S. Mittmann & A. M. Schwemer (Hrsg.), La Cité de Dieu. Die Stadt Gottes. 3. Symposium
That his identification of Sarah (not mentioned explicitly) as the Jerusalem above and as "our mother" is correct, is "proved" by Paul in verse 27 by means of a quotation from Scripture. His choice of Isaiah 54:1 is explained by the fact that, although it originally referred to Israel, it could also be applied to Jerusalem, and linked to Sarah as steiva. Thus, he uses it in this instance to motivate part of his allegorical exposition – in particular, verses 26a and b.

After having identified the Jerusalem above as "our" mother, Paul then focuses on the application of the allegorical exposition to the situation in Galatia. This amounts to linking (himself and) the Galatians very strongly to the positive side of the metaphorical contrast, and the opponents to the negative side of the metaphorical contrast. This is achieved as follows:

In verse 28 he explicitly identifies the Galatians with Isaac: ὦ ἡμεῖς δεξαμενοὶ τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ ἐκ παγκόσμιας νόμων. Note how he uses direct address as a rhetorical technique in order to enhance the effect of this statement in two ways. First, he addresses the audience in the second person plural, placing ὦ ἡμεῖς in a prominent position in the sentence. Secondly, he uses the word ἀδελφοί to convey the notion of intimacy, thereby attempting to draw them closer to his side.

In verse 29 he focuses on another issue, namely Ishmael's persecution of Isaac, which is applied to the current situation in Galatia. As I pointed out earlier, the opponents did not physically persecute the Galatians, but he is portraying their persistent efforts to persuade the Galatians to accept their version of the gospel as "persecution" – thereby vilifying the opponents. Thus, from a rhetorical perspective, he is in fact suggesting that the Galatians reinterpret their current experience of the opponents. If this strategy of Paul succeeds, it would mean that their (reinterpreted!) personal experience would serve as a powerful argument to prove that he is indeed correct. They will believe that they are experiencing "persecution", and this proves that his allegorical exposition and its application are indeed correct.

In the next verse he again uses a rhetorical question to focus the attention of his audience on the Scriptural quotation that follows. This quotation is from Genesis 21:10, the

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847 Paul's quotation corresponds exactly to the LXX. See Koch, Die Schrift als Zeuge, p. 102.


850 The Old Testament does not mention that Ishmael persecuted Isaac, but Genesis 21:9 – in particular, the word qjxm – was interpreted as referring to something negative done by Ishmael to Isaac. See, Mussner, Galaterbrief p. 329; Rohde, Galater, p. 203; and Longenecker, Galatians, p. 217.

851 See Lietzmann, Galater, p. 33. Note that Lietzmann interprets it as referring to Jewish persecution of Christians.
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most significant change\(^{852}\) being the change from meta; tou` uipu mou |saak to meta; tou` uipu` th` e|eugeva` in order to bring it closer to the metaphorical contrast he developed earlier in this section. It is important to note that he introduces the quotation as spoken by Scripture (and not by Sarah). This gives it greater authority within this context. His purpose with this quotation appears to be twofold. First, as pointed out earlier in this section, the fact that it follows immediately after his reference to the "persecution" of the Galatians indicates that he wants the Galatians to consider the first part of the quotation as the course of action they will have to take with respect to the opponents. Secondly, the second part of the quotation serves as an implicit warning to the audience: the son of the slave woman will not "inherit" with the son of the free woman. This serves as a warning to them not to follow the advice of the opponents.

In verse 31 Paul repeats the main point of his argument by emphasising the two principal metaphors: diov ajdelfoiv ouk ejmen paidiskh` tekna alla; th` e|eugeva`. In this instance he uses two rhetorical techniques, namely direct address (ajdelfoi) to indicate affection,\(^{853}\) and inclusive language (continued in 5:1a) to create intimacy between himself and his audience.

Some scholars prefer to demarcate Galatians 5:1 as part of the next section,\(^{854}\) but this does not seem to be correct. The metaphoric al contrast between slavery and freedom highlighted in 5:1 also dominates Paul's scriptural argument in 4:21ff., and it should therefore rather be demarcated as part of 4:21ff.\(^{855}\)

In 5:1 he again uses the freedom metaphor, in this instance to describe both the new status\(^{856}\) characterising the Galatians in Christ, as well as the process by which Christ achieved it. The effective way in which he uses hyperbaton and repetition in 5:1a to highlight the notion of freedom should be noted. With regard to the hyperbaton, the normal sentence construction would be Cristo`; hjleuqewsen hJma`; th` e|eugeria`, but Paul changes it to th` e|eugeria/hJma` Cristo`; hjleuqewsen, thereby placing the notion of freedom in a prominent position in the sentence. Furthermore, the key word is repeated several times in 4:31 and 5:1a:

4:31:... th` e|eugeva`.
5:1:Th` e|eugeria/hJma` Cristo`; hjleuqewsen.

\(^{852}\) The other two changes are the omission of tauthn after th` paidiskhn and of tauthn after th` paidiskh`. See Koch, Die Schrift als Zeuge, p. 149.

\(^{853}\) So, correctly, Dunn, Galatians, p. 259.

\(^{854}\) For example, Schlier, Galater, p. 228; Lührmann, Galater, p. 80; and Rohde, Galater, p. 212.

\(^{855}\) So, correctly, Bruce, Galatians, p. 226; Martyn, Galatians, p. 246; Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 333; and Holmstrand, Markers and Meaning, pp. 177-178.

\(^{856}\) The dative is explained by scholars as either a dative of goal/purpose (see, for example, Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 342; Betz, Galatians, p. 255; and Bryant, The Risen Crucified Christ, p. 183, note 57), a dative of advantage (see, for example BDR §188.1; and Jones, "Freiheit" in den Briefen des Apostels Paulus, pp. 98-99), or a locative dative (Martyn, Galatians, p. 447). To my mind, the first description is best.
The techniques Paul uses in this instance, can be identified as *anastrophe* (a word in the final position in a previous clause is repeated in the initial position in the next clause) and *kyklos* (the same word is placed in the initial and final position in a clause). This enhances the perceptibility of the notion of freedom, thus focusing the attention of the audience very effectively on it.

In 5:1b-c Paul uses a (positive and negative) *command* very effectively: sthve ouk ai mh; pavin zugw/douleia* ehevesqe. As Malan points out, a command is inherently impolite, but, this aspect makes it so effective, as it addresses – in fact, confronts – the audience directly as to what they should do. The fact that he uses this technique reveals that he is confident at this stage that the Galatians would do what he wants them to do. Furthermore, he uses a *metaphor*. By describing the alternative propagated by the opponents as a "yoke of slavery", he makes it highly unattractive to his audience.

To conclude: in Galatians 4:21-5:1 Paul uses the authority of Scripture to present an allegorical exposition of the Hagar-Sarah stories dominated by a metaphorical contrast between two kinds of sonship: sonship characterised by slavery and sonship characterised by freedom. He does so in order to urge the Galatians not to yield to the opponents, but rather to remain "free". Furthermore, the metaphorical contrast is used to vilify the opponents as their "gospel" is categorised as religious "slavery". It has also been indicated that Paul uses numerous rhetorical techniques in this section, most of which are used to convey the metaphorical contrast more effectively. These are the use of a phrase to focus the attention of the audience (4:21); two rhetorical questions (4:21 and 4:30); irony (4:21); inclusive language (4:26, 31 and 5:1); two quotations from Scripture (4:27 and 4:30); appeal to personal experience (4:29); direct address (4:28 and 4:31); anastrophe (5:1); kyklos (5:1); hyperbaton (5:1); commands, (4:30 and 5:1) and a metaphor (5:1).

15. Phase Fifteen: Galatians 5:2-6: A strict warning against circumcision

In terms of demarcation of sections in Galatians the first twelve verses of Chapter 5 seem to pose the most problems. I am aware of at least six ways in which scholars demarcate these verses, namely 5:1-12 as a single unit; 5:2-12 as a single unit; 5:1-6 and 7-12 as two separate units; 5:2-6 and 7-12 as two separate units; 5:2-10 as a separate unit.
unit, followed by 5:11-6:13 (subdivided as 5:11-13a; 5:13b-6:10 and 6:11-13) as a separate unit,\textsuperscript{865} and 4:21-5:6 as one unit.\textsuperscript{866} In essence, the difference among scholars can be traced back to two issues, namely whether verse 1 should be demarcated as part of the previous unit, and whether a break occurs between verses 6 and 7. As indicated earlier, the principle used in this study for demarcating sections is whether a change in rhetorical strategy can be detected or not. Thus, one must ask whether a change in rhetorical strategy occurs somewhere in verses 2\textsuperscript{867}-12 or only at the beginning of verse 13. At least three foci can be determined in the rhetorical strategy in verses 2-12:

- In verses 2-4 the dominant rhetorical strategy can be described as a strict \textit{warning} to the Galatians not to be circumcised.
- In verses 5-6 Paul presents a positive \textit{exposition of the opposite perspective} on the matter, namely that the important issue is not whether one is circumcised or not.
- In verses 7-12 the dominant (although not exclusive!) rhetorical strategy can be described as \textit{vilification} of the opponents.

The first two foci identified above are closely related in that the second one serves as the motivation for the first one. In the case of the third focus, however, there is a definite change in rhetorical strategy. Thus, one can indicate two distinct rhetorical strategies in verses 2-12, namely a warning not to be circumcised (verses 2-6) and vilification of the opponents (verses 7-12). In terms of the approach opted for in this study, it should therefore be divided into two separate sections: verses 2-6 and verses 7-12. The fact that Paul raises the issue of circumcision again in verses 11-12 could be used as an argument for demarcating verses 2-12 as a single rhetorical unit. However, it should be noted that circumcision is mentioned in verses 11-12 within a different rhetorical strategy. In verse 11 Paul's aim is not primarily to persuade the Galatians not to be circumcised, but rather to refute the idea that he still proclaims circumcision. In verse 12 circumcision is not mentioned directly, but used as a basis for sarcasm against the opponents. Galatians 5:2-12 should therefore be divided into two separate sections. In verses 2-6 the dominant rhetorical strategy is \textit{a strict warning to the Galatians not to be circumcised}.

Before Paul's rhetorical strategy in this section is discussed in more detail, the issue of paraenetic material in Galatians 5:2ff. should be discussed briefly. Dibelius\textsuperscript{869} was the first

\textsuperscript{864} For example, Witherington, \textit{Grace in Galatia}, p. 359, who identifies Galatians 5:2-15 as the fifth argument in Galatians, and subdivides it into three parts: 5:2-6, 7-12 and 13-15. See also Kremendahl, \textit{Die Botschaft der Form}, pp. 242-248, who identifies 5:2-6 as \textit{peroratio} and 5:7-12 as (second) \textit{exordium}.
\textsuperscript{865} Holmstrand, \textit{Markers and Meaning}, pp. 178-193.
\textsuperscript{866} Smit, "Redactie", pp. 117-123, identifies Galatians 4:21-5:6 as \textit{recapitulatio}.
\textsuperscript{867} For a discussion of the reasons why verse 1 is linked to the previous section and not to this one, see the discussion at the end of the previous phase.
\textsuperscript{868} 
\textsuperscript{869} M. Dibelius, \textit{Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur} (TBNT 58, Hrsg. F. Hahn, München: Kaiser, 1975, 3. Auflage), p. 140, defines paraenetic material as follows:
person to identify paraenesis as a distinctive type of material in the New Testament and early Christian literature. Since then scholars have tried to pinpoint the beginning of the paraenetic section in Galatians. Several suggestions have been made: 4:12, 4:21, 5:1, 5:2, 5:7, and 5:13. However, as Matera rightly points out, such a search for the starting point of the paraenesis in Galatians is ill-advise, not because no moral exhortation is to be found in Galatians, but rather because it would be wrong to regard any section in the last chapters of the letter as purely paraenetic. It is important to realise that, although chapters 5-6 contain paraenetic material, it nevertheless is embedded within a larger argument and should thus be regarded as part of a broader rhetorical strategy. This is also true of Galatians 5:2-12. This section could be considered purely paraenetic, but this would be wrong, as it constitutes a very important part of Paul's argument in the letter: the exhortation to the Galatians not to listen to opponents' advice relating circumcision is based on his arguments in the previous chapters, and it therefore forms an integral part of the argument in the letter as a whole. Galatians 5:2-12 functions as the practical outcome of the arguments presented thus far. A discussion of the rhetorical strategy in 5:2-12 follows.

The first part of this section (verses 2-4) is dominated by a strict warning to the Galatians not to be circumcised. In fact, Paul uses three warnings against circumcision, which focus on the consequence of their behaviour. The first warning is found in verse 2: he warns the Galatians (who have apparently decided to be circumcised) by means of a conditional sentence addressed directly to them: if you are circumcised, Christ will be of no benefit to you at all. The effect of the warning is enhanced by means of three words added at the beginning of the sentence, focusing the attention of the Galatians on Paul himself: [δε εγώ, Παύλο...]. Scholars interpret the force of these words in various ways, for example, as referring to Paul as their "friend and father in Christ", as "tacitly contrasting..."
himself with St Peter”, 876 or as alluding to his Jewish past. 877 However, as most scholars assume, 878 these words should be interpreted as a way of emphasising his authority as apostle, thus enhancing the effectiveness of the warning.

The second 879 warning is found in 5:3:

\[
\text{martuvromai } \text{de; } \text{pavlin } \text{panti; } \text{aŋqrwpw/}
\text{peritemnomeων/ο} \text{οf } \text{εἰλεθ' } \text{eστιν } \text{ο} \text{ότο } \text{νο} \text{ων } \text{ποιhσαι.}
\]

Paul uses martuvromai in this instance as an emphatic affirmation in the sense of "insist". 880 He "insists" that whoever is circumcised is obligated to do the whole law. Thus, the underlying argument seems to be similar to the one he used in 3:10, namely that, although it is possible to keep the law, the Galatians will not be able to do so, and he is therefore warning them: if you decide to be circumcised, you must be well aware of the fact that you then will be obligated to do everything the law requires. It should also be noted that he uses several supportive techniques enabling him to convey the warning with great force:

- He uses words helping him to convey emphasis very efficiently: apart from "insist" (martuvromai), he also uses "again" (pavlin), and "every human" (panti; aŋqrwpw). It is not clear what pavlin refers to. Exegetes have suggested the following: the previous verse; 881 his preaching when he visited them; 882 another occasion, 883 or Galatians 3:10. 884 The last choice seems to be the best due to the similarity between the underlying thoughts in this verse and those in 3:10. However, irrespective of one's choice, it is crucial to realise that Paul uses it primarily as a means of emphasising what he is saying.

- He uses paranomasia: of eileth in verse 3 is related to wjfelhvsei used in the previous verse. 885

- He uses consonance in a striking way, in particular, the p-sound:

\[
\text{martuvromai } \text{de; } \text{pavlin } \text{panti; aŋqrwpw/}
\text{peritemnomeων/ο} \text{οf } \text{εἰλεθ' } \text{eστιν } \text{ο} \text{ότο } \text{νο} \text{ων } \text{ποιhσαι.}
\]

The third warning is found in the next verse. As in verse 2, Paul again addresses the audience directly: kathrgqhte apo; Cristou. Witherington 886 describes this as "dramatic

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876 Bligh, Galatians, p. 419. Note that he also interprets it as referring to Paul's authority.
877 Vouga, Galater, p. 122. Note that he also interprets it as referring to Paul's authority.
878 For example, Longenecker, Galatians, p. 225; Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 345; and Anderson, Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul, p. 180.
879 δεσ is used copulatively and not adversatively.
880 See L&N 33.319; and H. Strathmann, "martuvromai", TDNT 4, p. 511, who describes it as "emphatic affirmation". Thus, Anderson, Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul, p. 182, is correct in critising Betz (See Betz, Galatians, p. 259) for interpreting it as an oath formula.
881 For example, Lietzmann, Galater, p. 37; and Longenecker, Galatians, p. 226.
882 For example, Burton, Galatians, p. 274; and Borse, Galater, p. 180.
883 Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 347, suggests Jerusalem or Antioch.
884 Kremendahl, Die Botschaft der Form, p. 54.
885 Lührmann, Galater, p. 81.
886 Grace in Galatia, p. 363.
hyperbole to frighten his converts back to their senses" and Paul is precisely doing that. He warns them, that by trying to achieve righteousness through the law they in fact have nothing more to do with Christ, but have become estranged from him. Surely, this would have made them reconsider what they were about to do! The effect of this warning is enhanced by the fact that it is followed abruptly by another warning in which he basically repeats a similar idea: you have fallen away from grace.

The warnings are followed by a positive explanation of the opposite point of view in verses 5-6. The fact that he links this positive explanation to the previous sentence by means of γὰρ should be interpreted as an indication of the following logic: I warn you that, by trying to achieve righteousness through the law, you have ended your relationship with Christ and you have fallen away from grace, because the opposite is in fact true: we do not try to achieve righteousness through the law, but in an opposite way. This is then explained by means of two statements. The first statement is a very concise summary of Paul's basic argument in the letter. He repeats several concepts that played a crucial role in his argument in the previous part of the letter, namely Spirit, righteousness and faith – the only difference being that he now places it within a futurist eschatological context: by the Spirit and from faith we eagerly await the hope of righteousness:

Note that he switches now from the direct address used in the previous two verses to inclusive language ("we"). Furthermore, ἡμεῖς, which, strictly speaking, is not necessary occupies a prominent position in the sentence (hyperbaton). In this way he succeeds in softening the tone to some extent, thereby inviting the Galatians in a subtle way to return to the true gospel.

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887 According to Vouga, Galater, p. 123, Paul does not address the Galatians as such, but either a group within the Galatian churches or the Jewish Christians among and outside the Galatian churches. However, it seems best to interpret Paul's words as being addressed to the same people whom he addresses in verses 2 and 3, namely the Galatians as a group. So, correctly, Longenecker, Galatians, p. 228.

888 δικαίουσθε is conative present.

889 This is the meaning of καταργήσετε. See BDAG (καταργέω). Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 204, points out that the use of the aorist indicates the consequences of the actions of the Galatians as instantaneous.

890 The subject of the grace could be either God or Christ. The expression ἡμεῖς εἰς πίστιν ἐκ πνευματι ἐνίατον δικαιοσύνη could mean either "you have turned away from the grace" or "you have no longer experienced grace". See L&N 34.26 and 90.72. To my mind, the second one is the best interpretation of its meaning. See Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 349, who explains it as "ein 'Herausfallen' aus jenem Bereich, in dem das Gnadenprinzip und nicht das Gesetzesprinzip gilt".

891 It seems certain that Paul refers to the Holy Spirit in this instance. So, correctly, Burton, Galatians, p. 277; and Dunn, Galatians, p. 269. Contra Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 204.

892 δικαιοσύνη is best understood in this instance as an objective genitive ("righteousness we hope for") or even as a genitive of apposition ("hope, that is righteousness"), and not as a subjective genitive. See Silva, Explorations in Exegetical Method, p. 182.

893 Vouga, Galater, p. 122 interprets ἡμεῖς as an "apostolic we", but it seems better to view it as an "inclusive we" in this instance. So, correctly, Kremendahl, Die Botschaft der Form, p. 243; and Smit, "A Deliberative Speech", p. 19.
In the next statement – γὰρ indicating that it is the logical complement of the previous statement – Paul explains the implications of the previous statement for circumcision, the issue dominating this section: it is not circumcision that matters, but faith-working-through love (ἐγνατίας Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὐκ ἐκκυβέρνῃ οὐκ ἀκροβυστία ἀλλὰ πίστις δι’ ἐνέγαφθ’ ἐνεργουμένη). The effect of this sentence is enhanced in two ways by the way in which the sentence is structured: First, he places Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ in a prominent position at the beginning of the sentence (hyperbaton). Secondly, he again uses antithetic presentation as a means to emphasise: οὔτε ἐκκυβέρνῃ οὔτε ἀκροβυστία ἀλλὰ πίστις δι’ ἐνέγαφθ’ ἐνεργουμένη.

To conclude: Paul’s rhetorical strategy in this section can be summarised as a strict warning to the Galatians not to follow the advice of the opponents to be circumcised. This is achieved in two ways: First, in verses 2-4 he uses three warnings in which he points out the consequence of their behaviour. The effect of the warnings is enhanced in several ways: the use of words focusing the attention of the Galatians; direct address; choice of words that may add emphasis (μαρτύρωμαι, παλιν, and πάντι ἀγρώπω); paranomasia, and consonance. Secondly, in verses 5-6 the warnings are followed by a positive exposition of Paul's views. He uses two statements: the first statement emphasises three key notions in his argument in the previous part of his letter (Spirit, faith and righteousness); the second statement points out the implications for the issue of circumcision. The effect of these statements is enhanced by means of inclusive language, sentence structure, and antithetic presentation.

16. Phase Sixteen: Galatians 5:7-12: Vilifying the opponents

Paul’s dominating rhetorical strategy in this section can be described as vilification of the opponents. This is achieved as follows:

In verse 7 Paul begins with a metaphor he also uses in other places, namely that of running a race: Ἐτέρωτε καλώ. This refers to their progress prior to their being influenced by the opponents. As such the metaphor could be used as a basis for rebuking them for wasting the good things they had, as he did in 3:3. However, it is rather followed by a rhetorical question developing it in a different way: τί βύνη εἶπεωγεν ὡς ἡμᾶς ἡλεηταὶ; By using this rhetorical question he achieves two things: First, he effectively shifts the blame from the Galatians to other people. Although he does not explicitly identify...

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894 Dunn, Galatians, p. 270.
895 Dunn, Galatians, p. 272, points out that this phrase nearly indicates a single concept. In the light of what follows in 5:13ff., it is best to interpret ἐνεργουμένη as medium and not as passive. So, correctly, Lührmann, Galater, p. 82; and Bruce, Galatians, p. 232.
896 For a discussion of the demarcation of this phase, see the discussion at the beginning of the previous phase.
897 See Galatians 2:2; 1 Corinthians 9:24-26; Philippians 2:16 and 3:14.
898 Borse, Galater, p. 185, suggests that Paul asks a question, because he is not sure about the source of the problem. However, it seems better to view this as a pure rhetorical question. So, correctly, Musser, Galaterbrief, p. 354; Rohde, Galater, p. 220; and Anderson, Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul, p. 181.
the people responsible, it would have been clear to the Galatians that he is referring to the opponents. Secondly, he vilifies his opponents very effectively by portraying them as people working against – note the word he chooses to describe his own version of the gospel in this instance! – the truth; they prevented the Galatians from being persuaded by/obeying the truth!

In verse 8 Paul continues: ἡ πεισμονή; οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦντος ὁ θάνας. πεισμονή is a hapax legomenon in the New Testament and in fact first found in existing Greek literature in this instance. The fact that he uses such a rare word is probably due to the fact that he uses paranomasia as supportive technique in this section: πειθαμα in verse 7; πεισμονήν in verse 8, and πεψιμα in verse 10. The meaning of πεισμονή should be interpreted as "persuasion", thus rendering the sentence as "that persuasion, that draws you away from the truth, does not come from the One who calls you". To the Galatians it would have been obvious that Paul is still referring to the opponents, as they were trying to persuade the Galatians to accept another view. To understand Paul's rhetorical strategy in this instance, it is important to note that he contrasts πεισμονή and "the One who calls", thereby vilifying the opponents as people acting against the will of God.

In verse 9 Paul continues the vilification by applying an apparently popular proverb to the situation in Galatia: μικρα; ᾧ ζυμάον τοῖς ὄντος ζυματισμοί. The referent of ζυμάον is interpreted in various ways: the opponents, their views, a small number of Galatians who accepted the view of the opponents, or the small number of Jewish laws, which the Galatians at first had to observe. Of these, the first two seem to be the best. It is important to realise that "leaven" and fermentation were often perceived in antiquity as a process

899 Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 355, and Betz, Galatians, p. 264, believe that Paul is referring to Satan. However, as Vouga, Galater, p. 124, correctly points out, the semantic field in the Letter to the Galatians does not suggest an opposition between God and Satan, but between God and humankind, which makes it more likely that he is thinking of the opponents here. See Smit, "Redactie in de brief aan de galaten", p. 124; and Longenecker, Galatians, p. 230, too.

900 This is the meaning of ἐπιθυμεῖν. See BDAG (ἐπιθυμέω); and L&N 13.147. Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 371, follows C. E. de Vries, "Paul's 'Cutting Remark' about a Race: Galatians 5.1-12", in: G. F. Hawthorne (ed.), Current Issues in Biblical and Patristic Interpretation (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), pp. 118-119, who interprets the word as referring to the idea of another runner "cutting in" in front of someone else. If this is true, Paul is continuing his running metaphor in this instance.

901 πείθω followed by the dative could be interpreted as either "being persuaded by" or "obey". See BDAG (πείθω). To my mind, in this passage either translation is possible. So correctly, Dunn, Galatians, p. 274.

902 BDAG (πείσω). See also L&N 33.303; and Burton, Galatians, p. 283.

903 Betz, Galatians, p. 266.

904 Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 206.

905 Schlier, Galater, p. 237.

906 Zahn, Galater, p. 254

907 Rohde, Galater, p. 221.
of corruption. It is in this sense that Paul uses the proverb, as a way of vilifying the opponents.

