

**A  
RHETORICAL  
ANALYSIS  
OF  
THE  
LETTER  
TO THE GALATIANS**

**BY  
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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: *εἴη γὰρ Χριστῶ/ ἰησοῦ οὐτε περιτομῆτι ἰσχυεῖ οὐτε ἀκροβυστία ἀλλὰ πιστι" διὰ ἀγάπῃ" ἐργουμένων*

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(Gal. 5:6), and: οὐτε γὰρ περιτομῆν τι ἐστὶν οὐτε ἀκροβυστία ἀλλὰ κινήσῃς κτίσι" (Gal. 6:15).

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	Anchor Bible Dictionary
ABR	Australian Biblical Review
ACEBT	Amsterdamse Cahiers voor Exegese en Bijbelse Theologie
AcTh	Acta Theologica
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
AThANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neues Testaments
BBB	Bonner Biblische Beiträge
BCPE	Bulletin du Centre Protestant d'Études
BCSNT	Biblische Kommentar über sämtliche Schriften des Neuen Testaments
BDAG	W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich & F. W. Danker, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament</i> . Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000. Third edition.
BDR	F. Blass & A. Debrunner, <i>Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch</i> . Bearbeitet von Friedrich Rehkopf. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001. 18. Auflage.
BET	Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie
BETHL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BFChTh	Beiträge zur Forderung Christlicher Theologie
BHTh	Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie
Bib	Biblica
BibSac	Bibliotheca Sacra
BibTod	Bible Today
BIS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BMSBES	Benedictina Monograph Series: Biblical-Ecumenical Section
BN	Biblische Notizen
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BTB	Biblical Theology Bulletin
BThZ	Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CB.NT	Coniectanea Biblica, New Testament Series
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology

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CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CBSC	Cambridge Bible for Scholars and Colleges
CThMi	Currents in Theology and Missions
EHS	Europäische Hochschulschriften
Eloc	(Demetrius) <i>de Elocutione</i>
ESEC	Emory Studies in Early Christianity
ET	Expository Times
ETHL	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
EvQ	Evangelical Quarterly
Exp	Expositor
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Altens und Neuen Testaments
FzB	Forschung zur Bibel
GTA	Göttinger Theologische Arbeiten
HisRhet	History of Rhetoric
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HSNT	Die Heilige Schrift des Neuen Testaments
HThR	Harvard Theological Review
HThS	Harvard Theological Studies
HTKNT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HUTH	Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie
IBSt	Irish Biblical Studies
ICC	International Critical Commentary
Interp	Interpretation
IThS	Innsbrucker Theologische Studien
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JBL.MS	Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
JETS	Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society
JR	Journal of Religion
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSNT.S	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JThS	Journal of Theological Studies
JTSA	Journal of Theology for Southern Africa
Jud	Judaica
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
KNT	Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
L&N	J. P. Louw & E. A. Nida, <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains</i> . New York: United Bible Societies, 1988.
LEC	Library of Early Christianity

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LSCP	London Studies in Classical Philology
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott & H. Jones, <i>Greek-English Lexicon</i> . Oxford: Clarendon, 1968.
MillSt	Milltown Studies
MNTC	Moffat New Testament Commentaries
Neotest	Neotestamentica
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGNT	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NT	Novum Testamentum
NT.S	Novum Testamentum Supplements
NTA	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTA(NF)	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen (Neue Folge)
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTS	New Testament Studies
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
Presb	Presbyterion
PRSt	Perspectives in Religious Studies
RB	Revue Biblique
RestQ	Restoration Quarterly
RExp	Review and Expositor
Rhet	Rhetorica
RNT	Regensburger Neues Testament
RStR	Religious Studies Review
SBL.DS	SBL Dissertation Series
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
Script	Scriptura
SKGA	Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums
SNTS.MS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SNW	Studies of the New Testament and its World
SR	Studies in Religion
StBL	Studies in Biblical Literature
StTh	Studia Theologica
SWJT	Southwestern Journal of Theology
TB	Theologische Bücherei
TBNT	Theologische Bücherei, Neues Testament
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament (1967, Reprinted 1973)
ThD	Theology Digest
Theol	Theologie

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ThHK	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
ThLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
ThR	Theological Review
ThTo	Theology Today
ThViat(S)	Theologia Viatorum (Faculty of Theology, University of the North, Sovenga)
ThZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
TS	Theological Studies
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum
TTh	Tijdschrift voor theologie
TynB	Tyndale Bulletin
UBT	Urban Taschenbücher
UNT	Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WThJ	Westminster Theological Journal
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
YR	Yale Review
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZBK	Zürcher Bibelkommentare
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZThK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

# 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,<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>3</sup> interest in the rhetorical nature of Galatians. Building on his earlier research,<sup>4</sup> Betz published his well-known commentary on Galatians in 1979.<sup>5</sup> 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 epistolography. One of the important distinctions in ancient rhetoric was the

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

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

<sup>3</sup> It is important to note that the modern rhetorical approach to the New Testament is not something totally new. See C. J. Classen, *Rhetorical Criticism of the New Testament* (WUNT 128, Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2000), pp. 1-28, who points out that ancient rhetorical criticism was used frequently in the interpretation of the New Testament, for example by Melancton. (Earlier versions: "St. Paul's Epistles and Ancient Greek and Roman Rhetoric", in: S. E. Porter & T. H. Olbricht [eds.], *Rhetoric and the New Testament. Essays from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference* [JSNT.S 90, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993], pp. 264-291; and "Paulus und die antike Rhetorik", *ZNW* 82:1-2 [1991], pp. 1-33.)

<sup>4</sup> See H. D. Betz, "The Literary Composition and Function of Paul's Letter to the Galatians", *NTS* 21:3 (1975), pp. 353-379.

<sup>5</sup> H. D. Betz, *Galatians. A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Hermeneia, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979). The German version was published in 1988 as *Der Galaterbrief. Ein Kommentar zum Brief des Apostels Paulus an die Gemeinden in Galatien* (Hermeneia, München: Kaiser, 1988).

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.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup>

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*).<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> hails the commentary

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<sup>6</sup> See S. P. O'Rourke, "Modes of Discourse", in: T. Enos (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric and Composition. Communication from Ancient Times into the Information Age* (New York: Garland, 1996), pp. 446-447.

<sup>7</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16-23.

<sup>9</sup> "Galatians as an 'Apologetic Letter'", *Interp* 24:4 (1980), pp. 414-417.

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<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> 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<sup>12</sup> 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*<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup>
- *U. Ruegg*<sup>15</sup> 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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<sup>10</sup> D. E. Aune, "Review of Betz, H. D., *Galatians. A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979)", *RStR* 7 (1981), pp. 323-325.

<sup>11</sup> For other reviews of Betz's work see W. D. Davies, "Review of Betz, H. D., *Galatians. A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979)", *RStR* 7 (1981), pp. 310-318; P. W. Meyer, "Review of Betz, H. D., *Galatians. A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979)", *RStR* 7 (1981), pp. 318-323; E. A. Russell, "Convincing or Merely Curious? A Look at Some Recent Writings on Galatians", *IBSt* 6:4 (1984), pp. 156-176; and M. Silva, "Betz and Bruce on Galatians", *WThJ* 45:2 (1983), pp. 371-385.

<sup>12</sup> In the foreword of the German version of his commentary Betz confirms that his view in this regard has not changed. See Betz, *Galaterbrief*, p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> B. H. Brinsmead, *Galatians* (SBL.DS 65, Chico: Scholars Press, 1982). Although Brinsmead's study was published in 1982, it was completed in 1979 and, accordingly, he only used Betz, "Composition", and not Betz, *Galatians*.

<sup>14</sup> For example, Brinsmead, *Galatians*, pp. 49-55, identifies Galatians 1:6-10 as *exordium* instead of Betz's 1:6-11 ("Composition", pp. 359-361), and classifies Galatians 5:1-6:10 as *refutatio* and not as *exhortatio* as Betz, "Composition", pp. 375-377, does.

<sup>15</sup> U. Ruegg, "Paul et la Rhétorique Ancienne", *BCPE* 35:7-8 (1983), pp. 5-35.

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*<sup>16</sup> 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).<sup>17</sup>

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.<sup>18</sup>

Hübner then proposes minor qualifications to Betz's rhetorical outline. For example, he classifies Galatians 3:1-5 as introduction to the *probatio*,<sup>19</sup> and adds Galatians 5:1-12 to the *probatio*<sup>20</sup> and not to the *exhortatio* as Betz does. In his *Biblische Theologie*<sup>21</sup> Hübner confirms his view that Galatians is to be regarded as an apologetic letter.

- *J. Becker*<sup>22</sup> 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*),<sup>23</sup> 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*<sup>24</sup> 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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<sup>16</sup> H. Hübner, "Der Galaterbrief und das Verhältnis von antiker Rhetorik und Epistolographie", *ThLZ* 109:4 (1984), pp. 241-250. See p. 249: "Im Prinzip ist B. zuzustimmen."

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245: "...daß Paulus Apostel war, und als solcher, sofern er schreibt 'redend schreibt.'"

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 249.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 246.

<sup>21</sup> H. Hübner, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments. Band 2: Die Theologie des Paulus und ihre neutestamentliche 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.

<sup>22</sup> J. Becker, *Paulus. Der Apostel der Völker* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1992), pp. 288-294.

<sup>23</sup> 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*.

<sup>24</sup> 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.

sis<sup>25</sup> 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<sup>26</sup> responds favourably to Betz's proposal that a forensic model is present in Galatians (at least through Gal 2:21),<sup>27</sup> 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<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup>

- T. Martin<sup>30</sup> 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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<sup>25</sup> 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?

<sup>26</sup> J. D. Hester, "The Use and Influence of Rhetoric in Galatians 2:1-14", *ThZ* 42:5 (1986), pp. 386-408.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 408.

<sup>28</sup> J. D. Hester, "Placing the Blame: The Presence of Epideictic in Galatians 1 and 2", in: D. F. Watson (ed.), *Persuasive Artistry. Studies in New Testament Rhetoric in Honor of George A. Kennedy* (JSNT.S 50, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), pp. 281-307.

<sup>29</sup> 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.

<sup>30</sup> "Apostasy to Paganism: The Rhetorical Stasis of the Galatian Controversy", *JBL* 114:3 (1995), pp. 437-461.

- *D. E. Aune*<sup>31</sup> 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*,<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup> 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*<sup>34</sup> 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,<sup>35</sup> Galatians 3:1-5:12 is a mixture of deliberative and forensic oratory, and Galatians 5:13-6:18 is pure deliberative oratory.<sup>36</sup>

**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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<sup>31</sup> "Review", pp. 325-326.

<sup>32</sup> G. W. Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians. Epistolary and Rhetorical Contexts* (JSNT.S 29, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989).

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 58-60. It should be pointed out that Hansen also includes an epistolary analysis, as well as a discussion of the rhetorical techniques in Galatians in terms of the outline provided by Ch. Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric. A Treatise on Argumentation* (London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969).

<sup>34</sup> J. Schoon-Janßen, *Umstrittene "Apologien" in den Paulusbriefen. Studien zur rhetorischen Situation des 1. Thessalonicherbriefes, des Galaterbriefes und des Philipperbriefes* (GTA 45, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991).

<sup>35</sup> 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.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 70-82, 112-113.

- *G. A. Kennedy*<sup>37</sup> 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.<sup>38</sup>
- *R. G. Hall*<sup>39</sup> 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).<sup>40</sup>
- In his study of the relation between cross and Spirit in Galatians, *C. H. Cosgrove*<sup>41</sup> 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:
  - Opening (1:1-5)
  - Thanksgiving parody (1:6-10)
  - 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)
  - Postscript (6:11-17)
  - Closing Benediction (6:18).<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> G. A. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), pp. 145-147.

<sup>38</sup> See Section 1.3.1 below for the methodology developed by Kennedy for rhetorical analysis.

<sup>39</sup> R. G. Hall, "The Rhetorical Outline for Galatians: A Reconsideration", *JBL* 106:2 (1987), pp. 277-287.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 287.

<sup>41</sup> C. H. Cosgrove, *The Cross and the Spirit. A Study in the Argument and Theology of Galatians* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1988), pp. 25-27. On p. 26 (note 49) Cosgrove draws attention to an unpublished paper of N. Dahl in which he stresses the affinities between Galatians and deliberative rhetoric, too.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

- In a short article on the rhetorical genre of Galatians, *F. Vouga*<sup>43</sup> 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,<sup>44</sup> and that this may serve as confirmation that Galatians is indeed a deliberative speech.
- *J. Smit*<sup>45</sup> 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:<sup>46</sup>

*Exordium* (1:6-12)

*Narratio* (1:13-2:21)

*Confirmatio* (3:1-4:11)

*Conclusio*: Part 1: *Conquestio* (4:12-20)

*Conclusio*: Part 2: *Enumeratio* (4:21-5:6)

*Conclusio*: Part 3: *Indignatio* (5:7-12)

*Amplificatio* (6:11-18).

Smit concludes that Galatians corresponds entirely to the norms set for deliberative rhetoric in the ancient handbooks on rhetoric.<sup>47</sup>

- *W. B. Russell*<sup>48</sup> also regards Galatians as a deliberative speech. He basically uses the procedures outlined by G. A. Kennedy<sup>49</sup> and outlines the rhetorical structure of the letter as follows:

Prescript/Salutation (1:1-5)

Prologue/*Proem*/*Exordium* (1:6-10)

Proof/*Probatio*/*Confirmatio* (1:11-6:10)

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<sup>43</sup> F. Vouga, "Zur rhetorischen Gattung des Galaterbriefes", *ZNW* 79:3-4 (1988), pp. 291-292.

<sup>44</sup> For criticism of this argument, see R. D. Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul* (CBET 18, Leuven: Peeters, 1999, Revised Edition), p. 148 (note 60).

<sup>45</sup> J. Smit, "The Letter of Paul to the Galatians: A Deliberative Speech", *NTS* 35:1 (1989), pp. 1-26.

<sup>46</sup> *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.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23. R. T. H. Dolamo, "Rhetorical Speech in Galatians", *ThViat(S)* 17 (1989), pp. 30-37, also regards Galatians as a deliberative speech. See also the comments by H. Boers, *The Justification of the Gentiles. Paul's Letter to the Galatians and Romans* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1994), p. 45:

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.

<sup>48</sup> W. B. Russell, "Rhetorical Analysis of the Book of Galatians", *BibSac* 150:599 (1993), pp. 341-358, and *BibSac* 150:600 (1993), pp. 416-439.

<sup>49</sup> 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 narratio* (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*<sup>50</sup> views rhetoric as a universal phenomenon. In particular, he regards ancient rhetoric as a universal system that can be applied to all texts.<sup>51</sup> Yet he does not follow the same approach as Betz. Instead, he develops his own methodology comprising of the following steps:<sup>52</sup>
  - 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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<sup>50</sup> *New Testament Interpretation*. Kennedy's views on the rhetorical genre of Galatians is discussed in 1.2 above.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>52</sup> *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*<sup>53</sup> 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".<sup>54</sup> 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*,<sup>55</sup> 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...<sup>56</sup>

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.<sup>57</sup>

- *J. Fairweather*<sup>58</sup> 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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<sup>53</sup> R. M. Berchman, "Galatians (1:1-5): Paul and Greco-Roman Rhetoric", in: M. D. Nanos (ed.), *The Galatians Debate. Contemporary Issues in Rhetorical and Historical Interpretation* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2002), pp. 60-72.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>55</sup> *Rhetorical Criticism of the New Testament*.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

<sup>58</sup> "The Epistle to the Galatians and Classical Rhetoric: Parts 1 & 2", *TynB* 45:1 (1994), pp. 1-38.

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 *sōfiā* 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.<sup>59</sup>

- The contribution of J. S. Vos<sup>60</sup> 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.<sup>61</sup> In his analysis of Galatians 1:1-2:11<sup>62</sup> 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,<sup>63</sup> 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.<sup>64</sup>
- 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.<sup>65</sup> 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-

<sup>59</sup> J. Fairweather, "The Epistle to the Galatians and Classical Rhetoric: Part 3", *TynB* 45:2 (1994), pp. 213-243.

<sup>60</sup> J. S. Vos, *Die Kunst der Argumentation bei Paulus. Studien zur antiken Rhetorik* (WUNT 149, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 2002).

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 87-114. Earlier versions: J. S. Vos, "Die Argumentation des Paulus in Galater 1,1-2,10", in: J. Lambrecht (ed.), *The Truth of the Gospel (Galatians 1:1-4:11)* (BMSBES 12, Rome: Benedictina, 1993), pp. 11-43; and "Paul's Argumentation in Galatians 1-2", *HThR* 87:1 (1994), pp. 1-16.

<sup>63</sup> *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.

<sup>64</sup> 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.

<sup>65</sup> *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.<sup>66</sup> 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;<sup>67</sup>
- 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;<sup>68</sup>
- 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;<sup>69</sup> and
- ancient rhetorical treatises were written to help an orator to prepare speeches, not to analyse speeches: when one of Paul's letters is analysed in terms of a particular rhetorical theory we cannot be certain whether he in fact followed that specific theory and, if so, whether he did so systematically or not. In any case, according to Anderson, ultimately many of the argumentative processes Paul uses could be attributed to common sense.<sup>70</sup>

This 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.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 35-97.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>71</sup> *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,<sup>72</sup> 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.<sup>73</sup> He describes his approach as "maximalist, and more akin to how Paul's letter may have been interpreted by a contemporary professor of rhetoric".<sup>74</sup>

**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.<sup>75</sup>

- A good example of such an approach is *R. N. Longenecker*.<sup>76</sup> In his commentary on Galatians, Longenecker combines an epistolary analysis and a rhetorical analysis. In his

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<sup>72</sup> It may be useful to cite Anderson's views on some of the studies mentioned to thus far:

- Betz (*Galatians*) is criticised for his unsuccessful 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.)

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 124-125.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 144. Anderson divides the letter into the following four sections:

- 1:1-10: Epistolary opening and rebuke.
- 1:11-2:21: Narrative apology: Independence and divine origin of Paul's Gospel.
- 3:1-4:11: Argument: The nature of the Galatians' initial reception of the Gospel followed by Scripture proof (3:1-14), and a didactic explanation of his position.
- 4:12-5:12: Emotional appeal.

<sup>75</sup> 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.

<sup>76</sup> R. N. Longenecker, *Galatians* (WBC 41, Dallas: Word, 1990). The studies of Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians*, and Schoon-Janßen, *Umstrittene "Apologien"* (both discussed in 1.2 above) could also be classified here. See also L. L. Cranford, "A Rhetorical Reading of Galatians", *SWJTh* 37:1 (1994), pp. 4-10.

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.<sup>77</sup> 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.<sup>78</sup>

- Another scholar who combines a rhetorical analysis and other approaches is *V. Jegher-Bucher*.<sup>79</sup> 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*<sup>80</sup> 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.<sup>81</sup> He divides the letter as follows:<sup>82</sup>

Epistolographic	Rhetorical
1:1-5: Prescript	
	1:6-12: <i>Exordium</i>
	1:13-2:21: <i>Narratio</i>
	3:1-5:1 <i>Argumentatio</i>
	3:1-5: "Exordialer Auftakt"
	3:6-14: <i>Refutatio</i> I
	3:15-4:7 <i>Refutatio</i> II
	4:8-20: <i>Probatio</i>
	4:21-5:1: "Perorativer Ausklang"
5:2-6: <i>Subscriptio</i>	5:2-6: <i>Peroratio</i>
5:7ff.: <i>Post scriptum</i>	5:7-12: Second <i>Exordium</i>
	5:13-6:10: Paraenesis
6:11-15: <i>Subscriptio</i>	6:11-18: Second <i>Peroratio</i>

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. cv-cix.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. cxiii-cxix.

<sup>79</sup> V. Jegher-Bucher, *Der Galaterbrief auf dem Hintergrund antiker Epistolographie und Rhetorik. Ein anderes Paulusbild* (AThANT 78, Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1991).

<sup>80</sup> *Die Botschaft der Form. Zum Verständnis von antiker Epistolografie und Rhetorik im Galaterbrief* (NTOA 46, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000).

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 148-149.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 160.

**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*<sup>83</sup> 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*<sup>84</sup> 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.<sup>85</sup> Hansen<sup>86</sup> 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*<sup>87</sup> 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*<sup>88</sup> 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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<sup>83</sup> P. E. Koptak, "Rhetorical Identification in Paul's Autobiographical Narrative. Galatians 1.13-2.14", *JSNT*40 (1990), pp. 97-113.

<sup>84</sup> *Abraham in Galatians*. See 1.2 above

<sup>85</sup> *The New Rhetoric*.

<sup>86</sup> *Abraham in Galatians*, pp. 79-93.

<sup>87</sup> R. Meynet, "Quelle rhétorique dans l'Épître aux Galates? Le cas de Ga 4,12-20", *Rhet* 12:4 (1994), pp. 427-450.

<sup>88</sup> *Sünder oder Übertreter. Studien zur Argumentation in Gal 2,15ff.* (WUNT 59, Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1992).

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.<sup>89</sup> Accordingly, Bachmann opts for a text-centred approach:

Von daher mag es sinnvoll sein, sich der wissenschaftstheoretischen Überzeugung von K. R. Popper anzuschließen, der "die Verschwendung von Zeit und Kraft auf terminologische Vorstudien" beklagt, "die sich oft als nutzlos erweisen, weil sie vom wirklichen Fortschritt der Problemsituation überholt werde", und der deshalb die Maxime vertritt: "Man soll nie versuchen, exakter zu sein, als die Problemsituation erfordert." Es wird deshalb hier nicht vorgreifend ein differenzierter Begriffsapparat aufgebaut oder auch nur adaptiert und zitiert, der dann durchgehend zur Anwendung käme. Vielmehr wird im folgenden mit aus der Umgangssprache und dem exegetischen Betrieb weithin vertrauten Termini gearbeitet; nur dort, wo Text(elemente) und wissenschaftliches Gespräch es sinnvoll erscheinen lassen, wird größere Präzision angestrebt.<sup>90</sup>

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.<sup>91</sup>

- The study by Kern<sup>92</sup> 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

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15-17.

<sup>90</sup> *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.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158. He proposes the following rhetorical structure:

1:1-5: Prescript.  
 1:6-10: *Prooimion*.  
 1:11-2:14: *Narratio* (2:14b functions as *partitio*).  
 2:15-6:17: *Argumentatio*.  
     2:15-21: First argument.  
     3:1-6:17: Second argument.  
 6:18: "Eschatokoll".

<sup>92</sup> P. H. Kern, *Rhetoric and Galatians. Assessing an Approach to Paul's Epistle* (SNTS.MS 101, Cambridge University Press, 1998).

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.<sup>93</sup>

#### 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 *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<sup>94</sup> 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.

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<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 260-261.

<sup>94</sup> 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.

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**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<sup>95</sup> 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<sup>96</sup> 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<sup>97</sup> 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<sup>98</sup> presents an Aristotelian analysis of 1 Thessalonians. He discusses three issues, namely proofs (πίστι"), style (λεξι"), and arrangement (τάξι"). 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

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<sup>95</sup> "Following the Argument of Romans", in: K. P. Donfried (ed.), *The Romans Debate* (Peabody: Hendrikson, 1991, Revised and Expanded Version), pp. 265-277.

<sup>96</sup> *2 Corinthians 8 and 9. A Commentary on Two Administrative Letters of the Apostle Paul* (Hermeneia, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985).

<sup>97</sup> "Argument and genre of 1 Corinthians 12-14", in: S. E. Porter & T. H. Olbricht (eds.), *Rhetoric and the New Testament. Essays from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference* (JSNT.S 90, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), pp. 211-243.

<sup>98</sup> "An Aristotelian Rhetorical Analysis of 1 Thessalonians", in: D. L. Balch, E. Ferguson & W. A. Meeks (eds.), *Greeks, Romans and Christians. Essays in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), pp. 216-230.

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

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

- F. W. Hughes<sup>99</sup> 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",<sup>100</sup> and specifically points out that one should not make rhetorical criticism into a "new kind of form-critical strait-jacket"<sup>101</sup> 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<sup>102</sup> 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.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> utilises categories from ancient rhetoric, but emphasises that he does not follow it rigidly and rather wants to

<sup>99</sup> "The Rhetoric of 1 Thessalonians", in: R. F. Collins (ed.), *The Thessalonian Correspondence* (BETHL 87, Leuven: University Press, 1990), pp. 94-116.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>102</sup> *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation. An Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians* (HUTH 28, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1991).

<sup>103</sup> *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.

<sup>104</sup> "Persuasion in Philippians 4:1-20", in: S. E. Porter & T. H. Olbricht (eds.), *Rhetoric and the New Testament. Essays from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference* (JSNT.S 90, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), pp. 325-337.

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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 oriented towards the future.

- J. W. Marshall<sup>105</sup> 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. Accordingly, 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 relationship between the audience and the orator. He then applies these insights to Philippians 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<sup>106</sup> follows Kennedy's<sup>107</sup> 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, finally, 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.<sup>108</sup> Chapters 9-11 are then divided as follows: *exordium* (9:1-5), *propositio* (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<sup>109</sup> 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.<sup>110</sup> He begins with the delimitation of the text, using semantic fields, inclusions, chiasmic and concentric structures, as well as indicators of time, place and protagonists. This is followed by a rhe-

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<sup>105</sup> "Paul's Ethical Appeal in Philippians", in: S. E. Porter & T. H. Olbricht (eds.), *Rhetoric and the New Testament. Essays from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference* (JSNT.S 90, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), pp. 357-374.

<sup>106</sup> *God, Israel and the Gentiles. Rhetoric and Situation in Romans 9-11* (SBL.DS 176, Atlanta: SBL, 2000).

<sup>107</sup> See Section 1.3.1 above.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 120-121.

<sup>109</sup> K. J. O'Mahony, *Pauline Persuasion. A Sounding in 2 Corinthians 8-9* (JSNT.S 199; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000).

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 35ff.

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.<sup>111</sup>

3. *Studies avoiding the use of ancient rhetoric.*

- F. Siegert<sup>112</sup> presents an analysis of Paul's argumentation in Romans, but uses a modern theory, namely that of Perelman and Olbrecht-Tyteca.<sup>113</sup> 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. Vorster<sup>114</sup> 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-Tyteca<sup>115</sup>) functions in Romans 1:17.

- In his analysis of 2 Corinthians, J. A. Crafton<sup>116</sup> 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 *poiema* (action) to *mathema* (reflection). In the first letter the impending

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 164ff.

<sup>112</sup> *Argumentation bei Paulus gezeigt an Römer 9-11* (WUNT 34, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1985).

<sup>113</sup> *The New Rhetoric*.

<sup>114</sup> "Strategies of Persuasion in Romans 1:16-17", in: S. E. Porter & T. H. Olbricht (eds.), *Rhetoric and the New Testament. Essays from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference* (JSNT.S 90, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), pp. 152-170.

<sup>115</sup> *The New Rhetoric*.

<sup>116</sup> *The Agency of the Apostle. A Dramatistic Analysis of Paul's Responses to Conflict in 2 Corinthians* (JSNT.S 51, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991). See also his "The Dancing of an Attitude. Burkean Rhetorical Criticism and the Biblical Interpreter", in: S. E. Porter & T. H. Olbricht (eds.), *Rhetoric and the New Testament. Essays from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference* (JSNT.S 90, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), pp. 152-170.

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.

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## **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.<sup>117</sup> 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.<sup>118</sup> 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.<sup>119</sup> Most scholars, how-

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<sup>117</sup> 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.

<sup>118</sup> 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.

<sup>119</sup> 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<sup>120</sup> or that Greco-Roman rhetoric was merely an attempt at formulating universal principles followed whenever persuasion is attempted.<sup>121</sup> However, even this remains problematic, as Porter<sup>122</sup> 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 persuade 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; it simply 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,<sup>123</sup> but will be pointed out briefly again.

First, despite significant overlaps between various ancient rhetorical models, no unified system existed in antiquity. Anderson<sup>124</sup> 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.

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*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 possibilities (the other one being that he acquired it through exposure to oratory). (Apparently D. Hellholm, "Paulus fra Tarsos", in: T. Eide & T. Hägg [eds.], *Dionysos og Apollon. Religion og samfunn i antikkens 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: M. Hengel & U. Heckel (Hrsg.), *Paulus und das antike Judentum. Tübingen-Durham Symposium im Gedenken an den 50. Todestag Adolf Schlatters* (WUNT 58, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1991), pp. 177-294 – in particular, pp. 186-187. See also pp. 262-264.

<sup>120</sup> See, for example, Olbricht, "1 Thessalonians", p. 221.

<sup>121</sup> See, for example, Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation*, pp. 10-11; and Vos, "Antinomie", p. 264.

<sup>122</sup> S. E. Porter, "The Theoretical Justification for Application of Rhetorical Categories to Pauline Epistolary Literature", in: S. E. Porter & T. H. Olbricht (eds.), *Rhetoric and the New Testament. Essays from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference* (JSNT.S 90, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), pp. 100-122. Quotation from pp. 107-108. See also his "Paul of Tarsus and his Letters", in: S. E. Porter (ed.), *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.

<sup>123</sup> See the discussion in 1.3 above.

<sup>124</sup> Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 35. Anderson, *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, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* (München: Max Hueber, 1960). See also his "The Use and Abuse of Lausberg in Biblical Studies", in: A. Eriksson, T. H. Olbricht & W. Übelacker (eds.), *Rhetorical Argumentation in Biblical Texts* (ESEC 8, Harrisburg: Trinity, 2002), pp. 66-76; and the detailed discussion of this issue by Kern, *Rhetoric and Galatians*, pp. 39-42.

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.<sup>125</sup> A quick glance at the way in which the *caraktĥre* "λεξεω" system was used will confirm the diversity, too. For example, whereas Demetrius (*De Elocutione*) distinguished four *caraktĥre*, Dionysios of Halicarnassus mentions only three.<sup>126</sup>

Secondly, it should be borne in mind that ancient rhetoric was intended primarily for the production of speeches and not for evaluating them.<sup>127</sup> Furthermore, the analysis of rhetorical speeches from antiquity shows that actual rhetorical practice quite often did not follow theory very strictly. For example, Kennedy<sup>128</sup> 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 follow 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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<sup>125</sup> Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, pp. 47-48.

<sup>126</sup> Some further examples to illustrate the diversity: M. H. McCall, *Ancient Rhetorical Theories of Simile 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 theorists. 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 *kanōn* 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).

<sup>127</sup> Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 104.

<sup>128</sup> 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 Persuasion", in: I. Worthington (ed.), *Persuasion. Greek Rhetoric in Action* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 26-45, 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.<sup>129</sup> Suffice it to say that I find the South-Galatia hypothesis convincing,<sup>130</sup> and, in particular, Dunn's<sup>131</sup> 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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<sup>129</sup> 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. lxiii-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.

<sup>130</sup> See the study by C. Breytenbach, *Paulus und Barnabas in der Provinz Galatien. Studien zur Apostelgeschichte 13f.; 16,6; 18,23 und den Adressaten des Galaterbriefes* (AGJU 38, Brill: Leiden, 1996) who argues convincingly for the South Galatian hypothesis.

<sup>131</sup> *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 t-

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 *upo; kataran* 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 *paidagwgoi*' (3:23-25); the expression *to; de; Agar Sina ofro*" *e;stin e;n th/ iArabia/*(4:25); what Paul denies in 5:11; the meaning of the expression *i;ha mh; a) e;pan qel hte tauta poihte* (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 *ta; stigmata tou i;hsou* (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<sup>132</sup> (sender, receiver and greetings), but normally describes the sender and receiver elements in more precise terms,<sup>133</sup> changes the normal *cairein* to the fuller "grace to you and peace" and christianises it.<sup>134</sup> 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: *οὐκ ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ διὰ ἀνθρώπου ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς*. The abruptness of these words is often noted in analyses of this passage.<sup>135</sup> 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-

<sup>132</sup> According to F. Schnider & W. Stenger, *Studien zum neutestamentlichen Briefformular* (NTTS 11, Leiden: Brill, 1987), p. 3, Paul follows the Oriental letter form in this regard.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4-24.

<sup>134</sup> See J. L. White, "New Testament Epistolary Literature in the Framework of Ancient Epistolography", *ANRW* 25:2 (1984), pp. 1730-1756, for a more detailed discussion.

<sup>135</sup> See, for example, R. Y. K. Fung, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (NICNT, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), p. 36, who highlights the "emphatic contrast"; D. Cook, "The Prescript as Programme in Galatians", *JThS* 43:2 (1992), p. 513, who points out the "roughness of this identification"; and J. H. Schütz, *Paul and the Anatomy of Apostolic Authority* (SNTS.MS 26, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 114, who comments that "polemic is scarcely veiled in the abrupt inscription and address with which the letter opens".

tions by his opponents in Galatia – as pointed out by most scholars.<sup>136</sup> However, this view is not shared by G. Lyons<sup>137</sup> 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<sup>138</sup> 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.<sup>139</sup> 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.<sup>140</sup> 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.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> is de-

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<sup>136</sup> 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.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 82-112. Vos, *Die Kunst der Argumentation*, p. 90, is of the same opinion.

<sup>138</sup> See the detailed study by N. Schneider, *Die rhetorische Eigenart der paulinischen Antithese* (HUTH 11, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1970), in this regard.

<sup>139</sup> 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.)

<sup>140</sup> 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.

<sup>141</sup> 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.

<sup>142</sup> 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<sup>143</sup> 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.<sup>144</sup> 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 οὐκ... οὐδέ... ἀλλὰ structure is more persuasive than a mere positive statement. It thus serves an accentuating purpose.<sup>145</sup>

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" (ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων) to "through a human being" (διὰ ἀνθρώπου) 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.<sup>146</sup> 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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*Der Brief an die Galater* (KEK 17, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971, 5. Auflage der Neubearbeitung), p. 26, who makes too much of the "official" character of Galatians 1:1-5, to my mind.

<sup>143</sup> 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 θεοῦ 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.

<sup>144</sup> 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.

<sup>145</sup> So, correctly, Classen, *Rhetorical Criticism*, p. 18.

<sup>146</sup> See F. Mussner, *Der Galaterbrief* (HTKNT 9, Freiburg: Herder, 1977, Dritte, erweiterte Auflage), p. 45; and Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 26.

*The reference to co-senders*

As usual,<sup>147</sup> 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" (oil sun ejmoi; pante" ajpel foi). 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 pante" is used in an emphatic way<sup>148</sup> 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 ... kai; qeou patro" tou egeiranto" aujton ek nekrown.  
 1:4: ...tou donto" eauton uper tw'n amartiwn hmw'n, opw" ejelhtai hma" ek tou aijwno" tou ehestwto" ponhrou kata; to qelhma tou qeou kai; patro" hmw'n, w/h dokaj tou" aijwna" tw'n aijwnwn.

Both these statements refer to shared knowledge in early Christianity and it is almost certain that Paul is echoing well-known credal formulae of the time.<sup>149</sup> 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*

<sup>147</sup> See the table in Schnider and Stenger, *Studien*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>148</sup> See, among others, Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 2.

<sup>149</sup> This is often noted in commentaries. See, for example, Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, pp. 46 and 50; Becker, *Paulus*, p. 289; D. Lührmann, *Der Brief an die Galater* (ZBK, Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1988), p. 16; Hübner, *Biblische Theologie*, pp. 58-60; and J. L. Martyn, *Galatians. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 33A, New York: Doubleday, 1998), p. 89. This explains the "unPauline" features in Galatians 1:4, for example, speaking of sin in the plural, the use of ejelhtai (a Pauline *hapax legomenon*) and the phrase ek tou aijwno" tou ehestwto" ponhrou instead of the more common aijwno" outo". See G. Ebeling, *Die Wahrheit des Evangeliums. Eine Lesehilfe zum Galaterbrief* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1981), pp. 52-53; and E. Synofzik, *Die Gerichts- und Vergeltungsaussagen bei Paulus. Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (GTA 8, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), pp. 26-27, for a good discussion.

*tradition*. This type of argument is highly effective. In this regard the research by Eriksson<sup>150</sup> 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.<sup>151</sup> 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,<sup>152</sup> 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.<sup>153</sup> 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.<sup>154</sup> 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 polemic 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 polemic way in this instance highlights an important aspect of his rhetorical strategy. Appar-

<sup>150</sup> A. Eriksson, *Traditions as Rhetorical Proof. Pauline Argumentation in 1 Corinthians* (CB.NT 29, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1998).

<sup>151</sup> 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).

<sup>152</sup> 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.

<sup>153</sup> So, correctly, L. de Saeger, "'Für unsere Sünden'. 1 Kor 15,3b und Gal 1,4a im exegetischen Vergleich", *ETHL77:1* (2001), p. 179.

<sup>154</sup> 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*.<sup>155</sup> However, Vos<sup>156</sup> 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.<sup>157</sup> 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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<sup>155</sup> 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*.

<sup>156</sup> *Die Kunst der Argumentation*, p. 92. See also his critical discussion of Betz's reasons for classifying this section as *exordium*.

<sup>157</sup> 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<sup>158</sup> 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.<sup>159</sup> 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.<sup>160</sup> 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,<sup>161</sup> 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,<sup>162</sup> 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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<sup>158</sup> *Introductory Thanksgivings in the Letters of Paul* (NT.S 49, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977), pp. 261-263. See also the earlier study by P. Schubert, *Form and Function of the Pauline Thanksgivings* (BZNW 20, Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1939).

<sup>159</sup> White, "Epistolary Literature", p. 1742. K. Berger, "Apostelbrief und apostolische Rede. Zum Formular früh-christlicher Briefe", *ZNW* 65 (1974), p. 223, puts it as follows: "Danksagungen... werden im apostolischen Brief verwendet, weil er wesentlich Segensrede ist."

<sup>160</sup> In terms of modern approaches to literature this effect can be described as defamiliarisation or estrangement – a concept that plays a fundamental role in Russian Formalism. See J. van W. Cronjé, "Defamiliarization in the Letter to the Galatians", in: J. H. Petzer and P. J. Hartin (eds.), *A South African Perspective on the New Testament. Essays by South African New Testament Scholars Presented to Bruce M. Metzger* (Leiden: Brill, 1986), pp. 214-227. In his study of Romans 1:1-7, S. Byrskog, "Epistolography, Rhetoric and Letter Prescript: Romans 1:1-7 as a Test Case", *JSNT* 65 (1977), pp. 27-46, also points out how some peculiar elements in the greeting could have struck the readers.

<sup>161</sup> So, correctly, Kremendahl, *Die Botschaft der Form*, p. 99.

<sup>162</sup> 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 qaumazw – an element found regularly in letters of his time.<sup>163</sup> He uses this *expression of perplexity* with great rhetorical effect in order to rebuke the Galatians:<sup>164</sup> Qaumazw ofti outw" tacew" metatiqesqe apo; tou kalessanto" uma" ej cariti »Cristou% ei]" eferon eujaggelion. By using the word metatiqesqe he conveys his negative views on the Galatians' turning away<sup>165</sup> very forcefully, as it bears the negative overtones of desertion or betrayal.<sup>166</sup> The rebuke is indeed harsh: he finds it shocking that they are becoming "traitors" so soon.<sup>167</sup> 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,<sup>168</sup> 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<sup>169</sup> puts it: "Ruf Gottes und apostolisches Kerygma des Paulus sind für 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: ej cariti 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.<sup>170</sup>

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*

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<sup>163</sup> 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.)

<sup>164</sup> J. K. Roberts, "Paul's Expression of Perplexity in Galatians 1:6: The Force of Emotive Argumentation", *Neotest* 26:2 (1992), pp. 351-358. See also, among others, Vos, *Die Kunst der Argumentation*, p. 91 (note 15); Betz, *Galatians*, p. 45; and Kremendahl, *Die Botschaft der Form*, p. 103. *Contra* Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 53.

<sup>165</sup> 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.

<sup>166</sup> See Betz, *Galatians*, p. 48; and Dunn, *Galatians*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>167</sup> The words outw" 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.

<sup>168</sup> 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.

<sup>169</sup> *Galater*, p. 38.

<sup>170</sup> 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<sup>171</sup> (and it still is in our time!). In this case Paul achieves this as follows:

- The opponents' message is denied the status of gospel: εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον, οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀλλο. Although he refers to their message at first as "gospel", he immediately corrects himself, thus using a rhetorical technique that could be called *correction*.<sup>172</sup> The difference between ἕτερο" and ἀλλο" 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.<sup>173</sup> 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 τινεῖς. This was common practice in antiquity.<sup>174</sup> 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 (ταραῶσω) has the connotation of political agitation whereby turmoil and confusion are caused,<sup>175</sup> and the second (μεταστρέψω) suggests a change for the worse; a perversion of the gospel.<sup>176</sup> 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.<sup>177</sup> The twofold curse which Paul uses in verses 8 and 9 is structured very carefully. In the first curse he mentions

<sup>171</sup> A. B. du Toit, "Vilification as a Pragmatic Device in Early Christian Epistolography", *Bib* 75:3 (1994), pp. 403-412, distinguishes nine trends in this regard.

