

The background is a textured, light brown surface with a complex, abstract pattern of dark brown lines. A prominent feature is a large, stylized spiral in the upper left quadrant. To the right, there is a stylized, abstract face with large eyes and a slight smile. The overall aesthetic is organic and artistic.

**Research on
the Letter to
the Galatians:
2000–2020**

VOLUME

1

Introductory Matters,
Textual and Stylistic Issues,
History of Interpretation,
Interpretative Approaches,
and Theology of the Letter

D. Francois Tolmie



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Stylistic Issues, History of Interpretation,
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Theology of the Letter

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Dedicated to Rian Venter and Jan-Albert van den Berg, two excellent theologians and wonderful friends, in remembrance of the many years that we worked together at the Faculty of Theology and Religion at the University of the Free State

Preface

It has been a wonderful journey to focus intensively on what happened in Galatians research from 2000 until 2020. I enjoyed the time spent on this exercise immensely and have indeed been blessed by so many new insights that I stumbled upon as the study progressed. I trust that this study will be received well by other Galatians scholars and that it will stimulate further research on this Pauline letter. It is my hope that fellow scholars will use it as a basis for developing novel insights and fresh approaches to the letter or parts of it, enabling all of us to understand it even better.

The research and writing of this study took me more or less four years to complete. This was longer than I had originally anticipated, but Covid-19 made it difficult for me to visit the overseas libraries upon which I depended for gaining access to many studies that were not available in South Africa. Nevertheless, better late than never!

Apart from the excellent service rendered by the library of the University of the Free State, I also wish to acknowledge the libraries of Princeton Theological Seminary and the KU Leuven, both of which I visited several times and where I was always received kindly. Furthermore, I wish to express my appreciation to Nanette Lötter who did the language editing.

This work is dedicated to Rian Venter and Jan-Albert van den Berg, two excellent theologians and wonderful friends, in remembrance of the many years that we worked together at the Faculty of Theology and Religion at the University of the Free State. It was a pleasure to travel this road together with them and I hereby acknowledge with gratitude the privilege I had to experience their integrity, scholarship, loyalty and true friendship personally.

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Introduction

The aim of this study is to offer an overview of the research published on the Letter to the Galatians, from 2000 to 2020. An enormous number of publications appeared during this period and the primary purpose of this work is to provide a brief overview of these. Furthermore, it attempts to bring together research on particular aspects in an accessible way so that other scholars will be able to grasp easily what has already been done and to understand the tendencies dominating the research of a specific issue and thus be in a position to identify and develop novel avenues for further research.

It should also be noted that there is limited interaction with or evaluation of what has been offered by scholars. This would necessitate a much longer and more detailed study. Instead, I have attempted rather to provide as broad an overview as possible of the great variety of issues that received the attention of scholars during this period.

This overview is divided into two volumes. In this volume, the first volume, research on the letter is divided into five main areas (with subdivisions), with each section covered in a separate chapter. Due to the fact that some studies fit in more than one category, they are discussed or at least mentioned in more than one section. In the second volume, research is classified in terms of the particular pericope/s on which it focuses. It should also be noted that I have not discussed commentaries on the letter, since it is quite difficult to summarise the contribution of a particular commentary briefly. Accordingly, some of the commentaries that appeared during the period considered are merely listed at the end of Volume 2. Furthermore, it should be noted that sermons on Galatians have also not been included in this overview.

I have tried my utmost to identify as many as possible of the studies published in the years from 2000 until 2020, but I realise that there will be some that have slipped through the net. I apologise to scholars whose studies are not discussed in this book because of accidental omission. Be assured that the oversight was not deliberate and happened in spite of all attempts on my side to be as comprehensive as possible.

Chapter 1:

Introductory Issues

1. Authorship

Of the introductory issues normally considered by scholars when New Testament writings are investigated, the *authorship* of the Letter to the Galatians received the least attention.

Two scholars doubted the authenticity of the letter. Building on work previously published in 1967–1968, *Frank McGuire*¹ (again) proposed in 2003 that the letter was not written by Paul. McGuire based this on the dependence of Galatians 2 on Acts 15 and indications that 2 Corinthians and Galatians were not written by the same person. In an earlier article, *McGuire*² (2002) argued that Peter and Paul never met, and that the quarrel narrated in Galatians 2:11–21 was invented by a forerunner of Marcion in order to re-enact the events narrated in Acts 15:30–35. *Robert M. Price*³ (2012) follows W.C. van Manen and takes Marcion as the author of the letter, arguing that the many contradictions and anachronisms in the letter indicate that various redactors are responsible for the current letter.

*Günther Schwab*⁴ (2011) investigates the authenticity of the minor letters of Paul (Philemon, Philippians, Galatians and 1 Thessalonians), primarily from a philological perspective. Although Schwab is aware that it is difficult to offer irrefutable proof that they were not written by Paul, various arguments are forwarded to show that one should rather view them as pseudepigraphical.

1 F.R. McGuire, “Galatians as a Reply to Acts”, *Journal of Higher Criticism* 10:1 (2003), pp. 1–22.

2 F. McGuire, “The Posthumous Clash between Peter and Paul”, *Journal of Higher Criticism* 9:2 (2002), pp. 161–174.

3 R.M. Price, *The Amazing Colossal Apostle: The Search for the Historical Paul* (Salt Lake City UT: Signature Books, 2012), pp. 411–436.

4 G. Schwab, *Echtheitskritische Untersuchungen zu den vier kleineren Paulusbriefen: Band I, Halbband A: Der Philemonbrief: Beobachtungen zur Sprache des Philipper- und des Galaterbriefs* (Echtheitskritische Untersuchungen zu den Paulusbriefen T.1, Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2011).

Five other studies need to be mentioned:

J.C. O'Neill⁵ (2000) divides 4:21–5:1 into four “oracles”, claiming that they do not show any signs of having been written by Paul. O'Neill believes that they were of Essene origin and were added to the letter at a later stage. William O. Walker Jr. published two studies on 2:7b–8. In one study⁶ (2004), Walker draws attention to the fact that v. 8 only mentions Peter's apostleship, and not Paul's. This may be explained in two ways: sloppiness on Paul's side, or that this verse deliberately refrains from calling Paul an apostle. According to Walker, this suggests that v. 8 does not stem from Paul. In the other contribution⁷ (2003), Walker argues that the peculiarities in 2:7b–8 are best explained if one accepts that this part of the letter is a non-Pauline interpolation.

Thomas Witulski⁸ (2014) discusses 3:6–14 as an example proving the *relecture* of an originally shorter letter of Paul by an editor. According to Witulski, certain parts of vv. 8, 11–12 and 14 were added by an editor in an attempt to shape the contents of this pericope to fit the broader theological perspective of the apostle. The contribution by Harold W. Hoehner⁹ (2006) is of a slightly different nature. Hoehner accepts Pauline authorship but points out that arguments normally used by scholars who try to demonstrate the authenticity of disputed Pauline letters, may also be used to shed doubt on the authenticity of Galatians.

Two authors made a contribution from the perspective of statistical analysis: In three studies, published from 2002 to 2004, George K. Barr¹⁰

5 J.C. O'Neill, “‘For this Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia’ (Galatians 4.25)”, in: S. Moyise (ed.), *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of J.L. North* (Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 189, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), pp. 210–219. See also earlier: J.C. O'Neill, *The Recovery of Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (London: SPCK, 1972), pp. 62–64.

6 W.O. Walker Jr., “Galatians 2:8 and the Question of Paul's Apostleship”, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 123:2 (2004), pp. 323–327. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3267948>

7 W.O. Walker Jr., “Galatians 2:7b–8 as a Non-Pauline Interpolation”, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 65:4 (2003), pp. 568–587.

8 T. Witulski, “Einheitlichkeit versus Relecture: Gal 3,6–14 als Testfall”, *Liber Annuus* 64:1 (2014), pp. 337–390. <https://doi.org/10.1484/J.LA.5.105501>

9 H.W. Hoehner, “Did Paul Write Galatians?”, in: S.-W. Son (ed.), *History and Exegesis: New Testament Essays in Honor of Dr. E. Earle Ellis for His 80th Birthday* (New York: T & T Clark, 2006), pp. 150–169.

10 Consisting of two articles and a book: G.K. Barr, “The Impact of Scalometry on New Testament Letters”, *The Expository Times* 114:1 (2002), pp. 3–9, <https://doi.org/10.1177/001452460211400102>, G.K. Barr, “Interpolations, Pseudographs, and the New Testament Epistles”,

makes use of scalometry, an approach focusing on the measurement of issues of scale in the Pauline letters, to challenge the widely-held assumption of the pseudonymity of some of Paul's letters, as well as the issue of the authorship of Hebrews and 1 and 2 Peter. For the study of Galatians, the contrast that Barr finds in Paul's letters between opening sections with comparatively longer sections and later sections with shorter sentences is relevant. In the case of Galatians, Barr demarcates the first part as 1:1–5:15. Jacques Savoy¹¹ (2019) uses two authorship attribution methods (the Burrows' Delta approach and Labbé's intertextual approach) to consider the issue of the authorship of the Pauline letters. Based on these approaches, Savoy classifies the Pauline letters into four clusters, with Galatians falling in the group of letters that were certainly written by the same author (Romans, Galatians and 1 & 2 Corinthians.)

2. Occasion

All the issues typically investigated when the occasion of the letter is considered, received attention during the period under review, although not to the same extent.

2.1 Methodological issues

As John M.G. Barclay¹² pointed out in 1987, the only way in which one can gain a picture of Paul's opponents in the letter is by a "mirror-reading" of the letter. During the period considered in this study, several scholars drew attention to the methodological underpinnings of such an approach.

Moisés Silva¹³ (2001) agrees with Barclay that one cannot interpret Galatians without mirror-reading. For Silva, the issue is not *whether* we should do it, but rather *how* we should do it. Silva is of the opinion that a reconstruction arising out of the text and explicit statements in the

Literary and Linguistic Computing 17:4 (2002), pp. 439–455, <https://doi.org/10.1093/lhc/17.4.439>, and G.K. Barr, *Scalometry and the Pauline Epistles* (Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 261, London/New York NY: T & T Clark, 2004).

11 J. Savoy, "Authorship of Pauline Epistles Revisited", *Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology* 70:10 (2019), pp. 1089–1097. <https://doi.org/10.1002/asi.24176>

12 J.M.G. Barclay, "Mirror-Reading a Polemical Letter: Galatians as Test Case", *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 31 (1987), p. 73. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X8701003105>

13 M. Silva, *Interpreting Galatians: Explorations in Exegetical Method* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2001 [1996], 2nd edition), pp. 104–108.

text is more persuasive than one depending on inferences. D.A. Carson¹⁴ (2014) uses the expressions “the ones from James” and “the ones of the circumcision” in 2:11–14 as a test case for illustrating the difficulty involved in the mirror-reading of the letter. Carson considers various interpretations of the two expressions, pointing out that one cannot avoid mirror-reading, and that the best options are usually those based on the greatest number of texts and choices fitting such texts as closely as possible.

Justin K. Harding¹⁵ (2014) illustrates the methodological problems caused by the mirror-reading of the letter by specifically investigating whether Paul’s opponents questioned his credentials. Harding thinks that Paul was not defending himself or his gospel in the letter. He was merely developing a self-contrast with the opponents. Yon-Gyong Kwon¹⁶ (2015) also discusses the problems posed by mirror-reading, in particular that it is impossible to avoid the subjectivity that is part and parcel of this approach. Kwon especially draws attention to and evaluates Barclay’s mirror-reading of the letter, which is widely acknowledged as very successful.

2.2 North Galatian and South Galatian hypotheses

This discussion continued unabated, with no possibility of consensus being reached:

Cilliers Breytenbach continued voicing support for the South Galatian hypothesis, a view originally expressed in 1996¹⁷ and based on inscriptions and sources related to the provinces of Cyprus and Galatia. In a study published in 2014,¹⁸ Breytenbach offers epigraphic evidence of the ways in which Paul’s name occurred in the first four centuries, pointing out that his name was used with the highest frequency in the regions

14 D.A. Carson, “Mirror-Reading with Paul and against Paul: Galatians 2:11–14 as a Test Case”, in: M.S. Harmon and J.E. Smith (eds.), *Studies in the Pauline Epistles: Essays in Honor of Douglas J. Moo* (Grand Rapids MI: Zondervan, 2014), pp. 99–112.

15 J.K. Hardin, “Galatians 1–2 without a Mirror: Reflections on Paul’s Conflict with the Agitators”, *Tyndale Bulletin* 65:2 (2014), pp. 275–303.

16 Y.-G. Kwon, “Reconsidering Mirror-Reading and Galatians”, *신약연구* 14:2 (2015), pp. 244–270.

17 C. Breytenbach, *Paulus und Barnabas in der Provinz Galatien: Studien zu Apostelgeschichte 13f., 16,6, 18,23 und den Adressaten des Galaterbriefes* (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 38, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 1996).

18 C. Breytenbach, “What Happened to the Galatian Christians? Paul’s Legacy in Southern Galatia”, *Acta Theologica Supplementum* 19 (2014), pp. 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.4314/actat.v33i2S.1>

in the province of Galatia and in the Phrygian-Galatian borderland where he founded congregations. Furthermore, in a study published in 2017 and based on numerous funerary inscriptions from Lycaonia, *Breytenbach and Christiane Zimmermann*¹⁹ offer a detailed survey of the expansion of Christianity in these parts, from Paul's time until the time of Amphilochius of Iconium (fourth century CE).

The study by *Mark Wilson*²⁰ (2018) also draws attention to inscriptions recently discovered, indicating that Pamphylia formed part of Galatia during Paul's journeys. Accordingly, Wilson disagrees with Clare Rothschild (see below) that the South Galatian hypothesis cannot be accepted anymore.

Several other scholars have published studies expressing their support for the South Galatian hypothesis:

*Paul Barnett*²¹ (2000) is of the opinion that Paul addressed the letter to the Pisidians and Lycaonians in the southern parts of the province of Galatia and that he wrote the letter soon after his missionary tour to Antioch, Iconium, Lystra and Derbe. Accordingly, Galatians is Paul's earliest letter and the oldest writing in the New Testament. *Thomas Witulski*²² (2000) supports the South Galatian hypothesis and also argues that Galatians actually consists of two independent letters (which have been passed down to us as 4:8–20 and the rest of the letter respectively). Both of them were sent by Paul to Christians in the southern parts of the province of Galatia. Witulski believes that these two letters were found at a later stage in the archives of these congregations by a post-Pauline editor who combined them into one letter.

Dieter Sänger published two studies expressing support for the South Galatian hypothesis: in the first one (2010),²³ Sänger offers a detailed

19 C. Breytenbach and C. Zimmermann, *Early Christianity in Lycaonia and Adjacent Areas: From Paul to Amphilochius of Iconium* (Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 101/Early Christianity in Asia Minor 2, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2017).

20 M. Wilson, "The Denouement of Claudian Pamphylia-Lycia and its Implications for the Audience of Galatians", *Novum Testamentum* 60:4 (2018), pp. 337–360. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685365-12341610>

21 P. Barnett, "Galatians and Earliest Christianity", *The Reformed Theological Review* 59:3 (2000), pp. 112–129.

22 T. Witulski, *Die Adressaten des Galaterbriefes: Untersuchungen zur Gemeinde von Antiochia ad Pisidiam* (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 193, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000).

23 D. Sänger, "Die Adresse des Galaterbriefes: Neue (?) Überlegungen zu einem alten Problem", in: M. Bachmann and B. Kollmann (eds.),

overview of all the arguments that are used for deciding on the locale of the recipients and the dating of the letter, and opts for the South Galatian hypothesis. In the other one (2009),²⁴ Sanger also supports the South Galatian hypothesis and works out the implications of such a choice for the issue of a possible development in Paul’s thought, in particular with regard to Paul’s views on justification. Sanger is of the opinion that the crisis in Galatia served as a catalyst in this regard, but that the basic coordinates about this theme were already in place at the time that Paul founded the congregations in Galatia.

*Jim Reiher*²⁵ (2015) approaches the matter from the angle of the strained relationship between Paul and James (as reflected in Galatians) and suggests that this situation fits the South Galatian hypothesis best. (For another scholar who supports the South Galatian hypothesis, see the study of *Felix John*, which is discussed in the next section.)

On the other hand, support for the North-Galatian hypothesis continued: *Clare K. Rothschild*²⁶ (2012) uses the incident in Pisidian Antioch narrated in Acts 13 to argue against the South Galatian hypothesis. According to Rothschild, the author of Luke-Acts was aware of Paul’s Letter to the Galatians and the incident in Antioch was an attempt on his part to place Paul in South Galatia. *Dietrich-Alex Koch*²⁷ (2012) disagrees with *James M. Scott*²⁸ (1995), who is in favour of the South Galatian hypothesis. Koch rejects Scott’s claim that in *Antiquitates Iudaicae* I 126,

Umstrittener Galaterbrief: Studien zur Situierung und Theologie des Paulus-Schreibens (Biblich-Theologische Studien 106, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2010), pp. 1–56.

- 24 D. Sanger, “Die Adressaten des Galaterbriefs und das Problem einer Entwicklung in Paulus’ theologischem Denken”, in: W. Kraus (ed.), *Beitrage zur urchristlichen Theologiegeschichte* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift fur die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 163, Berlin/New York NY: De Gruyter, 2009), pp. 247–275. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110215663_3_247
- 25 J. Reiher, “Paul’s Strained Relationship with the Apostle James at the Time of Writing Galatians (and How it Contributes to the Debate on the Destination of the Letter)”, *The Evangelical Quarterly* 87:1 (2015), pp. 18–35.
- 26 C.K. Rothschild, “Pisidian Antioch in Acts 13: The Denouement of the South Galatian Hypothesis”, *Novum Testamentum* 54:4 (2012), pp. 334–353. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685365-12341401>
- 27 D.-A. Koch, “Die Volkertafel von Josephus, *Antiquitates Iudaicae* I und das ‘Galatien’ des Paulus”, *Zeitschrift fur die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der alteren Kirche* 103:1 (2012), pp. 136–141. <https://doi.org/10.1515/znw-2012-0007>
- 28 J.M. Scott, *Paul and the Nations: The Old Testament and Jewish Background of Paul’s Mission to the Nations with Special Reference to the Destination of Galatians* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

Josephus only has the southern parts of Galatia in mind when he refers to “Galatia”. Koch argues that Josephus is actually referring to the Roman province as a whole.

Finally, the study by *Michael Winger*²⁹ (2002) may also be mentioned here: Winger tries to reconstruct Paul’s preaching during “Act One”, namely during his ministry in Galatia when the congregations were formed. Winger also indicates what Paul probably did *not* preach about, namely the law, the flesh and orderly conduct – which left a gap which the “Teachers” (Jewish Christian missionaries) tried to fill during “Act Two”.

2.3 Recipients: Identity

Scholars do not agree on the cultural home of the Galatian congregations: According to *John G. Gager*³⁰ (2000), these congregations consisted entirely of Gentiles who had prior connections to synagogues. *Bas van Os*³¹ (2008) believes that a close reading of the letter shows that it was addressed to a mixed audience of Jews and Gentiles, rather than only to Gentiles – as is generally accepted by scholars. *Seung-Moon Lee*³² (2008) maintains that the Galatian congregations included both God-fearers and Gentiles who had not known God before becoming believers. The God-fearers had a positive view of Jewish customs and were thus easily persuaded to adopt the new gospel. *Jun-Hong Min*³³ (2011) is of a more or less similar view: the congregations in Galatia consisted of God-fearers and Gentiles, and the conflict between the two groups was caused by the insistence of Jewish Christians that the Gentiles had to keep the law, especially in regard to circumcision.

Other issues also received attention: *Clinton E. Arnold*³⁴ (2005) links the willingness of the Galatians to receive the gospel of Paul’s opponents

1.84, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157295-1>

29 M. Winger, “Act One: Paul Arrives in Galatia”, *New Testament Studies* 48:4 (2002), pp. 548–567. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688502000334>

30 J.G. Gager, *Reinventing Paul* (Oxford/New York NY: Oxford Univ Press, 2000), pp. 77–78. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195150858.001.0001>

31 B. van Os, “The Jewish Recipients of Galatians”, in: S.E. Porter (ed.), *Paul: Jew, Greek, and Roman* (Pauline Studies 5, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2008), pp. 51–64. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004171596.i-370.32>

32 S.-M. Lee, “Were the Gentile Christians in the Galatian Community from the God-Fearers?”, *한국신약학회* 15:3 (2008), pp. 743–767.

33 J.-H. Min, “Understanding the Constituent Groups of the Galatian Community and the Law”, *한국신약학회* 18:3 (2011), pp. 819–851.

34 C.E. Arnold, “‘I Am Astonished That You Are So Quickly Turning Away!’ (Gal 1.6): Paul and Anatolian Folk Belief”, *New Testament Studies* 51:3

to the Galatians' pre-Christian religious experiences – in particular to the fact that they were accustomed to fulfilling cultic requirements and performing good works to maintain a positive standing with deities. *Felix John*³⁵ (2016), who opts for the South Galatian hypothesis, offers a detailed investigation of the historical context of the recipients of Galatians. John discusses issues such as climate, landscape, the history of the region, religious background, Roman colonisation and urbanisation, road infrastructure and participation in the imperial cult. John rejects several theories on the cause of the Galatian crisis (a renewed interest in ritual purity amongst Gentiles, self-castration of the *galli*, emperor worship) and rather opts for Jewish-Christian influence from Palestine.

Finally, although perhaps not directly relevant for this section, the study by *David Smith* (2020) should be noted. Smith³⁶ believes that epistolary literature may serve as evidence to support Richard Bauckham's³⁷ claim in *The Gospel for All Christians* that the Gospels were written for a wider audience. Smith uses Galatians as one of the examples to show that even in cases where Paul's letters were written to a particular locale, they had more than one address.

2.4 Recipients: Broader background

Much research is being done on the Galatian people outside of our discipline, and although this may perhaps not be directly relevant to the exegesis of the letter, it is important to be aware of the research themes that receive attention. What follows serves as a representative sample of what has been done, but does not constitute an exhaustive overview:

Broad overviews

*Gareth Darbyshire, Stephen Mitchell and Levent Vardar*³⁸ (2000) offer an alternative reconstruction of the process of settlement of the Galatians in Asia Minor. *Stephen Mitchell*³⁹ (2005) discusses the difference between

(2005), pp. 429–449. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688505000226>
35 F. John, *Der Galaterbrief im Kontext historischer Lebenswelten im antiken Kleinasien* (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 264, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016).

36 D. Smith, *The Epistles for All Christians: Epistolary Literature, Circulation, and the Gospels for All Christians* (Biblical Interpretation Series 186, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2020), pp. 41–42.

37 R. Bauckham (ed.), *The Gospels for All Christians: Rethinking the Gospel Audiences* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998).

38 G. Darbyshire, S. Mitchell and L. Vardar, “The Galatian Settlement in Asia Minor”, *Anatolian Studies* 50 (2000), pp. 75–97.

39 S. Mitchell, “The Galatians: Representation and Reality”, in: A. Erskine (ed.), *A Companion to the Hellenistic World* (Blackwell Companions to

the representation of the Galatians in the Hellenistic world and the reality. Karl Strobel⁴⁰ (2007) explains the difference between the historical identity and ethnic tradition of the Galatians.

Specific persons/issues/events

In this instance, a wide variety of contributions may be mentioned: Karl Strobel⁴¹ (2009) traces the process of ethnogenesis and acculturation of the Galatian peoples in Central Anatolia. Strobel explains how the three Galatian groups originated, how the Galatian elite were shaped by an early Hellenization process, and how important the common use of the Celtic language was to them. Altay Coşkun⁴² (2012) investigates the personal names of the Celtic mercenaries that began to settle in eastern Phrygia from 278 BCE in order to gain more knowledge of their cultural identity. Coşkun has made several other contributions: In a study published in 2013,⁴³ Coşkun outlines the Phrygian and Celtic traditions that may be seen in the naming practices followed by the Galatians. In another study, also published in 2013,⁴⁴ Coşkun describes the behaviour of the Galatians in Central Anatolia from the perspective of the notion of belonging and isolation. In a study in 2015,⁴⁵ Coşkun explains how the tetrarchy was used as a Hellenistic-Roman way of

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- the Ancient World, Malden MA/Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), pp. 280–293. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470996584.ch17>
- 40 K. Strobel, “Die Galater und Galatien: Historische Identität und ethnische Tradition im Imperium Romanum”, *Klio* 89:2 (2007), pp. 356–402. <https://doi.org/10.1524/klio.2007.89.2.356>
- 41 K. Strobel, “The Galatians in the Roman Empire: Historical Tradition and Ethnic Identity in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor”, in: T. Derks and N. Roymans (eds.), *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity: The Role of Power and Tradition* (Amsterdam Archaeological Studies 13, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), pp. 117–144.
- 42 A. Coşkun, “Intercultural Anthroponomy in Hellenistic and Roman Galatia, with Maps Drafted by Michael Grün and April Ross”, *Gephyra* 9 (2012), pp. 51–68.
- 43 A. Coşkun, “Histoire par les noms in *Ancient Galatia*”, in: R. Parker (ed.), *Personal Names in Ancient Anatolia* (Proceedings of the British Academy 191, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 79–106. <https://doi.org/10.5871/bacad/9780197265635.003.0006>
- 44 A. Coşkun, “Belonging and Isolation in Central Anatolia: The Galatians in the Graeco-Roman World”, in: S.L. Ager and R. Faber (eds.), *Belonging and Isolation in the Hellenistic World* (Toronto/Buffalo NY/London: University of Toronto Press, 2013), pp. 73–95.
- 45 A. Coşkun, “Die Tetrarchie als hellenistisch-römisches Herrschaftsinstrument: Mit einer Untersuchung der Titulatur der Dynasten von Ituräa”, in: E. Baltrusch and J. Wilker (eds.), *Amici – Socii – Clientes? Abhängige Herrschaft im Imperium Romanum* (Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 31, Berlin: Edition Topoi, 2015), pp. 161–198.

ruling (“Herrschaftsinstrument”), and in one published in 2018,⁴⁶ Cicero’s lampoon against Publius Clodius (56 BCE) is investigated in order contribute to the knowledge of the history of the city Pessinus.

*Fernando López Sánchez*⁴⁷ (2017) raises the question of whether the presence of Galatians in Macedonia from 280 to 277 BCE was the result of an invasion from their side or of an invitation. *Victor Parker*⁴⁸ (2018) traces the history of Deiotarus, one of the Roman “client kings”, from 63 BCE until his death around 40 BCE. *Stephen Mitchell*⁴⁹ (2018) discusses the diet of people living in Asia Minor and how this was influenced by environment, climate, and, most importantly, by the external powers controlling Anatolia. *İlknur Gürgen*⁵⁰ (2019) discusses the identity of the Galatians, the reasons for their migration into Anatolia and the effects this had on the political structure of Anatolia.

*Julian Bennett*⁵¹ (2019) reconsiders the views scholars have of the annexation and provincialisation of Galatia by focusing on issues specifically related to the Roman military. *Maria Domitilla Campanile*⁵² (2020) offers an overview of the life of Chiomara, the wife of Ortiagon, one of the chieftains of the Galatian Tolostobogi.

46 A. Coşkun, “Brogitaros and the Pessinus–Affair: Some Considerations on the Galatian Background of Cicero’s Lampoon against Clodius in 56 BC (*Harusp. Resp.* 27–29)”, *Gephyra* 15 (2018), pp. 119–133. <https://doi.org/10.37095/gephyra.420760>

47 F.L. Sánchez, “Galatians in Macedonia (280–277 BC): Invasion or Invitation?”, in: T.Ñ. del Hoyo and F.L. Sánchez (eds.), *War, Warlords, and Interstate Relations in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Impact of Empire 28, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2017), pp. 183–203. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004354050_010

48 V. Parker, “Deiotarus: Zur Karriere eines römischen Klientelkönig”, *Electrum* 25 (2018), pp. 187–208. <https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.18.009.8929>

49 S. Mitchell, “L’alimentation en Asie Mineure à travers les siècles: Esquisse d’une histoire culturelle”, *Syria* 95 (2018), pp. 111–120. <https://doi.org/10.4000/syria.7254>

50 İ. Gürgen, “Galatların Anadolu’ya Geçiş Süreci ve Bithynia İle İlişkileri”, *CBÜ Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 17:3 (2019), pp. 234–245. <https://doi.org/10.18026/cbayarsos.547458>

51 J. Bennett, “The Annexation of Galatia Reviewed”, *Adalya* 22 (2019), pp. 223–257.

52 M.D. Campanile, “Il Valore di Chiomara: Storia e Racconto nelle Campagne di Manlio Vulsona Contro i Galati”, in: C. Bearzot, F. Landucci and G. Zecchini (eds.), *I Celti e il Mediterraneo* (Contributi di Storia Antica 18, Milan: Vita & Pensiero, 2020), pp. 197–215.

Archaeology

Stephen Mitchell and David French⁵³ (2012) published 314 Greek and Latin inscriptions from Ankara, from the time of Augustus until the end of the third century CE; 31 of these were published for the first time. Mary M. Voigt⁵⁴ (2012) offers an overview of the ways in which animal and human sacrifice was used at Galatian Gordion, in particular its ritualistic use within a multi-ethnic society. Based on archaeological findings, Voigt⁵⁵ (2013) also identifies three specific periods in the history of cities in Galatian Gordion that may be linked to political instability. Altay Coşkun⁵⁶ (2014) draws attention to the difficulty of using Latène artefacts to determine the ethnic identity of the Galatian immigrants to Anatolia during the third century BCE.

Hacer Kumandaş Yanmaz⁵⁷ (2016) shows that coins from the town Pessimus in ancient Galatia reflect the economic, social and religious structures of this town that was well-known for the Cybele cult. Based on an unpublished inscription and a Greek dedication, Stephen Mitchell⁵⁸ (2017) describes two Galatian cults in Dacia, linked to Zeus Erusenos and Zeus Heptakomikos respectively.

Language

The language spoken by the Galatians was a Celtic language that eventually became extinct. Two studies on this language should be noted:

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- 53 S. Mitchell and D. French, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra): Vol. I: From Augustus to the End of the Third Century AD* (Vestigia 62, München: C.H. Beck, 2012).
- 54 M.M. Voigt, "Human and Animal Sacrifice at Galatian Gordion: The Uses of Ritual in a Multiethnic Community", in: A. Porter and G.M. Schwartz (eds.), *Sacred Killing: The Archaeology of Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012), pp. 237–290. <https://doi.org/10.5325/j.ctv1bxgxm5.14>
- 55 M.M. Voigt, "The Violent Ways of Galatian Gordion", in: S. Ralph (ed.), *The Archaeology of Violence: Interdisciplinary Approaches* (IEMA Proceedings 2, Albany NY: State University of New York Press, 2013), pp. 203–231.
- 56 A. Coşkun, "Latène-Artefakte im hellenistischen Kleinasien: Ein problematisches Kriterium für die Bestimmung der ethnischen Identität(en) der Galater", *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 64 (2014), pp. 129–162.
- 57 H. Kumandaş Yanmaz, "Galatlar ve Galatia Bölgesi Pessinus Darpli Sikkelerinde Galatların İzleri", *Journal of International Social Research* 9:44 (2016), pp. 716–737, <https://doi.org/10.17719/jisr.201644.20144>, and H. Kumandaş Yanmaz, "Galatia Krallık (Tolistoboglar) Dönemi Pessinus Darpli Sikkeleri", *Sosyal Bilimler Arastirmalari Dergisi* 6:15 (2016), pp. 215–235.
- 58 S. Mitchell, "Two Galatian Cults in Dacia", *Gephyra* 14 (2017), pp. 15–21. <https://doi.org/10.37095/gephyra.318446>

Philip Freeman⁵⁹ (2001) collected all the words of Galatian that are known to modern scholarship – about 120 words of what was still a living language in Paul’s time. Joseph F. Eska⁶⁰ (2013) compiled a “salvage grammar” of the language and noted that Galatian did not differ much from Transalpine Celtic.

2.5 Opponents: Identity

Most of the scholars who published on this issue identify the opponents as either Jewish Christians or Jews opposing Paul:

According to John G. Gager (2000),⁶¹ “anti-Pauline apostles *within the Jesus-movement*” (Gager’s emphasis) whom Paul apparently connected to the “false brethren” and “the ones from James” opposed his law-free gospel in Galatia. Charles H. Talbert⁶² (2001) regards Galatians as proof that there were “Christian messianist Jews” who required Gentile Christians to be circumcised and to keep the law in order to be children of Abraham in the full sense of the word. Andreas Lindemann⁶³ (2004) reflects critically on Walter Schmithals’s proposal that Paul’s opponents in Galatia are best described as enthusiasts or Gnostics. Lindemann believes that there are clear indications in the letter that they rather encouraged practices that can only be described as “judaistic”.

Bern Wander⁶⁴ (2007) thinks of the opponents in Galatia as Jewish Christians who were under pressure as a result of the growing radicalism in the Jewish community in the fifties and sixties of the first

59 P. Freeman, *The Galatian Language: A Comprehensive Survey of the Language of the Ancient Kelts in Greco-Roman Asia Minor* (Ancient Near Eastern Texts and Studies 13, Lewiston NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2001).

60 J.F. Eska, “A Salvage Grammar of Galatian”, *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 60 (2013), pp. 51–63.

61 J.G. Gager, *Reinventing Paul* (Oxford/New York NY: Oxford Univ Press, 2000), p. 79. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195150858.001.0001>

62 C.H. Talbert, “Paul, Judaism, and the Revisionists”, *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 63:1 (2001), pp. 1–22.

63 A. Lindemann, “Der Galaterbrief als historische Quelle”, in: C. Breytenbach (ed.), *Paulus, die Evangelien und das Urchristentum: Beiträge von und zu Walter Schmithals: Zu seinem 80. Geburtstag herausgegeben* (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 54, 2004), pp. 731–736. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047412472_032

64 B. Wander, “Die sogenannten ‘Gegner’ im Galaterbrief”, in: V.A. Lehnert and U. Rösen-Weinhold (eds.), *Logos – Logik – Lyrik: Engagierte exegetische Studien zum biblischen Reden Gottes: Festschrift für Klaus Haacker* (Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihre Geschichte 27, Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2007), pp. 53–70.

century CE, which explains their behaviour. Jerry L. Sumney⁶⁵ (2007) prefers to refer to them as “Christ-believing Jews” who opposed Paul’s teaching and not anachronistically as “Jewish Christians”. Furthermore, Sumney thinks that these people differ from the people opposing Paul in Corinth. Martinus C. de Boer⁶⁶ (2008) regards them as Christian Jews who probably had connections to the church in Jerusalem. They tried to persuade the Galatian Christians to practise circumcision and observe the law. They were also quite effective missionaries, since the Galatians were accepting their gospel at the stage when Paul wrote his letter.

Adam Gregerman⁶⁷ (2009) accepts that the opposition in Galatia came from Jewish Christians but challenges the idea that this was due to a zealous counter-mission on their part. These “teachers” (as Gregerman calls them) insisted that membership of a Jewish movement was impossible without circumcision. Ian J. Elmer⁶⁸ (2009) situates the crisis in Galatia within the context of a much broader conflict in Christianity – a conflict that had its earliest origins in the Jesus movement in Jerusalem. Elmer detects echoes of events in the Letters to the Romans, Corinthians and Philippians that are reminiscent of those found in Galatians, implying that the conflict in Galatia was but one chapter in a much larger scenario in which Jerusalem and its leadership constituted the primary source of Paul’s problems.

Three other contributions of Elmer should also be mentioned here: In the first one⁶⁹ (2011), Elmer argues that Paul was fighting against

65 J.L. Sumney, “Paul and Christ-Believing Jews Whom He Opposes”, in: M. Jackson-McCabe (ed.), *Jewish Christianity Reconsidered: Rethinking Ancient Groups and Texts* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), pp. 57–80, 311–313. See also: J.L. Sumney, “‘People of God’ in Paul: Reflections in Conversation with Eckhard Schnabel”, *Stone-Campbell Journal* 11:2 (2008), pp. 235–246.

66 M.C. de Boer, “The New Preachers in Galatia: Their Identity, Message, Aims, and Impact”, in: R. Buitenwerf, H. Hollander and J. Tromp (eds.), *Jesus, Paul, and Early Christianity: Studies in Honour of Henk Jan de Jonge* (Novum Testamentum Supplements 130, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2008), pp. 39–60. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047443469_004

67 A. Gregerman, “The Lack of Evidence for a Jewish Christian Countermission in Galatia”, *Studies in Christian-Jewish Relations* 4:1 (2009), pp. 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.6017/scjr.v4i1.1513>

68 I.J. Elmer, *Paul, Jerusalem and the Judaizers: The Galatian Crisis in Its Broadest Historical Context* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.258, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), pp. 117–164. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-151601-6>

69 I.J. Elmer, “Pillars, Hypocrites and False Brothers: Paul’s Polemic against Jerusalem in Galatians”, in: O. Wischmeyer and L. Scornaienchi

the same group of opponents on several fronts. Their origins are to be linked to the circumcision party in Jerusalem (around the three pillar apostles) and thus Paul aimed his polemic in the letter against both the pillar apostles and his opponents in Galatia. In the second one⁷⁰ (2013), *Elmer* describes the crisis in Galatians as a symptom of “an escalating internecine struggle between two branches of the Christian family”. In the third one⁷¹ (2013), *Elmer* maintains that Paul’s opponents used their own version of his conversion and apostleship against him and that he used 1:13–2:14 as *narratio* to counter such attempts.

*Chandra Gunawan*⁷² (2011) situates the crisis reflected in Galatians in terms of tensions in Jewish and Gentile relations in Second Temple Judaism, one aspect of which is that it was regarded as impossible to be part of God’s people without being circumcised. *Jun-Hong Min*⁷³ (2011) links the conflict reflected in Galatians to the insistence of Jewish Christians that the Galatians should keep the law, in particular circumcision. *B.J. Oropeza*⁷⁴ (2012) refers to Paul’s opponents as a “missionary-styled group of Jewish Christ-followers” who were putting pressure on the Galatians to be circumcised and threatening them that they would be excluded from the people of God if they disobeyed.

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- (eds.), *Polemik in der frühchristlichen Literatur: Texte und Kontexte* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 170, Berlin/New York NY: De Gruyter, 2011), pp. 123–153. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110223545.2.123>
- 70 I.J. Elmer, “Family Feud: Paul’s Response to the Internecine Crisis in Galatia”, in: D.C. Sim and P. Allen (eds.), *Ancient Jewish and Christian Texts as Crisis Management Literature: Thematic Studies from the Centre of Early Christian Studies* (Library of New Testament Studies 445, London/New York NY: T & T Clark, 2013), p. 61.
- 71 I.J. Elmer, “Setting the Record Straight at Galatia: Paul’s *narratio* (Gal 1:13–2:14) as Response to the Galatian Conflict”, in: W. Mayer and B. Neil (eds.), *Religious Conflict from Early Christianity to the Rise of Islam* (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 121, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), pp. 21–38. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110291940.21>
- 72 C. Gunawan, “Ketegangan Hubungan Yahudi dan Bukan Yahudi dalam Yudaisme Bait Allah Kedua dan dalam Surat Galatia”, *Veritas: Jurnal Teologi dan Pelayanan* 12:1 (2011), pp. 83–107. <https://doi.org/10.36421/veritas.v12i1.237>
- 73 J.-H. Min, “Understanding the Constituent Groups of the Galatian Community and the Law”, *한국신약학회* 18:3 (2011), pp. 819–851.
- 74 B.J. Oropeza, *Apostasy in the New Testament Communities: Vol. 2: Jews, Gentiles, and the Opponents of Paul: The Pauline Letters* (Eugene OR: Cascade, 2012), p. 33.

In a study of the way in which Paul acted in conflict situations, *Peter von der Osten-Sacken*⁷⁵ (2014) describes Paul's opponents as rivalling missionaries who casted doubt on his authority and forced the Galatians to be circumcised and to keep the Jewish law. According to *Simon Buttica*⁷⁶ (2015), Paul's opponents in Galatia were Jewish Christians who emphasised circumcision and the Jewish law, and for whom no contradiction seemed to exist between their Christian confession and adhering to a form of nomism so that they felt that they had to complete Paul's imperfect missionary work. *Samuel Benyamin Hakh*⁷⁷ (2016) refers to Paul's opponents as a group of Jewish Christians who had travelled to Galatia in order to convince the Galatians to be circumcised and to keep the law.

*Richard Fellows*⁷⁸ (2018) argues that 5:11 is an indication that Paul circumcised Timothy in Galatia and that his opponents in Galatia used this as an argument to support their views that circumcision was necessary. Paul only rejected circumcision because he was subservient to the church leaders in Judea who had decided that Gentile believers did not have to be circumcised. *David Álvarez Cineira*⁷⁹ (2019) discusses various options that have been raised by scholars as to the identity of Paul's opponents and opts for understanding them as Christians of Jewish origin who had come to Galatia to persuade the Galatians to be circumcised and to observe the Jewish calendar in order to escape persecution. Based on an investigation of 5:11 and 6:12–13, *Woo-Kyung Lee*⁸⁰ (2020) concludes that Paul followed a strict form of Judaism/zealotism before

75 P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Der Gott der Hoffnung: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Theologie des Paulus* (Studien zu Kirche und Israel: Neue Folge 3, Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2014), p. 210.

76 S. Buttica, ““Qui vous a ensorcelés?” (Ga 3,1): Les adversaires de Paul en Asie Mineure: Lecture en miroir de la Lettre aux Galates”, in: C. Clivaz, S.C. Mimouni and B. Pouderon (eds.), *Les Judaïsmes dans tous leurs états aux Ier-IIIe siècles: Les Judéens des synagogues, les chrétiens et les rabbins: Actes du colloque de Lausanne, 12–14 Décembre 2012* (Judaïsme Ancien et Origins du Christianisme, Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 201–219.

77 S.B. Hakh, “Persoalan Status Sebagai Anak-Anak Abraham dalam Surat Galatia”, *Gema Teologika* 1:1 (2016), pp. 13–30. <https://doi.org/10.21460/gema.2016.11.209>

78 R. Fellows, “Paul, Timothy, Jerusalem and the Confusion in Galatia”, *Biblica* 99:4 (2018), pp. 544–566. <https://doi.org/10.2143/bib.99.4.3285663>

79 D. Álvarez Cineira, “La Identidad de los Agitadores en la Carta a los Gálatas”, *Revista Bíblica* 81:1/2 (2019), pp. 9–50. <https://doi.org/10.47182/rb.81.n-201937>

80 W.-K. Lee, “Paul, His Opponents, and Their Persecutors: A Study Based on Galatians 5:11, 6:12–13”, *신학논단* 101 (2020), pp. 209–246. <https://doi.org/10.17301/tf.2020.09.101.209>

his conversion, and that he was later persecuted by Jewish Christians with similar beliefs. They tried to persuade the Galatians to be circumcised in order to avoid persecution by other Jews.

Several scholars prefer to link the problems in Galatia not to fellow-Christians, but rather to Paul's fellow Jews in Galatia:

Mark D. Nanos (2000,⁸¹ 2002⁸²) proposes that, after Paul had left Galatia, the Jews ("influencers" as Nanos prefers to refer to them) reacted to the fact that Gentiles (converted by Paul) claimed to be full members of the communities of the righteous on the basis of faith in Christ without going through the normal process of proselyte conversion. The influencers rejected their claims and instead regarded and treated them as candidates for proselytism to Judaism. Dieter Mitternacht (2002,⁸³ 2003⁸⁴ and 2011⁸⁵) is of the opinion that it was not so much a case of Gentile Christians in Galatia planning to convert to Judaism. Rather, these people were trying to avoid suffering and societal pressure by joining the Jewish community, since they thought that by being circumcised – like Paul and other Jewish Christians – they would be regarded by the civil authorities as members of Judaism and would thus not be excluded from community life.

81 M.D. Nanos, "The Inter- and Intra-Jewish Political Context of Paul's Letter to the Galatians", in: R.A. Horsley (ed.), *Paul and Politics: Ekklesia, Israel, Imperium, Interpretation: Essays in Honor of Krister Stendahl* (Harrisburg PA: Trinity Press, 2000), pp. 146–159. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9781501301988.ch-009> In another important contribution, Nanos draws attention to negative views of Judaism that may often be seen in scholarly research by Christians. See: M.D. Nanos, "How Inter-Christian Approaches to Paul's Rhetoric Can Perpetuate Negative Valuations of Jewishness – Although Proposing to Avoid That Outcome", *Biblical Interpretation* 13:3 (2005), pp. 255–269. <https://doi.org/10.1163/1568515054388155>

82 M.D. Nanos, *The Irony of Galatians: Paul's Letter in First-Century Context* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 2002). For some responses to Nanos's thesis, see: J.I.H. McDonald, "The Irony of Galatians", *Expository Times* 114:5 (2003), pp. 161–163, and M. Bachmann, "Nicht von aussen kommende 'Gegner', sondern galatisch-jüdische 'Beeinflusser'? Zu Mark D. Nanos' Dissertation und ihrer These vom synagogalen sozialen Kontext des Galaterbriefs", *Biblische Zeitschrift* 48:1 (2004), pp. 97–103. <https://doi.org/10.1163/25890468-04801007>

83 D. Mitternacht, "Foolish Galatians? – A Recipient-Oriented Assessment of Paul's Letter", in: M.D. Nanos (ed.), *The Galatians Debate: Contemporary Issues in Rhetorical and Historical Interpretation* (Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 2002), pp. 408–433.

84 D. Mitternacht, "Korsfäst med Kristus och Utryst i Galatien", *Svensk Teologisk Kvartalskrift* 79:1 (2003), pp. 31–41.

85 D. Mitternacht, "Re-Reading the Struggle between Paul and the Galatian Churches", *Theology and Life* 34 (2011), pp. 231–251.

Based on an ethnic-political reading of the crisis in Galatia, R. Barry Matlock⁸⁶ (2012) describes Paul's opponents as members of local synagogues who were sent to the Pauline congregations as emissaries in order to bring these Gentiles, who were formerly affiliated to the synagogues, back to the fold. Jeremy W. Barrier⁸⁷ (2020) believes that the Jews in Galatia regarded circumcision as a talisman protecting them from harm and that they viewed Paul as a witch bringing evil to their community. Paul's defence was that baptism protected them from the evil eye, not circumcision.

Other voices should also be noted:

According to Richard B. Cook⁸⁸ (2002), Paul was confronted in Galatia by some of the victims of his earlier persecution, possibly from Jerusalem. They had moved or relocated to Galatia, where they began to denounce him to his converts. Michele Murray⁸⁹ (2004) believes that the problems in Galatia were caused neither by Jewish Christians nor by Jews, but rather by Gentile Christians who had been circumcised and were trying to persuade other Gentile Christians to do the same. Lauri Thurén⁹⁰ (2005) claims that Paul had no opponents – or “antagonists” as Thurén prefers to call them – in Galatia. Thurén concedes that there are references to antagonists in the letter but argues that they are only “textual”; not real people. Some people (or something) in Galatia did in fact trigger the massive theological process reflected in the letter, but they were not “antagonists” in the real sense of the word. Rather, these “antagonists” were created by Paul in order to discuss complex theological matters in a way that would interest his audience.

86 R.B. Matlock, “‘Jews by Nature’: Paul, Ethnicity, and Galatians”, in: D. Burns and J.W. Rogerson (eds.), *Far from Minimal: Celebrating the Work and Influence of Philip R. Davies* (The Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 484, London/New York NY: T & T Clark, 2012), pp. 304–315.

87 J.W. Barrier, *Witch Hunt in Galatia: Magic, Medicine, and Ritual and the Occasion of Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (Paul in Critical Contexts, Lanham MD/New York NY/London: Lexington Books/Fortress Academic, 2020).

88 R.B. Cook, “Paul and the Victims of His Persecution: The Opponents in Galatia”, *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 32:4 (2002), pp. 182–191. <https://doi.org/10.1177/014610790203200406>

89 M. Murray, *Playing a Jewish Game: Gentile Christian Judaizing in the First and Second Centuries CE* (Études sur le Christianisme et le Judaïsme 13, Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2004), pp. 29–41.

90 L. Thurén, “Paul Had No Antagonists”, in: A. Mustakallio, H. Leppä and H. Räisänen (eds.), *Lux humana, lux aeterna: Essays on Biblical and Related Themes in Honour of Lars Aejmelaeus* (Publications of the Finish Exegetical Society 89, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), pp. 268–288.

Alexander V. Prokhorov⁹¹ (2013) interprets 6:12–17 as an indication that the problems that the Galatians had were not caused by Judaizers but by other Gentiles, since the Galatians stopped participating in Roman imperial rituals when they turned to Christianity. According to Martin Goodman⁹² (2018), 6:12 refers specifically to Gentile believers in Galatians who were trying to avoid persecution by other Gentiles who were upset because they had abandoned the religious practices of the Gentile communities. In a contribution published in 2019, Thomas Schirrmacher⁹³ reminds scholars of Wilhelm Lütgert's views of Paul's opponents. In the case of Galatians, Lütgert believed that Paul had to battle on two fronts: against false teachings of both Jewish and Gentile opponents.

Some scholars focus on the *content* of the teachings of Paul's opponents:

Hung-Sik Choi⁹⁴ (2003) thinks that the reason why Paul's adversaries tried to persuade his congregations to practise circumcision is that they were convinced of the salvific effect of circumcision. John C. Hurd⁹⁵ (2005) is of the opinion that Paul's opponents in Galatia and those referred to in 2 Corinthians 8 and 9 were the same people, had come from Jerusalem and travelled on behalf of the collection. Todd A. Wilson⁹⁶ (2007) thinks that the "agitators" had warned the Galatians that they would be cursed by God if they were not circumcised. In contrast, Paul argued that fulfilment of "the

91 A.V. Prokhorov, "Taking the Jews out of the Equation: Galatians 6.12–17 as a Summons to Cease Evading Persecution", *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 36:2 (2013), pp. 172–188. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X13507163>

92 M. Goodman, "Galatians 6:12 on Circumcision and Persecution", in: M.L. Satlow (ed.), *Strength to Strength: Essays in Honor of Shaye J.D. Cohen* (Brown Judaic Studies 363, Providence RI: Brown University, 2018), pp. 275–279. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv9hj775.20>

93 T. Schirrmacher, "Wilhelm Lütgert and His Studies of the Apostles' Opponents: Aspiring to a Better Understanding of the New Testament Letters", *Evangelical Review of Theology* 43:1 (2019), pp. 40–52.

94 H.-S. Choi, "The Salvation Effect of Circumcision: Theological Basis for the Circumcision Demands of the Galatian Adversaries", *신약논단* 10:1 (2003), pp. 139–158. See also: H.-S. Choi, "Early Christianity and Circumcision: Why Did Paul Oppose the Circumcision of the Gentile Christians?", *한국기독교신학논총* 67 (2010), pp. 75–97.

95 J.C. Hurd, "Reflections Concerning Paul's 'Opponents' in Galatia", in: S.E. Porter (ed.), *Paul and His Opponents* (Pauline Studies 2, Atlanta GA: SBL, 2005), pp. 125–148.

96 T.A. Wilson, *The Curse of the Law and the Crisis in Galatia: Reassessing the Purpose of Galatians* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.225, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), pp. 47–94. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157075-9>

law of Christ” (6:2) was necessary but in the sense of loving one another in the Spirit and bearing the burdens of others.

Based on the depiction of Abraham in 3:6–14, *Thomas Witulski*⁹⁷ (2014) maintains that Paul’s opponents in Galatia believed that sonship of Abraham (in particular the blessing and justification associated with it) was based on the law. In this part of the letter, Paul thus argues against such a “soteriological dysfunctionality” of the law. According to *Yon-Gyong Kwon*⁹⁸ (2017), the crisis in Galatia was not caused by a doctrinal issue, but by religious hypocrisy: zeal for outward indications of identity (such as circumcision) was not accompanied by a life in the Spirit that was the essence of Christian life (according to Paul). *Karl Olav Sandnes*⁹⁹ (2018) uses mirror-reading to determine what Paul’s opponents objected to with regard to his view of the law and why they did so. Sandnes identifies three embedded dictas in Galatians, reflecting the views of the opponents: 2:17 (Paul’s teaching about the law and sin was absurd); 3:21 (Paul believed that the law was opposed to the promises of God) and 5:11 (Paul would eventually realise that the Abraham story that he based his views on included circumcision).

2.6 Dating of the letter

The dating of the letter is usually connected to one’s choice for either the North or South Galatian hypothesis (discussed earlier in this chapter). During the period under review a variety of viewpoints were aired on this matter:

Some authors focus on the dating of the letter relative to Paul’s other letters: *Martin Meiser*¹⁰⁰ (2017) maintains that one should distinguish between levels of probability when suggesting possible scenarios for the

97 T. Witulski, “Die Gestalt des Abraham als Beleg für die soteriologische Dysfunktionalität des νόμος: Erwägungen zu Struktur und Argumentation von Gal 3,6–14”, *Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* 39 (2014), pp. 159–205.

98 Y.-G. Kwon, “Religious Hypocrisy in Galatia”, *신약연구* 16:1 (2017), pp. 113–147. <https://doi.org/10.24229/kents.2017.16.1.004>

99 K.O. Sandnes, *Paul Perceived: An Interactionist Perspective on Paul and the Law* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.412, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), pp. 55–91. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-156102-3>

100 M. Meiser, “Der Galaterbrief im Rahmen der Chronologie der Paulusbriefe”, in: M. Labahn (ed.), *Spurensuche zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament: Eine Festschrift im Dialog mit Udo Schnelle* (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 269, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), pp. 109–124. <https://doi.org/10.13109/9783666540691.109>

dating of the letter. Meiser proposes the following (in descending order of probability): 1. Galatians was written before Romans; 2. Galatians was written after 1 Corinthians; 3. Galatians was written before 2 Corinthians; 4. Galatians was written at about the same time as Philippians (from Ephesus), but it cannot be determined which of the two was written first. *Eduardo de la Serna*¹⁰¹ (2020) specifically focuses on the relationship between Galatians and 1 Corinthians. De la Serna compares Galatians 3:28 and 1 Corinthians 12:13 and raises the question: “Does Paul add the male-female pair in Galatians, or does he omit it in 1 Corinthians?”. De la Serna chooses the first possibility, which implies that Galatians was written after 1 Corinthians.

On the phase in Paul’s ministry that the letter should be placed, no consensus has been reached:

*Niels Hyldahl*¹⁰² (2000) reconstructs the events pertaining to Galatians as follows: formation of the congregations in Galatia – appearance of the opponents (“Eindringlinge”) – Jerusalem conference – Antioch episode – Letter to the Galatians – decision of Christians in Galatia to take Paul’s side. Hyldahl also believes that Paul only learned of the problems in Galatia during his second visit to Jerusalem and that these problems were caused by the “false brethren” (2:4) who had the support of the “pillars” in Jerusalem (2:6, 9). However, during his visit to Jerusalem Paul succeeded in persuading the “pillars” to discontinue their support. *Moisés Silva*¹⁰³ (2001) accepts the South Galatian hypothesis and thus believes that the letter was written to congregations in this part of Galatia. However, Silva also suggests that this happened at a later date than is normally assumed. *Alexander J.M. Wedderburn*¹⁰⁴ (2002) uses the absence or presence of references to Paul’s collection as an aid to place Paul’s letters chronologically. In the case of Galatians, Wedderburn believes that 2:10 does *not* refer to the collection that Paul (later) organised and that the letter thus lacks any reference to the collection. Accordingly, Wedderburn proposes that the letter was

101 E. de la Serna, “Un Aporte a la Cronología de las Cartas Paulinas”, *Theologica Xaveriana* 70 (2020), pp. 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.11144/javeriana.tx70.accp>

102 N. Hyldahl, “Gerechtigkeit durch Glauben: Historische und theologische Beobachtungen zum Galaterbrief”, *New Testament Studies* 46:3 (2000), pp. 425–444.

103 M. Silva, *Interpreting Galatians: Explorations in Exegetical Method* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2001 [1996], 2nd edition), pp. 129–139.

104 A.J.M. Wedderburn, “Paul’s Collection: Chronology and History”, *New Testament Studies* 48:1 (2002), pp. 95–110. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688502000073>

written shortly after the Antioch incident and before Paul had plans to visit Galatia again.

Other scholars place the letter quite late: According to *Peter Pilhofer*¹⁰⁵ (2011), Galatians was the last letter that Paul wrote, and it was probably composed while he was on his way to trial in Rome. *Bartosz Adamczewski*¹⁰⁶ (2011) is of a similar opinion: the letter was written soon after Paul arrived in Rome and before he was imprisoned there.

Finally, the contribution by *George K. Barr*¹⁰⁷ (2000) should be noted: Barr uses scalometry (an approach focusing on the measurement of issues of scale in the Pauline letters) to show that there is a prime pattern in the 13 Pauline letters. Only some passages in 1 Timothy and Titus do not fit the pattern and thus should be classified as marginal notes from the second century.

2.7 Outcome of the letter

One study focuses specifically on the outcome of the letter: *Yun-Lak Chung*¹⁰⁸ (2013) considers the question of whether the Galatians returned to Paul's gospel after they received his letter. Chung points out that this is a difficult question to answer but he believes that the possible suspension of the collection in the Galatian congregations and other indications in some of Paul's later letters suggest that the Christians in Galatia did not return to Paul's gospel.

3. Historical issues underlying Galatians and/or its relationship to Acts

These issues received considerable attention from scholars. We will first look at studies of a more general nature before attending to the way in which specific events that Paul refers to in Galatians were interpreted.

3.1 General studies

The following three studies focused specifically on Galatians:

105 P. Pilhofer, *Neues aus der Welt der frühen Christen* (Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament 195, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2011), pp. 269–297.

106 B. Adamczewski, *Constructing Relationships, Constructing Faces: Hypertextuality and Ethopoeia in the New Testament Writings* (Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Bern: Peter Lang, 2011), pp. 61–62. <https://doi.org/10.3726/978-3-653-00621-6>

107 G.K. Barr, "Scalometry and the Dating of the New Testament Epistles", *Irish Biblical Studies* 22:2 (2000), pp. 71–90.

108 Y.-L. Chung, "After Galatians", *신약논단* 20:4 (2013), pp. 1057–1086.

According to *Pavel Rotaru*¹⁰⁹ (2011), Galatians is an important and reliable historical document, providing us with first-hand data on Paul as persecutor, his conversion, visit to Arabia and Jerusalem, the pressures on the part of Judaizers, the Jerusalem conference and the Antioch incident. In an article published in 2017, *Peter J. Tomson*¹¹⁰ discusses Paul's letters as a reliable source for understanding Pharisaism. One of the passages that Tomson investigates is Galatians 3:16. According to Tomson, the way in which Paul interprets Scripture serves as evidence of a Pharisaic educational system in the first century CE and confirms that there was a continuity between the Pharisaic movement and the rabbis. *Christoph W. Stenschke*¹¹¹ (2018) uses Galatians as a source for determining direct and indirect translocal links (“übergemeindliche Verbindungen”) in Early Christianity and indicates the implications of such links for better understanding the situation at that stage.

Most of the scholars utilised both Galatians and Acts for interpreting underlying historical issues and did so from a broad variety of perspectives:

*Moisés Silva*¹¹² (2001) is of the opinion that the two extreme views on the historical reliability of Acts (no problem with the historical reliability of Acts versus easily rejecting its historical reliability) are both wrong. For Silva the best approach is “an intelligent reliance on the authority of Scripture, coupled with sensitivity to its true character and purpose”.¹¹³ *Hal E. Taussig*¹¹⁴ (2001) proposes an approach for investigating parts in Acts that have parallels in Paul's letters. This approach includes aspects such as synoptic analysis, ideology criticism, genre criticism, special source criticism and rhetorical criticism. Taussig illustrates this approach by looking at Acts 15 and Galatians 2 and the different views those that

109 P. Rotaru, “Τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας: Contribuția Sfântului Apostol Pavel la Dezvoltarea Bisericii Primare, Conform Primelor Două Capitole din Epistola Către Galateni”, *Studii Teologice* 7:3 (2011), pp. 57–90.

110 P.J. Tomson, “Les épîtres de Paul: Une source pour le pharisaïsme historique”, *Revue des Études Juives* 176:1/2 (2017), pp. 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.2143/REJ.176.1.3209395>

111 C.W. Stenschke, “Übergemeindliche Verbindungen im Urchristentum nach dem Galaterbrief”, *HTS Theologische Studien* 74:4 (2018), pp. 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v74i4.4914>

112 M. Silva, *Interpreting Galatians: Explorations in Exegetical Method* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2001 [1996], 2nd edition), pp. 113–127.

113 *Op cit.*, p. 127.

114 H.E. Taussig, “Jerusalem as Occasion for Conversation: The Intersection of Acts 15 and Galatians 2”, *Forum* 4:1 (2001), pp. 89–104.

were involved in these events had on how Jews and Gentiles should live together.

Based on evidence from the Pauline letters and Acts, *Eung Chun Park*¹¹⁵ (2003) argues that there were two gospels in Early Christianity – a gospel of grace and a gospel of circumcision – and that Paul adapted his theology (a theology of grace only) between the writing of Galatians and Philippians to include the gospel of circumcision. *Ruth Schäfer*¹¹⁶ (2004) offers a detailed reconstruction of the biography of Paul, with the emphasis on the period from the Damascus event until the Jerusalem conference. Two of the many features of this work are the combination of an early date for the founding of the congregations in Galatia with a later date for the writing of the letter and the positive evaluation of the historical value of Acts.

*Heikki Leppä*¹¹⁷ (2006) points out that one can read Galatians with and without Acts, and that there are three ways of doing so: 1. Begin with Galatians and use it to evaluate the information from Acts; 2. Trust both as much as one can; 3. Accept Acts and force Galatians into the framework offered by Acts. According to Leppä, the last option is followed by many scholars, although they may not realise it or intend to approach matters in this way. *Joon-Ho Lee*¹¹⁸ (2012) examines the continuity between the Historical Jesus, Galatians and Acts 13:23–31. Lee is convinced that Paul knew sayings of and events in the life of Historical Jesus well and that this formed the theological basis of his gospel. *Étienne Nodet*¹¹⁹ (2014) disagrees with the view that the meeting in Jerusalem to which Paul refers in 2:1 occurred seventeen years after his conversion, since it gives rise to an awkward chronology. Instead, Nodet contends that Marcion's text helps us to compile a more realistic chronology. This implies that

115 E.C. Park, *Either Jew or Gentile: Paul's Unfolding Theology of Inclusivity* (Louisville KY/London: Westminster John Knox, 2003).

116 R. Schäfer, *Paulus bis zum Apostelkonzil: Ein Beitrag zur Einleitung in den Galaterbrief, zur Geschichte der Jesusbewegung und zur Pauluschronologie* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.179, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157163-3>

117 H. Leppä, "Reading Galatians with and without the Book of Acts", in: T.L. Brodie, D.R. MacDonald and S.E. Porter (eds.), *The Intertextuality of the Epistles: Explorations of Theory and Practice* (New Testament Monographs 16, Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2006), pp. 255–263.

118 J.-H. Lee, "Pauline Echoes and Allusions to the Life of the Historical Jesus and His Sayings: Focus on Galatians and on Acts 13:23–31", *성경과 신학* 62 (2012), pp. 213–251.

119 É. Nodet, "Conversions de Paul: Chronologie", *Revue Biblique* 121:4 (2014), pp. 539–573.

the meeting in Jerusalem mentioned in Acts occurred before the one mentioned in Galatians.

*Alain Gignac*¹²⁰ (2016) addresses the issue of the pseudepigraphy of the Catholic Letters. Gignac believes that these letters were meant to give voice to the protagonists of the Jerusalem meeting (depicted in Acts 15 and Galatians 2), and in particular to the dialogue depicted there between Paul, James, Peter and John. *Peter J. Tomson*¹²¹ (2017) disagrees with Martin Goodman's view that Josephus's presentation of Judaea in the first half of the century CE is incorrect. One of the arguments that Tomson uses is based upon Romans and Galatians – amongst others the remark in Galatians 6:12 about persecution that Tomson believes indicates increasing pressure on Gentile Christians in Judaea to keep the Jewish law. In 2019, *Goodman*¹²² responded. Amongst other things, Goodman contends that Tomson is wrong in arguing that 6:12 refers to Jews from Judaea. Rather, it refers to Gentile Christians in Galatia who tried to avoid persecution from Gentile neighbours.

*Rainer Riesner*¹²³ (2018) attempts to determine how early the notion of justification by faith can be dated. Riesner thinks that Paul appealed to a common foundation in 2:16a, a conviction that possibly goes back to the early Jerusalem church, the essential elements of which come from the Jesus tradition. *Brad McAdon*¹²⁴ (2018) discusses two conflicts in Early Christianity and how they were transformed by the rhetorical/compositional practice of mimesis. One of these conflicts is the controversy between Paul and Peter in Galatians 2. According to McAdon, the author of Luke–Acts knew of this and transformed it from an event characterised by controversy and conflict to one characterised by unity.

120 A. Gignac, "Les lettres catholiques comme discours articulés sur les mises en scène de Actes 15 et Galates 2: Hypothèse de travail pour comprendre la pseudépigraphie dans une perspective narratologique et canonique", *Études Théologiques et Religieuses* 91:4 (2016), pp. 659–672. <https://doi.org/10.3917/etr.0914.0659>

121 P.J. Tomson, "Sources on the Politics of Judaea in the 50s CE: A Response to Martin Goodman", *Journal of Jewish Studies* 68:2 (2017), pp. 234–259. <https://doi.org/10.18647/3324/JJS-2017>

122 M. Goodman, "The Politics of Judaea in the 50s CE: The Use of the New Testament", *Journal of Jewish Studies* 70:2 (2019), pp. 225–236. <https://doi.org/10.18647/3415/jjs-2019>

123 R. Riesner, "Justificação Pela Fé – Qual Cedo? Uma Contribuição Cronológica e Exegética Para o Jubileu da Reforma", *Vox Scripturae* 26:1 (2018), pp. 131–162. [https://doi.org/10.25188/FLT-VoxScript\(eISSN2447-7443\)vXXVI.n1.p131-162.RR](https://doi.org/10.25188/FLT-VoxScript(eISSN2447-7443)vXXVI.n1.p131-162.RR)

124 B. McAdon, *Rhetorical Mimesis and the Mitigation of Early Christian Conflicts: Examining the Influence That Greco-Roman Mimesis May Have in the Composition of Matthew, Luke, and Acts* (Eugene OR: Pickwick, 2018).

*Nathanael Lüke*¹²⁵ (2019) thinks that Acts was composed in the second century CE by somebody who made use of the ten Pauline letters attested by Marcion, his purpose being to provide readers of his time with a reading guide enabling them to interpret the letters in an anti-Marcionite way. Finally, the study by *Mario Ferrero*¹²⁶ (2014) should be noted. Ferrero views events in religious history towards the end of the first century CE from an economic perspective, in particular from the perspective of a theory of competition between religions. According to Ferrero, the Jews' decision to halt proselytism during this period was not so much caused by the destruction of the temple in 70 CE, but rather by Paul's decision that Gentiles did not have to convert to Judaism in order to become Christians (as seen in Galatians).

3.2 Paul's life in Judaism

*Torrey Seland*¹²⁷ (2002) thinks that Philo's references to zealotry in Palestine can help one to understand the zeal of a youthful Paul better. From Philo's observations it is clear that these early zealots did not form a movement/party; they individually resisted what they regarded as gross transgressions of the Jewish law. *John Ashton*¹²⁸ (2008) investigates several hypotheses that have been advanced to explain why Paul persecuted the church. Ashton believes that although we cannot determine exactly what caused Paul's behaviour, it must have been something related to what the new movement believed about Jesus that was so offensive to Paul that it inclined him to persecute it.

In a study of the concept "zeal" in Romans 10, Galatians 1 and Philippians 3, *Dane C. Ortlund*¹²⁹ (2012) argues that although Dunn rightly criticises the neglect of the horizontal aspect in the understanding of the concept, Dunn himself neglects the substance of the matter: zeal fundamentally had to do with obedience to God and his law. According

125 N. Lüke, *Über die narrative Kohärenz zwischen Apostelgeschichte und Paulusbriefen* (Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter 62, Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, 2019).

126 M. Ferrero, "Competition between Judaism and Christianity: Paul's Galatians as Entry Deterrence", *Kyklos* 67:2 (2014), pp. 204–226. <https://doi.org/10.1111/kykl.12050>

127 T. Seland, "Saul of Tarsus and Early Zealotism: Reading Gal 1,13–14 in Light of Philo's Writings", *Biblica* 83:4 (2002), pp. 449–471.

128 J. Ashton, "Why Did Paul Persecute the 'Church of God'?", *Scripture Bulletin* 38:2 (2008), pp. 61–68.

129 D.C. Ortlund, *Zeal without Knowledge: The Concept of Zeal in Romans 10, Galatians 1, and Philippians 3* (Library of New Testament Studies 472, London/New York NY: T & T Clark, 2012).

to *Matthew V. Novenson*¹³⁰ (2014), one should not read Paul's statements in 1:13–14 as referring to what we nowadays call "Judaism". Rather, they refer to "a particular kind of ethnos-bending activity ... a traditional political cause ... his former occupation in a movement for the defense of Jewish ancestral ways, a sectarian political program".¹³¹

*Benjamin J. Lappenga*¹³² (2016) believes that the model that Paul has in mind in 1:14 is Elijah: "[H]is Elijah-like zeal (1 Kgs 19:14–18) has been redirected in light of his calling as an Isaianic servant-like apostle to the Gentiles (Isa 49:1–6)."¹³³ *František Ábel*¹³⁴ (2019) is of the view that Paul uses the term "zealous" in Galatians in the sense that it was used in the Greek milieu, but his idea of what was to be emulated differs from the generally accepted view due to what was revealed to him by God.

*Dieter Sänger*¹³⁵ (2017) argues that the term Ἰουδαϊσμός ("Judaism") and its cognates (used in 1:13ff. and 2:14) should not be understood as only meaning "Judean" (i.e., in an ethnic-regional sense). These words also denote a religious dimension. *Daniel Boyarin*¹³⁶ (2019) proposes a modified reading of the term Ἰουδαϊσμός in 1:13–14: Paul uses the expression "traditions of my ancestors" in v. 14 in the same way that it is used in Mark 7. This implies that Paul was specifically referring to his conduct in Judaism as a Pharisee.

130 M.V. Novenson, "Paul's Former Occupation in *Ioudaismos*", in: M.W. Elliott, S.J. Hafemann, N.T. Wright and J. Frederick (eds.), *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul's Letter* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2014), pp. 24–39.

131 *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

132 B.J. Lappenga, *Paul's Language of ζῆλος: Monosemy and the Rhetoric of Identity and Practice* (Biblical Interpretation Series 137, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2016). <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004302457>

133 *Op. cit.*, p. 146.

134 F. Ábel, "ζῆλος According to Paul: The Concept of ζῆλος in Galatians in the Context of Paul's Divine Vocation", in: F. Ábel (ed.), *The Message of Paul the Apostle within Second Temple Judaism* (Lanham MD: Lexington Books/Fortress Academic, 2019), pp. 195–220.

135 D. Sänger, "Ἰουδαϊσμός – ἰουδαΐζειν – ἰουδαϊκῶς: Sprachliche und semantische Überlegungen im Blick auf Gal 1,13f. und 2,14", *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 108:1 (2017), pp. 150–185. <https://doi.org/10.1515/znw-2017-0005>

136 D. Boyarin, "*Ioudaismos* within Paul: A Modified Reading of Galatians 1:13–14", in: F. Ábel (ed.), *The Message of Paul the Apostle within Second Temple Judaism* (Lanham MD: Lexington Books/Fortress Academic, 2019), pp. 167–178.

3.3 Paul's conversion/calling

*Christos K. Economou*¹³⁷ (2002) links Paul's ecumenical mission to what happened to him at the Damascus event when he realised that Christ was the fulfilment of the Jewish law. This changed him from a persecutor of the church to an apostle to the Gentiles, from Jewish introversion to an ecumenical view. *Zeba A. Crook*¹³⁸ (2004) explains Paul's experience in terms of the rhetoric of patronage and benefaction: according to Galatians, Paul was called by God as a divine patron-benefactor through Christ (the divine broker) and that gave rise to a change in Paul's behaviour by which he had wrongly thought he was honouring God. He thus had to understand loyalty to his divine patron in a different way.

*David C. Sim*¹³⁹ (2006) critically discusses Paul's claim in Galatians that Christ appeared to him and that the revelation that he received was exclusive. Sim points out that accepting Paul's claim raises grave theological problems. *Juan Migual Díaz Rodelas*¹⁴⁰ (2006) contends that Galatians allows us to accept that Paul visited Jerusalem before the Damascus event and that at first his relationship with the Christians in Jerusalem was normal. It only changed at a later stage. *Alexis Bunine*¹⁴¹ (2006) disagrees with scholars who interpret 1:16 as indicating that Paul began to evangelise Gentiles immediately after his conversion. Bunine believes this only happened on the eve of the Jerusalem conference. This implies that the Jerusalem conference occurred earlier than is normally accepted.

Based on a careful study of 1:15–17 and 1 Corinthians 15:8 (in particular, Paul's language about abortion), *Matthew W. Mitchell*¹⁴² (2009)

137 C.K. Economou, "Paul's Ecumenical Mission", *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 47:1/4 (2002), pp. 199–213.

138 Z.A. Crook, *Reconceptualising Conversion: Patronage, Loyalty and Conversion in the Religions of the Ancient Mediterranean* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 130, Berlin/New York NY: De Gruyter, 2004), pp. 170–179.

139 D.C. Sim, "The Appearances of the Risen Christ to Paul: Identifying Their Implications and Complications", *Australian Biblical Review* 54 (2006), pp. 1–12.

140 J.M. Díaz Rodelas, "Pablo en Jerusalén: Los Datos de Gálatas", *Estudios Bíblicos* 64:3/4 (2006), pp. 485–495.

141 A. Bunine, "Paul: 'Apôtre des Gentils' ou ... 'des Juifs d'abord, puis des Grecs'?", *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 82:1 (2006), pp. 35–68, <https://doi.org/10.2143/ETL.82.1.2014920>, See also: A. Bunine, "Où, quand et comment les premiers païens sont-ils entrés dans l'église? Essai de reconstitution historique", *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* 108:4 (2007), pp. 455–482.

142 M.W. Mitchell, *Abortion and the Apostolate: A Study in Pauline Conversion, Rhetoric, and Scholarship* (Gorgias Biblical Studies 42, Piscataway NJ:

argues that the fact that Paul's claim to be an apostle was rejected, gave rise to his mission to the Gentiles. According to *Brian Schmisek*¹⁴³ (2011), on the basis of 1:16, 1 Corinthians 9:1 and 15:8, one may interpret what happened to Paul at the Damascus event as an interior but a real experience. *Johnny Awwad*¹⁴⁴ (2011) describes Paul's conversion at the Damascus event as follows: he experienced a Christophany in that Christ revealed himself to him. This became the content of his gospel, and from then onwards he viewed his task as carrying the person of Christ (which dwelled in him) all over the world.

*Paul Bony*¹⁴⁵ (2011) suggests that Paul had two conversions: the second one occurred somewhere between the writing of 1 Thessalonians and Romans, since his feelings towards the Jews seem to have changed at that stage. This might have been due to reflection on his side on the mystery of the election of Israel. *Douglas A. Campbell*¹⁴⁶ (2011) interprets 5:11 as an indication that Paul was still committed to circumcision in the first part of his apostolic career and that the transition to a gospel without circumcision only occurred at a later stage. *Justin K. Hardin*¹⁴⁷ (2013) and *Jan Lambrecht*¹⁴⁸ (2017) disagree with Campbell. In another contribution, *Campbell*¹⁴⁹ (2014) contends that what we have in Paul's letters, in particular in Galatians, indicates that after the Damascus event, Paul's ethics were still comprehensively based on the Jewish law. The radical shift to a more flexible attitude only came about in Antioch in Syria, around 36 CE.

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- Gorgias, 2009). <https://doi.org/10.31826/9781463236229>
- 143 B. Schmisek, "Paul's Vision of the Risen Lord", *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 41:2 (2011), pp. 76–83. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146107911403652>
- 144 J. Awwad, "From Saul to Paul: The Conversion of Paul the Apostle", *Theological Review* 32:1 (2011), pp. 3–14.
- 145 P. Bony, "La conversion, ou les conversions, de saint Paul?", *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* 112:1 (2011), pp. 85–104.
- 146 D.A. Campbell, "Galatians 5:11: Evidence of an Early Law-Observant Mission by Paul?", *New Testament Studies* 57:3 (2011), pp. 325–347. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S002868851100004X>
- 147 J.K. Hardin, "'If I Still Proclaim Circumcision' (Galatians 5:11a): Paul, the Law, and Gentile Circumcision", *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 3:2 (2013), pp. 145–163. <https://doi.org/10.2307/jstudpaulett.3.2.0145>
- 148 J. Lambrecht, *In Search of Meaning: Collected Notes on the New Testament (2014–2017)* (Balti: Scholars' Press, 2017), pp. 472–476.
- 149 D.A. Campbell, "Beyond the Torah at Antioch: The Probable Locus for Paul's Radical Transition", *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 4:2 (2014), pp. 187–214.

Based on 1:15–16, *Tae Hoon Kim*¹⁵⁰ (2013) argues that what happened to Paul at the Damascus event should not merely be called a “conversion”. It was a calling, since Paul offers only one reason why this happened to him, namely for him to become the apostle to the Gentiles. In the light of evidence found in Galatians, 1 Corinthians, Philippians, 1 Timothy and Acts, *Giancarlo Pani*¹⁵¹ (2014) proposes that it is best not to refer to what happened to Paul at Damascus as “conversion”. It should rather be called “vocation”, or even “call and vocation”. *Thomas E. Phillips*¹⁵² (2015) is of the opinion that if one only uses Paul’s letters as source, it is clear that he became a Christian before he started to persecute the church. He shared the views of people such as Peter and James at first, and resisted the inclusion of Gentiles into the church, persecuting them in a non-violent way. After his experience of the Christophany he changed his mind and, accordingly, then faced a similar non-violent opposition from leaders such as Peter and James.

From the fact that Paul uses Isaiah 49:1–6 in 1:13–16 to describe his conversion, *Bart J. Koet*¹⁵³ (2017) deduces that Paul understood himself as following in the footsteps of the Jewish prophets. Furthermore, Luke describes Paul as a Jew loyal to the law, focusing on the Jews, but as then finding his way to the Gentiles on the basis of Isaiah 48:6 – an indication that Luke depicts him in the light of his (i.e., Paul’s) self-understanding. *Andrzej Posadzy*¹⁵⁴ (2019) is interested in autobiographical elements in Galatians and argues that a careful study of 2:19a within its context shows that it should be taken as an autobiographical note, referring to

150 T.H. Kim, “Was Paul Converted at Damascus? Focusing on Galatians 1:15–16”, *신약연구* 12:1 (2013), pp. 30–53.

151 G. Pani, “Paolo Sulla via di Damasco: Conversione o Vocazione?”, *La Civiltà Cattolica* 3925:1 (2014), pp. 32–46.

152 T.E. Phillips, “When Did Paul Become a Christian? Rereading Paul’s Autobiography in Galatians and Biography in Acts”, in: M. Froelich, M. Kochenash, T.E. Phillips and I. Park (eds.), *Christian Origins and the New Testament in the Greco-Roman Context: Essays in Honor of Dennis R. Macdonald* (Claremont Studies in New Testament and Christian Origins, Claremont CA: Claremont Press, 2015), pp. 180–201.

153 B.J. Koet, “Paul, a Light for the Gentiles: Paul as Interpreter of Scriptures in Galatians 1:13–16 and in the Acts of the Apostles”, in: F. Wilk and M. Öhler (eds.), *Paulinische Schriftrezeption: Grundlagen – Ausprägungen – Wirkungen – Wertungen* (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 268, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), pp. 249–274. <https://doi.org/10.13109/9783666540608.249>

154 A. Posadzy, “‘Ja przez Prawo umarłem dla Prawa’ (Ga 2,19a): Śmierć ‘dla Prawa’ Jako Element Nawrócenia/Powołania Pawła Apostoła”, *Colloquia Theologica Ottoniana* 1 (2019), pp. 143–163. <https://doi.org/10.18276/cto.2019.1-08>

Paul's conversion/vocation. *Thérèse Andrevon*¹⁵⁵ (2020) points out that the description of the occurrences at the Damascus event as “conversion” is no longer appropriate. This implies that the Feast of the Conversion of Paul (25 January) should rather be referred to as the Feast of the Vocation/Call of Paul.

3.4 Paul's visit to Arabia

According to Martin Hengel¹⁵⁶ (2002), scholars often overlook the importance of Paul's visit to Arabia (i.e., Nabataea). This visit was longer than scholars usually accept and was characterised by successful missionary accomplishments on Paul's part. However, he also experienced forceful opposition on the part of synagogues and the government. *Carsten Burfeind*¹⁵⁷ (2004) highlights another facet of Paul's argument in 1:17: Paul does not only imply that he was called immediately to be an apostle, but also that he was called immediately to be an apostle to the Gentiles. *Chulhong B. Kim*¹⁵⁸ (2009) proposes that Paul went to Arabia because he identified with the Servant of the Lord and followed what was written in Isaiah 66:19. *Axel Graupner*¹⁵⁹ (2016) offers four reasons why Paul's localisation of Sinai in Arabia in 4:25 is correct. Graupner also agrees with Hartmut Gese that Paul (who had visited Arabia) might have known an old Jewish tradition linking Sinai to the city of Egra.

3.5 Paul and Peter

*Chul Hae Kim*¹⁶⁰ (2007) discusses the relationship between Paul and Peter (the apostles for the Gentiles and the circumcised respectively) as reflected

155 T. Andrevon, “Faut-il rebaptiser la fête de la conversion de Paul?”, *Études* 4267 (2020), pp. 79–90. <https://doi.org/10.3917/etu.4267.0079>

156 M. Hengel, “Paul in Arabia”, *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 12:1 (2002), pp. 47–66.

157 C. Burfeind, “Paulus in Arabien”, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 95:1–2 (2004), pp. 129–130. <https://doi.org/10.1515/zntw.2004.002>

158 C.B. Kim, “Why Did Paul Go to Arabia? Paul's Prophetic Self-Understanding Revealed in Galatians 1:17”, *신약논단* 16:1 (2009), pp. 173–198.

159 A. Graupner, “Ein Berg in Arabien (Gal 4,25): Sinai – Gottesberg – Horeb”, in: J. Flebbe (ed.), *Holy Places in Biblical and Extrabiblical Traditions: Proceedings of the Bonn-Leiden-Oxford Colloquium on Biblical Studies* (Bonner Biblische Beiträge 179, Göttingen: V&R Unipress/Bonn University Press, 2016), pp. 13–22. <https://doi.org/10.14220/9783737005913.13>

160 C.H. Kim, “The Influence of the Apostle Paul and Apostle Peter on Each Other, According to 2 Peter 3:15–16 and Galatians 1–2”, *신약연구* 6:1 (2007), pp. 147–180.

in Galatians 1–2 and 2 Peter 3:15–16. According to Kim, Peter eventually became spiritually mature and recognised that Paul was a fellow-worker of the gospel, thus becoming “a beloved brother” (according to 2 Peter). Rainer Dillmann¹⁶¹ (2008) gives an overview of the tensions between Peter and Paul as reflected in the New Testament. In spite of the tensions, Dillmann believes that the two had a common cause, the proclamation of the gospel, and that the encounters and tensions between them dynamically moved the development of early Christian communities forward. Eduardo de la Serna¹⁶² (2008) discusses the depiction of Peter in the writings of Paul and shows that they already indicate that Peter’s authority was recognised outside Syro-Palestine. The fact that Peter is not mentioned in the Deutero-Pauline letters is interpreted as an indication that these authors did not find it necessary to resort to the figure of Peter to validate their writings.

(Peter is also mentioned in 2:1–10 and 2:11–21. See thus also the discussions of these sections further on in this chapter, as well as in Volume 2.)

3.6 Paul and James

Matti Myllykoski¹⁶³ (2006 and 2007) offers a detailed overview of past and present scholarship on James the Just. In the case of Galatians, Myllykoski discusses research on the depiction of James in 1:18–20, 2:1–10 (the Jerusalem conference) and 2:11–21 (Antioch incident.) (See also the discussion of these sections further on in this chapter, as well as in Volume 2.)

3.7 The Jerusalem conference

Paul’s discussion of the meeting in Jerusalem (2:1–10) received quite a lot of attention.

161 R. Dillmann, “Begegnungen voller Spannung: Beobachtungen zum Mit- und Gegeneinander von Petrus und Paulus im Neuen Testament”, *Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* 33 (2008), pp. 25–39.

162 E. de la Serna, “La Figura de Pedro en los Escritos de Pablo”, *Revista Bíblica* 70:3/4 (2008), pp. 133–171. <https://doi.org/10.47182/rb.70.n3-4-2008170>

163 M. Myllykoski, “James the Just in History and Tradition: Perspectives of Past and Present Scholarship (Part I)”, *Currents in Biblical Research* 5:1 (2006), pp. 73–122, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1476993X06068700>, and “James the Just in History and Tradition: Perspectives of Past and Present Scholarship (Part II)”, *Currents in Biblical Research* 6:1 (2007), pp. 11–98. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1476993X07080242>

Some of the studies focused on *broader issues*:

Udo Schnelle¹⁶⁴ (2000) discusses the Jerusalem conference and the Antioch incident and points out that the question “Should a Gentile become a Jew first in order to become a Christian?” had an immense impact on Early Christianity. The Jerusalem conference offered a solution to this problem, but, in turn, it gave rise to new conflicts, as is clear from the Antioch incident. In Galatians, Paul narrates the Antioch incident from the perspective of the crisis in Galatia, and his view on justification reflected in this letter is thus a new solution to a new challenge. Martino Conti¹⁶⁵ (2002) investigates the Jerusalem conference narrated in Acts 15 in terms of its relationship to Galatians 2:1–10 and concludes that the tensions regarding circumcision and the law were originally separate issues but that they were later integrated by Luke and linked to one event, i.e., the meeting in Jerusalem.

Andreas Lindemann¹⁶⁶ (2004) offers an overview of Walter Schmithals’s¹⁶⁷ study of the problems of the Jerusalem conference and raises some critical questions, for example Schmithals’s claim that Paul gave up on his own Jewish mission because he accepted that Peter would take on the Jewish mission parallel to Paul’s Gentile mission. Holger Zeigan¹⁶⁸ (2005) provides a comprehensive overview of research on the relationship between 2:1–10 and the possible parallels in Acts. Zeigan classifies research on this issue in terms of four categories: studies accepting a correlation between the version in Galatians and Acts 15, studies linking it to Acts 18:22 (a “Spätdatierung”), studies linking it to Acts 11, and studies based on correlations between it and other texts in Acts, such as 9:26–30.

164 U. Schnelle, “Muss ein Heide erst Jude werden, um Christ sein zu können?”, in: M. Karrer, W. Kraus and O. Merk (eds.), *Kirche und Volk Gottes: Festschrift für Jürgen Roloff zum 70. Geburtstag* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2000), pp. 93–109.

165 M. Conti, “Il Concilio Apostolico e la Lettera ai Galati (At 15,1–29; Gal 2,1–21)”, *Antonianum* 77:2 (2002), pp. 235–256.

166 A. Lindemann, “Der Galaterbrief als historische Quelle”, in: C. Breitenbach (ed.), *Paulus, die Evangelien und das Urchristentum: Beiträge von und zu Walter Schmithals: Zu seinem 80. Geburtstag herausgegeben* (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 54, 2004), pp. 731–744. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047412472_032

167 W. Schmithals, “Probleme des ‘Apostelkonzils’ (Gal 2,1–10)”, *HTS Theologisches Studien* 53:1&2 (1997), pp. 6–35. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047412472_006

168 H. Zeigan, *Aposteltreffen in Jerusalem: Eine forschungsgeschichtliche Studie zu Galater 2,1–10 und den möglichen lukanischen Parallelen* (Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte 18, Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2005).

James B. Dabhi¹⁶⁹ (2006) believes that 2:1–10 and Acts 15:1–21 refer to the same event, but that Paul and the author of Acts present the events in different ways and that the two versions thus reflect different theologies developing in the Early Church. Based on 1:13–2:10 and Acts, Alexis Bunine¹⁷⁰ (2007) argues that Paul did not immediately turn to the Gentiles after his conversion. This only happened during his stay in Syria and Cilicia after which this became his cause. The reception of Gentiles by the church in Antioch then quickly led to the Jerusalem conference. Gregory Tatum¹⁷¹ (2009) points out that scholars usually harmonise the accounts of the Jerusalem conference in Galatians and Acts 15 without noting any impact that they might have had on the way in which 1 Thessalonians and 1 Corinthians are interpreted. Tatum criticises such an approach because the four texts differ substantially and offer diverse visions of Paul’s ministry; to harmonise them is thus not a good approach.

Arthur A. Just Jr.¹⁷² (2010) discusses the apostolic councils depicted in Galatians and Acts as watershed events from which the church of our time can learn much as to how disagreement should be handled, and consensus may be reached. John Townsend¹⁷³ (2016) argues that δὲ (“after” or “during”) in 2:1 should not be translated as “after” (as scholars normally do), but as “during” or even “within”, which means that Paul visited Jerusalem at some stage during the fourteen-year period after his calling. Hans-George Gradl¹⁷⁴ (2019) discusses the effects of the Jerusalem conference:

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- 169 J.B. Dabhi, “Was Paul Right? Reconstructing the Issue Narrated by Paul in Gal 2,1–10”, *Bible Bhashyam* 32:3 (2006), pp. 225–244.
- 170 A. Bunine, “Où, quand et comment les premiers païens sont-ils entrés dans l’église? Essai de reconstitution historique”, *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* 108:4 (2007), pp. 455–482. See also: A. Bunine, “Paul: ‘Apôtre des Gentils’ ou ... ‘des Juifs d’abord, puis des Grecs?’”, *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 82:1 (2006), pp. 35–68. <https://doi.org/10.2143/ETL.82.1.2014920>
- 171 G. Tatum, “Galatians 2:1–14: Acts 15 and Paul’s Ministry in 1 Thessalonians and 1 Corinthians”, *Revue Biblique* 116:1 (2009), pp. 70–81. <https://doi.org/10.2143/RBI.116.1.3206456>
- 172 A.A. Just Jr., “The Apostolic Councils of Galatians and Acts: How First-Century Christians Walked Together”, *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 74:3/4 (2010), pp. 261–288.
- 173 J. Townsend, “Misunderstood New Testament Texts: Mark 2:23 and Galatians 2:1”, in: A. Avery-Peck, C.A. Evans and J. Neusner (eds.), *Earliest Christianity within the Boundaries of Judaism: Essays in Honor of Bruce Chilton* (The Brill Reference Library of Judaism 49, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2016), pp. 346–356. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004310339_019
- 174 H.-G. Gradl, “Paulus und Jerusalem: Zur Autorität und Wirkung des ‘Apostelkonzils’ (Gal 2,1–21)”, *Cristianesimo Nella Storia* 40:1 (2019), pp. 11–33. <https://doi.org/10.17395/93288>

although it was agreed that the gospel for the circumcised and the gospel for the uncircumcised were equal, subsequent events and factors (such as political situations, the growth of non-Jewish congregations and the impact of certain figures) caused the Pauline gospel to prevail.

Two studies focused on the “false brethren” mentioned in 2:4: In light of Josephus’s reference in his *Life* to an incident in which he prevented some Jews in Galilee from forcibly circumcising two non-Jewish nobles, J.R. Harrison¹⁷⁵ (2004) explores the influence that an emerging Jewish nationalism may have had on the “false brethren” that wanted Titus to be circumcised (2:1–5). According to Harrison, Jewish nationalism may have played a role in the views of the “false brethren”. Mark D. Nanos¹⁷⁶ (2005) believes that the term does not refer to Jewish Christians (thus making it an intra-group dispute), but to people from outside, “a Jewish interest group seeking to take matters into their own hands without the authority to do so”.¹⁷⁷

One study focused on the expression οἱ δοκοῦντες (“those who seemed to be”): According to José Enrique Aguilar Chiu¹⁷⁸ (2015), in the four instances that Paul uses this expression in the letter, he does not always refer to the same people. In 2:2, 6b and 9 it refers to James, Peter and John, but in the case of 2:6a it alludes to a different group of people, who may be identified as the persons referred to later in 2:12 (“the ones from James”).

Several studies focused on the phrase “remembering the poor” (2:10):

According to Fern K.T. Clarke¹⁷⁹ (2001), careful analysis of this phrase within its wider context indicates that the focus of the Gentile mission would not only be the Jerusalem community but rather the poor in a broader sense. Stephan Joubert¹⁸⁰ (2001) views 2:10 from the perspective

175 J.R. Harrison, “Why Did Josephus and Paul Refuse to Circumcise?”, *Pacifica* 17:2 (2004), pp. 137–158. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1030570X0401700203>

176 M.D. Nanos, “Intruding ‘Spies’ and ‘Pseudo-Brethren’: The Jewish Intra-Group Politics of Paul’s Jerusalem Meeting (Gal. 2:1–10)”, in: S.E. Porter (ed.), *Paul and His Opponents* (Pauline Studies 2, Atlanta GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), pp. 59–97.

177 *Op. cit.*, p. 68.

178 J.E. Aguilar Chiu, “οἱ δοκοῦντες in Gal 2,6”, *Estudios Bíblicos* 73:2 (2015), pp. 215–240.

179 F.K.T. Clarke, “‘Remembering the Poor’: Does Galatians 2.10a Allude to the Collection?”, *Scripture Bulletin* 31:1 (2001), pp. 20–28.

180 S. Joubert, “Die Leierskap van die Jerusalem-Kerk as Weldoeners tydens die Ontmoeting met Paulus: Galasiërs 2:10 en Antieke Joodse Resiprositeit”, *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 57:3/4 (2001), pp. 1213–1228. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v57i3/4.1885>

of the Jewish notion of reciprocity: by recognising the content of Paul's gospel, the leaders of the church in Jerusalem bestowed a benefit on Paul, and, accordingly, he was obligated to respond with a benefit, namely assisting with the problem of the poor in the congregation. He thus presents himself as somebody who knows how to show his gratitude.

Alexander J.M. Wedderburn¹⁸¹ (2002) uses the absence or presence of references to Paul's collection as an aid placing Paul's letters chronologically. In the case of Galatians, Wedderburn believes that 2:10 does *not* refer to the collection that Paul (later) organised and that the letter thus lacks any reference to the collection. Accordingly, Wedderburn proposes that the letter was written shortly after the Antioch incident and before Paul had plans to visit Galatia again. In dialogue with Wedderburn, Alexis V. Bunine¹⁸² (2004) claims that Galatia was the only place where Paul organised a collection. The congregations in Macedonia and Achaia contributed spontaneously without Paul having to request them to do so.

Andreas Lindemann¹⁸³ (2004) critically discusses the contribution of Walter Schmithals¹⁸⁴ (1994) on Paul's "collections". Lindemann disagrees with Schmithals's claim that the collection was also in the background of the activities of Paul's opponents in some of his congregations. Christoph W. Stenschke¹⁸⁵ (2015–2017) views Paul's collection from two perspectives:

181 A.J.M. Wedderburn, "Paul's Collection: Chronology and History", *New Testament Studies* 48:1 (2002), pp. 95–110. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688502000073>

182 A.V. Bunine, "Paul et les Galates: La véritable occasion de la collecte", *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* 105:4 (2004), pp. 303–338.

183 A. Lindemann, "Der Galaterbrief als historische Quelle", in: C. Breytenbach (ed.), *Paulus, die Evangelien und das Urchristentum: Beiträge von und zu Walter Schmithals: Zu seinem 80. Geburtstag herausgegeben* (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 54, 2004), pp. 736–741. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047412472_032

184 W. Schmithals, "Die Kollekten des Paulus für die Christen in Jerusalem", in: E. Axmacher and K. Schwarzwäller (eds.), *Belehrter Glaube: Festschrift für Johannes Wirsching zum 65. Geburtstag* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1994), pp. 231–252.

185 C.W. Stenschke, "Obstacles on All Sides: Paul's Collection for the Saints in Jerusalem Part 1", *European Journal of Theology* 24:1 (2015), pp. 19–32, "Obstacles on All Sides: Paul's Collection for the Saints in Jerusalem Part 2", *European Journal of Theology* 25:1 (2016), pp. 6–17, "The Leadership Challenges of Paul's Collection for the Saints in Jerusalem: Part I: Overcoming the Obstacles on the Side of the Gentile Christian Donors", *Verbum et Ecclesia* 36:1 (2015), pp. 6–17, <http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/VE.V36I1.1406>, and "The Leadership Challenges of Paul's Collection for the Saints in Jerusalem: Part II: Overcoming the Obstacles on the Side of the Recipients and of Paul", *Verbum et Ecclesia* 38:1 (2017), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.4102/ve.v38i1.1693>

how Paul went about overcoming the obstacles that he faced from the side of the donors in Gentile Christianity, and how he overcame those he faced from the side of the poor recipients from Jewish Christianity, as well as his own personal obstacles. Stenschke also points out how these insights might be fruitful for Christian leaders nowadays, as well as how Paul's leadership may be viewed from the perspective of current leadership theory.

*Daryn Graham*¹⁸⁶ (2019) focuses on the success of Paul's collection for the believers in Jerusalem: the Great Famine lasted quite a long time and Paul's collection was the greatest project that Christians embarked upon at that stage. It was a huge success and it does not seem as if the Jerusalem congregation needed further financial help after this. *Michael L. Sweeney*¹⁸⁷ (2019) views the collection from a different angle: it was an expression of Christian solidarity between Christians from different areas in Early Christianity. Sweeney also considers the missiological implications of the event, in particular the underlying values and motives that Paul expressed by his actions and what they would imply for our times.

(Take note that Peter and James are not only mentioned in this pericope, but also in 1:18–20 and 2:11–21. Thus, see also the discussions of these sections elsewhere in this chapter, as well as in Volume 2.)

3.8 The Antioch incident

Like the Jerusalem conference, this incident also received a fair amount of attention. Scholars investigated it from various angles:

*L. Ann Jervis*¹⁸⁸ (2000) discusses the event from Peter's perspective. Peter found himself caught in the middle between two understandings of Jesus' interpretation of the law: a prophetic understanding (an emphasis on the way in which Jesus challenged Pharisaic views of righteousness) and a Pharisaic understanding (an emphasis on the law as the highest standard for measuring righteousness). *M.A. Botma, J.H. Koekemoer and*

186 D. Graham, "The Apostle Paul and the Success of the Jerusalem Donation", *Reformed Theological Review* 78:2 (2019), pp. 117–140.

187 M.L. Sweeney, "The Pauline Collection, Church Partnerships, and the Mission of the Church in the 21st Century", *Missiology* 48:2 (2019), pp. 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0091829619887387>

188 L.A. Jervis, "Peter in the Middle: Galatians 2:11–21", in: S.G. Wilson and M. Desjardins (eds.), *Text and Artifact in the Religions of Mediterranean Antiquity: Essays in Honour of Peter Richardson* (Études sur le Christianisme et le Judaïsme 9, Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000), pp. 45–62.

A.G. van Aarde¹⁸⁹ (2000) highlight “unacceptable diversity” in Galatians: from 2:1–14, it is clear that the *Sache Jesu* was interpreted in diverse ways in Antioch, thus causing conflict between various Christian groups. According to *Andrea J. Mayer-Haas*¹⁹⁰ (2001), the Antioch incident was caused by two opposing models of intra-church unity: a model based on covenant theology, presupposing the separation of Israel from other peoples, and a model based on the notion of a new universal fellowship brought about by Christ’s death (the view represented by Paul). Although Paul’s view was rejected by the majority in Antioch, in the long run it prevailed (after the demise of Jewish Christianity).

*Jerome Murphy-O’Connor*¹⁹¹ (2001) is of the opinion that Paul attributes to his opponents in Antioch a view in 2:15–16a that they *should* have maintained (not the one they actually defended), namely that one is not justified by the works of the law. *Justin Taylor*¹⁹² (2001) points out that the Jerusalem decrees in Acts 15:20, 29 and 21:25 may be interpreted as Noachide commandments and as being similar to decrees for resident aliens (Leviticus 17 and 18), allowing Gentiles to mix with Jews under particular conditions. According to Taylor, James and Peter displayed similar attitudes towards Gentile believers at Antioch. *Alexander J.M. Wedderburn*¹⁹³ (2002) believes that the disagreements between Paul and Barnabas reflected in 2:11–14 and Acts 15:36–41 refer to two separate

189 M.A. Botma, J.H. Koekemoer and A.G. van Aarde, “Onaanvaarbare Verskeidenheid in Galasiërs: ἐκκλησία en συναγωγή”, *HTS Theologiese Studies* 56:2/3 (2000), pp. 743–777. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v56i2/3.1772>

190 A.J. Mayer-Haas, “Identitätsbewahrung, kirchliche Einheit und die ‘Wahrheit des Evangeliums’: Der sogenannte ‘antiochenische Zwischenfall’ im Spiegel von Gal 2,11–21”, in: J. Eckert, M. Schmidl and H. Steichele (eds.), *Pneuma und Gemeinde: Christsein in der Tradition des Paulus und Johannes: Festschrift für Josef Hainz zum 65. Geburtstag* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 2001), pp. 123–148.

191 J. Murphy-O’Connor, “Gal 2:15–16a: Whose Common Ground?”, *Revue Biblique* 108:3 (2001), pp. 376–385. Also available in: J. Murphy-O’Connor, *Keys to Galatians: Collected Essays* (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press, 2012), pp. 78–96.

192 J. Taylor, “The Jerusalem Decrees (Acts 15.20, 29 and 21.25) and the Incident at Antioch (Gal 2.11–14)”, *New Testament Studies* 47:3 (2001), pp. 372–380. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688501000224>

193 A.J.M. Wedderburn, “Paul and Barnabas: The Anatomy and Chronology of a Parting of the Ways”, in: I. Dunderberg, C. Tuckett and K. Syreeni (eds.), *Fair Play: Diversity and Conflicts in Early Christianity: Essays in Honour of Heikki Räisänen* (Supplements to Novum Testamentum 103, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2002), pp. 291–310. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004268210_012

events. Wedderburn works out the implications of such a choice, assuming that the one narrated in Acts occurred first.

Frank McGuire¹⁹⁴ (2002) claims that Peter and Paul never met and that the quarrel reflected in 2:11–21 was invented by a forerunner of Marcion in order to re-enact the events narrated in Acts 15:30–35. According to Mark D. Nanos¹⁹⁵ (2002), “the ones of the circumcision” objected neither to what was eaten nor to the fact that Jewish believers were eating with Gentiles, but rather to the notion that the Gentiles were treated as social equals (i.e., as “righteous ones”) in spite of not being proselytes, whereas they should have been regarded as mere guests. William O. Walker Jr.¹⁹⁶ (2003) is of the opinion that the “we” in 2:15–17 does not include Paul’s opponents. Paul places himself and Peter on one side and his opponents on the other side.

Michelle Slee¹⁹⁷ (2003) offers a detailed overview of events at the church in Antioch in the first century CE. One of the issues that Slee discusses is the Antioch incident. Slee thinks that the bitter debates in Antioch were caused by a difference of opinion with regard to table-fellowship between Gentiles and Jews, particularly at the eucharist, since not everybody agreed with the decisions taken at the Jerusalem conference. Magnus Zetterholm¹⁹⁸ (2003) explains the separation between Judaism and Christianity at Antioch by means of a social-scientific approach. Whereas previous attempts have primarily focused on ideological differences between the groups, Zetterholm shows that an interplay between ideological and sociological factors caused the event.

Robert M. Price¹⁹⁹ (2004) points out that scholars often find a negative link between Galatians and the Gospel according to Matthew, but that there is a connection between the two that is often overlooked, namely

194 F. McGuire, “The Posthumous Clash between Peter and Paul”, *Journal of Higher Criticism* 9:2 (2002), pp. 161–174.

195 M.D. Nanos, “What Was at Stake in Peter’s ‘Eating with Gentiles’ at Antioch?”, in: M.D. Nanos (ed.), *The Galatians Debate: Contemporary Issues in Rhetorical and Historical Interpretation* (Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 2002), pp. 282–318.

196 W.O. Walker Jr., “Does the ‘We’ in Gal 2.15–17 Include Paul’s Opponents?”, *New Testament Studies* 49:4 (2003), pp. 560–565. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688503000304>

197 M. Slee, *The Church in Antioch in the First Century CE: Communion and Conflict* (Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplements 244, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003), pp. 36–52.

198 M. Zetterholm, *The Formation of Christianity in Antioch: A Social Scientific Approach to the Separation between Judaism and Christianity* (Routledge Early Church Monographs, London: Routledge, 2003).

199 R.M. Price, “Antioch’s Aftershocks: Rereading Galatians and Matthew after Saldarini”, in: A.J. Avery-Peck, D. Harrington and J. Neusner (eds.), *When Judaism and Christianity Began: Essays in Memory of Anthony J.*

that both of them arose from the conflict between Paul (on the one side) and Peter, Barnabas and the people from James (on the other side). Paul wrote Galatians as a result of events following the Antioch incident, and the Gospel of Matthew reflects scars from the same incident. According to *Simon J. Gathercole*²⁰⁰ (2005), Paul, Peter and James agreed that table-fellowship between Jewish and Gentile believers was allowed, even before the Antioch incident, but at Antioch Peter changed his mind and returned to his earlier views.

*Richard Bauckham*²⁰¹ (2005) believes that Paul wrote Galatians before the Jerusalem conference took place (narrated in Acts 15). At the stage that Paul wrote Galatians, the agreement reached between him and the three pillars of the Jerusalem church was still important, but it became an insignificant event because of the decisions taken later at the Jerusalem conference. *Magnus Zetterholm*²⁰² (2005) is of the opinion that scholars wrongly assume that the conflict at Antioch was caused by the fact that Jewish believers regarded Gentiles as ritually impure. Things were more complex than this. In general, Jews did not consider Gentiles to be ritually impure, but as morally impure (because they were involved in Graeco-Roman religious practices). It thus seems as if some of the believers in Antioch began to view Gentile believers as morally pure and as covenant partners although they were still involved in other cultic activities (because of socio-political reasons).

*Denis Fricker*²⁰³ (2006) argues that although Galatians 2 and Acts 15 reflect a serious crisis in Antioch and its settlement later in Jerusalem,

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- Saldarini: Volume One: Christianity in the Beginning* (Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplements 85, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2004), pp. 231–250.
- 200 S.J. Gathercole, “The Petrine and Pauline *sola fide* in Galatians 2”, in: M. Bachmann and J. Woyke (eds.), *Lutherische und Neue Paulusperspektive: Beiträge zu einem Schlüsselproblem der gegenwärtigen exegetischen Diskussion* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.182, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), pp. 309–327. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157299-9>
- 201 R. Bauckham, “James, Peter, and the Gentiles”, in: B.D. Chilton and C.A. Evans (eds.), *The Missions of James, Peter, and Paul: Tensions in Early Christianity* (Novum Testamentum Supplements 115, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2005), pp. 91–142. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047414742_005
- 202 M. Zetterholm, “Purity and Anger: Gentiles and Idolatry in Antioch”, *Interdisciplinary Journal of Research on Religion* 1 (2005), pp. 1–24. See also: M. Zetterholm, “The Antioch Incident Revisited”, *Journal for the Study of Paul and his Letters* 6:2 (2016), pp. 249–259, where Zetterholm again emphasises that non-Jews were regarded as *morally* impure.
- 203 D. Fricker, “La crise d’Antioche et la gestion des conflits en église: Exégèse et théologie pastorale”, *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 80:3 (2006), pp. 349–370. <https://doi.org/10.4000/rsr.1938>

both texts are biased, since they do not reflect the views of the believers in favour of circumcision. Thus, we cannot use these texts nowadays to help us settle conflicts in the church. In our case they primarily help us to be aware that crises in the church are normal and part of its development. Robert Eisenman²⁰⁴ (2008) thinks that Hippolytus’s description of the four groups amongst the Essenes helps us to understand that the *sicarii* were not assassins but circumcisers (i.e., using the knives of circumcision). By the time Paul wrote Galatians, there was not any difference between “the ones from James” and the *sicarii*.

Don B. Garlington²⁰⁵ (2009) argues that, according to vv. 15–16, Paul challenged one of the most important convictions of his opponents, namely that there was a distinction between Jews and Gentiles. He disagreed with such a view and believed there was no difference in Christ. John Deehan²⁰⁶ (2009) focuses on the tensions in Paul’s relationship with the church at Antioch and suggests that the Antioch incident placed such a burden on him that it might be the “thorn in the flesh” that he refers to in 2 Corinthians 12:7. Rainer Reuter²⁰⁷ (2009) believes that the expression “the ones of the circumcision” in 2:12 means “Jews” and refers to the people from James, depicting them as people who zealously observed the law.

Matthias Konrad²⁰⁸ (2011) agrees with scholars who date the Antioch incident in 52 CE and link it to the visit referred to in Acts 18:22. Konrad also offers additional evidence for linking the Antioch incident to this verse. John W. Taylor²⁰⁹ (2012) contends that the idea that Paul and other Jewish believers were found to be sinners (2:17) arose from Paul and not

204 R. Eisenman, “‘Sicarii Essenes,’ ‘The Party of the Circumcision,’ and Qumran”, in: F. García Martínez (ed.), *Defining Identities: We, You, and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the IQQS in Groningen* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 70, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2008), pp. 247–260. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004164147.i-283.65>

205 D. Garlington, “‘Even We Have Believed’: Galatians 2:15–16 Revisited”, *Criswell Theological Review* 7:1 (2009), pp. 3–28.

206 J. Deehan, “Antioch – Paul’s Thorn in the Flesh?”, *Pastoral Review* 5:2 (2009), pp. 29–34.

207 R. Reuter, “‘Those of the Circumcision’ (Gal 2:12): Meaning, Reference and Origin”, *Filología Neotestamentaria* 22 (2009), pp. 149–160.

208 M. Konrad, “Zur Datierung des sogenannten antiochenischen Zwischenfalls”, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 102:1 (2011), pp. 19–39. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ZNTW.2011.002>

209 J.W. Taylor, “Demonstrating Transgression by Building up the Faith: Argumentation in Galatians 2:17–18”, *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 22:4 (2012), pp. 547–562.

from his opponents. Paul agreed with this statement but did not imply that Christ made them sinners. According to *Markus Öhler*²¹⁰ (2012), the decisive issue at the Antioch incident was ethnicity. Before “the ones from James” turned up, ethnicity did not play any role in the congregation as long as cultic and social rules were adhered to. However, the ecclesiology of the church in Jerusalem was different. The Christian congregations were regarded as the renewed Israel, but such a view was based on ethnicity and thus it was believed that certain identity markers had to characterise the congregation in Antioch, too.

*Michael F. Bird*²¹¹ (2012) agrees with Martin Hengel that the Antioch incident reveals how the ways of the church at Antioch and at Jerusalem parted. Bird also regards the Antioch incident as the beginnings of Paulinism, in the sense that Paul’s views in this regard were expressed for the first time publicly at Antioch. *Jack J. Gibson*²¹² (2013) concurs with scholars who are of the opinion that Peter stopped participating in table fellowship with Gentile Christians at Antioch because he was concerned about the intensification of violent nationalism in Judea and the possible negative impact the fact that he was eating with Gentiles could have on the church at Jerusalem. Gibson also argues that there was a movement in Judea that was actively advocating violence against the Romans throughout the first century CE and that this movement became more successful after the death of Agrippa.

*Cornelis Bennema*²¹³ (2013) approves of the view of Richard Bauckham (see above) that the Antioch crisis depicted in Galatians occurred before the Jerusalem conference (narrated in Acts 15). This crisis was the reason for the meeting in Jerusalem and at that meeting the church at Jerusalem

210 M. Öhler, “Essen, Ethnos, Identität: Der antiochenische Zwischenfall (Gal 2,11–14)”, in: W. Weiß (ed.), *Der eine Gott und das gemeinschaftliche Mahl: Inklusion und Exklusion biblischer Vorstellungen von Mahl und Gemeinschaft im Kontext antiker Festkultur* (Biblisch-Theologische Studien 113, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2012), pp. 158–199.

211 M.F. Bird, “The Incident at Antioch (Gal 2.11–14): The Beginnings of Paulinism”, in: M.F. Bird and J. Maston (eds.), *Earliest Christian History: History, Literature, and Theology: Essays from the Tyndale Fellowship in Honor of Martin Hengel* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.320, Tübingen: 2012), pp. 329–361. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-151877-5>

212 J.J. Gibson, *Peter between Jerusalem and Antioch: Peter, James and the Gentiles* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.345, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-152355-7>

213 C. Bennema, “The Ethnic Conflict in Early Christianity: An Appraisal of Bauckham’s Proposal on the Antioch Crisis and the Jerusalem Council”, *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 56:4 (2013), pp. 753–763.

provided authoritative guidance to the entire Christian movement. *David I. Yoon*²¹⁴ (2014) draws attention to a textual variant in 2:12 that is often simply overlooked: ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν (“when he came”, referring to Peter) instead of ὅτε δὲ ἦλθον (“when they came”, referring to “the ones from James”). Yoon maintains that the first option represents the best reading, makes sense of both internal and external evidence and implies that Peter’s refusal to have fellowship with Gentile believers was premeditated.

*Michael Cosby*²¹⁵ (2015) is of the opinion that one cannot take Paul’s description of Barnabas’s behaviour in 2:13 at face value. Barnabas probably had good reasons for disagreeing with Paul’s harsh approach. Since Barnabas was a bridge-builder, he was probably looking for a compromise. *V. George Shillington*²¹⁶ (2015) links the tension between James and Paul in the Early Church to what he calls “a politics of identity” revolving around matters of religion, culture and ethnicity. Shillington believes that the Antioch incident was caused by the fact that James went back on the agreement reached at the Jerusalem conference and this damaged the relationship between Paul and Peter permanently.