In verse 10a he briefly interrupts the vilification of the opponents. He expresses his confidence that the Galatians will agree with him: ἐγὼ; οὖν ἡμαῖς ἐν Κυρίῳ οὐ μὴν ἀλλο ἐφορέσατε. The rhetorical technique used may thus be described as an expression of confidence. As Duvall correctly indicates, this functions as an extremely powerful challenge, since Paul is in fact trying to mobilise the Galatians' desire to please him. He acts like a father who is telling his child: "I am sure that you will make me proud of you". Similarly, Paul uses this technique to create a sense of obligation among the Galatians to do what he wants them to do. Note how Paul uses ἐγὼ which is strictly speaking not necessary, at the beginning of the sentence, to add emphasis to the expression of confidence. Furthermore, the fact that he indicates the source of his confidence as ἐν Κυρίῳ not only shows his firm conviction that the power of the Lord can radically change people, but also serves as a subtle reminder to the Galatians that the gospel that he proclaims has divine authority, and that by rejecting it, they would be acting against God's will.

In verse 10b Paul again uses vilification: οὐδετερὰς ὑμᾶς βασταζεῖ τοῦ κρίμα, ὡς ἴστη ἡ. He uses the same word (ταρασσὼν) as in 1:7 to characterise the opponents negatively, the only difference being that he now uses it in the singular, best understood as a generic singular. Furthermore, he portrays them as people who will be punished by God. The notion of God's punishment serves Paul's purpose in two (closely related) ways. On the one hand, he uses it to attempt to drive in a wedge between the Galatians and the opponents, since they would not likely associate with people who are about to be punished by God. On the other hand, it reminds them of his claim that his gospel has divine authorisation. Thus, in conjunction with the ἐκ τοῦ καλὸντος ὑμᾶς of verse 7 and the ἐν Κυρίῳ of verse 10a, this reference to God's punishment in verse 10b reinforces the notion of the divine authorisation of Paul's gospel. As Synofzik puts it:

Hier wie dort (that is, Gal. 1:7-9 – DFT) wird über die Gegner das künftige Verdammsgericht Gottes nicht nur angekündigt, sondern durch den Apostel als den Bevollmächtigten Gottes geradezu rechtswirksam verhängt.

In verse 11 Paul continues: Ἐγώ; δειδηλοίων ἡ σκόντα; τίς ἡ περιτομή. It is obvious that he is reacting to

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908 Dunn, Galatians, p. 275.
910 Duvall, ibid., note 9.  
911 See Becker, Galater, p. 79; Bruce, Galatians, p. 235; and Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 358. Other suggestions are a particular ringleader among the opponents (Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 372), James (Oepke, Galater, p. 160), Barnabas (Lietzmann, Galater, p. 11) and Peter (Bligh, Galatians, p. 430).  
912 It appears that Paul is thinking of the eschatological judgement. See Arzt, Bedrohtes Christsein, p. 179; and Martyn, Galatians, p. 475.  
an allegation in this instance. He provides very little information, because he apparently assumes that the Galatians are aware of the allegations against him. However, modern exegetes find it difficult to reconstruct the allegations – this is aggravated by the fact that he is polemising. Scholars reconstruct the allegations in various ways:

- Paul is reacting to accusations that he had preached circumcision during his time in Judaism.
- His circumcision-free gospel was not widely known in Christian Jewish circles, and many of them therefore believed that he still preached circumcision.
- He is referring to the possibility that in the future he may adopt the circumcision of Gentiles as part of his gospel.
- He is referring to another group of opponents (enthusiasts) who accused him of not being free enough of Jewishness.
- He is reacting to a misunderstanding of his warnings against the flesh as expressing the ethical meaning of circumcision;
- He is reacting to an accusation of inconsistency: to the Galatians (and other Gentiles) he preached a circumcision-free gospel, but to the Jewish Christians he still preached circumcision.
- He uses \( \varepsilon \gamma \omega \nu \) but in fact employs a mirror effect ("spiegeleffect") to indicate what the opponents themselves were doing: they preach circumcision in order to avoid persecution.

To my mind, the penultimate suggestion (the accusation of inconsistency) makes the most sense.\(^915\) That such a rumour of inconsistency regarding Paul's view of circumcision existed may also be inferred from the fact that a tradition according to which Paul had Timothy circumcised on account of the Jews, later reached the author of Luke.\(^916\) If this interpretation is correct, what Paul wants to communicate in this verse can be reconstructed as follows: "The opponents accuse me of inconsistency, that I (sometimes) still preach circumcision. This is not true. If this were true, then I would no longer have been 'persecuted', as then the stumbling block of the cross would have been removed."

\(^{914}\) The first six suggestions are taken from the discussion by Dunn, *Galatians*, pp. 278-280. The last one (not an allegation against Paul, but one against his opponents) is the interpretation of Smit, "Redactie in de brief aan de galaten", p. 125.


\(^{916}\) For a comprehensive discussion of this rumour, see Haenchen, *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 420-423. Even if this rumour were false, the fact that it existed cannot be ignored.

\(^{917}\) The first \( \varepsilon \nu \) denotes that the situation continues ("still").

\(^{918}\) The second \( \varepsilon \nu \) indicates inference ("then").

\(^{919}\) This refers either to the activities of Paul's opponents (see for example, Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 477) or to the fact that Jews did not tolerate Christians who were against circumcision (see for example, Becker, *Galater*, p. 80).

\(^{920}\) \( \alpha \varepsilon \) \( \alpha \) indicates inference.
If this reconstruction of the meaning of verse 11 is correct, Paul’s rhetorical strategy in this verse is the use of a *rhetorical question to refute criticism by his opponents*. As this is merely another way of stating that they are lying when they accuse him of still preaching circumcision, this refutation also serves as further *vilification* of his opponents. Note that he also mentions the fact that he is still "persecuted". This serves as the "proof" that he no longer preaches circumcision, but it can also be viewed as a supportive rhetorical technique, as it may have been an attempt to gain their *sympathy*. Two other supportive techniques can also be identified. First, note that ἐὰν which is strictly speaking not necessary, is placed in a prominent position at the beginning of the sentence (hyperbaton), thereby giving it more emphasis, in the sense of "definitely not I". Secondly, he uses ἄφελοι when he *addresses* the Galatians, possibly to indicate affection.

In verse 12 Paul continues: ὃ ἐλον καὶ ἀποκοιμονταῖοι ὁ ἄναυτε ὑμαί. By describing the opponents as ὁ ἄναυτε (that is, people who disturb/trouble/upset the Galatians) he is still *vilifying* them. More important, though, is the wish he expresses: that these troublemakers may get themselves castrated. In their attempts to explain what Paul is doing in this instance, scholars have used a wide variety of terms, from "irony" to "sarcasm". To call this irony (or even a mere joke) is definitely an understatement. The technique that Paul uses in this instance is best described as *sarcasm*. Why would he be using this? Besides the fact that it may be a way of expressing his bitter feelings with regard to the opponents, this is a powerful technique for increasing the distance between the Galatians and the opponents, as the aim is to create disgust for them.

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921 T. Baarda, "τί λείπη τι διπλωμαι in Gal 5:11. Apodosis or Parenthesis?", *NT* 34:3 (1992), pp. 250-256, proposes that τί λείπη τι διπλωμαι should be read as a parenthesis and not as an apodosis. However, see the criticism by J. Lambrecht, "Is Gal. 5:11b a Parenthesis? A Response to T. Baarda", *NT* 38:3 (1996), pp. 237-241.

922 BDAG (ἄναυτος).


924 Some examples: "irony" (Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 207); "schärfster Sarkasmus" (Lietzmann, *Galater*, p. 38); "ein gänzlich, irrealer, höhnisch gereizter Wunsch...reiner Spott und Hohn" (H. von Campenhagen, "Ein Witz des Apostels Paulus und die Anfänge des christlichen Humors", in: W. Eltester [Hrsg.], *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag*[BZNW 21, Berlin: Töpfe]mann, 1954], p. 191); "grimmiger Spott" (Schlier, *Galater*, p. 240); "bittere Ironie und ... Sarkasmus" (Rohde, *Galater*, p. 224); "sarcastic and indeed 'bloody' joke" (Betz, *Galatians*, p. 270); "sarcastic and dismissive snort" (Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 282); "inventive" (Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 374); "ridiculous curse" (Russell, "Rhetorical Analysis", p. 432); "a rude, obscene, and literally bloody picture at their expense" (Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 478); "voller sarcastischer und bissiger Polemik" (Kremendahl, *Die Botschaft der Form*, p. 247); and "ein Witz" (Vouga, *Galater*, p. 126).

some underlying notions in Paul's use of sarcasm in this instance, namely that if that happened to the opponents, they would become like the priests of Cybele (who were willingly castrated), or that (in terms of the Jewish law) they would (ironically!) to be excluded from the worshipping assembly. However, there is no real need to posit such allusions here. Its primary aim is to serve as a sarcastic dismissal of the opponents' insistence on circumcision.

To conclude: in this section the dominant rhetorical strategy is vilification of the opponents. In verse 7 they are portrayed as people who prevent the Galatians from being persuaded by obeying the truth; in verse 8 they are portrayed as acting against God; in verse 9 a proverb is used to associate them with their views with leaven, thereby suggesting a process of corruption; in verse 10b they are (collectively) described as "tarassōn" and portrayed as people who will be punished by God, and in verse 12 they are described as "oij' ajnastatont". The vilification of the opponents is interrupted by an expression of confidence in verse 10a, a refutation of a false allegation in verse 11, and the use of sarcasm in verse 12. The dominant rhetorical strategy is supported by other rhetorical techniques in several ways: a metaphor of running a race (verse 7); a rhetorical question (verse 7); paranomasia (peiqes qai, peismohy pepoiqa); an expression of confidence (verse 10a); the argument of divine authority (verse 10a,b); adding εἰ γὰρ for emphasis at the beginning of the sentence (verse 10a, 11a); a rhetorical question (verse 11); the use of ἄδελφοι (verse 11) to indicate affection, and a reference to "persecution" which he has to endure in order to elicit sympathy (verse 11).

17. Phase Seventeen: Galatians 5:13-6:10: Urging the Galatians to have their lives directed by the Spirit.

Before Paul's rhetorical strategy in this section is discussed, two other issues must be mentioned.

First, it should be pointed out that scholars do not agree on the demarcation of 5:13ff.; in particular, whether 6:1-10 should be regarded as a separate section or not. In this study the principle followed when demarcating sections is whether a definite change in rhetorical strategy can be detected or not. In Galatians 5:13-6:10 Paul deals with various issues: in 5:13-15 he calls upon the Galatians not to misuse their freedom, but to serve one another through love; in 5:16-18 he calls upon them to walk by the Spirit instead of satisfy-
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ing the desire of the flesh; in 5:19-21 and 5:22-24 he explains the works of the flesh and the fruit of the Spirit, respectively; in 5:25-26 he calls upon them ("we") to live in accordance with the Spirit, and in 6:1-10 he provides further guidelines for living according to the Spirit. This could be summarised as follows:

5:13-15: Urgent call not to misuse freedom, but to serve one another through love.
5:16-18: Urgent call to walk by the Spirit and not to satisfy the desire of the flesh.
5:19-24: Examples of the effects produced by the flesh and the Spirit.
5:25-26: Call to live in accordance with the Spirit.
6:1-10: Further guidelines on how to live in accordance with the Spirit.

Despite the fact that 5:13-6:10 can be divided into various subsections, it is not possible to indicate a definite change in rhetorical strategy in the section. Paul basically employs the same rhetorical strategy throughout, namely urging the Galatians to live in a particular way. If one bears in mind the dominating role played by the contrast between Spirit and flesh in 5:13-6:10 (cf. 5:16-26; 6:1; 6:7-8), one can describe the dominant rhetorical strategy more precisely as urging the Galatians to have their lives directed by the Spirit.

The second question that should be answered is to what extent 5:13-6:10 is related to Paul's argument in the previous part of Galatians. The various responses by scholars to this question may be summarised as follows:

• It is not related to the previous sections at all, because it is an interpolation. According to J. C. O'Neill, the entire section is a collection of moral admonitions that were added to the letter at a later stage, since the church in general would require such an ethical section. Smit also regards it as a later addition by a "teacher-editor" ("leraar-redacteur"); yet he suggests that it originates from an authentic Pauline letter written to the Galatians once events had returned to normal.
• It is only loosely related to the main argument of the letter, because it is paraenetic material. According to Dibelius, paraenetic material is general ethical material not directly related to a particular situation. In the case of the Pauline letters, this paraenetic material is not directly related to the particular situation addressed in the letter.
• It is not related to the previous arguments in the letter, because Paul now addresses a different group in Galatia. According to W. Lütgert, Paul reacts to two groups in the letter, namely nomists and spirituals. For example, in 4:21 he ad-

930 J. Smit, "Redactie in de brief aan de galaten", pp. 129-133, 141.
931 Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur, pp. 140-146.
dresses the nomists, whereas in 6:1 he addresses the spirituals. (J. H. Ropes\textsuperscript{933} later supported and refined Lütgert's hypothesis.)

- Although it seems disconnected from the body of the letter, it in fact forms part of Paul's rhetorical tactic whereby he pretends to put the arguments of Chapters 3 and 4 behind himself and the Galatians. According to Cosgrove,\textsuperscript{934} Paul's shift to paraenesis is an indication that he considers the debate settled. It indicates his opinion that he has won over the Galatians to his side and that they will remain loyal to his gospel. Thus, it constitutes a strategy of positive emotional appeal to the Galatians.

- It is integrally related to the rest of the letter, because Paul continues his polemic against the law. Scholars\textsuperscript{935} who prefer this view link Paul's notion of "being under the law" to the flesh and being sold under sin: by trying to observe the law they actually yield to fleshly behaviour.

- It is integrally related to the rest of the letter, because Paul reacts to an argument (or a foreseen argument) of his opponents. In this respect at least three closely related points of view can be mentioned. Some scholars\textsuperscript{936} believe that Paul's opponents claimed that the kind of freedom Paul preached in fact meant freedom to live a life of sin, and that in this instance he attempts to prove them wrong. According to a second point of view,\textsuperscript{937} he was aware of the fact that his opponents propagated the law as a way of curbing the influence of the flesh, and he reacts in this section to this view of the opponents. According to a third point of view,\textsuperscript{938} Paul is forestalling possible objections by his opponents that his notion of freedom from the law removes the restraints that prevent human beings from being immoral.

- It is integrally related to the previous arguments in the rest of the letter and flows logically from what Paul has argued thus far. Scholars who opt for this interpretation emphasise the logic coherence between 5:13-6:10 and the preceding argument. For example, Matera\textsuperscript{939} emphasises that 5:13-6:10 is much more than a mere call to ethical conduct:

\textsuperscript{934} Cosgrove, \textit{The Cross and the Spirit}, pp. 158-159.
\textsuperscript{936} See, for example, Lietzmann, \textit{Galater}, p. 39.
\textsuperscript{938} For example, Burton, \textit{Galatians} p. 290. See also Fee, "Freedom and the Life of Obedience", p. 204; and Witherington, \textit{Grace in Galatia}, p. 385.
\textsuperscript{939} "The Culmination of Paul's Argument to the Galatians", p. 85. Esler, \textit{Galatians} pp. 216ff., is also of the opinion that Gal. 5:13-6:10 is integrated into the letter, and explains it in terms of a sociological approach as Paul's attempt to explain the "distinct identity with which he wants to characterise the members of his congregation" (p. 218).
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[It is Paul's attempt to show the Galatians that life according to the Spirit results both in freedom and a good moral life. (Matera's italics.)

Of the seven views summarised above, I find the first four unconvincing. The next two views may contain elements of truth, but, the last one best reflects Paul's rhetorical strategy. In the previous sections of the letter he concentrated on proving that the "gospel" of the opponents is wrong. He also claimed that, by accepting their "gospel", the Galatians – who have begun with the Spirit! – would be "completing" with the flesh (Gal. 3:3). In Galatians 5:13-6:10 he presents the alternative: those who accept his gospel and are justified by faith in Jesus Christ, and who are liberated from the law can, and, in fact, should "complete" with the Spirit. As Dunn puts it:

[It was now incumbent on him to explain how the Spirit functioned to provide a viable pattern of living. A theology of freedom, particularly freedom from the law, which did not explain how that theology translated into daily living would have been a theology of irresponsibility.

Thus, as indicated above, Paul's dominant rhetorical strategy in this section is best summarised as urging the Galatians to have their lives directed by the Spirit. He achieves this by using numerous commands, exhortations, warnings and promises.

WARNINGS

13 ...mowm h:n: th:n jgeqerian eif aj for mh:n th:sarkiw.
15 eijd:aj lhiou' dakte kai: katesqewte, bliqewte mh:up ajj lhiwn ajhalqhte.
17c ...ja mh:ajepen qewhte tauta poihte.
21 ...oljتا: toauta prassonte' basileian geou'oujiklronomhsousin.
1 ...skopwh seauton mh:ka:isup eirasqy.
2 eijgar dokei ti' ei hai t mihdn wh, f renapataleputow.
7 Mh: planaqe, geoy oujumukt hrigetai.
8 ...oj speiowen eij t hn sawka eputou'ek th'sarko' qeriweif qoraw...

COMMANDS:

13 ...ajla;dia:th's ajgaph douliavte ajj lhoi".
14 ...e;j twf ajgaphsei' ton plhsion sou'w' seautow.
16Legw deypneumati peripateite...

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Paul did not write this exhortation to give a generalized description of Christian ethics, nor was he concerned to counter antinomian licence, nor was his purpose solely defensive. Any balanced exposition of this purpose should, however, contain the following elements:

In the first place, Gal 5.13-6.10 serves as an appeal to the Galatians to let their lives be directed by the Spirit...

5.13-6.10 also functions as an assurance that the Spirit can provide adequate moral constraints and directions...

In another respect this passage operates as a warning against moral danger, defined here as the 'flesh'..."

(Barclay's italics.)

941 I base the distinction between "commands" and "exhortations" upon the distinction between imperatives and hortatory subjunctives. Although these are basically the same, the tone of hortatory subjunctives seems to be slightly softer, because inclusive language (let us...!) is used.
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...uJmei" oij pneumatikoi; katartivzete ton toiouton eij pneumat i prauhto"...

1. Allhvlwn ta;bavh bastazete...
2. t"ode;e$e$on e$butou$dokimazeivw e$astoto'...
3. "Koinwheiivv de;ojkathcoumeno" ton logon tw/kathcouht i eij pa$in a$aqaol".

EXHORTATIONS

25. ...pneumati kai;stoicwmen.
26. mh;ginwmeqa kenodoxoi, ajllhvoi" prokaloumenoi, ajllhvoi" f qonouhte".
9. t"ode;kalon poiouhte" mh;egkakwmen...
10. A ra ou$ w$ kairon ej$omen, ejgazwmeqa t o$a$a$qo$gn pro$ pauta'....

PROMISES

16. ... kai;epi$umw sarko" ou$mh;teleshte.
2. ... kai;ou$w" ajapa$lhrw$ete ton nomon tou'Cristou'.
8. ... ojde;pe$w$en eij t o;pneuma ejk tou'neumato" qeriw$ei zwh$n ai$w$ion.
9. ... kairw$gar i$p$a$r ei$simen mh;ekluomeni.

Two of the commands seem to govern all that is stated in 5:13-6:10, namely 5:13 (... ajlla;dia;th" a$ag$ph" douleuve e$ ajllhvoi") and 5:16 (pneumati peripateite kai; epi$umwn sarko" ou$mh;teleshte). The remainder is basically elaboration and/or application of these two commands. 942 The rhetorical framework, which Paul creates by means of the commands, warnings, exhortations and promises in this section is further enhanced by numerous other persuasive techniques. A discussion of these techniques in each of the five subsections indicated above follows.

The first subsection (5:13-15) may be summarised as "An urgent call not to misuse freedom, but to serve one another through love". In verse 13 Paul begins with a statement (uJmei" gar ep$e$je$ujery$ei$a/ek$hlqht e, ajdefoiv), thereby resuming the notion of freedom (from the law) last mentioned in 5:1. 943 This is followed by a warning: monon mh;th$n e$e$ujery$in eif a$ormh$n th$sarky$ which, in turn is followed by a command: ajlla;dia;th" a$ag$ph" douleuve e$ ajllhvoi". The following supportive rhetorical techniques are indicated in verse 13:

The effect of the statement uJmei" gar ep$e$je$ujery$ei$a/ek$hlqht e, ajdefoiv is emphasised in two ways.

First, it should be noted how effectively Paul uses direct address: uJmei" (which is strictly speaking not necessary) is removed from the verb ek$hlqht e and placed in a prominent position at the beginning of the sentence. Furthermore, ajdefoivos placed at the end of the sentence. Both are used effectively: uJmei" is used to focus the attention of the Galatians on themselves: whatever may be true of the opponents, you were called to freedom, 944 whereas ajdefoivos seems to be used to indicate affection for the Galatians. 945

Secondly, Paul uses alliteration:

942 So, correctly, Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 238.
943 Thus gavw refers not only to the previous verse, but also to the entire preceding argument. So, correctly, Burton, Galatians, p. 291; and Becker, Galater, p. 85.
944 So, correctly, Dunn, Galatians, p. 286.
945 Longenecker, Galatians, p. 239.
As Paul uses alliteration in this instance to link key concepts, it seems to enhance the effect of the statement as a whole.

In the warning that follows (movnon mh; th;n ejleuqerivan eij" ajformh;n th`/ sarkiv) Paul uses the word ajformhv. This is interpreted by some scholars as a metaphor. Martyn, for example, translates it as "a military base of operations". However, this does not seem correct. Although the word originally referred to a starting-point or base of operations for an expedition, it is used in the New Testament in a more general sense of "occasion/opportunity", and it could therefore not be classified as a metaphor. However, with respect to Paul's rhetorical strategy in this warning, the skilful way in which he uses the word savrx should be noted. Until now he has used it almost exclusively in a neutral way in the sense of "human" or "physical" (1:16; 2:16; 2:20; 4:13-14, 23, 29). In 5:13 (and in the remainder of this section) it is used in a negative sense to indicate the "sinful inclination" in humankind. Barclay draws attention to the fact that Paul uses savrx as an "umbrella-term" in Galatians to indicate a wide variety of notions: libertine behaviour, circumcision, a range of social vices and life under the law. In this way he succeeds in placing law-observance, circumcision and the list of vices in the same category: savrx in opposition to pneu'ma – something which is very effective in his strategy against his opponents.

In the last part of verse 13 Paul again uses the metaphor of slavery in the command to love: ajlla; dia; th`" ajgavph" douleuvete ajllhvloi". However, he now uses the notion of slavery in a positive sense, and furthermore, by contrasting it with the notion of freedom used earlier on in this verse, he skilfully creates a very effective oxymoron in this instance: Christian freedom means to serve one another as slaves!

In verse 14 he motivates his command to the Galatians to be slaves of love by citing a text from Scripture containing the command to love: ajgaphvsei to;n plhsivon sou

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946 See the discussion of the two kinds of repetition in Section 13.
947 The absence of a verb in this phrase is explained by Schlier, Galater, p. 242, as "das abwehrendemh" ohne Verb". See also Burton, Galatians, p. 292. Both Schlier and Burton cite several examples from classical literature.
948 Galatians, p. 485. See also Vouga, Galater, p. 129.
949 BDAG aj\ormh; \L&N 22.46. See also Betz, Galatians, p. 272; and Longenecker, Galatians, p. 239.
950 The only exception thus far in the letter was 3:3 where he uses it in a negative sense.
951 Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 377. See also Dunn, Galatians, p. 287: "a propensity towards what is sinful or weakness before the power of sin"; and Rohde, Galater, p. 228: "widergöttliche Natur oder sündhafter Trieb".
953 aj\la; used adversatively.
954 Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 369, correctly points out that this statement is literally nonsensical, but exactly therefore it serves as such as an apt summary of the essence of Christian freedom. See also the discussion by T. Söding, Das Liebesgebot bei Paulus. Die Mahnung zur Agape im Rahmen der paulinischen Ethik (NTA[NF] 26, Münster: Aschendorff, 1995), pp. 193-194.
955 g\av indicates cause in this instance.
This is another example in which Paul uses the authority of Scripture as basis for his statements. Furthermore, the word he chooses, \( \text{peplhvrwtai} \), should be pointed out. Since he has thus far been very negative about "doing" the law and the "works of the law", his statement about "fulfilling" the law would come as a surprise to the audience. However, it is clear that he has something else in mind. \( \text{oJ pa`} \text{ novmo} \) does not refer to all the individual prohibitions and prescriptions of the law, but to its essence, "das Gesetz als im Liebesgebot eschatologisch erfüllte Ganzheit". Furthermore, "fulfilling" the law does not refer to the "doing/keeping" of the individual commandments such as being circumcised or keeping the Sabbath, but the "total realization and accomplishment of the law's demand". This is not identical to doing/keeping the law. The point Paul wishes to convey is that by being slaves of one another in love, the Galatians will – paradoxically! – achieve everything that the law requires of them without in fact "doing" individual commandments, for example being circumcised.