<sup>172</sup> In ancient rhetoric this was called *metabolē* 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.

<sup>173</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 15. See M. Silva, *Explorations in Exegetical Method. Galatians as a Test Case* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1996), pp. 54-56, for a good discussion of this issue.

<sup>174</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, p. 49. Vos, *Die Kunst der Argumentation*, p. 91, calls it "die Depersonalisierung der Gegner".

<sup>175</sup> Betz, *ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>176</sup> Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 82; and Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 43.

<sup>177</sup> See Betz, *Galatians*, pp. 45-46.

two unlikely<sup>178</sup> possibilities: that he or an angel would preach a different gospel to them. In the second<sup>179</sup> curse he changes it to a more general curse which is "applied" to the situation in Galatia.<sup>180</sup> 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.<sup>181</sup>

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 him/herself 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.

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<sup>178</sup> See Kremendahl, *Die Botschaft der Form*, p. 83; Ebeling, *Wahrheit des Evangeliums*, p. 82; Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 60. Contra Blich, *Galatians*, pp. 88-89; Betz, *Galatians*, p. 53; and Lüthmann, *Galater*, p. 19.

<sup>179</sup> The words *wl' proeirhka* 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.

<sup>180</sup> See M. Behnisch, "Fluch und Evangelium. Galater 1,9 als ein Aspekt paulinischer Theologie", *BThZ* 1:2 (1984), p. 246; and A. Suhl, "Der Galaterbrief. Situation und Argument", *ANRW* II.25.4 (1987), p. 3090.

<sup>181</sup> 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.

See also P. Arzt, *Bedrohtes Christsein. Zu Eigenart und Funktion eschatologisch bedrohlicher Propositionen in den echten Paulusbrieffen* (BET 26, Frankfurt: Lang, 1992), pp. 170-171.

*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 (ἀηqrwpou" peiqw) 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.<sup>182</sup> This is followed by a second phrase (h] ton qeonē) to which the word peiqw 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.<sup>183</sup> 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.<sup>184</sup> It is very difficult to choose between the two possibilities as it could be either. Perhaps the fact that peiqw should be supplied from the previous phrase indicates that its negative force should also be carried to the second phrase. In the third phrase (h] zhtw aqrwpoi" areskeinē) 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.<sup>185</sup> 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.<sup>186</sup> 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 verses<sup>187</sup> (this is the force of aḗti) 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!

<sup>182</sup> Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 139.

<sup>183</sup> Oepke, *Galater*, p. 53; Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 63; and Lyons, *Pauline Autobiography*, pp. 142-143.

<sup>184</sup> See Ebeling, *Wahrheit des Evangeliums*, p. 63: "Gott überreden wollen, ihn geneigt machen wollen".

<sup>185</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, p. 55.

<sup>186</sup> Dunn, *Galatians*, pp. 49-51.

<sup>187</sup> See the discussion by B. C. Lategan, "Levels of Reader Instructions in the Text of Galatians", *Semeia* 48 (1989), pp. 171-184 - in particular, p. 176.

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 [metatimesque] and [possibly] the omission of the thanksgiving); *vilification* in verse 6c-7 (achieved/enhanced by correction and the skilful choice of words: *tinēl*, *tarāssw* and *metastrefw*); 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 realise 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<sup>188</sup> 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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<sup>188</sup> Galatians, p. 58.

Galatians 1:12-2:14 (or, at least, sections of it) as *narratio*. Examples: Brinsmead,<sup>189</sup> Longenecker,<sup>190</sup> Becker,<sup>191</sup> Smit,<sup>192</sup> Cranford,<sup>193</sup> Morland,<sup>194</sup> and Kremendahl.<sup>195</sup>

However, there are also scholars who do not agree with Betz. Kennedy,<sup>196</sup> 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,<sup>197</sup> 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*).<sup>198</sup> Anderson<sup>199</sup> 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*:

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<sup>189</sup> *Galatians*, pp. 49-50.

<sup>190</sup> *Galatians*, p. 20.

<sup>191</sup> *Paulus*, p. 291.

<sup>192</sup> "Deliberative Speech", p. 11.

<sup>193</sup> "Rhetorical Reading of Galatians", pp. 5-6.

<sup>194</sup> *Rhetoric of Curse*, p. 129.

<sup>195</sup> *Die Botschaft der Form*, pp. 174ff. Take note that he delineates it as 1:13-2:21.

<sup>196</sup> *New Testament Interpretation*, pp. 144-147.

<sup>197</sup> *Rhetorical Criticism*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>198</sup> 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.)

<sup>199</sup> *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 129, footnote 3.

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.<sup>200</sup>

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.<sup>201</sup> 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 the 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,<sup>202</sup> 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.<sup>203</sup> 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,

<sup>200</sup> Betz finds a *narratio* in 2 Corinthians 8:6 as well as in 2 Corinthians 9:3-5a (see Betz, *2 Corinthians 8 and 9*, pp. 53-55 and pp. 93-94), but as S. K. Stowers points out, this really stretches the imagination beyond belief. See S. K. Stowers, "Review of H. D. Betz, *2 Corinthians 8 and 9. A Commentary on Two Administrative Letters of the Apostle Paul*", *JBL* 106:4 (1987), p. 730.

<sup>201</sup> 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".

<sup>202</sup> I use the word "appear", since it certainly is not correct to view the argumentation as merely autobiographical in nature. See K. Kertelge, "The Assertion of Revealed Truth as Compelling Argument in Galatians 1:10-2:21", *Neotest* 26:2 (1992), pp. 339-350.

<sup>203</sup> See, for example, E. P. Bettinghaus & M. J. Cody, *Persuasive Communication* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1987, Fourth Edition), pp. 147-148.

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: Burton<sup>204</sup> summarises the purpose of Galatians 1:11-2:21 as '*proving* the apostle's independence of all human authority and direct revelation to Christ'<sup>205</sup> (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 statement*<sup>206</sup> in which he concisely formulates the basic argument which he is about to use, namely *the claim of divine authority for his gospel*: Γνωρίζω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί τοις εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ εὐαγγέλιου ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶν κἀτα ἀνθρώπων· οὐδέ γάρ ἐγώ, παρά ἀνθρώπου παρέλαβον αὐτό· οὐτε ἐπίδακτον ἀλλ' ἰα· διὰ ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Once again, it seems fairly certain that Paul is reacting against accusations lodged against him by his opponents in Galatia.<sup>207</sup> 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 *διὰ ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. First, it is necessary to clarify precisely what he means in these two verses. He begins by denying that his gospel is *κἀτα ἀνθρώπων*. By means of this phrase he emphasises the non-human quality of his

<sup>204</sup> Galatians, p. 35.

<sup>205</sup> Other examples: P. Stuhlmacher, *Das paulinische Evangelium. I. 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*.

<sup>206</sup> This is noted regularly in commentaries, for example, by Lührmann, *Galater*, p. 22; and Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 51.

<sup>207</sup> 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.

gospel.<sup>208</sup> 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.<sup>209</sup> 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 *paralambanw* is a *terminus technicus* for receiving tradition,<sup>210</sup> 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<sup>211</sup> (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 *epidactqh*n refers to a basic catechesis, a rather lengthy process for instructing new converts to Christianity.<sup>212</sup> As Dunn<sup>213</sup> 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 *di*l *apokaluyew*" *ih*sou 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<sup>214</sup> (Jesus Christ revealed the gospel to Paul) or as an objective genitive<sup>215</sup> (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<sup>216</sup> 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 uibn aujtou ejn ejmoi*), as well

<sup>208</sup> Schlier, *Galater*, p. 44.

<sup>209</sup> B. Latagan, "Is Paul Defending his Apostleship in Galatians? The Function of Galatians 1.11-12 and 2.19-20 in the Development of Paul's Argument", *NTS* 34:3 (1988), pp. 419-420.

<sup>210</sup> Schlier, *Galater*, p. 45.

<sup>211</sup> This statement appears to contradict 1 Corinthians 15:1-3. For surveys of attempts to reconcile the two statements, see R. Y. K. Fung, "Revelation and Tradition: The Origins of Paul's Gospel", *EvQ* 57:1 (1985), pp. 34-40; and K. Chamblin, "Revelation and Tradition in the Pauline Euangelion", *WThJ* 48:1 (1986), pp. 2-6.

<sup>212</sup> Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 66.

<sup>213</sup> *Galatians*, p. 53.

<sup>214</sup> For example, Betz, *Galatians*, p. 63; J. Rohde, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater* (ThHK, Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1989, 1. Auflage der Neubearbeitung), pp. 51-52; and Longenecker, *Galatians*, pp. 23-24.

<sup>215</sup> For example, Ebeling, *Wahrheit des Evangeliums*, p. 53; Lührmann, *Galater*, p. 23; Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 89; and Bryant, *The Risen Crucified Christ*, pp. 148-149.

<sup>216</sup> *Explorations*, pp. 64-68.

as keep in mind the fact that Paul normally speaks of God and not Jesus as the source of revelation,<sup>217</sup> it appears that an objective genitive is the best choice. Perhaps Silva<sup>218</sup> 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<sup>219</sup> – depending on the way in which information from the context is used.

The second issue concerns the meaning of the word *apokaluyi*". 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.<sup>220</sup> 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.<sup>221</sup> 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*<sup>222</sup> revelation that made Jesus Christ the foundation and content of his gospel. Kertelge's explanation of the meaning of *apokaluyi*" 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.<sup>223</sup>

Thus, by describing what happened to him on the road to Damascus as *apokaluyi*" 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.<sup>224</sup> 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.

<sup>217</sup> Burton, *Galatians*, p. 41.

<sup>218</sup> *Explorations*, p. 68. Note that Silva himself eventually interprets it as an objective genitive.

<sup>219</sup> For example, Schlier, *Galater*, p. 47; and Becker, *Galater*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>220</sup> 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.

<sup>221</sup> 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.

<sup>222</sup> On the eschatological nature of the revelation, see Lührmann, *Galater*, p. 23; and S. Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel* (WUNT 2.4, Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1984), pp. 71-74.

<sup>223</sup> Kertelge, "Apokalypsis Jesou Christou", p. 55.

<sup>224</sup> 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,<sup>225</sup> it is true.<sup>226</sup> 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 *euaggelion* and *euaggelizomai* 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<sup>227</sup> 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 *gnwrizw*. 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).<sup>228</sup> In this instance it serves as a *marker drawing the audience's attention* to what follows. The *direct address*, which Paul uses here, (*apfel foi*) has a similar function in that it serves as an indication to the audience that something new is introduced.<sup>229</sup> It

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Paulus erhebt sein Evangelium zum allein gültigen, weil den Anbruch der neuen Welt-Zeit Gottes proklamierenden Maß alles dessen, was in Gal. 1 und 2 geschieht.

<sup>225</sup> Thus Paul uses a "contrary argument" – as A. Eriksson calls it. See his "Contrary Arguments in Paul's Letters", in: S. E. Porter & D. L. Stamps (eds.), *Rhetorical Criticism and the Bible* (JSNT.S 195, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 2002), p. 350.

<sup>226</sup> See Vos, *Die Kunst der Argumentation*, p. 99, for a detailed reconstruction of the syllogism underlying verse 12.

<sup>227</sup> See Betz, *Galatians*, p. 56, for parallels in antiquity.

<sup>228</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 22.

<sup>229</sup> So, correctly, J. Holmstrand, *Markers and Meaning in Paul. An Analysis of 1 Thessalonians, Philippians and Galatians* (CB.NT 28, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1997), p. 153.

may even have a conciliatory purpose as Dunn<sup>230</sup> suggests, but this is not absolutely certain.

- The phrase *to; eujaggel ion to; eujaggel isqen* is an example of *paranomasia*.<sup>231</sup> 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.<sup>232</sup>
- 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 *ouk... oujdev.. oujte ... aj l a v* structure increases the force of the statement and focuses the attention on the last words in the statement, namely *di k apokal uyew" 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.<sup>233</sup> 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.<sup>234</sup> This makes it difficult if one sets out to make a historical reconstruction of Paul's life,<sup>235</sup> 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.

<sup>230</sup> Galatians, p. 52.

<sup>231</sup> Defined by J. Martin, *Antike Rhetorik: Technik und Methodik* (München: C. H. Beck, 1974), p. 304, as follows:

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.

<sup>232</sup> 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.

<sup>233</sup> 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".

<sup>234</sup> N. H. Taylor, "Paul's Apostolic Legitimacy. Autobiographical Reconstruction in Gal. 1:11-2:14", *JTSA* 83 (1993), pp. 69-70, calls it "an exercise in autobiographical reconstruction" and the "reinterpreting of events in his past life". See also W. Stenger, "Biographisches und Idealbiographisches in Gal 1:11-2:14", in: his *Strukturelle Beobachtungen zum Neuen Testament* (NTTS 12, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), pp. 292-294, who makes a distinction between biography and "idealised" biography. H. Lietzmann, *An die Galater* (HNT 10, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1971, 4. Auflage), p. 7, presents an interesting comparison between Paul's negative reconstruction of his former life and Augustine and Luther's reconstruction of theirs.

<sup>235</sup> See R. G. Hall, "Historical Inference and Rhetorical Effect: Another Look at Galatians 1 and 2", in: D. F. Watson (ed.), *Persuasive Artistry. Studies in the New Testament Rhetoric in Honor of George A. Kennedy* (JSNT.S 50, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), pp. 308-320, in this regard. However, I do not agree

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<sup>236</sup> 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,<sup>237</sup> Paul wants to show that he was "immune" to any Christian influences before God called him on the road to Damascus. Rohde<sup>238</sup> 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,<sup>239</sup> 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<sup>240</sup> 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.<sup>241</sup>
- Gaventa<sup>242</sup> 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.

<sup>236</sup> J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. A Revised Text with Introduction, Notes, and Dissertations* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1921, 17th print), pp. 80-81.

<sup>237</sup> *Galaterbrief*, p. 80.

<sup>238</sup> *Galater*, p. 54.

<sup>239</sup> *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.

<sup>240</sup> D. J. Verseput, "Paul's Gentile Mission and the Jewish Christian Community. A Study of the Narrative in Galatians 1 and 2", *NTS* 39:1 (1993), pp. 36-37.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>242</sup> B. R. Gaventa, "Galatians 1 and 2: Autobiography as Paradigm", *NT* 28:4 (1986), pp. 309-326.

points out the juxtapositioning of this section and verses 15-17. This emphasises "the biography of reversal"<sup>243</sup> whereby Paul wants to show the kind of response commanded by the gospel.

- According to Smit,<sup>244</sup> 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.<sup>245</sup>

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 (οὔτε δεῖ but when) suggest a contrast between what happened at his calling and the events narrated in verses 13-14.<sup>246</sup> Thus, the first possibility outlined 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 ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ (corresponding to the Old Testament idea of the  ♦   ●  □) on the other hand. As Mussner<sup>247</sup> points out, the emphasis falls on the words τοῦ θεοῦ. 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:

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<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 315.

<sup>244</sup> J. Smit, "Paulus, de galaten en het judaïsme. Een narratieve analyse van Galaten 1-2", *TTh* 25:4 (1985), pp. 337-362.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 346, 352-353.

<sup>246</sup> So, correctly, D. C. Arichea & E. A. Nida, *A Translators Handbook on Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (New York: United Bible Societies, 1976), p. 21.

<sup>247</sup> *Galaterbrief*, p. 79.

- 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,<sup>248</sup> or, perhaps he merely assumes that they will know about it.<sup>249</sup> 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 *kaq̄ ūperbol hn*, thereby indicating an excess of what would be expected as normal behaviour.<sup>250</sup> Apart from *ēḗiŵkon* he also uses the word *ēporqoun* to describe his activities. This is a very harsh word used to describe his persecution as an attempt<sup>251</sup> to in fact *destroy* the church.<sup>252</sup> Verse 14 illustrates a similar tendency to exaggerate. He describes his progress in Judaism as *proekopton eḗ tw/ ḗloudaismw/ ūper pollou," sunhl ikiwta"* – a description not only indicating that he had outdone his contemporaries, but also breathing a strong sense of superiority.<sup>253</sup> He even describes his behaviour as *perissoterw" zhlwth," ūparcwn twŵ patrikwŵ mou paradosewn*. Although the words *perissoterw" zhlwth"* do not refer to any Zealot activities, they are a very graphic depiction of someone whose life is dominated totally by his ancestral traditions.<sup>254</sup> 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<sup>255</sup> on the road to Damascus in such a way that it substantiates his claim in verses 11-12

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<sup>248</sup> Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 55.

<sup>249</sup> Becker, *Galater*, p. 17, points out that there must have been a relatively wide known Saul-persecutor-tradition in Christian circles.

<sup>250</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 27.

<sup>251</sup> See Silva, *Explorations in Exegetical Method*, pp. 70-72, for a good discussion of the conative force of the two verbs in this verse.

<sup>252</sup> 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.

<sup>253</sup> Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 59.

<sup>254</sup> See the detailed discussion by Niebuhr, *Heidenapostel*, pp. 26-38.

<sup>255</sup> 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<sup>256</sup> (ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί) so that he may proclaim his Son to the Gentiles.<sup>257</sup> 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.<sup>258</sup> 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 εὐδοκῆσεν 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.<sup>259</sup> He uses the word to describe his Damascus experience in terms of a typical Old Testament concept,

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perience as Reflected in Galatians 1: Call or Conversion?", *Script* 29 (1989), pp. 36-47. According to Craffert, Galatians 1:15-17 should be regarded as a conversion account that has the reference to a call as its content. Some scholars use the word "conversion", but define it in a different way. See, for example, T. J. Ralston, "The Theological Significance of Paul's Conversion", *BiblSac* 147:586 (1990), p. 198, note 1, who uses the word "conversion", but describes it as follows: "the re-orientation of his pre-Christian theological construct by the Damascus event".

<sup>256</sup> Paul seems more interested in recounting the fact *that* it happened than exactly *what* happened. This makes it almost impossible to detect exactly what he means when he uses the expression ἐν ἐμοί. It could mean "in me" (emphasis on his subjective experience of the revelation, which may or may not include mystic connotations), "to me" (more emphasis on the revelation as something external), or "through me". To my mind, the first interpretation (excluding mystic connotations) seems the best. See Schlier, *Galater*, p. 55:

Es scheint doch so, daß mit ἐν ἐμοί die Intensität der Enthüllung des Sohnes, die bis in das zentrale Leben des Apostels stattfand, zum Ausdruck gebracht wird.

<sup>257</sup> Note that Paul links the divine authorisation in particular, to his gospel and not to his apostleship (see Taylor, "Paul's Apostolic Legitimacy", p. 71, in this respect). However, to my mind, if one bears the ἀποστόλο" ... δια; ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς" of Galatians 1:1 in mind, it seems very likely that the divine authorisation of his apostleship is also implied in verses 15-16. See also the discussion of προ" τοῦ" προ; ἐνοῦ ἀποστόλου" in verse 17 later in this section.

<sup>258</sup> See C. Dietzfelbinger, *Die Berufung des Paulus als Ursprung seiner Theologie* (WMANT 58, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1985), p. 61: "Höheren Anspruch konnte Paulus nicht anmelden".

<sup>259</sup> See G. Schrenk, "εὐδοκῆσεν", *TDNT* 2, pp. 738-742, who also points out that in this instance the term is used in such a way that there is a clear hint of choice or decree.

namely that his call was based on the sovereignty of God's graceful<sup>260</sup> decision towards human beings.<sup>261</sup>

- The words *olajforisa* reflect another very important concept in the Old Testament, namely the notion of God's separation of people/things for his service. The word *ajforizw* is used in the LXX for a number of Hebrew words denoting the idea of separation.<sup>262</sup> One of these is the word *פְּרִישׁ* from which the term Pharisee is derived.<sup>263</sup> As Schlier<sup>264</sup> 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:<sup>265</sup>

Galatians 1:15:

*olajforisa* me ek koilia mhtrol' mou kai; kalēsa dia; th" carito" autou

Isaiah 49:1 (LXX):

ek koilia mhtrol' mou ekalesē to; ohomarmou.

Jeremiah 1:5 (LXX):

pro; tou me plasai se ēn koilia/epistamai se kai; pro; tou se ekelqei ek mhtra hgiaka se, profhthn eij' eph tepeikase.

- Paul's description of the task entrusted to him may even reflect notions from prophetic literature. In this regard, Hübner<sup>266</sup> points out that Paul's words *īha euaggelizwmai auton ēn toi' ephnesin* should be seen as parallel to Isaiah 49:6 (*ijdou; tepeikase eij' diaqhkh genou' eij' fw' ephnwh tou eihai se eij' swthrian ew' ejscatou 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

<sup>260</sup> See A. B. du Toit, "Encountering Grace: Towards Understanding the Essence of Paul's Damascus Experience", *Neotest* 30:1 (1996), pp. 71-87, for a good discussion of the importance of viewing Paul's Damascus experience in terms of God's grace.

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

<sup>262</sup> K. L. Schmidt, "ajforizw", *TDNT* 5, pp. 454-455, mentions approximately ten different Hebrew words in this regard.

<sup>263</sup> 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.

<sup>264</sup> *Galater*, p. 53.

<sup>265</sup> 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).

<sup>266</sup> *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.<sup>267</sup> Thus, Stenger<sup>268</sup> is correct when he maintains that Paul's primary purpose in these verses is to "legitimise" ("legitimieren") his gospel.<sup>269</sup>

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.<sup>270</sup> 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.<sup>271</sup> 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<sup>272</sup> results in the main verbal clause (underlined) being "kept back" until the end of verse 16:

Ὅτε δε; ευδοκῆσεν ἄλλοτε, ἢ  
 ἀποφῶρισα" με ἐκ κοιλίας" μήτρος" μου  
 καὶ; καὶ; ἐσα" δια; τῆς" ἀγάπης" αὐτοῦ  
 ἀποκαλύψει τὸν οὐρανὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί;·  
 ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς" ἔθνεσιν,  
εὐαγγέλιον" οὐκ ἀποσῶν ἐμὴν σὰρκιν; καὶ; αἵματι

<sup>267</sup> 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.

<sup>268</sup> "Biographisches und Idealbiographisches", p. 293. Stenger identifies this section as an example of a typical "Einsetzungsbericht" found frequently in the prophetic literature in the Old Testament. See also W. Baird, "Visions, Revelation, and Ministry: Reflections on 2 Cor 12:1-5 and Gal 1:11-17", *JBL* 104:4 (1985), pp. 656-657, who finds six elements characteristic of call narratives in the Old Testament in Galatians 1.

<sup>269</sup> 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.

<sup>270</sup> See, for example, BDR §458, who use slightly different words, namely "anfügend" and "periodisch/abgeschlossen".

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*, §438.

<sup>272</sup> 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.)

oujē; ajphl qon eij' Ierosol uma pro;" tou;" pro; ejnou apostol ou",  
 ajl l a; ajphl qon eij' jArabian  
 kai; pal in upestreya eij' Damaskon.

This sentence structure emphasises the main verbal clause, because the first part of the sentence (οἴτε δε) 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 εὐξῶ" ouj prosaneqemhn sarki; kai; aiḡmati.<sup>273</sup> 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<sup>274</sup> 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 εὐξῶ", implying that something else took place "immediately".<sup>275</sup> Accordingly, the focus shifts to the next statement, namely oujē; ajphl qon eij' Ierosol uma pro;" tou;" pro; ejnou apostol ou". As this statement is also formulated negatively, the focus of attention is moved forward to the next statement which – at last! – is formulated positively: ajl l a; ajphl qon eij' jArabian. (Note that the ouj.. oujev.. ajl l a 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 Lightfoot<sup>276</sup> and Burton<sup>277</sup>), has lost its attractiveness in modern times. Nowadays it is only seldom accepted, for example, by Rohde<sup>278</sup> and Wright.<sup>279</sup> Most scholars prefer the other possibility, namely

<sup>273</sup> So correctly indicated by Becker, *Galater*, p. 19.

<sup>274</sup> According to Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 67, the word prosaneqemhn denotes "to consult in order to be given a skilled or authoritative interpretation". Thus, Paul claims that the significance of the revelation was immediately clear to him.

<sup>275</sup> Thus εὐξῶ" modifies not only one/both negative clauses, but also the affirmative clause. See Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 94; and Rohde, *Galater*, p. 60.

<sup>276</sup> *Galatians*, p. 82.

<sup>277</sup> *Galatians*, pp. 55-58.

<sup>278</sup> *Galater*, pp. 62-63.

<sup>279</sup> According to N. T. Wright, "Paul, Arabia and Elijah (Galatians 1:17)", *JBL* 115:4 (1996), pp. 683-692, Paul acted out the model of Phinehas/Elijah, and his return to Arabia was in fact a return to Mount Sinai (like Elijah) and there

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.<sup>280</sup> 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.<sup>281</sup> 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 *ἡ ἀευᾶγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐθνέσιν*. 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.<sup>282</sup> 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 *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.

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<sup>280</sup> For example, M. Hengel & A. M. Schwemer, *Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien. Die unbekanntesten Jahren des Apostels* (WUNT 108, Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1998), pp. 175-179; Bligh, *Galatians*, p. 135; Betz, *Galatians*, p. 74; Lührmann, *Galater*, p. 27; Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 96; and Becker, *Galater*, p. 19.

<sup>281</sup> The last one seems to be the correct option. See J. Murphy-O'Connor, "Paul in Arabia", *CBQ* 55:4 (1993), pp. 732-737.

<sup>282</sup> E. Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (KEK 3, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1961, 13. Auflage), pp. 281-282.

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: οὐδε ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους. 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.<sup>283</sup> 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.<sup>284</sup> 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.<sup>285</sup> 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 year<sup>286</sup> after his call.<sup>287</sup> This

<sup>283</sup> So, correctly, M. Stowasser, "Konflikte und Konfliktlösungen nach Gal 1-2. Aspekte paulinischer Konfliktkultur", *TThZ* 103:1 (1994), p. 57; and Barclay, "Mirror-Reading", p. 88.

<sup>284</sup> Ebeling, *Wahrheit des Evangeliums*, p. 108.

<sup>285</sup> See Suhl, "Galaterbrief", p. 3095, who correctly emphasises the "apologetische Tendenz" in this section.

<sup>286</sup> The words *meta; e[th] tri[on]* 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 *istorhsai Khfan*. Unfortunately the fact that *istorēw* 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: "kennenzulernen") without any connotation of getting information from someone.<sup>288</sup> This is disputed by Dunn<sup>289</sup> who argues that the word usually includes the idea of "finding out about or from", and maintains that this notion distinguishes *istorēw* from *oraw* in verse 19. However, Hofius's<sup>290</sup> well-substantiated analysis of the way in which *istorēw* is used in classical literature and in literature contemporary to the New Testament tips the scale favours the first possibility.<sup>291</sup> Furthermore, one should guard against ignoring the distinction between what in fact happened when Paul visited Peter – or "Cefas" as he usually calls him<sup>292</sup> – 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.<sup>293</sup> 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 *istorēw* which is deliberately chosen to minimise any notion that he went to Jerusalem in order to have his gospel sanc-

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<sup>287</sup> It is not certain whether *meta: e[th] tria* 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.

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

<sup>289</sup> See J. D. G. Dunn, "The Relationship between Paul and Jerusalem according to Galatians 1", *NTS* 28:4 (1982), pp. 461-478 (in particular, p. 465); and also his "Once More – Gal 1:18: *istorhsai Khfan*. In Reply to Otfried Hofius", *ZNW* 76:1-2 (1985), pp. 138-139.

<sup>290</sup> O. Hofius, "Gal 1:18: *istorhsai Khfan*", *ZNW* 75:1-2 (1984), pp. 73-85. See also Bruce, *Galatians*, pp. 97-98. M. Karrer, "Petrus im paulinischen Gemeindegemeindekreis", *ZNW* 80:3-4 (1989), p. 214, places too much emphasis on the "Moment des Staunens, Bewunderns und Hochschätzens" in his explanation of the word.

<sup>291</sup> See also Vos, *Die Kunst der Argumentation*, p. 102 note 63, in this regard.

<sup>292</sup> 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 *petra*.

<sup>293</sup> "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*<sup>294</sup> 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.<sup>295</sup> As Bornkamm<sup>296</sup> 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.<sup>297</sup> 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" (eídon) – even less than the *ístorh'sai* which he uses to describe his stay with Peter.

- Lastly, Paul uses a *solemn oath* to emphasise the trustworthiness of his account: α)δε; γραφω υμιν, ιδου; ε)νωπιον του θεου ο)τι ου) yeυδομαι. An oath is a very powerful rhetorical device<sup>298</sup> and the fact that Paul uses it in this instance may be an indication that his version of his visit to Jerusalem<sup>299</sup> is controversial.<sup>300</sup> 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-

<sup>294</sup> So, rightly, Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 73. See also Kremendahl, *Die Botschaft der Form*, p. 74.

<sup>295</sup> Burton, *Galatians*, p. 60.

<sup>296</sup> G. Bornkamm, *Paulus* (UBT 119, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1979, Vierte Auflage), p. 50.

<sup>297</sup> 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 words *ton adel fon tou kuriou*.

<sup>298</sup> 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.

<sup>299</sup> 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.

<sup>300</sup> F. S. Jones, *"Freiheit" in den Briefen des Apostels Paulus. Eine historische, exegetische und religionsgeschichtliche Studie* (GTA 34, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), p. 71.

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.<sup>301</sup> 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,<sup>302</sup> it should be viewed as only a "Nachtrag" used to conclude the first part of Paul's biographical account. On the other hand, Verseput,<sup>303</sup> 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 (ται" ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς Ἰουδαίας") includes the church in Jerusalem.<sup>304</sup> 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 (ἠΐθην δε; ἀγνοούμενο") emphasises duration: he continued to remain unknown to them during this period.<sup>305</sup>

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: καὶ ἐπὶ ὅκωσον ἐπὶ ἐμοὶ; τὸν χρόνον. During this long period the churches in Judea continued to hear<sup>306</sup> of his mis-

<sup>301</sup> 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.

<sup>302</sup> *Wahrheit des Evangeliums*, p. 111.

<sup>303</sup> "Paul's Gentile Mission", pp. 42-43.

<sup>304</sup> Schlier, *Galater*, p. 63; and Bruce, *Galatians*, pp. 103-104.

<sup>305</sup> Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 98; and Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 80.

<sup>306</sup> 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.<sup>307</sup> In terms of Paul's strategy, the fact that these churches glorified Gód 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.<sup>308</sup>

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:  $\text{oldiwkn hma}'' \text{ pote nun eujaggel izetai thn pistin hf pote eporqei}$ . Two aspects deserve attention:

- The words used by Paul to describe his former life are exactly the same words used in verse 13 ( $\text{diwkwn}$  and  $\text{eporqei}$ ).<sup>309</sup> 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.<sup>310</sup>
- For the first time in the letter Paul uses the key word  $\text{pisti}''$ . Until now the object of the word  $\text{eujaggel izomai}$  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".<sup>311</sup> 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!

<sup>307</sup> The phrase  $\text{epi eponoi}$  indicates Paul as the ground or basis of the praise. See Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 42.

<sup>308</sup> 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.

<sup>309</sup> 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.

<sup>310</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 42.

<sup>311</sup> "Faith" is used in this instance in an objective sense. Schlier, *Galater*, p. 63, puts it as follows: (E)ntweder '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 *istorhsai* *Khfan*; 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 (*diwkwn*, *eporqe* and *pisti*) 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.<sup>312</sup> One should not view this account as an objective historical account of the

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<sup>312</sup> Most scholars agree that Paul refers to the events narrated in Acts 15. For a different view, see Longenecker, *Galatians*, pp. lxxii-lxxviii.

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.<sup>313</sup> 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.<sup>314</sup> 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.<sup>315</sup> This changes in Galatians 2:1 - 10. In this passage he devotes considerably more attention to the *content* of his gospel.<sup>316</sup> 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: *kai; ajn-eqemhn aujtoi'' to; euaggelion o;khrussw ejn toi'' e;fnesin* – 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

<sup>313</sup> 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.

<sup>314</sup> For a fuller discussion of the problems see Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, pp. 127-132; and H. C. van Zyl, "'n Redaksie -Historiese Lesing van Handeling 15:1-35", *AcTh* 9:1 (1989), pp. 43-62, in particular, pp. 51-57.

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

<sup>316</sup> So correctly noted by Vos, *Die Kunst der Argumentation*, p. 104; and Smit, "Paulus, de galaten en het judaïsme", 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.<sup>317</sup> 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,<sup>318</sup> 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:<sup>319</sup> 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<sup>320</sup> to have Titus circumcised.<sup>321</sup>

- 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 ἡ ἡμᾶς καταδούλωσιν suggests that he refers to freedom from the law.<sup>322</sup>
- The second concept Paul uses in verses 4-5 to highlight the content of his gospel is ἡ ἀληθεῖα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (verse 5). This expression describes the nature of his gospel,

<sup>317</sup> Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 106. Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 49, correctly points out that vv. 1-2 and 6-10 carry the flow of the narration with vv. 3-5 serving as an interjection that highlights a situation that proves his opponents wrong.

<sup>318</sup> Boers, *Justification of the Gentiles*, p. 64, points out that Paul can introduce the issue of circumcision without syntactic cohesion in verse 3, because "the issue of circumcision is the *semantic* context of the discourse". (My italics.)

<sup>319</sup> Jegher-Bucher, *Galaterbrief*, p. 126, classifies Paul's reference to Titus in terms of ancient rhetorical theory as an example of an ἀτεχνή πίστις.

<sup>320</sup> It is not clear who wanted Titus to be circumcised, but the drift of Paul's argument points to the "false brethren", mentioned in verse 4, thus excluding the rest of the Jerusalem church. See Rohde, *Galater*, p. 79. For a different view see Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 105.

<sup>321</sup> Although it is grammatically possible to interpret verse 3 in such a way that it means that Titus was not *compelled* to be circumcised, but circumcised *on his own initiative*, this would not make sense in the light of the rest of Paul's argument.

<sup>322</sup> So most scholars, for example, Burton, *Galatians*, p. 82; Schlier, *Galater*, p. 72; Rohde, *Galater*, p. 82; and Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 100. Jones, "Freiheit" in *den Briefen des Apostels Paulus*, pp. 71-82, argues against this interpretation and interprets it as a freedom "so zu handeln, wie sie es ἐν Χριστῷ für richtig halten." However, this interpretation seems to be too general within this context – in particular, if one considers the importance of the issue of circumcision in this instance.

namely that it is truthful/reliable, and this includes the idea that its content is true. As Kertelge<sup>323</sup> 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.<sup>324</sup> In verse 6 he claims that they did not *add* anything (*οὐδὲν προσανετέθη*) 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 *τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς ἀκροβυστίας* (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.<sup>325</sup> 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:

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<sup>323</sup> "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."

<sup>324</sup> J. E. Botha, "Exploring Gesture and Nonverbal Communication in the Bible and the Ancient World: Some Initial Observations", *Neotest* 30:1 (1996), pp. 13-15, points out that the shaking of hands in Galatians 2:9 could be interpreted as the actualisation of the agreement.

<sup>325</sup> 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 kata: apokaluyin (verse 2).* Although he now attaches a wider meaning to the word apokaluyi" than in 1:12,<sup>326</sup> this assertion nevertheless places his second visit to Jerusalem in the same category as his call.<sup>327</sup> Although it is not exactly clear which kind of revelation Paul refers to here,<sup>328</sup> 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 parenthetical sentence (only four words!) to convey this information to the audience.<sup>329</sup> This enhances the forcefulness of this statement.<sup>330</sup>
- *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 (ijponte" ) that he had been *entrusted* with the gospel of uncircumcision. The word pepisteumai is a common Pauline expression and stresses the divine origin of his gospel, or, as Schlier<sup>331</sup> 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-

<sup>326</sup> D. Lührmann, *Das Offenbarungsverständnis bei Paulus und in paulinischen Gemeinden* (WMANT 16, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1965), p. 80; and Kertelge, "The Assertion of Revealed Truth", p. 345.

<sup>327</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, p. 85.

<sup>328</sup> Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 91, mentions the following possibilities: a prophecy, a vision, a dream, or a God-given conviction.

<sup>329</sup> See the analysis of Galatians 2:1-5 by Boers, *The Justification of the Gentiles*, pp. 59-60.

<sup>330</sup> Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 150. The forceful effect of such brief statements has been recognised since antiquity. See, for example, Demetrius, *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, *Defamiliarization in Language and Literature* (Syracuse: University Press, 1977), p. 61, explains it as follows:

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.)

<sup>331</sup> Galater, p. 76.

tinues with the sentence that he started in verse 7: *gnonte* "thn carin thn doqيسان moi. He points out that the Jerusalem leaders recognised<sup>332</sup> the divine grace bestowed upon him. Although he does not mention his divine calling explicitly, he seems to imply this in this expression.<sup>333</sup>

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.<sup>334</sup> 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 *Stul oi* 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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<sup>332</sup> According to Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 109, *ijlonte* (used in verse 7) denotes the "apprehension of the outward tokens of his commission, as evinced by his successful labours", whereas *gnonte* indicates the "conviction arrived at in consequence that the grace of God was with him", but this distinction seems artificial.

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

<sup>334</sup> Stowasser, "Konflikte" p. 65, refers to a "zweispältige Eindruck von Jerusalem als Autorität und Nicht-Autorität".

knowledge of their authority.<sup>335</sup> 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  $\mu\eta\iota\ \rho\omega\ \epsilon\iota\prime\ \kappa\epsilon\tau\omega\ \eta\ \epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon\tau\omega$ . Scholars do not agree on the meaning of this clause. The syntactic construction which Paul uses ( $\mu\eta\iota$  followed by the subjunctive) indicates fear,<sup>336</sup> 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<sup>337</sup> or see the fear expressed in this instance as a theoretical possibility only;<sup>338</sup> 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;<sup>339</sup> his concern for the unity of the church;<sup>340</sup> his concern for the continued existence of the non-Jewish churches;<sup>341</sup> or the present concerns of the Galatian Christians and his opponents in Galatia.<sup>342</sup> 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.<sup>343</sup> 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,

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<sup>335</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, p. 99 (footnote 404); and Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 120. See R. D. Aus, "Three Pillars and Three Patriarchs: A Proposal Concerning Gal 2:9", *ZNW* 79:3-4 (1979), pp. 252-261, for a discussion of the possible Jewish background of this concept.

<sup>336</sup> See J. H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek. Vol III: Syntax* (by N. Turner), (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1963), p. 99; M. Zerwick, *Biblical Greek. Illustrated by Examples by Maximilian 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, *Galatians*, pp. 73-75, provides an excellent discussion of the clause.

<sup>337</sup> For example, Mussner, *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.

<sup>338</sup> Rohde, *Galater*, p. 77.

<sup>339</sup> Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 104.

<sup>340</sup> Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 111; and Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 49.

<sup>341</sup> Becker, *Galater*, pp. 22-23.

<sup>342</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, p. 88.

<sup>343</sup> This interpretation is also favoured by Lietzmann, *Galater*, p. 10; Burton, *Galatians*, p. 73; and Dunn, *Galatians*, pp. 93-94. Schlier, *Galater*, p. 68, also accepts this interpretation, but, as Betz, *Galatians*, p. 87, footnote 282, points out, his understanding of this phrase is too much influenced by a later doctrine on church authority.

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,<sup>344</sup> 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<sup>345</sup> 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 apokaluyin* suggests not only that he was not summoned by them,<sup>346</sup> 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 *oidokouhte* should also be pointed out. The fact that it can have so many nuances (Bligh<sup>347</sup> mentions eleven!) makes it very difficult to determine exactly what Paul attempts to convey when he uses that concept. Accordingly, scholars have interpreted Paul's intention in this instance in various ways: as an expression of his high regard for the leaders in Jerusalem;<sup>348</sup> as an attempt to distance himself from them;<sup>349</sup> as sarcasm;<sup>350</sup> as irony,<sup>351</sup> or even as dismissal.<sup>352</sup> As the word itself can have so many connotations, its meaning should rather be gathered from the context – *if* there are any indications. There are none in verse 2. Without access to the accompanying signs that would help one in understanding its nuance (for example, Paul's facial expression and tone of voice when he uttered it), even the Galatians would not have been able to under-

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<sup>344</sup> 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.

<sup>345</sup> 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.

<sup>346</sup> Rohde, *Galater*, p. 76.

<sup>347</sup> *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.

<sup>348</sup> For example, Lietzmann, *Galater*, pp. 9-10; and Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 109.