*Mark D. Nanos*²¹⁷ (2016) challenges the commonly held assumption that Paul’s accusation that Peter and other Jews “lived like Gentiles” (2:14) refers to eating while ignoring Jewish dietary *halakhah*. Nanos believes that one should rather interpret Paul’s actions against the background of Judaism and that 2:11–21 is not concerned with dietary norms but instead expresses Paul’s resistance to circumcision of Christ-believing non-Jews (like the rest of Galatians). *Joel Willitts*²¹⁸ (2016) also prefers to read the Antioch incident within Judaism. Willitts offers a narratological reading of the text, presenting “Paul as a Rabbi of Messianic Judaism instructing

214 D.I. Yoon, “The Antioch Incident and a Textual Variant: ‘ἩΘΟΝ’ or ‘ἩΘΕΝ’ in Galatians 2:12”, *The Expository Times* 125:9 (2014), pp. 432–439. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0014524613490369>

215 M. Cosby, “When Apostolic Egos Collide: Paul, Peter and Barnabas in Galatians 2”, *Conversations with the Biblical World* 35 (2015), pp. 1–21.

216 V.G. Shillington, *James and Paul: The Politics of Identity at the Turn of the Ages* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 2015). <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt12878bh>

217 M.D. Nanos, “How Could Paul Accuse Peter of ‘Living Ethné-ishly’ in Antioch (Gal 2:11–21) if Peter Was Eating According to Jewish Dietary Norms?”, *Journal for the Study of Paul and his Letters* 6:2 (2016), pp. 199–223.

218 J. Willitts, “Paul the Rabbi of Messianic Judaism: Reading the Antioch Incident within Judaism as an Irreducibility Story”, *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 6:2 (2016), pp. 225–247.

Jewish believers in Jesus how to live out their trust in Yeshua as Torah observant Jews”.²¹⁹

Paula Fredriksen²²⁰ (2017) proposes that Peter withdrew from meals in the households of Gentile believers since “the ones from James” objected to having food and wine in households containing images of pagan gods. Michael Winger²²¹ (2018) points out that Paul tells several stories in Galatians 1–2. Of central importance are three episodes in which encounters between himself and Peter are recounted: 1:17–18, 2:1–10 and 2:11–14. According to Winger, this ends in 2:14 with a “paradoxical, impossible position”,²²² and Paul thus guides his audience in 2:15–21 to the dissolution of any barriers between Jews and Gentiles, invoking their own experience. Franciszek Mickiewicz²²³ (2019) discusses the era in Peter’s life from the point in time that he left Jerusalem in 42 CE until he arrived in Rome. On the basis of 2:11–14 and other insights from the New Testament, Mickiewicz accepts that Peter became an itinerant apostle, spent much time on missionary work and thus gained great authority in Christian circles.

According to Mark A. Seifrid²²⁴ (2019), “the ones from James” were James’s representatives, but they did not belong to a conservative Jewish party. When they arrived in Antioch, Peter was seemingly afraid of being reproached or shamed and withdrew from table-fellowship with Gentile believers. James W. Thompson²²⁵ (2019) is critical of the broad consensus in Biblical scholarship that Antioch was the setting of two of the most important events in Early Christianity: the preaching of the law-free gospel to Gentiles and the parting of the ways between Paul and the Palestinian church. According to Thompson, there is very little evidence to support either of these views.

219 *Op. cit.*, p. 246.

220 P. Fredriksen, *Paul: The Pagans’ Apostle* (New Haven CT/London: Yale University Press, 2017).

221 M. Winger, “‘Being a Jew and Living as a Gentile’: Paul’s Storytelling and the Relationship of Jews and Gentiles According to Galatians 2”, in: L. Baron, J. Hicks-Keeton and M. Thiessen (eds.), *The Ways That Often Parted: Essays in Honor of Joel Marcus* (Early Christianity and Its Literature, Atlanta GA: SBL Press, 2018), pp. 103–122. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv7r424g.10>

222 *Op. cit.*, p. 117.

223 F. Mickiewicz, “Działalność Misjonarska św. Piotra Poza Palestyną w Świetle Literatry Nowotestamentowej”, *Collectanea Theologica* 89:3 (2019), pp. 85–109. <https://doi.org/10.21697/ct.2019.89.3.03>

224 M.A. Seifrid, “Revisiting Antioch: Paul, Cephas, and ‘the Ones from James’”, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 144:12 (2019), pp. 1225–1235.

225 J.W. Thompson, “Antioch, the Hellenists, and the Origins of Pauline Theology”, *Restoration Quarterly* 61:3 (2019), pp. 129–142.

(Peter and James are also mentioned in Galatians 1:18–20 and 2:1–10. Thus, see also the discussions of these sections elsewhere in this chapter, as well as in Volume 2.)

4. Possible backgrounds for interpreting Galatians

A diversity of views was expressed in this regard, but in most cases, scholars discussed Judaism as background for interpreting Galatians. Most of studies in this category focused on a specific aspect of Judaism, but some studies discussed the letter against a broader background in Judaism. Furthermore, some scholars drew attention to aspects in the Hellenistic/Graeco-Roman background that may help us to understand Galatians better.

4.1 1 Enoch

James M. Scott²²⁶ (2017) sets out to answer the question of whether it makes sense to interpret Galatians from an apocalyptic perspective by comparing it with an apocalyptic text, the Epistle of Enoch (1 Enoch 92–105). Scott picks up enough similarities between the two writings in terms of form and content to claim that the two writings are analogous. Logan Williams²²⁷ (2018) compares the Apocalypse of the Weeks in 1 Enoch with Galatians in order to determine whether the motif of *creatio e contrario* that plays such an important role in Galatians is apocalyptic. Williams does not find this motif in the Apocalypse of the Weeks, which means that one cannot classify this motif in Galatians as apocalyptic. Williams thus prefers to refer to Galatians as “christomorphic”.

4.2 4 Ezra

J.P. Davies²²⁸ (2016) offers a comparison of 4 Ezra and Galatians, focusing on the themes of the two ages and salvation history. Davies points out that

226 J.M. Scott, “A Comparison of Paul’s Letter to the Galatians with the Epistle of Enoch”, in: B.E. Reynolds and L.T. Stuckenbruck (eds.), *The Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition and the Shaping of New Testament Thought* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 2017), pp. 193–218. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1kgqv21.14>

227 L. Williams, “Disjunction in Paul: Apocalyptic or Christomorphic? Comparing the Apocalypse of Weeks with Galatians”, *New Testament Studies* 64:1 (2018), pp. 64–80. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0028688517000170>

228 J.P. Davies, “The Two Ages and Salvation History in Paul’s Apocalyptic Imagination: A Comparison of 4 Ezra and Galatians”, in: B.C. Blackwell, J.K. Goodrich and J. Maston (eds.), *Paul and the Apocalyptic Imagination* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 2016), pp. 339–359. See also further on in

in some interpretations of Galatians there is sometimes “a false antithesis between the ‘punctiliar’ and the ‘linear’, between the two ages and redemptive history, that does not do justice to the way in which multiple eschatological metaphors interrelate in the apocalypses”.²²⁹ To absolutize the two-ages scheme and apply it to Galatians univocally would thus ignore the complex way in which Paul uses eschatological metaphors.

4.3 Maccabees

With regard to the Antioch incident, *Stephen Anthony Cummins*²³⁰ (2001) proposes that the central point of disagreement (the question as to what distinguishes those who belong to the people of God) should be interpreted against the background of a Maccabean martyr model in Judaism. This model was Christologically reconfigured and also applied by Paul to his own ministry. In a comparison between the depiction of the law in Galatians and 4 Maccabees, *Thomas Witulski*²³¹ (2015) finds Paul’s view of the law the exact opposite (“Negativfolie”) of the view of the law in 4 Maccabees. For example, Paul rejects the primacy of the law when it comes to salvation and regards it as only a preserving pedagogue whereas 4 Maccabees portrays the law as a teacher guiding people to salvation.

*Gerbern S. Oegema*²³² (2017) finds several aspects in 1:13–14 indicating that the pre-Christian Paul had been influenced by the ideology of zeal (for God and the law) depicted in Maccabees, knew the expression “zeal”

this chapter the discussion of Davies’s book in the section “Judaism (in a broader sense)”.

229 *Op. cit.*, p. 357.

230 S.A. Cummins, *Paul and the Crucified Christ in Antioch: Maccabean Martyrdom and Galatians 1 and 2* (Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 114, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

231 T. Witulski, “Das Konzept des νόμος im Vierten Buch der Makkabäer und im Galaterbrief”, in: C. Breytenbach (ed.), *Paul’s Graeco-Roman Context* (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 277, Leuven/Paris/Bristol CT: Peeters, 2015), pp. 545–562.

232 G.S. Oegema, “1 and 2 Maccabees in Paul’s Letter to the Galatians”, in: F. Avemarie, P. Bukovec and S. Krauter, M. Tilly (eds.), *Die Makkabäer* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.382, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), pp. 345–360. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-155252-6> See also: G.S. Oegema, “The Reception of 1 and 2 Maccabees in the Letters of Paul”, in: S.E. Porter and C.D. Land (eds.), *Paul and Scripture* (Pauline Studies 10, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2019), pp. 59–74, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004391512_005, and earlier: G.S. Oegema, “Zum jüdischen Hintergrund des Apostels Paulus nach Gal 1,13–14”, in: S. Folker (ed.), *Grenzgänge: Menschen und Schicksale zwischen jüdischer, christlicher und deutscher Identität: Festschrift*

from 2 Maccabees, had been influenced by the zeal of the Maccabees and was as a Christian still influenced by Maccabean historiography in that he understood his own life in terms of an antithesis to such a type of zeal for God.

4.4 Psalms of Solomon

František Ábel²³³ (2016) investigates the Psalms of Solomon as a possible background for understanding what is called “Paul’s messianic ethics”. Ábel outlines a common messianic ethics based on the notions of mercy and merit in Pauline theology (amongst others, in 5:13–6:10) and the Psalms of Solomon, with Paul’s views on justice and mercy being integrated by the concept of obedience (linked to faith in the crucified and resurrected Messiah).

4.5 The Dead Sea Scrolls

Martin G. Abegg Jr.²³⁴ (2001) discusses the expression “works of the law” in 4QMMT and Paul, arguing that although it is clear that Paul did not know 4QMMT, the theological issue reflected in 4QMMT in this regard apparently survived intact until the first century CE. Heikki Räisänen²³⁵ (2001) identifies analogies between what we have in Paul’s letters (such as his description of his former life in 1:13–14 and his views on salvation by grace) and the Dead Sea Scrolls that make it likely that Paul had personal contact with the Essenes, even with Qumran. James D.G. Dunn and James H. Charlesworth²³⁶ (2006) detect a striking link between the expression “some

für Diethard Aschoff (Münsteraner Judaistische Studien 11, Münster: LIT Verlag, 2002), pp. 61–74.

233 F. Ábel, *The Psalms of Solomon and the Messianic Ethics of Paul* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.416, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-153992-3>

234 M.G. Abegg Jr., “4QMMT, Paul, and ‘Works of the Law’”, in: P. Flint (ed.), *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape and Interpretation* (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature, Grand Rapids MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2001), pp. 203–216.

235 H. Räisänen, “Paul’s and Qumran’s Judaism”, in: A. Avery-Peck, J. Neusner and B. Chilton (eds.), *Judaism in Late Antiquity: Part Five: The Judaism of Qumran: A Systemic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Volume Two: World View, Comparing Judaisms* (Leiden/Boston MA/Köln: Brill, 2001), pp. 173–200.

236 J.D.G. Dunn and J.H. Charlesworth, “Qumran’s *Some Works of Torah* (4Q394–399 [4QMMT]) and Paul’s Galatians”, in: J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: 3. The Scrolls and Christian Origins: The Second Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins* (Waco TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), pp. 187–201.

works of Torah” in 4QMMT and Galatians, indicating that the vocabulary that Paul uses and his way of thinking about the law was also prevalent among other Jews.

Duk-Joong Kim²³⁷ (2007) points out that the concept “works of the law” in 4QMMT presupposes the notion of covenantal nomism and that this seems to be similar to what Paul has in mind when using this term in Galatians. Thus, it might be the case that he made use of an existing polemical argument for his own purposes in Galatians. Adele Reinhartz²³⁸ (2009) investigates the way in which boundary language functioned in 4QMMT and the New Testament epistles. In the case of Galatians, Reinhartz points out that Paul, the addressees and the opponents all belonged to the same group, and that Paul wrote the letter because he viewed the opponents (“them”) as a threat to the addressees (“you”), trying to prevent the addressees from separating from his group.

Florentino García Martínez²³⁹ (2014) shows that the way in which Paul’s thoughts on three concepts (“works of the law”, curse and justification by grace) in 3:10–14 were informed by the Biblical text was similar to the reflection on the same texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Jan Dušek²⁴⁰ (2014) compares *hesed* (“loving kindness”) in the Community Rule and *χάρις* (“grace”) in Galatians and argues that the theological vocabulary of Galatians is very similar to that of the Community Rule (even though the aim of the two texts is quite different). This suggests that Paul and the author of the Community Rule drew from the same

237 D.-J. Kim, “*m’sy htwrh* in 4QMMT and *ἔργα νόμου* in Galatians”, *신약연구* 6:3 (2007), pp. 619–643.

238 A. Reinhartz, “We, You, They: Boundary Language in 4QMMT and the New Testament Epistles”, in: R.A. Clements and D.R. Schwartz (eds.), *Text, Thought, and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity: Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, Jointly Sponsored by the Hebrew University Center for the Study of Christianity, 11–13 January, 2004* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 84, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2009), pp. 89–105. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004175242.i-326.27>

239 F. García Martínez, “Galatians 3:10–14 in the Light of Qumran”, in: J.-S. Rey (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 102, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2014), pp. 51–67. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004230071_005 See also: F. García Martínez, “La Ley, las Obras y la Gracia: Gal 3,10–14 a la Luz de Qumran”, *Revista Catalana de Teologia* 35:2 (2010), pp. 489–508.

240 J. Dušek, “*Hesed* dans la Règle de la Communauté et *charis* dans l’Épître de Paul aux Galates”, in: J.-S. Rey (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 102, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2014), pp. 89–107. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004230071_007

imaginary world in Palestinian Judaism although Paul's views on the matter were influenced drastically by the coming and death of Christ.

Heinz-Josef Fabry²⁴¹ (2014) offers an overview of the use of the notion of the “right time” (a moment in time determined in advance by God) in the LXX, the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament, in particular in Mark 1:14 and Galatians 4:4. In the latter case, Fabry explains “the fullness of time” as a free, declarative act of sovereignty by the Father. Albert L.A. Hogeterp²⁴² (2014) describes the Dead Sea Scrolls as “Semitic evidence for a Jewish world of thought in early Roman period Israel”²⁴³, enabling one to understand the Jewish orientation of the church at Jerusalem better. Hogeterp discusses three examples of language contact between them and Paul: the phrase ἰστορησαι Κηφᾶν (“to see Peter”, 1:18), the agreement to remember the poor (2:10) and the Antioch incident (2:11–14).

Jean-Sébastien Rey²⁴⁴ (2014) highlights some examples of “interdiscursivity” between the Dead Sea Scrolls and Galatians and identifies three issues in Galatians that may be understood better from such a perspective: (1) the ironic use of opposing discourse (ὀρθοποδέω [“walk straight”] in 2:14), (2) the use of doxic discourse (the quotation of Psalm 143:2 in 2:16), and (3) the way in which a counter-discourse is built around the term “works of the law”. According to Yongbom Lee²⁴⁵ (2017), comparison of Galatians and 4QMMT and a mirror reading of Galatians shows that Paul's opponents tried to persuade the Galatians to do “works of the law” to “get in” into God's covenant, not merely to “stay in” God's covenant (in the sense that these concepts were used by E.P. Sanders).

241 H.-J. Fabry, “Zeit und Ewigkeit: Gedanken zur Kairologie in LXX und Qumran”, in: J. Elschenbroich and J. de Vries (eds.), *Worte der Weissagung: Studien zu Septuaginta und Johannesoffenbarung: Martin Karrer zum 60. Geburtstag* (Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte 47, Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2014), pp. 97–107.

242 A.L.A. Hogeterp, “Paul and the Jerusalem Church: Light from the Scrolls on Graeco-Semitic Language Contacts and Ethics of Gospel Mission”, in: J.-S. Rey (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 102, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2014), pp. 261–275. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004230071_014

243 *Op. cit.*, p. 275.

244 J.-S. Rey, “Les manuscrits de la Mer Morte et l'Épître aux Galates: Quelques cas d'interdiscursivité”, in: J.-S. Rey (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 102, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2014), pp. 17–49. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004230071_004

245 Y. Lee, “Getting in and Staying In: Another Look at 4QMMT and Galatians”, *Evangelical Quarterly* 88:2 (2017), pp. 126–142. <https://doi.org/10.1163/27725472-08802003>

Matthew P. van Zile²⁴⁶ (2017) distinguishes between two traditions regarding the eschatological fate of the nations, both going back to the same proto-rabbinic source. The tradition underlying Paul's thought (for example, in 5:19–21) differs from that found in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Hellenistic Judaism.

4.6 LXX

Andrea Damascelli²⁴⁷ (2001) believes that the link between curse and redemption in 3:13 goes back to the Book of Esther (LXX) where cross, curse and redemption were linked to the crucifixion of Haman and that Paul thus alludes to the cross of Haman in this verse. Bruce Chilton²⁴⁸ (2014) explains how Paul goes about using terms, allusions and quotations from LXX passages in 3:10–14 in order to prove Paul's use of Septuagintal language. Chilton does this by discussing two aspects: references that may be identified and similarities at a linguistic level. G.K. Beale²⁴⁹ (2015) reconsiders the background of the term ἐκκλησία ("church") in the New Testament. According to Beale, this is best understood against an LLX background, and not against a Graeco-Roman background. According to Jarvis J. Williams²⁵⁰ (2019), 3:13 should be understood against the background of ideas on martyrs found in 2 and 4 Maccabees and Daniel 3 (LXX) although Paul modified these ideas to fit his theology.

246 M.P. van Zile, "The Sons of Noah and the Sons of Abraham: The Origins of Noahide Law", *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 48:3 (2017), pp. 386–417. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15700631-12340151>

247 A. Damascelli, "Croce, Maledizione e Redenzione: Un'eco di Purim in Galati 3,13", *Henoch* 23:2 (2001), pp. 227–241.

248 B. Chilton, "The Curse of the Law and the Blessing of Atonement: Paul's Deployment of Septuagintal Language", in: W. Kraus, S. Kreuzer, M. Meiser and M. Sigismund (eds.), *Die Septuaginta: Text, Wirkung, Rezeption: 4. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 19.–22. Juli 2012* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1325, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), pp. 597–610. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-152890-3>

249 G.K. Beale, "The Background of ἐκκλησία Revisited", *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 38:2 (2015), pp. 151–168. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X15609206>

250 J.J. Williams, *Christ Redeemed 'Us' from the Curse of the Law: A Jewish Martyrological Reading of Galatians 3.13* (Library of New Testament Studies 524, London: T & T Clark, 2019). <https://doi.org/10.5040/9780567692863>

4.7 Philo

Torrey Seland²⁵¹ (2002) thinks that Philo's references to zealotry in Palestine can help one to understand the zeal of a youthful Paul better. From Philo's observations it is clear that these early zealots did not form a movement/party. They individually resisted what they regarded as gross transgressions of the Jewish law. Matthias Konradt²⁵² (2005) links Paul's view of Abraham in Galatians to a tendency in Hellenistic Judaism (in particular, Philo) to interpret Abraham in a more inclusive sense. In Philo, one also finds a relativization of physical descentance from Abraham. Johannes Woyke²⁵³ (2008) draws attention to the description of "the elements of the world" as "weak and impotent" in 4:9 and points out that Philo believed that "the elements of the world" did not possess inherent creative powers – a problem that could be overcome by the law. According to Woyke, Paul denied that the law had such powers and thus classified it as also falling under "the elements of the world".

Michael B. Cover²⁵⁴ (2014) reads 4:21–5:1 in the light of Philo's practice of allegory, as well as similar Jewish traditions reflected in the Letter to the Hebrews. Cover is of the opinion that Paul's allegoresis is similar to what is found in Philo's Pentateuchal commentaries. Stefan Nordgaard²⁵⁵ (2014) interprets Paul's view on the law reflected in 3:19–20 as follows: God commissioned a group of angels to ordain the law. God was thus behind the law, but he was neither responsible for, nor attached to it. According to Nordgaard, there is some similarity between Paul's views on the law in these verses and Philo's views on the origin of sin. Jason M.

251 T. Seland, "Saul of Tarsus and Early Zealotism: Reading Gal 1,13–14 in Light of Philo's Writings", *Biblica* 83:4 (2002), pp. 449–471.

252 M. Konradt, "Die aus Glauben, diese sind Kinder Abrahams' (Gal 3,7): Erwägungen zum galatischen Konflikt im Lichte frühjüdischer Abrahamtraditionen", in: G. Gelardini (ed.), *Kontexte der Schrift: Band I: Text, Ethik, Judentum und Christentum, Gesellschaft: Ekkehard W. Stegemann zum 60. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2005), pp. 25–48.

253 J. Woyke, "Nochmals zu den 'schwachen und unfähigen Elementen' (Gal 4.9): Paulus, Philo und die στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου", *New Testament Studies* 54:2 (2008), pp. 221–234. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S002868850800012X>

254 M.B. Cover, "'Now and Above; Then and Now' (Gal. 4:21–31): Platonizing and Apocalyptic Polarities in Paul's Eschatology", in: M.W. Elliott, S.J. Hafemann, N.T. Wright and J. Frederick (eds.), *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul's Letter* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2014), pp. 220–229.

255 S. Nordgaard, "Paul and the Provenance of the Law: The Case of Galatians 3,19–20", *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 105:1 (2014), pp. 64–79. <https://doi.org/10.1515/znw-2014-0004>

Zurawski²⁵⁶ (2017) reads Paul's interpretation of Sarah and Hagar in the light of Philo's interpretation of the narrative. According to Zurawski, Paul associates the law with Jewish *paideia* in order to explain the role that it played in the past and to warn his audience against taking it up. Philo, on the other hand, associates Hagar with Greek *paideia* in order to encourage his readers to take up encyclical studies (although he is aware of its dangers).

Gitte Buch-Hansen²⁵⁷ (2017) disagrees with the trend dominating New Testament scholarship as a result of Krister Stendahl's²⁵⁸ essay (1963) and finds more continuation between Paul and Augustine than Stendahl (in spite of some differences). Buch-Hansen also argues that Paul's arguments in Romans 7 and Galatians 2:16 (described as *προσωποποιία en miniature* [*prosopopoeia* in miniature]) are based on a view of original sin that was similar to what is found in Philo's *De opificio mundi*. In another contribution, Buch-Hansen²⁵⁹ (2017) specifically focuses on Galatians and points out the similarities between Paul's view of original sin (as can be seen in the vice list in 5:19–21 and the Sarah-Hagar-allegory) and the discourse on anthropology in Hellenistic philosophy (Philo, Epicureanism and Stoicism).

Seung Hyun Lee²⁶⁰ (2018) compares Paul's and Philo's understanding of Abraham and the conversion of the Gentiles and God's Spirit. According to Lee, both Philo and Paul believed that it was God's Spirit that enabled

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- 256 J.M. Zurawski, "Mosaic Torah as Encyclical *paideia*: Reading Paul's Allegory of Hagar and Sarah in Light of Philo of Alexandria's", in: K.M. Hogan, M. Goff and E. Wasserman (eds.), *Pedagogy in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (Early Judaism and its Literature 41, Atlanta GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2017), pp. 283–308. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1qqhfvv.16>
- 257 G. Buch-Hansen, "Beyond the New Perspective: Reclaiming Paul's Anthropology", *Studia Theologica* 71:1 (2017), pp. 4–28. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0039338X.2017.1308303>
- 258 K. Stendahl, "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West", *Harvard Theological Review* 56:3 (1963), pp. 199–215. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816000024779>
- 259 G. Buch-Hansen, "Early Conceptions of Original Sin: Reading Galatians through Philo's *De opificio mundi*", in: J.R. Dodson and A.W. Pitts (eds.), *Paul and the Greco-Roman Philosophical Tradition* (Library of New Testament Studies 527, London/Oxford/New York NY: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2017), pp. 221–243. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9780567678362.ch-011>
- 260 S.H. Lee, "A Comparison between Paul and Philo's Understanding of Abraham, the Conversion of Gentiles and the Spirit of God", *신약논단* 25:3 (2018), pp. 795–830.

one to realise that Gentile religion was futile. However, unlike Philo, Paul understood faith to be focused only on God's Son.

4.8 Judaism (in a broader sense)

*Hindy Najman*²⁶¹ (2000) discusses the Second Temple background of the tradition that angels played a role at Sinai: such an idea is widespread in Rabbinic texts, although there are also some Rabbinic texts rejecting the idea of angelic mediation at Sinai. *H. Ross Cole*²⁶² (2001) disagrees with *Troy W. Martin*²⁶³ who proposed that 4:10 refers to the observance of Gentile religious practices. Cole opts for the traditional view, namely that Paul refers to the Jewish calendar. In the light of Josephus's reference in his *Life* to an incident in which he prevented some Jews in Galilee from forcibly circumcising two non-Jewish nobles, *J.R. Harrison*²⁶⁴ (2004) explores the influence that an emerging Jewish nationalism may have had on the "false brethren" that wanted Titus to be circumcised (2:1–5). According to Harrison, Jewish nationalism may have played a role in the views of the "false brethren".

*Kang-Yup Na*²⁶⁵ (2005) believes that the Antioch incident is best understood as a first-century intra-Jewish debate about what Jewishness entails. Accordingly, the story on the conversion of Izates found in Josephus's *Antiquities* can help one to understand this incident better. *Ullrich Mell*²⁶⁶ (2006) argues that, from the perspective of genre, Galatians is an example of a "Gemeindeleitungsbrief" (a letter giving advice to a congregation) and Paul followed conventions about such letters in early

261 H. Najman, "Angels at Sinai: Exegesis, Theology and Interpretive Authority", *Dead Sea Discoveries* 7:3 (2000), pp. 313–333. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156851700509977>

262 H.R. Cole, "The Christian and Time-Keeping in Colossians 2:16 and Galatians 4:10", *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 39:2 (2001), pp. 273–282.

263 T.W. Martin, "Pagan and Judeo-Christian Time-Keeping Schemes in Gal 4.10 and Col 2.16", *New Testament Studies* 42:1 (1996), pp. 105–119.

264 J.R. Harrison, "Why Did Josephus and Paul Refuse to Circumcise?", *Pacifica* 17:2 (2004), pp. 137–158. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1030570X0401700203>

265 K.-Y. Na, "The Conversion of Izates and Galatians 2:11–14: The Significance of a Jewish Dispute for the Christian Church", *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 27:2 (2005), pp. 56–78.

266 U. Mell, "Der Galaterbrief als frühchristlicher Gemeindeleitungsbrief", in: U. Mell and D. Sänger (eds.), *Paulus und Johannes: Exegetische Studien zur paulinischen und johanneischen Theologie und Literatur* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.198, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), pp. 353–373. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157304-0>

Judaism. Honora Howell Chapman²⁶⁷ (2006) proposes that one should understand Josephus's and Paul's rejection of circumcision (as happens in Galatians) as a response to the policy of forced circumcision that was developed during the Hasmonean period. Paul was thus not merely reacting against a particular Scriptural tradition.

Kelli S. O'Brien²⁶⁸ (2006) disagrees with the wide-spread perception amongst scholars that Jews in the New Testament era regarded people that were crucified as cursed by God because of Deuteronomy 21:22–23 and that this is the background of Galatians 3:13. O'Brien points out that this idea is not supported by textual evidence. Steven di Mattei²⁶⁹ (2006) is of the opinion that Paul's interpretative strategy in 4:21–31 is best understood in terms of Jewish reading strategies seeking to eschatologise the law. Jörg Frey²⁷⁰ (2007) offers a detailed overview of Paul's conception of himself, his piety, the missionary strategy that he followed, the way he preached, the exegetical methods that he used and his views on eschatology. Frey suggests that much of this is similar to what can be found in other Jewish groups of the first century CE and that all of this helps one to appreciate Paul's Jewish identity.

According to Rodrigo J. Morales²⁷¹ (2009), Paul's reference to the Spirit in 3:14 is based on a Jewish tradition found in Deutero-Isaiah, the *Words of the Luminaries* (from Qumran) and the *Testament of Judah*, according to which the Spirit and divine blessing are depicted as an

267 H. Howell Chapman, "Paul, Josephus, and the Judean Nationalistic and Imperialistic Policy of Forced Circumcision", *Ilu Revista de Ciencias de las Religiones* 11 (2006), pp. 131–155.

268 K.S. O'Brien, "The Curse of the Law (Galatians 3.13): Crucifixion, Persecution, and Deuteronomy 21.22–23", *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 29:1 (2006), pp. 55–76. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X06068383>

269 S. di Mattei, "Paul's Allegory of the Two Covenants (Gal 4.21–31) in Light of First-Century Hellenistic Rhetoric and Jewish Hermeneutics", *New Testament Studies* 52:1 (2006), pp. 102–122. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688506000063>

270 J. Frey, "Paul's Jewish Identity", in: J. Frey, D.R. Schwartz and S. Gripentrog (eds.), *Jewish Identity in the Greco-Roman World/Jüdische Identität in der griechisch-römischen Welt* (Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 71, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2007), pp. 283–321. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004158382.i-435.58>

271 R.J. Morales, "The Words of the Luminaries, the Curse of the Law, and the Outpouring of the Spirit in Gal 3,10–14", *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 100:2 (2009), pp. 269–277. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ZNTW.2009.0014>

indication of the end-time redemption of Israel. *Birgit van der Lans*²⁷² (2010) elucidates Paul’s argument on Abraham in Galatians 3 and 4 by means of Jewish texts in which Abraham was regarded as either the father of many nations or as father of the Jews. *James W. Thompson*²⁷³ (2011) analyses the way in which Paul formed his congregations in a moral sense. One of the texts that Thompson investigates is the vice and virtue lists in 5:19–23. According to Thompson, Paul’s approach to moral formation was analogous to what happened in moral instruction in Hellenistic Judaism.

*Christopher R. Bruno*²⁷⁴ (2013) traces the Jewish background of the phrase “God is one” (used in 3:20 and Romans 3:30). Bruno finds that in Jewish literature the phrase normally functioned as a boundary marker (Zechariah 14:9 is an exception). Paul uses it in a different way, as the basis for the notion of the unity of Jews and Gentiles, which might imply that Zechariah 14:9 may have served as the background to his reference to God in v. 20. *J.C. de Vos*²⁷⁵ (2014) compares 4:21–31 and 2 Baruch 4:1–7, texts that are both trying to make sense of an existence without the earthly Jerusalem and the temple and points out several differences between them. In a study of Paul and the Gentile problem, *Matthew Thiessen*²⁷⁶ (2016) argues that Paul’s views in 4:21–31 (and on the law in Romans 2) fit in well with the thinking of some Jews of his time who rejected the idea that Gentiles could become Jews by being circumcised and adopting the law. In this passage, Paul equates Gentiles opting for circumcision with Ishmael and his opponents with Hagar.

272 B. van der Lans, “Belonging To Abraham’s Kin: Genealogical Appeals To Abraham as a Possible Background for Paul’s Abrahamic Argument”, in: M. Goodman, G.H. van Kooten and J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten (eds.), *Abraham, the Nations, and the Hagarites: Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Perspectives on Kinship with Abraham* (Themes in Biblical Narrative 13, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill 2010), pp. 307–318. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004216495_021

273 J.W. Thompson, *Moral Formation According to Paul: The Context and Coherence of Pauline Ethics* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2011).

274 C.R. Bruno, “God Is One”: *The Function of eis ho theos as a Ground for Gentile Inclusion in Paul’s Letters* (Library of New Testament Studies 497, London: Bloomsbury/T & T Clark, 2013).

275 J.C. de Vos, “Jerusalem: Why on Earth Is It in Heaven? A Comparison between Galatians 4:21–31 and 2 Baruch 4:1–7”, in: E. van der Steen, J. Boertien and N. Mulder-Hymans (eds.), *Exploring the Narrative: Jerusalem and Jordan in the Bronze and Iron Ages* (Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 583, London/New Delhi/New York NY/Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp. 327–338.

276 M. Thiessen, *Paul and the Gentile Problem* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 73–101. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190271756.001.0001>

J.P. Davies²⁷⁷ (2016) offers a detailed evaluation of the “apocalyptic Paul” as suggested in some Pauline circles by examining such claims in the light of 1 Enoch, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch and Revelation. Davies confirms that Paul may indeed be regarded as an apocalyptic thinker but raises critical questions about the way in which this is handled in recent approaches. Joel Willitts²⁷⁸ (2017) maintains that the dispute at Antioch (2:11–21) was of a halakhic nature and did not so much focus on soteriology. Paul and Peter accepted the same gospel but drew different halakhic conclusions from it.

Stefan Bosman²⁷⁹ (2018) discusses Paul’s use of Jewish traditions in 1 Corinthians 10:4, Galatians 6:16 and Romans 5:12. In the case of Galatians 6:16, Bosman uses Isaiah 54 and 1 Enoch 1 to argue for a Jewish exegetical trajectory significantly similar to Paul’s statement. Jill Hicks-Keeton²⁸⁰ (2019) compares Paul’s spatial imagery in 4:21–5:1 (the two Jerusalems) with that of some Hellenistic Jewish writings (Joseph and Aseneth, Tobit and 2 Maccabees) and points out that Paul and these authors all rhetorically reconfigure space, although Paul’s way of doing so differs since he links God’s plan to Jesus.

4.9 The Targums and Rabbinic literature

According to Nikolaus Walter²⁸¹ (2000), the metaphor “pillars” (used by Paul in 2:9 to refer to James, Peter and John) should be interpreted against the background of rabbinic tradition. It thus does not refer primarily to their leadership role in the Jerusalem congregation, but rather to their outstanding commitment to the law (“als ... hervorragende

277 J.P. Davies, *Paul among the Apocalypses? An Evaluation of the “Apocalyptic Paul” in the Context of Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Literature* (Library of New Testament Studies 562, London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2016). See also the discussion of Davies’ contribution on Galatians and 4 Ezra earlier on in this chapter.

278 J. Willitts, “One Torah for Another: The Halakhic conversion of Jewish Believers: Paul’s Response to Peter’s Halakhic Equivocation in Galatians 2:11–21”, in: T.A. Wilson and P.R. House (eds.), *The Crucified Apostle: Essays on Peter and Paul* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.450, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), pp. 21–45. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-155610-4>

279 S. Bosman, “Paul’s Use of Jewish Traditions”, *Tyndale Bulletin* 69:1 (2018), pp. 157–160.

280 J. Hicks-Keeton, “Putting Paul in His Place: Diverse Diasporas and Sideways Spaces in Hellenistic Judaism”, *Journal of the Jesus Movement in Its Jewish Setting* 6 (2019), pp. 1–21.

281 N. Walter, “Die ‘als Säulen Geltenden’ in Jerusalem – Leiter der Urgemeinde oder exemplarisch Fromme?”, in: M. Karrer, W. Kraus and O. Merk (eds.), *Kirche und Volk Gottes: Festschrift für Jürgen Roloff zum 70. Geburtstag* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2000), pp. 275–306.

Gesetzesfromme”²⁸²). A. Andrew Das²⁸³ (2003) agrees with E.P. Sanders’s view that it is wrong to describe the self-understanding of the Jews of Paul’s time as legalistic. Yet, Das also thinks that after the Damascus event, Paul realised that obedience to the law constituted some kind of legalistic perfectionism.

Devorah Steinmetz²⁸⁴ (2005) compares Paul’s views on justification by deeds with the conclusion of *Sanhedrin Makkot* and points out that although there is a great difference in the way in which the two respond to the question as to how one can live before God if one does not keep the law perfectly, there are also conspicuous similarities between the arguments used to offer an answer to the problem. From a rabbinic perspective, Jacob Neusner²⁸⁵ (2005) explains the positions of James, Peter and Paul (as reflected in 2:1–14) in terms of three perspectives of the *kairos*: the end-time has not yet come (James), the end-time has commenced but has not yet come to fulfilment (Peter) and the end-time has come (Paul).

Yaakov Azuelos²⁸⁶ (2009) points out that angels are not mentioned in Deuteronomy 32:2–3 (on the giving of the law) in Targum Onkelos and argues that their omission may reflect an awareness that the idea that the angels acted as mediators at the giving of the law could be used to minimise the importance of the law (as Paul does in 3:19). Based on three case studies discussed in detail, Ishay Rosen-Zvi²⁸⁷ (2017) maintains that the way in which Paul argues on topics such as justification through the law, the situation of people who are not circumcised and how God’s favouritism works, indicates that he was responding to proto-rabbinic notions of which he was aware.

282 *Op. cit.*, p. 88.

283 A.A. Das, *Paul and the Jews* (Library of Pauline Studies, Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 2003).

284 D. Steinmetz, “Justification by Deed: The Conclusion of *Sanhedrin-Makkot* and Paul’s Rejection of Law”, *Hebrew Union College Annual* 76 (2005), pp. 133–187.

285 J. Neusner, “What, Exactly, Is Israel’s Gentile Problem? Rabbinic Perspectives on Galatians 2”, in: B.D. Chilton and C.A. Evans (eds.), *The Missions of James, Peter, and Paul: Tensions in Early Christianity* (Novum Testamentum Supplements 115, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2005), pp. 275–306. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047414742_009

286 Y. Azuelos, “*my ntn ‘t htwrh lysrl*”, *Beit Mikra* 54:2 (2009), pp. 94–104.

287 I. Rosen-Zvi, “Pauline Traditions and the Rabbis: Three Case Studies”, *Harvard Theological Review* 110:2 (2017), pp. 169–194. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816017000037>

Serge Ruzer²⁸⁸ (2018) examines Paul's liberation language in Galatians against the broader Jewish tradition and argues that the way in which he linked the law to liberty suggests that he should be viewed as a witness to such a way of thinking in Judaism around the middle of the first century CE and attested in later rabbinic sources.

4.10 Philosophy: Stoicism

Troels Engberg-Pedersen²⁸⁹ (2000) detects a similar basic thought structure underlying both Stoic ethics and Pauline literature, which may be summarised as $I \rightarrow X \rightarrow S$, where I stands for the initial involvement of the addressees, X for the conversion and S for the new state of communality. In another study, an investigation of 5:13–27 and Romans 7: 7–24, Engberg-Pedersen²⁹⁰ (2011) finds a Stoically informed idea of personhood in Paul, both for believers and non-believers: “In Paul, a human ‘person’ is a being who is self-reflectively capable of turning one’s own gaze on one’s own body in order to change it. In the unredeemed ‘person’ the gaze will not always be successful. In the redeemed ‘person,’ by contrast, it is able genuinely to transform the body.”²⁹¹ In a third study, Engberg-Pedersen²⁹² (2013) discusses the movement from sin to virtue in 5:13–26 from two perspectives: the characteristics of sin and how Paul views the movement from sin to virtue (“the fruit of the Spirit”). In the discussion, Engberg-Pedersen points out similarities between Paul’s views and Stoic and Aristotelian views.

288 S. Ruzer, “Paul as an Early Witness to the Jewish Notion of Liberation-through-Torah”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 41:1 (2018), pp. 82–94. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064x18788980>

289 T. Engberg-Pedersen, *Paul and the Stoics* (Louisville KY: Westminster John Knox, 2000). <https://doi.org/10.5040/9780567661098.ch-003> J. Louis Martyn reacted to Engberg-Pedersen’s book, to which Engberg-Pedersen responded. See: J.L. Martyn, “De-Apocalypticizing Paul: An Essay Focused on *Paul and the Stoics* by Troels Engberg-Pedersen”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 24:4 (2002), pp. 61–102, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X0202400403> and T. Engberg-Pedersen, “Response to Martyn”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 24:4 (2002), pp. 103–114. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X0202400404>

290 T. Engberg-Pedersen, “A Stoic Concept of the Person in Paul? From Galatians 5:17 to Romans 7:14–25”, in: C.K. Rothschild and T.W. Thompson (eds.), *Christian Body, Christian Self: Concepts of Early Christian Personhood* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.284, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), pp. 85–112. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-151861-4>

291 *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

292 T. Engberg-Pedersen, “Von der ‘Sünde’ zur ‘Tugend’: Worum geht es eigentlich bei Paulus?”, *Zeitschrift für Neues Testament* 16:32 (2013), pp. 37–47.

George H. van Kooten²⁹³ (2010) draws attention to two issues in 4:21–31 – Paul’s criticism of ethnic descent and the notion of dual citizenship (Hagar vs. Sarah) – and similar strategies of argumentation in Graeco-Roman philosophy, in particular the way in which Stoics tried to depoliticise politics. Joseph R. Dodson²⁹⁴ (2017) compares the way in which Paul uses the metaphor of crucifixion in Galatians and Seneca’s use of it in *De vita beata* and detects striking similarities (for example, that both use it against opponents and in contexts where they mention sinful passions), although there are also differences (for example, the fact that Paul uses it to refer to Christ’s victory whereas Seneca uses it to refer to his own moral defeat).

Craig S. Keener²⁹⁵ (2017) compares the items in Paul’s virtue list (5:22–23) with their use by other intellectuals of his time, in particular the Stoics. Keener concludes: “Like many other moral teachers, Paul made use of lists of vices and virtues. For Paul in Gal 5, however, these virtues reflect God’s indwelling character rather than studied compliance with an external code.”²⁹⁶

4.11 Ancient world (in a broad sense)

In this section contributions that do not fit in any of the sections above are discussed.

293 G. H. van Kooten, “Philosophical Criticism of Genealogical Claims and Stoic Depoliticization of Politics: Greco-Roman Strategies in Paul’s Allegorical Interpretation of Hagar and Sarah (Gal 4:21–31)”, in: M. Goodman, G.H. van Kooten and J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten (eds.), *Abraham, the Nations, and the Hagarites: Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Perspectives on Kinship with Abraham* (Themes in Biblical Narrative 13, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2010), pp. 361–385. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004216495_024

294 J.R. Dodson, “Paul and Seneca on the Cross: The Metaphor of Crucifixion in Galatians and *De Vita Beata*”, in: J.R. Dodson and D.E. Briones (eds.), *Paul and Seneca in Dialogue* (Ancient Philosophy & Religion 2, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2017), pp. 247–266. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004341364_013

295 C.S. Keener, “A Comparison of the Fruit of the Spirit in Galatians 5:22–23 with Ancient Thought on Ethics and Emotion”, in: L.F. Dow, C.A. Evans and A.W. Pitts (eds.), *The Language and Literature of the New Testament: Essays in Honor of Stanley E. Porter’s 60th Birthday* (Biblical Interpretation Series 150, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill Academic Publishers, 2017), pp. 574–598. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004335936_026

296 *Op. cit.*, p. 593.

Bernard Dupuy²⁹⁷ (2001) draws attention to a formula from Greek antiquity, attributed to Thales of Miletus, in which distinctions are made that are similar to those in 3:28. Dupuy suggests that this tradition passed into popular piety and that Paul might have been aware of such a tradition. Lucien Legrand²⁹⁸ (2001) explains Paul's missionary strategy in terms of ancient geographical notions. According to Legrand, at the Jerusalem meeting, ideas on which parts of the world could be regarded as Judaized or not, played a role in the decisions that were made. From 2:9 it is clear that Europe (regarded as not Judaized) was given to Paul as a missionary field, whereas Peter, James and John received the parts in the diaspora in Africa and the East as their missionary fields.

According to Basil S. Davis²⁹⁹ (2002), Paul's reference to Christ becoming a curse (3:13) contains an allusion to Roman *devotio*, i.e., a human sacrifice who died in order to break a curse. J. Albert Harrill³⁰⁰ (2002) believes that Paul's reference to "putting on Christ" (3:27) is best understood in terms of the *toga virilis* coming of age-ceremony in Roman households. On this occasion, the youth were warned against succumbing to the flesh – a warning that is also found in Galatians. John T. Fitzgerald³⁰¹ (2003) offers a thorough and very useful overview of the way in which testaments and last wills functioned in the Graeco-Roman world ("heirs" are mentioned in 4:1). Anne Davis³⁰² (2004) thinks that Paul used neither narrative allegory nor typology in 4:21–5:1. Rather, he utilised an ancient way of argumentation according to which literary devices were used to draw attention to key concepts in the Hebrew Scriptures.

297 B. Dupuy, "Ni Juif ni Grec': Sur une formule controversée de saint Paul", *Istina* 46:3 (2001), pp. 229–233.

298 L. Legrand, *L'apôtre des nations? Paul et la stratégie missionnaire des églises apostoliques* (Paris: Cerf, 2001).

299 B.S. Davis, *Christ as Devotio: The Argument of Galatians 3:1–14* (Lanham MD: University Press of America, 2002).

300 J.A. Harrill, "Coming of Age and Putting on Christ: The *toga virilis* Ceremony, Its Paraenesis, and Paul's Interpretation of Baptism in Galatians", *Novum Testamentum* 44:3 (2002), pp. 252–277. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156853602320249473>

301 J.T. Fitzgerald, "Last Wills and Testaments in Graeco-Roman Perspective", in: J.T. Fitzgerald, T.H. Olbricht and M. White (eds.), *Early Christianity and Classical Culture: Comparative Studies in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe* (Novum Testamentum Supplements 110, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2003), pp. 637–672. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047402190_031

302 A. Davis, "Allegorically Speaking in Galatians 4:21–5:1", *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 14:2 (2004), pp. 161–174. <https://doi.org/10.2307/bullbiblrese.14.2.0161>

Susan Elliott³⁰³ (2008) reads Galatians against an Anatolian cultic background and argues that Paul's concern about circumcision was primarily motivated by an aversion to the cult of the Mother of the gods and the similarity between circumcision and the self-castration performed by her followers, the *galli*. According to John H. Elliott³⁰⁴ (2008), Paul's opponents accused him of using the evil eye – a widespread belief in the ancient world – and Paul defends himself against this accusation in Galatians. In turn, he accuses his opponents of using the evil eye in the congregations in Galatia. Craig A. Evans³⁰⁵ (2008) lists over 200 parallels between Paul's letters and non-Jewish sources. Seventeen verses/sections from Galatians are mentioned. Furthermore, Evans discusses the following aspects that are relevant for this letter: the pedagogue metaphor (3:24–25), the running metaphor (2:2) and the virtue ἐγκράτεια (“self-control”, 5:23).

Boris Repschinski³⁰⁶ (2010) points out that Paul formulates his criticism of the Galatians in the light of Hellenistic notions of friendship. Accordingly, he depicts his ministry as an apostle as that of someone operating as an equal of the Galatians whereas the best that his opponents can offer is a patron-client relationship (and the worst a situation of spiritual slavery). Nina E. Livesey³⁰⁷ (2010) investigates the treatment of circumcision by authors from the 2nd century BCE to the 1st CE. Livesey finds that circumcision was a malleable symbol: there in no

303 S. Elliott, *Cutting Too Close for Comfort: Paul's Letter to the Galatians in Its Anatolian Cultic Context* (Library of New Testament Studies 248, London/New York: T & T Clark International, 2008).

304 J.H. Elliott, “Paul, Galatians and the Evil Eye”, in: J.H. Neyrey and E.C. Stewart (eds.), *The Social World of the New Testament: Insights and Models* (Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 2008), pp. 223–234. See also earlier: J.H. Elliott, “Paul, Galatians, and the Evil Eye”, *Currents in Theology and Mission* 17:4 (1990), pp. 262–273, and later: J.H. Elliott, *Beware the Evil Eye: The Evil Eye in the Bible and the Ancient World: Volume 3: The Bible and Related Sources* (Eugene OR: Cascade, 2016), pp. 212–263. For a description of the methodological approach underlying this study, see: J.H. Elliott, “Social-Scientific Criticism: Perspective, Process and Payoff: Evil Eye Accusation at Galatia as Illustration of the Method”, *Hervormde Theologische Studies* 67:1 (2011), pp. 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v67i1.858>

305 C.A. Evans, “Paul and the Pagans”, in: S.E. Porter (ed.), *Paul: Jew, Greek, and Roman* (Pauline Studies 5, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2008), pp. 117–139. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004171596.i-370.49>

306 B. Repschinski, “Gemeindekrise und Apostelamt im Galaterbrief”, *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 132:3 (2010), pp. 312–331.

307 N.E. Livesey, *Circumcision as a Malleable Symbol* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.295, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-151638-2>

universally accepted explanation for the Jewish practice of circumcision. Its meaning depends on the literary context within which it is referred to.

*Gesila Nneka Uzukwu*³⁰⁸ (2010) disagrees with scholars who are of the opinion that the opposites in 3:28 were influenced by Rabbinic blessings of gratitude that, in turn, were influenced by expressions of gratitude in Greek writings. According to Uzukwu, such pairs of opposites were widely used in the Hellenistic world and they may have had some influence on this verse, but what is found in this verse is a response to a particular situation. *Philip Kern*³⁰⁹ (2011) considers the way in which Paul's rhetoric of the cross works in Galatians in terms of its cultural context. Kern highlights the fact that it was a shared cultural symbol in Paul's world and that Jews and Romans reacted in similar ways to crucifixion.

*James R. Edwards*³¹⁰ (2011) reads 5:12 against the cult of the Mother Goddess that was widespread in Galatia and Phrygia. From this perspective it is clear that Paul depicted those promoting circumcision in the Christian congregations as just as offensive as the priests of this cult who were emasculated. *Jonathan A. Draper*³¹¹ (2011) examines the way in which the *topos* of the two ways functioned in Galatians and in *Didache* 1–6 and 16 and finds that one can identify differences in terms of the way in which it was used in the two communities in terms of Christology, eschatology and views of ethics and the law.

*John Granger Cook*³¹² (2012) draws attention to four artefacts from ancient Campania that may help one to understand crucifixion

308 For Rabbinic writings, see: G.N. Uzukwu, "Gal 3,28 and Its Alleged Relationship to Rabbinic Writings", *Biblica* 91:3 (2010), pp. 370–392. For a discussion of possible Greek influence, see: G.N. Uzukwu, "The Problem with the Three Expressions of Gratitude Found in Greek Writings and Their Alleged Relationship to Gal 3:28", *Cristianesimo nella Storia* 31:3 (2010), pp. 927–944. See also later: G.N. Uzukwu, *The Unity of Male and Female in Jesus Christ: An Exegetical Study of Galatians 3.28c in Light of Paul's Theology of Promise* (Library of New Testament Studies: International Studies on Christian Origins 531, London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2015), pp. 3–31.

309 P. Kern, "The Cultural Context of Paul's Gospel: The Cross and Suffering in Galatians", *The Reformed Theological Review* 70:2 (2011), pp. 135–154.

310 J.R. Edwards, "Galatians 5:12: Circumcision, the Mother Goddess, and the Scandal of the Cross", *Novum Testamentum* 53:4 (2011), pp. 319–337. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156853611X578275>

311 J.A. Draper, "The Two Ways and Eschatological Hope: A Contested Terrain in Galatians 5 and the *Didache*", *Neotestamentica* 45:2 (2011), pp. 221–251.

312 J.G. Cook, "Crucifixion as Spectacle in Roman Campania", *Novum Testamentum* 54:1 (2012), pp. 68–100. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156853611X589651>

in Roman times better and to grasp how scandalous Paul's gospel of the cross would have sounded to people from his time: a notice in Pompeii advertising the crucifixion of people at Cumae, the *lex Puteolana* regulating private and public crucifixions, the *lex Cumana* regulating crucifixion at Cumae and a graffito of a crucified person in a *taberna* in Puteoli. Eliezer González³¹³ (2014) believes that Paul's view of metamorphosis (mentioned in 4:19, Romans 12:2, 2 Corinthians 3:18 and Philippians 2:6–7) would have been understandable in both Hellenistic and Jewish (in particular apocalyptic) contexts but that Paul also moves beyond existing views on the matter, in particular by emphasising the universal and cosmological effects of the transformation taking place.

Gitte Buch-Hansen³¹⁴ (2014) discusses baptism and notions on generation/genealogy in Galatians, showing how Paul navigates between Jewish notions of genealogy and Hellenistic ideas about generation, in particular Aristotelian ideas about generation as illustrated in *De generatione animalium*. This Aristotelian notion is combined with the idea that Christ literally became Abraham's seed. Steven Muir³¹⁵ (2014) explains Paul's statement that Christ was publicly exhibited as crucified before the eyes of the Galatians (3:1) by referring to Roman rhetoric, street announcements, graffiti and the way in which crucifixions were conducted. All of these indicate that Paul wanted his audience to experience his preaching on Christ's crucifixion in such a way that they would remember it.

W. Marshall Johnston³¹⁶ (2015) proposes that 5:12 should be understood in the light of the Mother Goddess cult and draws attention to the story of Attis who castrated himself for her. Paul is thus referring to castration in this verse. In a study on divine honours for the Caesars, Bruce W. Winter³¹⁷ (2015) suggests that some of the Galatian Christians may have felt it necessary to be circumcised so that they could be exempted from the imperial cult – a privilege that was available to (circumcised)

313 E. González, "Paul's Use of Metamorphosis in Its Graeco-Roman and Jewish Contexts", *DavarLogos* 13:1 (2014), pp. 57–76.

314 G. Buch-Hansen, "Paulus i Aristoteles' Hønsesgård: Dåb og Genealogi i Galaterbrevet", *Dansk Teologisk Tidsskrift* 77:1 (2014), pp. 9–26.

315 S. Muir, "Vivid Imagery in Galatians 3:1: Roman Rhetoric, Street Announcing, Graffiti, and Crucifixions", *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 44:2 (2014), pp. 76–86. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146107914526523>

316 W.M. Johnston, "Pagans and Galatians: Reading Galatians 5:12", in: W.M. Johnston and D.J. Crosby (eds.), *A Dangerous Mind: The Ideas and Influence of Delbert L. Wiens* (Eugene OR: Wipf & Stock, 2015), pp. 117–128.

317 B.W. Winter, *Divine Honours for the Caesars: The First Christians' Responses* (Grand Rapids MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2015), pp. 226–249.

Jews. Karin B. Neutel³¹⁸ (2015) situates the opposites in 3:28 within discussions in the first century CE about creating a utopian community in which divisions would not play a role anymore. Neutel points out how Paul's view differs from and overlaps with such notions. This verse is also one of the passages that Ilaria L.E. Ramelli³¹⁹ (2016) refers to in a discussion of the legitimacy of slavery from Ancient Judaism to Late Antiquity. Ramelli points out that Paul's statement seems to be a total reversal of Aristotle's notion of superiority based on race and gender.

Christoph Heil³²⁰ (2016) is of the opinion that the interpretation of rituals in Early Christianity was influenced by notions of piety in the mystery cults. In Galatians, this can be seen in Paul's reference to circumcision as castration (5:12), having as its background the emasculation associated with the Cybele cult, as well as the clothing referred to in the context of baptism (3:27), having as its background clothing metaphors in Hellenistic mystery cults. Bradley Trick³²¹ (2016) proposes that Paul's views of διαθήκη ("testament" or "covenant") in Galatians 3–4 are best understood in terms of a Hellenistic testament by which God adopted Abraham, with "children" in 3:7 referring to Jews, "children of promise" (4:28) referring to Gentiles, and "seed" (3:16) referring to Christ and the union of Gentiles and Jews in Christ (3:29).

Suzan J.M. Sierksma-Agteres³²² (2016) supports the option of interpreting Paul's use of the expression "faith of Christ" as a purposeful ambiguity by investigating his imitation language against the background of the way in which imitation functioned in the Hellenistic–Roman world, in particular in philosophical training. This suggests that one should

318 K.B. Neutel, *A Cosmopolitan Ideal: Paul's Declaration "Neither Jew nor Greek, Neither Slave nor Free, nor Male and Female" in the Context of First Century Thought* (Library of New Testament Studies 513, London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2015).

319 I.L.E. Ramelli, *Social Justice and the Legitimacy of Slavery: The Role of Philosophical Asceticism from Ancient Judaism to Late Antiquity* (Oxford Early Christian Studies, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 102. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198777274.001.0001>

320 C. Heil, "Beschneidung und Taufe im Galaterbrief: Zur Bedeutung der Mysterienkulte in einem frühchristlichen Grundsatzstreit", *Keryx* 4 (2016), pp. 87–98.

321 B. Trick, *Abrahamic Descent, Testamentary Adoption, and the Law in Galatians: Differentiating Abraham's Sons, Seed, and Children of Promise* (Supplements to Novum Testamentum 169, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2016).

322 S.J.M. Sierksma-Agteres, "Imitation in Faith: Enacting Paul's Ambiguous *pistis Christou* Formulations on a Greco–Roman Stage", *International Journal of Philosophy and Theology* 77:3 (2016), pp. 119–153. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21692327.2016.1231076>

interpret the expression as shorthand for believers mimetically moving in faith/faithfulness through Christ towards God. *George Philip*³²³ (2017) explains Paul's approach to the common meal against the background of practices in Graeco-Roman and Jewish culture. Whereas such meals were generally used to create boundaries, one can see from Galatians and Corinthians that Paul viewed this practice as a way to resist ethnic boundaries and factionalism.

*Mark D. Nanos*³²⁴ (2017) reads the Antioch incident against the behavioural norms of Graeco-Roman banquets. In terms of such a background, 2:11–21 may be regarded as a subversive narrative, since placement was assigned in an indiscriminate way. *John S. Kloppenborg*³²⁵ (2017) compares Paul's collection to the fiscal practices of Greek cities and private associations. According to Kloppenborg, Paul's collection is best compared to the ἐπιδοσις ("free giving"), a practice used by associations and cities to raise funds for extraordinary projects. *Lexie Harvey*³²⁶ (2018) is of the opinion that Paul addresses a hybrid audience in Galatians and tries to bridge two realms: Judaism and Roman imperialism. Accordingly, one finds elements of both Jewish prophecy (for example, the claim to have received a revelation from God) and Greek παρρησία ([“frankness”], for example, truth-telling, frank speech and pointing out the imminent danger to his readers) in the letter, resulting in “parrhesia as a Christian mode, with anti-prudent, prophetic rhetorical features”.³²⁷

According to *Klaus Vibe*³²⁸ (2019), the ancient elite used the notion of παιδεία (“upbringing” or “training”) to justify their own superiority,

323 G. Philip, *Paul and Common Meal: Re-Socialization of the Christian Community* (Biblical Hermeneutics Rediscovered 7, New Delhi: Christian World Imprints, 2017).

324 M.D. Nanos, “Reading the Antioch Incident (Gal 2:11–21) as a Subversive Banquet Narrative”, *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 7:1/2 (2017), pp. 26–52. <https://doi.org/10.5325/jstudpaullett.7.1-2.0026>

325 J.S. Kloppenborg, “Fiscal Aspects of Paul's Collection for Jerusalem”, *Early Christianity* 8:2 (2017), pp. 153–198. <https://doi.org/10.1628/186870317X14950055760629> Shorter version: J.S. Kloppenborg, “Paul's Collection for Jerusalem and the Financial Practices in Greek Cities”, in: T.R. Blanton IV and R. Pickett (eds.), *Paul and Economics: A Handbook* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress Press, 2017), pp. 307–332. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1kgqtgr.16>

326 L. Harvey, “Commitment to the Truth: Parrhesiastic and Prophetic Elements of Paul's Letter to the Galatians”, *Res Rhetorica* 5:1 (2018), pp. 21–34. <https://doi.org/10.29107/rr2018.1.2>

327 *Op. cit.*, p. 33.

328 K. Vibe, “The Cultural Capital of This World and Paul's Theology of New Creation: Paul's Gospel and Greek *paideia*”, *European Journal of Theology*

thus making it a type of cultural capital. From 6:14–15 it is clear that circumcision – another type of cultural capital – was of no importance to Paul. The same applied to παιδεία. *Kyu Seop Kim*³²⁹ (2019) interprets the notion of freedom in 5:13 against the practice of manumission in Roman society. For Paul, freedom did not imply autonomy since certain relationships had to be continued. This helps one to make sense of the paradox between freedom and slavery in this verse. *Christina Eschner*³³⁰ (2019) thinks that it is not correct to explain Paul’s view of Christ’s death in 2:20 against the background of the notion of atonement. It should rather be interpreted in terms of the Greek notion of apotropaic death, the giving of oneself for the fatherland or for another person.

*Bruce W. Longenecker*³³¹ (2019) argues that Early Christianity practised benefaction but that it differed from similar practices in that era in terms of form, the motivation for it, its resources and the people who benefitted from it. From 6:10 and 1 Thessalonians 5:15 it is clear that Paul expected believers to practise benefaction to support other believers but also to benefit other people. *Joel L. Watts*³³² (2019) proposes that Jesus’ death followed a well-known Roman and Jewish model of people sacrificing themselves, called *devotio*. In Galatians, Paul uses this model to depict Jesus’ death as an event that was premeditated and which he chose himself in order to bring about changes to the cosmos.

*Martin Meiser*³³³ (2020) compares the way in which Paul represents himself in Galatians with insights from ancient rhetorical handbooks

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- 28:2 (2019), pp. 99–109. <https://doi.org/10.5117/EJT2019.2.002.VIBE>
- 329 K.S. Kim, “Freedom and Enslavement in Galatians 5:13 in Light of the Roman Social and Legal Context”, *신약연구* 18:4 (2019), pp. 574–607. <https://doi.org/10.24229/kents.2019.18.4.006>
- 330 C. Eschner, “‘Der mich geliebt und sich selbst ‘für’ mich hingegeben hat’ (Gal 2,20): Die griechische Konzeption des Unheil abwendenden Sterbens als zentrale Heilskategorie des Galaterbriefes”, in: D.S. du Toit, C. Gerber and C. Zimmermann (eds.), *Sôtēria: Salvation in Early Christianity and Antiquity: Festschrift in Honour of Cilliers Breytenbach on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (Novum Testamentum Supplements 175, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2019), pp. 307–329. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004396883_017
- 331 B.W. Longenecker, “‘Do Good to All’ (Galatians 6.10): Assets, Capital, and Benefaction in Early Christianity”, in: S. Walton and H. Swithinbank (eds.), *Poverty in the Early Church and Today: A Conversation* (London/New York NY: Bloomsbury/T & T Clark, 2019), pp. 43–53.
- 332 J.L. Watts, *Jesus as Divine Suicide: The Death of the Messiah in Galatians* (Eugene OR: Pickwick, 2019).
- 333 M. Meiser, “Die Selbstpräsentation des Paulus im Galaterbrief im Vergleich mit antiker rhetorischer und epistolographischer Praxis”, *Sacra Scripta* 18:1 (2020), pp. 7–35.

and speeches delivered by Cicero. Meiser points out that Paul's self-representation in the letter would probably not have been experienced by his readers as something unusual. Furthermore, in terms of rhetorical practice in Paul's time, it is clear that it was not regarded as inappropriate to utilise negative effects, as long as they served the purpose of the argument. *Eric Smith*³³⁴ (2020) believes that insight into the ways in which space was organised by ancient maps aids us in understanding Paul's notions of territory, why he was defensive about his territory (as may be seen in Galatians and 2 Corinthians) and how he decided which places to visit.

4.12 Archaeology

*David L. Balch*³³⁵ (2003) focuses on the question of how people living in Graeco-Roman houses would have received Paul's message of Christ crucified and investigates the ways in which the suffering of Isis/Io was portrayed in frescoes in Pompeii, Roman houses and in the Temple of Isis in Pompeii. Balch believes that this shows that the way in which tragic art portrayed pathos would have served as a meaningful cultural context for understanding Paul's message about Christ's suffering. *Timothy H. Lim*³³⁶ (2004) explains Paul's statement 3:15 that a διαθήκη (usually translated as "will") may not be annulled or added to once it has been ratified by referring to P. Yadin 19, in which a certain Judah transfers all that he owns to his daughter – half of it immediately and the other half after his death. In the light of this example, Lim proposes that one should rather translate διαθήκη as "deed of gift".

*Christian Laes*³³⁷ (2009) investigates 23 Greek inscriptions mentioning pedagogues and finds that they were usually slaves, that they usually stayed in contact with the children they tended to (even after the

334 E. Smith, "Paul's Map and Territory: Rethinking the Work of the Apostle in Light of Ancient Cartography", *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 42:1 (2020), pp. 90–107. <https://doi.org/10.1163/18712207-12341404>

335 D.L. Balch, "The Suffering of Isis/Io and Paul's Portrait of Christ Crucified (Gal. 3:1): Frescoes in Pompeian and Roman Houses and in the Temple of Isis in Pompeii", *The Journal of Religion* 83:1 (2003), pp. 24–55. <https://doi.org/10.1086/491222>

336 T.H. Lim, "The Legal Nature of Papyrus Yadin 19 and Galatians 3:15", in: A.J. Avery-Peck, D. Harrington and J. Neusner (eds.), *When Judaism and Christianity Began: Essays in Memory of Anthony J. Saldarini: Volume II: Judaism and Christianity in the Beginning* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 85, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2004), pp. 361–376.

337 C. Laes, "Pedagogues in Greek Inscriptions in Hellenistic and Roman Antiquity", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 171 (2009), pp. 113–122.

children had reached adulthood), that some of these children in later life expressed their gratitude for the services rendered by the pedagogues, that pedagogues took pride in their jobs and that the term “pedagogue” eventually took on the meaning of instructor/teacher. *Natalie R. Webb*³³⁸ (2016) uses evidence from Pompeii to explain that people from Paul’s time constantly felt threatened by evil and thus continually felt the need for protection. If Galatians is read with this insight, it seems that Paul’s opponents promoted law observance as a solution to the problem of warding off evil, whereas Paul offers a different apotropaic solution, the message of the cross.

*Bruce W. Longenecker*³³⁹ (2018) explains the relationality between free people and slaves as displayed in two villas in Oplontis (north of Pompeii) and points out that the statement about neither slave nor free in 3:28 goes against the grain of the ideology displayed here. However, Longenecker also remarks that what is expressed in 3:28 was an idealised ideology not easily put into practice, as other Christian texts testify. *Laura Salah Nasrallah*³⁴⁰ (2019) draws attention to an issue that is often overlooked when missionary (and other) journeys in the New Testament times are considered, namely that such journeys could have been disruptive to the people who had to receive the visitors. Nasrallah discusses a transport requisition inscription from Sagallastos (dated 14–19 CE) that may assist one in understanding such matters in Galatians better, for example that Peter’s visit to Antioch, as well as that of “the ones from James” (2:12–13), and even Paul’s own visits to the Galatians (4:13–14) imposed on and disturbed the locals.

*Mark Wilson*³⁴¹ (2020) discusses three recent discoveries (a road monument, the Stadiasmus Patavensis, and two Latin inscriptions from Perge) that seem to indicate that cities such as Perge and Attalia were part of Galatia at the time that Paul was on his missionary journeys in that part

338 N.R. Webb, “Powers and Protection in Pompeii and Paul: The Apotropaic Function of the Cross in the Letter to the Galatians”, in: B.W. Longenecker (ed.), *Early Christianity in Pompeian Light: People, Texts, Situations* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress Publishers, 2016), pp. 93–122. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1c84g2b.7>

339 B.W. Longenecker, “Slave and Free: Ideal Ideologies in Vesuvian Villas and in Galatians 3:28”, in: M.C. Parsons and R. Walsh (eds.), *“A Temple Not Made with Hands”: Essays in Honor of Naymond H. Keathley* (Eugene OR: Pickwick Publications, 2018), pp. 85–102.

340 L.S. Nasrallah, *Archaeology and the Letters of Paul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019). <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780199699674.001.0001>

341 M. Wilson, “Galatia in Text, Geography, and Archaeology”, *Biblical Archaeology Review* 46:4 (2020), pp. 54–56.

of the Roman Empire. This implies that at the time of Paul's missionary journeys the province of Galatia stretched from the Mediterranean Sea to central Anatolia.

Chapter 2:

Text-Critical, Linguistic, Stylistic and Translation Issues

Text-critical, linguistic, stylistic and translation issues continue to receive attention, albeit not to the same degree as was the case with the issues discussed in the previous chapter.

1. Text-critical issues

A variety of contributions on text-critical issues was made, most of which focused on particular manuscripts/versions or specific verses of the letter:

Three studies offered *historical overviews* of the development of the text of Galatians or of the Pauline Letters: *Stephen C. Carlson*¹ (2015) uses insights from a mathematical model called “Cladistics” to compare 94 witnesses to Galatians (1624 variation units) to make a contribution to the genealogy of text-types. This is used to present a newly reconstructed text of Paul’s letter (differing from the Nestle-Aland text), as well as an overview of the history of the text. *Vevian Zaki*² (2017) offers an overview of the textual history of the Arabic Pauline Letters. Zaki examines one version of the Arabic Pauline Letters (referred to as Arab^{Gr1}) that is represented in three recensions and six manuscripts. *Chris S. Stevens*³ (2020) focuses specifically on the second to the fifth centuries, from the period of P⁴⁶ to the period of Codex Claromontanus. By means of a new approach (systemic functional linguistics), Stevens explains the history of the Pauline corpus during this period.

1 S.C. Carlson, *The Text of Galatians and Its History* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.385, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-153324-2>

2 V. Zaki, “The Textual History of the Arabic Pauline Epistles: One Version, Three Recensions, Six Manuscripts”, in: M.L. Hjälms (ed.), *Senses of Scripture, Treasures of Tradition: The Bible in Arabic among Jews, Christians and Muslims* (Biblia Arabica 5, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2017), pp. 392-424. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004347403_017

3 C.S. Stevens, *History of the Pauline Corpus in Texts, Transmissions and Trajectories: A Textual Analysis of Manuscripts from the Second to the Fifth Century* (Texts and Editions for New Testament Study 14, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2020). <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004429376>

Two further contributions should be noted before studies focusing on specific manuscripts or versions are discussed: *Tommy Wasserman*⁴ (2015) published a brief textual commentary on Galatians, based on the approach of Reasoned Eclecticism. Wasserman pays particular attention to instances where a reading differs from Nestle–Aland 28 or the SBL edition. *H.A.G. Houghton, C.M. Kreinecker, R.F. MacLachlan and C.J. Smith*⁵ (2019) published a collation of all the Old Latin witnesses to Romans, 1 & 2 Corinthians and Galatians, differing in numerous ways from the standard version of the Vulgate.

Several scholars made contributions on text-critical issues of *particular manuscripts or versions*:

*Matthew R. Steinfeld*⁶ (2014) investigates Origen’s text of Galatians, but instead of deciding on citations in terms of a modern, ideal version of the text, Steinfeld prefers to let the citations “speak for themselves”. Steinfeld also argues that Origen cited in a variety of ways and that this inconsistency must be kept in mind when one studies citations in his commentary on the letter. *Joohan Kim*⁷ (2014) critically investigates the current consensus that the *Vorlage* of the Gothic versions of the New Testament was an early Byzantine text-type. Kim argues that this is not true, since there are a number of readings that show resemblance to the Alexandrian and Western text-types.

*H.A.G. Houghton*⁸ (2014) analyses the Biblical text of Jerome’s commentary on Galatians and compares it with other textual readings, thereby showing the complex ways in which the Biblical text was

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- 4 T. Wasserman, “A Short Textual Commentary on Galatians”, in: D. Gurtner, J. Hernández Jr. and P. Foster (eds.), *Studies on the Text of the New Testament and Early Christianity: Essays in Honour of Michael W. Holmes* (New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents 50, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2015), pp. 345–371. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004300026_017
 - 5 H.A.G. Houghton, C.M. Kreinecker, R.F. MacLachlan and C.J. Smith, *The Principal Pauline Epistles: A Collation of Old Latin Witnesses* (New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents 59, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2019), pp. 390–436. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004390492_010
 - 6 M.R. Steinfeld, “Preliminary Investigations of Origen’s Text of Galatians”, in: H.A.G. Houghton (ed.), *Early Readers, Scholars and Editors of the New Testament: Papers from the Eighth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (Texts and Studies 11, Piscataway NJ: Gorgias Press, 2014), pp. 107–118. <https://doi.org/10.31826/9781463236496-010>
 - 7 J. Kim, “A Study on the Text-Type of Gothic New Testament Versions: Galatians as a Case Study”, *신약연구* 13:1 (2014), pp. 102–129.
 - 8 H.A.G. Houghton, “The Biblical Text of Jerome’s Commentary on Galatians”, *The Journal of Theological Studies* 65:1 (2014), pp. 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jts/flt211>

transmitted in this commentary. Houghton also points out that the significance of non-Vulgate variants in Jerome's commentary has been underestimated before. In another contribution, *Houghton*⁹ (2015) discusses the way in which the text of Paul's letters from Romans to Galatians is represented in Codex Wernigerodensis (VL 58). Houghton concludes that this manuscript should not be regarded as a witness to the Old Latin tradition of Paul's letters. *Carla Falluomini*¹⁰ (2015) offers a detailed investigation of the cultural background, transmission and character of the Gothic version of the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles.

*Terrance Callan*¹¹ (2015) explains how the perceptions of readers of Galatians in P⁴⁶ would have differed from those who had the original version. They would have found greater prominence given to God and less to Christ, less emphasis on negative views of Paul, that Paul was being depicted as more positive towards the law, and would have found the expression "in Christ" used less often. *Joel D. Estes*¹² (2015) also discusses P⁴⁶ but focuses on a different issue: whether the term πνεῦμα ("Spirit") is written as a *nomen sacrum* or not. Estes finds that there is no constant pattern and that one can thus not make any deductions with regard to the scribe's understanding of the term by merely looking at the way in which it was written.

*Ladislav Tichý*¹³ (2016) tries to determine if the variants in 1 Corinthians and Galatians in P⁴⁶ can tell us anything of the way in which the scribe understood Paul's letters. Tichý notes that it looks as if the manuscript was written professionally, but that it also seems as if the

9 H.A.G. Houghton, "A Longer Text of Paul: Romans to Galatians in Codex Wernigerodensis (VL 58)", in: D. Gurtner, J. Hernández Jr. and P. Foster (eds.), *Studies on the Text of the New Testament and Early Christianity: Essays in Honour of Michael W. Holmes* (New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents 50, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015), pp. 329–344. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004300026_016

10 C. Falluomini, *The Gothic Version of the Gospels and Pauline Epistles: Cultural Background, Transmission and Character* (Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung 46, Berlin/New York NY: De Gruyter, 2015). <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110334692>

11 T. Callan, "Reading the Earliest Copy of Galatians", *Conversations with the Biblical World* 35 (2015), pp. 304–326.

12 J.D. Estes, "Reading for the Spirit of the Text: *Nomina sacra* and πνεῦμα Language in P⁴⁶", *New Testament Studies* 61:4 (2015), pp. 566–594. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688515000259>

13 L. Tichý, "What Do the Variants of P⁴⁶ Say? Tested on 1 Corinthians and Galatians", in: J. Dušek (ed.), *The Process of Authority: The Dynamics in Transmission and Reception of Canonical Texts* (Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies 27, Berlin/Boston MA: De Gruyter, 2016), pp. 241–252. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110399394-015>

scribe did not always understand Paul's thought correctly. However, this does not mean that the scribe was a proponent of a specific theological or Christological view. *Jordan Almanzar*¹⁴ (2017) distinguishes between readings from Galatians in Codex Z that may be dated to the fourth century CE ("invented readings") and those that are older ("employed readings"). According to Almanzar, Codex Z offers us a view of a version of Paul's letters functioning in the Western part of the church at that stage.

Based on three examples from Tertullian (1:6, 2:14 and 3:27), *Benjamin D. Haupt*¹⁵ (2017) argues that Tertullian probably did not make use of an already existing Latin translation of the text of Galatians, but that he translated the parts that he needed from the Greek himself. *Eleanor Dickey*¹⁶ (2019) re-examines P⁹⁹ (a Greek-Latin glossary in pap. Chester Beatty AC 1499), containing many extracts from Paul's letters, amongst others 89 from Galatians, and proposes several corrections to existing editions of the text. Dickey also suggests that P⁹⁹ was not based directly on a manuscript of Paul's letters, but on an early Christian work quoting from Paul.

Quite a number of studies were published on *particular verses or pericopes in Galatians*:

According to *Enno Edzard Popkes*¹⁷ (2004), P⁴⁶ represents the original reading of 2:12 (τινα ["a certain one"] instead of τινας ["certain ones"], and ἦλθεν ["he came"] instead of ἦλθον ["they came"]), which means that the Antioch incident was caused by the arrival of a single person and not of a group of people. *Hans Förster*¹⁸ (2009) discusses a papyrus fragment (P.Vindob. K. 7698) containing a Sahidic text of Galatians 4:20c–24a and 25c–28, written in the seventh or eighth century CE. Förster points out that this fragment helps one to understand the approach followed in the

14 J. Almanzar, "Codex Z in Galatians: Employing and Inventing Readings in the Fourth Century", *Biblische Notizen* 175 (2017), pp. 83–93.

15 B.D. Haupt, "Tertullian's Text of Galatians", *Studia Patristica* 96 (2017), pp. 23–28.

16 E. Dickey, "A Re-Examination of New Testament Papyrus P⁹⁹ (Vetus Latina AN glo Paul)", *New Testament Studies* 65:1 (2019), pp. 103–121. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0028688518000243>

17 E.E. Popkes, "'Bevor einer von Jakobus kam ...': Anmerkungen zur textkritischen und theologiegeschichtlichen Problematik von Gal 2,12", *Novum Testamentum* 46:3 (2004), pp. 253–264. <https://doi.org/10.1163/1568536041528196>

18 H. Förster, "Ein Papyrusfragment mit sahidischem Text aus dem Galaterbrief (Gal 4,20c–24a. 25c–28): Edition von P.Vindob. K. 7598", in: R. Pillinger (ed.), *Mitteilungen zur Christlichen Archäologie* 15 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), pp. 81–84. <https://doi.org/10.1553/micha15s77>

translation of the text. It was regarded as more important to keep to the meaning of the text than to translate the Greek words exactly.

*Jermo van Nes*¹⁹ (2013) draws attention to the significance of a variant reading of 2:20b: ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῆ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ (“in faith of God and Christ I live”). This reading suggests that the expression “faith of Christ” should be interpreted as an objective genitive. *David I. Yoon*²⁰ (2014) notes a textual variant in 2:12 that is often simply overlooked: ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν (“when he came”, referring to Peter) instead of ὅτε δὲ ἦλθον (“when they came”, referring to the people from James). Yoon argues that the first option is the best reading, making sense of both internal and external evidence and that it implies that Peter’s refusal to have fellowship with Gentile believers was premeditated. *Jason A. Staples*²¹ (2015) explains the text-critical alternative “deeds” instead of “transgressions” in 3:19a as “1) an orthodox corruption to exclude Marcionite and other demiurgic interpretations and 2) an important example of an early Latin harmonization impacting the readings of P⁴⁶ and other early manuscripts”.²²

*Stephen C. Carlson*²³ (2014) discusses the text-critical problems in 4:25. Carlson argues that 4:25a originally read τὸ γὰρ Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῆ Ἀραβίᾳ (“for Mount Sinai is in Arabia”) and that it was a marginal note and should be reflected as such in critical editions. *Christopher M. Tuckett*²⁴ (2015) discusses the same issue in detail and concludes that the first part of the original reading of 4:25 was τὸ γὰρ Σινᾶ (“for Sinai ...”). Tuckett also points out that this reading is attested to by some early manuscripts of the letter and that one thus does not need to make a case for conjectural

19 J. van Nes, “‘Faith(Fulness) of the Son of God’? Galatians 2:20b Reconsidered”, *Novum Testamentum* 55:2 (2013), pp. 127–139. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685365-12341418>

20 D.I. Yoon, “The Antioch Incident and a Textual Variant: ‘ΗΛΘΟΝ’ or ‘ΗΛΘΕΝ’ in Galatians 2:12”, *The Expository Times* 125:9 (2014), pp. 432–439. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0014524613490369>

21 J.A. Staples, “Altered Because of Transgressions? The ‘Law of Deeds’ in Gal 3,19a”, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 106:1 (2015), pp. 126–135. <https://doi.org/10.1515/znw-2015-0007>

22 *Op. cit.*, p. 127.

23 S.C. Carlson, “‘For Sinai Is a Mountain in Arabia’: A Note on the Text of Galatians 4,25”, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 105:1 (2014), pp. 80–101. <https://doi.org/10.1515/znw-2014-0005>

24 C.M. Tuckett, “The Text of Galatians 4:25a”, in: D. Gurtner, J. Hernández Jr. and P. Foster (eds.), *Studies on the Text of the New Testament and Early Christianity: Essays in Honour of Michael W. Holmes* (New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents 50, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2015), pp. 372–388. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004300026_018

emendation. According to *Jens Herzer*²⁵ (2017), the original reading of 3:28d (corrected in Sinaiticus but found in P⁴⁶ and in Alexandrinus) might have been “for all of you belong to Christ Jesus”. Herzer points out that this reading fits in well with the logic of vv. 26–29. *Jan Lambrecht*²⁶ (2018) agrees with Herzer, providing further arguments in support of such a view.

*Taras N. Dyatlik*²⁷ (2018) investigates conflation in the text of Galatians by examining the eight longest variants in the letter (in 1:19, 2:5, 4:7 [2x], 4:14 [2x], 4:25 and 6:17). Tentative suggestions are made as to whether they should be regarded as conflations, diffusions or variants caused by addition and omission. In another contribution, *Dyatlik*²⁸ (2018) specifically discusses the issue of conflation in 4:7 and argues that it is safest to assume that the textual variants in this verse were caused by neither conflation nor diffusion, nor by addition or omission. According to Dyatlik, there are some variants that were caused in other ways, such as by doctrinal changes or syntactical improvement.

2. Linguistic issues

Under this heading grammatical, syntactic and semantic issues are considered.

25 J. Herzer, “‘Alle Einer in Christus’: Gal 3,28b und kein Ende? Ein Vorschlag”, in: M. Labahn (ed.), *Spurensuche zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament: Eine Festschrift im Dialog mit Udo Schnelle* (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 271, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), pp. 125–142. <https://doi.org/10.13109/9783666540691.125>

26 J. Lambrecht, *In Search of Meaning II: Another Year of Reflection on the New Testament (2017–2018)* (Beau Bassin: Scholars’ Press, 2018), pp. 319–322.

27 T.N. Dyatlik, “Methodology of the Research of the Conflation in the Epistle to Galatians”, *Cxið* 155:3 (2018), pp. 74–77. [https://doi.org/10.21847/1728-9343.2018.3\(155\).139835](https://doi.org/10.21847/1728-9343.2018.3(155).139835)

28 T.N. Dyatlik, “The Conflation in the Epistle to Galatians 4:7”, *Gileya* 134 (2018), pp. 216–220.

Michael Bachmann²⁹ (2000) disagrees with Jerome Murphy-O'Connor's³⁰ argument that ἱεροσόλυμα ("Jerusalem") in 1:17–18 is neuter plural, since Paul's addressees are Gentile-Christians. Bachmann points out that this does not hold for ἱερουσαλήμ ("Jerusalem", feminine singular) in 4:25–26. Moisés Silva³¹ (2001) discusses several issues: whether there is a difference in meaning between ἀπό ("of") and διὰ ("through") in 1:1, between ἕτερος ("other") and ἄλλος ("other") in 1:6–7 and between βάρος ("burden") and φορτίον ("burden") in 6:2 and 6:5; semantic ambiguity in 3:4 (πάσχω, "suffer" or "experience") and in 1:16 (προσανατιθῆμι, "submit" or "consult"); syntactical issues (the interpretation of the genitive in 1:12: δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, "through the revelation of Jesus Christ"), as well as examples where verbal tense and aspect might be important.

According to Troy W. Martin³² (2002), the term "brothers" in 4:28 and 5:13a should not be read as a vocative but rather as a nominative. This helps one to grasp Paul's strategy in Galatians as trying to foster unity between Jewish and non-Jewish believers on the basis of the freedom that they have in Christ. Mario Cifrak³³ (2005) offers the following solution for the hypotactic problem in 5:17: The final clause (ἵνα μὴ ταῦτα ποιῆτε, "so that you do not do the things") depends on the hypothetical relative clause (ἃ ἐὰν θέλητε, "what you want"). Paul thus warns the Galatians against returning to slavery to the elements of the world, i.e., being under the law. Rosario Pierri³⁴ (2006) makes two philological notes, one on Acts 2:5 and the other one on Galatians 4:6. In the latter case, Pierri points out that the term ὅτι ("that" or "because")

29 M. Bachmann, "ἹΕΡΟΣΟΛΥΜΑ und ἹΕΡΟΥΣΑΛΗΜ im Galaterbrief", *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 91:3 (2000), pp. 288–289. Also available in: M. Bachmann, *Von Paulus zur Apokalypse – und weiter: Exegetische und rezeptionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Neuen Testament (samt englischsprachigen Summaries)* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus/Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments 91, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), pp. 71–72.

30 J. Murphy-O'Connor, "ἹΕΡΟΣΟΛΥΜΑ/ἹΕΡΟΥΣΑΛΗΜ in Galatians", *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 90:3/4 (1999), pp. 280–281.

31 M. Silva, *Interpreting Galatians: Explorations in Exegetical Method* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2001 [1996], 2nd edition), pp. 53–79.

32 T.W. Martin, "The Brother Body: Addressing and Describing the Galatians and the Agitators as ἀδελφοί", *Biblical Research* 47 (2002), pp. 5–18.

33 M. Cifrak, "'Da Ne Činite To Što Budete Htjeli.' (Gal 5,17)", *Bogoslovska Smotra* 74:3 (2005), pp. 635–651.

34 R. Pierri, "Due Note Filologiche di Greco Biblico", *Liber Annuus* 56 (2006), pp. 311–316. <https://doi.org/10.1484/J.LA.2.303647>

may be taken in three ways: causal, declarative and demonstrative-effective. Pierri offers arguments for accepting the first option.

Régis Burnet³⁵ (2007) discusses the ambiguity of Paul’s use of “we” in Galatians and provides two possible reasons: first, everyone could identify with the “we”, whether they were Gentiles who had just become Christians or Jews who adhered to something that was still part of Judaism, and, second, it reflects Paul’s conviction that humanity should be regarded as a unity, before and after the coming of grace. Yon-Gyong Kwon³⁶ (2007) focuses on Paul’s use of the expression “in vain” in Galatians. The way in which he uses it is taken by Kwon as an indication that he did not use it as a rhetorical ploy. He was genuinely afraid: that the faith of the Galatians would be in vain, that his own ministry had been in vain and that Christ had died in vain.

C. Kingsley Barrett³⁷ (2007) notes various attempts to interpret 5:11 and suggests that one should take the second clause (τί ἐτι διώκομαι; “why am I still being prosecuted?”) not as the apodosis of the conditional sentence but rather as a parenthesis. The third clause thus serves as the apodosis: if Paul still preached circumcision, the offense of the cross has been removed. Gordon D. Fee³⁸ (2007) draws attention to the way in which Paul uses the locative ἐν (“in/through”) in 1:6, 1:16, 2:20, 3:11–12 and 3:26. According to Fee, with the exception of 1:16, the emphasis is on how the Galatians should maintain their life in Christ, not on how they have become his followers. David J. Armitage³⁹ (2007) proposes an integrative approach to the interpretation of conditional clauses in which one does not only make use of syntactical and semantic

35 R. Burnet, “Les ambiguïtés du ‘nous’ dans l’Épître aux Galates”, in: D. Marguerat (ed.), *Regards croisés sur la Bible: Études sur le point de vue: Actes du IIIe colloque international du Réseau de Recherche en Narrativité Biblique, Paris, 8–10 Juin 2006* (Lectio Divina, Belgium: Cerf, 2007), pp. 467–476.

36 Y.-G. Kwon, “‘In Vain’? A Reading of Paul’s Argument in Galatians”, *신약연구* 6:2 (2007), pp. 351–385.

37 C.K. Barrett, “The Interpretation of Galatians 5,11”, in: J.E. Aguilar Chiu, F. Manzi, F. Urso and C.Z. Estrada (eds.), “*Il Verbo di Dio è Vivo*”: *Studi sul Nuovo Testamento in Onore del Cardinale Albert Vanhoye, S.I.* (Analecta Biblica 165, Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2007), pp. 315–321.

38 G.D. Fee, “Paul’s Use of Locative ἐν in Galatians: On Text and Meaning in Galatians 1.6; 1.16; 2.20; 3.11–12, and 3.26”, in: C.J. Roetzel and R.L. Foster (eds.), *The Impartial God: Essays in Biblical Studies in Honor of Jouette M. Bassler* (New Testament Monographs 22, Sheffield: Phoenix Press, 2007), pp. 170–185.

39 D.J. Armitage, “An Exploration of Conditional Clause Exegesis with Reference to Galatians 1,8–9”, *Biblical Interpretation* 88:3 (2007), pp. 365–392.

perspectives, but also of speech act theory. Armitage illustrates how such an approach may be used by applying it to the two conditional clauses found in 1:8–9.

Don Garlington⁴⁰ (2008) investigates Paul’s use of the “partisan ἐκ [“from”]” in Galatians and argues that he uses it to indicate source and belonging, with the notion of belonging getting the most emphasis. For Garlington, this supports the view of the New Perspective on justification. Jan Lambrecht⁴¹ (2009) disagrees with Garlington. According to Lambrecht, Garlington misses the notion of instrumentality in 2:16 and in other passages in the letter. Furthermore, in cases where ἐκ indicates belonging, it does not indicate realm or sphere. Wayne Walden⁴² (2009) highlights two grammatical oddities in Galatians 3:28 – the use of the verb ἐνεῖμι (“is”) and the gender of the adjectives. According to Walden, ἐνεῖμι is used to draw attention to a matter and it should not be regarded as a synonym of εἰμί (“is”). This implies that this verse cannot be used to support the notion of egalitarianism.

Michael Bachmann⁴³ (2010) believes that the expression “works of the law” (used three times in 2:16 and also in 3:2, 5 and 10) is to be interpreted as referring to *halakhot* distinguishing Jews from Gentiles. Wim Hendriks⁴⁴ (2012) discusses three problematic uses of εὐθέως (“immediately”) in the New Testament, one of which occurs in Galatians (1:15–17: ... εὐθέως οὐ προσανεθέμην σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι, “I did not immediately consult flesh

40 D. Garlington, “Paul’s ‘Partisan ἐκ’ and the Question of Justification in Galatians”, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 127:3 (2008), pp. 567–590.

41 J. Lambrecht, “Critical Reflections on Paul’s ‘Partisan ἐκ’ as Recently Presented by Don Garlington”, *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 85:1 (2009), pp. 135–141. <https://doi.org/10.2143/ETL.85.1.2040699>

42 W. Walden, “Galatians 3:28: Grammar Observations”, *Restoration Quarterly* 51:1 (2009), pp. 45–50. See also later: W. Walden, “Galatians 3:28: Grammar, Text, Context, and Translation”, *Journal for Biblical Manhood and Womanhood* 15:1 (2010), pp. 23–26.

43 M. Bachmann, “Bemerkungen zur Auslegung zweier Genitivverbindungen des Galaterbriefs: ‘Werke des Gesetzes’ (Gal 2,16 u.ö.) und ‘Israel Gottes’ (Gal 6,16)”, in: M. Bachmann and B. Kollmann (eds.), *Umstrittener Galaterbrief: Studien zur Situierung und Theologie des Paulus-Schreibens* (Biblich-Theologische Studien 106, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2010), pp. 95–118. Also available in: M. Bachmann, *Von Paulus zur Apokalypse – und weiter: Exegetische und rezeptionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Neuen Testament (samt englischsprachigen Summaries)* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus/Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments 91, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), pp. 277–295.

44 W. Hendriks, “εὐθέως Beyond the Temporal Meaning”, *Filología Neotestamentaria* 25 (2012), pp. 21–35.

and blood”). According to Hendriks, in this instance, εὐθέως should be understood as an adverb of manner and means “rightly, naturally”. *John Anthony Dunne*⁴⁵ (2013) provides a history of interpretation of πάσχω (“suffer” or “experience”) in 3:4 and argues on the basis of lexical, thematical and contextual grounds that it is best interpreted as referring to suffering.

*David I. Yoon*⁴⁶ (2013) investigates the way in which linguistic features are used in 1:11–2:10 to convey prominence. According to Yoon, Paul primarily uses aspect to emphasise the notion that God commissioned him to preach the gospel. Mood and voice are also used to achieve this but not to the same extent. *Waldemar Rakocy*⁴⁷ (2013) argues that if one compares the term διατάσσω (“ordain”) in 3:19 to its use in other Greek sources, it is clear that Paul ascribes more competences to the angels than were normally assumed in Judaism. According to this verse, they did not merely play a mediating role but were themselves responsible for administering the law, as well as its shape. It was also their initiative to instruct humanity by means of the law.

*Jesper Tang Nielsen*⁴⁸ (2014) uses cognitive theory to explain how Paul goes about combining disparate ideas in 1:4. He makes use of the well-known Hellenistic view of voluntary death but reframes it in terms of a fundamental opposition between this world and the world to come. *David I. Yoon*⁴⁹ (2014) applies systemic functional linguistics to 4:12–20, showing how it helps one to determine textual meaning. *Peter von der Osten-Sacken*⁵⁰ (2014) discusses Paul’s use of μὴ γένοιτο (“not at all”) in Romans and also draws attention to the way the expression is used

45 J.A. Dunne, “Suffering in Vain: A Study of the Interpretation of ΠΑΣΧΩ in Galatians 3.4”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 36:1 (2013), pp. 3–16. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X13480086>

46 D.I. Yoon, “Prominence in New Testament Discourse: Galatians 1,11–2,10 as a Test Case”, *Filología Neotestamentaria* 26 (2013), pp. 3–25.

47 W. Rakocy, “Znaczenie Czasownika διατάσσω w Źródłach Biblijnych: W Nawiązaniu do διαταγεις δι’ ἀγγέλων w Ga 3,19b”, *The Biblical Annals* 3:2 (2013), pp. 383–419.

48 J.T. Nielsen, “The Cognitive Structures in Galatians 1:4”, in: B. Howe and J.B. Green (eds.), *Cognitive Linguistic Explorations in Biblical Studies* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), pp. 145–168. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110350135.145>

49 D.I. Yoon, “Discourse Analysis and the Textual Metafunction: Analyzing the Texture of Galatians 4,12–20”, *Filología Neotestamentaria* 27:47 (2014), pp. 83–109.

50 P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Der Gott der Hoffnung: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Theologie des Paulus* (Studien zu Kirche und Israel: Neue Folge 3, Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2014), pp. 217–245.

in Galatians (similar to its use in Romans). In 2:17, Paul uses it when rejecting a wrong interpretation of the gospel by referring to the way in which a believer's life is changed by baptism and in 3:21, when denying that promise and law should be viewed as opposing each other.

John Townsend⁵¹ (2016) thinks that διὰ (“after” or “during”) in 2:1 should not be translated as “after” (as scholars normally do), but as “during” or even “within”, which means that Paul visited Jerusalem at some stage during the fourteen-year period after his calling. If this is accepted, Paul's letters have to be dated earlier. Michael H. Burer⁵² (2016) investigates expressions that are similar to “sons of Abraham” (3:7) and argues that this expression is used in Galatians as a “spiritual, qualitative designation” describing the character of those that are linked to Abraham. It thus refers to spiritual attitude. According to Donald Cobb⁵³ (2016), ἐκκλείω (“exclude”) in 4:17 should be interpreted as meaning “exclude” or “shut out”. This must be understood in terms of Jewish ideas in those times about people being excluded from God's covenant and people.

Heidi Wendt⁵⁴ (2016) offers a new interpretation of the term προεγράφη (“portray publicly”) that Paul uses in 3:1 to refer to his preaching in Galatia. Whereas scholars usually interpret this as meaning “proclaim” or “exhibit publicly”, Wendt believes that it refers to the prophecies about Christ that Paul found in Jewish writings. Responding to Hanna Stettler's⁵⁵ contribution on justification in Paul, Jan Lambrecht⁵⁶ (2017) draws attention to several linguistic issues in 2:15–16: 2:15 has a concessive nuance; εἰδότες (“knowing”) in 2:16 refers to Paul and Peter,

51 J. Townsend, “Misunderstood New Testament Texts: Mark 2:23 and Galatians 2:1”, in: A. Avery-Peck, C.A. Evans and J. Neusner (eds.), *Earliest Christianity within the Boundaries of Judaism: Essays in Honor of Bruce Chilton* (The Brill Reference Library of Judaism 49, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2016), pp. 346–356. https://doi.org/10.1163/97890004310339_019

52 M.H. Burer, “‘Sons of Abraham’ in Galatians 3:7 as a Spiritual, Qualitative Designation”, *Bibliotheca Sacra* 173 (2016), pp. 337–351.

53 D. Cobb, “ἐκκλείω en Galates 4,17: Exclure de l’alliance?”, *Revue Biblique* 123:4 (2016), pp. 567–585. <https://doi.org/10.2143/RBI.123.4.3180795> For a response to Cobb's views, see J. Lambrecht, *In Search of Meaning: Collected Notes on the New Testament (2014–2017)* (Balti: Scholars' Press, 2017), pp. 462–467.

54 H. Wendt, “Galatians 3:1 as an Allusion to Textual Prophecy”, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 135:2 (2016), pp. 369–389. <https://doi.org/10.15699/jbl.1352.2016.2968>

55 H. Stettler, “Did Paul Invent Justification by Faith?”, *Tyndale Bulletin* 66:2 (2015), pp. 161–196. <https://doi.org/10.53751/001c.29395>

56 J. Lambrecht, *In Search of Meaning: Collected Notes on the New Testament (2014–2017)* (Balti: Scholars' Press, 2017), pp. 439–442.

has a motivating nuance and is best translated in the past tense; and it is best not to put a full stop between 2:16a and b in a translation.

*Peter Malik*⁵⁷ (2017) considers the term οἱ δοκοῦντες (“those who seemed to be”, used in 2:2, 6 and 9) from the perspective of lexical semantics and the way in which it is used in ancient Greek literature. From this Malik deduces that Paul uses the term in Galatians as a rhetorical device, intended to distance himself from the Jerusalem leaders, thus turning the argument of his opponents against them. According to *Dieter Sanger*⁵⁸ (2017), Ἰουδαϊσμός (“Judaism”) and its cognates (used in 1:13ff. and 2:14) should not be understood as only meaning “Judean” (i.e., in an ethnic-regional sense). These terms also have a religious dimension. Read from this perspective, 2:11–14 reflects a dispute in Early Christianity about what constituted Christian identity.

*Michael Winger*⁵⁹ (2017) discusses Paul’s use of ἐγώ (“I”) and proposes that it is used for more purposes than merely indicating emphasis: distinguishing him from others, aligning him with others, constructing paradoxes, adding rhythm and using it in particular with certain verbs. *Aaron Michael Jensen*⁶⁰ (2018) argues against the scholarly consensus that μὴ ἐκλύομενοι (“not giving up”) in 6:9 should be understood in a conditional sense. Instead, Jensen proposes that it is best understood as indicating manner, thus expressing the notion that believers should serve ceaselessly because such behaviour reflects the nature of the ceaseless eschatological harvest. After a discussion of the grammar of 5:13 and an exegetical analysis of the verse, *Jan Lambrecht*⁶¹ (2019) offers the following literal translation of the verse: “For you were called to freedom, brothers; only take care that you do not make that freedom into an opportunity for the flesh, but through love serve one another”.

57 P. Malik, “Some Notes on the Semantics of οἱ δοκοῦντες in Galatians 2”, *The Expository Times* 128:4 (2017), pp. 168–176. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0014524616650572>

58 D. Sanger, “Ἰουδαϊσμός – ἰουδαΐζειν – ἰουδαϊκῶς: Sprachliche und semantische Überlegungen im Blick auf Gal 1,13f. und 2,14”, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 108:1 (2017), pp. 150–185. <https://doi.org/10.1515/znw-2017-0005>

59 M. Winger, “Paul and ἐγώ: Some Comments on Grammar and Style”, *New Testament Studies* 63:1 (2017), pp. 23–37. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688516000333>

60 A.M. Jensen, “ΜΗ ΕΚΛΥΟΜΕΝΟΙ in Galatians 6:9”, *Tyndale Bulletin* 69:1 (2018), pp. 97–110.

61 J. Lambrecht, *In Search of Meaning III: More Notes on the New Testament (2018–2019)* (Beau Bassin: Scholars’ Press, 2019), pp. 341–344.

David I. Yoon⁶² (2019) uses 3:1–5:12 to illustrate how systemic functional linguistics can help one to decide what a text (its “ideational meaning”, i.e., the subject matter) is about. In another study, Yoon (2019)⁶³ offers a detailed discourse analysis of Galatians (also based on systemic functional linguistics) in order to determine whether the situation reflected in the letter is explained best by the New Perspective on Paul, covenantal nomism or legalism. Based on this analysis, Yoon suggests that Paul was faced by a nuanced form of legalism and not by covenantal nomism. Stephen H. Levinsohn⁶⁴ (2020) uses Galatians as a text-case for illustrating discourse analysis, in particular from the perspective of how the way in which information is presented in sentences is influenced by an author’s purpose. Levinsohn offers examples from the letter, focusing on both the macrostructure and the internal structure of a macro-unit.

According to Anna Rambiert-Kwaśniewska⁶⁵ (2020), the term “the fullness of time” (4:4) is best understood as referring to the fact that the period of the domination of the law has come to an end. Joohan Kim⁶⁶ (2020) proposes a different understanding of the two “as” phrases in 4:14 (“you received me as an angel of God, as Christ Jesus”). In order to make sense of them, the verb “received” should be repeated: “you received me as an angel of God, as you received Christ Jesus”.

Several studies focus on the interpretation of ἐὰν μὴ (“if not”) in 2:16:

Andrew A. Das⁶⁷ (2000) claims that the words ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (“if not through the faith of Jesus Christ”) were ambiguous. Paul’s opponents would have interpreted these words as a confirmation of their views of the importance of the law, whereas Paul would have interpreted them differently, as implying justification by faith alone. Ian

62 D.I. Yoon, “The Transitivity Network and Koine Greek: The (Ideational) Meaning of Galatians 3:1–5:12”, *Biblical and Ancient Greek Linguistics* 8 (2019), pp. 79–110.

63 D.I. Yoon, *A Discourse Analysis of Galatians and the New Perspective on Paul* (Linguistic Biblical Studies 17, Leiden: Brill, 2019).

64 S.H. Levinsohn, “Discourse Analysis: Galatians as a Case Study”, in: D.A. Black and B.L. Merkle (eds.), *Linguistics and New Testament Greek: Key Issues in the Current Debate* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2020), pp. 83–102.

65 A. Rambiert-Kwaśniewska, “Paul’s ‘Fullness of Time’ (Gal 4:4) and ‘Fullness of Times’ (Eph 1:10)”, *Verbum Vitae* 38:1 (2020), pp. 199–218. <https://doi.org/10.31743/vv.3739>

66 J. Kim, “A New Understanding of ὡς ἄγγελον Θεοῦ ... ὡς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν at Galatians 4:14”, *개혁논총* 54 (2020), pp. 291–303.

67 A.A. Das, “Another Look at ἐὰν μὴ in Galatians 2:16”, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 119:3 (2000), pp. 529–539.

W. Scott⁶⁸ (2007) disagrees with the view that this verse expresses common ground between Paul and his opponents. According to Scott, several features of 2:16–21, as well as the way in which Paul argues in Chapters 3–4, suggest that he expected that the view that he expressed in 2:16 would meet resistance. Debbie Hunn⁶⁹ (2007) focuses specifically on the question of whether *ἐὰν μὴ* (“if not”) can only indicate an exception to a full statement (as J.D.G. Dunn claims) and provides proof that this is not necessarily the case. Hunn is also of the opinion that 2:16 is not ambiguous.

Andrew A. Das⁷⁰ (2013) responds to the criticism of Scott, Hunn and other commentators, again arguing that 2:16 is best regarded as an ambiguous common ground that was interpreted by Paul in such a way that it supported his argument.

3. Stylistic issues

The stylistic issue that received the most attention is Paul’s use of metaphor. Before giving an overview of research on this matter, research on other stylistic aspects of Galatians is discussed first:

Konstantin Nikolakopoulos⁷¹ (2001) considers rhetorical irony in Galatians by examining three instances in which irony plays an important role (1:6; 2:6 and 5:12). Nikolakopoulos also points out the effectiveness of irony for achieving Paul’s didactic–pedagogic purposes in the letter. Paul A. Holloway⁷² (2001) first offers an overview of the way in which enthymemes functioned in the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods before identifying examples in some of Paul’s letters. In the case of Galatians, Holloway discusses enthymemes in 2:14, 3:3 and 4:16. Marius Reiser⁷³ (2001) claims that Paul’s style (e.g., in 2:1–10) was representative of his spoken language, and that, in fact, he

68 I.W. Scott, “Common Ground? The Role of Galatians 2.16 in Paul’s Argument”, *New Testament Studies* 53:3 (2007), pp. 425–435. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688507000215>

69 D. Hunn, “*ἐὰν μὴ* in Galatians 2:16: A Look at Greek Literature”, *Novum Testamentum* 49:3 (2007), pp. 281–290.

70 A.A. Das, “The Ambiguous Common Ground of Galatians 2:16 Revisited”, *Biblical Research* 58 (2013), pp. 49–61.

71 K. Nikolakopoulos, “Aspekte der ‘paulinischen Ironie’ am Beispiel des Galaterbriefes”, *Biblische Zeitschrift* 45:2 (2001), pp. 193–208. <https://doi.org/10.1163/25890468-04502003>

72 P.A. Holloway, “The Enthymeme as an Element of Style in Paul”, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 120:2 (2001), pp. 339–343. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3268298>

73 M. Reiser, “Paulus als Stilist”, *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 66 (2001), pp. 151–165.

was the first person on record to have written a Greek text as if he were speaking it (“... gesprochene Sprache eines kompetenten Sprechers mit den typischen Erscheinungen der spontanen Rede”⁷⁴).

Marc J. Debanné⁷⁵ (2006) discusses Paul’s use of enthymemes in his letters. In the case of Galatians, Debanne points out that Paul relies to a great extent on enthymemic argumentation, in particular in the first four chapters. This was due to the seriousness of the situation in which he found himself. Terrence Callan⁷⁶ (2007) offers a detailed exposition of stylistic elements in Galatians (in terms of vocabulary and syntax) and then discusses the presence of plain, middle and grand styles in the letter. Callan believes that the letter was mostly written in the plain style, and also draws attention to the large number of metaphors in it. Yurii Alekseevich Kondrat’ev⁷⁷ (2016) examines the way in which Paul makes use of word play to enhance persuasion in Galatians. Kondrat’ev cites examples of paronomasia, alliteration, assonance and hyperbaton in the letter.

In a study of “speech-in-character” in Romans 3:1–9, Justin King⁷⁸ (2018) discusses two examples from Galatians: in 3:8, the way in which Paul uses speech-in-character satisfies all the conventions and comes closest to Quintilian’s views about speech-in-character; and 4:6 shows that Paul was also aware that speech-in-character may be used for non-human entities. Furthermore, King notes that Quintilian also pointed out that one may use speech-in-character for the gods. Charles E. Cruise⁷⁹ (2019) develops a typology for detecting hyperbole which is then used to argue that the texts in Galatians that may create the impression that Paul is ambivalent about the role of the Jewish law are hyperbolic and should thus not be taken as an indication of a negative view of the law. Paul’s view of the law was quite positive. Shinobu Yoshida⁸⁰ (2019) focuses on

74 *Op. cit.*, p. 157.

75 M.J. Debanné, *Enthymemes in the Letters of Paul* (Library of New Testament Studies 303, London/New York NY: T & T Clark, 2006), pp. 121–166.

76 T. Callan, “The Style of Galatians”, *Biblica* 88:4 (2007), pp. 496–516.

77 Ю.А. Кондратьев, “Риторический Прием Языковой Игры в Послании к Галатам Святого Апостола Павла”, *Филологические Науки: Вопросы Теории и Практики* 4:58 (2016), pp. 107–109.

78 J. King, *Speech-in-Character, Diatribe, and Romans 3:1–9: Who’s Speaking When and Why It Matters* (Biblical Interpretation Series 163, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2018), pp. 70–71. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004373297>

79 C.E. Cruise, *Writing on the Edge: Paul’s Use of Hyperbole in Galatians* (Eugene OR: Pickwick, 2019).

80 S. Yoshida, “Consideration of Pronominal Shifts in the Epistle to the Galatians 3:25–26 and 4:6”, *Japanese New Testament Studies* 47 (2019),

Paul's use of first and second person pronouns in 3:25–26 and 4:6. In both instances “you” refers to the recipients (as Gentile believers), but “our” in “our hearts” in 4:6 refers to both Jewish and Gentile believers.

The *metaphor* that received the most attention is the pedagogue metaphor in 3:24–25.

3.1 Pedagogue

J.C. O'Neill⁸¹ (2001) discusses the references to pedagogues in 1 Corinthians 4:15 and Galatians 3:24–25 in terms of the ways in which Hellenistic and Jewish moralists used this family institution metaphorically. In 3:24, Paul uses it to depict the Jewish law as guiding Israel towards Christ and in 3:25, to portray it as imprinting God's law on people's hearts. According to Dieter Sänger⁸² (2006), the argumentative style, antithetic structure and broader context within which the pedagogue metaphor is used in Galatians makes it clear that the law is not depicted in a positive sense. It is portrayed as a “Bewahrer” (“guard”) rather than as a “Bewacher” (“guardian”).

Michael J. Smith⁸³ (2006) discusses the cultural background of the pedagogue metaphor. According to Smith, Paul uses it in Galatians for two purposes: to highlight the temporary role of the law (that of a strict guardian) and to indicate that it prevented Israel from being contaminated by the religions of the Gentiles. Christian Laes⁸⁴ (2009) investigates 23 Greek inscriptions mentioning pedagogues. Laes finds that they were usually slaves, that they usually stayed in contact with the children they tended to even after the children had reached adulthood, that some of these children in later life expressed their gratitude for the services rendered by the pedagogues, that pedagogues took pride in their jobs and that the term “pedagogue” eventually took on the meaning of instructor/teacher.

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- pp. 19–38.
- 81 J.C. O'Neill, “Pedagogues in the Pauline Corpus (1 Corinthians 4:15; Galatians 3:24, 25)”, *Irish Biblical Studies* 23:2 (2001), pp. 50–65.
- 82 D. Sänger, “‘Das Gesetz ist unser παιδαγωγός geworden bis zu Christus’ (Gal 3,24)”, in: D. Sänger and M. Konradt (eds.), *Das Gesetz im frühen Judentum und im Neuen Testament: Festschrift für Christoph Burchard zum 75. Geburtstag* (Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments 57, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht/Academic Press Fribourg, 2006), pp. 236–260.
- 83 M.J. Smith, “The Role of the Pedagogue in Galatians”, *Bibliotheca Sacra* 163:650 (2006), pp. 197–214.
- 84 C. Laes, “Pedagogues in Greek Inscriptions in Hellenistic and Roman Antiquity”, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 171 (2009), pp. 113–122.

Wilfried Eisele⁸⁵ (2012) draws attention to the development of Paul's notion of the pedagogue in the Pauline tradition. In 3:24–25, the law is depicted as a good educator that has fulfilled its role successfully. In later developments in the Pauline tradition, grace is also depicted as an educator (in Titus 2:11–14). Furthermore, Eisele discusses the similarities and differences in the ways in which the law and grace are depicted as educators.

3.2 Slavery

John Byron⁸⁶ (2003) offers a thorough investigation of slavery metaphors in the Pauline Letters. In the case of Galatians, Byron notes that Paul portrays himself as a slave of God, whereas the opponents are depicted as people-pleasers. Furthermore, the Galatians are portrayed as having been in slavery before they became Christians and, by reverting to the law, as again accepting a position of slavery. Paul calls upon them to remain free, which means that they should follow “the law of Christ”, thus being slaves of Christ. Sam Tsang⁸⁷ (2005) discusses Paul's slavery metaphors in Galatians in the light of insights from the New Rhetoric. Tsang divides these metaphors into three categories and explains their use by means of concepts borrowed from the New Rhetoric: apologetic usage (1:1, 10, 6:17), polemical usage (2:4; 4:30) and didactic usage (3:23–26; 4:1–10).

Peter Balla⁸⁸ (2009) discusses Paul's use of slavery imagery in Galatians 4 when referring to childhood of God. Balla shows that Paul uses these terms in both a literal and a figurative sense. This is also true of 4:21–31. The metaphor is first used to refer to a real person (Hagar) and then to those rejecting God's promises. According to Daniel Bradley⁸⁹

85 W. Eisele, “Vom ‘Zuchtmeister Gesetz’ zur ‘erziehenden Gnade’ (Gal 3,24f; Tit 2,11f): Religiöse Erziehung in der Paulustradition”, *Biblische Zeitschrift* 56:1 (2012), pp. 65–84. <https://doi.org/10.1163/25890468-056-01-90000004>

86 J. Byron, *Slavery Metaphors in Early Judaism and Pauline Christianity: A Traditio-Historical and Exegetical Examination* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.162, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), pp. 181–202. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157483-2>

87 S. Tsang, *From Slaves to Sons: A New Rhetoric Analysis on Paul's Slave Metaphors in His Letter to the Galatians* (Studies in Biblical Literature 81, New York NY: Peter Lang, 2005).

88 P. Balla, “Paul's Use of Slavery Imagery in the Hagar Allegory”, *In die Skriflig* 43:1 (2009), pp. 119–134. <https://doi.org/10.4102/ids.v43i1.217>

89 D. Bradley, “Freed Slaves and Enslaved Sons: Sacral Manumission Formulae and Servile Metaphors in Galatians 5”, *Midwestern Journal of Theology* 9:2 (2010), pp. 122–135.

(2010), in Galatians 5, Paul combines notions from sacrificial manumission and servile language to create a mixed metaphor expressing two notions: that believers are totally free from the law but at the same time completely enslaved to God.