In verse 15 he uses a series of metaphors in a sarcastic way to warn them of the consequences if they do not love one another. The three metaphors are arranged in such a way that a progression can be detected: bite → tear to pieces → consume, thereby creating a vivid and (hyperbolic!) picture of human beings behaving like wild beasts fighting to the death. Some scholars are of the opinion that Paul is not referring to events in Galatia. However, although the evidence is not conclusive, the fact that he addresses them directly as well as the type of conditional sentence he uses, are best interpreted as indications that he was indeed aware of the fact or at least thinking that the social relationships between the Christians in Galatia were not favourable. However, the sarcastic and hyperbolic way in which he employs the metaphors makes it difficult to identify the exact cause and nature of the strife. If this interpretation is correct, Paul is also using their personal experience as

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956 Paul quotes Leviticus 19:18b from the LXX without any changes.
957 Söding, Das Liebesgebot bei Paulus, p. 201.
958 Barclay, Obeying the Truth, p. 139.
959 Betz, Galatians, p. 275, points out that in Judaism "fulfilling the Torah" can be identical to "doing the Torah". Martyn, Galatians, pp. 515-517, provides a good discussion of the way in which what Paul does in Galatians 5:14 differs from Jewish attempts at finding a point of entry into the Torah or a great principle in the law. He correctly points out that Paul is not merely thinking here of a "summary" of the law (for example, by subtracting certain laws, or by epitomising the law in one commandment).
956 This could possibly also be categorised as rebuke.
961 \( \text{de} \) indicates contrast.
962 See BDAG (\( \text{daknw}, \text{katesqiw} \) and \( \text{aipaliskw} \)) for the meaning of these words. Schlier, Galater, p. 246, note 1, cites some examples illustrating how these words were used as metaphors before Paul. See also Betz, Galatians, p. 277, note 43, in this regard.
963 For example, Becker, Galater, p. 87; and Borse, Galater, p. 193.
964 Scholars speculate about the reasons for the strife. Some of the suggestions are: the new teaching introduced by the opponents (for example, Bruce, Galatians, p. 242); libertinistic attitudes (for example, Longenecker, Galatians, p. 244); the lack of a new code specifying right and wrong (for example, Betz,
argument: the social problems in Galatia prove the necessity of "being slaves of one another in love" for curbing the flesh.

The second subsection (Gal. 5:16-18) can be summarised as "an urgent call to walk by the Spirit and not satisfy the desire of the flesh". Paul continues his direct address of the Galatians in this subsection. He begins \(^{965}\) verse 16 with the command to walk by the Spirit \(^{966}\) (\textit{pneuvmati peripatei`te}), followed by a promise \(^{967}\) (\textit{kai; ejpiqumivan sarko; ouj mh; tel`ghe}). In verse 17a-c he explains the situation: for the flesh desires against the Spirit and the Spirit desires against the flesh; for they are opposed/hostile to one another. \(^{969}\) In the last part of the verse (i.e. verse 17d) he explains the implications of this: \textit{i{na mh; a} eja;n qevlhete tauta poihte}. The interpretation of this phrase is disputed for two reasons: 1. \textit{i} may be read as indicating either result or purpose, and 2. \textit{a} \textit{eja;n qevlhete} may be interpreted as indicating either positive, negative or both positive and negative intentions. Accordingly, scholars interpret the phrase in various ways. These may be summarised as follows: the flesh desires against the Spirit and the Spirit desires against the flesh; for they are opposed/hostile to one another...

- with the result that you do not do the positive things you want to do; \(^{970}\)
- with the result that you do not do the negative things you want to do; \(^{971}\)
- with the result that you do not do the positive or negative things you want to do. \(^{972}\)

\textit{Galatians}, p. 273); a combination of inner insecurity (due to the new freedom they experienced) as well as anxiety (due to the legalism preached by the opponents) (Ebeling, \textit{Wahrheit des Evangeliums}, p. 336); and the fact that the Galatians had not yet "internalised the values expected of them", but, instead, "continued to treat one another in the fiercely competitive way typical of unrelated persons" in that culture (Esler, \textit{Galatians}, p. 225).

\(^{965}\) dev is used copulatively.

\(^{966}\) The dative \textit{pneuvmati} is best interpreted as indicating origin and quality (for example, Betz, \textit{Galatians}, p. 277) and not rule (contra Lightfoot, \textit{Galatians}, p. 209). See also J. O. Holloway, \textit{PERIPATEW as a Thematic Marker for Pauline Ethics} (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1992), pp. 100-101, in this regard. I interpret \textit{pneuwm} in this instance and in what follows as referring to God's Spirit (as nearly all modern interpreters do) and not the human spirit. For a different view, see H. Riesenfeld, "Geist Gottes oder Geist des Christen? Zu Gal 5-6", in: J. J. Degenhardt (Hrsg.), \textit{Die Freude an Gott – unsere Kraft. Festschrift für Otto Bernhard Knoch zum 65. Geburtstag} (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1991), pp. 183-188.

\(^{967}\) According to BDR §365, \textit{ouj mh;} with the aorist subjunctive is the most definite form of negation with regard to the future.

\(^{968}\) \textit{gavr} is used twice in this verse to indicate a causal relationship.

\(^{969}\) L&N 39.1 explain \textit{ajntivkeimai} as follows:

\[\text{T}o\ \text{oppo}se\ \text{someone, involving not only a psychological attitude but also a corresponding behavior – "to oppose, to be hostile toward, to show hostility".}\]


\(^{971}\) For example, G. S. Duncan, \textit{The Epistle to the Galatians} (MNTC, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1948), p. 168.

\(^{972}\) For example, Betz, \textit{Galatians}, pp. 278-280.
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• in order that you do not do the negative things you want to do;\(^{973}\)
• in order that you do not do the positive things you want to do;\(^{974}\)
• in order that you do not do the positive or negative things that you want to do.\(^{975}\)

One can reasonably ascertain the basic point which Paul wishes to convey to the Galatians in this instance, namely that they should be careful about the way they act, as every thought and deed is in fact influenced by either the Spirit or the flesh. In other words, verse 17 basically serves as a warning. In order to determine the exact meaning of verse 17d, it seems best to start one's interpretation by examining the words \(\textit{a\,\varepsilon\,\gamma\,\eta\,\nu\,\varepsilon\,\gamma}\,\iota\,\alpha\,\nu\,\eta\,\theta\,\varepsilon}\). As Robertson\(^{976}\) indicates, this is an example of an indefinite relative clause, which indicates that one should interpret the clause in the sense of "whatever you wish to do", i.e. as either good or evil intentions. The way in which Paul uses an indefinite clause elsewhere in this section confirms such an interpretation. In 6:7b\(^{977}\) he writes: \(\textit{ο\,\lambda\,γ\,α\,\rho\,α\,\beta\,\iota\,\varepsilon\,\iota\,\varepsilon\,\\nu\,\iota\,\.direction}\), \(\textit{τ\,ο\,\tau\,\iota\,\nu\,\iota}\). In the next verse he explains that this refers to either sowing in the flesh or the Spirit, i.e. in either a positive or negative sense: \(\textit{ο\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\alpha\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota}\). The way in which Paul uses an indefinite clause elsewhere in this section confirms such an interpretation. In 6:7b\(^{977}\) he writes: \(\textit{ο\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota}\), \(\textit{τ\,ο\,\tau\,\iota\,\nu\,\iota}\). In the next verse he explains that this refers to either sowing in the flesh or the Spirit, i.e. in either a positive or negative sense: \(\textit{ο\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota}\). The way in which Paul uses an indefinite clause elsewhere in this section confirms such an interpretation. In 6:7b\(^{977}\) he writes: \(\textit{ο\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota}\), \(\textit{τ\,ο\,\tau\,\iota\,\nu\,\iota}\).


\(^{974}\) This is one of the interpretations proposed by J. J. Kilgallen, "The Strivings of the Flesh... (Galatians 5,17)", \textit{Bib} 80 (1999), pp. 113-114. (The other possibility is reading \(\textit{i\,\eta\,\alpha}\) as telic: with the result that you do not do the positive things you want to.)

\(^{975}\) For example, Burton, \textit{Galatians}, pp. 300-302; Mussner, \textit{Galaterbrief}, p. 377; and Dunn, \textit{Galatians}, p. 299.


\(^{977}\) See also 5:10: \(\textit{ο\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota\,\iota}\).

\(^{978}\) See, for example, BDR §391.5; Moulton \textit{New Testament Greek III}, p. 102; and BDAG (\(\textit{i\,\eta\,\alpha}\), 3).

b and 17d, which would mean that it is the purpose of the struggle between flesh and Spirit as such to keep the Galatians from doing what they wish to do—an interpretation that does not make very good sense. Thus, it seems best to interpret ινα as indicating result in this instance: the fact that believers cannot do what they want to do is the result of the conflict between flesh and Spirit, and Spirit and flesh. If they want to do negative things, the Spirit opposes them; and if they want to do positive things, the flesh opposes them.

In verse 18 Paul continues: 980 εἰ δὲ πνεύματι ἀγέσετε... Although he now uses a different expression, he refers to the same notion indicated by πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε (verse 16). The remainder of verse 18 (οὐκ ἔστε ὑπονόμοι) is best interpreted as implying that the law does not effectively solve the conflict indicated in verse 17, thereby recalling the argument of the inferiority of the law which dominated his rhetorical strategy in 3:19-25, in which ὑπονόμοι (as well as ὑποκάμαρτειν and ὑποκαίρωσθαι) was used in this sense. 981

Besides referring to the inferiority of the law in verse 18, Paul uses three other supportive techniques in this subsection:

First, he uses the phrase λεγὼ δὲ at the beginning of verse 16 to focus the attention of the Galatians on the important command that follows.

Secondly, he uses consonance in verse 16: πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε. As was the case with the alliteration in verse 13, he uses consonance to link key concepts in this instance too, 982 thereby enhancing the effect of the statement as a whole.

Thirdly, he uses chiasm extensively in this subsection: 983

| 16 | λεγὼ δὲ πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε | A |
|    | καὶ ἐπικύμισαν σάρκων, οὐμὴ τελείωθε. | B |
| 17 | ἑγέρσαρξ ἐπικύμιμον | B |
|    | κατὰ τὸ πνεῦμαν. | A |
|    | τοῦ δὲ πνεύματος | A |
|    | κατὰ τὴ σάρκον... | B |

In this case chiasm is used to emphasise the opposition between Spirit and flesh.

The third subsection (5:19-24) can be summarised as "Examples of the effects produced by the flesh and the Spirit". In this subsection Paul adapts traditional vice and virtue lists 984 to present two extensive lists of what is produced in a congregation 985 by the flesh.

980 ἀγέσετε is used copulatively. So, correctly, Schlier, Galater, p. 251: "fortleitend und erklärend".
981 W. N. Wilder, Echoes of the Exodus Narrative in the Context and Background of Galatians 5:18 (StBL 23, New York: Peter Lang, 2001) tries to prove that the language in this verse was shaped by two important events in the exodus, namely the redemption from Egypt and the guidance by the cloud through the wilderness, but, to my mind, this seems to be reading too much into this verse.
982 See the discussion of the two kinds of repetition in Section 13.
983 See J. Jeremias, "Chiasmus in den Paulusbriefen", ZNW 49 (1958), p. 147. He only indicates the chiasm in verse 17 and does not add verse 16 as is done above.
984 For the background of these lists, see, among others, B. S. Easton, "New Testament Ethical Lists", JBL 51 (1932), pp. 1-12; A. Vögtle, Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament. Exegetisch, religions- und forschungsgeschichtlich untersucht (NTA 16/4-5, Münster: Aschendorff, 1936); S. Wibbing, Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament und ihre Traditionsgeschichte (BZNW 25,
and the Spirit, respectively. Various scholars have tried to identify patterns in the two lists (see the excursus further on in the discussion of this phase), but the fact that there are various opinions in this regard is proof that one should be sceptical of attempts to prove that Paul wished the Galatians to detect a systematic pattern in the two lists. Thus, to my mind, both lists consist of a rather random collection of items in which no definite pattern can be discerned. At most one could state that the list of vices is arranged in such a way that the vices found at both the beginning and the end (porneia, akgarsiia, asevgeia, ejwolatria, farmakeia, ... mevqai, kw`moi) are of a more general nature, whereas the items found towards the middle of the list (eqgrai, ef", zhlo", qumoiv ejiqei`ai, dicostasi`i, ai-je"ei", f\qomoi) refer to behaviour threatening to tear congregations apart, apparently because Paul is of the opinion that some of these vices may reflect the situation in Galatia.\footnote{986}

With respect to the list of virtues, one could only state with certainty that there is more emphasis on the item at the beginning of the list than on the others\footnote{987}— because of its prominent position in the list and the fact that it was mentioned explicitly earlier in Chapter 5 (cf. 5:6 and 5:13). However, when one considers Paul's rhetorical strategy in this subsection, the possible ordering of the items in the two lists is not the most important issue, but rather the function which each list (as a unit) fulfils. This function is best described as that Paul uses the two lists as examples to illustrate the particular behaviour he has in mind.\footnote{988} In other words, the total effect created by each list is more important than the specific order that one could detect in them. By creating two "word pictures"— one extremely negative and the other extremely positive— he intends to persuade the Christians in Galatia to accept his point of view, namely that the only way in which they can behave in a positive way is to continue the way they began, that is, through the Spirit.\footnote{989} Another interesting aspect should be noted; many of the items in the lists can be found in contemporary vice and virtue lists.\footnote{990} Thus, in a sense the lists that Paul creates express "shared knowledge" in antiquity on how people ought to act in society. This helps his rhetorical strategy in the sense that there is no need for him to convince the Galatians that the vices that he indicates are wrong or that the virtues are

\footnote{985} Martyn, Galatians, p. 496, rightly emphasises that one should not restrict the vices and virtues to individuals, as these rather represent "marks of a community"— either under the influence of the flesh or led by the Spirit.

\footnote{986} So, correctly, Ebeling, Wahrheit des Evangeliums, p. 345; Dunn, Galatians, p. 302; Esler, Galatians, p. 228; and Cosgrove, The Cross and the Spirit, p. 157.

\footnote{987} So, among others, Longenecker, Galatians, p. 260; and Dunn, Galatians, p. 309.

\footnote{988} So, correctly, Duvall, "Identity-Performance-Result", p. 34.

\footnote{989} Thus, in this instance, the two lists fulfil basically the same function as the lists used in the Greco-Roman world (see A. J. Malherbe, Moral Exhortation, A Greco-Roman Sourcebook [LEC 4, Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986], pp. 138-139), though—as Martyn, Galatians, pp. 532-533 points out— they now function within a totally different framework.

\footnote{990} This is often noted by scholars. See, for example, Malherbe, Moral Exhortation, pp. 138ff.; and Betz, Galatians, pp. 281-282.

good things. They would have agreed that this is indeed the case. Thus, he uses this shared knowledge within his own framework, linking virtues generally accepted as good to the Spirit (a key concept in "his" version of the gospel), and vices generally viewed as unacceptable behaviour to the flesh (a key concept in the message of the opponents – as phrased by him).

The following supportive rhetorical techniques used in this section should also be pointed out.

Firstly Paul's choice of words for identifying each list should be pointed out. By calling the vices τα εφοқα τʰ σαρκον he suggests an association between "works of the law" and "works of the flesh", thereby once again casting a negative light on the works of the law. Furthermore, his choice of the metaphor οἱ καρποὶ του πνεύματος for indicating the list of virtues is also significant, as it functions very effectively to focus on the contrast between the kind of things produced by the flesh and the Spirit, suggesting notions such as the unity of the virtues produced by the Spirit; that they are a divine gift, and the spontaneity with which they are produced in the life of the congregation.

Secondly, the statements Paul adds after naming all the elements in each list should be noted. In the case of the "works of the flesh", he adds αἱ προέλεγχε νομίμων, καί ἐν αἱ πράξεσιν αὐτῶν βασιλεύειν τῷ θεῷ ότι οἱ τοιαύτα πράκτορες. Two aspects should be pointed out. First the phrase αἱ προέλεγχε νομίμων, καί ἐν αἱ πράξεσιν acts as a phrase focusing the attention of the Galatians, as it effectively emphasises the importance of what follows. Secondly, as many scholars assume, the warning οἱ τοιαύτα πράξεσιν (and perhaps the entire list of vices) reflects pre-Pauline Christian tradition. In this case he once again uses Christian tradition as a supportive persuasive technique.

After naming the "fruit of the Spirit", Paul adds the following: κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ εἶναι νόμον. The interpretation of this phrase is disputed. Some scholars, for example Robb and Witherington, consider it as a deliberate quotation from Aristotle Pol. 3.13.1284a whereby Paul wishes to convey that those people "who manifest these traits are exceedingly virtuous and have no need of the law". However, as other scholars argue, the presence of the phrase may be coincidental, as no real agreement appears to exist between

991 So, among others, Burton, Galatians p. 313; Rohde, Galater, p. 236; and Fee, "Freedom and the Life of Obedience", pp. 204-210.
992 This is noted by many scholars. See, for example, Schlier, Galater, p. 256; Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 385; and Longenecker, Galatians, p. 259.
993 For example, G. Haufe, "Reich Gottes bei Paulus und in der Jesustradition", NTS 31:3 (1985), p. 472; Betz, Galatians, p. 285; and Vouga, Galater, p. 130.
995 Grace in Galatia, p. 413.
996 Ibid.
the way in which Paul uses this phrase in this instance and the way it is used by Aristotle. Whatever its origin, he apparently wishes to state is that there is no law against the virtues he just mentioned, implying that the Galatians do not really need the law to do good things; walking by the Spirit is adequate to produce these things, thus using understatement: the Spirit will produce exactly the things required by the law.

Paul continues: 

He uses as a very striking metaphor. The way in which crucifixion usually functions in the New Testament can be summarised as follows: something horrible happened to Jesus (who was innocent), but this had redemptive effects. In other words, a distinction can be drawn between the negative associations evoked by crucifixion itself (the terrible death suffered by an innocent human being) and the positive associations evoked by viewing it in terms of the effects it produced. There are two shifts in Paul's use of the metaphor in this instance. First, a shift in agents: it is not a case of Roman soldiers crucifying Jesus, but those who belong to Christ have crucified the flesh with its passions and desires. Secondly, crucifixion itself is regarded not as something negative, but as something positive. The "passions and desires" that were crucified were not "innocent", but "deserved" to be killed, and "crucifixion" was an effective way of disposing of them. Lastly, it should also be pointed out that Paul succeeds in communicating a profound notion by using this striking metaphor, namely that it is only possible for believers to "kill" the passions and desires of the flesh by being drawn into the crucifixion of Jesus Christ.

As Söding puts it:

Es weist vor allem darauf hin, daß die Abwendung vom Fleisch nur in der Weise des Hineingenommen-Werdens und Sich-Hineinnehmen-Lassen in den Kreuzestod Jesus geschehen kann.

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997 See R. A Campbell, "Against Such Things There is No Law'? Galatians 5:23b Again', ET 107:9 (1996), p. 271. Bruce, Galatians, pp. 255-256, describes it as "rather remote" and suggests that the phrase may have passed into proverbial currency, which means that Paul does not quote it directly or consciously.

998 is best taken as neuter. See, for example, Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 213; Burton, Galatians, p. 318; and Barclay, Obeying the Truth, p. 123. Contra Oepe, Galater, pp. 173, 183; and Campbell, "Against such Things", p. 272.

999 So correctly, among others, Burton, Galatians, p. 318; and Longenecker, Galatians, p. 263.

1000 should be interpreted as copulatively; contra Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 390, who interprets it as adversatively.

1001 This is the meaning of . See, among others, Martyn, Galatians, p. 500; and Vouga, Galater, p. 141.

1002 Bryant, The Risen Crucified Christ, p. 188, correctly points out that believers should participate actively in the crucifixion of the flesh.

1003 Das Liebesgebot bei Paulus, p. 216.
The fourth subsection (5:25-26) can be summarised as "A call to live in accordance with the Spirit". In verse 25 Paul reminds the Galatians that the Spirit is the source of their new life (eijzwnen pneuvmati...). This is followed by an *exhortation*: pneuvmati kai; stoicewen. The word *stoicew* was originally used in the sense of standing in line or rank or in battle order, but in the New Testament it is used in a more general sense to refer to agreeing, following or behaving in accordance with a certain standard. Thus, too much emphasis should not be placed on the supposed military overtones or even the notion of keeping in line/step with someone/something as some exegetes do. One should rather understand it in a more general sense as referring to conduct in accordance with the Spirit. It is uncertain that the Galatians would have associated the word with *stoicei'on* used in Galatians 4:3 and 9, as some scholars propose.

In verse 26 Paul again uses an *exhortation* to indicate the kind of behaviour which people who live in accordance with the Spirit should avoid: mh;ginwmeqa kenodoxoi, ajllhlovou" prokaloumenoi, ajllhloiv" fgnouhte". The three words refer to being conceited, provoking other people, and being jealous of other people, respectively. As Esler indicates, this is the way in which unrelated males would normally behave towards each another in the Mediterranean culture, but Paul attempts to convince the Galatians that people who live in accordance with the Spirit should not behave this way. The fact that he finds it necessary to warn them against behaviour of this kind shows that he thinks that this kind of behaviour could occur among them, too. Yet, the exhortations are worded in such a vague way that it is impossible to ascertain the exact context.

Besides the exhortation used in the fourth subsection, two other supportive persuasive techniques should be mentioned. First, Paul switches in this subsection from direct address to *inclusive language*. Secondly, he uses *chiasm* again:

Eijzwen A

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1004 *pneuvmati* (the first one) should be interpreted as a dative of means, indicating source and perhaps also the quality of the new life. See Burton, *Galatians*, p. 322; and Vouga, *Galater*, p. 144. Lightfoot's translation (*Galatians*, p. 214: "if we live to the Spirit") is not correct.

1005 See LSJ (*stoicew*).

1006 See BDAG(*stoicew*):

In our lit. only fig. to be in line with a pers. or thing considered as standard for one's conduct,

and L&N 41.12:

To live in conformity with some presumed standard or set of customs – "to live, to behave in accordance with."

G. Delling, "*stoicew*", p. 666, points out that if one were to interpret it in the New Testament as "to walk", the New Testament would be alone in this use of *stoicew*.

1007 For example, Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 413.

1008 For example, Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 266.

1009 For example, Lührmann, *Galater*, p. 96.

1010 See BDAG(*kenodoxoi*, *prokalow*, and *fqnov*).

1011 *Galatians* p. 230.
Excursus: Patterns in the lists of vices and virtues in Galatians 5:19-23?

Some scholars believe that one can group some of the vices/virtues that Paul lists in Galatians 5:19-23 together in order to indicate patterns in these lists. A brief summary of the most important attempts in this respect follows.

Vices

The most popular pattern for grouping the vices seems to be one in which the vices are divided into four groups as follows:

1. *porneia*, *aŋkaqaršiŋ*a, *aŋsevliga*;
2. *eįdwlolatriŋ*, *farmakeiŋ*;
3. *eŋqrai*, *eifiant*, *zhlo*", *qumoiv*, *dicosastiŋ*, *aijevai*, *fqovoi*;
4. *meqai*, *kwmoi*.

However, scholars do not describe the four groups in the same way. Some examples: *De Wette* identifies the four groups as "fleischliche Lüste", "Aberglaube", "Feindschaft, Streit und dgl." and "Ueppigkeit". *Lightfoot* cautions against seeking for a systematic classification, yet suggests a "partial and unconscious arrangement", which he summarises as follows:

Sensual passions: *porneia*, *aŋkaqaršiŋ*, *aŋsevliga*;

Unlawful dealings in things spiritual: *eįdwlolatriŋ*, *farmakeiŋ*;

Violations of brotherly love:

A general expression: *eŋqrai*;

In ascending scale:

*A more passionate form of eifiant*), *eįqeiŋa* ("a stronger development of zhlo"), *dicosastiŋ*, *aijevai*, *fqovoi*;

Intemperate excesses:

*meqai*, *kwmoi*.

This fourfold classification is also accepted by *Sieffert*, *Burton* (who uses somewhat different terms in describing the four groups ["three sins in which sensuality in the narrower sense is prominent..., two that are associated with heathen religions..., eight in which the element of conflict with others is present..., drunkenness and its natural accompaniments"]), *Vögtle* (who describes it as "Unzuchtssünden", "Sünden gegen die religiöse Ordnung", "Sünden gegen die Nächstenliebe" and

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1013 *Galatians* p. 211.


1015 *Galatians* p. 304.

1016 *Tugend und Lasterkataloge*, p. 15.
"Sünden der Unmäßigkeit"), Duncan, Becker, Rohde, Fee (illicit sex; illicit worship; breakdown in relationships; excesses) and Vouga.

Some scholars propose a threefold classification, for example Olshausen, Ramsay, Mussner and Witherington:

1. porneia, aq̱qaqariw, a̱q̱sevw̱giw, e̱j̱w̱ḻo̱ḻaṯri̱w, faṟma̱keiw;
2. e̱j̱q̱rai, e̱j̱'i̱', zẖlo̱'o, qumɔvi̱w̱ɾ̱i̱q̱e̱i̱æ̱i̱w̱, dic̱o̱s̱ṯa̱si̱wi̱, aḻi̱j̱e̱gw̱i,
3. meq̱ai, kw̱w̱hoi.

Olshausen describes the three groups as "Wollustsünden", "Neid und Hass" and "Formen der Schwelgerei", whereas Ramsay describes them as "five vices fostered by the old Anatolian religion"; "eight vices connected with the municipal life in the cities of Asia Minor", and "two vices connected with the society and manner of Greco-Asiatic cities". According to Mussner, Paul did not intend any classification, but the terms may be combined into three groups with the first and last group forming an inclusio:

First five vices: porneia, aq̱qaqariw, a̱q̱sevw̱giw, e̱j̱w̱ḻo̱ḻaṯri̱w, faṟma̱keiw.

Eight vices linked to the community: e̱j̱q̱rai, e̱j̱'i̱', zẖlo̱'o, qumɔvi̱w̱ɾ̱i̱q̱e̱i̱æ̱i̱w̱, dic̱o̱s̱ṯa̱si̱wi̱, aḻi̱j̱e̱gw̱i,

Last two vices: meq̱ai, kw̱w̱hoi.