<sup>349</sup> For example, Betz, *Galatians*, p. 87; Dunn, *Galatians*, pp. 93-94; and H. A. Brehm, "Paul's Relationship with the Jerusalem Apostles in Galatians 1 and 2", *SWJT* 37:1 (1994), p. 13.

<sup>350</sup> Suhl, "Galaterbrief", p. 3096.

<sup>351</sup> For example, Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 152.

<sup>352</sup> 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 dokounte", but rather *from the way in which Paul combines it with other ideas*:

apo; de; twin dokountwn ei haiti, - opoioi pote hsan oupen moi diaferai: proswpon  
 »ok qeo" ajqrwpou ouj lambanei - ejmoi; gar oil dokounte" oupen prosanexento...

In this verse any positive associations, which the audience may have linked to the concept dokounte", are relativised in two ways. First, as Lightfoot<sup>353</sup> points out, the addition of eihai ti 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,<sup>354</sup> God is the One who has the final authority, and he does not judge by external appearance.<sup>355</sup> 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: oupen moi diaferai.<sup>356</sup> 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 dokounte" in Jerusalem. This statement therefore serves as a very effective way to relativise their authority.<sup>357</sup> In verse 9 Paul uses the word dokounte" again, but this time it is linked to the honorific epithet stuloi and it therefore seems to have 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.

al la; tou pantion iponte" oti pepisteumai to euaggelion th" akrobustia"  
kaqw" Petro" th" peritomh", ol gar eperghsa" Petrw" eij" apostolhn th" peritomh"  
 ephrghsen kai; ejmoi; eij" ta; efrh, kai; gnonte" thn carin thn dogeisan moi,  
 jakwbo" kai; Khfa" kai; jlwannh", oil dokounte" stuloi eihai, dexia;" eflwkan  
 ejmoi; kai; Barnaba/koinwnia"...

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

<sup>353</sup> Galatians, p. 103.

<sup>354</sup> It is not certain what Paul has in mind when he uses the words pote hsan, 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.

<sup>355</sup> E. Lohse, "proswpol 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 *kekrimenon* (usage of an opinion that is commonly accepted in order to prove a point).

<sup>356</sup> See Betz, *Galatians*, pp. 94-95, for a good discussion of the doctrine of *adiaphoron* in antiquity.

<sup>357</sup> So, correctly, Arzt, *Bedrohtes Christsein*, p. 172.



doul w̄sousin).<sup>361</sup> 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 (mh̄pw" eij' kenon t̄rēcw h̄j ēp̄ramon), 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: oīt̄ine" pareishl̄qon kataskoph̄sai th̄n ēj̄euqerian hm̄wn h̄j ēcomen ēj̄ Cristw/ j̄hsou, īf̄a h̄ma" kata-doul w̄sousin. 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.<sup>362</sup> He then adds: ōkai; ēj̄spoudasa aūto; toūto poihsai. 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.<sup>363</sup>
- 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 h̄j̄agkāsq̄h (used in verse 3) at the beginning of verse 4.<sup>364</sup> The second anacoluthon is found in verse 6 where Paul begins a new sen-

<sup>361</sup> A. B. du Toit, "Vilification as a Pragmatic Device", pp. 404-408, cites verses 4 and 5 as an example of three vilifying trends in early Christian letters: 1. Accusing one's opponents of hypocrisy and falseness; 2. Depicting them as obscure, shadowy figures, and 3. Accusing them of moral depravity.

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

<sup>363</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, pp. 102-103.

<sup>364</sup> Burton, *Galatians*, pp. 77-82; and Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 152. Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 50, suggests "Now this happened", and Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 116, adds "the ques-

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 accidental<sup>365</sup> – as F. W. Farrar<sup>366</sup> 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.<sup>367</sup> 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.<sup>368</sup> 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

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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* 56:1 (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 parenthetical 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.

<sup>365</sup> 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.

<sup>366</sup> "The Rhetoric of St. Paul", *Exp* 10 (1879), pp. 1-27. See p. 26:

I do not reckon *anakoluthon*, 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 *anakoluthon* in St. Paul is Gal ii.6; 2 Thess. ii. 3, 7.

<sup>367</sup> Hermogones, *Id* 2:7.

<sup>368</sup> 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  $\mu\eta\iota\ \rho\omega\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\iota\jmath\ \kappa\epsilon\ \nu\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\ \rho\epsilon\omega\ \eta\ \epsilon\jmath\ \tau\ \rho\alpha\mu\omicron\ \nu$  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,<sup>369</sup> 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<sup>370</sup> the content and origin of his gospel had been acknowledged by the authorities in Jerusalem, he opposed Peter to his face,<sup>371</sup> because Peter stood *kategnwsmeno*". It is difficult to determine the exact meaning of *kategnwsmeno*" in this instance, as it can be interpreted in several ways: Peter was self-condemned by his actions;<sup>372</sup> he stood condemned before God;<sup>373</sup> all right-thinking people would have realised that he acted wrongly,<sup>374</sup> or he

<sup>369</sup> For various historical reconstructions of what really happened at Antioch, see A. Wechseler, *Geschichtsbild und Apostelstreit. Eine forschungsgeschichtliche und exegetische Studie über den antiochenischen Zwischenfall* (BZNW 62, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1991); Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, pp. 146-167; J. D. G. Dunn, "The Incident at Antioch (Gal 2:11-18)", *JSNT* 18 (1983), pp. 3-57; Martyn, *Galatians*, pp. 236-245; A. M. Schwemer, "Paulus in Antiochien", *BZ* 42:2 (1998), pp. 161-180; and A. J. M. Wedderburn, "Paul and Barnabas: The Anatomy and Chronology of a Parting of the Ways", in: I. Dunderberg, C. Tuckett & K. Syreeni (eds.), *Fair Play: Diversity and Conflict in Early Christianity. Essays in Honour of Heikki Räsänen* (NT.S 103, Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 291-310.

<sup>370</sup> Instead of  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha$  used in 1:18, 21; 2:1, Paul uses  $\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon\iota\ \nu$  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  $\omicron\tau\epsilon$  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.

<sup>371</sup> This is the meaning of  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \pi\ \rho\ \omicron\ \sigma\ \omega\ \rho\ \omicron\ \nu$ . See L&N 83.83; and BDAG( $\pi\ \rho\ \omicron\ \sigma\ \omega\ \rho\ \omicron\ \nu$ ).

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

<sup>373</sup> Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, pp. 138-139; and Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 72.

should have known that his own conscience condemned him.<sup>375</sup> As Wechseler<sup>376</sup> 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<sup>377</sup> points out, εἰς τὴν can be linked syntactically either to τῶν or to ἀπο; ἰακωβου. 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,<sup>378</sup> whereas others view them as an official delegation from James.<sup>379</sup> 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.<sup>380</sup>

With regard to the second issue, the nature of the meals which Peter shared<sup>381</sup> with the non-Jewish Christians, scholars generally choose between the following options: the meals referred to were either the Lord's Supper<sup>382</sup> or ordinary meals,<sup>383</sup> or both.<sup>384</sup> Once again, no

<sup>374</sup> Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 117.

<sup>375</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>376</sup> Wechseler, *Geschichtsbild*, pp. 314-315.

<sup>377</sup> *Galaterbrief*, p. 139.

<sup>378</sup> For example, Rohde, *Galater*, p. 107.

<sup>379</sup> For example, Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 139; Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 233; and B. Witherington, *Grace in Galatia. A Commentary on St Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998), p. 153.

<sup>380</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 73.

<sup>381</sup> 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.

<sup>382</sup> For example, Lietzmann, *Galater*, p. 14; Schlier, *Galater*, p. 83; and Bligh, *Galatians*, pp. 183-184.

<sup>383</sup> For example, Dunn, *Galatians*, pp. 117-119; Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 73; and Wechseler, *Geschichtsbild*, pp. 323-324.

<sup>384</sup> 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.<sup>385</sup> In any case, the main issue is clear: the difference in opinion had to do with the issue of *koinofagia*: the Jewish purity requirements that had to be observed irrespective which meals were involved.<sup>386</sup> Thus, as Jewett<sup>387</sup> 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 *oilek 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<sup>388</sup> who interprets the phrase as referring to zealous 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 *oilek peritomh*" refer to Jewish Christians. Who were these Jewish Christians of whom Peter was afraid? Martyn<sup>389</sup> discusses this matter in detail and argues that the words *oilek 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 *oilek 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<sup>390</sup> 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.<sup>391</sup>

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<sup>385</sup> Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 119; and R. Jewett, "Gospel and Commensality: Social and Theological Implications of Galatians 2:14", in: L. A. Jervis & P. Richardson (eds.), *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, *Galatians*, pp. 93-116, for a sociological perspective in this respect.

<sup>386</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, p. 107.

<sup>387</sup> Jewett, "Gospel and Commensality", p. 249. See also C. Böttrich, "Petrus und Paulus in Antiochien (Gal 2,11-21)", *BThZ* 19:2 (2002), pp. 230-233, for a good discussion of the importance of table communion in Judaism.

<sup>388</sup> R. Jewett, "The Agitators and the Galatian Congregation", *NTS* 17 (1971), pp. 198-212. See also Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 74; Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 156; and J. Muddiman, "An Anatomy of Galatians", in: S. E. Porter, P. Joyce and D. E. Orton (eds.), *Crossing the Boundaries. Essays in Biblical Interpretation in Honour of Michael D. Goulder* (BIS 8, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), p. 263.

<sup>389</sup> *Galatians*, pp. 236-240.

<sup>390</sup> As Wechseler, *Geschichtsbild*, p. 333, puts it:

Petrus fürchtet sich also vor Christen, genauer vor Judenchristen und konkret vor den Jakobusleuten.

See also Rohde, *Galater*, p. 106.

<sup>391</sup> Wechseler, *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 *sunupokrinomai* and *upokrisi*". 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.<sup>392</sup> 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 ὀρθοποδοῦσιν πρὸς τὴν ἀληθεῖαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου. The word *orthopodew* – 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<sup>393</sup> towards the truth of the gospel.<sup>394</sup>

Paul begins his response to Peter by reproaching him for the fact that, although he was not living like a Jew (Ἰουδαῖκῶς) himself, he was compelling non-Jewish Christians to live like Jews (Ἰουδαῖζειν). The significance of the two words is roughly similar,<sup>395</sup> indicating someone who "customarily practises Jewish patterns of behavior"<sup>396</sup> and therefore potentially indicating any of a large range of degrees of assimilation to the Jewish lifestyle.<sup>397</sup> 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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<sup>392</sup> See L&N 88.227: "to pretend, to act hypocritically, pretense, hypocrisy". In German the best translation would be "heuchelen". 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 (ὑποκρίσι").

<sup>393</sup> 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. ὀρθοποδοῦσιν", in: W. Eltester (Hrsg.), *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann zu seinem siebenzigsten 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.

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

<sup>395</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 78, distinguishes between the two words as follows: Ἰουδαῖζειν means "to become a Jew", and Ἰουδαῖκῶς means "to live like a Jew".

<sup>396</sup> L&N 41.32.

<sup>397</sup> Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 129.

It is not exactly certain how verses 15 and 16 are structured syntactically. Some scholars<sup>398</sup> 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; hmei" ...) beginning a new syntactic unit.<sup>399</sup> However, the best option appears to be the one proposed by Eckstein,<sup>400</sup> namely to view verse 15 as a separate syntactic unit, a so-called nominal sentence, with eijpote" 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 amartwloi – a word which had come to function more or less as a *terminus technicus* for Gentiles.<sup>401</sup> This distinction serves as the background for verse 16, a rather complex sentence. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the emphasis falls on kai; hmei": *even we* (being Jewish) believed in Christ Jesus.

Verse 16 can be divided into four parts:

- A causal phrase (16a):  
eijpote" »de% oti ouj dikaioutai aqrwpo" ek efgwn nomou ean mh; dia; pistew" jhsou Cristou...
- Main sentence (16b):  
...kai; hmei" eij' Criston jhsoun episteusamen
- Final clause (16c):  
...ifa dikaiqwmen ek pistew" Cristou kai; ouk ek efgwn nomou
- A causal phrase (16d):  
...oti ek efgwn nomou **oudikaiwqhsetai pasa sarx.**

The first word Paul uses in the causal phrase (verse 16a) is eijpote" – a reference to common knowledge<sup>402</sup> shared by all Christians – at least from Paul's point of view. According to this shared knowledge, there is only one way<sup>403</sup> a human being can be *justified*, not by *works of the law* (ek efgwn nomou), but through *belief* (dia; pistew" 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-

<sup>398</sup> For example, Schlier, *Galater*, p. 88; Suhl, "Galaterbrief", p. 3099; and Dunn, *Galatians*, pp. 131-133.

<sup>399</sup> T. Zahn, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater* (KNT 9, Leipzig: A. Deichertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1905), p. 120, mentions this possibility, but rejects it.

<sup>400</sup> H.-J. Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz. Eine exegetische Untersuchung zu Galater 2,15-4,7* (WUNT 86, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1996), pp. 5-6.

<sup>401</sup> D. Heitsch, "Glossen zum Galaterbrief", *ZNW*86:3-4 (1995), pp. 176-177.

<sup>402</sup> Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 15, calls it "gemeinsame Grundüberzeugung" and "Konsens". See also Brinsmead, *Galatians*, p. 70.

<sup>403</sup> ean mhwis 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 ean mhwin Galatians 2:16", *JBL* 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*.<sup>404</sup> To my mind, scholars who emphasise the forensic-juridical and soteriological-eschatological aspects in their interpretation of this concept, are correct.<sup>405</sup> Thus, when human beings are justified by God, it means that they are acquitted by God, thereby receiving eschatological salvation.

The phrase εἴγα νόμου could be interpreted merely as meaning "actions prescribed by the law",<sup>406</sup> 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<sup>407</sup> distinction – not merely *Gebotserfüllungen*, but *Toraobservanz*:

Paulus denkt bei den εἴγα νόμου 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.<sup>408</sup>

Although there may have been other views on the relationship between "works of the law" and justification in contemporary Judaism (as E. P. Sanders<sup>409</sup> 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.<sup>410</sup>

In the case of the phrase δια πιστεω" Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, scholars interpret the phrase as referring either to the belief *of* Jesus Christ<sup>411</sup> (i.e. the faithfulness of Jesus Christ<sup>412</sup> or his faithful death on our behalf<sup>413</sup>) 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 εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπιστεύσαμεν) indicates

<sup>404</sup> See, for example, the overviews by R. B. Hays, "Justification", *ABD* 3, pp. 1129-1133; and J. Reumann, "Righteousness. New Testament", *ABD* 5, pp. 745-773.

<sup>405</sup> See, for example, Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>406</sup> Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 137. See also Schlier, *Galater*, p. 91.

<sup>407</sup> *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 25.

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

<sup>409</sup> E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (London: SCM, 1977).

<sup>410</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 86; and Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 23.

<sup>411</sup> According to Burton, *Galatians*, pp. 121-122, J. Haussleiter already defended this interpretation in 1891.

<sup>412</sup> For example, Longenecker, *Galatians*, pp. 87-88.

<sup>413</sup> For example, Martyn, *Galatians*, pp. 251, 275-277; and Witherington, *Grace in Galatians*, pp. 179-180.

that the phrase *πιστευ" ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* should be interpreted in the same way.<sup>414</sup> 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 *ἐν ᾧ πιστῶν σου* are omitted; 2. The words *πα" ζωῆ* are changed to *πασα σαρκ*, and 3. The words *ἐκ ἐργῶν νόμου* are added. These changes make it difficult to state with absolute certainty that Paul is in fact *quoting* Psalm 142:2,<sup>415</sup> but it seems to be his intention at least to "echo" this verse.<sup>416</sup>

Verse 17 raises several problems. One of the important issues is whether the condition is real or unreal. Several scholars, among whom Mussner,<sup>417</sup> 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 *ἄν* – as he does in 3:21.<sup>418</sup> Secondly, if the condition were unreal, then the answer in verse 17b would not have been *μή γενοίτο*, but "yes".<sup>419</sup>

Another issue in verse 17 deserves attention, namely whether the apodosis should be considered as a statement<sup>420</sup> or a rhetorical question. The way in which Paul normally uses *μή γενοίτο* helps one to decide on this matter: Eckstein<sup>421</sup> points out that in all thirteen instances where Paul uses *μή γενοίτο*, it follows a question – a fact indicating that the apo-

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<sup>414</sup> See R. B. Matlock, "Detheologizing the PISTIS CRISTOU Debate: Cautionary Remarks from a Lexical Semantic Perspective", *NT* 42:1 (2000), pp. 1-23, and "'Even the Demons Believe': Paul and *πιστι* Cristou", *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 alternative) human response. R. A. Harrisville, "'PISTIS CRISTOU': 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.

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

<sup>416</sup> Hübner, *Biblische Theologie*, p. 65; and Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 140.

<sup>417</sup> *Galaterbrief*, pp. 176-177.

<sup>418</sup> Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 33. See also J. Lambrecht, "Once Again Gal 2,17-18 and 3,21", *ETHL* 63 (1987), pp. 148-153.

<sup>419</sup> Lambrecht, "Once Again", p. 151. See Rohde, *Galater*, p. 113, for several examples in this respect.

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

<sup>421</sup> *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 *af̄a* should be read in the apodosis. It could either be *ara* ("a marker of a negative response to questions, usually implying anxiety or impatience"<sup>422</sup>) or *af̄a* ("a marker of result as an inference from what has preceded: so, then, consequently, as a result"<sup>423</sup>). It is very difficult to make a decision. The fact that the rhetorical question is followed by *mh̄ genoi to* seems to make *ara* the logical choice.<sup>424</sup> However, the fact that Paul does not use *ara* elsewhere, as well as the fact that *af̄a* also makes good sense in this instance, make *af̄a* a better choice.<sup>425</sup>

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<sup>426</sup> – sinners like the Gentiles, too.<sup>427</sup> The notion which Paul rejects – that Christ is a servant of sin – most probably reflects a "polemical slogan"<sup>428</sup> 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,<sup>429</sup> but there is more to it. There are at least two reasons for this shift.<sup>430</sup> 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.<sup>431</sup> 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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<sup>422</sup> L&N 69.14.

<sup>423</sup> L&N 89.46. Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 117, summarises the difference between the two as follows: " *Ara* hesitates, while *af̄a* concludes."

<sup>424</sup> Schlier, *Galater*, p. 95 note 8; and Rohde, *Galater*, p. 113.

<sup>425</sup> Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 141; and Lambrecht, "Line of Thought", pp. 489-490.

<sup>426</sup> This aspect is rightly emphasised by Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 32.

<sup>427</sup> Lambrecht, "Line of Thought", p. 495. See also Lambrecht, "Once Again", pp. 151-152.

<sup>428</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, p. 121. See also Kremendahl, *Die Botschaft der Form*, p. 194.

<sup>429</sup> For example, Schlier, *Galater*, p. 96.

<sup>430</sup> See the detailed discussion by Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 43.

<sup>431</sup> 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;<sup>432</sup> dietary laws;<sup>433</sup> the law as wall separating Jews from Gentiles,<sup>434</sup> and a Torah-observant lifestyle and community.<sup>435</sup> 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 *dikaiousqai ex efgwn nomou*.<sup>436</sup> 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 *parabathn*. The word *parabathn* used in this context refers to the law in the sense of setting aside its real intent.<sup>437</sup> It is a synonym of *amartwl ol'* which Paul used earlier, but it was probably chosen instead of *amartwl ol'* in order to distinguish between involuntary sinning (as was the case with the Gentiles) and conscious breaking of the law.<sup>438</sup>

In verse 19 the phrase *dia; nomou nomw/ apeiqanon* – 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;<sup>439</sup> that 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;<sup>440</sup> 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,<sup>441</sup> 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.<sup>442</sup> The basic problem with all these answers is that they seem to do justice neither to the force of the word *apeiqanon*, nor to the phrase *Cristw/ sunestaurwmai* used in the next sentence. Therefore, it seems better to follow scholars<sup>443</sup> 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/ apeiqanon*) is easier to understand: Paul uses it to indicate that the law has lost its

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<sup>432</sup> For example, Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 117.

<sup>433</sup> For example, Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 178.

<sup>434</sup> For example, Bligh, *Galatians*, p. 210; and Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 256.

<sup>435</sup> For example, Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 187.

<sup>436</sup> So correctly, Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 50.

<sup>437</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 91.

<sup>438</sup> Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 143.

<sup>439</sup> For example, Lietzmann, *Galater*, p. 17; and Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 118.

<sup>440</sup> Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 180; and Rohde, *Galater*, p. 115.

<sup>441</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 91.

<sup>442</sup> Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 143.

<sup>443</sup> 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.<sup>444</sup>

In verse 20 Paul develops the implications of his statement in verse 19, describing the radical personal transformation experienced by those<sup>445</sup> 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<sup>446</sup> Jesus Christ. To this Paul adds the phrase *του υιου του θεου του αγαπησαντο* "me kai; paradonto" *εαυτον υπερ εμου*, which seems to echo central ideas in the early Christian tradition.<sup>447</sup>

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<sup>448</sup> (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<sup>449</sup> – similar to his statements in 1:6 and 5:4. The absurdity of their point of view is made clear in a conditional sentence<sup>450</sup> in verse 21b: *ειj gar dia; nomou dikaiosunh, afa Cristo;* "dwrean apepanen.

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<sup>451</sup> and some other scholars<sup>452</sup>

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<sup>444</sup> 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.

<sup>445</sup> The *εγω* Paul uses in this instance, is still the "paradigmatic I". See Lietzmann, *Galater*, p. 17, and Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 259.

<sup>446</sup> The genitive *του υιου* should be understood as an objective genitive, in line with the way in which it was interpreted in verse 16.

<sup>447</sup> 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.

<sup>448</sup> For example, Schlier, *Galater*, p. 104; and Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 259.

<sup>449</sup> Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 76.

<sup>450</sup> Grammatically it is not clear whether the condition is simple or unreal (no verb in the protasis and an aorist without *αη* 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.

<sup>451</sup> *Galatians*, pp. 137-139.

classify 2:11-14 as part of the *narratio* and 2:15-21 as the *propositio*. Hester<sup>453</sup> disagrees with Betz and identifies 2:11-14 as a sayings *chreia*, followed by an elaboration of the *chreia*. Like Betz, Kennedy<sup>454</sup> 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<sup>455</sup> and Smit,<sup>456</sup> 2:11-21 as a whole is part of the *narratio*.<sup>457</sup> However, other scholars have revealed the flaws in the arguments for identifying 2:15-21 as *propositio*, *epicheireme* or *chreia*. For example, Fairweather<sup>458</sup> and Kern<sup>459</sup> show convincingly that 2:15-21 does not match the ancient categories for *propositio*. Likewise, Anderson<sup>460</sup> 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.<sup>461</sup>

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<sup>452</sup> For example, Brinsmead, *Galatians*, pp. 68 ff.; Longenecker, *Galatians*, pp. 20 ff.; and Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, pp. 169 ff.

<sup>453</sup> "Rhetorical Structure", pp. 231-233; and "Placing the Blame", pp. 281-307. See also V. Jegher-Bucher, "Formgeschichtliche Betrachtung zu Galater 2,11-16. Antwort an James D. Hester", *ThZ*46:4 (1990), pp. 305-321.

<sup>454</sup> *New Testament Interpretation*, p. 148. He is followed by Morland, *Rhetoric of Curse*, p. 133, in this respect.

<sup>455</sup> "Rhetorical Outline", pp. 284-287.

<sup>456</sup> "Deliberative Speech", pp. 11-12. See also Cranford, "Rhetorical Reading of Galatians", pp. 5-6.

<sup>457</sup> 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".

<sup>458</sup> "Galatians and Classical Rhetoric: 1 & 2", pp. 14-15.

<sup>459</sup> *Rhetoric and Galatians*, pp. 105-109.

<sup>460</sup> *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, pp. 135-137.

<sup>461</sup> 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.<sup>462</sup>

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: ἀλλ' ἵνα οἱ εἰδόντες οὐκ ὀργισθῶσιν πρός τὴν ἀληθεῖαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου... 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 εἰσπύε" 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.<sup>463</sup> 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).<sup>464</sup> In a religious debate such as the one in Galatians, bas-

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187; Bligh, *Galatians*, p. 176; Betz, *Galatians*, p. 109; and Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 236. Rohde, *Galater*, p. 118, also mentions the names of G. Bornkamm, P. Gaechter, E. Haenchen, H. Conzelmann, J. Eckert, P. Stuhlmacher and U. Wilckens. For a different view, see F. E. Udoh, "Paul's Views on the Law: Questions About Origin (Gal. 1:16-21; Phil. 3:2-11)", *NT* 42:3 (2000), pp. 233-234; and Böttrich, "Petrus und Paulus", pp. 237-239.

<sup>462</sup> Bligh, *Galatians*, p. 175; and Taylor, "Paul's Apostolic Legitimacy", p. 76.

<sup>463</sup> A. A. Das, "Another Look at εἰσπύε in Galatians 2:16", *JBL* 119:3 (2000), pp. 529-539, is probably right when he proposes that the words εἰσπύε (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.

<sup>464</sup> See Ciampa, *The Presence and Function of Scripture*, pp. 184-194, for a detailed discussion of this issue.

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.<sup>465</sup> 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 *kategnwsmeno* "hh, *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" (*upestellen kai ajfwrizen eauton foboumeno* " tou," *ek peritomh*"); in verse 13 the behaviour of the other Jewish Chris-

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<sup>465</sup> See, for example, the comments by Lightfoot, *Galatians*, pp. 113-114; and Betz, *Galatians*, p. 113, note 6.

tians is described as *hypocrisy*;<sup>466</sup> in verse 14a the behaviour of Peter and the Jewish Christians is described by means of a very effective *metaphor* as οὐκ ὀφροποδουσιν προ' τὴν αἰληγεῖαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, 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:

εἰδοτε" ὅτι οὐ δικαιοῦται ἀθρώπο" ἐκ ἐργῶν νόμου ἐὰν μή, διαπιστῶν" Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς" εἶ" Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπίστευσάμεν, ἵνα δικαιώσωμεν ἐκ πιστῶν" Χριστοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐκ ἐργῶν νόμου, ὅτι ἐκ ἐργῶν νόμου οὐ δικαιώσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ. <sup>17</sup>εἰδέ, ζήτουτε" δικαιοῦναι ἐν Χριστῷ..

*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:

...ἐὰν μή, διαπιστῶν"	A
Ἰησοῦ	B
Χριστοῦ,	C
καὶ ἡμεῖς"	
εἶ" Χριστὸν	C
Ἰησοῦν	B
ἐπίστευσάμεν	A

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 καὶ ἡμεῖς" 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 (εἰς ἡμεῖς; Ἰουδαῖοι" ὑπερβῶντες ἐπινοῶντες" καὶ οὐκ; Ἰουδαῖοι" ζῆ", πῶ" τα; ἐπινοῶντες ἀγαθὰ καὶ" ἰπυδαῖοι"), and in verse 17 he uses another rhetorical question to refute criticism lodged against him by his opponents (εἰδέ; ζήτουτε" δικαιοῦναι ἐν Χριστῷ εὐεργετήσασθαι καὶ αὐτοῖς; ἀμαρτωλοῖς ἅρα Χριστοῦ;" ἀμαρτία" διακονοῦν). In both cases the use of a rhetorical question rather than a mere statement enables him to convey the thought with more emotional effect.<sup>467</sup>

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

ἐγὼ, γὰρ δια νόμου νόμου ἀπεθανόν, ἵνα ᾄδω τῷ Χριστῷ. Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι: ζῶντες οὐκέτι ἐγὼ ζῆ" ἐν ἐμοί; Χριστοῦ": ὁ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῷ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντο" με καὶ παραδόντο" ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ.

<sup>466</sup> The way in which Paul describes Barnabas' behaviour (καὶ Βαρναβᾶ" *sunaphcqh* αὐτῶν τῆς ὑπερβῶνσεως) could be his way of shifting the blame for Barnabas' "hypocrisy" slightly to the other Jewish Christians.

<sup>467</sup> See Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 155. According to BDR §496, rhetorical questions can be used in the New Testament to express vivacity and vivid emotion.

<sup>468</sup> Another example of the effective use of metaphorical language in this section is οὐκ ὀφροποδουσιν προ' τὴν αἰληγεῖαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου 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.<sup>469</sup>

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<sup>470</sup> does. However, this does not seem to be the right choice. Although verse 6 begins with the word *καὶ*, 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,<sup>471</sup> 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

<sup>469</sup> See Stacy, *Defamiliarization in Language and Literature*, p. 90, in this respect.

<sup>470</sup> *Galatians*, p. 152. See also Kern, *Rhetoric and Galatians*, p. 110.

<sup>471</sup> Ligthfoot, *Galatians*, p. 136; Burton, *Galatians*, p. 153; Lietzmann, *Galater*, p. 18; and Rohde, *Galater*, p. 135.

based on the experience of the audience).<sup>472</sup> Thus, this section should rather be demarcated as Galatians 3:1-5.<sup>473</sup>

Paul's dominant rhetorical strategy in this section<sup>474</sup> 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.<sup>475</sup> 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<sup>476</sup>

<sup>472</sup> 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*, p. 70, note 99; and the demarcation by Holmstrand, *Markers and Meaning*, pp. 165-166.

<sup>473</sup> 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.

<sup>474</sup> 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 *diáiresis* 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.

<sup>475</sup> 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).

<sup>476</sup> H. R. Lemmer, "Mnemonic Reference to the Spirit as a Persuasive Tool (Galatians 3:1-6 within the argument, 3:1-4:11)", *Neotest* 26:2 (1992), p. 374. See also Classen, *Rhetorical Criticism*, p. 22; and Lategan, "Reader Instructions", p. 176. Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, pp. 161-162,

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 metaphoric sense as referring to the vivid way in which he proclaimed<sup>477</sup> the message of the "crucified Christ".<sup>478</sup> 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 Ὡ ἀποστολοι Γαλιταῖαι:

- 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 Galatῆαι – 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 Ὡ<sup>479</sup> used at the beginning of the direct address usually indicates emotion. Thus, by the direct address Paul not only succeeds in

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points out that ancient rhetorical theorists may have questioned Paul's use of so much παῖσι" 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 παῖσι" throughout.

<sup>477</sup> 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.

<sup>478</sup> 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."

<sup>479</sup> In Attic Ὡ does not convey any emotion, but it does in Koine Greek. See Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 147. It could also be written as Ὡ which would make it an exclamation rather than an interjection, but this is not necessary, since Ὡ 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.<sup>480</sup>

• Secondly, it should be pointed out that the word ἀνοήτοι has a rather negative connotation, namely "pertaining to unwillingness to use one's mental faculties in order to understand – 'foolish, stupid, without understanding'".<sup>481</sup> One should not attempt to soften this rebuke as Chrysostom<sup>482</sup> and Betz<sup>483</sup> do. In fact, it is not wise to rebuke an audience as strongly as Paul does in this instance.<sup>484</sup> One can only speculate as to how this was received by the Galatians. Perhaps the relationship between him and the Galatians was such that they would not have experienced it as being too negative.<sup>485</sup> It could also be that the effect was somewhat softened by the fact that he shifts the blame to his opponents in the next part of the sentence, thereby implying that they had become victims of his opponents.

Paul also uses another rhetorical technique in verse 6, namely *vilification*. Without mentioning the opponents explicitly, he succeeds in vilifying them very effectively by using the word βασκαίνω. In his thorough study of this word in respect of cultural anthropology, Neyrey<sup>486</sup> links it to the concept of the evil eye in antiquity, and shows how effectively such an accusation of witchcraft functioned in the world in which Paul lived. Scholars do not agree as to whether Paul is in fact accusing the opponents of witchcraft,<sup>487</sup> or merely using the word in a metaphorical sense.<sup>488</sup> The latter seems to be the case. However, even if it is used in a metaphorical sense only, the use of a word associated with sorcery portrays the

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<sup>480</sup> C. A. Amadi-Azuogu, *Paul and the Law in the Arguments of Galatians* (BBB 104, Weinheim: Beltz, 1996), p. 104; Lietzmann, *Galater*, p. 17; and Ebeling, *Wahrheit des Evangeliums*, p. 210.

<sup>481</sup> L&N 32.50. See also Rohde, *Galater*, p. 128, who summarises the meaning of ἀνοήτοι as "eine an Verstocktheit oder Verbohrtheit grenzende Uneinsichtigkeit". See Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 201, for a discussion of the sociological background of the concept.

<sup>482</sup> See Fairweather, "The Epistle to the Galatians and Classical Rhetoric: 1 & 2", p. 16.

<sup>483</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, p. 130, claims that this rebuke should not be taken seriously as such rebukes were common place among diatribe preachers in those times.

<sup>484</sup> Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 161, points out that in this instance Paul departs from the common rhetorical theory of his time, since the rhetorical theorists commended that one should never rebuke an audience too harshly. Even when it was deemed necessary, it had to be done in such a way as to soften the rebuke.

<sup>485</sup> Lemmer, "Mnemonic Reference", pp. 385-386. Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 214, points out that it appears as if Paul assumes that this direct address will not alienate the Galatians, but rather give them a "wake-up call".

<sup>486</sup> J. H. Neyrey, "Bewitched in Galatia: Paul and Cultural Anthropology", *CBQ* 50:1 (1988), pp. 72-100. See also J. H. Elliott, "Paul, Galatians, and the Evil Eye", *CTHMi* 17:4 (1990), pp. 262-273. S. Eastman, "The Evil Eye and the Curse of the Law: Galatians 3.1 Revisited", *JSNT* 83 (2001), pp. 69-87, makes a very interesting proposal, namely that Paul deliberately echoes the use of βασκαίνω in the Deuteronomic curse. However, to my mind, it is impossible to be certain that he does this deliberately.

<sup>487</sup> See, for example, Neyrey, "Bewitched in Galatia", pp. 72-100; Elliott, "Paul, Galatians, and the Evil Eye", pp. 262-273; and Du Toit, "Vilification in Early Christian Epistolography", p. 407.

<sup>488</sup> For example, Burton, *Galatians*, p. 144; and Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 100.

opponents in an extremely bad light, namely as people with evil motives, and even suggests that demonic powers could be operating through them.<sup>489</sup> 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 *τὸ τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ μαρτυρεῖται ὑμῶν*, 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<sup>490</sup> 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.<sup>491</sup> 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 *ἐκ ἀκοῆς πίστεως*!<sup>492</sup> This Greek phrase can be interpreted in various ways as *ἀκοή* 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 epexegetical. Accordingly, scholars have suggested the following interpretations:<sup>493</sup>

1. hearing the faith, i.e. hearing the message of faith;<sup>494</sup>
2. hearing with faith,<sup>495</sup>
3. hearing of faith, i.e. a hearing coming from faith,<sup>496</sup>

<sup>489</sup> Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 84.

<sup>490</sup> 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".

<sup>491</sup> 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.

<sup>492</sup> 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.

<sup>493</sup> For more detailed discussions of this issue, see R. B. Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ. An Investigation of the Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3:1-4:11* (SBL.DS 56, Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), pp. 143-146; S. K. Williams, "The Hearing of Faith: AKOH PISTEWS in Galatians 3", *NTS* 35:1 (1989), pp. 82-93; and Martyn, *Galatians*, pp. 287-289.

<sup>494</sup> 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.

<sup>495</sup> 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.").

<sup>496</sup> For example, Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 135 ("...a hearing which comes from faith"); and Williams, "AKOH PISTEWS", 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;<sup>497</sup> and
5. the message of faith, i.e. the message resulting in faith.<sup>498</sup>

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 *πίστι*". The Galatians would be forced to give the following answer: *ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως*". 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,<sup>499</sup> the audience would have experienced it as two separate rebukes: the first implying that they were foolish (*οὐτῶς ἀνοήτοι ἐστε*) 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:<sup>500</sup> 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:

<i>ἐπαρξάμενοι</i>	A
<i>πνεύματι</i>	B
<i>νῦν</i>	C
<i>σαρκί</i> :	B
<i>ἐπιτελεῖσθε</i>	A

By placing *νῦν* 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 *now* "making complete" with the flesh! "Beginning with"<sup>501</sup> the Spirit" refers to those events which Paul indicated in verse 2 as "receiving the Spirit". This is sharply contrasted with *σαρκί; ἐπιτελεῖσθε*. Thus far he has used the word *σάρξ* 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-

<sup>497</sup> For example, Betz, *Galatians*, p. 133 ("...the proclamation of faith").

<sup>498</sup> For example, Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 289 ("...the faith-eliciting message in which Christ is proclaimed").

<sup>499</sup> Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 208; Rohde, *Galater*, p. 102; and Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 88.

<sup>500</sup> See Lemmer, "Mnemonic Reference", pp. 370-371. Vouga, *Galater*, p. 68, identifies the argument as an "Argument der Verschwendung", but to my mind this description fits verse 4a better.

<sup>501</sup> Some exegetes classify both datives (Spirit and flesh) as datives of manner (for example, Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 89), whereas others classify them as datives of instrument (for example, Lietzmann, *Galater*, p. 18; and Rohde, *Galater*, p. 133), but as Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 150, indicates this distinction is more grammatical than substantial.

regenerate weakness",<sup>502</sup> 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.<sup>503</sup>

In the fourth rhetorical question, Paul again uses the audience's experience of the Spirit as basis: *tosautā epaŋete eikhē*. Although the word *paŋcw* is normally used in the New Testament and the LXX to indicate suffering,<sup>504</sup> it cannot be understood in a negative sense in this instance, since – as Silva<sup>505</sup> 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",<sup>506</sup> in this case referring to their receiving of the Spirit,<sup>507</sup> with *tosautā* (meaning "so much/such remarkable things"<sup>508</sup>) 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; eikhē*. 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;<sup>509</sup>
2. expressing confidence that God will bring them back to the gospel;<sup>510</sup>
3. expressing Paul's view that all their experiences had indeed been in vain,<sup>511</sup> and
4. expressing a threat.<sup>512</sup>

In order to make a choice, one should carefully examine the function of the words *gei* and *kai*. The particle *gei* is appended to the word it refers to, and usually indicates emphasis.<sup>513</sup> In this case the word *kai* adds further emphasis.<sup>514</sup> Thus the phrase could be trans-

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<sup>502</sup> Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 149.

<sup>503</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, p. 134; and Amadi-Azuogo, *Paul and the Law*, p. 110.

<sup>504</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 104.

<sup>505</sup> Silva, *Explorations in Exegetical Method*, pp. 57-58. See also C. G. Kruse, *Paul, the Law, and Justification* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1996), p. 74.

<sup>506</sup> So, correctly, BDAG (*paŋcw*).

<sup>507</sup> *Contra* Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 135. See also Borse, *Galater*, p. 124; Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 210; and Dunn, *Galatians*, pp. 156-157.

<sup>508</sup> Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 285.

<sup>509</sup> For example Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 150; Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 210; Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 157; and Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 215.

<sup>510</sup> This forms the first part of Schlier's interpretation (*Galater*, p. 124). See also Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 284.

<sup>511</sup> For example, Oepke, *Galater*, p. 101; and Borse, *Galater*, p. 124.

<sup>512</sup> This forms the second part of Schlier's interpretation (*Galater*, p. 124). See also Rohde, *Galater*, p. 134.

<sup>513</sup> BDAG (*gei*); 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.<sup>515</sup> The content of this rhetorical question seems to support this interpretation, in particular, the fact that Paul uses two present participles (ἐπιχορηγῶν and ἐπεργῶν) 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.<sup>516</sup> This could be the reason why Paul is still hoping that there could be a change in their behaviour.

If this interpretation of εἰ|γε kai; εἰ|κῆ| 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 τὸσαῦτα ἐπαγγετέ εἰ|κῆ|).<sup>517</sup> 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.<sup>518</sup>

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<sup>519</sup> in their midst. The word *dunamei*" 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-

<sup>514</sup> Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 91. See also Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 135:

εἰ|γε leaves a loophole for doubt, and καὶ|widens this, implying an unwillingness to believe on the part of the speaker.

<sup>515</sup> The link between verse 5 and the previous verses is strengthened by οὐ|κ. See Cosgrove, *The Cross and the Spirit*, pp. 46-47, for a good discussion of the force of οὐ|κ.

<sup>516</sup> Cosgrove, *ibid.*, pp. 47-48; Rohde, *Galater*, p. 135; and Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 105.

<sup>517</sup> Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 162; and J. Smit, "Naar een nieuwe benadering van Paulus' brieven. De historische bewijsvoering in Gal. 3,1-4,11", *TTh* 24 (1984), p. 211.

<sup>518</sup> Lemmer, "Mnemonic Reference", p. 380.

<sup>519</sup> *dunamei*" definitely refers to miracles in this instance. See S. Schreiber, *Paulus als Wundertäter. Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte und den authentischen Paulusbriefen* (BZNW 79, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1996), p. 192.