Mario Kushner⁹⁰ (2011) highlights Paul's use of slavery metaphors in Galatians. Three aspects are distinguished: the use of slavery metaphors to refer to the situation before salvation (i.e., slavery to Satan), the metaphorical depiction of salvation as a release from slavery, and the use of slavery metaphors to describe the limits of the post-salvation situation. Geoffrey Turner⁹¹ (2013) draws attention to the subversive way in which Paul uses slavery as a metaphor in describing Christian life. Although slavery is an oppressive experience, Paul uses it as a metaphor. In Galatians and Romans, he uses it to describe humankind's subjection to sin but, remarkably, he also uses it to refer to a new form of slavery to God, bringing freedom to humankind.

3.3 Athletic metaphors

Uta Poplutz⁹² (2004) investigates the ways in which Paul uses athletic metaphors ("Wettkampfmetaphorik") in his letters. In the case of Galatians, Poplutz discusses 2:2 and 5:7, pointing out that Paul uses these types of metaphors to draw attention to what he wishes to emphasise, the gospel. B.J. Oropeza⁹³ (2009) thinks that Paul uses the running metaphor in 2:2, since he regarded himself as a prophetic herald like Habakkuk. This not only referred to Paul's vocation as a missionary but also to his message, in which Habakkuk's statement that a righteous person will live by faith played a key role. In an investigation of Paul's use of athletic metaphors, Victor C. Pfitzner⁹⁴ (2013) also considers

90 M. Kushner, "Slavery and Freedom in the Epistle to the Galatians", *Kairos: Evangelical Journal of Theology* 5:2 (2011), pp. 271–289.

91 G. Turner, "The Christian Life as Slavery: Paul's Subversive Metaphor", *Heythrop Journal* 54:1 (2013), pp. 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2265.2010.00591.x>

92 U. Poplutz, *Athlet des Evangeliums: Eine motivgeschichtliche Studie zur Wettkampfmetaphorik bei Paulus* (Herders Biblische Studien, Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2004).

93 B.J. Oropeza, "Running in Vain, but Not as an Athlete (Galatians 2:2): The Impact of Habakkuk 2:2–4 on Paul's Apostolic Commission", in: B.J. Oropeza, C.K. Robertson and D.C. Morhmann (eds.), *Jesus and Paul: Global Perspectives in Honor of James D.G. Dunn for His 70th Birthday* (Library of New Testament Studies 414, London/New York NY: T & T Clark, 2009), pp. 139–150.

94 V.C. Pfitzner, "Was St. Paul a Sports Enthusiast? Realism and Rhetoric in Pauline Athletic Metaphors", in: N.J. Watson and A. Parker (eds.), *Sports and Christianity: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Routledge

examples from Galatians (2:2 and 5:7). According to Pfitzner, Paul's agonistic metaphors were grounded both in his knowledge of athletics in his time and the philosophical tradition according to which such metaphors were used to discuss virtue. *Daniel T. Durbin*⁹⁵ (2020) explores notions of sports in Plato, Aristotle and Paul. In the case of the Pauline letters, Paul's use of athletic imagery in 2:2 and 5:7 is discussed. According to Durbin, Paul uses two athletic proofs to frame his argument in this letter. Such a use of appeals to athletics made sense in epideictic rhetoric and would have been grasped by his audience.

3.4 Pillars

According to *Nikolaus Walter*⁹⁶ (2000), the metaphor "pillars" (used by Paul in 2:9 to refer James, Peter and John) should be interpreted against the background of the rabbinic tradition. It thus does not refer primarily to their leadership in the Jerusalem congregation, but rather to their outstanding commitment to the law ("als ... hervorragende Gesetzesfromme"⁹⁷). *Craig S. Keener*⁹⁸ (2010) tries to determine the connotations that Paul's audience would have associated with the metaphor "pillars" and the "right hand of fellowship" (2:9). According to Keener, "pillar" was an image for a strong and prominent figure and "the right hand of fellowship" referred to making a formal agreement that depended on the integrity and honour of both sides.

3.5 Kinship metaphors

*David Rhoads*⁹⁹ (2004) draws attention to the important role that kinship language plays in Galatians. It is used by Paul to depict relationships with Abraham, among believers and with God. The issue that Paul addresses is who the true children of Abraham are. Is

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- Research in Sport, Culture and Society, New York NY/London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 89–111.
- 95 D.T. Durbin, "From Plato to St. Paul: Ancient Sport as Performative Public Discourse", *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport* 47:3 (2020), pp. 403–418. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00948705.2020.1811108>
- 96 N. Walter, "Die 'als Säulen Geltenden' in Jerusalem – Leiter der Urgemeinde oder exemplarisch Fromme?", in: M. Karrer, W. Kraus and O. Merk (eds.), *Kirche und Volk Gottes: Festschrift für Jürgen Roloff zum 70. Geburtstag* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2000), pp. 275–306.
- 97 *Op. cit.*, p. 88.
- 98 C.S. Keener, "The Pillars and the Right Hand of Fellowship in Galatians 2.9", *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism* 7 (2010), pp. 51–58.
- 99 D. Rhoads, "Children of Abraham, Children of God: Metaphorical Kinship in Paul's Letter to the Galatians", *Currents in Theology and Mission* 31:4 (2004), pp. 282–297.

it those who are his physical descendants or those who live by faith? Sam Tsang¹⁰⁰ (2007) explains the use of the Abba (“Father”) metaphor in 4:6 by means of the New Rhetoric: Paul uses the metaphor to attack his opponents by claiming that they were excluded from Jesus’ *familia*. Trevor J. Burke¹⁰¹ (2008) argues that Paul’s adoption metaphor (used in 4:1–7 and in Romans 8) is best understood against the context of the ancient Roman *familia*, thus depicting salvation as an action by the Divine Family: the Father (*paterfamilias*) initiates salvation, it happens through Jesus, God’s Son, and the Spirit carries out the process of resocialisation.

In an investigation of fraternity language in Galatians, Jeremy Punt¹⁰² (2012) shows that brotherhood language played an important role to promote solidarity and to negotiate identity in the Christian community but that it did not prevent hierarchical dissimilarity since it was also used in exercising authority and control. Peter Cimala¹⁰³ (2015) draws attention to the variety of soteriological metaphors that Paul uses in Galatians, their coherence and the way in which they mutually interact. Cimala illustrates this in particular by means of the sonship and freedom metaphors. According to Cimala, looking for such a network of metaphors with its own inner logic is a better approach than trying to find one dominant metaphor or a centre in Paul’s theology.

Erin M. Heim¹⁰⁴ (2017) uses contemporary metaphor theory to explain Paul’s use of the adoption metaphor in Galatians and Romans. According to Heim, in 4:5, it should be understood in terms of a Graeco-Roman background. Furthermore, it focuses on the vertical dimension of believers’ existence (the Father initiated the relationship, Christ carried out the mission and the Spirit attests to one’s adoption).

100 S. Tsang, “‘Abba’ Revisited: Merging the Horizons of History and Rhetoric through the New Rhetoric Structure for Metaphors”, *Acta Theologica Supplementum* 9 (2007), pp. 121–141. <https://doi.org/10.4314/actat.v28i2.52343>

101 T.J. Burke, “Adopted as Sons (ΥΙΟΘΕΣΙΑ): The Missing Piece in Pauline Soteriology”, in: S.E. Porter (ed.), *Paul: Jew, Greek, and Roman* (Pauline Studies 5, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2008), pp. 259–287. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004171596.i-370.76>

102 J. Punt, “He Is Heavy ... He Is My Brother: Unravelling Fraternity in Paul (Galatians)”, *Neotestamentica* 46:1 (2012), pp. 153–171.

103 P. Cimala, “Paul’s Metaphorical Soteriology: Galatians as a Test Case”, *Neotestamentica* 49:2 (2015), pp. 351–376. <https://doi.org/10.1353/neo.2016.0005>

104 E.M. Heim, *Adoption in Galatians and Romans: Contemporary Metaphor Theories and the Pauline huiiothesia Metaphors* (Biblical Interpretation Series 153, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2017), pp. 148–199. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004339873>

3.6 Clothing

Jung Hoon Kim¹⁰⁵ (2004) investigates the significance of clothing imagery in the Pauline corpus. According to Kim, in 3:27, the emphasis falls on the fact that people become children of God through faith. Thus, the metaphor is used in this instance for signifying union with the salvific Christ through faith in baptism. Martin F. Connell¹⁰⁶ (2011) discusses the ways in which Paul refers to clothing the body of Christ in his letters. Connell suggests that the reference to clothing in 3:27 is not merely metaphorical. It might also have referred to a ritual action whereby people indicated dissociation of their values from those of the rest of the world. Audrey Taschini¹⁰⁷ (2017) discusses the way in which John Donne expands the clothing metaphor (3:27) in a sermon in terms of fashion customs of his time. He did this in order to convey a spiritual message.

3.7 “The elements of the world”

Martinus C. de Boer¹⁰⁸ (2007) explains the expression “the elements of the world” (used in 4:3) in terms of the argumentative context in which Paul used it, as well as the cultural-historical context of the readers of the letter. De Boer views it as a metonymical reference to beliefs and ritual practices linked in Galatia to the four elements (earth, air, fire, water). Paul uses it in particular to refer to calendrical observances associated with such practices. After an overview of all the issues that are relevant for understanding Paul’s reference to “the elements of the world” (4:3, 9) and the different ways in which the term has been interpreted, Dieter T. Roth¹⁰⁹ (2014) opts for understanding it as referring to a worldly way of existence distinct from Christ. Neil Martin¹¹⁰ (2018) disagrees with

105 J.H. Kim, *The Significance of Clothing Imagery in the Pauline Corpus* (Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 268, London/New York NY: T & T Clark International, 2004), pp. 108–133.

106 M.F. Connell, “Clothing the Body of Christ: An Inquiry About the Letters of Paul”, *Worship* 85:2 (2011), pp. 128–146.

107 A. Taschini, “The Christian Believer’s Spiritual Clothing in John Donne’s Comment of Galatians 3,27”, *Elephant & Castle* 16 (2017), pp. 5–16.

108 M.C. de Boer, “The Meaning of the Phrase τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου in Galatians”, *New Testament Studies* 53:2 (2007), pp. 204–222. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688507000124>

109 D.T. Roth, “What ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ Are the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου?”, *Hervormde Theologische Studies* 70:1 (2014), pp. 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v70i1.2676>

110 N. Martin, “Returning to the *stoicheia tou kosmou*: Enslavement to the Physical Elements in Galatians 4.3 and 9?”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 40:4 (2018), pp. 434–452. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064x18769794>

scholars who are of the opinion that “the elements of the world” refer to physical elements constituting the world. Martin believes that it refers to fundamental characteristics of the pre-Christian existence.

3.8 Inheritance

John K. Goodrich¹¹¹ (2010) notes that Paul’s reference to an heir in 4:1–2 has usually been interpreted in terms of Graeco-Roman laws about guardianship, but that certain incongruities have caused some scholars to interpret it rather as an allusion to the exodus. However, Goodrich defends the traditional interpretation, arguing that Paul’s depiction of guardians and trustees makes sense in terms of Roman law. Mark Forman¹¹² (2011) offers a detailed study of the concept “inheritance” in Romans. Towards the end of the study, Forman considers the way in which the language of inheritance is used in Galatians and finds that it does not differ from that in Romans. The same emphases are found: reference to Christ’s universal Lordship as well as participation in his suffering.

3.9 Maternal images

J. Cherian¹¹³ (2001) stresses the significance of the parental imagery that Paul uses in his letters, as happens in 1 Thessalonians 2:1–12 and Galatians 4:19–20. Paul’s use of this imagery shows that he is often misunderstood as opposing the participation of women in public worship. In a study of relationship metaphors in Paul’s letters, Christine Gerber¹¹⁴ (2005) draws attention to the unusual and multi-sense metaphor of childbirth that he uses in 4:19. Paul, a Jewish man, gave birth to Gentile men and women in the form of Christ for the family of God. The metaphor thus emphasises

111 J.K. Goodrich, “Guardians, Not Taskmasters: The Cultural Resonances of Paul’s Metaphor in Galatians 4.1–2”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 32:3 (2010), pp. 251–284. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X09357677>

112 M. Forman, *The Politics of Inheritance in Romans* (Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 148, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 172–206. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511975141.007>

113 J. Cherian, “Paul: A Mother to His Churches: A Brief Examination of Parental Imagery in 1 Thess. 2:1–12 and Gal. 4:19–20”, *Dharma Deepika* 5:1 (2001), pp. 35–47.

114 C. Gerber, *Paulus und seine “Kinder”: Studien zur Beziehungsmetaphorik der paulinischen Briefe* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 136, Berlin/New York NY: De Gruyter, 2005), pp. 437–495. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110892963>

inclusivity – an important theme in the letter. Susan G. Eastman¹¹⁵ (2007) focuses on the maternal images that Paul uses in particular in 4:12–5:1 – described as Paul’s “mother tongue” (a term coined by Ursula le Guin) demonstrating the “staying power” of the gospel. According to Eastman, one will only hear Paul fully if one also listens to his “mother tongue”: “... to the intensely relational inflections of his voice, the language of his maternal ‘labour’ with his converts. Paul uses the intimate imagery of family life to draw his converts back into the thread of conversation that mediates their life together”.¹¹⁶

Karl Matthias Schmidt¹¹⁷ (2011) draws attention to the fact that the image of birth pains that Paul uses in 4:19 occurs again in 4:27 where he refers to the heavenly Jerusalem. Schmidt interprets this as follows: by repeating the birth metaphor from 4:19 in 4:21–31, this pericope is linked (via 4:19) to 1:13–2:14. In 1:13–2:14 Paul associates himself with Arabia and his opponents with Jerusalem, but in 4:21–31, this situation is changed as he now associates himself with the heavenly Jerusalem and his opponents with the earthly Jerusalem that is now linked to Arabia.

3.10 Other

David E. Fredrickson¹¹⁸ (2000) detects a whole series of amatory motifs in Galatians. Fredrickson categorises these allusions as follows: the unfaithful beloved, rivalry for love, spurning and returning of love, labours of love and the effect that love has. Raymond F. Collins¹¹⁹ (2008) discusses the power of the images that Paul uses. Collins groups the metaphors in Galatians under the following headings: courtroom, family language, Abraham’s story, speaking about people, Jesus’ crucifixion, Paul crucified, the two ages, baptismal imagery, hortatory use of metaphor and a metaphorical conclusion. Craig A. Evans¹²⁰ (2008) lists over 200 parallels between Paul’s letters and non-Jewish sources. Seventeen verses/

115 S.G. Eastman, *Recovering Paul’s Mother Tongue: Language and Theology in Galatians* (Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 2007).

116 *Op. cit.*, pp. 181–183.

117 K.M. Schmidt, “Die Wehen des Völkerapostels: Gal 4,19 und die topographische Verankerung des Heidenapostolats innerhalb von Gal 1,13–2,14 und Gal 4,21–31”, *Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* 36 (2011), pp. 111–156.

118 D.E. Fredrickson, “Amatory Motifs in Paul’s Epistle to the Galatians”, *Word & World* 20:3 (2000), pp. 257–264.

119 R.F. Collins, *The Power of Images in Paul* (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press, 2008), pp. 77–108.

120 C.A. Evans, “Paul and the Pagans”, in: S.E. Porter (ed.), *Paul: Jew, Greek, and Roman* (Pauline Studies 5, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2008), pp. 117–139. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004171596.i-370.49>

sections from Galatians are mentioned. Furthermore, Evans discusses two metaphors: pedagogue (3:24–25) and the running metaphor (2:2).

Craig S. Keener (2008)¹²¹ disagrees with scholars who interpret 6:15 as indicating that Paul suffered from eye problems. Evidence from antiquity shows that Paul was merely using a figure of speech that the Galatians would have understood well. Japie P. Malan¹²² (2009) considers the sociohistorical context of the metaphor “being crucified with Christ” (used in Romans 6:6 and Galatians 2:19). According to Malan, it would have implied the total renunciation of everything that was important and dear to one, an irrevocable decision. Steven Muir¹²³ (2014) explains Paul’s statement that Christ was publicly exhibited as crucified before the eyes of the Galatians (3:1) by referring to Roman rhetoric, street announcements, graffiti and the way in which crucifixions were conducted. All of this indicates that Paul wanted his audience to experience his preaching on Christ’s crucifixion in such a way that they would remember it.

4. Translation issues

Scholars discussed a wide variety of translation issues in Galatians:

4.1 Studies on particular verses in Galatians:

David Kuske¹²⁴ (2000) prefers to interpret the dative in 3:16 (τῷ δὲ Ἀβραάμ, “to Abraham” or “about Abraham”) as a dative of reference and suggests the following translation: “When God gave the promises he spoke about Abraham and about his descendant, He did not say ‘descendants,’ referring to many, but he referred to one person, ‘your descendant,’ who is Christ.” Timothy H. Lim¹²⁵ (2004) explains Paul’s statement in 3:15 that

121 C.S. Keener, “Three Notes on Figurative Language: Inverted Guilt in Acts 7:55–60, Paul’s Figurative Vote in Acts 26:10, Figurative Eyes in Galatians 4:15”, *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism* 5 (2008), pp. 47–49.

122 J.P. Malan, “Die Metafoor ‘Saam met Christus Gekruisig’ in Kultuurhistoriese Verband”, *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 65:1 (2009), pp. 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v65i1.136>

123 S. Muir, “Vivid Imagery in Galatians 3:1: Roman Rhetoric, Street Announcing, Graffiti, and Crucifixions”, *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 44:2 (2014), pp. 76–86. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146107914526523>

124 D. Kuske, “Exegetical Brief: Galatians 3:16 Concerning His Seed”, *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 97:2 (2000), pp. 127–128.

125 T.H. Lim, “The Legal Nature of Papyrus Yadin 19 and Galatians 3:15”, in: A.J. Avery-Peck, D. Harrington and J. Neusner (eds.), *When Judaism and Christianity Begin: Essays in Memory of Anthony J. Saldarini: Volume II*.

α διαθήκη (usually translated as “will”) may not be annulled or added to once it has been ratified by referring to P. Yadin 19, in which a certain Judah transfers all that he owns to his daughter – half of it immediately and the other half after his death. In the light of this example, Lim proposes that one should rather translate διαθήκη as “deed of gift”.

D. Francois Tolmie¹²⁶ (2009) considers various interpretations and the rhetorical labelling of 5:12 and classifies it as an instance of sarcasm, used to express Paul’s bitter feelings towards his opponents. Tolmie proposes the following translation for this verse: “I wish that those who upset you, would even have everything cut off!” According to Wayne Walden¹²⁷ (2010), exegetes and translators have overlooked important issues in 3:28 (the meaning of ἐνεπι [“is”] and the gender of the adjectives). Walden also believes that this verse cannot be used for formulating guidelines for gender roles in society. Peter-Ben Smit¹²⁸ (2015) disagrees with the usual translation of διαφέρει (“differ from” or “be superior to”) in 4:1 as “differ from”. On syntactical and semantic grounds Smit argues that it is better to translate it as “being superior to”.

4.2 Studies on particular pericopes or issues/terms in the letter as a whole

Daryl D. Schmidt¹²⁹ (2002) draws attention to the effect that the New Perspective on Paul has on translation issues in Romans and Galatians. Terms such as “righteousness of God”, “faith of Christ” and “works of the law” are discussed and 2:15–21 is used to illustrate this. Gregory Vall¹³⁰ (2003) examines the translation of the terms υἱός (“son”) and

Judaism and Christianity in the Beginning (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 85, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2004), pp. 361–376.

126 D.F. Tolmie, “The Interpretation and Translation of Galatians 5:12”, *Acta Theologica* 29:2 (2009), pp. 86–102. <https://doi.org/10.4314/actat.v29i2.55446>

127 W. Walden, “Galatians 3:28: Grammar, Text, Context, and Translation”, *Journal for Biblical Manhood and Womanhood* 15:1 (2010), pp. 23–26. See also earlier: W. Walden, “Galatians 3:28: Grammar Observations”, *Restoration Quarterly* 51:1 (2009), pp. 45–50.

128 P.-B. Smit, “No Small Difference? Galatians 4.1 and the Translation of διαφέρει”, *The Bible Translator* 66:2 (2015), pp. 170–175. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2051677015590816>

129 D.D. Schmidt, “Paul in a New Idiom: Translation Issues in Romans and Galatians”, *Forum* 5:2 (2002), pp. 127–147.

130 G. Vall, “Inclusive Language and the Equal Dignity of Women and Men in Christ”, *The Thomist: A Speculative Quarterly Review* 67:4 (2003), pp. 579–606. <https://doi.org/10.1353/tho.2003.0002>

υιοθεσία (“adoption”) in 3:23–4:7 in the NRSV and argues that the inaccurate translation of these terms can only be rectified if one stops trying to avoid-male orientated language in a translation. Piotr Blumczyński¹³¹ (2007) suggests that the way in which πνεῦμα (“spirit” or “Spirit”) in Galatians is translated in a Bible translation can be a good indication of the doctrinal profile of the particular translation. Blumczyński illustrates this by comparing the different ways in which this term is translated in some Bible translations.

Zeba A. Crook¹³² (2008) offers a detailed explanation of the way in which the concept χάρις (“grace”) was used in the New Testament world and argues that it should not be translated as “grace” in 2:9, 1 Corinthians 3:10 and Romans 12:3 and 15:15. In these instances a better translation would be “benefaction” or even “favour”. D. Francois Tolmie¹³³ (2009) offers a survey of the most important translation problems that translators have to deal with in Galatians. They are classified in two categories: translation problems arising from the source text, and those pertaining to the target language/culture (in this instance, English). Timothy Ashworth¹³⁴ (2010) proposes that στοιχέω (5:25 and 6:16) and στοιχεῖα (4:3, 9), usually translated as “walk” and “elemental spirits” or “principles” respectively, should rather be translated as “keeping aligned with” (in the sense of “keeping aligned in the footsteps of”) and “things that keep aligned behaviour/give directions for behaviour”.

Sarah Buchanan¹³⁵ (2014) investigates the way in which concepts such as “freedom” and “slavery” are translated in 16 Bible translations (German, French, Spanish and English). Buchanan concludes that the choices that translators make are quite often not purely linguistic

131 P. Blumczyński, “πνεῦμα in Galatians: A Touchstone of Doctrinal Orthodoxy”, *Anglica Wratislaviensia* 45 (2007), pp. 89–105.

132 Z.A. Crook, “Grace as Benefaction in Galatians 2:9, 1 Corinthians 3:10, and Romans 12:3; 15:15”, in: D. Neufeld (ed.), *The Social Sciences and Biblical Translation* (Symposium Series 41, Atlanta GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), pp. 25–38.

133 D.F. Tolmie, “Translation Problems in the Letter to the Galatians”, *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 20 (2009), pp. 161–177. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10226486.2009.11879102>

134 T. Ashworth, “Spirit-Led Freedom: Examining a Significant Detail in Galatians”, *Scripture Bulletin (Online)* 40:2 (2010), pp. 75–87.

135 S. Buchanan, “Translating Freedom between Cultures and Ideologies: A Comparative Analysis of the Translation of Keywords in Galatians”, in: J. Romero-Trillo (ed.), *Yearbook of Corpus Linguistics and Pragmatics 2014: New Empirical and Theoretical Paradigms* (Yearbook of Corpus Linguistics and Pragmatics 2, Cham/Heidelberg/New York NY: Springer International Publishing, 2014), pp. 149–178. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-06007-1_8

choices. They are frequently influenced by ideological and theological choices. In order to help translators in their choices about gender-inclusive language, Dan Nässelqvist¹³⁶ (2016) distinguishes between three types of gender-inclusive language (gender-accurate, gender-muted and radically inclusive language). Some of the examples come from Galatians: 1:3–5, 14 and 3:5. Varghese P. Chiraparamban¹³⁷ (2015) points out that πίστις (*pistis*) is usually translated as “faith” when it occurs in the Pauline letters, but that this is not a good translation. πίστις usually indicates relation and therefore it should rather be translated as “trust”. Michael J. Gorman¹³⁸ (2017) offers a theological interpretation of 2:15–21 and concludes it with an alternative translation of these verses. Jan Lambrecht¹³⁹ (2018) discusses Paul’s reasoning in 3:15–18 and critically evaluates the translation of the pericope in the *New Revised Standard Version* and the *New English Bible*. Péter B. Furkó¹⁴⁰ (2020) highlights the importance of discourse markers in various genres and languages. One of the issues that Furkó identifies to illustrate this is the way in which discourse markers are used in Bible translations. Furkó specifically focuses on Greek conjunctions in the Gospel of John and Galatians (in the *Textus Receptus*) and the translation equivalents (or, in some instances, omissions) that have been used for them in various translations.

136 D. Nässelqvist, “Könsinkluderande Språk i Nästa Svenska Bibelöversättning”, *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 81 (2016), pp. 169–216.

137 V.P. Chiraparamban, “The Translation of πίστις and Its Cognates in the Pauline Epistles”, *The Bible Translator* 66:2 (2015), pp. 176–189. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2051677015590817>

138 M.J. Gorman, “Reading Gal 2:15–21 Theologically: Beyond Old and New, Beyond West and East”, in: A. Despotis (ed.), *Participation, Justification, and Conversion: Eastern Orthodox Interpretation of Paul and the Debate between “Old and New Perspectives on Paul”* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.442, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), pp. 321–354. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-155453-7> Adapted version: M.J. Gorman, *Participating in Christ: Explorations in Paul’s Theology and Spirituality* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2019), pp. 115–149.

139 J. Lambrecht, *In Search of Meaning II: Another Year of Reflection on the New Testament (2017–2018)* (Beau Bassin: Scholars’ Press, 2018), 313–319.

140 P.B. Furkó, *Discourse Markers and Beyond: Descriptive and Critical Perspectives on Discourse-Pragmatic Devices across Genres and Languages* (Postdisciplinary Studies in Discourse, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), pp. 219–245. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-37763-2_9

4.3 Specific Bible translations/target languages

Pratrap Chandre Gine¹⁴¹ (2001) draws attention to the parallels between Paul's and Philo's views of the law and is of the opinion that Galatians is best understood in terms of the multi-ethnic setup so characteristic of the Graeco-Roman world. Gine also works out the implications of such a view for translating and interpreting Galatians in Bengali. Thomas Söding¹⁴² (2007) discusses the translation of the Hagar–Sarah allegory (4:21–31) in the *Einheitsübersetzung* critically. Söding identifies several translation errors and points out the effect of these errors. Readers will not realise that this text expresses covenant theology. Söding also offers an alternative translation of vv. 22–26.

Alain Gignac¹⁴³ (2009) draws attention to a translation project (*Bible, nouvelle traduction*) where the translation was done by two people – a Biblical exegete (Gignac) and a secular author (Marie Depussé). Gignac offers examples of the outcome of such an approach from Galatians. For example, “faith” was translated as “adherence” and “glory” by “splendour”. Jonathan E.T. Kuworno-Adjaottor¹⁴⁴ (2012) investigates the way in which the phrase παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν γέγονεν εἰς Χριστόν (“was our pedagogue towards/until Christ”) in 3:24 is rendered in Dangme translations of the Bible. Kuworno-Adjaottor shows that the full meaning of the phrase is not conveyed and that this may cause antinomianism amongst readers. Better ways of translating the phrase into Dangme are also suggested.

Piotr Baran¹⁴⁵ (2012) proposes a methodology whereby Bible translations from the sixteenth century may be analysed. This methodology,

141 P.C. Gine, *Nomos in Context: Philo, Galatians and the Bengali Bible* (Delhi: ISPCK, 2001).

142 T. Söding, “‘Sie ist unsre Mutter’: Die Allegorie über Sara und Hagar (Gal 4,21–31) in der Einheitsübersetzung und bei Paulus”, in: C. Dohmen and F.-L. Hossfeld (eds.), *Für immer verbündet: Studien zur Bundestheologie der Bibel: Festgabe für Frank-Lothar Hossfeld zum 65. Geburtstag* (Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 211, Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2007), pp. 231–237.

143 A. Gignac, “A Translation That Induces a Reading Experience: Narrativity, Intratextuality, Rhetorical Performance, and Galatians 1–2”, in: S.E. Porter and M.J. Boda (eds.), *Translating the New Testament: Text, Translation, Theology* (McMaster New Testament Studies, Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2009), pp. 146–166.

144 J.E.T. Kuworno-Adjaottor, “The Law as Our Disciplinarian: A Critical Study of Galatians 3:24 in the Dangme Translations of the Bible”, *European Scientific Journal* 8:24 (2012), pp. 53–64.

145 P. Baran, “Przekład Listu do Galatów w Biblii Brzeskiej Jako Element Retorycznej Inventio”, *Miedzy Oryginalem a Przekładem* 18:2 (2012), pp. 119–134.

based on insights from rhetorical criticism and translation studies, is illustrated by considering a part of Galatians 3 from the Brest Bible. Daniel R. Schwartz¹⁴⁶ (2013) argues that the way in which 1:13–14, 2 Maccabees 8:1 and Romans 10:5 are translated in the *Einheitsübersetzung* wrongly creates the impression that Jewish observance of the law is only about practice and does not have any religious significance. Ernst R. Wendland¹⁴⁷ (2014) offers a rhetorical analysis of 3:1–14 (focused on oral-aural qualities) which is used as a basis for evaluating the passage in two Chewa Bible translations (1922 and 1988). Wendland also makes suggestions as to how mother-tongue speakers can be helped to overcome some of the conceptual challenges in the text.

Richard K. Moore¹⁴⁸ (2014) criticises the way in which N.T. Wright handled the doctrine of justification in Galatians and Romans in his translation of the New Testament (*The New Testament for Everyone*). According to Moore, Wright's translation of δικαιοσύνη ("justification" or "righteousness") and its cognates does not agree with what Paul wrote. N.T. Wright¹⁴⁹ (2014) responds to Moore's critique on the same issue. George Kam Wah Mak¹⁵⁰ (2017) discusses the way in which Protestant Bible translation, especially the Mandarin Union Version (1919), influenced the development of Mandarin so that what originally was a *lingua franca* eventually became the national language of China.

Manuel Santos Noya¹⁵¹ (2017) points out that Luther did not follow the Greek text slavishly in his translation, since he believed that he

146 D.R. Schwartz, "Paul, the Jews, and Well-Meaning Translation: At What Price 'Einheit'?", *Theologische Zeitschrift* 69:4 (2013), pp. 372–384. <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-877672>

147 E.R. Wendland, "The Linguistic, Conceptual, and Pragmatic Challenges of Communicating Galatians 3:1–14 in Chewa", *Acta Theologica Supplementum* 19 (2014), pp. 58–80. <https://doi.org/10.4314/actat.v33i2S.4>

148 R.K. Moore, "N.T. Wright's Treatment of 'Justification' in *The New Testament for Everyone*", *Expository Times* 125:10 (2014), pp. 483–486. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0014524614532208> See also the later article with a broader scope: R.K. Moore, "An Unresolved Dilemma in English Bible Translation: How to English Paul's Use of the δικαιοσύνη-Family", *The Bible Translator* 71:1 (2020), pp. 120–136. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2051677019899455>

149 N.T. Wright, "Translating δικαιοσύνη: A Response", *The Expository Times* 125:10 (2014), pp. 487–490. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0014524614534566>

150 G.K.W. Mak, *Protestant Bible Translation and Mandarin as the National Language of China* (*Sinica Leidensia* 131, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2017). <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004316300>

151 M. Santos Noya, "The Theological Significance of Luther's Modifications to the Greek and Latin Texts of the Pauline Letters", *Concilium* 2017:2

had to convey the theological rather than the literal meaning. Most of the differences in Luther's translation can be classified as stylistic divergences. In some cases, however, Luther modified the meaning of texts. One such example comes from Galatians (5:5–6). Eran Shuali¹⁵² (2018) discusses the first Hebrew translation of Paul's letters, György Thúri's translation of Galatians and Ephesians, published in 1598 in Wittenberg. Shuali points out that this translation illustrates the important role that Hebrew learning played in the Humanist mind-set in the sixteenth century. Chin Ook Kim¹⁵³ (2020) investigates the Korean translation of 2:14b–15 critically, compares it with other translations (Latin, English and German), and suggests a better way to translate it in order to solve the problems in the current translation.

4.4 New Bible translations

Arthur J. Dewey, Roy W. Hoover, Lane C. McGaughy and Daryl D. Schmidt¹⁵⁴ (2010) offer a new translation of Paul's authentic letters – a translation attempting to restore Paul's original voice without the disturbances caused by later theological developments. J. Edward Walters and George A. Kiraz¹⁵⁵ (2013) published an English translation of the Syriac Peshitta of Galatians to Philemon. Kiraz prepared the Syriac text and Walters translated it. Timothy W. Seid¹⁵⁶ (2019), who is an adherent of the Radical New Perspective on Paul, offers an interpretation and new translation of 1 Thessalonians, Galatians, Philippians, Philemon and Romans. Seid also identifies key terms in these letters providing their traditional translation, as well as a motivation for the translation offered in this volume.

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- (2017), pp. 47–55.
- 152 E. Shuali, "György Thúri and His Hebrew Translation of Paul's Epistles to the Galatians and the Ephesians: Hebrew among the Classical Languages in the Sixteenth Century", *Semitica et Classica* 11 (2018), pp. 167–174. <https://doi.org/10.1484/j.sec.5.116799>
- 153 C.O. Kim, "A Reconsideration of the Korean Translation of Galatians 2:14b–15", *대학과 선교* 46 (2020), pp. 289–314.
- 154 A.J. Dewey, R.W. Hoover, L.C. McGaughy and D.D. Schmidt, *The Authentic Letters of Paul: A New Reading of Paul's Rhetoric and Meaning* (Salem OR: Polebridge, 2010).
- 155 J.E. Walters and G.A. Kiraz, *The Syriac Peshitta Bible with English Translation: Galatians – Philemon* (Piscataway NJ: Gorgias Press, 2013).
- 156 T.W. Seid, *Rewriting Paul: Original Translations of the Letters of Paul (1 Thessalonians, Galatians, Philippians, Philemon, and Romans)* (s.l.: APeX Life Media, 2019).

Chapter 3:

The *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the Letter

A diversity of themes was investigated by scholars. As will become clear from the overview, the person whose interpretation of Galatians attracted the most attention from scholars is Martin Luther (by far!), followed by Jerome, Chrysostom, Augustine, Aquinas and, perhaps surprisingly, Martin Heidegger.

1. The Early Church

1.1 General

Lucas F. Mateo-Seco¹ (2000) gives an overview of the way in which 4:4-5 was interpreted by the Church Fathers before the Council of Ephesus, culminating in the exegesis of Augustine whose interpretation, in spite of its brevity, integrated most of what had been highlighted in the Latin exegesis before him. Taking 3:28 as point of departure, Heike Omerzu² (2002) argues that the notion that a decline can be detected from a liberating view of women in the Jesus movement to Paul's chauvinism, with an even further downward trend to an animosity towards women in the third generation of Christianity, is an oversimplification, since the views on women were much more ambivalent during this period.

The *Ancient Christian Commentary Series* (2005), edited by Mark J. Edwards,³ offers easy access to the way in which Galatians was interpreted in the Early Church by means of extracts from the works of Jerome, Origen, Augustine, Chrysostom, Ambrosiaster, Theodoret of Cyrus, Marius Victorinus and Theodore of Mopsuestia. Kari Kloos⁴ (2006) identifies

1 L.F. Mateo-Seco, "'Envió Dios a su Hijo, Nacido de Mujer' (Gálatas 4,4-5 en el Pensamiento Patrístico Anterior al Concilio de Éfeso)", *Scripta Theologica* 32:1 (2000), pp. 13-46.

2 H. Omerzu, "'Es gibt nicht mehr männlich und weiblich': Zur Bedeutung von Frauen im frühen Christentum", in: S. Schmitt (ed.), *Frauen und Kirche* (Mainzer Vorträge, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002), pp. 153-183.

3 M.J. Edwards (ed.), *Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians* (Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: New Testament 8, Downers Grove IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005, 2nd edition), pp. 1-100.

4 K. Kloos, "'In Christ There Is Neither Male nor Female': Patristic Interpretation of Galatians 3:28", *Studia Patristica* 39 (2006), pp. 239-244.

three main thrusts in Patristic interpretations of 3:28: an ascetic thrust, i.e., interpretations renouncing marriage (e.g., Jerome and Athanasius), a unitive thrust, i.e., readings emphasising the spiritual unity of all believers (e.g., Augustine), and a theological thrust, i.e., interpretations focusing on what the verse reveals about God’s identity (e.g., Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzus).

*Martin Meiser*⁵ (2008) illustrates the usefulness of Patristic exegesis for our current interpretation of the New Testament by means of examples from Galatians. In particular, Meiser highlights the following aspects that may be of help to us: the Church Fathers’ competence in Greek, as well as their philological, cultural, exegetical and theological competence. *Pauline Nigh Hogan*⁶ (2008) offers a detailed study of the interpretation of 3:28 in the first four centuries of Christianity, showing that almost all commentators understood it as referring to Christian perfection but that this notion was interpreted in different ways, depending on the interest of the particular commentator who cited it.

*Lucien Legrand*⁷ (2009) discusses the way in which the *sensus fidelium* developed with regard to the Antioch incident under people such as Clement and Ignatius of Antioch and an orthodoxy was created according to which Paul and Peter served as two focal points. *Bruce W. Longenecker*⁸ (2009) offers an overview of the way in which “the poor” mentioned in 2:10 was interpreted until around 450 CE. Longenecker shows that, in contrast to current interpretation of the term, with the exception of John Chrysostom, none of the early interpreters restricted the reference of the term to believers in Jerusalem.

5 M. Meiser, “Vom Nutzen der patristischen Exegese für die neuzeitliche Schriftauslegung (am Beispiel des Galaterbriefes)”, in: D.C. Bienert, J. Jeska and T. Witulski (eds.), *Paulus und die antike Welt: Beiträge zur zeit- und religionsgeschichtlichen Erforschung des paulinischen Christentums: Festgabe für Dietrich-Alex Koch zum 65. Geburtstag* (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 222, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), pp. 189–209.

6 P.N. Hogan, *No Longer Male and Female: Interpreting Galatians 3:28 in Early Christianity* (Library of New Testament Studies 380, London/New York NY: T & T Clark, 2008).

7 L. Legrand, “Paul’s Theology in the Context of Early Christian Pluralism”, *Jnanadeepa* 12:1/2 (2009), pp. 52–65. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4268514>

8 B.W. Longenecker, “The Poor of Galatians 2:10: The Interpretative Paradigm of the First Centuries”, in: B.W. Longenecker and K.D. Liebengood (eds.), *Engaging Economics: New Testament Scenarios and Early Christian Reception* (New Testament Scenarios and Early Christian Reception, Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2009), pp. 205–221.

Johan Leemans⁹ (2009) discusses several examples of the Patristic interpretation of Pauline texts. In the case of 3:28, Leemans emphasises the diversity of interpretations: the verse has been interpreted eschatologically, ethically, ascetically, protologically, as an indication of how life in monasteries should be organised, and even in a Christological/Trinitarian sense. In another study, Leemans¹⁰ (2010) identifies and illustrates three tendencies in the way in which the Church Fathers interpreted Hagar: some of them followed a line of interpretation pursued by Philo, others discussed the acceptability of Paul's typological reading of the Hagar/Sarah events, and still others interpreted Hagar and Sarah as representing opposite options in religion (with Hagar normally representing a less attractive option).

Gesila Nneka Uzukwu¹¹ (2010) explains how the Church Fathers interpreted 3:28c, showing that current interpretation does not really differ from the way in which they interpreted the phrase. Uzukwu distinguishes between four approaches: interpretations linking it to baptism, human sexuality, creation or equality in Christ. Silke Petersen¹² (2010) investigates the discussions on the abolition of gender differences in Early Christianity. According to Petersen, the inherent potential of 3:28 in terms of the criticism of hierarchies (as is evident from some early interpretations of the verse) could never come into its own because the interpretation of the verse came to be dominated by ontological issues instead of social issues.

Javier Ibañez¹³ (2010) provides a thorough overview of the interpretation of the term "mother" in 4:4 in Greek Patristic writings in the first and second centuries CE and also discusses the implications

9 J. Leemans, "Die Paulusrezeption in der Alten Kirche", *Theologie der Gegenwart* 52:1 (2009), pp. 42–54.

10 J. Leemans, "After Philo and Paul: Hagar in the Writings of the Church Fathers", in: M. Goodman, G.H. van Kooten and J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten (eds.), *Abraham, the Nations, and the Hagarites: Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Perspectives on Kinship with Abraham* (Themes in Biblical Narrative: Jewish and Christian Traditions 13, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2010), pp. 435–447. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004188433.i-578.144>

11 G.N. Uzukwu, "The Church Fathers' Interpretations and Modern Exegesis of Gal 3,28c: A Comparative Analysis", *Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi* 27:2 (2010), pp. 109–131.

12 S. Petersen, "Nicht mehr 'männlich und weiblich' (Gen 1,27): Die Rede von der Aufhebung der Geschlechterdifferenz im frühen Christentum", in: I. Fischer and C. Heil (eds.), *Geschlechterverhältnisse und Macht: Lebensformen in der Zeit des frühen Christentums* (Exegese in unserer Zeit 21, Münster: LIT Verlag, 2010), pp. 78–109.

13 J. Ibañez, "La 'Mujer' de Gal. 4,4 en la Patrística Griega de los Siglos I y II", *Estudios Marianos* 76 (2010), pp. 305–318.

of the insights gained in this way. *Pierre-Marie Hombert*¹⁴ (2014) gives an overview of the Patristic exegesis of 3:13. Hombert identifies several tendencies, such as positive readings of the text (emphasising the cross as blessing), moral and penal readings, as well as an “ontological reading” (by Augustine: Christ assumed death as the punishment of sin).

1.2 Justin Martyr

*Franco Manzi*¹⁵ (2002) discusses the way in which the annulment of the curse in Deuteronomy 21:23 in Galatians 3:13–14 was handled by Justin Martyr in his *Dialogue of Trypho*. *Carlos A. Segovia*¹⁶ (2016) outlines how the argument on Abraham, that Paul used to prove his claim that the Gentiles were included in the people of God (as found in Romans 4 and Galatians 3), was polemically reworked in Christian and Muslim texts. One of the examples that Segovia discusses, is Justin Martyr. *Benjamin L. White*¹⁷ (2018) points out that Justin Martyr concedes in his *Dialogue with Trypho* 47 that Gentile Christians who become Christ-believing Jews will be saved. Although this chapter contains many allusions to Galatians and Romans 14–15, Justin thus disagrees with Paul on this issue. According to White, this might have been caused by the fact that Justin had to negotiate a very complex rhetorical situation and had several different audiences in mind.

1.3 Marius Victorinus

*Stephen A. Cooper*¹⁸ (2000) draws attention to the way in which Marius Victorinus approached Galatians: he identified rhetorical figures and

14 P.-M. Hombert, “‘Le Christ s’est fait pour nous malédiction’: L’exégèse patristique de Galates 3,13”, in: I. Bochet and M. Fedou (eds.), *L’exégèse patristique de l’Épître aux Galates* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes: Série Antiquité 197, Paris: Institut d’Études Augustiniennes, 2014), pp. 181–248.

15 F. Manzi, “L’annullamento della Maledizione di Dt. 21,23 in Galati nel Dialogo con Trifone”, *Augustinianum* 42:1 (2002), pp. 5–34.

16 C.A. Segovia, “Discussing/Subverting Paul: Polemical Rereadings and Competing Supersessionist Misreadings of Pauline Inclusivism in Late Antiquity: A Case Study on the Apocalypse of Abraham, Justin Martyr, and the Qur’an”, in: G. Boccaccini and C.A. Segovia (eds.), *Paul the Jew: Rereading the Apostle as a Figure of Second Temple Judaism* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress Press, 2016), pp. 341–361.

17 B.L. White, “Justin between Paul and the Heretics: The Salvation of Christian Judaizers in the *Dialogue with Trypho*”, *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 26:2 (2018), pp. 163–189. <https://doi.org/10.1353/earl.2018.0017>

18 S.A. Cooper, “Narratio and exhortatio in Galatians According to Marius Victorinus Rhetor”, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 91:1 (2000), pp. 107–135. <https://doi.org/10.1515/zntw.2000.91.1-2.107>

argumentative conventions that Paul used in Galatians but never identified or classified the letter as a speech. Cooper¹⁹ (2005) also published the first English translation of Marius Victorinus' commentary on Galatians. Cooper's work contains a lengthy introduction, amongst other things situating the commentary in its original context and pointing out the influence it had on later Latin exegetes.

1.4 Ambrosiaster

Gerald L. Bray²⁰ (2009) published the first English translation of the complete set of Latin commentaries on Paul by Ambrosiaster, an anonymous author from the fourth century CE. Martine Dulaey²¹ (2014) offers a detailed description of Ambrosiaster's commentary on Galatians: the exegetical method that he followed (a literal and a precise approach), that he worked like a historian, how he viewed the message of the letter (the value and limitations of the law, understanding Paul's struggle), notable exegetical points, and the way in which he confirmed and defended orthodoxy against various groupings (the Manicheans, the Jews and dissident Christians and heretics).

1.5 John Chrysostom

Margaret M. Mitchell²² (2001) explains how one should go about using Patristic exegetes when one reads New Testament text rhetorically. Mitchell discusses John Chrysostom's exegesis of Galatians as an example as to how this should be done. According to Mitchell, Chrysostom regarded Galatians as an aggressive and apologetic letter: such a view comes very close to Betz's appraisal of the letter. For Lauri Thurén²³ (2001),

19 S.A. Cooper (transl.), *Marius Victorinus' Commentary on Galatians: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (Oxford Early Christian Studies, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). <https://doi.org/10.1093/0198270275.001.0001>

20 G.L. Bray (transl. & ed.), *Commentaries on Galatians – Philemon: Ambrosiaster* (Ancient Christian Texts, Downers Grove IL: IVP Academic, 2009).

21 M. Dulaey, "Expliquer Paul dans la Rome de Damase: Le commentaire de l'Ambrosiaster sur l'Épître aux Galates", in: I. Bochet and M. Fédou (eds.), *L'exégèse patristique de l'Épître aux Galates* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes: Série Antiquité 197, Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2014), pp. 83–124.

22 M.M. Mitchell, "Reading Rhetoric with Patristic Exegetes", in: A.Y. Collins and M.M. Mitchell (eds.), *Antiquity and Humanity: Essays on Ancient Religion and Philosophy Presented to Hans Dieter Betz on His 70th Birthday* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), pp. 333–355.

23 L. Thurén, "John Chrysostom as a Rhetorical Critic: The Hermeneutics of an Early Father", *Biblical Interpretation* 9:2 (2001), pp. 180–218.

Chrysostom's rhetorical and theological interpretation of Galatians can serve as a critical corrective to current interpretations of the letter, since he had a very good training in rhetoric. Thurén also points out that Chrysostom offered a text-based reading of the letter and determined the theology of the letter by trying to understand the devices and tactics that Paul used.

Malcolm Heath²⁴ (2004) highlights the influence of contemporary rhetoric on Chrysostom's exegesis of Galatians. Heath thinks that current attempts to classify Galatians in terms of the three classes of oratory are misguided. Furthermore, Heath illustrates the way in which Chrysostom used rhetorical concepts such as counter-position in his interpretation of the letter. Jacques de Penthos²⁵ (2009) published a French translation of Chrysostom's homilies on Galatians, Philippians, Colossians and I & II Thessalonians. This is an abridged version with some parts (such as summaries and digressions) excluded. Margaret M. Mitchell²⁶ (2012) draws attention to the way in which Chrysostom treated the Antioch incident in a homily that has not been translated yet (*hom. in Gal 2.11*). In this homily, Chrysostom interpreted the incident as "a counter-movement against hypocrisy".²⁷

Catherine Broc-Schmezer²⁸ (2014) highlights Chrysostom's interpretation of 3:28: he does not pay much attention to the first pair (Jew/Greek) but rather emphasises the other two pairs (slave/free and male/female) in order to underline the equality between rich and poor and males and females in his time. Chris L. de Wet²⁹ (2014) explains the dynamics between

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- 24 <https://doi.org/10.1163/156851501300139291>
M. Heath, "John Chrysostom, Rhetoric and Galatians", *Biblical Interpretation* 12:4 (2004), pp. 369–400. <https://doi.org/10.1163/1568515042418578>
- 25 J. de Penthos (transl. & ed.), *Saint Jean Chrysostome: Homélie sur les épîtres de saint Paul: III. Lettre aux Galates, lettre aux Philippiens, lettre aux Colossiens, lettres aux Thessaloniciens: Édition abrégée, établie et présentée par Jacques de Penthos* (Paris: Guibert, 2009).
- 26 M.M. Mitchell, "Peter's 'Hypocrisy' and Paul's: Two 'Hypocrites' at the Foundation of Earliest Christianity", *New Testament Studies* 58:2 (2012), pp. 213–234. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S002868851100035X>
- 27 *Op. cit.*, p. 233.
- 28 C. Broc-Schmezer, "'Il n'y a ni Juif, ni Grec; ni esclave, ni homme libre, il n'y a pas l'homme et la femme.': Galates 3,28 chez Jean Chrysostome: Questions d'anthropologie", in: I. Bochet and M. Fédou (eds.), *L'exégèse patristique de l'Épître aux Galates* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes: Série Antiquité 197, Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2014), pp. 13–32.
- 29 C.L. de Wet, "Identity-Formation and Alterity in John Chrysostom's *in Epistolam ad Galatas commentarius*", *Acta Theologica Supplementum* 19

identity-formation and alterity in Chrysostom's homilies on Galatians. According to De Wet, for Chrysostom identity formation formed part of Paulinomorphism: to become like Christ one had to become like Paul. De Wet also investigates how Chrysostom applied this notion to alterity. In another contribution, *De Wet*³⁰ (2015) offers a detailed study of "doulology" (i.e., the academic study of the discourse on slavery – a term created by De Wet) in Chrysostom's homilies. De Wet shows that the metaphorical and theological construction of human bondage had a great influence on Chrysostom's theology, ethics and the way in which he interpreted the Bible, which in turn had an enormous effect on the existence of slaves.

Susan B. Griffith³¹ (2017) compares two interpretations of 2:11–14 by John Chrysostom: one in his well-known commentary on the letter and the other in a lesser known homily (*In illud: In faciem ei restiti*). Sotirios Despotis³² (2017) offers an Eastern-Orthodox reading of 3:6–9 and 23–29 based on the interpretation of John Chrysostom. Despotis shows that Chrysostom's interpretation had a solid exegetical basis. Guillaume Bady³³ (2018) draws attention to the nature of Chrysostom's exegetical works on Galatians and Daniel. According to Bady, the term ὑπόμνημα ("reminder") seems like a good way to describe the way in which they were originally composed since one also has to ask whether they consisted merely of notes or whether they were revised by Chrysostom before publication.

According to Edith M. Humphrey³⁴ (2018), it is clear from Chrysostom's exegesis of Galatians that he had a narrow interpretation of

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- (2014), pp. 18–41. <https://doi.org/10.4314/actat.v33i2S.2>
- 30 C.L. de Wet, *Preaching Bondage: John Chrysostom and the Discourse of Slavery in Early Christianity* (Oakland CA: University of California Press, 2015). <https://doi.org/10.1525/california/9780520286214.001.0001>
- 31 S.B. Griffith, "Apostolic Authority and the 'Incident at Antioch': Chrysostom on Gal. 2:11–4", *Studia Patristica* 96 (2017), pp. 117–126.
- 32 S. Despotis, "Eine östlich-orthodoxe Lektüre von Gal. 3,6–9.23–29", in: A. Despotis (ed.), *Participation, Justification, and Conversion: Eastern Orthodox Interpretation of Paul and the Debate between "Old and New Perspectives on Paul"* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.442, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), pp. 179–200. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-155453-7>
- 33 G. Bady, "Genres et factures des textes exégétiques attribués à Jean Chrysostome", in: C. Delattre, E. Valette, J.-F. Cottier, S. Kefallonitis, M. Ribreau and J. Soler (eds.), *Pragmatique du commentaire: Mondes anciens, mondes lointains* (Antiquité et Sciences Humaines 4, Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), pp. 265–289. <https://doi.org/10.1484/J.ASH.5.114321>
- 34 E.M. Humphrey, "Meditating Upon God's Righteousness with Chrysostom (and Luther)", *Biblical Research* 63 (2018), pp. 29–43. In his response to Humphrey's contribution (in the same volume), Peter

the concept “works of the law” but interpreted the concept “righteousness of God” in a flexible way. Luther, on the other hand, had a very specific interpretation of “righteousness of God” but a broad view of “works of the law”. *Elena Ene Draghici-Vasilescu*³⁵ (2019) draws attention to the reception of Pauline theology in Galatians in the Liturgy of Chrysostom. According to Draghici-Vasiliscu, it is best to regard Galatians as a letter of freedom rather than a letter of warning.

1.6 Jerome

*Jeannine Siat*³⁶ (2008) offers a fresh analysis of the controversy between Augustine and Jerome after the publication of Jerome’s commentary on Galatians, in particular of the way in which Augustine, in his commentary, rejected Jerome’s explanation of the conflict between Paul and Peter at Antioch. According to Jerome, it was only a feigned conflict whereas Augustine viewed it as a conflict in the real sense of the word. Siat points out that Augustine’s rejection of Jerome’s interpretation actually caused “a new incident from Antioch”. *Giacomo Raspanti*³⁷ (2009) discusses the reason why Jerome wrote his commentary on Galatians, its literary and historical contexts as well as its significance. *Thomas P. Scheck*³⁸ (2010) published the first English translation of Jerome’s commentary on Galatians (as well as on Titus and Philemon).

*Pauline Renoux-Caron*³⁹ (2011) discusses José de Sigüenza’s interpretation of the conflict between Jerome and Augustine on the interpretation of 2:11–14 in his book on Jerome (1595). De Sigüenza tried

J. Leithart suggests that Luther’s interpretation of the two concepts might perhaps not be so different from that of Chrysostom as Humphrey believes. See P.J. Leithart, “Response: Galatians Five Hundred Years Later”, *Biblical Research* 63 (2018), pp. 63–71.

35 E.E. Draghici-Vasilescu, “The ‘Gospel of Freedom’ or a Letter of Warning? The Use of Paul’s Epistle to the Galatians in the Byzantine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom”, *Akropolis: Journal of Hellenic Studies* 3 (2019), pp. 111–130. <https://doi.org/10.35296/jhs.v3i0.31>

36 J. Siat, “Pierre et Paul dans l’Épître aux Galates: La controverse Jérôme – Augustin”, in: G. Nauroy and M.A. Vannier (eds.), *Saint Augustin et la Bible: Actes du colloque de l’université Paul Verlaine-Metz (7–8 Avril 2005)* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008), pp. 259–273.

37 G. Raspanti, “The Significance of Jerome’s Commentary on Galatians in His Exegetical Production”, in: A. Cain and J. Lössl (eds.), *Jerome of Stridon: His Life, Writings and Legacy* (London/New York NY: Routledge, 2009), 163–171.

38 T.P. Scheck (transl.), *St. Jerome’s Commentaries on Galatians, Titus, and Philemon* (Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010).

39 P. Renoux-Caron, “Resonancias Hispánicas de las Discrepancias entre San Agustín y San Jerónimo en la *Vida de San Jerónimo* (1595) de Fray

to reconcile the viewpoints of the two for apologetic purposes, namely, to show accord between the doctors and the fathers of the Early Church. Andrew Cain⁴⁰ (2011) focuses on tradition and innovation in Jerome's commentary on Galatians. Cain shows that Jerome used his four Pauline commentaries to reassert his spiritual authority in Rome after he had moved to Bethlehem. Cain also argues that it is wrong to characterise Jerome's commentaries as mere paraphrases of Origen's commentaries.

Jason A. Myers⁴¹ (2013) discusses the dispute between Jerome and Augustine on the interpretation of the Antioch incident in order to show that there was at least one person in the Early Church that had a positive interpretation of Paul's view of the law (and thus similar to the view of the New Perspective): Augustine emphasised the divine origin of the law and pointed out that Paul's critique of the law should be understood within the context of a Gentile audience. Michel Fédou⁴² (2014) describes Origen's influence on Jerome's commentary. Examples such as the Antioch incident and the Sarah-Hagar allegory are discussed. H.A.G. Houghton⁴³ (2014) analyses the Biblical text of Jerome's commentary on Galatians and compares it with other textual readings, thereby showing the complex ways in which the Biblical text was transmitted in this commentary. Houghton also points out that the significance of non-Vulgate variants in Jerome's commentary has been underestimated by scholars.

Wei Hua⁴⁴ (2015) discusses the differences between Jerome and Augustine's interpretation of the Antioch incident and how their

José de Sigüenza", *Criticón* 111–112 (2011), pp. 121–136. <https://doi.org/10.4000/criticon.2543>

40 A. Cain, "Jerome's Pauline Commentaries between East and West: Tradition and Innovation in the Commentary on Galatians", in: J. Lössl and J.W. Watt (eds.), *Interpreting the Bible and Aristotle in Late Antiquity: The Alexandrian Commentary Tradition between Rome and Baghdad* (Farnham/Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 91–110.

41 J.A. Myers, "Law, Lies and Letter Writing: An Analysis of Jerome and Augustine on the Antioch Incident (Galatians 2:11–14)", *Scottish Journal of Theology* 66:2 (2013), pp. 127–139. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0036930613000069>

42 M. Fédou, "Jérôme lecteur de l'Épître aux Galates: L'héritage d'Origène", in: I. Bochet and M. Fédou (eds.), *L'exégèse patristique de l'Épître aux Galates* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes: Série Antiquité 197, Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2014), pp. 133–154.

43 H.A.G. Houghton, "The Biblical Text of Jerome's *Commentary on Galatians*", *The Journal of Theological Studies* 65:1 (2014), pp. 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jts/flt211>

44 W. Hua, "Galatians 2:11–14 and the Exegetical Controversy between Augustine and Jerome", *Logos and Pneuma – Chinese Journal of Theology*

theological presuppositions differed: Jerome followed Origen (it was only a feigned conflict), but Augustine disagreed. Marco Rizzi⁴⁵ (2019) investigates the first part of the conflict between Augustine and Jerome as found in his 28th letter to Jerome. Rizzi points out that Augustine could not accept Jerome’s interpretation of 2:14, since he believed that the *verba* in Scripture referred to the divine *res*. A false statement would thus refer to nothing. Augustine’s semiotic theory also underlay his appreciation for the Septuagint (mentioned in the same letter).

1.7 Theodore of Mopsuestia

Rowan A. Greer⁴⁶ (2011) published an English translation and introduction to Theodore’s commentaries on the minor letters of Paul, based on Swete’s critical edition. Alain le Boulluec⁴⁷ (2014) considers the way in which Theodore interpreted the law in his commentary on Galatians: after sin had come, God gave humankind the law to avoid evil, but Christ liberated them from this situation and brought the hope of a life to come when the law would not be necessary anymore. Maya Goldberg⁴⁸ (2018) offers a reconstruction of Theodore’s views of the law as a manifestation of God’s *paideia* on the basis of the Syriac fragments of his commentary on Galatians. According to Goldberg, for Theodore, Israel’s journey in the Old Testament primarily had a pedagogic meaning, and the law prepared people for salvation by means of moral and ethical teachings.

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- 42 (2015), pp. 25–46.
- 45 M. Rizzi, “Augustine’s Appreciation of the Septuagint in Light of His Semiotic Theory”, *Annali di Scienze Religiose* 12 (2019), pp. 267–285. <https://doi.org/10.1484/j.asr.5.118276>
- 46 R.A. Greer (transl.), *Theodore of Mopsuestia: The Commentaries on the Minor Epistles of Paul: Translated with an Introduction* (Society of Biblical Literature: Writings from the Greco-Roman World 26, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2011), pp. 3–169.
- 47 A. le Boulluec, “Les temps du régime de la loi et la justification par la foi selon Théodore de Mopsueste dans son *Commentaire sur l’Épître aux Galates*”, in: I. Bochet and M. Fédou (eds.), *L’exégèse patristique de l’Épître aux Galates* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes: Série Antiquité 197, Paris: Institut d’Études Augustiniennes, 2014), pp. 33–58.
- 48 M. Goldberg, “Theodore of Mopsuestia on Divine *paideia*: Syriac Fragments of His Commentary on Paul’s Epistle to the Galatians”, in: R. Roukema and H. Amirav (eds.), *The “New Testament” as a Polemical Tool: Studies in Ancient Christian Anti-Jewish Rhetoric and Beliefs* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus/Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments 118, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018), pp. 113–136. <https://doi.org/10.13109/9783666593765.113>

1.8 Augustine

Alfons Fürst⁴⁹ (2002) collected 18 of the 26 letters forming part of the correspondence between Augustine and Jerome, translated them into German and commented on them. For Galatians scholars, the correspondence between the two on 2:11–14 is of particular interest. (See also several other publications on this issue discussed earlier in this chapter, under “Jerome”.) Eric Plumer⁵⁰ (2003) published the first English translation of Augustine’s commentary on Galatians, with an introduction and exegetical notes. Anthony Dupont⁵¹ (2010) analyses Augustine’s Homily 168 and his interpretation of 5:6 in order to determine whether Augustine handled the theme of *gratia fidei* in a similar way in his sermons preached during the Pelagian controversy, and the systematic writings composed during the same time. Dupont answers this question in the affirmative.

Ludwig Fladerer’s⁵² (2010) primary aim was to study Augustine’s interpretation of Genesis but begins the study with a comparison of Augustine’s commentary on Galatians with those of Victorinus, Ambrose and Jerome. Fladerer shows, amongst other things, that in Augustine’s commentary, the original text played a more important role, that his comments were driven by a pastoral concern (the salvation of his readers), and that he emphasised the correct predisposition of the exegete. Lenka Karfíková⁵³ (2012) traces the development of the doctrine of grace in Augustine’s theology. In the case of Galatians, Karfíková shows the importance of the contrast in Augustine’s exposition of the letter, between a humility that is caused by grace and a pride in one’s own merits because of the fulfilment of the law.

49 A. Fürst, *Augustinus–Hieronymus: Epistulae Mutuae: Briefwechsel (Vol. 1 & 2)* (Fontes Christiani 41/1–2, Turnhout: Brepols, 2002).

50 E. Plumer (transl.), *Augustine’s Commentary on Galatians: Introduction, Text, Translation and Notes* (Oxford Early Christian Studies, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). <https://doi.org/10.1093/0199244391.001.0001>

51 A. Dupont, “Fides as *donum Dei* in Augustine’s *Sermones ad Populum: Sermo 168* and Gal. 5,6 as Case Studies”, *Sacris Erudiri* 49 (2010), pp. 127–150. <https://doi.org/10.1484/J.SE.1.102054>

52 L. Fladerer, *Augustinus als Exeget: Zu seinen Kommentaren des Galaterbriefes und der Genesis* (Sitzungsberichte: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch–Historische Klasse 795, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010).

53 L. Karfíková, *Grace and the Will According to Augustine* (Vigiliae Christianae Supplements 115, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2012), pp. 61–65. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004229211>

Wendy Elgersma Helleman⁵⁴ (2013) considers Augustine's use of Paul's Sarah–Hagar allegory against the Donatists and Judaisers of his time. Helleman argues that one should judge Augustine against his own context and should also take note of the different ways in which he used the allegory in his writings. This gives rise to a more nuanced view of his use of the allegory. Isabelle Bochet⁵⁵ (2014) traces the development in Augustine's exposition of 5:6 from his commentary on Galatians until his writings against Pelagius: the continuity in Augustine's exegesis lies in the link he always maintained between faith and works, as well as in the notion that faith is also a gift of grace.

Simeon Zahl⁵⁶ (2014) discusses Augustine's interpretation of 5:16–25 and, in particular, the way in which he viewed the relationship between divine and human agency. According to Zahl, Augustine's views can help one to understand this passage better because of the affective anthropology that can be seen here, as well as the link that Augustine made between divine and human agency and ethics. Geoffrey D. Dunn⁵⁷ (2015) thinks that scholars who believe that Augustine's interpretation of 2:11–14 is dominated by his anti-Donatism, are not correct. This is only true of the way in which he handles the incident in *De baptism*. In other instances, such a tendency cannot be found.

Wendy Elgersma Helleman⁵⁸ (2016) studies two sermons of Augustine containing reflections on 4:21–31 in order to determine if they may be regarded as anti-Semitic. Helleman concludes that one should rather speak of a *degree* of anti-Judaism in them. Didier Méhu⁵⁹ (2018) explains

54 W.E. Helleman, "'Abraham Had Two Sons': Augustine and the Allegory of Sarah and Hagar (Galatians 4:21–31)", *Calvin Theological Journal* 48:1 (2013), pp. 35–64.

55 I. Bochet, "Fides quae per dilectionem operatur: L'originalité de l'exégèse Augustinienne de Galates 5,6", in: I. Bochet and M. Fedou (eds.), *L'exégèse patristique de l'Épître aux Galates* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes: Série Antiquité 197, Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2014), pp. 155–180.

56 S. Zahl, "The Drama of Agency: Affective Augustinianism and Galatians", in: M.W. Elliott, S.J. Hafemann, N.T. Wright and J. Frederick (eds.), *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul's Letter* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2014), pp. 335–352.

57 G.D. Dunn, "Augustine's Use of the Pauline Portrayal of Peter in Galatians 2", *Augustinian Studies* 46:1 (2015), pp. 23–42. <https://doi.org/10.5840/augstudies201542813>

58 W.E. Helleman, "Casting out Hagar: Anti-Judaism in the Sermons of Augustine", *Calvin Theological Journal* 51:1 (2016), pp. 20–36.

59 D. Méhu, "La dialectique *aedificatio-dedicatio* dans l'oeuvre d'Augustin d'Hippone: À propos du sermon 163", *Laval Théologique et Philosophique* 74:2 (2018), pp. 181–191. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1058092ar>

how the dialectics between *aedificatio* and *dedicatio* work in Homily 163 of Augustine, a homily based on 5:16 in which the process of salvation and the construction of a church is compared. Jonathan D. Teubner⁶⁰ (2018) draws attention to the role of prayer in the works of Augustine, Boethius and Benedict. For Galatians research, the influence that the notion of “putting on Christ” (3:27) had on Augustine’s views of prayer is important.

1.9 Theodoret of Cyrus

Marie-Odile Boulnois⁶¹ (2014) explains how Theodoret’s notion of a *symphonia* between the Father and the Son, between Paul and the other apostles, and between the law (coming from God) and the gospel is developed in Theodoret’s commentary on Galatians. For Theodoret, it was very important that Christ was the end of the law and that believers should thus live according to faith.

1.10 Other

Petra Heldt⁶² (2006) explains how the Naassenes and the Valentinians interpreted 4:26–27 (as reported by Hippolytus in his *Refutation of all Heresies*). Heldt shows that all of them – the Naassenes and the Valentinians, as well as Hippolytus – used the text to delineate an identity for Gentiles without really giving attention to Paul’s own *skopos* with the text. Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony and Aryeh Kofsky⁶³ (2006) discuss the monastic school that existed at Gaza from the fourth to the seventh century CE. One of the issues that is highlighted is the way in which 6:2 was interpreted in this community: a monk’s spiritual father could participate actively in a monk’s penance by assuming responsibility for the sin that the monk had committed. In turn, the monk had to vow to be totally obedient to his spiritual father.

60 J.D. Teubner, *Prayer after Augustine: A Study in the Development of the Latin Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 69–73. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767176.001.0001>

61 M.-O. Boulnois, “De la symphonie trinitaire à la symphonie apostolique: La loi et l’évangile dans l’exégèse de l’Épître aux Galates chez Théodoret de Cyr”, in: I. Bochet and M. Fédou (eds.), *L’exégèse patristique de l’Épître aux Galates* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes: Série Antiquité 197, Paris: Institut d’Études Augustiniennes, 2014), pp. 59–81.

62 P. Heldt, “Delineating Identity in the Second and Third Century CE: The Case of the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians 4:21–31 in the Writings of Hippolytus”, *Studia Patristica* 42 (2006), pp. 163–168.

63 B. Bitton-Ashkelony and A. Kofsky, *The Monastic School of Gaza* (Vigiliae Christianae Supplements 78, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2006), pp. 145–156. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047408444_009

Basil S. Davis⁶⁴ (2007) draws attention to Severianus of Gabala's interpretation of 6:6, a verse difficult to link to the rest of the letter. According to Severianus, in this verse, Paul asked the Galatians to stop supporting those who encouraged them to keep the law and rather support those who were proclaiming his view of the law. He used vv. 7–8 to motivate Paul's request. Davis then develops Severianus's interpretation further (and somewhat differently). Juan Antonio Gil-Tamayo⁶⁵ (2008) elucidates the way in which 4:21–31 was interpreted in Antiochian exegesis: whereas the Alexandrian School used it to justify their allegorical interpretation of Old Testament texts, the School of Antioch interpreted it in a disciplined way, identifying relevant hermeneutic criteria.

Peter W. Martens⁶⁶ (2010) traces the reception of Paul's use of Deuteronomy in Galatians 3:13 by Justin Martyr, Augustine and Theodore Anu Qurrah. Martens shows that these authors followed and developed Paul's interpretation of the text as implying God's curse on the Messiah. Bas van Os⁶⁷ (2010) explains how Paul linked Sarah to the New Jerusalem of Isaiah 54:1 (in Galatians 4:21–5:1), how early Christians re-interpreted this prophecy in Isaiah in the light of the fact that Gentiles formed the majority in the Christian movement in their times, how Gnostic Christians (as is evident in particular from the Gospel of Philip) interpreted the Isaiah text allegorically and how Irenaeus reacted to the claim that non-Gnostic Christians were children of the slave woman.

Justin M. Rogers⁶⁸ (2014) points out that Didymus the Blind was the first exegete who tried to harmonise Philonic and Pauline interpretations of Hagar and Sarah. Rogers explains how Didymus followed Philo's (literal and allegorical) interpretations of the two figures consistently, but how he

64 B.S. Davis, "Severianus of Gabala and Galatians 6:6–10", *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 69:2 (2007), pp. 292–301.

65 J.A. Gil-Tamayo, "'Todo Esto Tiene un Sentido Alegórico' (Ga 4,24): La Exégesis Antioquena de Gálatas 4,21–31", *Scripta Theologica* 40:1 (2008), pp. 35–63.

66 P.W. Martens, "'Anyone Hung on a Tree is under God's Curse' (Deuteronomy 21:23): Jesus' Crucifixion and Interreligious Exegetical Debate in Late Antiquity", *Ex Auditu* 26 (2010), pp. 69–90.

67 B. van Os, "Children of the Slave Woman: The Gnostic Christian Reinterpretation of Paul's Allegory of Hagar", in: M. Goodman, G.H. van Kooten and J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten (eds.), *Abraham, the Nations, and the Hagarites: Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Perspectives on Kinship with Abraham* (Themes in Biblical Narrative: Jewish and Christian Traditions 13, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2010), pp. 387–400. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004188433.i-578.127>

68 J.M. Rogers, "The Philonic and the Pauline: Hagar and Sarah in the Exegesis of Didymus the Blind", *The Studia Philonica Annual* 26 (2014), pp. 57–77. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt9qh1xp.6>

also combined such a Philonic interpretation with Paul's interpretation in Galatians. *Karla Pollmann and Mark W. Elliott*⁶⁹ (2014) investigate the way in which Galatians was interpreted by Marius Victorinus, Ambrosiaster, Jerome and Augustine, as well as a work of verse, *Carmen adversus Marcionitas*. Pollmann and Elliott conclude that these works should be taken seriously, since they offer insights into the meaning of the letter.

*Edwina Murphy*⁷⁰ (2014) explains how Cyprian (bishop) of Carthage interpreted Galatians: his interpretation was dominated by pastoral concerns, his attempts at uniting his congregation and keeping them on the right track while they experienced persecution, plague and schism. In his interpretation of Galatians, Cyprian also avoided quoting verses that could depict the law negatively. *Matthew V. Novenson*⁷¹ (2015) draws attention to Tertullian's use of Paul: About 40% of his New Testament quotations come from the Pauline letters (1 Corinthians is cited the most – three times as often as 2 Corinthians, Galatians or Ephesians). Whereas some scholars interpret Tertullian's preference in Pauline texts as an indication that he did not understand Paul correctly, Novenson suggests that one should rather view Tertullian's interpretation of Paul as a "rational reconstruction" (i.e., not a historical reconstruction) of Paul for his own time.

*Todd S. Berzon*⁷² (2016) discusses the way in which 3:1 was interpreted by Marius Victorinus, Ambrosiaster, Augustine, John Chrysostom and Jerome. According to Berzon, for these exegetes, communal harmony in their own times served as an indication of the extent to which Paul's legacy was continued or not. *Raphael A. Cadenhead*⁷³ (2018) traces the development of Gregory of Nyssa's ascetical theology. In the case of Galatians, Cadenhead points out a development in

69 K. Pollmann and M.W. Elliott, "Galatians in the Early Church: Five Case Studies", in: M.W. Elliott, S.J. Hafemann, N.T. Wright and J. Frederick (eds.), *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul's Letter* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2014), pp. 40–61.

70 E. Murphy, "Divine Ordinances and Life-Giving Remedies: Galatians in the Writings of Cyprian of Carthage", *Journal of Theological Interpretation* 8:1 (2014), pp. 81–101.

71 M.V. Novenson, "The Pauline Epistles in Tertullian's Bible", *Scottish Journal of Theology* 68:4 (2015), pp. 471–483. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0036930615000253>

72 T.S. Berzon, "O, Foolish Galatians': Imagining Pauline Community in Late Antiquity", *Church History* 85:3 (2016), pp. 435–467. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0009640716000433>

73 R.A. Cadenhead, *The Body and Desire: Gregory of Nyssa's Ascetical Theology* (Christianity in Late Antiquity 4, Oakland CA: University of California Press, 2018). <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv9hvt61>

Gregory's interpretation of 3:28: during the first phase, he focused on the eschatological erasure of sexual differences or the striving of the ascetic to appropriate both male and female virtues; during the later phase, he emphasised how being male or female could be transcended by a longing for God who is neither male nor female.

*Soultana Lamprou and Viera Zozul'aková*⁷⁴ (2019) highlight the Patristic interpretation of 3:28, and in particular, the importance of the Christocentric basis in Patristic exegesis, which was also regarded as a criterion for the dissolution of all types of distinctions. According to *Marion L. Soards*⁷⁵ (2019), the issues that the Early Church had to deal with, as reflected in Galatians amongst others, continued to cause problems, even until the fourth century CE. Soards illustrates this by referring to the Pseudo-Clementine Literature. *Richard A. Muller*⁷⁶ (2020) traces the Patristic discussions about Christianity being the "third race" (an idea influenced amongst others by 3:27–28). In particular, Muller shows how Eusebius of Caesarea developed this notion theologically and philosophically.

*Luis Josué Salés*⁷⁷ (2020) engages critically with the notion that Paul was a misogynist by first discussing what can be gleaned from his seven authentic letters in this regard and by secondly pointing out that, according to Epiphanius of Salamis, in the second century CE, a community in Phrygia known as the Kuintillians ordained women, amongst other things, basing such a practice on 3:28. Salés believes that the Kuintillians probably preserved an apostolic tradition according to which there was equal access for males and females to leadership in the church. *M. David Litwa*⁷⁸ (2020) discusses the reception of the curse

74 S. Lamprou and V. Zozul'aková, "The Abolition of Ethnic, Racial, or Cultural Distinctions in the Apostle Paul: Indicative Patristic Approach", *Konštantínove Listy* 12:2 (2019), pp. 33–42. <https://doi.org/10.17846/CL.2019.12.2.33-42>

75 M.L. Soards, "Following Paul Along the Way of the Parting of Judaism and Christianity", *Biblica* 100:2 (2019), pp. 249–271. <https://doi.org/10.2143/bib.100.2.3286601>

76 R.A. Muller, "Eusebius of Caesarea and the 'Third Race': Christianity, Hellenization, and a Harnackian Irony", *Mid-America Journal of Theology* 31 (2020), pp. 7–26.

77 L.J. Salés, "Galatians 3:28 and the Ordination of Women in Second-Century Pauline Churches", in: G. Thomas and E. Narinskaya (eds.), *Women and Ordination in the Orthodox Church: Explorations in Theology and Practice* (Eugene OR: Cascade Books, 2020), pp. 58–78.

78 M.D. Litwa, "The Curse of the Creator: Galatians 3:13 and Negative Demiurgy", in: F. Watson and S. Parkhouse (eds.), *Telling the Christian Story Differently: Counter-Narratives from Nag Hammadi and Beyond* (The Reception of Jesus in the First Three Centuries 5, London/New

mentioned in 3:13 in some texts from Nag Hammadi. Litwa points out that in these texts the curse was often restricted to Jesus' mortal part only. It was thought that his spiritual core was not touched by the curse. This is similar to the hermeneutics underlying the way in which the Adam-Eve narrative was sometimes interpreted in Nag Hammadi texts: they were cursed, but their spiritual cores were untouched.

2. The Middle Ages

2.1 Sedelius Scottus

Michael C. Sloan⁷⁹ (2012) published an introduction and translation of Sedelius Scottus's *Prologue to the Collectaneum in Apostolicum*, as well as of his commentaries on Galatians and Ephesians.

2.2 Thomas Aquinas

According to Mark Koehne⁸⁰ (2002), Aquinas interpreted the expression "works of the law" in 2:15–16 as referring to ceremonial precepts. He distinguished this from "doing the law" – part of the process of justification sprouting from faith acting in love. In 2008, a French translation of Aquinas's commentary on Galatians⁸¹ was published. The preface was written by Jean-Pierre Torrell, the introduction by Gilbert Dahan and the notes were composed by Jean Borella and Jean-Éric Stroobant de Saint-Éloy. In 2012, an English translation of Aquinas's commentaries on Galatians and Ephesians appeared in the Latin/English series of Aquinas's works.⁸² The translation was done by Fabian R. Larcher and Matthew L. Lamb.

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- York NY/Oxford: T & T Clark Bloomsbury, 2020), pp. 13–30. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9780567679543.ch-001>
- 79 M.C. Sloan, *The Harmonius Organ of Sedulius Scottus: Introduction to His Collectaneum in Apostolum and Translation of Its Prologue and Commentaries on Galatians and Ephesians* (Millennium Studies in the Culture and History of the First Millennium CE 39, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012). <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110281880>
- 80 M. Koehne, "Saint Thomas Aquinas: On 'Works of the Law' and 'Faith of Christ' in Galatians 2:15–16", *Scripture Bulletin* 32:1 (2002), pp. 9–20.
- 81 T. d'Aquin, *Commentaire de l'Épître aux Galates: Préface de Jean-Pierre Torrell, o.p. Introduction par Gilbert Dahan: Traduction et tables par Jean-Éric Stroobant de Saint-Eloy, o.s.b.: Annotation par Jean Borella et Jean-Éric Stroobant de Saint-Eloy, o.s.b.* (Paris: Cerf, 2008).
- 82 F.R. Larcher and M.L. Lamb (transls.), *St. Thomas Aquinas: Commentary on the Letters of Saint Paul to the Galatians and Ephesians* (Latin/English Edition of the Works of St. Thomas Aquinas 39, Lander WY: Aquinas Institute for the Study of Sacred Doctrine, 2012).

One of the issues that *Matthew A. Tapie*⁸³ (2014) discusses in a book on Aquinas on Israel and the church is Aquinas's view of the law as can be deduced from his commentary on Galatians. Tapie summarises it as follows: "The ceremonial law as fulfilled, dead, and deadly".⁸⁴ *William M. Wright IV*⁸⁵ (2015) explains Aquinas's interpretation of 3:28. Wright shows that Aquinas tended to emphasise the regenerative grace that the rational soul receives in baptism. Aquinas believed that everybody received this in baptism prior to any differences. *Bartosz Adamski*⁸⁶ (2015) outlines Aquinas's views on the freedom in Christ in his comments on Galatians 5 and its contemporary relevance: freedom is achieved through union with Christ and love is the gift whereby freedom becomes a reality.

According to *Matthew Simpkins*⁸⁷ (2016), Aquinas's model of friendship/charity as found in his explanation of 3:28 can help democracy in our times with its crisis of confidence, since Aquinas teaches us that equality and difference can co-exist. *Anton M. ten Klooster*⁸⁸ (2019) clarifies the role that "the fruit of the Spirit" played in Aquinas's theology. For Aquinas, "the fruit of the Spirit" was like pleasure to Aristotle. It was the delight coming with actions focusing on union with God whereas for Aristotle, pleasure was caused by actions focusing on natural happiness.

2.3 Nicholas of Lyra

*Edward Arthur Naumann*⁸⁹ (2016) published an English translation of Nicholas of Lyra's literal commentary on Galatians.

83 M.A. Tapie, *Aquinas on Israel and the Church: The Question of Supersessionism in the Theology of Thomas Aquinas* (Eugene OR: Pickwick Publications, 2014), pp. 109–135.

84 *Op. cit.*, p. 109.

85 W.M. Wright IV, "Galatians 3:28 in Thomas Aquinas' Lectures on the Pauline Letters: A Study in Thomistic Reception", *Journal of the Bible and Its Reception* 2:1 (2015), pp. 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1515/jbr-2015-0001>

86 B. Adamski, "Wolność w Chrystusie: Aktualność Nauczania Św: Tomasza z Akwinu o Wolności Chrześcijańskiej na Podstawie Piątego Rozdziału *Super Epistolam S. Pauli Apostoli ad Galatas Lectura*", *Biblica et Patristica Thoruniensia* 8:3 (2015), pp. 15–25. <https://doi.org/10.12775/BPTh.2015.014>

87 M. Simpkins, "Democracy's Crisis of Confidence: Can Aquinas's Friendship Model of Society Help?", *Crucible* January (2016), pp. 28–38.

88 A. M. ten Klooster, "Aquinas on the Fruits of the Holy Spirit as the Delight of the Christian Life", *Journal of Moral Theology* 8: Special Issue 2 (2019), pp. 80–94.

89 E.A. Naumann (ed. & transl.), *Nicholas of Lyra: Literal Commentary on Galatians: Translated with an Introduction and Notes* (TEAMS Commentary Series, Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2016).

2.4 General studies

Martin Meiser⁹⁰ (2007) offers a detailed study of the reception of Galatians, spanning the period from the Church Fathers until Bede. Ian Christopher Levy⁹¹ (2008) discusses the important role that 5:6 played in medieval Galatians commentaries. It was perceived as the hermeneutical key not only for unlocking the letter but also for unlocking the right way to Christian life. Thomas M. Izbicki⁹² (2009) explains how two texts (Galatians 2:11 and Acts 15) were interpreted during the Great Schism (1378–1417). Izbicki shows that the rebuke of Peter was interpreted in various ways: as supporting the action of a council or of a theologian confronting his superior(s), as something to be ignored, since Peter had repented or as something to be restricted to papal heresy, thus excluding unacceptable conduct.

Elsa Marmursztejn⁹³ (2011) explains the way in which popes and doctors in the 13th century interpreted the fact that Paul blamed Peter in this pericope and what this implied for the relationship between the doctors and the papacy. Ian Christopher Levy⁹⁴ (2011) translated six commentaries (or extracts of commentaries) on Galatians, published between the ninth and fourteenth centuries: those of Haimo of Auxerre, Bruno the Carthusian, Peter Lombard, Robert of Melun, Robert Grosseteste and Nicholas of Lyra.

Carolyn Muessig⁹⁵ (2013) discusses the evolution in the interpretation of the stigmata that Paul mentioned in 6:17: invisible marks that bishops

90 M. Meiser, *Galater* (Novum Testamentum Patristicum 9, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007).

91 I.C. Levy, “*Fides quae per caritatem operatur: Love as the Hermeneutical Key in Medieval Galatians Commentaries*”, *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 43:1 (2008), pp. 41–61.

92 T.M. Izbicki, “The Authority of Peter and Paul: The Use of Biblical Authority During the Great Schism”, in: J. Rollo-Koster and T.M. Izbicki (eds.), *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378–1417)* (Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 17, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2009), pp. 375–393. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004162778.i-472.34>

93 E. Marmursztejn, “Autorité et vérité dans les relations entre la papauté et les docteurs parisiens au XIIIe siècle”, in: G.L. Potestà and E. Müller-Luckner (eds.), *Autorität und Wahrheit: Kirchliche Vorstellungen, Normen und Verfahren (13. bis 15. Jahrhundert)* (Schriften des Historischen Kollegs 84, München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2011), pp. 21–44. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110446753-004>

94 I.C. Levy (transl. & ed.), *The Letter to the Galatians* (The Bible in Medieval Tradition, Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2011).

95 C. Muessig, “Signs of Salvation: The Evolution of Stigmatic Spirituality before Francis of Assisi”, *Church History* 82:1 (2013), pp. 40–68. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S000964071200251X>

or priests received at ordination (seventh century), a stigmatic spirituality that could be achieved by vows and penances (Peter Damian), the marks/wounds that crusaders bore in or as result of battle (twelfth century), and, finally, a pious superlative that could be achieved by devout lay people (thirteenth century). In a book published in 2020, Muessig⁹⁶ offers a comprehensive overview of the way in which Paul's stigmata have been interpreted. Amongst others, Muessig shows that women more frequently reported having stigmata than men and that the perception of stigmata was later influenced by doctrinal differences between Catholics and Protestants.

Felice Lifshitz⁹⁷ (2014) investigates women monasteries in the Main Valley during the eighth century. One of the issues that Lifshitz discusses is a crucifixion miniature used to introduce Paul's letters. According to Lifshitz, the image represents both Paul and Jesus (Galatians 2:20). Deana Klepper⁹⁸ (2015) explains how it happened in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that Hagar, traditionally associated with the old law and the synagogue, came to be associated by Christians with the Jews living in their midst. Klepper also highlights the role that Paul's allegory in Galatians played in this process. François Soyer⁹⁹ (2016) draws attention to Alonso de Espina's polemic against Jews and the descendants of Jewish converts. According to Soyer, it may seem as if this goes against the meaning of 3:28, but this is not the case, since De Espina distinguished between general *converso* judaizing and genuine Jewish conversion to Christendom.

László Sándor Chardonens¹⁰⁰ (2017) discusses hemerology (i.e., a method of divination) in medieval Europe. Amongst others, Chardonens

96 C. Muessig, *The Stigmata in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

97 F. Lifshitz, *Religious Women in Early Carolingian Francia: A Study of Manuscript Transmission and Monastic Culture* (Fordham Series in Medieval Studies, New York NY: Fordham University Press, 2014), pp. 65–86. <https://doi.org/10.5422/fordham/9780823256877.001.0001>

98 D. Klepper, "Historicizing Allegory: The Jew as Hagar in Medieval Christian Text and Image", *Church History* 84:2 (2015), pp. 308–344. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0009640715000086>

99 F. Soyer, "'All One in Christ Jesus'? Spiritual Closeness, Genealogical Determinism and the Conversion of Jews in Alonso de Espina's *Fortalitium Fidei* ", *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 17:3 (2016), pp. 239–254. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14636204.2016.1201342>

100 L.S. Chardonens, "Hemerology in Medieval Europe", in: D. Harper and M. Kalinowski (eds.), *Books of Fate and Popular Culture in Early China: The Daybook Manuscripts of the Warring States, Qin and Han* (Handbook of Oriental Studies: Section 4: China 33, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2017), pp. 373–407. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004349315_012

points out that Paul's criticism of observing days, months, seasons and years (in 4:9–11) was used by Christian exegetes against hemerology, which was regarded as a vain human practice. Giancarlo Fantechi¹⁰¹ (2018) draws attention to the many glosses added to New Testament writings dealing with the relationship between Christians and Jews, in particular in Galatians, in manuscript Escorial I.I.6 (thirteenth century). According to Fantechi, this may be interpreted as an indication that converted Jews in the Leon and Castile were not easily accepted by church and society.

Jessalyn Bird¹⁰² (2018) studies sermons for Good Friday and Holy Week in crusade preaching during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. One of the examples that Bird discusses is the way in which Odo of Cheriton preached on 6:14 ("Far from me to boast save in the cross ..."). Martin Mayerhofer¹⁰³ (2020) traces the way in which four Pauline passages referring to Paul's spiritual fatherhood were connected in Patristic and Medieval Pauline commentaries to the priesthood. One of these passages is Galatians 4:19. In this instance, Mayerhofer draws attention to an anonymous commentary from the ninth century that follows Jerome and Augustine in emphasising the necessity of love for Christ to take shape in someone (like Augustine) and the fact that Paul does not only speak like a father but also like a mother (like Jerome).

3. The Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries

3.1 Desiderius Erasmus

According to Johannes Kunze¹⁰⁴ (2000), an investigation of Luther's commentaries on Galatians and Psalms shows that Erasmus had a

101 G. Fantechi, "Biblia y Sociedad en León y Castilla en el Siglo XIII: Las Glosas de la Epístola a los Gálatas de la Biblia Escorial i.i.6", *Rivista di Cultura Classica e Medioevale* 60:1 (2018), pp. 431–460. <https://doi.org/10.19272/201806501007>

102 J. Bird, "'Far Be It from Me to Glory Save in the Cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ' (Galatians 6:14): Crusade Preaching and Sermons for Good Friday and Holy Week", in: M.E. Parker, B. Halliburton and A. Romine (eds.), *Crusading in Art, Thought and Will* (The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1500 115, 2018), pp. 129–165. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004386136_007

103 M. Mayerhofer, "The Spiritual Fatherhood of the Priest in Patristic and Medieval Pauline Commentaries", *Logos* 23:2 (2020), pp. 105–128. <https://doi.org/10.1353/log.2020.0014>

104 J. Kunze, *Erasmus und Luther: Der Einfluss des Erasmus auf die Kommentierung des Galaterbriefes und der Psalmen durch Luther 1519–1521* (Arbeiten zur Historischen und Systematischen Theologie, Hamburg: LIT Verlag, 2000).

greater influence on Luther than is usually accepted. *Miekske L. van Poll-van de Lisdonk*¹⁰⁵ (2003) draws attention to three letters that Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda wrote to Erasmus in which he pointed out that the translation of 4:25 in the Vulgate and in Erasmus's *Novum Testamentum* did not reflect Paul's thought clearly and that the Greek text solved this problem. Erasmus responded positively and added an annotation on this verse in the 1535 edition of his *Annotationes* (without referring to De Sepúlveda). One of the examples that *Riemer A. Faber*¹⁰⁶ (2009) uses to show how Erasmus depicts Paul as the ideal pastor comes from Erasmus's *Annotations* on Galatians. Erasmus emphasises the following qualities of Paul: his concern for and a desire to correct the Galatians, his humility and his learnedness.

In 2009, a further volume of Erasmus's *Annotations* appeared in the Amsterdam edition of his complete works, edited by *Miekske L. van Poll-van de Lisdonk*.¹⁰⁷ This volume contains a critical edition of the Latin text, an introduction and commentary of (amongst others) the *Annotations* on Galatians. *Christine Christ von Wedel*¹⁰⁸ (2013) discusses the development of Erasmus's historical methodology. One of the issues that receives attention is his doctrine of justification – discussed in the light of this *Annotations* and *Paraphrases* on Romans and Galatians.

3.2 Martin Luther

*Arland J. Hultgren*¹⁰⁹ (2000) focuses on two sets of Luther's lectures on Galatians (1519 and 1535), in particular on the following issues: Luther's

105 M.L. van Poll-van de Lisdonk, "Erasmus' Note on Gal 4:25: The Connection between Mount Sinai and Jerusalem", in: F. García Martínez and G.P. Luttikhuis (eds.), *Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome: Studies in Ancient Cultural Interaction in Honour of A. Hilhorst* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 82, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2003), pp. 255–262. https://doi.org/10.1163/97890047402794_021

106 R. Faber, "Desiderius Erasmus' Representation of Paul as Paragon of Learned Piety", in: R.W. Holder (ed.), *A Companion to Paul in the Reformation* (Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 15, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2009), pp. 43–60. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004174924.i-660.11>

107 M.L. van Poll-van de Lisdonk (ed.), *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami: VI-9 Ordinis sexti tomus nonus: Annotationes in Novum Testamentum (Pars Quinta)* (Leiden/Boston MA: 2009).

108 C. Christ-von Wedel, *Erasmus of Rotterdam: Advocate of a New Christianity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), pp. 144–154. Revised and enlarged version of: C. Christ-von Wedel, *Erasmus von Rotterdam: Anwalt eines neuzeitlichen Christentums* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2003).

109 A.J. Hultgren, "Luther on Galatians", *Word & World* 20:3 (2000), pp. 232–238.

views of texts and translation issues, Luther as exegete and expositor and how the two sets of lectures differed. Mark A. Seifrid¹¹⁰ (2003) explains Luther's interpretation of justification in 2:15–21. He interpreted it forensically but regarded it as more than a mere declaration on God's part or just a transaction performed in the past to be accepted by humans at a later stage; one only has justification as one grasps Christ. Jörg Kailus¹¹¹ (2004) highlights the relationship between law and gospel in Luther's commentary on Galatians and argues that this distinction was primarily a spiritual concept ("seelsorgerliche Grösse"), which was aimed at overcoming afflictions ("Anfechtungen").

Stephen Westerholm¹¹² (2004) offers a detailed and critical review of the "Lutheran Paul" and the twentieth-century response to it. One of the themes that Westerholm investigates is the theme "justification by faith". In the case of Galatians, Westerholm finds that although it is true that Paul did not address Pelagianism or sixteenth-century disputes, he nevertheless insisted that the unrighteous were declared righteous because of faith. According to Robert G. Artinian¹¹³ (2006), a thorough investigation of Luther's 1535 commentary on Galatians shows that it is not fair to accuse him of reading his own religious context into Paul's letter or to claim that he regarded Jews as the ultimate symbol of everything that is false in religion.

Mickey L. Mattox¹¹⁴ (2008) investigates the concept *fortuita misericordia* ("fortuitous mercy") in Luther's 1531 exegesis of Galatians and in his lectures on Genesis. According to Mattox, Luther's views in this regard were based on his understanding and experience of God's grace. Ronald D. Patkus¹¹⁵ (2008) focuses on the various editions of Luther's commentary on Galatians (printed 21 times during his lifetime), and, in

110 M.A. Seifrid, "Paul, Luther, and Justification in Gal 2:15–21", *Westminster Theological Journal* 65:2 (2003), pp. 215–230.

111 J. Kailus, *Gesetz und Evangelium in Luthers Grosse Galaterkommentar sowie bei Werner Elert und Paul Althaus: Darstellung in Grundzügen und Vergleich* (Theologie 68, Münster: LIT Verlag, 2004).

112 S. Westerholm, *Perspectives Old and New on Paul: The "Lutheran" Paul and His Critics* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2004), pp. 366–383.

113 R.G. Artinian, "Luther after the Stendahl/Sanders Revolution: A Responsive Evaluation of Luther's View of First-Century Judaism in His 1535 Commentary on Galatians", *Trinity Journal* 27:1 (2006), pp. 77–99.

114 M.L. Mattox, "Fortuita misericordia: Martin Luther on the Salvation of Biblical Outsiders", *Pro Ecclesia* 17:4 (2008), pp. 423–441. <https://doi.org/10.1177/106385120801700404>

115 R.D. Patkus, "Biblical Commentary as Reformation Commodity: The Role of the Paratext in Luther's Galatians", *Reformation* 13:1 (2008), pp. 51–75. <https://doi.org/10.1558/refm.v13.051>

particular, on the “para-text” (illustrations, etc.). According to Patkus, the earlier printings had a more “humanist” tone and the later ones a more “religious” tone. *Stephen Chester*¹¹⁶ (2009) argues that, contrary to what is often claimed, the failure of traditional Protestant interpretations of Pauline theology to relate justification by faith to participatory categories does not stem from Luther. In Luther’s exegesis of Galatians, he integrated the two effectively. *Michael F. Bird*¹¹⁷ (2009) points out that Reformed exegetes have understood many Pauline themes correctly, but that a better grasp on historical particularities provides one with better theological insight. This is demonstrated by means of 2:11–21.

One of the issues that *Mickey L. Mattox*¹¹⁸ (2009) discusses in a study of Luther’s reception of Paul, is his lectures on Galatians. Mattox points out that Luther identified justification as the central theme of the letter and that he distinguished “righteousness by faith” from all other types of religious or civil righteousness. Luther also recognised his own experiences in Paul’s experiences. *Asger Chr. Højlund*¹¹⁹ (2010) draws attention to Luther’s interpretation of Leviticus 18:5 in the light of his understanding of law and gospel in his commentary on Galatians. According to Højlund, for Luther there was a deep coherence between the two but also an important difference between them – a helpful perspective for our current discussions of the matter.

116 S. Chester, “It Is no Longer I Who Live: Justification by Faith and Participation in Christ in Martin Luther’s Exegesis of Galatians”, *New Testament Studies* 55:3 (2009), pp. 315–337. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S002868850900023X>

117 M.F. Bird, “What If Martin Luther Had Read the Dead Sea Scrolls? Historical Particularity and Theological Interpretation in Pauline Theology: Galatians as a Test Case”, *Journal of Theological Interpretation* 3:1 (2009), pp. 107–125.

118 M.L. Mattox, “Martin Luther’s Reception of Paul”, in: R.W. Holder (ed.), *A Companion to Paul in the Reformation* (Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 15, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2009), pp. 93–128. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004174924.i-660.18>

119 A.C. Højlund, “‘The One Who Does Them Shall Live by Them’: Luther’s Interpretation of Leviticus 18:5 in the Light of His Understanding of Law and Gospel in His Commentary on Galatians”, in: T. Johansson, R. Kolb and J.A. Steiger (eds.), *Hermeneutica Sacra: Studien zur Auslegung der Heiligen Schrift im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert/Studies of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Historia Hermeneutica: Series Studia 9, Berlin/New York NY: De Gruyter, 2010), pp. 111–130. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110236873.111>

Peter Matheson¹²⁰ (2011) offers an overview of Luther's reception of Galatians. According to Matheson, Luther may be ranked as one of the most important interpreters of Paul (like Augustine). Jussi Kalervo Koivisto¹²¹ (2011) shows that Luther's interpretation of the term *fascinare* ("bewitch") in 3:1 was based on Biblical scholarship, folklore and perspectives of earlier commentators. Luther understood the term as referring to witchcraft (linked to the devil) and psychological and spiritual disturbances. One of the examples that Brooks Schramm and Kirsi I. Stjerna¹²² (2012) pick to illustrate Luther's attitude to the Jews is his exposition of the Sarah-Hagar allegory in his commentary on Galatians. Luther's hostility to what he regarded as Jewish exclusivism is highlighted.

Johannes Klösges¹²³ (2012) explains the theological implications that Luther drew from 2:16 regarding justification, compares these to the findings of the New Perspective on Paul, situates Luther's views within developments of a theology of grace and discusses the contemporary implications of all of this. Javier A. Garcia¹²⁴ (2013) engages critically with Tuomo Mannermaa's¹²⁵ interpretation of Luther (which gave rise to the Finnish School in Luther Studies) by looking at Luther's interpretation of Galatians. According to Garcia, Mannermaa's views help one to rediscover Luther's notion of forensic justification.

120 P. Matheson, "Luther on Galatians", in: M. Lieb, E. Mason, J. Roberts and C. Rowland (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Reception History of the Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 621–634.

121 J.K. Koivisto, "Martin Luther's Conception of *fascinare* (Gal. 3:1)", *Biblical Interpretation* 19:4/5 (2011), pp. 471–495. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156851511X595521>

122 B. Schramm and K.I. Stjerna (eds.), *Martin Luther, the Bible, and the Jewish People: A Reader* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 2012), pp. 59–66. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt22nm6gf>

123 J. Klösges, "Gnade wird gelebt, nicht doziert! Gedanken zur Rechtfertigungslehre Martin Luthers nach seinen Kommentaren zu Gal 2,16 auf der Folie des frühchristlichen Konflikts zwischen Paulus und den Gemeinden in Galatien", *Catholica* 66:4 (2012), pp. 292–319.

124 J.A. Garcia, "A Critique of Mannermaa on Luther and Galatians", *Lutheran Quarterly* 27:1 (2013), pp. 33–55. See also the shorter version published later: J.A. Garcia, "'Not an Idle Quality or an Empty Husk in the Heart': A Critique of Tuomo Mannermaa on Luther and Galatians", in: M.W. Elliott, S.J. Hafemann, N.T. Wright and J. Frederick (eds.), *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul's Letter* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2014), pp. 132–142.

125 T. Mannermaa, *Christ Present in Faith: Luther's View of Justification* (Edited by Kirsi Stjerna) (Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 2005).

Sarah Hinlicky Wilson¹²⁶ (2013) points out that Luther refers in two ways to the law in his 1531/35 commentary on Galatians, in a relational sense (the law as mediator between humankind and God) and an instructive sense (the law as content, e.g., the decalogue as interpreted by Christ). According to Wilson, Lutherans wrongly tend to focus only on the first one. Francois Wessels¹²⁷ (2013) thinks that Luther's view of the situation in Galatia and Paul's attempts at persuading the Galatians were not entirely correct. Nevertheless, Luther was not totally wrong about the law, since Paul's warnings about the law as an identity marker could indeed be used to caution against other forms of misuse of the law. Jens Schröter¹²⁸ (2013) discusses the implications of the New Perspective on Paul for the Lutheran understanding of Paul, in particular by looking at 2:15–17. Schröter highlights the importance of the notion of God's justifying grace but also points out that the social and ecclesiological implications of this idea sometimes do not receive enough attention in Lutheran circles.

Jonathan A. Linebaugh¹²⁹ (2013) disagrees with views that Reformed interpretations of justification fail to coordinate the notion of justification and Christology. According to Linebaugh, an investigation of Luther's interpretation of 2:16 and 19–20 shows that his view of faith was radically Christo-centric. For Guillermo Hansen¹³⁰ (2013), Luther's interpretation of Galatians opens a window to a new understanding of what it means to be human. Faith displaces a socially and ecclesiastically constructed self-consciousness so that a Christ-consciousness can emerge. Timothy Wengert¹³¹ (2014) discusses Luther's interpretation of 3:6–14 and shows

126 S.H. Wilson, "The Law of God", *Lutheran Quarterly* 27:4 (2013), pp. 373–398.

127 F. Wessels, "Did Luther Get It Altogether Wrong? Luther's Interpretation of the Function of the Mosaic Law in Galatians", *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Teologiese Tydskrif* 54:5 (2013), pp. 321–330. <https://doi.org/10.5952/54-0-367>

128 J. Schröter, "'The New Perspective on Paul': Eine Anfrage an die Lutherische Paulusdeutung?", *Lutherjahrbuch* 80 (2013), pp. 142–158. <https://doi.org/10.13109/9783666874451.142>

129 J.A. Linebaugh, "The Christo-Centrism of Faith in Christ: Martin Luther's Reading of Galatians 2.16, 19–20", *New Testament Studies* 59:4 (2013), pp. 535–544. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688513000210>

130 G. Hansen, "Luther's Radical Conception of Faith: God, Christ, and Personhood in a Post-Metaphysical Age", *Dialog: A Journal of Theology* 52:3 (2013), pp. 212–221. <https://doi.org/10.1111/dial.12046>

131 T. Wengert, "Martin Luther on Galatians 3:6–14: Justification by Curses and Blessings", in: M.W. Elliott, S.J. Hafemann, N.T. Wright and J. Frederick (eds.), *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul's Letter* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2014), pp. 91–116. See also earlier: T.J. Wengert, *Reading the Bible with Martin*

that his approach to exegesis was dominated by two objectives: outlining doctrine and explaining its effect for believers (*doctrina et usus*, “doctrine and use”).

David Parry¹³² (2014) points out that scholars of John Bunyan’s theology are well aware of the influence that Luther’s commentary on Galatians had on him but that they seem unaware of the fact that the specific English translation of Luther’s commentary that Bunyan had read contained a preface by bishop Edwin Sandys and that this preface influenced Bunyan’s reception of Luther’s commentary. Scott Hafemann¹³³ (2014) investigates Luther’s interpretation of 3:6–14 critically. Hafemann points out that one can agree with Luther on several points but that there are also views in his interpretation that one has to reject.

Sin-young Kim¹³⁴ (2014) criticises the tendency in modern scholarship to minimise Luther’s teachings on love. Kim argues that faith and love function as a guiding thematic pair in Luther’s view of Christ and the law in his 1535 commentary on Galatians. David C. Fink¹³⁵ (2015) explains how Luther’s interpretation of Galatians differs from that of earlier scholars such as Jerome, Augustine and Aquinas before him. In the same volume, John M.G. Barclay¹³⁶ (2015) discusses the appropriateness and relevance of Luther’s exegesis of Galatians even though it is true that he did not understand the focus of the letter altogether correctly. Samuel

Luther: An Introductory Guide (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2013), pp. 92–122.

132 D. Parry, “John Bunyan and Edwin Sandys on Luther’s Galatians Commentary”, *Notes and Queries* 61:3 (2014), pp. 377–380. <https://doi.org/10.1093/notesj/gju100>

133 S. Hafemann, “Yaein: Yes and No to Luther’s Reading of Galatians 3:6–14”, in: M.W. Elliott, S.J. Hafemann, N.T. Wright and J. Frederick (eds.), *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul’s Letter* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2014), pp. 117–131. Updated version: S.J. Hafemann, *Paul: Servant of the New Covenant: Pauline Polarities in Eschatological Perspective* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.435, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), pp. 31–51. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157702-4>

134 S.-y. Kim, *Luther on Faith and Love: Christ and the Law in the 1535 Galatians Commentary* (Emerging Scholars, Minneapolis MN: Fortress Press, 2014).

135 D.C. Fink, “Martin Luther’s Reading of Galatians”, in: M. Allen and J.A. Linebaugh (eds.), *Reformation Readings of Paul: Explorations in History and Exegesis* (Downers Grove IL: IVP Academic, 2015), pp. 23–48.

136 J.M.G. Barclay, “The Text of Galatians and the Theology of Luther”, in: M. Allen and J.A. Linebaugh (eds.), *Reformation Readings of Paul: Explorations in History and Exegesis* (Downers Grove IL: IVP Academic, 2015), pp. 49–72.

J. Dubbelman¹³⁷ (2016) suggests that Luther borrowed the expression *tenebra et caligo fidei* (“the darkness and cloud of faith”, used in his 1535 commentary on Galatians) from Dionysius the Areopagite. Luther thus appropriated expressions associated with mystical theologians in order to explain the great difference between gospel and law.

Enoch Ekyarikunda and Ernest van Eck¹³⁸ (2016) wonder if it is possible for the Lutheran church in Uganda to understand the law in the same way as Luther did, since the situation in Uganda differs from that of Luther. They argue that the social and cultural context is very important for Christian living, as Galatians prove. Matthew Rosebrock¹³⁹ (2016) shows that the concepts *oratio*, *meditatio* and *tentatio* (“prayer”, “meditation” and “temptation”) are not only pivotal in Luther’s theology (as illustrated in his lectures on Galatians), but also had an influence on artistic manifestations of the Reformation, as is evident from some of the altarpieces created by Lucas Cranach the Elder.

Aihe Zheng¹⁴⁰ (2016) investigates Luther’s lectures on Galatians and Genesis (1535–1545) to determine what he taught about pastoral issues. According to Zheng, Luther used his views on law and gospel to encourage his students to live out their vocations faithfully. Evert Barten¹⁴¹ (2016) published a Dutch translation and an interpretation of Luther’s commentary on Galatians. Timothy Maschke¹⁴² (2017) discusses Luther’s comments on angelic mediators in Galatians 3, placing them in historical context. Anselmo Ernesto Graff and Evaldo Luis Pauly¹⁴³ (2017) identify a two-dimensional missiological structure in Luther’s lectures on Genesis and Galatians consisting of a vertical

137 S.J. Dubbelman, “The Darkness of Faith: A Study in Martin Luther’s 1535 Galatians Commentary”, *Trinity Journal* 37:2 (2016), pp. 213–232.

138 E. Ekyarikunda and E. van Eck, “Luther and the Law in the Lutheran Church of Uganda”, *HTS Theological Studies* 72:1 (2016), pp. 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v72i1.3251>

139 M. Rosebrock, “Luther’s Visual Theology: The Lectures on Galatians and Cranach’s Law and Gospel Paintings”, *Concordia Journal* 42:4 (2016), pp. 332–339.

140 A. Zheng, *Law and Gospel in Martin Luther’s Pastoral Teachings as Seen in His Lecture Notes: Finding Guidance in Genesis and Galatians to Serve the Household of God* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2016). <https://doi.org/10.3726/978-3-653-06912-9/1>

141 E. Barten, *Rechtvaardig door het Geloof: Luthers Verklaring van de Galatenbrief Uitgelegd* (Houten: Den Hertog, 2016).

142 T. Maschke, “Angelic Mediators: Luther’s Comments on Galatians 3 in Historical Context”, *Concordia Theological Journal* 4:2 (2017), pp. 27–42.

143 A.E. Graff and E.L. Pauly, “A Estrutura Teológica Missionária Bidimensional de Lutero: Preleções Sobre Gênesis e Gálatas”, *Caminhos* 15:2 (2017), pp. 342–353. <https://doi.org/10.18224/cam.v15i2.5726>

dimension (it is exclusively God's work) and a horizontal dimension (it is the responsibility of believers).

Dexter S. Maben¹⁴⁴ (2017) believes that the Lutheran Paul has to be "liberated". This can be done by understanding the law by means of social dominance theory focusing on the social dimension of the law. Maben illustrates this by an interpretation of 3:6–20. Naomichi Masaki¹⁴⁵ (2017) is of the opinion that Luther's lectures on Galatians (1531/1535) are rightly considered as the banner of the Reformation and provides reasons for such a view. Karl Olav Sandnes¹⁴⁶ (2017) focuses on Luther's exegesis of Galatians (1535) in light of recent developments, in particular the preamble and *argumentum*. Sandnes points out that Luther read the Bible (and Galatians) from the perspective of humanity's most basic ideal, namely a quest for righteousness.

Thomas Johann Bauer¹⁴⁷ (2018) notes that Luther's commentary was one of the central documents of the Reformation, since he discovered in it the message of a gracious God. However, Bauer also shows how the New Perspective on Paul challenges Luther's interpretation of Paul as well as Protestant theology. Stephen J. Chester¹⁴⁸ (2018) draws attention to the fact that Joseph Lortz and Jared Wickes – the two most important twentieth-century Roman Catholic scholars of Luther – have opposite views of his stance towards religious experience. Chester argues that these differences are caused by a polarity in Luther's views in this regard, as can be seen from his exegesis of 4:6.

Hyun-Gwang Kim¹⁴⁹ (2018) gives an overview of Luther's interpretation of Galatians. Kim maintains that Luther's views on

144 D.S. Maben, "“Why Then the Law?” Pauline Ecclesiology and Interfaith Relations", *Bangalore Theological Forum* 49:1 (2017), pp. 102–116.

145 N. Masaki, "In Search of Celebrating the Reformation Rightly: Luther's Lectures on Galatians (1531/1535) as the Banner of the Reformation", *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 81:3/4 (2017), pp. 213–238.

146 K.O. Sandnes, "Luther, Galaterbrevet og Moderne Paulus-Forskning", *Teologisk Tidsskrift* 6:1 (2017), pp. 7–24. <https://doi.org/10.18261/issn.1893-0271-2017-01-02>

147 T.J. Bauer, "The Letter to the Galatians and the Concerns of Reformation: Luther's Interpretation and Recent Discussions on Pauline Theology", *Theoforum* 48:1/2 (2018), pp. 115–126. <https://doi.org/10.2143/tf.48.1.3286632>

148 S.J. Chester, "“Abba! Father!” (Galatians 4:6): Justification and Assurance in Martin Luther's *Lectures on Galatians* (1535)", *Biblical Research* 63 (2018), pp. 15–28. For a response to Chester's contribution, see: P.J. Leithart, "Response: Galatians Five Hundred Years Later", *Biblical Research* 63 (2018), pp. 63–71.

149 H.-G. Kim, "A Study of Luther's Understanding of Galatians", *한국개혁신학* 60 (2018), pp. 235–263.

justification by faith did not imply that good works had no value, since Luther stated that believers should demonstrate both faith and works. *Haraldo S. Camacho*¹⁵⁰ (2018) published a translation of Luther's commentary on Galatians (1535) in today's English. *Jonathan A. Linebaugh*¹⁵¹ (2020) discusses the "I" in 2:20 in dialogue with Luther. Linebaugh argues that the no longer living "I" and the now living "I" are not identical: the second "I" is in the first "I" as a gift, even though the second "I" is also the first "I" that was loved by Christ. *Samuel J. Youngs*¹⁵² (2020) develops a psychological paradigm of the cross in dialogue with Luther's commentary on Galatians (1531/1535): Luther's focus was on the inner and the affective world of believers, i.e., it was a form of "therapeutic atonement".

*Miikka Ruokanen*¹⁵³ (2020) criticises Mannermaa's interpretation of Luther's lectures on Galatians. According to Ruokanen, Mannermaa overlooks the role of the Spirit in justification, undervalues aspects such as atonement and reconciliation in Luther's view of justification, and ignores the role of the Spirit in the union between God and sinners. *Kalina Wojciechowska*¹⁵⁴ (2020) discusses justification in the light of the *Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification* and Luther's commentaries on Romans (1516) and Galatians (1535), showing the differences and similarities between Luther's views and those found in the declaration.

3.3 John Calvin

*Riemer A. Faber*¹⁵⁵ (2004) explains the influence that Erasmus's *Novum Testamentum* and *Annotationes* had on Calvin's Galatians's commentary.

150 H.S. Camacho (transl.), *Martin Luther's Commentary on Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians (1535): Lecture Notes Transcribed by Students & Presented in Today's English* (Irvine CA: 1517 Publishing, 2018).

151 J.A. Linebaugh, "'The Speech of the Dead': Identifying the No Longer and Now Living 'I' of Galatians 2.20", *New Testament Studies* 66:1 (2020), pp. 87–105. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0028688519000365>

152 S.J. Youngs, "'Therapeutic' Atonement? A Psychological Paradigm of the Cross in Dialogue with Martin Luther", *Anglican Theological Review* 102:3 (2020), pp. 393–415.

153 M. Ruokanen, "Remarks on Tuomo Mannermaa's Interpretation of Martin Luther's Lectures on Galatians", *国学与西学 国际学刊* 18 (2020), pp. 39–63.