Witherington combines the first two groups in Lightfoot's classification, which leaves him with three groups in an ABA pattern, in which A indicates sins associated with the Galatians' pagan past and B sins against the community of faith.

Martyn also divides what he calls the "effects" of the flesh into three groups, but divides them differently:

Group 1: three terms used in Jewish polemic against the Gentiles:

Group 2: e̱j̱w̱ḻo̱ḻaṯri̱w as source from which the others spring:

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1017 Galatians pp. 170-171.
1018 Galater, p. 90.
1019 Galater, p. 238.
1023 A Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle, pp. 446-456. Ramsay's classification is enthusiastically supported by A. L. Williams, The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Galatians, With Introduction and Notes (CBSC, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), p. 97. Note that Williams links both e̱j̱w̱ḻo̱ḻaṯri̱w and faṟma̱keiw to immorality. He points out that e̱j̱w̱ḻo̱ḻaṯri̱w was often associated with immorality and interprets faṟma̱keiw as referring to love incantations.
1024 Galaterbrief p. 381. Mussner's division corresponds to that of Ramsay, but he does not describe it in the same way as Ramsay.
1025 Grace in Galatia, pp. 397-399.
1026 Galatians p. 496.
Group 3: The way in which wine and liquor can lead one to withdraw in oneself:

\[ \text{meqai, kwhoi.} \]

The classification proposed by Thomas\(^{1027}\) is rather intricate and may be summarised as follows:

- **Key concept** \( \text{porneiw} \) followed by two concrete examples ("Aktualisierungen"): 
  \[ \text{akaqarsivai, asevgeia.} \]
- **\( \text{eijdwlolatvria} \)** followed by a concrete example: \( \text{farmakeia.} \)
- A group focusing on problems in the community of which the first are more traditional:
  
  \[ \text{e[qrai, e[ri", zhlo", qumoivefjgeial,} \]
  
  followed by two concrete examples referring to the Galatians:
  
  \[ \text{dicostasivai, aljweual.} \]
- A last group of three (\( \text{f qouoi, meqai, kwhoi} \)) of which the first vice serves as introduction and the last two are linked to the first group.

Borse\(^{1028}\) includes \( \text{f qouoi} \) (found in A, C, D and other manuscripts) in his list, leaving him with sixteen vices which he classifies as follows:

- **First group:** sexual vices: \( \text{porneiw, akaqarsivai, asevgeia.} \)
- **Second group:** ("nur teilweise vergleichbare Vergehen"): \( \text{eijdwlolatvria, farmakeia, e[qrai.} \)
- **Third group** (six vices grouped in pairs): 
  
  \[ \text{e[ri", zhlo", qumoivefjgeial,}
  
  \[ \text{dicostasivai, aljweual,} \]
  
- **Fourth group:** \( \text{f qouoi, f qouoi.} \)
- **Fifth group:** \( \text{meqai, kwhoi.} \)

**Virtues**

The most popular classification for the list of virtues seems to be that of three sets of three concepts (cf. Nestle-Aland\(^{1029}\) and UBS\(^{4}\)):

\[ \text{agaqph cara; eijrhvh,}
\]

\[ \text{makroqumiv crhsotvh" agaqwsuh,}
\]

\[ \text{pisth praufh" ekgpaveia.} \]

However, scholars do not always describe the three sets in the same way. Some, for example Schlier\(^{1029}\), Ebeling\(^{1030}\) and Martyn\(^{1031}\) only mention that the virtues are divided into three sets of three virtues without further explaining it. The following scholars give reasons for their classification:

Lightfoot\(^{1032}\) describes the three groups as follows: "Christian habits of mind in their more general aspect", "special qualities affecting a man's intercourse with his neighbour", and "principles which guide a Christian's conduct". Steinmann\(^{1033}\) distinguishes between virtues referring to one's relationship to God, to fellow Christians, and virtues enabling one to avoid things that may harm one spiritually.


\(^{1028}\) \textit{Galater}, p. 200.

\(^{1029}\) \textit{Galater}, p. 256.

\(^{1030}\) \textit{Wahrheit des Evangeliums}, p. 344.

\(^{1031}\) \textit{Galatians} p. 498.

\(^{1032}\) \textit{Galatians} p. 212.

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Borse also follows a threefold classification although he admits that it is difficult to indicate the relationship between υγκραβεία, on the one hand, and πραυθ" and πίστι", on the other hand. Betz describes the first set as notions that can be attributed to God, Christ and humans, "spiritual powers of the first order"; the second set as concepts taking "us further in the direction of human action", and the third set as "three famous virtues from Hellenistic ethics".

Vögtle also classifies the virtues into three groups, not as sets of three, but as follows:

αγάφθε, καραβείαθε: 
μακροωμία, χρηστοθε" , αγακωαθωθ, πιστι", πραουθ":

υγκραβεία.

He describes the three groups as follows: "innere Gesamtqualitäten und Triebkräfte anderer Tugenden", "Tugenden die sich dem Nächsten gegenüber auswirken", and the last one as "gegenüber dem eigenein sinnlichen Begehren". Duncan, who does not think that one should seek a rigid classification, divides the virtues in the same way as Vögtle, but describes the three groups in a different way: the first three (αγάφθ, καραβείαθ) indicate how the Christian is enabled by the Spirit to face the mysteries and trials of life; the next five (makroωμία, χρηστοθε", αγακωαθωθ, πιστι", πραουθ") illustrate the Christian's attitude to fellow Christians, and the last one (υγκραβεία) is a reminder to live a disciplined life. Rohde also divides the virtues into three sets, but groups them as follows: the first set of three (αγάφθ, καρα; ειθτηθ); the second group of four springing from αγάφθ and referring to the relationship to other people (makroωμία, χρηστοθε", αγακωαθωθ, πιστι") , and lastly πραουθ" and υγκραβεία.

Burton is not certain whether Paul intended the terms to fall into definite classes, yet he describes the relationship between the terms as follows: αγάφθ is in its own class and is the source from which the remainder flows; καραβείαθ probably ειθτηθ refer to experiences rather than attitudes towards others. The next five (makroωμία, χρηστοθε", αγακωαθωθ, πιστι", πραουθ") are the opposite of ειθτηθε, ειτε, χιλοθ, ρπμωθ in the list of the works of the flesh. Lastly, υγκραβεία is the opposite of the last two (ενθαθε, κκωμωθ) in the list of the works of the flesh.

Becker divides the virtues into four groups: αγάφθ, καραβείαθ, ειθτηθ are the most striking features of the Christian community; makroωμία and χρηστοθε" are traditionally found together; αγακωαθωθ and πιστι" guarantee one's reliability, and πραουθ" and υγκραβεία help to control one's desires.

Before discussing the supportive strategies Paul uses in the last subsection (Gal. 6:1-10), it is necessary to explain the line of thought in this section since scholars interpret it differently. In general, it seems wise to avoid two extremes, namely, on the one hand, the tendency to view the entire section as having no coherent argument, and, on the other hand, the possibility of explaining the underlying logic as making perfect sense. The truth lies

1034 Galater, pp. 203-205.
1035 Galatians p. 287.
1036 Tugend- und Lasterkataloge, p. 47.
1037 Galatians p. 174.
1038 Galater, p. 245.
1039 Galatians p. 314.
1040 Galater, p. 91.
1041 Betz, Galatians, p. 292, tends to move in this direction.
somewhere in between. As Lambrecht \(^{1042}\) correctly points out, there are shifts in Paul's reasoning in this section, in particular, in vv. 1-6: sometimes arguments remain hidden or must be supplied by the reader; sometimes he returns to an idea used earlier; and some concepts are taken up in different forms. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify logical relationships between some of his statements in this subsection.

Verse 1 can be divided into three parts. In verse 1a Paul describes a potential situation:

\(\text{Adelfoiv, eja;n kai; prolhmfqh`/ a[qwrpo" e[tini paraptwmati}.\)

The potential – and even probable \(^{1043}\) – situation that may arise in the congregations in Galatia is that a member of a congregation \(a[qwrpo"\) could be detected \(^{1044}\) transgressing in some way. In verse 1b he tells the other members how they should act in such an event: \(uJmei" oiJ pneumatikoi; katartivzete ton toiouton en pneumati prau?thto".\) Significantly, he shifts the focus from the one who has transgressed to the rest of the believers, in particular, the gentle way \(^{1045}\) in which they should act towards such a person: they should restore him/her to his/her former situation. \(^{1046}\) The fact that he addresses them as \(pneumatikolw\) is also important. This should not be interpreted as an ironical remark, \(^{1047}\) or as referring to a particular group in Galatia, \(^{1048}\) but rather as referring to the fact that the Galatians must be people who live by the Spirit. \(^{1049}\) As people who live by the Spirit, they should act in a particular way when confronted with a situation as described in verse 1a. In terms of the flow of thought, one should thus regard verse 1 (and the following verses) as a continuation of the guidelines provided by Paul to the Galatians as to how they should "live in accordance with the Spirit". In fact, there are at least two links between verse 1 and the previous subsection, namely first, the fact that \(en pneumati prau?thto"\) refers to \(prau?th"\) mentioned as part of the fruit of the Spirit (5:23), and secondly, the fact that the behaviour described in verse 1 could be viewed as an alternative to the kind of behaviour described in 5:26.

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\(^{1043}\) \(e[\) plus the subjunctive could be interpreted in this way. See Lambrecht, "Paul's Coherent Admonition", p. 43. \(kai;\) emphasizes the next word (\(prolhmfqh\)). See Burton, *Galatians*, p. 326.

\(^{1044}\) In this context \(prolmab[\) could be translated as either "be detected", "overtaken" or "surprised". See BDAG (\(prolmab[\)). It is impossible to determine its meaning with absolute certainty, but perhaps the rest of the congregation's apparent involvement should be viewed as an indication that Paul has "detected" in mind. Bligh, *Galatians*, p. 480, wrongly links this situation to what happened to Peter in Antioch.

\(^{1045}\) \(pneuma\) refers to human spirit and not to the divine Spirit. So most interpreters. *Contra* Betz, *Galatians*, p. 297, note 48, who interprets it as referring to both human and divine Spirit.

\(^{1046}\) See BDAG (\(katart[\)).

\(^{1047}\) For example, Lietzmann, *Galater*, p. 41; and Schlier, *Galater*, p. 270.

\(^{1048}\) Lütgert, *Gesetz und Geist*, p. 12. See Dunn, *Galatians*, pp. 319-321, for a good summary of all the ways in which scholars interpret this expression.

\(^{1049}\) So, most interpreters nowadays. See, for example, Betz, *Galatians*, p. 296; and Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, p. 157.
In verse 1c Paul shifts the focus once again: instead of referring to the way in which the rest of the congregation should behave towards a person who has transgressed, he now warns them that they themselves could be tempted to do a similar kind of thing.\textsuperscript{1050} skopw`n seauto;n mh; kai; su; peirasqh`. In verse 2a he again shifts the focus to the way in which believers should act towards one another: ajllhvlwn ta; bawh bastazete. He still thinks primarily of the situation described in verse 1a-b,\textsuperscript{1051} but the \textit{command} is worded in such a way as to include burdens of a general nature. In verse 2b he continues with a \textit{promise}: kai; ouf`w ajaaplhrwete ton novmon tou` Cristou`. This concise expression has led to various interpretations that may be summarised as follows:

- According to Davies,\textsuperscript{1052} the expression should be translated as the "law of the Messiah", and reflects the fact that Paul found in the words of Jesus the basis for a new halakah.
- According to Dodd,\textsuperscript{1053} it refers to "the precepts which Jesus Christ was believed to have given to all his disciples, and which they handed down in the church". According to Dodd, the traditional sayings of Jesus formed the nucleus of the "law of Christ".
- According to some scholars, \textit{novmo"} should not be interpreted in this instance as referring to the Torah as such, but in a more general sense as "principle" or "pattern". For example, according to Hays,\textsuperscript{1054} it refers to the "pattern of self-giving" in the life of Jesus, and the Galatians are summoned by God to live by the power of the Spirit in such a way that their own behaviour recapitulates the self-giving of Christ.
- Several scholars\textsuperscript{1055} interpret it as referring to the Torah, but then to fulfilling it in the sense that Christ fulfilled it, namely by fulfilling it through love.

\textsuperscript{1050} Some scholars, for example, Betz, \textit{Galatians}, p. 298, think that Paul is referring to another kind of sin ("self-righteousness and arrogance with regard to the wrongdoer"), but it seems more likely that Paul is referring to the transgression in 1a. So correctly, Lambrecht, "Paul's Coherent Admonition", p. 43, note 44.


\textsuperscript{1052} W. D. Davies, \textit{Torah in the Messianic Age and/or the Age to Come} (JBL.MS 7, Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1952), p. 92.

\textsuperscript{1053} C. H. Dodd, "\epsilon\eta\nu\mu\omicron\sigma\ Χριστου", in: his \textit{More New Testament Studies} (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1968), pp. 147-148.


\textsuperscript{1055} To mention only a few, Schlier, \textit{Galater}, p. 272; Barclay, \textit{Obeying the Truth}, p. 134; Dunn, \textit{Galatians}, p. 323; Söding, \textit{Das Liebesgebot bei Paulus}, pp. 204-205; and H. Schürmann, "Das Gesetz des Christus" (Gal 6,2), Jesu Verhalten und Wort als letztgültige sittliche Norm nach Paulus", in: J. Gnilka (Hrsg.), \textit{Neues Testament und Kirche. Für Rudolf Schnackenburg} (Freiburg: Herder, 1974), pp. 282-300. To my mind, Martyn's interpretation could also be classified in this category, although he expresses it in slightly different terms, namely that it refers to "the Law as it has been taken in the hand by Christ" (Martyn, \textit{Galatians}, p. 549), that is the Torah "having been brought to completion by Christ in the one
The last interpretation is the best, as it seems to match the context best. There are two reasons for this choice. First, the fact that Paul uses "law" in all the previous instances in the letter to refer to the Torah makes it unlikely that he would now use it in a different sense, for example as merely referring to a general principle or pattern. Secondly, it seems best to interpret του Χριστου in the light of the immediate context, and the most obvious link would be the one to 5:13-14.

Another issue for consideration is the origin of this expression. According to Betz, Paul obtained the expression from his opponents, but adopted it in a polemical way. However, not one of Betz's reasons for this is convincing, and it is therefore best to assume that Paul coined the phrase himself. Nevertheless, Betz is correct in pointing out that the phrase was not fundamental to Paul's theology and therefore it is best viewed as an expression coined by Paul in order to undermine the arguments of the opponents: what is asked of the Galatians is not fulfilling the Torah as such, but fulfilling the Torah as Christ did it, i.e. by loving.

In verse 3 Paul adds a warning: εἰ γὰρ δοκεῖ τί εἴχατε τι μὴν ἔχατε ἐν ἑαυτῶν. The fact that he uses γὰρ indicates that he regards this statement as providing a reason for one or more of the previous statements. It appears that he is thinking of the possibility that some of the Galatians may not wish to act as he asks them to in the previous three verses, because they may think too much of themselves, although, as a matter of sentence that speaks about love of the neighbor, the Torah which is now "pertinent to the daily life of the liberated church" (Martyn, Galatians, p. 558).

1056 So correctly, Martyn, Galatians, p. 555.
1057 So correctly, Barclay, Obeying the Truth, p. 134.
1058 Galatians p. 300. See also Hamisch, "Einübung des neuen Seins", p. 294, who agrees with Betz.
1059 Betz, Galatians, p. 300, provides the following reasons: 1. The singularity of the notion in Galatians; 2. The fact that the concept played a significant role in other Christian traditions; 3. The high probability that Paul's opponents combined obedience to the Torah with obedience to Christ, and 4. The fact that Paul is compelled to defend himself against accusations of lawlessness.
1060 So many scholars. See, for example, Söding, Das Liebesgebot bei Paulus, p. 204; Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 425; and Lambrecht, "Paul's Coherent Admonition", p. 45.
1061 Galatians, p. 301. Note that the fact that the expression is not fundamental to Paul's theology does not prove that he took it from the opponents, as Betz believes.
1062 L&N 36.17, explain ἀνάπληρωμα rather well: "to conform to some standard as a means of demonstrating its purpose".
1063 So many scholars. See, for example, Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 400; Rohde, Galater, p. 261; and D. W. Kuck, "Each Will Bear His Own Burden", Paul's Creative Use of an Apocalyptic Motif", NTS 40:2 (1994), p. 293.
1064 Paul uses a simple condition, thus not saying anything about the reality of the protasis. See Lambrecht, "Paul's Coherent Admonition", p. 45.
1065 It seems unlikely that Paul alludes to the opponents in this instance, as Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 426, believes, or that Paul is echoing "the critical stance he has already expressed toward the way in which the Jerusalem church thinks of its leaders" (Martyn, Galatians, p. 549).
Thus verse 3 could be linked to either 5:26 (methi; ginwmeqa koneodoxo), verse 1b (umhei' oi pneumatikoi; katartimete ton toioton e pneumat i prauhto), verse 1c (skopw' seauton mh; kai; su; peirasqhi'), or verse 2 (ajlhwn ta; bawh bastagete). It may be any of these verses, but verse 2 seems to be the best choice. It is important to realise that verse 3 relates logically to what precedes it, and should not be viewed as a completely new idea.

In verse 4 Paul commands the Galatians as follows: to; de; efgon ebutou'dokimazevw ekasto', kai; tove efj ebuton momon to; kauchma efj kai; ouk efj ton eferon. Some scholars link this command to verses 1 and 2, but it should rather be linked to the previous verse, as others prefer to do. If this choice is correct, the flow of thought can be explained as follows: in contrast to the kind of behaviour mentioned in verse 3, Paul now focuses on the correct behaviour. This entails that one should test one's own "work" and if the outcome is positive one will have ground for boasting. However, as the words efj ebuton momon and kai; ouk efj ton eferon indicate, he wants to restrict this kind of behaviour. The preposition efj can be interpreted in this instance either as "in/with relation to/with respect to (oneself/one's own work)" or as "directing (one's boasting) to". As the second interpretation forces one to take kauchma only in the sense of "boasting", and excludes the notion of "ground for boasting", the first one should be preferred. The meaning of this phrase is thus best explained as follows: ... and then one will have reason for boasting in one's own work and not by comparing it with someone else/the work of someone else.

In verse 5 Paul continues: ekasto' gar to; ijion fortion bastasei. Scholars do not agree on the interpretation of this verse. Harnisch interprets fortion as referring to to; kauchma in verse 4, thus making it an ironic statement: "Jeder hat an der Bürde des Ruhms vor sich selbst genug zu tragen". According to Witherington, fortion refers to the financial burden each person should carry. Although this makes it possible to link verse 5 to verse 6 easily, he needs to take efgon in verse 4 in the rather unlikely sense of "a person's

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1066 mhden w is best understood concessively. So, correctly, Lambrecht, "Paul's Coherent Admonition", p. 46.
1067 For example, Longenecker, Galatians, p. 227; and Vouga, Galater, p. 148.
1068 For example, Martyn, Galatians, p. 549; and Lambrecht, "Paul's Coherent Admonition", p. 47.
1069 de thus understood adversatively.
1070 Although efgon includes the gentle restoration mentioned in verse 1, it should not be restricted to that, but to the living out of the gospel in general. So correctly, Martyn, Galatians, p. 550.
1071 Kauchma is usually interpreted as indicating the ground for boasting and not only the act of boasting itself. See BDAG (kauchma); L&N 33.371/2; and R. Bultmann, "kaucavomai", TDNT 3, p. 649, note 35.
1072 For example, Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 217; Rohde, Galater, p. 262; and Burton, Galatians, p. 332.
1073 Barclay, Obeying the Truth, p. 160; and Martyn, Galatians, p. 550.
1075 Grace in Galatia, p. 429.
own work or gainful employment”. Some scholars interpret verse 5 in a general sense, taking fortion as referring to the fact that each Christian has to bear his/her own "weakness and sin", or to "any adverse circumstance and tribulation, but also … personal shortcomings, sin and shame". However, such an interpretation raises two problems. First, it would appear that Paul is contradicting what he just stated in verse 2 where he calls upon the Galatians to bear each other's burdens. Secondly, it is difficult to see how a reference to the (negative!) fortion which each Christian should bear, can serve as a reason for the admonition to test one's own work which may give rise to a (positive!) kauvchma. It therefore seems best to interpret verse 5 as referring to the eschatological judgement. If this is correct, the flow of thought is as follows: in verse 4 the individual Galatian is told to test his/her own "work". This could lead to ground for boasting, but only in his/her own work, and not by comparing it to other Galatians. In verse 5 the reason for not doing this is then provided: since each one will receive proper recognition for his/her own work at the eschatological judgement.

In verse 6 Paul continues by commanding those who are taught in the word to let those who teach them share in "all good things" (Koinwneivtw de; oJ kathcouvmeno" to; logon tw/ kathcou W e; pa sin a gaqoi"). The expression "good things" is best interpreted as referring to material things, which means that he calls upon the Galatians to provide their teachers with the material necessities of life. In terms of the flow of thought, three possibilities can be identified. If one interprets verse 5 in a general way, verse 6 could be viewed as a qualification of the exhortation to bear one's own burden. However, as pointed out above, such an interpretation of verse 5 is unlikely. Another possibility is to link verse 6 to the following, by interpreting the metaphor of sowing and reaping in verses 7-9 as referring to financial matters, too. However, this is rather unlikely. Therefore, it is best to opt for a third possibility, namely to regard verse 7 as a command that stands on its own, without any

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1076 Ibid., p. 429.
1077 Burton, Galatians, p. 334.
1078 Lambrecht, "Paul's Coherent Admonition", p. 50.
1079 Lambrecht, ibid., explains the flow of thought as follows: "Even the Christian with plenty of good 'work' will have to bear his own load". Note that he has to add "even" to make sense of his interpretation, whereas Paul uses gav.
1080 See among others, Bruce, Galatians, p. 263; Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 401; Arzt, Bedrohtes Christsein, p. 181; and Synofzik, Die Gerichts- und Vergeltungsaussagen bei Paulus, p. 44.
1081 See Kuck, "Each Will Bear His Own Burden", p. 294, for a more detailed discussion.
1082 So most scholars. See, for example, Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 218; Rohde, Galater, p. 263; and Dunn, Galatians, p. 327.
1083 Dunn, Galatians, p. 326; and Lambrecht, "Paul's Coherent Admonition", p. 51.
1084 See, for example, Lietzmann, Galater, p. 42; Bligh, Galatians, p. 485; and Witherington, Grace in Galatia, pp. 431-432.
direct link to what precedes or follows it. Why would Paul find it necessary to remind the Galatians of their duty to support their teachers? Martyn may be correct in suggesting that those teachers who remained steadfast to Paul’s teaching may have received hostile treatment from his opponents who could have tried to replace them with other teachers. He may have been aware of this, and he therefore finds it necessary to remind the Galatians of their duty to support their teachers.

Verses 7-9 function as one unit. In 7a Paul begins with a warning: ἂν πλάνη αὕτη, γινεῖται. This is used to draw the attention of the audience to the importance of the maxim that follows: Οἵτως εἰς τὸν κόσμον εἰσέρχονται, τὸ δὲ καὶ περισσεύει. This maxim (as well as verses 8-9) expresses an argument based on the consequence of one’s behaviour. In verse 8 he applies the maxim to the crisis in Galatia, using it as a base for a warning ὃς σποράξει τὴν σάρκα, εἰκόνιζεται ὃς συνεργάζεται καὶ κεραιών. Note that he alters the maxim slightly when he applies it. Instead of focusing on the link between “sowing” and “reaping” as such, he emphasises the nature of the “soil” into which one sows which gives rise to different types of “harvest”. The distinction between sowing in the flesh and Spirit recalls the ideas that dominate Galatians 5:16ff., but also the distinction between flesh and Spirit earlier on in the letter, for example in Galatians 3:1-5. Thus, to “sow in the Spirit” should be understood as walking/living by the Spirit, which in itself presupposes the acceptance of Paul’s version of the gospel. On the other hand, “sowing in the flesh” should be understood not only as doing the kind of things listed in 5:19-21, but also as trusting in circumcision. It is clear from the reference to φοράν and ζωήν αἰώνιον that he is thinking of “harvesting” in eschatological categories.

In verse 9 Paul uses another exhortation. He calls upon the Galatians not to become weary of doing “the good” – which should be understood in this context as referring to “sowing in the Spirit”. The reference to harvesting should be understood as referring to “eternal life” mentioned in the previous verse.

In verse 10 he concludes the subsection with another exhortation to do good – now using the expression τὸ ἀγαπάω – while “we have opportunity.” This should be di-

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1085 This seems to be the option preferred by most exegetes. See, for example, Schlier, Galater, p. 275; Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 402; Becker, Galater, p. 93; Lührmann, Galater, p. 97; Barclay, Obeying the Truth, p. 163; and Betz, Galatians, pp. 304-305. Should thus be interpreted as indicating the addition of a new independent thought.
1086 Galatians p. 552.
1087 ὁ γὰρ in this instance a “declarative function” to indicate that what follows is Paul’s own application. See Longenecker, Galatians, p. 281.
1088 Dunn, Galatians, p. 330.
1089 Although Paul now uses a different word (τὸ ἀγαπάω) he has the same in mind as in verse 8 (τὸ καὶ ὁμοίως). See Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 407; and Longenecker, Galatians, p. 283.
1090 The phrase ἐὰν καίρων ἐγένομεν can be understood either existentially (“whenever we have the chance”) or eschatologically (“until Christ returns”). The use of “harvest” in conjunction with eschatological concepts in verse 8 (see also verse 9) indicates that the second one is the best choice.
rected to all people, but, in particular,\textsuperscript{1091} to fellow Christians, described in this instance as \textit{tō\, olēivō\, thē\, pistēw}. This exhortation functions not only as the conclusion of 6:1-10, but also as the conclusion of the entire section beginning at 5:13.\textsuperscript{1092}

To conclude: in terms of the flow of thought, three clusters in Galatians 6:1-10 can be indicated, namely verses 1-5, 6, and 7-10, with verse 10 functioning as concluding exhortation not only for 6:1-10, but for the entire section beginning at 5:13. Although the content is varied, the basic notion Paul wishes to convey in 6:1-10 can be summarised as 'Further guidelines on how to live in accordance with the Spirit.'