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.<sup>520</sup> 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.<sup>521</sup> The gist of what the opponents taught can be summarised in two statements:<sup>522</sup>

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<sup>523</sup> in that he opposes the opponents'

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<sup>520</sup> This is assumed by most scholars. Some scholars view it as a definite certainty, for example, Burton, *Galatians*, p. 153; Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 296; D. E. Garland, "Paul's Defense of the Truth of the Gospel Regarding Gentiles (Galatians 2:15-3:22)", *RExp* 91:2 (1994), pp. 172-173; and D. H. King, "Paul and the Tannaïm: A Study in Galatians", *WThJ* 45:2 (1983), p. 364; whereas others view it as a possibility only, for example Rohde, *Galater*, p. 136; and Amadi-Azuogo, *Paul and the Law*, p. 112.

<sup>521</sup> As J. S. Siker, *Disinheriting the Jews. Abraham in Early Christian Controversy* (Louisville: Westminster, John Knox, 1991), pp. 17-27, indicates, a rich variety of Abraham traditions can be found in early Judaism, but the following issues seem to surface regularly: 1. The importance of the promises made to Abraham; 2. The exemplary function of Abraham's faith and righteousness; 3. Abraham as intermediary. See also the overviews by Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians*, pp. 175-199; and Betz, *Galatians*, pp. 139-140.

<sup>522</sup> Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians*, pp. 167-174, presents a very careful reconstruction of the opponents' teaching on Abraham. See also B. W. Longenecker, *The Triumph of Abraham's God. The Transformation of Identity in Galatians* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998), pp. 128-130; and D. E. Garland, "Paul's Defense of the Truth", pp. 172-175. The reconstruction of Martyn, *Galatians*, pp. 302-306, is to my mind too elaborate and sometimes very speculative.

<sup>523</sup> Heitsch, "Glossen zum Galaterbrief", p. 184, describes the difficult position in which Paul finds himself as follows:

Wir sehen hier, in welchen Schwierigkeiten Paulus sich befand, wenn er eine Verheißung, die dem auserwählten Volk galt, allen Völkern predigen wollte, ohne diese dabei auch die spezifische Tradition des auserwählten Volkes zu verpflichten; wenn er den Bund, den Gott mit seinem Volk eingegangen war, allen Völkern öffnen wollte,

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<sup>524</sup> 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.<sup>525</sup> Stanley's<sup>526</sup> 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.<sup>527</sup>

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.

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ohne ihnen deshalb die Erfüllung der von Gott bestimmten Aufnahmebedingung abzuverlangen; wenn er allen Völkern einen Messias predigen wollte, dessen Bedeutung eigentlich nur im Rahmen der theologischen Tradition der Juden rechtlich verständlich sein konnte.

<sup>524</sup> See G. M. M. Pelsler, "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.

<sup>525</sup> 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 *τοπον ἀγωνιστικῶτατον*, i.e. a special point of controversy/a powerful debating point.

<sup>526</sup> C. D. Stanley, "Biblical Quotations as Rhetorical Devices in Paul's Letter to the Galatians", in: *SBL 1998 Seminar Papers* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), pp. 700-730.

<sup>527</sup> 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.<sup>528</sup>

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 *καὶ* (at the beginning of verse 6) is not used as an introductory formula for a quotation,<sup>529</sup> but serves to indicate an analogy. Paul expects the audience to answer "ἐξ ἀκοῆς πιστέω" to his question in verse 5, whereas in verse 6 he uses *καὶ* in order to draw their attention to a *similar case*: in the same way Abraham believed.<sup>530</sup> 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.<sup>531</sup> 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.<sup>532</sup> Accordingly, this quotation from Genesis 15:6 plays a crucial role in Paul's rhetorical strategy and can rightfully be called the "entscheidendes

<sup>528</sup> Stanley, "Biblical Quotations", p. 723.

<sup>529</sup> *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.

<sup>530</sup> 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").

<sup>531</sup> As R. B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 108, puts it:

[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.

<sup>532</sup> 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 entgegeng gehalten. (Hübner's italics.)

Eingangszitat<sup>533</sup> of this section. In verse 7 Paul presents his interpretation of this verse. He draws the attention<sup>534</sup> 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 (οὗτοι adds emphasis<sup>535</sup>) who have faith.<sup>536</sup>

In verses 8-9 Paul develops his argument further.<sup>537</sup> 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<sup>538</sup>), namely Genesis 12:3 and 18:18, in order to form a single quotation, which he carefully embeds in his own interpretative framework: because<sup>539</sup> Scripture foresaw that those who believe would be justified, it already proclaimed the gospel in advance.<sup>540</sup> By means of this personification (called προσωποίᾳ in ancient rhetorical theory<sup>541</sup>) 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<sup>542</sup> as a typical way of expressing the notion

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<sup>533</sup> Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 95. Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 216, calls it "einen theologischen Basissatz ersten Ranges." D.-A. Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums. Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus* (BHT 69, Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1986), p. 271, classifies it correctly as an example of "Schriftzitate als Gegenstand der Interpretation".

<sup>534</sup> ἰνὼσκητε can be either indicative or imperative, but in both cases its pragmatic function is that of an "Aufforderung". See Vouga, *Galater*, p. 72.

<sup>535</sup> Schlier, *Galater*, p. 128; and Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 299.

<sup>536</sup> 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 οἱ 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).

<sup>537</sup> δεῖς used copulatively. See Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 107; and Rohde, *Galater*, p. 138.

<sup>538</sup> Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 301.

<sup>539</sup> The participle προῖδουσα should be understood in a causal sense. See Burton, *Galatians*, p. 160; and Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 220.

<sup>540</sup> 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.

<sup>541</sup> 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.

<sup>542</sup> 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.<sup>543</sup> 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 σοί is understood in the sense of "in you, the one who received the promise, and the one who believes."<sup>544</sup> Thus, he can conclude (see ἡστέ) in verse 9: those who believe (thus including believing non-Jewish Christians) would be blessed ὑπὸ πίστεως Ἀβραάμ. The word πίστις 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".<sup>545</sup>

The next step<sup>546</sup> in Paul's argument is found in verses 10-12. Instead of<sup>547</sup> the notion of "blessing", its opposite ("curse") comes into focus now.<sup>548</sup> He begins with the statement that οἱ ἐν ἔργων νόμου εἰσὶν are under a curse, and then quotes Deuteronomy 27:26 as a proof text. His quotation differs from the LXX in several ways:

Paul: ἐπικατάρτο" πα" οἱ οὐκ ἐμμενεῖ πασὶν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ποιήσαι αὐτὰ

LXX: ἐπικατάρτο" πα" ἀἰσχροῦ, οἱ οὐκ ἐμμενεῖ ἐν πασὶν τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ νόμου τοῦτοῦ τοῦ ποιήσαι αὐτοῦ.

He omits ἀἰσχροῦ, ἐν before πασὶν and τοῦτοῦ after τοῦ νόμου. Furthermore, he uses τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου instead of τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ νόμου. These differences may be due to the fact that he quotes from memory or uses an LXX version different from ours.<sup>549</sup> One should not, therefore, accept that Paul made these changes deliberately.<sup>550</sup>

The general trend of what Paul is saying in verse 10 is clear, namely that those who rely on the works of the law<sup>551</sup> in their relationship to God are cursed. However two issues

<sup>543</sup> 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.

<sup>544</sup> Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 116.

<sup>545</sup> 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.

<sup>546</sup> γάρ indicates another step in the argument. See Betz, *Galatians*, p. 145; and Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 122.

<sup>547</sup> Burton, *Galatians*, p. 163, correctly calls it an "argument *e contrario*".

<sup>548</sup> 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.

<sup>549</sup> 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.

<sup>550</sup> *Contra* Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 124.

<sup>551</sup> To my mind, "those who rely on the works of the law" is a good translation of οἱ ἐν ἔργων νόμου εἰσὶν. See also Schlier, *Galater*, p. 132: "die Menschen, die das Prinzip ihrer Existenz in den Gebotserfüllungen haben"; Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 307: "those whose identity is derived from observance of the

remain problematic, namely the meaning of the expression *υπο; kataran*, 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 υπο; kataran?*

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<sup>552</sup> 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.<sup>553</sup>
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<sup>554</sup> 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.<sup>555</sup>

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

law"; and Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 171: "those whose identity was grounded on works of the law, whose relationship with God was characterized and determined by works of the law, in contrast to those characterized by faith". Note that Dunn interprets "works of the law" in a limited sense (See also M. Cranford, "The Possibility of Perfect Obedience: Paul and an Implied Premise in Galatians 3:10 and 5:3", *NT* 36:3 [1994], pp. 249-250; and N. Bonneau, "The Logic of Paul's Argument on the Curse of the Law in Galatians 3:10-14", *NT* 39:1 [1997], pp. 66-68) but see the criticism raised by Esler, *Galatians*, pp. 182-184.<sup>552</sup> *Galatians*, p. 117.

<sup>553</sup> See also Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 224; C. D. Stanley, "'Under a Curse': A Fresh Reading of Galatians 3:10-14", *NTS* 36:4 (1990), p. 500; J. P. Braswell, "'The Blessing of Abraham' versus 'the Curse of the Law': Another Look at Gal 3:10-13", *WThJ* 53:1 (1991), p. 76; and Smit, "Naar een nieuwe benadering", p. 214.

<sup>554</sup> M. Noth, "Die mit des Gesetzes Werken umgehen, die sind unter dem Fluch", in: his *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (TB 6, München: Kaiser, 1957), pp. 155-171.

<sup>555</sup> See F. Thielman, *From Plight to Solution. A Jewish Framework for Understanding Paul's View of the Law in Galatians and Romans* (NT.S 61, Leiden: Brill, 1989), pp. 67-69; J. M. Scott, "For as Many are of Works of the Law are Under a Curse (Galatians 3:10)", in: C. A. Evans & J. A. Sanders (eds.), *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel* (JSNT.S 83, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), pp. 187-221; Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, pp. 125-129; and N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant. Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), pp. 144-147.

still being under the curse of the exile.<sup>556</sup> Thus, one should rather accept that Paul uses the words *upo; kataran* 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,<sup>557</sup> Burton,<sup>558</sup> Thurén,<sup>559</sup> Longenecker,<sup>560</sup> Sass,<sup>561</sup> and Schreiner,<sup>562</sup> 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 *pašın* 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<sup>563</sup> puts it: "Paulus hält sich aber an das Faktum der Nichterfüllung. Eine Erklärung dieses Faktums bietet er zumindest hier nicht."<sup>564</sup>
3. According to Dunn,<sup>565</sup> 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.<sup>566</sup> (Dunn's italics.)

<sup>556</sup> Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 172.

<sup>557</sup> *Galater*, p. 19.

<sup>558</sup> *Galatians*, p. 164.

<sup>559</sup> L. Thurén, *Derhetorizing Paul. A Dynamic Perspective on Pauline Theology and the Law* (WUNT 124, Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2000), p. 92.

<sup>560</sup> *Galatians*, p. 117.

<sup>561</sup> G. Sass, *Leben aus den Verheißungen. Traditionsgeschichtliche und biblisch-theologische Untersuchungen zur Rede von Gottes Verheißungen im Frühjudentum und beim Apostel Paulus* (FRLANT 164, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), p. 284.

<sup>562</sup> T. R. Schreiner, "Is Perfect Obedience to the Law Possible? A Re-examination of Galatians 3:10", *JETS* 27:2 (1984), pp. 151-160; and "Paul and Perfect Obedience to the Law: An Evaluation of the View of E. P. Sanders", *WThJ* 47:2 (1985), pp. 245-278.

<sup>563</sup> *Biblische Theologie*, p. 75.

<sup>564</sup> See also Esler, *Galatians*, p. 187; Bligh, *Galatians*, p. 258; and Morland, *The Rhetoric of Curse*, p. 204.

<sup>565</sup> J. D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998), pp. 361-362.

<sup>566</sup> Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 173.

4. Schlier<sup>567</sup> 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 *poihsai* 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,<sup>568</sup> one should not overemphasise the word *pašin* 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,<sup>569</sup> 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<sup>570</sup> 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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<sup>567</sup> *Galater*, p. 133.

<sup>568</sup> E. P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), pp. 20-22.

<sup>569</sup> *Galatians*, p. 311.

<sup>570</sup> D. B. Garlington, "Role Reversal and Paul's Use of Scripture in Galatians 3:10-13", *JSNT* 65:1 (1997), pp. 85-121.

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.<sup>571</sup> One can only refer to what Paul writes in the Letter to the Philippians 3:4 (Ei| ti" dokei a| lo" pepoiqenai e|j sarkiy e|gw mall on) and 3:6 (kata; dikaiosunhn thn e|j nomw/ genomeno" a|nempto"). 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<sup>572</sup> 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.<sup>573</sup> 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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<sup>571</sup> 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.

<sup>572</sup> *Galatians*, p. 187.

<sup>573</sup> See also T. E. van Spanje, *Inconsistency in Paul? A Critique of the Work of Heikki Räisänen* (WUNT 110, Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1999), p. 203; Stanley, "Fresh Reading", p. 502; and Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians*, p. 120, in this respect.

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.<sup>574</sup>

In verses 11-12 Paul continues.<sup>575</sup> 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<sup>576</sup> in God's estimation<sup>577</sup> no one can be justified by the law, is clear, since Scripture states: *oldikaio" ek pistew" zhsetai* (verse 11). This quotation is from Habakkuk 2:4. Compared to the LXX, Paul's question reflects a significant change in that *mou'* (added by the LXX-translator to emphasise *God's* faithfulness) is omitted,<sup>578</sup> thus leaving him with a quotation that better serves his purpose. He interprets this text in a rather unique way,<sup>579</sup> using it to link justification to faith, apparently understanding it as "the one who is justified by faith shall live".<sup>580</sup> In verse 12 he then focuses on the difference<sup>581</sup> between faith and the law, claiming that the law is not *ek pistew"*. Paul takes the expression *ek pistew"* 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,<sup>582</sup> 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-

<sup>574</sup> For a different view in this respect, see Morland, *The Rhetoric of Curse*, pp. 51-68 and 198-214.

<sup>575</sup> *deu*at the beginning of verse 11 is interpreted by exegetes as being either adversative (for example, Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 118; Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 133; Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 234; and Bonneau, "The Logic of Paul's Argument", p. 74) or copulative (for example, Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 137; and Betz, *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.

<sup>576</sup> *ofti* can only be translated as "that" in this instance and not as "because". See H. Hanse, "DHLON. Zu Gal. 3:11", *ZNW* 34:2 (1935), pp. 299-303.

<sup>577</sup> This is the meaning of the expression *para; tw/qewl*. See Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 136.

<sup>578</sup> This omission seems to be deliberate. See the discussions by Koch, *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.

<sup>579</sup> For discussions of the way in which this text was interpreted in Judaism, see H. Weder, *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.), *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", *ACEBT* 6 (1985), pp. 162-174.

<sup>580</sup> Some scholars, e.g. Schlier, *Galater*, p. 131, Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 227, Betz, *Galatians*, p. 145 and Borse, *Galater*, 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, *Paul and the Law*, p. 140; Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 143; and Becker, *Galater*, p. 36. That Paul interprets this quotation as referring to Christ's faith, as Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ*, pp. 150-157, believes, is highly unlikely.

<sup>581</sup> *deis* is best taken as adversative in this instance. See Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 119; and Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 235.

<sup>582</sup> Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 144; and Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 231.

ing" and not on "believing". Paul's quotation does not differ significantly from the LXX, since he only omits ἀἰσχροπραγία". As Koch<sup>583</sup> indicates, this results in a quotation in which even more emphasis is placed on ὁ ποιήσα".

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 ἡμεῖς 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:<sup>584</sup> that Christ died in order to free "us"; seemingly understood by Paul in an inclusive sense: all of "us" who believe in Christ.<sup>585</sup> Paul links Christ's death, in particular, to the removing of the curse of the law, i.e. the curse pronounced by the law<sup>586</sup> 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.<sup>587</sup> Paul mentions that Christ redeemed "us" from the curse of the law by becoming a curse himself, i.e. by being cursed by God.<sup>588</sup> That the way Christ died shows that he was cursed by God is proven by Paul by quoting Deuteronomy 21:23.<sup>589</sup> This text, which originally did not refer to crucifixion, was interpreted in early Judaism as an indi-

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<sup>583</sup> *Die Schrift als Zeuge*, p. 120. Koch also points out that the reason why Paul omits ἀἰσχροπραγία" 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 παῖς ὁ (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.

<sup>584</sup> Becker, *Galater*, p. 381; Betz, *Galatians*, p. 149; and Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 122.

<sup>585</sup> See Bligh, *Galatians*, p. 24; Borse, *Galater*, p. 129; Smit, "Naar een nieuwe benadering", p. 218; and Sass, *Leben aus den Verheissungen*, p. 286. For a discussion of the rhetorical effectiveness of inclusive language in this instance, see the discussion of the use of inclusive language in 3:22 and 3:23 in Section 10. For a different view in this regard, see T. L. Donaldson, "The 'Curse of the Law' and the Inclusion of the Gentiles: Galatians 3,13-14", *NTS* 32:1 (1986), pp. 94-112 ("Jewish Christians"); Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 138 ("Paul and the Jewish race"); W. J. Dalton, "The Meaning of 'We' in Galatians", *ABR* 38 (1990), pp. 33-44 ("the pagan Christians with whom Paul identifies himself"); S. Fowl, "Who Can Read Abraham's Story? Allegory and Interpretive Power in Galatians", *JSNT* 55 (1994), pp. 85 ("we Jews"); and Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 236 ("we Jewish Christians").

<sup>586</sup> 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.

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

<sup>588</sup> 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).

<sup>589</sup> Paul's version differs from the LXX in three ways: 1. ἐπικατάρατο" instead of κεκαθράμενο"; 2. Omission of ὑπο; θεου; 3. Addition of ὁ before κρεμάμενο". 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.<sup>590</sup> 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 *if* $\alpha$ -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<sup>591</sup> through faith. It should be noted that Paul uses the two *if* $\alpha$ -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 chiasmic way:<sup>592</sup>

- 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* (One cannot be justified by the law; only through faith)
- C: Cristo" h $\mu$ a" e $\chi$ gorasen e $\kappa$  th" *katara*" tou *nomou* genomeno" u $\pi$ er h $\mu$ wn katara, o $\tau$ i gegraptai: epikatarato" pa" o $\kappa$ remameno" e $\pi$ i; xulou,
- B: *if* $\alpha$  eij' ta; e $\tau$ nh *h $\epsilon$ u $\lambda$ ogia* tou *Abraam* genhtai e $\pi$  Cristw/ *ih*sou,
- A: *if* $\alpha$  thn epaggel $\iota$ an *tou pneumato*" labwmen dia; 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:

<sup>590</sup> D. Sanger, "'Verflucht ist jeder, der am Holze hangt' (Gal 3,13b). Zur Rezeption einer fruhem antichristlichen Polemik", *ZNW* 85:3-4 (1994), pp. 283-284.

<sup>591</sup> The genitive should be understood as epexegetic. See S. K. Williams, "Promise in Galatians: A Reading of Paul's Reading of Scripture", *JBL* 107:4 (1988), pp. 711-712.

<sup>592</sup> In the light of the chiasmic structure, the relationship between the two *if* $\alpha$ -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 *if*-clauses to provide a short summary of the argument in Galatians 3:1ff., thereby giving a chiasmic 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<sup>593</sup> or an *exemplum* (in particular, as a *similitudo*<sup>594</sup>) in terms of ancient rhetoric, but it should rather be called an *a minori ad maius* argument,<sup>595</sup> as this reflects his use of a well-known Jewish exegetical technique<sup>596</sup> here. He highlights a particular characteristic of a human *diaghkh* and applies it to the divine *diaghkh*.

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.<sup>597</sup> One could summarise the flow of the argument as follows:

<sup>593</sup> Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 169; and Esler, *Galatians*, p. 192.

<sup>594</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, p. 154; and Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 240.

<sup>595</sup> Schlier, *Galater*, p. 144; Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 236; Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 172; and Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 163.

<sup>596</sup> Called *רמז* *ל* *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 middoth in Jewish exegesis before 70 C.E.

<sup>597</sup> 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 diaqhkh*: once ratified, no one can set it aside or add to it.

Verse 16a: *Content of the divine diaqhkh*: Promises were "spoken to" Abraham and his "seed".

Verse 16b-d: *Exegetical clarification*: The "seed" = Christ.

Verse 17: *Application*: The divine diaqhkh 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,<sup>598</sup> 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 diaqhkh, one should think of a human diaqhkh; once ratified, a human diaqhkh cannot be changed. This is even more true of the divine diaqhkh, and so on. Furthermore, another benefit of considering the divine diaqhkh in terms of a human diaqhkh is that it is easy to introduce the concept kl hronomia – 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 diaqhkh*. He begins with the words Ἰδὲ φοιῶ κατα ἀἰσχροῦ ἔργου. Scholars interpret his use of ἰδὲ φοιῶ in various ways.<sup>599</sup> 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,<sup>600</sup> in particular, after the severity of the rebuke in Galatians 3:1-5. As Witherington<sup>601</sup> indicates, the fact that Paul uses ἰδὲ φοιῶ 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 κατα ἀἰσχροῦ ἔργου, found only in Pauline literature<sup>602</sup> (not elsewhere in Greek literature), in various ways, for example, as an indication of a proof "die noch der Prüfung am Verhalten Gottes harret";<sup>603</sup> 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",<sup>604</sup> or as an indication that he distances himself at the outset from the ro-

<sup>598</sup> Becker, *Galater*, p. 39; and Sass, *Leben aus den Verheißungen*, p. 296.

<sup>599</sup> For example, as "um die Aufmerksamkeit der Leser etwas zu erregen" (Schlier, *Galater*, p. 143); a "desire to secure their friendly attention" (Burton, *Galatians*, p. 177); and as "both frustrated affection and gentle coercion" (Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 181).

<sup>600</sup> Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 139; and Amadi-Azuogo, *Paul and the Law*, pp. 160-161.

<sup>601</sup> *Grace in Galatia*, p. 242.

<sup>602</sup> Cf. Rom. 3:5, 1 Cor. 9:8 and Rom. 6:19.

<sup>603</sup> E. Bammel, "Gottes DIAQHKH (Gal. III.15-17) und das jüdische Rechtsdenken", *NTS* 6 (1959), p. 317.

<sup>604</sup> Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 181.

tion that the law is an attempt to cancel God's promises to Abraham.<sup>605</sup> However, it seems as if the best interpretation of this expression is offered by Bjerkelund<sup>606</sup> 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<sup>607</sup> 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 Gleichnisform. Der Apostel führt aus dem Leben gegriffene Tatsachen an und zwingt 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 *kata; aḥqrwpon legw* 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.<sup>608</sup> Therefore he adds the word "human": *οἴνω* *αἰḥqrwπου* *kekurwmenhn diaqhkh*.... He points out: similarly,<sup>609</sup> 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.<sup>610</sup> 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,<sup>611</sup> or that one has to assume that Paul is referring to a situation where the testator has already died.<sup>612</sup> Other scholars are of the opinion that Paul is not

<sup>605</sup> C. H. Cosgrove, "Arguing like a Mere Human Being: Galatians 3.15-18 in Rhetorical Perspective", *NTS* 34:4 (1988), p. 546. Note that Cosgrove bases his interpretation primarily on the use of the expression *kata; aḥqrwpon* in Greek religious texts.

<sup>606</sup> C. J. Bjerkelund, "'Nach menschlicher Weise rede ich'. Funktion und Sinn des paulinischen Ausdrucks", *StTh* 26 (1972), pp. 63-100.

<sup>607</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>608</sup> *Contra* Burton, *Galatians*, p. 179, who seems to be the only exegete to interpret *diaqhkh* in verse 15 as "covenant".

<sup>609</sup> *οἴνω* 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(*οἴνω*); Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 127; and Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 176. Paul's use of *οἴνω* seems to reflect an archaic use of *οἴνω*, but see J. Jeremias, "OMWS (1 Kor. 14,7, Gal. 3,15)", *ZNW* 52 (1961), pp. 127-128, and R. Keydell, "OMWS", *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 *οἴνω* as "although/even".

<sup>610</sup> Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 164; and Cosgrove, "Arguing like a Mere Human Being", p. 538.

<sup>611</sup> For example, Lietzmann, *Galater*, p. 20.

<sup>612</sup> 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<sup>613</sup> 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.<sup>614</sup>
- Bammel<sup>615</sup> suggests that Paul is referring to a Jewish institution called *ayrb tntm*, according to which property could be donated to someone while the donor was still alive, without the possibility of it being annulled later.<sup>616</sup>
- Lim<sup>617</sup> 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, Shelamzious, 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.<sup>618</sup> It should rather be assumed that Paul is not referring to a particular kind of will.<sup>619</sup> 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 *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

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<sup>613</sup> W. M. Ramsay, *A Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1899), pp. 349-356.

<sup>614</sup> According to P. W. Schmiedel, in: T. K. Cheyne & J. Sutherland (eds.), *Encyclopaedia Biblica. A Dictionary of the Bible* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1914), pp. 1608-1610, much of what Ramsay says, is pure conjecture and the most essential points in his argument do not agree at all with what is known of Greek law.

<sup>615</sup> Bammel, "Gottes DIAQHKH", pp. 313-319.

<sup>616</sup> See also R. Yaron, *Gifts in Contemplation of Death in Jewish and Roman Law* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960), for a discussion of the *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).

<sup>617</sup> T. H. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), pp. 59-62.

<sup>618</sup> This conclusion is also reached by Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 130; and Betz, *Galatians*, p. 155.

<sup>619</sup> See Hübner, *Biblische Theologie*, p. 82 n. 131; Smit, "Naar een nieuwe benadering", p. 217; Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 338 n. 154; and D. J. Williams, *Paul's Metaphors. Their Context and Character* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1999), pp. 148-149.

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 *diaghkh*, namely the promises<sup>620</sup> that were spoken<sup>621</sup> to Abraham and his seed (verse 16a). Paul mentioned *epaggel iai* for the first time in 3:14, and he uses the word now to refer to the content of the divine *diaghkh*.<sup>622</sup> In the light of Galatians 3:1-14 one can assume that Paul uses *epaggel iai* 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 *spermat i* and the plural *spermasin*. 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.<sup>623</sup> According to Paul, the singular in the quotation *kai; tw/ spermat i sou*<sup>624</sup> refers to a specific individual,<sup>625</sup> namely Christ.

What is Paul's purpose with verse 16? It appears that he adds this verse in order to safeguard<sup>626</sup> the outcome of the *a minori ad maius* argument. He makes sure that the audience knows the content of the divine *diaghkh*, 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 *diaghkh* 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

<sup>620</sup> Paul uses *epaggel iai* 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.

<sup>621</sup> *efrethsan* is used in this instance in the sense of "zusprechen". See Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 180.

<sup>622</sup> Schlier, *Galater*, p. 144, points out that, for Paul, the identity of *diaghkh* and *epaggel iai* is so self-evident that he could easily replace *diaghkh* by *epaggel iai*.

<sup>623</sup> 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.

<sup>624</sup> From LXX Gen. 13:15; 17:8 and 24:7.

<sup>625</sup> 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.

<sup>626</sup> As Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 179, puts it, "(er) sichert... mit V.16 die theologisch richtige Anwendung des juristischen Grundsatzes".

the application (verse 17) with the phrase  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$   $\delta\epsilon$ ;  $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omega$  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.<sup>627</sup> The application itself (verse 17) is straight forward: like a human  $\delta\iota\alpha\eta\kappa\eta$ , God's  $\delta\iota\alpha\eta\kappa\eta$  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<sup>628</sup>) mentioned by Paul is based on a very old tradition that dates back to the Pentateuch.<sup>629</sup> If the audience accepted Paul's statement in verse 15 that a human  $\delta\iota\alpha\eta\kappa\eta$  cannot be changed at a later stage, they will also accept his application of it to the divine  $\delta\iota\alpha\eta\kappa\eta$  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.<sup>630</sup>

In verse 18 he basically reiterates<sup>631</sup> what he mentioned in verse 17 (though in different words) in that he again dissociates law and covenant (represented here by the notions of  $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\nu\omicron\mu\iota\alpha$  and  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\alpha$ ): if<sup>632</sup> – as his opponents think<sup>633</sup> – the  $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\nu\omicron\mu\iota\alpha$  (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<sup>634</sup>) 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  $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\nu\omicron\mu\iota\alpha$  comes from the law: God showed himself to be gracious<sup>635</sup> through the prom-

<sup>627</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, p. 157.

<sup>628</sup> 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.

<sup>629</sup> See D. Lührmann, "Die 430 Jahre zwischen den Verheißungen und dem Gesetz (Gal 3,17)", *ZAW*100:3 (1988), pp. 421-424, for a detailed discussion of the issue.

<sup>630</sup> *Contra* Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 186.

<sup>631</sup> 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 reconfirming 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."

<sup>632</sup> 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.

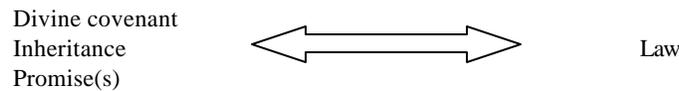
<sup>633</sup>  $\epsilon\iota\gamma\gamma\alpha\rho$  seems to represent an ellipsis in this instance. See Silva, *Explorations in Exegetical Methods*, p. 86. One should thus add something such as "Because, if what my opponents say/if the 'other gospel' is true and the  $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\nu\omicron\mu\iota\alpha$  is from the law..."

<sup>634</sup> As Esler, *Galatians*, p. 194, puts it:  $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\nu\omicron\mu\iota\alpha$  is a "master designation for a cluster of desirable attributes attached to those who have faith in Christ".

<sup>635</sup> This is the meaning of  $\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ . See BDAG ( $\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ).

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  $\delta\iota\alpha\eta\kappa\eta$  is singled out and then applied to the divine  $\delta\iota\alpha\eta\kappa\eta$ . 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:



Furthermore, two weak points in Paul's rhetorical strategy have also been identified:

1. The fact that his statement that a human  $\delta\iota\alpha\eta\kappa\eta$  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  $\alpha\pi\epsilon\lambda\ \phi\omicron\iota\iota$  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<sup>636</sup> 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.<sup>637</sup> 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-

<sup>636</sup> 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).

<sup>637</sup> 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.
3. Verses 23-25: Explanation of the inferiority of the law by portraying it as a *paidagōgōs*.

In the first segment (verses 19-20) Paul begins with a rhetorical question *τί ουχὶ νόμος* (translated best in English as "Why, then, the law?"<sup>638</sup>), 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<sup>639</sup> 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.

- *τὴν παράθεσιν τοῦ νόμου*: In this statement two issues raise problems, namely the interpretation of *καρὶν* and the connotations associated with *προσέτερον*. With respect to the first issue, the choice is notoriously difficult. It is well-known that *καρὶν* can mean either "because of" or "for the purpose of", thus giving rise to conflicting

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<sup>638</sup> *τί* could 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.

<sup>639</sup> *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<sup>640</sup> sin or to provoke/produce<sup>641</sup> 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,<sup>642</sup> my guess would be that Paul is thinking of the law as provoking/producing sin.

There is more certainty regarding the use of *proseteqh*. Paul uses this word to deliberately echo the preceding *a minori ad maius argument* in which he mentioned that it is impossible at a later stage to add to a human will.<sup>643</sup> In his view this would be an indication of the inferiority of the law.<sup>644</sup>

How would the Galatians interpret Paul's statement *tw̄n parabasewn carin proseteqh*? 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<sup>645</sup> in order to identify/deal with/reduce transgressions".

• *ac̄ri" ou| el|qh/ to; sperma w/ ephggel tai*: 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.<sup>646</sup> It only had a function *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-

<sup>640</sup> See, for example, Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 246; Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 190; Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 138; Smit, "Naar een nieuwe benadering", p. 219; Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 256; and Thurén, *Derhetorizing Paul*, p. 84.

<sup>641</sup> See, for example, Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 143; Schlier, *Galater*, p. 153; Hübner, *Biblische Theologie*, p. 83; Betz, *Galatians*, p. 165; Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 175; Rohde, *Galater*, p. 154; and Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 354.

<sup>642</sup> 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".

<sup>643</sup> Hartman, "Galatians 3:15-4:11 as Part of a Theological Argument", p. 141.

<sup>644</sup> So, correctly, Schlier, *Galater*, p. 153; Hübner, *Biblische Theologie*, p. 83; Rohde, *Galater*, p. 154; and Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 138.

<sup>645</sup> They would most probably interpret the passive as indicative of God's action. See Wallace, "Galatians 3:19-20", p. 231; and Thurén, *Derhetorizing Paul*, p. 82. To my mind, this is the way in which Paul intends it. See the discussion of *diatagei*" *di| aggel wn* further on, too.

<sup>646</sup> According to the typical Jewish view the law was eternal. See Schlier, *Galater*, p. 246; and Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 246.

dication that the law may have had a (good?) function at some stage, but that that is the past.

• *diatagei'* *dif' aggelwn*: In this statement there are two closely related issues which are interpreted differently by scholars, namely the meaning of *diav* in this context and the nature of the angels. With respect to the meaning of *diav* it could indicate either instrument or origin.<sup>647</sup> If it is used to indicate instrument, Paul would be stating that God used the angels as agents to give the law.<sup>648</sup> If it is used to indicate origin, Paul would be stating that the angels themselves gave the law.<sup>649</sup> 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<sup>650</sup> 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<sup>651</sup> – something he would surely have realised. In this instance, he is merely stating that God used angels<sup>652</sup> to give<sup>653</sup> 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

<sup>647</sup> BDR §223.

<sup>648</sup> For example, Rohde, *Galater*, p. 156; Amadi-Azuogo, *Paul and the Law*, p. 161; Thielman, *From Plight to Solution*, p. 77; and Thurén, *Derhetorizing Paul*, p. 83.

<sup>649</sup> For example, Bligh, *Galatians*, p. 304; Lührmann, *Galater*, p. 63; and Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 356.

<sup>650</sup> *Das Gesetz bei Paulus. Ein Beitrag zum Werden des paulinischen Theologie* (FRLANT 119, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980, Zweite erweiterte Auflage), pp. 28-30. See also his *Theologie*, p. 83, note 140. For refutations of Hübner's view, see Wallace, "Galatians 3:19-20", pp. 240-242; and Esler, *Galatians*, p. 198.

<sup>651</sup> Thurén, *Derhetorizing Paul*, pp. 81-83.

<sup>652</sup> Following Schlier, many exegetes assume the existence of a widespread Jewish tradition that God used angels in giving the law. However, this is not the case, as has been shown by M. Mach, "Torah-Verleihung durch Engel", in: M. Augustin & J. Kegler (Hrsg.), *Das Alte Testament als geistige Heimat. Festschrift für Hans Walter Wolff zum 70. Geburtstag* (EHS 23/177, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1982), pp. 57-70; L. Gaston, "Angels and Gentiles in Early Judaism and in Paul", *SR* 11:1 (1982), pp. 65-75; and L. H. Silberman, "Prophets/Angels: LXX and Qumran Psalm 151 and the Epistle to the Hebrews", in: A. Finkel & L. Frizzell (eds.), *Standing Before God. Studies on Prayer in Scriptures and in Tradition with Essays. In Honor of John M. Oesterreicher* (New York: Ktav, 1981), pp. 91-101.

<sup>653</sup> *diatagei'* literally means "ordered (through the angels)" in this instance. See BDAG (*diataŝsw*).

positive.<sup>654</sup> 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.

- ἐν κεῖρι; μεσίτου: 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<sup>655</sup> almost without exception interpreted as referring to Moses,<sup>656</sup> through whom<sup>657</sup> 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.

- οὐ δε; μεσίτην " ἐ ὄχι " οὐκ ἐ στ ιν , οὐ δε ; θεοῦ " εἰ " ἐ στ ιν : 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.<sup>658</sup> 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."<sup>659</sup> 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 *two parties* between whom the mediation occurred – something which does not correspond to the oneness of God.<sup>660</sup>
2. *The 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.<sup>661</sup>
3. The use of the mediator represents a *plurality* (in this case, the group of angels) – something which does not correspond to the oneness of God.<sup>662</sup>

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<sup>654</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 140.

<sup>655</sup> In earlier times this statement was frequently interpreted as referring to Christ. See Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 145, for examples in this respect.

<sup>656</sup> Though see Gaston, "Angels and Gentiles in Early Judaism and in Paul", p. 74.

<sup>657</sup> The expression ἐν κεῖρι is a stereotypic expression in the LXX indicating "through the mediation of Moses". See Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 203.

<sup>658</sup> As Dunn, *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".

<sup>659</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, p. 171.

<sup>660</sup> See, for example, Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 146; and Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 142.

<sup>661</sup> For example, Betz, *Galatians*, p. 171.

<sup>662</sup> See, for example, A. Oepke, "mesith" ", *TDNT*4, p. 618; Schlier, *Galater*, p. 161; and Mussner, *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 (τῶν παραβάσεων καὶ ἐν προσηγορίᾳ) 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<sup>663</sup> 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: οὐχὶ νόμος κατὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ; He answers this question himself with an emphatic μή γενοίτο,<sup>664</sup> and then continues εἰ γὰρ ἐδόθη νόμος ὁ δυναμένος ζωοποιῆσαι, οὐ τὸ ἐκ νόμου ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκ δικαιοσύνης. This statement should not be regarded as a motivation for μή γενοίτο, as it in fact introduces a new idea.<sup>665</sup> 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<sup>666</sup>) and therefore righteousness is not possible through the law.<sup>667</sup> Instead,<sup>668</sup> the real

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ipients 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.

<sup>663</sup> See Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 208, for various interpretations of κατὰ 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.

<sup>664</sup> As Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 180, points out, the direction of Paul's argument actually prepares one to expect an affirmative answer in this instance.

<sup>665</sup> Scholars frequently interpret γὰρ 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 γὰρ in this instance as introducing a new idea.

<sup>666</sup> Lührmann, *Galater*, p. 64.

<sup>667</sup> 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".

situation is different: according to Scripture, everything<sup>669</sup> is confined under sin. As was the case earlier (see Galatians 3:8) Paul again personifies Scripture in this instance.<sup>670</sup>  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ ;  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \eta\lambda\gamma\alpha\phi\eta$ ;  $\tau\alpha$ ;  $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\alpha$   $\upsilon\pi\omicron$ ;  $\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\tau\iota\alpha\nu$ . By means of this personification he succeeds in creating a very vivid picture of humankind as confined/imprisoned<sup>671</sup> "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,<sup>672</sup> 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  $\iota\eta\alpha$ -clause indicates<sup>673</sup>). The fact that Paul distinguishes between Scripture and law in this instance,<sup>674</sup> 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.<sup>675</sup> 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<sup>676</sup> (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.

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<sup>668</sup>  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$  indicates a stark contrast. See Burton, *Galatians*, p. 195; and Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 144.

<sup>669</sup> The neuter is used to refer to the whole human situation. See Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 180.

<sup>670</sup> Bruce, *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.

<sup>671</sup> This is the meaning of  $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega$  in this instance. See BDAG( $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega$ ); Burton, *Galatians*, p. 196; Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 208; and Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 370. *Contra* Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 252. The classification of this verb by L&N 13.125 & 44.9 is not adequate.

<sup>672</sup> For suggestions as to which passage(s) Paul may have had in mind, see Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 146; Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 144; and Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 194.

<sup>673</sup> As Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 210, note 139, puts it:

Demgemäß bezieht sich die Aussage des  $\iota\eta\alpha$ -Satzes in V.24 nicht auf die Intention des Gesetzes, sondern auf die übergeordnete Absicht des Gesetzgebers. (Eckstein's italics.)

<sup>674</sup> So, correctly, Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 253; and Hartman, "Galatians 3:15-4:11 as Part of a Theological Argument", p. 253.

<sup>675</sup> Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 208, note 119.

<sup>676</sup> That Paul is thinking in this instance (and in verse 23) of the faith of Christ as I. G. Wallis, *The Faith of Jesus Christ in Early Christian Tradition* (SNTS.MS 84, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 113; and Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ*, p. 167, argue, is highly unlikely. See Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 195; and Hultgren, "The *Pistis Christou* Formulation in Paul", pp. 261-262.

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<sup>677</sup> faith came":<sup>678</sup>

1.  $\upsilon\pi\omicron;$   $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$   $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\mu\epsilon\mu\epsilon\iota$   $\epsilon\iota\prime$   $\tau\eta\mu$   $\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\mu$   $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\iota\mu$   $\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa\alpha\lambda\upsilon\phi\eta\mu\alpha\iota$
2.  $\omega\varsigma\tau\epsilon$   $\omicron\lambda\nu\omicron\mu\omicron$  "  $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\omicron$ ;"  $\eta\mu\omega\mu$   $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\epsilon\mu$   $\epsilon\iota\prime$   $\kappa\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\mu$ .