154 K. Wojciechowska, "'Łaską ... przez Wiarę' – Lutra Koncepcja Usprawiedliwienia Grzesznika: Perspektywa Egzegetyczno-Hermeneutyczna", *Roczniki Teologiczne* 67:7 (2020), pp. 85–109. <https://doi.org/10.18290/rt20677-6>

155 R.A. Faber, "The Influence of Erasmus's 'Annotationes' on Calvin's Galatians Commentary", *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 84 (2004), pp. 268–283.

Faber shows that Calvin made use of Erasmus's text and *Annotationes* but that there was a theological difference between the two: Calvin focused on the difference between justification by works and by faith, whereas Erasmus focused on the difference between ceremony and grace. *Peter Ward*¹⁵⁶ (2005) explains the way in which doctrine influenced Calvin's preaching by investigating some of his sermons, amongst others, from Galatians. Ward also notes that Calvin's preaching was both affective and didactic. *J. Mark Beach*¹⁵⁷ (2009) discusses Calvin's interpretation of 3:15–22 and other key texts and its implication for membership of the covenant of grace. Beach maintains that it is necessary to accept the dual aspect of covenant membership to remain true to Scripture.

One of the passages that *Barbara Pitkin*¹⁵⁸ (2009) discusses in an essay on Calvin's reception of Paul is Galatians 2. Pitkin shows that Calvin's reading of Paul was a polemical reading (Paul was used as argument against Roman Catholic views of justification) and a canonical one (Galatians was read in terms of other parts of Scripture). *Jeannette Kreijkes-van Esch*¹⁵⁹ (2017) explains the impact that certain theological concepts had on Calvin's reception of Chrysostom by looking at Calvin's exegesis of 4:21–26. It is evident that an emphasis on the *sensus literalis* ("literal sense") does not necessarily prevent one from reading one's own theology into the text.

156 P. Ward, "Coming to Sermon: The Practice of Doctrine in the Preaching of John Calvin", *Scottish Journal of Theology* 58:3 (2005), pp. 319–332. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0036930605001419>

157 J.M. Beach, "Calvin and the Dual Aspect of Covenant Membership: Galatians 3:15–22 – The Meaning of the "Seed" Is Christ' – and Other Key Texts", *Mid-America Journal of Theology* 20 (2009), pp. 49–73.

158 B. Pitkin, "Calvin's Reception of Paul", in: R.W. Holder (ed.), *A Companion to Paul in the Reformation* (Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 15, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2009), pp. 267–296. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004174924.i-660.50> See also: B. Pitkin, *Calvin, the Bible, and History: Exegesis and Historical Reflection in the Era of Reform* (Oxford/New York NY: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 36–67. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190093273.001.0001>

159 J. Kreijkes-van Esch, "Sola Scriptura and Calvin's Appeal to Chrysostom's Exegesis", in: H. Burger, A. Huijgen and E. Peels (eds.), *Sola Scriptura: Biblical and Theological Perspectives on Scripture, Authority, and Hermeneutics* (Studies in Reformed Theology 32, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2017), pp. 260–275. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004356436_016 See also earlier: J. Kreijkes, "The Impact of Theological Concepts on Calvin's Reception of Chrysostom's Exegesis of Galatians 4:21–6", *Studia Patristica* 96 (2017), pp. 57–63.

J. Andrew Cohan¹⁶⁰ (2018) challenges the commonly accepted view that 2:17 is not directly related to vv. 19–20 by drawing attention to Calvin’s interpretation: Calvin read v. 20 as referring not to Christ’s indwelling in believers but to God’s acceptance of them in Christ. Accordingly, Cowan proposes that vv. 19–20 should be seen as a reference to the justifying relationship mentioned in v. 17.

3.4 Reformation period (general)

According to S.M. Baugh¹⁶¹ (2004), 3:20 supports the Reformed view of the *pactum salutis*, the covenant of redemption, in particular the idea of an intratinitarian arrangement, something that Moses could not mediate, since God is one. Juha Mikkonen¹⁶² (2007) offers a comparison of substantial concepts in Luther’s and Calvin’s commentaries on Galatians. Mikkonen concludes that, although Calvin’s commentary is not dependent on that of Luther, the two commentaries basically arrive at similar positions. Mikkonen also notes several differences between the two commentaries, e.g., the fact that one’s suffering as a Christian and the scandal of the cross are significant themes only in Luther’s commentary.

One of the issues that Irene Backus¹⁶³ (2009) uses to illustrate Jacques Lefèvre d’Etaples’s interpretation of Paul is 2:11–12 (the conflict between Paul and Peter). Backus describes his interpretation as idiosyncratic and dominated by a refusal to challenge church tradition about the two apostles. In the light of criticism raised by the New Perspective on Paul against the way in which the Reformed tradition read Paul, Stephen

160 J.A. Cowan, “The Legal Significance of Christ’s Risen Life: Union with Christ and Justification in Galatians 2.17–20”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 40:4 (2018), pp. 453–472. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064x18767078> Jan Lambrecht does not agree with this proposal. See: J. Lambrecht, *Intended Sense of Scripture: Fifty Brief Exegetical Notes (2019–2020)* (Beau Basin: Scholars’ Press, 2020), pp. 269–273.

161 S.M. Baugh, “Galatians 3:20 and the Covenant of Redemption”, *The Westminster Theological Journal* 66:1 (2004), pp. 49–70.

162 J. Mikkonen, *Luther and Calvin on Paul’s Epistle to the Galatians: An Analysis and Comparison of Substantial Concepts in Luther’s 1531/35 and Calvin’s 1546/48 Commentaries on Galatians* (Åbo: Åbo Akademis Förlag, 2007).

163 I. Backus, “Jacques Lefèvre d’Etaples: A Humanist or a Reformist View of Paul and His Theology?”, in: R.W. Holder (ed.), *A Companion to Paul in the Reformation* (Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 15, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2009), pp. 213–240. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004174924.i-660.12>

Chester¹⁶⁴ (2008) discusses the way in which Erasmus and the Reformers interpreted 2:16, in particular the expression “works of the law”, the notion of justification by faith and the expression “faith in Christ”/“the faithfulness of Christ”. One of the issues that Hermann Ehmer¹⁶⁵ (2009) discusses in an essay on Johannes Brenz and Paul, is his commentary on Galatians. According to Ehmer, Brenz published his commentary after that of Luther, since he wanted to show that he regarded Luther as his teacher and an organ of God.

R. Scott Clark¹⁶⁶ (2009) gives an overview of Caspar Olevianus’s Pauline commentaries, the first of which to be published being the one on Galatians. Clark draws attention to the fact that Olevianus summarised the message of Galatians as righteousness from the gospel and not from the law – a programmatic summary not only of his theology but also of the hermeneutic according to which he interpreted all the Pauline letters. In an overview of the way in which Paul was interpreted by Johannes Bugenhagen in order to substantiate the importance of care for the poor in the sixteenth century, Kurt K. Hendel¹⁶⁷ (2009) refers to several texts from the Pauline corpus that Bugenhagen regarded as important for this purpose. In the case of Galatians, 2:10 and 6:10 are highlighted.

S.J. Oh¹⁶⁸ (2010) compares the views of Calvin and Luther on the law in their commentaries on Galatians and argues that Luther focused more on the grace of God than Calvin did, and thus Luther gave a better explanation of Paul’s views. The *Reformation Commentary on Scripture* series contains extracts from the Reformers, illustrating how they

164 S. Chester, “When the Old Was New: Reformation Perspectives on Galatians 2:16”, *The Expository Times* 119:7 (2008), pp. 320–329. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0014524608091090>

165 H. Ehmer, “Brenz and Paul”, in: R.W. Holder (ed.), *A Companion to Paul in the Reformation* (Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 15, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2009), pp. 165–185. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004174924.i-660.26>

166 R.S. Clark, “The Reception of Paul in Heidelberg: The Pauline Commentaries of Caspar Olevianus”, in: R.W. Holder (ed.), *A Companion to Paul in the Reformation* (Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 15, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2009), pp. 297–315. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004174924.i-660.57>

167 K.K. Hendel, “Paul and the Care of the Poor During the Sixteenth Century: A Case Study”, in: R.W. Holder (ed.), *A Companion to Paul in the Reformation* (Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 15, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2009), pp. 541–571. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004174924.i-660.103>

168 S.J. Oh, “A Comparison of the Views on the Law between Luther and Calvin in Their Commentaries on Galatians”, *Korean New Testament Studies* 17:3 (2010), pp. 657–709.

interpreted Scripture. Galatians and Ephesians are treated in volume 10, edited by *Gerald L. Bray*¹⁶⁹ (2011). *Michael Morson*¹⁷⁰ (2012) defends the interpretation of the expression “works of the law” by Luther and Calvin as “good works” against criticism by the New Perspective. Morson finds Luther’s and Calvin’s interpretations of the expression exegetically good and pastorally useful.

The *Reformation Heritage Bible Commentary* contains extracts from commentators from the Lutheran heritage. The volume on Galatians, Ephesians and Philippians was prepared by *Jerald C. Joersz*¹⁷¹ (2013). A new historical-critically edited version of Heinrich Bullinger’s works is being published. The volume containing his commentary on Galatians was published in 2014 and edited by *Luca Baschera*.¹⁷² *Abraham van de Beek*¹⁷³ (2014) explores the reception of 2:20 by Patristic authors and by Luther and Calvin, showing that their interpretation of this verse often does not fit the theological frameworks in which later generations placed these authors. *Stephen J. Chester*¹⁷⁴ (2014) investigates Luther’s and Calvin’s view of human deeds in their exegesis of 5:6. Chester shows that for them “faith” was the key term in understanding Galatians. Although they believed that deeds could not justify, they still regarded deeds as integral to faith. Furthermore, they emphasised the sociological characteristics of love.

*Luca Baschera*¹⁷⁵ (2017) discusses the difference between Luther’s and Bullinger’s interpretation of 2:11–14: whereas Luther thought that Peter erred in terms of doctrine (“Lehrauffassung”), Bullinger

169 G.L. Bray (ed.), *Galatians, Ephesians* (Reformation Commentary on Scripture, New Testament 10, Downers Grove IL: IVP Academic, 2011).

170 M. Morson, “Reformed, Lutheran, and ‘New Perspective’: A Dialogue between Traditions Regarding the Interpretation of ‘Works of the Law’ in Galatians”, *Canadian Theological Review* 1:2 (2012), pp. 61–67.

171 J.C. Joersz, *Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians* (Reformation Heritage Bible Commentary, Saint Louis MO: Concordia, 2013).

172 L. Baschera (ed.), *Heinrich Bullinger Kommentare zu den neutestamentlichen Briefe: Gal – Eph – Phil – Kol* (Dritte Abteilung: Theologische Schriften Band 7, Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2014).

173 A. van de Beek, “The Reception of Galatians 2:20 in the Patristic Period and the Reformation”, *Acta Theologica Supplementum* 19 (2014), pp. 42–57. <https://doi.org/10.4314/actat.v33i2s.3>

174 S.J. Chester, “Faith Working through Love (Galatians 5:6): The Role of Human Deeds in Salvation in Luther and Calvin’s Exegesis”, *The Covenant Quarterly* 72:3/4 (2014), pp. 41–54.

175 L. Baschera, “Fehlverhalten oder Irrtum in der Lehre? Die Deutung des ‘Apostelstreites’ (Gal 2,11–14) und dessen Ursache bei Heinrich Bullinger und Martin Luther”, in: C. Christ-von Wedel and S. Grosse (eds.), *Auslegung und Hermeneutik der Bibel in der Reformationszeit* (Historia

was of the opinion that it was merely an instance of misconduct (“Fehlverhalten”). Samuel Vollenweider¹⁷⁶ (2017) uses examples from Galatians (1:1–9, 2:12–21 and 3:13) and Philippians to illustrate Bullinger’s interpretation of Paul. Vollenweider highlights two aspects: Bullinger followed Melancthon’s rhetorical approach but in a milder way, and, furthermore, his hermeneutical approach was characterised by a focus on the scopus of Scripture and the way in which it could be organised in terms of *loci*. Jonathan A. Linebaugh¹⁷⁷ (2018) identifies the “grammar of the gospel” in the Reformation as the expression of Paul’s view of justification in terms of an antithesis, indicating both what the gospel is and is not. Linebaugh applies this insight to Galatians, showing how this antithesis functions as a critical hermeneutical criterion in the letter.

3.5 Other studies

Maria Isabel Barbeito Carneiro¹⁷⁸ (2007) gives an overview of the way in which Songs of Songs and Galatians were appropriated for understanding union and transformation of the soul in God by some Franciscans and Carmelites during the Early Modern Era: Teresa of Avila, John of the Cross, Cecilia del Nacimiento, Antonio Sobrino and Estefanía de la Encarnación. Adam McClendon¹⁷⁹ (2011) discusses the way in which William Bridge, a Puritan minister, interpreted 2:20 in five sermons preached in 1648. For Bridge, this verse depicts a concise portrayal of the justification of the believer and the nature of the spiritual life flowing from this event. Debora Shuger¹⁸⁰ (2012) edited a collection of primary sources from Early Stuart England, reflecting the variety in religion, theology and spirituality during this period. This book contains a sermon by John

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- Hermeneutica: Series Studia 14, Berlin/Boston MA: De Gruyter, 2017), pp. 243–264. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110467925-010>
- 176 S. Vollenweider, “Paulus in Zürich: Zur Briefauslegung von Heinrich Bullinger”, *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 114:1 (2017), pp. 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1628/004435417X14822419363900>
- 177 J.A. Linebaugh, “The Grammar of the Gospel: Justification as a Theological Criterion in the Reformation and in Paul’s Letter to the Galatians”, *Scottish Journal of Theology* 71:3 (2018), pp. 287–307. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0036930618000339>
- 178 M.I. Barbeito Carneiro, “En Él Fueron Transformadas”, *Via Spiritus: Revista de História da Espiritualidade e do Sentimento Religioso* 14 (2007), pp. 31–64.
- 179 A. McClendon, “A Puritan’s Perspective of Galatians 2:20”, *Puritan Reformed Journal* 3:1 (2011), pp. 56–77.
- 180 D. Shuger (ed.), *Religion in Early Stuart England, 1603–1638: An Anthology of Primary Sources* (Documents of Anglophone Christianity Baylor TX: Baylor University Press, 2012), pp. 843–850.

Hales on 6:7 (ca. 1619–38, published in 1660) in which Hales defends rationalism, individualism and egalitarianism.

One of the sermons chosen by *Jonathan M. Yeager*¹⁸¹ (2013) to illustrate Early Evangelism is one on 6:14. In this sermon, John Maclaurin (1693–1754) emphasises that eternal salvation is only possible through the death of Jesus – a death that paradoxically both humiliated and glorified him. One of the examples that *James P. Byrd*¹⁸² (2013) selects to illustrate how American colonists used the Bible to justify the American Revolution is 5:1. Byrd shows how Paul’s call to liberty was used as a slogan and even rationale for political revolution, i.e., as claim of divine authority. *Vladimir Brljak*¹⁸³ (2015) believes that John Milton was familiar with the disputes surrounding 4:24 and that this helps one to understand his anti-allegorical stance, as is evident in his “Paradise Regain’d”.

One of the examples that *Daniel L. Dreisbach*¹⁸⁴ (2017) uses to illustrate the way in which the Bible was read by the “founding fathers” in the USA is 5:1. Dreisbach shows how this call to liberty was used and abused in the fight for political liberty. *Claire Walker*¹⁸⁵ (2017) explains how Rev. Samuel Wesley used a rhetoric of shame in a sermon on 6:1, preached at two occasions (1719 and 1725) in order to admonish a parishioner as well as the rest of the parish for immorality. However, apparently Wesley did not practise what he preached, since at the time of the second preaching of the sermon, he and the rest of his family had not forgiven his own daughter who had eloped and returned to the family.

*Audrey Taschini*¹⁸⁶ (2017) discusses the way in which John Donne expands the clothing metaphor found in 3:27 in terms of fashion customs of his time in one of his sermons in order to convey a spiritual message.

181 J.M. Yeager (ed.), *Early Evangelism: A Reader* (Oxford/New York NY: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 178–184.

182 J.P. Byrd, *Sacred Scripture, Sacred War: The Bible and the American Revolution* (New York NY/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 116–142. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199843497.001.0001>

183 V. Brljak, “The Satanic ‘Or’: Milton and Protestant Anti-Allegorism”, *The Review of English Studies* 66:275 (2015), pp. 403–422. <https://doi.org/10.1093/res/hgv011>

184 D.L. Dreisbach, *Reading the Bible with the Founding Fathers* (New York NY: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 189–204. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199987931.001.0001>

185 C. Walker, “Governing Bodies, Family and Society: The Rhetoric of the Passions in the Sermons of Samuel Wesley”, *English Studies* 98:7 (2017), pp. 733–746. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0013838X.2017.1384228>

186 A. Taschini, “The Christian Believer’s Spiritual Clothing in John Donne’s Comment of Galatians 3,27”, *Elephant & Castle* 16 (2017), pp. 5–16.

Nancy Carol James¹⁸⁷ (2017) published the first English translation of, and an introduction to, the French mystic Jeanne Guyon's commentaries on Galatians, Ephesians and Colossians, with explanations and reflections for the interior life. Victor Nuovo¹⁸⁸ (2019) describes John Locke's hermeneutics of existence and the way in which he represented Christianity. One of the sources that Nuovo uses to illustrate Locke's hermeneutical practices is his commentary on the Pauline letters (on Galatians, the Corinthian letters, Romans and Ephesians). According to Nuovo, for Locke, the recovery of the notion of revelation opened a philosophical way to transcendence. In the same volume, Henning Graf Reventlow¹⁸⁹ (2019) discusses Locke's religious development, from his *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* to his commentary on Paul's letters.

Kenneth P. Minkema, Adriaan C. Neele and Allen M. Stanton¹⁹⁰ (2019) published several sermons by Jonathan Edwards that have not been published before: on 2:17, 20, 3:13, 16, 5:6 and 17. Grace Magnier¹⁹¹ (2020) elucidates how the views of Pedro de Valencia (1550–1620), a humanist and Biblical scholar who wrote a commentary on Acts and Galatians, were influenced by these two writings. De Valencia regarded the situation of the Moriscos in Spanish society of his time as similar to that of the Gentiles in the New Testament era. They thus also had to be treated with toleration, patience and love. Marlin E. Blaine¹⁹² (2020) explains how Shakespeare

187 N.C. James (transl. & ed.), *Jeanne Guyon's Christian Worldview: Her Biblical Commentaries on Galatians, Ephesians, and Colossians with Explanations and Reflections on the Interior Life* (Eugene OR: Pickwick Publications, 2017).

188 V. Nuovo, "Locke's Hermeneutics of Existence and His Representation of Christianity", in: L. Simonutti (ed.), *Locke and Biblical Hermeneutics: Conscience and Scripture* (International Archives of the History of Ideas/ Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Idées 226, Cham: Springer, 2019), pp. 77–104. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-19903-6>

189 H.G. Reventlow, "The Religious Way of John Locke from the *Essay to the Paraphrase* (1690–1704)", in: L. Simonutti (ed.), *Locke and Biblical Hermeneutics: Conscience and Scripture* (International Archives of the History of Ideas/Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Idées 226, Cham: Springer, 2019), pp. 11–20. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-19903-6>

190 K.P. Minkema, A.C. Neele and A.M. Stanton (eds.), *Sermons by Jonathan Edwards on the Epistle to the Galatians* (Eugene OR: Cascade Books, 2019).

191 G. Magnier, "Pedro de Valencia: Christian Humanist, Biblical Scholar and Social Critic: Advocate for Gentle Treatment of the Moriscos", *Hispania Sacra* 72:146 (2020), pp. 391–402. <https://doi.org/10.3989/hs.2020.027>

192 M.E. Blaine, "Lust, Spirit, and the Vice List in Shakespeare's Sonnet 129 and Galatians 5", *Ben Jonson Journal* 27:2 (2020), pp. 234–246. <https://doi.org/10.3366/bjj.2020.0286>

brutally ironized the relationship between spirit, lust and will depicted in 5:16–26, in Sonnet 129.

4. The Nineteenth to the Twenty-First Centuries

4.1 The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

Martin Heidegger

*Matthias Fritsch and Jennifer Anna Gosetti-Ferencei*¹⁹³ (2004) published an English translation of (the young) Heidegger's important lectures on the phenomenology of religion. Amongst other things, these lectures presented a phenomenological interpretation of Galatians and I & II Thessalonians. *Carlos Casale*¹⁹⁴ (2008) explains how Heidegger regarded Galatians and I & II Thessalonians as paradigms for realising factic life. Casale also offers a critical theological assessment of Heidegger's contribution. In the same issue, *Ignacio Chuecas*¹⁹⁵ (2008) re-analyses some of the Pauline concepts in Galatians (in particular, the relationship between faith and law) that play an important role in Heidegger's discussion of the phenomenology of religious life, since Heidegger's views on these matters reflect the academic insights from his era and there have been further developments since then.

*Paulo Sérgio Lopes Gonçalves*¹⁹⁶ (2012) discusses the way in which Heidegger analyses Christian religion, in particular from the perspective of phenomenology, hermeneutics and facticity. Gonçalves focuses in particular on Heidegger's views in this regard on Galatians, I & II Thessalonians, Augustine's *Confessions* (Book X) and medieval mysticism. *Arthur Grupillo*¹⁹⁷ (2014) highlights Heidegger's views in *The*

193 M. Fritsch and J.A. Gosetti-Ferencei (transl.), *Martin Heidegger: The Phenomenology of Religious Life* (Studies in Continental Thought, Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), pp. 47–51.

194 C. Casale, "La Interpretación Fenomenológica de Heidegger de la Escatología Paulina", *Teología y Vida* 49:3 (2008), pp. 399–429. <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0049-34492008000200013>

195 I. Chuecas, "Heidegger y San Pablo: La Interpretación Fenomenológica de Martin Heidegger a la Carta a los Gálatas desde una Perspectiva de Exégesis Bíblica", *Teología y Vida* 49:3 (2008), pp. 431–445. <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0049-34492008000200014>

196 P.S.L. Gonçalves, "A Religião à Luz da Fenomenologia Hermenêutica Heideggeriana", *Horizonte* 10:26 (2012), pp. 566–583. <https://doi.org/10.5752/P.2175-5841.2012v10n26p566-583>

197 A. Grupillo, "Fenomenologia da Vida Religiosa: História e Método na Interpretação das Epístolas Paulinas do Jovem Heidegger", *Numen: Revista de Estudos e Pesquisa da Religião* 17:2 (2014), pp. 73–97.

Phenomenology of Religious Life on why the Christian religion, and in particular the Pauline writings, offer an avenue to a philosophy of religion. Grupillo points out that Heidegger's notion of the facticity of Christian living opposes a generally downward tendency in human experience of life.

Josias da Costa Junior¹⁹⁸ (2015) discusses Heidegger's *The Phenomenology of Religious Life*, in particular the way in which he understands the notions of hermeneutics, phenomenology and facticity. Furthermore, the focus falls on mystical religious experience. Norman K. Swazo¹⁹⁹ (2019) draws attention to Heidegger's interpretation of Galatians and points out that for Heidegger, faith as lived experience and recognising "the Christ" are essential. However, recognising him needs phenomenological clarification. Franceso Mora²⁰⁰ (2020) investigates Heidegger's views of factic life as explained in his investigations of Galatians and I & II Thessalonians. This highlights the importance of religion.

Hyon Jin Im²⁰¹ (2020) offers a feminist phenomenological perspective on gender and indicates what it implies for artificial intelligence, based on the depiction of gender roles in Galatians and 1 Corinthians, as well as Heidegger's views on *Dasein*. According to Gideon Baker²⁰² (2020), Paul's reduction of the dual commandment (love of God and the neighbour) to love of the neighbour in 5:13 and Romans 13:9 should be understood in terms of Paul's messianic perspective on worldliness. Since Paul thinks of the neighbour as somebody living right next to us in this world, he reduces love of God to love of the neighbour. Baker also refers to the contributions of Heidegger and Agamben in this regard.

198 J. da Costa Junior, "Experiência Religiosa Mística a Partir de Martin Heidegger", *Revista de Estudos e Pesquisa da Religião* 18:2 (2015), pp. 55-71.

199 N.K. Swazo, "Heidegger's *Destruktion* of Theology: 'Primordial Faith' and 'Recognition' of the Messiah", *Modern Theology* 35:1 (2019), pp. 138-162. <https://doi.org/10.1111/moth.12447>

200 F. Mora, "La Vita Fattiva nell'Esperienza del Protocristianesimo", *Bollettino Filosofico* 35 (2020), pp. 213-226. <https://doi.org/10.6093/1593-7178/7449>

201 H.J. Im, "A Feminist Phenomenological Study on Artificial 'Female' Intelligence and Technocapitalism", *신학과 사회* 34:1 (2020), pp. 89-127. <https://doi.org/10.22748/thesoc.2020.34.1.004>

202 G. Baker, "Paul's Reduction of the Dual Commandment: The Significance of Worldliness to Messianic Life", *Political Theology* 21:7 (2020), pp. 606-622. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1462317x.2020.1787603>

Other

Demetrius Williams²⁰³ (2003) offers an overview of the way in which 3:28 was appropriated in African American churches to fight against racism, sexism and classicism. Williams also points out that black churches sometimes failed to realise their own sexist practices. Heino Gaese²⁰⁴ (2003) published the Latin text, as well as a German translation of, and an introduction to, writings from Bengel's well-known *Gnomon* that are relevant for the theme of justification, i.e., on Romans, Galatians, James and the Sermon on the Mount (from the 1835/36 edition). One of the texts that David W. Kling²⁰⁵ (2004) chooses to illustrate the interplay between the Bible and society is 3:28. In this instance, the issue that receives attention is the important role that this text played in the advocacy for women's ministry and ordination.

Samuel Fernández²⁰⁶ (2005) analyses the way in which Alberto Hurtado, a Jesuit saint, interpreted 2:20. According to Fernández, Hurtado's interpretation of this verse (the verse that he cites most in his writings) helps one to understand his spirituality: the notion of being in Christ was integrated with that of Christ in others, especially the poor. Letty M. Russell²⁰⁷ (2006) offers an overview of the way in which 4:21–31 has been interpreted by male scholars as well as by female scholars following a feminist and postcolonial approach, thus noting the “twists and turns” both in Paul's allegory and the way in

203 D. Williams, “African American Churches and Galatians 3:28: A Brief Assessment of the Appropriation of an Egalitarian Paradigm”, in: S. Matthews, C.B. Kittredge and M. Johnson-Debaufre (eds.), *Walk in the Ways of Wisdom: Essays in Honor of Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza* (Harrisburg PA/London/New York NY: Trinity Press International, 2003), pp. 351–369.

204 H. Gaese (transl.), *Johann Albrecht Bengel: Der Gnomon: Lateinisch-deutsche Teilausgabe der Hauptschriften zur Rechtfertigung: Römer-, Galater-, Jakobusbrief und Bergpredigt nach dem Druck von 1835/36: Hrsg. und übers. von Heino Gaese* (Tübingen/Basel: Francke, 2003).

205 D.W. Kling, *The Bible in History: How the Texts Have Shaped the Times* (New York NY: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 269–308. <https://doi.org/10.1093/0195130081.001.0001>

206 S. Fernández, “‘Ya no vivo Yo, es Cristo que Vive en Mí’ (Gál 2,20): ‘Ser Cristo’ Como Clave de la Vida del Padre Alberto Hurtado”, *Teología y Vida* 46:3 (2005), pp. 352–373. <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0049-34492005000200003>

207 L.M. Russell, “Twists and Turns in Paul's Allegory”, in: P. Tribble and L.M. Russell (eds.), *Hagar, Sarah, and Their Children: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Perspectives* (Louisville KY: Westminster John Knox, 2006), pp. 71–97.

which it has been interpreted. *Ida Raming*²⁰⁸ (2006) offers an overview of the way in which 3:27 was interpreted in Vatican documents to exclude women in the Name of God in the era from Pope Pius XII until Pope Benedict XVI.

*Waldecir Gonzaga*²⁰⁹ (2007) assesses how 2:1–21 has been interpreted since Vatican II in order to obtain an in-depth understanding of the text and to work out the ecumenical and pastoral implications of such an understanding. *James W. Thompson*²¹⁰ (2008) critically discusses the manner in which the law is perceived in the Stone–Campbell movement in the light of Paul’s views of the law (as, amongst others, reflected in Galatians). Thompson believes that Campbell and those who followed him did not realise the abiding significance of the law. *Charles H. Cosgrove*²¹¹ (2010) offers an overview of scholarly interpretations of Paul’s idea of ethnicity and also of the way in which 3:28 was interpreted in this regard.

*Pierre Debergé*²¹² (2011) illustrates how Simon Légasse understood the Pauline writings by discussing his interpretation of 2:16, 2:19–20 and 5:6b. According to Debergé, Légasse succeeded in combining exegetical rigour and theological depth in order to identify the contours of Christian living. *Stephen J. Lennox*²¹³ (2012) explains the manner in which 3:28 was used in the US in the Holiness Movement during the antebellum period. Lennox argues that it could be used in this movement as a leading verse in the fight for the liberation of women, because of the emphasis in this group on “principles”. One of the examples that *Paul*

208 I. Raming, *Gleichrangig in Christus anstatt: Ausschluss von Frauen “im Namen Gottes”: Zur Rezeption und Interpretation von Gal 3,27f in vatikanischen Dokumenten* (Theologische Plädoyers 1, Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2006).

209 W. Gonzaga, “A Verdade do Evangelho” (Gl 2,5.14) e a Autoridade na Igreja: Gl 2,1–21 na Exegese do Vaticano II Até os Nossos Dias: História, Balanço e Novas Perspectivas (Tesi Gregoriana: Teologia 145, Rome: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 2007).

210 J.W. Thompson, “Paul’s Doctrine of the Law and the Stone–Campbell Movement”, *Restoration Quarterly* 50:2 (2008), pp. 79–89.

211 C.H. Cosgrove, “Paul and Ethnicity: A Selective History of Interpretation”, in: M.D. Given (ed.), *Paul Unbound: Other Perspectives on the Apostle* (Peabody MA/Edinburgh: Hendrickson, 2010), pp. 71–98.

212 P. Debergé, “Le père Simon Légasse: Quand rigueur exégétique et profondeur théologique, à la suite de Paul, dessinent les contours de la vie chrétienne”, *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* 112:1 (2011), pp. 5–16.

213 S.J. Lennox, “‘One in Christ’: Galatians 3:28 and the Holiness Agenda”, *The Evangelical Quarterly* 84:3 (2012), pp. 195–212.

R. Abramson²¹⁴ (2012) uses to illustrate the influence that the Bible had on politics comes from 3:26–29. Abramson explains how this passage was used in the discussions about slavery in the US, both for and against abolition.

Brendan Byrne²¹⁵ (2014) rejects J. Louis Martyn's interpretation of the two covenants in 4:21–5:1 (traditionally interpreted as a reference to Judaism and Christianity) as referring to Paul's opponents and Paul's law-free mission to the Gentiles respectively. Byrne defends the traditional interpretation but also points out that it does not necessarily imply an anti-Jewish interpretation of the text. Darren O. Sumner²¹⁶ (2014) considers Karl Barth's interpretation of 4:4, in particular from the perspective of classical trinitarianism and Barth's critical thoughts on the matter as they bear upon the issue of how human temporality relates to divine eternity. Matthias Grebe²¹⁷ (2015) discusses 3:13 in conversation with Barth, offering a fresh interpretation: Paul makes this provocative statement to silence his opponents in Galatia, and it implies that all humanity (and not the Father as Barth maintains) judged Christ.

Joel Marcus²¹⁸ (2017) looks critically at Martyn's exegesis of 4:21–31 (that it does not refer to Judaism and Christianity but to the law-free mission and the law-obedient mission) and finds it indefensible. Claus Bernet and Klaus Fuchs-Kittowski²¹⁹ (2018) edited and published the

214 P.R. Abramson, *Politics in the Bible* (New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2012), pp. 148–151.

215 B. Byrne, "Jerusalem Above and Below: A Critique of J.L. Martyn's Interpretation of the Hagar-Sarah Allegory in Gal 4.21–5.1", *New Testament Studies* 60:2 (2014), pp. 215–231. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688513000362>

216 D.O. Sumner, "Karl Barth and 'The Fullness of Time': Eternity and Divine Intent in the Epistle to the Galatians", in: M.W. Elliott, S.J. Hafemann, N.T. Wright and J. Frederick (eds.), *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul's Letter* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2014), pp. 249–257.

217 M. Grebe, "Jesus Christ: Victim or Victor? Revisiting Galatians 3:13 in Conversation with Karl Barth and Scripture", *Communio Viatorum* 57:3 (2015), pp. 240–251. Originally published as: M. Grebe, "Jesus Christ: Victim or Victor? Revisiting Galatians 3:13 in Conversation with Karl Barth and Scripture", in: H.C. Kim (ed.), *Galatians as Examined by Diverse Academics in 2012 (St. Andrews, Scotland)* (Hermit Kingdom Studies in Christianity and Judaism 3, Highland Park: The Hermit Kingdom Press, 2013), pp. 28–41.

218 J. Marcus, "Lou Martyn, Paul, and Judaism", *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 7:1/2 (2017), pp. 112–118. <https://doi.org/10.5325/jstudpaullett.7.1-2.0112>

219 C. Bernet and K. Fuchs-Kittowski (eds.), *Emil Fuchs: Der erste Brief des Paulus an die Thessalonicher, Galaterbrief und Korintherbrief: Eine*

exegesis of Emil Fuchs on the Thessalonian letters, Galatians and the Corinthian letters. Fuchs worked on this from 1944–1945 under very pressing circumstances in Germany when it was already clear that Nazism would not last. Sheila Delany²²⁰ (2020) published an English translation of Sylvain Maréchal's *Pour et contre la Bible* – a commentary originally published in 1801 by Maréchal. The commentary was a secularised and rationalist attempt to protest against the advent of Napoleon and a growth in Catholic enthusiasm.

To conclude this section, the contributions of Khiok-khng Yeo, who focuses on the intercultural reading of Confucius and Galatians, should be mentioned. In a study published in 2005, Yeo²²¹ compares *li* in *The Analects* and the law in Galatians, drawing out the implications of *li* and the law for contemporary society. Yeo suggests that the common good is the goal of living by *li* and the law. In a second study, Yeo²²² (2006) compares the concepts of *xin* (trust) in Confucius and *pistis* in Paul and demonstrates how Confucius might help one to interpret Paul. In a third contribution, Yeo²²³ (2006) uses an intertextual reading of Confucius and Galatians for constructing a Chinese Christian identity. According to Yeo, Christ fulfils Confucian ethics, protects China from the anomalies of Western Christian history and protects the universal church from the anomalies of Chinese history. In a fourth contribution, Yeo²²⁴ (2009) investigates the theme of moral freedom and human nature in Confucius and Galatians. According to Yeo, there is widespread agreement between Paul and Confucius, but Christ broadens or adds what is absent or implicit in Confucius, and

Auslegung des Evangeliums im Kontext von Verfolgung und Widerstand (1944–1945) (THEOS 138, Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač, 2018).

- 220 S. Delany, *For and against the Bible: A Translation of Sylvain Maréchal's Pour et contre la Bible (1801)* (Studies in Critical Research on Religion 11, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2020). <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004435001>
- 221 K.-K. Yeo, "Li and Law in the Analects and Galatians: A Chinese Christian Understanding of Ritual and Property", *The Asia Journal of Theology* 19:2 (2005), pp. 309–332. See also the reprint of a work originally published in 1998: K.-K. Yeo, *What Has Jerusalem to do with Beijing? Biblical Interpretation from a Chinese Perspective* (Contrapuntal Readings of the Bible in World Christianity 2, Eugene OR: Pickwick, 2018).
- 222 K.-K. Yeo, "On Confucian *xin* and Pauline *pistis*", *Sino-Christian Studies* 2 (2006), pp. 25–51.
- 223 K.-K. Yeo, "Musing with Confucius (the *Analects*) and Paul (Galatians) on a 'Theological-Cultural' Chinese Journey", *The Asia Journal of Theology* 20:2 (2006), pp. 385–398.
- 224 K.-K. Yeo, "An Intertextual Reading of Moral Freedom in the Analects and Galatians", in: S.E. Porter and M.J. Boda (eds.), *Translating the New Testament: Text, Translation, Theology* (McMaster New Testament Studies, Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2009), pp. 271–289.

Confucius stresses aspects of Christian belief that are underplayed by Western Christians. In a book published in 2008, Yeo²²⁵ gathers the insights from nearly two decades of cross-cultural interpretation of *The Analects* and Pauline literature, in particular, Galatians. Yeo maintains that it is possible to be both Chinese and Christian, i.e., to be a Chinese Christian. Yeo also demonstrates how one can integrate insights from the Confucian tradition and from Paul on issues such as virtue ethics, violence, political ethics and being human in a world full of difference.

4.2 Studies addressing contemporary situations

Frank J. Matera²²⁶ (2000) explains how Paul developed his views on justification as a result of a twofold problem in the congregations in Galatians: a theological problem (Does righteousness depend on something else in addition to the Christ event?) and a social problem (Could Gentiles share a table with Jews without adopting Jewish ways?). Matera also works out the implications of Paul's views in the letter for ecumenical dialogue. Eliud Wabukala and Grant LeMarquand²²⁷ (2000) appropriate 3:13 within an African context. They note that both first-century Jews and the Babukusu people connect hanging on a tree with the notion of curse. However, Paul interpreted Christ's hanging on a cross as bringing blessing to believers and this logic of sacrifice enabled Babukusu believers to regard the cross as a sign of blessing.

Patrick Kéchichian, Stanislas Breton and Philippe Morel²²⁸ (2001), respectively a writer, an exegete and an art historian, reflect on the depiction of Paul's conversion in 1:11–23. Kéchichian focuses on spiritual aspects, Breton ponders the decisive events depicted here and Morel discusses four paintings relevant to the theme. Michael McGhee²²⁹ (2002) argues that finding commonalities between different religions may be

225 K.-K. Yeo, *Musing with Confucius and Paul: Toward a Chinese Christian Theology* (Eugene OR: Cascade Books, 2008), pp. 53–109.

226 F.J. Matera, "Galatians and the Development of Paul's Teaching on Justification", *Word & World* 20:3 (2000), pp. 239–248.

227 E. Wabukala and G. LeMarquand, "Cursed Be Everyone Who Hangs on a Tree: Pastoral Implications of Deuteronomy 21:22–23 and Galatians 3:13 in an African Context", in: G. West and M. Dube (eds.), *The Bible in Africa: Transactions, Trajectories, and Trends* (Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2000), pp. 350–359. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004497108_024

228 P. Kéchichian, S. Breton and P. Morel, *La conversion de Paul* (Collection Triptyque, Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 2001).

229 M. McGhee, "Editorial: Greeks, Galatians and Western Buddhists: Christianity, Buddhism, and 'Social Responsibility'", *Contemporary Buddhism: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 3:2 (2002), pp. 99–109. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14639940208573760>

deceptive. Although 6:10 and a passage from the Buddhist *Mahavagga* may sound the same, one should rather look at how things are understood and practised. Without this perspective, interfaith dialogue will remain shallow. Timothy Wiarda²³⁰ (2003) identifies and critically assesses five different ways in which people use the Jerusalem Council as a model for the contemporary church. Wiarda concludes the investigation by emphasising the importance of sticking to the ideal of like-mindedness in the church.

Álvaro Michelín Salomón²³¹ (2004) draws attention to the importance of the ethical guidelines in 5:22–23 for believers in our time: Paul does not distinguish between ecclesial and secular life; everything must be a manifestation of Christ and the Spirit. Haringke Fugmann²³² (2004) follows an inter-cultural approach by discussing the interpretation of Matthew 17:14–21 and Galatians 5:2–6 by pastors in Papua Guinea in an attempt to gain new insights for interpreting the two texts. For example, in the case of Galatians, Fugmann points out the importance of understanding the crisis reflected in the letter from the perspective of Paul's opponents. On the basis of 3:28, Demetrius K. Williams²³³ (2004) argues that African American churches should advocate sexual equality with the same fervour as they fought against racism. In particular, African American churches should look critically at their attitudes and practices regarding women in ministry.

Johann-Albrecht Meylahn²³⁴ (2005) uses the concept of freedom in Christ as depicted in Galatians (an eschatological liberty of calling and promise) to help people handle the immense ethical challenges posed by postmodernity. Cilliers Breytenbach²³⁵ (2006) reflects on Bernard C.

230 T. Wiarda, "The Jerusalem Council and the Theological Task", *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 46:2 (2003), pp. 233–248.

231 Á. Michelín Salomón, "El Fruto del Espíritu: Acerca de la Carta a los Gálatas", *Cuadernos de Teología* 23 (2004), pp. 31–43.

232 H. Fugmann, *Berge versetzen: Interkulturelle Hermeneutik von Mt 17,14–21 und Gal 5,2–6 in Papua-Neuguinea* (Beiträge zum Verstehen der Bibel, Münster: LIT Verlag, 2004).

233 D.K. Williams, *An End to This Strife: The Politics of Gender in African American Churches* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 2004).

234 J.-A. Meylahn, "Called into the Freedom of Christ in a Postmodern Age and the Moral Debate", *Verbum et Ecclesia* 26:3 (2005), pp. 740–755. <https://doi.org/10.4102/ve.v26i3.248>

235 C. Breytenbach, "'Not According to Human Criteria': Bernard Lategan's Reading of Galatians in a Crumbling Apartheid State", in: C. Breytenbach, J.C. Thom and J. Punt (eds.), *The New Testament Interpreted: Essays in Honour of Bernard C. Lategan* (Novum Testamentum Supplements 124, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2006), pp. 53–67. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047410591_004 See also: B.C. Lategan, "Reading

Lategan's interpretation of Galatians in South Africa during the phase when the apartheid started to crumble. *Peter Mageto*²³⁶ (2006) highlights the ethics of a shared responsibility underlying 5:13–15 and points out the implication for churches in our time. This type of ethics provides believers with a model for Christian unity where different groups can be enriched by other groups. In an analysis of 1:11–24, *Elvis Elengabeka*²³⁷ (2007) draws attention to the way in which charismatic initiative and institutional regulation worked in synergy. For current missionaries, this shows that trust in an institution and faithfulness to the Spirit are both important. They should thus cultivate their personal creativity but also always be open for inputs from the side of the institution.

On the basis of 6:10, *Kjetil Fretheim*²³⁸ (2008) argues that one should view Christian ethics as a communitarian type of ethics and that it should be guided by a preference for poor people. *Laura J. Hunt*²³⁹ (2008) draws attention to the tension between Paul's distance from and indebtedness to Jerusalem in 1:18–24 and appropriates this for the American context by raising the question of whether American Christians are not over-identifying with their own version of Christianity. In a study of Paul's view of "neither Jew nor Greek" in 3:28, *Bernard Ukwuegbu*²⁴⁰ (2008) pleads for a distinctive African theology of tolerance and mutual respect in church and society.

In the light of 5:2 and 13, *Burchell K. Taylor*²⁴¹ (2008) argues that freedom is both a gift and a demand. Taylor appropriates this

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- the Letter to the Galatians from an Apartheid and a Post-Apartheid Perspective", in: I.R. Kitzberger (ed.), *The Personal Voice in Biblical Interpretation* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 128–141.
- 236 P. Mageto, "Toward an Ethic of Shared Responsibility in Galatians 5:13–15", *Evangelical Review of Theology* 30:1 (2006), pp. 86–94.
- 237 E. Elengabeka, "Paul en mission: Fidélité à l'Esprit et confiance à l'institution", *Spiritus (Revue d'Expériences et de Recherches Missionnaires)* 187 (2007), pp. 155–164.
- 238 K. Fretheim, "Grums i Galaterbrevet: Om Kristen Etik, Paulus og den Prioriterte Andre", *Tidsskrift for Teologi og Kirke* 79:2 (2008), pp. 113–129. <https://doi.org/10.18261/ISSN1504-2952-2008-02-03>
- 239 L.J. Hunt, "Where Do You Come From? Cultural Confusion in Galatia and the United States – Galatians 1:18–24", *Evangelical Journal* 26:2 (2008), pp. 85–89.
- 240 B. Ukwuegbu, "'Neither Jew nor Greek': The Church in Africa and the Quest for Self-Understanding in the Light of the Pauline Vision and Today's Context of Cultural Pluralism", *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church* 8:4 (2008), pp. 305–318. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14742250802353768>
- 241 B.K. Taylor, "Abolished, but Not Destroyed: Freedom – Gift and Demand (Gal 5.2,13)", *Reformed World* 58:1 (2008), pp. 30–35.

as follows: although the slave trade has been abolished, other unjust systems still impact negatively on the descendants of slaves and the church therefore has to continue the fight for true freedom. J.W. Maris²⁴² (2008) focuses on the missionary task of the church, in particular in the light of the fact that the heavenly Jerusalem is called “mother” in 4:26. Maris believes that the church cannot claim these heavenly qualities directly. It should rather use the mother image to view itself critically and to focus on mission. Richard Liong-Seng Phua²⁴³ (2008) contends that 3:28 implies that the Bi-Annual Congress of Chinese Biblical Scholars is wrong to have required being an ethnic Chinese as a criterion for membership or attendance of the meeting.

J. Nelson Jennings²⁴⁴ (2009) offers a fresh reading of Romans and Galatians in Japan. Jennings stresses that Paul regarded the church as the covenant people of God, transcending single cultures. For our times, this implies taking a multi-ethnic ecclesiology seriously so that the destructive impact of nation states may be counteracted. Kyung-Sik Hyun²⁴⁵ (2009) is of the opinion that the gospel was inculturated in Galatia by means of the ethical behaviour of believers, by behaviour characterised by equality, love and freedom. Hyun appropriates this as follows for missionaries currently in Asia: They should have consensus on what the gospel entails and try to foster a culture characterised by equality, love and freedom.

In a contribution on missiological perspectives in certain pericopes in Galatians, Bernard Y. Quarshie²⁴⁶ (2009) stresses the importance of focusing on the crucified Christ, the vital role of preaching, the need for appreciating the vulnerability of both preachers and converts, as well as the importance of continuing one’s spiritual life in the Spirit. In a study of 4:1–7, Eric R. Naizer²⁴⁷ (2009) emphasises the importance of faith

242 J.W. Maris, *De Missie van een Moeder* (Apeldoornse Studies 50, Apeldoorn: Theologische Universiteit, 2008).

243 R.L.-S. Phua, “Galatians 3:28, *shalom*, and Ethnic Chinese Biblical Scholars”, *Sino-Christian Studies* 5 (2008), pp. 39–66.

244 J.N. Jennings, “Paul in Japan: A Fresh Reading of Romans and Galatians”, in: B.M. Howell and Z. Edwin (eds.), *Power and Identity in the Global Church: Six Contemporary Cases* (Pasadena CA: William Carey Library, 2009), pp. 27–54.

245 K.-S. Hyun, “Inculturation of the Gospel in Galatians”, *한국기독교신학논총* 63 (2009), pp. 57–76.

246 B.Y. Quarshie, “Paul and the Primal Substructure of Christianity: Missiological Reflections on the Epistle to the Galatians”, *Journal of African Christian Thought* 12:1 (2009), pp. 8–14.

247 E.R. Naizer, “The ‘Heir’ through Faith and the ‘Slave’ under the Law: Galatians 4:1–7”, *Bangalore Theological Forum* 41:2 (2009), pp. 198–209.

(as opposed to the law) and appropriates this notion for the current context. Believers should always be wary of falling into legalism. Even the good things they do may distort the emphasis on spiritual liberty found in Galatians. *John T. Squires*²⁴⁸ (2009) explains how 3:27–28 served as a driving force behind the commitment of the Uniting Church in Australia to multiculturalism and the ordination of women, as well as behind arguments supporting justice for indigenous people.

*David T. Ejenobo*²⁴⁹ (2009) investigates three passages in Paul's letters (1 Corinthians 12:3; Galatians 2:20 and Romans 8:9), highlighting the importance of the mystical element in Paul's view of the Spirit. This is appropriated for the African context: if this aspect is taught more often, the Christian religion will be accepted more readily. *Angelika Magnes*²⁵⁰ (2010) draws attention to the fact that 4:21–31 has been interpreted in the past in an anti-Jewish fashion as indicating the removal of the Jewish nation as the primary salvation partner of God. However, Magnes points out that such a view is incorrect, since the pericope refers to a specific conflict in Galatia and does not address the relationship between Judaism and Christianity.

*Paba Nidhani de Andrado*²⁵¹ (2010) notes the polarisation found in the interpretation of 3:28 by feminists on the one hand and official Catholic documents on the other and suggests that the problems in interpretation could be minimised if a more nuanced understanding of the differences between female and male is developed. *Moses-Valentine Afamefuna Chukwujekwu*²⁵² (2010) reads Galatians from the perspective of the relationship between gospel, church, and culture, showing that the letter promotes the cultural autonomy of the people that are being evangelised but that it also enhances the notion of unity in diversity.

248 J.T. Squires, "Interpreting Galatians 3:27–28 in the Uniting Church: A Relational and Contextual Perspective", *Uniting Church Studies* 15:2 (2009), pp. 11–23.

249 D.T. Ejenobo, "The Mystical Element in Paul's Theology of the Holy Spirit: An African Interpretation", *The Asia Journal of Theology* 23:1 (2009), pp. 69–81.

250 A. Magnes, "'Different Mothers, Births and Inheritances': Die Rede von zwei Frauen in Gal 4,21–31", in: I. Fischer and C. Heil (eds.), *Geschlechterverhältnisse und Macht: Lebensformen in der Zeit des frühen Christentums* (Exegese in unserer Zeit 21, Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2010), pp. 110–127.

251 P.N. de Andrado, "A Pauline Paradigm of Partnership", in: S. Ross, D. Irarrázabal and P. Murray (eds.), *Ministries in the Church* (Concilium 2010/1, London: SCM, 2010), pp. 65–75.

252 M.-V.A. Chukwujekwu, "Gospel, Church and Cultures: Pauline Perspective in the Letter to the Galatians", *Bulletin of Ecumenical Theology* 22 (2010), pp. 5–27.

This implies that the gospel can be appropriated in different ways in different cultures in our time.

James O. Adeyanju²⁵³ (2010) explains how Nigerian churches can play a role in the rebranding of Nigeria by taking the view of spirituality expressed in 5:16–18 seriously. This would help to turn around socio-economic and political problems in the country. Korbinian Schmidt²⁵⁴ (2010) considers the implications of the New Perspective on Paul for a theology of the religions. Put in the words of 2:21 (adapted): “If justification comes through other religions, then Christ died for nothing”. For Schmidt, the theological challenge thus entails explaining how one can be in Christ without knowing him at all. John Mansford Prior²⁵⁵ (2010) points out that 3:27–28 is mostly interpreted in a spiritualised way by minority Christian groups in Indonesia and argues that it is a missiological imperative to move to a social reading of the text so that its radical egalitarian claim may be manifested in South East Asian societies.

Michael Knowles²⁵⁶ (2011) notes that Christianity, Judaism and Islam are nowadays usually regarded as “Abrahamic religions”. However, Knowles contends that, in the light of Galatians, Islam should not be called an “Abrahamic” religion. According to Jakob Wöhrle²⁵⁷ (2011), Isaac and Ishmael are depicted in 4:21–31 and in Genesis 17 as unequal and even as contradictory brothers and thus one cannot speak of an “Abrahamic ecumenism” (“abrahamische Ökumene”) in the Biblical traditions. Nevertheless, these texts may still be of importance for the interreligious and intercultural dialogue for our time.

253 J.O. Adeyanju, “Christian Spirituality, Depicted in Galatians 5:16–18, as a Tool for Rebranding in Nigeria”, *African Journal of Biblical Studies* 28:1 (2010), pp. 84–101.

254 K. Schmidt, “‘So wäre Christus vergeblich gestorben’ (Gal 2,21): Die ‘Neue Perspektive auf Paulus’ und ihre Bedeutung für die Systematische Theologie”, *Studia Missionalia* 59 (2010), pp. 213–230.

255 J.M. Prior, “Integration, Isolation or Deviation: Reading Galatians 3:27–28 in Indonesia Today”, *Mission Studies* 27:1 (2010), pp. 71–90. <https://doi.org/10.1163/157338310X497964>

256 M. Knowles, “The Galatian Test: Is Islam an Abrahamic Religion?”, *New Blackfriars* 92:1039 (2011), pp. 318–321. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-2005.2010.01403.x>

257 J. Wöhrle, “Isaak und Ismael: Zum Verhältnis der beiden Abrahamsöhne nach Genesis 17 und Galater 4,21–31”, *Evangelische Theologie* 71:2 (2011), pp. 115–132. <https://doi.org/10.14315/evth-2011-71-2-115>

Suny George Kunnel²⁵⁸ (2012) considers the implications of the notions of justification by faith in Galatians 2:15–16 and faith and works in James 2:14–26 for the current situation in India. According to Kunnel, both views represent the gospel, and this message should be reinterpreted in a context of cultural and religious pluralism. Both individual salvation and social liberation are thus needed. Ed Mackenzie²⁵⁹ (2012) points out that the Emerging Church emphasises three aspects in its attempt to contextualise the gospel: mystery, journey and conversation. However, such an approach differs from Paul’s missiological approach in Galatians, since he stresses the coherency of the gospel, the importance of conversion and the obligation to proclaim the gospel. Ruth Oluwakemi Oke²⁶⁰ (2012) offers an exegetical analysis of 3:26–28 in order to support the cause of women participating actively in government.

Lisa M. Hess²⁶¹ (2012) explains how four weeks of keeping a kosher home can change one’s perspective. Although herself a long-time Presbyterian, after such an experience, Hess found it difficult to accept Paul’s polemic in Galatians. David A deSilva²⁶² (2013) illustrates how reading a text from various social locations, in this case by reading Galatians with believers from Sri Lanka, helps one to gain a

258 S.G. Kunnel, “‘Faith and Works’ in James 2:14–26 and ‘Justification by Faith Alone’ in Galatians 2:15–16: A Relevant Debate for the Church in India Today”, *Vidyajyoti Journal of Theological Reflection* 76:6 (2012), pp. 425–435.

259 E. Mackenzie, “Mission and the Emerging Church: Pauline Reflections on a New Kind of Missiology”, *Missiology: An International Review* 40:3 (2012), pp. 315–328. <https://doi.org/10.1177/009182961204000307>

260 R.O. Oke, “We Are All Children of God! An Exegetical Analysis of Galatians 3:26–28 in Support of Women’s Participation in Active Governance”, in: J.K. Ayantayo, O.A. Dada and H.A. Labeodan (eds.), *Religion and Governance in Nigeria: Dedicated to Late Dr. Akintunde, Dorcas Olubanke* (Ibadan Religious Studies Series 4, Ibadan: Dept. of Religious Studies, University of Ibadan, 2012), pp. 167–178.

261 L.M. Hess, “Encountering Habits of Mind at Table: Kashrut, Jews, and Christians”, *Cross Currents* 62:3 (2012), pp. 328–336. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1939-3881.2012.00244.x>

262 D.A. deSilva, “Neither Tamil nor Sinhalese: Reading Galatians with Sri Lankan Christians”, in: C. Keener and M.D. Carroll (eds.), *Global Voices: Reading the Bible in the Majority World* (Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 2013), pp. 39–55. See also the response by N. Gupta, “Response: What Does Sri Lanka Have to do with Galatia? The Hermeneutical Challenges, Benefits, and Potential of Global Readings of Scripture”, in: C. Keener and M.D. Carroll R. (eds.), *Global Voices: Reading the Bible in the Majority World* (Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 2013), pp. 57–61.

more holistic interpretation of the text. According to G. Daan Cloete²⁶³ (2013), 2:15–21 and the Belhar Confession both reflect crucial periods of transformation in the history of the church. Cloete motivates this by looking at the crucial concepts that played a role in each of these. Marshall Welch²⁶⁴ (2013) developed a curriculum based on 5:22–23 for helping Christian men to flourish spiritually. It was tested in practical situations and it was found that it can be used successfully by pastoral staff and lay leaders.

George Mombi²⁶⁵ (2013) discusses the implications of Christ's death according to Galatians for people from Melanisia who have animistic backgrounds and are thus more conscious of spiritual powers. Mombi stresses that Christ triumphed over all the evil forces, also over the ancestral spirits and the *masalai*. Taking Paul's vision of unity in Galatians 3:28 as a point of departure (striving towards unity where ethnicity does not play a role), Hans Leander²⁶⁶ (2014) suggests a Lutheran recontextualisation of Paul's vision in post-Lutheran Sweden, in particular by being sensitive to issues surrounding differences in ethnicity. Rusmir Mahmutćehajić²⁶⁷ (2014) offers meditations on relations between Muslims and Christians by focusing on Muhammed and Mary, the mother of Jesus. One of the meditations is devoted to Sarah and Hagar in the light of Paul's allegory in 4:21–31.

Mark W. Elliott²⁶⁸ (2014) argues that a new perspective on Judaism in Paul's time does not necessarily imply an entire revision of the way in which justification is perceived in Reformation theology as long as

263 G.D. Cloete, "Galatians 2:15–21 and the Belhar Confession (1986) in Dialogue", *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Teologiese Tydskrif* 54:5 (2013), pp. 93–104. <https://doi.org/10.5952/54-0-346>

264 M. Welch, "Manifestation of the Spirit: An Investigation on the Impact of a Curriculum and Small Group Spiritual Direction on the Spiritual Formation of Protestant Men", *Pastoral Psychology* 62:1 (2013), pp. 81–99. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11089-012-0449-9>

265 G. Mombi, "The Death of Christ and Its Meaning for Melanesians from Paul's Letter to the Galatians: From Fear to Freedom", *Melanesian Journal of Theology* 29:2 (2013), pp. 79–162.

266 H. Leander, "Reading Paul in Post-Lutheran Sweden: On the Significance of Ethnic Difference and Belonging", *Studia Theologica* 68:2 (2014), pp. 184–205. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0039338X.2014.961200>

267 R. Mahmutćehajić, *The Praised and the Virgin: Translated by Desmond Maurer and Saba Risaluddin* (Philosophy of Religion: World Religions, Leiden/Boston: MA: Brill, 2014), pp. 165–171.

268 M.W. Elliott, "Judaism, Reformation Theology, and Justification", in: M.W. Elliott, S.J. Hafemann, N.T. Wright and J. Frederick (eds.), *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul's Letter* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2014), pp. 143–158.

one understands “faith” in such a way that it leaves room for Jesus as the Messiah. *Thomas Söding*²⁶⁹ (2014) uses Galatians and Romans to illustrate how a dialogue in theological circles may work: although there are many similarities between the two letters, there are also significant differences, thus indicating that in oecumenical dialogue both approaches are necessary. In a study of the relationship between the truth of the gospel and the unity of the church in the Pauline letters (amongst others, Galatians 2:5 and 14) and the Johannine writings, *Hans-Christian Kammler*²⁷⁰ (2014) shows that “truth” is understood in a Christological sense and that it is generally accepted that the truth of the gospel constitutes unity in the church. Kammler also works out the implications of this insight for current oecumenical dialogues.

*Alice Matilda Nsiah and Eric Nii Bortey Anum*²⁷¹ (2014) appropriate 4:21–31 for the Ghanaian context: some Ghanaians play the same power games as the Judaisers, and Ghanaians should thus rather realise that the New Jerusalem implies freedom and justice for them. *Jennifer Slater*²⁷² (2014) explains how what is theologically implicit in Paul’s call to freedom in 5:1 can be made explicit in South Africa, especially by countering corruption. In another contribution, *Slater*²⁷³ (2016) uses 3:28 as a point of departure for outlining a way to cultivate an inclusive type of diversity in South Africa. According to *Zorodzai Dube*²⁷⁴ (2015), the way in which Paul contrasts the image of Abraham with that of Moses in

269 T. Söding, “Theologie im Dialog: Der Galater- und Römerbrief als Paradigma”, *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 111:4 (2014), pp. 374–388. <https://doi.org/10.1628/004435414X14135326005915>

270 H.-C. Kammler, “Die Wahrheit des Evangeliums und die Einheit der Kirche: Exegetische Überlegungen zu ihrem sachlichen Verhältnis”, *Kerygma und Dogma* 60:2 (2014), pp. 126–152. <https://doi.org/10.13109/kedo.2014.60.2.126>

271 A.M. Nsiah and E.N.B. Anum, “Hagar Sarah Allegory: An Intertexture Study of Gal 4:21–31 and Its Application to the Ghanaian Context”, in: C.N. Omenyo and E.B. Anum (eds.), *Trajectories of Religion in Africa: Essays in Honour of John S. Pobee* (Studies in World Christianity & Interreligious Relations 48, Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2014), pp. 383–393. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789401210577_023

272 J. Slater, “Freedom: The Liberative Value and Ethical Credential for Christian Living in South Africa”, *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 148 (2014), pp. 48–64.

273 J. Slater, “Intersecting Culture, Values and Transformation in Shaping an Integrated Ethnic Identity within a Diastatically Variated Society: Employing South Africa as a Case Study”, *Verbum et Ecclesia* 37:1 (2016), pp. 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.4102/ve.v37i1.1598>

274 Z. Dube, “The Statue Debate: Ancestors and ‘Mnemonic Energy’ in Paul and Now”, *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 71:3 (2015), pp. 1–5. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v71i3.3035>

Galatians (Abraham was the public image best representing cosmopolitan and heterogeneous identity in the Hellenistic setup) can help one to understand the debate about statues in South Africa.

A hermetical interrogation of 3:28 and the situation of women in the Church of Christ in Zimbabwe by *Francis Machingura and Paradzai Nyakuhwa*²⁷⁵ (2015) reveals the extent of sexism in this denomination. It is clear that gender discrimination, prejudice and stereotyping prevent females from occupying leadership positions. *Emily A. Peck-McClain*²⁷⁶ (2015) considers the implications of the notion of agency in Paul's letters for adolescent girls. The type of agency depicted in 2:20 can offer liberation and hope for adolescent girls, since it is possible to live in the faith in/of Christ even though the power of sin has not been conquered fully. *Felix H. Cortez*²⁷⁷ (2015) addresses the mission-dilemma in Seventh-day Adventism by discussing Paul's views on the poor, as may be seen in texts such as 2:10 and 6:10. Paul regarded caring for the poor as an essential part of the gospel with no contradiction between mission and social relief.

Noting that Galatians has often been used in the past to foster division amongst believers, *Marion L.S. Carson*²⁷⁸ (2015) suggests that one should rather view Paul as tackling "immature religion" in the letter. In our context, believers can follow Paul's arguments, but not the divisive approach that he used. *Michael H. Crosby*²⁷⁹ (2015) offers an appropriation of the "fruit of the Spirit" (5:22–23) as an expression of Pauline mysticism for our times. Crosby believes that such a mystical theology will help to cross the divide between episcopal nomists and other Catholics who are not satisfied with institutional Catholicism. *Leslie T. Hardin*²⁸⁰ (2015) investigates the viability of Pauline spirituality in a digital

275 F. Machingura and P. Nyakuhwa, "Sexism: A Hermetical Interrogation of Galatians 3:28 and Women in the Church of Christ in Zimbabwe", *Journal of Pan African Studies* 8:2 (2015), pp. 92–113.

276 E.A. Peck-McClain, "Agency in Paul and Implications for Adolescent Girls", *Religious Education* 110:1 (2015), pp. 95–109. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00344087.2015.989099>

277 F.H. Cortez, "The Mission-Charity Dilemma: Fresh Perspectives from Paul's Practice", *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 26:1 (2015), pp. 160–173.

278 M.L.S. Carson, "Grown up Religion: Polemic and Pastoral Practice in Paul's Letter to the Galatians", *The Expository Times* 127:3 (2015), pp. 105–113. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0014524614535155>

279 M.H. Crosby, *Fruit of the Spirit: Pauline Mysticism for the Church Today* (Maryknoll NY: Orbis, 2015).

280 L.T. Hardin, "Is a Pauline Spirituality Still Viable?", *Journal of Spiritual Formation and Soul Care* 8:2 (2015), pp. 132–146. <https://doi.org/10.1177/193979091500800202>

age. Hardin offers an overview of the spiritual practices that Paul engaged in and stresses that spirituality was more than mere experience for him. It entailed everyday practices under the guidance of the Spirit – an approach that can still work in our time.

P. Adam McClendon²⁸¹ (2015) looks critically at contemporary Christian spiritualities in the light of the spirituality of Galatians. McClendon approaches the spirituality of the letter from four angles: the central position of the cross, the central position of Christ, the continued tension caused by the flesh and how faith is authenticated according to the letter. Minggus Dilla²⁸² (2015) regards “the fruit of the Spirit” (5:22–23) as the most important aspect in the lives of believers and explains what this entails practically in daily life. Lovemore Togarasei²⁸³ (2016) points out that Christianity has still not succeeded in providing an alternative identity to ethnicity in Africa. Accordingly, Togarasei investigates the implications of Pauline texts such as 3:28 for Christian identity in this continent.

According to Thomas Söding²⁸⁴ (2016), Galatians calls for a “fundamental ecumenism” (“Fundamentalökumene”) in current times, implying that unity should be approached from the common task of witnessing to God. This witness should be polyphonic but should also have a common orientation to the canon. Holger Zeigan²⁸⁵ (2016) notes that Galatians does not receive much attention in religious instruction in schools in Germany and offers various suggestions as to how it could be used effectively in competency-oriented religious instruction (“kompetenzorientierte Religionsunterricht”). Axel Wiemer²⁸⁶ (2017) also draws attention the fact that the Pauline letters do not receive much

281 P.A. McClendon, *Paul's Spirituality in Galatians: A Critique of Contemporary Christian Spiritualities* (Eugene OR: Wipf & Stock, 2015).

282 M. Dilla, “Makna Buah Roh dalam Galatia 5:22–23”, *Manna Rafflesia* 1:2 (2015), pp. 158–166. https://doi.org/10.38091/man_raf.vii.2.51

283 L. Togarasei, “Rethinking Christian Identity: African Reflections from Pauline Writings”, *Perichoresis* 14:1 (2016), pp. 101–114. <https://doi.org/10.1515/perc-2016-0006>

284 T. Söding, “Streiten verbindet: Der Galaterbrief als Wegweiser der Ökumene”, in: U. Luz, T. Söding and S. Vollenweider (eds.), *Exegese – Ökumenisch engagiert: Der “Evangelisch-Katholische Kommentar” in der Diskussion über 500 Jahre Reformation* (Ostfildern/Göttingen: Patmos Verlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), pp. 89–98. <https://doi.org/10.13109/9783788731823.89>

285 H. Zeigan, “Die Bibel im kompetenzorientierten Religionsunterricht: Ein Kommentar zum Galaterbrief aus religionsdidaktischer Perspektive”, *Theologische Beiträge* 47:4 (2016), pp. 210–223.

286 A. Wiemer, *Der Galaterbrief im Religionsunterricht: Die Theologie des Paulus in ihrer Zeit und im Dialog mit Jugendlichen heute* (Neukirchener Theologie, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017).

attention in religious instruction in schools in Germany. Accordingly, Wiemer uses Galatians as an example of how dealing with Paul's theology is not only possible, but also meaningful.

Neville Curle²⁸⁷ (2017) identifies three facets of patriarchy (racism, sexism and classicism) practised in the Kingdom of Swaziland that are in conflict with 3:26–29. Jacobus de Koning²⁸⁸ (2017) identifies 6:2 as the guideline for Christian ethics in the new dispensation. According to this verse, the law is replaced by the crucified Christ. De Koning also works out the implications of this insight for believers in South Africa. Allen J. McNicol²⁸⁹ (2017) explains why baptism was so important to Paul and how 3:26–29 fits in with his broader argument in the letter. McNicol also points out why baptism is still important in the church nowadays. Ashok Ram Rana²⁹⁰ (2017) investigates the socio-historical context of the Antioch incident, in particular how eating together affects the identity of individuals and communities. Rana then appropriates the results of the investigation for a pluralistic Indian context.

C. Melissa Snarr²⁹¹ (2017) agrees with empire-critical readings of 2:10 (such as those offered by Brigitte Kahl) and works out the contemporary implications of such insights. Believers should acknowledge religious differences in their communities and try to create fellowship by remembering the poor. Daniel Herskowitz²⁹² (2017) explains how the concept of a “moment” (“oieblik” in Danish) was interpreted by Kierkegaard (in the light of 1 Corinthians 15:52 and Galatians 4:4) and then taken up and developed further by Martin Heidegger and Rabbi Joseph B. Soloveitchik. Michael F. Bird and John Anthony Dunne²⁹³ (2017)

287 N. Curle, “A Critique of the Patriarchalistic Paradigm as Practised in the Kingdom of Swaziland”, *Conspectus* 23 (2017), pp. 57–97.

288 J. de Koning, “Die Riglyn vir Christen Etiek: Galasiërs 6:2 onder die Loep”, *In die Skriflig* 51:1 (2017), pp. 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.4102/ids.v51i1.2205>

289 A.J. McNicol, “Baptism and the Moral Life”, *Christian Studies* 29 (2017), pp. 33–46.

290 A.R. Rana, *Socio-Historical Context of Paul's Confrontation in Galatians and Christian Identity in a Pluralistic Society* (Biblical Hermeneutics Rediscovered 5, New Delhi: Christian World Imprints, 2017).

291 C.M. Snarr, “Remembering the Poor: Interfaith Collaboration, Neoliberalism, and an Anti-Imperial Gospel”, *Journal of the Society of Christian Ethics* 37:1 (2017), pp. 25–44. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sce.2017.0005>

292 D. Herskowitz, “Authenticity, Repentance and the Second Coming: ‘The Moment’ in Kierkegaard, Heidegger and Rabbi Soloveitchik”, *Journal of Scriptural Reasoning* 16:1 (2017), pp. 1–5.

293 M.F. Bird and J.A. Dunne, “Pastoring with a Big Stick: Paul as Pastor in Galatians”, in: B.S. Rosner, A.S. Malone and T.J. Burke (eds.), *Paul as*

describe Paul's ministry in Galatians as "pastoring with a big stick" and draw attention to two important issues that can help us to understand his ministry in this letter better: his role as heresiologist and his maternal attitude toward the readers (4:12ff.).

David G. Horrell²⁹⁴ (2017) uses insights from the history of interpretation of 3:28 to show how important it is for exegetes to acknowledge their own particularity and to realise that they need insights from other interpreters who are located and embodied differently. One of the issues that Christof Landmesser²⁹⁵ (2017) discusses in a contribution on F.C. Baur as interpreter of Paul, is his views on Galatians. Baur regarded Galatians as the oldest letter of Paul that we have and as providing insight into the beginning of the struggle between Christianity and Judaism. One of the passages that Fatima Tofighi²⁹⁶ (2017) investigates in a study on the way in which Paul's letters were used to construct the European self, is 2:11–14. Tofighi shows how a Lutheran binary of faith vs. guilt in Pauline interpretation has been replaced by a universal vs. particular binary but argues that this is not necessarily less arbitrary or exclusivist than the Lutheran binary.

Radu Gheorghită²⁹⁷ (2018) illustrates the importance of the Reformed notion of *sola fide* by an exegesis of 2:15–21. Gheorghită believes this message remains valid today and that Paul would have added another important notion: *solum evangelium*. Marie-Theres Wacker²⁹⁸ (2018)

Pastor (London: T & T Clark/Bloomsbury, 2017), pp. 71–82. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9780567677938.ch-006>

294 D.G. Horrell, "Paul, Inclusion and Whiteness: Particularizing Interpretation", *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 40:2 (2017), pp. 123–147. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064x17739204>

295 C. Landmesser, "Ferdinand Christian Baur as Interpreter of Paul: History, the Absolute, and Freedom", in: M. Bauspiess, C. Landmesser and D. Lincicum (eds.), *Ferdinand Christian Baur and the History of Early Christianity (Translated by Robert F. Brown and Peter C. Hodgson)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 147–176. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198798415.003.0007> This book is an English version of: M. Bauspiess, L. Christof and L. David (eds.), *Ferdinand Christian Baur und die Geschichte des frühen Christentums* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.333, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014).

296 F. Tofighi, *Paul's Letters and the Construction of the European Self* (Library of New Testament Studies 572/Scriptural Traces: Critical Perspectives on the Reception and Influence of the Bible 10, London: Bloomsbury/T & T Clark, 2017), pp. 65–93. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9780567672551>

297 R. Gheorghită, "Solum evangelium – Gal 2:15–21", *Jurnal teologic* 17:1 (2018), pp. 5–45.

298 M.-T. Wacker, "Postcolonial Approaches to Gal 3.27–28 to Achieve Diversity in Asian Christianity", in: D.F. Pilario, F. Wilfred and H.P.

explains how a postcolonial approach to 3:27–28 can help to achieve diversity in Asian Christianity. The following issues receive attention: language, circumcision (against the background of the New Perspective on Paul), slavery and gender. *Rotimi Odudele*²⁹⁹ (2018) approaches 3:28 from the perspective of ethnicity. The revolutionary perspective on social ethics offered by this text is then applied to contemporary Nigerian society.

*Kartini Hutagaol*³⁰⁰ (2018) illustrates how faith-based learning along the lines of 5:22–23 can work practically in the teaching of mathematics. By means of such an approach the characters of students can be formed for the present and for eternal life. According to *Keith Maynor*³⁰¹ (2018), the central issue in 1:16–2:21 is not so much Paul's polemics, but rather his testimony about the way in which he was transformed at the Damascus event. Maynor develops the implications of this insight for current transformational leadership theory. *Shabbir Akhtar*³⁰² (2018) offers a Muslim perspective on Galatians, in particular challenging Paul's claim that Christ liberates one from religious law. Akhtar also spends much time on themes that either unite or divide the three monotheistic religions.

*Peter Oakes*³⁰³ (2018) offers an overview and evaluation of N.T. Wright's interpretation of Galatians. In particular, Oakes highlights the manner in which Wright succeeds in conveying difficult scholarly concepts on Galatians in his *Paul for Everyone* series. *Michael L. Sweeney*³⁰⁴ (2019) appropriates the Pauline collection (mentioned in 2:10 and in other Pauline letters) for our times by viewing it as an expression of church solidarity between different areas in Early Christianity. According

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- Ho (eds.), *Asian Christianities* (Concilium 2018/1, London: SCM, 2018), pp. 47–55.
- 299 R. Odudele, "Unity in Diversity for Sustainable Development in Nigeria: A Sociological Exegesis of Galatians 3:28", *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa* 20:2 (2018), pp. 148–157.
- 300 K. Hutagaol, "Pendekatan Faith Learning dalam Pembelajaran Matematika", *Jurnal Padagogik* 1:2 (2018), pp. 32–47. <https://doi.org/10.35974/jpd.vii.2.655>
- 301 K. Maynor, "Social and Cultural Textures in Galatians 1", *Journal of Biblical Perspectives in Leadership* 8:1 (2018), pp. 226–235.
- 302 S. Akhtar, *The New Testament in Muslim Eyes: Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (Routledge Reading the Bible in Islamic Contexts 2, London/New York NY: Routledge, 2018).
- 303 P. Oakes, "Tom (a.k.a. N.T.) Wright on Galatians", in: J.A. Dunne and E. Lewellen (eds.), *One God, One People, One Future: Essays in Honour of N.T. Wright* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 2018), pp. 256–265.
- 304 M.L. Sweeney, "The Pauline Collection, Church Partnerships, and the Mission of the Church in the 21st Century", *Missiology* 48:2 (2019), pp. 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0091829619887387>

to Sweeney, the underlying values and motives can guide the current church in its mission, in particular by creating cross-cultural partnerships between churches. *Christine Wenona Hoffmann*³⁰⁵ (2019) investigated 235 sermons on Galatians 2:16 and Romans 3:28 in order to identify pitfalls and benefits caused by the interaction between text, tradition and sermon. Hoffmann also makes suggestions as to how one can avoid such pitfalls.

*Kang-Yup Na*³⁰⁶ (2019) offers a multidimensional reading of Galatians on the theme of borders in the light of a Korean world view (in particular in terms of the concept of *dao*). According to Na, “Seen through a *dao* lens, Paul’s use of κτίσις [‘creation’] and his allusions to creation signal the ultimate border-crossing, from this age into the apocalyptic age to come, from separation and alienation to the primordial dynamics of undifferentiated reality”.³⁰⁷ *Cynthia M. Montaudon-Tomas*³⁰⁸ (2019) explains how organisations may avoid spiritual bankruptcy by fostering an organisational spirituality based on Biblical and Christian values such as “the fruit of the Spirit” (5:22–23).

On the basis of an empirical study, *Debra J. Dean*³⁰⁹ (2019) argues that the nine “fruits” of the Spirit (5:22–23) are beneficial for organisations, since they enhance engagement of employees, satisfaction with one’s job, commitment to the organisation and organisational spirituality. *Bruce E. Winston*³¹⁰ (2019) highlights guidelines from 6:1–10, illustrating how important it is that employees help one another, but arguing also that this should only happen to the point that they should not help others too much, since this may cause

305 C.W. Hoffmann, *Homiletik und Exegese: Konzepte von Rechtfertigung in der evangelischen Predigtpraxis der Gegenwart* (Arbeiten zur Praktischen Theologie 75, Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2019).

306 K.-Y. Na, “Of Great Walls, DMZs, and Other Lines in the Sand: The Truth (of the Gospel) About Borders and Barriers – and Crossing Them in Galatians”, in: J. Ahn (ed.), *Landscapes of Korean and Korean American Biblical Interpretation* (International Voices in Biblical Studies 10, Atlanta SBL Press, 2019), pp. 217–240.

307 *Op. cit.*, p. 240.

308 C.M. Montaudon-Tomas, “Avoiding Spiritual Bankruptcy in Organizations through the Fruit of the Spirit”, *Journal of Biblical Perspectives in Leadership* 9:1 (2019), pp. 17–34.

309 D.J. Dean, “Integration of Christian Values in the Workplace”, *Journal of Biblical Perspectives in Leadership* 9:1 (2019), pp. 35–55.

310 B.E. Winston, *Biblical Principles of Being an Employee in Contemporary Organizations* (Christian Faith Perspectives in Leadership and Business, Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), pp. 45–48. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-11169-4_4

their own failure. *Lucien Legrand*³¹¹ (2019) uses 2:11–14 as a window showing how the early church struggled with the contextualisation of the gospel. This is appropriated for our current situation: “Contextualisation is the search for a *koinonia* [‘fellowship’] that, while remaining faithful to the ‘truth of the Gospel,’ takes into account the rich pluralism of world/human panorama.”³¹²

*Céline Rohmer*³¹³ (2019) argues that although the writers of the New Testament do not know the notion of synodality (literally, “having a common way”), their writings show what it means to be on a journey with Christ, an experience giving rise to true synodal events. The plurality of voices in this regard (amongst others, reflected in Galatians 2) give current believers a pragmatic freedom in Christ regarding synodal matters in our time. *Tom Morris*³¹⁴ (2020) views Paul’s behaviour in 2:11–14 as an example of bold leadership in a time of crisis. Like Paul, leaders in our time should have the moral courage to confront any form of unethical behaviour. Likewise, *Aseng Yulias Samongilailai*³¹⁵ (2020) shows from the same passage that it is appropriate for believers to rebuke spiritual leaders when they have deviated from the truth of the gospel.

One of the examples that *Ellen T. Charry*³¹⁶ (2020) uses to illustrate the danger of anti-Jewish attitudes in Christian preaching (and how to avoid it) is a recent sermon on 3:23–29. On the basis of Pauline pneumatology (as reflected amongst others in Galatians), *Wei Hua*³¹⁷

311 L. Legrand, “The Antiochian Conflict in Galatians 2:11–14: Contextualisation Problems in Apostolic Times”, *Vidyajyoti Journal of Theological Reflection* 83:4 (2019), pp. 242–262.

312 *Op. cit.*, p. 24.

313 C. Rohmer, “De la tradition synodale à l’événement synodal ou comment la Bible interroge la pratique”, *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 107:2 (2019), pp. 209–224. <https://doi.org/10.3917/rsr.192.0207>

314 T. Morris, “Bold Leadership in Times of Crises: Inclusion, Fear, and Courage in Galatians 2:11–14”, in: B.E. Winston (ed.), *Leadership Growth through Crisis: An Investigation of Leader Development During Tumultuous Circumstances* (Christian Faith Perspectives in Leadership and Business, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), pp. 155–174. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-25439-1_10

315 A.Y. Samongilailai, “Studi Gramatikal Galatia 2:11–14: Patutkah Menegur Pemimpin Rohani?”, *Dunamis: Jurnal Teologi dan Pendidikan Kristiani* 4:2 (2020), pp. 183–206. <https://doi.org/10.30648/dun.v4i2.254>

316 E.T. Charry, “Awakening to Judaism and Jews in Christian Preaching”, *The International Journal of Homiletics* 4 (2020), pp. 41–73.

317 W. Hua, “Pauline Pneumatology and the Chinese Rites: Spirit and Culture in the Holy See’s Missionary Strategy”, in: G.L. Green, S.T. Pardue and K.K. Yeo (eds.), *Majority World Theology: Christian Doctrine in Global Context* (Downers Grove IL: Intervarsity Press, 2020), pp. 280–294.

(2020) argues that the Spirit can transform a culture receiving the Christian gospel. Accordingly, it is possible that Chinese commemorating rites can be renewed and practised by Chinese Christians as a type of humanising etiquette. In three studies of the views of evangelical Christian college students, *Diana R. Rice*³¹⁸ (2020) found that they consistently regarded “the fruit of the Spirit” (5:22–23) as having primarily feminine characteristics. Rice also discusses the implications this has for gender stereotyping.

*Stephen J. Patterson*³¹⁹ (2020) challenges churches in the USA to dust off the ancient creed in 3:26–28 in order to react to the widespread racism and inequality in the country. *Tomasz Kopiczko*³²⁰ (2020) discusses “the fruit of the Spirit” (5:22–23) in the light of catechetical documents. Kopiczko emphasises the role of the Spirit and that “the fruit of the Spirit” is a characteristic of a mature faith. The task of catechesis is to help believers discover the gifts of the Spirit. In a study of Pauline ethics in 5:13–14 and Romans 13:8–10, *Mariapushpam Paulraj*³²¹ (2020) argues that Paul correctly makes Jesus’ proclamation of love the foundation of his ethics but that one should also take note of the fact that Paul in his exhortations tends to reduce love to insiders and that this might cause the church to become inward-looking. In a study of inter-church relationships in the Pauline letters (amongst others, Galatians), *James T. Hughes*³²² (2020) finds clear indications of a drive towards ecclesial solidarity (in belief and actions) and towards inter-church and trans-local relationships between congregations. This should inform the way in which churches interact nowadays.

318 D.R. Rice, “Against Such Things There Is No Law: Evangelical College Students’ Perceptions of the Fruit of the Spirit as Primarily Gendered”, *Journal of Psychology and Theology* 49:1 (2020), pp. 38–52. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0091647120907984>

319 S.J. Patterson, “A Forgotten Creed in the Summer of Rage”, *Dialog: A Journal of Theology* 59:3 (2020), pp. 188–190. <https://doi.org/10.1111/dial.12598>

320 T. Kopiczko, “Biblijne owoce Ducha Świętego (Ga 5,22–23) na Drodze do Dojrzałej Wiary w Katechezie”, *Verbum Vitae* 37:1 (2020), pp. 257–270. <https://doi.org/10.31743/W.4816>

321 M. Paulraj, “Love of Neighbour: The Axis of Pauline Ethics: A Brief Study of Gal 5:13–14 and Rom 13:8–10”, *Jnanadeepa* 24:1 (2020), pp. 74–94. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4060142>

322 J.T. Hughes, “Inter-Church Relationships in Paul’s Epistles”, *The Global Anglican* 134:3 (2020), pp. 251–261.

5. Studies covering broader periods of time

Taking Hans Dieter Betz's interpretation of 5:17 as point of departure, John K. Riches³²³ (2001) investigates the way in which John Chrysostom and Luther interpreted the text. Riches concludes that the task of Biblical interpreters is no longer to offer a single normative interpretation of Biblical texts but to uncover the diverse interpretations that are possible. One of the examples that John L. Thompson³²⁴ (2001) uses to show how women in the Old Testament who were depicted as experiencing violence were interpreted by "traditional" interpreters is Hagar. According to Thompson, it does not seem as if Paul's allegorical interpretation of Hagar in Galatians prejudiced later interpreters too much, since Patristic, medieval and Reformation commentators displayed an intense interest in Hagar's suffering.

Earl S. Johnson Jr.³²⁵ (2003) discusses the way in which 3:28 has been interpreted in Presbyterian circles. Johnson begins with the view of Calvin, who interpreted the verse as not indicating equality between men and women, and then shows how this and other similar views only started to change – very slowly – at a much later time (around the middle of the nineteenth century). Lidija Gunjević³²⁶ (2007) explains the way in which the opposites body and spirit in Galatians are interpreted by Augustine, Aquinas, Luther and some modern interpreters. Augustine, Aquinas and Luther understood "body" as an anthropological description whereas modern interpreters tend to interpret it as an eschatological category.

John K. Riches³²⁷ (2008) provides an overview of the manner in which Galatians was interpreted through the ages, focusing on important commentators from Marcion to Lightfoot (including more

323 J.K. Riches, "Theological Interpretation of the New Testament and the History of Religions: Some Reflections in the Light of Galatians 5:17", in: A.Y. Collins and M.M. Mitchell (eds.), *Antiquity and Humanity: Essays on Ancient Religion and Philosophy Presented to Hans Dieter Betz on His 70th Birthday* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), pp. 245–262.

324 J.L. Thompson, *Writing the Wrongs: Women of the Old Testament among Biblical Commentators from Philo through the Reformation* (Oxford Studies in Historical Theology, Oxford/New York NY: Oxford University Press, 2001). <https://doi.org/10.1093/0195137361.001.0001>

325 E.S. Johnson Jr., *Witness without Parallel: Eight Biblical Texts That Make Us Presbyterian* (Louisville KY: Geneva, 2003), pp. 73–89.

326 L. Gunjević, "Suprotnost Tijelo/Duh u Poslanici Galaćanima", *Služba Božja* 47:4 (2007), pp. 357–380.

327 J.K. Riches, *Galatians through the Centuries* (Blackwell Bible Commentaries, Malden MA/Oxford: Blackwell, 2008). See also: J. Riches, "Galatians", in: M. Lieb, E. Mason, J. Roberts and C. Rowland (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Reception History of the Bible* (Oxford:

recent scholars). *Christopher Heard*³²⁸ (2014) explains the interpretation of the stories of Hagar and Ishmael in Genesis 16–25 critically. Heard classifies the approaches to these stories as either allegorical (as in Paul’s case), literal or moral, pointing out that Hagar and Ishmael almost always end up being depicted negatively. Heard thus suggests better ways of interpreting the stories about them. *Nyasha Junior*³²⁹ (2019) provides a history of reception of Hagar, focusing in particular on the view that Hagar was a black woman. In the first chapter, Junior looks at the way in which Hagar is represented in the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament (Galatians 4) and the Qur’an. Junior points out that these texts did not offer a physical description of Hagar but were rather used to rationalise ethnic or religious differences.

Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 149–160. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199204540.001.0001>

328 C. Heard, “On the Road to Paran: Toward a Christian Perspective on Hagar and Ishmael”, *Interpretation* 68:3 (2014), pp. 270–285. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020964314529516>

329 N. Junior, *Reimagining Hagar: Blackness and Bible* (Biblical Refigurations, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 20–45. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198745327.003.0001>

Chapter 4:

Interpretative Approaches

One of the most striking aspects in the history of interpretation of Galatians is the growing diversity in exegetical approaches that are followed by scholars. Although it is not always possible to distinguish clearly between the types of approaches that are followed, I have tried to place the contributions in separate categories. In cases where a particular approach could fit in more than one category, I have placed it in the category that seems to fit best what the scholar has in mind.

1. Paul's use of the Hebrew Scriptures

This aspect received much attention from scholars and the issue was investigated from several different angles:

1.1 Studies discussing quotations in the letter as a whole

*Moisés Silva*¹ (2007) discusses two allusions and all the quotations in Galatians. Silva's study is based on the premise that Paul did not only depend on the Hebrew Scriptures when he was under pressure from Jewish opponents, but that its conceptual world was fundamental to his theology. *Dan Batovici*² (2013) draws attention to the function of references to the Hebrew Scriptures in Galatians. Batovici shows that Paul generally used them to provide proof for his arguments. Sometimes he departed from the original meaning of a quotation and in several cases, he used texts to tell believers what to do even though the texts indicated the opposite. *Martinus C. de Boer*³ (2020) discusses the status that the text of the Hebrew Scriptures had for Paul in Galatians, in particular its value or

1 M. Silva, "Galatians", in: G. Beale and D. Carson (eds.), *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2007), pp. 785–810.

2 D. Batovici, "A Few Notes on the Use of the Scripture in Galatians", *Sacra Scripta: Journal of the Centre for Biblical Studies* 11:2 (2013), pp. 287–301.

3 M.C. de Boer, *Paul, Theologian of God's Apocalypse: Essays on Paul and Apocalyptic* (Eugene OR: Cascade Books, 2020), pp. 153–168. See also the earlier version: M. C. de Boer, "Observations on the Significance of the Old Testament in Galatians", in: B. Koet, S. Moyise and J. Verheyden (eds.), *The Scriptures of Israel in Jewish and Christian Tradition: Essays in Honour of Maarten J.J. Menken* (Novum Testamentum Supplements 148, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill 2013), pp. 211–226. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004247727_015

authority. De Boer is of the opinion that Paul selected texts that supported his interpretation of the gospel and that undermined the claims of his opponents. Since Scripture was regarded by his opponents as an absolute authority, Paul tried to make it captive for his own gospel.

1.2 Studies discussing quotations/echoes in a specific pericope or verse(s)

1:8

According to *Seth M. Ehorn*⁴ (2013), Paul's reference to "an angel from heaven" in this verse makes sense if one keeps in mind the important role that the Abraham narrative plays in the letter. Paul had in mind the angelic visitors who conveyed a promise to Abraham (Genesis 18:10, 14).

1:13–16

On the basis of the similarities between Paul's statement in 1:15–16a on the one hand and Isaiah 49:1 and Jeremiah 1:5 on the other, *Tae Hoon Kim*⁵ (2015) argues that Paul saw an analogy between what happened to him and the calling of the Servant of the Lord and Jeremiah. Thus, Paul's experience is best described as a "calling" and not as a "conversion". From the fact that Paul uses Isaiah 49:1–6 in Galatians 1:13–16 to describe his conversion, *Bart J. Koet*⁶ (2017) deduces that Paul understood himself as following in the footsteps of the Jewish prophets. Luke describes Paul as a Jew loyal to the law, focusing on the Jews, but as then finding his way to the Gentiles on the basis of Isaiah 48:6 – an indication that Luke depicts him in the light of his (i.e., Paul's) self-understanding.

2:2

*B.J. Oropeza*⁷ (2009) thinks that Paul used the running metaphor in this verse, since he regarded himself as a prophetic herald like Habakkuk. This

4 S.M. Ehorn, "Galatians 1:8 and Paul's Reading of Abraham's Story", *The Journal of Theological Studies* 64:2 (2013), pp. 439–444. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jts/flt086>

5 T.H. Kim, "Paul's Experience at Damascus According to Quotations of the Old Testament: On the Basis of Galatians 1:15–16a", *성경과 신학* 76 (2015), pp. 101–128.

6 B.J. Koet, "Paul, a Light for the Gentiles: Paul as Interpreter of Scriptures in Galatians 1:13–16 and in the Acts of the Apostles", in: F. Wilk and M. Öhler (eds.), *Paulinische Schriftrezeption: Grundlagen – Ausprägungen – Wirkungen – Wertungen* (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 268, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), pp. 249–274. <https://doi.org/10.13109/9783666540608.249>

7 B.J. Oropeza, "Running in Vain, but Not as an Athlete (Galatians 2:2): The Impact of Habakkuk 2:2–4 on Paul's Apostolic Commission", in:

not only referred to his vocation as a missionary, but also to his message, in which Habakkuk's statement that a righteous person would live by faith played a key role.

2:16

One of the issues that *Jean-Sébastien Rey*⁸ (2014) highlights in a discussion of the “interdiscursivity” between the Dead Sea Scrolls and Galatians is what is known as “doxic discourse” (“discours doxique”). This refers to the way in which Paul refers to Psalm 143:2 in this verse.

3:1–5

*William N. Wilder*⁹ (2017) interprets the expression “hearing of faith” (vv. 2 and 5) as an echo of Isaiah 53:1, meant as a warning to the Galatians that their obstinacy amidst miracles is similar to that of Israel.

3:6–14

This pericope received the most attention of scholars, since it contains several quotations. Some contributions focused on specific quotations in the pericope whereas others discussed the whole pericope or a certain part of the pericope. We will first look at studies devoted to particular verses before discussing the latter.

3:6–7

According to *Maureen W. Yeung*¹⁰ (2002), Paul did not follow the Jewish Biblical tradition regarding Genesis 15:6. Instead of linking Abraham's

B.J. Oropeza, C.K. Robertson and D.C. Morhmann (eds.), *Jesus and Paul: Global Perspectives in Honor of James D.G. Dunn for His 70th Birthday* (Library of New Testament Studies 414, London/New York NY: T & T Clark, 2009), pp. 139–150.

8 J.-S. Rey, “Les manuscrits de la Mer Morte et l'Épître aux Galates: Quelques cas d'interdiscursivité”, in: J.-S. Rey (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 102, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2014), pp. 17–49. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004230071_004

9 W.N. Wilder, “‘To Whom Has the Arm of the Lord Been Revealed?': Signs and Wonders in Paul's Isaianic Mission to the Gentiles (Romans 15:18–21 and Galatians 3:1–5)”, in: T.A. Wilson and P.R. House (eds.), *The Crucified Apostle: Essays on Peter and Paul* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.450, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), pp. 225–260. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-155610-4>

10 M.W. Yeung, *Faith in Jesus and Paul: A Comparison with Special Reference to “Faith That Can Remove Mountains” and “Your Faith Has Healed/Saved You”* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.147, Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2002), pp. 226–286. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157184-8>

righteousness to his obedience, Paul offered a new definition of the offspring of Abraham in terms of justification by faith, thus taking Jesus' view of faith seriously. Based on etymology and the Hebrew Scriptures, *Jose Enrique Aguilar Chiu*¹¹ (2013) identifies the basic meaning of the concept “righteousness” as conformity to something that has been indicated. This makes sense of the way in which Paul quotes Genesis 15:6 (as in Galatians), since faith implies conformity to God's word. One of the issues that *Štefan Paluchník*¹² (2016) discusses in a contribution on Paul and early Christian traditions is Paul's interpretation of Genesis 15:6. For Paul, this particular verse became the basic text (“Grundtext”) indicating the uniqueness of faith in Christ.

3:8

*Jared M. August*¹³ (2019) tries to identify the promises that Paul referred to in 3:8 and 3:16. August argues that the syntax and the theme highlighted here indicate that Paul had Genesis 22:18 in mind.

3:10

*Timothy G. Gombis*¹⁴ (2007) is critical of the way in which scholars interpret this verse and offers a novel interpretation of this pericope, arguing that Paul cited Deuteronomy 27:26 in continuity with its original setting in Deuteronomy. *Roy E. Ciampa*'s¹⁵ contribution (2018) focuses on composite citations in 1 & 2 Corinthians and Galatians. In the case of Galatians, Ciampa discusses the combination of Deuteronomy 27:26 and 30:10 in 3:10. Ciampa points out that Paul does not often make use of composite quotations (only about 15% of the citations in 1 & 2 Corinthians and Galatians may be classified as composite citations) and that it seems as if he does so to increase the rhetorical effect of his argument. *Young Namgung*¹⁶ (2018) argues for the traditional

11 J.E. Aguilar Chiu, “The Basic Meaning of Righteousness and the Pauline Quote of Gn 15:6”, *Estudios Bíblicos* 71:2 (2013), pp. 235–269.

12 Š. Paluchník, “Der Apostel Paulus und die älteren christlichen Traditionen”, *Communio Viatorum* 58:1 (2016), pp. 55–76.

13 J.M. August, “Paul's View of Abraham's Faith: Genesis 22:18 in Galatians 3”, *Bibliotheca Sacra* 176:701 (2019), pp. 51–61.

14 T.G. Gombis, “The ‘Transgressor’ and the ‘Curse of the Law’: The Logic of Paul's Argument in Galatians 2–3”, *New Testament Studies* 53:1 (2007), pp. 81–93. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688507000057>

15 R.E. Ciampa, “Composite Citations in 1–2 Corinthians and Galatians”, in: S.A. Adams and S.M. Ehorn (eds.), *Composite Citations in Antiquity: Volume Two: New Testament Uses* (Library of New Testament Studies 593, London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2018), pp. 159–189.

16 Y. Namgung, “What Isaiah Has to Say About the Curse of the Law in Galatians 3:10”, *Neotestamentica* 52:1 (2018), pp. 69–90. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688518000057>

interpretation of 3:10, thus disagreeing with proposals made by scholars who opt for the New Perspective on Paul. Namgung supports this choice by focusing in particular on echoes to Isaiah 52:13–53:12 in this verse.

3:11

According to *Moisés Silva*¹⁷ (2001), Paul did not abuse Habakkuk 2:4 as a mere proof text. He truly used it as a source for his views and teachings, strengthening the message of this text. *Maureen W. Yeung*¹⁸ (2002) believes that Paul followed the context and original meaning of Habakkuk 2:4 carefully, but that he was also influenced by early church tradition (applying it to Christ) and might have been influenced by Jesus' understanding of the text.

3:12

*Friedrich Avemarie*¹⁹ (2005) argues that Paul uses Leviticus 18:5 in different ways in Romans and Galatians. In Galatians 3:12, he uses it to show that the law has nothing to do with faith, but in Romans 10:5, he interprets the “doing” of the law in a Christian sense. According to *Nicole Chibici-Revneanu*²⁰ (2008), when Paul quoted Leviticus 18:5 in Galatians 3:12 and Romans 10:5, he focused specifically on the words ἐν αὐτοῖς (“in them”) in order to contrast a life *in* the law and a life *from* faith (ἐκ πίστεως; “from faith”).

*Preston M. Sprinkle*²¹ (2009) identifies four different views of Paul's use of Leviticus 18:5 in 3:12 and offers arguments for what is described as

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- org/10.1353/neo.2018.0007
- 17 M. Silva, *Interpreting Galatians: Explorations in Exegetical Method* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2001 [1996], 2nd edition), pp. 165–167.
- 18 M.W. Yeung, *Faith in Jesus and Paul: A Comparison with Special Reference to “Faith That Can Remove Mountains” and “Your Faith Has Healed/ Saved You”* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.147, Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2002), pp. 196–225. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157184-8>
- 19 F. Avemarie, “Paul and the Claim of the Law According to Scripture: Leviticus 18:5 in Galatians 3:12 and Romans 10:5”, in: J. Pastor and M. Mor (eds.), *The Beginnings of Christianity: A Collection of Articles* (Jerusalem: Yad ben-Zvi Press, 2005), pp. 125–148. Also available in: J. Frey and A. Standhartinger (eds.), *Friedrich Avemarie: Neues Testament und frührabbinisches Judentum: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.316, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), pp. 511–530. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-152924-5>
- 20 N. Chibici-Revneanu, “Leben im Gesetz: Die paulinische Interpretation von Lev 18:5 (Gal 3:12; Röm 10:5)”, *Novum Testamentum* 50:2 (2008), pp. 105–119. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156853608X289856>
- 21 P.M. Sprinkle, “Why Can't ‘The One Who Does These Things Live by Them’?: The Use of Leviticus 18.5 in Galatians 3.12”, in: C.A. Evans and

the “Law/Gospel (2)” approach: doing the law is criticised, since the law is defective. The problem thus lies with the law and not with humans, as is the case with what Sprinkle identifies as the “Law/Gospel (1)” approach. Jason S. DeRouchie²² (2020) approaches the matter from a redemptive historical perspective. Leviticus 18:5 depicts the situation under the Mosaic law–covenant. Humankind could not “do” the law so that they could attain life and thus the law became a guardian, enslaving them.

3:13

Franco Manzi²³ (2002) discusses the way in which the annulment of the curse in Deuteronomy 21:23 in this verse was handled by Justin Martyr in his *Dialogue of Trypho*. Gert J. Steyn²⁴ (2015) explains how Paul interpreted Christ’s death retrodictively (a new term introduced by Steyn, meant to replace the notion of the “prediction” of Christ’s death in the Hebrew Scriptures) by means of Deuteronomy 21:23 in order to portray him as the one liberating humankind from the law. Mary A. Wilson²⁵ (2015) is of the opinion that Paul regarded Christ’s death on the cross as an unexpected fulfilment of a ritual referred to in the Hebrew Scriptures according to which transgressors of the covenant were hanged. Paul thus applied Deuteronomy 21:23 to refer to the substitutionary nature of Christ’s death. Wilson points out that looking at the text from different angles helps one to identify multiple textures in it.

Daniel R. Streett²⁶ (2015) disagrees with the commonly-held view that Second Temple Judaism regarded everyone who was crucified as cursed. According to Streett, it was believed that Deuteronomy 21:23

H.D. Zacharias (eds.), *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality: Volume 2: Exegetical Studies* (Library of New Testament Studies 392, London/ New York NY: T & T Clark, 2009), pp. 126–137.

22 J.S. DeRouchie, “The Use of Leviticus 18:5 in Galatians 3:12: A Redemptive–Historical Reassessment”, *Themelios* 45:2 (2020), pp. 240–259.

23 F. Manzi, “L’annullamento della Maledizione di Dt. 21,23 in *Galati* nel *Dialogo con Trifone*”, *Augustinianum* 42:1 (2002), pp. 5–34.

24 G.J. Steyn, “‘Retrodiction’ of the Old Testament in the New: The Case of Deuteronomy 21:23 in Paul’s Letter to the Galatians and the Crucifixion of Yehoshua ben Yoseph”, *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 71:3 (2015), pp. 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v71i3.3091>

25 M.A. Wilson, “‘Cursed Is Everyone Who Is Hanged on a Tree’: Paul’s Citation of Deut 21:23 in Gal 3:13”, *Trinity Journal* 36 (2015), pp. 217–240.

26 D.R. Streett, “Cursed by God? Galatians 3:13, Social Status, and Atonement Theory in the Context of Early Jewish Readings of Deuteronomy 21:23”, *Journal for the Study of Paul and his Letters* 5:2 (2015), pp. 189–209.

implied that only those who were crucified and who were also guilty of capital crimes were cursed. Streett thus argues that Paul did not believe that Jesus was cursed by God only as a result of the way in which he died. That Jesus “became a curse” rather refers to the way in which he was humiliated and treated by his fellow-Jews. *Michael M. Ramos*²⁷ (2016) uses social-rhetorical criticism to explain why Paul quoted Deuteronomy 27:26 to explain justification by faith in Christ.

*M. David Litwa*²⁸ (2020) traces the reception of Paul’s use of Deuteronomy 21:23 in Galatians 3:13 to refer to Jesus’ crucifixion as becoming a curse in texts from Nag Hammadi. Litwa shows that these texts acknowledged that Jesus was cursed, but that this was interpreted in several instances as only applying to his mortal part and not to his spiritual core.

Studies discussing quotations in sections of 3:6–14

According to *Jeffrey R. Wisdom*²⁹ (2001), from the way in which Paul cites from and interprets texts from Genesis and Deuteronomy in 3:8–10, it is clear that his interpretation differed from contemporary interpretations of these texts. He regarded the notion of Abraham being a blessing for the nations as a central part of the covenant with Abraham. He also stressed the curse on those who were disloyal to the Lord – a notion that he applied to those who were from the works of the law. *Joel Willitts*³⁰ (2003) points out that scholars have overlooked that Leviticus 18:5 was interpreted in later Jewish writings as referring to the fact that the potential of the covenant had not been realised. Paul might have understood this verse in a similar way, which implies that in 3:10–14 he was contrasting the age when the potential of the covenant was not yet realised with the age in which it happened.

27 M.M. Ramos, “Deuteronomy 27:26: ‘The Curse of the Law’: Shall the People of God Be Identified by Law or by Christ?”, *De La Salle Lipa Journal of Multidisciplinary Research* 3:1 (2016), pp. 1–13.

28 M.D. Litwa, “The Curse of the Creator: Galatians 3:13 and Negative Demiurgy”, in: F. Watson and S. Parkhouse (eds.), *Telling the Christian Story Differently: Counter-Narratives from Nag Hammadi and Beyond* (The Reception of Jesus in the First Three Centuries 5, London/New York NY/Oxford: T & T Clark Bloomsbury, 2020), pp. 13–30. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9780567679543.ch-001>

29 J.R. Wisdom, *Blessing for the Nations and the Curse of the Law: Paul’s Citation of Genesis and Deuteronomy in Gal 3.8–10* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.133, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157176-3>

30 J. Willitts, “Context Matters: Paul’s Use of Leviticus 18:5 in Galatians 3:12”, *Tyndale Bulletin* 54:2 (2003), pp. 105–122. <https://doi.org/10.53751/001c.30256>

*Sigurd Grindheim*³¹ (2007) is of the opinion that Paul regarded his fellow Jews, as well as himself during his time as Pharisee, as apostates and that such a perspective helps one to understand his use of Deuteronomy 27:26 and Leviticus 18:5 in 3:10–12 better. Paul read these texts in the light of the prophetic tradition, according to which they were regarded as the ground for divine judgement on Israel. *Michael Bachmann*³² (2007) explains Paul's argument in 3:10–12 as follows: The point that Paul wishes to convey is found in v. 10a; the quotations and v. 11a supply the four arguments, in two syllogisms (vv. 10b–11a and vv. 11b–12). *Steve Moyise*³³ (2008) offers a detailed overview of the two ways in which scholars explain Paul's use of citations in 3:10–14. Some accept the truth of all the texts that Paul quotes, whereas others see an antithesis between what is said in Leviticus 18:5 and Deuteronomy 27:26 on the one hand and Habakkuk 2:4 on the other.

*Jean-Noël Aletti*³⁴ (2011) points out that scholars struggle to explain the logic of Paul's argumentation in 3:10–14, and he offers the following solution: If one realises that Paul made use of the technique of *gezerah shawoth* (the explanation of one scriptural passage with the help of another in order to resolve apparent contradictions), his argument makes sense. *Bruce Chilton*³⁵ (2014) explains how Paul uses terms, allusions and quotations from LXX passages in 3:10–14 in order

31 S. Grindheim, "Apostate Turned Prophet: Paul's Prophetic Self-Understanding and Prophetic Hermeneutic with Special Reference to Galatians 3.10–12", *New Testament Studies* 53:4 (2007), pp. 545–565. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688507000276>

32 M. Bachmann, "Zur Argumentation von Galater 3.10–12", *New Testament Studies* 53:4 (2007), pp. 524–544. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688507000264> Also available in: M. Bachmann, *Von Paulus zur Apokalypse – und weiter: Exegetische und rezeptionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Neuen Testament (samt englischsprachigen Summaries)* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus/Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments 91, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), pp. 185–205.

33 S. Moyise, *Evoking Scripture: Seeing the Old Testament in the New* (London: T & T Clark, 2008), pp. 63–77.

34 J.-N. Aletti, "L'argumentation de Ga 3,10–14, une fois encore: Difficultés et propositions", *Biblica* 92:2 (2011), pp. 182–203. Also available in English in: J.-N. Aletti, *New Approaches for Interpreting the Letters of Saint Paul: Collected Essays: Rhetoric, Soteriology, Christology and Ecclesiology: Translated from the French by Peggy Manning Meyer* (Subsidia Biblica 43, Rome: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2012), pp. 237–260.

35 B. Chilton, "The Curse of the Law and the Blessing of Atonement: Paul's Deployment of Septuagintal Language", in: W. Kraus, S. Kreuzer, M. Meiser and M. Sigismund (eds.), *Die Septuaginta: Text, Wirkung, Rezeption: 4. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 19.–22. Juli 2012* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum

to prove his point. Chilton does so by focusing on two issues: references that can be identified and similarities at a linguistic level. According to Timothy G. Gombis³⁶ (2014), 3:10–14 should be understood as a series of ad hoc arguments, based on Scripture and used by Paul to reveal that his opponents' arguments were incoherent. He would not use the same argument in other nonpolemical contexts.

G.N. Toryough and S.O. Okanlawon³⁷ (2014) argue that, in the light of Genesis 12:1–3, the blessing that Paul refers to in 3:13–14 should be understood in a spiritual and not a material sense as many prosperity preachers tend to interpret it. It refers to the childhood of God. Debbie Hunn³⁸ (2016) is of the opinion that one should be aware of the fact that Paul introduces the notion of a metaphorical father-son relationship in 3:7. This helps one to follow his argument and his use of Scripture in 3:6–9. J. Andrew Cowan³⁹ (2020) objects to interpretations of 3:10–14 as referring to a corporate curse resting on Israel. Instead, Cowan interprets Paul's use of Deuteronomy 27:26 anthropologically, but in a nuanced way, differing from earlier attempts to understand it anthropologically.

Studies discussing all the quotations in 3:6–14

Moisés Silva⁴⁰ (2001) raises the question of how and why Paul selected the quotations in this passage. Silva argues that Paul chose them as a result of the nature of the polemics in which he was engaged and not by a detached interpretation of the texts. In a detailed study of 3:1–14, Andrew H.

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- Neuen Testament 1.325, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), pp. 597–610. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-152890-3>
- 36 T.G. Gombis, "Arguing with Scripture in Galatia: Galatians 3:10–14 as a Series of *ad hoc* Arguments", in: M.W. Elliott, S.J. Hafemann, N.T. Wright and J. Frederick (eds.), *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul's Letter* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2014), pp. 82–90.
- 37 G.N. Toryough and S.O. Okanlawon, "The Blessing of Abraham: Seeking an Interpretive Link between Genesis 12:1–3 and Galatians 3:13–16", *Ilorin Journal of Religious Studies* 4:1 (2014), pp. 123–136.
- 38 D. Hunn, "Galatians 3:6–9: Abraham's Fatherhood and Paul's Conclusions", *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 78:3 (2016), pp. 500–514.
- 39 J.A. Cowan, "The Curse of the Law, the Covenant, and Anthropology in Galatians 3:10–14: An Examination of Paul's Use of Deuteronomy 27:26", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 139:1 (2020), pp. 211–229. <https://doi.org/10.15699/jbl.1391.2020.11>
- 40 M. Silva, "Abraham, Faith, and Works: Paul's Use of Scripture in Galatians 3:6–14", *The Westminster Theological Journal* 63:2 (2001), pp. 251–267.

Wakefield⁴¹ (2003) proposes that Paul’s use of the Hebrew Bible reflects an interest or matrix which Wakefield describes as “where to live”, i.e., that Paul urged the Galatians to live in the new age rather than the old age.

3:16

Robby J. Kagarise⁴² (2000) disagrees with scholars who regard Paul’s use of texts from Genesis in this verse as problematic. According to Kagarise, Paul views the seed as referring to Christ in the light of the Christ–event. It is fulfilled in an individual (Christ) but also collectively (in all believers). C. John Collins⁴³ (2003) explains Paul’s argument about “seeds” and “seed” in this verse as follows: Paul quoted Genesis 22:18 which referred to an individual person, interpreting it as a Messianic text, referring to Christ. Christian Metzenthin⁴⁴ (2007) draws attention to similarities in the interpretation of Scripture between Paul and Qumran. Accordingly, Metzenthin suggests that 3:16 should be viewed as an allusion to Genesis 22:18.

3:19–20

According to J. Thomas Hewitt⁴⁵ (2019), the expression ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ τὸ σπέρμα (“until the offspring would come”) in 3:19 should be understood as a reappropriation of Genesis 49:10 – words that were often interpreted as Davidic/messianic. It thus makes sense that Paul applied it to Christ in 3:19. Linda L. Belleville⁴⁶ (2019) thinks that the notions that the law was ordained through angels and by the hand of a mediator were so strongly entrenched in Sinai traditions that one should assume that they were echoes of Scripture. Furthermore, that

41 A.H. Wakefield, *Where to Live: The Hermeneutical Significance of Paul’s Citations from Scripture in Galatians 3:1–14* (Academia Biblica 14, Atlanta GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003).

42 R.J. Kagarise, “The ‘Seed’ in Galatians 3:16 – A Window to Paul’s Thinking”, *Evangelical Journal* 18:2 (2000), pp. 67–73.

43 C.J. Collins, “Galatians 3:16: What Kind of Exegete Was Paul?”, *Tyndale Bulletin* 54:1 (2003), pp. 75–86. <https://doi.org/10.53751/001c.30224>

44 C. Metzenthin, “Abraham in der Damaskusschrift und im Galaterbrief: Vergleichende Überlegungen zur Schriftauslegung”, *Biblische Notizen* 134 (2007), pp. 79–103.

45 J.T. Hewitt, “Ancient Messiah Discourse and Paul’s Expression ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ τὸ σπέρμα in Galatians 3.19”, *New Testament Studies* 65:3 (2019), pp. 398–411. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0028688519000079>

46 L.L. Belleville, “The Sinai–μεσίτης Tradition in Galatians 3:19–20”, in: S.E. Porter and C.D. Land (eds.), *Paul and Scripture* (Pauline Studies 10, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2019), pp. 325–334. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004391512_016

Paul did not explain these statements when he introduced them in the letter should be taken as an indication that he assumed that his readers would be familiar with such notions.

3:21

According to Raik Heckl⁴⁷ (2003), Paul's statement in 3:21b ("If a law had been given that could make alive ...") seems to allude to Deuteronomy 6:24–25 where life and justice are linked to the observance of the law.

3:27

In a book on Adam's dust and glory in the *Hodayot* and Paul's Letters, Nicholas A. Meyer⁴⁸ (2016) refers to Paul's statement on no longer male and female in 3:27. Meyer believes that this refers to Genesis 1:27 and that Paul claims that the earthly and mortal aspects of the image of God are transcended by participating in Christ.