A discussion of the supportive rhetorical techniques Paul uses in this instance follows. As indicated earlier, the basic strategy in this section is the use of commands, exhortations, warnings and promises to convey the message. Besides these, several supportive techniques are used. Of these, the most interesting one is the use of what Betz\textsuperscript{1093} calls "maxims". Betz identifies the following as "maxims": 1c, 2, 3, 4a, 5, 6; and 7a and 7b as proverbial. Other scholars prior to Betz have identified several of these as maxims or at least as "proverbial". For example, Bruce\textsuperscript{1094} calls the warning not to think too much of oneself (verse 3) a "gnomic saying" and notes the parallel between Paul's call that everyone should evaluate his/her own work and similar notions among the Pythagoreans; Synofzik\textsuperscript{1095} identifies "bearing one's own load" (verse 5) as "sprichwörtliche Redensart"; Lietzmann\textsuperscript{1096} identifies the warning not to mock God as "eine sprichwörtliche Wendung", and Lightfoot\textsuperscript{1097} calls \textit{olēivō\, eπē\, σπειρ̄η/ ạ̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣...
is important for this study to consider 6:1-10 in terms of Paul's rhetorical strategy. What he does in this instance is similar to the way in which he uses vice and virtue lists earlier in this pericope in that he again uses "shared knowledge". Although one could not go as far as Betz in identifying "maxims" in 6:1-10, one could state that many of the ideas Paul uses in this instance would not have been new to the Galatians, since they contain notions that functioned as shared knowledge in Paul's time. One could even call it "Mediterranean wisdom" (as Esler does with regard to verse 3). In some instances, for example in the case of "sowing and reaping" (verse 7), one can link this shared knowledge to maxims that were widely used in different contexts in Paul's time. In other cases one can only mention that the ideas he uses, express shared knowledge in antiquity. The following ideas could be identified as such shared knowledge:

- sharing the burdens of other people (verse 2);
- not thinking too much of oneself (verse 3);
- scrutinising one's own achievements and/or being critical of oneself (verses 1 and 4);
- bearing one's own burden (verse 5);
- not mocking God/the gods (verse 7);
- being aware of the consequences of one's deeds (verse 7), and
- doing good towards other people (verse 10).

In terms of Paul's rhetorical strategy in this instance, two issues should be noted. First, it is not necessary to convince people of ideas which they accept as true. In this case he uses ideas which would have been acceptable to many Galatians. They would have considered it the correct way in which people should act towards one another. Thus, by using these ideas he is establishing common ground between himself and the Galatians. Secondly, the way in which he adapts these ideas is significant, because this introduces some novel aspects. The following can be cited as examples: asking the Galatians to scrutinise their own behaviour as pneumatikoliv (verse 1) introduces a new element into a familiar idea; linking "burden-bearing" to fulfilling the law of Christ is a totally novel idea (verse 2); interpreting the idea of "burden-bearing" in terms of eschatological categories (verse 5) places it within a totally new context; reinterpreting the notion of reaping what one sows in terms of the Spirit-flesh opposition represents something rather different from the way in which this usually functioned, and expressing the notion of "doing good" as "to all people, but in particular, to fellow Christians" places it within a very specific context. Thus, one can describe Paul's rhetorical strategy in this instance both in terms of continuity and discontinuity; continuity in the sense that he uses ideas that would have been familiar to the Galatians; and discontinuity in the sense that he places them within a new framework representing the basic gist of his argumentation in the remainder of the letter.

Paul also uses several other supportive techniques in 6:1-10 that should be highlighted briefly:

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1101 Galatians, p. 232.
In terms of *choice of words* two examples have been indicated above, but they are worth noting briefly again. In verse 1 Paul uses *pneumatikoiv* — a very striking word — to focus on the fact that they are people living spiritually by the Spirit. In verse 2 he uses the notion of "fulfilling the law of Christ" which Esler,\footnote{Galatians p. 231.} rightly describes as "Paul’s most daring inversion of the position of the Israelite outgroup".

- **Direct address** *(adelfoiv)* is used in verse 1. The manner in which he *switches the way in which he addresses* the Galatians should also be noted. He begins and ends with inclusive language: This may be summarised as follows:
  - Vv. 25-26: "we"
  - Vv.1/2: "you" (plural)
  - V. 3: "someone"
  - Vv. 4-5: "each one"
  - V. 6: "the one"
  - V. 7: "you" (plural)
  - Vv. 9-10: "we".

- In verse 2 he adapts *sentence structure* in such a way that more emphasis is placed on the word at the beginning of the sentence (*hyperbaton*), thus very effectively emphasising the idea he wishes to convey:
  - *Allhvlwn ta; bavrh bastavzete...*

- The phrase *Μή plana`sqe* (verse 7) focuses the attention of the Galatians on what follows. Dunn,\footnote{Galatians p. 329.} correctly calls this a "rhetorical trick" used to gain/regain the attention of the Galatians.

- Lastly, the frequent use of *repetition* — of both sounds and words — in this section should be noted. In verse 1 *consonance* of p- and s-sounds is found:
  - *Adelfoiv eja;n kai; p rolhmfqh`/ anqrwpo" en tini paraptwmati, ujem e/opneumatikoi; katartivzete ton to/loton ej pneumati grauthTo", skopwh seauton mh;ka;gu;pei- rasqh;.*

  In verse 2 *consonance* of b-sounds and in verse 6 of k-sounds is used:
  - *Verse 2: Allhvn ta; bavrh bastavete.*
  - *Verse 7: Koinwneivtw de; oJ kathcoumeno" ton logon tw`/ kathcouthi ej pa`sin a'gaqoi".*

Furthermore, *paranomasia* is also used frequently in this subsection. The following examples can be indicated: the use of *pneumatikoiv* and *pneuvmati* in verse 1; *ajllhvn ta; bavrh bastavete* (verse 2) and *tou;ijion fortion bastavei* (verse 5); *dokei"* (verse 3) and *dokimazetw* (verse 4); *a'gaqoi"* (verse 6); *kalou* (verse 9) and *a'gaqou* (verse 10); and *kairw"*(verse 9) and *kairou* (verse 10). In verse 8 Paul also uses *chiasm*:
By using repetition of sounds and words he succeeds in creating links between important keywords, thereby effectively highlighting them. Furthermore, the repetition of sounds and words serves as a way of embellishment which could appeal to the Galatians. However, it is interesting to note that he only uses this technique extensively in a part of the letter that can be described as more relaxed. This may indicate that he did not regard this technique as effective for forceful argumentation.

To conclude: in Galatians 5:13-6:10 Paul's dominant rhetorical strategy can be described as urging the Galatians to have their lives directed by the Spirit. In order to convey this message, he uses several commands, exhortations, warnings and promises. Besides these, he uses several other supportive rhetorical techniques, namely direct address, alliteration and consonance, oxymoron, skilful choice of words, metaphors (in one case used in a sarcastic and hyperbolic way), appeal to personal experience, phrases focusing the attention of the audience, chiasm, examples, shared Christian tradition, understatement, inclusive language, "shared knowledge" (placed within Paul's own theological frame work), hyperbaton, and paranomasia.

18. Phase Eighteen: Galatians 6:11-18: Adapting the letter closing for a final refutation of the opponents

Paul's overall rhetorical strategy in this section is roughly similar to that of the first section (Gal. 1:1-5) of his letter. In the first section he adapted the salutation of the letter to suit his rhetorical purpose, whereas in this section he adapts the letter closing to suit his rhetorical purpose. Thus, his rhetorical strategy in this section could broadly be summarised as that of adapting the letter closing for a final refutation of his opponents. The extent to which he deviates from the normal way in which he uses letter closings in his letters becomes obvious if one compares Galatians 6:11-18 with the elements normally found in his letter closings. In this respect, Weima's reconstruction of typical elements in a Pauline letter closing may be used:

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1104 Betz, Galatians, p. 313, identifies Galatians 6:11-18 as peroratio or conclusio (see also Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 443, and Smit, "Redactie in de brief aan de galaten", p. 137). However, this is criticised quite extensively by Kern, Rhetoric and Galatians, pp. 114-117.

A Rhetorical Analysis of the Letter to the Galatians

Peace benediction
Hortatory section (can also precede a peace benediction)
Greetings
  a. Greetings (first-, second- or third person type)
  b. Kiss greeting
  c. Autograph greeting
Grace benediction.

As Weima\(^{1106}\) correctly indicates, several striking differences between the letter closing of Galatians and Paul's normal pattern can be observed: the expanded autograph formula, the "disproportionately large section of closing statements", the fact that the peace benediction is conditional, the use of the phrase "Israel of God", the "caustic tone" of the closing exhortation (verse 17), the absence of personal greetings, and the lack of any positive note of thanksgiving or praise. The Galatians who have not read Paul's other letters would not have been aware of the extent to which he deviates from his normal pattern, but they would have understood the gist of his rhetorical strategy in this letter closing, namely another (and now final) attempt to refute the opponents. In order to achieve this broad rhetorical purpose he uses various persuasive strategies. Before discussing these in more detail, the structure of this section is outlined briefly:

V. 11: Focusing the attention of the Galatians on the large letters he writes.
Vv. 12-13: Vilification of the opponents.
V. 16: Conditional blessing.
V. 17a: Warning.
V. 17b: The marks of Jesus on Paul's body.
V. 18: Final blessing.

In verse 11 Paul uses a phrase to focus the attention of the Galatians on his handwriting: îēte phli'oi' ûmīĥ grammasin e̶γ̵raya̵ t̶h̶je̶p̶h̶h̶ ce̶r̶i̵r̵v̵. The fact that he himself is now writing instead of dictating to the amanuensis would indicate to the Galatians that he is nearing the end of his letter.\(^{1107}\) Furthermore, they would probably have interpreted this as proof that he is indeed the author of the letter, as such an authentication of dictated letters was normal in those times.\(^{1108}\) However, the most important aspect is the fact that he spe-

\(^{1106}\) Neglected Endings, p. 159.
\(^{1107}\) So correctly, Longenecker, Galatians, p. 286.
\(^{1108}\) See E. R. Richards, The Secretary in the Letters of Paul (WUNT 2/42, Tübingen: Mohr, 1991), p. 175. e̶γ̵raya̵ is best interpreted as an epistolary aorist (as the majority of scholars assume; see Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 221 and Rohde, Galater, p. 272, for examples in this regard), and not as an indication that Paul wrote the whole letter himself (contra Zahn, Galater, p. 277, and N. Turner, Grammatical Insights into the New Testament [Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1965, p. 93]). See Burton, Galatians, p. 349, who points out that, if Paul indeed wrote the whole letter himself, 6:11 would imply that he had decided at the outset of the letter to write in a noticeably large hand and that he would have to keep up this strained method of writing throughout the entire letter – something that is rather unlikely. It is unlikely that Paul already started writing himself at Galatians 5:2, as G. J. Bahr, "The Subscriptions in the Pauline Letters", JBL 87 (1968), p. 35, believes. Richards, The Secretary in Paul's Letters, p. 173, points out that the evidence in antiquity indicates that authorial references, such as the one Paul uses in Galatians 6:11, were always used at the beginning of autographed sections.
cifically draws attention to the large letters.he uses in writing this last section of the letter. Scholars make various suggestions to explain Paul's use of large letters in this instance, for example, that this was meant as an ironical way to indicate to the Galatians that he is not addressing them as a strict school master; that Paul was not used to writing and therefore wrote clumsily; that he merely indicates how his handwriting differs from that of the amanuensis; that he had problems with his eyes, and even that it was because he had been crucified at Perga in Pamphylia Phrigia. However, it seems best to interpret Paul's use of large letters as another way of emphasising the importance of the ideas he expresses in this final part of the letter, as most scholars assume. If this interpretation is correct, verse 11 serves as a very effective strategy in two ways. First, the fact that he himself is now writing would indicate to the Galatians that the letter is nearing its end – this would normally help to refocus the attention of the audience. (It functions roughly in the same way as the word "finally" in a speech or sermon nowadays.) Secondly, the fact that he draws their attention to his large letters would further indicate that something important is to follow.

Significantly, when he begins with the important issues in verse 12, his priority is not – as one would expect! – to explain the content of "his" gospel again, but rather to lodge a series of accusations against his opponents! In verses 12 and 13 he uses the technique of vilification extensively. In fact, one may identify no less than five accusations against his opponents in these two verses:

1109 Paul always uses γράμματα in the sense of "letter of the alphabet" and never in the sense of "epistle". See Schlier, Galater, p. 279, note 4; and Burton, Galatians, p. 348.
1110 G. A. Deißmann, Bibelstudien. Beiträge, zumeist aus den Papyri und Inschriften, zur Geschichte der Sprache, des Schrifttums und der Religion des hellenistischen Judentums und des Urchristentums (Marburg: N. G. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1895), pp. 263-264. Deißmann calls it "eine liebenswürdige Ironie". (See the next foot note for another suggestion made by Deißmann in one of his later books.)
1111 According to G. A. Deißmann, Paulus. Eine kultur- und religionsgeschichtliche Skizze (Tübingen: Mohr, 1925, 2.e völlig neu bearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage), p. 41, Paul's handwriting was the clumsy handwriting of a workman's hand. That Paul was not used to writing is one of the suggestions made by Zahn, Galater, p. 278. (The other suggestion that he makes is that Paul's hand was hurt in Philippi [see Acts 16:22ff.].)
1112 Borse, Galater, p. 219.
1113 See Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 441. Turner, Grammatical Insights, p. 94, points out that people with poor eyesight normally brings their faces closer to the paper; they do not necessarily write larger letters. See also W. K. L. Clarke, "St. Paul's Large Letters", ET 24 (1912-1913), p. 258, who indicates that his own experience of the writing of manual labourers shows that there letters tend to be "clumsy and unformed" and "are often cramped and meagre", but never "larger or bolder". J. S. Clemens, "St. Paul's Handwriting", ET 24 (1912-1913), p. 380, agrees with him.
1114 Turner, Grammatical Insights, p. 94.
1115 For example, Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 220; Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 410; Bruce, Galatians, p. 268; Betz, Galatians, p. 314; Dunn, Galatians, p. 335; and Martyn, Galatians, p. 560. J. Nijenhuis, "This Greeting in My Own Hands – Paul", BibTod 19:4 (1981), pp. 257-258, agrees that Paul used large letters to stress the importance of his ideas, but also adds the (unlikely!) suggestion that Paul usually wrote large letters as a way of (over)compensating for his natural timidity and shyness.
• They are people who only wish to make a *good showing in the flesh*.  
• They are *compelling* the Galatians to be circumcised.
• They are *insincere*, because their real motive for trying to persuade the Galatians to be circumcised is to avoid being persecuted for the cross of Christ.
• They do not practise what they preach, because they do not keep the law themselves.
• They are *insincere*, because their real motive is to boast in the flesh of the Galatians.

Thus, Paul lodges a vehement attack on his opponents. In fact, he is accusing them of nothing less than moral depravity!

In verses 14-15 he shifts his strategy from the vilification of the opponents to a positive presentation of his own attitude and gospel, thereby *contrasting* himself and his gospel with that of his opponents (as described by him in verses 13-14). In verse 14 he places *ejmōiv* in a *prominent position* in the sentence (hyperbaton) in order to focus the attention of

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1116 Grammatically *ἐξοι* could be understood as indicating generalisation (so, correctly, U. Mell, *Neue Schöpfung. Eine traditionsgeschichtliche und exegetische Studie zu einem soteriologischen Grundsatzz paulinischer Theologie* [BZNW 56, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1989], p. 285), but within the argumentative context presupposed in this letter, the Galatians surely would have understood it as referring to Paul's opponents.

1117 L&N 88.236, explain *εὐπροσώπωσιν* as follows:

[T]o make a good showing, particularly with regard to outward appearances – "to wish to show off, to make a good showing."

The phrase *ἐν σαρκί* is used in this instance to refer to the physical flesh, i.e. to the circumcision (Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 336). Probably Paul still has the flesh-Spirit opposition in mind. See Schlier, *Galater*, p. 280; and Mussner, *Galaterbrief* p. 411.

1118 *αἰνάγκαροσκόπισιν* is best understood as conative. The compulsion that Paul has in mind should be understood as "putting the pressure on persuasion and conviction" (Betz, *Galatians*, p. 315). Note that Paul is again *appealing to the personal experience* of the Galatians – or at least trying to persuade them to reinterpret their personal experience of the opponents in a negative way.

1119 Scholars reconstruct the background for this statement in various ways (see Mell, *Neue Schöpfung*, pp. 288-289), but all that can be stated with certainty is that the "persecution" must have come from Jewish/Christian Jewish circles.

1120 It seems best to take *οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι* as referring to Paul's opponents (see, for example, Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 222; Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 269; and Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 563) and not as referring to the Galatians who allowed themselves to be circumcised (see, for example, Burton, *Galatians*, p. 353; and Vouga, *Galater*, p. 156). See Mell, *Neue Schöpfung*, pp. 271-275, for a good discussion – also of the text-critical problem.

1121 This could mean either that Paul thought that the opponents were not capable of keeping everything the law requires or that they selected only certain laws and ignored others. Whichever interpretation is chosen, the important issue is that he accuses them of not really doing what they were requiring of others.


1123 At the same time, Paul is also presenting himself as an example to be followed by the opponents. Cf. Lyons, *Pauline Autobiography*, p. 168; and Matera, "The Culmination of Paul's Argument", p. 88.
the Galatians on his own behaviour: instead of boasting in the flesh of the Galatians (as the opponents do!), he boasts in something much better, namely the cross of Christ, that is the salvation made possible by the crucifixion of Christ. He has just accused his opponents of not being willing to suffer for the cross of Christ. For him, however, the cross is something to boast about, something through which the world has been crucified to him. Note the effective use of the metaphor of crucifixion in this instance. In verse 15 he motivates his attitude by means of a concise statement: \(\text{ou\^e gar peritomhtiv\^estin ou\^e akrobustia ala; kainh; kti\^si}.\) This statement appears to reflect pre-Pauline tradition. If this is so, this is another occasion where Paul uses shared Christian tradition as a means of persuading the Galatians. Note the effective way in which antithetic presentation (ou\^e ... ou\^e ... alla) is used in this statement to focus the attention of the Galatians on the crucial notion of "new creation".

In verse 16 Paul adds the following blessing: \(\text{kai; o\^s\^oi tw\^i kanw\^i tou\^w stoich\^yousin, eijrhvnh ep\^\^a\^\^tou; kai;e\^eo\^ kai;epi;ton j\^Israh\^l tou\^q\^eou}.\) The last part of this blessing is a crux interpretum. Before discussing this, the rhetorical function of the blessing as such should be discussed. Generally speaking, a blessing serves as a way of encouraging people, because it emphasises the notion of divine favour directed to them, for example, the blessing in Galatians 1:3. In this case, however, the blessing is conditional, thereby changing its rhetorical function significantly, since now only those people who act in a certain way (tw\^i kanw\^i tou\^w stoich\^yousin) are blessed. In terms of the rhetorical situation in Galatians, this would imply that those Galatians who follow Paul's advice and live according to the "rule" he has pointed out in verse 15, would be encouraged by this blessing. On the other hand, for those Galatians who considered following the advice of the opponents, this blessing would function as a warning. By doing so they would in fact be missing God's blessing.

Let us return to the problematic phrase in verse 16:
\(\text{kai; o\^s\^oi tw\^i kanw\^i tou\^w stoich\^yousin, eijrhvnh ep\^\^a\^\^tou; kai;e\^eo\^ kai;epi;ton j\^Israh\^l tou\^q\^eou}.\)

Basically the problem concerns the interpretation of kai\(\upsilon\)(that is, the third kai\(\upsilon\) in the sentence). If it is interpreted epexegetically, the expression "Israel of God" refers to the group mentioned in the previous part of the sentence. The underlying logic of the sentence could then be indicated as follows:

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1124 de\^\^s used adversatively.
1125 As Schlier, \textit{Galater}, p. 281, puts it: "\(\text{Stauro\^v}\) ist hier Ideogramm f"ur das Erl\^osungsgeschehen".
1126 \(\text{di\^\^o\^}\) refers to "cross" and not to "Jesus Christ".
1127 Cf. gavr.
1128 See Mell, \textit{Neue Sch"opfung}, pp. 298-303, for a detailed discussion.
1129 See M. V. Hubbard, \textit{New Creation in Paul's Letters and Thought} (SNTS.MS 119, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) for a detailed discussion of this concept. He indicates that scholars tend to interpret it in one of the following three ways: ecclesiological, soterio-cosmological or soteri-anthropological, and prefers the third option (p. 222.), but, to my mind, it really could be any of these depending on the way in which one uses the "evidence" from the rest of the letter.
A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE LETTER TO THE GALATIANS

2. (kai) eijhēnh epēaoutou; kai; e\eo
1. o\oi tw\kanowi tou\w\stoichgousin,
3. kai;epi\ton j\srah\ tou\/c\eou.
Meaning: (2) Peace and mercy
(1) upon those who follow this rule;
(3) that is, the Israel of God.

If it is interpreted copulatively the last phrase refers to a different group of people.
1. kai;o\oi tw\kanowi tou\w\stoichgousin,
2. eijhēnh epēaoutou; kai;e\eo
3. kai;epi\ton j\srah\ tou\q\eou.
Meaning: (1) And upon tho se who follow this rule
(2) peace and mercy;
(3) and (peace and mercy) upon the Israel of God, too.

There is another way of interpreting the verse if kai\vis interpreted copulatively:
1. kai;o\oi tw\kanowi tou\w\stoichgousin,
2. eijhēnh epēaoutou; kai;e\eo
3. kai;epi\ton j\srah\ tou\q\eou.
Meaning: (1) Upon those who follow this rule
(2) peace;
(3) and mercy
(4) upon the Israel of God, too.

In this instance "Israel" could be interpreted as referring to a group different from "those who will follow this rule".

This exegetical issue has been discussed extensively and, without going into too much detail, I would like to classify the interpretations offered by scholars in three basic groups in order to highlight the implications of each for understanding Paul's rhetorical strategy in this section of the letter.

The most attractive option is the one suggested by Betz,1130 namely that the expression "Israel of God" was used by Paul's opponents in Galatia to identify themselves as true Judaism in contrast with official Judaism. One should then assume that the opponents tried to persuade the Galatians to be circumcised in order to become part of the "Israel of God", and that Paul was aware of this. If this were the case, he would in fact be employing a very effective rhetorical strategy in this instance, since he uses one of the key expressions of his opponents in order to undermine their position: it is not they and the people who accept "their" gospel who are the "Israel of God", but those who accept "his" gospel. One should then assume that he relied upon the fact that the expression was known to the Galatians and that he assumed that it would be easy for them to understand that he was in fact redefining it so that it refers to all who live according to the rule he has just highlighted. Thus, he would have expected them to understand that he is not referring to a separate group in the last part of his blessing, but to the same group. This interpretation would make perfect sense, but it has one weak point, namely the assumption that the opponents used this expression. This is

1130 Galatians, p. 323. This interpretation is also accepted by Longenecker, Galatians, pp. 298-299; and Weima, Neglected Endings, p. 173.
a mere guess and impossible to prove. It is therefore safer to assume that Paul coined the expression himself. This then brings us to the second and third options.

The second option is that Paul coined this expression and used it to refer to a separate group either in Galatia or elsewhere, for example non-judaising Jewish Christians, the Jewish nation or all the Jews who would be saved in future. The basic problem underlying these suggestions is that he would then be saying something which is against everything he tries to do in the remainder of his letter. This has been pointed out by Dahl a long time ago:

> In einem Schlußwunsch eine Reservation einzufügen oder einem Mißverständnis vorzubeugen, würde dagegen der Art des Apostels widersprechen…. Es ist undenkbar, daß er mit V. 16 einen ganz anderen Gedanken einführen wollen und einen Friedenswunsch für die christusgläubigen Juden als versöhnendes Schlußwort hinzugefügt hat.

Rhetorically speaking, introducing such a new idea a few lines before the end of the letter would indeed be disastrous, as one of the last impressions he would leave to the Galatians would be one that undermines most of what he has tried to achieve in the rest of his letter.