In the first instance, he picks up the metaphor of imprisonment/confinement introduced in verse 22, reinforcing its effect by adding another metaphor in which this situation is further described as  $\upsilon\pi\omicron;$   $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ . The verb he uses in this instance means "to hold in custody/confine"; and thus, he once again depicts the situation under the law<sup>679</sup> metaphorically as being in prison/custody.<sup>680</sup> 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.<sup>681</sup>

In the second instance, Paul uses personification to depict the law as a  $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\omicron$ '. 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.<sup>682</sup> Apart from Galatians 3:23-25,  $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\omicron$ ' is used only once in the remainder of the New Testament. In 1 Corinthians 4:14-15 Paul contrasts the "thousands of  $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\omicron\iota$ " 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  $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\omicron$ ' and the children he has to look after. For more information on the  $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\omicron$ ' one should investigate classical and Hellenistic sources, which create the following picture:<sup>683</sup> For the first six years of

<sup>677</sup> 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.

<sup>678</sup> 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", *ThZ* 54:1 [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.

<sup>679</sup>  $\upsilon\pi\omicron$  and the accusative is used to indicate "[u]nter der Gewalt und Herrschaft des Gesetzes" (See Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 214).

<sup>680</sup> See BDAG ( $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ ); 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.

<sup>681</sup> See the discussion of Paul's use of inclusive language later in this section.

<sup>682</sup> For a more detailed discussion of what follows, see my "D NOMOS PAIDAGWOS HMWN GEGONEN EIS XRISTON: The Persuasive Force of a Pauline Metaphor (Gal 3:23-26)", *Neotest* 26:2 (1992), pp. 407-416.

<sup>683</sup> 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 *titq̄h* ("wet-nurse") or a *trofoi'* ("nurse") and then of a *paidagwgoi'*, 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 *paidagwgoi'* supervised the children's daily activities, their hygiene and studies. However, he was not a teacher (*didaskalo'*), 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, *paidagwgoi'*s sometimes had a reputation for harshness and were often depicted with a cane, a whip or a rod. On the other hand, many *paidagwgoi'* fulfilled their task with kindness and in some cases life-long bonds of friendship existed between a *paidagwgoi'* and the child he supervised. The *paidagwgoi'* task ended when the child came of age.

This summary indicates that people could have associated a number of connotations with the concept *paidagwgoi'* 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;<sup>684</sup>
- the strict temporary supervisory task and custodian care of the law;<sup>685</sup>
- the moral supervision of the law;<sup>686</sup>
- the elenctic function of the law;<sup>687</sup>
- the harshness of the law;<sup>688</sup>
- the protective task of the law;<sup>689</sup>
- the situation under the law as a period of childhood, a captive situation equal to slavery;<sup>690</sup>
- the strict supervision of the law, preparing people for maturity and freedom,<sup>691</sup> and

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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.

<sup>684</sup> See Oepke, *Galater*, p. 123; K. Kertelge, "Gesetz und Freiheit im Galaterbrief", *NTS* 30:3 (1984), p. 388; and A. T. Hanson, "The Origin of Paul's Use of PAIDAGWOS for the Law", *JSNT* 34 (1988), p. 75.

<sup>685</sup> Belleville, "'Under Law'", p. 60.

<sup>686</sup> C. H. Cosgrove, "The Mosaic Law Preaches Faith", *WThJ* 41 (1978), p. 173.

<sup>687</sup> B. Reicke, "Paulus über das Gesetz", *ThZ* 41:3 (1985), p. 256.

<sup>688</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, p. 178; Becker, *Galater*, p. 44; and Lietzmann, *Galater*, p. 23.

<sup>689</sup> T. D. Gordon, "A Note on PAIDAGWOS in Galatians 3.24-25", *NTS* 35:1 (1989), p. 154.

<sup>690</sup> Lull, "Our Pedagogue", pp. 481-498.

- the law as something that comes between God and humankind, obscuring the direct relationship between them.<sup>692</sup>

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 *συγκλειω* and *φρουρω* 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 *paidagwōt'* 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 *paidagwōt'* (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 *our paidagwōt'*. 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.<sup>693</sup>

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.

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<sup>691</sup> Borse, *Galater*, p. 137.

<sup>692</sup> Von Dobbeler, "Metaphernkonflikt und Missionsstrategie", p. 22.

<sup>693</sup> 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, *Galater*, p. 44; Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 182; Silva, *Explorations in Exegetical Method*, p. 178; and Anderson, *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,<sup>694</sup> 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: *Pante gar uibi; qeou este dia; th" pistew" ejh Cristw/ 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 *paidagwgoi* anymore since "faith" has come. This is that "we" (which has now been changed to "you") are (mature) sons now.<sup>695</sup> On the other hand – and more importantly<sup>696</sup> – he uses this statement to focus their attention on a new issue, namely the link between sonship of God<sup>697</sup> and faith. Thus, in terms of content, the emphasis falls on the notion "sonship of God by faith". By switching from "we" to "you"<sup>698</sup> 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<sup>699</sup> by faith.

<sup>694</sup> For a sociological perspective on the importance of baptism in early Christianity, see J. E. Stambaugh & D. L. Balch, *The New Testament in its Social Environment* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986), pp. 59-60.

<sup>695</sup> See, for example, Lietzmann, *Galater*, p. 23; Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 148; Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 266; and Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 218.

<sup>696</sup> The use of *gar* 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.)

<sup>697</sup> 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.

<sup>698</sup> 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).

<sup>699</sup> The words *ejh Cristw/ jhsou* do not express the "object" of faith in this instance (faith *in* Christ), but is semantically linked to *uibi; qeou*, 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 *ejh Cristw/* 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:<sup>700</sup> οἱ σοὶ γὰρ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐβαπτίσθη, οἱ σοὶ γὰρ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐβαπτίσθη. In fact, one may assume that in this case he not only mentions this important event, but deliberately echoes<sup>701</sup> Christian baptismal tradition or even a Christian baptismal liturgy. Many scholars assume that this is indeed the case<sup>702</sup> – 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<sup>703</sup> 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 δια τῆς πίστεως" in verse 26.<sup>704</sup> 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.<sup>705</sup>

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:

οὐκ ἐστὶν ἰουδαϊσμός· οὐδέ ἐστιν ἡμεῖς,  
οὐκ ἐστὶν δουλεία· οὐδέ ἐμεῖς ἐσμεν."

<sup>700</sup> 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.

<sup>701</sup> 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.

<sup>702</sup> See, for example, H. Paulsen, "Einheit und Freiheit der Söhne Gottes – Gal 3:26-29", *ZNW* 71:1-2 (1980), pp. 74-95; Schäfer, *Gemeinde als "Bruderschaft"*, pp. 82-86; Betz, *Galatians*, pp. 181-185; Becker, *Galater*, pp. 45-46; Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians*, p. 137; and Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 378.

<sup>703</sup> 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 *toga praetexta* for a *toga virilis* (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.

<sup>704</sup> It appears that δια τῆς πίστεως" did not form part of the baptismal tradition/liturgy, which Paul echoes in this instance, but that he deliberately inserted it. See Schäfer, *Gemeinde als "Bruderschaft"*, pp. 84-86; Becker, *Galater*, p. 46; and Martyn, *Galatians*, pp. 378-379.

<sup>705</sup> As L. Hartman, *Auf den Namen des Herrn Jesus. Die Taufe in den neutestamentlichen Schriften* (SBS 148, Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1992), p. 56, puts it:

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 Schluß führen, daß dem Samen Abrahams – Christus – zugehörige Erbe auch den Galatern gehört.

ουκ ε̄χι ᾱρ̄σεν̄ καῑ ρ̄η̄ῑ ῡ:  
 παν̄τε̄" γᾱρ ῡμεῑ" ε̄ῑ| ε̄στ̄ε ε̄χ̄ῑ ρ̄ισ̄τ̄ω̄ | ἰ̄η̄σο̄ῡ.

This part of the tradition/liturgy focuses on the fact that the distinctions normally considered to be very important in antiquity lost their importance<sup>706</sup> in Christianity.<sup>707</sup> 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: παν̄τε̄" γᾱρ ῡμεῑ" ε̄ῑ| ε̄στ̄ε ε̄χ̄ῑ ρ̄ισ̄τ̄ω̄ | ἰ̄η̄σο̄ῡ. 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: παν̄τε̄" γᾱρ ῡμεῑ" ε̄ῑ| ε̄στ̄ε ε̄χ̄ῑ ρ̄ισ̄τ̄ω̄ | ἰ̄η̄σο̄ῡ. Cronjé<sup>708</sup> explains this as follows:

παν̄τε̄" and ε̄χ̄ῑ ρ̄ισ̄τ̄ω̄ | ἰ̄η̄σο̄ῡ are foregrounded by virtue of their occupation of the extreme positions of the sentence; the placing of ε̄ῑ| between ῡμεῑ" and ε̄στ̄ε causes a discontinuity which highlights both ῡμεῑ" and ε̄ῑ|. Thus παν̄τε̄", ῡμεῑ", ε̄ῑ|, and ε̄χ̄ῑ ρ̄ισ̄τ̄ω̄ | ἰ̄η̄σο̄ῡ, 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<sup>709</sup> (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

<sup>706</sup> Following BDAG (ε̄χι), and BDR §98 note 4, scholars usually translate ουκ ε̄χι 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.

<sup>707</sup> 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).

<sup>708</sup> "Defamiliarization in the Letter to the Galatians", p. 223.

<sup>709</sup> The genitive is used in this instance to indicate "belonging to Christ". See Rohde, *Galater*, p. 166; and Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 240.

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<sup>710</sup> and has left everything to his son, the heir. However, as the son is still a minor, his heritage is managed by *epitropoi* (guardians<sup>711</sup>) and *oikonomoi* (administrators<sup>712</sup>) 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,<sup>713</sup> but such an effort seems to miss the point. Although Paul's example comes from a judicial background,<sup>714</sup> his primary interest is not to match some specific legal statutes, but – as happened before<sup>715</sup> – 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 *epitropoi* and *oikonomoi*;<sup>716</sup> 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 f/Father". This is obvious from the fact that the notion of slavery (or its opposite) is mentioned several times later: *h̄neqa d̄doulwmenoi* (verse 3), *ih̄a tou" upo; nomon ekagorash/* (verse 5), *ouketi eildoul o" a|l|a; uibi'* (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 *upo; ta; stoiceia*. The ex-

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<sup>710</sup> Paul does not state this explicitly, but this should be assumed. See Lietzmann, *Galater*, p. 24; Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 163; and Rohde, *Galater*, p. 167.

<sup>711</sup> This is the best translation of *epitropoi*. See Lietzmann, *Galater*, p. 24; Burton, *Galatians*, p. 212; Betz, *Galatians*, p. 203; and Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 192.

<sup>712</sup> This is the best translation of *oikonomoi*. See Lietzmann, *Galater*, p. 24; Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 267; and Betz, *Galatians*, p. 203.

<sup>713</sup> See, for example, Belleville, "Under Law", pp. 60-63; and J. M. Scott, *Adoption as Sons of God. An Exegetical Investigation into the Background of UIOQESIA in the Pauline Corpus* (WUNT 2/48, Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1992), pp. 135ff.

<sup>714</sup> This could be either Hellenistic or Roman. For scholars who prefer a Hellenistic background, see Schlier, *Galater*, p. 189; Becker, *Galater*, p. 47; and Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 282. For scholars who prefer a Roman background, see Belleville, "Under Law", p. 61; and Betz, *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.

<sup>715</sup> See the discussion of the possible background of the will mentioned by Paul in 3:15-18 in the discussion of Section 8.

<sup>716</sup> So, correctly, Lightfoot, *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 *ta; stoiceia* mentioned later. See Schlier, *Galater*, p. 189; and Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 388.

act meaning of τὰ στοιχεῖα is much debated, but the following issues are important in terms of Paul's rhetorical strategy:

- Whatever its normal meaning<sup>717</sup> 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 τὰ στοιχεῖα 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; τὰ στοιχεῖα corresponds to ὑπο; ἐπιτροπῶν" ἐστὶν καὶ οἰκονομῶν" suggests that it refers to something similar to being "under guardians and administrators";
  - the structural correspondence between the expressions ὑπο; ἐπιτροπῶν" ἐστὶν καὶ οἰκονομῶν" (verse 2), ὑπο; ἀμαρτιῶν (3:22), ὑπο; νόμον ἐφρουρούμεθα (3:23), ὑπο; παιδαγωγῶν (3:25)<sup>718</sup> – which all have negative connotations – and ὑπο; τὰ στοιχεῖα would probably have been noticed by the audience and interpreted as an indication that the concept τὰ στοιχεῖα refers to something negative, and, finally,
  - the use of ἡμεῖς δεδουλωμένοι 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<sup>719</sup> 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 πλῆρωμα τοῦ χρόνου. The correspondence between ἀκριθῶν" προέσμια" τοῦ πατρὸς" (verse 2) and τὸ πλῆρωμα τοῦ χρόνου indicates that the expression τὸ πλῆρωμα τοῦ χρόνου is used as an indication of God's initiative: it was his decision

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<sup>717</sup> Scholars who argue that this expression normally referred in antiquity to the basic elements that were assumed to form the cosmos (namely, fire, water, earth and air) are correct. See G. Dellings, "στοιχεῶν, συστοιχεῶν, στοιχεῖον", *TDNT* 7, pp. 670-687; J. Blinzler, "Lexikalisches zu dem Terminus τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου bei Paulus", in: *Studiorum Paulinorum Congressio Internationalis Catholicus 1961*, Volume 2 (AnBib 17/18, Romae: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1963), pp. 429-443; A. J. Bandstra, *The Law and the Elements of the World. An Exegetical Study in Aspects of Paul's Teaching* (Kampen: Kok, 1964), pp. 31-46; D. Rusam, "Neue Belege zu den τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (Gal 4,3,9; Kol 2,8,20)", *ZNW* 83:1-2 (1992), pp. 119-125; E. Schweizer, "Slaves of the Elements and Worshipers of Angels: Gal 4:3, 9 and Col 2:8, 18, 20", *JBL* 107:3 (1988), pp. 455-468. Note that Paul does not use it in this sense in this instance, but in a *figurative way*. For other interpretations of the concept, see Bligh, *Galatians*, p. 337 ("angelic stewards and guardians"); Schlier, *Galater*, p. 182 ("die elementaren Kräfte der Gestirne"); and C. E. Arnold, "Returning to the Domain of the Powers: *Stoicheia* as Evil Spirits in Galatians 4:3,9", *NT* 38:1 (1996), pp. 55-76 ("evil spirits").

<sup>718</sup> This occurs further on, too. See ὑπο; νόμον in verses 4 and 5.

<sup>719</sup> Hartman, "Galatians 3:15-4:11 as Part of a Theological Argument", p. 146.

to set "us" free.<sup>720</sup> 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<sup>721</sup> they received the Spirit who makes them aware that God is their Father, urging them to call out:<sup>722</sup> "Abba, Father". In verse 7 he again emphasises the important aspect: not slaves (of the *stoicēia*), 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<sup>723</sup> 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:  
ἐξαπεστείlen οlqeo' ton uibn autou' iħa thn uibqesiañ apol abwmen.<sup>724</sup>

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

<sup>720</sup> 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.

<sup>721</sup> οft i is causal here, as most exegetes accept.

<sup>722</sup> krazon 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.

<sup>723</sup> See, for example, D. A. Seeberg, *Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit* (Leipzig: Deichert, 1903), pp. 59-60; W. Kramer, *Christos. Kyrios. Gottessohn. Untersuchungen zu Gebrauch und Bedeutung der christologischen Bezeichnungen bei Paulus und den vorpaulinischen Gemeinden* (AThANT 44, Zürich: Zwingli, 1963), pp. 108-111; R. H. Fuller, "The Conception/Birth of Jesus as a Christological Moment", *JSNT* 1 (1978), pp. 40-42; J. M. Robinson, *Kerygma und historischer Jesus* (Zürich: Zwingli, 1960), p. 119, note 13; E. Schweizer, "Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund der 'Sendungsformeln'. Gal 4,4f., Rm 8:3f., Joh 3:16f., 1 Joh 4:9", *ZNW* 57:3/4 (1966), pp. 199-210; F. Hahn, *Christologische Hoheitstitel. Ihre Geschichte im frühen Christentum* (FRLANT 83, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), p. 315; and L. Schenke, *Die Urgemeinde. Geschichtliche und theologische Entwicklung* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1990), pp. 339-340.

<sup>724</sup> Perhaps the phrase *genomenon ek gunaikol'* 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 *legw dei*. Its purpose seems to be twofold, namely to focus the attention of the audience on the issue that follows,<sup>725</sup> 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.<sup>726</sup>

- The *hyperbole* Paul uses in verse 1 should also be noted. In describing the situation of the heir he says *oupen diaferei doulou kurio pantwn wñ*. Of course, strictly speaking, this statement is not true.<sup>727</sup> 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 *ta stoiceia*. 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,<sup>728</sup> but to my mind this is another example of his use of inclusive language<sup>729</sup> to refer to all Christians,<sup>730</sup> 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-

<sup>725</sup> Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 211.

<sup>726</sup> 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.

<sup>727</sup> 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.

<sup>728</sup> For example, Belleville, "Under Law", p. 68; Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 164; and Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 284.

<sup>729</sup> Note that the inclusive language probably formed part of the tradition which Paul echoes in verses 4-5.

<sup>730</sup> 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.

nificant, 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<sup>731</sup>), but also because he uses it as a means of driving home a crucial idea:<sup>732</sup> you Galatians (plural) are sons of God, and, in particular, you, individual Galatian (surprisingly<sup>733</sup> singular!) is a son of God and not a slave.

- The skilful way in which Paul *chooses words and expressions* in this section has been noted in the discussion of the analogy, for example, his use of expressions such as τὰ; stoiceia tou kosmou and το; plhrwma tou cronou; and the structural similarity between ὑπο; epitropou" eḣstin kai; oiḣonomou" , ὑπο; amartian, ὑπο; nomon eḣfrouroumeqa, ὑπο; paidagwgon, ὑπο; ta; stoiceia tou kosmou and ὑπο; nomon. Add to this the designation of the Spirit as το; pneuma tou uibu' auḣtou' 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 *Son* of God; in verse 5 adoption as *sons* is used to describe the purpose of Christ being sent to earth; in verses 6 and 7 the Galatians are described as the *sons* of God. Thus, the description of the Spirit as the Spirit of his *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 *content*, which serves to emphasise the idea of sonship and links it to the other important idea: because they are *sons* of God, they experience the Spirit of his *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 *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 chiasmic<sup>734</sup> pattern:

oḣte de; h\ qen to; plhrwma tou cronou,	
eḣxaperteilen olqeo" ton uibn auḣtou,	A
genomenon eḣk gunaiko!	
genomenon ὑπο; nomon,	B
iḣa tou" ὑπο; nomon eḣxagorash/	B
iḣa thn uibqesiaḣ apol abwmen.	A

<sup>731</sup> 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?

<sup>732</sup> So, interpreted correctly by scholars such as Burton, *Galatians*, p. 224; Lietzmann, *Galater*, p. 167; and Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 175, too.

<sup>733</sup> This aspect is rightly emphasised by Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, p. 244.

<sup>734</sup> Lightfoot, *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 (ἐγὼ δεῖ); 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 τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (verse 3), τὸ πλῆρωμα τοῦ χρόνου (verse 4) and τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ (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,<sup>735</sup> 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 focuses 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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<sup>735</sup> 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*: ἅλλα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐκ εἰδότες θεοὺς ἐκείνους τοῖς ἰσοῦσι μὴ οὐσὶν θεοῖς.<sup>736</sup> In his description he uses the kind of language typical of Jewish missionary practice,<sup>737</sup> but, it should be noted that he specifically uses the *metaphor* ἐκείνους as it is more appropriate for the context of slavery. In verse 9a he describes their new way of life as Christians: νῦν δεγνόντες θεοὺς, μάλλον δεγνώσκοντες ὑποθεοῦ. He describes it as a way of life in which they are "known" by God by using γινώσκοντες in the typical Old Testament sense – aptly described by Burton<sup>738</sup> as referring to "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.<sup>739</sup>

The description in verses 8-9a serves as the setting for the introduction of the *rhetorical question* in verse 9b: πῶς ἐπιστρέψετε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀσκήματα καὶ πτωχεύματα οὐκ εἰδόμενοι πάλιν ἀνθρώπων δούλους ἐπιτελεῖτε Paul often used rhetorical questions earlier in the letter<sup>740</sup> 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,<sup>741</sup> who discusses this issue in detail, Paul wants to express "disappointment and grief"<sup>742</sup> in this instance, but one should put it more emphatically. Paul is not merely expressing disappointment and grief, he is rebuking them.<sup>743</sup>

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.<sup>744</sup> However, the skilful way in which he chooses his words ensures that they cannot misunderstand

<sup>736</sup> τοῖς ἰσοῦσι μὴ οὐσὶν θεοῖς 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, *Galater*, p. 201; and Witherington, *ibid.*, p. 297.

<sup>737</sup> See Bligh, *Galatians*, p. 369; and Lührmann, *Galater*, p. 71.

<sup>738</sup> *Galatians*, p. 229.

<sup>739</sup> 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).

<sup>740</sup> See, for example, 1:10; 2:17 and 3:1-5.

<sup>741</sup> J. van W. Cronjé, "The Stratagem of the Rhetorical Question in Galatians 4:9-10 as a Means towards Persuasion", *Neotest* 26:2 (1992), pp. 417-424.

<sup>742</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 423.

<sup>743</sup> So, correctly, Hartman, "Galatians 3:15-4:11 as Part of a Theological Argument", p. 150 ("a reproaching question"); and Rohde, *Galater*, p. 183 (who describes vv. 8-11 as "Scheltrede").

<sup>744</sup> So, correctly, Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 170.

him: by turning (ἐπιστρέφete used ironically in this instance<sup>745</sup>) to τα; στοίχεια, they are yet again (Note the παῖ in ... παῖ in ἀἰωγεν!) subjecting themselves to slavery (one of the key metaphors in 4:1-11). Paul's choice of τα; στοίχεια (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: ἡμέρα" παρὰ θρησκείαι; καὶ; μηνῶν" καὶ; καιρῶν;" καὶ; ἐνιαυτῶν". 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,<sup>746</sup> his primary purpose is not to provide a complete list in this regard,<sup>747</sup> but to confront – and, perhaps, even to ridicule<sup>748</sup> – the Galatians with the kind of religious slavery they have turned to. The list is made even longer by *poly-syndeton*<sup>749</sup> (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: φοβουμαι ὑμᾶς" μή τι πῶς" εἰς ἡ/κεκοπιᾶκα εἰς ὑμᾶς". This is basically an emotional argument,<sup>750</sup> 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<sup>751</sup> 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

<sup>745</sup> 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.

<sup>746</sup> See, for example, Bligh, *Galatians*, p. 370; Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 227; and Burton, *Galatians*, pp. 233-234.

<sup>747</sup> So, correctly, Rohde, *Galater*, p. 181; and Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 299.

<sup>748</sup> Hartman, "Galatians 3:15-4:11 as Part of a Theological Argument", p. 151. R. Bultmann, *Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe* (FRLANT 13, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910), p. 103, describes it as "höhnische Konsequenzmacherei", but, to my mind, this is too strong.

<sup>749</sup> Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 170.

<sup>750</sup> 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.

<sup>751</sup> *kekopiāka* refers to Paul's missionary labours. See Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 306; Rohde, *Galater*, p. 182; and Betz, *Galatians*, p. 219.

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.<sup>752</sup> 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.<sup>753</sup>

The *first phase* can be discerned in Galatians 4:12a-b: *ginesqe wl' eḡwḡ ofti kagw; wl' uhei'*, *ajel foiḡ deḡmai uhnw*. As indicated by *deḡmai uhnw*, this phase is dominated by Paul's *pleading*: he begs the Galatians to become "as he", because he has become as

<sup>752</sup> 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 *topos*", 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.

<sup>753</sup> So, correctly, Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 171.

they were.<sup>754</sup> As most scholars assume,<sup>755</sup> 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 ἀφελ φοίῳ as *direct address* in order to add affection to his appeal.<sup>756</sup>

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: οὐπὲν με ἠδικήσατε. 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<sup>757</sup> or continuing<sup>758</sup> the thoughts expressed in verse 12a-b. On the other hand, and more importantly,<sup>759</sup> 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*,<sup>760</sup> because he in fact wants to tell them that they acted in a good way towards him.<sup>761</sup>

<sup>754</sup> It seems best to add *gegona* as the implied verb to *w' uhei*". See Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 189.

<sup>755</sup> 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.

<sup>756</sup> 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.

<sup>757</sup> *Contra* Rohde, *Galater*, p. 184. See, for example, Lambrecht, "Like a Mother in the Pain of Child-birth", 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.

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

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

<sup>760</sup> In antiquity the technique Paul uses was known as *aptenantiwsi*". See Anderson, *Glossary of Greek Rhetorical Terms*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>761</sup> 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.<sup>762</sup> He preached the gospel to them, because<sup>763</sup> he was ill,<sup>764</sup> but they did not despise<sup>765</sup> or reject<sup>766</sup> him – something that could happen very easily in those times.<sup>767</sup> Instead they received him as an angel<sup>768</sup> 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 τὸν πειρασμὸν ἡμῶν<sup>769</sup> at the beginning of the sentence. As Lightfoot<sup>770</sup> 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 ἐπιθ/σάρκιμου have given to πειρασμὸν.

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<sup>762</sup> This is the best translation of τὸ προτερον. See BDAG (προτερο") and most exegetes.

<sup>763</sup> διατ 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. Güttgemanns, *Der leidende Apostel und sein Herr. Studien zur paulinischen Christologie* (FRLANT 90, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), p. 175.

<sup>764</sup> This is the most natural interpretation of the expression ἀσθενεῖα τῆς σαρκὸς. See BDAG (ἀσθενεῖα). *Contra* Blich, *Galatians*, p. 384, who interprets this as referring to Paul's feeble physical condition after a stoning; T. W. Martin, "Whose Flesh? What Temptation?", *JSNT* 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.

<sup>765</sup> This is the best translation of ἐκουθενήσατε. See BDAG (ἐκουθενῶ); and L&N 88.133.

<sup>766</sup> ἐκεπτῦσατε 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.

<sup>767</sup> 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.

<sup>768</sup> ἀγγελὸν 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.)

<sup>769</sup> 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.

<sup>770</sup> Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 173.

- He uses the *antithetic ouk... oudei... a|l a| structure* 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 e|jouqenhsate oude; e|xeptusate*. Note the *alliteration* here, too. Nida *et al.*<sup>771</sup> 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".<sup>772</sup> In this instance, however, the use of alliteration seems to be of the former kind; and could thus be classified as merely artful.<sup>773</sup>

- The most effective supportive rhetorical technique in this phase is the double use of *hyperbole* (following the double use of understatement): *a|l a; w| aggel on qeou e|lexasqe me, w| Criston |hsoun*. 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' ouh ol makarismo;" umwnf* Paul uses the *rhetorical question* to convey the rebuke in a very forceful way: whatever happened to their happiness?<sup>774</sup>

The rebuke is followed by another reference to their behaviour during his visit: *marturw gar umin ofti eij dunaton tou;" ofqalmou;" umwn e|xorukante" e|pwkate 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 umin*. 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.<sup>775</sup>
- He again uses *hyperbole*: if possible,<sup>776</sup> they would have torn out<sup>777</sup> 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.<sup>778</sup>

<sup>771</sup> E. A. Nida, J. P. Louw, A. H. Snyman & J. van W. Cronjé, *Style and Discourse* (Goodwood: N.B.P., 1983), p. 24.

<sup>772</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>773</sup> Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 171.

<sup>774</sup> This is the best translation of *makarismo;" umwn*, *umwn* 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).

<sup>775</sup> Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 210. See also Betz, *Galatians*, p. 227.

<sup>776</sup> The condition is unreal; *hh* should be added. Normally one would expect *a|h* 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.

<sup>777</sup> Literally, "dug out" (See L&N 19.42) – a rather gruesome picture, as Bligh, *Galatians*, p. 384, points out.

This is followed by a *rebuke* (verse 16):  $\omega\varsigma\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\pi\alpha\rho\sigma\iota\ \mu\eta\omega\iota\ \gamma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\eta\alpha\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\ \eta\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\omega\upsilon\omega\iota\ \mu\eta\iota\omega\iota$ . In this case he uses an "indignant exclamation"<sup>779</sup> to rebuke them: it appears that he has become their enemy by speaking the truth!<sup>780</sup>

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.<sup>781</sup> 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 ( $\zeta\eta\lambda\omicron\upsilon\eta$ ) as a deliberate attempt to depict the behaviour of the opponents as courtship,<sup>782</sup> but it is more likely that he uses the word in a general sense to refer to "strong personal concern".<sup>783</sup> According to him, this concern is not genuine. What the opponents really have in mind is  $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\iota\ \mu\eta\alpha\ \gamma\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\omega\iota\ \iota\phi\alpha\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $\zeta\eta\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ . They want to "isolate"<sup>784</sup> the Galatians from him so that the

<sup>778</sup> So, correctly, Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 236; Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 310; and Borse, *Galater*, p. 150.

<sup>779</sup> As Burton, *Galatians*, p. 245, points out,  $\omega\varsigma\tau\epsilon$  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!"

<sup>780</sup> "Speaking the truth" refers to the content of the gospel (cf.  $\eta\lambda\lambda\ \eta\gamma\epsilon\iota\alpha\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon$  in 2:5) which Paul conveyed to them. See Lietzmann, *Galater*, p. 29; Schlier, *Galater*, p. 212; and Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 309.

<sup>781</sup> So, correctly, Breytenbach, *Paulus und Barnabas in der Provinz Galatien*, pp. 133-134.

<sup>782</sup> See Betz, *Galatians*, p. 229; and Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 421.

<sup>783</sup> So, correctly, A. Stumpff, "Zhelou", *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.

<sup>784</sup>  $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\iota$  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 ( $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega$ : "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 seem 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, "Ekkleisai 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  $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega$  is never used in this sense (only  $\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega$ ). 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*.<sup>785</sup> It is not clear whether he formulates it himself or whether he quotes an existing aphorism: *kalon de; zh'lousqai ejh kalw/ pantote*. This could be translated as: "Good is always to be concerned about in a good way". To this he adds: *kai; mh; monon ejh tw/ pareinai me pro;" uma"*. 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:

*zh'lousin uma" ... uma" zh'loute:*

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

*zh'lousin uma" ouj kalw", aj la; ejkleisai uma" qelousin, ifa aujtu;" zh'loute:  
kalon de; zh'lousqai ejh kalw/ pantote...*

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.<sup>786</sup> 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.<sup>787</sup> 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.<sup>788</sup> In verses 19-20 he employs the following rhetorical techniques to express his affection and concern:<sup>789</sup>

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

<sup>785</sup> See Betz, *Galatians*, p. 230; Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 313; and Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 422.

<sup>786</sup> Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 172, points out that Dionysius of Halicarnassus believed that paranomasia does not produce *παρο"*.

<sup>787</sup> It appears that the change in tone is triggered by the *ejh tw/ pareinai me pro;" uma"* 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.

<sup>788</sup> So, correctly, Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, pp. 314-315.

<sup>789</sup> 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-Aland<sup>27rev</sup> 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*<sup>790</sup> to describe his concern for the Galatians:  
tekna mou, ouj<sup>791</sup> pal in w|dinw mecric" ou|morfwqh/Cristo" ejh umin...

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,<sup>792</sup> thereby conveying his deep (maternal!) concern and affection for them in a very forceful way. This will continue until Christ is "formed"<sup>793</sup> in<sup>794</sup> them.

- Paul uses an epistolary commonplace<sup>795</sup> by expressing the *desire to visit the Galatians*. This is another indication of his concern for them. He states the reason for his wish<sup>796</sup> as aj|lakai thn fwnhn mou. 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.<sup>797</sup> This, too, indicates his concern and affection for them.

- He explains the reason for his desire to visit them as ajporoumai ejh umin. This is another example of the use of an *expression of perplexity*.<sup>798</sup> In this case he uses it to

<sup>790</sup> Its effect is noted correctly by Burton, *Galatians*, p. 248; Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 171; Lambrecht, "Like a Mother in the Pain of Childbirth", p. 23; and Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 424. For a good discussion of this metaphor and its implications for Paul's theology, see B. R. Gaventa, "The Maternity of Paul: An Exegetical Study of Galatians 4:19", in: R. T. Fortna & B. R. Gaventa (eds.), *The Conversation Continues. Studies in Paul and John. In Honor of J. Louis Martyn* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1990), pp. 189-201.

<sup>791</sup> This is a *constructio ad sensum*.

<sup>792</sup> So, correctly, Cronjé, "Defamiliarization in the Letter to the Galatians", p. 222.

<sup>793</sup> 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.

<sup>794</sup> ejh umin 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, ejh umin 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.

<sup>795</sup> This does not mean that Paul is insincere. See Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 171.

<sup>796</sup> The use of the imperfect (h|tel on) 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.

<sup>797</sup> 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. Wilhelmi, "kai; aj|lakai thn fwnhn mou", *ZNW* 65 (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 aj|lakai 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.

<sup>798</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, p. 236; Smit, "Redactie in de brief aan de galaten", p. 117, and Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 316, call it *dubitatio*. See Anderson, *Glossary of Greek Rhetorical Terms*, p. 24, for a good overview of *dubitatio*/ajporia. 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.<sup>799</sup> 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<sup>800</sup> or typology,<sup>801</sup> or as a mixture<sup>802</sup> of both. As this issue is beyond the scope of this study, I shall refrain from discussing the details of the debate,<sup>803</sup> and instead just call it allegory, since Paul apparently considers it an apt term for what he is doing in this instance.

<sup>799</sup> This is the best translation of ἀἰνὰ ἐστὶν αἰὶ ἰσθροῦμενα. See Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, pp. 177-178, for a good discussion.

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

<sup>801</sup> For example, Oepke, *Galater*, p. 148; A. C. Perriman, "The Rhetorical Strategy of Galatians 4:21-5:1", *EvQ* 65:1 (1993), p. 27; and G. Bouwman, "Die Hagar- und Sara-Perikope (Gal 4,21-31). Exemplarische Interpretation zum Schriftbeweis bei Paulus", *ANRW* II 25.4 (1987), p. 3146.

<sup>802</sup> 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.

<sup>803</sup> 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,

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,<sup>804</sup> 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,<sup>805</sup> and it would in fact not be suitable in this instance.
- Barrett<sup>806</sup> 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.<sup>807</sup> 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<sup>808</sup> 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

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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).

<sup>804</sup> *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.

<sup>805</sup> So, correctly, Siker, *Disinheriting the Jews*, p. 45.

<sup>806</sup> C. K. Barrett, "The Allegory of Abraham, Sarah, and Hagar in the Argument of Galatians", in: J. Friedrich, W. Pöhlmann & P. Stuhlmacher (Hrsg.), *Rechtfertigung. Festschrift für Ernst Käsemann zum 70. Geburtstag* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1976), pp. 8-9.

<sup>807</sup> The other issues mentioned by Barrett, are 1. the use of *gegraptai* 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.

<sup>808</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

become part of the true people of God. However, this is disputed<sup>809</sup> 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<sup>810</sup> 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<sup>811</sup> do, is taking it even further!

- Some scholars<sup>812</sup> 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  $\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon \alpha\pi\epsilon\lambda \text{ foiv ouk ejsmen paidiskh}'' \text{ tekna a}\eta\lambda\iota\alpha; \text{ th}'' \text{ e}\eta \text{ euqera}''$ . 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<sup>813</sup> 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.<sup>814</sup> In this way Betz appears to "prove" that Paul's rhetorical strategy corresponds to the Quintilian's advice. However, Kern<sup>815</sup> has pointed out his flawed reasoning:

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<sup>809</sup> See C. H. Cosgrove, "The Law has Given Sarah No Children (Gal. 4:21-30)", *NT* 29:3 (1987), p. 223; and Siker, *Disinheriting the Jews*, p. 45.

<sup>810</sup> Barclay, "Mirror-Reading", p. 89, deems it probable, but I would place it one category lower.

<sup>811</sup> For example, Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 199; and Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 434.

<sup>812</sup> 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.

<sup>813</sup> *Galatians*, p. 240.

<sup>814</sup> Russell, "Rhetorical Analysis", p. 428, is of a similar opinion.

<sup>815</sup> *Rhetoric and Galatians*, p. 112.

## A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE LETTER TO THE GALATIANS

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:<sup>816</sup> *διο̅ι̅ ἀ̅πε̅λ̅θ̅ι̅ς̅ οὐ̅κ̅ εἰ̅ς̅ μ̅ε̅ν̅ πα̅ιδ̅ι̅σ̅κ̅η̅ν̅ τ̅ε̅κ̅ν̅α̅ ἀ̅λλ̅α̅ τ̅η̅ν̅ εἰ̅ς̅ εὐ̅α̅γ̅ε̅ρ̅α̅ν̅*. 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 ε̅ἴ̅η̅ ε̅κ̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ πα̅ιδ̅ι̅σ̅κ̅ῆ̅ς̅ κα̅ι̅; ε̅ἴ̅η̅ ε̅κ̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ εἰ̅ς̅ εὐ̅α̅γ̅ε̅ρ̅α̅ς̅.  
4:23 ἀ̅λλ̅α̅ ἰ̅δ̅ε̅τε̅ οὐ̅κ̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ πα̅ιδ̅ι̅σ̅κ̅ῆ̅ς̅ κα̅τ̅ὰ̅ σα̅ρ̅κα̅ς̅ γ̅ε̅γ̅ε̅νη̅τ̅αι̅, ο̅λ̅δ̅ε̅; ε̅κ̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ εἰ̅ς̅ εὐ̅α̅γ̅ε̅ρ̅α̅ς̅ δι̅ὰ̅ εὐ̅α̅γ̅ε̅λ̅ι̅ᾱ̅ς̅.  
4:24 μ̅ῖ̅α̅ μ̅ε̅ν̅ ἀ̅πο̅; ο̅φ̅ρ̅ου̅" Σ̅ι̅ν̅α̅; εἰ̅ς̅ δ̅ου̅λ̅ε̅ι̅αν̅ γ̅ε̅ν̅ν̅ω̅σα̅  
4:25 δ̅ου̅λ̅ε̅υ̅ε̅ι̅ γ̅ὰρ̅ μ̅ε̅τ̅ὰ̅ τ̅ῶ̅ν̅ τ̅ε̅κ̅ν̅ῶ̅ν̅ αὐ̅τ̅ῆ̅ς̅.  
4:26 ἡ̅δ̅ε̅; ἀ̅φ̅' ἱ̅ε̅ρ̅ου̅σ̅α̅λ̅η̅μ̅ εἰ̅ς̅ εὐ̅α̅γ̅ε̅ρ̅α̅ς̅ εἰ̅ς̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅  
4:28 κα̅τ̅ὰ̅; ἰ̅σ̅α̅α̅κ̅ εὐ̅α̅γ̅ε̅λ̅ι̅ᾱ̅ς̅" τ̅ε̅κ̅ν̅α̅ εἰ̅ς̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅  
4:29 οὐ̅κ̅ κα̅τ̅ὰ̅ σα̅ρ̅κα̅ς̅ γ̅ε̅ν̅ν̅ῆ̅ται̅;" εἰ̅ς̅ τ̅ῶ̅ν̅ κα̅τ̅ὰ̅ π̅ν̅ε̅υ̅μα̅  
4:30 ἐ̅κ̅ βα̅λ̅ε̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ πα̅ιδ̅ι̅σ̅κ̅ῆ̅ς̅ κα̅ι̅; τ̅ῶ̅ν̅ υἱ̅ῶ̅ν̅ αὐ̅τ̅ῆ̅ς̅": οὐ̅κ̅ γ̅ὰρ̅ μ̅η̅; κ̅λ̅η̅ρον̅ο̅μ̅ῆ̅σει̅ οὐ̅δ̅ε̅;  
τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ πα̅ιδ̅ι̅σ̅κ̅ῆ̅ς̅" μ̅ε̅τ̅ὰ̅; τ̅ῶ̅ν̅ υἱ̅ῶ̅ν̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ εἰ̅ς̅ εὐ̅α̅γ̅ε̅ρ̅α̅ς̅".  
4:31 οὐ̅κ̅ εἰ̅ς̅ μ̅ε̅ν̅ πα̅ιδ̅ι̅σ̅κ̅ῆ̅ς̅" τ̅ε̅κ̅ν̅α̅ ἀ̅λλ̅α̅; τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ εἰ̅ς̅ εὐ̅α̅γ̅ε̅ρ̅α̅ς̅".  
5:1 τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ εἰ̅ς̅ εὐ̅α̅γ̅ε̅ρ̅ι̅ᾱ̅ς̅/ἡ̅μ̅ᾱ̅ς̅" Χ̅ρ̅ι̅σ̅τ̅ο̅ς̅;" ἡ̅ς̅ εὐ̅α̅γ̅ε̅ρ̅ω̅σ̅ε̅ν̅; σ̅τ̅η̅κ̅ε̅τ̅ε̅ οὐ̅κ̅; μ̅η̅; πα̅λ̅ιν̅  
ζυ̅γ̅ῶ̅ν̅ δ̅ου̅λ̅ε̅ι̅ᾱ̅ς̅ εἰ̅ς̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ εὐ̅α̅γ̅ε̅ρ̅α̅ς̅.