4:21–4:31/5:1

4:26

According to Christl M. Maier⁴⁹ (2007), Psalm 87 should be viewed as a reappraisal of the Zion tradition. Furthermore, Maier thinks that Paul's claim in this verse that Jerusalem is also the mother of the Gentiles is based on Psalm 86 LXX.

4:27

Martinus C. de Boer⁵⁰ (2004) is of the view that Paul reflected on Isaiah 54:1 in the light of the crisis in Galatia and that this prompted his allegorical interpretation of the story in Genesis, in that the two women who are contrasted in Isaiah 54:1 provided him with an apocalyptic antinomy which helped him to find other pairs in the Genesis story which he could interpret in terms of a Christological and apocalyptic eschatology.

47 R. Heckl, "Ein Bezugstext für Gal 3:21b", *Novum Testamentum* 45:3 (2003), pp. 260–264. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685360360683280>

48 N.A. Meyer, *Adam's Dust and Adam's Glory in the Hodayot and the Letters of Paul: Rethinking Anthropogony and Theology* (Supplements to Novum Testamentum 168, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2016), pp. 95–104. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004322929>

49 C.M. Maier, "Psalm 87 as a Reappraisal of the Zion Tradition and Its Reception in Galatians 4:26", *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 69:3 (2007), pp. 473–486.

50 M.C. de Boer, "Paul's Quotation of Isaiah 54.1 in Galatians 4.27", *New Testament Studies* 50:3 (2004), pp. 370–389. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688504000219>

Joel Willitts⁵¹ (2005) contends that scholars wrongly assume that Paul interprets Genesis and the Abraham narrative in 4:21–5:1. Instead Willitts believes that Paul interprets Isaiah 54 and the narrative of Israel. Alicia D. Myers⁵² (2010) is of the opinion that one should understand Paul’s use of Isaiah 54:1 in this verse against his earlier appeals to the Hebrew Scriptures in Chapters 3 and 4. If this is done, it emerges that his quotation in this verse is part of a cumulative argument meant to persuade his readers that his mission to the non-Jews was prefigured in the Hebrew Scriptures.

According to David I. Starling⁵³ (2011), Paul’s use of Isaiah 54:1 in 4:27 is not explained sufficiently by the apocalyptic or Christological notions that he brings to the text, or even by the wider context of Isaiah. It should rather be understood in terms of a larger argument from Scripture that he uses in the letter. In another contribution, Starling⁵⁴ (2013) points out that Paul’s claim that “the Jerusalem above” is “our mother” (thus including uncircumcised believers in Galatia among Jerusalem’s children) makes sense if one reads the text that he provides as proof (Isaiah 54:1) in terms of the salvation-historical framework that he develops in previous parts in the letter. The contribution of Mark S. Gignilliat⁵⁵ (2015) is informed by developments in Isaianic research. In Isaiah 54–66, Abraham’s offspring is interpreted in terms of the servant’s offspring and in Galatians, Paul understands the quotation from Isaiah 54:1 in terms of the Isaianic offspring theology.

51 J. Willitts, “Isa 54,1 in Gal 4,24b: Reading Genesis in Light of Isaiah”, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 96:3/4 (2005), pp. 188–210. <https://doi.org/10.1515/zntw.2005.96.3-4.188>

52 A.D. Myers, “‘For It Has Been Written’: Paul’s Use of Isa 54:1 in Gal 4:27 in Light of Gal 3:1–5:1”, *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 37:3 (2010), pp. 295–308.

53 D.I. Starling, *Not My People: Gentiles as Exiles in Pauline Hermeneutics* (Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 184, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), pp. 23–60. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110259612>

54 D.I. Starling, “The Children of the Barren Woman: Galatians 4:27 and the Hermeneutics of Justification”, *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 3:1 (2013), pp. 93–109.

55 M.S. Gignilliat, “Isaiah’s Offspring: Paul’s Isaiah 54:1 Quotation in Galatians 4:27”, *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 25:2 (2015), pp. 205–223.

4:30

Susan G. Eastman⁵⁶ (2006) disagrees with scholars who interpret this verse as implying that Jews are excluded from salvation or as urging the Galatians to expel the opponents. Eastman believes that Paul is rather letting the Galatians listen to Scripture announcing the gospel to Abraham (as happens in 3:8), thus emphasising God's faithfulness.

Studies discussing 4:21–4:31/5:1 as a whole

Torsten Löfstedt⁵⁷ (2000) describes Paul's exegetical strategy in this pericope as "allegory", but stresses that Paul used it in a restrained way. Löfstedt also highlights the fact that the deeper meaning that Paul found in this instance was connected to Christ. In the light of the problematic *Wirkungsgeschichte* of this pericope, Angela Standhartinger⁵⁸ (2002) discusses Paul's handling of Hagar. Standhartinger identifies three steps in Paul's argumentation: (1) juxtapositioning the free born son of the promise with the fleshly son of Hagar (vv. 21–23); (2) seeking for a deeper meaning underlying the events by using the concept "Jerusalem above" and a citation of Isaiah 54:1 to "blend" the two women (vv. 24–27); and (3) an argument to "drive out" Hagar, i.e., a call to practise the freedom shared by Jews and people of all nations jointly (vv. 28–31).

Daniel Gerber⁵⁹ (2002) describes Paul's exegetical strategy in this pericope as a typological construction based on an arbitrary allegorical foundation – an exegetical *tour de force* caused by anger rather than reason. According to Jeremy Punt⁶⁰ (2007), Sarah's position as mother of the Jews is subverted in this chapter and in 1 Peter. Instead, she becomes a model of Christian faith and is depicted in this way to further the persuasive goals of the two authors. Mary Mills⁶¹ (2008) describes Paul's

56 S.G. Eastman, "'Cast out the Slave Woman and Her Son': The Dynamics of Exclusion and Inclusion in Galatians 4.30", *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 28:3 (2006), pp. 309–336. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X060063245>

57 T. Löfstedt, "The Allegory of Hagar and Sarah: Gal 4.21–31", *Estudios Bíblicos* 58:4 (2000), pp. 475–494.

58 A. Standhartinger, "'Zur Freiheit ... befreit'? Hagar im Galaterbrief", *Evangelische Theologie* 62:4 (2002), pp. 288–303.

59 D. Gerber, "'Ga 4,21–31 ou l'indéfinissable méthode?'" in: R. Kuntzmann (ed.), *Typologie biblique: De quelques figures vives* (Lectio Divina, Paris: Cerf, 2002), pp. 165–176.

60 J. Punt, "Subverting Sarah in the New Testament: Galatians 4 and 1 Peter 3", *Scriptura* 96 (2007), pp. 453–468. <https://doi.org/10.7833/96-0-1168>

61 M. Mills, "The Story of Abraham and Models of Human Identity", *New Blackfriars* 89:1021 (2008), pp. 280–299. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-2005.2008.00221.x>

exegetical strategy in this pericope as an imaginative interpretation of events narrated in the Hebrew Scriptures with Abraham serving as prototype. This is supported by an allegorical reading of Sarah and Hagar in such a way that everything is creatively focused on Christ. In a next step, Mills utilises narrative criticism to imaginatively interpret Sarah and Hagar (in Genesis) as models of identity.

Mark Gignilliat⁶² (2008) uses this passage to illustrate that Paul's exegetical strategy fits in well with the way in which the Bible, in particular the Hebrew Scriptures, was read figuratively in the exegetical tradition. It confirms that the Bible should be read in the light of its subject matter, Christ. Ladislav Tichý⁶³ (2009) prefers to describe Paul's rhetorical strategy in this pericope as typology rather than allegory, since Paul does not deny that events narrated in Genesis happened. Furthermore, Tichý emphasises that Paul's exegetical approach was decisively influenced by his faith in Christ. A.B. Caneday⁶⁴ (2010) contends that the Genesis text that Paul used upheld the authenticity of events that were narrated, but that it also had an allegorical side and that this warranted Paul's argument in this pericope.

Bas van Os⁶⁵ (2010) explains the way in which Paul linked Sarah in this pericope to the New Jerusalem of Isaiah 54:1, how early Christians re-interpreted this prophecy in Isaiah in the light of the fact that Gentiles formed the majority in the Christian movement in their times, how Gnostic Christians (in particular, according to the Gospel of Philip) interpreted the Isaiah text allegorically, and how Irenaeus reacted to the claim that non-Gnostic Christians were children of the slave woman. Dieter Sänger⁶⁶ (2011) describes Paul's interpretative strategy in this pericope as

62 M. Gignilliat, "Paul, Allegory, and the Plain Sense of Scripture: Galatians 4:21–31", *Journal of Theological Interpretation* 2:1 (2008), pp. 135–146. <https://doi.org/10.2307/jtheointe.2.1.0135>

63 L. Tichý, "Biblické Argumenty Apoštola Pavla v Gal 4,21–31", *Studia Theologica* 38:4 (2009), pp. 1–14.

64 A.B. Caneday, "Covenant Lineage Allegorically Prefigured: 'Which Things Are Written Allegorically' (Galatians 4:21–31)", *The Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* 14:3 (2010), pp. 50–77.

65 B. van Os, "Children of the Slave Woman: The Gnostic Christian Reinterpretation of Paul's Allegory of Hagar", in: M. Goodman, G.H. van Kooten and J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten (eds.), *Abraham, the Nations, and the Hagarites: Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Perspectives on Kinship with Abraham* (Themes in Biblical Narrative: Jewish and Christian Traditions 13, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2010), pp. 387–400. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004188433.i-578.127>

66 D. Sänger, "Sara, die Freie – unsere Mutter: Namenallegorese als Interpretament christlicher Identitätsbildung in Gal 4,21–31", in: R. Deines, J. Herzer and K.-W. Niebuhr (eds.), *Neues Testament und*

Christian identity formation by means of “Namenallegorese” (i.e., the allegorisation of names). In the first part, Paul develops metaphorical contrasts antithetically, and in the second part, he constructs Christian identity narratively, in particular by focusing on the liberty that is based on Christ and that is experienced by means of faith.

Joseph Hyung S. Lee⁶⁷ (2013) describes Paul’s use of Scripture as “apocalyptic allegory” and explains his use of Genesis and Isaiah in terms of three perspectives: intertextuality, the use of a historical narrative, and an apocalyptic perspective. Matthew Y. Emerson⁶⁸ (2013) argues that if one reads Paul’s argument in 4:21–5:1 from the perspective of intertextuality, it becomes clear that the Hagar and Sinai narratives are closely related and that Paul interpreted them appropriately. Matthew S. Harmon⁶⁹ (2014) interprets the verb ἀλληγορέω (“speak allegorically”) in this pericope as referring to something having a deeper meaning. Paul thus perceived a deeper meaning in Genesis 16–21 which only became clear by looking at it through Isaiah 54:1.

Yongbom Lee’s⁷⁰ (2015) study focuses on Paul’s knowledge and use of the Jesus tradition. One of the passages that is discussed is 4:21–5:1. In this case, Lee points out that Paul interpreted the LXX in more or less the same way as it happens in some of the Qumran writings. David I. Starling⁷¹

hellenistisch-jüdische Alltagskultur: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen: III. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti, 21.–24. Mai 2009, Leipzig (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.274, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), pp. 213–239. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-151563-7>

67 J.H.S. Lee, “Apocalyptic Allegory: Paul’s Use of Genesis and Isaiah in Galatians 4:19–5:1”, in: H.C. Kim (ed.), *Galatians as Examined by Diverse Academics in 2012 (St. Andrews, Scotland)* (Hermit Kingdom Studies in Christianity and Judaism 3, Newark NJ/Seoul: The Hermit Kingdom Press, 2013), pp. 42–56.

68 M.Y. Emerson, “Arbitrary Allegory, Typical Typology, or Intertextual Interpretation? Paul’s Use of the Pentateuch in Galatians 4:21–31”, *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 43:1 (2013), pp. 14–22. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146107912470332>

69 M.S. Harmon, “Allegory, Typology, or Something Else: Revisiting Galatians 4:21–5:1”, in: M.S. Harmon and J.E. Smith (eds.), *Studies in the Pauline Epistles: Essays in Honor of Douglas J. Moo* (Grand Rapids MI: Zondervan, 2014), pp. 144–158.

70 Y. Lee, *Paul, Scribe of Old and New: Intertextual Insights for the Jesus–Paul Debate* (Library of New Testament Studies 512, London/New York NY: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2015).

71 D.I. Starling, “Justifying Allegory: Scripture, Rhetoric, and Reason in Galatians 4:21–5:1”, *Journal of Theological Interpretation* 9:2 (2015), pp. 227–245. <https://doi.org/10.2307/jtheointe.9.2.0227>

(2015) identifies the following six warrants on which Paul's allegory in this pericope is based: Genesis, Isaiah, Israel's story, Christology and eschatology, the Galatians' own experience and Paul's authority as apostle and founder of the congregation. Starling emphasises that Paul's allegorisation was not speculative and does not give us the right to make use of speculative allegorisation.

One of the issues that *Robert C. Gregg*⁷² (2015) discusses in a study of narratives shared by Jews, Christians and Muslims is the story of Sarah and Hagar. Gregg describes Paul's allegory as "bold" and "idiosyncratic". He used it for the radical claim that "the covenant blessing God first bestowed upon Abraham and his successors ... had passed from the Jews to the new community."⁷³ In a study of the history of reception of Genesis 21 in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity, *Gudrun Holtz*⁷⁴ (2017) discusses this pericope. Although it does not presuppose a virginal conception, Abraham's role in Isaac's conception is not mentioned but God's power is stressed, since Isaac is depicted as a son according to the Spirit.

*Elitzur A. Bar-Asher Siegal and Michal Bar-Asher Siegal*⁷⁵ (2018) think that the whole argument in 4:21–31 is based on the quotation from Isaiah 54:1, but argue that one should realise that Paul understood *be'ûlâh* in the late-Hebrew sense of "a woman who had sexual intercourse". This implies that he might have understood *šômêmâl* as meaning "a woman who did not have intercourse". *Kathryn Greene-McCreight*⁷⁶ (2020) interprets Paul's handling of the narratives of Sarah and Hagar in 4:21–31 as a "figuring in" whereby Paul guides his readers into the Christological and ecclesial scopes of the narratives. In this way, he focuses their attention on important themes in the letter: seed, spiritual inheritance and Christian identity.

72 R.C. Gregg, *Shared Stories, Rival Tellings: Early Encounters of Jews, Christians and Muslims* (New York NY/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 117–216. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190231491.001.0001>

73 *Op. cit.*, p. 218.

74 G. Holtz, *Jungfrauengeburt und Greisinnengeburt: Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte von Gen 21,1f im antiken Judentum und im frühen Christentum* (Biblich-Theologische Studien 172, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), pp. 83–92.

75 E.A. Bar-Asher Siegal and M. Bar-Asher Siegal, "The Hebrew-Based Traditions in Galatians 4:21–31", *Early Christianity* 9:4 (2018), pp. 404–431. <https://doi.org/10.1628/ec-2018-0030>

76 K. Greene-McCreight, "Figured In: Nonliteral Reading, the Rule of Faith, and Galatians 4", in: D. Collett, M. Elliott, M. Gignilliat and E. Radner (eds.), *The Identity of Israel's God in Christian Scripture: Essays in Honor of Christopher R. Seitz* (Resources for Biblical Study 96, Atlanta GA: SBL Press, 2020), pp. 339–352.

According to *Samuel J. Tedder*⁷⁷ (2020), this pericope is central to Paul's argument in the letter. Tedder prefers to describe Paul's approach as essentially intertextual in that he grounds his interpretation of the gospel in the Hebrew Scriptures as they have been reconfigured by the coming of Christ. For Paul, the "Jerusalem above" was the inaugurated restoration reality characterised by the rule and presence of God.

5:14

*Michael K.W. Suh*⁷⁸ (2012) proposes that Paul's quotation of Leviticus 19:18 in this verse resonates with the larger context of this chapter in Leviticus. Leviticus 19 connects the commandments to the Lord himself, and similarly, in this verse, Jesus' identity is described in a way parallel to that of the Lord in Leviticus.

5:16, 18

*William N. Wilder*⁷⁹ (2001) believes that this verse indicates that Paul understood Christian experience as a new exodus. Furthermore, Psalm 143 served as the source of Paul's ideas in this regard, for both Paul's views of the new exodus and the flesh-Spirit contrast in this part of the letter. *Scott A. Swanson*⁸⁰ (2018) is of the opinion that Psalm 143:10 lies behind Paul's exhortations to walk by the Spirit and be led by the Spirit (5:16, 18 and Romans 8:14). This presupposes a wisdom framework that one has to take seriously in order to understand this facet of Paul's instruction on the Spirit properly.

5:22

According to *G.K. Beale*⁸¹ (2005), the notion of "the fruit of the Spirit" (5:22) is an allusion to promises in Isaiah (especially in Chapters 32 and

77 S.J. Tedder, *Children of Laughter and the Re-Creation of Humanity: The Theological Vision and Logic of Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (Eugene OR: Cascade Books, 2020).

78 M.K.W. Suh, "'It Has Been Brought to Completion': Leviticus 19:18 as Christological Witness in Galatians 5:14", *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 2:2 (2012), pp. 115–132.

79 W.N. Wilder, *Echoes of the Exodus Narrative in the Context and Background of Galatians 5:18* (Studies in Biblical Literature 23, New York/Bern: Lang, 2001).

80 S.A. Swanson, "The Instruction of the Spirit: The Wisdom Framework for Pauline Spirit Dependence", *Mid-America Journal of Theology* 29 (2018), pp. 81–128.

81 G.K. Beale, "The Old Testament Background of Paul's Reference to 'the Fruit of the Spirit' in Galatians 5:22", *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 15:1 (2005), pp. 1–38. <https://doi.org/10.2307/26422749>

57) about the abundant fertility characteristic of the new age, brought about by the Spirit.

1.3 Studies discussing the use of themes from the Hebrew Scriptures in the letter

C. Marvin Pate⁸² (2000) maintains that Paul viewed Christ as the Wisdom of God who had removed the Deuteronomic curses through his death on the cross. The blessings of the covenant thus rested on believers whereas the curses of the covenant remained on those who try to keep the law. Pamela Eisenbaum⁸³ (2000) believes that Paul experienced his call not so much as similar to that of the prophets, but rather as similar to that of Abraham. He thus regarded himself as the new Abraham, establishing a new type of family. Susan Eastman⁸⁴ (2001) explains Paul's reference to the evil eye by means of the Hebrew Bible. It should be seen as an intertextual echo to the curse mentioned in Deuteronomy 28:53–57, thus preparing for Paul's depiction of the crucified Christ as the antidote to the curse brought by the law in the rest of Chapter 3 and the portrayal of the gospel as a free mother (in Chapter 4).

In a discussion of the way in which Paul uses the stories of Israel in Romans and Galatians, Bruce W. Longenecker⁸⁵ (2002) points out certain

82 C.M. Pate, *The Reverse of the Curse: Paul, Wisdom, and the Law* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.114, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157167-1>

83 P. Eisenbaum, "Paul as the New Abraham", in: R.A. Horsley (ed.), *Paul and Politics: Ekklesia, Israel, Imperium, Interpretation: Essays in Honor of Krister Stendahl* (Harrisburg PA: Trinity Press, 2000), pp. 130–145. See also the response by Alan F. Segal: "Response: Some Aspects of Conversion and Identity Formation in the Christian Community of Paul's Time", in: R.A. Horsley (ed.), *Paul and Politics: Ekklesia, Israel, Imperium, Interpretation: Essays in Honor of Krister Stendahl* (Harrisburg PA: Trinity Press, 2000), pp. 184–190.

84 S. Eastman, "The Evil Eye and the Curse of the Law: Galatians 3.1 Revisited", *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 24:1 (2001), pp. 69–87. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0142064X0102400104>

85 B.W. Longenecker, "Sharing in Their Spiritual Blessings? The Stories of Israel in Galatians and Romans", in: B.W. Longenecker (ed.), *Narrative Dynamics in Paul: A Critical Assessment* (Louisville KY/London: Westminster John Knox, 2002), pp. 58–84. See also the response by Morna D. Hooker: "'Heirs of Abraham': The Gentiles' Role in Israel's Story: A Reponse to Bruce W. Longenecker", in: B.W. Longenecker (ed.), *Narrative Dynamics in Paul: A Critical Assessment* (Louisville KY/London: Westminster John Knox, 2002), pp. 85–96. Richard Hays's response is available in: "Is Paul's Gospel Narratable?", *Journal for*

stable features in the way in which Paul uses these stories but also notes differences between the two letters. In Romans, the relationship between Gentile believers and Israel is depicted as organic, but in Galatians, Paul tries to sever this organic relationship between Israel and Gentile believers. In the same volume, there is also a contribution by *Andrew T. Lincoln*⁸⁶ (2002) on the stories of predecessors and inheritors in Galatians and Romans. With regard to predecessors, Lincoln points out that the narrative of Abraham is crucial for Paul's understanding of the identity of God's people, and that Paul focuses in both letters on the elements in the narrative supporting his perspective.

*Marinko Vidović*⁸⁷ (2003) offers an overview of the way in which Paul depicts Abraham in Galatians, as a person showing the kind of faith that he expects⁸⁸ of the Galatians. *Nancy Calvert-Koyzis*⁸⁸ (2004) argues that the most prevalent tradition about Abraham, namely his rejection of idolatry in favour of monotheistic faith, forms the background of Paul's argument on him, in that Paul regards obedience to the law as a form of idolatry that was to be rejected in favour of faith in the true God. *Todd A. Wilson*⁸⁹ (2004) claims that Paul uses the theme of Israel's wilderness apostasy in Galatians. Thus, the Galatians are depicted as being on the verge of a wilderness apostasy, somewhere between redemption (as happened in Exodus) and inheriting the kingdom of God.

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- the Study of the New Testament* 27:2 (2004), pp. 217–239. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X0402700205>
- 86 A.T. Lincoln, "The Stories of Predecessors and Inheritors in Galatians and Romans", in: B.W. Longenecker (ed.), *Narrative Dynamics in Paul: A Critical Assessment* (Louisville KY/London: Westminster John Knox, 2002), pp. 172–203. See also the response by I. Howard Marshall: "Response to A.T. Lincoln: The Stories of Predecessors and Inheritors in Galatians and Romans", in: B.W. Longenecker (ed.), *Narrative Dynamics in Paul: A Critical Assessment* (Louisville KY/London: Westminster John Knox, 2002), pp. 204–214. Richard Hays's response is available in: "Is Paul's Gospel Narratable?", *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 27:2 (2004), pp. 217–239. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X0402700205>
- 87 M. Vidović, "Abrahamov Lik u Argumentiranju Spasenja po Vjeri u Poslanici Galaćanima", *Bogoslovska Smotra* 73:4 (2003), pp. 533–575.
- 88 N. Calvert-Koyzis, *Paul, Monotheism and the People of God: The Significance of Abraham Traditions for Early Judaism and Christianity* (*Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplements* 273, London: T & T International, 2004).
- 89 T.A. Wilson, "Wilderness Apostasy and Paul's Portrayal of the Crisis in Galatians", *New Testament Studies* 50:4 (2004), pp. 550–571. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688504000311>

Günther H. Juncker⁹⁰ (2007) interprets “Israel” in Romans 9:6b as referring to the spiritual Israel (i.e., the church) and not to a faithful remnant from Israel. Juncker finds a similar tendency in Paul’s depiction of Abraham as spiritual father in Galatians 3, in the typological interpretations of the patriarchs in Galatians 3 and in the typology of Isaac and Ishmael in 4:21–31. According to Troy A. Miller⁹¹ (2009), in 4:21–31, Paul subverts the traditional negative Jewish interpretation of Hagar (a view probably stemming from his opponents). It is thus not the case that he presents a negative interpretation of Hagar in the letter. Karin B. Neutel⁹² (2010) explains the way in which Paul understands Abraham as universal ancestor in Galatians as follows: Through Christ’s death and resurrection, a new era has been inaugurated in which God no longer distinguishes between Jews and Gentiles. Access to God is thus universal and both Jews and Gentiles are God’s children.

Roy E. Ciampa⁹³ (2010) points out that there are indications in the Hebrew Scriptures and early Christian traditions that Abraham was associated with liberation from various kinds of oppression. Ciampa then shows how Paul associates Abraham in Galatians, not only with spiritual liberation but also with liberation from other oppressive situations. One of the issues that Steve Moyise⁹⁴ (2010) discusses in a book on Paul’s use of the Hebrew Scriptures is how he interprets Abraham. Moyise shows how Paul’s interpretation of Abraham sometimes agrees and sometimes disagrees with other interpretations of Abraham in the first century. Paul focuses on Genesis 15:6, highlighting faith as the identity marker of God’s

90 G.H. Juncker, “‘Children of Promise’: Spiritual Paternity and Patriarch Typology in Galatians and Romans”, *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 17:1 (2007), pp. 131–160. <https://doi.org/10.2307/26424196>

91 T.A. Miller, “Surrogate, Slave and Deviant? The Figure of Hagar in Jewish Tradition and Paul (Galatians 4.21–31)”, in: C.A. Evans and H.D. Zacharias (eds.), *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality: Volume 2: Exegetical Studies* (Library of New Testament Studies 392, London/New York NY: T & T Clark, 2009), pp. 138–154.

92 K.B. Neutel, “‘Neither Jew nor Greek’: Abraham as Universal Ancestor”, in: M. Goodman, G.H. van Kooten and J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten (eds.), *Abraham, the Nations, and the Hagarites: Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Perspectives on Kinship with Abraham* (Themes in Biblical Narrative 13, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2010), pp. 289–306. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004216495_020

93 R.E. Ciampa, “Abraham and Empire in Galatians”, in: S.A. Hunt (ed.), *Perspectives on Our Father Abraham: Essays in Honor of Marvin R. Wilson* (Grand Rapids MI/Cambridge: 2010), pp. 153–168.

94 S. Moyise, *Paul and Scripture: Studying the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids MI/London: Baker/SPCK, 2010), pp. 31–45.

people, and also draws novel conclusions from the narratives about the two sons of Abraham.

Oda Wischmeyer⁹⁵ (2010) proposes that Paul did not link Abraham primarily to the history of Israel but rather viewed him as an exemplary figure in a general anthropological sense: *the human being whose relationship to God was constituted by faith*. Matthew S. Harmon⁹⁶ (2010) highlights the influence of the Book of Isaiah (primarily Chapters 40–66) on Galatians. Amongst other things, Harmon points out similarities between Paul's self-understanding and the depiction of the Servant in Isaiah. Gordon D. Fee⁹⁷ (2010) traces the role of Abraham in Pauline argumentation. Fee points out that it seems as if the problems caused by Paul's opponents in Galatia led him to focus on Abraham, in particular, the fact that Abraham had faith in God before he was circumcised.

Rodrigo J. Morales⁹⁸ (2010) discusses the importance of the themes of the new exodus, new creation and the restoration of Israel in Galatians. According to Morales, Paul regarded the gift of the Spirit as a fulfilment of God's promise to restore Israel. Furthermore, Paul followed Deutero-Isaiah by linking the Spirit to the blessing of Abraham and the inclusion of the Gentiles. One of the aspects that Gary M. Burge⁹⁹ (2010) discusses in a book on how the New Testament challenges Holy Land theology is Paul's interpretation of the promises to Abraham. Burge points out how Paul universalises the promises to Abraham in Romans and Galatians to include all people and every land.

95 O. Wischmeyer, "Wie kommt Abraham in den Galaterbrief? Überlegungen zu Gal 3,6–29", in: M. Bachmann and B. Kollmann (eds.), *Umstrittener Galaterbrief: Studien zur Situierung und Theologie des Paulus-Schreibens* (Biblich-Theologische Studien 106, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2010), pp. 119–163.

96 M.S. Harmon, *She Must and Shall Go Free: Paul's Isaianic Gospel in Galatians* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 168, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010). <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110221763>

97 G.D. Fee, "Who Are Abraham's True Children? The Role of Abraham in Pauline Argumentation", in: S.A. Hunt (ed.), *Perspectives on Our Father Abraham: Essays in Honor of Marvin R. Wilson* (Grand Rapids MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2010), pp. 126–137.

98 R.J. Morales, *The Spirit and the Restoration of Israel: New Exodus and New Creation Motifs in Galatians* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.282, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-151625-2>

99 G.M. Burge, *Jesus and the Land: The New Testament Challenge to "Holy Land" Theology* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2010), pp. 77–94.

Ulrike Bechmann¹⁰⁰ (2011) explains how Paul uses Abraham and Sarah in Galatians and Romans as figures of “unbounding” (“Entgrenzung”). In 4:21–31, Sarah is associated with spiritual liberty and faith, thereby connecting Christ, the centre of Christian faith, with the Jewish tradition of salvation and promise. According to Maureen W. Yeung¹⁰¹ (2011), the three paradoxes inherent in the expressions “the seed of Abraham” (3:16, 29), “the law of Christ” (6:2) and “the Israel of God” (6:16) are genuine paradoxes. They were already implicit in the Hebrew Scriptures and Paul merely developed them within his missionary context.

Jeremy Punt published several articles commenting on the way in which Paul uses Abraham traditions in Galatians: In the first one, Punt¹⁰² (2011) draws attention to the way in which Paul uses the Abraham narrative in Genesis 16 and 21 in 4:21–5:1 for the identity formation of Jesus followers. Paul’s hermeneutics thus supports identity formation, and reciprocally, his view of believers’ identity in Christ determined his hermeneutics. In a second contribution, Punt¹⁰³ (2012) discusses Paul’s use of the Abraham narratives in Galatians and Romans from the perspective of cultural memory. By linking three elements (the contemporised past, culture and the group/community) the way in which Paul uses Scriptures to negotiate the identity of a particular group of Jesus followers is clarified. A third contribution¹⁰⁴ (2013) focuses on the way in which Paul uses texts from the Hebrew Scriptures, in particular from the Abraham narrative, to construct notions of Others within the context of the Roman Empire and its identity politics. In this way, Paul clearly draws boundaries, thus creating insiders and outsiders.

100 U. Bechmann, “Rhetorische Figuren der Entgrenzung: Abraham, Sara und Hagar bei Paulus”, *Bibel und Kirche* 66:1 (2011), pp. 9–14.

101 M.W. Yeung, “Old Testament Paradoxes in Galatians: Rethinking the Theology of Galatians”, in: J.C. Laansma, G.R. Osborne and R.F. van Neste (eds.), *New Testament Theology in Light of the Church’s Mission: Essays in Honor of I. Howard Marshall* (Eugene OR: Cascade Books, 2011), pp. 213–228.

102 J. Punt, “Hermeneutics in Identity Formation: Paul’s Use of Genesis in Galatians 4”, *HTS Teologiese Studies* 67:1 (2011), pp. 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v67i1.846>

103 J. Punt, “Identity, Memory, and Scriptural Warrant: Arguing Paul’s Case”, in: C.D. Stanley (ed.), *Paul and Scripture: Extending the Conversation* (Early Christianity and Its Literature 9, Atlanta GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), pp. 25–54.

104 J. Punt, “The Interpretation of the New Testament as the Study of Texts and Contexts: Hermeneutics, Identities, Communities”, *Acta Theologica* 33:2 (2013), pp. 113–132. <https://doi.org/10.4314/actat.v33i2.7>

In another contribution in 2013, Punt¹⁰⁵ shows how Paul goes about creating “Others” in the letter by using the Hebrew Scriptures. He and his addressees are depicted as children of the promise (like Isaac). They are also linked to Sarah and distanced from Hagar. In the fifth study, Punt¹⁰⁶ (2014) investigates the interplay between the way in which Paul uses the depiction of Abraham in the Hebrew Scriptures in Galatians to negotiate identity within an imperial setting. Punt shows that Paul’s othering of people in the letter was affected by the imperial setup and the way in which the Roman Empire scripted power.

According to Peter Wick¹⁰⁷ (2013), 4:21–31 serves as the climax of Paul’s argument in Galatians and introduces the actual reason for the letter: the prohibition of circumcision for all who have come to faith in Christ. Paul argues that believers who wish to be circumcised have switched to a different spiritual mother, city and covenant. Sigve K. Tonstad¹⁰⁸ (2013) thinks that, whereas Paul’s opponents regarded Abraham as the primary proof of their message on circumcision, his interpretation of Abraham was based on apocalyptic notions and the Akedah. This is expressed primarily by the call “Abba! Father” (4:6). Finn Damgaard¹⁰⁹ (2013) discusses the way in which Moses was “recast” in narratives in ancient Judaism and fourth century Christianity. Damgaard argues that Paul uses Moses in his writings in an autobiographical way and Adam and Abraham in a theological way.

105 J. Punt, “‘The Others’ in Galatians: Text and the Negotiation of Identity”, in: F. Lozada Jr. and G. Carey (eds.), *Soundings in Cultural Criticism: Perspectives and Methods in Culture, Power and Identity in the New Testament* (Minneapolis MI: Fortress Press, 2013), pp. 45–54.

106 J. Punt, “Identity Claims, Texts, Rome and Galatians”, *Acta Theologica Supplementum* 19 (2014), pp. 81–104. <https://doi.org/10.4314/actat.v33i2S.5>

107 P. Wick, “Das himmlische Jerusalem in Gal 4,21–31 oder: Die Mutter macht den Unterschied: Antiethische Polarität als Matrix im Galaterbrief”, *Theologische Zeitschrift* 69:4 (2013), pp. 320–337. <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-877669>

108 S.K. Tonstad, “Inscribing Abraham: Apocalyptic, the Akedah, and ‘Abba! Father’ in Galatians”, in: H.C. Kim (ed.), *Galatians as Examined by Diverse Academics in 2012 (St. Andrews, Scotland)* (Hermit Kingdom Studies in Christianity and Judaism 3, Newark NJ/Seoul: The Hermit Kingdom Press, 2013), pp. 15–28.

109 F. Damgaard, *Recasting Moses: The Memory of Moses in Biographical and Autobiographical Narratives in Ancient Judaism and 4th-Century Christianity* (Early Christianity in the Context of Antiquity 13, Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Bern: Peter Lang, 2013), pp. 112–120.

According to *Mireia Ryšková*¹¹⁰ (2013), Paul uses the Abrahamic tradition in the controversy with his Jewish Christian opponents without paying attention to the halachic dimensions of the tradition. Instead, he interprets it from the perspective of redemption in Christ. *Fanie (S.D.) Snyman*¹¹¹ (2014) compares the portrayal of Abraham in Galatians and Genesis. In each of the passages in Genesis that is investigated, the emphasis falls primarily on one of the three promises (land, progeny and blessing), but in Galatians, the emphasis is mostly on the blessing. *Jane Heath*¹¹² (2014) discusses the relationship between God as Father and other parents in the New Testament. In the case of Galatians, the relationship between God as Father and Abraham as (spiritual) father is important. God's fatherhood took shape in history in his Son (the seed of Abraham) and in those who believe in his Son, so that the relationship to God through his Son became the focus of unity for humankind.

*Kateřina Kočí*¹¹³ (2014) points out that the term "promise" does not always refer to the same thing in Romans and Galatians. It may refer to general promises to Abraham, promises to Abraham's offspring, the Spirit and inheriting the world. Furthermore, Kočí shows that the promise of the land is generally spiritualised and eschatologised by Paul. In a study on Romans 9, *Robert B. Foster*¹¹⁴ (2016) highlights the way in which Paul reconfigured Abrahamic identity in Galatians. He reinterpreted the founding story of Israel in Genesis, thereby creating a new religious identity for the Galatian believers. *Ari Mermelstein*¹¹⁵ (2017) investigates the way in which the covenant with Abraham was retold in five texts: the Damascus Document, the Apocalypse of the Weeks, 4 Ezra, Nehemiah 9

110 M. Ryšková, "Abrahamic Tradition in the Epistle to the Galatians", *Acta Universitatis Carolinae Theologica* 3:2 (2013), pp. 115–133. <https://doi.org/10.14712/23363398.2015.27>

111 S.D. Snyman, "Abraham in Galatians and in Genesis", *Acta Theologica* 33:2 (2014), pp. 148–163. <https://doi.org/10.4314/actat.v33i2.9>

112 J. Heath, "God the Father and Other Parents in the New Testament", in: F. Albrecht and R. Feldmeier (eds.), *The Divine Father: Religious and Philosophical Concepts of Divine Parenthood in Antiquity* (Themes in Biblical Narrative 18, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2014), pp. 233–254.

113 K. Kočí, "Reception of the 'Promised Land' in the Pauline Letters", *Communio Viatorum* 56:1 (2014), pp. 35–55.

114 R.B. Foster, *Renaming Abraham's Children: Election, Ethnicity, and the Interpretation of Scripture in Romans 9* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.421, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), pp. 50–63. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-154484-2>

115 A. Mermelstein, "When History Repeats Itself: The Theological Significance of the Abrahamic Covenant in Early Jewish Writings", *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 27:2 (2017), pp. 113–142. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309089217746847>

and Galatians. Paul did not use it to support exclusivist claims but to argue for an inclusive community.

Todd A. Wilson¹¹⁶ (2017) illustrates intertextual exegesis by identifying echoes of the exodus narrative in 5:16–23 related to the wilderness theme, such as the guidance of the Spirit (echoing the guidance of Israel by a cloud) and “the fruit of the Spirit” (echoing the prophetic hopes of the fruitfulness of Israel). Seung Hyun Lee¹¹⁷ (2018) compares Paul’s and Philo’s understanding of Abraham, the conversion of the Gentiles and God’s Spirit. According to Lee, both Philo and Paul believed that it was God’s Spirit who enabled one to realise that Gentile religion was futile. However, unlike Philo, Paul understood faith as to be focused only on God’s Son. In a book on the Land of Israel traditions in ancient Jewish, Christian and Samaritan literature, Ze’ev Safrai¹¹⁸ (2018) also refers to Galatians. In this letter, Paul opposed a connection between the Jews and the land. The offspring of Abraham were the believers, not the Jews.

According to Dong-Su Seo¹¹⁹ (2019), Paul’s reference to the blessing of Abraham in 3:13–14 should be understood in terms of Abraham’s role as the unifying archetype of humankind. In him, Jews and Gentiles are united in Christ. Esau McCaulley¹²⁰ (2019) disagrees with scholars who think that Paul replaced the notion of the promised land with salvation or the Spirit as gift from God. McCaulley is of the opinion that Paul rather expanded the notion of the promised land to cover the whole earth, since Jesus – the Seed of Abraham and of David – was entitled to the whole world. Peter

116 T.A. Wilson, “Scripting and the Rhetoric of Wilderness in Galatians”, in: T.A. Wilson and P.R. House (eds.), *The Crucified Apostle: Essays on Peter and Paul* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.450, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), pp. 245–260. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-155610-4>

117 S.H. Lee, “A Comparison between Paul and Philo’s Understanding of Abraham, the Conversion of Gentiles and the Spirit of God”, *신약논단* 25:3 (2018), pp. 795–830.

118 Z. Safrai, *Seeking out the Land: Land of Israel Traditions in Ancient Jewish, Christian and Samaritan Literature (200 BCE–400 CE)* (Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series 32, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2018), pp. 240–241. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004334823>

119 D.-S. Seo, “The Theological Implications of Abraham as a Prototype of Unification of the Human Race in Light of the Multiracial and Multicultural Context of Galatians 3:14”, *신약논단* 26:1 (2019), pp. 177–214. <https://doi.org/10.31982/knts.2019.3.26.1.177>

120 E. McCaulley, *Sharing in the Son’s Inheritance: Davidic Messianism and Paul’s Worldwide Interpretation of the Abrahamic Land Promise in Galatians* (Library of New Testament Studies 608, London: T & T Clark, 2019).

Cimala¹²¹ (2020) interprets 5:1 in the light of the new exodus motif found in the book Isaiah. Like Isaiah, Paul hoped for universal salvation, including both Jews and Gentiles. In this sense, he thus preached a “new exodus”.

One of the issues that *Chris Bruno, Jared Compton and Kevin McFadden*¹²² (2020) address in a study on the ways in which the earliest Christians told the story of Israel is the depiction of the law in Galatians. They show how Paul argues in Galatians 3 and 4 that the law was never intended to be the climax of Israel’s story. It had a secondary role and was meant to be temporary and preparatory only. *John Eifion Morgan-Wynne*¹²³ (2020) discusses Abraham in the New Testament. In the case of Galatians, Morgan-Wynne points out that Paul linked the promise to Abraham to Jesus’ death and resurrection as well as to the coming of the Spirit, with Abraham depicted as a prototype of how God deals with humankind. Furthermore, Paul redefined the notion of descendants of Abraham and also made a sharp distinction between law and promise.

According to *Nélida Naveros Córdova*¹²⁴ (2020), Paul’s view of the Spirit was primarily influenced by the LXX and a development in his view of the role of the Spirit in ethics can be detected. In his early letters, the Spirit was depicted as preeminent, but in his later letters, it became the font of all the virtues. In Galatians, he also challenged fundamental Jewish ideas, for example by opposing the Spirit and the law and by associating the Spirit with virtues and flesh with vices.

1.4 Studies discussing the matter from the perspective of the Hebrew Scriptures

In a contribution on Paul’s use of Second Isaiah in Galatians, *Martinus C. de Boer*¹²⁵ (2002) argues that there are clear indications that Paul knew

121 P. Cimala, “‘Do Not Submit Again to a Yoke of Slavery’: Liberation in Christ as a ‘New Exodus’ in Paul’s Letter to Galatians”, in: J. Roskovec and V. Hušek (eds.), *Interactions in Interpretation: The Pilgrimage of Meaning through Biblical Texts and Contexts* (Biblical Interpretation Series 185, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2020), pp. 168–191. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004439825_012

122 C. Bruno, J. Compton and K. McFadden, *Biblical Theology According to the Apostles: How the Earliest Christians Told the Story of Israel* (New Studies in Biblical Theology 52, London/Downers Grove IL: Apollos/InterVarsity Press, 2020).

123 J.E. Morgan-Wynne, *Abraham in the New Testament* (Eugene OR: Pickwick Publications, 2020), pp. 1–89.

124 N.N. Córdova, *To Live in the Spirit: Paul and the Spirit of God* (Lanham MD: Lexington Books/Fortress Academic, 2020).

125 M.C. de Boer, “Second Isaiah and Paul’s Eschatology in the Letter to the Galatians”, in: F. Postma, K. Spronk and E. Talstra (eds.), *The New*

Second Isaiah and that he used insights from it to formulate his own apocalyptic eschatology. De Boer discusses 1:15–16, 4:19, 21–5:1 and 6:15. *Sylvia C. Keesmaat*¹²⁶ (2004) focuses on Paul's use of the Book of Psalms in Romans and Galatians. In the case of Galatians, Keesmaat draws attention to two allusions to the Psalms (Psalm 143:2 in Galatians 2:16 and Psalm 89 in Galatians 3:16). In both cases, Keesmaat finds evidence supporting the notion that Paul viewed Christ as the Messiah, thereby challenging both imperial paganism and nationalistic Judaism.

In a contribution on Paul's use of Isaiah in Romans and Galatians, *J. Ross Wagner*¹²⁷ (2005) focuses on two issues: Paul's use of Isaiah 54:1 in Galatians 4:27 and allusions to Isaiah 49 in the letter. In the former case, Wagner points out that Paul seems to show an awareness of the way in which the passage functioned within its wider setting in Isaiah. In the latter case, Wagner argues that the allusions to Isaiah 49 in the letter suggest that Paul's views of his apostleship have been shaped by this chapter. *Guy Waters*¹²⁸ (2006) investigates the end of Deuteronomy in the letters of Paul. In the case of Galatians, Waters finds that Paul read Deuteronomy 27–30 as a whole, in conjunction with other texts from this book, interpreted the curse as applying to both Jews and Gentiles and may have followed the movement from "curse" to "blessing" in Deuteronomy in Galatians 3:10–14.

*Roy E. Ciampa*¹²⁹ (2007) offers a thorough discussion of Paul's use of Deuteronomy in Galatians and Romans. In the case of Galatians, Ciampa discusses the use of Deuteronomy 13:12–16 in Galatians 1:8–9 (echo), Deuteronomy 10:17 in Galatians 2:6 (echo), Deuteronomy 27:26 in Galatians 3:10 (quotation) and Deuteronomy 21:23 in Galatians 3:13

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- Things: Eschatology in Old Testament Prophecy: Festschrift for Henk Leene* (Amsterdamse Cahiers voor Exegese van de Bijbel en zijn Tradities Supplement Series 3, Maastricht: Shaker Publishing, 2002), pp. 35–43.
- 126 S.C. Keesmaat, "The Psalms in Romans and Galatians", in: S. Moyise and M.J.J. Menken (eds.), *The Psalms in the New Testament* (The New Testament and the Scriptures of Israel, New York/London: T & T Clark Continuum, 2004), pp. 139–161.
- 127 J.R. Wagner, "Isaiah in Romans and Galatians", in: S. Moyise and M.J.J. Menken (eds.), *Isaiah in the New Testament* (The New Testament and the Scriptures of Israel, London: T & T Clark Continuum, 2005), pp. 117–132.
- 128 G. Waters, *The End of Deuteronomy in the Epistles of Paul* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.221, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), pp. 79–130. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157073-5>
- 129 R.E. Ciampa, "Deuteronomy in Romans and Galatians", in: M.J.J. Menken and S. Moyise (eds.), *Deuteronomy in the New Testament: The New Testament and the Scriptures of Israel* (Library of New Testament Studies 358, London: T & T Clark, 2007), pp. 99–117.

(quotation). Ciampa concludes that it seems as if Paul regarded some texts as offering guidance for the period before Christ came, and others as offering guidance for the situation of his readers. *Preston M. Sprinkle*¹³⁰ (2008) explains the interpretation of Leviticus 18:5 in Early Judaism and Paul. In the case of Galatians, Sprinkle argues that Paul objects to reading the text in the light of an “if ... then” pattern, instead opting for emphasising issues such as God’s initiative.

*Friedrich Avemarie*¹³¹ (2009) investigates the importance of lexematic association in exegesis in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in Paul’s letters. In the case of Galatians, this happens in 3:10–12. Avemarie concludes that this type of exegesis was a conscious choice and was based on the conviction that the Hebrew Scriptures formed a coherent whole. *Debbie Hunn*¹³² (2009) examines Habakkuk in its context. Hunn contends that Paul remains within the framework of the book when applying Habakkuk 2:4 to both Jews and Gentiles in Romans 1:17 and Galatians 3:11. *Wolfgang Kraus*¹³³ (2009) looks at Habakkuk 2:3–4 in the Hebrew tradition and the LXX, as well as its reception in the New Testament. Kraus points out that Paul only took up the last stichos of Habakkuk 2:4 in Galatians and Romans and left out “my” to emphasise “faith”. According to Kraus, Paul did not depart from the meaning of the text but gave it a particular culmination.

*Hetty Lalleman*¹³⁴ (2011) discusses Paul’s self-understanding in the light of Jeremiah. In the case of Galatians, Lalleman draws attention to the

130 P.M. Sprinkle, *Law and Life: The Interpretation of Leviticus 18:5 in Early Judaism and in Paul* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.241, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), pp. 133–164. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-151584-2>

131 F. Avemarie, “Interpreting Scripture through Scripture: Exegesis Based on Lexematic Association in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pauline Epistles”, in: F. García Martínez (ed.), *Echoes from the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 85, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2009), pp. 83–102. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004176966.i-350.23>

132 D. Hunn, “Habakkuk 2.4b in Its Context: How Far Off Was Paul?”, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 34:2 (2009), pp. 219–239. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309089209356413>

133 W. Kraus, “Hab 2:3–4 in the Hebrew Tradition and in the Septuagint, with Its Reception in the New Testament”, in: J. Cook (ed.), *Septuagint and Reception: Essays Prepared for the Association for the Study of the Septuagint in South Africa* (Vetus Testamentum Supplements 127, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2009), pp. 101–117. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004177253.i-414.31>

134 H. Lalleman, “Paul’s Self-Understanding in the Light of Jeremiah: A Case Study into the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament”, in: J.A. Grant, A. Lo and G.J. Wenham (eds.), *A God of Faithfulness: Essays in Honor of J. Gordon McConville on His 60th Birthday* (Library of Hebrew

similarities between 1:15–16 and Jeremiah 1, in particular the fact that the authority of the one called by God is underlined in both passages. *Stephen Hultgren*¹³⁵ (2011) traces the use of Habakkuk 2:4 in Early Judaism, Hebrews and in Paul. In the case of Galatians 3:11, Hultgren finds that Paul’s use of the text is in line with a tendency in Early Judaism and probably also in Early Christian circles to read it eschatological-forensically. Furthermore, Paul used it polemically in order to exclude the notion of justification by law.

*Eric Ottenheijm*¹³⁶ (2013) offers an overview of Jewish and Christian discourse on Leviticus 18:5. Ottenheijm points out that both Paul and 4 Ezra questioned whether humankind could keep the law. According to Paul, no one could keep the law, and according to 4 Ezra, only a few people were able to do so. *A.B. Caneday*¹³⁷ (2014) investigates Deuteronomy 21:22–23 in the contexts of the old and the new covenant. Caneday thinks that Paul’s use of the text in Galatians 3:13 should not be regarded as arbitrary. He realised that the text had typological significance. *E. Ray Clendenen*¹³⁸ (2014) disagrees with scholars who are of the opinion that Paul violated the meaning of Habakkuk 2:4 when he quoted it in Romans and in Galatians. Clendenen provides several reasons for interpreting the text in Habakkuk as referring to “faith” and not to faithfulness.

*Michael B. Shepherd*¹³⁹ (2014) brings together in one volume cases where “the text in the middle” is important. This means that “the way in which the text is cited has already been anticipated in a previous citation of the original text, thus involving at least three texts (primary, secondary, and tertiary)”¹⁴⁰ In the case of Galatians, Shepherd offers an overview of how this happens in the following cases: 3:6, 8, 11, 12, 16, 19

Bible/Old Testament Studies 538, New York/London: T & T Clark, 2011), pp. 96–111.

135 S. Hultgren, *Habakkuk 2:4 in Early Judaism, in Hebrews, and in Paul* (Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 77, Paris: J. Gabalda, 2011), pp. 63–117.

136 E. Ottenheijm, “‘Which If a Man Do Them He Shall Live by Them’: Jewish and Christian Discourse on Lev 18:5”, in: B. Koet, S. Moyise and J. Verheyden (eds.), *The Scriptures of Israel in Jewish and Christian Tradition: Essays in Honour of Maarten J.J. Menken* (Novum Testamentum Supplements 148, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2013), pp. 303–316. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004247727_021

137 A.B. Caneday, “‘Anyone Hung Upon a Pole Is under God’s Curse’: Deuteronomy 21:22–23 in Old and New Covenant Contexts”, *The Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* 18:3 (2014), pp. 121–136.

138 E.R. Clendenen, “Salvation by Faith or by Faithfulness in the Book of Habakkuk?”, *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 24:4 (2014), pp. 505–513.

139 M.B. Shepherd, *The Text in the Middle* (Studies in Biblical Literature 162, New York NY/Bern/Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2014).

140 *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

and 4:21–5:1. Miguel Antonio Camelo V¹⁴¹ (2015) proposes a combination of a synchronic and a diachronic approach to the exegesis of Jeremiah 31:31–34 and suggests that the results imply that Galatians 4:21–31 primarily refers to a distinction between two types of believers and not between two types of covenants.

According to Lutz Doering¹⁴² (2016), Paul draws on several prophets for understanding his own position. In the case of Jeremiah, he specifically makes use of the notion of “being set apart by God” (1:15–16a) and a struggle with false prophets/apostles. Merwyn S. Johnson¹⁴³ (2017) traces the use of Leviticus 18:5b in the Hebrew Scriptures and the New Testament. According to Johnson, Paul uses it in Galatians and Romans to argue that the law was wrongly regarded as substituting God. In a study of the reception of Leviticus 19:18 in the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint, the Book of Jubilees, the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament, Kengo Akiyama¹⁴⁴ (2018) points out that according to Galatians 5:13–15, Paul regarded it as the key command that made it possible for believers to do what the law had been requiring from the outset.

Carlos Alberto Bezerra and Rafael Omar Nachabe¹⁴⁵ (2019) investigate the use of Habakkuk 2:4 in the New Testament. According to them, this text is best described as an example of a “pregnant statement” as its meaning was expanded in the New Testament in the light of the coming of Christ. Arturo Bravo¹⁴⁶ (2020) discusses Paul’s use of quotations from the

141 M.A. Camelo V, “La Nueva Alianza en Jeremías 31,31–34: Un Texto Enlace de la Relación entre los Dos Testamentos”, *Cuestiones Teológicas* 42:98 (2015), pp. 439–458.

142 L. Doering, “The Commissioning of Paul: Light from the Prophet Jeremiah on the Self-Understanding of the Apostle?”, in: H. Najman and K. Schmid (eds.), *Jeremiah’s Scriptures: Production, Reception, Interaction, and Transformation* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 173, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2016), pp. 544–565. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004320253_044

143 M.S. Johnson, “The Idiom of Scripture, Leviticus 18:5, and Theology: At a Time of Paradigm Shift”, *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 47:3 (2017), pp. 155–170. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146107917715588>

144 K. Akiyama, *The Love of Neighbor in Ancient Judaism: The Reception of Leviticus 19:18 in the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint, the Book of Jubilees, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the New Testament* (Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 105, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2018). <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004366886>

145 C.A. Bezerra and R.O. Nachabe, “O Uso do Antigo Testamento no Novo Testamento: Um Estudo das Citações de Habacuque 2:4”, *Revista Batista Pioneira* 8:1 (2019), pp. 83–111.

146 A. Bravo, “Los Profetas y San Pablo en la Carta a los Gálatas”, *Cuestiones Teológicas* 36:86 (2020), pp. 265–277.

prophets in Galatians 1:15–16, 3:11 and 4:27. Bravo shows that Paul used them to legitimise his apostleship and to show that salvation is a gift from God and not the result of human efforts. Etienne Jodar¹⁴⁷ (2020) disagrees with scholars who believe that Paul used Leviticus 18:5 in Romans 10:5 and Galatians 3:12 in order to depict the law in a negative way. Jodar contends that one should rather interpret Leviticus 18:5 as a call upon people to practise faith.

Seon Yong Kim¹⁴⁸ (2020) identifies intertextual similarities between Galatians and the Book of Jeremiah. Kim argues that Paul depicts himself in this way as a rejected representative of God, just as Jeremiah does. Martinus C. de Boer¹⁴⁹ (2020) investigates Paul's use of Psalm 142:2 LXX in 2:16 and in Romans 3:20 and concludes that he probably made use of an anthology and that he used the quotation in order to stress the seriousness of the situation in which humankind finds itself.

1.5 Other

According to Francis Watson¹⁵⁰ (2001), the way in which Paul interpreted the Hebrew Scriptures in Galatians, and in particular his emphasis on the polarity between law and promise, can help one in developing a model for Scriptural unity. Ignacio Chuecas Saldías¹⁵¹ (2011) discusses the dynamics between history and theology in the New Testament by looking at the way in which Paul's life is portrayed in Acts and in Galatians, and in particular, the important role that the Hebrew Scriptures play in this process. Gert J. Steyn¹⁵² (2012) investigates quotations from the Torah overlapping

147 E. Jodar, "Leviticus 18:5 and the Law's Call to Faith: A Positive Reassessment of Paul's View of the Law", *Themelios* 45:1 (2020), pp. 43–57.

148 S.Y. Kim, "A Preliminary Study on the Echoes of Jeremiah in Galatians: A Brief Note on the Allusions to Jeremiah in Galatians", *신약논단* 27:3 (2020), pp. 851–876.

149 M.C. de Boer, *Paul, Theologian of God's Apocalypse: Essays on Paul and Apocalyptic* (Eugene OR: Cascade Books, 2020). Original version: M.C. de Boer, "De Psalmen bij Paulus: LXX Psalm 142:2 in Galaten 2:16 en Romeinen 3:20", *Amsterdamse Cahiers voor Exegese van de Bijbel en zijn Tradities* 25 (2010), pp. 83–94.

150 F. Watson, "Gospel and Scripture: Rethinking Canonical Unity", *Tyndale Bulletin* 52:2 (2001), pp. 161–182. <https://doi.org/10.53751/001c.30268>

151 I. Chuecas Saldías, "Interacción entre Historia y Teología en los Escritos del Nuevo Testamento: El Caso de la Biografía de Pablo", *Teología y Vida* 52:3 (2011), pp. 391–406. <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0049-34492011000200004>

152 G.J. Steyn, "Can We Reconstruct an Early Text Form of the LXX from the Quotations of Philo of Alexandria and the New Testament? Torah Quotations Overlapping between Philo and Galatians as

between Galatians and Philo in order to determine the extent to which Philo's quotations from the LXX may help us to identify an early text form.

According to *François Vouga*¹⁵³ (2014), the way in which the Hebrew Scriptures are interpreted in 3:6–29 is best described as a first Christian theology of the Old Testament, in particular as a response to the question how the law and the prophets should be interpreted from the event of the crucifixion of the Son of God. One of the issues to which *Michael Benjamin Cover*¹⁵⁴ (2016) draws attention in an article on Paul as a Yischmaelit, is that one finds the personification of Scripture (indicating that Scripture interprets itself) in both Pauline letters (in particular, Galatians) and midrash attributed to R. Ishmael's school. *Daniel I. Block*¹⁵⁵ (2017) raises the question as to what Moses might have thought of Paul's views on circumcision in Galatians. Block believes that Moses would have agreed with Paul, since circumcision had to do with internal orientation. Galatians 3:11b is one of the texts that *Siegfried Kreuzer*¹⁵⁶ (2019) discusses in a study of the Greek text of *Dodekapropheton* as witnessed by quotations in the New Testament. According to Kreuzer, in the case of 3:11b, Paul made use or had available the so-called OG text.

(See also the section on intertextuality later on in this chapter.)

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- a Test Case”, in: S. Kreuzer, M. Meiser and M. Sigismund (eds.), *Septuaginta: Entstehung, Sprache, Geschichte: 3. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 22.–25. Juli 2010* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.286, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), pp. 444–464. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-152140-9>
- 153 F. Vouga, “Die erste Theologie des Alten Testaments: Gal 3,6–29”, in: J.M. Robker, F. Ueberschaer and T. Wagner (eds.), *Text – Textgeschichte – Textwirkung: Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Siegfried Kreuzer* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 419, Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014), pp. 413–426.
- 154 M.B. Cover, “Paulus als Yischmaelit? The Personification of Scripture as Interpretive Authority in Paul and the School of Rabbi Ishmael”, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 135:3 (2016), pp. 617–637. <https://doi.org/10.15699/jbl.1353.2016.3094>
- 155 D.I. Block, “Hearing Galatians with Moses: An Examination of Paul as a Second and Seconding Moses”, in: D.I. Block and R. Schultz (eds.), *Sepher Torath Mosheh: Studies in the Composition and Interpretation of Deuteronomy* (Peabody MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2017), pp. 338–374.
- 156 S. Kreuzer, “Stages of the Greek Text of *Dodekapropheton* Witnessed by the Quotations in the New Testament”, in: C. Dogniez and P. le Moigne (eds.), *Les Douze Prophètes dans la LXX: Protocoles et procédures dans la traduction grecque: Stylistique, poétique et histoire* (Vetus Testamentum Supplements 180, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2019), pp. 265–284. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004407657_018

2. Social-scientific/sociological approaches

This type of approach was quite popular among researchers and a broad variety of issues were investigated by scholars:

2.1 Studies focusing on methodological issues

In an investigation of Paul's view of sin, *T.L. Carter*¹⁵⁷ (2001) adapts Mary Douglas's model (the "grid and group matrix") in order to examine the social dynamics underlying Paul's views of sin in 1 Corinthians, Galatians and Romans. Carter situates Galatians in the "high group/low grid quadrant" of Douglas's matrix. This means that group identity was strong, and the symbolic system of society was rejected (sin was an external threat). In such groups, accusations of witchcraft were also common as also happens in Galatians. *Ryan Heinsch*¹⁵⁸ (2016) evaluates Philip Esler's analysis of 4:21–31 in order to determine whether David Horrell's criticism that Esler's approach flattens conclusions is justified. Heinsch finds that this is indeed the case.

2.2 Studies focusing on ancient values and beliefs

*Stephan Joubert*¹⁵⁹ (2001) views 2:10 from the perspective of Jewish reciprocity. By recognising the content of Paul's gospel, the leaders of the church in Jerusalem bestowed a benefit on Paul, and accordingly, Paul was obligated to respond with a benefit from his side, namely, to assist with the problem of the poor in the congregation. Paul thus depicts himself in the letter as somebody who knows how to show his gratitude. According to *John H. Elliott*¹⁶⁰ (2008), Paul's opponents accused him of bearing the

157 T.L. Carter, *Paul and the Power of Sin: Redefining "Beyond the Pale"* (Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 115, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 78–123. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511487880>

158 R. Heinsch, "Is Sauce for the Goose, Sauce for the Gander? Evaluating Models and Methods in Galatians 4:21–31", *Canadian-American Theological Review* 5:1 (2016), pp. 1–14.

159 S. Joubert, "Die Leierskap van die Jerusalem-Kerk as Weldoeners tydens die Ontmoeting met Paulus: Galasiërs 2:10 en Antieke Joodse Resiprositeit", *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 57:3/4 (2001), pp. 1213–1228. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v57i3/4.1885>

160 J.H. Elliott, "Paul, Galatians and the Evil Eye", in: J.H. Neyrey and E.C. Stewart (eds.), *The Social World of the New Testament: Insights and Models* (Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 2008), pp. 223–234. See also earlier: J.H. Elliott, "Paul, Galatians, and the Evil Eye", *Currents in Theology and Mission* 17:4 (1990), pp. 262–273, and later: J.H. Elliott, *Beware the Evil Eye: The Evil Eye in the Bible and the Ancient World: Volume 3: The Bible and Related Sources* (Eugene OR: Cascade, 2016), pp. 212–263.

evil eye – a widespread belief in the ancient world – and Paul defended himself against this accusation in Galatians. In turn, he accused them of using the evil eye in the congregations in Galatia.

In the light of insights from social approaches to the New Testament, Zeba A. Crook¹⁶¹ (2008) offers a detailed explanation of the way in which the concept χάρις (normally translated as “grace”) was used in the New Testament world and argues that it should not be translated as “grace” in Galatians 2:9, 1 Corinthians 3:10 and Romans 12:3 and 15:15. In these instances, a better translation would be “benefaction” or even “favour”. According to David S. Harvey¹⁶² (2012), Paul aligned his own biography with the “upside-down honour” demonstrated in Christ’s death in Galatians. This code of honour was also to be enacted in the community by means of the Spirit. Mark T. Finney¹⁶³ (2013) discusses the dynamics of honour and shame behind crucifixion in the ancient world. It was regarded as a *servile supplicium* (“punishment of slaves”) and from the perspective of the elite, the utter humiliation of being executed in public in the manner of a slave was revulsive.

Stephen Richard Turley¹⁶⁴ (2015) investigates references to baptism and meals in Galatians and 1 Corinthians from the perspective of ritual theory. According to Turley, these rituals were primarily revelatory in that they manifested the coming of the Messianic age by means of the bodies

For a description of the methodological approach underlying this perspective, see: J.H. Elliott, “Social-Scientific Criticism: Perspective, Process and Payoff: Evil Eye Accusation at Galatia as Illustration of the Method”, *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 67:1 (2011), pp. 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v67i1.858>

161 Z.A. Crook, “Grace as Benefaction in Galatians 2:9, 1 Corinthians 3:10, and Romans 12:3; 15:15”, in: D. Neufeld (ed.), *The Social Sciences and Biblical Translation* (Symposium Series 41, Atlanta GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), pp. 25–38.

162 D.S. Harvey, “‘Upside-Down Honour’ and the Spirit of the Faithful Son in Galatians”, *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association* 32:1 (2012), pp. 61–74. <https://doi.org/10.1179/jep.2012.32.1.006>

163 M.T. Finney, “*Servile supplicium*: Shame and the Deuteronomic Curse – Crucifixion in Its Cultural Context”, *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 43:3 (2013), pp. 124–134. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146107913493561> Take note that Finney disagrees with Paula Fredricksen’s interpretation of the curse mentioned in Galatians 3:13: P. Fredriksen, “Judaism, the Circumcision of Gentiles, and Apocalyptic Hope: Another Look at Galatians 1 and 2”, *Journal of Theological Studies* 42 (1991), pp. 532–564. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jts/42.2.532>

164 S.R. Turley, *The Ritualized Revelation of the Messianic Age: Washings and Meals in Galatians and 1 Corinthians* (Library of New Testament Studies 544, London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2015).

of the believers who participated in such rituals. *Simon Butticaz*¹⁶⁵ (2016) approaches the notion of justification of faith from the perspective of ancient views on honour and shame. Paul's views on justification opposed ancient notions on honour, both innate honour and acquired honour, since he had gained a new insight, the notion of the gift of God that was revealed to him.

*John W. Daniels Jr.*¹⁶⁶ (2017) discusses 2:11–14 from a sociological perspective. The way in which Paul recalled his argument with Peter amounted to “agonistic epistolary gossip” and it was meant as a challenge to his opponents in Galatia and perhaps also to the leaders in Jerusalem. From Paul's use of the term *εὐπροσωπέω* (“make a good showing”) in 6:12–13, *David S. Harvey*¹⁶⁷ (2018) deduces that there was also a concern about honour in the Galatian crisis. Accordingly, Paul tried to encourage a type of ethics specifically rejecting attempts to publicly gain honour.

2.3 Studies focusing on identity and identity formation

*Philip Esler*¹⁶⁸ (2000) is of the opinion that in both 1 Thessalonians and Galatians, Paul tried to develop a group identity based on the model of the family, the most prominent model of relationships in his time.

165 S. Butticaz, “Paul et la culture antique l'honneur: Contexte et enjeux de la justification par la foi dans la Lettre aux Galates”, *Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi* 33:1 (2016), pp. 107–128.

166 J.W. Daniels Jr., “Engendering Gossip in Galatians 2:11–14: The Social Dynamics of Honor, Shame, Performance, and Gossip”, *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 47:3 (2017), pp. 171–179. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146107917715589>

167 D.S. Harvey, “Saving Face in Galatia: *εὐπροσωπέω* and Concern for Honour in the Argument of Paul's Letter”, in: J.M. Keady, T.E. Klutz and C.A. Strine (eds.), *Scripture as Social Discourse: Social-Scientific Perspectives on Early Jewish and Christian Writings* (T & T Clark Biblical Studies, London/New York NY: T & T Clark, 2018), pp. 183–196. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9780567676061.ch-012>

168 P.F. Esler, “‘Keeping It in the Family’: Culture, Kinship and Identity in 1 Thessalonians and Galatians”, in: J.W. van Henten and A. Brenner (eds.), *Families and Family Relations as Represented in Early Judaism and Early Christianities: Texts and Fictions: Papers Read at a Noster Colloquium in Amsterdam, June 9–11, 1998* (Studies in Theology and Religion 2, Leiden: Deo, 2000), pp. 145–184. See also the critical response by Jan Willem van Henten, “The Family Is Not All That Matters: A Response to Esler”, in: J.W. van Henten and A. Brenner (eds.), *Families and Family Relations as Represented in Early Judaism and Early Christianities: Texts and Fictions: Papers Read at a Noster Colloquium in Amsterdam, June 9–11, 1998* (Studies in Theology and Religion 2, Leiden: Deo, 2000), pp. 185–191. According to Van Henten, there are at least three other models that should also

*Birgitte Graakjaer Hjort*¹⁶⁹ (2002) explains the dispute reflected in Galatians by focusing on the process according to which social identity is formed by an ingroup, by comparing itself with and differentiating itself from particular outgroups, thus creating a sense of belonging. *Michael W. Payne*¹⁷⁰ (2002) suggests a new missiological approach in the light of the rise in ethnic violence by focusing on the notion of identity on the basis of insights offered by Miroslav Wolf. From Galatians, Payne utilises the notions of being a new people in Christ and Paul's focus on centred-set thinking.

*Magnus Zetterholm*¹⁷¹ (2003) elucidates the separation between Judaism and Christianity at Antioch by means of a social-scientific approach. Whereas previous attempts have primarily focused on ideological differences between the groups, Zetterholm shows that there was an interplay between ideological and sociological factors. *Caroline Johnson Hodge*¹⁷² (2005) approaches the way in which Paul constructed his identity as a teacher of the Gentiles from the perspective of anthropology and critical race theory. Paul described himself in terms of multiple identities but shifted among them depending on what would serve his argument best. In 2:11–14, he is thus depicted as willing to forgo some practices of the law (part of a Judean identity) in order to interact with Gentiles.

*Atsuhiro Asana*¹⁷³ (2005) describes the process of community identity-construction in Galatians (in particular, by the recreation of a world view acted out in baptism with a strong egalitarian motif), by using anthropological theories and by comparing it with a minority religious

be considered: Christians as a holy community, as a group of special philosophers and as a unique people.

169 B.G. Hjort, "Identitetsdannelse i de Første Kristne Menigheder", *Religionsvidenskabeligt Tidsskrift* 40:2 (2002), pp. 85–98. <https://doi.org/10.7146/rt.voi40.2197>

170 M.W. Payne, "'Identity' and Global Ethnic Violence: A Theological-Missiological Reflection", *Mission Studies* 19:2 (2002), pp. 113–135.

171 M. Zetterholm, *The Formation of Christianity in Antioch: A Social Scientific Approach to the Separation between Judaism and Christianity* (Routledge Early Church Monographs, London: Routledge, 2003).

172 C.J. Hodge, "Apostle to the Gentiles: Constructions of Paul's Identity", *Biblical Interpretation* 13:3 (2005), pp. 270–288. <https://doi.org/10.1163/1568515054388146>

173 A. Asano, *Community-Identity Construction in Galatians: Exegetical, Social-Anthropological and Socio-Historical Studies* (Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 285, London/New York NY: T & T Clark International, 2005).

group in modern Japan. *Philip Francis Esler*¹⁷⁴ (2006) applies social theories on ethnicity, social identity and collective memory to clarify the way in which Paul used Abraham as an argument. Abraham played a central role in the ethnic identity of Judeans in the first century CE and Paul offered a counterargument, namely that the “seed” of Abraham was Christ and those who were united to him in baptism.

According to *Robert L. Brawley*¹⁷⁵ (2007), Galatians reflects a metaethical relationship with God that Paul describes as justification. Paul regards justification as the source of social identity and of a new way of behaving. He experienced this himself when his own relationship with God changed and his behaviour had to change. *Bernard O. Ukwuegbu*¹⁷⁶ (2008) offers an interpretation of 5:13–6:10 in terms of social identity theory: the normative prescriptions in this part of the letter formed the climax of the letter and were meant to foster group identity between Jewish and Gentile members of the congregation.

Jeremy Punt published several contributions focusing on identity formation in Galatians. In the first one, *Punt*¹⁷⁷ (2011) draws attention to the way in which Paul uses the Abraham narrative in Genesis 16 and 21 in 4:21–5:1 for the identity formation of Jesus followers. Paul’s hermeneutics thus supports identity formation, and reciprocally, his view of believers’ identity in Christ determines his hermeneutics. In a second contribution, *Punt*¹⁷⁸ (2012) discusses Paul’s use of the Abraham narratives in Galatians and Romans from the perspective of cultural memory. By linking three elements (the contemporised past, culture and the group/community), the way in which Paul uses Scriptures to negotiate the identity of a particular group of Jesus followers is clarified. In another contribution,

174 P.F. Esler, “Paul’s Contestation of Israel’s (Ethnic) Memory of Abraham in Galatians 3”, *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 36:1 (2006), pp. 23–34.

175 R.L. Brawley, “Identity and Metaethics: Being Justified and Ethics in Galatians”, in: R.L. Brawley (ed.), *Character Ethics and the New Testament: Moral Dimensions of Scripture* (Louisville KY/London: Westminster John Knox, 2007), pp. 107–122.

176 B.O. Ukwuegbu, “Paraenesis, Identity-Defining Norms, or Both? Galatians 5:13–6:10 in the Light of Social Identity Theory”, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 70:3 (2008), pp. 538–559.

177 J. Punt, “Hermeneutics in Identity Formation: Paul’s Use of Genesis in Galatians 4”, *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 67:1 (2011), pp. 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v67i1.846>

178 J. Punt, “Identity, Memory, and Scriptural Warrant: Arguing Paul’s Case”, in: C.D. Stanley (ed.), *Paul and Scripture: Extending the Conversation* (Early Christianity and Its Literature 9, Atlanta GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), pp. 25–54.

Punt¹⁷⁹ (2013) shows how Paul goes about creating “Others” in the letter by using the Hebrew Scriptures. Paul and his addressees are depicted as children of the promise (like Isaac). They are also linked to Sarah and distanced from Hagar.

Michael Bachmann¹⁸⁰ (2012) notes that the notion of salvation history is a controversial issue in Pauline studies. However, the most important aspects of identity are found in Pauline writings and can be shown from Galatians, in which case one can discern the following aspects: individual, social, mental and habitual aspects of identity. Susann Liubinskas¹⁸¹ (2012) uses social identity theory to show that Paul depicts the Spirit in 3:19–4:7 as the most important identity marker of believers and thus, from 5:13–6:10, it is clear that life in the Spirit (according to the law of Christ) is central to Christian ethos. Galatians 5:13–6:10 should thus not be regarded as an addendum. It is central to Paul’s argument and meant to reinforce identity.

Dennis C. Duling¹⁸² (2014) uses ethnicity, marginality and structuration theories to highlight inconsistencies in Paul’s views on ethnicity (with regard to 3:28: “no longer Jew or Greek”). Duling describes Paul as culturally marginalised, someone who occasionally had to make accommodations in his attempts to unify believers – something that gave rise to unintended results. Atsuhiro Asano¹⁸³ (2014) identifies three conflicting views on the ethnic identity of the Christian community reflected in 2:1–14: Gentile believers are a secondary group, attached to the Jewish community (the view of the Jerusalem leaders), Gentile believers have to become Jewish in the full sense of the word

179 J. Punt, “‘The Others’ in Galatians: Text and the Negotiation of Identity”, in: F. Lozada Jr. and G. Carey (eds.), *Soundings in Cultural Criticism: Perspectives and Methods in Culture, Power and Identity in the New Testament* (Minneapolis MI: Fortress Press, 2013), pp. 45–54.

180 M. Bachmann, “Identität bei Paulus: Beobachtungen am Galaterbrief”, *New Testament Studies* 58:4 (2012), pp. 571–597. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688512000148>

181 S. Liubinskas, “Identification by Spirit Alone: Community–Identity Construction in Galatians 3:19–4:7”, *The Asbury Journal* 67:1 (2012), pp. 27–55.

182 D.C. Duling, “Social-Scientific Comments on ‘Neither Judean nor Greek’ (Gal 3:28)”, in: D.L. Matson and K.C. Richardson (eds.), *One in Christ Jesus: Essays on Early Christianity and “All That Jazz”, in Honor of S. Scott Bartchy* (Eugene OR: Pickwick Publications, 2014), pp. 35–68.

183 A. Asano, “Galatians 2.1–14 as Depiction of the Church’s Early Struggle for Community–Identity Construction”, in: J.B. Tucker and C.A. Baker (eds.), *T & T Clark Handbook to Social Identity in the New Testament* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp. 311–332.

(the view of the “false brothers”) and Gentile believers are part of a new authentic community (Paul’s view).

*Jacobus Kok*¹⁸⁴ (2014) gives an overview of social identity complexity theory and applies it to Galatians. According to Kok, it seems as if Paul functioned at a high level of social identity complexity and he could thus overcome social boundaries and create higher levels of inclusiveness. *Elizabeth K. Hunt*¹⁸⁵ (2018) broadens this theoretical framework of Kok by adding a socio-rhetorical approach. In this way, Hunt tries to offer more depth to the description of the conflict reflected in Galatians 2 and 3. *Nina Nikki*¹⁸⁶ (2016) uses a social identity approach to explain why Paul is past-orientated in Galatians and Romans but future-oriented in Philippians. The reason is that he only reinterprets the Jewish historical narratives when it is demanded by the context as happens in Galatians and Romans.

*In Seong Wang*¹⁸⁷ (2018) uses five criteria from Gerd Theissen’s social identity theory to argue for the unity of Galatians. *Kathy Ehrensperger*¹⁸⁸ (2019) approaches 5:12 from the perspective of identity formation, raising the question of whether differentiation necessarily implies separation. Ehrensperger interprets this verse as referring to separation and not castration. Paul wishes that the influence of his opponents would come to an end so that the identity formation of the Galatian believers can continue. Such a wish still leaves the possibility of reconciliation, implying that differentiation does not necessarily cause separation. *F. Manjewa*

184 J. Kok, “Social Identity Complexity Theory as Heuristic Tool in New Testament Studies”, *HTS Teologiese Studies* 70:1 (2014), pp. 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v70i1.2708>

185 E.K. Hunt, “Intergroup Conflict and Social Identity in Galatians: An Exegetical Analysis”, *Journal of Biblical Perspectives in Leadership* 8:1 (2018), pp. 236–247.

186 N. Nikki, “Contesting the Past, Competing over the Future: Why Is Paul Past-Oriented in Galatians and Romans, but Future-Oriented in Philippians?”, in: S. Byrskog, R. Hakola and J. Jokiranta (eds.), *Social Memory and Social Identity in the Study of Early Judaism and Early Christianity* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus/Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments 116, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), pp. 241–256. <https://doi.org/10.13109/9783666593758.241>

187 I.S. Wang, “The Socio-Rhetorical Reconstruction and the Unity Issue of Galatians Based Upon G. Theissen’s *Church Politics*”, *신약논단* 25:3 (2018), pp. 831–862.

188 K. Ehrensperger, “Trouble in Galatia: What Should Be Cut? (On Gal 5:12)”, in: F. Abel (ed.), *The Message of Paul the Apostle within Second Temple Judaism* (Lanham MD: Lexington Books/Fortress Academic, 2019), pp. 179–194.

M'bwangi¹⁸⁹ (2020) uses social identity theory to show how Paul constructs a superordinate identity for his group of readers in 3:1–10, namely, a broad type of identity that includes political, religious and economic facets.

(See also the section on ideology-critical approaches further on in this chapter.)

2.4 Studies highlighting the Roman Empire as context

Leonor Ossa¹⁹⁰ (2004) detects a counter-programme aimed at contemporary Roman views of urbanity in Galatians. Taking the two cities in 4:21–31 as a point of departure, Ossa discusses the urban theology in the letter and concludes that the letter shows that the classical experiences of a democratic city were never really extinguished. Brigitte Kahl¹⁹¹ (2005) reads Galatians and Empire at the great altar of Pergamon. Kahl shows that this helps one to gain a new perspective: “The Romans knew how to integrate diversity very well, but the identity politics they were masters of was an identity politics ‘from above.’ From a Roman perspective it therefore didn’t take a revelation to see that Paul’s messianic inclusiveness and Jewish/Galatian community-in-diversity at the table of a crucified Jewish insurgent was illicit and dangerous like ancient hordes of Giants.”¹⁹² In another contribution, Kahl¹⁹³ (2010) uses the symbolic connotations of the Pergamon altar as background for understanding the context of Galatia, in particular the effect of Roman subjugation. Against this background Kahl reads Galatians as resisting the domination by the Roman Empire. Even Paul’s opposition to circumcision may be interpreted as subversive of Roman ideology.

Justin K. Hardin¹⁹⁴ (2008) proposes that Galatians should be interpreted against the background of the imperial cult. According to

189 F.M. M'bwangi, “Paul and Identity Construction in Early Christianity and the Roman Empire”, *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 76:4 (2020), pp. 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v76i4.5652>

190 L. Ossa, *Das obere Jerusalem ist eine Freie: Demokratie und Urbanität im Galater-Brief* (Europäische Hochschulschriften: Theologie 23.783, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004).

191 B. Kahl, “Reading Galatians and Empire at the Great Altar of Pergamon”, *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 59:3/4 (2005), pp. 1–43.

192 *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

193 B. Kahl, *Galatians Re-Imagined: Reading with the Eyes of the Vanquished* (Paul in Critical Contexts, Minneapolis MN: Fortress Press, 2010).

194 J.K. Hardin, *Galatians and the Imperial Cult: A Critical Analysis of the First-Century Social Context of Paul’s Letter* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.237, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-151580-4>

Hardin, 4:9–10 refers to the imperial cult calendar, which means that the Galatians were participating in the imperial cult at the time that Paul wrote the letter. *Rebekah M. Devine*¹⁹⁵ (2017) agrees with Hardin that 4:9–10 refers to the imperial cult calendar but is of the opinion that Paul challenged the Galatians on two fronts (and not one only as Hardin assumes). They were choosing between two kinds of “elements of the world”, namely the observance of the Jewish law and of the imperial cult calendar. *Aliou Cissé Niang*¹⁹⁶ (2012) offers an interpretation of 3:1 as it may have been heard “under watchful imperial eyes”. Niang suggests that Paul’s vivid depiction of the crucified Jesus could have awakened memories in the readers of how they were dishonoured as “Others” by the Roman Empire.

*Judy Diehl*¹⁹⁷ (2012) discusses some of the research highlighting anti-Roman rhetoric in the New Testament letters. One of the letters that Diehl discusses in this regard is Galatians. *Jeremy Punt*¹⁹⁸ (2013) focuses on the way in which Paul uses texts from the Hebrew Scriptures, in particular from the Abraham narrative, to construct notions of Others within the context of the Roman Empire and its identity politics. In this way Paul clearly draws boundaries, thus creating insiders and outsiders. In another contribution, *Punt*¹⁹⁹ (2014) investigates the way in which Paul uses the depiction of Abraham in the Hebrew Scriptures in Galatians to negotiate identity within an imperial setting. Punt shows that Paul’s othering of people in the letter was affected by the imperial setup and the way in which the Roman Empire scripted power.

195 R.M. Devine, “No Gods Made with Hands: Pauline Idol Polemics”, in: D. Batovici and K. de Troyer (eds.), *Authoritative Texts and Reception History: Aspects and Approaches* (Biblical Interpretation Series 151, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2017), pp. 52–62. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004334960_006

196 A.C. Niang, “Seeing Jesus Christ Crucified in Galatians 3:1 under Watchful Imperial Eyes”, in: A.C. Niang and C. Osiek (eds.), *Text, Image, and Christians in the Graeco-Roman World: A Festschrift in Honor of David Lee Balch* (Princeton Theological Monograph Series 176, Eugene OR: Pickwick Publications, 2012), pp. 160–182.

197 J. Diehl, “Empire and Epistles: Anti-Roman Rhetoric in the New Testament Epistles”, *Currents in Biblical Research* 10:2 (2012), pp. 217–263. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1476993X11415346>

198 J. Punt, “The Interpretation of the New Testament as the Study of Texts and Contexts: Hermeneutics, Identities, Communities”, *Acta Theologica* 33:2 (2013), pp. 113–132. <https://doi.org/10.4314/actat.v33i2.7>

199 J. Punt, “Identity Claims, Texts, Rome and Galatians”, *Acta Theologica Supplementum* 19 (2014), pp. 81–104. <https://doi.org/10.4314/actat.v33i2S.5>

Brigitte Kahl²⁰⁰ (2014) disagrees with the common interpretation of 4:30, namely that it was meant to exclude Jewishness or to affirm issues such as racism or slavery. Instead, Kahl argues that it was aimed against the subjugation of people to the law of the conquerors (as can be seen in Roman iconography). Michael J. Thate²⁰¹ (2014) contends that Paul did not try to subvert or mimic the Roman Empire. He rather followed a “politics of neglect”: Paul “altogether neglected to attend to empire’s ideologies, narratives of rationality, and cosmologies while busily constructing his own.”²⁰² Robert L. Brawley²⁰³ (2014) disagrees with scholars who link circumcision primarily to salvation. It should rather be linked to identity. Brawley then uses identity theory and reflections on the Roman imperial context to offer a better description of Galatian identity.

James R. Harrison²⁰⁴ (2016) draws attention to the way in which imperial peace was negotiated in Galatians, Thessalonians and Philippians. Harrison argues that Paul’s gospel inclined him to challenge the ideology of the imperial cult and to offer an alternative in which self-seeking and status became irrelevant. C. Melissa Snarr²⁰⁵ (2017) agrees with empire-critical readings of 2:10 (such as those offered by Brigitte Kahl) and works out the contemporary implications of such insights. One should acknowledge religious differences in one’s community and try to

200 B. Kahl, “Hagar’s Babylonian Captivity: A Roman Re-Imagination of Galatians 4:21–31”, *Interpretation* 68:3 (2014), pp. 257–269. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020964314529084>

201 M.J. Thate, “Paul and the Anxieties of (Imperial?) Succession: Galatians and the Politics of Neglect”, in: M.J. Thate, K.J. Vanhoozer and C.R. Campbell (eds.), *“In Christ” in Paul: Explorations in Paul’s Theology of Union and Participation* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.384, Mohr Siebeck, 2014), pp. 209–252. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-153552-9>

202 *Op. cit.*, p. 237.

203 R.L. Brawley, “Nodes of Objective Socialization and Subjective Reflection in Identity: Galatian Identity in an Imperial Context”, in: J.B. Tucker and C.A. Stohl (eds.), *T & T Clark Handbook to Social Identity in the New Testament* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp. 119–144. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9780567669865.ch-008>

204 J.R. Harrison, “Paul and Empire 2: Negotiating the Seduction of Imperial ‘Peace and Security’ in Galatians, Thessalonians, and Philippians”, in: A. Winn (ed.), *An Introduction to Empire in the New Testament* (Resources for Biblical Studies 84, Atlanta GA: SBL Press, 2016), pp. 165–184. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1ctxqgg.13>

205 C.M. Snarr, “Remembering the Poor: Interfaith Collaboration, Neoliberalism, and an Anti-Imperial Gospel”, *Journal of the Society of Christian Ethics* 37:1 (2017), pp. 25–44. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sce.2017.0005>

create fellowship by remembering the poor. *Christina Harker*²⁰⁶ (2018) interprets 4:10 as referring not to the Jewish calendar (as is usually assumed) but to Roman festivals. Harker is also critical of the negative attitude in Pauline scholarship towards subordinated people and the fact that Paul's reductionist rhetoric (often focusing on binaries) is mostly ignored. According to Harker, this even happens in empire-critical studies.

(See also the section on ideology-critical approaches further on in this chapter.)

2.5 Other approaches

In an interpretation of Paul's version of the Antioch incident in 2:11–21, *Christfried Böttrich*²⁰⁷ (2002) distinguishes between relational and subject level (“Beziehungs- und Sachebene”) and makes use of the insights offered by modern conflict theory to explain the events. *Markus Cromhout*²⁰⁸ (2009) investigates Paul's statement in 1:13 from the perspective of cultural anthropology, in particular ethnicity theory. Cromhout concludes that Paul's claim about his Jewishness seems to be corroborated by his other letters and it should thus not be seen as a mere rhetorical ploy. One of the examples that *Soham Al-Suadi*²⁰⁹ (2011) picks to illustrate the benefits of ritual-theoretical exegesis is 2:11–14. Al-Suadi shows that the Antioch incident was an inner-Jewish conflict about the legitimacy of another cultural community. Paul conducts this debate by means of the terminology of the communal meal.

According to *Seung Moo Lee*²¹⁰ (2012), in 3:1–14, Paul stresses the Galatians' experiences of the Spirit and the promise of the Spirit in order to resolve the conflict in the congregations and to let them

206 C. Harker, *The Colonizers' Idols: Paul, Galatia, and Empire in New Testament Studies* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.460, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-155904-4>

207 C. Böttrich, “Petrus und Paulus in Antiochien (Gal 2,11–21)”, *Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift* 19:2 (2002), pp. 224–239.

208 M. Cromhout, “Paul's ‘Former Conduct in the Judean Way of Life’ (Gal 1:13) ... Or Not?”, *Hervormde Theologische Studies* 65:1 (2009), pp. 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v65i1.127>

209 S. Al-Suadi, *Essen als Christusgläubige: Ritualtheoretische Exegese paulinischer Texte* (Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter 55, Tübingen: Francke, 2011).

210 S.M. Lee, “‘Experiences in Receiving the Spirit’ of the Galatian Community and the Object of ‘The Promise of the Spirit’”, *신약논단* 19:4 (2012), pp. 1173–1207.

return to his gospel. *Ronald Charles*²¹¹ (2014) uses current diaspora studies for offering a new perspective on Paul: one cannot fully understand Paul's theology without considering his identity as a diaspora Jew – an identity that had to be negotiated consistently. *R. Mark Bell*²¹² (2016) utilises insights from groupthink theory to determine if the typical symptoms of groupthink can be identified in the New Testament. One of the groups that is investigated is the Judaisers, mentioned in Galatians and Acts, in which case Bell identifies four examples of behaviour typical of groupthink.

*Peter-Ben Smit*²¹³ (2017) applies ritual failure (a sub-discipline of ritual criticism) to Galatians, Philippians and Romans. Smit shows that Paul's views of circumcision moved through various phases: strong support, indifference, rejection and an adapted reintegration into his thinking. Smit also points out that ritual failure played an important role every time his views changed. *Dexter S. Maben*²¹⁴ (2017) tries to “liberate” the Lutheran Paul through understanding the law by means of social dominance theory. Maben thus focuses on the social dimension of the law and illustrates this by means of an interpretation of 3:6–20. *Seung Moon Lee*²¹⁵ (2017) suggests that Paul mentions Abraham and the blessing of Abraham because he wishes to strengthen the identity of the recipients. Only by remaining in Christ will they be Abraham's offspring.

*Simon Buttica*²¹⁶ (2017) investigates the way in which Paul tried to manage particular ethnic parameters in Galatians and 1 Corinthians by looking at dietary issues. In the case of Galatians, Buttica finds that Paul used a type of anthropological logic whereby the distinctive habits of both Jews and Gentiles were re-ordered by a Christological “meta-identity”. *Rotimi Odudele*²¹⁷ (2018) approaches 3:28 from the perspective of ethnicity.

211 R. Charles, *Paul and the Politics of Diaspora* (Paul in Critical Contexts, Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 2014).

212 R.M. Bell, “First Century Groupthink: An Exegetical Case Study”, *Journal of Biblical Integration in Business* 19 (2016), pp. 26–37.

213 P.-B. Smit, “In Search of Real Circumcision: Ritual Failure and Circumcision in Paul”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 40:1 (2017), pp. 73–100. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X17723488>

214 D.S. Maben, “‘Why Then the Law?’ Pauline Ecclesiology and Interfaith Relations”, *Bangalore Theological Forum* 49:1 (2017), pp. 102–116.

215 S.M. Lee, “‘The Blessing of Abraham’ and Christ in Galatians 3:14a”, *신약논단* 24:4 (2017), pp. 925–952.

216 S. Buttica, “Paul and Ethnicity between Discourse and Social Practices”, *Early Christianity* 8:3 (2017), pp. 309–335, in particular p. 334. <https://doi.org/10.1628/186870317X15017545210206>

217 R. Odudele, “Unity in Diversity for Sustainable Development in Nigeria: A Sociological Exegesis of Galatians 3:28”, *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa* 20:2 (2018), pp. 148–157.

The revolutionary perspective on social ethics offered by this text is then applied to contemporary Nigerian society. *Seung Moo Lee*²¹⁸ (2020) argues that Paul encourages the Galatians in 3:14 to internalise the promises of the Spirit rather than the message proclaimed by his opponents.

3. Epistolographical approaches

*Dieter Kremendahl*²¹⁹ (2000) believes that the best way to approach Galatians is to combine epistolographical and rhetorical approaches and to apply both approaches to the whole letter and not only to parts of it. Kremendahl points out that one can clearly discern typical letter elements in Galatians but that the adaptation of several juristic characteristics is also notable. *Lauri Thurén*²²⁰ (2000) argues for “derhetorizing” Paul. Thurén proposes that new approaches should be combined with old ones. Literary, rhetorical and epistolographical analyses of Pauline texts should thus be combined with an interest in ideological and theological issues. *Rainer Dillmann*²²¹ (2007) discusses the salutations in Galatians and Romans and indicates how Paul established relationships in different ways in the prescripts of the two letters.

*Chris Keith*²²² (2008) thinks that the passages in which Paul draws attention to the fact that he has written part of a letter himself (as in 6:11) are not merely asides. They help to heighten the rhetorical force of the letter. *Carl Joachim Classen*²²³ (2009) is critical of the way in which New

218 S.M. Lee, “The Promise of the Spirit (Galatians 3:14) and the Internalization of the Galatian Christian Community”, *대학과 선교* 43 (2020), pp. 35–61.

219 D. Kremendahl, *Die Botschaft der Form: Zum Verhältnis von antiker Epistolographie und Rhetorik im Galaterbrief* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus/Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments 46, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000).

220 L. Thurén, *Derhetorizing Paul: A Dynamic Perspective on Pauline Theology and the Law* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.124, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157373-6>

221 R. Dillmann, “Seine Briefe sind schwer und stark (vgl. 2 Kor 10,10): Leserlenkung im Präskript des Galaterbriefs und Römerbriefs: Ein Vergleich”, in: J. Hainz (ed.), *Unterwegs mit Paulus: Otto Kuss zum 100. Geburtstag* (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 2007, 2nd edition), pp. 111–131.

222 C. Keith, “‘In My Own Hand’: Grapho-Literacy and the Apostle Paul”, *Biblica* 89:1 (2008), pp. 39–58.

223 C.J. Classen, “Kann die rhetorische Theorie helfen, das Neue Testament, vor allem die Briefe des Paulus, besser zu verstehen?”, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 100:2 (2009), pp. 145–172. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ZNTW.2009.009> English

Testament scholars have used epistolography and ancient rhetoric. In the case of Galatians, epistolography did not help to explain the nature of the letter. Neither did ancient rhetoric help to clarify the structure and aim of the letter. According to *Robert E. van Voorst*²²⁴ (2010), Paul's readers would probably not have realised that a thanksgiving was missing in Galatians, since they did not know Paul's epistolary practice in this regard. Furthermore, Van Voorst links the omission of a thanksgiving to the exceptional content and form of 1:1–5. *Jan Lambrecht*²²⁵ (2012) agrees with Van Voorst that the readers would not have realised that a thanksgiving was absent. Lambrecht investigates the prescripts of Galatians and 2 Corinthians (also without a thanksgiving) as well, pointing out that Paul apparently felt free to adapt his style as needed.

*Thomas Johann Bauer*²²⁶ (2011) analyses Philemon and Galatians in an attempt to answer a question originally raised by Deissmann, of whether Paul's letters should be regarded as "epistles" or "real letters". In the case of Galatians, Bauer finds that the letter is largely determined by the guidelines for friendship letters, although its content is different since it did not originate in Greek culture. *Jeff Hubing*²²⁷ (2015) disagrees with scholars who take 6:11–17 merely as the letter closing. According to Hubing, it serves as the closing of the body of the letter and also as the climax of Paul's argument. *Kyu Seop Kim*²²⁸ (2015) points out that scholars usually interpret Paul's sibling language in the light of Graeco-Roman letter conventions, but that practices in Jewish letters are not considered.

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- version: C.J. Classen, "Can the Theory of Rhetoric Help Us to Understand the New Testament, and in Particular the Letters of Paul?", in: S.E. Porter and B.R. Dyer (eds.), *Paul and Ancient Rhetoric: Theory and Practice in the Hellenistic Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 13–40. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139683647.003>
- 224 R.E. van Voorst, "Why Is There no Thanksgiving Period in Galatians? An Assessment of an Exegetical Commonplace", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 129:1 (2010), pp. 153–172. <https://doi.org/10.2307/27821010>
- 225 Jan Lambrecht, "Paul and Epistolary Thanksgiving", *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 88:1 (2012), pp. 167–171. <https://doi.org/10.2143/ETL.88.1.2164174>
- 226 T.J. Bauer, *Paulus und die kaiserzeitliche Epistolographie: Kontextualisierung und Analyse der Briefe an Philemon und an die Galater* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.276, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-151775-4>
- 227 J. Hubing, *Crucifixion and New Creation: The Strategic Purpose of Galatians 6.11–17* (Library of New Testament Studies 508, London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2015).
- 228 K.S. Kim, "Reframing Paul's Sibling Language in Light of Jewish Epistolary Forms of Address", *Hervormde Theologische Studies* 71:1 (2015), pp. 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v71i1.2860>

Kim thus investigates Jewish letters and argues that Paul's use of sibling language shows how he redefined the family of Abraham.

V.A. Kazinov²²⁹ (2015) recommends the combination of a rhetorical approach to Galatians with other approaches, such as an epistolographical approach. Kazinov believes that such an approach can help one to identify the centre of Pauline theology. In an introduction to epistolary analysis, Jeffrey A.D. Weima²³⁰ (2016) shows how attention to the form of the Pauline letters can enrich one's understanding of the meaning of the letters. Joo Ki Cheol²³¹ (2016) highlights the following special features of the peace benediction that Paul uses in 6:16: the blessing of those who follow his example, the use of the term "the Israel of God" instead of "you" (because he wishes to refer to all believers) and the addition of the term "mercy" (because the Galatians were struggling with the false teachers propagating circumcision).

Steve Reece's²³² (2017) investigation of Paul's "large letters" (6:17) in the light of ancient epistolary conventions yields the following results: Paul follows a common contemporary practice and the reference to his large letters highlights the difference between his handwriting and that of his scribe.

4. Rhetorical approaches

This type of approach was quite popular among researchers and the issues were addressed from a variety of perspectives:

4.1 Studies focusing on methodological issues

Stephen A. Cooper²³³ (2000) discusses the way in which Marius Victorinus approached Galatians. He identified rhetorical figures and argumentative

229 V.A. Kazinov, "Риторический Анализ как Инструментарий Выявления Богословского 'Центра' Апостола Павла на Примере его Письма к Галатам", *The World of Scientific Discoveries* 63:3.6 (2015), pp. 2824–2839.

230 J.A.D. Weima, *Paul the Ancient Letter Writer: An Introduction to Epistolary Analysis* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2016).

231 J.K. Cheol, "Who Are the Beneficiaries of the Peace Benediction in Galatians 6:16?", *Korean Evangelical New Testament Studies* 15:4 (2016), pp. 734–759. <https://doi.org/10.24229/kents.2016.15.4.005>

232 S. Reece, *Paul's Large Letters: Paul's Autographic Subscriptions in the Light of Ancient Epistolary Conventions* (Library of New Testament Studies 561, London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2017). <https://doi.org/10.5040/9780567669094>

233 S.A. Cooper, "Narratio and exhortatio in Galatians According to Marius Victorinus Rhetor", *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*

conventions that Paul used in Galatians, but never identified or classified the letter as a speech. Cooper thus describes Victorinus’s approach as one based on functional correspondence. Dieter Kremendahl²³⁴ (2000) believes that the best way to approach Galatians is to combine rhetorical and epistolographical approaches and to apply both approaches to the whole letter and not only to parts of it. Kremendahl points out that one can clearly discern typical letter elements in Galatians but that the adaptation of several juristic characteristics is also notable.

Lauri Thurén²³⁵ (2000) argues for “derhetorizing” Paul. Thurén thinks that new approaches should be combined with old ones. Literary, rhetorical and epistolographical analyses of Pauline texts should be combined with an interest in ideological and theological issues. Furthermore, Thurén opts for a dynamic instead of a static view of Pauline texts, in particular, of Paul’s views of the law. In another contribution, Thurén²³⁶ (2001) points out that Chrysostom’s rhetorical and theological interpretation of Galatians may serve as a critical corrective to current interpretations of the letter, since he had a very good training in rhetoric. Thurén also points out that Chrysostom offered a text-based reading of the letter and determined the theology of the letter by trying to understand the devices and tactics that Paul used.

Margaret M. Mitchell²³⁷ (2001) explains how one should go about using Patristic exegetes when one reads New Testament text rhetorically. Mitchell discusses John Chrysostom’s exegesis of Galatians as an example as to how this should be done. According to Mitchell, Chrysostom regarded Galatians as an aggressive and apologetic letter and such a view

und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 91:1/2 (2000), pp. 107–135. <https://doi.org/10.1515/zntw.2000.91.1-2.107>

234 D. Kremendahl, *Die Botschaft der Form: Zum Verhältnis von antiker Epistolographie und Rhetorik im Galaterbrief* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus/Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments 46, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000).

235 L. Thurén, *Derhetorizing Paul: A Dynamic Perspective on Pauline Theology and the Law* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.124, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157373-6>

236 L. Thurén, “John Chrysostom as a Rhetorical Critic: The Hermeneutics of an Early Father”, *Biblical Interpretation* 9:2 (2001), pp. 180–218. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156851501300139291>

237 M.M. Mitchell, “Reading Rhetoric with Patristic Exegetes”, in: A.Y. Collins and M.M. Mitchell (eds.), *Antiquity and Humanity: Essays on Ancient Religion and Philosophy Presented to Hans Dieter Betz on His 70th Birthday* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), pp. 333–355.

comes very close to Betz's appraisal of the letter. Dieter Sanger²³⁸ (2002) takes note of the problems caused by applying insights from ancient rhetorical handbooks to Galatians, but argues that one also cannot deny that a rhetorical approach is valuable. It is important to realise that Paul developed his argumentation in the letter on the basis of rhetorical rules that he knew.

Malcolm Heath²³⁹ (2004) highlights the influence of contemporary rhetoric on Chrysostom's exegesis of Galatians. Heath argues that current attempts to classify Chrysostom's work on Galatians in term of the three classes of oratory are misguided. Furthermore, Heath illustrates the way in which Chrysostom used rhetorical concepts such as counter-position in his interpretation of the letter. Jean-Noel Aletti²⁴⁰ (2004) warns against the tendency amongst some scholars to stick to descriptive rhetoric. Instead, the effect of Paul's rhetorical choices on his theology should be noted. Furthermore, Aletti highlights three characteristics of Paul's rhetoric: a distancing perspective, the utilisation of *pisteis* and *topoi* that could be understood from different cultures, and an inclination toward dialogue with Judaism.

Mark P. Surburg²⁴¹ (2004) has offered an overview of research since Betz's commentary on Galatians was published, pointing out that the majority of rhetorical analyses of Galatians that have been published, have not been of much benefit. Surburg believes that ancient rhetoric may still be used but in a much more modest way, as a mere window of the type of thing going on in Paul's times. Christian Grappe²⁴² (2009) is positive about the reintroduction of a rhetorical approach to New Testament texts

238 D. Sanger, "‘Vergeblich bemuh’t (Gal 4.11)? Zur paulinischen Argumentationsstrategie im Galaterbrief", *New Testament Studies* 48:3 (2002), pp. 377–399. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0028688502000231>

239 M. Heath, "John Chrysostom, Rhetoric and Galatians", *Biblical Interpretation* 12:4 (2004), pp. 369–400. <https://doi.org/10.1163/1568515042418578>

240 J.-N. Aletti, "La rhetorique paulinienne: Construction et communication d'une pensee", in: A. Dettwiler, J.-D. Kaestli and D. Marguerat (eds.), *Paul, une theologie en construction* (Le Monde de la Bible 51, Geneve: Labor et Fides, 2004), pp. 47–66. English version: J.-N. Aletti, *New Approaches for Interpreting the Letters of Saint Paul: Collected Essays: Rhetoric, Soteriology, Christology and Ecclesiology: Translated from the French by Peggy Manning Meyer* (Subsidia Biblica 43, Rome: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2012), pp. 11–35.

241 M.P. Surburg, "Ancient Rhetorical Criticism, Galatians, and Paul at Twenty-Five Years", *Concordia Journal* 30:1/2 (2004), pp. 13–39.

242 C. Grappe, "Paul et la rhetorique: Regard sur l'histoire et les enjeux d'un debat", *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 89:4 (2009), pp. 511–530. <https://doi.org/10.3406/rhpr.2009.5844>

by Betz. According to Grappe, this approach enables one to hear different voices in the New Testament and frees one from a fundamentalist reading. Richard N. Longenecker²⁴³ (2009) lauds the great contribution made by Betz in his commentary on Galatians, yet raises two points of criticism: that Betz tried to interpret the whole letter from the perspective of forensic rhetoric, and that he ignored the change in mood occurring at 4:12.

Carl Joachim Classen²⁴⁴ (2009) is critical of the way in which New Testament scholars have used epistolography and ancient rhetoric. In the case of Galatians, epistolography did not help to explain the nature of the letter. Neither did ancient rhetoric help to clarify the structure and aim of the letter. Classen is not against using insights from ancient (and even modern) rhetoric but argues that scholars have to weigh carefully which insights would be fruitful for a particular letter or pericope. In a discussion of Galatians as judicial rhetoric, Dragutin Matak²⁴⁵ (2012) also warns against a type of approach that is too analytical due to extensive categorisation. Furthermore, Matak warns against an approach that is preoccupied with form rather than content.

V.A. Kazinov²⁴⁶ (2015) recommends the combination of a rhetorical analysis of Galatians with other approaches, such as an epistolographical approach. Kazinov thinks that such an approach may help one to identify the centre of Pauline theology. According to Antonio Pitta²⁴⁷ (2017), the genre of Galatians is best described as a kerygmatic letter. As such the letter exceeds the genres foreseen in ancient handbooks on rhetoric.

243 R.N. Longenecker, “Hans Dieter Betz’s Galatians Commentary: A Retrospective Word of Commendation, with Some Criticisms, Thirty Years after the Commentary’s Publication”, *Biblical Research* 54 (2009), pp. 11–23.

244 C.J. Classen, “Kann die rhetorische Theorie helfen, das Neue Testament, vor allem die Briefe des Paulus, besser zu verstehen?”, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 100:2 (2009), pp. 145–172. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ZNTW.2009.009> English version: C.J. Classen, “Can the Theory of Rhetoric Help Us to Understand the New Testament, and in Particular the Letters of Paul?”, in: S.E. Porter and B.R. Dyer (eds.), *Paul and Ancient Rhetoric: Theory and Practice in the Hellenistic Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 13–40. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139683647.003>

245 D. Matak, “Poslanica Galaćanima kao Sudbena Retorika”, *Biblijski Pogledi* 20:1/2 (2012), pp. 41–47.

246 V.A. Kazinov, “Риторический Анализ как Инструментарий Выявления Богословского ‘Центра’ Апостола Павла на Примере его Письма к Галатам”, *The World of Scientific Discoveries* 63:3.6 (2015), pp. 2824–2839.

247 A. Pitta, “Retorica Epistolare della Lettera ai Galati? Bilanci e Prospettive”, *Rivista Biblica* 65:1/2 (2017), pp. 149–172.

4.2 Studies focusing on particular rhetorical issues/approaches

James A. Kelhoffer²⁴⁸ (2001) compares the ways in which Paul and Justin Martyr appeal to miracles to prove their authority. Whereas Justin Martyr normally refers to miracles to prove that the entire message of Christianity is true, Paul usually refers to them to defend his own authority. However, in 3:1–5, Paul notes that the miracles that the Galatians are experiencing at that stage are similar to what happened when he brought the gospel to them. Johan S. Vos²⁴⁹ (2002) distinguishes between different types of rhetoric/argumentation in Paul's letters and explains Paul's rhetorical strategy in each instance in detail: worldly vs. spiritual rhetoric (1 Corinthians 1:10–3:4), sophistic argumentation (Romans), revelatory rhetoric (Galatians 1:1–2:11), juristic rhetoric (Galatians 3:11–12 and Romans 10:5–10), rhetoric of success (Philippians 1:12–26) and logic and rhetoric (1 Corinthians 15:12–20).

According to James D. Hester²⁵⁰ (2002), Paul uses various forms typical of epideictic rhetoric in Galatians 1 and 2 in order to assert his

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- 248 J.A. Kelhoffer, "The Apostle Paul and Justin Martyr on the Miraculous: A Comparison of Appeals to Authority", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 42:2 (2001), pp. 163–184. Updated version: J.A. Kelhoffer, *Conceptions of "Gospel" and Legitimacy in Early Christianity* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.324, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), pp. 203–220. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-152993-1>
- 249 J.S. Vos, *Die Kunst der Argumentation bei Paulus: Studien zur antiken Rhetorik* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.149, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157227-2> Earlier versions of the contributions on Galatians: 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)* (Benedictina Monographic Series 12, Rome: Benedictina Publishers, 1993), pp. 11–43, J.S. Vos, "Charismatisch en Gevestigd Gezag in de Gemeente: Een Spanningsveld in de Brief van Paulus aan de Galaten", in: J. Delobel and H.J. de Jonge (eds.), *Vroegchristelijke Gemeenten tussen Ideaal en Werkelijkheid* (Kampen: Kok, 2001), pp. 30–39, J.S. Vos, "Die hermeneutische Antinomie bei Paulus (Galater 3,11–12; Römer 10,5–10)", *New Testament Studies* 38:2 (1992), pp. 254–270, J.S. Vos, "Paulus en de Schrift: Hermeneutiek en Retoriek in Gal 3,6–11", in: T. Baarda, H.J. de Jonge and M.J.J. Menken (eds.), *Jodendom en Vroeg Christendom: Continuïteit en Discontinuïteit* (Kampen: Kok, 1991), pp. 63–79.
- 250 J.D. Hester, "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 MA: Hendrickson, 2002), pp. 181–196. Earlier version: 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* (Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplements 50, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), pp. 281–307.

authority, as well as the authority of the gospel. Marc Rastoin²⁵¹ (2003) explains the way in which Paul makes use of insights from both the Jewish and Greek cultures in order to persuade the Galatians in 3:6–4:7. Rastoin discusses aspects found in this section such as diatribe, synagogal sermons, *gezerah shawah* and *status scripti en voluntatis*. Takaaki Haraguchi²⁵² (2004) believes that Paul's opponents based their views on the notion of blessing and curse in the Hebrew Scriptures. Paul countered their views by reversing the Old Testament rhetoric of blessing and curse, thereby creating a unique type of rhetoric based on his views of Christ.

J. Paul Sampley²⁵³ (2004) investigates Paul's use of frank speech (παρησιία) against the background of conventions that were applicable in his own time as illustrated in the works of Philodemus and Plutarch. Sampley identifies several instances of frank speech in Galatians and 2 Corinthians. Christopher D. Stanley²⁵⁴ (2004) looks at Paul's "rhetoric of quotations". In the case of Galatians, Stanley discusses 3:6–14 and 4:21–31 and concludes that the audience that Paul had in mind did not know the Hebrew Scriptures well. They only had a modest knowledge of these Scriptures and Paul adapted his rhetoric to their capabilities. Mika Hietanen²⁵⁵ (2005) offers a pragma-dialectical analysis of Galatians 3:1–5:12. This method was developed by Van Eemeren and Grootendorst and focuses on two aspects: a descriptive analysis (looking at technical aspects

251 M. Rastoin, *Tarse et Jérusalem: La double culture de l'apôtre Paul en Galates* 3,6–4,7 (Analecta Biblica 152, Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2003).

252 T. Haraguchi, "Words of Blessing and Curse: A Rhetorical Study of Galatians", *The Asia Journal of Theology* 18:1 (2004), pp. 33–50.

253 J.P. Sampley, "Paul's Frank Speech with the Galatians and the Corinthians", in: J.T. Fitzgerald, D. Obbink and G. Holland (eds.), *Philodemus and the New Testament World* (Novum Testamentum Supplements 111, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2004), pp. 295–321. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047400240_014

254 C.D. Stanley, *Arguing with Scripture: The Rhetoric of Quotations in the Letters of Paul* (New York NY/London: T & T Clark International, 2004), pp. 114–135. See also earlier: C.D. Stanley, "Biblical Quotations as Rhetorical Devices in Paul's Letter to the Galatians", in: *Society of Biblical Literature: 1998 Seminar Papers: Part Two* (Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers Series 37, Atlanta GA: Scholars Press, 1998), pp. 700–730.

255 M. Hietanen, *Paul's Argumentation in Galatians: A Pragma-Dialectical Analysis of Gal. 3.1–5.12* (Helsinki: Helsinki University Printing House, 2005). Updated version: M. Hietanen, *Paul's Argumentation in Galatians: A Pragma-Dialectical Analysis of Gal. 3.1–5.12* (Library of New Testament Studies 344, London: T & T Clark, 2007). See also: M. Hietanen, "The Argumentation in Galatians", *Acta Theologica Supplementum* 9:2 (2007), pp. 99–120. <https://doi.org/10.4314/actat.v28i2.52342>

such as structures and schemes) and a normative analysis (evaluating the soundness of the reasoning).

Sam Tsang²⁵⁶ (2005) discusses Paul's slavery metaphors in Galatians in the light of insights from the New Rhetoric. Tsang divides these metaphors into three categories and explains their use by means of concepts borrowed from the New Rhetoric: apologetic usage (1:1, 10; 6:17), polemical usage (2:4; 4:30), and didactic usage (3:23–26; 4:1–10). Marc J. Debanné²⁵⁷ (2006) focuses on Paul's use of enthymemes in his letters. In the case of Galatians, Debanné points out that Paul relies to a great extent on enthymemic argumentation, in particular in the first four chapters. This was due to the seriousness of the situation in which he found himself. Gerhard J. Swart²⁵⁸ (2007) illustrates the value of discourse analysis (based on syntaxis) for verifying claims about rhetorical strategies by comparing the results of a discourse analysis of Galatians with two rhetorical studies of the letter.

Johan S. Vos²⁵⁹ (2007) approaches Paul's argumentation through the lens of sophistic rhetoric by reconstructing the views of a contemporary reader who did not agree with Paul's presuppositions but knew what was accepted in rhetorical and philosophical schools as acceptable/non-acceptable ways of argumentation. According to Susannah Ticciati²⁶⁰ (2008), it is best to understand Paul's rhetorical strategy in Galatians as that of a "reparative reasoner". He uses his arguments to repair/heal the

256 S. Tsang, *From Slaves to Sons: A New Rhetoric Analysis on Paul's Slave Metaphors in His Letter to the Galatians* (Studies in Biblical Literature 81, New York NY: Peter Lang, 2005). See also: S. Tsang, "'Abba' Revisited: Merging the Horizons of History and Rhetoric through the New Rhetoric Structure for Metaphors", *Acta Theologica Supplementum* 9 (2007), pp. 121–141. <https://doi.org/10.4314/actat.v28i2.52343>

257 M.J. Debanné, *Enthymemes in the Letters of Paul* (Library of New Testament Studies 303, London; New York NY: T & T Clark, 2006), pp. 121–166.