This leaves the third option as the only possible interpretation of his rhetorical strategy, namely that he coined the expression in order to refer to the same group as in the first part of the blessing – now perhaps in more general terms, but not as a group essentially differing from those indicated in the first part of the blessing. Due to lack of evidence to prove the first option (that the expression had been used by his opponents), this seems to be the most acceptable interpretation. This would imply that (the third) should be interpreted as epexegetical. If this interpretation is correct, Paul wishes to convey the notion to the Galatians that they will be part of "God's Israel" if they accept and live according to his (i.e. Paul's) gospel, as summarised in the previous verse. The emphasis in the expression falls on : God is the One who decides who belongs to "Israel"; this has nothing to do with being circumcised or not, and they should therefore not accept his opponents' version of the gospel. If this interpretation of Paul's strategy in this instance is the correct one, one should also ask the question whether he does not make a mistake by not expressing himself in a clearer way. A less ambiguous sentence

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1131 G. Schrenk, "Was bedeutet 'Israel Gottes'?", Jud 6 (1949), pp. 93-94 ("christgläubige Juden"). On p. 94 n. 9 he provides a long list of interpreters who interpret the expression in this way. See also his response to N. Dahl in: his "Der Segenswunsch nach der Kampfepistel", Jud 6 (1950), pp. 170-190.

1132 Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 417. Cf. also W. D. Davies, "Paul and the People of Israel", NTS (1978) 24, p. 10 (note 2); and Bachmann, Antijudaismus im Galaterbrief, pp. 159-189.

1133 For example, Burton, Galatians, p. 358; and P. Richardson, Israel in the Apostolic Church (SNTS.MS 10, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 76-80. See also the discussion by Mell, Neue Schöpfung, pp. 318-322, in this respect.

structure would have helped him to convey this idea more effectively. As it is worded at pre-
sent, it would probably have been ambiguous to the Galatians, too.

In verse 17a Paul uses a *command to warn* the Galatians that no one should trouble
him in future:1135 Τοῦ λοιποῦ κοπου’ μοι μηδεὶς παρεστώ. By referring to anyone who
opposes his gospel as somebody who is in fact "troubling" him, he is effectively discouraging
the Galatians not to do this in future. In verse 17b he motivates this warning as follows: εγὼ;
γὰρ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ εἴν τῷ σώματί μου βασταζῶ. Scholars do not agree on the
interpretation of this expression. See the excursion below for an overview of various inter-
pretations. It is best to accept (as most exegetes) that Paul uses the expression to refer
metaphorically to the marks left on his body as a result of his suffering as an apostle. In a
sense, one could thus state that he is again using autobiography as argument (as he did in
Galatians 1 and 2), as he mentions the marks on his body in order to recall certain events in
his life. However, more importantly, one should ask what his rhetorical purpose is in doing
so. In this regard one can choose between the following four interpretations (see the excur-
sus below):

1. Emphasis on the fact that he is the property of Christ.
2. A sign of his loyalty to Christ.
3. An indication of the protection by Christ.
4. A way of contrasting himself with his opponents, for example, contrasting himself
   with their emphasis on circumcision or their unwillingness to suffer for Christ.

On its own the sentence εγὼ; γὰρ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ εἴν τῷ σώματί μου βασταζῶ
could be interpreted in any of these ways. However, if one takes as general principle that
any sentence should be interpreted within its immediate context, the fact that it follows di-
rectly upon a warning (Τοῦ λοιποῦ κοπου’ μοι μηδεὶς παρεστώ), and, that it is, in fact,
linked to this warning by means of γὰρ, favour the third option above. Thus, his rhetorical
purpose in mentioning the στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ should best be interpreted as a way of
substantiating the warning, namely that he should not be bothered because he is protected
by Christ. It would be possible to integrate the first interpretation (that he is the property of
Christ) with this one, but the notion of protection by Christ would still dominate his rhetorical
strategy. It should also be noted that he adds additional emphasis by adding εγὼ; at the be-
ginning of the sentence (hyperbaton).

Excursus: A brief overview of the opinion of exegetes on the cultural background,
reference and rhetorical function of τα στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ in Galatians 6:17

In their explanation of τα στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ in Galatians 6:17, exegetes usu-
ally discuss one or more of the following three aspects (without necessarily disting-
ishing between them): its possible cultural background, the nature of the bodily

1135 Τοῦ λοιποῦ can be understood either temporally or adverbially, but in this case interpreting it tem-
porally seems the best choice. See BDR §186; and Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 275.
"marks" Paul has in mind, and his rhetorical purpose in mentioning these. For the purposes of this overview, these aspects will be discussed separately.

CULTURAL BACKGROUND

With regard to the cultural background of tistivgmata, most scholars refer to the practice of religious tattooing in antiquity as the most likely background. The following scholars (among others) could be mentioned as examples in this regard: Lietzmann, Lightfoot, Schlier, H. D. Betz, and Vouga. However, this view is not unanimous. For example, Burton rejects this view and prefers to link Paul's use to another custom, namely that of branding slaves to indicate ownership. Some exegetes merely name both possibilities without choosing between them. See, for example, Longenecker and Lührmann. The custom of religious tattooing seems to be the most obvious parallel to Paul's use of stivgmata in Galatians 6:17, and it is therefore understandable that exegetes tend to prefer it as potential background. However, perhaps one should not restrict the potential background for Paul's reference to stivgmata to an either-or between the two possibilities mentioned thus far, since branded marks were a well-known phenomenon in antiquity, functioning in various social contexts. In his comprehensive overview of stivgmata, O. Betz provides numerous examples in this regard: the branding of animals; deserters; prisoners of war; robbers of temples; wrong-doers; slaves (for running away, stealing, or sometimes merely for the sake of indicating ownership [on the forehead]); recruits of the Roman army (on the hand); members of certain tribes; devotees of Dionysios (with an ivy leaf), the Great Mother, Mithras or other cults/gods. From Betz's overview it is evident that branded marks were a well-known phenomenon in Paul's time. Furthermore, one could also say that such marks were regarded either positively or negatively. For example, in the case of runaway slaves or prisoners of war they functioned in a negative way. However, in those cases where people received such marks voluntarily, for example to indicate devotion to a particular cult/god or membership of the

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1136 Galater, pp. 45-46.
1137 Galatians, p. 225.
1138 Galater, p. 284.
1139 Galatians, p. 324.
1140 Galater, p. 159.
1141 Galatians, p. 361.
1142 Galatians, p. 299.
1143 Galater, p. 102.
1144 O. Betz, "stivgmata", TDNT 7, pp. 657-664. The important studies by Dölger and Lilliebjörn should also be mentioned in this instance. F. J. Dölger, Sphraquis. Eine altchristliche Taufbezeichnung in ihrer Beziehung zur profanen und religiösen Kultur des Altertums (SGKA 5 [3/4], Paderborn: Schöningh, 1911), pp. 18ff., discusses the branding of animals, sacrificial animals, slaves, soldiers, clothes and (in detail) religious marking (see in particular, pp. 39-69) in antiquity. H. Lilliebjörn, Über die religiöse Signierung in der Antike. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kreuzsignierung (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1933), pp. 14-20, divides the literary evidence for branding into five groups: 1. Tribe and primitive tattooing; 2. Tattooing of slaves and prisoners of war; 3. Tattooing as punishment; 4. Tattooing of soldiers, and 5. Cultic tattooing. With regard to cultic tattooing, he indicates two reasons why people had it done: 1. To give themselves to the deity as slaves of the deity, and 2. To be influenced by the magic power flowing from the names or statues of the deities.
Roman army, they were regarded as something positive (at least by the people who wore them!). Generally speaking, Paul's reference to his stigmata could be classified as an example where the "marks" he received are viewed in a positive sense.

REFERENCE
To the question "Which bodily stigmata does Paul have in mind in Galatians 6:17?" nearly all exegetes respond by referring to the marks left on his body as a result of his suffering as an apostle. However, this is not a unanimous view. Some exegetes propose other – often interesting! – interpretations:

• Dölger reject the idea that Paul is referring to marks left on his body as a result of his sufferings as an apostle, and, claims that he had tattooed the name of Jesus on his body. He also states that if this was not the case, Paul's reference to his stigmata should not be understood as any physical marks at all, but as referring to the fact that he considered himself a slave of Christ, i.e. as indicating "seine innigste Zugehörigkeit zum Herrn".

• Fenner interprets the stigmata as Paul's auto-suggestive reactions to the sufferings which Jesus experienced on the cross. In other words, Fenner suggests that Paul experienced his mystical unity with Christ to such an extent that he in fact developed bleeding wounds on his hands and feet.

• Hirsch is of the opinion that the events that occurred during Paul's conversion on the road to Damascus – in particular, the appearance of Christ ("die ihn blitzartige überfallende Erscheinung") – could have caused him some lasting medical problems. He considers the possibility that these could have been eye problems due to the blinding light that Paul saw. However, Hirsch also points out that, according to Acts 26:13-14, the other people who travelled with Paul, also saw this blinding light, and this poses a problem for identifying Paul's medical problems as eye problems. He therefore prefers to interpret the stigmata as unspecified medical problems ("ein körperlicher Zusammenbruch und eine dauernde von uns nicht näher bestimmbare körperliche Schädigung") resulting from Paul's conversion.

• Dinkler agrees with Dölger that Paul has bodily marks in mind. However, he links these to symbolic markings at baptism, in particular, to the

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1145 For example, Sieffert, Galater, p. 364; Lightfoot, Galatians, p. 225; Burton, Galatians, p. 360; Bruce, Galatians, p. 276; Lührmann, Galater, p. 102; U. Borse, "Die Wundmale und der Todesbescheid", BZ 14 (1970), p. 88; Rohde, Galater, p. 279; Betz, Galatians, p. 324; Longenecker, Galatians, p. 324; Weima, Neglected Endings, p. 167; and Martyn, Galatians, p. 568.
1146 speeches, p. 51 note 1.
1148 O. Betz, "stigmata", p. 664, points out that people distinguished by "profound piety and great spiritual power" had similar experiences from the Middle Ages until modern times and that the Roman Catholic church recognises over 300 such cases. Francis of Assisi was one of the first of these instances.
1151 speeches, p. 51.
possibility that the bodies of the Christians were marked symbolically with the letter X (the first letter of "Christ" in Greek) during baptism.

- Bligh\textsuperscript{1152} agrees with scholars who are of the opinion that Paul is probably thinking of the scars left on his body as a result of the persecution, but also believes that \textit{stigmata} is Paul's "metaphorical description of the 'circumcision of heart' or 'new creation' which he and the other Christians receive through faith and baptism".

Although these exegetes offer interesting and sometimes ingenious suggestions for interpreting \textit{stigmata} in Galatians 6:17, none of them is convincing. The view of the majority is thus to be regarded as the best interpretation.

RHETORICAL PURPOSE

In this regard one could state that scholars usually prefer one of the following four options:

First, it is possible that Paul wishes to emphasise that he is the \textit{property of Christ}. As an example in this regard Vouga\textsuperscript{1153} may be quoted:

\begin{quote}
Die Leiden des Apostels, die mit \textit{kőps} unmittelbar verbunden sind, sind als Belege für seine Identität als \textit{dou'lo" Christi zu verstehen.}
\end{quote}

In some instances exegetes combine this notion with something else. For example, Rohde\textsuperscript{1155} combines it with the notion of sharing the sufferings of Jesus, and Schlier\textsuperscript{1156} and Steinmann\textsuperscript{1157} combine it with the notion of Christ's protection.

Secondly, Paul possibly mentions the \textit{stigmata} as indications of his \textit{loyalty to Christ}. For example, Klassen\textsuperscript{1158} compares Paul's mention of his \textit{stigmata} with an incident described by Josephus in \textit{War} 1.197, according to which Antipater stripped off his clothes and exhibited his scars as proof of his loyalty to Caesar. According to Klassen, Paul does the same in Galatians 6:17: his \textit{stigmata} are "additional irrefutable testimony of his loyalty to Jesus". Olshausen,\textsuperscript{1159} Mussner,\textsuperscript{1160} Dunn\textsuperscript{1161} and Mar-

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\textsuperscript{1152} \textit{Galatians} p. 496.
\textsuperscript{1153} \textit{Galater}, p. 159.
\textsuperscript{1154} For similar interpretations, see Burton, \textit{Galatians}, p. 360; Sieffert, \textit{Galater}, p. 364; Hirsch, "Zwei Fragen", p. 196; Bruce, \textit{Galatians}, p. 276; and Becket \textit{Galater}, p. 276.
\textsuperscript{1155} \textit{Galater}, p. 280
\textsuperscript{1156} \textit{Galater}, p. 284.
\textsuperscript{1157} \textit{Thessalonicher und Galater}, p. 170.
\textsuperscript{1159} \textit{Die Briefe Pauli}, p. 115.
\textsuperscript{1160} \textit{Galatember}, p. 420.
\textsuperscript{1161} \textit{Galatians} p. 347.
\end{flushright}
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... may be mentioned as other examples of scholars who interpret Paul's reference to his στίγματα as indications of his loyalty to Christ. A third option is that Paul wishes to warn the audience that he is protected by Christ, as De Wette and Oepke believe. This interpretation is sometimes combined with the first one, for example, by Longenecker who views it as an indication that Paul belongs to Jesus and that he lives under his protection. In this regard, some exegetes even compare Paul's mentioning of στίγματα to the use of an amulet or talisman.

A fourth option that should be mentioned is that Paul refers to his στίγματα in order to contrast himself with his opponents in some way. In this regard several scholars are of the opinion that Paul wishes to contrast his στίγματα with circumcision so highly regarded by his opponents. For example, Kremendahl suggests that Paul wishes to contrast the bodily scars he received as a result of his sufferings as an apostle with the marks of circumcision on the bodies of his opponents. Furthermore, Kremendahl also links Paul's rhetorical purpose to the use of a "Signalelement" in juridical documents in antiquity, according to which some physical characteristics that could be used for identifying of a person were provided in a document. Weima also considers the possibility that Paul is contrasting his στίγματα with the mark of circumcision. However, he proposes that Paul in fact wishes to contrast the marks of persecution he himself willingly experienced with the persecution deliberately avoided by his "markless" opponents. According to Weima, this forms part of a series of sharp contrasts between Paul and his opponents highlighted in the letter closing.

Finally, the interpretation of two scholars who emphasise the theological aspect in their interpretation of στίγματα should be pointed out. Borse distinguishes between three aspects, namely the meaning of στίγματα; its theological background, and the event behind these στίγματα. He combines these three aspects as follows:

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1162 Galatians p. 568; see in particular, note 73.
1163 See also Smit, "A Deliberative Speech", p. 22, who states that Paul mentions his scars as signs bearing witness to his courage.
1164 Galater und Thessalonicher, p. 88.
1165 Galater, pp. 206-208.
1166 Galatians, p. 300.
1167 For example, Deissmann, Bibelstudien, pp. 265-268. J. H. Moulton, "The Marks of Jesus", ET 21 (1909-1910), p. 284, develops Deissmann's interpretation slightly: Paul's στίγματα did not merely function as a talisman; they also showed that he was treated in the same way as his Lord. Lietzmann, Galater, p. 46, disagrees with Deissmann: it is not only Paul's "lächelnde Mahnung", but "tiefernstes Wort". See also Bligh, Galatians, p. 497: "St. Paul is parodying a magical charm used for winning friends and influencing people".
1168 Witherington, Grace in Galatia, p. 454.
1169 Die Botschaft der Form, pp. 79-80.
1170 Neglected Endings, p. 166.
1171 In his discussion of Galatians 6:17, O. Betz, "στίγμα", p. 663, combines three interpretations. He views it as "protective signs", "the antithesis of circumcision" and "proof that Paul suffers with his Lord".
1172 "Die Wundmale und der Todesbescheid", pp. 88-111.
Weil Paulus im Dienste Jesu Verletzungen erlitten hat, die in ihrer Härte den Kreuzewunden Jesu vergleichbar sind (3.), bewertet er sie als Zeichen der Leidengemeinschaft mit dem Gekreuzigten (2.); durch die Gleichsetzung der eigenen Narben mit dem Wundmalen Jesus bringt er diesen Gedanken zum Ausdruck (1.).

Borse also believes that Paul is referring, in particular, to sufferings he experienced in Asia, shortly before he wrote the Letter to the Galatians – a fact indicating that Galatians was written from Macedonia.

Following a comprehensive overview of the way in which other scholars interpret stigmata, Güttgemanns suggests that Paul mentions them in order to show his apostolic authority. He then develops this notion further by interpreting the stigmata as signs revealing Jesus as cultic Lord:

Die Würde des Apostels kommt also dadurch zustande, daß die Leiden des Apostels nicht anderes als Epiphanie des Kreuzigung des irdischen Jesus sind, die als Heilsgeschehen am Apostel präsent ist und damit die Identität des Herrn mit dem Gekreuzigten offenbart… Theologisch bedeutet das: Am mißhandelten Leibe des Apostels ist der gekreuzigte Jesus als Herr präsent…. Paulus denkt also auch hier den gekreuzigten Jesus und seine eigene "leibliche" Existenz als Apostel so sehr zusammen, daß man vom "Leibe" des Apostels als dem "Ort" der Epiphanie und Präsenz des irdischen Jesus als Herrn reden muß. (Güttgemann's italics.)

To my mind, Güttgemanns tends to overtheologise the issue.

In the last verse of Galatians ( ἁγιοί τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ἡμῶν) only one aspect seems to be important from a rhetorical perspective, namely Paul's use of direct address (αδελφοί). This is not the case in any other Pauline benediction. From a rhetorical perspective, it appears that he uses this to draw the Galatians closer to him, thereby ending the letter on a gentle note. It is also possible that the reference to the human spirit (μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ἡμῶν – used only in the benedictions in Galatians, Philippians and Philemon) may be significant. For example, Dunn suggests that it may be a reminder that it is the Spirit working in their spirits (rather than circumcision) that bonds them together. However, cannot be sure of this.

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1173 Ibid., p. 92. Rohde, Galater, p. 280, agrees with this theological interpretation.
1174 Ibid., pp. 110-111.
1175 Der leidende Apostel, pp. 126-141.
1176 Ibid., pp. 133-134. Mussner, Galaterbrief, p. 420, combines the interpretations of Borse and Güttgemanns. Martyn, Galatians, pp. 568-569, follows Güttgemanns, but adds that Paul's injuries were "inflicted by the same powers that crucified Jesus".
1177 Galatians, p. 347.
1178 On account of the presence of αδελφοί and ἡμῶν in verse 18, D. Kremendahl, "Gal 6,18 – Eine Gloss? Ein Redaktor 'verrät' sich durch die Briefkonvention seiner Zeit", in: U. Schoenborn & S. Pfürtnert (Hrsg.), Der bezwingende Vorsprung des Guten. Exegetische und theologische Werkstattbericht. FS Wolfgang Harnisch (Theol 1, Münster: LIT-Verlag, 1994), pp. 199-208, argues that it should be viewed as a later gloss. However, this cannot be substantiated by text-critical evidence.
To conclude: Paul's dominant rhetorical strategy in this section of the letter can be summarised as adapting the letter closing for a final refutation of his opponents. In addition, he employs several supportive rhetorical techniques, namely a phrase focusing the attention of the Galatians (6:11, 14, 17), vilification (6:12-13), metaphors (6:14, 17), antithetic presentation (6:15), shared Christian tradition (6:15), a conditional blessing (6:16), a warning (6:17), and direct address (6:18).
PART 3

CONCLUSION

As indicated in Part One, this rhetorical analysis of the Letter to the Galatians represents a move away from the general trend in rhetorical analyses of this letter in that I did not choose a specific rhetorical model — either ancient or modern — to "apply" to the text. Taking the letter itself as starting-point, I endeavoured to reconstruct Paul's rhetorical strategy from the text itself. I trust that I succeeded in showing that one does not need to force rhetorical categories on the letter in order to make sense of Paul's persuasive strategy. Instead, it can be reconstructed fairly accurately from the text itself, provided that it is read carefully and systematically.

In this final part I wish to make some general comments on Paul's rhetorical strategy in the letter as a whole — in particular, on the way in which he argues in Galatians. In this regard two issues deserve more consideration, namely first, the overall organisation of the argument as a whole, and, secondly, the wide variety of arguments that Paul uses in the letter. However, prior to that, I wish to draw attention to two other issues:

1. In the rhetorical analysis several of the techniques Paul uses on a micro-level have been identified. Most of the techniques Paul uses in this letter are well-known techniques, which he often uses in his letters, but since they are usually mentioned only in passing in most commentaries/rhetorical studies on Galatians, it seemed appropriate to list them in order to show his skill in this respect. Some techniques are mentioned again in the discussion in this chapter, but the Appendix provides a more comprehensive list of rhetorical techniques (in the order in which they appear first). I should also draw attention to two techniques used by Paul in Galatians, and identified in this study, which scholars thus far have apparently overlooked. The first technique was called making events transparent for the situation in Galatia. It is used in 2:4 and 5 (...iῆα ἥματα κατὰ δούλων; ἵνα ἡ ἁγιασμός του εὐγγέλιου διαιρεῖ/δὴ ἡματικά), and in 2:11-21 in which the events in Antioch are made transparent for the situation in Galatia. The second technique was called rerouting the attention of the audience. This refers to the fact that Paul creates the impression that he will address a certain issue which he knows is of importance for the readers, but then, in fact, he discusses something that fits his own strategy better. He does this twice in 3:19-21. In the first instance he creates the impression that he will discuss the function of the law; instead he discusses the inferiority of the law. In the second instance he creates the impression that he will explain why the law is not against God's promises; but again he focuses on the inferiority of the law.
2. I would also like to point out another issue which I believe has not received sufficient attention from scholars thus far. These have been identified as "weak points" in Paul's rhetorical strategy. In general, one could state that the Letter to the Galatians is a masterpiece of persuasive strategy. However, this does not mean that it is flawless. As I indicated in the rhetorical analysis, there are some instances in Paul's argument where he does not express himself clearly or where he says things that do not fit or even could have undermined his argumentative strategy. The following instances were identified:

- The failure to state explicitly why he mentions his stay in Arabia (1:17).
- The way in which he leaves room for a "gospel of circumcision" besides the "gospel of uncircumcision" (2:7).
- The fact that it is so difficult to understand the logical link between the statement in 3:10a and the quotation in 3:10b.
- The statement that a human díaqkh could not be changed once it has been ratified (3:15).
- Overcomplicating the argument in 3:16 by adding extra thoughts, which disturb the flow of the argument.
- The ambiguous sentence structure in 6:16, allowing one to interpret the expression kai; ejpi; ton Israh l tou' geou' in such a way that it contradicts important ideas in the remainder of the letter.

The most important issue in this chapter, namely the way in which Paul argues in the Letter to the Galatians, will now be addressed. If the analysis presented in this study is correct, the letter can be divided into 18 phases in terms of the changes in Paul's dominant rhetorical strategy. This may be summarised as follows:

1. Phase One: Galatians 1:1-5: Adapting the salutation in order to emphasise the divine origin of his apostleship.
2. Phase Two: Galatians 1:6-10: Expressing disgust at events in the Galatian churches in order to force them to reconsider their position.
3. Phase Three: Galatians 1:11-24: Recounting events from his life in order to prove the divine origin of his gospel.
4. Phase Four: Galatians 2:1-10: Recounting his second visit to Jerusalem in order to prove the acknowledgement of the content and origin of his gospel by the authorities in Jerusalem.
5. Phase Five: Galatians 2:11-21: Recounting his version of the incident at Antioch in order to show how he stood firmly for the "truth of the gospel".
6. Phase Six: Galatians 3:1-5: A series of accusatory rhetorical questions used to remind the Galatians of events they experienced that support his gospel.
7. Phase Seven: Galatians 3:6-14: An example and arguments based on the authority of Scripture to counter the Scriptural arguments of the opponents.
8. Phase Eight: Galatians 3:15-18: An a minori ad maius argument used to dissociate covenant and law.
9. Phase Nine: Galatians 3:19-25: Explaining the purpose of the law in such a way as to emphasise its inferiority.
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11. Phase Eleven: Galatians 4:1-7: An analogy to guardianship used in order to contrast spiritual slavery and sonship of God.
12. Phase Twelve: Galatians 4:8-11: Rebuking the Galatians for turning to religious slavery again.
14. Phase Fourteen: Galatians 4:21-5:1: An allegorical argument, based on the authority of Scripture, used to urge the Galatians not to yield to spiritual slavery.
15. Phase Fifteen: Galatians 5:2-6: A strict warning against circumcision.
16. Phase Sixteen: Galatians 5:7-12: Vilifying the opponents.
17. Phase Seventeen: Galatians 5:13-6:10: Urging the Galatians to have their lives directed by the Spirit.

3.1 The first aspect which requires further investigation is the overall organisation of the argument as a whole, i.e. whether it is possible to detect an even more basic strategy underlying the eighteen phases identified above. In my opinion, such a strategy can be identified if one studies the relationships between the various phases carefully, in particular, the relationship between the objective of each phase and of those before and/or after it. In other words, the question should be asked what extent the objective of a particular phase overlaps with or differs from that of the previous/next phase. In so doing, it becomes evident that Paul's overall strategy in the letter can be reduced to six basic rhetorical objectives which he wishes to achieve.

The first objective is to convince the audience that he was called by God, and that he received his gospel from God. This could be called the issue of divine authorisation, which dominates the first four phases. In the rhetorical analysis I indicated that this issue dominates Paul's rhetorical strategy in Phases 1, 3 and 4. In the first phase (1:1-5) he adapts the salutation of the letter to emphasise the divine origin of his apostleship. The notion he wishes to convey in this phase may be summarised as "I received my apostleship and gospel from God." In 1:11-24 (the third phase) his objective is to prove the divine origin of his gospel. The primary notion he wishes to convey in this phase is: "My biography proves that I received my apostleship and gospel from God." In the fourth phase (2:1-10) his primary objective is to prove the acknowledgement of the content and origin of his gospel by the authorities in Jerusalem. The primary notion he wishes to convey in this phase could be summarised as follows: "Even Jerusalem acknowledged the fact that God called me to be an apostle and that I received my gospel from him." Phases 1, 3 and 4 are therefore devoted to the issue of divine authorisation.