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,<sup>817</sup> 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.<sup>818</sup> This strategy suits the context well, since in the previous parts he frequently

<sup>816</sup> This is the force of *διο̅ι̅*. See L&N 89.47; BDAG (*διο̅ι̅*); and F. S. Malan, "Two Opposing Covenants. Galatians 4:21-5:1", *Neotest* 26:2 (1992), pp. 437-438.

<sup>817</sup> There may even also be a hint of slavery behind 4:17.

<sup>818</sup> 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.*<sup>819</sup>

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<sup>820</sup>), and not with the Jerusalem above. In verse 29 he even describes their behaviour in Galatia (figuratively) as *persecution*<sup>821</sup> – probably referring to their persistent efforts to persuade the Galatians to accept the law.<sup>822</sup> 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,<sup>823</sup> 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:

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[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.

<sup>819</sup> 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, *Echoes of Scripture*, p. 112; Siker, *Disinheriting the Jews*, p. 112; Malan, "Two Opposing Covenants", p. 439; Galitis, "Gesetz und Freiheit", pp. 45-46; and Bachmann, *Antijudaismus im Galaterbrief*, pp. 140-141.

<sup>820</sup> So, correctly, Siker, *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.

<sup>821</sup> 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, *Galater*, p. 226; E. Baasland, "Persecution: A Neglected Feature in the Letter to the Galatians", *StTh* 38:2 [1984], pp. 136; and Borse, *Galater*, p. 175) believe. This would not make much sense in an argument against the opponents.

<sup>822</sup> So, correctly, Burton, *Galatians*, p. 266; Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 330; Siker, *Disinheriting the Jews*, p. 46; Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, pp. 337-338; and Martyn, *Galatians*, pp. 444-445.

<sup>823</sup> So, correctly, Arzt, *Bedrohtes Christsein*, p. 178; Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 332; Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, p. 116; Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 217; Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 177; Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 446; and Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 338.

21:	<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	
22:	<b>SUMMARY OF THE STORY</b>	
23:	eḡa eḡ th" paidiskh" kata: sarka gegennhtai	duo uibiv eḡa eḡ th" eḡ euqera" diḡ epaggel ia" (gegennhtai)
24:	<b>ALLEGORICAL EXPOSITION</b>	
25:	miḡa men apo: ofrou" Sina eiḡ' douleian gennwsa Agar. ofro" eḡstin eḡ th/ Arabia/ h/nun iJerousalhm douleuei gar meta: tw n tekwn auḡth"	aḡtina eḡstin aḡl l hgoroumena duo diaqh kai
26:		h/de: aḡw iJerousalhm eḡ euqera mhthr hmwn
27:		(Scriptural proof: Isaiah 54:1)
	<b>APPLICATION TO THE SITUATION IN GALATIA</b>	
28:	umei" kata: iIsaak epaggel ia" tekna	
29:	olkata: sarka gennhqe i" eḡliwken ton kata: pneuma, ouḡtw" kai: nun	
30:	ekbale th n paidiskhn kai: ton uibn auḡth":	
31:	ouḡ eḡs men paidiskh" tekna aḡl la: th" eḡ euqera".	
5:1:	Th/eḡ euqeria/hma" Cristo" hḡ euqerwsen: sthkete ouh kai: mh: pal in zugw/douleia" eḡpecesqe.	

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 *legete moi* used in this instance as a *phrase to focus the attention of the audience*, and, secondly, a *rhetorical question*,<sup>824</sup> which is not primarily used to express anger,<sup>825</sup> but to focus the attention of the audience<sup>826</sup> on the fact that he is now moving to a new argument. Furthermore he also uses *irony*.<sup>827</sup> He addresses them as people who want<sup>828</sup> to be under the *law*, asking them why they do not listen<sup>829</sup> 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

<sup>824</sup> *Contra* Borse, *Galater*, p. 166; and Rohde, *Galater*, p. 192.

<sup>825</sup> *Contra* Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 172.

<sup>826</sup> So, correctly Burton, *Galatians*, p. 252. See also Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 245 ("he challenges the audience").

<sup>827</sup> So, correctly, Malan, "Two Opposing Covenants", p. 428; and Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 172.

<sup>828</sup> The use of *qelw* 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.

<sup>829</sup> *akouw* 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.<sup>830</sup> According to him, the aspects mentioned in verses 22-23<sup>831</sup> represent<sup>832</sup> 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<sup>833</sup> 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.<sup>834</sup> The reading in Nestle-Aland<sup>27rev</sup> is the best, that is the reading with Ἀγαρ<sup>835</sup> and with δεῖν instead of γάρ,<sup>836</sup> thus leaving us with τὸ δεῖν Ἀγαρ Σινὰ ὄρει ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ. 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.<sup>837</sup>
- 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.<sup>838</sup>
- He is referring to a geographic link between Hagar, Mount Sinai and Arabia. According to Gese,<sup>839</sup> Paul is of the opinion that Mount Sinai is in the vicinity of El-Hagra

<sup>830</sup> For good overviews of the use of allegory in antiquity, see Galitis, "Gesetz und Freiheit", pp. 52-53; Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 173-177; and C. D. McClane, "The Hellenistic Background to the Pauline Allegorical Method in Galatians 4:21-31", *RestQ* 40:2 (1998), pp. 125-135.

<sup>831</sup> ἀφ' ἧς refers to all that is mentioned in verses 22-23. See Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 208.

<sup>832</sup> This is the force of ἐστὶν in this instance. See Burton, *Galatians*, p. 257; and Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 319.

<sup>833</sup> Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 330, correctly points out the importance of the *present* participle in this instance.

<sup>834</sup> For more detailed discussions of the text critical evidence (and, in some cases, a choice that differs from that of Nestle-Aland<sup>27rev</sup>), 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.

<sup>835</sup> Supported by A B K D L. P<sup>46</sup> ᾶ C F G support the reading without Ἀγαρ.

<sup>836</sup> Supported by P<sup>46</sup> A B D<sup>f</sup>. See B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart: UBS, 1994, Second Edition), p. 527, for reasons why δεῖν is to be preferred.

<sup>837</sup> According to R. A. Lipsius, *Briefe an die Galater, Römer, Philipper* (HNT 2.2, Freiburg: Mohr, 1892, 2. Auflage), p. 55, this was proposed by Grossmann.

<sup>838</sup> See, for example, W. Bousset, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments. II* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1917), p. 66; and Betz, *Galatians*, p. 245.

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.<sup>840</sup>

- It is a later gloss.<sup>841</sup>
- δεῖ should be read adversatively, and thus Paul's logic is "even though Mount Sinai is in Arabia, it represents the present Jerusalem".<sup>842</sup>
- The clause represents an afterthought in case Paul's audience does not know where Mount Sinai is.<sup>843</sup>
- The Anatolian background indicates that Hagar is presented in this instance as a Mountain Mother, the Meter Sinaiene.<sup>844</sup>

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<sup>845</sup> Hagar-Sinai with the present Jerusalem, again emphasising the notion of slavery: *doulouēi gar meta; tw̄n tek̄nwn aūth*". 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.<sup>846</sup> Note the *inclusive language* whereby he attempts to associate the Galatians with himself – over against the opponents.

<sup>839</sup> H. Gese, "to; de; Agar Sina' o'ro" e'stin e'n th' i'Arabia/(Gal 4,25)", in: his *Vom Sinai zum Zion. Alttestamentliche Beiträge zur biblischen Theologie* (BET 64, München: Kaiser), pp. 49-72.

<sup>840</sup> See also the discussions by M. G. Steinhauser, "Gal 4,25a: Evidence of Targumic Tradition in Gal 4,21-31?", *Bib* 70:2 (1989), pp. 234-240; M. McNamara, "to de (Hagar) Sina oros estin en tē Arabia' (Gal. 4:25a): Paul and Petra", *MillsT* 2 (1978), pp. 24-41; and Hengel & Schwemer, *Paulus*, pp. 186-187.

<sup>841</sup> Burton, *Galatians*, pp. 259-260.

<sup>842</sup> Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 322.

<sup>843</sup> Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 251.

<sup>844</sup> S. M. Elliott, "Choose Your Master: Galatians 4:21-5:1 in the Shadow of the Anatolian Mother of the Gods", *JBL* 118:4 (1999), pp. 661-683.

<sup>845</sup> The word *sustoicew* literally refers to "being in the same rank/series". See G. Delling, "stoicew", pp. 669-670; Lührmann, *Galater*, p. 31; Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 252; and BDAG(*sustoicew*). To my mind, it could be translated in this instance as "belonging to the same category".

<sup>846</sup> 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, "Himmlische 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<sup>847</sup> is explained by the fact that, although it originally referred to Israel, it could also be applied to Jerusalem, and linked to Sarah as *steira*.<sup>848</sup> Thus, he uses it in this instance to motivate part of his allegorical exposition – in particular, verses 26a and b.<sup>849</sup>

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: *umei" dey ajdel foiy kata; jlsaak epaggel in" tekna ejstev* 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 *umei"* in a prominent position in the sentence. Secondly, he uses the word *ajdel foiy* 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<sup>850</sup> 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.<sup>851</sup>

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

Strasbourg, Tübingen, Uppsala 19.-23. September 1998 in Tübingen (WUNT 129, Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2000), pp. 218-219.

<sup>847</sup> Paul's quotation corresponds exactly to the LXX. See Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge*, p. 102.

<sup>848</sup> For more detailed discussions of this issue, see Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge*, p. 209; Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, pp. 118-120; and K. H. Jobes, "Jerusalem, our Mother: Metalepsis and Intertextuality in Galatians 4:21-31", *WThJ* 55:2 (1993), pp. 299-320.

<sup>849</sup> So, correctly, Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus*, pp. 95-96.

<sup>850</sup> 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.

<sup>851</sup> See Lietzmann, *Galater*, p. 33. Note that Lietzmann interprets it as referring to Jewish persecution of Christians.

most significant change<sup>852</sup> being the change from *meta; tou uibu mou |saak* to *meta; tou uibu th" e|euqera*" 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: *dio| adel foi| ouk esmen paidiskh" tekna a| |a; th" e|euqera*". In this instance he uses two rhetorical techniques, namely *direct address* (*adel foi*) to indicate affection,<sup>853</sup> 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,<sup>854</sup> 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.<sup>855</sup>

In 5:1 he again uses the *freedom metaphor*, in this instance to describe both the new status<sup>856</sup> 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;" h|euqerwsen hma" th/e|euqeria|*, but Paul changes it to *th/e|euqeria|hma" Cristo;" h|euqerwsen*, 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|euqera*".

5:1: *Th/e|euqeria|hma" Cristo;" h|euqerwsen* .:

<sup>852</sup> The other two changes are the omission of *tauthn* after *thn paidiskhn* and of *tauth*" after *th" paidiskh*". See Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge*, p. 149.

<sup>853</sup> So, correctly, Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 259.

<sup>854</sup> For example, Schlier, *Galater*, p. 228; Lührmann, *Galater*, p. 80; and Rohde, *Galater*, p. 212.

<sup>855</sup> So, correctly, Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 226; Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 246; Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 333; and Holmstrand, *Markers and Meaning*, pp. 177-178.

<sup>856</sup> 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:<sup>857</sup> *sthkete ouh kai; mh; pal in zugw/douleia* " *eheresqe*. As Malan<sup>858</sup> 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.<sup>859</sup> 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.<sup>860</sup> 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;<sup>861</sup> 5:2-12 as a single unit;<sup>862</sup> 5:1-6 and 7-12 as two separate units;<sup>863</sup> 5:2-6 and 7-12 as two separate units;<sup>864</sup> 5:2-10 as a separate

<sup>857</sup> Note that *ekbale thn paidiskhn kai; ton uibn aut*h" in 4:30 is also a command.

<sup>858</sup> "Two Opposing Covenants", p. 438.

<sup>859</sup> As Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 262, puts it: "almost like a military commander rallying his wavering troops".

<sup>860</sup> It could also be interpreted as an indication that he is rather desperate at this stage, but this seems unlikely.

<sup>861</sup> For example, Schlier, *Galater*, p. 228; and Betz, *Galatians*, p. 254.

<sup>862</sup> For example, Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 180; and Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 467.

<sup>863</sup> For example, Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 260; and G. D. Fee, "Freedom and the Life of Obedience (Galatians 5:1-6:18)", *RExp* 91:2 (1994), pp. 202-204. See also Borse, *Galater*, p. 178.

unit, followed by 5:11-6:13 (subdivided as 5:11-13a; 5:13b-6:10 and 6:11-13) as a separate unit,<sup>865</sup> and 4:21-5:6 as one unit.<sup>866</sup> 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<sup>867</sup>-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 *warning* to the Galatians not to be circumcised.
- In verses 5-6 Paul presents a positive *exposition of the opposite*<sup>868</sup> *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 *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 *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<sup>869</sup> was the first

<sup>864</sup> For example, Witherington, *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, *Die Botschaft der Form*, pp. 242-248, who identifies 5:2-6 as *aperatio* and 5:7-12 as (second) *exordium*.

<sup>865</sup> Holmstrand, *Markers and Meaning*, pp. 178-193.

<sup>866</sup> Smit, "Redactie", pp. 117-123, identifies Galatians 4:21-5:6 as *recapitulatio*.

<sup>867</sup> 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.

<sup>868</sup> *gar* indicates an argument from the opposite side. So, correctly, Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 204; and Burton, *Galatians*, p. 229.

<sup>869</sup> M. Dibelius, *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.<sup>870</sup> However, as Matera<sup>871</sup> rightly points out, such a search for the starting point of the paraenesis in Galatians is ill-advised, 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<sup>872</sup> 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<sup>873</sup> to be circumcised) by means of a conditional sentence addressed directly to them: if you are circumcised, Christ will be of no benefit<sup>874</sup> 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: Ἰδε ἐγὼ, Paul o"... Scholars interpret the force of these words in various ways, for example, as referring to Paul as their "friend and father in Christ";<sup>875</sup> as "tacitly contrasting

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Paränese nennt man eine Aneinanderreihung verschiedener, häufig unzusammenhängender Mahnungen mit einheitlicher Adressierung.

<sup>870</sup> See O. Merk, "Der Beginn der Paränese im Galaterbrief", *ZNW* 60 (1969), pp. 83-104, for a more detailed discussion.

<sup>871</sup> F. J. Matera, "The Culmination of Paul's Argument to the Galatians: Gal. 5.1-6.17", *JSNT* 32 (1988), p. 81. See also Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, pp. 360-361.

<sup>872</sup> The importance of 5:2-12 in terms of the rest of the letter is rightly stressed by Matera, "The Culmination of Paul's Argument", pp. 79-80; and Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 359. However, I prefer not to call it "culmination" (as Matera does) or "climax" (as Witherington does), but "practical outcome", because "culmination" or "climax" may be interpreted in such a way that 5:2-12 is more important than the arguments in Chapters 1-4, which, to my mind, is not the case.

<sup>873</sup> This is the force of present subjective *peritēmh̄sq̄e*. See Rohde, *Galater*, p. 214; and Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 469.

<sup>874</sup> In the light of verse 5 it seems best to interpret *μηδὲ ἴσῃ* as referring to the eschatological judgement. So, correctly, Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 264; and Betz, *Galatians*, p. 259. *Contra* Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 222.

<sup>875</sup> Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 229.

himself with St Peter",<sup>876</sup> or as alluding to his Jewish past.<sup>877</sup> However, as most scholars assume,<sup>878</sup> these words should be interpreted as a way of emphasising his authority as apostle, thus enhancing the effectiveness of the warning.

The second<sup>879</sup> warning is found in 5:3: *marturomai de; pal in panti; ajqrwpw/ peritemnomenw/ oti ofeileth* "e $\sigma$ tin o $\lambda$ on ton nomon poihsai. Paul uses *marturomai* in this instance as an emphatic affirmation in the sense of "insist".<sup>880</sup> 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" (*marturomai*), he also uses "again" (*pal in*), and "every human" (*panti; ajqrwpw/*). It is not clear what *pal in* refers to. Exegetes have suggested the following: the previous verse;<sup>881</sup> his preaching when he visited them;<sup>882</sup> another occasion,<sup>883</sup> or Galatians 3:10.<sup>884</sup> 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*: *ofeileth* in verse 3 is related to *wifel hsei* used in the previous verse.<sup>885</sup>
- He uses *consonance* in a striking way, in particular, the p-sound: *marturomai de; pal in panti; ajqrwpw/ peritemnomenw/ oti ofeileth* "e $\sigma$ tin o $\lambda$ on ton nomon poihsai.

The third warning is found in the next verse. As in verse 2, Paul again addresses the audience directly: *kathrghqhte apo; Cristou*. Witherington<sup>886</sup> describes this as "dramatic

<sup>876</sup> Blich, *Galatians*, p. 419. Note that he also interprets it as referring to Paul's authority.

<sup>877</sup> Vouga, *Galater*, p. 122. Note that he also interprets it as referring to Paul's authority.

<sup>878</sup> For example, Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 225; Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 345; and Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 180.

<sup>879</sup> *deis* used copulatively and not adversatively.

<sup>880</sup> See L&N 33.319; and H. Strathmann, "marturomai", *TDNT* 4, p. 511, who describes it as "emphatic affirmation". Thus, Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, p. 182, is correct in criticising Betz (See Betz, *Galatians*, p. 259) for interpreting it as an oath formula.

<sup>881</sup> For example, Lietzmann, *Galater*, p. 37; and Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 226.

<sup>882</sup> For example, Burton, *Galatians*, p. 274; and Borse, *Galater*, p. 180.

<sup>883</sup> Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 347, suggests Jerusalem or Antioch.

<sup>884</sup> Kremendahl, *Die Botschaft der Form*, p. 54.

<sup>885</sup> Lührmann, *Galater*, p. 81.

<sup>886</sup> *Grace in Galatia*, p. 363.

hyperbole to frighten his converts back to their senses" and Paul is precisely doing that. He warns them,<sup>887</sup> that by trying<sup>888</sup> to achieve righteousness through the law they in fact have nothing more to do with Christ, but have become estranged from him.<sup>889</sup> 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.<sup>890</sup>

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 *gar* 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,<sup>891</sup> righteousness<sup>892</sup> and faith – the only difference being that he now places it within an futurist eschatological context: by the Spirit and from faith we eagerly await the hope of righteousness: *h̄mei" gar pneumat̄i ek̄ pistew" ēlp̄ida dikaiosunh" apekdecomeqa*. Note that he switches now from the direct address used in the previous two verses to *inclusive language*<sup>893</sup> ("we"). Furthermore, *h̄mei"*, 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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<sup>887</sup> 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.

<sup>888</sup> *dikaiousqe* is conative present.

<sup>889</sup> This is the meaning of *kathr̄gh̄hte*. See BDAG (*katargew*). Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 204, points out that the use of the aorist indicates the consequences of the actions of the Galatians as instantaneous.

<sup>890</sup> The subject of the grace could be either God or Christ. The expression *th" carito" exepesate* 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".

<sup>891</sup> 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.

<sup>892</sup> *dikaiousunh* 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.

<sup>893</sup> Vouga, *Galater*, p. 122 interprets *h̄mei"* 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 – *gar* indicating that it is the logical complement of the previous statement<sup>894</sup> – 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<sup>895</sup> (*ej gar Cristw/ jhsou ou[te peritomh[ti i]scuei ou[te a]krobustia a]ll[ia] pisti" dif agaph" e]nergoumenh*). The effect of this sentence is enhanced in two ways by the way in which the sentence is structured: First, he places *Cristw/ jhsou* in a *prominent position* at the beginning of the sentence (hyperbaton). Secondly, he again uses *antithetic presentation* as a means to emphasise: *ou[te peritomh[ti i]scuei ou[te a]krobustia a]ll[ia] pisti" dif agaph" e]nergoumenh*.

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 (*marturomai*, *pa[ri]n*, and *panti; a]nqrw[pw]*); *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<sup>896</sup> 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:<sup>897</sup> *E]trece[te] kal w"*. 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*<sup>898</sup> developing it in a different way: *ti[?] uma" e]pekoyen »th[?] a]ll[ia] h[?]eia[?] mh; pei[?]tesqai[?]f* 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

<sup>894</sup> Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 270.

<sup>895</sup> 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 *e]nergoumenh* as medium and not as passive. So, correctly, Lührmann, *Galater*, p. 82; and Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 232.

<sup>896</sup> For a discussion of the demarcation of this phase, see the discussion at the beginning of the previous phase.

<sup>897</sup> See Galatians 2:2; 1 Corinthians 9:24-26; Philippians 2:16 and 3:14.

<sup>898</sup> 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, Mussner, *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.<sup>899</sup> 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<sup>900</sup> the Galatians from being persuaded by/obeying<sup>901</sup> the truth!

In verse 8 Paul continues: *h|peismonh; ouk ek tou kalounto" uma"*. *peismonh* 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: *peitesqai* in verse 7; *peismonh* in verse 8, and *pepoiqa* in verse 10. The meaning of *peismonh* 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".<sup>902</sup> 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 *peismonh* 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<sup>903</sup> to the situation in Galatia: *mikra; zumh o|on to; furama zumoi*. The referent of *zumh* is interpreted in various ways: the opponents,<sup>904</sup> their views,<sup>905</sup> a small number of Galatians who accepted the view of the opponents,<sup>906</sup> or the small number of Jewish laws, which the Galatians at first had to observe.<sup>907</sup> 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

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<sup>899</sup> 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.

<sup>900</sup> This is the meaning of *ehekoyen*. See BDAG (*egkoptw*); 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.

<sup>901</sup> *peitw* followed by the dative could be interpreted as either "being persuaded by" or "obey". See BDAG (*peitw*). To my mind, in this passage either translation is possible. So correctly, Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 274.

<sup>902</sup> BDAG (*peismonh*). See also L&N 33.303; and Burton, *Galatians*, p. 283.

<sup>903</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, p. 266.

<sup>904</sup> Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 206.

<sup>905</sup> Schlier, *Galater*, p. 237.

<sup>906</sup> Zahn, *Galater*, p. 254

<sup>907</sup> Rohde, *Galater*, p. 221.

of corruption.<sup>908</sup> 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: *εγω, πεποιθα εις' υμα* " *εη kuriw/ofti ouphen allo fronhsete*. The rhetorical technique used may thus be described as an *expression of confidence*.<sup>909</sup> As Duvall<sup>910</sup> 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 *εγω* 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 *εη kuriw*/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*: *οι δε, ταρασων υμα* " *bastasei to krima, ofsti* " *εαν η* He uses the same word (*ταρασων*) 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.<sup>911</sup> Furthermore, he portrays them as people who will be punished by God.<sup>912</sup> 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 *εκ του kalounto* " *υμα* " of verse 7 and the *εη kuriw*/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<sup>913</sup> puts it:

Hier wie dort (that is, Gal. 1:7-9 – DFT) wird über die Gegner das künftige Verdammungsgericht Gottes nicht nur angekündigt, sondern durch den Apostel als den Bevollmächtigten Gottes geradezu rechtswirksam verhängt.

In verse 11 Paul continues: *εγω, δε, ηδη φοιη εις περιτομην ετι κηρυσσω, τι ετι διωκομαι αφα καθηργηται το skandalon tou staurou*. It is obvious that he is reacting to

<sup>908</sup> Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 275.

<sup>909</sup> S. N. Olson, "Pauline Expressions of Confidence in His Addressees", *CBQ* 47:2 (1985), p. 289. J. S. Duvall, "Identity-Performance-Result: Tracing Paul's Argument in Galatians 5 and 6", *SWJT* 37:1 (1994), p. 32, calls it a "confidence command".

<sup>910</sup> Duvall, *ibid.*, note 9.

<sup>911</sup> 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).

<sup>912</sup> It appears that Paul is thinking of the eschatological judgement. See Arzt, *Bedrohtes Christsein*, p. 179; and Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 475.

<sup>913</sup> *Die Gerichts- und Vergeltungsaussagen bei Paulus*, p. 33.

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:<sup>914</sup>

- 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 εἰπω 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.<sup>915</sup> 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.<sup>916</sup> 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<sup>917</sup> preach circumcision. This is not true. If this were true, then<sup>918</sup> I would no longer have been 'persecuted',<sup>919</sup> as then<sup>920</sup> the stumbling block<sup>921</sup> of the cross would have been removed."

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<sup>914</sup> 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.

<sup>915</sup> So, correctly, among others, Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 279; Lietzmann, *Galater*, p. 38; and Schlier, *Galater*, p. 223.

<sup>916</sup> 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.

<sup>917</sup> The first εἰτι denotes that the situation continues ("still").

<sup>918</sup> The second εἰτι indicates inference ("then").

<sup>919</sup> 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).

<sup>920</sup> ἀφ'α 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 εἰπω 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 ἀπὲλ φοῖν when he *addresses* the Galatians, possibly to indicate affection.

In verse 12 Paul continues: Ὁφελὸν καὶ ἀποκοινοῦνται οἱ ἀναστατοῦντες ὑμᾶς". By describing the opponents as οἱ ἀναστατοῦντες" (that is, people who disturb/trouble/ upset<sup>922</sup> the Galatians) he is still *vilifying* them. More important, though, is the wish<sup>923</sup> 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".<sup>924</sup> 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.<sup>925</sup> There may possibly be

<sup>921</sup> T. Baarda, "τι ἐφί διωκομαι in Gal 5:11. Apodosis or Parenthesis?", *NT* 34:3 (1992), pp. 250-256, proposes that τι ἐφί διωκομαι 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.

<sup>922</sup> BDAG (ἀναστατοῦν).

<sup>923</sup> According to BDR §359.1 (note 2), ὀφελὸν followed by a future indicative indicates an attainable wish. H. Krämer, "Zur Bedeutung von Wunschsätzen im Neuen Testament", in: D.-A. Koch, G. Sellin & A. Lindemann (Hrsg.), *Jesu Rede von Gott und ihre Nachgeschichte im frühen Christentum. Beiträge zur Verkündigung Jesu und zum Kerygma der Kirche. Festschrift für Willi Marxsen zum 70. Geburtstag* (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1989), pp. 375-378, prefers to classify it as an *unattainable* wish.

<sup>924</sup> 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 Campenhäusen, "Ein Witz des Apostels Paulus und die Anfänge des christlichen Humors", in: W. Eltester [Hrsg.], *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann zu seinem siebenzigsten Geburtstag* [BZNW 21, Berlin: Töpelmann, 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); "invective" (Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 374); "ridiculing curse" (Russell, "Rhetorical Analysis", p. 432); "a rude, obscene, and literally bloody picture at their expense" (Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 478); "voller sarkastischer und bissiger Polemik" (Kremondahl, *Die Botschaft der Form*, p. 247); and "ein Witz" (Vouga, *Galater*, p. 126).

<sup>925</sup> Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 375. See also M. R. Cosby, "Galatians: Red-Hot Rhetoric", in: A. Eriksson, T. H. Olbricht & W. Übelacker (eds.), *Rhetorical Argumentation in Biblical Texts* (ESEC 8,

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.<sup>926</sup> However, there is no real need to posit such allusions here.<sup>927</sup> 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/their views with leaven, thereby suggesting a process of corruption; in verse 10b they are (collectively) described as *ταρᾶσων* and portrayed as people who will be punished by God, and in verse 12 they are described as *οἱ ἀπαστα-τουντε*". 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 (*πειθεσται, πεισμονῆ πεποιθα*); an expression of confidence (verse 10a); the argument of divine authority (verse 10a,b); adding *εἰπω* for emphasis at the beginning of the sentence (verse 10a, 11a); a rhetorical question (verse 11); the use of *ἀπέλθοι*(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.<sup>928</sup> 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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Harrisburg: Trinity, 2002), pp. 306-307, who points out that denigrating opponents was a stock rhetorical technique in those times.

<sup>926</sup> See, for example, Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 283.

<sup>927</sup> So, correctly, Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 238.

<sup>928</sup> I am aware of four options: 5:13-26 and 6:1-10 as separate units (for example, Bruce, *Galatians*, pp. 239-266; and Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, pp. 389-438); 5:13-6:10 as one unit (for example, Musner, *Galaterbrief*, pp. 364-407; and Fee, "Freedom and the Life of Obedience", pp. 204-210); 5:13-24 and 5:25-6:10 as separate units (for example, Martyn, *Galatians*, pp. 479-558); and 5:13b-6:10 as four units: 5:13b-15, 5:16-26, 6:1-9 and 6:10 (see Holmstrand, *Markers and Meanings*, pp. 200-201).

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,<sup>929</sup> 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<sup>930</sup> 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,<sup>931</sup> 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 immediately 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. Lüttert,<sup>932</sup> Paul reacts to two groups in the letter, namely nomists and spirituals. For example, in 4:21 he ad-

<sup>929</sup> J. C. O'Neill, *The Recovery of Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (London: SPCK, 1972), pp. 65-71. See also J. C. O'Neill, "The Holy Spirit and the Human Spirit in Galatians. Gal 5,17", *EThL*71:1 (1995), pp. 107-120.

<sup>930</sup> J. Smit, "Redactie in de brief aan de galaten", pp. 129-133, 141.

<sup>931</sup> *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur*, pp. 140-146.

<sup>932</sup> W. Lüttert, *Gesetz und Geist. Eine Untersuchung zur Vorgeschichte des Galaterbriefes* (BFChTh 22/6, Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1919), pp. 481-482.

dresses the nomists, whereas in 6:1 he addresses the spirituals. (J. H. Ropes<sup>933</sup> 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,<sup>934</sup> 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<sup>935</sup> 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<sup>936</sup> 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,<sup>937</sup> 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,<sup>938</sup> 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<sup>939</sup> emphasises that 5:13-6:10 is much more than a mere call to ethical conduct:

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<sup>933</sup> J. H. Ropes, *The Singular Problem of the Epistle to the Galatians* (HThS 14, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929), pp. 1-27.

<sup>934</sup> Cosgrove, *The Cross and the Spirit*, pp. 158-159.

<sup>935</sup> G. Howard, *Paul: Crisis in Galatia. A Study in Early Christian Theology* (SNTS.MS 35, London: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 11-15. See also Lull, *The Spirit in Galatia*, pp. 129-130.

<sup>936</sup> See, for example, Lietzmann, *Galater*, p. 39.

<sup>937</sup> See, for example, W. Harnisch, "Einübung des neuen Seins. Paulinische Paränese am Beispiel des Galaterbriefs", *ZThK* 84:3 (1987), p. 290. See also Martyn, *Galatians*, pp. 302-306, in particular, p. 305.

<sup>938</sup> For example, Burton, *Galatians*, p. 290. See also Fee, "Freedom and the Life of Obedience", p. 204; and Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 385.

<sup>939</sup> "The Culmination of Paul's Argument to the Galatians", p. 85. Esler, *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).

[I]t 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<sup>940</sup> puts it:

[I]t 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,*<sup>941</sup> *warnings* and *promises*:

WARNINGS

<sup>13</sup> ...monon mh; thn ej euqerian eij' ajformhn th/sarkiv..

<sup>15</sup> eijde; aj l hl ou" daknete kai; katesqiete, blepete mh; upf aj l hl wn ajnal wqhte.

<sup>17c</sup> ...i{ha mh; a)ejan qel hte tauta poihte.

<sup>21</sup> ...oil ta; toiauta prassonte" basil eian qeou' oujkl hronomhsousin.

<sup>1</sup> ...skopwn seauton mh; kai; su; peirasqh'.

<sup>2</sup> eijgar dokei ti" ei hai ti mhden wf, frenapata/eauton.

<sup>7</sup> Mh; planasqe, qeo;" oujmukthrizetai.

<sup>8</sup> ...oti olspeirwn eij' thn sarka eautou ek th" sarko;" qerisei fqoran...

COMMANDS:

<sup>13</sup> ... aj l a; dia; th" agaph" douleuete aj l hloi".

<sup>14</sup> ...ej twl agaphsei" ton plhsion sou wl' seauton.

<sup>16</sup> Legw dei pneumatati peripateite...

<sup>940</sup> Galatians, p. 284. See also J. M. G. Barclay, *Obedying the Truth: A Study of Paul's Ethics in Galatians* (SNW, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988), p. 219:

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.)

<sup>941</sup> 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.

- <sup>1</sup> ...umei" oilpneumatikoi;katartizete ton toiouton eñ pneumatì prauñthto"...  
<sup>2</sup> ¡Al lhl wn ta; barh bastazete...  
<sup>4</sup> to; de; efgon ebautou dokimazetw ekasto"...  
<sup>6</sup> Koinwneitw de; olkathcoumeno" ton logon tw/kathcounti eñ pasin agaqi".

EXHORTATIONS

- <sup>25</sup> ...pneumatì kai; stoicwmen.  
<sup>26</sup> mh; ginwmeqa kenodoxoi, ajl lhl ou" prokaloumenoi, ajl lhl oi" fqonounte".  
<sup>9</sup> to; de; kal on poiounte" mh; egkakwmen...  
<sup>10</sup> Ara ouh w! kairon ecomen, efgazwmeqa to; agaqon pro;" panta"....

PROMISES

- <sup>16</sup> ... kai; epiqumian sarko;" ouj mh; teleste.  
<sup>2</sup> ... kai; outw" ajaplhrwsete ton nomon tou Cristou.  
<sup>8</sup> ... olde; speirwn eij" to; pneuma ek tou pneumatou" qerisei zwhn aijwnion.  
<sup>9</sup> ... kairw/gar ijiw/qerisomen mh; ekluomenoi.

Two of the commands seem to govern all that is stated in 5:13-6:10, namely 5:13 (... ajl la; dia; th" agaph" douleuete ajl lhl oi") and 5:16 (pneumatì peripateite kai; epiqumian sarko;" ouj mh; teleste). The remainder is basically elaboration and/or application of these two commands.<sup>942</sup> 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 (umei" gar epl eñ euqeria/ ekl hqhte, ajel foi), thereby resuming the notion of freedom (from the law) last mentioned in 5:1.<sup>943</sup> This is followed by a *warning*: monon mh; thn eñ euqerian eij" ajformhn th/ sarki; which, in turn is followed by a *command*: ajl la; dia; th" agaph" douleuete ajl lhl oi". The following supportive rhetorical techniques are indicated in verse 13:

The effect of the statement umei" gar epl eñ euqeria/ ekl hqhte, ajel foi is emphasised in two ways.

First, it should be noted how effectively Paul uses *direct address*: umei" (which is strictly speaking not necessary) is removed from the verb ekl hqhte and placed in a prominent position at the beginning of the sentence. Furthermore, ajel foi is placed at the end of the sentence. Both are used effectively: umei" is used to focus the attention of the Galatians on themselves: whatever may be true of the opponents, *you* were called to freedom,<sup>944</sup> whereas ajel foi seems to be used to indicate affection for the Galatians.<sup>945</sup>

Secondly, Paul uses *alliteration*:

<sup>942</sup> So, correctly, Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 238.

<sup>943</sup> Thus gar 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.

<sup>944</sup> So, correctly, Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 286.

<sup>945</sup> Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 239.

umei" gar epf e] euqeria/ekl hqhte, ajel foiv

As Paul uses alliteration in this instance to link key concepts,<sup>946</sup> it seems to enhance the effect of the statement as a whole.

In the *warning* that follows (monon mh; thn e] euqerian eij' ajformhn th/ sarki) Paul uses the word ajformh<sup>947</sup> This is interpreted by some scholars as a metaphor. Martyn,<sup>948</sup> 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",<sup>949</sup> 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 sarx* 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).<sup>950</sup> In 5:13 (and in the remainder of this section) it is used in a negative sense to indicate the "sinful inclination"<sup>951</sup> in humankind. Barclay<sup>952</sup> draws attention to the fact that Paul uses sarx 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: sarx in opposition to pneuma – 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: ajl la; dia; th" agaph" douleuete ajl hoi". However, he now uses the notion of slavery in a *positive sense*, and furthermore, by contrasting<sup>953</sup> 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!<sup>954</sup>

In verse 14 he motivates<sup>955</sup> his command to the Galatians to be slaves of love by citing a text from Scripture containing the command to love: agaphsei" ton plhsion sou

<sup>946</sup> See the discussion of the two kinds of repetition in Section 13.

<sup>947</sup> 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.

<sup>948</sup> *Galatians*, p. 485. See also Vouga, *Galater*, p. 129.

<sup>949</sup> BDAG (ajformh); L&N 22.46. See also Betz, *Galatians*, p. 272; and Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 239.

<sup>950</sup> The only exception thus far in the letter was 3:3 where he uses it in a negative sense.

<sup>951</sup> 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".

<sup>952</sup> Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, pp. 209-210.

<sup>953</sup> ajl la; is used adversatively.

<sup>954</sup> 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.

<sup>955</sup> gar indicates cause in this instance.

wl' seauton (Lev. 19:18).<sup>956</sup> This is another example in which Paul uses *the authority of Scripture* as basis for his statements. Furthermore, the word he chooses, *peplhrwtai*, 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. *olpa" nomo"* does not refer to all the individual prohibitions and prescriptions of the law, but to its essence, "das Gesetz als im Liebesgebot eschatobgisch erfüllte Ganzheit".<sup>957</sup> 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".<sup>958</sup> This is not identical to doing/keeping the law.<sup>959</sup> 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*<sup>960</sup> them of the consequences if they do not love one another.<sup>961</sup> *eij de; ajl | hl ou" daknete kai; katesqiw ete, bletepe mh; upf ajl | hl wn ajal wqhte*. The three metaphors are arranged in such a way that a progression can be detected: bite → tear to pieces → consume,<sup>962</sup> 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.<sup>963</sup> 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.<sup>964</sup> If this interpretation is correct, Paul is also using their *personal experience as*

<sup>956</sup> Paul quotes Leviticus 19:18b from the LXX without any changes.

<sup>957</sup> Söding, *Das Liebesgebot bei Paulus*, p. 201.

<sup>958</sup> Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, p. 139.

<sup>959</sup> 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).

<sup>960</sup> This could possibly also be categorised as *rebuke*.

<sup>961</sup> *de* indicates contrast.

<sup>962</sup> See BDAG (*daknw*, *katesqiw* and *ajal ißkw*) 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.

<sup>963</sup> For example, Becker, *Galater*, p. 87; and Borse, *Galater*, p. 193.

<sup>964</sup> 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 proves 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<sup>965</sup> verse 16 with the *command* to walk by the Spirit<sup>966</sup> (pneumati peripateite), followed by a *promise*<sup>967</sup> (kai; epiqumian sarko; uj mh; teleshte). In verse 17a-c he explains the situation: for<sup>968</sup> the flesh desires against the Spirit and the Spirit desires against the flesh; for they are opposed/hostile to one another.<sup>969</sup> In the last part of the verse (i.e. verse 17d) he explains the implications of this: i{ha mh; a}e{pan qel hte tauta poihte. The interpretation of this phrase is disputed for two reasons: 1. i{ha mh; a}e{pan qel hte may be read as indicating either result or purpose, and 2. a}e{pan qel hte 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;<sup>970</sup>
- with the result that you do not do the negative things you want to do;<sup>971</sup>
- with the result that you do not do the positive or negative things you want to do;<sup>972</sup>

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*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, *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, *Galatians*, p. 225).

<sup>965</sup> *deis* used copulatively.

<sup>966</sup> The dative *pneumati* is best interpreted as indicating origin and quality (for example, Betz, *Galatians*, p. 277) and not rule (*contra* Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 209). See also J. O. Holloway, *PERIPATEW as a Thematic Marker for Pauline Ethics* (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1992), pp. 100-101, in this regard. I interpret *pneuma* 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.), *Die Freude an Gott – unsere Kraft. Festschrift für Otto Bernhard Knoch zum 65. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1991), pp. 183-188.

<sup>967</sup> According to BDR §365, *uj mh* with the aorist subjunctive is the most definite form of negation with regard to the future.

<sup>968</sup> *gar* is used twice in this verse to indicate a causal relationship.

<sup>969</sup> L&N 39.1 explain *ajntikeimai* as follows:

[T]o oppose someone, involving not only a psychological attitude but also a corresponding behavior – "to oppose, to be hostile toward, to show hostility".

<sup>970</sup> For example, Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 211; P. Althaus, "'Das ihr nicht tut, was ihr wollt'. Zur Auslegung von Gal. 5,17", *ThLZ* 76 (1951), pp. 15-18; Martyn, *Galatians*, pp. 494, 536-540; and J. Lambrecht, "The Right Things You Want to Do. A Note on Gal 5,17c", *Biblica* 79 (1998), pp. 514-522.