258 G.J. Swart, "Reconstructing Rhetorical Strategies from the Text of Galatians: Syntax-Based Discourse as a Monitoring Device", *Acta Theologica Supplementum* 9 (2007), pp. 162–173. <https://doi.org/10.4314/actat.v28i2.52345>

259 J.S. Vos, "Paul and Sophistic Rhetoric: A Perspective on His Argumentation in the Letter to the Galatians", *Acta Theologica Supplementum* 9 (2007), pp. 29–52. <https://doi.org/10.4314/actat.v28i2.52340>

260 S. Ticciati, "Paul as Reparative Reasoner: Group Rivalry in Galatia", *Journal of Scriptural Reasoning* 7:1 (2008), (Online). Available at: <https://jsr.shanti.virginia.edu/back-issues/vol-7-no-1-january-2008-spreading-rumours-of-wisdom/paul-as-reparative-reasoner-group-rivalry-in-galatia/>

suffering in the Galatian congregations. Thus, one should realise that his attempts at healing are primary, and theological issues are secondary. Sze-Kar Wan²⁶¹ (2008) draws attention to the ways in which Paul uses experience as a rhetorical strategy in Galatians in order to foster group solidarity and negotiate status and power.

James A. Kelhoffer²⁶² (2009) explains how Paul uses the notion of suffering as a defence of his apostolic authority. In the case of Galatians, Kelhoffer discusses 4:29, 5:11, 6:12 and 6:17. The point that Paul tries to get across is that his opponents avoided persecution whereas he was willing to suffer for the gospel – a state of affairs that confirm his status as an apostle. David V. Urban²⁶³ (2010) discusses the ways in which Paul uses a rhetoric of rebuke to shape the ethos of his readers. Four instances of rebuke in the letter are investigated (1:6–7, 3:1–5, 4:8–11 and 5:2–12) by means an Aristotelian analysis and by linking them to Jeremiah. Hans Klein²⁶⁴ (2010) focuses on the ways in which Paul and John defend their roles as messengers of God (“Gottgesandten). All that they can do is to refer to themselves and their mission, but there is no absolute proof. In the case of Galatians, Paul refers to his suffering (the marks that he carries; 6:17) as evidence of his apostleship.

D. Francois Tolmie²⁶⁵ (2011) discusses the rhetorical function of angels in Paul’s main letters. According to Tolmie, it seems as if Paul mostly mentions angels in a context that might be typified as

261 S.-K. Wan, “Ecstasy and *Exousia*: Religious Experience and the Negotiations of Social Power in Paul’s Letter to the Galatians”, in: M.F. Foskett and O.W. Allen Jr. (eds.), *Between Experience and Interpretation: Engaging the Writings of the New Testament* (Nashville TN: Abingdon Press, 2008), pp. 67–81.

262 J.A. Kelhoffer, “Suffering as Defense of Paul’s Apostolic Authority in Galatians and 2 Corinthians 11”, *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 74 (2009), pp. 127–143. Also available in: J.A. Kelhoffer, *Conceptions of “Gospel” and Legitimacy in Early Christianity* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.324, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), pp. 187–202. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-152993-1>

263 D.V. Urban, “The Rhetoric of Rebuke and Community-Shaping in Paul’s Epistle to the Galatians: An Aristotelian Analysis, with Jeremiah as an Alternative Interpretive Rubric”, *Scandinavian Evangelical E-Journal for New Testament Studies* 1 (2010), pp. 28–42.

264 H. Klein, “Die Selbstverteidigung des Gottgesandten bei Paulus und Johannes”, *Sacra Scripta: Journal of the Centre for Biblical Studies* 8:2 (2010), pp. 175–184.

265 D.F. Tolmie, “Angels as Arguments? The Rhetorical Function of References to Angels in the Main Letters of Paul”, *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 67:1 (2011), pp. 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v67i1.825>

hyperbolic. Dieter Sanger²⁶⁶ (2011) identifies several literary strategies that Paul uses in his polemics in Galatians. However, although he makes use of harsh antithesis, aggressive language and polemics bordering on insults, he nevertheless ends the letter in a hopeful way, i.e., by “Amen”. According to Ian J. Elmer²⁶⁷ (2013), Paul’s opponents used their own version of his conversion and his apostleship against him, and Paul responded by using the *narratio* of the letter as a rhetorical strategy to counter such attempts in 1:13–2:14.

In an overview of the “rhetoric of difference” and the genealogy of heresy in Second Temple Judaism and Early Christianity, Robert M. Royalty Jr.²⁶⁸ (2013) also discusses Paul. His views were based on an apocalyptic dualism and he created his own version of the gospel which he defended in ideological discourses of power (as happened in Galatians). Andrie B. du Toit²⁶⁹ (2014) reads Galatians in the light of the rhetorical model of Hermogenes. From this perspective it is clear that Paul uses severe language to bring his readers to their senses. Galatians 4:12–20 then also makes sense, since it fits Hermogenes’ category of “indignation”. Peter von der Osten-Sacken²⁷⁰ (2014) discusses Paul’s use of $\mu\eta\ \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$ (“Absolutely not!”), a rhetorical formula in Romans, and also draws attention to the way the expression is used in Galatians (similar to its use in Romans). In Galatians 2:17, Paul uses it when rejecting a wrong interpretation of the gospel by referring to the way in which a believer’s

266 D. Sanger, “Literarische Strategien der Polemik im Galaterbrief”, in: O. Wischmeyer and L. Scornaienchi (eds.), *Polemik in der fruhchristlichen Literatur: Texte und Kontexte* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift fur die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der alteren Kirche 170, Berlin/New York NY: De Gruyter, 2011), pp. 155–181. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110223545.2.155>

267 I.J. Elmer, “Setting the Record Straight at Galatia: Paul’s *narratio* (Gal 1:13–2:14) as Response to the Galatian Conflict”, in: W. Mayer and B. Neil (eds.), *Religious Conflict from Early Christianity to the Rise of Islam* (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 121, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), pp. 21–38. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110291940.21>

268 R.M. Royalty Jr., *The Origin of Heresy: A History of Discourse in Second Temple Judaism and Early Christianity* (Routledge Studies in Religion 18, London/New York NY: Routledge, 2013), pp. 64–88.

269 A.B. du Toit, “Galatians and the $\pi\epsilon\tau\iota\ \iota\delta\epsilon\omega\upsilon\upsilon\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon$ of Hermogenes: A Rhetoric of Severity in Galatians 5–6”, *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 70:1 (2014), pp. 1–10, <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v70i1.2739>, and “Galatians and the $\pi\epsilon\tau\iota\ \iota\delta\epsilon\omega\upsilon\upsilon\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon$ of Hermogenes: A Rhetoric of Severity in Galatians 5–6”, *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 70:1 (2014), pp. 1–5, <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v70i1.2738>

270 P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Der Gott der Hoffnung: Gesammelte Aufsatze zur Theologie des Paulus* (Studien zu Kirche und Israel: Neue Folge 3, Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2014), pp. 217–245.

life is changed by baptism and in 3:21 when denying that promise and law should be viewed as opposing each other.

Matthew E. Gordley²⁷¹ (2015) illuminates Paul's argument in Galatians by looking at the *Progymnasmata* of Theon, in particular the νόμου εἰσφορά exercise (the introduction and refutation of a law). Paul used *topoi* that were common to this type of exercise. Antonio Pitta²⁷² (2015) draws attention to mimesis in Galatians. Although it does not occur explicitly, it is found implicitly in 1:13–2:21, 3:5–6 and 4:28–31. This shows that mimesis was very important to Paul in situations where religious identity was in danger. Mihae Afrențoae²⁷³ (2016) discusses 6:11–18 (pride in the cross as sign of the new creation) as an example of epideictic rhetoric used by Paul to convey important educational values of the gospel to his readers.

Nina E. Livesey²⁷⁴ (2016) interprets Galatians in the light of a model developed by Cecil W. Wooten, a “rhetoric of crisis” (employed by Demosthenes and Cicero). According to Livesey, Paul used stylistic features that were typical of such a type of rhetoric in order to win the Galatians to his side. Yurii Alekseevich Kondrat'ev²⁷⁵ (2016) examines the way in which Paul makes use of word play to enhance persuasion in Galatians. Kondrat'ev identifies examples of paranomasia, alliteration, assonance and hyperbaton in the letter. James R. McConnell²⁷⁶ (2017) contends that Galatians 1–4 may be read as a *thesis*, as explained in Theon's *Progymnasmata*. Accordingly, McConnell identifies the proofs that Paul used in order to argue his *thesis*.

Mikeal C. Parsons and Michael Wade Martin²⁷⁷ (2018) investigate the influence of the *Progymnasmata* on the New Testament writings,

271 M.E. Gordley, “Galatians and the *Progymnasmata* on Refuting a Law: A Neglected Aspect of Pauline Rhetoric”, *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 5:1 (2015), pp. 21–39. <https://doi.org/10.2307/jstudpaullett.5.1.0021>

272 A. Pitta, “I Gradi della Mimesi nella Lettera ai Galati”, *Liber Annuus* 65 (2015), pp. 249–257. <https://doi.org/10.1484/J.LA.4.000113>

273 M. Afrențoae, “The Pride in the Cross Signaling the New Creation”, *Romanian Journal of Artistic Creativity* 4:3 (2016), pp. 32–42.

274 N.E. Livesey, *Galatians and the Rhetoric of Crisis: Demosthenes – Cicero – Paul* (Salem OR: Polebridge, 2016).

275 Ю.А. Кондратьев, “Риторический Прием Языковой Игры в Послании к Галатам Святого Апостола Павла”, *Филологические Науки: Вопросы Теории и Практики* 4:58 (2016), pp. 107–109.

276 J.R. McConnell, “Galatians as Thesis”, *Review & Expositor* 114:2 (2017), pp. 226–238. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0034637317702357>

277 M.C. Parsons and M.W. Martin, *Ancient Rhetoric and the New Testament: The Influence of Elementary Greek Composition* (Waco TX: Baylor University Press, 2018).

in particular on their form and style. This is illustrated by examples, also from Galatians. *Group Loire*²⁷⁸ (2019) – a group of semioticians from Tours – identifies the threefold rhetorical challenge that Paul had to face (*logos, pathos* and *ethos*) and explains how Paul’s “I” encounters the “you” in Galatians in order to build a common “we”. *Martin Meiser*²⁷⁹ (2020) compares the way in which Paul represents himself in Galatians with insights from ancient rhetorical handbooks and speeches delivered by Cicero. Meiser points out that Paul’s self-representation in the letter would probably not have been experienced by his readers as something unusual. Furthermore, in terms of rhetorical practice in Paul’s time, it was not regarded as inappropriate to utilise negative effects, as long as they served the purpose of the argument.

4.3 Studies discussing the whole letter

*Dale L. Sullivan and Christian Anible*²⁸⁰ (2000) point out that modern rhetoric assumes that epideictic rhetoric helps to create and sustain values. Accordingly, they investigate five aspects of the rhetoric of Galatians, showing how Paul uses the letter to establish authority, create a sense of communion and cultivate virtue. According to *Michael R. Cosby*²⁸¹ (2002), the type of rhetoric that Paul uses in Galatians should be described as “red-hot rhetoric”. It is neither a logical elucidation of salvation by faith nor a speech written according to the guideline of ancient rhetoric, but rather a condemnation of Paul’s opponents and a stern warning to the Galatians. *D. Francois Tolmie*²⁸² (2005) offers a text-centred rhetorical analysis of the letter. The content of the letter is divided into 18 rhetorical phases (grouped together in six rhetorical

278 Groupe Loire, “Du je au nous: Identité de Paul, identité du chrétien”, *Sémiotique et Bible* 176 (2019), pp. 38–60.

279 M. Meiser, “Die Selbstpräsentation des Paulus im Galaterbrief im Vergleich mit antiker rhetorischer und epistolographischer Praxis”, *Sacra Scripta* 18:1 (2020), pp. 7–35.

280 D.L. Sullivan and C. Anible, “The Epideictic Dimension of Galatians as Formative Rhetoric: The Inscription of Early Christian Community”, *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 18:2 (2000), pp. 117–145. <https://doi.org/10.1525/rh.2000.18.2.117>

281 M.R. Cosby, “Galatians: Red-Hot Rhetoric”, in: A. Eriksson, T.H. Olbricht and W. Übelacker (eds.), *Rhetorical Argumentation in Biblical Texts: Essays from the Lund 2000 Conference* (Emory Studies in Early Christianity 8, Harrisburg PA: Trinity, 2002), pp. 296–309.

282 D.F. Tolmie, *Persuading the Galatians: A Text-Centred Rhetorical Analysis of a Pauline Letter* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.190, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157055-1>

objectives) with Paul’s rhetorical strategy explained in each phase from the text itself.

In a rhetorical analysis of Galatians, *Ivica Čatić and Marko Rajić*²⁸³ (2017, 2018) do not try to fit the letter into a specific system from ancient rhetorical handbooks. Instead, they concentrate on the rhetorical genre dominating in a particular section in the letter. Accordingly, they distinguish between three sections in the letter: a narrative section (1:1–2:14), a demonstrative section (2:15–4:31) and a parenetic section (5:1–6:20). *James W. Thompson*²⁸⁴ (2020) discusses theology and rhetoric in the Pauline letters. In the case of Galatians, Thompson largely follows Betz’s outline and remarks that the way in which Paul arranged his argument might have been similar to the guidelines found in ancient rhetoric but that it would only have made sense to believers, since Paul bases his argument on revelation.

4.4 Studies focusing on specific pericopes/verses

*L. Ann Jervis*²⁸⁵ (2000) explains Paul’s rhetoric in 3:19–25 in terms of an argument based on God’s faithfulness. God placed functional and temporal limits on the law, according to his redemptive plan. *Jerome Murphy-O’Connor*²⁸⁶ (2000) explains Paul’s rhetorical aim with 2:2 as deceiving his opponents and making them feel complacent, thus heightening the impact of the next verse where he announces that Titus was not compelled to be circumcised. *Roh-Sik Park*²⁸⁷ (2003) disagrees with scholars who regard 4:12–20 as erratic. Park is of the view that Paul refers to his sufferings in a forceful manner in this pericope in order to bring the Galatians back to the truth. *L. Michael White*²⁸⁸ (2003) discusses the same pericope, but from

283 I. Čatić and M. Rajić, “Retoričko-Kritička Analiza Poslanice Galaćanima (I)”, *Diacovensia* 25:4 (2017), pp. 567–583, <https://doi.org/10.31823/d.25.4.4> and I. Čatić and M. Rajić, “Retoričko-Kritička Analiza Poslanice Galaćanima (II)”, *Diacovensia* 26:1 (2018), pp. 55–80. <https://doi.org/10.31823/d.26.1.3>

284 J.W. Thompson, *Apostle of Persuasion: Theology and Rhetoric in the Pauline Letters* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2020), pp. 169–184.

285 L.A. Jervis, “Galatians 3:19–25 as an Argument for God’s Faithfulness: Reading Paul’s Rhetoric in Light of His Strategy”, *Word & World* 20:3 (2000), pp. 281–298.

286 J. Murphy-O’Connor, “To Run in Vain (Gal 2:2)”, *Revue Biblique* 107:3 (2000), pp. 383–389.

287 R.-S. Park, “The Rhetorical Nature of Gal. 4:12–20”, *신약논단* 10:1 (2003), pp. 117–137.

288 L.M. White, “Rhetoric and Reality in Galatians: Framing the Social Demands of Friendship”, in: J.T. Fitzgerald, T. Olbricht and L.M. White (eds.), *Early Christianity and Classical Culture: Comparative Studies in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe* (Novum Testamentum Supplements

a different perspective. White believes that Betz is correct in identifying the friendship *topos* in this passage but is wrong in regarding it as a mere emotional outburst. It rather contains one of Paul's principal charges: that the Galatians did not adhere to the values of friendship.

Jean-Noël Aletti²⁸⁹ (2005) regards 1:11–2:21 as a unified argument: 1:11–12 is the *propositio*, 2:14b–21 is a brief speech bringing the argument to a climax, and 2:16 reformulates Paul's gospel while also serving as the thesis of the next two chapters. Juan Luis Caballero²⁹⁰ (2004) uses rhetorical analysis to clarify Paul's argument in Galatians 3: a Christological thesis forms the centre of the argument and is backed up by Scripture and Paul's authority (based on revelation). Susanne Schewe²⁹¹ (2005) applies a text-pragmatical approach to Galatians 5:13–6:10. By means of a close reading of the text, Schewe attempts to show that this section of the letter is an integral part of Paul's argument and even forms the climax of his argument.

D. Francois Tolmie²⁹² (2005) offers a text-centred rhetorical analysis of 1:1–10 in order to illustrate how such an approach differs from other rhetorical approaches to the letter. Hung-Sik Choi²⁹³ (2008) contends that 5:2–12 is the climax of the letter, summarising all the previous parts of the letter and previewing what follows, and that it should thus be taken

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- 110, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2003), pp. 307–349. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047402190_018
- 289 J.-N. Aletti, "Galates 1–2: Quelle fonction et quelle démonstration?", *Biblica* 86:3 (2005), pp. 305–323. English version: J.-N. Aletti, *New Approaches for Interpreting the Letters of Saint Paul: Collected Essays: Rhetoric, Soteriology, Christology and Ecclesiology: Translated from the French by Peggy Manning Meyer* (Subsidia Biblica 43, Rome: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2012), pp. 215–236.
- 290 J.L. Caballero, "La Promesa a Abrahán según Ga 3,1–29", *Scripta Theologica* 36:1 (2004), pp. 259–272.
- 291 S. Schewe, *Die Galater zurückgewinnen: Paulinische Strategien in Galater 5 und 6* (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testament 208, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005). <https://doi.org/10.13109/9783666530722>
- 292 D.F. Tolmie, "The Rhetorical Analysis of Galatians: Is There Another Way?", in: P. Chatelion Counet and U. Berges (eds.), *One Text, Thousand Methods: Studies in Memory of Sjef van Tilborg* (Biblical Interpretation Series 71, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2005), pp. 275–289. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047415428_017 See also: D.F. Tolmie, *Persuading the Galatians: A Text-Centred Rhetorical Analysis of a Pauline Letter* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.190, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), pp. 31–44. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157055-1>
- 293 H.-S. Choi, "The Rhetorical Function of Galatians 5:2–6", *Torch Trinity Journal* 11:1 (2008), pp. 104–116.

as the hermeneutical key to the letter. *Debbie Hunn*²⁹⁴ (2010) notes that scholars understand Paul's rhetorical strategy in 1:13–2:21 in different ways: defence of his apostleship, denial of accusations and depiction of himself as a paradigm. Hunn is of the opinion that Paul distinguishes between two options in 1:10 – pleasing people or pleasing God – and that he defends his gospel by referring to his experience at the Damascus event and what motivated him in life.

According to *Eric Stewart*²⁹⁵ (2011), Paul's argument about the change in Peter's behaviour is best understood in terms of the rhetorical and social conventions associated with the encomium. Paul explains the change in his own behaviour as something positive whereas the change in Peter's behaviour is depicted in negative terms. In a rhetorical analysis of 1:13–2:21, *Bartolomeo Puca*²⁹⁶ (2011) draws attention to Paul's paradoxical self-praise in 1:13–2:21: Paul shifts the attention from his own personal experience to God, thereby emphasising the divine origin of his gospel and offering an example of faithfulness to it. *Ian J. Elmer*²⁹⁷ (2013) argues that Paul's opponents used their own version of Paul's conversion and his apostleship against him and that he utilised 1:13–2:14 as *narratio* to counter such attempts.

That Paul refers to his and the Galatians' calling as both happening through grace (1:6, 1:15) is taken by *Orrey McFarland*²⁹⁸ (2013) as an indication that Paul rhetorically and theologically identifies with them so that their stories are intertwined. Accordingly, Paul's autobiographical testimony in Chapters 1 and 2 cannot be separated from Chapters 3 to 6.

294 D. Hunn, "Pleasing God or Pleasing People? Defending the Gospel in Galatians 1–2", *Biblica* 91:1 (2010), pp. 24–49.

295 E. Stewart, "I'm Okay, You're Not Okay: Constancy of Character and Paul's Understanding of Change in His Own and Peter's Behaviour", *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 67:3 (2011), pp. 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v67i3.1002>

296 B. Puca, *Una Periautologia Paradossale: Analisi Retorico-Letteraria di Gal 1,13–2,21* (Tesi Gregoriana: Serie Teologia 186, Roma: Pontificio Università Gregoriana, 2011).

297 I.J. Elmer, "Setting the Record Straight at Galatia: Paul's *narratio* (Gal 1:13–2:14) as Response to the Galatian Conflict", in: W. Mayer and B. Neil (eds.), *Religious Conflict from Early Christianity to the Rise of Islam* (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 121, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), pp. 21–38. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110291940.21>

298 O. McFarland, "'The One Who Calls in Grace': Paul's Rhetorical and Theological Identification with the Galatians", *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 35:2 (2013), pp. 151–165. <https://doi.org/10.1163/18712207-12341258>

Dieter Mitternacht²⁹⁹ (2013) explains Paul's rhetorical skill as seen in the opening of the letter (identified as 1:1–10), in particular, in the way in which this serves to help set the stage for the important request in 4:12, with 1:13–4:11 showing the plausibility of the request and 4:13–6:10 highlighting the benefits or harm to follow if the request was honoured or ignored.

Marc Rastoin³⁰⁰ (2014) highlights Paul's masterly rhetorical skills in 4:1–7. By alluding to freedom, he touches on an issue that was of utmost importance both in the Hellenistic culture and in the Jewish faith. Nils Neumann³⁰¹ (2015) interprets Paul's statement in 3:1 that Christ was publicly exhibited before the eyes of his readers in the light of a similar practice mentioned widely in ancient rhetorical handbooks. According to Neumann, Paul refers to his earlier narration of the Damascus event to the readers through which they could participate in his visionary experience. Michael M. Ramos³⁰² (2016) uses social-rhetorical criticism to explain why Paul quoted Deuteronomy 27:26 to explain justification by faith in Christ.

David A. deSilva³⁰³ (2016) explains Paul's rhetorical strategy in 5:1–12 by identifying three typical forms of appeal found in most oratory – *logos*, *pathos* and *ethos* – in the pericope. In 5:1–6, Paul primarily uses *logos* (supported by *ethos* and *pathos*) and in 5:7–12 he primarily uses *ethos* (supported by *pathos*). Based on a rhetorical and narrative analysis of 2:11–14, Alfredo Delgado Gómez³⁰⁴ (2016) proposes that the open ending of Paul's version of the Antioch incident was a deliberate strategy on his part to create expectation in his audience.

299 D. Mitternacht, “‘Forceful and Demanding’: On Paul as a Letter Writer”, *Theology & Life* 36 (2013), pp. 127–142.

300 M. Rastoin, “Framing Freedom: Galatians 4:1–7 and Pauline Rhetoric”, *Revue Biblique* 121:2 (2014), pp. 252–266.

301 N. Neumann, “‘Jesus Christus vor Augen zeichnen’ (Gal 3,1): Die rhetorische Strategie des Paulus in Galatien”, in: C. Breytenbach (ed.), *Paul's Graeco-Roman Context* (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 277, Leuven/Paris/Bristol CT: Peeters, 2015), pp. 443–455.

302 M.M. Ramos, “Deuteronomy 27:26: ‘The Curse of the Law’: Shall the People of God Be Identified by Law or by Christ?”, *De La Salle Lipa Journal of Multidisciplinary Research* 3:1 (2016), pp. 1–13.

303 D.A. deSilva, “Appeals to *logos*, *pathos*, and *ethos* in Galatians 5:1–12: An Investigation of Paul's *inventio*”, in: S.E. Porter and B.R. Dyer (eds.), *Paul and Ancient Rhetoric: Theory and Practice in Hellenistic Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 245–264. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781139683647.014>

304 A. Delgado Gómez, “El Final Abierto del Incidente de Antioquía según Pablo en Gal 2,11–14”, *Salmanticensis* 63:1 (2016), pp. 93–109.

5. Narrative approaches

Edward Adams³⁰⁵ (2000) analyses four facets of point of view in 1:13–2:14 (time, space, psychology and ideology) and shows how they serve Paul’s rhetorical goal of establishing a self-defence against his opponents. In 2002, Bruce W. Longenecker³⁰⁶ published a volume in which the strengths and weaknesses of a narrative approach to Paul were assessed. Five “stories” in Galatians and Romans were investigated: God and creation (Edward Adams; response by R. Barry Matlock), the story of Israel (Bruce W. Longenecker; response by Morna D. Hooker), the story of Jesus (Douglas A. Campbell; response by Graham N. Stanton), Paul’s story (John M.G. Barclay; response by David G. Horrell) and the story of predecessors and inheritors (Andrew T. Lincoln; response by I. Howard Marshall). The volume was concluded by reflections by James D.G. Dunn and Francis Watson.

Timothy Wiarda³⁰⁷ (2004) focuses on plot and character in 1:13–2:21. According to Wiarda, such an analysis does not only confirm the traditional interpretation of the narrative (that Paul uses it to establish his credentials) but also shows that it has a definitive paradigmatic goal. In an analysis of narrativity and intertextuality in 4:21–5:1, Alain Gignac³⁰⁸ (2005) discusses issues such as characterisation and elliptic narration. Gignac shows that the important question was not who was a descendant of Abraham but in which logic the believer was situated, that of a servant or that of Isaac. In another contribution, Gignac³⁰⁹ (2006) offers a narratological analysis of 1:13–2:21, arguing that the narrator tries

305 E. Adams, “Ideology and Point of View in Galatians 1–2: A Critical Linguistic Analysis”, in: S.E. Porter (ed.), *Diglossia and Other Topics in New Testament Linguistics* (Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 193, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), pp. 205–254.

306 B.W. Longenecker (ed.), *Narrative Dynamics in Paul: A Critical Assessment* (Louisville KY/London: Westminster John Knox, 2002). See also Richard Hays’s response: “Is Paul’s Gospel Narratable?”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 27:2 (2004), pp. 217–239. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X0402700205>

307 T. Wiarda, “Plot and Character in Galatians 1–2”, *Tyndale Bulletin* 55:2 (2004), pp. 231–252. <https://doi.org/10.53751/001c.29175>

308 A. Gignac, “Lorsque Paul ‘raconte’ Abraham, Agar et l’autre femme: Narrativité et intertextualité en Ga 4,21–5,1”, in: C. Focant and A. Wénin (eds.), *Analyse narrative et Bible: Deuxième Colloque International du RRENAB, Louvain-la-Neuve, Avril 2004* (Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses/Bibliotheca 191, Leuven: Peeters, 2005), pp. 463–480.

309 A. Gignac, “Une approche narratologique de Galates: État de la question et hypothèse générale de travail”, *Science et Esprit* 58:1 (2006), pp. 5–22.

to persuade the Galatians to be faithful to their own narrative and thus creates a narrative intertwining their story and his.

According to Joel Willitts³¹⁰ (2016), a narratological reading of 2:11–14 shows “Paul as a Rabbi of Messianic Judaism instructing Jewish believers in Jesus how to live out their trust in Yeshua as Torah observant Jews”.³¹¹ One of the passages that Greger Andersson³¹² (2019) discusses in a study of “narrating selves” in the Bible is 1:11–2:14. Andersson is of the opinion that it is used in this passage by Paul both to defend his authority and to offer himself as a role model. Christoph Heilig³¹³ (2020) utilises narrative theory and text linguistics to develop a new narratological approach for analysing narrative structures of various kinds in Paul’s letters. The method that Heilig proposes addresses shortcomings in the approaches of Hays and Wright.

6. Semiotic approaches

Jean Berchmans Paluku Mukwemulere contributed two semiotic studies on Galatians. In the first one, *Mukwemulere*³¹⁴ (2014) offers a semiotic analysis of the promise and the law in the letter (in particular, their discursive setting and figurative aspects) and argues that in the case of the promise, there is a tension between beginning and fulfilment and that the law is characterised by a logic of repetition. In the second one, *Mukwemulere*³¹⁵ (2014) discusses the theological implications of the first contribution for the anthropology, Christology and ecclesiology of the letter. In particular, the anthropology of the letter is linked to the dynamic articulation of promise, law and childhood of God, with Christ’s death on the cross depicted as bringing about the necessary transformation and establishing

310 J. Willitts, “Paul the Rabbi of Messianic Judaism: Reading the Antioch Incident within Judaism as an Irreducibility Story”, *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 6:2 (2016), pp. 225–247.

311 *Op. cit.*, p. 246.

312 G. Andersson, “Narrating Selves and the Literary in the Bible”, *Partial Answers: Journal of Literature and the History of Ideas* 17:1 (2019), pp. 87–105. <https://doi.org/10.1353/pan.2019.0005>

313 C. Heilig, *Paulus als Erzähler? Eine narratologische Perspektive auf die Paulusbriefe* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 237, Berlin/Boston MA: De Gruyter, 2020). <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110670691>

314 J.B.P. Mukwemulere, “Figures de la promesse et de la loi dans l’Épître de Paul aux Galates: (1) Approche sémiotique”, *Sémiotique et Bible* 155 (2014), pp. 43–55.

315 J.B.P. Mukwemulere, “Figures de la promesse et de la loi dans l’Épître de Paul aux Galates: (2) Quelques propositions théologiques”, *Sémiotique et Bible* 156 (2014), pp. 5–27.

a dynamic of spiritual childhood moving beyond the logic of the law and blood relationships.

Brigitte Kahl³¹⁶ (2017) offers an interactive reading of *The Galatian Suicide* and Galatians 3:1, focusing in particular on the binary semiotics between the two. Kahl finds that “Paul’s verbal icon of *Christ Crucified* (Gal 3:1) emerges as the transbinary messianic reimagination of *The Galatian Suicide*: a life practice outside as much as inside the ‘iron cage’ of its binaries, yet never reconcilable with them.”³¹⁷ Group Loire³¹⁸ (2019) – a group of semioticians from Tours – identifies the threefold rhetorical challenge that Paul had to face (*logos*, *pathos* and *ethos*) and explains how Paul’s “I” encounters the “you” in Galatians in order to build a common “we”.

7. Studies focusing on intertextuality

In an intertextual study of Ezra 4–5 and Galatians 1–2, Mark McEntire³¹⁹ (2000) highlights the parallels between the two writings, pointing out that Paul and the author of Ezra share the conviction that God’s deeds are part of an ongoing narrative, with both writings becoming part of this narrative. Douglas C. Mohrmann³²⁰ (2009) discusses the intertextual semantics of Leviticus 18:5 in Galatians and Romans. Mohrmann offers an overview of Jewish interpretations of the text before showing that Paul uses it in different ways in Galatians and Romans. In Galatians, it occurs in a context where he distinguishes between two options and, in Romans, it occurs in a context where he discusses a seeming failure of God’s word in

316 B. Kahl, “*The Galatian Suicide* and the Transbinary Semiotics of *Christ Crucified* (Galatians 3:1): Exercises in Visual Exegesis and Critical Reimagination”, in: V.K. Robbins, W.S. Melion and R.R. Jeal (eds.), *The Art of Visual Exegesis: Rhetoric, Texts, Images* (Emory Studies in Early Christianity 19, Atlanta GA: SBL Press, 2017), pp. 195–240. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1pk86wt.11>

317 *Op. cit.*, p. 201.

318 Groupe Loire, “Du je au nous: Identité de Paul, identité du chrétien”, *Sémiotique et Bible* 176 (2019), pp. 38–60.

319 M. McEntire, “Letters in Stories and Stories in Letters: An Intertextual Exploration of Ezra 4–5 and Galatians”, *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 27:3 (2000), pp. 249–261.

320 D.C. Mohrmann, “Of ‘Doing’ and ‘Living’: The Intertextual Semantics of Leviticus 18:5 in Galatians and Romans”, in: B.J. Oropeza, C.K. Robertson and D.C. Mohrmann (eds.), *Jesus and Paul: Global Perspectives in Honor of James D.G. Dunn for His 70th Birthday* (Library of New Testament Studies 414, London/New York NY: T & T Clark, 2009), pp. 151–172. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9780567660831.ch-013>

history. *Diego Pérez-Gondar*³²¹ (2020) points out the dependencies between different versions of Psalm 87:5 and then explains the influence this text had on Galatians 4:26 and 4 Ezra 10:7–10 and how it was modified in each instance.

(See also the section “Paul’s use of the Hebrew Scriptures” at the beginning of this chapter.)

8. Recipient-orientated approaches

Dieter Mitternacht published two studies from this perspective. In the first one, *Mitternacht*³²² (2002) follows a recipient-oriented approach, showing that the Galatian believers decided to be circumcised not so much for theological reasons, but rather because they wished to avoid persecution. In the second one, *Mitternacht*³²³ (2007) demonstrates how one can read Galatians in an *aural setting*, by focusing on questions such as what the first readers would have remembered after having listened to the letter and the structural elements in the letter that would have aided its reception. *Martin Ebner*³²⁴ (2006) describes a possible scenario as to how a congregation in Galatia might have reacted after Paul’s letter had been read to them. *Bernhard Oestreich*³²⁵ (2012) illustrates the use of performance criticism for interpreting the Pauline letters – an approach taking seriously the fact that the letters were read aloud to the recipients in his congregations – by discussing

321 D. Pérez-Gondar, “The New Jerusalem as a Mother: Intertextuality among Ps 87,5, Gal 4,26, and 4 Ezra 10,7–10”, *Biblica* 101:4 (2020), pp. 543–561. <https://doi.org/10.2143/BIB.101.4.3289119>

322 D. Mitternacht, “Foolish Galatians? – A Recipient-Oriented Assessment of Paul’s Letter”, in: M.D. Nanos (ed.), *The Galatians Debate: Contemporary Issues in Rhetorical and Historical Interpretation* (Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 2002), pp. 408–433.

323 D. Mitternacht, “A Structure of Persuasion in Galatians: Epistolary and Rhetorical Appeal in an Aural Setting”, *Acta Theologica Supplementum* 9 (2007), pp. 53–98. <https://doi.org/10.4314/actat.v28i2.52341>

324 M. Ebner, “Nachdem die Worte des Briefes verklungen waren ... Ein narrativer Versuch zur Erstrezeption des Galaterbriefes”, in: G. Hotze and E. Spiegel (eds.), *Verantwortete Exegese: Hermeneutische Zugänge – Exegetische Studien – Systematische Reflexionen – Ökumenische Perspektiven – Praktische Konkretionen: Franz Georg Untergaßmair zum 65. Geburtstag* (Vechtaer Beiträge zur Theologie 13, Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2006), pp. 109–116.

325 B. Oestreich, *Performanzkritik der Paulusbriefe* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.296, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-152280-2> English version: B. Oestreich, *Performance Criticism of the Pauline Letters* (Biblical Performance Criticism Series 14, Eugene OR: Cascade Books, 2016).

examples from several Pauline letters. In the case of Galatians, one of the issues that receives attention, is the strategies that Paul uses to win back the Galatians.

9. Psychological approaches

Dieter Mitternacht³²⁶ (2004) offers a social-psychological perspective on Galatians. Mitternacht uses insights regarding “causal schemata” (based on the research of H.H. Kelley) to highlight cognitive incongruences in the argument of Galatians, as well as the religion-psychological role theory of Hjalmar Sundén to explain Paul’s bewilderment that the Galatians have not yet mythologically experienced the crucified Christ. James A. Kelhoffer³²⁷ (2007) responds critically to the remarks of William V. Harris³²⁸ about management of anger in the Pauline letters. Amongst others, Kelhoffer refers to 5:20. Furthermore, Kelhoffer argues that the anger that Paul expressed toward Peter in Antioch was not consistent with Paul’s own expectations of others, but that he probably would have regarded his anger as justified.

Derek Edwin Noel King³²⁹ (2012) analyses Paul’s letters by means of personality typing techniques. In the case of the undisputed Pauline letters, Kings finds that Paul may be classified as an ESTJ (Dominant Thinking, Auxiliary Sensing, Tertiary Intuitive and Inferior Feeling). Linda Joelsson³³⁰ (2016) discusses the different attitudes towards and

326 D. Mitternacht, “Paul’s Letter to the Galatians in Social-Psychological Perspective”, in: J.H. Ellens and W.G. Rollins (eds.), *Psychology and the Bible: A New Way to Read the Scriptures: Volume 3: From Gospels to Gnostics* (Westport CT: Praeger, 2004), pp. 193–212. Updated version: D. Mitternacht, “Wahrnehmungen und Bewältigungen einer Krisensituation: Ein Beitrag zur psychologischen Analyse des Galaterbriefs”, in: G. Theißen and P. von Gemünden (eds.), *Erkennen und Erleben: Beiträge zur psychologischen Erforschung des frühen Christentums* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2007), pp. 157–182.

327 J.A. Kelhoffer, “Suppressing Anger in Early Christianity: Examples from the Pauline Tradition”, *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 47:3 (2007), pp. 307–325. Also available in: J.A. Kelhoffer, *Conceptions of “Gospel” and Legitimacy in Early Christianity* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.324, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), pp. 317–334. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-152993-1>

328 W.V. Harris, *Restraining Rage: The Ideology of Anger Control in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge MA/London: Harvard University Press, 2001).

329 D.E.N. King, “The Four Pauls and Their Letters: A Study in Personality-Critical Analysis”, *Mental Health, Religion & Culture* 15:9 (2012), pp. 863–871. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13674676.2012.677591>

330 L. Joelsson, *Paul and Death: A Question of Psychological Coping* (Routledge Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Biblical Criticism, New York NY:

coping with death in Paul's undisputed letters. In the case of Galatians, the focus falls on persecution and death, both symbolically and literally. Furthermore, Christ's shameful death is of central importance; to be loyal to him and be co-crucified with him was thus risky.

10. Ideology-critical approaches

Under this heading a wide variety of approaches are discussed. In several instances, an approach followed by a particular scholar falls in more than one category. In such cases, it has been placed in the category where it seems to fit best.

10.1 Liberational readings

Charles T. Davis III³³¹ (2002) points out that early believers created a new identity narrative based on the meta-narrative of the Jewish faith. This process was inspired by the Spirit and Paul thus urged believers to remain faithful to the power of the Spirit, but unfortunately, he also made use of toxic texts such as 4:21–31 to dismiss his Jewish opponents – a form of behaviour that should not be followed in our times. According to Brigitte Kahl³³² (2004), Paul's aim in 4:21–5:1 is not to drive out people that are socially weak: “‘Drive out the slave’ means the whole hierarchical division of humanity into superior and inferior, excluded and included, which shapes the present world”.³³³

Denise Kimber Buell and Caroline Johnson Hodge³³⁴ (2004) challenge interpretations of Pauline literature (amongst others of 3:28) that are based on the notion of ethnicity as a “given”. Instead, they propose a dynamic approach that is based on the insight that notions of ethnicity and race are constructed socially. Accordingly, they illustrate how Paul can be interpreted in an imaginative way so that differences between people are neither removed nor ranked

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- 331 Routledge, 2016). <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315295411>
C.T. Davis III, “The Evolution of a Pauline Toxic Text”, *Pastoral Psychology* 51:2 (2002), pp. 165–176.
- 332 B. Kahl, “Hagar between Genesis and Galatians: The Stony Road to Freedom”, in: C.A. Evans (ed.), *From Prophecy to Testament: The Function of the Old Testament in the New* (Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 2004), pp. 219–232.
- 333 *Op. cit.*, p. 229.
- 334 D.K. Buell and C.J. Hodge, “The Politics of Interpretation: The Rhetoric of Race and Ethnicity in Paul”, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 123:2 (2004), pp. 235–251. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3267944>

hierarchically. *Jeremy Punt*³³⁵ (2006) situates Paul’s exegetical practice in 4:21–5:1 in terms of exegetical practices in the first century CE. By rereading the events in Scripture, Paul brings about a cultural revision. Furthermore, Punt points out that this pericope reveals Paul’s ambivalent position regarding issues of gender and power.

The relationship between 3:28 and the household codes in Colossians (with the *Acta Isodori* functioning as a background) is the subject of a study by *Marianne Bjelland Kartzow*³³⁶ (2010) in which the value of an intersectional approach (i.e., a focus on how categories of oppression overlap, thus modifying and reinforcing each other) is demonstrated. From this study, it is clear that identities in antiquity and Christianity were so complex that scholars who study them cannot focus on one pair of relationships only (e.g., male/female). Instead, they need to consider the intersection of various aspects such as ethnicity, class, gender and age. In another study, *Kartzow*³³⁷ (2017) uses the same approach to highlight three important insights: an intersectional approach opens up spaces for readers experiencing discrimination, 4:21–31 is not gender inclusive as Hagar is marginalised, and the reference to Hagar draws attention to the claim in 3:28, encouraging discussions about ambiguous memories about marginalised women.

*Raquel Echevarría*³³⁸ (2016) offers a rereading of the role of Hagar in 4:21–31: Paul depicts her as an example of slavery, but in the light of Genesis 16 and 21, one should rather view her as somebody representing women who are abandoned, yet willing to take the risk to walk into the desert in hope of a better future. On the basis of 3:26–29, *John Arierhi Ottuh*³³⁹ (2018) develops a liberation theology for Nigeria (similar to the liberation theology developed against apartheid), specifically aimed

335 J. Punt, “Revealing Rereading: Part 1: Pauline Allegory in Galatians 4:21–5:1; Part 2: Paul and the Wives of the Father of Faith in Galatians 4:21–5:1”, *Neotestamentica* 40:1 (2006), pp. 87–100; 101–118.

336 M.B. Kartzow, “‘Asking the Other Question’: An Intersectional Approach to Galatians 3:28 and the Colossian Household Codes”, *Biblical Interpretation* 18:4/5 (2010), pp. 364–389. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156851510X517591>

337 M.B. Kartzow, “Towards an Intersectional Hermeneutics: Constructing Meaning with and Not of Galatians 3–4”, in: E.-M. Becker and K. Mtata (eds.), *Pauline Hermeneutics: Exploring the “Power of the Gospel”* (LWF Studies 2016/3, Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2017), pp. 85–97.

338 R. Echevarría, “Una Re-Lectura de la Alegoría de Agar y Sara en Gálatas 4:21–31”, *Teología y Cultura* 13:18 (2016), pp. 25–36.

339 J.A. Ottuh, *Towards Ethnic Liberation Theology in Nigeria: A Polemic in a New Testament Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018).

at liberating the ethnic minorities in Nigeria who are oppressed and subjugated by other ethnic groups who have the political and religious power. Hyon Jin Im³⁴⁰ (2020) offers a feminist phenomenological perspective on gender and indicates what it implies for artificial intelligence, based on the depiction of gender roles in Galatians and 1 Corinthians, as well as on Heidegger's views on *Dasein*.

10.2 Feminist readings

According to Pamela Eisenbaum³⁴¹ (2000), who describes herself as a Jewish feminist, Paul had good intentions, but his views were used subsequently in an abominable way. Eisenbaum interprets 3:28 as articulating novel views on social relationships between people. Beverly Roberts Gaventa³⁴² (2000) argues that although Paul does not address women directly in Galatians and the speakers, the audience and decisions are all male, this does not mean that one should abandon the letter, since it articulates a view of God's new creation that are liberating for females and males. Angela Standhartinger³⁴³ (2003) identifies three different hermeneutical approaches to 3:28 in feminist studies, and tests these approaches by analysing the notion found in Romans 7:1–6 pertaining to freedom from the law of the husband. According to Standhartinger, v. 28 does not only reflect social practices of women in Christian congregations in Paul's time but also expresses his critique of "naturalistic" views of gender.

Tatha Wiley³⁴⁴ (2005) views the Galatian crisis from the perspective of Gentile women in the congregations. The gospel proclaimed by Paul's opponents implied a departure from the gender equality (for example, manifested in baptism and leadership) associated with Paul's gospel. Letty M. Russell³⁴⁵ (2006) offers an overview of the way in which 4:21–31

340 H.J. Im, "A Feminist Phenomenological Study on Artificial 'Female' Intelligence and Technocapitalism", *신학과 사회* 34:1 (2020), pp. 89–127. <https://doi.org/10.22748/thesoc.2020.34.1.004>

341 P. Eisenbaum, "Is Paul the Father of Misogyny and Antisemitism?", *Cross Currents* 50:4 (2000), pp. 506–524.

342 B.R. Gaventa, "Is Galatians Just a 'Guy Thing'? A Theological Reflection", *Interpretation* 54:3 (2000), pp. 267–278. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002096430005400304>

343 A. Standhartinger, "Geschlechterkonstruktionen bei Paulus: Feministische Zugänge zu Galater 3,27f und Römer 7,1–6", *Una Sancta* 58:4 (2003), pp. 339–349.

344 T. Wiley, *Paul and the Gentile Women: Reframing Galatians* (New York NY/London: Continuum, 2005).

345 L.M. Russell, "Twists and Turns in Paul's Allegory", in: P. Tribble and L.M. Russell (eds.), *Hagar, Sarah, and Their Children: Jewish, Christian,*

has been interpreted by male scholars and by female scholars following a feminist and postcolonial approach, thus noting the “twists and turns” both in Paul’s allegory and the way in which it has been interpreted.

Brigitte Kahl³⁴⁶ (2012) interprets the perspective of Galatians on the “Others” as follows: The letter de-hierarchalises all types of polarities and envisages a new way of living together with the “Others”, i.e., living a life based on love: “This biblically based anti-imperial, anti-Occidental concept of unity is the central theme not only of Galatians 3:26–28, but of Galatians as a whole”.³⁴⁷ In another contribution, Kahl³⁴⁸ (2013) draws attention to the way in which the Roman Emperor was depicted as world conqueror, god and father visually, for example in the Augustus Forum, and the different picture offered by Galatians. According to the letter, in Christ, people become part of a Messianic family, in which binary distinctions are replaced by hybrid horizontal relationships, in Paul’s terms: not Hagar but the free woman with her alternative metropole.

Francisco Lozada Jr.³⁴⁹ (2017) illustrates three different reading strategies by Latino/a Biblical scholars. One of these is an ideological reading strategy, illustrated by 2:11–14. Lozada shows how an ideological reading may be used to bring about a conversation in which an alternative ideology is proposed; in this instance, particularly regarding the notions of

and *Muslim Perspectives* (Louisville KY: Westminster John Knox, 2006), pp. 71–97.

346 B. Kahl, “Galatians: On Discomfort About Gender and Other Problems of Otherness”, in: L. Schottroff, M.-T. Wacker, C. Janssen, B. Wehn and M. Rumscheidt (eds.), *Feminist Biblical Interpretation: A Compendium of Critical Commentary on the Books of the Bible and Related Literature* (Grand Rapids MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2012), pp. 755–766. English version of: B. Kahl, “Der Brief an die Gemeinden in Galatien: Vom Unbehagen der Geschlechter und anderen Problemen des Andersseins”, in: L. Schottroff, M.-T. Wacker, C. Janssen and B. Wehn (eds.), *Kompendium feministische Bibelauslegung* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1999, 2nd corrected edition), pp. 603–611.

347 *Op. cit.*, p. 764.

348 B. Kahl, “Krieg, Maskulinität und der imperiale Gottvater: Das Augustusforum und die messianische Re-Imagination von ‘Hagar’ im Galaterbrief”, in: U.E. Eisen, C. Gerber and A. Standhartinger (eds.), *Doing Gender – Doing Religion: Fallstudien zur Intersektionalität im frühen Judentum, Christentum und Islam* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1302, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), pp. 273–300. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-152368-7>

349 F. Lozada Jr., *Toward a Latino/a Biblical Interpretation* (Resources for Biblical Study 91, Atlanta GA: SBL Press, 2017). <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1w6tf2p>

recognition and hospitality. Angela N. Parker³⁵⁰ (2018) problematises Paul's reference to the "marks of Jesus" on his body (6:17). From a feminist perspective, Parker criticises the privileged way in which Paul refers to his own body here, also the fact that he identifies himself as a slave and a mother. Instead, Parker highlights the notion of "bearing one another's burdens" as a womanist action showing solidarity across gender and racial divides. Mitzi J. Smith³⁵¹ (2020) challenges Paul ("talks back" to Paul), since he exploits Hagar, an enslaved woman, in order to promote a gospel proclaiming freedom. Even Galatians 3:28 is challenged, since it normalises ethnic, class and gender binaries. Furthermore, 4:21–5:1 shows that there still is a distinction between slave and free amongst believers.

10.3 Gender-critical readings

According to Willi Braun³⁵² (2002), Early Christianity was wholly an androcentric project. Even "women-friendly" texts such as 3:28 were based on a masculinised gender ideology. After a discussion of three examples of public Roman art in which conquered nations are represented by female bodies, Davina C. Lopez³⁵³ (2005) points out how Paul suggests a totally different type of relationship between Jews and other nations, a "queer" type of relationship in the sense that it rejects the gender paradigms of the Empire, offering challenging alternatives. In a later work, Lopez³⁵⁴ (2008) presents a gender-critical reimaginative reading of Paul, interpreting the term "nations" as referring to all the nations conquered by the Romans. Accordingly, Galatians is interpreted as critical of imperialism and depicting a new creation in which the marginalised are victorious.

350 A.N. Parker, "One Womanist's View of Racial Reconciliation in Galatians", *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 34:2 (2018), pp. 23–40. <https://doi.org/10.2979/jfemistudreli.34.2.04>

351 M.J. Smith, "Hagar's Children Still Ain't Free: Paul's Counterterror Rhetoric, Constructed Identity, Enslavement, and Galatians 3:28", in: M.J. Smith and J.Y. Choi (eds.), *Minoritized Women Reading Race and Ethnicity: Intersectional Approaches to Constructed Identity and Early Christian Texts* (Lanham MD: Lexington Books, 2020), pp. 45–70.

352 W. Braun, "Body, Character and the Problem of Femaleness in Early Christian Discourse", *Religion & Theology* 9:1/2 (2002), pp. 108–117. <https://doi.org/10.1163/157430102X00061>

353 D.C. Lopez, "Paul, Gentiles, and Gender Paradigms", *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 59:3/4 (2005), pp. 92–106.

354 D.C. Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered: Reimagining Paul's Mission* (Paul in Critical Contexts, Minneapolis MN: Fortress Press, 2008).

In the contribution of *Patrick S. Cheng*³⁵⁵ on Galatians in *The Queer Bible Commentary* (2006), the letter is read from the perspective of a gay male Christian of Asian descent who views the letter as critical of the actions of current false believers persecuting LGBT people because they think this is what God’s law requires of them. *Dale B. Martin*³⁵⁶ (2006) argues that 3:28 does not address equality. Rather, it states that the inferior female form has been taken up in the perfected male form – a notion that is best avoided. Martin thus argues that the opposite should happen. What is masculine should be taken up in the feminine. *Joseph A. Marchal*³⁵⁷ (2010) views Galatians from an intersex perspective. Marchal shows that Paul’s argumentation in the letter may be useful for an intersex critique but also shows how such a perspective challenges the way in which the letter is usually interpreted.

*Jeremy Punt*³⁵⁸ (2010) interprets 3:28 from a postcolonial, queer perspective. Although this text is not an emancipatory text in the true sense of the word, such an approach offers a different view of the text – a view focusing on people in liminal situations. In another contribution, *Punt*³⁵⁹ (2013) challenges a simplistic understanding of Paul’s fraternal language in Galatians, in particular, if one takes issues such as gender and slavery into account. According to Punt, one should rather think in terms of a fragile type of fraternity in this letter. In a third contribution, *Punt*³⁶⁰ (2014) investigates the complex relationship between masculinity and lineage in the New Testament, in particular, the way in which

355 P.S. Cheng, “Galatians”, in: D. Guest, R.E. Goss, M. West and Bohache (eds.), *The Queer Bible Commentary* (London: SCM, 2006), pp. 624–629.

356 D.B. Martin, “The Queer History of Galatians 3:28: ‘No Male and Female’”, in: D.B. Martin (ed.), *Sex and the Single Savior: Gender and Sexuality in Biblical Interpretation* (Louisville KY/London: Westminster John Knox, 2006), pp. 77–90.

357 J.A. Marchal, “Bodies Bound for Circumcision and Baptism: An Intersex Critique and the Interpretation of Galatians”, *Theology & Sexuality* 16:2 (2010), pp. 163–182. <https://doi.org/10.1558/tse.v16i2.163> Updated version: J.A. Marchal, *Appalling Bodies: Queer Figures before and after Paul’s Letters* (New York NY: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 68–112. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190060312.001.0001>

358 J. Punt, “Power and Liminality, Sex and Gender, and Gal 3:28: A Postcolonial, Queer Reading of an Influential Text”, *Neotestamentica* 44:1 (2010), pp. 140–166.

359 J. Punt, “Pauline Brotherhood, Gender and Slaves: Fragile Fraternity in Galatians”, *Neotestamentica* 47:1 (2013), pp. 149–169.

360 J. Punt, “Writing Genealogies, Constructing Men: Masculinity and Lineage in the New Testament in Roman Times”, *Neotestamentica* 48:2 (2014), pp. 303–323.

the ambivalence around masculinity and the ever-changing role of genealogies gave rise to Paul's intricate reasoning in 4:21–5:1.

Valérie Nicolet³⁶¹ (2019) discusses references to “monstrous bodies” in Galatians (bodies that are not circumcised, female/maternal bodies, Paul's body that is stigmatised and pregnant and the new body of believers). Nicolet shows how such bodies bring to light that notions of what “normal” implies are fragile and that there are no perfect bodies or communities. Jorunn Økland³⁶² (2019) discusses the variety of levels on which Paul engages with issues of gender/sexuality in his letters. In the case of Galatians, the way in which unity, equality and hierarchy, as well as the foreskin and inheritance are treated is discussed. Mayuko Yasuda³⁶³ (2019) destabilises the gender binary in 3:28 by means of queer criticism. The oneness in Christ differs totally from the notion of perfect masculinity that was dominant at that time and is rather a type of unity achieved by another type of power dynamics, i.e., a type of mobility moving downward.

One of the texts that Halvor Moxnes³⁶⁴ (2020) discusses as part of a dialogue on household and gender in the context of New Testament writings and the church in Africa is 3:28. Moxnes emphasises that understanding gender is not an innocent process. It usually takes place in contexts in which people are trying to suppress critical perspectives from the Bible.

361 V. Nicolet, “Monstrous Bodies in Paul's Letter to the Galatians”, in: J.A. Marchal (ed.), *Bodies on the Verge: Queering Pauline Epistles* (Semeia Studies 93, Atlanta GA: SBL Press, 2019), pp. 115–142. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvh4zh7m.8>

362 J. Økland, “Pauline Letters”, in: B.H. Dunning (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of New Testament, Gender, and Sexuality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 315–332. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190213398.013.14>

363 M. Yasuda, “‘One in Christ’: Where the Gender Binary Is Transcended: Queering the Gender Binary in Galatians 3:28c ‘No Male and Female’”, *Siwô' Revista de Teología/Revista de Estudios Sociorreligiosos* 12:1 (2019), pp. 101–118. <https://doi.org/10.15359/siwo.12-1.4>

364 H. Moxnes, “Household and Gender: Interpretation in Dialogue between the Contexts of the New Testament and Contemporary Cultures”, *Stellenbosch Theological Journal* 6:1 (2020), pp. 103–122. <https://doi.org/10.17570/stj.2020.v6n1.a07>

10.4 Post-colonial readings

General

Letty M. Russell³⁶⁵ (2006) offers an overview of the way in which 4:21–31 has been interpreted by male scholars and by female scholars following a feminist and postcolonial approach. In this way, Russell notes the “twists and turns” both in Paul’s allegory and the way in which it has been interpreted. Jeremy W. Barrier³⁶⁶ (2008) interprets the *stigmata* that Paul mentions in 6:17 from a postcolonial perspective as follows: They demonstrate Paul’s self-identity as a slave and his longing for a master worthy of his loyalty – a factor which, according to Barrier, makes the slavery metaphor undesirable and emphasises the necessity for Christians to look for better metaphors in our times.

Brigitte Kahl³⁶⁷ (2011) shows how Galatians, and in particular, the notion of justification, has been colonised by various Western scholars, and instead, focuses on the way in which the letter overturns Self/“Other” binaries and thus can help one to find ways in which Galatian ethnicity may be reimagined. Roji T. George³⁶⁸ (2016) objects to the way in which scholars have offered an essentialised description of Paul’s identity in Galatians. George explains Paul’s identity in non-essentialist hybrid terms: for Paul, Christ was “the third space” emancipating people from all unfair binaries. Pablo Virgilio S. David³⁶⁹ (2018) criticises colonial interpretations of 3:28 that easily develop into a notion of Western triumphalism. David focuses on the fact that Paul believed that being in Christ enabled people to transcend differentiations.

365 L.M. Russell, “Twists and Turns in Paul’s Allegory”, in: P. Tribble and L.M. Russell (eds.), *Hagar, Sarah, and Their Children: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Perspectives* (Louisville KY: Westminster John Knox, 2006), pp. 71–97.

366 J.W. Barrier, “Marks of Oppression: A Postcolonial Reading of Paul’s *stigmata* in Galatians 6:17”, *Biblical Interpretation* 16:4 (2008), pp. 336–362. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156851508X329656>

367 B. Kahl, “Galatians and the ‘Orientalism’ of Justification by Faith: Paul among Jews and Muslims”, in: C.D. Stanley (ed.), *The Colonized Apostle: Paul through Postcolonial Eyes* (Paul in Critical Contexts, Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 2011), pp. 206–222. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1hqdj44.19>

368 R.T. George, *Paul’s Identity in Galatians: A Postcolonial Appraisal* (New Delhi: Christian World Imprints, 2016).

369 P.V.S. David, “A Postcolonial Reading of Galatians 3:28”, in: D.F. Pilario, F. Wilfred and H.P. Ho (eds.), *Asian Christianities* (2018/1, London: SCM, 2018), pp. 37–45.

Jennifer T. Kaalund³⁷⁰ (2020) offers a feminist postcolonial reading of 3:28, challenging the way in which Paul tries to construct Christian identity as something that is “in Christ” but “not of Christ”. Kaalund contends that one should not practise disembodied readings of Biblical texts, since this gives rise to disembodied theological constructions.

African readings

G. Daan Cloete³⁷¹ (2003) reads Galatians by means of a “rainbow hermeneutics” within the post-apartheid context in South Africa. Cloete interprets the letter with Africa, in the context of the South African renaissance, but also in dialogue with the original situation in which the letter was composed. Accordingly, the emphasis falls on the role that believers can play in creating the dream of an inclusive and just society. Aliou Cissé Niang (2009)³⁷² reads the letter through the lens of the experiences of colonialism as experienced by the Diola people in Senegal, West Africa, i.e., by means of *sociopostcolonial hermeneutics*. The colonial objectification of the Diola is compared to what the Galatians experienced, with emphasis on Paul’s role in bringing about change in this regard.

From a Nigerian cultural perspective, Adewale J. Adelokun³⁷³ (2012) contends that both egalitarian and complementarian readings of 3:28 are wrong, since they apply the verse to the rights of women in church and society. Paul focused on soteriological issues, not on leadership struggles. J. Ayodeji Adewuya³⁷⁴ (2014) reads the African story in the light of the same verse. Although Paul does not support the elimination of social differences, they are irrelevant in Christ. Adewuya thus shows how

370 J.T. Kaalund, “In Christ, but Not of Christ: Reading Identity Differences Differently in the Letter to the Galatians”, in: M.J. Smith and J.Y. Choi (eds.), *Minoritized Women Reading Race and Ethnicity: Intersectional Approaches to Constructed Identity and Early Christian Texts* (Feminist Studies and Sacred Texts Series, Lanham MD: Lexington Books, 2020), pp. 23–44.

371 G.D. Cloete, “Rainbow Hermeneutics and St Paul’s Letter to the Galatians”, in: J.M. Court (ed.), *Biblical Interpretation: The Meanings of Scripture – Past and Present* (London/New York NY: T & T Clark International, 2003), pp. 268–283.

372 A.C. Niang, *Faith and Freedom in Galatia and Senegal: The Apostle Paul, Colonists and Sending Gods* (Biblical Interpretation Series 97, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2009). <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004175228.i-184>

373 A.J. Adelokun, “Complementarians versus Egalitarians: An Exegesis of Galatians 3:28 from Nigerian Cultural Perspective”, *Ogbomoso Journal of Theology* 17:3 (2012), pp. 77–95.

374 J.A. Adewuya, “Galatians 3:28 and the African Story”, in: D.L. Matson and K.C. Richardson (eds.), *One in Christ Jesus: Essays on Early Christianity and “All That Jazz,” in Honor of S. Scott Bartchy* (Eugene OR: Pickwick Publications, 2014), pp. 184–198.

Africans reading this verse can experience the same feeling of liberation that Paul expresses here.

African American readings

*Brad Ronnell Braxton*³⁷⁵ (2002) interprets Galatians from the perspective of the experiences of African Americans. Although slavery has been outlawed for a long time in the US, an ideological form of slavery continues, from which the letter can liberate people.

Asian/Asian-American readings

*Sze-kar Wan*³⁷⁶ (2000) interprets Galatians from an Asian-American perspective, specifically by means of a diaspora hermeneutics which, according to Wan, implies a kind of universality that should operate through dialogue and cooperation. *Duk Ki Kim*³⁷⁷ (2009) investigates 3:28 in order to suggest new modes of East-Asian cultural identity, subjectivity and political solidarity in the light of Paul's views on Christ as the Messiah.

(See also the discussion of studies highlighting the Roman Empire as context, earlier in this chapter.)

375 B.R. Braxton, *No Longer Slaves: Galatians and African American Experience* (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press, 2002). See also the contribution on Galatians in *An African American New Testament Commentary*: B.R. Braxton, "Galatians", in: B.K. Blount (ed.), *True to Our Native Land: An African American New Testament Commentary* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 2007), pp. 333–347.

376 S.-k. Wan, "Does Diaspora Identity Imply Some Sort of Universality? An Asian-American Reading of Galatians", in: F.F. Segovia (ed.), *Interpreting Beyond Borders* (The Bible and Postcolonialism 3, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), pp. 107–131. See also S.-k. Wan, "The Letter to the Galatians", in: F.F. Segovia and R.S. Sugirtharajah (eds.), *A Postcolonial Commentary on the New Testament Writings* (The Bible and Postcolonialism 13, London/New York NY: T & T Clark, 2009), pp. 246–264.

377 D.K. Kim, "Paul's Cultural-Political Theology and East Asian Biblical Hermeneutics: Postcolonial Identity and Solidarity in Gal 3:28", in: Y.M. Lee (ed.), *Mapping and Engaging the Bible in Asian Cultures: Congress of the Society of Asian Biblical Studies 2008 Seoul Conference* (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 2009), pp. 141–173.

11. Other approaches

11.1 Literary analysis

Carlos Raúl Sosa Siliezar³⁷⁸ (2012) offers a literary analysis of 5:1–6, highlighting significant semantic aspects in the pericope and the relationships between the different verses. An inclusion between vv. 1 and 5–6 is discussed, an ellipsis in v. 6 is identified and several semantic parallels in vv. 2–4 are pointed out.

11.2 Philosophical perspectives

Ian W. Scott³⁷⁹ (2006) asks the question as to the kind of epistemology that Paul employed when he tried to lead people to greater knowledge. According to Scott, the answer to this question is partly found in Galatians. On this basis, Scott goes on to argue that Paul basically tried to “emplot” his readers within a theological narrative which he believed to be better than that of the opponents.

11.3 Logical analysis

After a thorough discussion of the way in which Aristotelian and Stoic logic functioned in antiquity, Moisé Mayordomo³⁸⁰ (2005) discusses three Pauline texts, namely 1 Corinthians 15:12–19, Galatians 3:6–14 and Romans 1:18–3:20. In each case, the particular text is investigated exegetically before a detailed analysis of its logic is provided. Debbie Hunn³⁸¹ (2018) disagrees with scholars who are of the opinion that 3:13–14 is based on unproven assertions. Instead, Hunn argues that Paul’s argument is based on common grounds and that logically, it made and still makes sense.

378 C.R. Sosa Siliezar, “Análisis Literario y Exegético de Gálatas 5:1–6”, *DavarLogos* 11:1 (2012), pp. 57–79.

379 I.W. Scott, *Implicit Epistemology in the Letters of Paul: Story, Experience and the Spirit* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.205, Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2006). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157062-9>

380 M. Mayordomo, *Argumentiert Paulus logisch? Eine Analyse vor dem Hintergrund antiker Logik* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.188, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157301-9>

381 D. Hunn, “Galatians 3:13–14: Mere Assertion?”, *The Westminster Theological Journal* 80:1 (2018), pp. 141–157.

11.4 Register analysis

David I. Yoon³⁸² (2014/2015) uses register analysis to identify the end of Paul's words to Peter in 2:11–21. Such an analysis shows that Paul's words to Peter end at v. 21 and not at v. 14.

11.5 Speech act theory

Pieter Verster³⁸³ (2007) utilises speech act theory to distinguish between various types of non-authentic questions in Galatians. This makes it possible to describe the intended effect of each question more accurately. Verster discusses the following non-authentic questions in this regard: 1:10, 2:14, 17; 3:1–5, 19, 21; 4:9, 15–16, 21, 30; 5:7 and 11.

11.6 Cognitive science approaches

Colleen Shantz³⁸⁴ (2013) illustrates the usefulness of a cognitive science approach by considering 3:28 from such a perspective. Shantz focuses in particular on the contribution of emotions to social action. In this instance, the role that disgust plays in identifying social differences is highlighted. Jason N. Yuh³⁸⁵ (2019) utilises cognitive science, memory studies, theories on embodiment and ritual to explain why Paul's brief reference to baptism in 3:27 would have been effective. According to Yuh, Paul uses it to strengthen his authority over the Galatians, but also to underline his solidarity with them.

382 D.I. Yoon, "Identifying the End of Paul's Speech to Peter in Galatians 2: Register Analysis as a Heuristic Tool", *Filología Neotestamentaria* 28/29 (2014/2015), pp. 57–79.

383 P. Verster, "The Implications of Non-Authentic Questions in Galatians", *Acta Theologica Supplementum* 9 (2007), pp. 142–161. <https://doi.org/10.4314/actat.v28i2.52344>

384 C. Shantz, "Emotion, Cognition, and Social Change: A Consideration of Galatians 3:28", in: I. Czachesz and R. Uro (eds.), *Mind, Morality and Magic: Cognitive Science Approaches in Biblical Studies* (Bible World, Durham: Acumen, 2013), pp. 251–270.

385 J.N. Yuh, "Analysing Paul's Reference to Baptism in Galatians 3.27 through Studies of Memory, Embodiment and Ritual", *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 41:4 (2019), pp. 478–500. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064x19832207>

Chapter 5:

The Theology of the Letter

1. Approaches to the theology of the letter

This section is devoted to studies specifically focusing on the theology of Galatians. Studies discussing approaches to Paul's theology in general are thus not discussed.

*Teodor Ioan Colda*¹ (2012) is of the opinion that the message of Galatians can be reconstructed by focusing on the conflicts reflected in the letter: old Paul/new Paul, Gentiles/Jews, faith/works, blessing/curse, sonship/slavery, new covenant/old covenant, and false teachers/true teachers. *Todd D. Still*² (2012) believes that it is possible to combine narrative and apocalyptic approaches to the interpretation of the letter and illustrates this by first identifying temporal lines in the letter and then considering the story found in the letter in terms of Greimas's semiotic approach. *Paul David Landgraf*³ (2013) contends that the position of Galatians as the fourth Pauline letter should be taken seriously and that it forms the closure of an intended fourfold structure, meant to support the fourfold gospel.

*Jens Schröter*⁴ (2013) discusses the implications of the New Perspective on Paul for the Lutheran understanding of Paul, in particular by looking at 1:15–17. Schröter highlights the importance of the notion of God's justifying grace but also points out that the social and ecclesiological implications of this idea sometimes do not receive

1 T.I. Colda, "Argumentul Teologic al lui Pavel în Epistola către Galateni în Baza Categoriilor Nou și Vechi, Adevărat și Fals", *Jurnal Teologic* 11:1 (2012), pp. 126–142.

2 T.D. Still, "'Once Upon a Time': Galatians as an Apocalyptic Story", *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 2:2 (2012), pp. 133–141. <https://doi.org/10.2307/26426552>

3 P.D. Landgraf, "A Cinderella Story: The Role of Galatians within a Gospel Canon", in: H.C. Kim (ed.), *Galatians as Examined by Diverse Academics in 2012 (St. Andrews, Scotland)* (Hermit Kingdom Studies in Christianity and Judaism 3, Highland Park: The Hermit Kingdom Press, 2013), pp. 135–163.

4 J. Schröter, "'The New Perspective on Paul': Eine Anfrage an die Lutherische Paulusdeutung?", *Lutherjahrbuch* 80 (2013), pp. 142–158. <https://doi.org/10.13109/9783666874451.142>

enough attention in Lutheran circles. *Thomas Söding*⁵ (2014) uses Galatians and Romans to illustrate how a dialogue in theological circles may work. Although there are many similarities between the two letters, there are also significant differences, thus indicating that in oecumenical dialogue, both approaches are necessary.

*Vasile Mihoc*⁶ (2017) offers an interpretation of 2:15–21 challenging the New Perspective on Paul. Mihoc also believes that the Antioch incident did not cause a final falling-out between Peter and Paul. According to *Samuel J. Tedder*⁷ (2020), 4:21–5:1 is central to Paul’s argument in the letter. Tedder prefers to describe Paul’s approach as essentially intertextual in that Paul grounds his interpretation of the gospel in the Hebrew Scriptures as they have been reconfigured by the coming of Christ. For Paul the “Jerusalem above” was the inaugurated restoration reality characterised by the rule and presence of God.

2. Paul: Self-understanding

On the basis of 4:12–20, *Scott J. Hafemann*⁸ (2000) argues that Paul regarded his suffering not merely as a consequence of his gospel. He viewed it rather as constitutive of his message: “Paul’s suffering was the vehicle through which the saving power of God, climactically revealed in Christ, was being made known in the world. To reject the

5 T. Söding, “Theologie im Dialog: Der Galater- und Römerbrief als Paradigma”, *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 111:4 (2014), pp. 374–388. <https://doi.org/10.1628/004435414X14135326005915>

6 V. Mihoc, “Galatians 2:15–21: A Commentary Challenging the ‘New Perspective on Paul’”, in: A. Despotis (ed.), *Participation, Justification, and Conversion: Eastern Orthodox Interpretation of Paul and the Debate between “Old and New Perspectives on Paul”* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.442, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), pp. 159–185. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-155453-7>

7 S.J. Tedder, *Children of Laughter and the Re-Creation of Humanity: The Theological Vision and Logic of Paul’s Letter to the Galatians* (Eugene OR: Cascade Books, 2020).

8 S.J. Hafemann, “‘Because of Weakness’ (Galatians 4:13): The Role of Suffering in the Mission of Paul”, in: P. Bolt and M. Thompson (eds.), *The Gospel to the Nations: Perspectives on Paul’s Mission* (Downers Grove IL: Intervarsity Press, 2000), pp. 131–146. Updated version: S.J. Hafemann, *Paul: Servant of the New Covenant: Pauline Polarities in Eschatological Perspective* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.435, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), pp. 142–164. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157702-4>

suffering Paul was therefore to reject Christ.”⁹ Charles Ensminger¹⁰ (2001) interprets 6:17 as an indication that Paul literally bore stigmata and that he used this fact in the letter for validating his gospel and for authenticating his claim that Christ was revealed through him. Christos K. Economou¹¹ (2002) links Paul’s ecumenical mission to the Damascus event when he realised that Christ was the fulfilment of the Jewish law. This changed him from being a persecutor of the church to being an apostle to the Gentiles, and from Jewish introversion to an ecumenical view.

Caroline Johnson Hodge¹² (2005) approaches the way in which Paul constructed his identity as a teacher of the Gentiles from the perspective of anthropology and critical race theory. Paul described himself in terms of multiple identities and shifted among them depending on what would serve his argument best. In 2:11–14, he is thus depicted as willing to forgo some practices of the law (part of a Judean identity) in order to interact with Gentiles. Kathy Ehrensperger¹³ (2007) interprets 1:15–16 as an indication that Paul located his encounter with the Risen Christ in the prophetic discourse of Scripture, with “grace” as a reference to his calling by God. For Paul, being called by God and being sent by him was one event.

Sigurd Grindheim¹⁴ (2007) describes Paul as an apostate that became a prophet. According to Grindheim, Paul regarded his fellow-Jews, as well as himself during his time as Pharisee, as apostates. Grindheim believes that such a perspective helps one to understand Paul’s use of Deuteronomy 27:26 and Leviticus 18:5 in 3:10–12 better. Paul read these texts in terms of the prophetic tradition, according to which they were regarded as the ground for divine judgement on Israel. Based on a careful study of 1:15–17 and 1 Corinthians 15:8 (in particular, Paul’s language about abortion),

9 *Op. cit.*, p. 140.

10 C. Ensminger, “Paul the Stigmatic”, *Journal of Higher Criticism* 8:2 (2001), pp. 183–209.

11 C.K. Economou, “Paul’s Ecumenical Mission”, *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 47:1/4 (2002), pp. 199–213.

12 C.J. Hodge, “Apostle to the Gentiles: Constructions of Paul’s Identity”, *Biblical Interpretation* 13:3 (2005), pp. 270–288. <https://doi.org/10.1163/1568515054388146>

13 K. Ehrensperger, *Paul and the Dynamics of Power: Communication and Interaction in the Early Christ-Movement* (Library of New Testament Studies 325, London: T & T Clark, 2007), pp. 81–86.

14 S. Grindheim, “Apostate Turned Prophet: Paul’s Prophetic Self-Understanding and Prophetic Hermeneutic with Special Reference to Galatians 3.10–12”, *New Testament Studies* 53:4 (2007), pp. 545–565. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688507000276>

*Matthew W. Mitchell*¹⁵ (2009) argues that the fact that Paul's claims to be an apostle were rejected, gave rise to his mission to the Gentiles.

*Chulhong B. Kim*¹⁶ (2009) proposes that Paul went to Arabia (1:17) because he identified with the Servant of the Lord and followed Isaiah 66:19. *James A. Kelhoffer*¹⁷ (2009) explains how Paul uses the notion of suffering as a defence of his apostolic authority. In the case of Galatians, Kelhoffer discusses 4:29, 5:11, 6:12 and 6:17. The point that Paul tries to get across is that his opponents avoided persecution whereas he was willing to suffer for the gospel – a state of affairs that confirms his status as an apostle. After a thorough investigation of 1 Corinthians 9:1, 15:8, 2 Corinthians 4:6 and Galatians 1:12–16, *Ingo Broer*¹⁸ (2010) concludes that Paul must have experienced the appearance of the risen Christ as a very complex event with many facets, since he recounted it in a variety of ways and always from a perspective linked to the situation in which his readers found themselves. Broer also suggests that this variety may be the result of later reflection by Paul.

*Hans Klein*¹⁹ (2010) focuses on the way in which Paul and John defend their roles as messengers of God (“Gottgesandten”). All that they can do is to refer to themselves and their mission, but there is no absolute proof that they can offer. In the case of Galatians, Paul refers to his suffering (the marks that he carries; 6:17) as evidence of his apostleship. *Bertram Schmitz*²⁰ (2010) points out that, in spite of the great differences between

15 M.W. Mitchell, *Abortion and the Apostolate: A Study in Pauline Conversion, Rhetoric, and Scholarship* (Gorgias Biblical Studies 42, Piscataway NJ: Gorgias, 2009). <https://doi.org/10.31826/9781463236229>

16 C.B. Kim, “Why Did Paul Go to Arabia? Paul’s Prophetic Self-Understanding Revealed in Galatians 1:17”, *신약논단* 16:1 (2009), pp. 173–198.

17 J.A. Kelhoffer, “Suffering as Defense of Paul’s Apostolic Authority in Galatians and 2 Corinthians 11”, *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 74 (2009), pp. 127–143. Also available in: J.A. Kelhoffer, *Conceptions of “Gospel” and Legitimacy in Early Christianity* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.324, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), pp. 187–202. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-152993-1>

18 I. Broer, “Die Erscheinung des Auferstandenen vor Paulus bei Damaskus”, in: M. Bachmann and B. Kollmann (eds.), *Umstrittener Galaterbrief: Studien zur Situierung und Theologie des Paulus-Schreibens* (Biblich-Theologische Studien 106, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Theologie, 2010), pp. 57–93.

19 H. Klein, “Die Selbstverteidigung des Gottgesandten bei Paulus und Johannes”, *Sacra Scripta: Journal of the Centre for Biblical Studies* 8:2 (2010), pp. 175–184.

20 B. Schmitz, *Paulus und der Koran* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), pp. 141–151.

Islam and Christianity, the same goal dominates the literature of both religions, namely proving that it is the only true religion of God. In the case of Galatians, Schmitz notes that both Paul and the Koran speak from an absolute self-confidence (“absolute Selbstsicherheit”). Accordingly, both insist that they are right since they link themselves directly to God.

On the basis of 2:15–16, 1 Corinthians 15:9–10 and Philippians 3:4–11, *Johnny Awwad*²¹ (2011) describes Paul’s experience as follows: He experienced a Christophany in that Christ revealed himself to him. This became the content of his gospel, and from then onwards he viewed his task as carrying the person of Christ (which dwelled in him) all over the world. According to *Brian Schmisek*²² (2011), on the basis of 1:16, 1 Corinthians 9:1 and 15:8, one may interpret what happened to Paul as an interior but real experience. *Paul Bony*²³ (2011) suggests that Paul had two conversions. The second one occurred somewhere between the writing of 1 Thessalonians and Romans, since his feelings towards the Jews seem to have changed. This might have been due to his reflection on the mystery of the election of Israel.

*Joel Antônio Ferreira*²⁴ (2013) highlights four fundamental concepts in the depiction of Paul’s calling in 1:11–17a: revelation, election, vocation and mission. Paul’s calling thus gave rise to his missionary spirit. *John Anthony Dunne*²⁵ (2014) disagrees with scholars who interpret 4:30 as a warning to the recipients against embracing the law. Dunne believes that it serves as both a command and a warning and that it reflects Paul’s belief that Christian identity presupposes suffering with the crucified Christ. Paul’s views in this regard were based on his understanding of his mission in terms of the Servant of Isaiah. *Rodney Reeves*²⁶ (2015) claims that

21 J. Awwad, “From Saul to Paul: The Conversion of Paul the Apostle”, *Theological Review* 32:1 (2011), pp. 3–14.

22 B. Schmisek, “Paul’s Vision of the Risen Lord”, *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 41:2 (2011), pp. 76–83. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146107911403652>

23 P. Bony, “La conversion, ou les conversions, de saint Paul?”, *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* 112:1 (2011), pp. 85–104.

24 J.A. Ferreira, “A Vocaç o de Paulo em G latas”, *Revista Pistis & Praxis* 5:2 (2013), pp. 425–441. <https://doi.org/10.7213/revistapistispraxis.05.002.DS06>

25 J.A. Dunne, “Cast out the Aggressive Agitators (Gl 4:29–30): Suffering, Identity, and the Ethics of Expulsion in Paul’s Mission to the Galatians”, in: J. Kok, T. Nicklas, D.T. Roth and C.M. Hays (eds.), *Sensitivity Towards Outsiders: Exploring the Dynamic Relationship between Mission and Ethics in the New Testament and Early Christianity* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.364, T bingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), pp. 246–269. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157504-4>

26 R. Reeves, “The New Moses of the Law of Christ: Paul in Galatians”, *Criswell Theological Review* 12:2 (2015), pp. 71–82.

“Paul saw himself as the mediator of the law of Christ, the ‘new’ Moses of the Abrahamic covenant fulfilled in Christ Jesus. Paul was the one who delivered the gospel to them, and therefore he was the only one appointed by God to interpret the law of Christ for them.”²⁷

Karl Olav Sandnes²⁸ (2015) disagrees with scholars who explain Paul’s apostolate only in terms of a prophetic model. Sandnes is of the opinion that one should also consider the notion of a “slow conversion” – a process initiated in Paul by the Damascus event. One of the passages that Arthur J. Dewey²⁹ (2015) considers in an investigation of the prophetic vein in developing traditions in Early Christianity is 1:11–16. Dewey points out that Paul described his calling in prophetic terms. This was not a mystical experience but rather a prophetic vision with far-reaching social implications. According to Benjamin J. Lappenga³⁰ (2016), the model that Paul has in mind in 1:14 is Elijah: “[H]is Elijah-like zeal (1 Kgs 19:14–18) has been redirected in light of his calling as an Isaianic servant-like apostle to the Gentiles (Isa 49:1–6).”³¹

Thomas E. Phillips³² (2015) believes that if one uses only Paul’s letters as source, it is clear that he became a Christian before he started to persecute the church. At first, he shared the views of people such as Peter and James and resisted the inclusion of Gentiles into the church, persecuting them in a non-violent way. After his experience of the Christophany, he changed his mind, and accordingly, then faced a similar non-violent opposition from leaders such as Peter and James. Markus Öhler³³ (2016) discusses the semantic field of “election” in the New Testament and thus also Paul’s calling narrated in 1:11–17. In this instance, Öhler highlights Paul’s self-understanding as a chosen

27 *Op. cit.*, p. 72.

28 K.O. Sandnes, “Prophet-Like Apostle: A Note on the ‘Radical New Perspective’ in Pauline Studies”, *Biblica* 96:4 (2015), pp. 550–564.

29 A.J. Dewey, “*Per omnia saecula saeculorum*: Worlds Colliding and Created”, *Forum* 4:1 (2015), pp. 7–23.

30 B.J. Lappenga, *Paul’s Language of ζῆλος: Monosemy and the Rhetoric of Identity and Practice* (Biblical Interpretation Series 137, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2016). <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004302457>

31 *Op. cit.*, p. 146.

32 T.E. Phillips, “When Did Paul Become a Christian? Rereading Paul’s Autobiography in Galatians and Biography in Acts”, in: M. Froelich, M. Kochenash, T.E. Phillips and I. Park (eds.), *Christian Origins and the New Testament in the Greco-Roman Context: Essays in Honor of Dennis R. Macdonald* (Claremont Studies in New Testament and Christian Origins, Claremont CA: Claremont Press, 2015), pp. 180–201.

33 M. Öhler, “Die Erwählung der Heiden und ihrer Apostel”, *Protokolle zur Bibel* 16:1 (2016), pp. 25–42.

apostle to the Gentiles. This made him independent of others and sure that he was on the right path.

Karl Olav Sandnes³⁴ (2017) is of the opinion that Paul's self-concept was rooted in the prophetic tradition in Israel, in particular Isaiah 40–66. In the case of Galatians, Sandnes draws attention to a cluster of motifs found in 1:15–16a and 2:2. Martin Meiser³⁵ (2020) compares the way in which Paul represents himself in Galatians with insights from ancient rhetorical handbooks and speeches delivered by Cicero. Meiser points out that Paul's self-representation in the letter would probably not have been experienced by his readers as something unusual. Furthermore, in terms of rhetorical practice in Paul's time, it was not regarded as inappropriate to utilise negative effects, as long as they served the purpose of the argument.

3. Tradition behind the letter

In a contribution on Paul's views of the origins of the Christian tradition, James A. Kelhoffer³⁶ (2002) argues that Paul's letters reflect a situation in the Early Church when accounts of the origins of the tradition were still being contested. In particular, Galatians attests to Paul's concern to show that his gospel corresponded to the Hebrew Scriptures and the relevance of his calling for the notion of authority in the Early Church. Troy W. Martin³⁷ (2003) identifies several problems in the hypothesis that 3:28 is based on a baptismal formula, amongst others that such a view presupposes that it was not adapted to its situation by Paul. Martin argues that one should rather link the three antitheses to the situational context of the letter

34 K.O. Sandnes, "Paul, an Isaianic Prophet?", in: T. Wasserman, G. Andersson and D. Willgren (eds.), *Studies in Isaiah: History, Theology and Reception* (Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 654, London/New York NY: Bloomsbury Publishing/T & T Clark, 2017), pp. 139–156. https://doi.org/10.5040/9780567667199_0014

35 M. Meiser, "Die Selbstpräsentation des Paulus im Galaterbrief im Vergleich mit antiker rhetorischer und epistolographischer Praxis", *Sacra Scripta* 18:1 (2020), pp. 7–35.

36 J.A. Kelhoffer, "The Struggle to Define 'Heilsgeschichte': Paul on the Origins of the Christian Tradition", *Biblical Research* 47 (2002), pp. 45–67. Updated version: J.A. Kelhoffer, *Conceptions of "Gospel" and Legitimacy in Early Christianity* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.324, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), pp. 97–120. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-152993-1>

37 T.W. Martin, "The Covenant of Circumcision (Genesis 17:9–14) and the Situational Antitheses in Galatians 3:28", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 122:1 (2003), pp. 111–125. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3268093>

and particularly to the fact that they can all be linked to the covenant of circumcision – an issue that was central to the Galatian controversy.

In an overview of Early Christian tradition in the theology of Paul, *Mária Kardis*³⁸ (2011) discusses traditions about Jesus' death in 1:4 and 2:20. *Bernard C. Lategan*³⁹ (2012) finds the notion of a pre-Pauline origin of 3:28 implausible, in particular because of the fact that it gives rise to the following logical problem: Scholars claim that Paul makes an original statement but then, at the same time, assume that he uses a pre-Pauline formula. Instead, Lategan proposes that it should be understood as a conscious statement by Paul himself. *Štefan Paluchník*⁴⁰ (2016) examines the way in which Paul handled older traditions. One of the examples that are discussed is 3:26–29, in which case Paluchník accepts that Paul made use of a pre-Pauline baptismal tradition.

4. The theology of the letter as a whole

The contribution by *N. Tom Wright*⁴¹ (2000) was determined by the question as to what the theology of the letter could contribute in an interdisciplinary dialogue with Systematic Theology. From this perspective, what the letter says about God and Christ thus received the most emphasis. For example, in the first instance, Wright emphasises that Paul speaks about the one God of Israel, and that he believes that this God has a purpose for the created world, that he is revealed through the Jewish Scriptures, and that he acts within history, which had its climax

38 M. Kardis, “Early Christian Tradition in Theology of Apostle Paul”, *E-Theologos: Theological Revue of Greek Catholic Theological Faculty* 2:1 (2011), pp. 56–66. <https://doi.org/10.2478/v10154-011-0006-1>

39 B.C. Lategan, “Reconsidering the Origin and Function of Galatians 3:28”, *Neotestamentica* 46:2 (2012), pp. 274–286. See also: B.C. Lategan, “Some Remarks on the Origin and Function of Galatians 3:28”, in: J. Krans, B.J. Lietaert Peerbolte, P.-B. Smit and A. Zwiep (eds.), *Paul, John, and Apocalyptic Eschatology: Studies in Honour of Martinus C. de Boer* (Novum Testamentum Supplements 149, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2013), pp. 15–29. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004250369_003

40 Š. Paluchník, “Der Apostel Paulus und die älteren christlichen Traditionen”, *Communio Viatorum* 58:1 (2016), pp. 55–76.

41 N.T. Wright, “The Letter to the Galatians: Exegesis and Theology”, in: J.B. Green and M. Turner (eds.), *Between Two Horizons: Spanning New Testament Studies and Systematic Theology* (Grand Rapids MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2000), pp. 205–236. Take note that Wright's outline is based on the presupposition of the importance of the covenant for understanding Paul's theology (p. 231). Wright already discussed this in detail in earlier studies, e.g., N.T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 1991), pp. 137–174.

in the coming of the Messiah. I. Howard Marshall⁴² (2004) identifies and discusses the following important themes in the theology of Galatians: salvation history, justification, the cross and its effects, Paul's message and the Jewish Scriptures (Abraham, the law) and the Holy Spirit.

Frank Thielman⁴³ (2005) depicts the theology of the New Testament by means of "a canonical and synthetic approach", and highlights three important aspects of the gospel in Galatians: its chronological, anthropological and ethical dimensions. Frank J. Matera⁴⁴ (2007) summarises the theology of Galatians as a "theology of righteousness", emphasising the following issues: the relationship between Paul's apostleship and the truth of the gospel, the law in the light of the gospel, the gospel and moral life, and Israel, the church and the truth of the gospel. John K. Riches⁴⁵ (2008) approaches the theology of the letter in terms of its history of interpretation and focuses on the following themes: guidance by the Spirit and spiritual freedom, justification by faith instead of justification by works, anthropology (the flesh versus the Spirit), the depiction of others in the letter and the place of the letter within the canon.

Detlev Dormeyer⁴⁶ (2010) discusses the theology of Galatians and Romans together, highlighting issues such as justification and sonship of God through faith, Jesus' atoning death, freedom from the law and Israel as God's people. Ulrich Wilckens⁴⁷ (2011) emphasises the theological focus ("Profilierung") that occurred in Galatians as a response to Paul's opponents. For Wilckens, the doctrine of justification is the central concept in the letter. Wilckens begins by tracing its development prior

42 I.H. Marshall, *New Testament Theology: Many Witnesses, One Gospel* (Downers Grove IL/Leicester: Intervarsity Press/Apollos, 2004), pp. 209–235. See also I.H. Marshall, *A Concise New Testament Theology* (Downers Grove, IL/Nottingham: Inter-Varsity Press Academic, 2008), pp. 82–90.

43 F. Thielman, *Theology of the New Testament: A Canonical and Synthetic Approach* (Grand Rapids MI: Zondervan, 2005), pp. 262–275.

44 F.J. Matera, *New Testament Theology: Exploring Diversity and Unity* (Louisville KY/London: Westminster John Knox, 2007), pp. 151–167.

45 J.K. Riches, "Galatians", in: K.J. Vanhoozer, D.J. Treier and N.T. Wright (eds.), *Theological Interpretation of the New Testament: A Book-by-Book Survey* (Grand Rapids MI/London: Baker Academic/SPCK, 2008), pp. 115–123.

46 D. Dormeyer, *Einführung in die Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (Einführung Theologie, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2010), pp. 49–60.

47 U. Wilckens, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments: Band 1: Geschichte der urchristlichen Theologie: Teilband 3: Die Briefe des Urchristentums: Paulus und seine Schüler, Theologen aus dem Bereich judenchristlicher Heidenmission* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2011), pp. 131–164.

to Galatians and then discusses the way in which it features in the letter itself, concluding with the concept of living in the Spirit as liberty from the law. Udo Schnelle⁴⁸ (2014) describes what happened between Paul and the Galatians as “Erkenntnis im Konflikt” and focuses on Paul’s teaching on the law and justification in the letter. Schnelle takes 2:16 as his point of departure (“Von Gott gerechtfertigte Existenz kann für Paulus nicht aus Werken des Gesetz resultieren”⁴⁹) and then follows the logic of the letter further in explaining its theology.

A. Andrew Das⁵⁰ (2016) critically evaluates six proposals for grand narratives behind Galatians: the covenant, the coming of nations to Zion, the (near) sacrifice of Isaac, the Spirit as the cloud in the wilderness, the exodus and the imperial cult. Das is not convinced by any of the proposals and suggests another grand narrative: the allusions to the servant passages in Isaiah. Barbara Whelan⁵¹ (2018) identifies the following four main themes in the letter: Paul’s apostleship, justification by faith, faith vs. the law and Christian liberty.

5. Revelation and gospel/the “truth of the gospel”

Craig L. Blomberg⁵² (2002) gives an overview of the way in which the New Testament defines and handles heresy. In the case of Galatians 1–2, Blomberg points out that Paul only vilified his opponents in such a harsh way when he believed people’s eternal destiny was endangered. In the light of 1:6–12, William J. Abraham⁵³ (2002) investigates the notion of revelation. Abraham describes it as a threshold experience, opening a totally new world, and as something that can unite Jews and Gentiles in their service of God. On the basis of 5:2–6, Hung-Sik Choi⁵⁴ (2003)

48 U. Schnelle, *Paulus: Leben und Denken* (De Gruyter Lehrbuch, Berlin/New York NY: Walter de Gruyter, 2014, 2nd edition), pp. 275–315. English version: U. Schnelle, *Apostle Paul: His Life and Theology*. Translated by M. Eugene Boring (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2005).

49 Schnelle, *Paulus*, p. 290.

50 A.A. Das, *Paul and the Stories of Israel: Grand Thematic Narratives in Galatians* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 2016).

51 B. Whelan, “Paul to the Galatians: Reminder and Challenge”, *Doctrine and Life* 68:8 (2018), pp. 15–24.

52 C.L. Blomberg, “The New Testament Definition of Heresy (or When do Jesus and the Apostles Really Get Mad?)”, *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 45:1 (2002), pp. 59–72.

53 W.J. Abraham, “The Offense of Divine Revelation”, *Harvard Theological Review* 95:3 (2002), pp. 251–264. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816002000160>

54 H.-S. Choi, “‘The Truth of the Gospel’ in Galatians”, *한국기독교신학논총* 29 (2003), pp. 71–94.

summarises Paul’s view of “the truth of the gospel” as follows: “[T]he truth of Paul’s gospel in Galatians is an announcement about God’s (past, present, and future) salvation (especially justification) of humanity (Jews and the Gentiles) not in and through the law, but in and through Christ and by *pistis* and the Spirit.”⁵⁵

*Jens Schröter*⁵⁶ (2004) focuses on the Christological controversy in Galatians. According to Paul, there is only one gospel, but it is expressed in two forms (“Gestalten”; 1:6–7, 2:7), and in this letter, Paul aims to show the original unity of the two forms. *Paulus Toni Tantiono*⁵⁷ (2008) investigates the theme “telling the truth in Christ” in 4:12–20 and in Ephesians 4:12–16. Tantiono points out that the best way to tell the truth is to tell it in the love coming from the Holy Spirit. Tantiono also notes that the notion of truth in Ephesians is wider than that in Galatians but that there are similarities in Christological and pneumatological aspects between the two letters.

*Assisi Saldanha*⁵⁸ (2011) points out that Paul’s reference to the cross as a stumbling block in 5:11 depicts Christian identity in terms of an either-or and that he explicitly rejects circumcision as important for Christian identity. Saldanha also appropriates this notion for current believers. According to *Heerak Christian Kim*⁵⁹ (2013), the concept *sola Scriptura* is not an invention of the Reformation. A similar notion was already operative in Early Christianity. Kim explains this further by means

55 *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

56 J. Schröter, “Die Einheit des Evangeliums: Erwägungen zur christologischen Kontroverse des Galaterbriefes und ihrem theologiegeschichtlichen Hintergrund”, in: J. Mrázek and J. Roskovec (eds.), *Testimony & Interpretation: Early Christology in Its Judeo-Hellenistic Milieu: Studies in Honor of Petr Pokorný* (Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 272, London/New York NY: T & T Clark, 2004), pp. 49–67. Also available in: J. Schröter, *Von Jesus zum Neuen Testament: Studien zur urchristlichen Theologiegeschichte und zur Entstehung des neutestamentlichen Kanons* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.204, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), pp. 147–169. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-151493-7>

57 P.T. Tantiono, *Speaking the Truth in Christ: An Exegetico-Theological Study of Galatians 4,12–20 and Ephesians 4,12–16* (Tesi Gregoriana: Serie Teologia 164, Rome: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 2008).

58 A. Saldanha, “Letting the Cross Remain a Stumbling Block! An Analysis of Galatians 5:11”, *Indian Theological Studies* 48:2 (2011), pp. 123–148.

59 H.C. Kim, “*Sola Scriptura* and Galatians 1:8–9: Galatians’ Prejudice against Alternative Interpretation”, in: H.C. Kim (ed.), *Galatians as Examined by Diverse Academics in 2012* (St. Andrews, Scotland) (Hermit Kingdom Studies in Christianity and Judaism 3, Newark NJ: The Hermit Kingdom Press, 2013), pp. 164–209.

of a literary device in Galatians, a so-called “key signifier”. In a study of the background of Paul’s exclusive use of the term *ἐπαγγελία* (“promise”) to denote God’s pledge, *Kevin P. Conway*⁶⁰ (2014) argues that “promise” and “gospel” are interrelated to such an extent that Paul uses the terms practically interchangeably. For Paul “gospel” is thus not restricted to the Christ event, but was already proclaimed to Abraham.

Taking 5:12 as a point of departure, *J. Cornelis de Vos*⁶¹ (2017) notes that Paul opposes both Jewish and Anatolian cultural elements, thus creating a third option. Paul replaces symbols such as emasculation and circumcision by baptism: “He substitutes the tangible signs of affiliation, and therewith of a certain security, by a spiritual life that is oriented toward the eschaton. The certainty lies in hope”.⁶² *Jamel Velji*⁶³ (2017) points out an apocalyptic deep structure underlying both Galatians and the Nizari Ismaili declaration on the *qiyāma* (or resurrection) of 1164. This deep structure is expressed in various apocalyptic aspects, for example, in a view on how divine revelation reorganised human history and temporality.

6. Theo-logy (God)

6.1 Studies based on the letter as a whole

*Richard B. Hays*⁶⁴ (2002) outlines the depiction of God in Galatians in terms of the narrative substructure of the letter. For Hays, the central notion in

60 K.P. Conway, *The Promises of God: The Background of Paul’s Exclusive Use of “epangelia” for the Divine Pledge* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 211, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), pp. 196–206. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110376081>

61 J.C. de Vos, “‘I Wish Those Who Unsettle You Would Mutilate Themselves!’ (Gal 5:12): Circumcision and Emasculation in the Letter to the Galatians”, in: M. Popović, M. Schoonover and M. Vandenberghe (eds.), *Jewish Cultural Encounters in the Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern World* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 178, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2017), pp. 201–217. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004336919_014

62 *Op. cit.*, p. 216.

63 J. Velji, “Seeing Salvation: Authority and Apocalypse in Saint Paul and the Nizari Ismaili *Qiyāma*”, *Studies in Religion* 46:3 (2017), pp. 359–376. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0008429816687306>

64 R.B. Hays, “The God of Mercy Who Rescues Us from the Present Evil Age: Romans and Galatians”, in: A.A. Das and F.J. Matera (eds.), *The Forgotten God: Perspectives in Biblical Theology: Essays in Honor of Paul J. Achtemeier*

this letter is God as “a merciful paternal figure who embraces Gentiles and Jews together within his covenantal family”,⁶⁵ i.e., the emphasis falls upon God as Father, rescuing people from the present evil age. According to Jerome H. Neyrey⁶⁶ (2004), one finds “theologies in conflict” in Galatians and the most significant aspect of Paul’s view of God in this letter is the portrayal of God as Someone-in-relationships, i.e., as Patron and Benefactor (e.g., in his imparting of the Spirit), the appropriate response being faith, obedience and praise.

According to Piotr Łabuda⁶⁷ (2011), Paul’s portrayal of God corresponds to what is found in the Hebrew Scriptures. In Galatians and Romans, Paul depicts God as a tutor, caring for and disciplining his children, but, most importantly, Paul emphasises that God is the Father of all of the believers. In a thorough study of the depiction of God in Galatians, Christiane Zimmermann⁶⁸ (2013) systematically works through the letter before highlighting the following aspects: God as sovereign Lord in actions towards and in people; God as justifying judge; fatherhood as God’s central quality; and communication as God’s central activity. Ross Wagner⁶⁹ (2014) sets out to answer the question of whether Paul regarded God as the Father of the Jews only or also of the Gentiles. Wagner begins by investigating Paul’s depiction of God in Galatians, arguing that Paul remained particularistic in his portrayal of God.

Jane Heath⁷⁰ (2014) discusses the relationship between God as Father and other parents in the New Testament. In the case of Galatians,

on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday (Louisville KY: John Knox, 2002), pp. 123–143.

65 Op. cit., p. 126.

66 J.H. Neyrey, *Render to God: New Testament Understandings of the Divine* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 2004), pp. 191–211.

67 P. Łabuda, “Paweł Jako Ojciec i Bóg Jako ‘Abba, Ojciec’”, *Verbum Vitae* 20 (2011), pp. 171–190. <https://doi.org/10.31743/vv.2042>

68 C. Zimmermann, *Gott und seine Söhne: Das Gottesbild des Galaterbriefs* (Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament 135, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Theologie, 2013). See also the earlier broader study: C. Zimmermann, *Die Namen des Vaters: Studien zu ausgewählten neutestamentlichen Gottesbezeichnungen vor ihrem frühjüdischen und paganen Sprachhorizont* (Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 69, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2007).

69 R. Wagner, “Is God the Father of Jews Only, or Also of Gentiles? The Peculiar Shape of Paul’s ‘Universalism’”, in: F. Albrecht and R. Feldmeier (eds.), *The Divine Father: Religious and Philosophical Concepts of Divine Parenthood in Antiquity* (Themes in Biblical Narrative 18, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2014), pp. 233–254. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004264779>

70 J. Heath, “God the Father and Other Parents in the New Testament”, in: F. Albrecht and R. Feldmeier (eds.), *The Divine Father: Religious and*

the relationship between God as Father and Abraham as (spiritual) father is important. God's fatherhood took shape in human history in his Son (the seed of Abraham) and in those who believed in his Son. Accordingly, the relationship to God through his Son became the focus of unity for humankind. *D. Francois Tolmie*⁷¹ (2018) offers an overview of tendencies in the way in which scholars approached the depiction of God in Galatians, with some suggestions as to aspects that still need attention.

6.2 Studies based on pericope/verses in the letter

*John Suggit*⁷² (2003) argues that 1:3 indicates that Paul regarded God as the Father of Jesus and also as the Father of the believers because of their baptism and unity with Christ. *Suzanne Nicholson*⁷³ (2010) investigates Paul's three strongest statements on monotheism: 3:20, 1 Corinthians 8:4–6 and Romans 3:30. Nicholson describes the relationship between Christ and God as "dynamic oneness". In Galatians 3:20, Moses is depicted as an inferior mediator to Christ, the mediator of the new covenant, who participates in God's deity. *Annang Asumang*⁷⁴ (2012) is of the opinion that, apart from soteriological issues, Paul's opponents also had a problem with the idea of trinitarian worship. Asumang uses 4:6 and Philippians 3:3 as test cases to illustrate that this matter was also in dispute.

*Christopher R. Bruno*⁷⁵ (2013) traces the Jewish background of the phrase "God is one" (used in 3:20 and Romans 3:30). Bruno finds that in Jewish literature the phrase normally functioned as a boundary marker (Zechariah 14:9 is an exception) and that Paul uses it in a different way, as the basis for the unity of Jews and Gentiles, which might imply that Zechariah 14:9 may have served as the background of Paul's reference

Philosophical Concepts of Divine Parenthood in Antiquity (Themes in Biblical Narrative 18, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2014), pp. 233–254. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004264779>

71 D.F. Tolmie, "God in Galatians: Tendencies in the Study of an Important Theme", *Stellenbosch Theological Journal* 4:2 (2018), pp. 265–281. <https://doi.org/10.17570/stj.2018.v4n2.a13>

72 J. Suggit, "The Fatherhood of God: Galatians 1:3", *Neotestamentica* 37:1 (2003), pp. 97–103.

73 S. Nicholson, *Dynamic Oneness: The Significance and Flexibility of Paul's One-God Language* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press/James Clarke & Co, 2010), pp. 105–166. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1cggf4b5>

74 A. Asumang, "The Role of the Doctrine of Trinitarian Worship in Paul's Dispute with the Judaizers: Galatians 4:6 and Philippians 3:3 as Test Cases", *Conspectus* 14 (2012), pp. 1–55.

75 C.R. Bruno, "God Is One": *The Function of eis ho theos as a Ground for Gentile Inclusion in Paul's Letters* (Library of New Testament Studies 497, London: Bloomsbury/T & T Clark, 2013), pp. 162–197.

to God in 3:20. Darren O. Sumner⁷⁶ (2014) considers Karl Barth's interpretation of 4:4, in particular from the perspective of classical trinitarianism and Barth's critical thoughts on the matter as they bear upon the issue how human temporality relates to divine eternity.

Marcus Aceituno Donoso⁷⁷ (2014) investigates Paul's views on the promises of God in 3:19–22 and 2 Corinthians 1:15–22, highlighting the centrality of God in Paul's thought, in particular as it is revealed Christologically. Scott R. Swain⁷⁸ (2014) investigates 4:4–7 from the perspective of the doctrine of the Trinity and argues that this passage "implies a trinitarian theology insofar as it presents the twofold mission of the Son and the Spirit as an instance of God's immediate, natural agency."⁷⁹ François Vouga⁸⁰ (2015) focuses on the paradox of the visible revelation of an invisible God. According to Vouga, the cross is a visible revelation of an invisible God and of the invisible identity of the human being – a thought that Vouga finds best expressed in 3:10–14.

Atsuhiko Asano (2015) discusses the "motherliness" of God in two passages in Galatians: 3:28 and 4:19. In the case of 3:28, Asano⁸¹ links Paul's reference to unity in Christ to God's motherliness, as reflected in the creation story: "God's creation of humankind in its wholeness of male and female reflects the image of the Creator... In establishing his community and presenting the new salvation history, for example

76 D.O. Sumner, "Karl Barth and 'The Fullness of Time': Eternity and Divine Intent in the Epistle to the Galatians", in: M.W. Elliott, S.J. Hafemann, N.T. Wright and J. Frederick (eds.), *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul's Letter* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2014), pp. 249–257.

77 M. Aceituno Donoso, *Las "Promesas de Dios" en San Pablo: Estudio Exegético-Teológico de Gál 3,19–22 y 2 Cor 1,15–22* (Tesi Gregoriana Serie Teologia 211, Rome: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2014), pp. 84–128.

78 S.R. Swain, "'Heirs through God': Galatians 4:4–7 and the Doctrine of the Trinity", in: M.W. Elliott, S.J. Hafemann, N.T. Wright and J. Frederick (eds.), *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul's Letter* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2014), pp. 258–268.

79 *Op. cit.*, p. 265.

80 F. Vouga, "La promesse de l'invisibilité: Le paradoxe de la révélation visible du Dieu invisible", *Etudes Théologiques et Religieuses* 90:2 (2015), pp. 165–179. <https://doi.org/10.3917/etr.0902.0165>

81 A. Asano, "Motherliness of God: A Search for Maternal Aspects in Paul's Theology", in: G.L. Green, S.T. Pardue and K. K. Yeo (eds.), *The Trinity among the Nations: The Doctrine of God in the Majority World* (Grand Rapids MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2015), pp. 127–131. Also available in: A. Asano, "Motherliness of God: A Search for Maternal Aspects in Paul's Theology", in: G.L. Green, S.T. Pardue and K. K. Yeo (eds.), *Majority World Theology: Christian Doctrine in Global Context* (Downers Grove IL: InterVarsity Press, 2020), pp. 87–89.

in Paul's ecclesiology and soteriology, a more holistic view of God is reflected."⁸² In the case of 4:19, Asano⁸³ summarises the portrayal of God as "the writhing God". In this verse, Paul depicts himself as imitating God's motherly anguish about Israel's unfaithfulness. In this way, the notion is conveyed that God cares for his people just as a mother cares for her children.

Keith L. Johnson⁸⁴ (2017) criticises Katherine Sonderegger's decision to view Scripture through God's revelation to Moses at the burning bush. According to Johnson, this goes against Paul's approach, who read Scripture through the lens of the church and its head, Christ. One of the passages that Johnson selects to illustrate Paul's approach is 3:19–20.

7. Christology

7.1 Studies based on the letter as a whole

Antje and Michael Labahn⁸⁵ (2000) argue that for Paul the insight that Jesus is the Son of God is the crucial aspect in his proclamation of the gospel. The title focuses on soteriology and eschatology, indicating both the claim and the enabling reason for a human way of living in accordance with God's loving turn to humankind through his Son. Douglas A. Campbell⁸⁶ (2002) investigates the story of Jesus in Romans

82 *Op. cit.*, (2015), p. 130.

83 A. Asano, "Motherliness of God: A Search for Maternal Aspects in Paul's Theology", in: G.L. Green, S.T. Pardue and K. K. Yeo (eds.), *The Trinity among the Nations: The Doctrine of God in the Majority World* (Grand Rapids MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2015), pp. 131–133. Also available in: A. Asano, "Motherliness of God: A Search for Maternal Aspects in Paul's Theology", in: G.L. Green, S.T. Pardue and K. K. Yeo (eds.), *Majority World Theology: Christian Doctrine in Global Context* (Downers Grove IL: InterVarsity Press, 2020), pp. 89–91.

84 K.L. Johnson, "Compatibilism and Continuity in Katherine Sonderegger's *Systematic Theology*", *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 19:2 (2017), pp. 175–187. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ijst.12176>

85 A. Labahn and M. Labahn, "Jesus als Sohn Gottes bei Paulus: Eine soteriologische Grundkonstante der paulinischen Christologie", in: U. Schnelle, T. Söding and M. Labahn (eds.), *Paulinische Christologie: Exegetische Beiträge: Hans Hübner zum 70. Geburtstag* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), pp. 97–120.

86 D.A. Campbell, "The Story of Jesus in Romans and Galatians", in: B.W. Longenecker (ed.), *Narrative Dynamics in Paul: A Critical Assessment* (Louisville KY/London: Westminster John Knox, 2002), pp. 97–124. Updated version: D.A. Campbell, *The Quest for Paul's Gospel: A Suggested Strategy* (Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 274, London/New York NY: T & T Clark International, 2005), pp. 69–

and Galatians. In Romans, Campbell identifies two trajectories, namely descent and ascent. Campbell finds the same story in Galatians, although there are some differences, for example more emphasis on the cross of Christ, the deliverance from the curse and the identification of Jesus as the seed of Abraham.

Lisa Wang⁸⁷ (2003) disagrees with John G. Gager's⁸⁸ statement that Paul did not think that Jews would be saved by Christ. In order to prove this, Wang offers an interpretation of Galatians and Romans emphasising Jesus' role as the Jewish Messiah and Paul as affirming both the Jewish nation and the law. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor⁸⁹ (2003) draws attention to the differences between the Christology of the Thessalonian correspondence and of Galatians (emphasis on the modality of the death of Christ and on the corporate Christ), and links this development to the crisis in Galatia. Jens Schröter⁹⁰ (2004) focuses on

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94. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9780567661289> For responses, see G.N. Stanton, "'I Think, When I Read That Sweet Story of Old': A Response to Douglas Campbell", in: B.W. Longenecker (ed.), *Narrative Dynamics in Paul: A Critical Assessment* (Louisville KY/London: Westminster John Knox, 2002), pp. 125–132, and R.B. Hays, "Is Paul's Gospel Narratable?", *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 27:2 (2004), pp. 217–239. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X0402700205>
- 87 L. Wang, "Jesus as Messiah in Galatians and Romans: A Response to John Gager's *Reinventing Paul*", *Toronto Journal of Theology* 19:2 (2003), pp. 173–182. <https://doi.org/10.3138/tjt.19.2.173>
- 88 J.G. Gager, *Reinventing Paul* (Oxford/New York NY: Oxford University Press, 2000). <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195150858.001.0001>
- 89 J. Murphy-O'Connor, "The Origins of Paul's Christology: From Thessalonians to Galatians", in: K.J. O'Mahony (ed.), *Christian Origins: Worship, Belief and Society: The Milltown Institute and the Irish Biblical Association Millennium Conference* (Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 241, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003), pp. 113–142. Also available in: J. Murphy-O'Connor, *Keys to Galatians: Collected Essays* (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press, 2012), pp. 143–173.
- 90 J. Schröter, "Die Einheit des Evangeliums: Erwägungen zur christologischen Kontroverse des Galaterbriefes und ihrem theologiegeschichtlichen Hintergrund", in: J. Mrázek and J. Roskovec (eds.), *Testimony & Interpretation: Early Christology in Its Judeo-Hellenistic Milieu: Studies in Honor of Petr Pokorný* (Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 272, London/New York NY: T & T Clark, 2004), pp. 49–67. Also available in: J. Schröter, *Von Jesus zum Neuen Testament: Studien zur urchristlichen Theologiegeschichte und zur Entstehung des neutestamentlichen Kanons* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.204, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), pp. 147–169. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-151493-7>

the Christological controversy in Galatians. According to Paul, there is only one gospel, but it is expressed in two forms (“Gestalten”), and in this letter Paul aims to show the original unity of the two forms.

In an analysis of the Christology of Galatians, *Gordon D. Fee*⁹¹ (2007) approaches the issue from two perspectives: Jesus as the Christ, God’s Messianic Son (pre-existent and incarnate) and Jesus as Christ with divine prerogatives (such as being the agent of Paul’s apostleship and the one who reveals). Arguing against a consensus in Pauline scholarship, *Joel Willitts*⁹² (2012) makes a case for finding indications of a Davidic messiahship in Galatians. *N.T. Wright*⁹³ (2014) is of the opinion that Paul’s view of Christ’s messiahship in Galatians combined the notions of justification and participation. Christ is depicted as the Messiah of Israel representing his people. Accordingly, one may speak of an incorporative ecclesiology in the letter, since its ecclesiology is linked to Paul’s notion of messiahship.

7.2 Studies based on pericopes/verses in the letter

*David G. Horrell*⁹⁴ (2000) points out that the conviction expressed in 3:28 that distinctions such as those between Jews and Gentiles are not important in the construction of the Christian community is based on Paul’s corporate Christology. This corporate Christology is the basis of a controversial notion of community between Jews and Gentiles. *Klaus Scholtissek*⁹⁵ (2000) highlights the relationship between the earthly

91 G.D. Fee, *Pauline Christology: An Exegetical-Theological Study* (Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 2007), pp. 207–236.

92 J. Willitts, “Davidic Messiahship in Galatians: Clearing the Deck for a Study of the Theme in Galatians”, *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 2:2 (2012), pp. 143–161. <https://doi.org/10.2307/26426553> For a response, see M.V. Novenson, “The Messiah ben Abraham in Galatians: A Response to Joel Willitts”, *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 2:2 (2012), pp. 163–169. <https://doi.org/10.2307/26426554>

93 N.T. Wright, “Messiahship in Galatians”, in: M.W. Elliott, S.J. Hafemann, N.T. Wright and J. Frederick (eds.), *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul’s Letter* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2014), pp. 3–23.