Paul's strategy in the second phase (1:6-10) may not seem to match this pattern. In the analysis of his rhetorical strategy in this phase, I identified the dominant strategy as an attempt to convey to the Galatians his utter disgust at the situation in their churches, i.e., he becomes emotional, thereby emphasising the seriousness of the issue in question in the letter. The notion he wishes to convey, may thus be summarised as: "This issue is very
serious! You must reconsider your decision, because you are on the wrong track!" Nevertheless, one should bear in mind that the notion of *divine authorisation* is also crucial in this phase. In the discussion of 1:6-10 I argued that the expression "he who called you" in 1:6 is ambiguous and may refer to both God and Paul, thus presupposing the notion of divine authorisation. Furthermore, according to this verse, the Galatians' decision to shift from his gospel to that of the opponents is viewed as a process of turning against God, thus again linking Paul's gospel very strongly to God. I also indicated that the use of the twofold curse in this phase presupposes divine authority. Lastly, it should also be noted that the expression "servant of Christ" in 1:10 refers to a special relationship between Paul and Christ. Thus, although the notion of divine authorisation does not dominate this phase, it forms an important part of this strategy in this instance, and it supports the pattern indicated in Phases 1, 3 and 4.

It is crucial to note that the issue of divine authorisation is the first argument that Paul uses in his letter. The best explanation for this is the fact that the notion of divine authorisation was by far the *strongest argument he could use in this situation. He therefore uses it immediately, prior to advancing any arguments on the content of his gospel. This makes sense, because, if he could convince the Galatians that he was indeed an apostle and that he received his gospel from God, they would be more willing to accept his views on the content of the true gospel as trustworthy. On the other hand, it would be futile to introduce a series of arguments on what is right or wrong in terms of the content of the gospel while the audience was still doubting his status. It is therefore a very effective strategy to use this argument first.

Having proved the issue of divine authorisation, Paul proceeds to the next issue. His *second objective* may be summarised as an attempt to convince the audience that his gospel is the true gospel, thus focusing on the *content* of the true/false gospels. This objective dominates the next three phases (Phases 5-7). As indicated in the rhetorical analysis, the content of his gospel already receives some attention in Phase 4, but it is only in Phases 5-7 that it becomes the focus of his rhetorical strategy. In the *fifth phase* (2:11-21) he portrays his behaviour in Antioch as a defence of the truth of the gospel, the same truth that was under attack in Galatia. The main notion he wishes to convey may be summarised as follows: "What really happened in Antioch is that I fought for the truth of the gospel, namely that humans are justified by faith and not by works of the law." In the *sixth phase* (3:1-5) he uses the Galatians' own experience as proof that humans are indeed justified by faith and not by works. The main notion he wishes to convey, may be summarised as follows: "Your own experience when you became Christians proves that humans are justified by faith". In the *seventh phase* (3:6-14) he uses Scripture as proof: according to Scripture, human beings are justified by faith.

Phases 5-7 thus focus on what Paul regards as the *content of the true gospel*, namely that human beings are justified by faith and not by the works of the law. The *relationship* between these three phases may be described as follows: Phase 5 represents the *claim* that justification by faith is the true gospel, and Phases 6 and 7 each contains a *proof*
that his view is indeed correct. It should also be noted that the two proofs he uses are selected for maximum effect. The first proof is based on the experience of the Galatians — something they cannot deny in any way. The second proof is based on the authority of Scripture, which is a very effective argument in a religious debate such as the one in Galatians. Furthermore, it is important to note that Paul places the argument based on experience first, probably because he regards it as a stronger proof than the one based on Scripture. The reason for this is that it was impossible to prove the argument based on experience wrong; when the Galatians converted to Christianity they had not been aware of the "gospel" of the opponents. Thus, this proof was irrefutable. However, this was not true of the argument based on Scripture. Although a Scriptural argument is a very powerful argument, it is always possible to advance Scriptural arguments in order to prove the opposite view. As I indicated in the discussion of Galatians 3:6-14, it is highly likely that the opponents had used Scriptural arguments in their attempts to persuade the Galatians, that Paul was aware of it, and that he advanced Scriptural arguments in 3:6-14 to counter their arguments. Note the specific part at which he does so: only after introducing the argument based on experience (which could not be overturned), and only after attempting to convince them that he has divine authorisation (1:1-2:10). This makes sense: once he has convinced them of his divine authorisation, and once he has used their own experience to convince them, they would be more inclined to accept his Scriptural arguments and to reject those of his opponents.

Paul's third objective is to convince the audience of the inferiority of the law in Phases 8 and 9. Although one could indicate several other instances in the letter where the inferiority of the law is mentioned or suggested, it is only in Phases 8 and 9 that it forms the dominant rhetorical strategy. In the eighth phase (3:15-18) he uses an a minori ad maius argument in order to dissociate covenant and law, thereby giving precedence to the covenant with Abraham and downplaying the importance of the law. The primary notion he wishes to convey may be summarised as follows: "Once ratified, a human diaqhvkh cannot be changed at a later stage. Likewise: God's diaqhvkh could not be changed by the law." In the ninth phase (3:19-25) he seems to pause to discuss the function of the law, but as I indicated in the analysis, he does so in such a way that the notion of the inferiority of the law is stressed.

Paul's fourth objective is to undermine his opponents' views by associating their gospel with spiritual slavery, and his own gospel with spiritual freedom. This occurs in Phases 10 to 14. Before discussing the relationship between these five phases, an indication is given of what Paul wishes to achieve in each phase. In the tenth phase (3:26-29) he reminds the audience of an important event they experienced, namely baptism. The primary notion he wishes to convey may be summarised as follows: "When you were baptised, you became children of God by faith." In the eleventh phase (4:1-7) Paul's primary objective is to contrast spiritual slavery and sonship of God. This is achieved by means of an analogy used to remind the audience of the radical spiritual change that occurred when they converted to Christianity. Thus, the primary notion he wishes to convey may be summarised as follows: "A minor is like a slave until the time set by his father. Likewise, you were spri-
tual slaves until you became children of God." In the twelfth phase (4:8-11) he rebukes the Galatians furiously for turning to religious slavery again. The main notion he wishes to convey may be summarised as follow: "If you accept the 'gospel' of the opponents you will become religious slaves again!" In the thirteenth phase (4:12-20) he uses a series of emotional arguments to persuade the Galatians. In this respect four foci were identified, namely pleading, rebuking them for the change in their attitude towards him, vilification of the opponents, and expressing his affection and concern for them. These could be summarised in terms of a single underlying notion, namely "The relationship between me and you is of such a nature that you cannot accept the 'gospel' of the opponents." In the fourteenth phase (4:21-5:1) he uses the authority of Scripture, interpreting the Hagar-Sarah stories allegorically, with the primary objective of contrasting religious slavery and religious sonship in order to urge the Galatians not to yield to the opponents, but to remain spiritually free. The basic notion he wishes to convey may be summarised as follows: "By accepting the 'gospel' of the opponents, you become religious slaves, and are like the son that Abraham had by the slave girl. Instead, you should be like Isaac and remain spiritually free!"

Against this background, the relationship between Phases 10 to 14 can now be discussed. This relationship may be summarised as follows:

Phase 10 (3:26-29): Claim: The Galatians are sons of God.
Phase 11 (4:1-7): The difference between spiritual slavery and sonship.
Phase 12 (4:8-11): Appeal (negative): The Galatians are rebuked for turning to religious slavery. (Increase in emotional level.)

Thus, Paul develops his argument in a very systematic way. At first, he only concentrates on the fact that they are sons of God: in Phase 10 (3:26-29) he claims that they are sons of God through faith; a fact proved by their own experience (baptism). In the next phase (4:1-7) he moves to the second step in pointing out the difference between spiritual slavery and sonship. In Phases 12 and 14 the third step follows in that he drives home the implications thereof for the current situation in Galatia. This is first done negatively in Phase 12 (4:8-11) in which he rebukes the Galatians for turning to religious slavery again, and then (after the interruption of the argument in 4:12-20) positively in Phase 14 (4:21-5:1) in which he uses the allegorical exposition to urge them to remain spiritually free. It must be pointed out that this series of arguments on religious slavery/freedom would have been very effective, as nobody likes to be a slave. Paul counts on this general aversion to slavery in his society: by associating the gospel of his opponents with religious slavery, he makes it highly unattractive, and, by presenting his own gospel as religious freedom, he makes it the logical choice.

Phase 13 (4:12-20) should be viewed as an interruption, as it does not focus on the issue of spiritual slavery/freedom. How should this be explained? The series of emotional arguments in this phase seems to be triggered by Paul's rebuke in the previous phase (4:8-11). As indicated in the analysis in Part Two, there is a difference in tone between 4:1-7 and 48-11: in 4:8-11 he becomes very emotional, and the section is dominated by his rebuke
of the Galatians for returning to religious slavery, which (to him) is abnormal and inexplicable. Thus, the emotional level of the argument increases significantly in 4:8-11. This is taken a step further in Phase 13 as he introduces a full-fledged emotional argument, though no longer directly concerned with the notion of religious slavery. It appears that the prospect that everything he had done could be in vain (see verse 11: φόβουμαι ὑμᾶς ἢμών ἐγκαὶ ἐκκοπήματα ἐὰν ὑμᾶς), in particular, triggered the emotional outburst from verse 12 onwards. This prospect prompts him to plunge into a series of highly emotional arguments aimed at avoiding this, thus interrupting the slavery-sonship series. However, this does not mean that Phase 13 is ineffective. On the contrary! As I argued in the analysis, emotional arguments such as these, are highly effective. It is also very likely that the difference between the emotional arguments, and the more rational arguments before and after Phase 13, make Paul's overall argument more effective, since the logical arguments are supplemented by arguments of another type.

Paul's fifth objective is to indicate the practical outcome of all his arguments thus far, i.e. how the Galatians should act if they accept his gospel as the true gospel. This occurs in Phases 15-17. The first two phases are formulated negatively, and the last phase positively. In the fifteenth phase (5:2-6) he warns the Galatians strictly not to be circumcised. The sixteenth phase (5:7-12) is dominated by vilification of the opponents. The basic notion he wishes to communicate to the audience may be summarised as follows: "You must avoid the opponents!" In the seventeenth phase (5:13-6:10) he becomes positive and urges them to have their lives directed by the Spirit.

The last phase (6:11-18) represents the sixth objective in that Paul adapts the letter closing for a final refutation of his opponents.

The six objectives in his letter may be summarised very briefly as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Summary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>Convince the audience of his divine authorisation (1:1-2:10).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>Convince the audience that his gospel is the true gospel (2:11-3:14).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>Convince the audience of the inferiority of the law (3:15-25).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>Convince the audience that the &quot;gospel&quot; of the opponents represents spiritual slavery and, instead, urge them to remain spiritually free by adhering to his gospel (3:26-5:1).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth</td>
<td>Convince the audience to act as he wishes them to: not to succumb to the pressure to be circumcised; to avoid the opponents, and to live according to the Spirit (5:2-6:10).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth</td>
<td>Final refutation of the opponents (6:11-18).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Or, in more detail:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BASIC NOTION CONVEYED</th>
<th>OBJECTIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:1-5: Gód called me to be an apostle.</td>
<td>Divine authorisation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:6-10: This issue is very serious! You must reconsider your decision, because you are on the wrong track!</td>
<td>Expressing disgust at the events in Galatia. (Increased emotional level.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:11-21: The history of my life proves that I received my apostleship and gospel from God.</td>
<td>Divine authorisation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:1-10: Even the authorities in Jerusalem acknowledged the fact that Gód called me to be an apostle and that I received my gospel from him.</td>
<td>Divine authorisation (slight shift towards content of his gospel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:11-21: What really happened in Antioch is that I fought for the truth of the gospel, namely that human beings are justified by faith and not by the works of the law.</td>
<td>Claim: Justification by faith is the true gospel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:1-5: Your own experience when you became Christians proves that human beings are justified by faith.</td>
<td>True gospel proved by audience's own experience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:6-14: Scripture proves that human beings are justified by faith.</td>
<td>True gospel proved by Scripture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:15-18: Once ratified, a human διὰ γῆς cannot be changed at a later stage. Likewise: God's διὰ γῆς could not be changed by the law.</td>
<td>Inferiority of the law proved by a minori ad maius-argument.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:19-25: The law is inferior to the promises of God/faith.</td>
<td>Inferiority of the law emphasised by statements and παιδαγωγοί metaphor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:26-29: When you were baptised, you became children of God through faith.</td>
<td>Sonship through faith proved by audience's own experience (baptism).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:1-7: A minor is like a slave until the time set by his father. Likewise, you were spiritual slaves until you became children of God.</td>
<td>Radical change from spiritual slavery to spiritual sonship emphasised by means of analogy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:8-11: If you accept the <em>gospel</em> of the opponents you will become religious slaves again!</td>
<td>Appeal (negative): Audience rebuked for turning to religious slavery again. (Increased emotional level.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:12-20: The relationship between me and you is of such a nature that you cannot accept the <em>gospel</em> of the opponents.</td>
<td>Full-fledged emotional argument.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:21-5:1 By accepting the <em>gospel</em> of the opponents, you become religious slaves, and are like the son Abraham had by the slave girl. Instead, you should be like Isaac, and remain spiritually free!</td>
<td>Appeal (positive): Allegorical exposition of Scripture to urge the Galatians to remain spiritually free.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Practical outcome (Positive): Lives directed by the Spirit.</th>
<th>Practical outcome (Negative): Wrong to be circumcised.</th>
<th>Practical outcome (Negative): Avoid the opponents (Vilification).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5:2-6</td>
<td>You must not be circumcised under any circumstances!</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5:7-12</td>
<td>You must avoid the opponents!</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5:13-6:10</td>
<td>Your lives must be directed by the Spirit!</td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Final refutation of the opponents.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6:11-18</td>
<td>The opponents are wrong!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another question needs to be raised, namely whether the approach followed in this study leads to different results compared to the studies that follow a more traditional approach. If one focuses on the finer and detailed analysis of individual arguments in the letter, there will be many cases where this analysis overlaps with other more traditional rhetorical analyses - even if the technical description used may differ from those used in this study. However, I trust that there are also instances where Paul's rhetorical strategy in a particular section of the letter is described more adequately, but I leave this to other scholars to decide. Nevertheless, there is a clear difference between the way in which the overall organisation of the argument as a whole in the letter is understood in this analysis and other rhetorical analyses of Galatians. This can be demonstrated by comparing the way in which the argument in the letter is outlined in this study with the way in which it is outlined by Betz\(^{1179}\) (whose outline is to a great extent followed in many rhetorical studies - as indicated in Chapter 1 of this study):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOLMIE</th>
<th>BETZ</th>
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<tr>
<td>1:1-2:10</td>
<td>1:1-5: Epistolary prescript</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:11-3:14</td>
<td>1:6-11: Exordium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:15-21</td>
<td>1:12-2:14: Narratio</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:15-25</td>
<td>3:1-5: First argument: an argument from indisputable evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:26-5:1</td>
<td>3:6-14: Second argument: an argument from Scripture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:2-6:10</td>
<td>3:15-18: Third argument: an argument from common human practice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:11-18</td>
<td>3:19-25: Digression on the Torah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3:26-4:11: Fourth argument: an argument from Christian tradition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4:12-20: Fifth argument: an argument from friendship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4:21-31: Sixth argument: an allegorical argument from Scripture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5:1-6:10: Exhortatio</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{1179}\) Betz, Galatians, pp. 16-23.
Betz's outline is based on the notion that Paul's overall argument in the letter is best understood if one realises that he follows a particular pattern, namely exordium, narratio, propositio and probatio, followed by an exhortatio - all placed within an epistolary pre- and postscript. It is only in the probatio that the individual arguments are identified and outlined. In contrast, in this study it is argued that Paul does not follow a fixed pattern of argumentation, but that one can identify six broad rhetorical objectives that he wishes to achieve in his letter. I do not propose that Paul actually drew up a list of the particular objectives he wished to achieve, but they must (unconsciously?) have played a very important role in his mind when he dictated the letter. Furthermore, I do not believe that the six objectives identified in the overall argument in his letter are based on a specific pattern he learnt elsewhere. The only "pattern" that influences the overall argument to some extent is the fact that it is presented in a letter, as can be noted from Phases 1 and 18. However, this aspect does not influence the overall argument. Instead, the six objectives identified in this study should be linked to the rhetorical situation of the letter. Paul chose these specific objectives because he considered them vital for achieving success within this rhetorical situation. From his perspective, this was the best way to persuade the Galatians to accept his point of view and to reject that of the opponents. It should also be pointed out that the outline proposed by Betz may incline one to think that the "real" arguments are only found in the probatio. In this study it was argued that this is not the case. From the first words Paul is arguing his case, achieving his rhetorical objectives one by one!

3.2 A second issue that deserves attention is the wide variety of arguments which Paul uses in this letter. To some extent, this has been addressed in the discussion above, but it requires further consideration. As indicated above, arguments based on the notion of divine authorisation form the backbone of Paul's rhetorical strategy in this letter, in that his first objective is to convince the Galatians that God called him to be an apostle and that he received his gospel from God, as can be substantiated by his biography. Closely linked to this type of argument is the notion that God expects humankind to behave in a certain way, and that Paul's gospel represents the accurate expression thereof, for example that God justifies humankind because they believe in Christ, and that he wants them to be spiritually free. The notion that Paul expresses accurately what God wants of humankind also forms the basis of several of his rhetorical techniques in the letter. Some examples: the twofold curse in 1:8-9; the oath in 1:20; the solemn declaration in 4:15; the conditional blessing in 6:16, and numerous promises (5:16; 6:2, 8-9) as well as warnings (3:10; 4:30; 5:2-4, 13, 15, 17, 21; 6:1, 2, 7, 8, 17).

Arguments based on Scripture should also be mentioned, since they are also based on the notion of divine authority. Paul uses this type of argument to great effect in 3:6-14 and 4:21-5:1 where he quotes Scripture and interprets it in order to substantiate his own views. Closely linked to this is a type of argument identified as an appeal to shared
Christian tradition – an issue which has not received sufficient attention in rhetorical analyses of Galatians thus far. Although this type of argument never dominates an entire phase (unlike the arguments based on the notion of divine authorisation or Scriptural arguments), it nevertheless plays an important role throughout the letter. In the rhetorical analysis I identified several instances where Paul refers to the tradition shared by Christians in his day, namely 1:1; 1:4; 2:16a; 3:13; 3:26-28; 4:4-5; 5:21, and 6:15. The most important effect he thus is to establish common ground between himself and the audience, which is always a very effective rhetorical strategy, because the audience accepts these notions as "truths". In Galatians Paul does not use the reference to tradition as proof as such, but absorbs Christian tradition within his own argument, thereby indicating to the Galatians that his gospel accurately reflects what they themselves know to be true.

As indicated above, Paul uses another type of argument with great success in the letter, namely an argument based on the experience of the audience. In 3:1-5 (their experience of his preaching and the reception of the Spirit; see also 4:6) and 3:26-29 (their experience of baptism) Paul uses this type of argument with great effect as dominant strategy. It is highly effective, as people do not tend to doubt their own experience. Paul was aware of the effectiveness of this type of argument as is evident from the outline of the six rhetorical objectives above. When he moves to the second rhetorical objective (to convince the audience that his gospel is the true gospel; 2:11-3:14), he uses an argument based on experience as the first proof; when he moves to the fourth objective (to convince the audience that the gospel of the opponents represents spiritual slavery and, instead, urges the audience to remain spiritually free by adhering to his gospel; 3:26-5:1) he uses this type of argument in order to substantiate the claim which functions as the starting-point for the remainder of the spiritual slavery/freedom series.

Another type of argument that does not receive sufficient attention in other rhetorical analyses of Galatians is vilification; perhaps because it is not "theological" enough or perhaps because it embarrasses modern readers? In Phase Sixteen (5:7-12) it is used as the dominant strategy: In verse 7 the opponents are portrayed as people who prevent the Galatians from being persuaded by/obeying the truth; in verse 8 they are portrayed as acting against God; in verse 9 a proverb is used to associate them/their views with leaven, thereby suggesting a process of corruption; in verse 10b they are (collectively) described as ταρασσώμενοι, and portrayed as people who will be punished by God, and in verse 12 they are described as οἱ ἁγιαστατούντες. In addition, Paul uses this type of argument time and again as supportive strategy in other parts of the letter. In fact, a list of all the occurrences of vilification in the letter shows the large extent to which he uses this type of argument:

1:7: ...εἰ μὴν τινὲς εἰσὶν οἱ ταρασσόμενοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ καιρῷ κεφαλήνες τε μεταστρέφεται τούτῳ εὐαγγελίων τού Χριστοῦ.
1:8-9: ἄλλα γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἁμείνα ἡγεῖται οὐ μὴν εὐαγγελίζεται μὴν εὑρίσκηται μὴν εὐαγγέλισαμεν καὶ ἀπαγορεύσαμεν τὸν παλινίμην γλῶσσαν καὶ τὴν ἐλεονήματος εὐαγγελίσαμεν ἀπεκλήσαμεν ἀποτελέσματα, ἀπαγόρευσαν τὸν ἑαυτὸν παλινίμην γλῶσσαν.
1:24: …διὰ δέ τοῦ παρεισάκτου τοῦ γενόμενον κατασκοφῆς οὐκ εἰ διευρύναντο κατά κατασκοφᾶς οὐκ εἰκότως οὐκ ἐν τῇ προσωπῇ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
2:4: …διὰ δετὸ τοῦ παρεισάκτου τοῦ γενόμενον κατασκοφῆς οὐκ εἰ διευρύναντο κατασκοφᾶς οὐκ εἰκότως οὐκ ἐν τῇ προσωπῇ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
Another type of argument Paul uses in this letter is analogy. In two instances he uses this type of argument as dominant rhetorical strategy. In 3:15-18 he uses the analogy between a human and divine διάκονον to dissociate covenant and law, and in 4:1-7 he uses an analogy to guardianship in order to contrast spiritual slavery and sonship of God. This kind of argument is effective, because it is relatively easy to follow: if the audience understands (and agrees with!) the characteristic highlighted, they find it easy to understand the spiritual application to the issue under discussion.

The emotional arguments Paul uses in Phase 13 (4:12-20) have been pointed out above. However, in this case it must be stressed that he uses this type of argument in a highly effective manner. This is due to the fact that it does not function on a rational level, but appeals to emotional issues that are vital for humankind, such as friendship, intimacy, affection, etc. In fact, if such a relationship does not exist between speaker and audience, emotional arguments will have no effect at all. The fact that Paul uses emotional arguments as dominant strategy in Phase 13, and as supportive strategy in several other instances in the letter, indicates that he was of the opinion that the relationship between himself and the Galatians was such that it could be used to his advantage. Several techniques, which Paul uses in 4:12-20 and elsewhere in the letter, and which either presuppose or have as their aim to strengthen the relationship between himself and the Galatians, were identified in the rhetorical analysis and are now summarised briefly. The techniques used to strengthen the relationship between himself and the Galatians – thus drawing them closer to him emotionally – are as follows: Direct address is used frequently, ἀδελφοί is used most frequently and usually functions as a way of drawing the Galatians closer to himself. In 4:19 he also uses the expression τεκνὰ μου very effectively in the same way. The only exception in this category is 3:1 where he uses direct address (Ἐγνώμονα) in order to rebuke them. Another technique closely related to his use of direct address is his use of inclusions language in which case he uses "we" to refer to himself and the Galatians, thereby strengthening the relationship between them and himself by focusing on their "togetherness". This occurs regularly in the letter. See, for example, 1:3-4, 3:14, 23-25; 4:3-6; 26; 5:1, 5, 25-26, and 6:9-10. A last technique that may be mentioned in this regard is the expression of a
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desire to be with the Galatians. This is found in 4:20 and is also aimed at strengthening the relationship between Paul and them. Several techniques have been identified that presuppose a good relationship between Paul and the Galatians in order to have their effect. Some of them are used only once, for example an expression of confidence (5:10), an attempt to provoke sympathy (5:11) and pleading (4:12). Two of the techniques are used twice, namely an expression of perplexity (1:6; 4:20), and sarcasm (5:12, 15). It should also be pointed out that the fact that Paul so often uses commands (4:30, 5:1, 13, 14, 16; 6:1, 2, 4, 6, 17), exhortations (5:25, 26; 6:9, 10) and rebukes (1:6; 3:1, 3; 4:8-11, 15-16) is also based on the assumption that a good relationship exists between himself and the Galatians, and that they would therefore try to act in a way consistent with this relationship. In fact, Paul must have thought that the relationship between himself and the Galatians was such that he could rely on the fact that they would feel emotionally hurt by techniques such as rebuke or sarcasm, realise that their behaviour is not consistent with their relationship to him, and therefore try to change their behaviour accordingly.

A last type of argument that should be emphasised is what I identified as shared knowledge, in the sense of knowledge shared by humanity in general as to what constitutes good/acceptable behaviour. This is found predominantly in 5:13-6:10 (but see also 4:18 and 5:9) where Paul echoes shared knowledge in his vice and virtue lists; as well as in a number of statements reflecting maxims or "Mediterranean wisdom". In so doing, he points out that the practical outcome of his gospel leads one towards acting in a way that reflects behaviour generally accepted as good behaviour.