<sup>971</sup> For example, G. S. Duncan, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (MNTC, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1948), p. 168.

<sup>972</sup> For example, Betz, *Galatians*, pp. 278-280.

- in order that you do not do the negative things you want to do;<sup>973</sup>
- in order that you do not do the positive things you want to do;<sup>974</sup>
- in order that you do not do the positive or negative things that you want to do.<sup>975</sup>

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  $\alpha) \epsilon\pi\alpha\ \eta\epsilon\lambda\ \eta\tau\epsilon$ . As Robertson<sup>976</sup> 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<sup>977</sup> he writes:  $\omicron) \gamma\alpha\ \epsilon\pi\alpha\ \sigma\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\ \alpha\eta\eta\rho\omega\pi\omicron$ ,  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \kappa\alpha\iota$ ;  $\eta\epsilon\lambda\ \eta\tau\epsilon$ . 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:  $\omicron\tau\iota\ \omicron\ \sigma\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\ \epsilon\iota\eta\ \tau\eta\eta\ \sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\alpha\ \epsilon\beta\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \epsilon\kappa\ \tau\eta\ \sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\omicron$ ,  $\eta\epsilon\lambda\ \eta\tau\epsilon\ \ \text{f}\omicron\text{r}\omicron\alpha\ \text{,}\ \omicron\ \delta\epsilon\ \sigma\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\ \epsilon\iota\eta\ \ \text{t}\omicron\ \text{p}\text{neuma}\ \epsilon\kappa\ \text{t}\omicron\ \text{p}\text{neumato}$   $\eta\epsilon\lambda\ \eta\tau\epsilon$   $\zeta\omega\eta\eta\ \alpha\iota\eta\eta\nu\iota\omicron\eta$ . Verse 5:17d should therefore be interpreted in a similar way. If this is correct, one must still decide the meaning of  $\iota\eta\alpha$ . It is well known that  $\iota\eta\alpha$  normally indicates purpose, but it may also be used to indicate result.<sup>978</sup> Interestingly enough, it seems, that when linguists consider this specific phrase, they always interpret  $\iota\eta\alpha$  as indicating result rather than purpose.<sup>979</sup> This seems to be the correct interpretation, as it difficult to make sense of it as indicating purpose in this instance, the first question being "whose purpose?" It is possible to interpret it as referring to the purpose of either the Spirit or the flesh (mentioned in 17a and b), but there is still 17c ( $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \gamma\alpha\ \alpha\eta\ \iota\ \eta\ \omicron\iota$  "  $\alpha\eta\tau\iota\kappa\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$ ) between 17a-

<sup>973</sup> Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, pp. 394-395; and R. Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms. A Study of their Use in Conflict Settings* (AGJU 10, Leiden: Brill, 1971), pp. 106-107 (cf. also note 1 on p. 107); and R. Lutjens, "You Do Not Do What You Want: What Does Galatians 5:17 Really Mean?", *Presb* 16:2 (1990), pp. 114-115.

<sup>974</sup> This is one of the interpretations proposed by J. J. Kilgallen, "The Strivings of the Flesh... (Galatians 5,17)", *Bib* 80 (1999), pp. 113-114. (The other possibility is reading  $\iota\eta\alpha$  as *telic*: with the result that you do not do the positive things you want to.)

<sup>975</sup> For example, Burton, *Galatians*, pp. 300-302; Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 377; and Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 299.

<sup>976</sup> A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1919, Third Edition), p. 957.

<sup>977</sup> See also 5:10:  $\omicron\ \delta\epsilon\ \tau\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\omega\eta\ \upsilon\mu\alpha$  "  $\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\ \tau\omicron\ \kappa\rho\iota\mu\alpha$ ,  $\omicron\ \sigma\tau\iota$  "  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\ \eta\ \iota$

<sup>978</sup> See, for example, BDR §391.5; Moulton *New Testament Greek III*, p. 102; and BDAG ( $\iota\eta\alpha$ , 3).

<sup>979</sup> Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, §352; Robertson, *Grammar*, p. 998; and BDAG ( $\iota\eta\alpha$ , 3). See also the discussions by C. F. D. Moule, *An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963, Second Edition), p. 142; and E. H. Blakeney, "The 'Ecbatic' Use of  $\iota\eta\alpha$  in N.T.", *ET* 53 (1941-1942), pp. 377-378. See A. N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar chiefly of the Attic Dialect as Written and Spoken from Classical Antiquity down to the Present Time* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968. Reprographischer Nachdruck der Ausgabe London 1897), §1949-1951, for examples illustrating the gradual replacement of  $\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon$  by  $\iota\eta\alpha$  in this regard.

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 *l̄h̄a* 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:<sup>980</sup> *eij de; pneumat̄i agesqe...* Although he now uses a different expression, he refers to the same notion indicated by *pneumat̄i peripateite* (verse 16). The remainder of verse 18 (*ouk̄ ējste; up̄o; nomon*) 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 *up̄o; nomon* (as well as *up̄o; amartian* and *up̄o; paidagwgon*) was used in this sense.<sup>981</sup>

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* *legw̄ de;* 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: *p̄neumat̄i p̄eripateite*. As was the case with the alliteration in verse 13, he uses consonance to link key concepts in this instance too,<sup>982</sup> thereby enhancing the effect of the statement as a whole.

Thirdly, he uses *chiasm* extensively in this subsection.<sup>983</sup>

<sup>16</sup> <i>Legw̄ de; pneumat̄i peripateite</i>	A
<i>kai; ēpiqumian sarko' oujmh; teleste.</i>	B
<sup>17</sup> <i>hlgar sarx̄ ēpiquei</i>	B
<i>kata; tou pneumat̄o",</i>	A
<i>to; de; pneuma</i>	A
<i>kata; th" sarko'...</i>	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<sup>984</sup> to present two extensive lists of what is produced in a congregation<sup>985</sup> by the flesh

<sup>980</sup> *deis* used copulatively. So, correctly, Schlier, *Galater*, p. 251: "fortleitend und erklärend".

<sup>981</sup> 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.

<sup>982</sup> See the discussion of the two kinds of repetition in Section 13.

<sup>983</sup> 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.

<sup>984</sup> 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. Wibling, *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, akaqarsia, aysel geia, eidwl olatria, farmakeia, ... meqai, kwmoi) are of a more general nature, whereas the items found towards the middle of the list (eḅqrai, eḅi", zhlo", qumoiḅ eḅriqeiai, dicostasiai, aiḅesei", fḅonoi) 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.<sup>986</sup> 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<sup>987</sup> – 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.<sup>988</sup> 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.<sup>989</sup> Another interesting aspect should be noted; many of the items in the lists can be found in contemporary vice and virtue lists.<sup>990</sup> 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

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Berlin: Töpelmann, 1959), pp. 14-76; and E. Kamlah, *Die Form der katalogischen Paränese im Neuen Testament* (WUNT 7, Tübingen: Mohr, 1964), pp. 103-170.

<sup>985</sup> 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.

<sup>986</sup> 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.

<sup>987</sup> So, among others, Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 260; and Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 309.

<sup>988</sup> So, correctly, Duvall, "Identity-Performance-Result", p. 34.

<sup>989</sup> 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.

<sup>990</sup> 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 *ta; erga th" sarko!* 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.<sup>991</sup> Furthermore, his choice of the *metaphor* *ol karpou!* *tou pneumato!* 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.<sup>992</sup>

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 *ajprolegw umin, kaqw!" proeipon ofti oil ta; toiauta prassonte!" basileian qeou uj klhronomhsousin*. Two aspects should be pointed out. First the phrase *ajprolegw umin, kaqw!" proeipon* acts as a *phrase focusing the attention of the Galatians*, as it effectively emphasises the importance of what follows. Secondly, as many scholars assume,<sup>993</sup> the *warning* *oil ta; toiauta prassonte!" basileian qeou uj klhronomhsousin* (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: *kata; tw n toioutwn uj e!stin nomo!*. The interpretation of this phrase is disputed. Some scholars, for example Robb<sup>994</sup> and Witherington,<sup>995</sup> 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".<sup>996</sup> However, as other scholars argue, the presence of the phrase may be coincidental, as no real agreement appears to exist between

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<sup>991</sup> So, among others, Burton, *Galatians*, p. 313; Rohde, *Galater*, p. 236; and Fee, "Freedom and the Life of Obedience", pp. 204-210.

<sup>992</sup> This is noted by many scholars. See, for example, Schlier, *Galater*, p. 256; Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 385; and Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 259.

<sup>993</sup> 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.

<sup>994</sup> J. D. Robb, "Galatians V. 23. An Explanation", *ET* 56 (1944-45), pp. 279-280.

<sup>995</sup> *Grace in Galatia*, p. 413.

<sup>996</sup> *Ibid.*

the way in which Paul uses this phrase in this instance and the way it is used by Aristotle.<sup>997</sup> Whatever its origin, he apparently wishes to state is that there is no law against the virtues<sup>998</sup> 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.<sup>999</sup>

Paul continues:<sup>1000</sup> *oil de; tou Cristou » Ihsou/ thn sarka eptaurwsan sun toi" paqhmasin kai; tai" epiqumiai*". He uses *eptaurwsan* 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<sup>1001</sup> 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.<sup>1002</sup> As Söding<sup>1003</sup> 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.

<sup>997</sup> 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.

<sup>998</sup> *tw n to ioutw n* is best taken as neuter. See, for example, Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 213; Burton, *Galatians*, p. 318; and Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, p. 123. *Contra* Oepke, *Galater*, pp. 173, 183; and Campbell, "Against such Things", p. 272.

<sup>999</sup> So correctly, among others, Burton, *Galatians*, p. 318; and Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 263.

<sup>1000</sup> *de* should be interpreted as copulatively; *contra* Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 390, who interprets it as adversatively.

<sup>1001</sup> This is the meaning of *oil tou Cristou*. See, among others, Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 500; and Vouga, *Galater*, p. 141.

<sup>1002</sup> Bryant, *The Risen Crucified Christ*, p. 188, correctly points out that believers should participate actively in the crucifixion of the flesh.

<sup>1003</sup> *Das Liebesgebot bei Paulus*, p. 216.



pneumati,                    B  
 pneumati                    B  
 kai; stoicwmen.            A

By using chiasm he succeeds in conveying the idea in a very neat and concise way.

**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, akaqarsia, asel geia;
2. eijwlolatria, farmakeia;
3. eçqrai, efi", zhl o", qumoi, efiqeiai, dicostasiai, airesei", fqnoi;
4. meqai, kwmoi.

However, scholars do not describe the four groups in the same way. Some examples: *De Wette*<sup>1012</sup> identifies the four groups as "fleischliche Lüste", "Aberglaube", "Feindschaft, Streit und dgl." and "Ueppigkeit". *Lightfoot*<sup>1013</sup> cautions against seeking for a systematic classification, yet suggests a "partial and unconscious arrangement", which he summarises as follows:

Sensual passions:	porneia, akaqarsia, asel geia;
Unlawful dealings in things spiritual:	eijwlolatria, farmakeia;
Violations of brotherly love:	
A general expression:	eçqrai;
In ascending scale:	efi", zhl o", qumoi("a more passionate form of efi"), efiqeiai ("a stronger development of zhl o"), dicostasiai, airesei", fqnoi;
Intemperate excesses:	meqai, kwmoi.

This fourfold classification is also accepted by *Sieffert*,<sup>1014</sup> *Burton*<sup>1015</sup> (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*<sup>1016</sup> (who describes it as "Unzuchtssünden", "Sünden gegen die religiöse Ordnung", "Sünden gegen die Nächstenliebe" and

<sup>1012</sup> W. M. L. de Wette, *Kurze Erklärung des Briefes an die Galater und die Briefe an die Thessalonicher* (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1845, 2. verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage), p. 78. Note that he follows G. B. Winer, *Pauli ad Galater*, in this respect.

<sup>1013</sup> *Galatians*, p. 211.

<sup>1014</sup> F. Sieffert, *Der Brief an die Galater* (KEK 7, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1899, 9. Auflage), p. 323. It appears that Zahn, *Galater*, p. 265, also accepts a fourfold grouping, but he does not indicate this clearly.

<sup>1015</sup> *Galatians*, p. 304.

<sup>1016</sup> *Tugend und Lasterkataloge*, p. 15.

A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE LETTER TO THE GALATIANS

"Sünden der Unmäßigkeit"), *Duncan*,<sup>1017</sup> *Becker*,<sup>1018</sup> *Rohde*,<sup>1019</sup> *Fee*<sup>1020</sup> (illicit sex; illicit worship; breakdown in relationships; excesses) and *Vouga*.<sup>1021</sup>

Some scholars propose a threefold classification, for example Olshausen, Ramsay, Mussner and Witherington:

1. porneia, akaqarsia, ašel geia, eijwl ol atria, farmakeia;
2. ečqrai, efi", zhl o", qumoiy efriqeiai, dicostasiai, aifesei", fqonoi;
3. meqai, kwmoi.

*Olshausen*<sup>1022</sup> describes the three groups as "Wollustsünden", "Neid und Hass" and "Formen der Schwelgerei", whereas *Ramsay*<sup>1023</sup> 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*,<sup>1024</sup> 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, akaqarsia, ašel geia,<br>eijwl ol atria, farmakeia.           |
| Eight vices linked to the community: | ečqrai, efi", zhl o", qumoiy efriqeiai, dicostasiai, aifesei", fqonoi. |
| Last two vices:                      | meqai, kwmoi.  |

*Witherington*<sup>1025</sup> 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*<sup>1026</sup> 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:  
porneia, akaqarsia, ašel geia.
- Group 2: eijwl ol atria as source from which the others spring:  
eijwl ol atria, farmakeia, ečqrai, efi", zhl o", qumoiy efriqeiai, dicostasiai, aifesei", fqonoi.

<sup>1017</sup> *Galatians*, pp. 170-171.

<sup>1018</sup> *Galater*, p. 90.

<sup>1019</sup> *Galater*, p. 238.

<sup>1020</sup> "Freedom and the Life of Obedience", p. 208.

<sup>1021</sup> *Galater*, pp. 137-138.

<sup>1022</sup> H. Olshausen, *Die Briefe Pauli an die Galater, Epheser, Kolosser und Thessalonicher* (BCSNT 4, Königsberg: August Wilhelm Unzer, 1844, Neue Auflage), p. 106.

<sup>1023</sup> *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 eijwl ol atria and farmakeia to immorality. He points out that eijwl ol atria was often associated with immorality and interprets farmakeia as referring to love incantations.

<sup>1024</sup> *Galaterbrief*, p. 381. Mussner's division corresponds to that of Ramsay, but he does not describe it in the same way as Ramsay.

<sup>1025</sup> *Grace in Galatia*, pp. 397-399.

<sup>1026</sup> *Galatians*, p. 496.

## A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE LETTER TO THE GALATIANS

Group 3: The way in which wine and liquor can lead one to withdraw in oneself:  
 meqai, kwmoi.

The classification proposed by *Thomas*<sup>1027</sup> is rather intricate and may be summarised as follows:

- Key concept porneia followed by two concrete examples ("Aktualisierungen"):  
 akaqarsia, ayselgeia.
- eijwlo atria followed by a concrete example: farmakeia.
- A group focusing on problems in the community of which the first are more traditional:  
 efcqrai, efi", zhlo", qumoiy efrigeiai,  
 followed by two concrete examples referring to the Galatians:  
 dicostasiai, aifesei".
- A last group of three (fqonoi, meqai, kwmoi) of which the first vice serves as introduction and the last two are linked to the first group.

*Borse*<sup>1028</sup> includes fonoi (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:                              | porneia, akaqarsia, ayselgeia.                              |
| Second group: ("nur teilweise vergleichbare Vergehen"): | eijwlo atria, farmakeia, efcqrai.                           |
| Third group (six vices grouped in pairs):               | efi", zhlo",<br>qumoiy efrigeiai,<br>dicostasiai, aifesei". |
| Fourth group:   | fqonoi, fonoi.  |
| Fifth group:  | meqai, kwmoi.   |

### Virtues

The most popular classification for the list of virtues seems to be that of three sets of three concepts (cf. Nestle-Aland<sup>27rev</sup> and UBS<sup>4</sup>):

ajgaph cara: eijrhnh,  
 makroqumia crhstoith" ajgaqwsunh,  
 pisti" prauh" ejkrateia.

However, scholars do not always describe the three sets in the same way. Some, for example *Schlier*,<sup>1029</sup> *Ebeling*,<sup>1030</sup> and *Martyn*,<sup>1031</sup> 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*<sup>1032</sup> 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*<sup>1033</sup> 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.

<sup>1027</sup> J. Thomas, "Formgesetz des Begriffskatalogs im Neuen Testament", *ThZ* 24 (1968), p. 28.

<sup>1028</sup> *Galater*, p. 200.

<sup>1029</sup> *Galater*, p. 256.

<sup>1030</sup> *Wahrheit des Evangeliums*, p. 344.

<sup>1031</sup> *Galatians*, p. 498.

<sup>1032</sup> *Galatians*, p. 212.

<sup>1033</sup> A. Steinmann, *Die Briefe an die Thessalonicher und Galater* (HSNT 5, Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1935, 4. neu bearbeitete Auflage), pp. 158-159.

Borse<sup>1034</sup> also follows a threefold classification although he admits that it is difficult to indicate the relationship between *εἰργρατεία*, on the one hand, and *πραῦτης* and *πίστις*, on the other hand. Betz<sup>1035</sup> 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<sup>1036</sup> also classifies the virtues into three groups, not as sets of three, but as follows:

*ἀγάπη*, *καρὰ ἐιρήνης*;  
*μακροθυμία*, *χρηστότης*, *ἀγαθωσύνη*, *πίστις*, *πραῦτης*;  
*εἰργρατεία*.

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,<sup>1037</sup> 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 (*ἀγάπη*, *καρὰ ἐιρήνης*) indicate how the Christian is enabled by the Spirit to face the mysteries and trials of life; the next five (*μακροθυμία*, *χρηστότης*, *ἀγαθωσύνη*, *πίστις*, *πραῦτης*) illustrate the Christian's attitude to fellow Christians, and the last one (*εἰργρατεία*) is a reminder to live a disciplined life. Rohde<sup>1038</sup> also divides the virtues into three sets, but groups them as follows: the first set of three (*ἀγάπη*, *καρὰ ἐιρήνης*); the second group of four springing from *ἀγάπη* and referring to the relationship to other people (*μακροθυμία*, *χρηστότης*, *ἀγαθωσύνη*, *πίστις*), and lastly *πραῦτης* and *εἰργρατεία*.

Burton<sup>1039</sup> is not certain whether Paul intended the terms to fall into definite classes, yet he describes the relationship between the terms as follows: *ἀγάπη* is in its own class and is the source from which the remainder flows; *καρὰ* and probably *ἐιρήνης* refer to experiences rather than attitudes towards others. The next five (*μακροθυμία*, *χρηστότης*, *ἀγαθωσύνη*, *πίστις*, *πραῦτης*) are the opposite of *ἐπιβουλή*, *ἐφί*, *ζηλο*, *κωμολ* in the list of the works of the flesh. Lastly, *εἰργρατεία* is the opposite of the last two (*μεταί*, *κωμολ*) in the list of the works of the flesh.

Becker<sup>1040</sup> divides the virtues into four groups: *ἀγάπη*, *καρὰ* and *ἐιρήνης* are the most striking features of the Christian community; *μακροθυμία* and *χρηστότης* are traditionally found together; *ἀγαθωσύνη* and *πίστις* guarantee one's reliability, and *πραῦτης* and *εἰργρατεία* help to control one's desires.

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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,<sup>1041</sup> and, on the other hand, the possibility of explaining the underlying logic as making perfect sense. The truth lies

<sup>1034</sup> Galater, pp. 203-205.

<sup>1035</sup> Galatians, p. 287.

<sup>1036</sup> Tugend- und Lasterkataloge, p. 47.

<sup>1037</sup> Galatians, p. 174.

<sup>1038</sup> Galater, p. 245.

<sup>1039</sup> Galatians, p. 314.

<sup>1040</sup> Galater, p. 91.

<sup>1041</sup> Betz, Galatians, p. 292, tends to move in this direction.

somewhere in between. As Lambrecht<sup>1042</sup> 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: ἄδελφοί ἐάν κай; πρόλ ἡμῶν/ ἀἰσῶντο" ἐν τινὶ παραπτώματι.... The potential – and even probable<sup>1043</sup> – situation that may arise in the congregations in Galatia is that a member of a congregation (ἀἰσῶντο") could be detected<sup>1044</sup> transgressing in some way. In verse 1b he tells the other members how they should act in such an event: ὑμεῖς οὐκ πνευματικοί; καταρτιζέτε τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐν πνεύματι πραύτητος". Significantly, he shifts the focus from the one who has transgressed to the rest of the believers, in particular, the gentle way<sup>1045</sup> in which they should act towards such a person: they should restore him/her to his/her former situation.<sup>1046</sup> The fact that he addresses them as πνευματικοί is also important. This should not be interpreted as an ironical remark,<sup>1047</sup> or as referring to a particular group in Galatia,<sup>1048</sup> but rather as referring to the fact that the Galatians must be people who live by the Spirit.<sup>1049</sup> 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 ἐν πνεύματι πραύτητος" refers to πραύτης" 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.

<sup>1042</sup> J. Lambrecht, "Paul's Coherent Admonition in Galatians 6,1-6: Mutual Help and Individual Attentiveness", *Bib* 78:1 (1997), p. 51.

<sup>1043</sup> ἐάν plus the subjunctive could be interpreted in this way. See Lambrecht, "Paul's Coherent Admonition", p. 43. καὶ emphasises the next word (πρόλ ἡμῶν). See Burton, *Galatians*, p. 326.

<sup>1044</sup> In this context πρόλ ἡμῶν could be translated as either "be detected", "overtaken" or "surprised". See BDAG (πρόλ ἡμῶν). 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.

<sup>1045</sup> πνεῦμα 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.

<sup>1046</sup> See BDAG (καταρτιζέω).

<sup>1047</sup> For example, Lietzmann, *Galater*, p. 41; and Schlier, *Galater*, p. 270.

<sup>1048</sup> 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.

<sup>1049</sup> 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:<sup>1050</sup> *skopwn seauton mh; kai; su; peirasqh'*. In verse 2a he again shifts the focus to the way in which believers should act towards one another: *aj l hwn ta; barh bastazete*. He still thinks primarily of the situation described in verse 1a-b,<sup>1051</sup> but the *command* is worded in such a way as to include burdens of a general nature. In verse 2b he continues with a *promise*: *kai; outw" ajaplhrowsete ton nomon tou Cristou*. This concise expression has led to various interpretations that may be summarised as follows:

- According to Davies,<sup>1052</sup> 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,<sup>1053</sup> 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, *nomos* 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,<sup>1054</sup> 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<sup>1055</sup> 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.

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<sup>1050</sup> Some scholars, for example, Betz, *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.

<sup>1051</sup> So, most scholars. See, for example, Burton, *Galatians*, p. 329; Schlier, *Galater*, p. 271; and Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 261. It seems highly unlikely that Paul is primarily thinking of financial aid as J. G. Strelan, "Burden-Bearing and the Law of Christ: A Re-examination of Galatians 6:2", *JBL* 94 (1975), pp. 266-276, believes (see also Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 421, who partially agrees with him).

<sup>1052</sup> W. D. Davies, *Torah in the Messianic Age and/or the Age to Come* (JBL.MS 7, Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1952), p. 92.

<sup>1053</sup> C. H. Dodd, "εἰς νόμον Χριστοῦ", in: his *More New Testament Studies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1968), pp. 147-148.

<sup>1054</sup> R. B. Hays, "Christology and Ethics in Galatians: The Law of Christ", *CBQ* 49:2 (1987), pp. 289-290.

<sup>1055</sup> To mention only a few, Schlier, *Galater*, p. 272; Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, p. 134; Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 323; Söding, *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.), *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, *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.<sup>1056</sup> Secondly, it seems best to interpret tou' Cristou' in the light of the immediate context, and the most obvious link would be the one to 5:13-14.<sup>1057</sup>

Another issue for consideration is the origin of this expression. According to Betz,<sup>1058</sup> Paul obtained the expression from his opponents, but adopted it in a polemical way. However, not one of Betz's reasons<sup>1059</sup> for this is convincing, and it is therefore best to assume that Paul coined the phrase himself.<sup>1060</sup> Nevertheless, Betz<sup>1061</sup> 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<sup>1062</sup> the Torah as such, but fulfilling the Torah as Christ did it, i.e. by loving.

In verse 3 Paul adds a *warning*: eij gar dokei ti" eihai ti mhden wñ, fñenapata/ eñuton. The fact that he uses gar indicates that he regards this statement as providing a reason<sup>1063</sup> for one or more of the previous statements. It appears that he is thinking of the possibility<sup>1064</sup> that some of the Galatians<sup>1065</sup> 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).

<sup>1056</sup> So correctly, Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 555.

<sup>1057</sup> So correctly, Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, p. 134.

<sup>1058</sup> *Galatians*, p. 300. See also Harnisch, "Einübung des neuen Seins", p. 294, who agrees with Betz.

<sup>1059</sup> 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.

<sup>1060</sup> 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.

<sup>1061</sup> *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.

<sup>1062</sup> L&N 36.17, explain ajapl hrow rather well: "to conform to some standard as a means of demonstrating its purpose".

<sup>1063</sup> 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.

<sup>1064</sup> Paul uses a simple condition, thus not saying anything about the reality of the protasis. See Lambrecht, "Paul's Coherent Admonition", p. 45.

<sup>1065</sup> 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).

fact, they are nothing.<sup>1066</sup> Thus verse 3 could be linked to either 5:26 (mh; ginwmeqa kenodoxoi), verse 1b (umei" oil pneumatikoi; katartizete ton toiouton ejn pneumatiprauththo"), verse 1c (skopwn seauton mh; kai; su; peirasqh'), or verse 2 (ajlhwn ta; barh bastazete). 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 eautou dokimazetw ekasto", kai; tote eij' eauton monon to; kauchma ekei kai; ouk eij' ton eferon. Some scholars<sup>1067</sup> link this command to verses 1 and 2, but it should rather be linked it to the previous verse, as others<sup>1068</sup> prefer to do. If this choice is correct, the flow of thought can be explained as follows: in contrast<sup>1069</sup> 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"<sup>1070</sup> and if the outcome is positive one will have ground for boasting.<sup>1071</sup> However, as the words eij' eauton monon and kai; ouk eij' ton eferon indicate, he wants to restrict this kind of behaviour. The preposition eij' can be interpreted in this instance either as "in/with relation to/with respect to (oneself/one's own work)"<sup>1072</sup> or as "directing (one's boasting) to".<sup>1073</sup> 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; iplion fortion bastasei. Scholars do not agree on the interpretation of this verse. Harnisch<sup>1074</sup> 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,<sup>1075</sup> 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

<sup>1066</sup> mhden wfh is best understood concessively. So, correctly, Lambrecht, "Paul's Coherent Admonition", p. 46.

<sup>1067</sup> For example, Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 227; and Vouga, *Galater*, p. 148.

<sup>1068</sup> For example, Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 549; and Lambrecht, "Paul's Coherent Admonition", p. 47.

<sup>1069</sup> derthus understood adversatively.

<sup>1070</sup> 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.

<sup>1071</sup> 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, "kauchaimai", *TDNT* 3, p. 649, note 35.

<sup>1072</sup> For example, Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 217; Rohde, *Galater*, p. 262; and Burton, *Galatians*, p. 332.

<sup>1073</sup> Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, p. 160; and Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 550.

<sup>1074</sup> "Einübung des neuen Seins", p. 295.

<sup>1075</sup> *Grace in Galatia*, p. 429.

own work or gainful employment".<sup>1076</sup> 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",<sup>1077</sup> or to "any adverse circumstance and tribulation, but also ... personal shortcomings, sin and shame".<sup>1078</sup> 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!) *kauchma*.<sup>1079</sup> It therefore seems best to interpret verse 5 as referring to the eschatological judgement.<sup>1080</sup> 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.<sup>1081</sup>

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" (*Koinwneitw de; o;kathcoumeno" ton logon tw/ kathcounti ejh pasin ajaqoi"*). 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.<sup>1082</sup> 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.<sup>1083</sup> 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.<sup>1084</sup> 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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<sup>1076</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 429.

<sup>1077</sup> Burton, *Galatians*, p. 334.

<sup>1078</sup> Lambrecht, "Paul's Coherent Admonition", p. 50.

<sup>1079</sup> 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 *gar*.

<sup>1080</sup> 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.

<sup>1081</sup> See Kuck, "Each Will Bear His Own Burden", p. 294, for a more detailed discussion.

<sup>1082</sup> So most scholars. See, for example, Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 218; Rohde, *Galater*, p. 263; and Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 327.

<sup>1083</sup> Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 326; and Lambrecht, "Paul's Coherent Admonition", p. 51.

<sup>1084</sup> 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.<sup>1085</sup> Why would Paul find it necessary to remind the Galatians of their duty to support their teachers? Martyn<sup>1086</sup> 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: *Mh; pl ana'sqe, qeo;" ouj mukthrizetai*. This is used to draw the attention of the audience to the importance of the maxim that follows: *o) gar ejan speirh/ aqqrwpo"*, *touto kai; qerisei*. 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,<sup>1087</sup> using it as a base for a *warning* (*o) speirwn eij' thn sarka eautou ek th" sarko;" qerisei fqoran*) and a *promise* (*o)lde; speirwn eij' to; pneuma ek tou pneumatou qerisei zwhn aiwnion*). 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.<sup>1088</sup> It is clear from the reference to *fqoran* and *zwhn aiwnion* 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 *to; agaqon*<sup>1089</sup> – while "we have opportunity".<sup>1090</sup> This should be di-

<sup>1085</sup> 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. *de;* should thus be interpreted as indicating the addition of a new independent thought.

<sup>1086</sup> *Galatians*, p. 552.

<sup>1087</sup> *o)ti* has in this instance a "declarative function" to indicate that what follows is Paul's own application. See Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 281.

<sup>1088</sup> Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 330.

<sup>1089</sup> Although Paul now uses a different word (*to; agaqon*) he has the same in mind as in verse 8 (*to; kalon*). See Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 407; and Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 283.

<sup>1090</sup> The phrase *wl' kairon ecomen* 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,<sup>1091</sup> to fellow Christians, described in this instance as *τὸν οἰκεῖον τὴν πίστιν*. 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.<sup>1092</sup>

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<sup>1093</sup> 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<sup>1094</sup> 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<sup>1095</sup> identifies "bearing one's own load" (verse 5) as "sprichwörtliche Redensart"; Lietzmann<sup>1096</sup> identifies the warning not to mock God as "eine sprichwörtliche Wendung", and Lightfoot<sup>1097</sup> calls *ὁ γὰρ ἐὰν σπειρῆ ἀἠήρωπο*, *τοῦτο καὶ κερῖσει* a "common proverb". The difference is that Betz takes this a step further and identifies "parallels" between what Paul says in 6:1-10 and Hellenistic philosophy. Barclay<sup>1098</sup> has rightly criticised him for this. He even accuses Betz of doing things that border on "parallelomania", warning against

that *extravagance* which finds parallels where none exists, makes much of quite insignificant parallels, or fails to take into account the broader context in which apparently similar statements occur.<sup>1099</sup> (Barclay's italics.)

This is indeed true. However, as Barclay<sup>1100</sup> himself admits, Paul "borrowed" many ethical traditions, although, of course, he used them within a different theological framework. It

<sup>1091</sup> *mal ista* is used in this instance in the sense of "but especially". See BDAG(*mal ista*).

<sup>1092</sup> This is indicated by *ἀρὰ οὖν*. So, correctly, Betz, *Galatians*, p. 188; and Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 282.

<sup>1093</sup> *Galatians*, pp. 291 ff.

<sup>1094</sup> *Galatians*, pp. 261-265.

<sup>1095</sup> *Die Gerichts- und Vergeltungsaussagen bei Paulus*, p. 44.

<sup>1096</sup> *Galater*, p. 42.

<sup>1097</sup> *Galatians*, p. 219. See also Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 264; Schlier, *Galater*, p. 277; Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 405; and more recently, J. L. North, "Sowing and Reaping (Galatians 6:7b): More Examples of a Classical Maxim", *JThS* 43:2 (1992), pp. 523-527.

<sup>1098</sup> Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, pp. 170-177.

<sup>1099</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>1100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 176.

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<sup>1101</sup> 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 pneumatikoi (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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<sup>1101</sup> 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 pneumatikoiν – 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<sup>1102</sup> rightly describes as "Paul's most daring inversion of the position of the Israelite outgroup".
- *Direct address* (ajdel foi) 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:

ajlhlwn ta; barh bastazete...

- The phrase Mh; pl ana'sqe (verse 7) focuses the attention of the Galatians on what follows. Dunn<sup>1103</sup> 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: ajdel foi; ejan kai; prol hmfqh/ahqrwpo" eh tini paraptwmati, uhei" oil pneumatikoi; katartizete ton toiouton eh pneumati prauthto", skopwn seauton mh; kai; su pei-rasqh'.

In verse 2 *consonance* of b-sounds and in verse 6 of k-sounds is used:

Verse 2: ajlhlwn ta; barh bastazete.

Verse 7: Koinweitw de; olkathcoumeno" ton logon tw/kathcounti eh pasin ajaqoi".

Furthermore, *paranomasia* is also used frequently in this subsection. The following examples can be indicated: the use of pneumatikoiν and pneumati in verse 1; ajlhlwn ta; barh bastazete (verse 2) and to; iβlion fortion bastasei (verse 5); dokei (verse 3) and dokimazetw (verse 4); ajaqoi" (verse 6), kal on (verse 9) and ajaqon (verse 10); and kairw (verse 9) and kairon (verse 10). In verse 8 Paul also uses *chiasm*:

<sup>1102</sup> Galatians, p. 231.

<sup>1103</sup> Galatians, p. 329.

oŧi ol <u>s</u> peirwn	A
eij' thn <u>s</u> arka eboutou	B
ek th' <u>s</u> arko''	B
<u>gerisei</u> fqoran,	A'
olde; <u>s</u> peirwn	A
eij' to; <u>p</u> neuma	C
ek tou <u>p</u> neumato''	C
<u>gerisei</u> zwhn aijwmion.	A'

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*.<sup>1104</sup> 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<sup>1105</sup> reconstruction of typical elements in a Pauline letter closing may be used:

<sup>1104</sup> 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.

<sup>1105</sup> J. A. D. Weima, *Neglected Endings. The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings* (JSNT.S 101, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), p. 154. See also Longenecker, *Galatians*, pp. 287-288.

## 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<sup>1106</sup> 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 a(nother) (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.

Vv. 14-15: Paul's own views.

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: ἰδέτε φιλικοί" ὑμῖν γραμμάσιν ἐγράψα τῆς ἐμῆς χειρὸς. 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.<sup>1107</sup> 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.<sup>1108</sup> However, the most important aspect is the fact that he spe-

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<sup>1106</sup> *Neglected Endings*, p. 159.

<sup>1107</sup> So correctly, Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 286.

<sup>1108</sup> See E. R. Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul* (WUNT 2/42, Tübingen: Mohr, 1991), p. 175. ἐγράψα 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<sup>1109</sup> 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;<sup>1110</sup> that Paul was not used to writing and therefore wrote clumsily;<sup>1111</sup> that he merely indicates how his handwriting differs from that of the amanuensis;<sup>1112</sup> that he had problems with his eyes,<sup>1113</sup> and even that it was because he had been crucified at Perga in Pamphylia Phrigia.<sup>1114</sup> 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.<sup>1115</sup> 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:

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<sup>1109</sup> Paul always uses *gramma* 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.

<sup>1110</sup> 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.)

<sup>1111</sup> According to G. A. Deißmann, *Paulus. Eine kultur- und religionsgeschichtliche Skizze* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1925, 2.e völlig neubearbeitete 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.] )

<sup>1112</sup> Borse, *Galater*, p. 219.

<sup>1113</sup> 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 their letters tend to be "clumsy and unformed" and "are often cramped and meagre", but never "larger or bolder". J. S. Cemens, "St. Paul's Handwriting", *ET* 24 (1912-1913), p. 380, agrees with him.

<sup>1114</sup> Turner, *Grammatical Insights*, p. 94.

<sup>1115</sup> 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<sup>1116</sup> are people who only wish to make a *good showing in the flesh*.<sup>1117</sup>
- They are *compelling*<sup>1118</sup> 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.<sup>1119</sup>
- They<sup>1120</sup> do not practise what they preach, because *they do not keep the law themselves*.<sup>1121</sup>
- 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!<sup>1122</sup>

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).<sup>1123</sup> In verse 14 he places εἰμί in a *prominent position* in the sentence (hyperbaton) in order to focus the attention of

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<sup>1116</sup> Grammatically οἱ could be understood as indicating generalisation (so, correctly, U. Mell, *Neue Schöpfung. Eine traditionsgeschichtliche und exegetische Studie zu einem soteriologischen Grundsatz paulinischer Theologie* [BZ NW 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.

<sup>1117</sup> L&N 88.236, explain εὐπροσῶπew 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 εἰ σαρκίῳ 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.

<sup>1118</sup> ἀναγκάζουσιν 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.

<sup>1119</sup> 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.

<sup>1120</sup> It seems best to take οἱ περιεμνομένοι 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.

<sup>1121</sup> 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.

<sup>1122</sup> So, correctly, Du Toit, "Vilification in Early Christian Epistolography", p. 408.

<sup>1123</sup> 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<sup>1124</sup> 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.<sup>1125</sup> 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<sup>1126</sup> the world has been crucified to him. Note the effective use of the metaphor of crucifixion in this instance. In verse 15 he motivates<sup>1127</sup> his attitude by means of a concise statement: οὐτε γὰρ περὶ τοῦ ἔστιν οὐτε ἀκροβυστία ἀλλὰ καὶ κτίσι". This statement appears to reflect pre-Pauline tradition.<sup>1128</sup> 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* (οὐτε ... οὐτε ... ἀλλὰ) is used in this statement to focus the attention of the Galatians on the crucial notion of "new creation".<sup>1129</sup>

In verse 16 Paul adds the following *blessing*: καὶ οἷοι τῶν κανόνι τούτων στοιχῶσιν, εἰρηὴν ἐπι αὐτοῦ" καὶ εἰ εὐ" καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ. 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 (τῶν κανόνι τούτων στοιχῶσιν) 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:

καὶ οἷοι τῶν κανόνι τούτων στοιχῶσιν, εἰρηὴν ἐπι αὐτοῦ" καὶ εἰ εὐ" καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ.

Basically the problem concerns the interpretation of καὶ (that is, the third καὶ 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:

<sup>1124</sup> δεῖς used adversatively.

<sup>1125</sup> As Schlier, *Galater*, p. 281, puts it: "Staurol" ist hier Ideogramm für das Erlösungsgeschehen".

<sup>1126</sup> δι' οὗ refers to "cross" and not to "Jesus Christ".

<sup>1127</sup> Cf. γὰρ.

<sup>1128</sup> See Mell, *Neue Schöpfung*, pp. 298-303, for a detailed discussion.

<sup>1129</sup> See M. V. Hubbard, *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 soterio-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.

2. (kai) eijrhnh epl̄ aijtou," kai; e| eo"  
 1. ōsoi tw/kanoni toutw/stoichsousin,  
 3. kai; epi; ton |srah| tou qeou.  
 Meaning: (2) (And) 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; ōsoi tw/kanoni toutw/stoichsousin,  
 2. eijrhnh epl̄ aijtou," kai; e| eo"  
 3. kai; epi; ton |srah| tou qeou.  
 Meaning: (1) And upon those 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| is interpreted *copulatively*:

1. kai; ōsoi tw/kanoni toutw/stoichsousin,  
 2. eijrhnh epl̄ aijtou,"  
 3. kai; e| eo"  
 4. kai; epi; ton |srah| tou qeou.  
 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,<sup>1130</sup> 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

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<sup>1130</sup> *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-judaizing Jewish Christians,<sup>1131</sup> the Jewish nation<sup>1132</sup> or all the Jews who would be saved in future.<sup>1133</sup> 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<sup>1134</sup> 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 hat 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 (οἱ τῶ/κανονί toutw/ stoichsousin) – 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) καὶ should be interpreted as exegetical. 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 τῷ θεῷ: 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

<sup>1131</sup> 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 Kampfeistel", *Jud 6* (1950), pp. 170-190.

<sup>1132</sup> 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.

<sup>1133</sup> 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.