94 D.G. Horrell, “‘No Longer Jew or Greek’: Paul’s Corporate Christology and the Construction of Christian Community”, in: D.G. Horrell and C.M. Tuckett (eds.), *Christology, Controversy and Community: New Testament Essays in Honour of David R. Catchpole* (Novum Testamentum Supplements 99, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2000), pp. 321–344. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047400417_017

95 K. Scholtissek, “‘Geboren aus einer Frau, geboren unter das Gesetz’ (Gal 4,4): Die christologisch-soteriologische Bedeutung des irdischen Jesus bei Paulus”, in: U. Schnelle, T. Söding and M. Labahn (eds.), *Paulinische*

Jesus and Paul's gospel. Taking 4:4 as a point of departure, Scholtissek argues that Paul did not lose sight of the earthly Jesus but presented him from a post-resurrection perspective. Robert A. Bryant⁹⁶ (2001) emphasises the importance of 1:1–10 for understanding Paul's letter and identifies three important "cords" in this section (the risen Christ, the crucified Christ and the God who calls people into the grace of Christ), which are then traced in the rest of the letter.

Teresa Wong⁹⁷ (2007) describes Paul's Christology reflected in 4:4 (and in Romans 8:3) as "a Christology of the cross". The cross is depicted as the climax of Paul's Christology, the most important event in Christ's life where God revealed himself as Father, in love and power. According to Susan R. Garrett⁹⁸ (2008), 4:14 is not a mere hypothetical or metaphorical assertion. In this verse, Paul refers to Christ as God's chief angel. Bart Ehrman⁹⁹ (2014) agrees with Garrett. For Paul, Christ was an angel. In the light of ancient Jewish traditions, Roji T. George¹⁰⁰ (2008) focuses on the incarnate Christ in Paul's epistles (as in 4:4) and links Paul's idea of the incarnation of Christ to the Hebrew Bible, Second Temple Judaism and the Jesus tradition, rather than to Hellenism.

César Izquierdo¹⁰¹ (2008) analyses the six texts in the New Testament where the term "mediator" occurs. In the case of 3:19, Izquierdo contends that, although the term does not refer to Christ, it does not exclude the sense of 1 Timothy 2:5, where Christ is depicted as a mediator in the

Christologie: Exegetische Beiträge: Hans Hübner zum 70. Geburtstag (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), pp. 194–219.

96 R.A. Bryant, *The Risen Crucified Christ in Galatians* (Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 185, Atlanta GA: SBL, 2001).

97 T. Wong, "'God Sent Forth His Own Son': A Study of Paul's Christology of the Cross in Galatians 4:4 and Romans 8:3", *Sino-Christian Studies* 4 (2007), pp. 167–189.

98 S.R. Garrett, *No Ordinary Angel: Celestial Spirits and Christian Claims About Jesus* (Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library, Binghamton NY: Vail-Ballou, 2008), p. 175.

99 B. Ehrman, *How Jesus Became God: The Exaltation of a Jewish Preacher from Galilee* (New York NY: HarperOne, 2014), pp. 252–253. Ehrman also refers to Charles A. Gieschen, but Gieschen points out that Ehrman misquoted him. See C.A. Gieschen, "Misquoting Gieschen", *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 82:1/2 (2018), pp. 139–141.

100 R.T. George, "'God Sent His Son, Born of a Woman' (Gal 4:4): The Idea of Incarnation, Its Antecedents, and Significance in Paul's Theology", *Doon Theological Journal* 51:1 (2008), pp. 65–85.

101 C. Izquierdo, "Cristo 'Mediador': Perspectiva Bíblica", *Scripta Theologica* 40:3 (2008), pp. 695–732.

full sense of the word. Joshua W. Jipp¹⁰² (2015) argues that Paul creatively adapted the notion of Mediterranean kingship in his Christology. In Galatians, this can be seen in the way in which Jesus' teaching and legislation is depicted in 5:13–6:10, in particular in the demand to love one's neighbour. Eusebio González¹⁰³ (2017) investigates the six texts in the New Testament where the term "mediator" occurs and identifies the following characteristics associated with the term "mediator": uniqueness (of Christ as mediator), universality (Christ being the mediator of all people) and humanity and efficacy (Christ guaranteeing the possibility of a faithful response to God).

In the light of ancient Jewish traditions, Kim Paul Sang Woo¹⁰⁴ (2018) highlights a Christological trajectory in 4:21–31: vv. 28–31 implicitly offer a typology between Isaac and Christ, and this trajectory is meant to re-establish the relationship of the recipients with the Risen Christ. On the basis of 4:4, Waldecir Gonzaga¹⁰⁵ (2019) argues that although Paul was aware of Mary's virginal conception, he did not focus on it but rather on identifying Jesus with humanity and thus as sharing human fragility and vulnerability.

T. Jude Nirmal Doss¹⁰⁶ (2019) notes that scholars differ in describing Paul's Christology and suggests that this is due to the fact that Paul's Christology was experiential rather than systematic. Nirmal Doss then adds another option on the basis of 4:19: a transformative Christology in which the notion of Christ being formed in believers plays a central role. Daniela del Gaudio¹⁰⁷ (2020) views 4:4–5 from the perspective of Mariology. As the oldest text in the New Testament reflecting the mystery of Mary, this may be regarded as the beginning

102 J.W. Jipp, *Christ Is King: Paul's Royal Ideology* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 2015). See also: J.W. Jipp, *The Messianic Theology of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2020).

103 E. González, "Cristo Como Mediador (μεσίτης) en el NT", *Scripta Theologica* 49:2 (2017), pp. 279–299. <https://doi.org/10.15581/006.49.2.279-299>

104 P.K. Sang Woo, *Deux alliances: Sara et Agar: Trajectoire christologique en Ga 4,21–31 à la lumière des traditions juives anciennes* (Séoul: Goodnews Publishing House, 2018).

105 W. Gonzaga, "'Nascido de Mulher' (Gl 4,4)", *Horizonte* 17:53 (2019), pp. 1194–1216. <https://doi.org/10.5752/P.2175-5841.2019v17n53p1194>

106 T.J. Nirmal Doss, "Until Christ Is Formed in You (Gal 4:19): An Exploration of Transformative Christology", *Indian Theological Studies* 56:1 (2019), pp. 31–47.

107 D. del Gaudio, "La Cristologia di Gal 4,4 e la Concretezza Storica Dell'incarnazione del Verbo in Prospettiva Redentiva", *Miscellanea Francescana* 120:3/4 (2020), pp. 311–335.

of Mariology. As a virgin, her motherhood shows that the salvation brought by Christ touches humanity from the inside.

8. Pneumatology

8.1 Studies based on the letter as a whole

According to *Peter Dschulnigg*¹⁰⁸ (2001), if the length of Galatians is taken into consideration, it contains more references to the Spirit than any other Pauline letter. *Dschulnigg* offers a detailed discussion of all 18 occurrences of the term in the letter, in terms of four categories: 3:2, 3 and 5: the Spirit as the dimension of experiencing justification by faith; 3:14, 4:6, 29 and 5:5: further theological development of the notion of the Spirit in the light of the cross, promise, childhood of God and justification; 5:16–18, 22 and 25: the Spirit as the moving force behind ethical behaviour; and 6:1 and 18: the term “spirit” used in an anthropological sense. *John R. Meyer*¹⁰⁹ (2001) points out that if believers walk according to the Spirit, they participate in the existence of the risen Christ. This presupposes that they participate in the life of the dying Christ existentially and sacramentally. Meyer also notes that Christ’s continual dying has implications for the suffering that believers may still experience.

*José E. Aguilar Chiu*¹¹⁰ (2007) draws attention to the close relationship between the Spirit and justification in Paul’s thought. This relationship may be described as reciprocal, since justification implies vivification

108 P. Dschulnigg, “Überlegungen zu Bedeutung und Funktion der Geistaussagen im Galaterbrief”, in: J. Eckert, M. Schmidl and H. Steichele (eds.), *Pneuma und Gemeinde: Christsein in der Tradition des Paulus und Johannes: Festschrift für Josef Hainz zum 65. Geburtstag* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 2001), pp. 15–32. Also available in: P. Dschulnigg, “Überlegungen zu Bedeutung und Funktion der Geistaussagen im Galaterbrief”, in: B. Kowalski, R. Höffner and J. Verheyden (eds.), *Studien zu Einleitungsfragen und zur Theologie des Neuen Testaments: Gesammelte Aufsätze von Peter Dschulnigg* (Biblical Tools and Studies 9, Leuven/Paris/Walpole MA: Peeters, 2010), pp. 355–370.

109 J.R. Meyer, “Sharing in Christ’s Death and the Holy Spirit”, *Irish Theological Quarterly* 66:2 (2001), pp. 125–140. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002114000106600204>

110 J.E. Aguilar Chiu, “Justification and the Spirit in Paul: Is There a Relationship?”, in: J.E. Aguilar Chiu, F. Manzi, F. Urso and Z. Estrada (eds.), “*Il Verbo di Dio è vivo*”: *Studi sul Nuovo Testamento in Onore del Cardinale Albert Vanhoye, S.I.* (Analecta Biblica 165, Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2007), pp. 357–377.

through the Spirit and vivification implies justification. *Theo Witkamp*¹¹¹ (2008) highlights the importance of experiencing the Spirit in Galatians. For Paul, the experience of the Spirit – the eschatological gift of God that is strongly linked to the Son of God – is the basic experience of God’s presence. In a study of the Spirit in Galatians, *Gordon D. Fee*¹¹² (2009) emphasises the following four points: a person cannot become a believer without the Spirit, the Spirit’s primary role is linked to the ongoing life of the believing community, it is the main eschatological reality, and it is depicted as God’s personal presence.

*Rodrigo J. Morales*¹¹³ (2010) discusses the importance of the themes of the new exodus, new creation and the restoration of Israel in Galatians. According to Morales, Paul regarded the gift of the Spirit as a fulfilment of God’s promise to restore Israel. Furthermore, Paul followed Deutero-Isaiah by linking the Spirit to the blessing of Abraham and the inclusion of the Gentiles. According to *David S. Harvey*¹¹⁴ (2012), Paul aligns his own biography with the “upside-down honour” demonstrated in Christ’s death. This code of honour is also enacted in the community by the Spirit. *James D.G. Dunn*¹¹⁵ (2014) discusses all the references to the Spirit in Galatians, passage by passage, situating them within the development of Paul’s argument in the letter.

In a study of Paul’s charismatic imperative, *Robby J. Kagarise*¹¹⁶ (2014) discusses several references to the Spirit in Galatians. The view of the Spirit in 3:1–5 is summarised as “the miraculous Spirit”, the emphasis being on the fact that through faith, human agency may function within the horizon of the Holy Spirit. Paul’s description of the Spirit in 4:6 is summarised as “the ecstatic Spirit”. In the case of 5:5, Kagarise believes that Paul also has the charismatic aspect of the Spirit’s work in mind. This

111 T. Witkamp, “De Ervaring van de Geest in Paulus’ Brief aan de Galaten”, *Kerk & Theologie* 59:2 (2008), pp. 100–115.

112 G.D. Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 2009), pp. 369–469.

113 R.J. Morales, *The Spirit and the Restoration of Israel: New Exodus and New Creation Motifs in Galatians* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.282, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-151625-2>

114 D.S. Harvey, “‘Upside-Down Honour’ and the Spirit of the Faithful Son in Galatians”, *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association* 32:1 (2012), pp. 61–74. <https://doi.org/10.1179/jep.2012.32.1.006>

115 J.D.G. Dunn, “Pneuma in Galatians”, in: T.J. Burke and K. Warrington (eds.), *A Biblical Theology of the Holy Spirit* (London: SPCK, 2014), pp. 373–396.

116 R.J. Kagarise, *Paul’s Charismatic Imperatives* (Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement Series 43, Dorset: Deo Publishing, 2014), pp. 120–145. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004397194>

means that Paul's reference to faith in this verse should not be restricted to a different self-perception. It also refers to believers embracing and participating in the power of the Spirit. In the case of 5:13–6:10, Kagarise argues that Paul still thinks of the Spirit as a charismatic power and that this influences the way in which he portrays the agency of the Spirit and of believers in this pericope.

*Lois Malcolm*¹¹⁷ (2014) focuses on the Spirit's own "grammar" as it is found in Paul's letters. According to Malcolm, Galatians offers us a grammar of faith, 1 Corinthians a grammar of love and 2 Corinthians a grammar of hope. *Eduardo de la Serna*¹¹⁸ (2016) draws attention to the ecclesial and eschatological connotations of the Spirit in 1 Corinthians, Galatians and Romans. In the case of Galatians, De la Serna notes the fact that the Spirit is contrasted with weakness. It strengthens the community against the elements that are hostile to it ("the flesh").

*Judith Stack*¹¹⁹ (2018) emphasises the role of the Spirit in justification. According to Galatians, the Spirit brings about justification, since it produces the fruit whereby one will be declared righteous. Furthermore, the Spirit is received through faith and not through the works of the law. On the basis of Pauline pneumatology (as reflected amongst others in Galatians), *Wei Hua*¹²⁰ (2020) argues that the Spirit can transform a culture receiving the Christian gospel. It is thus possible that Chinese commemorating rites can be renewed and practised by Chinese Christians as a type of humanising etiquette.

8.2 Studies based on pericopes or verses in the letter

*Rodrigo J. Morales*¹²¹ (2009) believes that Paul's reference to the Spirit in 3:14 is based on a Jewish tradition found in Deutero-Isaiah, the *Words of the Luminaries* (from Qumran) and the *Testament of Judah*, according

117 L. Malcolm, "The Generative Grammar of the Holy Spirit", *Lutheran Quarterly* 28:4 (2014), pp. 423–444.

118 E. de la Serna, "La Presencia del Espíritu en los Escritos de San Pablo", *Revista Bíblica* 77 (2016), pp. 157–180. <https://doi.org/10.47182/rb.77.n-201652>

119 J. Stack, "The Spirit and Justification: Experience, 'Childship' (υιοθεσία), Participation, and Faith in Paul's Letter to the Galatians", *Biblical Research* 63 (2018), pp. 44–52.

120 W. Hua, "Pauline Pneumatology and the Chinese Rites: Spirit and Culture in the Holy See's Missionary Strategy", in: G.L. Green, S.T. Pardue and K.K. Yeo (eds.), *Majority World Theology: Christian Doctrine in Global Context* (Downers Grove IL: Intervarsity Press, 2020), pp. 280–294.

121 R.J. Morales, "The Words of the Luminaries, the Curse of the Law, and the Outpouring of the Spirit in Gal 3,10–14", *Zeitschrift für die*

to which the Spirit and divine blessing are depicted as an indication of the end-time redemption of Israel. On the basis of 3:1–5, *Stephen Kerry*¹²² (2010) claims that Paul regarded the Spirit as the *sine qua non* of the identity of the believer. This pericope depicts the role of the Spirit “in a believer’s life as the conterminous and confirmatory sign of true conversion”.¹²³ *Paul Hartog*¹²⁴ (2011) draws attention to the integrative role of the Spirit in the ethics of Galatians: “The work of the Holy Spirit unites justification and sanctification. Faith in Christ brings not only ‘freedom’ but also the dynamic ministry of the Spirit, who internally motivates and radically empowers a grace-initiated and community-oriented ethic of loving service.”¹²⁵

According to *Seung Moo Lee*¹²⁶ (2012), in 3:1–14, Paul stresses the Galatians’ experiences of the Spirit and the promise of the Spirit in order to resolve the conflict in the congregations and to let them return to his gospel. In another contribution, *Lee*¹²⁷ (2020) argues that Paul encourages the Galatians in 3:14 to internalise the promises of the Spirit rather than the message proclaimed by his opponents. *Chee-Chiew Lee*¹²⁸ (2013) disagrees with scholars who interpret the blessing to Abraham (mentioned in 3:14) as the Spirit. According to Lee, it refers to justification, and the reception of the Spirit is the proof that one has received justification. *Jeremy W. Barrier*¹²⁹ (2014) explains that the interpretative leap that Paul makes in 3:14–16 when he links the promised “seed” of Abraham to the Galatians’ experience of the Spirit makes sense

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- neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 100:2 (2009), pp. 269–277. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ZNTW.2009.0014>
- 122 S. Kerry, “An Exegetical Analysis of Galatians 3:1–5, with Particular Reference to Pneumatological Themes That Relate to the Onset and Continuation of Christian Identity, with Respect to Law and Gospel”, *Journal of Biblical and Pneumatological Research* 2 (2010), pp. 57–86.
- 123 *Op. cit.*, p. 86.
- 124 P. Hartog, “The Integrative Role of the Spirit in the Ethics of Galatians”, *Detroit Baptist Seminary Journal* 16 (2011), pp. 19–39.
- 125 *Op. cit.*, p. 39.
- 126 S.M. Lee, “‘Experiences in Receiving the Spirit’ of the Galatian Community and the Object of ‘The Promise of the Spirit’”, *신약논단* 19:4 (2012), pp. 1173–1207.
- 127 S.M. Lee, “The Promise of the Spirit (Galatians 3:14) and the Internalization of the Galatian Christian Community”, *대학과 선교* 43 (2020), pp. 35–61.
- 128 C.-C. Lee, *The Blessing of Abraham, the Spirit, and Justification in Galatians: Their Relationship and Significance for Understanding Paul’s Theology* (Eugene OR: Pickwick Publications, 2013).
- 129 J.W. Barrier, “Jesus’ Breath: A Physiological Analysis of πνεῦμα within Paul’s Letter to the Galatians”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 37:2 (2014), pp. 115–138. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X14554364>

if one realises that Paul uses a physiological medical metaphor based on contemporary notions of how the “spirit” functions in the human body.

On the basis of 4:6 (and Romans 8:9), *John R. Coulson*¹³⁰ (2017) believes that Paul was aware of the tradition that Jesus was anointed by the Spirit as God’s Son and that he was raised through the Spirit. However, Paul did not focus on these issues but rather on the Father and the Risen Lord as the source of the Spirit with Jesus being a pattern for how believers experience the Spirit. *Scott A. Swanson*¹³¹ (2018) is of the opinion that Psalm 143:10 lies behind Paul’s exhortations to walk by the Spirit and be led by the Spirit (5:16, 18 and Romans 8:14). This presupposes a wisdom framework that one has to take seriously in order to understand this facet of Paul’s instruction on the Spirit properly.

*Nélida Naveros Córdova*¹³² (2020) thinks that Paul’s view of the Spirit was primarily influenced by the LXX and a development in his view of the role of the Spirit in ethics may be detected. In his early letters, the Spirit was depicted as preeminent, but in his later letters it became the font of all the virtues. In Galatians, he also challenged fundamental Jewish ideas, for example by opposing the Spirit and the law and by associating the Spirit with virtues and flesh with vices.

9. Cosmology

According to *Edward Adams*¹³³ (2000), the term “world” in Galatians is used primarily in a negative sense, although not to the same extent as in the case of 1 Corinthians. Adams points out the following two differences between Galatians and 1 Corinthians: In 1 Corinthians, “world” is the dominant negative term, but in Galatians, “flesh” plays this role, and in 1 Corinthians, the boundary between the Christian community and the Graeco-Roman world is stressed, whereas Galatians emphasises the boundary between the Christians and the Jews. In a contribution on Paul’s

130 J.R. Coulson, “Jesus and the Spirit in Paul’s Theology: The Earthly Jesus”, *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 79:1 (2017), pp. 77–96. <https://doi.org/10.1353/cbq.2017.0004>

131 S.A. Swanson, “The Instruction of the Spirit: The Wisdom Framework for Pauline Spirit Dependence”, *Mid-America Journal of Theology* 29 (2018), pp. 81–128.

132 N.N. Córdova, *To Live in the Spirit: Paul and the Spirit of God* (Lanham MD: Lexington Books/Fortress Academic, 2020).

133 E. Adams, *Constructing the World: A Study in Paul’s Cosmological Language* (Studies of the New Testament and Its World, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000), pp. 221–231.

views on principalities and powers, *Chris Forbes*¹³⁴ (2001) investigates Paul's reference to "the elements of the world" in 4:3 and 9. According to Forbes, Paul probably regarded the elements as personifiable spiritual forces that some people wrongly treated as gods.

In a study of the cosmology of Romans, the Corinthian letters and Galatians, *Joel White*¹³⁵ (2008) summarises Paul's cosmology in terms of nine statements, broadly moving from the idea of God as creator of a hierarchically structured universe (God – humanity – world), to the disruption brought about by sin, and finally to the restoration of the world, an event that was initiated by the resurrection of Christ and that will be completed when he returns. *Martinus C. de Boer*¹³⁶ (2013) investigates the reference of the term "cosmos" in 4:3 and 6:14. In 4:3, it refers to the physical world and in 6:14, to religion based on the law. These two uses of the term are linked in the sense that the end of religion based on the law (6:14) is also the end of the "elements of the world" (4:3).

One of the issues that *Michael Wolter*¹³⁷ (2013) discusses in a study of God and the world in the Pauline letters is how cosmology and ecclesiology are interrelated. One of the passages that Wolter uses to illustrate this notion is 6:14–15. In this instance, Paul draws a boundary between those who believe in Christ and those who belong to the world. In a study of principalities and powers in Paul's letter, *Robert Ewusie Moses*¹³⁸ (2014) discusses "the elements of the world" (4:3 and 9). Moses is of the opinion

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- 134 C. Forbes, "Paul's Principalities and Powers: Demythologizing Apocalyptic?", *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 23:82 (2001), pp. 61–88. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X0102308203> See also the follow-up article in which Forbes argues that Paul's views on principalities and powers are best understood as a combination of insights from his Jewish heritage and a Graeco-Roman world view: C. Forbes, "Pauline Demonology and/or Cosmology? Principalities, Powers and the Elements of the World in Their Hellenistic Context", *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 24:3 (2002), pp. 51–73. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X0202400303>
- 135 J. White, "Paul's Cosmology: The Witness of Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians", in: J.T. Pennington and S.M. McDonough (eds.), *Cosmology and New Testament Theology* (Library of New Testament Studies 355, London: T & T Clark, 2008), pp. 90–106.
- 136 M.C. de Boer, "Cross and Cosmos in Galatians", in: D.J. Downs and M.L. Skinner (eds.), *The Unrelenting God: God's Action in Scripture: Essays in Honor of Beverly Roberts Gaventa* (Grand Rapids MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2013), pp. 207–225.
- 137 M. Wolter, "God and the World in the Epistles of Paul", *In die Skriflig* 47:2 (2013), pp. 1–7. <https://doi.org/10.4102/ids.v47i2.700>
- 138 R.E. Moses, *Practices of Power: Revisiting the Principalities and the Powers in the Pauline Letters* (Emerging Scholars, Minneapolis MN: Fortress Press, 2014), pp. 119–156. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt22nm7p1>

that the expression refers to both the four basic elements that people thought the world consisted of and the demonic powers that the Galatians were enslaved by before they became believers.

Kyu Seop Kim¹³⁹ (2016) thinks that Paul uses the term “the elements of the world” in 4:3 and 9 in terms of a cosmic dualism to refer to physical perishable elements in the world in the old era that still have to be transformed by the Spirit. In a study of Paul’s views on apocalypse as holy war, Emma Wasserman¹⁴⁰ (2018) has a chapter on Paul’s perception of other gods. In the case of Galatians, Wasserman highlights 4:1–10 and interprets “the elements of the world” in v. 3 as the lesser parts of the world, in particular heavenly bodies, a notion that is then linked to gentile gods in v. 9.

10. Anthropology and ethnicity

10.1 Anthropology

In an investigation of Paul’s view of sin, T.L. Carter¹⁴¹ (2001) adapts Mary Douglas’s model (the “grid and group matrix”) in order to examine the social dynamics underlying Paul’s views of sin in 1 Corinthians, Galatians and Romans. Carter situates Galatians in the “high group/low grid quadrant” of Douglas’s matrix. This means that group identity was strong, and the symbolic system of society was rejected (sin was an external threat). In such groups, accusations of witchcraft were also common as happens in Galatians. Peter Dschulnigg¹⁴² (2001) offers a detailed discussion of all 18 instances of the term “spirit” in Galatians.

139 K.S. Kim, “Reconstructing Paul’s Physics – Paul’s Cosmic Dualism and τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου”, *신약연구* 15:3 (2016), pp. 524–563.

140 E. Wasserman, *Apocalypse as Holy War: Divine Politics and Polemics in the Letters of Paul* (Anchor Bible Reference Library, New Haven CT/London: Yale University Press, 2018), pp. 151–155. <https://doi.org/10.12987/9780300235630>

141 T.L. Carter, *Paul and the Power of Sin: Redefining “Beyond the Pale”* (Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 115, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 78–123. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511487880>

142 P. Dschulnigg, “Überlegungen zu Bedeutung und Funktion der Geistaussagen im Galaterbrief”, in: J. Eckert, M. Schmidl and H. Steichele (eds.), *Pneuma und Gemeinde: Christsein in der Tradition des Paulus und Johannes: Festschrift für Josef Hainz zum 65. Geburtstag* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 2001), pp. 15–32. Also available in: P. Dschulnigg, “Überlegungen zu Bedeutung und Funktion der Geistaussagen im Galaterbrief”, in: B. Kowalski, R. Höffner and J. Verheyden (eds.), *Studien zu Einleitungsfragen und zur Theologie des Neuen Testaments: Gesammelte*

In the case of 6:1 and 18, Dschulnigg focuses on Paul's use of the term in an anthropological sense. On the basis of Romans 8, Galatians 3:26–27, 4:4–7 and Ephesians 1:4–5, *Antonio Aranda*¹⁴³ (2006) summarises Paul's view of the divine image in humankind as follows: Christ is God's image and when humans are conformed to Christ's image, they become God's image in Christ.

*Lidija Gunjević*¹⁴⁴ (2007) discusses the way in which the opposites “body” and “spirit” in Galatians are interpreted by Augustine, Aquinas, Luther and some modern interpreters. Augustine, Aquinas and Luther understood “body” as an anthropological description whereas modern interpreters tend to interpret it as an eschatological category. On the basis of the distribution of the vocabulary of justification in Romans and Galatians, *Frederico Pastor Ramos*¹⁴⁵ (2007) challenges the notion that this doctrine forms the centre of Pauline anthropology. Although it is an important Pauline theme, it does not represent the centre of his view of humankind. *Hermut Löhr*¹⁴⁶ (2007) discusses Paul's notion of the human will, as expressed in 5:13–6:10 and Romans 6:1–8:17. Löhr argues that Paul developed a notion of the relative freedom of the human will, which was situated within a broader theological framework focusing on God's actions.

*Troels Engberg-Pedersen*¹⁴⁷ (2010) is of the opinion that Paul viewed the human spirit as a material substance. This corresponded to the way in which Stoics thought of the human spirit. Paul thus did not regard the spirit as something immaterialistic as was typical

Aufsätze von Peter Dschulnigg (Biblical Tools and Studies 9, Leuven/Paris/Walpole MA: Peeters, 2010), pp. 355–370.

- 143 A. Aranda, “Imagen de Dios en Cristo – Hijos de Dios en Cristo: Una Relectura de la Doctrina Antropológica Paulina”, *Scripta Theologica* 38:2 (2006), pp. 599–615.
- 144 L. Gunjević, “Suprotnost Tijelo/Duh u Poslanici Galaćanima”, *Služba Božja* 47:4 (2007), pp. 357–380.
- 145 F. Pastor Ramos, “¿Es la Justificación el Centro de la Antropología Soteriológica de Pablo?”, in: J.E. Aguilar Chiu, F. Manzi, F. Urso and Z. Estrada (eds.), “*Il Verbo di Dio è Vivo*”: *Studi sul Nuovo Testamento in Onore del Cardinale Albert Vanhoye, S.I.* (Analecta Biblica 165, Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2007), pp. 379–385.
- 146 H. Löhr, “Paulus und der Wille zur Tat: Beobachtungen zu einer frühchristlichen Theologie als Anweisung zur Lebenskunst”, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 98:2 (2007), pp. 165–188. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ZNTW.2007.012>
- 147 T. Engberg-Pedersen, *Cosmology and Self in the Apostle Paul: The Material Spirit* (Oxford/New York NY: Oxford University Press, 2010). <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199558568.001.0001>

of dualistic Platonism. In another contribution, *Engberg-Pedersen*¹⁴⁸ (2011) finds a Stoically-informed idea of personhood in Paul, both for believers and non-believers: “In Paul, a human ‘person’ is a being who is self-reflectively capable of turning one’s own gaze on one’s own body in order to change it. In the unredeemed ‘person’ the gaze will not always be successful. In the redeemed ‘person,’ by contrast, it is able genuinely to transform the body.”¹⁴⁹ In another contribution, *Engberg-Pedersen*¹⁵⁰ (2013) discusses the movement from sin to virtue in 5:13–26 from two perspectives: the characteristics of sin, and how Paul views the movement from sin to virtue (“the fruit of the Spirit”). In this discussion, Engberg-Pedersen points out similarities between Paul’s views and Stoic and Aristotelian views.

In a discussion of the “I” referred to in Romans 7, *Jean-Noël Aletti*¹⁵¹ (2012) argues against scholars interpreting it as referring to believers. Aletti also contends that it is wrong to use Galatians 5:17 to support such an interpretation. One of the issues that *Günter Röhser*¹⁵² (2012) investigates in a study of Paul’s view on the power of sin is the term “sinner”, used in 2:17. In this instance, Röhser stresses that Paul does not regard the term “sinner” as an adequate self-description of believers. For *Guillermo Hansen*¹⁵³ (2013), Luther’s interpretation of Galatians opens a window to a new understanding of what it means to be human. Faith displaces a socially and ecclesiastically constructed self-consciousness so that a Christ-consciousness can emerge.

148 T. Engberg-Pedersen, “A Stoic Concept of the Person in Paul? From Galatians 5:17 to Romans 7:14–25”, in: C.K. Rothschild and T.W. Thompson (eds.), *Christian Body, Christian Self: Concepts of Early Christian Personhood* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.284, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), pp. 85–112. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-151861-4>

149 *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

150 T. Engberg-Pedersen, “Von der ‘Sünde’ zur ‘Tugend’: Worum geht es eigentlich bei Paulus?”, *Zeitschrift für Neues Testament* 16:32 (2013), pp. 37–47.

151 J.-N. Aletti, *New Approaches for Interpreting the Letters of Saint Paul: Collected Essays: Rhetoric, Soteriology, Christology and Ecclesiology: Translated from the French by Peggy Manning Meyer* (Subsidia Biblica 43, Rome: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2012), pp. 79–110.

152 G. Röhser, “Paulus und die Herrschaft der Sünde”, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 103:1 (2012), pp. 84–110. <https://doi.org/10.1515/znw-2012-0005>

153 G. Hansen, “Luther’s Radical Conception of Faith: God, Christ, and Personhood in a Post-Metaphysical Age”, *Dialog: A Journal of Theology* 52:3 (2013), pp. 212–221. <https://doi.org/10.1111/dial.12046>

Jean Berchmans Paluku Mukwemulere¹⁵⁴ (2014) links the anthropology of Galatians to the dynamic articulation of promise, law and childhood of God in the letter, with Christ's death on the cross depicted as bringing about the necessary transformation and establishing a dynamic of spiritual childhood moving beyond the logic of the law and blood relationships. Edoardo Maria Palma¹⁵⁵ (2016) describes Paul's anthropology in Galatians as Christogenic (it starts from Christ), Christomorphic (it focuses on the transformation of believers in Christ) and Christotelic (it aims at totally fulfilling Christ in the lives of believers). Susan Grove Eastman¹⁵⁶ (2017) thinks that Paul did not conceive of the human self as something autonomous but as constituted in relationship to sin, Christ and others. Eastman traces this notion in Romans 7 (the human self and sin), Philippians 2 (Christ's participation in the human condition) and Galatians 2:19–20 (the reconstituted self, united to Christ).

Gitte Buch-Hansen¹⁵⁷ (2017) points out the similarities between Paul's view of original sin (as can be seen in the vice list in 5:19–21 and the Sarah-Hagar allegory) and the discourse on anthropology in Hellenistic philosophy (Philo, Epicureanism and Stoicism). Marek Kozák¹⁵⁸ (2017) focuses on the anthropology of 5:16–26 and Romans 7:7–14, arguing that the pericope in Galatians describes the inner struggle of believers, whereas the pericope in Romans refers to this type of struggle in humans in general. Anthony C. Thiselton¹⁵⁹ (2018) points out that some people think that Paul did not have a high estimation of human reason but

154 J.B.P. Mukwemulere, "Figures de la promesse et de la loi dans l'Épître de Paul aux Galates: (2) Quelques propositions théologiques", *Sémiotique et Bible* 156 (2014), pp. 5–27.

155 E.M. Palma, *Trasformati in Cristo: L'antropologia Paolina nella Lettera ai Galati* (Analecta Biblica 217, Rome: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2016).

156 S.G. Eastman, *Paul and the Person: Reframing Paul's Anthropology* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2017), pp. 151–175. For a response to Eastman's views, see: J.A. Linebaugh, "Participation and the Person in Pauline Theology: A Response to Susan Eastman's *Paul and the Person*", *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 40:4 (2018), pp. 516–523. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064x18769517>

157 G. Buch-Hansen, "Early Conceptions of Original Sin: Reading Galatians through Philo's *De opificio mundi*", in: J.R. Dodson and A.W. Pitts (eds.), *Paul and the Greco-Roman Philosophical Tradition* (Library of New Testament Studies 527, London/Oxford/New York NY: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2017), pp. 221–243. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9780567678362.ch-011>

158 M. Kozák, *La Lotta Interiore dell'Uomo: Uno Studio Esegético-Teologico di Gal 5,16–26 e Rm 7,14–25* (Tesi Gregoriana Serie Teologia 227, Roma: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 2017).

159 A.C. Thiselton, *Puzzling Passages in Paul: Forty Conundrums Calmly Considered* (Eugene OR: Cascade Books, 2018), pp. 188–191.

draws attention to 3:1 and other passages showing that this is not true. In 3:1, Paul pleads that the Galatians should not be bewitched, and that they should rather use their reason.

According to *Dong-Su Seo*¹⁶⁰ (2019), Paul's reference to the blessing of Abraham in 3:13–14 should be understood in terms of Abraham's role as the unifying archetype of humankind. In him, Jews and Gentiles are united in Christ. On the basis of 3:26–28, 1 Corinthians 7:17–24 and 12:1–31, *Luca Castiglioni*¹⁶¹ (2019) argues that Paul's view on equality and differences between human beings was decisively influenced by his eschatological perspective. Equality between believers and all human beings stemmed from the unity between believers in Christ. On the basis of an exegetical study of 6:11–18, *Emmanuel O. Oyemomi*¹⁶² (2019) contends that anthropology forms the core of Pauline thought, in particular the notion of the new human being in Christ.

In a study of the flesh-Spirit antithesis in Romans and Galatians, *Brian H. Thomas*¹⁶³ (2020) argues that the “overlap of ages” scheme generally accepted by Pauline scholars to explain this antithesis is not adequate. Thomas proposes a tripartite salvation-historical schema: SH-yesterday (time in the flesh), SH-now (time in the Spirit before the *parousia*) and SH-soon (time after Christ's return). *Mihai Afrențoae*¹⁶⁴ (2020) offers an anthropological-ethical analysis of the concept “liberty” (and related concepts) in Galatians. The letter has a multi-dimensional perspective of liberty. Liberty is depicted as liberty from sin, from this evil age and from the Jewish law. This gift of liberty also implies ethical responsibility on the part of believers.

160 D.-S. Seo, “The Theological Implications of Abraham as a Prototype of Unification of the Human Race in Light of the Multiracial and Multicultural Context of Galatians 3:14”, *신약논단* 26:1 (2019), pp. 177–214. <https://doi.org/10.31982/knts.2019.3.26.1.177>

161 L. Castiglioni, “Uguaglianza Battesimale e Differenze Carismatiche: La Prospettiva Paolina Fondamentale (I)”, *Scuola Cattolica* 147:4 (2019), pp. 667–693.

162 E.O. Oyemomi, “The Centrality of Pauline Anthropology: An Overview of the Book to the Galatians via Analytical Exegesis of Gal. 6:11–18”, *BTSK Insight* 16:2 (2019), pp. 146–170.

163 B.H. Thomas, *Living in the Flesh by the Spirit: The Pauline View of Flesh and Spirit in Galatians* (Eugene OR: Wipf & Stock, 2020).

164 M. Afrențoae, “Lo Spartito della Libertà nella Lettera ai Galati”, *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai: Theologia Catholica Latina* 65:1 (2020), pp. 21–50. <https://doi.org/10.24193/theol.cath.latina.2020.lxv.1.02>

David A. deSilva¹⁶⁵ (2020) summarises Paul’s views of the human condition in Galatians as follows: “[T]he individual human being finds himself or herself at the mercy of coercive pressures to conform not to the righteousness of rebellion of generations of human beings ... and to the disordered desires and impulses of our own hearts ... God’s remedy involves reconciliation, the restoration of righteousness, and rescue from the forces that conspire against that restoration.”¹⁶⁶

10.2 Ethnicity

Denise Kimber Buell and Caroline Johnson Hodge¹⁶⁷ (2004) challenge interpretations of Pauline letters (amongst others, 3:28) that are based on the notion of ethnicity as a “given”. Instead, they propose a dynamic approach based on the insight that notions of ethnicity and race are constructed socially. Accordingly, they illustrate how Paul can be interpreted in an imaginative way so that differences between people are neither removed nor ranked hierarchically. According to Charles H. Cosgrove¹⁶⁸ (2006), 3:28 sheds some light on the question of whether Paul valued ethnicity: “Certainly in his vision of the final conclusion of God’s saving work, Paul sees the end of life as we know it. In that consummation of all things, ethnic differences will disappear, giving way to the ultimate. In the meantime, *penultimately*, they both come to an end and are preserved. The ultimate qualifies their penultimate preservation.”¹⁶⁹

Caroline Johnson Hodge¹⁷⁰ (2007) challenges the notion that ethnicity was not important to Paul. According to Hodge, Paul was mainly concerned about the status of Gentiles who were alienated from God and believed that they became descendants of Abraham through baptism. As

165 D.A. deSilva, “Sin, Slavery, Sacrifice, and the Spirit: The Human Problem and Divine Solution in Galatians”, in: N.K. Gupta and J.K. Goodrich (eds.), *Sin and Its Remedy in Paul* (Contours of Pauline Theology, Eugene OR: Cascade Books, 2020), pp. 99–113.

166 *Op. cit.*, p. 112–113.

167 D.K. Buell and C.J. Hodge, “The Politics of Interpretation: The Rhetoric of Race and Ethnicity in Paul”, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 123:2 (2004), pp. 235–251. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3267944>

168 C.H. Cosgrove, “Did Paul Value Ethnicity?”, *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 68:2 (2006), pp. 268–290. See also: C.H. Cosgrove, “Paul and Ethnicity: A Selective History of Interpretation”, in: M.D. Given (ed.), *Paul Unbound: Other Perspectives on the Apostle* (Peabody MA/Edinburgh: Hendrickson, 2010), pp. 71–98.

169 *Op. cit.*, p. 279. Emphasis Cosgrove.

170 C.J. Hodge, *If Sons, Then Heirs: A Study of Kinship and Ethnicity in the Letters of Paul* (New York NY: Oxford University Press, 2007). <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195182163.001.0001>

such they formed a related but separate lineage of Abraham. *Khiok-khng Yeo*¹⁷¹ (2007) emphasises the fact that Paul's understanding of culture is theological. Paul thus does not differentiate faith from culture and is sensitive to cultural behaviour marginalising others. According to *Markus Öhler*¹⁷² (2012), the decisive issue in the Antioch incident was ethnicity. Before "the ones from James" turned up, ethnicity did not play any role in the congregation as long as cultic and social rules were adhered to. However, the ecclesiology of the church in Jerusalem was different. The Christian congregations were regarded as the renewed Israel, but such a view was based on ethnicity and thus it was believed that certain identity markers had to characterise the congregation in Antioch, too.

*Aaron Sherwood*¹⁷³ (2013) is of the opinion that ethnicity is one of the issues that Paul sweeps aside in 3:28 and that he focuses on social unity (not uniformity), in particular within the church. *William S. Campbell*¹⁷⁴ (2013) believes that Paul did not oppose all ethnic distinctions. From Paul's letters it is clear that he distinguished between Jews and Greeks. He thus did not advocate cultural or social uniformity. According to *Valérie Nicolet*¹⁷⁵ (2014), the postcolonial concept of hybridity is only partially useful for analysing Paul's views on ethnicity, since he remained inscribed in the binary patterns of his time and cannot be seen as the founder of a true universalism. Instead, he ceaselessly had to negotiate differences in his congregations, as may be seen in Galatians 5 and 6.

*Ishay Rosen-Zvi and Adi Ophir*¹⁷⁶ (2015) challenge the notion that Paul borrowed the binary distinction between Jews and ἔθνη ("peoples") from

171 K.-K. Yeo, "The Debate in Galatians on Culture and Theology", *Journal for the Study of Christian Culture* 18 (2007), pp. 43–62.

172 M. Öhler, "Essen, Ethnos, Identität: Der antiochenische Zwischenfall (Gal 2,11–14)", in: W. Weiß (ed.), *Der eine Gott und das gemeinschaftliche Mahl: Inklusion und Exklusion biblischer Vorstellungen von Mahl und Gemeinschaft im Kontext antiker Festkultur* (Biblich-Theologische Studien 113, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2012), pp. 158–199.

173 A. Sherwood, *Paul and the Restoration of Humanity in Light of Ancient Jewish Traditions* (Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 82, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2013), pp. 217–221. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004235472>

174 W.S. Campbell, "Differentiation and Discrimination in Paul's Ethnic Discourse", *Transformation* 30:3 (2013), pp. 157–168. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0265378813490472>

175 V. Nicolet, "Penser la différence chez Paul: Enjeux ethniques dans Galates", *Foi et Vie* 114:1 (2014), pp. 4–25.

176 I. Rosen-Zvi and A. Ophir, "Paul and the Invention of the Gentiles", *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 105:1 (2015), pp. 1–41. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jqr.2015.0001>

a Jewish tradition, since such a tradition did not exist. Instead, Paul played a major role in forming the notion of ἔθνη in a non-ethnic and generalised sense and thereby consolidating a binary division between them and the Jews. According to *Ryan Schellenberg*¹⁷⁷ (2015), ethnicity was important to Paul. This is also true of 3:28, since although he believed that Gentile believers gained a new ethnic affiliation, this did not mean that they lost their original ethnic affiliation.

*Simon Buttica*¹⁷⁸ (2015) thinks that Paul's views on identity in Galatians do not constitute an ethnic discourse but rather an anthropological and cosmological discourse, since believers (Jews and Gentiles) are said to become a "new creation" (6:15) and not a "new people". In another study, *Buttica*¹⁷⁹ (2017) discusses the way in which Paul tried to manage particular ethnic parameters in Galatians and 1 Corinthians by looking at dietary issues. In the case of Galatians, Buttica finds that Paul used a type of anthropological logic according to which the distinctive habits of both Jews and Gentiles were re-ordered by a Christological "meta-identity." *Ole Jakob Filtvedt*¹⁸⁰ (2016) disagrees with Denise Kimber Buell and Caroline Johnson Hodge,¹⁸¹ who reject a metaphorical interpretation of Paul's ethnic language. Filtvedt illustrates how a metaphorical reading of 3:26–29 makes sense and helps one to understand why he rejected the notion that Galatian believers should be circumcised.

*John M.G. Barclay*¹⁸² (2017) disagrees with scholars who are of the opinion that Paul redefines the ethnicity of Gentiles. Instead, Barclay thinks that an investigation of the two Pauline motifs of descentance from Abraham and adoption as children indicate the notion of an identity created by God, paradigmatically realised in Israel, making the retention of ethnic particularity in congregations possible in such a way that mutual

177 R. Schellenberg, "Seed of Abraham (Friesen?): Universality and Ethnicity in Paul", *Direction* 44:1 (2015), pp. 16–29.

178 S. Buttica, "Vers une anthropologie universelle? La crise galate: Fragile gestion de l'ethnicité juive", *New Testament Studies* 61:4 (2015), pp. 505–524. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688515000168>

179 S. Buttica, "Paul and Ethnicity between Discourse and Social Practices", *Early Christianity* 8:3 (2017), pp. 309–335, in particular, p. 334. <https://doi.org/10.1628/186870317X15017545210206>

180 O.J. Filtvedt, "A 'Non-Ethnic' People", *Biblica* 97:1 (2016), pp. 101–120.

181 D.K. Buell and C.J. Hodge, "The Politics of Interpretation: The Rhetoric of Race and Ethnicity in Paul", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 123:2 (2004), pp. 235–251. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3267944>

182 J.M.G. Barclay, "An Identity Received from God: The Theological Configuration of Paul's Kinship Discourse", *Early Christianity* 8:3 (2017), pp. 354–372. <https://doi.org/10.1628/186870317X15017545210224>

appreciation may occur. *Alfonso García Marques*¹⁸³ (2017) draws out the philosophical implications of 4:4 for understanding the position of Christianity. The blending of the Greek *episteme* and the Roman *ius* into the *humanitas* constituted the “fulness of time”. This means that Christianity is a universal religion and not merely a Hellenised or Romanised religion.

*Erich S. Gruen*¹⁸⁴ (2017) focuses on the criteria that Paul applies when distinguishing between Jews and non-Jews. According to Gruen, Paul had in mind “a range of unspecified practices, rituals, ceremonies, customary behavior and distinctive activities like Sabbath observance, synagogue attendance and dietary restrictions that characterized his fellow-Jews or indeed others, like God-fearers, who had become an integral part of Jewish communities”.¹⁸⁵ *Ishay Rosen-Zvi and Adi Ophir*¹⁸⁶ (2017) revisit Daniel Boyarin’s *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity*.¹⁸⁷ Taking the criticism raised against Boyarin’s views into account, they argue that both Boyarin and his critics are correct: “Paul does not create a universal person, since his distinctions depend on the biblical narrative of election. But he does create a universal *goy*: an individualized, generalized category that applies to any person save the Jews.”¹⁸⁸

*Adi Ophir and Ishay Rosen-Zvi*¹⁸⁹ (2018) trace the development of the distinction between Jews and Gentiles in history, showing that Paul was the first person to use “Gentiles” as an abstract concept and that this

183 A. García Marqués, “τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου: Humanismo Romano y Religión Cristiana”, *Revista Española de Teología* 77:3 (2017), pp. 319–348.

184 E.S. Gruen, “Paul and Jewish Ethnicity”, in: C. Fonrobert, I. Rosen-Zvi, A. Shemesh and M. Vidas (eds.), *Talmudic Transgressions: Engaging the Work of Daniel Boyarin* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 181, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2017), pp. 351–367. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004345331_013

185 *Op. cit.*, p. 367.

186 I. Rosen-Zvi and A. Ophir, “Paul and the Universal *goyim*: ‘A Radical Jew’ Revisited”, in: C. Fonrobert, I. Rosen-Zvi, A. Shemesh and M. Vidas (eds.), *Talmudic Transgressions: Engaging the Work of Daniel Boyarin* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 181, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2017), pp. 368–387. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004345331_014

187 D. Boyarin, *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1994).

188 Rosen-Zvi and A. Ophir, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

189 A. Ophir and I. Rosen-Zvi, *Goy: Israel’s Multiple Others and the Birth of the Gentile* (Oxford Studies in the Abrahamic Religions, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018). <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198744900.001.0001>

notion later became a stable element in Rabbinic literature. *William S. Campbell*¹⁹⁰ (2018) disagrees with scholars who think that Paul abandoned his Jewish identity when he became a believer. Campbell argues that Paul's letters show that he upheld ethnic distinctions between Jews and Gentiles although he resisted any discrimination based on ethnic distinctions. *Philip A. Harland*¹⁹¹ (2019) identifies two strategies by which minorities in the ancient world reacted to the hegemonic categorisation typical of their times: employing/adapting such categorisation or offering alternatives to dominant hierarchies. According to Harland, from Paul's letters it is clear that he followed the first strategy. Philo and Josephus used the same strategies, albeit in a different fashion from that of Paul.

*Christopher D. Stanley*¹⁹² (2020) disagrees with scholars who regard Paul as a cosmopolitan thinker. According to Stanley, one should rather describe Paul as a Jewish sectarian who had a vision of a better world, although this vision was limited to believers and relegated them to a marginal position similar to that of Jewish communities in his time. *Philip la G. du Toit*¹⁹³ (2020) draws attention to the division between divine and human identity in the New Testament and the way in which scholars try to explain it. Du Toit argues that Paul regarded the believer's identity primarily as a theological reality and not as an anthropological reality, the emphasis being on the spiritual life and identity that God provides in Christ. One of the examples that Du Toit discusses is 4:9–19, where Paul views religious practices as distracting people from the kingdom of God.

11. Israel, covenant and Abraham

*Robby J. Kagarise*¹⁹⁴ (2000) disagrees with scholars who view Paul's use of texts from Genesis in Galatians 3:16 as problematic. According to Kagarise, this verse helps one to understand Paul's view of the covenant, Christ and believers. Paul interprets the seed in the light of

190 W.S. Campbell, *The Nations in the Divine Economy: Paul's Covenantal Hermeneutics and Participation in Christ* (Lanham MD: Lexington Books/Fortress Academic, 2018).

191 P.A. Harland, "Climbing the Ethnic Ladder: Ethnic Hierarchies and Judean Responses", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 138:3 (2019), pp. 665–686. <https://doi.org/10.15699/jbl.1383.2019.156547>

192 C.D. Stanley, "Paul the Cosmopolitan?", *New Testament Studies* 66:1 (2020), pp. 144–163. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688519000249>

193 P. la G. du Toit, "Ethnic Reasoning and Early Christian Identity: A Pauline Theological Perspective", *HTS: Theological Studies* 76:1 (2020), pp. 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v76i1.5800>

194 R.J. Kagarise, "The 'Seed' in Galatians 3:16 – A Window to Paul's Thinking", *Evangelical Journal* 18:2 (2000), pp. 67–73.

the Christ-event as referring to Christ. It is fulfilled in an individual (Christ) but also collectively (in all believers). William J. Dumbrell¹⁹⁵ (2000) reads 3:1–14 from the perspective of the covenant. In Christ, God established a new covenant and a new form of forgiveness. All who kept on relying on obedience to the law, thinking that they were thereby staying in the covenant, fell under the curse of the law. In another contribution, Dumbrell¹⁹⁶ (2001) highlights a reluctance amongst New Testament scholars to give the covenant its due. According to Dumbrell, the term “works of the law” in 2:14–21 refers to the Sinai covenant and one should understand Paul as claiming that acceptance of the new covenant is only possible through faith in Christ.

S.M. Baugh¹⁹⁷ (2004) claims that 3:20 supports the Reformed view of the *pactum salutis*, the covenant of redemption, and in particular, the idea of an intratrinitarian arrangement, something that Moses could not mediate, since God is one. In an investigation of Paul’s theology of Israel, Richard H. Bell¹⁹⁸ (2005) considers Galatians 3 and 4, as well as 6:17. Bell finds evidence in these parts of the letter that Paul believed that the church, consisting of Gentile and Jewish believers, replaced Israel as God’s people.

Scott W. Hahn¹⁹⁹ (2005) disagrees with scholars who interpret διαθήκη (“will” or “covenant”) in 3:15 as “will”. Hahn believes that it refers to the covenant with Abraham (Genesis 12:15–18) and that the covenant oath of the Aqedah is the subtext of Paul’s argument in this pericope. In another study, Hahn²⁰⁰ (2009) investigates the covenant in Scripture from a canonical perspective. With regard to Galatians 3 and 4, Hahn states: “Paul argues for the priority and primacy of the Abrahamic

195 W.J. Dumbrell, “Abraham and the Abrahamic Covenant in Galatians 3:1–14”, in: P. Bolt and M. Thompson (eds.), *The Gospel to the Nations: Perspectives on Paul’s Mission* (Downers Grove IL: IVP Apollos, 2000), pp. 19–31.

196 W. Dumbrell, “Galatians 2:14–21: A New Covenant Perspective”, *European Journal of Theology* 10:2 (2001), pp. 105–116.

197 S.M. Baugh, “Galatians 3:20 and the Covenant of Redemption”, *The Westminster Theological Journal* 66:1 (2004), pp. 49–70.

198 R.H. Bell, *The Irrevocable Call of God: An Inquiry into Paul’s Theology of Israel* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.184, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), pp. 160–180. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157300-2>

199 S.W. Hahn, “Covenant, Oath, and the Aqedah: διαθήκη in Galatians 3:15–18”, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 67:1 (2005), pp. 79–100.

200 S.W. Hahn, *Kinship by Covenant: A Canonical Approach to the Fulfillment of God’s Saving Promises* (Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library, New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2009). <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvs32tbq>

covenant — rather than the Mosaic — as the foundational covenant with Israel and ultimately with all mankind. ... In contrast to the Abrahamic covenant, the Mosaic covenant — at least as renewed after the golden calf and other rebellions — is secondary and subordinate in Paul's eyes.”²⁰¹

In a study of law and covenant in Pauline theology, *Jason C. Meyer*²⁰² (2009) contends that Paul regarded the Mosaic covenant as essentially non-eschatological, differing from the (eschatologically) new covenant. In Galatians 3–4, Paul highlights the fact that the Mosaic covenant was wrongly understood as still having a soteriological function after it was divinely terminated. According to *Albert L.A. Hogeterp*²⁰³ (2010), the differentiation in the type of covenants that one finds in 4:21–31 was not an invention of Paul's, since there was already a diversification of ideas on the covenant in Second Temple Judaism. However, the way in which Paul presents two types of covenants by means of an antithesis was specifically aimed at discrediting his opponents who derived their authority from Jerusalem.

*Angelika Magnes*²⁰⁴ (2010) draws attention to the fact that 4:21–31 has been interpreted in the past in an anti-Jewish fashion as indicating the removal of the Jewish nation as the primary salvation partner of God but points out that such a view is incorrect, since the pericope refers to a specific conflict in Galatia and does not address the relationship between Judaism and Christianity. *Božidar Mrakovčić*²⁰⁵ (2010) discusses Paul's view of the covenant as found in 3:15–18 and in 4:21–31. Mrakovčić draws attention to the fact that Paul referred to the covenant as part of an argument defending his views on justification. His opponents regarded keeping the law as a condition for participation in the covenant – something that was completely unacceptable to him.

201 *Op. cit.*, p. 276.

202 J.C. Meyer, *The End of the Law: Mosaic Covenant in Pauline Theology* (NAC Studies in Bible & Theology 6, Nashville TN: Broadman & Holman, 2009).

203 A.L.A. Hogeterp, “Hagar and Paul's Covenant Thought”, in: M. Goodman, G.H. van Kooten and J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten (eds.), *Abraham, the Nations, and the Hagarites: Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Perspectives on Kinship with Abraham* (Themes in Biblical Narrative 13, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2010), pp. 345–359. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004216495_023

204 A. Magnes, “‘Different Mothers, Births and Inheritances’: Die Rede von zwei Frauen in Gal 4,21–31”, in: I. Fischer and C. Heil (eds.), *Geschlechterverhältnisse und Macht: Lebensformen in der Zeit des frühen Christentums* (Exegese in unserer Zeit 21, Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2010), pp. 110–127.

205 B. Mrakovčić, “Savez u Poslanici Galaćanima”, *Bogoslovska Motra* 80:1 (2010), pp. 275–296.

In a study of the “Israel problem”, *Michael Wolter*²⁰⁶ (2010) contends that there is no difference or any development in Paul’s views on this issue between 4:21–31 and Romans 9–11. In both cases the point is the same: Israel is far removed from Christ and does not play a role in the continuity of Abraham’s election. Wolter thus believes that Paul did not succeed in solving the “Israel problem”. *Jason S. DeRouchie and Jason C. Meyer*²⁰⁷ (2010) disagree with N.T. Wright, who interprets “seed” in 3:16 as referring not to the Messiah but to the united family of God. According to them, Paul emphasises the coming of Christ as the “seed” of Abraham, a fact that does not get its rightful place in Wright’s interpretation.

*William B. Barclay*²⁰⁸ (2010) notes that scholars tend to find a stark contrast between the Abrahamic and Mosaic covenants in 3:15–22 but contends that one should focus on the Christocentric nature of this passage. Then the unity and continuity in God’s dealings become clear. According to *Jakob Wöhrle*²⁰⁹ (2011), Isaac and Ishmael are depicted in Genesis 17 and in Galatians 4:21–31 as unequal and even as contradictory brothers and thus one cannot speak of an “Abrahamic ecumenism” (“abrahamische Ökumene”) in the Biblical traditions. Nevertheless, these texts may still be of importance for the interreligious and intercultural dialogue for our time.

*Aaron Sherwood*²¹⁰ (2013) interprets 6:11–18 as containing some references to the notion of the unification of Israel and the nations, since both groups were present amongst the recipients of the letter. Sherwood points out that the Jewish traditions normally associated with the notion of unification (worship, Scripture and the restoration of humankind) do not explicitly occur in the letter but that they are implied. *T. David*

206 M. Wolter, “Das Israelproblem nach Gal 4,21–31 und Röm 9–11”, *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 107:1 (2010), pp. 1–30. <https://doi.org/10.1628/004435410790844557>

207 J.S. DeRouchie and J.C. Meyer, “Christ or Family as the ‘Seed’ of Promise? An Evaluation of N.T. Wright on Galatians 3:16”, *The Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* 14:3 (2010), pp. 36–48.

208 W.B. Barclay, “The Law and the Promise: God’s Covenant with Abraham in Pauline Perspective”, in: S.A. Hunt (ed.), *Perspectives on Our Father Abraham: Essays in Honor of Marvin R. Wilson* (Grand Rapids MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2010), pp. 138–152.

209 J. Wöhrle, “Isaak und Ismael: Zum Verhältnis der beiden Abrahamsöhne nach Genesis 17 und Galater 4,21–31”, *Evangelische Theologie* 71:2 (2011), pp. 115–132. <https://doi.org/10.14315/evth-2011-71-2-115>

210 A. Sherwood, *Paul and the Restoration of Humanity in Light of Ancient Jewish Traditions* (Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 82, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2013), pp. 221–231. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004235472>

Gordon²¹¹ (2013) prefers a covenant–historical approach to a salvation–/covenant–theological approach to Galatians and offers an interpretation of the letter based on the notion that Paul traces three different covenant-administrations in the letter: the Abrahamic, Sinaic and New Covenants.

M.C. Mulder²¹² (2013) thinks that in spite of the opposition between believers and the present Jerusalem in 4:21–31, there is also a clear line of continuity between God’s saving actions in the lives of Sarah and in the time of the exile and the salvation of believers in Paul’s time. Jeffrey J. Niehaus²¹³ (2013) disagrees with scholars who find two different covenants in Genesis 15 and 17. According to Niehaus, the two chapters refer to the same covenant – a notion that amongst others is confirmed by Paul’s depiction of the covenant in Galatians 3. Brendan Byrne²¹⁴ (2014) rejects J. Louis Martyn’s interpretation of the two covenants in 4:21–5:1 (traditionally understood as referring to Judaism and Christianity) as referring to Paul’s opponents and Paul’s law-free mission to the Gentiles. Byrne defends the traditional interpretation but also points out that it does not necessarily imply an anti-Jewish interpretation of the text.

According to Donald Cobb²¹⁵ (2015), in Galatians 3 and 4, Paul does not react to the teaching of his opponents by merely opposing law and grace or law and faith as is often claimed. Rather, he reacts to an argument about the covenant by means of an argument about a different covenant. In another study, Cobb²¹⁶ (2016) investigates the use of the term διαθήκη (“covenant” or “will”) in Galatians 3–4 and points out its importance in Paul’s theology. This shows that the redemption that God offers in Christ

211 T.D. Gordon, “Promise, Law, Faith: Covenant–Historical Reasoning in Galatians”, in: H.C. Kim (ed.), *Galatians as Examined by Diverse Academics in 2012 (St. Andrews, Scotland)* (Hermit Kingdom Studies in Christianity and Judaism 3, Newark NJ: The Hermit Kingdom Press, 2013), pp. 57–134.

212 M.C. Mulder, “Kinderen naar de Ordening van Izak: Continuïteit van Gods Verbond Belicht door een Intertextuele Exegese van Galaten 3 en 4”, *Theologia Reformata* 56:2 (2013), pp. 103–118.

213 J.J. Niehaus, “God’s Covenant with Abraham”, *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 56:2 (2013), pp. 249–271.

214 B. Byrne, “Jerusalems Above and Below: A Critique of J.L. Martyn’s Interpretation of the Hagar–Sarah Allegory in Gal 4.21–5.1”, *New Testament Studies* 60:2 (2014), pp. 215–231. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688513000362>

215 D. Cobb, “Galates 3–4: Une alliance ni abrogée ni modifiée”, *La Revue Réformée* 275 (2015), pp. 1–30.

216 D.E. Cobb, “What Paul Says About the Covenants in Galatians 3–4”, *Unio cum Christo* 2:2 (2016), pp. 173–194. <https://doi.org/10.35285/ucc2.2.2016.art10>

was structured by the law and the promises of the Abrahamic, Mosaic, Davidic and new covenants. In a study investigating the question as to what makes the Hebrew Scriptures Christian, J. David Stark²¹⁷ (2016) argues that from the beginning the Christian church formulated a rule of faith, guiding it to properly hear the divine word and that this rule entailed a respect for the Hebrew Scriptures because it came from the Creator God. One of the passages that Stark uses to illustrate this idea, is 6:11–15.

Bradley R. Trick²¹⁸ (2016) proposes that Paul's views of διαθήκη ("testament" or "covenant") in Galatians 3–4 are best understood in terms of a Hellenistic testament by which God adopted Abraham, with "children" in 3:7 referring to Jews, "children of promise" in 4:28 referring to Gentiles and "seed" in 3:16 referring to Christ and the union of Gentiles and Jews in Christ in 3:29. Joel Marcus²¹⁹ (2017) looks critically at Martyn's exegesis of 4:21–31 (especially the notion that it refers not to Judaism and Christianity but to the law-free mission and the law-obedient mission) and finds it indefensible. Philip la G. du Toit²²⁰ (2018) critically evaluates the Radical New Perspective on Paul as well as the Messianic Judaist approach to Galatians and then highlights the criteria that Paul identifies for membership of the covenant in Galatians 3: a contrast between faith/works and Spirit/flesh and between the old era in the law/new era in Christ. This continues the promise to Abraham, but in a renewed, redrawn fashion.

According to Dong-Su Seo²²¹ (2019), Paul's reference to the blessing of Abraham in 3:13–14 should be understood in terms of Abraham's role as the unifying archetype of humankind. In him, Jews and Gentiles are united in Christ. Debbie Hunn²²² (2019) is of the opinion

217 J.D. Stark, "What Makes Jewish Scripture Christian?", *Stone-Campbell Journal* 19:2 (2016), pp. 219–237.

218 B.R. Trick, *Abrahamic Descent, Testamentary Adoption, and the Law in Galatians: Differentiating Abraham's Sons, Seed, and Children of Promise* (Supplements to *Novum Testamentum* 169, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2016).

219 J. Marcus, "Lou Martyn, Paul, and Judaism", *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 7:1/2 (2017), pp. 112–118. <https://doi.org/10.5325/jstudpaullett.7.1-2.0112>

220 P. la G. du Toit, "Galatians 3 and the Redefinition of the Criteria of Covenant Membership in the New Faith-Era in Christ", *Neotestamentica* 52:1 (2018), pp. 41–67. <https://doi.org/10.1353/neo.2018.0002>

221 D.-S. Seo, "The Theological Implications of Abraham as the Archetype of Unification of the Human Race in Light of the Multiracial and Multicultural Context of Galatians 3:14", *신약논단* 26:1 (2019), pp. 177–214. <https://doi.org/10.31982/knts.2019.3.26.1.177>

222 D. Hunn, "The Hagar-Sarah Allegory: Two Covenants, Two Destinies", *Biblica* 100:1 (2019), pp. 117–134. <https://doi.org/10.2143/>

that Paul does not invert the story of Ishmael and Isaac in 4:21–31. It is rather an issue of separation. Paul separates the covenants of the law and the promise in order to convince the Galatians that they do not need both. Miguel G. Echevarria Jr.²²³ (2019) discusses the notion of inheritance in Paul's letters. In the case of Galatians, Echevarria argues that Paul uses the term "promise" to refer to the land promised to Abraham and his offspring but understands it as referring eschatologically to the entire world that is still to come and that his views in this regard thus differ from later Jewish views on the matter.

T. David Gordon²²⁴ (2019) is of the opinion that Paul uses synecdoche in Galatians to distinguish between three different covenant administrations: "promise", "law" and "faith". This implies that both current Protestant and New Perspective approaches to the covenant in the letter are wrong. These scholars do not realise that Paul's reasoning was covenant-historical and that he thought of the new covenant as a covenant in its own right that displaced the Sinai covenant. According to Scott J. Hafemann²²⁵ (2019), from Galatians 3 and 4 it is clear that Paul thought that the eschatological restoration had dawned in Christ, thus ending the era of the Sinai covenant. However, the two covenants (of the flesh and of the Spirit respectively) would continue until the present evil age comes to an end.

On the basis of Galatians 3 and 4, and Romans 11 and 15, Carlos Gil Arbiol²²⁶ (2019) argues for a coherence in Paul's theology and a respect for his Jewish identity. Paul made an unusual contribution through his view that Gentiles had to be included in Israel in order for it to be renewed. He based congregations on this belief, but the project failed because Israel did not accept Christ as the Messiah. Eventually the process developed in ways

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- bib.100.1.3286053
- 223 M.G. Echevarria Jr., *The Future Inheritance of Land in the Pauline Epistles* (Eugene OR: Pickwick Publications, 2019), pp. 104–140.
- 224 T.D. Gordon, *Promise, Law, Faith: Covenant-Historical Reasoning in Galatians* (Peabody MA: Hendrickson Academic, 2019).
- 225 S.J. Hafemann, *Paul: Servant of the New Covenant: Pauline Polarities in Eschatological Perspective* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.435, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), pp. 52–89. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157702-4> Updated version of: S.J. Hafemann, "Paul and the Exile of Israel in Galatians 3–4", in: J.M. Scott (ed.), *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish and Christian Conceptions* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 56, Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 329–371.
- 226 C. Gil Arbiol, "La Novedad de Pablo en el Judaísmo se Su Tiempo: Un Debate Que No Acaba", *Revista Bíblica* 81:1/2 (2019), pp. 91–117. <https://doi.org/10.47182/rb.81.n-201934>

that Paul had not foreseen. *Philip la G. du Toit*²²⁷ (2020) argues that it is not correct to think of replacement theology as anti-Semitic. New Testament writings (amongst others, Galatians) use a variety of concepts to refer to the notion of replacement and it is clear that the criteria for membership are replaced in the new era in Christ and aspects such as race and ethnicity do not play a role anymore. Such a notion cannot be anti-Semitic.

In a study of Paul and the marginalised, *Carla Swafford Works*²²⁸ (2020) reads Paul's references to inheritance from the perspective of the Galatians as a subjugated people whose land the Romans had taken away. For them, the reference to the promises of Abraham and the way in which Paul links this to new life in the Spirit, inheriting the kingdom of God and the dawn of the new creation, would indeed have been good news.

(See also the discussion of studies on the term "Israel of God" in 6:16 in Volume 2.)

12. Law

This theme has received much attention from scholars. This overview begins with studies of a more general nature before moving to studies focusing on specific aspects of the law in the letter.

12.1 Studies on the law in Galatians of a more general nature

*Fabian E. Udoh*²²⁹ (2000) is of the opinion that Paul's negative views on the law were caused by the crisis in Galatia and that the antitheses circumcision/faith and law/faith formed part of his response to this crisis, after which they became part of the way in which he described the role of the law in salvation history. *L. Ann Jervis*²³⁰ (2000) explains Paul's rhetoric in 3:19–25 in terms of an argument based on God's faithfulness. God placed functional and temporal limits on the law, according to his redemptive plan. *Wolfgang Reinbold*²³¹ (2000) argues that it is clear from 3:6–14 (and other Pauline passages) that Paul thought it was possible to

227 P. la G. du Toit, "Is Replacement Theology Anti-Semitic?", *In die Skriflig* 54:1 (2020), pp. 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.4102/ids.v54i1.2536>

228 C.S. Works, *The Least of These: Paul and the Marginalized* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2020), pp. 87–107.

229 F.E. Udoh, "Paul's Views on the Law: Questions About Origin (Gal. 1:6–2:21; Phil. 3:2–11)", *Novum Testamentum* 42:3 (2000), pp. 214–237. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156853600506636>

230 L.A. Jervis, "Galatians 3:19–25 as an Argument for God's Faithfulness: Reading Paul's Rhetoric in Light of His Strategy", *Word & World* 20:3 (2000), pp. 281–298.

231 W. Reinbold, "Gal 3,6–14 und das Problem der Erfüllbarkeit des Gesetzes bei Paulus", *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*

keep the law. However, he believed that only faith and not the keeping of the law could bring about justification.

In a discussion of Paul's view of the law in Galatians, *Jan Lambrecht*²³² (2001) points out that he regarded the Christ event as a new initiative from God, totally overshadowing the law so that even the positive striving to keep the law did not make sense anymore. According to *Moisés Silva*²³³ (2001), in Galatians 3, Paul is only critical of the soteriological function of the law. The law merely prepared for Christ's coming, but it cannot give life. Accordingly, one may not radicalise the distinction between God's promise and the law. *Pratrap Chandre Gine*²³⁴ (2001) draws attention to the parallels between Paul's and Philo's views of the law and argues that Galatians is best understood in terms of the multi-ethnic setup so characteristic of the Graeco-Roman world. Gine also works out the implications of all of this for translating and interpreting Galatians in Bengali.

*Robert L. Brawley*²³⁵ (2002) contends that Paul believed that without the Abrahamic covenant, the Mosaic covenant equalled slavery. He thus synthesised the Mosaic and the Abrahamic covenants, as is clear from his discussion of the law in 3:19–22 and the interplay between the allegory in 4:21–31 and Isaiah. *A. Andrew Das*²³⁶ (2003) agrees with E.P. Sanders's view that it is wrong to describe the self-understanding of the Jews of Paul's time as legalistic. Yet Das also thinks that after the Damascus event Paul realised that obedience to the law constituted some kind of legalistic perfectionism. According to *Roland Bergmeier*²³⁷ (2003), in 3:19a, the law is not linked to justification but to transgressions. Its role is thus depicted as that of a caretaker ("Betreuerin") of Jewish sinners.

und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 91:1–2 (2000), pp. 91–106. <https://doi.org/10.1515/zntw.2000.91.1-2.91>

232 J. Lambrecht, "Second Thoughts: Some Reflections on the Law in Galatians", *Landas* 15:1 (2001), pp. 68–77.

233 M. Silva, *Interpreting Galatians: Explorations in Exegetical Method* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2001 [1996], 2nd edition), pp. 187–195.

234 P.C. Gine, *Nomos in Context: Philo, Galatians and the Bengali Bible* (Delhi: ISPCK, 2001).

235 R.L. Brawley, "Contextuality, Intertextuality, and the Hendiadic Relationship of Promise and Law in Galatians", *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 93:1–2 (2002), pp. 99–119. <https://doi.org/10.1515/zntw.2002.010>

236 A.A. Das, *Paul and the Jews* (Library of Pauline Studies, Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 2003).

237 R. Bergmeier, "'Welche Bedeutung kommt dann dem Gesetz zu?' (Gal 3,19a)", *Theologische Zeitschrift* 59:1 (2003), pp. 35–48. <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-877914>

Friedrich Avemarie²³⁸ (2005) argues that Paul uses Leviticus 18:5 in different ways in Romans and Galatians. In Galatians 3:12, he uses it to show that the law has nothing to do with faith, but in Romans 10:5, he interprets the “doing” of the law in a Christian sense. Jens Schröter²³⁹ (2007) offers a detailed analysis of Paul’s views on the law in Galatians, arguing that when writing this letter, Paul was confronted for the first time with the problem of defining the position of the Gentiles within the Christian community from a theological perspective. He did this in a creative way by distinguishing between promise and law in order to link the particularity of the Jewish law with the universality of the Christ event.

Todd A. Wilson²⁴⁰ (2007) believes that the “agitators” (as Wilson calls them) warned the Galatians that they would be cursed by God if they were not circumcised. In contrast, Paul argued that fulfilment of “the law of Christ” is necessary, by loving one another in the Spirit and by bearing the burdens of others. On the basis of 3:10–14, Vincent M. Smiles²⁴¹ (2008) describes Paul’s main problem with the law as its inability to foster obedience. Thus, Paul regards it as a curse on humankind. However, this does not mean that he rejects its ongoing value. According to R. Barry Matlock²⁴² (2009), from 3:10–14 it is clear that Paul thought that the law

238 F. Avemarie, “Paul and the Claim of the Law According to Scripture: Leviticus 18:5 in Galatians 3:12 and Romans 10:5”, in: J. Pastor and M. Mor (eds.), *The Beginnings of Christianity: A Collection of Articles* (Jerusalem: Yad ben-Zvi Press, 2005), pp. 125–148. Also available in: J. Frey and A. Standhartinger (eds.), *Friedrich Avemarie: Neues Testament und frührabbinisches Judentum: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.316, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), pp. 511–530. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-152924-5>

239 J. Schröter, “Die Universalisierung des Gesetzes im Galaterbrief: Ein Beitrag zum Gesetzesverständnis des Paulus”, in: J. Schröter (ed.), *Von Jesus zum Neuen Testament: Studien zur urchristlichen Theologiegeschichte und zur Entstehung des neutestamentlichen Kanons* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.204, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), pp. 171–201. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-151493-7>

240 T.A. Wilson, *The Curse of the Law and the Crisis in Galatia: Reassessing the Purpose of Galatians* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.225, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157075-9>

241 V.M. Smiles, “The Blessing of Israel and the ‘Curse of the Law’: A Study of Galatians 3:10–14”, *Studies in Christian-Jewish Relations* 3:1 (2008), pp. 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.6017/scjr.v3i1.1481>

242 R.B. Matlock, “Helping Paul’s Argument Work? The Curse of Galatians 3.10–14”, in: M. Tait and P. Oakes (eds.), *The Torah in the New Testament: Papers Delivered at the Manchester-Lausanne Seminar of June 2008* (Library of New Testament Studies 401, London: T & T Clark, 2009), pp. 154–179.

had a very important role but that its role had ended with Christ's arrival. The actual words of the law were Scripture and the main thing Scripture still revealed was that the law no longer had any significance.

In a study of law and covenant in Pauline theology, Jason C. Meyer²⁴³ (2009) contends that Paul regarded the Mosaic covenant as essentially non-eschatological, differing from the (eschatologically) new covenant. In Galatians 3–4, Paul highlights the fact that the Mosaic covenant was wrongly understood as still having a soteriological function after it was divinely terminated. According to Mark D. Nanos²⁴⁴ (2009), the idea that Paul did not follow Jewish dietary regulations and that he did not want his followers to observe them does not hold true, since texts such as 2:11–15 (and 1 Corinthians 8–10 and Romans 14–15) that are interpreted to support such a view actually show the opposite.

Nicole Chibici-Revneanu²⁴⁵ (2009) compares Paul's views of the law in Galatians and Romans and detects a specific development in Romans. In Galatians, the law is depicted as the oppressor, but in Romans, it is depicted as itself being governed by sin and in need of liberation by the Spirit. Peter Oakes²⁴⁶ (2009) highlights the relationship between theology and law in Galatians, arguing that any optimistic reading of the law in this letter is misguided, since, according to Paul, the law had an important role historically, but that role ended with the coming of Christ. Debbie Hunn²⁴⁷ (2010) explains Paul's logic in 2:14–21 as follows: 1. The law does not justify humans but condemns them (expressed in the first-person plural); 2. Since Christ liberated believers from the law, they should not return to it (expressed in the first person singular).

243 J.C. Meyer, *The End of the Law: Mosaic Covenant in Pauline Theology* (NAC Studies in Bible & Theology 6, Nashville TN: Broadman & Holman, 2009), pp. 116–176.

244 M.D. Nanos, "The Myth of the 'Law-Free' Paul Standing between Christians and Jews", *Studies in Christian-Jewish Relations* 4:1 (2009), pp. 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.6017/scjr.v4i1.1511>

245 N. Chibici-Revneanu, "Der befreite Unterdrücker: Beherrschungs- und Befreiungsmetaphorik in der Beschreibung des Gesetzes im Galater- und im Römerbrief", in: U. Schnelle (ed.), *The Letter to the Romans* (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 226, Leuven: Peeters, 2009), pp. 425–439.

246 P. Oakes, "Law and Theology in Galatians", in: P. Oakes and M. Tait (eds.), *Torah in the New Testament: Papers Delivered at the Manchester-Lausanne Seminar of June 2008* (Library of New Testament Studies 401, London/New York NY: T & T Clark, 2009), pp. 143–153.

247 D. Hunn, "Christ versus the Law: Issues in Galatians 2:17–18", *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 72:3 (2010), pp. 537–555.

Holly Taylor Coolman²⁴⁸ (2010) opts for replacing the notion of supersession with a focus on Christ in relation to the law and the law in relation to Christ. In the case of 3:28, Taylor stresses the fact that being clothed in Christ depicts the context within which the obligation of individuals is placed. Gab-Jon Choi²⁴⁹ (2011) offers a hermeneutical-rhetorical analysis of 3:10–12 in which the reciprocal relationship between the law and faith is highlighted. Yon-Gyong Kwon²⁵⁰ (2011) contrasts the failure of the law to give life with the ability of the gospel to do so. From Galatians and Romans, it is clear that Paul was of the view that God did not intend the law to be the source of the life-giving Spirit, as it is weak.

Jin Seob Lee²⁵¹ (2011) thinks that Paul's view of the law in Galatians and Romans is positive, as he thinks of it as revealing God's norms, enabling humans to identify sin and as being able to lead humans to Christ. However, Paul had a quite negative view of contemporary Jewish nomism. A. Andrew Das²⁵² (2012) disagrees with the widespread notion that the premise omitted in 3:10 is that people are unable to obey the law perfectly. Das provides evidence from Deuteronomy and Second Temple Judaism that such a premise would not have been strange in Paul's time. Sławomir Stasiak²⁵³ (2012) points out that Paul only criticises the "works of the law" in Galatians, since he views them as insufficient for the education of believers. The only proper education for them is the gospel of Christ that he received directly from the Risen Christ.

Waldemar Rakocy²⁵⁴ (2013) argues that if one compares the term διατάσσω ("ordain") in 3:19 to its use in other Greek sources, it is clear

248 H.T. Coolman, "Christological Torah", *Studies in Christian-Jewish Relations* 5:1 (2010), pp. 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.6017/scjr.v5i1.1557>

249 G.-J. Choi, "The Reciprocal Relationship between Law and Faith in Galatians 3:10–12", *신약논단* 18:4 (2011), pp. 1145–1181.

250 Y.-G. Kwon, "The Law Which Cannot Give Life and the Life-Giving Gospel: Paul's Gospel and His View of the Law", *Canon & Culture* 5:2 (2011), pp. 45–80.

251 J.S. Lee, "Paul and the Law: Paul's Understanding of the Law Commonly Delineated in Romans and Galatians", *Canon & Culture* 5:2 (2011), pp. 5–45.

252 A.A. Das, "Galatians 3:10: A 'Newer Perspective' on an Omitted Premise", in: C.W. Skinner and K.R. Iverson (eds.), *Unity and Diversity in the Gospels and Paul: Essays in Honor of Frank J. Matera* (SBL Early Christianity and Its Literature 7, Atlanta GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), pp. 203–223. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt32bz4b.17>

253 S. Stasiak, "Niewystarczalność Prawa w Wychowaniu Według Listu do Galatów", *Verbum Vitae* 21 (2012), pp. 159–181. <https://doi.org/10.31743/vv.1541>

254 W. Rakocy, "Znaczenie Czasownika διατάσσω w Źródłach Biblijnych: W Nawiązaniu do διαταγεις δι' αγγελων w Ga 3,19b", *The Biblical Annals* 3:2

that Paul ascribes more competences to the angels than were normally assumed in Judaism. According to this verse, they did not merely play a mediating role but were themselves responsible for administering the law, as well as its shape. It was also their initiative to instruct humanity by means of the law. *Francesco Bianchini*²⁵⁵ (2013) detects a coherent development in Paul's references to the law in 5:13–6:10 (in 5:14, 23 and 6:2), culminating in 6:2 where Paul claims that believers do not need the law of Moses anymore, since they have “the law of Christ” and are guided by the Spirit.

*Debbie Hunn*²⁵⁶ (2013) is of the opinion that the whole pericope 3:19–25 addresses the function of the law. Paul first highlights the inferiority of the law to the promise. This leads to his question in v. 21 and the analogy of a jailer and a pedagogue in the rest of the pericope. *Paul C. Maxwell*²⁵⁷ (2013) disagrees with Krister Stendahl's view of Paul's robust conscience. One of the arguments that Maxwell advances is that Stendahl interpreted 3:24 incorrectly. The law did not lose its relevance when the Messiah came: it only stopped imprisoning believers. *Todd A. Wilson*²⁵⁸ (2013) disagrees with scholars who think that Paul argues for the supersession and the superfluity of the law in Galatians. Paul instead tries to convince his Gentile readers that the curse of the law was suspended for believers who walk by the Spirit and in this way fulfil the law.

According to *Brian S. Rosner*²⁵⁹ (2013), Paul continually treats the law in three ways in his letters: he repudiates, replaces and reappropriates it. This also happens in Galatians, in which case he repudiates it in 3:23–25 and 5:18, replaces it in 2:5, 14, 3:23–25, 5:18 and 6:2 and reappropriates it in 4:21–31 (as prophecy) and 5:14 (as wisdom). *Seung Moon Lee*²⁶⁰ (2014)

(2013), pp. 383–419.

255 F. Bianchini, “Il νόμος in Gal 5,13–6,10”, *Biblica* 94:1 (2013), pp. 47–62.

256 D. Hunn, “‘Why Therefore the Law?’ The Role of the Law in Galatians 3:19–20”, *Neotestamentica* 47:2 (2013), pp. 355–372.

257 P.C. Maxwell, “Analyzing the Apostle Paul's ‘Robust Conscience’: Identifying and Engaging the Psychological Concerns of Krister Stendahl's Inceptive Article”, *The Westminster Theological Journal* 75:1 (2013), pp. 145–164.

258 T.A. Wilson, “The Supersession and Superfluity of the Law? Another Look at Galatians”, in: D. Rudolph and J. Willitts (eds.), *Introduction to Messianic Judaism: Its Ecclesial Context and Biblical Foundations* (Grand Rapids MI: Zondervan, 2013), pp. 235–242.

259 B.S. Rosner, *Paul and the Law: Keeping the Commandments of God* (New Studies in Biblical Theology 31, Downers Grove IL/Nottingham: IVP Academic, 2013).

260 S.M. Lee, “Christ, the Triple Object of Curses, Blessings, and Promises, and the Galatian Church: Focusing on the Structural Analysis and Social Situation of Galatians 3:10–14”, *한국신약학회* 21:4 (2014), pp. 1129–1162.

notes that Paul links three concepts, “curse”, “blessing” and “promise”, to Christ in 3:10–14. Furthermore, Paul puts everyone as well as Christ under the curse in order to restore the peace amongst the Galatians. *Stefan Nordgaard*²⁶¹ (2014) interprets Paul’s view of the law reflected in 3:19–20 as follows: God commissioned a group of angels to ordain the law. God was thus behind the law, but he was neither responsible for, nor attached to it. According to Nordgaard, there is some similarity between Paul’s views and Philo’s views on the origin of sin.

A. *Chadwick Thornhill*²⁶² (2014) draws attention to Paul’s “spherical language” when he talks about Christ and the law in Galatians as is evident from his use of three prepositions (ἐν [“in”], ἐκ [“from”] and ὑπό [“under”]). Paul chiefly contrasts people belonging to the realm of Christ with those belonging to the realm of the law. *Peter von der Osten-Sacken*²⁶³ (2014) highlights the implications of 4:4 for Paul’s view of the law. Von der Osten-Sacken summarises this perspective as a depiction of the law in the field of tension (“Spannungsfeld”) between eschatology and history. Through Christ the era of the law has come to an end. This implies on the one hand that believers were liberated from the law that condemned them, but on the other hand that the law also protects them against enthusiasm, making it possible for them to live in this world. In another contribution, *Von der Osten-Sacken*²⁶⁴ (2014) points out an issue in Paul’s view of the law that is often ignored, namely that of freedom *by means of* the law, in particular the Pauline idea that freedom towards other people becomes possible through a contemplation of what the law requires in this regard and what the Spirit enables through the keeping of the law.

On the basis of the depiction of Abraham in 3:6–14, *Thomas Witulski*²⁶⁵ (2014) argues that Paul’s opponents in Galatia believed that sonship of Abraham (i.e., the blessing and justification associated with

261 S. Nordgaard, “Paul and the Provenance of the Law: The Case of Galatians 3,19–20”, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 105:1 (2014), pp. 64–79. <https://doi.org/10.1515/znw-2014-0004>

262 A.C. Thornhill, “‘Spheres of Influence’ in the Epistle to the Galatians”, *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 36:1 (2014), pp. 21–41. <https://doi.org/10.1163/18712207-12341268>

263 P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Der Gott der Hoffnung: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Theologie des Paulus* (Studien zu Kirche und Israel: Neue Folge 3, Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2014), pp. 248–285.

264 P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Der Gott der Hoffnung: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Theologie des Paulus* (Studien zu Kirche und Israel: Neue Folge 3, Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2014), pp. 356–368.

265 T. Witulski, “Die Gestalt des Abraham als Beleg für die soteriologische Dysfunktionalität des νόμος: Erwägungen zu Struktur und Argumenta-

this notion) was based on the law. In this part of the letter, Paul thus argues against such a “soteriological dysfunctionality” of the law. Rodney Reeves²⁶⁶ (2015) claims that “Paul saw himself as the mediator of the law of Christ, the ‘new’ Moses of the Abrahamic covenant fulfilled in Christ Jesus. Paul was the one who delivered the gospel to them, and therefore he was the only one appointed by God to interpret the law of Christ for them.”²⁶⁷ Christopher Zoccali²⁶⁸ (2015) is of the opinion that Paul’s purpose in 3:10–12 is to dissuade Gentile believers from accepting proselyte conversion while he still accepts that the law remains valid for defining Jewish identity.

Debbie Hunn²⁶⁹ (2015) thinks that in order to make sense of Paul’s argument in 3:10–12, one should realise that his implicit assumption in v. 10 is not that no one can keep the law (the Galatians would not agree with such a view) but that the law either justifies people or condemns them. There is not a third option. In another contribution (on 3:22–23), Hunn²⁷⁰ (2015) disagrees with scholars who interpret Paul as saying that the law condemned the world so that Christ would be their only hope. The law rather punished transgressions so that the Abrahamic promise could be received by faith. Jason A. Staples²⁷¹ (2015) explains the text-critical alternative “deeds” instead of “transgressions” in 3:19a as “1) an orthodox corruption to exclude Marcionite and other demiurgic interpretations and 2) an important example of an early Latin harmonization impacting the readings of P⁴⁶ and other early manuscripts”.²⁷²

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- tion von Gal 3,6–14”, *Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* 39 (2014), pp. 159–205.
- 266 R. Reeves, “The New Moses of the Law of Christ: Paul in Galatians”, *Criswell Theological Review* 12:2 (2015), pp. 71–82.
- 267 *Op. cit.*, p. 72.
- 268 C. Zoccali, “What’s the Problem with the Law? Jews, Gentiles, and Covenant Identity in Galatians 3:10–12”, *Neotestamentica* 49:2 (2015), pp. 377–415. <https://doi.org/10.1353/neo.2016.0006>
- 269 D. Hunn, “Galatians 3.10–12: Assumptions and Argumentation”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 37:3 (2015), pp. 253–266. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X14565571> Jan Lambrecht disagrees with Hunn. See: J. Lambrecht, *In Search of Meaning: Collected Notes on the New Testament (2014–2017)* (Balti: Scholars’ Press, 2017), pp. 443–448.
- 270 D. Hunn, “Does the Law Condemn the World? Law, Sin, and Faith in Galatians 3,22–23”, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 106:2 (2015), pp. 245–261. <https://doi.org/10.1515/znw-2015-0015>
- 271 J.A. Staples, “Altered Because of Transgressions? The ‘Law of Deeds’ in Gal 3,19a”, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 106:1 (2015), pp. 126–135. <https://doi.org/10.1515/znw-2015-0007>
- 272 *Op. cit.*, p. 127.

In a comparison between the depiction of the law in Galatians and 4 Maccabees, *Thomas Witulski*²⁷³ (2015) finds Paul's view of the law to be the exact opposite ("Negativfolie") of the view of the law in 4 Maccabees. For example, Paul rejects the primacy of the law when it comes to salvation and regards it as only a preserving pedagogue, whereas 4 Maccabees portrays the law as a teacher guiding people to salvation. *Guido Baltes*²⁷⁴ (2016) disagrees with the widespread idea that "freedom from the law" is a characteristic of Paul's theology. The expression occurs twice in Romans and is absent from Galatians, and the statements in Galatians that are often interpreted as indicating freedom from the law, such as being "under" the law and being supervised by a pedagogue, focus on other issues.

*Christoph Heil*²⁷⁵ (2016) points out that Paul does not deny the divine establishment of the law but relativises its significance in salvation history. The Galatians should keep to the promise that came directly from God and not to the law which came to humanity through a twofold mediation (Heil describes the law as "doppelt vermittelt"). *Gary E. Gilthvedt*²⁷⁶ (2016) evaluates the level of continuity between the law and Paul's gospel by interpreting 2:19 in the light of the letter as a whole. Gilthvedt argues that the law primarily bestows curse and death. Even Christ's death was caused by the power of the law and, according to v. 19, believers died with him on the cross. *Brigitte Kahl*²⁷⁷ (2016) is of the opinion that the law that Paul opposed in Galatians was not the Jewish

273 T. Witulski, "Das Konzept des νόμος im Vierten Buch der Makkabäer und im Galaterbrief", in: C. Breytenbach (ed.), *Paul's Graeco-Roman Context* (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologiarum Lovaniensium 277, Leuven/Paris/Bristol CT: Peeters, 2015), pp. 545–562.

274 G. Baltes, "'Freiheit vom Gesetz' – Eine paulinische Formel? Paulus zwischen jüdischem Gesetz und christlicher Freiheit", in: A.D. Baum, D. Häusser and E.L. Rehfeld (eds.), *Der jüdische Messias: Jesus und sein jüdischer Apostel Paulus* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.425, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), pp. 265–314. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-153873-5>

275 C. Heil, "'Angeordnet durch Engel durch die Hand eines Mittlers' (Gal 3,19): Das paulinische Konzept von der Vermittlung der Tora", in: A. Taschl-Erber and I. Fischer (eds.), *Vermittelte Gegenwart: Konzeptionen der Gottespräsenz von der Zeit des Zweiten Tempels bis Anfang des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.367, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), pp. 229–243. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-154725-6>

276 G.E. Gilthvedt, *Dying and Deliverance: Searching Paul's Law – Gospel Tension* (Eugene OR: Wipf & Stock, 2016).

277 B. Kahl, "Paul and the Law in Galatians: Roman Nomos or Jewish Torah?", in: K.L. Bloomquist, C.L. Nessian and H.G. Ulrich (eds.), *Radicalizing Reformation: Perspectives from North America* (Die

Torah but the law enforced by and embodied in the Roman Empire. Paul's idea that "being in Christ" invalidated the typical dichotomies of human existence was unfortunately soon lost and the notion of solidarity across all borders should again become a central notion in our time.

On the basis of 5:2–4, *Daniel H. Fletcher*²⁷⁸ (2016) describes the opponents' view of the law as "retrograde redemptive history". They did not realise that Christ's death inaugurated a new era characterised by his faithfulness and instead opted for a form of token-obedience to the law. In a study of Paul and the Gentile problem, *Matthew Thiessen*²⁷⁹ (2016) argues that Paul's views in 4:21–31 (and on the law in Romans 2) fitted in well with the thinking of some Jews in his time who rejected the idea that Gentiles could become Jews by being circumcised and adopting the law. In this passage, Paul equates Gentiles opting for circumcision with Ishmael, and his opponents with Hagar. *Ben C. Dunson*²⁸⁰ (2017) interprets the antithesis between faith and law in 3:12 as a view pertaining only to the question of how people are justified. This verse should thus not be interpreted as implying an absolute antithesis between the Mosaic covenant and grace.

According to *Paula Fredriksen*²⁸¹ (2017), Paul opposed Judaizing, but not Judaism as such. When he spoke against the observance of the law, he specifically referred to attempts to Judaize Gentile believers and to force them to be circumcised. He did not object to Jewish believers doing so. In a study of the development of Jewish identity from Deuteronomy to Paul, *John J. Collins*²⁸² (2017) stresses Paul's commitment to the ethical dimension of the law rather than issues such as the keeping of the Sabbath and circumcision. Furthermore, for Paul the ethical dimension of the law

Reformation radikalieren/Radicalizing Reformation 6, Zürich: LIT Verlag, 2016), pp. 59–90.

278 D.H. Fletcher, "Retrograde Redemptive History: The Law in Galatians 5:2–4", *Restoration Quarterly* 58:1 (2016), pp. 23–38.

279 M. Thiessen, *Paul and the Gentile Problem* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 73–101. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190271756.001.0001>

280 B.C. Dunson, "'The Law Evidently Is Not Contrary to Faith': Galatians and The Republication of the Covenant of Works", *Westminster Theological Journal* 79:2 (2017), pp. 243–266.

281 P. Fredriksen, *Paul: The Pagans' Apostle* (New Haven CT/London: Yale University Press, 2017).

282 J.J. Collins, *The Invention of Judaism: Torah and Jewish Identity from Deuteronomy to Paul* (Taubman Lectures in Jewish Studies 7, Oakland CA: University of California Press, 2017), pp. 159–181. <https://doi.org/10.1525/california/9780520294110.001.0001>

became effective only through faith in Christ. *Thomas Johann Bauer*²⁸³ (2017) discusses Paul's view of Moses. From Paul's letters it is clear that he only mentions Moses incidentally, and only when his argument requires it. In 3:19–25, Paul downplays Moses's status because he wants his readers not to keep on practising the law.

According to *Gilbert Meilaender*²⁸⁴ (2018), Paul warns believers in Galatians that they should not rely on the works of the law, but this does not mean that they can ignore the moral side of the law, since it should still shape their conduct. *Karl Olav Sandnes*²⁸⁵ (2018) uses mirror-reading to determine what Paul's opponents objected to with regard to his view of the law and why they did so. Sandnes identifies three embedded dictas in Galatians, reflecting the views of the opponents: 2:17 (Paul's teaching about the law and sin is absurd), 3:21 (Paul believed that the law was opposed to the promises of God) and 5:11 (Paul will eventually realise that the Abraham story that he bases his views on includes circumcision).

In a discussion of Paul's views of the Torah in Galatians, *Martin Meiser*²⁸⁶ (2018) identifies the threefold role that it had before Christ came: announcing, cursing and restricting. After Christ had come, it began to function as a command to love. According to Meiser, the way in which Paul interprets the LXX in this regard was similar to what happened in other Jewish and Christian writings. *Serge Ruzer*²⁸⁷ (2018) examines Paul's liberation language in Galatians against the broader Jewish tradition

283 T.J. Bauer, "... angeordnet durch die Engel mit Hilfe eines Mittlers' (Gal 3,19): Gestalt und Rolle des Mose in den Briefen des Paulus", in: M. Sommer, E. Eynikel, V. Niederhofer and E. Hernitscheck (eds.), *Mosebilder: Gedanken zur Rezeption einer literarischen Figur in Frühjudentum, frühen Christentum und der römisch-hellenistischen Literatur* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.390, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), pp. 211–252. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-155809-2>

284 G. Meilaender, "The Decalogue as the Law of Christ", *Pro Ecclesia* 27:3 (2018), pp. 338–349. <https://doi.org/10.1177/106385121802700312>

285 K.O. Sandnes, *Paul Perceived: An Interactionist Perspective on Paul and the Law* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.412, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), pp. 55–91. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-156102-3>

286 M. Meiser, "Torah in Galatians: The Significance of the Reception of the Septuagint", in: J. Høgenhaven, J.T. Nielsen and H. Omerzu (eds.), *Rewriting and Reception in and of the Bible* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.396, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), pp. 181–201. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-155439-1>

287 S. Ruzer, "Paul as an Early Witness to the Jewish Notion of Liberation-through-Torah", *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 41:1 (2018), pp. 82–94. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064x18788980>

and argues that the way in which Paul linked the law to liberty suggests that he should be viewed as a witness to such a way of thinking in Judaism around the middle of the first century CE and attested in later rabbinic sources.

According to *Linda L. Belleville*²⁸⁸ (2019), Paul's use of the Sinai-mediator tradition in 3:19–20 does not indicate the inferiority of the law (as many scholars assume). Instead, it highlights the weakness of Israel. In a study of the condemning and enslaving power of the law, *Bryan Blazosky*²⁸⁹ (2019) points out that Paul thought that both Gentile and Jewish believers were cursed by the law and had to be rescued from its power. The notion of universal accountability to the law was in line with what is found in some Jewish writings, but the most important difference is that he drew the line between people belonging to Christ and those that did not belong to him. Paul's negative view of the law was also not shared by other Second Temple Jewish writings.

*Charles E. Cruise*²⁹⁰ (2019) develops a typology for detecting hyperbole which is then used to argue that the texts in Galatians creating the impression that Paul is ambivalent about the role of the Jewish law are hyperbolic and should thus not be taken as an indication of a negative view of the law. Paul's view of the law was quite positive. *Néstor O. Míguez*²⁹¹ (2019) approaches Paul's view of liberty and justice in Romans and Galatians from the perspective of the notion of "device" (Foucault and Agamben). For Paul the law as a "device" was replaced by a disposition according to which believers were called to freedom in Christ, meant to make them instruments of justice under the mandate of love. This implies that the law of the market should be replaced by a sensitivity for vulnerable people.

288 L.L. Belleville, "The Sinai-μεσότης Tradition in Galatians 3:19–20", in: S.E. Porter and C.D. Land (eds.), *Paul and Scripture* (Pauline Studies 10, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2019), pp. 325–334. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004391512_016

289 B. Blazosky, *The Law's Universal Condemning and Enslaving Power: Reading Paul, the Old Testament, and Second Temple Jewish Literature* (Bulletin for Biblical Research Supplements 24, University Park PA: Eisenbrauns, 2019).

290 C.E. Cruise, *Writing on the Edge: Paul's Use of Hyperbole in Galatians* (Eugene OR: Pickwick, 2019).

291 N.O. Míguez, "Entre la Libertad y la Justicia: De Gálatas a Romanos", *Revista Bíblica* 81:1/2 (2019), pp. 137–153. <https://doi.org/10.47182/rb.81.n-201932>

One of the passages that *Kent L. Yinger*²⁹² (2019) discusses in a study of perfection in the Biblical tradition is 3:10. According to Yinger, Paul's aim is to prove that Gentile believers do not have to adopt a Jewish lifestyle in order to be part of God's people. He is not interested in showing that all people are sinners because they cannot keep the law perfectly. *Dae-Joo Lee*²⁹³ (2020) focuses on the concept "liberty" in Galatians. The letter shows that Paul understands it as freedom from circumcision as well as from keeping the law, and that he uses various strategies in the letter in order to safeguard the freedom of the readers.

12.2 The expression "works of the law"

*Denis R. Lindsay*²⁹⁴ (2000) draws attention to three parallel expressions in 2:16–3:5: "faith of Christ", "works of the law" and "hearing of faith". Lindsay is of the opinion that the genitive should be interpreted in all three instances as an attributive genitive/genitive of quality, which means that "faith of Christ" should be interpreted as faith pertaining solely to Christ, faith that is consistent with Christ. *Martin G. Abegg Jr.*²⁹⁵ (2001) discusses the expression "works of the law" in 4QMMT and Paul, arguing that, although it is clear that Paul did not know 4QMMT, the theological issue reflected in 4QMMT in this regard apparently survived intact until the first century CE. *Robert Keith Rapa*²⁹⁶ (2001) interprets the expression "works of the law" as referring to legalistic observances of the Jewish law, which were mistakenly believed by Paul's opponents to be salvific.

*William Dumbrell*²⁹⁷ (2001) highlights a reluctance amongst New Testament scholars to give the covenant its due. According to Dumbrell, the term "works of the law" in 2:14–21 refers to the Sinai covenant and one should understand Paul as claiming that acceptance of the new covenant is only possible through faith in Christ. In

292 K.L. Yinger, *God and Human Wholeness: Perfection in Biblical and Theological tradition* (Eugene OR: Cascade Books, 2019), pp. 93–102.

293 D.J. Lee, "Paul's Protection of 'the Freedom' in the Galatian Church", *신학논단* 101 (2020), pp. 179–208. <https://doi.org/10.17301/tf.2020.09.101.179>

294 D.R. Lindsay, "Works of Law, Hearing of Faith and πίστις Χριστοῦ in Galatians 2:16–3:5", *Stone-Campbell Journal* 3:1 (2000), pp. 79–88.

295 M.G. Abegg Jr., "4QMMT, Paul, and 'Works of the Law'", in: P. Flint (ed.), *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape and Interpretation* (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature, Grand Rapids MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2001), pp. 203–216.

296 R.K. Rapa, *The Meaning of "Works of the Law" in Galatians and Romans* (Studies in Biblical Literature 31, New York NY: Peter Lang, 2001).

297 W. Dumbrell, "Galatians 2:14–21: A New Covenant Perspective", *European Journal of Theology* 10:2 (2001), pp. 105–116.

dialogue with recent studies on the term “works of the law”, *Michael Bachmann*²⁹⁸ (2005) opts for interpreting it as a reference to *halakhic* regulations. Paul believed that salvation was based on the Christ-event and not on the regulations of the law. *William D. Barrick*²⁹⁹ (2005) rejects the interpretation of “works of the law” by proponents of the New Perspective. Instead, Barrick understands the concept as referring to human deeds meant to earn merit with God.

*Hansoo Lee*³⁰⁰ (2006) interprets the expression “works of the law” as referring to the commandments of the law and argues that 3:10 states that all people continuing to base their salvation on the law are under a curse. *James D.G. Dunn and James H. Charlesworth*³⁰¹ (2006) detect a striking link between the expression “some works of Torah” in 4QMMT and the Letter to the Galatians, indicating that the vocabulary that Paul uses and his way of thinking about the law were also prevalent among other Jews. *Duk-Joong Kim*³⁰² (2007) points out that the concept “works of the law” in 4QMMT presupposes the notion of covenantal nomism and that this seems to be similar to what Paul has in mind when using this term in

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- 298 M. Bachmann, “Keil oder Mikroskop? Zur jüngeren Diskussion um den Ausdruck ‘Werke des Gesetzes’”, in: M. Bachmann and J. Woyke (eds.), *Lutherische und Neue Paulusperspektive: Beiträge zu einem Schlüsselproblem der gegenwärtigen exegetischen Diskussion* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.182, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), pp. 69–134. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157299-9> Also available in: M. Bachmann, *Von Paulus zur Apokalypse – und weiter: Exegetische und rezeptionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Neuen Testament (samt englischsprachigen Summaries)* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus/Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments 91, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), pp. 91–160. For a response and an attempt to offer a mediating position between Bachmann and Dunn, see: R.L. Brawley, “Meta-Ethics and the Role of Works of Law in Galatians”, in: M. Bachmann (ed.), *Lutherische und Neue Paulusperspektive: Beiträge zu einem Schlüsselproblem der gegenwärtigen exegetischen Diskussion* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.182, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), pp. 135–159. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157299-9>
- 299 W.D. Barrick, “The New Perspective and ‘Works of the Law’ (Gal 2:16 and Rom 3:20)”, *The Master’s Seminary Journal* 16:2 (2005), pp. 277–292.
- 300 H. Lee, “The Soteriology of Justification and the ‘Works of the Law’ in Galatians”, *Shinshin Journal* 5 (2006), pp. 89–135.
- 301 J.D.G. Dunn and J.H. Charlesworth, “Qumran’s *Some Works of Torah* (4Q394–399 [4QMMT]) and Paul’s Galatians”, in: J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: 3. The Scrolls and Christian Origins: The Second Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins* (Waco TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), pp. 187–201.
- 302 D.-J. Kim, “*m’sy htwrh* in 4QMMT and *ἔργα νόμου* in Galatians”, *신약연구* 6:3 (2007), pp. 619–643.

Galatians. Thus, it might be the case that in Galatians Paul made use of an existing polemical argument for his own purposes.

Jacqueline C.R. de Roo³⁰³ (2007) compares the expression “works of the law” at Qumran and in Paul. According to De Roo, at Qumran, it refers to deeds that were done in obedience to God’s law, which were regarded as a means of atonement. In Galatians, however, “works of the law” refers to the works of Abraham, which could not bring about atonement. Paul L. Owen³⁰⁴ (2007) interprets the genitive (“works of the law”) in Romans and Galatians as a subjective genitive, i.e., as referring to the works brought about by the law (which failed to produce righteousness). Michael Bachmann³⁰⁵ (2009) disagrees with explanations of “works of the law” as referring to good deeds of people (as Hofius proposes) and instead understands it as referring to *halakhot* (a set of regulations/boundary markers). Bachmann supports this choice by various texts: Revelation 2:26, T. Levi 19:1–2, 4QMMT C27 and y. Qid 63d. In another study, Bachmann³⁰⁶ (2010) focuses on the genitive expression “works of the law”, again arguing that it is to be interpreted as referring to *halakhot* distinguishing Jews from Gentiles.

303 J.C.R. de Roo, “Works of the Law” at Qumran and in Paul (New Testament Monographs 13, Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2007).

304 P.L. Owen, “The ‘Works of the Law’ in Romans and Galatians: A New Defense of the Subjective Genitive”, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 126:3 (2007), pp. 553–577. <https://doi.org/10.2307/27638452>

305 M. Bachmann, “Was für Praktiken? Zur jüngsten Diskussion um die ἔργα νόμου”, *New Testament Studies* 55:1 (2009), pp. 35–54. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S002868850900006X> Also available in: M. Bachmann, *Von Paulus zur Apokalypse – und weiter: Exegetische und rezeptionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Neuen Testament (samt englischsprachigen Summaries)* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus/ Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments 91, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), pp. 207–226.

306 M. Bachmann, “Bemerkungen zur Auslegung zweier Genitivverbindungen des Galaterbriefs: ‘Werke des Gesetzes’ (Gal 2,16 u.ö.) und ‘Israel Gottes’ (Gal 6,16)”, in: M. Bachmann and B. Kollmann (eds.), *Umstrittener Galaterbrief: Studien zur Situierung und Theologie des Paulus-Schreibens* (Biblich-Theologische Studien 106, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2010), pp. 95–118. Also available in: M. Bachmann, *Von Paulus zur Apokalypse – und weiter: Exegetische und rezeptionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Neuen Testament (samt englischsprachigen Summaries)* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus/ Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments 91, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), pp. 277–295.

Barry F. Parker³⁰⁷ (2013) reads the expression “works of the law” against the background of the Jewish settlement in Asia Minor, suggesting that Paul adapted Anatolian notions to serve his own polemic. The expression referred to particular works of the law practised by his opponents and covered (different) practices in Judaism and paganism. Todd Scacewater³⁰⁸ (2013) disagrees with the way in which proponents of the New Perspective on Paul interpret the expression “works of the law”. According to Scacewater, it is clear from 2:11–21 that it refers to the commandments of the law which were performed in order to be justified. Gaspar de Souza³⁰⁹ (2014) believes that the traditional interpretation of the term “works of the law” in 2:16 is correct and motivates this by means of a rhetorical and semantic interpretation of vv. 15–21. Le Chih Hsieh³¹⁰ (2018) interprets the genitive in “works of the law” as a subjective genitive and offers a new interpretation of the expression: it refers to the functions of the law or what the law characteristically does.

12.3 The expression “under the law” (3:23; 4:4–5, 21 and 5:18)

Joel Marcus³¹¹ (2001) is of the opinion that the expression “under the law” was first used by Paul’s opponents and that he adapted it and used it against them. In-Gyu Hong³¹² (2002) interprets the expression “under the law” in Galatians as indicative of the enslaving power of the law, causing a lack of freedom and an inability to determine one’s own life. Todd A. Wilson³¹³ (2005) believes that Paul used the expression as a rhetorical abbreviation for “under the curse of the law”. This implies that cursing plays a much more prominent role in Galatians than is generally recognised. In a study of the expression “under the law” in the

307 B.F. Parker, “‘Works of the Law’ and the Jewish Settlement in Asia Minor”, *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism* 9 (2013), pp. 42–96.

308 T. Scacewater, “Galatians 2:11–21 and the Interpretive Context of ‘Works of the Law’”, *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 56:2 (2013), pp. 307–323.

309 G. de Souza, “Novamente as Obras da Lei: Gálatas 2.16”, *Fides Reformata* 19:2 (2014), pp. 77–93.

310 L.C. Hsieh, “The Works of the Law as the Functions of Law”, *Sino-Christian Studies* 25 (2018), pp. 7–45.

311 J. Marcus, “‘Under the Law’: The Background of a Pauline Expression”, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 63:1 (2001), pp. 72–83.

312 I.-G. Hong, “Being ‘under the Law’ in Galatians”, *Evangelical Review of Theology* 26:4 (2002), pp. 354–372.

313 T.A. Wilson, “‘Under Law’ in Galatians: A Pauline Theological Abbreviation”, *Journal of Theological Studies* 56:2 (2005), pp. 362–392. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jts/fli108>

Pauline epistles, James D.G. Dunn³¹⁴ (2013) points out that most of Paul's fellow Jews might have regarded it a good position to find themselves in, but Paul had a different view. For him, it was similar to being "under the elements of the world" from which humankind had to be liberated in order to be "under grace" and be led by the Spirit.

12.4 The law as pedagogue (3:24–25)

J.C. O'Neill³¹⁵ (2001) discusses the references to pedagogues in 1 Corinthians 4:15 and Galatians 3:24–25 in terms of the ways in which Hellenistic and Jewish moralists used this family institution metaphorically. In 3:24, Paul uses it to depict the Jewish law as guiding Israel towards Christ and in 3:25 to portray the law as imprinting God's law on people's hearts. Sam Tsang³¹⁶ (2005) discusses pedagogue as a servile metaphor in Galatians, arguing that Paul emphasises the temporary nature of the law. It had a function only until Christ came. Michael J. Smith³¹⁷ (2006) discusses the cultural background of the pedagogue metaphor. According to Smith, Paul uses it in Galatians for two purposes: to highlight the temporary role of the law (that of a strict guardian) and to indicate that it prevented Israel from being contaminated by the religions of the Gentiles.

According to Dieter Sanger³¹⁸ (2006), the argumentative style, antithetic structure and broader context within which the pedagogue metaphor is used in Galatians makes it clear that the law is not depicted in a positive sense. It is portrayed as a "Bewahrer" (guard) rather than

314 J.D.G. Dunn, "Under the Law", in: J. Krans, B.J. Lietaert Peerbolte, P.-B. Smit and A.W. Zwiep (eds.), *Paul, John, and Apocalyptic Eschatology: Studies in Honour of Martinus C. de Boer* (Novum Testamentum Supplements 149, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2013), pp. 48–60. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004250369_005

315 J.C. O'Neill, "Pedagogues in the Pauline Corpus (1 Corinthians 4.15; Galatians 3.24, 25)", *Irish Biblical Studies* 23:2 (2001), pp. 50–65.

316 S. Tsang, *From Slaves to Sons: A New Rhetoric Analysis on Paul's Slave Metaphors in His Letter to the Galatians* (Studies in Biblical Literature 81, New York NY: Peter Lang, 2005).

317 M.J. Smith, "The Role of the Pedagogue in Galatians", *Bibliotheca Sacra* 163:650 (2006), pp. 197–214.

318 D. Sanger, "Das Gesetz ist unser παιδαγωγός geworden bis zu Christus' (Gal 3,24)", in: D. Sanger and M. Konradt (eds.), *Das Gesetz im fruhem Judentum und im Neuen Testament: Festschrift fur Christoph Burchard zum 75. Geburtstag* (Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments 57, Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht/Academic Press Fribourg, 2006), pp. 236–260.

as a “Bewacher” (guardian). *Craig A. Evans*³¹⁹ (2008) cites examples from the Graeco–Roman world where pedagogues are depicted as protecting the financial and legal interests of minors. Evans also notes that Plutarch referred to the law as a pedagogue. *Christian Laes*³²⁰ (2009) investigates 23 Greek inscriptions mentioning pedagogues and finds that they were usually slaves, that they typically stayed in contact with the children they tended to even after the children had reached adulthood, that some of these children in later life expressed their gratitude for the services rendered by the pedagogues, that pedagogues took pride in their jobs and that the term “pedagogue” eventually took on the meaning of instructor/teacher.

*Wilfried Eisele*³²¹ (2012) draws attention to the development of Paul’s notion of the pedagogue in the Pauline tradition. In 3:24–25, the law is depicted as a good educator that has fulfilled its role successfully. In later developments in the Pauline tradition, grace is also depicted as an educator (in Titus 2:11–14). Furthermore, Eisele discusses the similarities and differences in the way in which the law and grace are depicted as educators.

12.5 The expression “the law of Christ” in 6:2

*Claude Pigeon*³²² (2000) identifies three different ways in which the expression “the law of Christ” has been interpreted by scholars: the reinterpretation of the Mosaic law by Jesus Christ, a concept used by Paul’s opponents, and a reference to the commandment of love. Pigeon opts for interpreting it as a reference to mutual support, thus manifesting the love animating from the Christian community, a commandment addressed to all members. *Michael Winger*³²³ (2000) believes that the expression does not refer to any legal instruction: instead, it is a metaphor denoting the

319 C.A. Evans, “Paul and the Pagans”, in: S.E. Porter (ed.), *Paul: Jew, Greek, and Roman* (Pauline Studies 5, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2008), pp. 117–139. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004171596.i-370.49>

320 C. Laes, “Pedagogues in Greek Inscriptions in Hellenistic and Roman Antiquity”, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 171 (2009), pp. 113–122.