A final word: in my opinion the rhetorical reading of the Pauline letters is definitely one of the most rewarding reading strategies. I trust that this study will further stimulate the current debate on the rhetorical analysis of the Pauline letters - even if other scholars only learn from my mistakes. If - as Paul does in Galatians! - I may use the "letter closing" to return to the basic thesis of this study: I believe that forcing rhetorical categories on Galatians only takes us a limited way in understanding his rhetorical strategy. If we really want to understand his rhetorical strategy we should take the letter itself as starting-point, employ a minimal theoretical framework and reconstruct his rhetorical strategy from the text itself. This leads one to a new appreciation of the rhetorical genius of this apostle. I would also suggest that if such an approach can be followed successfully in the case of the Letter to the Galatians, it can definitely be used for the other Pauline (and New Testament) letters. Furthermore, if one could work through all the Pauline letters in this way, one could then compare his rhetorical strategy in the various letters. In particular one could focus on two issues, namely, first, the way in which the particular rhetorical situation influences the rhetorical strategy in each letter, and, secondly, the similarities between the rhetorical strategies in the various letters, despite the differences in the rhetorical situation. In this way one could possibly succeed in outlining a truly Pauline rhetoric.
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APPENDIX

SOME RHETORICAL TECHNIQUES USED IN THE LETTER TO THE GALATIANS

(The rhetorical techniques are listed in the order of first appearance)

Antithetic presentation

1:1-ouj ap ajhqwewn oujde; di ajaqwrwou ajla; dia; Jhsou' Cristou' kai; geou' patro';...
1:11-12: to; eujaggevlion to; eujaggelisqen up; eeuou' oj i ouj e'tin kata; ajarwpon; oude; ge; ephi; para; ajhqwewn parelabon ajou; ephi; ejdaqewn ajla; dia; epokaluyew' Jhsou' Cristou'.
1:15-17: eujew' oujprosanegemn sarki; kai; ajmati oujpe; aphiqon ejj Jerosovuma pro; tou; pro; eujou' apostou'...
5:6: ouj e peritomhui ijsou; ouje akrobustia ajla; pisti; di; ajaqaph' ejergoumenw.
6:15: ouj e gar peritomhui ijes on ouj e akrobustia ajla; kainh; ktiisi'.

Inclusive language

1:3-4: cavri' ujmi' kai; ejrhvn ajpo; qeou' patro'; hjmwn kai; kurivou; Jhsou' Cristou' tou' dovnto; ejputon uper tw; ajmartiw' hjmwn, oj' ejevhntai hma' ek tou' ajw'ho' tou' ejnestwto' ponrou' kata; to; ejvhma' tou' qeou' kai; patro'; hjmwn...
3:14: i gla thn eujaggelion tou' pneumatot' labwmen di; eth' pistew'.
3:23-25: Pro; tou' de; ejgei thn pistin upo; nomon efrouroumego; sugkleiomenoi ejj thn meVionan pistin apokaluf qhahi, 'Mte ojnomw' paidagwgo; hjmwn gegomen ejj Cristou', ija ek pistew' dikaiwemenw; 'ejqoush' de; eth' pistew' oujveti upo; paidagwgon ek; men.
4:6: ouj w' kai; hjmei'; oj' e hmen nhpioi, upo; ta; stoiceia tou' kovsmou hmega; dedouwmenoi; oj' e de; hjtvn to; plhwmwma tou' kovsmou, ejapetw Teilen oj; tou' uijn ajou'; genomenon ej; gunaikov', genomenon upo; nomon, ija tou' upo; nomon ekagorash/ij gla thn uipgeswmen apolabwmen.
4:26: hjdei; aHexString;jerosalhm ejeluyevea etlw, hti' ejstin mthr hjmwn...
5:1: Th/ei euqueria/hma' Cristo'; hjeuqeawsen...
4:8-11: **Alla; tovte me;n oujk ejdovte" qeovn ejdouleuvsate toi" f uvei mh;ouin qeoi": nuh de; gnouete" qeov, mallon de;gnws qemete" upo;geou; pw" epistreube palein epita;ajqen h' kai; ptwc;asticela oif palein ajqen douleuin qeveteEhmeva" parrathreisqai kai;mhha" kai; kairo" kai;ajqlaitou`, tobobouai u`ma" mhwpw" ejikh'eketepaka ejf u`ma'.
4:15-16: pou oub ojmakarios me` ujnhwEmarturw'gar u`mi o[i ejdunaton tou" of qalmou, u`mhw ejkouwante" ejpwalkai moi. wiste ejqro" u`mhw gexona a`hqeewn u`mhwE

**Correction**
1:6-7: elf ejeron eu`pgekion, ojouk estin a[lo...
3:4: tosauta e`paqete eikhe`leij ge kai; eikh/
4:8: nuh de;gnouete" qeov, mallon de;gnws qemete" upo;geou....

**Expression of perplexity**
1:6: Qaumazw oj[ti ou[w" tacew" metatiqesqo ap;ou'kala`wanto u`ma" e`h caviti »Cr`-
tou'elf ejeron eu`pgekion...
4:20: a`poroumai e`h u`mhw.

**Example**
1:10: Previous verse functions as an example that he does not try to please human beings.
3:6-9: Abraham as an example.
5:19-22: Works of the flesh and fruit of the Spirit as examples.

**Rhetorical question**

**Word/Phrase focusing attention**
1:11: Gnwrizw gar u`mhw, ajdelf oiv.
3:2: touto momon qew maqei aj`fe`hmw...
3:7: ginwskete afa oij oljek pisteu", outoi uiqiveijin A bram.
3:17: touto de;legw...
4:1: legw dev...
4:2: Legete moi...
5:3: 'de egw,Pa`uto' ...
5:16: Legw dev...
5:21: a`porelew u`mhw, kaqw`, proei`pon...
6:7: M hplana`se...
6:11: i`bete phlikoi" u`mhw grawmasin eg`raya th/ehj/celiriv

**Direct address**
1:11: Gnwrizw gar u`mhw, ajdelf oivto;eu`pgekion to;eu`pgeelisqen up`e`mou'of[i ouk e`stin kata; a`fro`wpon:...
3:1: W a`hobto Gal`avai, ti`v u`mha` e`paskanen...
3:15: A`delfo`iyvka`ta; a`fro`wpon legw:...
4:12: Giwes qe" wf egwvof[i kagw;wf u`jw", a`delfo`iyvdwma u`mhw.
4:19: tekna mou, ouj pai`v pailw mir" oujmorw wh/Cr`sto` e`h u`mhw...
4:28: u`jw" de`yaelfo`iyvka`ta; Isaak epag`gelia` tekna e`jtev
4:31: di`yaelfo`iyvouk e`smen paidiwh` tekna a`jla`th` e`jeuqeva".
5:11: E`g`wde`yaelfo`iyvijperitomh ne`li kr`wu`w, tiv`e`ti di`wmoaiE
5:13: u`jw" gar ej`e`uergia/ekl`htw` e`jelfo`iv.
6:1: A`delfo`iyv`e`n kai;pro`hmf qh/`a`fro`wpo` e`b tini parapt`wma i...
6:18: H caviti` tou'kurio u`mhw jhso u`st`ou'meta`tou`pneumat" u`mhw, a`delfo`iv
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Paranomasia

1:11-12: to; eubgeqion to; eubgelisgen...
4:17-18: zhiou'sin uma' ou' kai w, ajlai; ekklei'sai uma' qekousin, i'ga au'tou; zhioute kalon de; zhiou'sai e; kalw pantote...
4:21: e; legete moi, upo; nomon qe'vente e; hai, ton nomon ouk akou'te eE
5:1: th; gelou'ria/hma' Cristo; hgleu'xeesen...
5:2-3: [de e; gw; P au lo' legw uma' o t; i; ejn peritemh'se, Cristo; uma' ou'gen w f elhsei, martuvoma i; de; pavin pantl; anqrowp w/peritemhnomewwot; i of eileth' e; stin ojon ton nomon poih' se.
5:7-10: Etrewe te kal w*: ti; uma' e; jekevnon xth; aijhqeia/mh; peiges gai'ε hpeis monh; ouk ek tou' kai ouhto' uma', mikra; zuwm ojon to; f uama zumoi; e; gw; pepo'ga e; ij uma' e; kai riw o; i ougen a; lo' fronhswet e.
6:1: ou'el* oj pneumatikoij; katarizwete ton tout ou'ton e; pneumat i; prauhto'...
6:2, 5: Allhwm ta; bakh bastawete kai; ouw'w ahpaphswet e; ton nomon tou' Cristo; e; kast o'gar to; oijon forteon bastagei...
6:3, 4: eijgar doki ei' ti; e; hai ti; mhden wh; Frenapata leputou. to; de; eijgon e; jutou' dokimaziwv e; kasto'...
6:6, 9, 10: Koinwneivw de; oj kathcounomo; ton logon tw kathcounshti e; pasin abagoi... to; dekalon polou; t e; mh; egkakwmen, kai'wgar i; diw/gerisomen mh; egkuoumenoi. Ara ouwh wj kai'zmen ojmen, efazaswveqa to; abagon pro'; pantta', ma'vista de; pro'; tou', oijeou'w th' prisw'...

Hyperbole

1:13-14: kagαuperbolh; n e; pjiwkon th; ekklhsian tou' qeou' kai; ejpovrqoun aujthn ... proekop- ton e; t w/ louta; wp; wjuber polou; suhlikiwba' ... perissoteww' zhliwth' upacwnt twh patrikwh mou paradosewn.
4:1: ou'pen diaf eelou douvou kunkio' pantwn wh...
4:14: wj aqgel on qeou' epevaskve e; me, wj Cristo; jhsoh.
4:15: eijundaton tou' ouj; qal mou', ujhmh e; jorwvante' e; ejkwate moi.
5:15: eijde; aijhvwou' daewnet e; kai; kat esqite, bibliwete mh; up. Avgmj hwn aijaiwhte.

Oath

1:20: i'dou; ejhpwion tou' qeou' o; ij ouy eudomai.

Grammatical


Parenthesis

2:2: a npwnh de; kata; apokavuyin.
2:6: proswpon ojkeqos anqrowpou oujlambaome.
2:8: ojgar ejerghwa' P erwv/efi apostol h; nth peritomh' ejhpghwshen kai; ephem; ef; f ta; egnh.

Length of sentence (Use of brief sentences)

2:2: a npwnh de; kata; apokavuyin.
3:19-20: Tio; oujnommo'mejthn parabawewn cavin pros ete qh, ajri' ojle[iqhto; spevma wj ephgwel tai, diatagei; diagewen ej ceiri; mesi'; vou. ode; mesi'; nth' eho' ouk e; stin, ojde; qeo' e; ij e; stin.
4:4-5: e; japevstewel en ojge' tou' upi ouj autou, genomenen e; gunaikoth, genomenen upo; nomon, i'ga tou' upo; nomon ekagorash; i'ga thn uip; hesian apolabwmen.

Metaphor

2:2 (Athletics): ... mhwpw e; i'fen kpeton trewv hjegramon.
2:4 (Slavery): ... dia;de; tou; pareis AKT ou" yeudadeviou", oitine" pareishlqon katas-
kophai at h wj eluegerian hjaw h hjelomen ej Cristw/jhssou, ija hjma" kata doulos wosin...  
2:14 (Walking/toad): ouk oipopodousi in pro; thn ahqelant tou eipaggeliou...  
2:19-20 (Life/death): eug; gar dia;nomou noymai/ajpreman, ija qew/hjsw. Cristw/su-
nest auwmai, zw de;oukebi eugwzh/de;ejh emoi; Cristo;: ojde;nuh za e sj sj wej
pi tei zw/th tou uiwu tou qeou tou aqaphwantoj" me kaliparadwetoj" ejwto
upe; ejmu.
3:2:25 (Imprisonment/confineinent): ... alia;asunkekisen hjgrafhta;apta upo;ajmartian,
iha hjapaggelia ek pistewj" jsoujCristou doqhtoi pistewusin. Protoude;elgein
thn pistin upo;nomon ef rouroumeqa sugklexenidai eij thn meklousan pistin apo-
kalu qhrai, wite oinomoj" paidawgoj" hjmwj geqenien el;f Cristou, ija ek pistewj" di-
kalwmenen: ejgoush" de;th" pistew" oukevi upo;paidawgou ejmen.
4:3 (Slavery): oujw" kaj;hmei, ofe hmen nhpoij, upo;atastoiceiata touj koomou hjma
de; douluwmen.
4:5 (Redemption/Adoption): ...iija touj upo;nomon ekgarasei gija thn uiqesiein apo-
lawmen.
4:6 (Fatherhood): Qti deves;e uiqiyekepestei len qgeoj" to; pneuma tou uiqpu;uiqouj" ejf
ta; kardiaj" hjmwj kraqon: abba ojpathr.
4:7 (Slavery/sonship/inheritance): wite oukevi elidouj" alia;uiqvi; ejde;juiqvi, kai;
klironomoj" dia;geou.
4:8-9 (Slavery): Ajllato te men ouk eijdotej" qeoj eplouwsete toj" fuvei mhjouj in qeijj":
nun de;gnqeoj" qeou, malloj de;gwnwjteoj" upo;geou, pwj epistrevjtev patin ejpita;
ajgenj kai;ptwc; stoicelai oijj" patin ajwqen dou euwou qewtoE.
4:19 (Childbirth): tekna mou, ouj patin wjlaw muwrij" ouj morf wqj Cristoj ejh
uihj...  
4:21-5:1: The metaphorical contrast between slavery and freedom dominates the
argumentative strategy in this section.
5:2 (Athletics): Ef trevete kalwj...  
5:13 (Slavery): ajlaidiaj;th" aqaphj" douleuete aijlhoij...  
5:15 (Animal world): ejde;aijlhouj" dawnejte kai;katesqi;te, blejete mhe;jup jaijliw
ajal wqte.
5:22 (Agriculture): ojkarpoj" tou pneumaotij...  
5:24 (Crucifixion): ejde; touj Cristouj" jhsouj4th hjnw sajka ejstauwsan sun toij
paqhmasin kai; taj" epiqumjij".
6:14 (Crucifixion): Emoi; de;mh;gewoito kaucasqai ejimhj ejh tjwstaurwmitouj kurioj hjmwj
jhsoujCristouj; dioujemiouj;kosmouj ejstaurwtaij kawgj;kosmij.
6:17 (Branded marks): eijj;gawjg;ta;stigmata touj jhsouj ejh tjwswmati mou bastaww.

Anacoluthon  
24-5. 6 (Not sure).

Chiasm  

Repetition  
2:16-17a: eijdotej" wdekoj; ouj dikaioutai auj aqhwpoj" ek etown nomyj eijn mhj dia; pistewj.
jhsoujCristouj; kai;hmei; ej Cristo;jjhsouj epistwejmen, ija dikaiowmen ej,
pistewj Cristouj kai;ouk ek efjaw nomoj; oj ek etawn nomojj ouj dikaiwqhsatzai pasaj
salw, ejde;ehtouj" dikaiownai ej Cristwj.

Personification  
3:8: proidousa de;hjgrafhj;otij ek pistewj dikaioi;ta;eqnh qgeoj", proeuhgelisatoj tw
Abraamj...  
3:22: alia;asunkekisen hjgrafhta;apta upo;ajmartian.

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3:24-25: wste di-paidagwgo; hwhw gevgonen ej Cristou, ija eik pistew di-

Hyperbaton
3:13: hma placed before the verb, directly next to Cristo.
3:28: pavnte, uJmei", eil, and ej Cristw/jhsou highlighted by the manipulation of the word order.
5:1: Unusual sentence structure.
5:5: hmei" placed in a prominent position.
5:6: Cristw/jhsou placed at the beginning of the sentence.
5:10-11: ejgwv placed in a prominent position in both sentences.
6:2: Allhwn placed in a prominent position in the sentence.
6:14: E moi placed in a prominent position in the sentence.
6:17: ejgwv placed in a prominent position in the sentence.

Irony
4:9: pw" epistrevfete pavlin epi;ta;a\swen'kai:ptwca;stoiceia oij pavin a\swen douleu-

Polyvryndetan
4:10: hmeva" parathedisqe kai;m\swa" kai;kairou', kai;e\swiautouV...

Pleading
4:12: Ginesqe wJ e\swvoi kagw:wJ uJmei", a\swfoi\swde\swmai uJmhwh.

Understatement
4:12: oude me h\swk\swate...
4:14: ouk ej\swen\swate oude;e\swen\swate...
5:23: kata; wh to\swou\swwn ouk e\swtin novmo"...

Alliteration
4:14: ouk ej\swen\swate oude;e\swen\swate...
5:13: uJmei" gar e\swfe\swgia/e\swlia/e\swqhte, a\swfoiv

Solemn declaration
4:15: marturw"gar uJm\sw oJ ei\swdunat\sw on t\swi\sw oujde; ej\swen\swate" e\swkwate moi.

Expression of desire to be with them
4:20: hJgelon de; parei\swa pro', uJma" a\swti...

Consonance
5:3: martumai dej\swav\sw panti;ahqwpw/pe\switemnomew\sw/ouj oJ ei\swm\sw estin oJ/on ton novmo po\swhai.
5:16: pneumat\swi peri\swate...
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5:10: ἐγὼ; ἐποίησα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν κυρίῳ ὑμῶν ἀλὸς ἀφόρον ὑμᾶς...

Attempt to provoke sympathy

5:11: Ἑγὼ; δέ, ἀπεδέλτοιε ἐν παραδοσίᾳ τῷ ὑμῶν πάσης ἐν κυρίῳ καὶ ὑμῶν ἀλὸς ἀφόρον ὑμᾶς.

Sarcasm

5:12: ἐὰν ὁ καὶ ἀποκοσμεῖται ὁ ὑμῶν ὑμᾶς...

5:15: εἰδε; ἕλθεν καὶ ἐγέρθη, βλέπετε μὴ ὑπερτερῆσεν

Oxymoron

5:13: διὰ; τὸν ἁγάση δουλεύετε ἕλθοι...

Promise

5:16:... καὶ ἐπιγεμνήση σαρκί ὑμῶν ἀνέστη: ἐνεργεία.

6:2:... καὶ ὑποστήριξατε τὸν ὅμων τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Conditional blessing:

6:16:... καὶ ὁ ὁμολόγος τῷ Κανώνῳ τῷ Βιβλίῳ ὑμῶν, ἐφεξε ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐο ἐπίτετον Ἰσραήλ τοῦ θεοῦ.

Notable use of words

(Note: this category only contains occurrences not listed in other categories)

1:5: Qaumavzw ὅτι οὐκ εἴμητε ἐκ τῆς καλυπτούσης ὑμᾶς...

1:15: Use of words from Old Testament prophetic tradition.

1:18: Ἐπείτα μετα; ἐθανάτων ἔλθος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τῆς σκότους τοῦ Κυρίου ἂν μὴ ἀποκατασταθή...

3:23-4:7: The structural similarity between the expressions ὑπὸ ἀρματίαν (3:22), ὑπὸ ὅμων ἐφορούμενα (3:23), ὑπὸ παίδαγωγον (3:25), ὑπὸ ἐπιτροποῦ ἐστὶν καὶ ὁ ἐνεργειῶν (4:1), ὑπὸ τα εἰκονίζουσα τοῦ Διὸς (4:3) and ὑπὸ ὅμων (4:4-5).

4:3: οὐκ ἐκ Καὶ Ἰησοῦ, οὐ τῷ ἑαυτῷ ἐναπληρώθησιν, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁμαρτίας τοῦ Διὸς (4:4, 5).

4:4: ὅτε δὲ ἔπεσα ἐπὶ πνευμάτων τοῦ Διὸς, εὐαγγελίζων ἐν οἰκείῳ, ὅτε ὁ ἐνεργεῖ ἐν αὐτῷ, ἐπεννοεὶν ἕκαστον, ἐπεννοεὶν ὅμων ὑμῶν...

4:6: ὅτι δεῦτε ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνεργείαν οἰκείῳ, τῷ πνευματικῷ οὐκ εἴπετε οἰκείῳ ταῦτα καὶ διώκετε ἁμαρτίας ἐν αὐτῷ, ἐπανεφερεῖν ἑαυτὸς ἐν καὶ διώκετε ἀμαρτίας...

5:13: διὰ; τῆς ἐλευθερίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀπεδέλτοιε ἐν παραδοσίᾳ τῷ ὅμων τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Sentence construction: general (all instances not mentioned above)

1:15-17: Hypotactic sentence structure.

4:14: Harshness of expression ὑπὸ πειρασμὸν softened by means of sentence structure.

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A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE LETTER TO THE GALATIANS

ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to present a text-centred descriptive analysis of the way in which Paul uses the Letter to the Galatians in order to persuade the Galatians to accept his view of the gospel.

In Part 1 an overview of existing rhetorical analyses of the Letter to the Galatians is presented. It is shown that the normal approach in the rhetorical analysis of this letter is to choose a specific rhetorical model whereby the letter is then analysed rhetorically. It is also shown that, although there are some exceptions, scholars mostly prefer to use ancient rhetorical models to perform a rhetorical analysis of this letter. The approach followed in this study is then outlined: It differs from the normal approach in that a specific rhetorical model is not chosen in order to analyse the letter rhetorically, but, instead, Paul's rhetorical strategy is reconstructed from the text itself.

In Part 2 Paul's rhetorical strategy is then reconstructed from the letter itself. The letter is divided into eighteen sections and Paul's dominant rhetorical strategy is identified in each section and described, in conjunction with all the supportive strategies and rhetorical techniques used.

In Part 3 some characteristics of Paul's rhetorical strategy in the Letter to the Galatians are discussed. Two issues are highlighted:

First, the overall organisation of his argument in the letter is discussed and summarised in terms of the following six objectives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First objective</th>
<th>Second objective</th>
<th>Third objective</th>
<th>Fourth objective</th>
<th>Fifth objective</th>
<th>Sixth objective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Convince the audience of his divine authorisation (1:1-2:10).</td>
<td>Convince the audience that his gospel is the true gospel (2:11-3:14).</td>
<td>Convince the audience of the inferiority of the law (3:15-25).</td>
<td>Convince the audience that the &quot;gospel&quot; of the opponents represents spiritual slavery and, instead, urge them to remain spiritually free by adhering to his gospel (3:26-5:1).</td>
<td>Convince the audience to act as he wishes them to: not to succumb to the pressure to be circumcised; to avoid the opponents; and to live according to the Spirit (5:2-6:10).</td>
<td>Final refutation of the opponents (6:11-18).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Secondly, the wide variety of arguments Paul uses in the letter is discussed. It is shown that the most important arguments he uses, are those based on the notion of divine authorisation, Scriptural arguments, an appeal to shared Christian tradition, the experience of the audience, vilification of the opponents, analogy, emotional arguments, and shared knowledge.
ABSTRAK

Die doel van die studie is 'n teksgesentreerde deskriptiewe analise van die manier waarop Paulus die Brief aan die Galasiërs gebruik om die Galasiërs te oorreed om sy weer-gawe van die evangelie te aanvaar.

In Deel 1 word 'n oorsig van bestaande retoriese analises van die Brief aan die Galasiërs gegee. Daar word aangetoon dat die normale benadering in die retoriese analise van dié brief is om 'n spesifieke retoriese model te kies en dit te gebruik om 'n retoriese analise van die brief te doen. Die benadering wat in hierdie studie gevolg word, word dan beskryf: In plaas van die normale manier waarvolgens 'n spesifieke retoriese model gekies en op die brief afgeorreer word, word Paulus se retoriese strategie vanuit die teks self gerekonstrueer.

In Deel 2 word Paulus se retoriese strategie op bogenoemde manier gerekonstrueer. Die brief word in agtien dele verdeel en Paulus se dominante retoriese strategie word telkens beskryf, asook die ondersteunende retoriese strategieë en tegnieke wat hy gebruik.

In Deel 3 word sommige van die tipiese eienskappe van Paulus se retoriese strategie in die Brief aan die Galasiërs bespreek. Die volgende twee sake word uitgelig:

Eerstens word die oorkoepelende organisasie van die argument in die brief bespreek en in terme van die volgende ses doelwitte saamgevat:

| Eerste doelwit: Oortuig die gehoor dat hy goddelike gesag het (1:1-2:10). |
| Tweede doelwit: Oortuig die gehoor dat sy evangelie die ware evangelie is (2:11-3:14). |
| Derde doelwit: Oortuig die gehoor van die minderwaardigheid van die wet (3:15-25). |
| Vierde doelwit: Oortuig die gehoor dat die "evangelie" van die opponente 'n vorm van geestelike slawery verteenwoordig, en roep hulle op om liewer geestelik vry te wees deur by sy evangelie te bly (3:26-5:1). |
| Vyfde doelwit: Oortuig die gehoor om op te tree soos hy wil he: hulle moet nie toegee aan die druk van die opponente om besny te word nie; hulle moet die opponente vermy; en hulle moet volgens die Gees lewe (5:2-6:10). |
| Sesde doelwit: Finale weerlegging van die opponente se standpunt (6:11-18). |

Tweedens word die groot verskeidenheid argumente wat Paulus in die brief gebruik, bespreek. Die belangrikste argumente is die gedagte van goddelike gesag, Skrifargumente, 'n beroep op Christelike tradisie, die ervaring van die gehoor, swartsmeer van die opponente, analogie, emosionele argumente en gedeelde kennis.
KEYWORDS

New Testament Studies
Pauline literature
The Letter to the Galatians
Rhetorical analysis
Persuasion
Exegesis

TREFWOORDE

Nuwe-Testamentiese wetenskap
Pauliniese literatuur
Die Brief aan die Galasiërs
Retoriese analise
Oorreding
Eksegese