<sup>1134</sup> N. A. Dahl, "Der Name Israel: Zur Auslegung von Gal 6,16", *Jud 6* (1950), p. 168. See also Longenecker, *Galatians*, p. 298.

structure would have helped him to convey this idea more effectively. As it is worded at present, 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:<sup>1135</sup> Tou loipou kopou" moi mhdei;" parecetw. 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: egw; gar ta; stigmata tou jhsou ej tw/ swmati mou bastazw. Scholars do not agree on the interpretation of this expression. See the excursion below for an overview of various interpretations. 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 excursus 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 egw; gar ta; stigmata tou jhsou ej tw/ swmati mou bastazw 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 directly upon a *warning* (Tou loipou kopou" moi mhdei;" parecetw), and, that it is, in fact, linked to this warning by means of *gar*, favour the third option above. Thus, his rhetorical purpose in mentioning the *stigmata tou jhsou* 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 *egw* at the beginning of the sentence (hyperbaton).

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**Excursus: A brief overview of the opinion of exegetes on the cultural background, reference and rhetorical function of *ta; stigmata tou jhsou* in Galatians 6:17**

In their explanation of *ta; stigmata tou jhsou* in Galatians 6:17, exegetes usually discuss one or more of the following three aspects (without necessarily distinguishing between them): its possible *cultural background*, the *nature* of the bodily

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<sup>1135</sup> tou loipou can be understood either temporally or adverbially, but in this case interpreting it temporally 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 ta stigmata, 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,<sup>1136</sup> Lightfoot,<sup>1137</sup> Schlier,<sup>1138</sup> H. D. Betz,<sup>1139</sup> and Vouga.<sup>1140</sup> However, this view is not unanimous. For example, Burton<sup>1141</sup> 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<sup>1142</sup> and Lührmann.<sup>1143</sup> The custom of religious tattooing seems to be the most obvious parallel to Paul's use of stigmata 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 stigmata 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 stigmata, O. Betz<sup>1144</sup> 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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<sup>1136</sup> Galater, pp. 45-46.

<sup>1137</sup> Galatians, p. 225.

<sup>1138</sup> Galater, p. 284.

<sup>1139</sup> Galatians, p. 324.

<sup>1140</sup> Galater, p. 159.

<sup>1141</sup> Galatians, p. 361.

<sup>1142</sup> Galatians, p. 299.

<sup>1143</sup> Galater, p. 102.

<sup>1144</sup> O. Betz, "stigma", *TDNT* 7, pp. 657-664. The important studies by Dölger and Lilliebjörn should also be mentioned in this instance. F. J. Dölger, *Sphragis. 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.

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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.<sup>1145</sup> However, this is not a unanimous view. Some exegetes propose other – often interesting! – interpretations:

- *Dölger*<sup>1146</sup> rejects 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*<sup>1147</sup> 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.<sup>1148</sup>
- *Hirsch*<sup>1149</sup> 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*<sup>1150</sup> agrees with *Dölger*<sup>1151</sup> that Paul has bodily marks in mind. However, he links these to symbolic markings at baptism, in particular, to the

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<sup>1145</sup> 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.

<sup>1146</sup> *Sphragis*, p. 51 note 1.

<sup>1147</sup> F. Fenner, *Die Krankheit im Neuen Testament. Eine religionsgeschichtliche und medizinisch-untersuchung* (UNT 18, Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1930), p. 40.

<sup>1148</sup> O. Betz, "stigma", 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.

<sup>1149</sup> E. Hirsch, "Zwei Fragen zu Galater 6", *ZNW* 29 (1930), pp. 196-197.

<sup>1150</sup> E. Dinkler, "Jesu Wort vom Kreuztragen", in: W. Eltester (Hrsg.), *Neutestamentliche Studien für R. Bultmann* (BZNW 21, Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1954), p. 110-129.

<sup>1151</sup> *Sphragis*, p. 51.

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possibility that the bodies of the Christians were marked symbolically with the letter X (the first letter of "Christ" in Greek) during baptism.

• *Bligh*<sup>1152</sup> 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 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 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 *property of Christ*. As an example in this regard *Vouga*<sup>1153</sup> may be quoted:

Die Leiden des Apostels, die mit κοποι unmittelbar verbunden sind, sind als Belege für seine Identität als *doul o* "Christi zu verstehen."<sup>1154</sup>

In some instances exegetes combine this notion with something else. For example, *Rohde*<sup>1155</sup> combines it with the notion of sharing the sufferings of Jesus, and *Schlier*<sup>1156</sup> and *Steinmann*<sup>1157</sup> combine it with the notion of Christ's protection.

Secondly, Paul possibly mentions the stigmata as indications of his *loyalty to Christ*. For example, *Klassen*<sup>1158</sup> compares Paul's mention of his stigmata with an incident described by Josephus in *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 stigmata are "additional irrefutable testimony of his loyalty to Jesus". *Olshausen*,<sup>1159</sup> *Mussner*,<sup>1160</sup> *Dunn*<sup>1161</sup> and *Mar-*

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<sup>1152</sup> *Galatians*, p. 496.

<sup>1153</sup> *Galater*, p. 159.

<sup>1154</sup> For similar interpretations, see Burton, *Galatians*, p. 360; Sieffert, *Galater*, p. 364; Hirsch, "Zwei Fragen", p. 196; Bruce, *Galatians*, p. 276; and Becker, *Galater*, p. 276.

<sup>1155</sup> *Galater*, p. 280

<sup>1156</sup> *Galater*, p. 284.

<sup>1157</sup> *Thessalonicher und Galater*, p. 170.

<sup>1158</sup> W. Klassen, "Galatians 6:17", *ET* 81 (1969-1970), p. 378. For other exegetes who also view Paul's purpose as indicating his loyalty to Christ, see Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, p. 420; Dunn, *Galatians*, p. 347; and Martyn, *Galatians*, p. 568, note 73.

<sup>1159</sup> *Die Briefe Pauli*, p. 115.

<sup>1160</sup> *Galaterbrief*, p. 420.

<sup>1161</sup> *Galatians*, p. 347.

*ty*<sup>1162</sup> may be mentioned as other examples of scholars who interpret Paul's reference to his stigmata as indications of his loyalty to Christ.<sup>1163</sup>

A third option is that Paul wishes to warn the audience that he is *protected by Christ*, as *De Wette*<sup>1164</sup> and *Oepke*<sup>1165</sup> believe. This interpretation is sometimes combined with the first one, for example, by *Longenecker*<sup>1166</sup> 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 stigmata to the use of an amulet<sup>1167</sup> or talis man.<sup>1168</sup>

A fourth option that should be mentioned is that Paul refers to his stigmata 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 stigmata with circumcision so highly regarded by his opponents. For example, *Kremendahl*<sup>1169</sup> 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 "Signalement" 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*<sup>1170</sup> also considers the possibility that Paul is contrasting his stigmata 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.<sup>1171</sup>

Finally, the interpretation of two scholars who emphasise the theological aspect in their interpretation of stigmata should be pointed out. *Borse*<sup>1172</sup> distinguishes between three aspects, namely the meaning of stigmata; its theological background, and the event behind these stigmata. He combines these three aspects as follows:

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<sup>1162</sup> *Galatians*, p. 568; see in particular, note 73.

<sup>1163</sup> See also *Smit*, "A Deliberative Speech", p. 22, who states that Paul mentions his scars as signs bearing witness to his courage.

<sup>1164</sup> *Galater und Thessalonicher*, p. 88.

<sup>1165</sup> *Galater*, pp. 206-208.

<sup>1166</sup> *Galatians*, p. 300.

<sup>1167</sup> 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 stigmata 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 "tiefemstes Wort". See also *Bligh*, *Galatians*, p. 497: "St. Paul is parodying a magical charm used for winning friends and influencing people".

<sup>1168</sup> *Witherington*, *Grace in Galatia*, p. 454.

<sup>1169</sup> *Die Botschaft der Form*, pp. 79-80.

<sup>1170</sup> *Neglected Endings*, p. 166.

<sup>1171</sup> In his discussion of *Galatians* 6:17, *O. Betz*, "Stigma", p. 663, combines three interpretations. He views it as "protective signs", "the antithesis of circumcision" and "proof that Paul suffers with his Lord".

<sup>1172</sup> "Die Wundmale und der Todesbescheid", pp. 88-111.

Weil Paulus im Dienste Jesu Verletzungen erlitten hat, die in ihrer Härte den Kreuzeswunden Jesu vergleichbar sind (3.), bewertet er sie als Zeichen der Leidensgemeinschaft mit dem Gekreuzigten (2.); durch die Gleichsetzung der eigenen Narben mit dem Wundmalen Jesus bringt er diesen Gedanken zum Ausdruck (1.).<sup>1173</sup>

*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.<sup>1174</sup>

Following a comprehensive overview of the way in which other scholars interpret stigmata, *Güttgemanns*<sup>1175</sup> 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.<sup>1176</sup> (*Güttgemanns's italics.*)

To my mind, *Güttgemanns* tends to overtheologise the issue.

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In the last verse of Galatians ( Ἡ cari" tou kuriou hmw̄n ἰη̄sou Cristou meta; tou pneumato" umw̄n, ἀ̄del foī ajnh̄n) only one aspect seems to be important from a rhetorical perspective, namely Paul's use of *direct address* (ἀ̄del foī). 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* (meta; tou pneumato" umw̄n – used only in the benedictions in Galatians, Philippians and Philemon) may be significant. For example, *Dunn*<sup>1177</sup> 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.<sup>1178</sup>

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<sup>1173</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92. *Rohde*, *Galater*, p. 280, agrees with this theological interpretation.

<sup>1174</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

<sup>1175</sup> *Der leidende Apostel*, pp. 126-141.

<sup>1176</sup> *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".

<sup>1177</sup> *Galatians*, p. 347.

<sup>1178</sup> On account of the presence of ἀ̄del foī and ajnh̄n in verse 18, *D. Kremendahl*, "Gal 6,18 – Eine Glosse? Ein Redaktor 'verrät' sich durch die Briefkonvention seiner Zeit", in: *U. Schoenborn & S. Pfürtner* (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.

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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).

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## 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 (...ifha hma" katadoulwsousin; ifha hl a] hqeia tou euaggel iou diameinh/ pro" utna"), 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 words  $\mu\eta\upsilon\pi\omega$  "eij' kenon trefw h|eþramon in 2:2.
- 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  $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\eta\kappa\eta$  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  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \jmath\sigma\rho\alpha\eta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  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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10. Phase Ten: Galatians 3:26-29: Reminding the Galatians of their baptism as proof that they became children of God by faith.
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.
13. Phase Thirteen: Galatians 4:12-20: A series of emotional arguments.
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.
18. Phase Eighteen: Galatians 6:11-18: Adapting the letter closing for a final refutation of the opponents.

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 *diakhkh* cannot be changed at a later stage. Likewise: God's *diakhkh* 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 spiri-

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.)

Phase 13 (4:12-20): *Interruption*: Full-fledged emotional argument.

Phase 14 (4:21-5:1): *Appeal (positive)*: The Galatians should remain spiritually free.

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 4:8-11: 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:  $\text{foboumai\ u\ma'' mh\upw'' eikh/kekopi\i\ka ejj' u\ma''}$ ), 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:

First objective: Convince the audience of his divine authorisation (1:1-2:10).  
Second objective: Convince the audience that his gospel is the true gospel (2:11-3:14).  
Third objective: Convince the audience of the inferiority of the law (3:15-25).  
Fourth objective: Convince the audience that the "gospel" of the opponents represents spiritual slavery and, instead, urge them to remain spiritually free by adhering to his gospel (3:26-5:1).  
Fifth objective: 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).  
Sixth objective: Final refutation of the opponents (6:11-18).

Or, in more detail:

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BASIC NOTION CONVEYED	OBJECTIVE
<p>1:1 -5: Góð called me to be an apostle.</p> <p>1:6-10: This issue is very serious! You must reconsider your decision, because you are on the wrong track!</p> <p>1:11-21: The history of my life proves that I received my apostleship and gospel from God.</p> <p>2:1 -10: Even the authorities in Jerusalem acknowledged the fact that God called me to be an apostle and that I received my gospel from him.</p>	<p><i>Divine authorisation.</i></p> <p>Expressing disgust at the events in Galatia. (Increased emotional level.)</p> <p><i>Divine authorisation.</i></p> <p><i>Divine authorisation</i> (slight shift towards content of his gospel).</p>
<p>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.</p> <p>3:1 -5: Your own experience when you became Christians proves that human beings are justified by faith.</p> <p>3:6-14: Scripture proves that human beings are justified by faith.</p>	<p><i>Claim:</i> Justification by faith is the true gospel.</p> <p><i>True gospel</i> proved by audience's own <i>experience</i>.</p> <p><i>True gospel</i> proved by <i>Scripture</i>.</p>
<p>3:15-18: Once ratified, a human <i>diáqhkh</i> cannot be changed at a later stage. Likewise: God's <i>diáqhkh</i> could not be changed by the law.</p> <p>3:19-25: The law is inferior to the promises of God/faith.</p>	<p><i>Inferiority of the law</i> proved by a <i>minori ad maius</i>-argument.</p> <p><i>Inferiority of the law</i> emphasised by statements and <i>paidagwgoi'</i> metaphor.</p>
<p>3:26-29: When you were baptised, you became children of God through faith.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>4:8 -11: If you accept the "gospel" of the opponents you will become religious slaves again!</p> <p>4:12-20: The relationship between me and you is of such a nature that you cannot accept the "gospel" of the opponents.</p> <p>4:21-5:1 By accepting the "gospel" 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!</p>	<p><i>Sonship through faith</i> proved by audience's own <i>experience</i> (baptism).</p> <p><i>Radical change from spiritual slavery to spiritual sonship</i> emphasised by means of <i>analogy</i>.</p> <p><i>Appeal (negative):</i> Audience <i>rebuked</i> for turning to <i>religious slavery</i> again. (Increased emotional level.)</p> <p>Full-fledged emotional argument.</p> <p><i>Appeal (positive):</i> <i>Allegorical exposition of Scripture</i> to urge the Galatians to remain <i>spiritually free</i>.</p>

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5:2-6: You must not be circumcised under any circumstances!	<i>Practical outcome</i> (Negative): <i>Wrong to be circumcised.</i> <i>Practical outcome</i> (Negative): <i>Avoid the opponents</i> (Vilification). <i>Practical outcome</i> (Positive): <i>Lives directed by the Spirit.</i>
5:7-12: You must avoid the opponents!	
5:13-6:10: Your lives must be directed by the Spirit!	
6:11-18: The opponents are wrong!	<i>Final refutation</i> of the opponents.

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<sup>1179</sup> (whose outline is to a great extent followed in many rhetorical studies - as indicated in Chapter 1 of this study):

<b>TOLMIE</b>	<b>BETZ</b>
<u>1:1-2:10</u> : <i>First objective</i> : Convince the audience of his divine authorisation.	1:1-5: Epistolary prescript
<u>2:11-3:14</u> : <i>Second objective</i> : Convince the audience that his gospel is the true go spel.	1:6-11: <i>Exordium</i>
<u>3:15-25</u> : <i>Third objective</i> : Convince the audience of the inferiority of the law.	1:12-2:14: <i>Narratio</i>
<u>3:26-5:1</u> : <i>Fourth objective</i> : Convince the audience that the "gospel" of the opponents represents spiritual slavery and, instead, urge them to remain spiritually free by adhering to his gospel.	2:15-21: <i>Propositio</i>
<u>5:2-6:10</u> : <i>Fifth objective</i> : 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.	3:1-4:31: <i>Probatio</i>
<u>6:11-18</u> : <i>Sixth objective</i> : Final refutation of the opponents.	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: <i>Exhortatio</i>

<sup>1179</sup> Betz, *Galatians*, pp. 16-23.

	6:11-18: Epistolary postscript (serving as <i>conclusio</i> ).
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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 ταρασσων, and portrayed as people who will be punished by God, and in verse 12 they are described as oil ἀνασταυντε". 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: ... eijmhritinel' ejsin oiltarassonte" uma" kai qel onte" metastreyai to euaggelion tou Cristou.  
 1:8-9: aj la kai ejan hmei" haggelion ej oujanou euaggeliazetai »umin% parf o) euaggeliazetai umin, ajaqema estw. w' proeirhkamen kai arti palin legw: ei [ti" uma" euaggeliazetai parf o)parel abete, ajaqema estw.  
 2:4: ... dia de tou" pareisaktou" yeudadel fou", oiftine" pareishlon kata skophsai thn ej euqerian hmwv hñ ecomen ej Cristw/ jhsou, ifa hma" katadoulwsousin, oif oujde pro" wfan eikamen th/upotagh/ ifa hlaj hqeia tou euaggelion diameinh/pro" uma".

2:11-14:  $\text{Ote de; h\l qen Khfa" eij' jAntioceian, kata; proswnon aujt\w/ajntesthn, oti kategnwsmeno" hh. pro; tou gar ej qein tina" apo; jlakwbou meta; tw\ ejnwn sunhsqien: ote de; h\l qon, upestellen kai; ajfwrizen ebuton foboumeno" tou;" ek peritomh" . kai; sunupekriqhsan aujt\w/»kai% oilloipoi; jIoudaioi, w\ste kai; Barnaba" sunaphcqh aujtwn th/ upokrisei. aj l l\ ote eidon oti ouk ojropodousin pro;" thn ajlhqian tou euaggel iou...$

3:1:  $\text{W ajnohtoi Galaitai, tii' uma" epaskanen, oil" kat\ ofqalmou;" jhsou" Cristo;" proeγραφh ejstaurwmeno" f$

3:10:  $\text{Osoi gar ek ergwn nomou eisin, upo; kataran eisin:$

4:17-18:  $\text{zh\lousin uma" oujkalw" , aj l a; ekkleisai uma" qelousin, iha aujtou;" zh\oute: kal on de; zh\lousqai ej kalw/pantote kai; mh; monon ej tw/pareinai me pro;" uma" .$

4:21-5:1: Their gospel represents spiritual slavery, similar to the son Abraham had with a slave woman.

6:12-13:  $\text{Osoi qelousin euproswhsai ej sarkiy oujtoi ajagkazousin uma" peritemnesqai, monon iha tw/staurw/tou Cristou mh; diwkwntai. ouje; gar oilperitemnomenoi aujtoi; nomon fulassousin, aj l a; qelousin uma" peritemnesqai iha ej th/uhetera/sarki; kauchswntai.$

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  $\text{diaghkh}$  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.  $\text{ajel f\l i}$  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  $\text{tekna mou}$  very effectively in the same way. The only exception in this category is 3:1 where he uses direct address (  $\text{W ajnohtoi Galaitai}$  ) in order to rebuke them. Another technique closely related to his use of direct address is his use of *inclusive 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*

*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: ouk; apf; ajqrwpwn oupe; dif; ajqrwpou; aj; la; dia; jhsou Cristou kai; qeou patro;"...
- 1:11-12: to; eujaggelion to; eujaggelisqen upf; emou ofti ouk; estin kata; ajqrwpou: oupe; gar; egw; para; ajqrwpou; parel; abon; aujto; oufte; epidacqhn; aj; la; dif; apokaluyew" jhsou Cristou.
- 1:15-17: eujew" oujprosanegemhn; sarki; kai; aifnati; oupe; ajhlqon; eij" Jerosoluma; pro;" tou;" pro; emou; apostolou;" aj; la; ajhlqon; eij" jArabian...
- 4:14: ouk; exouqenhsate; oupe; exeptusate; aj; la; w!; aggelon; qeou; epekasqe; me...
- 5:6: oufte; peritomhrti; ijscuei; oufte; akrobustia; aj; la; pisti;" dif; agqaph" e;nergoumenh.
- 6:15: oufte; gar; peritomhrtivestin; oufte; akrobustia; aj; la; kainh; ktisi".

#### Inclusive language

- 1:3-4: cari" umin; kai; eijrhnh; apo; qeou; patro;" hmw; kai; kuriou; jhsou; Cristou<sup>4</sup>; tou; do;nto;" e;auton; uper; tw; amartiwn; hmw; opw;" exelhtai; hma;" ek; tou; aijno;" tou; e;pestwto;" ponhrou; kata; to; qelhma; tou; qeou; kai; patro;" hmw;...
- 3:14: ifa; thn; epaggelion; tou; pneumatou;" labwmen; dia; th;" pistew".
- 3:23-25: Pro; tou; de; ej; qein; thn; pistin; upo; nomon; e;frouomeqa; sugkleiomeno; eij" thn; mellousan; pistin; apokalufqhna; <sup>24</sup>w;ste; o; nomo;" paidagwo;" hmw; gegonen; eij" Criston; ifa; ek; pistew;" dikaiwqmen: <sup>25</sup>ej; qoush" de; th;" pistew" ouk; eti; upo; paidagwgon; e;smen.
- 4:3-6: outw;" kai; hmei"; ofte; hmen; nhpioi; upo; ta; stoiceia; tou; kosmou; hmeqa; dedoulwmenoi: <sup>4</sup>ofte; de; hlqen; to; plhrwma; tou; cronou; ekapesteilen; olqeo;" ton; uibn; aujto; genomenon; ek; gunaiko; genomenon; upo; nomon; ifa; tou;" upo; nomon; exagorash; ifa; thn; uibqesian; apol; abwmen.
- 4:26: h; de; ajw; jerosalhm; ej; euqera; estin; h;ti" estin; mh;thr; hmw;...
- 4:31: ouk; e;smen; paidiskh;" tekna; aj; la; th;" ej; euqera"...
- 5:1: Th; ej; euqeria; hma;" Cristo;" h; euqerwsen...
- 5:5: hmei" gar; pneumatikoi; ek; pistew" ej; pida; dikaiosunh;" apekdecomeqa.
- 5:25-26: Eij; zwmen; pneumatikoi; pneumatikoi; kai; stoicwmen; mh; ginwmeqa; kenodoxoi; aj; lhlou;" prokaloumenoi; aj; lhlou;" fqonounte".
- 6:9-10: to; de; kalon; poiunte;" mh; egkakwmen; kairw; gar; i;diw; qerisomen; mh; ekluomenoi. jAra; ouh; w!; kairon; e;comen; e;rgazwmeqa; to; agaqon; pro;" panta"; malista; de; pro;" tou;" o;ikeiou;" th;" pistew".

#### Rebuke

- 1:6: Qaumazw; ofti; outw;" tacew" metatiqesqe; apo; tou; kalosanto;" uma;" ej; cariti; »Cristou;" eij" e;teron; eujaggelion...
- 3:1: W; ajnothoi; Galatai; tii;" uma;" epaskanen; oij" katf; ofqalmou;" jhsou;" Cristo;" pro;e;grafh; estaurwmeno;"f
- 3:3: outw;" ajnothoi; este; e;parxameno; pneumatikoi; nun; sarki; e;piteleisqe;

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4:8-11: jAl la; toite men ouk eijdoite" qeon ejdouleusate toi" fusei mh;oulsin qeoi": nun de; gnonte" qeon, mal lon de; gnwsqente" upo; qeou, pw" epistrefete pal in epi; ta; ajsqenh kai; ptwca; stoiceia oi]" pal in ajhwqen douleuein qel etef hmera" parathreisqe kai; mhna" kai; kairou;" kai; ejnautoul", foboumai uma" mhwpw" eikh/kekopiaka eij" uma".

4:15-16: pou ouh olmakarismo;" umwnf marturw gar umin ofti eijdunaton tou;" ofqal mou;" umwn ejxorukante" ejwkate moi. wste ejqro;" umwn gegona aj hqeuwn uminf

### Correction

1:6-7: ... eij" eferon ejaggel ion, ouk estin al lo...

3:4: tosauta epaqete eikhf eijge kai; eikh/

4:8: nun de; gnonte" qeon, mal lon de; gnwsqente" upo; qeou...

### Expression of perplexity

1:6: Qaumazw ofti outw" tacaw" metatitesqe apo; tou kalasantu" uma" ej cariti »Cristou" eij" eferon ejaggel ion...

4:20: aporoumai ej umin.

### 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

1:10 (2x); 2:14; 2:17; 3:1; 3:2; 3:3; 3:4; 3:5; 3:19; 3:21; 4:9; 4:15; 4:16; 4:21; 4:30f 5:7; 5:11.

### Word/Phrase focusing attention

1:11: Gnwrizw gar umin, ajdel foiv..

3:2: touto monon qel w maqein ajf umwn...

3:7: ginwskete afa ofti oilek pistew", outoi uibiveisin jabraam.

3:17: touto de; legw...

4:1: legw dex..

4:21: Legete moi...

5:3: jde egw, Paul o" ...

5:16: Legw dex..

5:21: ajprolegw umin, kaqw" proeipon...

6:7: Mh; planasqe...

6:11: ifete phl ikoi" umin grammasin egraya th/ ejnh/ceiriv

### Direct address

1:11: Gnwrizw gar umin, ajdel foiv to; ejaggel ion to; ejaggel isqen upf ejnou ofti ouk estin kata; ajqrwpon...:

3:1: W ajnotoi Galatai, ti" uma" epaskanen...

3:15: jadel foiv kata; ajqrwpon legw...:

4:12: Ginesqe w' egw ofti kagw; w' uhei", ajdel foiv deomai umwn.

4:19: tekna mou, ouj" pal in wlinw mecric" oulmorfqh/Cristo;" ej umin...

4:28: uhei" dey ajdel foiv kata; jsaak epaggel ia" tekna estev

4:31: diou ajdel foiv ouk esmen paidiskh" tekna aj la; th" ej euqera".

5:11: Egw; dey ajdel foiv eijperitomhn ofti khruww, ti ofti diwkomaif

5:13: uhei" gar epf ej euqeria/ ejl hqhte, ajdel foiv..

6:1: jadel foiv ejan kai; prolhmfqh/ ajqrwpo" ej tini paraptwmati...

6:18: H cari" tou kuriou hmwn jhsou Cristou meta; tou pneumatou" umwn, ajdel foiv

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### Paronomasia

- 1:11-12: to; eujaggel ion to; eujaggel isgen...
- 4:17-18: zh lousin uma" ouj kal w", a j l a: ekkleisai uma" qel ousin, iha aujtou," zh loute: kal on de; zh lousqai e j kal w/ pantote...
- 4:21: Legete moi, upo; nomon qel onte" ei hai, ton nomon ouk akouetef
- 5:1: th/ e j euger ia/ hma" Cristo;" h j euger wsen...
- 5:2-3: I de egw; Paulo" legw uhin oti e j an peritemhsqe, Cristo;" uma" oujden wifel hsei. marturomai de; pal in panti; ajqrwpw/ peritemnomenw/ oti o j fei leith" e j stin o j on ton nomon poihsai.
- 5:7-10: Etrece te kal w": ti l' uma" e j ekoyen »th l a j h qeia/ mh; peigesqai f h l peismonh; ouk e j tou kalounto" uma". mikra; zumh o j on to; furama zumoi. egw; pepoiga e j j" uma" e j kurw/ oti oujden a j lo fronhsete.
- 6:1: uhei" o j pneumatiko j; katartizete ton toiouton e j pneumati prau thto"...
- 6:2, 5: I a l h l w n ta; barh bastazete kai; ou tw" ajap l hrwsete ton nomon tou Cristou... e kasto" gar to; i j ion fortion bastase i.
- 6:3, 4: e j gar doke j ti" ei hai ti mhen w h, frenapata/ e auton. to; de; e j gon e autou dokimazet w e kasto"...
- 6:6, 9, 10: Koinwneit w de; o kathcoumeno" ton logon tw/ kathcounti e j pasin ajaqoi"... to; de; kal on poiounte" mh; e j kakwmen, kair w gar i j i w/ qerisomen mh; e j luomenoi. I ara ouh w l' kairon e j comen, e j gazwmeqa to; ajaqon pro;" panta", mal ista de; pro;" tou;" o ikeibu" th" pi stew".

### Hyperbole

- 1:13-14: kaq f u perbol hn e j i wkon thn e j k l h sian tou qeou kai; e j orqoun auj thn ... proekop-ton e j tw/ j loudaismw/ u per pol lou," sunh l ikiwta" ... perissoterw" zh l w th;" uparcwn tw n patrikw n mou paradosewn.
- 4:1: oujden diaferei dou l ou kurio" pantwn w h...
- 4:14: w l' aggel on qeou e j exasqe me, w l' Criston j h sou n.
- 4:15: e j dunaton tou;" o j f qal mou;" u hwn e j xorukante" e j dwkate moi.
- 5:15: e j jde; a j l h l ou" daknete kai; katesqiete, bl e pete mh; up f a j l h l w n ajal w qhte.

### Oath

- 1:20: i j tou; e j w p i on tou qeou o ti ou j yeudomai.

### Grammatical

- 1:21-24: periphrastic construction.

### Parenthesis

- 2:2: ajebhn de; kata; apokal uyin.
- 2:6: proswpon »o l qeo;" ajqrwpou ou j l ambanei.
- 2:8: o l gar e j erghsa" Peit rw/ e j j" apostol hn th" peritomh" e j hrghsen kai; e j noi; e j j" ta; e j qn h.

### Length of sentence (Use of brief sentences)

- 2:2: ajebhn de; kata; apokal uyin.
- 3:19-20: Tivouh o l nomo" E tw n parabasewn carin proseteqh, ac ri" ou e j qh/ to; sperma w j e j phggel tai, diatagei;" di l aggel wn e j ceiri; mesi tou. olde; mesi th" e ho;" ouk e j stin, olde; qeo;" e j j" e j stin.
- 4:4-5: e j xapesteil en olqeo;" ton uibn aujtou, genomenon e j gunaikol', genomenon upo; nomon, iha tou;" upo; nomon e j xagorash/ iha th n uibqesian ajol abwmen.

### Metaphor

- 2:2 (Athletics): ... mh rpw" e j j" kenon trecw h j e j dramon.

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- 2:4 (Slavery): ... dia; de; tou;" pareisaktou" yeudadel fou", oi'tine" pareishl qon katas-kophsai thn ej euqerian hmwn hn ecomen ejn Cristw/ jhsou, ifa hma" katadoulwsousin...
- 2:14 (Walking/road): ouk ofqopodousin pro;" thn aj hqeian tou euaggel iou...
- 2:19-20 (Life/death): egw; gar dia; nomou nomw/ apeqanon, ifa qew/zhsw. Cristw/su-nestaurwmai: zw de; ouk eiti egw; zh/de; ejn ejnoi; Cristo!': o)de; nun zw ejn sarkiy ejn pistei zw th/ tou uibu tou qeou tou ajgaphsanto" me kai; paradonto" eauton uper ejnou.
- 3:22-25 (Imprisonment/confinement): ... aj l a; sunekl eisen hlgrafh; ta; panta upo; amartian, ifa hlepaggel ia ek pistew" jhsou Cristou doqh/ toi" pisteubusin. Pro; tou de; ejl qein thn pistin upo; nomon ejfrouroumeqa sugkleiomenoi eij" thn mel lousan pistin apo-kalufqhina, wste olnomo" paidagwgo;" hmwn gegonen eij" Criston, ifa ek pistew" di-kaiwqmen: ej qoush" de; th" pistew" ouk eiti upo; paidagwgon esmen.
- 4:3 (Slavery): ou'tw" kai; hmei", o)te hmen nhpioi, upo; ta; stoiceia tou kosmou hmeqa de-doul wmenoi.
- 4:5 (Redemption/Adoption): ... ifa tou" upo; nomon ekagorash/ ifa thn uibqesian apo-labwmen.
- 4:6 (Fatherhood): Oti derejste uibiy ekapestei en olqeo;" to; pneuma tou uibu aujtu eij" ta" kardia" hmwn krazon: abba olpathr.
- 4:7 (Slavery/sonship/inheritance): wste ouk eiti eil doul o" aj l a; uib!': eij de; uib!, kai; kl hronomo" dia; qeou.
- 4:8-9 (Slavery): jAl l a; tote men ouk eipote" qeon ejloul eusate toi" fusei mh; ousin qeoi": nun de; gnonte" qeon, mall on de; gnwsqente" upo; qeou, pw" epistrefete pal in epi; ta; ajsqenh kai; ptwca; stoiceia oil' pal in ajwqen doul euein qel etef
- 4:19 (Childbirth): tekna mou, ouj' pal in wdinw mecri" ouj morfwqh/ Cristo;" ejn umin...
- 4:21-5:1: The metaphorical contrast between slavery and freedom dominates the argumentative strategy in this section.
- 5:7 (Athletics): Etrecece kal w"...
- 5:13 (Slavery): aj l a; dia; th" ajgaph" douleuete aj l hloi"...
- 5:15 (Animal world): eij de; aj l hloi" daknete kai; katesqiete, bl epete mh; upl' aj l hloi" w ajal wqhte.
- 5:22 (Agriculture): olkarpo;" tou pneumatou"...
- 5:24 (Crucifixion): oil de; tou Cristou » jhsou% thn sarka estaurwsan sun toi" paqhmasin kai; tai" epiqumiai".
- 6:14 (Crucifixion): Emoi; de; mh; genoito kauca'sqai eij mh; ejn tw/ staurw/ tou kuriou hmwn jhsou Cristou, dif oul ejnoi; kosmo" estaurwtai kagw; kosmw/
- 6:17 (Branded marks): egw; gar ta; stigmata tou jhsou ejn tw/ swmati mou bastaw.

### Anacoluthon

2:4-5, 6 (Not sure).

### Chiasm

2:16; 3:3; 4:4-5; 4:17; 5:16-17; 5:25; 6:8.

### Repetition

2:16-17a: eipote" »de% o)ti ouj dikaioutai ajqrwpo" ek efgwn nomou ejan mh; dia; pistew" jhsou Cristou, kai; hmei" eij" Criston, jhsou% episteusamen, ifa dikaiwqmen ek pistew" Cristou kai; ouk ek efgwn nomou, o)ti ek efgwn nomou ouj dikaiwqhsetai pasa sarx. eij de; zhtounte" dikaiwqhna ejn Cristw/

### Personification

3:8: proidousa de; hlgrafh; o)ti ek pistew" dikaioi ta; eqnh olqeo;", proeuaggel isato tw/ jAbraam...

3:22: aj l a; sunekl eisen hlgrafh; ta; panta upo; amartian.

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3:24-25: w'ste olnomo" paidagwgo," hmwn gegonen eij' Criston, i'ha ek pistew" di-kaiwqwmn: ej qoush" de; th" pistew" ouk eiti upo; paidagwgon ej'smen.

### Hyperbaton

- 3:13: h'ma" placed before the verb, directly next to Criston'.
- 3:28: pante" , u'mei" , ei|" , and ejh Cristw/ jhsou highlighted by the manipulation of the word order.
- 5:1: Unusual sentence structure.
- 5:5: h'mei" placed in a prominent position.
- 5:6: Cristw/ jhsou placed at the beginning of the sentence.
- 5:10-11: ejgw placed in a prominent position in both sentences.
- 6:2: Al lhl wn placed in a prominent position in the sentence.
- 6:14: jmoiv placed in a prominent position in the sentence.
- 6:17: ejgw placed in a prominent position in the sentence.

### Irony

- 4:9: pw" epistrefete pal in epi; ta; aj'sqenh kai; ptwca; stoiceia oi|" pal in ajwqen douleu-ein qel etef
- 4:21: Legete moi, upo; nomon qel onte" ei hai, ton nomon ouk akouetef

### Polysyndeton

- 4:10: h'mera" parathreisqe kai; mhna" kai; kairou;" kai; ejh iautou'...

### Pleading

- 4:12: Ginesqe w' ejgw ofti kagw; w' u'mei" , ajdel foiy de'mai umwn.

### Understatement

- 4:12: ou'pen me hjdikhsate...
- 4:14: ouk ejkougenhsate ou'pe; ejkeptusate...
- 5:23: kata; tw'n toioutwn ouk e'stin nomo"...

### Alliteration

- 4:14: ouk ejkougenhsate ou'pe; ejkeptusate...
- 5:13: u'mei" gar ejp' ej euqeria/ ejl hqhte, ajdel foiy

### Solemn declaration

- 4:15: marturw gar umin ofti eijdunaton tou;" ofqalmou;" umwn ejxorukante" ejd'w'kate moi.

### Expression of desire to be with them

- 4:20: h'jel on de; pareinai pro;" uma" ajfti...

### Consonance

- 5:3: marturomai de; pal in panti; ajqrwpw/ peritemnomenw/ofti offeileith" e'stin oflon ton nomon poihsai.
- 5:16: pneumat' peripateite...
- 6: 1: j'adel foiy e'jan kai; prol hmfqh/ ajqrwpo" ejh tini paraptwmati, u'mei" oi| pneumatikoi; katartizete ton toiouton ejh pneumat' prau'thto" , skopwn seauton mh; kai; su; pei-rasqh'.
- 6:2: j'Al lhl wn ta; barh bastazete...
- 6:7: Koinweitw de; olkathcoumeno" ton logon tw/kathcounti ejh pasin ajaqpi" .

### Expression of confidence

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5:10: egw; pepoiqa eij' uma" ej kuriw/of ti oujden aj lo fronthsete...

Attempt to provoke sympathy

5:11: Egw; dey ajel foi; eijperitomhn ejti khruww, tivel ti diwkomaif

Sarcasm

5:12: Ofel on kai; ajpokoyontai oilajastatounte" uma".

5:15: eijde; aj l hl ou" daknete kai; katesqiete, bl epete mh; upf aj l hl wn ajnal wqhte.

Oxymoron

5:13: dia; th" ajgaph" douleuete aj l hl oi".

Promise

5:16: ... kai; epiqumian sarko;" oujmh; tel eshte.

6:2: ... kai; outw" ajaplhrwsete ton nomon tou Cristou.

6:8: ... olde; speirwn eij' to; pneuma ek tou pneumatou" qerisei zwhn aijwnion.

6:9: ... kairw/gar ijdw/qerisomen mh; ek luomenoi.

Conditional blessing:

6:16: kai; ofoi tw/kanoni toutw/stoichisousin, eijrhnh epf ajtjou;" kai; ell eo" kai; epi; ton jlsrahj tou qeou.

Notable use of words

(Note: this category only contains occurrences not listed in other categories)

1:6: Qaumazw of ti outw" tacew" metatigesqe apo; tou kal esanto" uma"...

1:15: Use of words from Old Testament prophetic tradition.

1:18: Epeita meta; ejth tria ajhlqon eij' Jerosoluma istorhsai Khfan ...

1:23-24: monon de; akouonte" hsan of ti oldiwwn hma" pote nun euajgel izetai thn pistin hj pote eporqei, kai; ejdrazon ejn ejnoi; ton qeon.

3:23-4:7: The structural similarity between the expressions upo; amartian (3:22), upo; nomon ejfrouroumeqa (3:23), upo; paidagwgon (3:25), upo; epi tropou" ejstin kai; oikonomou" (4:1), upo; ta; stoiceia tou kosmou (4:3) and upo; nomon (4:4, 5).

4:3: outw" kai; hmei", ofte hmen nhpioi, upo; ta; stoiceia tou kosmou hneqa dedoulwmenoi.

4:4: ofte de; hlqen to; plhrwma tou cronou, exapesteilen olqeo;" ton uibn ajtjou, genomenon ek gunaikol', genomenon upo; nomon...

4:6: Ofi derejste uibij exapesteilen olqeo;" to; pneuma tou uibu ajtjou eij' ta;" kardia" hmwn krazon: ajba olpathr.

4:8-9: jAl la; tote men ouk eijdote" qeon ejdouleusate toi" fusei mh; ousin qeoi": nun de; gnonte" qeon, mal lon de; gnwsqente" upo; qeou, pw" epistrefete pal in epi; ta; asqenhi kai; ptwca; stoiceia oi" pal in ajhwqen douleuein qel etef

5:13: monon mh; thn ej euqerian eij' ajformhn th/ sarkij..

5:14: olgar pa" nomo" ej ehi; logw/ peplhrwtai...

5:19/22: ta; efga th" sarkol'/olkarpo;" tou pneumatou".

6:1: uhei" oil pneumatikoi; katartizete ton toiouton ejn pneumatij prauhtto"...

6:2: jAl hlwn ta; barh bastazete kai; outw" ajaplhrwsete ton nomon tou Cristou.

Sentence construction: general (all instances not mentioned above)

1:15-17: Hypotactic sentence structure.

4:14: Harshness of expression ton peirasmon softened by means of sentence structure.

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## 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:

- First objective: Convince the audience of his divine authorisation (1:1-2:10).  
Second objective: Convince the audience that his gospel is the true gospel (2:11-3:14).  
Third objective: Convince the audience of the inferiority of the law (3:15-25).  
Fourth objective: Convince the audience that the "gospel" of the opponents represents spiritual slavery and, instead, urge them to remain spiritually free by adhering to his gospel (3:26-5:1).  
Fifth objective: 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).  
Sixth objective: Final refutation of the opponents (6:11-18).

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 afgeforseer 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 de 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 slawerny verteenwoordig, en roep hulle op om liever 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 hê: 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.

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**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