321 W. Eisele, “Vom ‘Zuchtmeister Gesetz’ zur ‘erziehenden Gnade’ (Gal 3,24f; Tit 2,11f): Religiöse Erziehung in der Paulustradition”, *Biblische Zeitschrift* 56:1 (2012), pp. 65–84. <https://doi.org/10.1163/25890468-056-01-90000004>

322 C. Pigeon, “‘La loi du Christ’ en Galates 6,2”, *Studies in Religion* 29:4 (2000), pp. 425–438.

323 M. Winger, “The Law of Christ”, *New Testament Studies* 46:4 (2000), pp. 537–546.

lordship of Christ over believers, practically implying that their lives are taken over by the Spirit.

One of the references that J. Louis Martyn³²⁴ (2003) discusses in a study of Paul's use of the term "law" plus the genitive is 6:2. According to Martyn, "Paul coins that expression in order to speak of the Law as it has been taken in hand by Christ, thus being delivered from its lethal alliance with Sin and made pertinent to the church's daily life."³²⁵ In a chapter on the expression "the law of Christ", Graham Stanton³²⁶ (2004) investigates several interpretations of the expression over time. Stanton opts for understanding it as referring to the Mosaic law as it was interpreted by Christ having as its essence the love commandment and a willingness to carry the burdens of others. According to Femi Adeyemi³²⁷ (2006), the law that Jeremiah refers to in Jeremiah 33:33 should be identified with "the law of Christ" that Paul mentions in 1 Corinthians 9:21 and Galatians 6:2.

Todd A. Wilson³²⁸ (2006) offers an overview of the shift in the way in which the expression has been interpreted. Formerly scholars tended to understand it as referring to something replacing the Mosaic law, but now more and more scholars prefer to link it directly to the Mosaic law. Wilson also points out the implications of this development. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor³²⁹ (2012) interprets the expression as meaning "the law which is Christ", which makes sense if one keeps Philo's notion of a person as "a living law" (a notion going back to ideas related to Hellenistic kingship) in mind. Francesco Bianchini³³⁰ (2013) detects a coherent development in Paul's references to the law in 5:13–6:10 (5:14, 23 and 6:2), culminating

324 J.L. Martyn, "Nomos Plus Genitive Noun in Paul: The History of God's Law", in: J.T. Fitzgerald, T.H. Olbricht and L.M. White (eds.), *Early Christianity and Classical Culture: Comparative Studies in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe* (Supplements to Novum Testamentum 110, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2003), pp. 575–587. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047402190_028

325 *Op. cit.*, p. 583.

326 G. Stanton, *Jesus and Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 110–123. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511616976>

327 F. Adeyemi, "The New Covenant Law and the Law of Christ", *Bibliotheca Sacra* 163:652 (2006), pp. 438–452.

328 T.A. Wilson, "The Law of Christ and the Law of Moses: Reflections on a Recent Trend in Interpretation", *Currents in Biblical Research* 5:1 (2006), pp. 123–144.

329 J. Murphy-O'Connor, "The Unwritten Law of Christ (Gal 6:2)", *Revue Biblique* 119:2 (2012), pp. 213–231. Also available in English: J. Murphy-O'Connor, *Keys to Galatians: Collected Essays* (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press, 2012), pp. 123–143.

330 F. Bianchini, "Il νόμος in Gal 5,13–6,10", *Biblica* 94:1 (2013), pp. 47–62.

in 6:2 where Paul claims that believers do not need the law of Moses anymore, since they have “the law of Christ” and are guided by the Spirit.

*Ho Hyung Cho*³³¹ (2015) interprets the expression “the law of Christ” as referring to a principle created by Christ and not to any written laws, such as the Mosaic law or any other written law. In another study, *Cho*³³² (2019) offers an overview of the meaning of the expression in 6:2, Barnabas 2:6 and Ignatius’s Letter to the Magnesians and comes to the same conclusion: it refers to the principal characteristic of the new era that Christ inaugurated.

12.6 Wirkungsgeschichte

According to *Mark Koehne*³³³ (2002), Aquinas interpreted the “works of the law” in 2:15–16 as referring to ceremonial precepts. He distinguished this from “doing the law” – part of the process of justification since it sprouted from faith acting in love. *Khiok-khng Yeo*³³⁴ (2005) compares *li* in *The Analects* and the law in Galatians, drawing out the implications of *li* and the law for contemporary society. Yeo suggests that the goal of living by *li* and the law is the common good. *James W. Thompson*³³⁵ (2008) critically discusses the way in which the law is perceived in the Stone–Campbell movement in the light of Paul’s views of the law (as, amongst other things, reflected in Galatians). Thompson believes that Campbell and those who followed him did not realise the abiding significance of the law.

In the light of criticism raised by the New Perspective on Paul against the way in which the Reformed tradition interpreted Paul, *Stephen Chester*³³⁶ (2008) discusses the way in which Erasmus and

331 H.H. Cho, “The Study of the Meaning of Ο ΝΟΜΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ in Galatians 6:2”, *신약연구* 14:4 (2015), pp. 516–543.

332 H.H. Cho, “ὁ νόμος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Reconsidered: A Fresh Look at Galatians 6:2, Barnabas 2:6, and Magnesians 2”, *Canon & Culture* 13:1 (2019), pp. 263–294.

333 M. Koehne, “Saint Thomas Aquinas: On ‘Works of the Law’ and ‘Faith of Christ’ in Galatians 2:15–16”, *Scripture Bulletin* 32:1 (2002), pp. 9–20.

334 K.-K. Yeo, “Li and Law in the Analects and Galatians: A Chinese Christian Understanding of Ritual and Property”, *The Asia Journal of Theology* 19:2 (2005), pp. 309–332. See also the reprint of a work originally published in 1998: K.-K. Yeo, *What Has Jerusalem to do with Beijing? Biblical Interpretation from a Chinese Perspective* (Contrapuntal Readings of the Bible in World Christianity 2, Eugene OR: Pickwick, 2018).

335 J.W. Thompson, “Paul’s Doctrine of the Law and the Stone–Campbell Movement”, *Restoration Quarterly* 50:2 (2008), pp. 79–89.

336 S. Chester, “When the Old Was New: Reformation Perspectives on Galatians 2:16”, *The Expository Times* 119:7 (2008), pp. 320–329. <https://>

the Reformers interpreted 2:16, in particular the expression “works of the law”, the notion of justification by faith and the expression “faith in Christ/the faithfulness of Christ”. Asger Chr. Højlund³³⁷ (2010) discusses Luther’s interpretation of Leviticus 18:5 in the light of his understanding of law and gospel in his commentary on Galatians. According to Højlund, for Luther there was a deep coherence between the two but also an important difference between them – a helpful perspective for our current discussions of the matter.

S.J. Oh³³⁸ (2010) compares the views of Calvin and Luther on the law in their commentaries on Galatians and argues that Luther focused more on the grace of God than Calvin did, and thus Luther gave a better explanation of Paul’s views. Michael Morson³³⁹ (2012) defends the interpretation of the expression “works of the law” by Luther and Calvin as “good works” against criticism by the New Perspective. Morson finds Luther and Calvin’s interpretation of the expression exegetically good and pastorally useful. According to Francois Wessels³⁴⁰ (2013), Luther’s view of the situation in Galatia and Paul’s attempts at persuading the Galatians was not entirely correct. Nevertheless, Luther was not totally wrong about the law, since Paul’s warnings about the law as an identity marker could indeed be used to warn against other forms of misuse of the law.

Pancha Wiguna Yahya³⁴¹ (2013) disagrees with James D.G. Dunn’s interpretation of the term “works of the law” in 2:16. According to Yahya,

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- doi.org/10.1177/0014524608091090
- 337 A.C. Højlund, “‘The One Who Does Them Shall Live by Them’: Luther’s Interpretation of Leviticus 18:5 in the Light of His Understanding of Law and Gospel in His Commentary on Galatians”, in: T. Johansson, R. Kolb and J.A. Steiger (eds.), *Hermeneutica Sacra: Studien zur Auslegung der Heiligen Schrift im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert/Studies of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Historia Hermeneutica: Series Studia 9, Berlin/New York NY: De Gruyter, 2010), pp. 111–130. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110236873.111>
- 338 S.J. Oh, “A Comparison of the Views on the Law between Luther and Calvin in Their Commentaries on Galatians”, *Korean New Testament Studies* 17:3 (2010), pp. 657–709.
- 339 M. Morson, “Reformed, Lutheran, and ‘New Perspective’: A Dialogue between Traditions Regarding the Interpretation of ‘Works of the Law’ in Galatians”, *Canadian Theological Review* 1:2 (2012), pp. 61–67.
- 340 F. Wessels, “Did Luther Get It Altogether Wrong? Luther’s Interpretation of the Function of the Mosaic Law in Galatians”, *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Teologiese Tydskrif* 54:5 (2013), pp. 321–330. <https://doi.org/10.5952/54-0-367>
- 341 P.W. Yahya, “Sebuah Kritik terhadap Pandangan James D.G. Dunn tentang ‘Melakukan Hukum Taurat’ dalam Galatia 2:16”, *Veritas: Jurnal Teologi dan Pelayanan* 14:1 (2013), pp. 107–126. <https://doi.org/10.36421/veritas.v14i1.270>

the context, literary style and historical setting show that it refers to obedience to the law. Sarah Hinlicky Wilson³⁴² (2013) points out that Luther refers in two ways to the law in his 1531/35 commentary on Galatians, in a relational sense (the law as mediator between humankind and God) and in an instructive sense (the law as content, e.g., the decalogue as interpreted by Christ). According to Wilson, Lutherans wrongly tend to focus only on the first one. Jason A. Myers³⁴³ (2013) discusses the dispute between Jerome and Antioch on the interpretation of the Antioch incident in order to show that there was at least one person in the Early Church that had a positive interpretation of Paul's view of the law (and thus similar to the view of the New Perspective). Augustine emphasised the divine origin of the law and pointed out that Paul's critique of the law should be understood within the context of a Gentile audience.

Todd Scacewater³⁴⁴ (2013) disagrees with the way in which proponents of the New Perspective on Paul interpret the expression "works of the law". According to Scacewater, it is clear from 2:11–21 that it refers to the commandments of the law which were performed in order to be justified. One of the issues that Matthew A. Tapie³⁴⁵ (2014) discusses in a book dedicated to Aquinas on Israel and the church, is Aquinas's view of the law as can be deduced from his commentary on Galatians. Tapie summarises it as follows: "The ceremonial law as fulfilled, dead, and deadly"³⁴⁶ Alain le Boulluec³⁴⁷ (2014) considers the way in which Theodore of Mopsuestia interprets the law in his commentary on Galatians: after sin had come, God gave humankind the law to avoid evil, but Christ liberated them from this situation and brought the hope of a life to come when the law would not be necessary anymore.

342 S.H. Wilson, "The Law of God", *Lutheran Quarterly* 27:4 (2013), pp. 373–398.

343 J.A. Myers, "Law, Lies and Letter Writing: An Analysis of Jerome and Augustine on the Antioch Incident (Galatians 2:11–14)", *Scottish Journal of Theology* 66:2 (2013), pp. 127–139. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0036930613000069>

344 T. Scacewater, "Galatians 2:11–21 and the Interpretive Context of 'Works of the Law'", *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 56:2 (2013), pp. 307–323.

345 M.A. Tapie, *Aquinas on Israel and the Church: The Question of Supersessionism in the Theology of Thomas Aquinas* (Eugene OR: Pickwick Publications, 2014), pp. 109–135.

346 *Op. cit.*, p. 109.

347 A. le Boulluec, "Les temps du régime de la loi et la justification par la foi selon Théodore de Mopsueste dans son *Commentaire sur l'Épître aux Galates*", in: I. Bochet and M. Fédou (eds.), *L'exégèse patristique de l'Épître aux Galates* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes: Série Antiquité 197, Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2014), pp. 33–58.

Marie-Odile Boulnois³⁴⁸ (2014) explains how Theodoret of Cyrus's notion of a *symphonia* between the Father and the Son, between Paul and the other apostles, and between the law (coming from God) and the gospel is developed in Theodoret's commentary on Galatians. For Theodoret, it was very important that Christ was the end of the law and that believers should thus live according to faith. Aihe Zheng³⁴⁹ (2016) investigates Luther's lectures on Galatians and Genesis (1535–1545) to determine what he taught about pastoral issues. According to Zheng, Luther used his views on law and gospel to encourage his students to live out their vocations faithfully. Jacobus de Koning³⁵⁰ (2017) identifies 6:2 as the guideline for Christian ethics in the new dispensation. According to it, the law is replaced by the crucified Christ.

Dexter S. Maben³⁵¹ (2017) believes that the Lutheran Paul has to be “liberated”. This can be done by understanding the law by means of social dominance theory, focusing on the social dimension of the law. Maben illustrates this by an interpretation of 3:6–20. Shabbir Akhtar³⁵² (2018) offers a Muslim perspective on Galatians, in particular challenging Paul's claim that Christ liberates one from religious law. According to Edith M. Humphrey³⁵³ (2018), it is clear from Chrysostom's exegesis of Galatians that he had a narrow interpretation of the concept “works of the law” but interpreted the concept “righteousness of God” in a flexible way. Luther,

348 M.-O. Boulnois, “De la symphonie trinitaire à la symphonie apostolique: La loi et l'évangile dans l'exégèse de l'Épître aux Galates chez Théodoret de Cyr”, in: I. Bochet and M. Fédou (eds.), *L'exégèse patristique de l'Épître aux Galates* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes: Série Antiquité 197, Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2014), pp. 59–81.

349 A. Zheng, *Law and Gospel in Martin Luther's Pastoral Teachings as Seen in His Lecture Notes: Finding Guidance in Genesis and Galatians to Serve the Household of God* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2016). <https://doi.org/10.3726/978-3-653-06912-9/1>

350 J. de Koning, “Die Riglyn vir Christen Etiek: Galasiërs 6:2 onder die Loep”, *In die Skriflig* 51:1 (2017), pp. 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.4102/ids.v51i1.2205>

351 D.S. Maben, “‘Why Then the Law?’ Pauline Ecclesiology and Interfaith Relations”, *Bangalore Theological Forum* 49:1 (2017), pp. 102–116.

352 S. Akhtar, *The New Testament in Muslim Eyes: Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (Routledge Reading the Bible in Islamic Contexts 2, London/New York NY: Routledge, 2018).

353 E.M. Humphrey, “Meditating Upon God's Righteousness with Chrysostom (and Luther)”, *Biblical Research* 63 (2018), pp. 29–43. In his response to Humphrey's contribution (in the same volume), Peter Leithart suggests that Luther's interpretation of the two concepts might perhaps not be as different from that of Chrysostom as Humphrey believes. See: P.J. Leithart, “Response: Galatians Five Hundred Years Later”, *Biblical Research* 63 (2018), pp. 63–71.

on the other hand, had a very specific interpretation of “righteousness of God”, but a broad view of “works of the law”.

13. Soteriology

As happened in the previous section, a distinction may be made between studies of a more general nature and studies focusing on particular aspects that drew much interest.

13.1 General studies

According to *Peder Borgen*³⁵⁴ (2000), Paul’s main point in 3:1–14 is: “[T]he fact that Christ Jesus was crucified as a cursed criminal made it evident that those who relied upon this Sinaitic law were themselves under a curse. Thus, Christ’s death marked the end of the Sinaitic law and the beginning of the new era when the blessing of Abraham would come to the Gentiles and ‘we’ could receive the promise of the Spirit”.³⁵⁵ *C. Marvin Pate*³⁵⁶ (2000) maintains that Paul viewed Christ as the Wisdom of God who had removed the Deuteronomic curses through his death on the cross. The blessings of the covenant thus rested on believers whereas the curses of the covenant remained on those who try to keep the law.

*Frank J. Matera*³⁵⁷ (2000) explains how Paul developed his views on justification as a result of a twofold problem in the congregations in Galatians: a theological problem (Does righteousness depend on something else in addition to the Christ event?) and a social problem (May Gentile believers share table fellowship with Jewish Christians without adopting Jewish ways?). Matera also works out the implications of Paul’s views in the letter for ecumenical dialogue. *David Abernathy*³⁵⁸ (2001) criticises James D.G. Dunn’s view of justification by faith. Although Dunn

354 P. Borgen, “Openly Portrayed as Crucified: Some Observations on Gal 3:1–14”, in: D.G. Horrell and C.M. Tuckett (eds.), *Christology, Controversy, and Community: New Testament Essays in Honour of David R. Catchpole* (Novum Testamentum Supplements 99, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2000), pp. 345–353.

355 *Op. cit.*, p. 351.

356 C.M. Pate, *The Reverse of the Curse: Paul, Wisdom, and the Law* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.114, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157167-1>

357 F.J. Matera, “Galatians and the Development of Paul’s Teaching on Justification”, *Word & World* 20:3 (2000), pp. 239–248.

358 D. Abernathy, “A Critique of James D.G. Dunn’s View of Justification by Faith as Opposed to the ‘Works of the Law’”, *Lutheran Theological Journal* 35:3 (2001), pp. 139–144.

correctly points out that Paul had a problem with covenant markers, he does not consider Paul's view that it is impossible for humans to keep the law. Dunn also misses the fact that Paul was converted from the grip of sin and his sinful nature and not only from a mistaken zeal for the law.

David Brondos³⁵⁹ (2001) summarises Paul's views about redemption in 3:13 as follows: "[B]y being obedient unto death in seeking the redemption of others, Christ attained that redemption once for all when God responded by raising him, since now exalted in power, he is certain to redeem God's people from the law's curse when he comes again."³⁶⁰ Luc de Saeger³⁶¹ (2001) discusses the similarities and differences between the use of the expression "for our sins" in 1:4a and 1 Corinthians 15:3b. De Saeger suggests that the expression is used in 1 Corinthians in a context referring to the future whereas the emphasis in Galatians falls on present liberation. According to Basil S. Davis³⁶² (2002), Paul's reference to Christ becoming a curse (3:13) contains an allusion to Roman *devotio*, i.e., a human sacrifice who died in order to break a curse.

Patrick Mulemi³⁶³ (2003) is of the opinion that 2:15–16 and 5:5–6 do not contradict each other. Both indicate that justification come through faith and not through the law. Works are to be performed in faith working through love. Jouette M. Bassler³⁶⁴ (2003) draws attention to the fact that Paul's view of grace was not static. Before encountering the Risen Christ, his view of grace conformed to that of contemporary Judaism, but then the cross became the new locus of grace for him. The problems in Galatia let him discover the fundamental inclusive nature of grace. Beatriz Augusta de Campos Sampaio³⁶⁵ (2004) discusses the theme of inheritance in the Old Testament and Graeco-Roman law as background for an interpretation of the concept "heir" in 4:1–7 and in Romans 8:17. De Campos Sampaio

359 D. Brondos, "The Cross and the Curse: Galatians 3.13 and Paul's Doctrine of Redemption", *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 23:81 (2001), pp. 3–32. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X0102308101>

360 *Op. cit.*, p. 32.

361 L. de Saeger, "'Für unsere Sünden': 1 Kor 15,3b und Gal 1,4a im exegetischen Vergleich", *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 77:1 (2001), pp. 169–191. <https://doi.org/10.2143/etl.77.1.567>

362 B.S. Davis, *Christ as Devotio: The Argument of Galatians 3:1–14* (Lanham MD: University Press of America, 2002).

363 P. Mulemi, "A Synopsis of the Pauline Theology on Justification: Galatians 2:15–16 and 5:5–6", *Hekima Review* 30 (2003), pp. 61–67.

364 J.M. Bassler, "Grace: Probing the Limits", *Interpretation* 57:1 (2003), pp. 24–33. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002096430005700104>

365 B.A. de Campos Sampaio, "La Nozione di 'kleronomos' nelle Lettere Paoline ai Romani e ai Galati", *Rivista Biblica* 52:1 (2004), pp. 11–39.

emphasises the importance of the notion “the fullness of time” and the trinitarian perspective in order to grasp Paul’s use of the concept.

*Moisés Silva*³⁶⁶ (2004) maintains that if one wishes to explain Paul’s view of justification in Galatians, one cannot escape the fact that there is a contrast between “works of the law” and faith in 2:15–3:25. Silva offers several arguments why one cannot restrict “works of the law” to identity markers and why it is best to understand the expression “faith of Christ” as an objective genitive. *Devorah Steinmetz*³⁶⁷ (2005) compares Paul’s views on justification by deeds with the conclusion of *Sanhedrin-Makkot* and points out that although there is a huge difference in the way in which the two respond to the question of how one can live before God if one does not keep the law perfectly, there are also conspicuous similarities between the arguments used to offer an answer to the problem.

*Wiard Popkes*³⁶⁸ (2005) compares justification in 2:15–21 and James 2:21–25 and finds that there are remarkable parallels between the two, most importantly the fact that both texts depict justification primarily in terms of personal relationships. *Heung-Shik Choi*³⁶⁹ (2005) highlights the importance of the antithesis between law and Spirit in Galatians for understanding Paul’s view of justification. For Paul, the Spirit causes justification, conveys the blessing of Abraham and makes people children of God. *Martinus C. de Boer*³⁷⁰ (2005) outlines the way in which Paul interpreted a tradition of justification in 2:15–21. Paul dissociated justification from the “works of the law” and associated it fully with the faith of Jesus Christ.

366 M. Silva, “Faith versus Works of Law in Galatians”, in: D.A. Carson, P.T. O’Brien and M.A. Seifrid (eds.), *Justification and Variegated Nomism: Volume II: The Paradoxes of Paul* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.181, Tübingen/Grand Rapids MI: Mohr Siebeck/Baker Academic, 2004), pp. 217–248. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157089-6>

367 D. Steinmetz, “Justification by Deed: The Conclusion of *Sanhedrin-Makkot* and Paul’s Rejection of Law”, *Hebrew Union College Annual* 76 (2005), pp. 133–187.

368 W. Popkes, “Two Interpretations of ‘Justification’ in the New Testament: Reflections on Galatians 2:15–21 and James 2:21–25”, *Studia Theologica* 59:2 (2005), pp. 129–146. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00393380500339560>

369 H.-S. Choi, “The Law and the Spirit in Galatians: Antithetical Basis of Justification”, *한국기독교신학논총* 42:1 (2005), pp. 75–92.

370 M.C. de Boer, “Paul’s Use and Interpretation of a Justification Tradition in Galatians 2.15–21”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 28:2 (2005), pp. 189–216. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X05060096>

In a contribution on the Pauline and Petrine *sola fide* in Galatians 2, Simon J. Gathercole³⁷¹ (2005) tries to determine the level of theological agreement between Peter, Paul and James on the one hand and “the ones of the circumcision” on the other hand. For Gathercole, it is important to realise that the “pillars” did not insist that Titus had to be circumcised and that they supported the mission under the Gentiles. According to this pericope, it also seems as if Titus had shared meals and the eucharist with the believers in Jerusalem. Scott Shauf³⁷² (2006) argues that 2:20 forms part of Paul’s argument on justification in 2:15–21. It concludes Paul’s response to the objection in 2:17 and provides the basis for his claim about the real source of righteousness in 2:21.

Thomas Söding³⁷³ (2006) provides an overview of the conflicting interpretations of Paul’s views on justification in Galatians through the centuries and then goes on to outline the critical importance of this issue in determining the truth of the gospel. According to Yun-Gyung Kwon³⁷⁴ (2007), in Galatians (unlike Romans), justification is a future event. Only faith gives one access to the Spirit – an event that enables one to maintain a life befitting people who await (future) justification. Young Chul Whan³⁷⁵ (2007) is of the opinion that the theological problem that Paul attends to in Galatians is the notion that people are justified by the law (the view of the opponents). Paul’s view is that people are only justified by faith in Christ.

Jae Won Lee³⁷⁶ (2007) offers an emancipatory reading of justification in Galatians 1 and 2: Paul was primarily concerned about equal relations between Gentiles and Jews within the Messianic community and the fact that justification brought about a new

371 S.J. Gathercole, “The Petrine and Pauline *sola fide* in Galatians 2”, in: M. Bachmann and J. Woyke (eds.), *Lutherische und Neue Paulusperspektive: Beiträge zu einem Schlüsselproblem der gegenwärtigen exegetischen Diskussion* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.182, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), pp. 309–327. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157299-9>

372 S. Shauf, “Galatians 2.20 in Context”, *New Testament Studies* 52:1 (2006), pp. 86–101. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688506000051>

373 T. Söding, “Die Rechtfertigungstheologie des Galaterbriefes im Streit der Interpretationen”, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 131:10 (2006), pp. 1003–1020.

374 Y.-G. Kwon, “Faith and Law: Justification in Galatians”, *신약연구* 6:1 (2007), pp. 51–82.

375 Y.C. Whang, “A Pastoral Reading of Galatians: For Christian Freedom”, *신약연구* 6:3 (2007), pp. 591–618.

376 J.W. Lee, “Justification of Difference in Galatians”, in: R.L. Brawley (ed.), *Character Ethics and the New Testament: Moral Dimensions of Scripture* (Louisville KY: Westminster John Knox/London, 2007), pp. 191–208.

relationship between them in Christ. *Peter Chidolue Onwuka*³⁷⁷ (2007) discusses Paul's views of the law, redemption and freedom in 3:10–14 and in Romans 7:1–6. In Galatians 3:10–14, Paul argues that the law is not God's way to righteousness. It only stipulates what should be done but does not provide strength to achieve this and the only solution to this situation is the redemption by Christ. *John Piper*³⁷⁸ (2007) disagrees with N.T. Wright's interpretation of Paul's view of justification and describes Wright's views as dangerous for the church.

*Antonio Piñero*³⁷⁹ (2007) discusses Paul's view of salvation as an example of the Hellenisation of Christianity. Paul changed the notion of a Jewish Messiah (with salvation restricted to Israel) to that of a universal Saviour with the conditions of salvation being changed for Gentiles, most notably by proclaiming justification by faith. In a discussion of the meaning of the death of Jesus according to 3:6–14, *Michael Theobald*³⁸⁰ (2009) stresses the importance of the notion of substitution (“Stellvertretung”). According to Galatians, Jesus suffered on behalf of us. He gave himself *pro nobis* – an act embodying God's love for humankind. *Trevor J. Burke*³⁸¹ (2008) argues that Paul's adoption metaphor (used in 4:1–7 and in Romans 8) is best understood against the context of the ancient Roman *familia*, thus depicting salvation as an action by the Divine Family: the Father (*paterfamilias*) initiates salvation, it happens through Jesus, God's Son, and the Spirit carries out the process of resocialisation.

*N.T. Wright*³⁸² (2009) responds to Piper (see above) and other critics in detail. In the case of Galatians, Wright again argues for a covenantal

377 P. Chidolue Onwuka, *The Law, Redemption and Freedom in Christ: An Exegetical-Theological Study of Galatians 3,10–14 and Romans 7,1–6* (Tesi Gregoriana: Serie Teologia 156, Rome: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 2007).

378 J. Piper, *The Future of Justification: A Response to N.T. Wright* (Wheaton IL: Crossway Books, 2007).

379 A. Piñero, “On the Hellenization of Christianity: One Example: The Salvation of Gentiles in Paul”, in: A. Hilhorst, É. Puech and E. Tigchelaar (eds.), *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 122, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2007), pp. 667–683. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004162921.i-836.214>

380 M. Theobald, “‘Verflucht ist jeder, der am Holz hängt’: Die Deutung des Todes Jesu nach Gal 3,6–14”, *Bibel und Kirche* 64:3 (2009), pp. 158–165.

381 T.J. Burke, “Adopted as Sons (ΥΙΟΘΕΣΙΑ): The Missing Piece in Pauline Soteriology”, in: S.E. Porter (ed.), *Paul: Jew, Greek, and Roman* (Pauline Studies 5, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2008), pp. 259–287. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004171596.i-370.76>

382 N.T. Wright, *Justification: God's Plan & Paul's Vision* (Downers Grove IL: IVP Academic, 2009), pp. 111–140. For responses to Wright's view,

reading of Chapters 2 to 4. Furthermore, Wright links Paul's criticism of the law to the fact that people break the law and that it divides Gentiles from Jews. This situation is rectified by "the faith of Christ", referring to Jesus faithfully giving his life on the cross. Douglas A. Campbell³⁸³ (2009) is highly critical of the dominant view of justification, since it is based on a misreading of Paul's letters. According to Campbell, Paul does not have a forensic notion of justification, but rather a participatory and liberative view of justification. Through Christ's death, God delivered enslaved humankind from the power of sin.

Brigitte Kahl³⁸⁴ (2011) shows how Galatians, and, in particular, the notion of justification, has been colonised by various Western scholars and, instead, prefers to focus on the way in which the letter overturns Self/"Other" binaries and thus can help one to reimagine Galatian ethnicity. Hung Sik Choi³⁸⁵ (2011) describes Paul's reason for opposing his opponents as "the gospel of the cross". For Paul, the cross is the only authentic basis for salvation. It breaks down barriers between Gentiles and Jews and unites people in Christ. Douglas J. Moo³⁸⁶ (2011) offers an overview of justification in Galatians, arguing that Paul's view of justification confirms the way in which the Reformation

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- see T.R. Schreiner, "Justification: The Saving Righteousness of God in Christ", *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 54:1 (2011), pp. 19–34, and T.D. Stegman, "Paul's Use of *dikaio*-Terminology: Moving Beyond N.T. Wright's Forensic Interpretation", *Theological Studies* 72:3 (2011), pp. 496–524. <https://doi.org/10.1177/004056391107200302>
- 383 D.A. Campbell, *The Deliverance of God: An Apocalyptic Rereading of Justification in Paul* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2009). See also later: D.A. Campbell, "An Attempt to Be Understood: A Response to the Concerns of Matlock and Macaskill with *The Deliverance of God*", *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 34:2 (2011), pp. 162–208, <https://doi.org/10.1177/01422064X11424853>, and D.A. Campbell, "Beyond Justification in Paul: The Thesis of the Deliverance of God", *Scottish Journal of Theology* 65:1 (2012), pp. 90–104. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S003693061100086X> For responses to Campbell's views by a group of scholars, see C. Tilling (ed.), *Beyond Old and New Perspectives on Paul: Reflections on the Work of Douglas Campbell* (Eugene OR: Cascade Books, 2014).
- 384 B. Kahl, "Galatians and the 'Orientalism' of Justification by Faith: Paul among Jews and Muslims", in: C.D. Stanley (ed.), *The Colonized Apostle: Paul through Postcolonial Eyes* (Paul in Critical Contexts, Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 2011), pp. 206–222. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1hqdj44.19>
- 385 H.S. Choi, "The Gospel of the Cross in Galatians", *한국기독교신학논총* 78:1 (2011), pp. 133–153.
- 386 D.J. Moo, "Justification in Galatians", in: A.J. Köstenberger and R.W. Yarbrough (eds.), *Understanding the Times: New Testament Studies in the 21st Century: Essays in Honor of D.A. Carson on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (Wheaton IL: Crossway, 2011), pp. 160–195.

understood it. Humankind enters into and maintains a relationship with God by faith alone.

*Albert Vanhoye*³⁸⁷ (2011) describes Paul's view of justification in Galatians as a creative exploration in the light of the paschal mystery of Christ who died for our sins. Justification is based on God's free gift and more than a simple declaration of innocence, making the doing of the works of faith possible and necessary. *John W. Taylor*³⁸⁸ (2012) maintains that scholars tend to interpret the relationship between Gentiles and Jews in Galatians in a wrong way. According to 3:13–14 (as well as 3:25–26 and 4:4–7), a mutual independence exists. Gentiles receive the blessing of Abraham, since Jesus liberated the Jews from the curse of the law and Jewish believers receive the Spirit, since Gentiles received the blessings and became children of God.

*Jeffrey R. Reber*³⁸⁹ (2012) explains Paul's view of justification by looking at 3:2 and 5. Reber thinks that the expression "from the message of faith" should be interpreted as an objective genitive, implying trust in God's promises. The other option ("from the works of the law") should be interpreted as a subjective genitive, implying trust in the performance of works of the law. *John A. Davies*³⁹⁰ (2012) discusses the three instances in which Paul writes that neither circumcision nor uncircumcision counts for anything (Galatians 5:6, 6:15 and 1 Corinthians 7:19). Davies argues that although Paul's indication of what does count differs in each case (faith made effective by love, new creation and obedience of God's commandments), the dominant factor in all the passages is an emphasis on Christ's role and believers' identification with him.

*Monte A. Shanks*³⁹¹ (2012) emphasises the importance of taking the context of 5:2–4 into account when interpreting it. If that is done, one realises that Paul addresses Gentiles who are looking for justification by the law and he thus argues that true believers should not seek additional forms of justification after having received Christ. In a discussion of 2:15–

387 A. Vanhoye, "La Giustificazione per Mezzo della Fede Secondo la Lettera ai Galati", *La Civiltà Cattolica* 162:3870 (2011), pp. 457–466.

388 J.W. Taylor, "The Eschatological Interdependence of Jews and Gentiles in Galatians", *Tyndale Bulletin* 63:2 (2012), pp. 291–316. <https://doi.org/10.53751/001c.29352>

389 J.R. Reber, "A New Perspective on Paul's Doctrine of Justification in Galatians 3:2, 5", *Evangelical Journal* 30:1 (2012), pp. 40–48.

390 J.A. Davies, "What Does Count?", *The Reformed Theological Review* 71:2 (2012), pp. 77–89.

391 M.A. Shanks, "Galatians 5:2–4 in Light of the Doctrine of Justification", *Bibliotheca Sacra* 169 (2012), pp. 188–202.

21, Peter G. Kirchschräger³⁹² (2013) points out that there are similarities between the notions of justification through the law and through faith, such as that love plays a role in both instances. However, in the case of justification through faith one should also think of a “pneumatic conversion” (“*pneumatische Umsetzung*”³⁹³). Chee-Chiew Lee³⁹⁴ (2013) disagrees with scholars who interpret the blessing to Abraham (3:14) as the Spirit. According to Lee, it refers to justification, and the reception of the Spirit is the proof that one has received justification.

Based on etymology and the Hebrew Scriptures, Jose Enrique Aguilar Chiu³⁹⁵ (2013) identifies the basic meaning of the concept “righteousness” as conformity to something that has been indicated. This makes sense of the way in which Paul quotes Genesis 15:6 (as in Galatians 3:6), since faith implies conformity to God’s word. David E. Fredrickson (2013)³⁹⁶ offers a new interpretation of Paul’s notion of justification in Galatians and Philippians. Fredrickson emphasises an erotic sense of faith, bringing eros and justice together, thereby opening faith up to communion, sharing in everything. Mark P. Surburg³⁹⁷ (2013) disagrees with Martyn’s rendering of Paul’s justification language as “rectification”, offering arguments why it is better to opt for “justification”.

Udo Schnelle³⁹⁸ (2013) highlights the development of Paul’s view of justification from Galatians to Romans. Paul solved the problem with the law by concentrating on love as its centre and aim while at the same time denying its soteriological function and abrogating its ritual prescriptions. In this way, he situated the Torah within a broader notion of the law, thus making it accessible for believers from different backgrounds.

392 P.G. Kirchschräger, “Gesetz und Glaube in Gal 2,15–21”, *Bibel und Liturgie* 86:3 (2013), pp. 223–229.

393 *Op. cit.*, p. 299. (Emphasis Kirchschräger.)

394 C.-C. Lee, *The Blessing of Abraham, the Spirit, and Justification in Galatians: Their Relationship and Significance for Understanding Paul’s Theology* (Eugene OR: Pickwick Publications, 2013).

395 J.E. Aguilar Chiu, “The Basic Meaning of Righteousness and the Pauline Quote of Gn 15:6”, *Estudios Bíblicos* 71:2 (2013), pp. 235–269.

396 D.E. Fredrickson, “The Justice of Faith”, *Dialog: A Journal of Theology* 52:2 (2013), pp. 121–127. <https://doi.org/10.1111/dial.12026>

397 M.P. Surburg, “Rectify or Justify? A Response to J. Louis Martyn’s Interpretation of Paul’s Righteousness Language”, *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 77:1/2 (2013), pp. 45–77.

398 U. Schnelle, “Gibt es eine Entwicklung in der Rechtfertigungslehre vom Galater- zum Römerbrief?”, in: P.-G. Klumbies, D.S. du Toit, T. Jantsch and N. Neumann (eds.), *Paulus – Werk und Wirkung: Festschrift für Andreas Lindemann zum 70. Geburtstag* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), pp. 289–309.

Beverly Roberts Gaventa³⁹⁹ (2014) addresses the relationship between righteousness and participation (or mystical union) in Galatians. Gaventa describes this relationship by means of the expression “the singularity of the gospel”, with “singularity” to be taken in two ways: (1) there is only one gospel and (2) it has a single all-inclusive impact on the lives of believers.

Jan Dušek⁴⁰⁰ (2014) compares *hesed* (“loving kindness”) in the Community Rule and *χάρις* (“grace”) in Galatians and argues that the theological vocabulary of Galatians is very similar to that of the Community Rule (even though the aim of the two texts is quite different). This suggests that Paul and the author of the Community Rule drew from the same imaginary world in Palestinian Judaism, although Paul’s views on the matter were influenced drastically by the coming and death of Christ. In a contribution on the language of justification in 2:15–21 (and Romans 1:16–3:31), Stefano Romanello⁴⁰¹ (2014) highlights the emphasis on the gratuitous nature of God’s actions on the behalf of humankind, noting that Paul’s language in this regard is *theological* (focusing on God). In order to grasp how he denotes the way in which believers receive justification, one has to study other Pauline notions, such as participation, union and walking in the Spirit.

Norbert Jacoby⁴⁰² (2014) criticises the one-dimensional way in which scholars interpret the relationship between faith and love in 5:6 by intuitively accepting that Paul had a single-cause view (“Ein-Ursachen-Lehre”) of events. Jacoby offers a different view. One should rather distinguish between two causes: a content-eidetic cause (“inhaltlich-eidetische ἀρχή”) – faith in Christ’s giving of himself (“Hingabeglauben”) – and a second, closely related, material-hyletic cause (“materiell-hyletische ἀρχή”) – love. According to this verse, the two

399 B.R. Gaventa, “The Singularity of the Gospel Revisited”, in: M.W. Elliott, S.J. Hafemann, N.T. Wright and J. Frederick (eds.), *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul’s Letter* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2014), pp. 187–199.

400 J. Dušek, “*Hesed* dans la Règle de la Communauté et *charis* dans l’Épître de Paul aux Galates”, in: J.-S. Rey (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 102, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2014), pp. 89–107. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004230071_007

401 S. Romanello, “Fede e operare credente: Le Articolazioni della Riflessione Paolina”, *Teología* 39:3 (2014), pp. 344–375.

402 N. Jacoby, “*pístis di’ agápēs energouménē* (Gal 5,6b): Versuch einer Interpretation”, *Theologie und Philosophie* 89:3 (2014), pp. 407–418.

work closely together. Thomas Söding⁴⁰³ (2014) reads Galatians as a letter of ecumenism, reflecting in detail on the way in which the Pauline theme of justification has been treated in different traditions. Söding also notes three dimensions in Paul's view of justification that might be developed fruitfully in ecumenical dialogues: the personal aspect, the missionary dimension and the ecclesial impact.

Jean-Noël Aletti⁴⁰⁴ (2015) offers a detailed discussion of the theme of justification by faith in Paul's letters by approaching the letters from a rhetorical perspective. This approach is chosen because "justification" is a legal term and, furthermore, because a rhetorical approach helps one to interpret the letters within their original settings. Aletti stresses both the declarative and factitive sides of Paul's view of justification. Michael Bachmann⁴⁰⁵ (2015) raises the question as to whether "faith of Christ" and "works of the law" in 2:16 should be seen as being on two different levels or on the same level. Bachmann thinks that they should be taken as being on the same level. Both may be characterised as happening *extra nos* and both are linked to God, but being justified has its "place" in Christ, since one cannot be justified through the law.

John M.G. Barclay⁴⁰⁶ (2015) offers a detailed overview of the ways in which people understood gifts in the ancient world, emphasising in

403 T. Söding, "Justification and Participation: Ecumenical Dimensions of Galatians", in: M.W. Elliott, S.J. Hafemann, N.T. Wright and J. Frederick (eds.), *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul's Letter* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2014), pp. 62–81.

404 J.-N. Aletti, *Justification by Faith in the Letters of Saint Paul: Keys to Interpretation* (Translated by Peggy Manning Meyer) (Analecta Biblica Studia 5, Rome: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2015).

405 M. Bachmann, "Zwei Ebenen oder eher ein Niveau? Zur Entgegensetzung innerhalb von Gal 2,16a", *Biblische Zeitschrift* 59:1 (2015), pp. 112–116.

406 J.M.G. Barclay, *Paul and the Gift* (Grand Rapids MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2015). See also earlier: J.M.G. Barclay, "Paul, the Gift and the Battle over Gentile Circumcision: Revisiting the Logic of Galatians", *Australian Biblical Review* 58 (2010), pp. 36–56. And later: J.M.G. Barclay, *Paul and the Power of Grace* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2020).

For reactions to Barclay's view, see R. Saarinen, "Perfections, Clarity, and Congruity", *Pro Ecclesia* 28:2 (2019), pp. 114–119, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1063851219842401>, S. Fowl, "Can We Talk a Bit More? Appreciative Questions in Response to *Paul and the Gift*", *Pro Ecclesia* 28:2 (2019), pp. 120–125, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1063851219842390>, D. Harink, "John Barclay's Gift to Theology", *Pro Ecclesia* 28:2 (2019), pp. 126–132, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1063851219842393>, and W. Hill, "Paul and the God of the Gift", *Pro Ecclesia* 28:2 (2019), pp. 133–140, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1063851219842397> For Barclay's response, see: J.M.G. Barclay, "Continuing the Conversation around Grace", *Pro Ecclesia* 28:2 (2019), pp. 141–148. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1063851219842388>

particular the widely held idea that they functioned as part of a reciprocal exchange. Barclay then maps out six ways in which the definition of a gift was “perfected”, and reads the Pauline letters in the light of this map. In the case of Galatians and Romans, Barclay stresses the incongruity between God as the giver and humankind as receivers of God’s gift, a situation creating a new loyalty on their part toward God and Christ. In a study of πίστις (Greek for “faith”) and *fides* (Latin for “faith”) in the Early Roman Empire and Christianity, *Teresa Morgan*⁴⁰⁷ (2015) notes the following important development in Galatians: “For the first time that we know of, he [= Paul] uses *pistis* to articulate the tripartite relationship between God, Christ, and humanity, putting Christ in the centre of a nexus of faithfulness, trustworthiness, and trust.”⁴⁰⁸

*Orrey McFarland*⁴⁰⁹ (2015) compares the views of Paul and Philo on God and grace. McFarland shows that both of them thought of God as lavishly generous but that they differed in the ways in which they depicted it. Philo links God’s grace primarily to creation, whereas Paul associates it with the Christ event. They also differed in the ways they conceived of the recipients of grace. Philo was of the view that God made people

Another set of reactions was published in 2020: N. Eubank, “Configurations of Grace and Merit in Paul and His Interpreters”, *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 22:1 (2020), pp. 7–17, <https://doi.org/10.1111/ijst.12396>, G. Macaskill, “Dynamic Reciprocity and Ontological Affinity in the Pauline Account of Solidarity”, *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 22:1 (2020), pp. 18–28, <https://doi.org/10.1111/ijst.12392>, D.H. Bertschmann, “*Ex nihilo* or *tabula rasa*? God’s Grace between Freedom and Fidelity”, *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 22:1 (2020), pp. 29–46, <https://doi.org/10.1111/ijst.12397>, J.A. Linebaugh, “Incongruous and Creative Grace: Reading *Paul and the Gift* with Martin Luther”, *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 22:1 (2020), pp. 47–59, <https://doi.org/10.1111/ijst.12388>, S. Zahl, “Incongruous Grace as Pattern of Experience”, *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 22:1 (2020), pp. 60–76, <https://doi.org/10.1111/ijst.12402>, K. Kilby, “Paradox and Paul: Catholic and Protestant Theologies of Grace”, *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 22:1 (2020), pp. 77–82, <https://doi.org/10.1111/ijst.12393> For Barclay’s response, see: J.M.G. Barclay, “Paul and Grace in Theological Perspective: A Grateful Response”, *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 22:1 (2020), pp. 113–126. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ijst.12389>

407 T. Morgan, *Roman Faith and Christian Faith: Pistis and fides in the Early Roman Empire and Early Churches* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 262–306. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198724148.001.0001>

408 *Op cit.*, p. 282.

409 O. McFarland, *God and Grace in Philo and Paul* (Supplements to *Novum Testamentum* 164, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2015). <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004308589>

worthy to receive his grace whereas Paul did not think that anybody was worth of God's grace. *Hanna Stettler*⁴¹⁰ (2015) disagrees with the general view amongst scholars that Paul's view of justification was unique and only developed late in his career. Stettler finds it in Paul's early writings and argues that Jesus had already taught it earlier in the parable of the Pharisee and tax collector.

*Peter Cimala*⁴¹¹ (2015) draws attention to the variety of soteriological metaphors that Paul uses in Galatians, their coherence and the way in which they mutually interact. Cimala illustrates this in particular by means of the metaphors' sonship and freedom. According to Cimala, looking for such a network of metaphors with its own inner logic is a better approach than trying to find one dominant metaphor or a centre in Paul's theology. According to *Peter J. Leithart*⁴¹² (2016), God reconfigures the fallen situation in which humankind finds itself (being under "the elements of the world") so that a new community is formed, operating in a different way. God does this by imparting to them a new nature. Leithart also works out the implications of this idea for missiology.

*David Lertis Matson*⁴¹³ (2016) draws attention to the fact that Paul does not use forgiveness language often, but rather speaks of justification. Matson is of the opinion that the notion of a justifying God exacting payment for sins caused Paul to put less emphasis on forgiveness. *Shuji Ota*⁴¹⁴ (2016) draws attention to the foundational role that the faith of Abraham plays in Galatians 3 and works out the implications of this insight, in particular that Paul has a holistic view of faith. *Fábio Vaz dos Santos*⁴¹⁵ (2016) points out that Paul uses the expression "in Christ" in various ways in his letter, but in essence it has to do with the new being and new identity that believers have in Christ through justification and sanctification.

410 H. Stettler, "Did Paul Invent Justification by Faith?", *Tyndale Bulletin* 66:2 (2015), pp. 161–196. <https://doi.org/10.53751/001c.29395>

411 P. Cimala, "Paul's Metaphorical Soteriology: Galatians as a Test Case", *Neotestamentica* 49:2 (2015), pp. 351–376. <https://doi.org/10.1353/neo.2016.0005>

412 P.J. Leithart, *Delivered from the Elements of the World: Atonement, Justification, Mission* (Grand Rapids MI: InterVarsity Press, 2016).

413 D.L. Matson, "Divine Forgiveness in Paul? Justification by Faith and the Logic of Pauline Soteriology", *Stone-Campbell Journal* 19 (2016), pp. 59–83.

414 S. Ota, "The Holistic *pistis* and Abraham's Faith (Galatians 3)", *Hitotsubashi Journal of Arts & Sciences* 57:1 (2016), pp. 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.15057/28246>

415 F. Vaz dos Santos, "A Expressão 'em Cristo' nas Cartas Paulinas", *Revista Batista Pioneira* 5:2 (2016), pp. 401–438.

*Simon Buttica*⁴¹⁶ (2016) approaches the notion of justification of faith from the perspective of ancient views on honour and shame. Paul's views on justification opposed ancient notions on honour, both innate honour and acquired honour, since he had gained a new insight, namely the notion of the gift of God that was revealed to him. In another contribution, *Buttica*⁴¹⁷ (2017) disagrees with scholars who regard Paul's notion of justification in Galatians as a new theological development. Buttica is of the view that Paul still makes use of the "word of the cross" that he used in the Corinthian correspondence. In a study of resurrection, restoration and rectification in Galatians, *Andrew K. Boakye*⁴¹⁸ (2017) finds that Paul thinks of crucifixion as a prelude to being revived, with the death and resurrection of Christ as the primordial event. Having experienced the risen Christ himself, Paul viewed the rectification of other people as similarly being immersed in the Christ event.

*Michael J. Gorman*⁴¹⁹ (2017) offers a theological interpretation of 2:15–21, showing that Paul had a thick and robust view of justification. He viewed justification as something participatory, transforming humans. This notion can expand modern theological horizons and even break down theological differences between people. In a study of the Biblical theology of circumcision, *Karl Deenick*⁴²⁰ (2018) summarises Paul's view on the matter in Galatians as an emphasis on the fact that circumcision signified God's promise to Abraham. However, this was not about descent according to the flesh but rather about having faith in the "seed" that

416 S. Buttica, "Paul et la culture antique l'honneur: Contexte et enjeux de la justification par la foi dans la Lettre aux Galates", *Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi* 33:1 (2016), pp. 107–128.

417 S. Buttica, "La Lettre de Paul aux Galates: De la théologie de la croix à la justification par la foi?", *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* 149 (2017), pp. 323–340.

418 A.K. Boakye, *Death and Life: Resurrection, Restoration, and Rectification in Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (Eugene OR: Pickwick, 2017).

419 M.J. Gorman, "Reading Gal 2:15–21 Theologically: Beyond Old and New, Beyond West and East", in: A. Despotis (ed.), *Participation, Justification, and Conversion: Eastern Orthodox Interpretation of Paul and the Debate between "Old and New Perspectives on Paul"* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.442, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), pp. 321–354. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-155453-7>
Adapted version: M.J. Gorman, *Participating in Christ: Explorations in Paul's Theology and Spirituality* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2019), pp. 115–149. See also pp. 150–177 in this book where Gorman argues that Paul restates Galatians 2:15–21 for a different audience in 2 Corinthians 5:14–21.

420 K. Deenick, *Righteous by Promise: A Biblical Theology of Circumcision* (New Studies in Biblical Theology 45, London/Downers Grove IL: Apollos/InterVarsity Press, 2018), pp. 185–210.

God promised. According to *Peter Oakes*⁴²¹ (2018), it is best to understand “faith” in Galatians as relational, with “faith” denoting trust in and loyalty to the relationship between Christ and believers.

In a study of God as depicted in the Pauline letters as both judge and justifier, *James B. Prothro*⁴²² (2018) argues that Paul’s picture of God as justifier in essence continues legal conceptualisations of God in the Jewish theological vocabulary used by early believers. *Archimandrite Serhii*⁴²³ (2018) stresses Paul’s idea that salvation is a gift of God continuously to be experienced in faith. This also entails a constant struggle between one’s old sinful nature and the new nature in Christ – a personal battle in which believers should let their new nature in Christ triumph over their old nature. *Thomas D. Stegman*⁴²⁴ (2018) views justification in Galatians from a Roman Catholic perspective and argues that the letter supports the Catholic notion that justification is transformative and that the Catechism of the Catholic Church may thus illuminate one’s understanding of the letter.

*Gregory Tatum*⁴²⁵ (2018) offers a participationist eschatological reading of justification in Galatians, Philippians and Romans. Paul’s distinction between justification according to the flesh and according to the Spirit is a cosmological distinction, implying a participationist eschatological view of justification. Believers participate in Christ’s death and resurrection, with final justification entailing a judgement in terms of works of love (enabled by the Spirit). According to *Christina Eschner*⁴²⁶

421 P. Oakes, “Pistis as Relational Way of Life in Galatians”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 40:3 (2018), pp. 255–275. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064x18755933>

422 J.B. Prothro, *Both Judge and Justifier: Biblical Legal Language and the Act of Justifying in Paul* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.461, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-156117-7>

423 A. Serhii, “Збереження Християнина у Спасінні”, *Волинський благовісник* 6 (2018), pp. 37–54.

424 T.D. Stegman, “Justification in Galatians: A Roman Catholic Perspective”, *Biblical Research* 63 (2018), pp. 53–62. For a response, see P.J. Leithart, “Response: Galatians Five Hundred Years Later”, *Biblical Research* 63 (2018), pp. 63–71.

425 G. Tatum, “A Participationist Eschatological Reading of Justification in Galatians, Philippians, and Romans”, *Revue Biblique* 125:2 (2018), pp. 223–238. <https://doi.org/10.2143/rbi.125.2.3285116> For a response, see D.A. Campbell, “A Participationist Eschatological Account of Justification: Further Reflections”, *Revue Biblique* 125:2 (2018), pp. 249–261. <https://doi.org/10.2143/rbi.125.2.3285118>

426 C. Eschner, “‘Der mich liebt und sich selbst ‘für’ mich hingegeben hat’ (Gal 2,20): Die griechische Konzeption des Unheil abwendenden

(2019), it is not correct to explain Paul's view of Christ's death in 2:20 against the background of the notion of atonement. It should rather be interpreted in terms of the Greek notion of an apotropaic death, the giving of oneself for the fatherland or for another person.

Christopher M. Tuckett⁴²⁷ (2019) investigates present and future salvation in Galatians by looking at 1:4. According to Tuckett, one cannot understand the "rescue" mentioned in this verse as something that has already been achieved in spite of the fact that there is so much emphasis in the letter on divine initiative, since the letter makes it clear that human reaction also has a role to play in the process. Joel L. Watts⁴²⁸ (2019) proposes that Jesus' death followed a well-known Roman and Jewish model of people sacrificing themselves, called *devotio*. In Galatians, Paul uses this model to depict Jesus' death as a death that was premeditated and which he chose himself in order to bring about changes to the cosmos.

Logan Williams⁴²⁹ (2019) disagrees with scholars who interpret 1:4 and 2:20 as merely referring to Christ's death as a self-sacrifice, i.e., as a giving up of his own interests. According to Williams, Christ is depicted here as giving himself (as a gift). Thus, Christ's death is also viewed as bringing about a mutual relationship in which he received people into a relationship with him. Jeannette Hagan Pifer⁴³⁰ (2019) focuses on faith as participation in the Pauline letters, arguing that Paul's notion of faith is

Sterbens als zentrale Heilskategorie des Galaterbriefes", in: D.S. du Toit, C. Gerber and C. Zimmermann (eds.), *Sôtēria: Salvation in Early Christianity and Antiquity: Festschrift in Honour of Cilliers Breytenbach on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (Novum Testamentum Supplements 175, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2019), pp. 307–329. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004396883_017

427 C.M. Tuckett, "Galatians 1:4: Present and Future Salvation in Galatians", in: D.S. du Toit, C. Gerber and C. Zimmermann (eds.), *Sôtēria: Salvation in Early Christianity and Antiquity: Festschrift in Honour of Cilliers Breytenbach on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (Novum Testamentum Supplements 175, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2019), pp. 330–344. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004396883_018

428 J.L. Watts, *Jesus as Divine Suicide: The Death of the Messiah in Galatians* (Eugene OR: Pickwick, 2019).

429 L. Williams, "Giving the Self through Death: A Crucified Christ as Gift in Galatians", in: K. Kilby and R. Davies (eds.), *Suffering and the Christian Life* (London/New York NY: T & T Clark, 2019), pp. 23–32. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9780567687265.0006>

430 J.H. Pifer, *Faith as Participation: An Exegetical Study of Some Key Pauline Texts* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.486, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), pp. 119–215. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-156477-2>

closely linked to the notion of participation in Christ and that Paul's view of faith reflects a multifaceted way of existence, with believers having to both negate and involve themselves in their dependence on Christ.

Martinus C. de Boer⁴³¹ (2020) raises the question as to how Paul's view of justification in Romans appears from the perspective of Galatians. De Boer concludes this investigation as follows: "In Romans, Paul does not abandon the dissociation of justification from the Law and its exclusive association with Christ he propounded in Galatians. There are, however, at least four points at which Romans differs explicitly and significantly from Galatians: (1) the use of the expression *dikaio syne theou*, 'the justness of God,' along with its apocalyptic implications; (2) justification as a present reality for the believer in Christ; (3) justification as forgiveness of past sins; and (4) justification as rectification in God's ongoing battle on behalf of human beings against the malevolent, supra-human forces of Sin and Death."⁴³²

In a study of Paul's language of faith, Nijay K. Gupta⁴³³ (2020) points out that the concept "faith" is nowadays used with nuances not reflecting accurately what Paul had in mind. Gupta opts for understanding it in the sense of faithfulness, incorporating belief, trust and action. In Galatians the movement from "covenantal nomism" to "covenantal pistism" is highlighted. Andrew Hollingsworth⁴³⁴ (2020) understands justification as a declaration by God that one is righteous. This is illuminated by means of speech act theory and illustrated by 2:15–16 and other Pauline texts. Simong Seung-Hyun Lee⁴³⁵ (2020) argues that it is wrong to restrict Paul's view of justification to a forensic declaration that one's sin is acquitted. From Galatians, it is clear that justification includes the new life that believers acquire by walking according to the Spirit.

Teresa Morgan⁴³⁶ (2020) is critical of the widely-held view that "in Christ" should be interpreted as a reference to union with and participation in Christ. Morgan's alternative (identified as an "encheiristic

431 M.C. de Boer, *Paul, Theologian of God's Apocalypse: Essays on Paul and Apocalyptic* (Eugene OR: Cascade Books, 2020), pp. 131–141.

432 *Op. cit.*, p. 140.

433 N.K. Gupta, *Paul and the Language of Faith* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2020).

434 A. Hollingsworth, "Soteriological Speech Acts: Justification as Divine Performative", *Churchman* 134:1 (2020), pp. 49–69.

435 S.S.-H. Lee, "Galatians' Justification Seen through Abraham's Sonship and the Promised Spirit", *신약논단* 27:1 (2020), pp. 229–269.

436 T. Morgan, *Being "in Christ" in the Letters of Paul: Saved through Christ and in His Hands* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 1.449, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), pp. 63–72. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-159886-9>

meaning”) is that it refers to being in the hands of someone. Paul thus uses the expression to refer to the fact that believers are Christ’s responsibility, under his authority and dependent upon him. *Benjamin Schliesser*⁴³⁷ (2020) is of the opinion that Pauline scholars fail to grasp the implications of Paul’s statement that faith “came” and “was revealed” (3:23, 25). This shows that Paul thought of faith as more than a mere human disposition; it was also a supra-individual event.

13.2 The New Perspective on Paul

*Frank J. Matera*⁴³⁸ (2000) provides an overview of the challenges posed by the New Perspective with regard to Paul’s view of justification by faith in Galatians. However, according to Matera, this does not mean that one cannot preach on the letter anymore. *Daryl D. Schmidt*⁴³⁹ (2002) draws attention to the effect that the New Perspective has on translation issues in Romans and Galatians. Terms such as “righteousness of God”, “faith of Christ” and “works of the law” are discussed, and 2:15–21 is used to illustrate this.

*James D.G. Dunn*⁴⁴⁰ (2005), who was the first to use the expression “New Perspective on Paul” (in 1983), published a detailed overview of his own academic journey in this regard. In this study, Dunn emphasises that one should not regard the New Perspective as a replacement of other, earlier perspectives on Paul, but that it should more precisely be seen as complementing other perspectives. Dunn also provides a brief summary of what is meant by the concept of a New Perspective on Paul: “1. It is based on Sander’s new view on Second-Temple Judaism, in particular the notion of covenantal nomism; 2. It stresses that the law always had a social function: being holy required separateness from other nations; 3. It emphasises that Paul’s teaching on justification focused to a large extent on overcoming the barrier between Jews and Gentiles; 4. It presupposes that ‘works of the law’ was a key term in Pauline thinking, mainly because many Jewish believers insisted that certain works were needed for staying

437 B. Schliesser, “Glaube als Ereignis: Zu einer vernachlässigten Dimension des paulinischen Glaubensverständnisses”, *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 117:1 (2020), pp. 21–45. <https://doi.org/10.1628/zthk-2020-0003>

438 F.J. Matera, “Galatians in Perspective: Cutting a New Path through Old Territory”, *Interpretation* 54:3 (2000), pp. 233–245.

439 D.D. Schmidt, “Paul in a New Idiom: Translation Issues in Romans and Galatians”, *Forum* 5:2 (2002), pp. 127–147.

440 J.D.G. Dunn, “The New Perspective on Paul: Whence, What, Whither?”, in: J.D.G. Dunn (ed.), *The New Perspective on Paul: Collected Essays* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.185, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), pp. 1–88. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-151488-3>

within the covenant, and thus for salvation; 5. It argues that failure to realise the importance of this aspect of Paul's view on justification might have had a negative influence on efforts to combat racialism and nationalism in the past."⁴⁴¹

Michael F. Bird⁴⁴² (2006) draws attention to the fact that the New Perspective has led to what is regarded as two opposing views about Paul's understanding of justification, either a focus on one's legal status in the eyes of God or on membership of the covenant but argues that both elements are vital for understanding Paul correctly, as God creates a new people as part of a new covenant by justification. In another contribution, Bird⁴⁴³ (2007) argues that an analysis of Galatians and Romans shows that the forensic and covenantal dimensions of justification are both important if one wishes to gain a comprehensive understanding of Paul's view of justification. Francis Watson⁴⁴⁴ (2007) tries to move beyond the New Perspective by using the notion of "covenantal nomism" to emphasise the uniqueness of Paul's argument against "works of the law". Watson points out that divine agency played a more important role in Paul's thoughts than in Judaism, by showing that the expression "works of the law" does not refer to boundary markers, and by arguing that Paul did not have an inclusive understanding of God's people but advocated a sectarian approach.

Don Garlington⁴⁴⁵ (2008) investigates Paul's use of the "partisan ἐκ" ("from") in Galatians and argues that Paul uses it to indicate source and

441 *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

442 M.F. Bird, "Justification as Forensic Declaration and Covenant Membership: A *via media* between Reformed and Revisionist Readings of Paul", *Tyndale Bulletin* 57:1 (2006), pp. 109–130. <https://doi.org/10.53751/001c.29207>

443 M.F. Bird, *The Saving Righteousness of God: Studies on Paul, Justification and the New Perspective* (Paternoster Biblical Monographs, Waynesboro GA/Milton Keynes/Eugene OR: Paternoster/Wipf & Stock, 2007).

444 F. Watson, *Paul, Judaism, and the Gentiles: Beyond the New Perspective* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2007, rev. and expanded edition). Original version: F. Watson, *Paul, Judaism, and the Gentiles: A Sociological Approach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

445 D. Garlington, "Paul's 'Partisan ἐκ' and the Question of Justification in Galatians", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 127:3 (2008), pp. 567–590. Jan Lambrecht disagrees with Garlington. According to Lambrecht, Garlington misses the notion of instrumentality in 2:16 and in other passages in the letter. Furthermore, in cases where ἐκ ("from") indicates belonging, it does not indicate realm or sphere. See J. Lambrecht, "Critical Reflections on Paul's 'Partisan ἐκ' as Recently Presented by Don Garlington", *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 85:1 (2009), pp. 135–141. <https://doi.org/10.2143/ETL.85.1.2040699>

belonging, with the notion of belonging getting the most emphasis. For Garlington, this supports the view of the New Perspective on justification. *Jens-Christian Maschmeier*⁴⁴⁶ (2010) attempts to move beyond Lutheran and New Perspective views. According to Maschmeier, Paul is not arguing in anthropological terms but from a redemptive-historical point of view. Only after the eschatological judgement had been passed on humanity as sinners and only after Christ's death had opened a new way of escaping this judgement, could observance of the law no longer lead to justification.

*Gab-Jong Choi*⁴⁴⁷ (2010) offers an evangelical response to the New Perspective: although the New Perspective offers some new insights on the covenant and the law in Judaism of Paul's time, it does not interpret Paul's writings adequately. *Andrew Hassler*⁴⁴⁸ (2011) is of the opinion that Jewish legalism was more important to Paul than is assumed by supporters of the New Perspective, and that the corporate aspects of Paul's soteriology should be informed by a sensitivity for an individual approach to justification. *Todd Scacewater*⁴⁴⁹ (2013) disagrees with the way in which proponents of the New Perspective on Paul interpret the expression "works of the law". According to Scacewater, it is clear from 2:11–21 that it refers to the commandments of the law which were performed in order to be justified.

*Jens Schröter*⁴⁵⁰ (2013) explains the implications of the New Perspective on Paul for the Lutheran understanding of Paul, in particular by looking at 2:15–17. Schröter highlights the importance of the notion of God's justifying grace but also points out that the social and ecclesiological implications of this idea sometimes do not receive enough attention in Lutheran circles. *Peter von der Osten-Sacken*⁴⁵¹ (2014)

446 J.-C. Maschmeier, *Rechtfertigung bei Paulus: Eine Kritik alter und neuer Paulusperspektiven* (Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament 189, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2010).

447 G.-J. Choi, "Korean Church and Soteriology: An Evangelical Response to the New Perspective with Special Reference to Paul's Teachings of 'Justification by Faith' in Romans and Galatians", *성경과 신학* 55 (2010), pp. 1–40.

448 A. Hassler, "Ethnocentric Legalism and the Justification of the Individual: Rethinking Some New Perspective Assumptions", *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 54:2 (2011), pp. 311–327.

449 T. Scacewater, "Galatians 2:11–21 and the Interpretive Context of 'Works of the Law'", *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 56:2 (2013), pp. 307–323.

450 J. Schröter, "'The New Perspective on Paul': Eine Anfrage an die Lutherische Paulusdeutung?", *Lutherjahrbuch* 80 (2013), pp. 142–158. <https://doi.org/10.13109/9783666874451.142>

451 P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Der Gott der Hoffnung: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Theologie des Paulus* (Studien zu Kirche und Israel: Neue Folge 3, Leipzig:

offers an overview of Sanders's and Dunn's contributions to the New Perspective, but criticises both attempts: Sanders, because his explanation of "Judaism" and "Christianity" as two different patterns of religion is not historically plausible, and Dunn, because he accepted Paul's view that Israel's attitude towards the law was that of being justified by the "works of the law".

*Jens-Christian Maschmeier*⁴⁵² (2017) believes that the typical Lutheran view of justification marginalises the role of humans as agents, but that the notion of *sola gratia* and the idea of human agency go well together. Amongst others, Maschmeier illustrates this by means of an analysis of 2:14–21. *David I. Yoon* (2019)⁴⁵³ offers a detailed discourse analysis of Galatians (based on systemic functional linguistics) in order to determine whether the situation reflected in the letter is explained best by the New Perspective on Paul, covenantal nomism or legalism. Based on this analysis, Yoon argues that Paul was faced by a nuanced form of legalism and not by covenantal nomism.

*Maksimilijan Matjaž*⁴⁵⁴ (2020) works out the implications of the New Perspective for the relationship between Christians and Jews. Paul's theology and Jewish theology are both based on the same foundation, God calling humans to the promised land and into a new covenant. This fact poses a challenge for current relationships between Christians and Jews.

13.3 The expression "faith of Christ"

*R. Barry Matlock*⁴⁵⁵ (2000) attempts to detheologise the "faith of Christ" debate by approaching the matter from a lexical semantic perspective. According to Matlock, from such a perspective, the objective interpretation of the expression is to be preferred. *Denis R. Lindsay*⁴⁵⁶ (2000) draws attention to three parallel expressions in 2:16–

Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2014), pp. 338–355.

452 J.-C. Maschmeier, "Justification and Ethics: Theological Consequences of a New Perspective on Paul", *Theological Review* 38:1 (2017), pp. 35–53. See also the response by J.B. Awwad, "A Response to 'Justification and Ethics'", *Theological Review* 38:1 (2017), pp. 54–64.

453 D.I. Yoon, *A Discourse Analysis of Galatians and the New Perspective on Paul* (Linguistic Biblical Studies 17, Leiden: Brill, 2019).

454 M. Matjaž, "Pavlovo Razumevanje Postave in del Postave v Pismu Galačanom", *Edinost in Dialog* 75:2 (2020), pp. 51–71. <https://doi.org/10.34291/edinost/75/02/matjaz>

455 R.B. Matlock, "Detheologizing the ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ Debate: Cautionary Remarks from a Lexical Semantic Perspective", *Novum Testamentum* 42:1 (2000), pp. 1–23.

456 D.R. Lindsay, "Works of Law, Hearing of Faith and πίστις Χριστοῦ in Galatians 2:16–3:5", *Stone-Campbell Journal* 3:1 (2000), pp. 79–88.

3:5: “faith of Christ”, “works of the law” and “hearing of faith”. Lindsay is of the opinion that the genitive should be interpreted in all three instances as an attributive genitive/genitive of quality, which means that “faith of Christ” should be understood as faith pertaining solely to Christ, faith that is consistent with Christ. *Hung-Sik Choi*⁴⁵⁷ (2005) points out that scholars tend to overlook the value of 5:5–6 for the “faith of Christ” debate and argues that the term “faith” in vv. 5 and 6 refers to Christ’s faithfulness and not to believers’ faith in him.

*Paul Ellingworth*⁴⁵⁸ (2005) is of the opinion that the structure of 2:16 serves as an indication that Paul is referring to faith in Christ in this verse. *Arthur A. Just Jr.*⁴⁵⁹ (2006) agrees with Richard Hays that “faith of Christ” refers to Christ’s faithful death on behalf of humans and discusses the implications of such a choice for Lutheran theology. On the basis of the insight that ἀκοῆς πίστεως (“hearing of faith”) in 3:2 and 5 refers to the faith of the Galatians, *Debbie Hunn*⁴⁶⁰ (2006) maintains that “faith in Christ” in 2:16 refers to human faith in Christ. *Roy A. Harrisville III*⁴⁶¹ (2006) draws attention to evidence from pre-Christian Greek authors, in whose writings there is an abundance of evidence that it would have been quite normal to interpret “faith of Christ” as an objective genitive and that it would have been regarded as good Greek.

In a detailed study of the expression “faith of Christ” in Paul’s letters, *Karl Friedrich Ulrichs*⁴⁶² (2007) argues that the issue is more complex than merely choosing between an objective and subjective genitive. By means of the expression, Paul succeeded in integrating various models of justification, the notion of participation in Christ and the perspective that the Spirit was a gift from God. One of the arguments

457 H.-S. Choi, “ΠΙΣΤΙΣ in Galatians 5:5–6: Neglected Evidence for the Faithfulness of Christ”, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 124:3 (2005), pp. 467–490. <https://doi.org/10.2307/30041035>

458 P. Ellingworth, “A Note on Galatians 2.16”, *Bible Translator* 56:2 (2005), pp. 109–110.

459 A.A. Just Jr., “The Faith of Christ: A Lutheran Appropriation of Richard Hays’s Proposal”, *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 70:1 (2006), pp. 3–15.

460 D. Hunn, “πίστις Χριστοῦ in Galatians 2:16: Clarification from 3:1–6”, *Tyndale Bulletin* 57:1 (2006), pp. 23–33. <https://doi.org/10.53751/001c.29203>

461 R.A. Harrisville III, “Before πίστις Χριστοῦ: The Objective Genitive as Good Greek”, *Novum Testamentum* 48:4 (2006), pp. 353–358.

462 K.F. Ulrichs, *Christusglaube: Studien zum Syntagma πίστις Χριστοῦ und zum paulinischen Verständnis von Glaube und Rechtfertigung* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.227, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-151570-5>

used against an objective interpretation of the expression “faith of Christ” is that it creates redundancy. R. Barry Matlock⁴⁶³ (2007) evaluates this argument critically by looking at 2:16, 3:22, Romans 3:22 and Philippians 3:9 and finds that it is not convincing. An objective interpretation is thus to be preferred.

Jae Hyun Lee⁴⁶⁴ (2008) maintains that Paul wishes to contrast the human act of faith and works of the law in 2:16 and 3:6. One thus cannot accept the argument that Hays offers for the subjective genitive (that Paul wishes to contrast human and divine action). David L. Stubbs⁴⁶⁵ (2008) explains the two patterns of soteriology underlying the subjective and objective interpretations of the expression “faith of Christ” and opts for the subjective interpretation, situating it within a broader view of faith as faithfulness and an emphasis on participation in Christ. Debbie Hunn⁴⁶⁶ (2009) offers a thorough overview of the debate in scholarship on the faithfulness of Christ, since the time of Johannes Haußleiter and Gerhard Kittel and points out that it is difficult to make a choice, since both the subjective and objective interpretations of the expression fit the context.

Ardel B. Caneday⁴⁶⁷ (2009) highlights the importance of the faithfulness of Christ as theme in Galatians, in particular in terms of the polarity found in the letter between “works of the law” and “faith of Christ”. The faithfulness of Christ achieved what the law could not. R. Barry Matlock⁴⁶⁸ (2009) offers arguments for an objective interpretation of the expression, amongst others the parallel between “faith of Christ” and

463 R.B. Matlock, “The Rhetoric of πίστις in Paul: Galatians 2.16, 3.22, Romans 3.22, and Philippians 3.9”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 30:2 (2007), pp. 173–203. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X07084775>

464 J.H. Lee, “Against Richard B. Hays’s ‘Faith of Jesus Christ’”, *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism* 5 (2008), pp. 51–80.

465 D.L. Stubbs, “The Shape of Soteriology and the *pistis Christou* Debate”, *Scottish Journal of Theology* 61:2 (2008), pp. 137–157. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S003693060800329X>

466 D. Hunn, “Debating the Faithfulness of Jesus Christ in Twentieth-Century Scholarship”, in: M.F. Bird and P. Sprinkle (eds.), *The Faith of Jesus Christ: Exegetical, Biblical, and Theological Studies* (Milton Keynes/Peabody MA: Paternoster/Hendrickson, 2009), pp. 15–32.

467 A.B. Caneday, “The Faithfulness of Jesus Christ as a Theme in Paul’s Theology in Galatians”, in: M.F. Bird and P. Sprinkle (eds.), *The Faith of Jesus Christ: Exegetical, Biblical, and Theological Studies* (Milton Keynes/Peabody MA: Paternoster/Hendrickson, 2009), pp. 185–205.

468 R.B. Matlock, “Saving Faith: The Rhetoric and Semantics of πίστις in Paul”, in: M.F. Bird and P. Sprinkle (eds.), *The Faith of Jesus Christ: Exegetical, Biblical, and Theological Studies* (Milton Keynes/Peabody MA: Paternoster/Hendrickson, 2009), pp. 73–90.

“works of the law”. Mark A. Seifrid⁴⁶⁹ (2009) is of the opinion that merely choosing between a subjective and an objective interpretation of the expression does not really solve the problem and that it should thus rather be interpreted as referring to Christ as both the author and the source of one’s faith.

Preston M. Sprinkle⁴⁷⁰ (2009) opts for a third alternative in this debate. Sprinkle argues that the expression refers to “Christ-faith”, i.e., it is a reference to the gospel regarding the eschatological act that God performed in Christ. Francis Watson⁴⁷¹ (2009) is of the opinion that Paul’s formulation “faith of Christ” was based on Habakkuk 2:4, which implies that he referred to faith in the saving acts of God. In a study of the expression “faith of Christ” in Paul’s letters, Eung-Bong Lee⁴⁷² (2009) rejects the arguments for the objective interpretation of the expression and suggests that it refers to Christ as the one creating faith in believers. Roy A. Harrisville III⁴⁷³ (2010) suspects supporters of the New Perspective of assuming that faith is not a gift of God and maintains that when Paul contrasts “hearing of faith” and “works of the law” he is contrasting divine gift and human work, not two types of human work. Accordingly, “faith of Christ” refers to faith in Christ.

Matthew C. Easter⁴⁷⁴ (2010) offers an overview of the most important arguments used in the “faith of Christ” debate and points out that the choices that exegetes make are mostly based on the way in which they understand broader issues in Pauline theology and that this broader framework is thus the true setting of the debate. Gab Jong Choi⁴⁷⁵ (2011)

469 M.A. Seifrid, “The Faith of Christ”, in: M.F. Bird and P. Sprinkle (eds.), *The Faith of Jesus Christ: Exegetical, Biblical, and Theological Studies* (Milton Keynes/Peabody MA: Paternoster/Hendrickson, 2009), pp. 129–147.

470 P.M. Sprinkle, “πίστις Χριστοῦ as an Eschatological Event”, in: M.F. Bird and P.M. Sprinkle (eds.), *The Faith of Jesus Christ: Exegetical, Biblical, and Theological Studies* (Milton Keynes/Peabody MA: Paternoster/Hendrickson, 2009), pp. 165–184.

471 F. Watson, “By Faith (of Christ): An Exegetical Dilemma and Its Scriptural Solution”, in: M.F. Bird and P. Sprinkle (eds.), *The Faith of Jesus Christ: Exegetical, Biblical, and Theological Studies* (Milton Keynes/Peabody MA: Paternoster/Hendrickson, 2009), pp. 147–164.

472 E.-B. Lee, “A Study of *pistis Christou* in Paul’s Letters”, *신약논단* 16:2 (2009), pp. 561–588.

473 R.A. Harrisville III, “πίστις Χριστοῦ and the New Perspective on Paul”, *Logia* 19:2 (2010), pp. 19–28.

474 M.C. Easter, “The *pistis Christou* Debate: Main Arguments and Responses in Summary”, *Currents in Biblical Research* 9:1 (2010), pp. 33–47. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1476993X09360725>

475 G.J. Choi, “How To Interpret πίστις Χριστοῦ: With a Contextual Study of ‘Faith’ and ‘Righteousness’ in Galatians 2:15–21, 3:1–29 and 5:2–6”,

offers a contextual investigation of 2:15–21, 3:1–29 and 5:2–6, arguing that the expression “faith of Christ” indicates the way in which God’s righteousness is attained and not how God reveals it. The expression should thus be taken in an objective sense. In an investigation of the expression “faith of Christ” in Galatians, as well as the 13 occurrences of “faith” in Galatians 3, *Hyoung Keun Kim*⁴⁷⁶ (2012) chooses for not separating the subjective and objective interpretations: they should rather be integrated so that one can gain a holistic view of justification.

According to *Debbie Hunn*⁴⁷⁷ (2012), the exegetical discussion on the interpretation of “the faith of Christ” should be guided by the fact that Paul quotes Habakkuk 2:4 in Galatians 3:11. This makes the objective interpretation more likely. *Jermo van Nes*⁴⁷⁸ (2013) draws attention to the significance of a variant reading of v. 20b: ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ (“in faith of God and Christ I live”). This reading suggests that the expression “faith of Christ” should be interpreted as an objective genitive. *Benjamin Schliesser*⁴⁷⁹ (2015) points out that contemporary scholarship is wrongly under the impression that Johannes Hausbleiter was the first scholar to suggest a subjective interpretation of the expression “faith of Christ” in 1891 but that this is not true, since such an interpretation was already considered from the 1820s onwards. In another contribution, *Schliesser*⁴⁸⁰ (2016) opts for a “third view” in the “faith of Christ” debate. From 3:23–26 it is clear that Paul did not regard

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- 신약연구 10:4 (2011), pp. 911–940.
- 476 H.K. Kim, “‘Faith of Christ’ and ‘Faith in Christ’: In a Zero-Sum or Win-Win Relationship? A Re-Consideration of *pistis Christou* in Galatians”, *신약연구* 11:4 (2012), pp. 890–929. <https://doi.org/10.24229/kents.2012.11.4.005> For a response, see: G.-J. Choi, “Again πίστις Χριστοῦ: A Rejoinder of Keun Hyung Kim’s ‘Faith of Christ’ and ‘Faith in Christ’: In a Zero-Sum Relationship or Win-Win Relationship? A Re-Consideration of *pistis Christou* in Galatians”, *신약연구* 12:2 (2013), pp. 302–333. <https://doi.org/10.24229/kents.2013.12.2.005>
- 477 D. Hunn, “*Pistis Christou* in Galatians: The Connection to Habakkuk 2:4”, *Tyndale Bulletin* 63:1 (2012), pp. 75–91.
- 478 J. van Nes, “‘Faith(Fulness) of the Son of God’? Galatians 2:20b Reconsidered”, *Novum Testamentum* 55:2 (2013), pp. 127–139. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685365-12341418>
- 479 B. Schliesser, “‘Exegetical Amnesia’ and ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ: The ‘Faith of Christ’ in Nineteenth-Century Pauline Scholarship”, *The Journal of Theological Studies* 66:1 (2015), pp. 61–89. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jts/flv008>
- 480 B. Schliesser, “‘Christ-Faith’ as an Eschatological Event (Galatians 3:23–26): A ‘Third View’ on πίστις Χριστοῦ”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 38:3 (2016), pp. 277–300. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X15621654>

faith as an individual event (i.e., neither as the faith of Christ nor of the believer) but viewed it primarily as an eschatological event. Faith “came” and “was revealed”.

According to *Debbie Hunn*⁴⁸¹ (2016), 5:5–6, a passage that is usually neglected in the “faith of Christ” debate, provides the following two pieces of evidence in support of interpreting “faith” as referring to human faith: (1) By contrasting faith and law in this pericope, Paul picks up the same contrast in Chapters 2 and 3 (where faith refers to human faith); (2) In vv. 5–6, Paul refers to faith working through love, thus implying that he refers to human faith. *Byeng-Hee Jeon*⁴⁸² (2016) offers several arguments to support an objective interpretation of the expression “faith of Christ” in 2:16: the context of the argument, the reference to the Galatians’ experience of the Spirit in the next pericope and the quotations from the Hebrew Bible that Paul uses.

In a discussion of the meaning of the term “faith” in the expression “faith of Christ” in Romans, *Morna D. Hooker*⁴⁸³ (2016) maintains that the expression primarily refers to the faith or faithfulness of Christ but that it includes the fact that believers share his faith/faithfulness because they are in him. *Chris Kugler*⁴⁸⁴ (2016) offers a survey of the state of the debate on the expression “faith of Christ” and the arguments that are used to support the two options. Kugler is of the opinion that the subjective interpretation currently has the most supporters in Pauline scholarship. *Suzan J.M. Sierksma-Agteres*⁴⁸⁵ (2016) supports the option of interpreting Paul’s use of the expression “faith of Christ” as a purposeful ambiguity by investigating Paul’s imitation language against the background of the way in which imitation functioned in the Hellenistic-Roman world, in particular in philosophical training. This suggests that one should

481 D. Hunn, “πίστις in Galatians 5.5–6: Neglected Evidence for ‘Faith in Christ’”, *New Testament Studies* 62:3 (2016), pp. 477–483. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688516000096>

482 B.-H. Jeon, “Paul’s Argument About Faith in Galatians 2:16”, *신약연구* 15:3 (2016), pp. 564–592.

483 M.D. Hooker, “Another Look at πίστις Χριστοῦ”, *Scottish Journal of Theology* 69:1 (2016), pp. 46–62. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0036930615000770>

484 C. Kugler, “ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ: The Current State of Play and the Key Arguments”, *Currents in Biblical Research* 14:2 (2016), pp. 244–255. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1476993X14549917>

485 S.J.M. Sierksma-Agteres, “Imitation in Faith: Enacting Paul’s Ambiguous *pistis Christou* Formulations on a Greco-Roman Stage”, *International Journal of Philosophy and Theology* 77:3 (2016), pp. 119–153. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21692327.2016.1231076>

interpret the expression as shorthand for believers mimetically moving in faith/faithfulness through Christ towards God.

According to David J. Downs and Benjamin J. Lappenga⁴⁸⁶ (2019), proponents of both sides in the “faith of Christ” debate tend to ignore the role of the Risen Christ and they thus argue that when Paul refers to the “faithfulness” of Christ, he has the faithfulness of the Risen Christ in mind. Sang Mok Lee⁴⁸⁷ (2019) maintains that Paul deliberately used the expression “faith of Christ” ambiguously in order to criticise Roman imperial cult and ideology by opposing Christ’s faithfulness to that of the emperor, thus encouraging believers to live in the right relationship to Christ. Ryan S. Schellenberg⁴⁸⁸ (2019) points out that the term οἱ πιστεύοντες (“the believers”) was a self-designation of early Christians and argues that it is thus unlikely that this term refers to Christ’s faith/faithfulness in 3:22 (as well as in Romans 3:22). Kevin Grasso⁴⁸⁹ (2020) argues in favour of a third view in the “faith of Christ” debate. Works in theoretical linguistics show that the expression is best translated as “Christ-faith” with “faith” referring to a belief-system and “Christ” qualifying the system.

13.4 Salvation history in Galatians

Bruce Longenecker⁴⁹⁰ (2012) offers an overview of the way in which Paul’s view of salvation history fluctuated between 50 CE (the writing of 1 Thessalonians) and 57 CE (the writing of Romans) in terms of 13 points. According to Longenecker, in Galatians, Paul did not yet use an expanded-covenant view of salvation history. This is only found later in Romans 11.

486 D.J. Downs and B.J. Lappenga, *The Faithfulness of the Risen Christ: Pistis and the Exalted Lord in the Pauline Letters* (Waco TX: Baylor University Press, 2019).

487 S.M. Lee, “Christ’s πίστις vs. Caesar’s fides: πίστις Χριστοῦ in Galatians and the Roman Imperial Cult”, *The Expository Times* 130:6 (2019), pp. 243–255. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0014524618813282>

488 R.S. Schellenberg, “οἱ πιστεύοντες: An Early Christ-Group Self-Designation and Paul’s Rhetoric of Faith”, *New Testament Studies* 65:1 (2019), pp. 33–42. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0028688518000309>

489 K. Grasso, “A Linguistic Analysis of πίστις Χριστοῦ: The Case for the Third View”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 43:1 (2020), pp. 108–144. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064x20949385>

490 B. Longenecker, “Salvation History in Galatians and the Making of a Pauline Discourse”, *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 2:2 (2012), pp. 65–87. <https://doi.org/10.2307/26426548> For a response, see: M.C. de Boer, “Salvation History in Galatians? A Response to Bruce W. Longenecker and Jason Maston”, *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 2:2 (2012), pp. 105–114. <https://doi.org/10.2307/26426550>

Jason Maston (2012)⁴⁹¹ disagrees with scholars who are of the opinion that Paul’s apocalyptic theology in Galatians implies the absence of salvation history. Maston detects a notion of salvation history underlying 3:15–4:7 according to which the period of the law is portrayed as a period of “Unheil”. Michael Bachmann (2012)⁴⁹² notes that the notion of salvation history is a controversial issue in Pauline studies. However, that the most important aspects of identity are found in Pauline writings can be shown from Galatians, in which case one may discern the following aspects: individual, social, mental and habitual aspects of identity. In another contribution, Bachmann⁴⁹³ (2016) argues that both spatial and salvation-historical categories are important for understanding Galatians. For Paul, God’s actions in the history of Israel, of Christ and of believers are important. Bachmann then explains this further in terms of temporal moments in the letter.

Sigurd Grindheim⁴⁹⁴ (2013) contends that the central issue in Galatians is “salvation territory” and not “salvation history”, since spatial categories are of more importance than temporal categories. Paul urges the Galatians to remain in the domain of Christ and not to return to spiritual slavery. T. David Gordon⁴⁹⁵ (2013) prefers a covenant-historical approach to a salvation-/covenant-theological approach to Galatians and offers an interpretation of the letter based on the notion that Paul traces three different covenant-administrations in the letter:

491 J. Maston, “The Nature of Salvation History in Galatians”, *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 2:2 (2012), pp. 89–103. <https://doi.org/10.2307/26426549> For a response, see M.C. de Boer, “Salvation History in Galatians? A Response to Bruce W. Longenecker and Jason Maston”, *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 2:2 (2012), pp. 105–114. <https://doi.org/10.2307/26426550>

492 M. Bachmann, “Identität bei Paulus: Beobachtungen am Galaterbrief”, *New Testament Studies* 58:4 (2012), pp. 571–597. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688512000148>

493 M. Bachmann, “Zu temporalen Momenten des Galaterbriefs: Beschneidungsfreiheit für Heidenchristen und Heilsgeschichte”, in: H. Omerzu and E.D. Schmid (eds.), *Paulus und Petrus: Geschichte – Theologie – Rezeption: Festschrift für Friedrich Wilhelm Horn zu seinem 60. Geburtstag* (Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte 48, Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2016), pp. 101–136.

494 S. Grindheim, “Not Salvation History, but Salvation Territory: The Main Subject Matter of Galatians”, *New Testament Studies* 59:1 (2013), pp. 91–108. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688512000264>

495 T.D. Gordon, “Promise, Law, Faith: Covenant-Historical Reasoning in Galatians”, in: H.C. Kim (ed.), *Galatians as Examined by Diverse Academics in 2012* (St. Andrews, Scotland) (Hermit Kingdom Studies in Christianity and Judaism 3, Newark NJ: The Hermit Kingdom Press, 2013), pp. 57–134.

the Abrahamic, Sinaic and New Covenants. Edwin Chr. van Driel⁴⁹⁶ (2014) finds both salvation-historical and apocalyptic approaches to Galatians Christologically deficient, and offers a third option, a supralapsarian reading of the letter. Christ's incarnation was not merely a response to human sinfulness. Christ is the source and goal of history.

13.5 Wirkungsgeschichte

Mark A. Seifrid⁴⁹⁷ (2003) focuses on Luther's interpretation of justification in 2:15–21. Luther interpreted it forensically but regarded it as more than a mere declaration on God's part or just a transaction performed in the past to be accepted by humans at a later stage. One only has justification as one grasps Christ. Stephen Westerholm⁴⁹⁸ (2004) offers a detailed and critical review of the "Lutheran Paul" and the twentieth-century response to it. One of the themes that Westerholm investigates is the theme "justification by faith". In the case of Galatians, Westerholm finds that although it is true that Paul did not address Pelagianism or sixteenth-century disputes, he nevertheless insisted that the unrighteous were declared righteous because of faith.

In the light of criticism raised by the New Perspective on Paul against the way in which the Reformed tradition read Paul, Stephen Chester⁴⁹⁹ (2008) discusses the way in which Erasmus and the Reformers interpreted 2:16, in particular the expression "works of the law", the notion of justification by faith and the expression "faith in Christ/the faithfulness of Christ". In another contribution, Chester⁵⁰⁰ (2009) argues that, contrary to what is often claimed, the failure of traditional Protestant interpretations of Pauline theology to relate justification by faith to

496 E.C. van Driel, "Christ in Paul's Narrative: Salvation History, Apocalyptic Invasion, and Supralapsarian Theology", in: M.W. Elliott, S.J. Hafemann, N.T. Wright and J. Frederick (eds.), *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul's Letter* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2014), pp. 230–238.

497 M.A. Seifrid, "Paul, Luther, and Justification in Gal 2:15–21", *Westminster Theological Journal* 65:2 (2003), pp. 215–230.

498 S. Westerholm, *Perspectives Old and New on Paul: The "Lutheran" Paul and His Critics* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2004).

499 S. Chester, "When the Old Was New: Reformation Perspectives on Galatians 2:16", *The Expository Times* 119:7 (2008), pp. 320–329. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0014524608091090>

500 S. Chester, "It Is no Longer I Who Live: Justification by Faith and Participation in Christ in Martin Luther's Exegesis of Galatians", *New Testament Studies* 55:3 (2009), pp. 315–337. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S002868850900023X>

participatory categories does not stem from Luther. In Luther's exegesis of Galatians, he integrated the two effectively.

One of the issues that Mickey L. Mattox⁵⁰¹ (2009) discusses in a study of Luther's reception of Paul, is his lectures on Galatians. Mattox points out that Luther identified justification as the central theme of the letter and that he distinguished "righteousness of faith" from all other types of religious or civil righteousness. Luther also recognised his own experiences in Paul's experiences. Johannes Klösges⁵⁰² (2012) highlights the theological implications that Luther drew from 2:16 regarding justification, compares them to the findings of the New Perspective on Paul, situates Luther's views within developments of a theology of grace and discusses the contemporary implications of all of this.

Mark W. Elliott⁵⁰³ (2014) argues that a new perspective on Judaism in Paul's time does not necessarily imply an entire revision of the way in which justification is perceived in Reformation theology as long as one understands "faith" in such a way that it leaves room for Jesus as the Messiah. George Mombi⁵⁰⁴ (2013) discusses the implications of Christ's death for people from Melanesia who have animistic backgrounds and are thus more conscious of spiritual powers. Mombi stresses that Christ triumphed over all the evil forces, also over the ancestral spirits and the *masalai*. Jonathan A. Linebaugh⁵⁰⁵ (2013) disagrees with views that reformational interpretations of justification fail to coordinate the notion of justification and Christology. According to Linebaugh, an investigation of Luther's interpretation of 2:16 and 19–20 shows that his view of faith was radically Christo-centric.

501 M.L. Mattox, "Martin Luther's Reception of Paul", in: R.W. Holder (ed.), *A Companion to Paul in the Reformation* (Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 15, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2009), pp. 93–128. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004174924.i-660.18>

502 J. Klösges, "Gnade wird gelebt, nicht doziert! Gedanken zur Rechtfertigungslehre Martin Luthers nach seinen Kommentaren zu Gal 2,16 auf der Folie des frühchristlichen Konflikts zwischen Paulus und den Gemeinden in Galatien", *Catholica* 66:4 (2012), pp. 292–319.

503 M.W. Elliott, "Judaism, Reformation Theology, and Justification", in: M.W. Elliott, S.J. Hafemann, N.T. Wright and J. Frederick (eds.), *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul's Letter* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2014), pp. 143–158.

504 G. Mombi, "The Death of Christ and Its Meaning for Melanesians from Paul's Letter to the Galatians: From Fear to Freedom", *Melanesian Journal of Theology* 29:2 (2013), pp. 79–162.

505 J.A. Linebaugh, "The Christo-Centrism of Faith in Christ: Martin Luther's Reading of Galatians 2.16, 19–20", *New Testament Studies* 59:4 (2013), pp. 535–544. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688513000210>

Matthias Grebe⁵⁰⁶ (2015) discusses 3:13 in conversation with Barth, also offering a fresh interpretation. Grebe argues that Paul makes a provocative statement in v. 13 to silence his opponents in Galatia. It implies that all humanity (and not the Father as Barth maintains) judged Christ. J. Andrew Cohan⁵⁰⁷ (2018) challenges the commonly accepted view that 2:17 is not directly related to vv. 19–20 by drawing attention to Calvin’s interpretation of these verses. Calvin read v. 20 as referring not to Christ’s indwelling in believers, but to God’s acceptance of them in Christ. Thus, Cowan proposes that vv. 19–20 should be seen as a reference to the justifying relationship mentioned in v. 17.

Jonathan A. Linebaugh⁵⁰⁸ (2018) identifies the “grammar of the gospel” in the Reformation as the expression of Paul’s view of justification in terms of an antithesis, indicating both what the gospel is and what it is not. Linebaugh applies this insight to Galatians, showing how this antithesis functions as a critical hermeneutical criterion in the letter. Thomas Johann Bauer⁵⁰⁹ (2018) points out that Luther’s commentary was one of the central documents of the Reformation, since he discovered in it the message of a gracious God. However, Bauer also shows how the New Perspective on Paul challenges Luther’s interpretation of Paul as well as Protestant theology.

506 M. Grebe, “Jesus Christ: Victim or Victor? Revisiting Galatians 3:13 in Conversation with Karl Barth and Scripture”, *Communio Viatorum* 57:3 (2015), pp. 240–251. Originally published as: M. Grebe, “Jesus Christ: Victim or Victor? Revisiting Galatians 3:13 in Conversation with Karl Barth and Scripture”, in: H.C. Kim (ed.), *Galatians as Examined by Diverse Academics in 2012 (St. Andrews, Scotland)* (Hermit Kingdom Studies in Christianity and Judaism 3, Highland Park: The Hermit Kingdom Press, 2013), pp. 28–41.

507 J.A. Cowan, “The Legal Significance of Christ’s Risen Life: Union with Christ and Justification in Galatians 2.17–20”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 40:4 (2018), pp. 453–472. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064x18767078> Jan Lambrecht does not agree with this proposal. See: J. Lambrecht, *Intended Sense of Scripture: Fifty Brief Exegetical Notes (2019–2020)* (Beau Basin: Scholars’ Press, 2020), pp. 269–273.

508 J.A. Linebaugh, “The Grammar of the Gospel: Justification as a Theological Criterion in the Reformation and in Paul’s Letter to the Galatians”, *Scottish Journal of Theology* 71:3 (2018), pp. 287–307. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0036930618000339>

509 T.J. Bauer, “The Letter to the Galatians and the Concerns of Reformation: Luther’s Interpretation and Recent Discussions on Pauline Theology”, *Theoforum* 48:1/2 (2018), pp. 115–126. <https://doi.org/10.2143/tf.48.1.3286632>

According to Edith M. Humphrey⁵¹⁰ (2018), it is clear from Chrysostom's exegesis of Galatians that he had a narrow interpretation of the concept "works of the law" but interpreted the concept "righteousness of God" in a flexible way. Luther, on the other hand, had a very specific interpretation of "righteousness of God" but a broad view of "works of the law". Kalina Wojciechowska⁵¹¹ (2020) discusses justification in the light of the *Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification* and Luther's commentaries on Romans (1516) and Galatians (1535), showing the differences and similarities between Luther's views and those found in the declaration.

14. Ecclesiology

14.1 General studies

According to Anna Maria Schwemer⁵¹² (2000), Paul's brief references to the heavenly city (in 4:24–26) and to heavenly citizenship (Philippians 3:20) form an integral part of his ecclesiology. These ideas represented shared knowledge amongst Christians (it was "urchristliches Gemeingut") and therefore he did not need to elaborate. Furthermore, the polarity between Sinai and Zion is not only found in 4:21–31 but also in Hebrews 12:18–24. A. Katherine Grieb⁵¹³ (2005) draws attention to the disruptive nature of the grace in Christ whereby Paul, and others, were called by God to a

510 E.M. Humphrey, "Meditating Upon God's Righteousness with Chrysostom (and Luther)", *Biblical Research* 63 (2018), pp. 29–43. In his response to Humphrey's contribution (in the same volume), Peter Leithart suggests that Luther's interpretation of the two concepts might perhaps not be so different from that of Chrysostom as Humphrey believes. See P.J. Leithart, "Response: Galatians Five Hundred Years Later", *Biblical Research* 63 (2018), pp. 63–71.

511 K. Wojciechowska, "Łaską ... przez Wiarę' – Lutra Koncepcja Usprawiedliwienia Grzesznika: Perspektywa Egzegetyczno-Hermeneutyczna", *Roczniki Teologiczne* 67:7 (2020), pp. 85–109. <https://doi.org/10.18290/rt20677-6>

512 A.M. Schwemer, "Himmlische Stadt und himmlisches Bürgerrecht bei Paulus (Gal 4,26 und Phil 3,20)", in: M. Hengel, S. Mittmann and A.M. Schwemer (eds.), *La Cité de Dieu/Die Stadt Gottes: 3. Symposium Strasbourg, Tübingen, Uppsala. 19.–23. September 1998 in Tübingen* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.129, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), pp. 195–243. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157217-3>

513 A.K. Grieb, "'The One Who Called You...': Vocation and Leadership in the Pauline Literature", *Interpretation* 59:2 (2005), pp. 154–165. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002096430505900205>

new type of freedom and service. Günther H. Juncker⁵¹⁴ (2007) interprets “Israel” in Romans 9:6b as referring to the spiritual Israel (i.e., the church) and not to a faithful remnant from Israel. Juncker finds a similar tendency in Paul’s depiction of Abraham as spiritual father in Galatians 3 and in the typological interpretations of the patriarchs in Galatians 3 and of Isaac and Ishmael in 4:21–31.

Troy W. Martin⁵¹⁵ (2007) argues that, in spite of the absence of the term “holiness” in Galatians, the letter offers a continuous discussion of holiness in that the controversy about circumcision was essentially a controversy about the holiness of God’s people. Martin also works out the implications of Galatians’ view of circumcision for current believers. Dieter Sänger⁵¹⁶ (2011) describes Paul’s interpretative strategy in 4:21–31 as Christian identity formation by means of “Namenallegorese” (i.e., the allegorisation of names). In the first part, Paul develops metaphorical contrasts antithetically and in the second part, he constructs Christian identity narratively, in particular by focusing on the liberty that is based on Christ and that is experienced by means of faith.

In a study of Paul’s letters as letters of worship, John Paul Heil⁵¹⁷ (2011) highlights the following aspects of ritual worship in the letter: worship in the letter opening (1:1–5), the link between the eucharist and worship in the Antioch incident (2:11–21), the effect of baptism on ethical worship (3:26–29, worked out in 4:1–11 and 5:16–6:10) and worship in the letter closing (6:11–18). Paul Trebilco⁵¹⁸ (2011) is of the opinion that

514 G.H. Juncker, “‘Children of Promise’: Spiritual Paternity and Patriarch Typology in Galatians and Romans”, *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 17:1 (2007), pp. 131–160. <https://doi.org/10.2307/26424196>

515 T.W. Martin, “Circumcision in Galatia and the Holiness of God’s *ecclesiae*”, in: K.E. Brower and A. Johnson (eds.), *Holiness and Ecclesiology in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2007), pp. 219–237.

516 D. Sänger, “Sara, die Freie – unsere Mutter: Namenallegorese als Interpretament christlicher Identitätsbildung in Gal 4,21–31”, in: R. Deines, J. Herzer and K.-W. Niebuhr (eds.), *Neues Testament und hellenistisch-jüdische Alltagskultur: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen: III. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti, 21.–24. Mai 2009, Leipzig* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.274, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), pp. 213–239. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-151563-7>

517 J.P. Heil, *The Letters of Paul as Rituals of Worship* (Eugene OR: Cascade, 2011), pp. 64–74.

518 P. Trebilco, “Why Did the Early Christians Call Themselves ἡ ἐκκλησία?” , *New Testament Studies* 57:3 (2011), pp. 440–460. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688511000087> For a response, see G.H. van Kooten, “ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ: The ‘Church of God’ and the Civic Assemblies (ἐκκλησίαι) of the Greek Cities in the Roman Empire: A Response to Paul Trebilco and

the term ἐκκλησία (“church”) was first used by the Hellenists in Early Christianity to refer to themselves because of its occurrence in the LXX. They used ἐκκλησία instead of συναγωγή (“synagogue”) because the latter was already used by Jewish communities to refer to themselves. By means of ἐκκλησία, the link to the people of God in the Hebrew Scriptures could be expressed and the distinction from Jewish communities was also clear.

Stanley E. Porter⁵¹⁹ (2012) discusses four important aspects of the way in which the church is depicted in Romans and Galatians: how Paul understands the church, how the church functions as a community, the role that the Spirit and spiritual gifts play in the church and rituals and practices such as baptism. Grant Macaskill⁵²⁰ (2013) interprets the term “new creation” (used in 6:15) as an indication that Paul regarded the church as the new eschatological temple (having Isaiah as background) in which God restores cosmic order, thereby fulfilling the expectations that Isaiah had about Zion. According to Jeremy Punt⁵²¹ (2014), in Galatians, Paul is primarily concerned about the community to whom he writes the letter and its identity, and not so much about outsiders. Outsiders are mentioned in the letter, but Paul refers to them quite harshly.

Zoran Devrnja⁵²² (2014) focuses on the way in which Paul established an identity for the church in Galatians and Romans, in particular by stressing the notion of Israel as the people of God, but now bearing the identity of the crucified and resurrected Christ. This new identity had to be expressed through a new ethos, attitude and responsibility

Richard A. Horsley”, *New Testament Studies* 58:4 (2012), pp. 522–548. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S002868851200015X>

519 S.E. Porter, “The Church in Romans and Galatians”, in: J. Harrison and J.D. Dvorak (eds.), *New Testament Church: The Challenge of Developing Ecclesiologies* (McMaster Biblical Studies Series 1, Eugene OR: Pickwick, 2012), pp. 85–102.

520 G. Macaskill, *Union with Christ in the New Testament* (New York NY/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 225–227. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199684298.001.0001>

521 J. Punt, “Mission, Ethics, and Outsiders/Insiders in Galatians”, in: J. Kok, T. Nicklas, D.T. Roth and C.M. Hays (eds.), *Sensitivity Towards Outsiders: Exploring the Dynamic Relationship between Mission and Ethics in the New Testament and Early Christianity* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.364, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), pp. 225–245. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157504-4>

522 Z. Devrnja, “The Problem of the Identity of Covenant Community in Paul’s Epistles to the Galatians and the Romans”, *Philotheos* 14 (2014), pp. 215–223. <https://doi.org/10.5840/philotheos20141420>

towards outsiders. *Michael Riccardi*⁵²³ (2014) disagrees with scholars who take Paul's reference to Gentiles who believe in Christ as the "seed" of Abraham (in 3:29) as an indication that the church is the spiritual Israel. That Christ is the "seed" of Abraham means that all the Abrahamic blessings were fulfilled. This includes the national promises to Israel. *G.K. Beale*⁵²⁴ (2015) offers further evidence for the claim that Paul's use of the term ἐκκλησία ("church") is best understood in the light of the LXX and not in terms of a Graeco-Roman background.

According to *Ralph J. Korner*⁵²⁵ (2017), an association describing itself as ἐκκλησία ("church") would not have been perceived as anti-imperial in the New Testament era, even though it was counter oligarchic. Furthermore, Korner is of the opinion that the use of this term instead of "synagogue" does not necessarily imply that Paul and his congregations were moving away from Judaism. *Maksimilijan Matjaž*⁵²⁶ (2019) discusses Paul's understanding of κοινωνία ("fellowship") in 2:9 that played a key role in the agreement reached in Jerusalem. Matjaž emphasises that κοινωνία is based on recognising the truth of the gospel and that it has ecumenical and ethical implications.

14.2 Unity and equality

According to *Pamela Eisenbaum*⁵²⁷ (2000), who describes herself as a Jewish feminist, Paul had good intentions, but his views were used subsequently in an abominable way. Eisenbaum interprets 3:28 as articulating novel views on social relationships between people. *Beverly Roberts Gaventa*⁵²⁸ (2000) believes that although Paul does not address women directly in Galatians and the speakers, audience and decisions

523 M. Riccardi, "The Seed of Abraham: A Theological Analysis of Galatians 3 and Its Implications for Israel", *The Master's Seminary Journal* 25:1 (2014), pp. 51–64.

524 G.K. Beale, "The Background of ἐκκλησία Revisited", *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 38:2 (2015), pp. 151–168. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X15609206>

525 R.J. Korner, *The Origin and Meaning of ekklesia in the Early Jesus Movement* (Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 98, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2017). <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004344990>

526 M. Matjaž, "Občestvo kljub Različnosti: Pavlovo Razumevanje Koinonie v Pismu Galačanom (Gal 2,9)", *Edinost in Dialog* 74:1 (2019), pp. 175–193. <https://doi.org/10.34291/edinost/74/matjaz>

527 P. Eisenbaum, "Is Paul the Father of Misogyny and Antisemitism?", *Cross Currents* 50:4 (2000), pp. 506–524.

528 B.R. Gaventa, "Is Galatians Just a 'Guy Thing'? A Theological Reflection", *Interpretation* 54:3 (2000), pp. 267–278. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002096430005400304>

are all male, this does not mean that one should abandon the letter, since it articulates a view of God's new creation that is liberating for females and males. According to *Andrea J. Mayer-Haas*⁵²⁹ (2001), the Antioch incident was caused by two opposing models of intra-church unity: a model based on covenant theology, presupposing the separation of Israel from other peoples, and a model based on the notion of a new universal fellowship brought about by Christ's death (the view represented by Paul). Although Paul's view was rejected by the majority at Antioch, in the long run it prevailed (after the demise of Jewish Christianity).

*Bernard C. Lategan*⁵³⁰ (2002) draws attention to Paul's use of history in Galatians. He offers an alternative perspective on Israel's past in order to argue for a more inclusive understanding of its history so that he can motivate the equal status of Gentile believers in the congregation. In an investigation of texts on theocracy in Corinthians and Galatians, *David W. Odell-Scott*⁵³¹ (2003) shows that Paul criticised any notion of a structure of authority in the church and opposed such an idea by means of the metaphors of the church as the body of Christ and as the family of God. *Timothy Wiarda*⁵³² (2003) identifies and critically assesses five different ways in which people use the Jerusalem Council as a model for the contemporary church. Wiarda concludes the investigation by emphasising the importance of sticking to the ideal of like-mindedness in the church.

*Gordon D. Fee*⁵³³ (2004) highlights the implications of the "newness" of the new creation for Paul's ecclesiology. Cultural structures still exist, but they should no longer be given any

529 A.J. Mayer-Haas, "Identitätsbewahrung, kirchliche Einheit und die 'Wahrheit des Evangeliums': Der sogenannte 'antiochenische Zwischenfall' im Spiegel von Gal 2,11–21", in: J. Eckert, M. Schmidl and H. Steichele (eds.), *Pneuma und Gemeinde: Christsein in der Tradition des Paulus und Johannes: Festschrift für Josef Hainz zum 65. Geburtstag* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 2001), pp. 123–148.

530 B.C. Lategan, "Paul's Use of History in Galatians: Some Remarks on His Style of Theological Argumentation", *Neotestamentica* 36:1/2 (2002), pp. 121–130.

531 D.W. Odell-Scott, *Paul's Critique of Theocracy: A/Theocracy in Corinthians and Galatians* (Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 250, London/New York NY: T & T Clark, 2003).

532 T. Wiarda, "The Jerusalem Council and the Theological Task", *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 46:2 (2003), pp. 233–248.

533 G.D. Fee, "Male and Female in the New Creation: Galatians 3:26–29", in: R.W. Pierce and R.M. Groothuis (eds.), *Discovering Biblical Equality: Complementarity without Hierarchy* (Leicester/Downers Grove IL: Apollos/InterVarsity Press, 2004), pp. 172–185.

significance. Doug Heidebrecht⁵³⁴ (2005) emphasises the importance of reading 3:28 in light of both the letter as a whole and related passages in the New Testament. Such a reading shows that this verse does not only refer to equality when it comes to salvation. Distinctions that are typical in society should also be addressed in the body of Christ. Tatha Wiley⁵³⁵ (2005) views the Galatian crisis from the perspective of Gentile women in the congregations. The gospel proclaimed by Paul's opponents implied a departure from the gender equality (for example, manifested in baptism and leadership) associated with Paul's gospel.

Assisi Saldanha⁵³⁶ (2006) points out that 3:26–29 does not merely address the status of Gentile Christians. It also implies that Gentiles and Jews are one in Christ – something that is objectively based on the faith of Christ. Unity between Jews and Gentiles in Christ is thus upheld. J. Nelson Jennings⁵³⁷ (2009) offers a fresh reading of Romans and Galatians in Japan. Jennings stresses that Paul regarded the church as the covenant people of God, transcending individual cultures. For our times this implies taking a multi-ethnic ecclesiology seriously so that the destructive impact of nation states may be counteracted. According to Chad Harrington⁵³⁸ (2010), Paul's rhetoric in 2:16 has a sociological aim, namely, to move the church to unity. Justification is thus not only about forensic matters, but also about ecclesiological matters, about church unity.

Moses-Valentine Afamefuna Chukwujekwu⁵³⁹ (2010) reads Galatians from the perspective of the relationship between gospel, church and culture, showing that the letter promotes the cultural autonomy of the people that are being evangelised, but that it also enhances the notion of unity in diversity. This implies that the gospel can be appropriated in

534 D. Heidebrecht, "Distinction and Function in the Church: Reading Galatians 3:28 in Context", *Direction* 34:2 (2005), pp. 181–193.

535 T. Wiley, *Paul and the Gentile Women: Reframing Galatians* (New York NY/London: Continuum, 2005).

536 A. Saldanha, "'The Faith of Christ': The Objective Basis of the Unity between Jew and Greek", *Indian Theological Studies* 43:3/4 (2006), pp. 425–469.

537 J.N. Jennings, "Paul in Japan: A Fresh Reading of Romans and Galatians", in: B.M. Howell and Z. Edwin (eds.), *Power and Identity in the Global Church: Six Contemporary Cases* (Pasadena CA: William Carey Library, 2009), pp. 27–54.

538 C. Harrington, "Justification by the Faithfulness of Jesus Christ", *The Asbury Journal* 65:2 (2010), pp. 7–25.

539 M.-V.A. Chukwujekwu, "Gospel, Church and Cultures: Pauline Perspective in the Letter to the Galatians", *Bulletin of Ecumenical Theology* 22 (2010), pp. 5–27.

different ways in different cultures in our time. *Brigitte Kahl*⁵⁴⁰ (2012) interprets the perspective of Galatians on the “Others” as follows: The letter de-hierarchicalises all types of polarities and envisages a new way of living together with the “Others”, i.e., living a life based on love: “This biblically based anti-imperial, anti-Occidental concept of unity is the central theme not only of Galatians 3:26–28, but of Galatians as a whole”.⁵⁴¹ In another contribution, *Kahl*⁵⁴² (2013) draws attention to the way in which the Roman Emperor was depicted as world conqueror, god and father visually, for example in the Augustus Forum, and the different picture offered by Galatians. In Christ, people become part of a Messianic family, in which binary distinctions are replaced by hybrid horizontal relationships. In Paul’s terms: not Hagar but the free woman with her alternative metropole.

*Aaron Sherwood*⁵⁴³ (2013) is of the opinion that ethnicity is one of the issues that Paul sweeps aside in 3:28 and that he focuses instead on social unity (not uniformity), in particular within the church. For *William Sanger Campbell*⁵⁴⁴ (2013) it is important that the interpretation of 2:15–21 should be based on the previous section (vv. 11–14). If such an approach is followed, it becomes clear that the issue was not only

540 B. Kahl, “Galatians: On Discomfort About Gender and Other Problems of Otherness”, in: L. Schottroff, M.-T. Wacker, C. Janssen, B. Wehn and M. Rumscheidt (eds.), *Feminist Biblical Interpretation: A Compendium of Critical Commentary on the Books of the Bible and Related Literature* (Grand Rapids MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2012), pp. 755–766. English version of: B. Kahl, “Der Brief an die Gemeinden in Galatien: Vom Unbehagen der Geschlechter und anderen Problemen des Andersseins”, in: L. Schottroff, M.-T. Wacker, C. Janssen and B. Wehn (eds.), *Kompendium feministische Bibelauslegung* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1999, 2nd corrected edition), pp. 603–611.

541 *Op. cit.*, p. 764.

542 B. Kahl, “Krieg, Maskulinität und der imperiale Gottvater: Das Augustusforum und die messianische Re-Imagination von ‘Hagar’ im Galaterbrief”, in: U.E. Eisen, C. Gerber and A. Standhartinger (eds.), *Doing Gender – Doing Religion: Fallstudien zur Intersektionalität im frühen Judentum, Christentum und Islam* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.302, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), pp. 273–300. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-152368-7>

543 A. Sherwood, *Paul and the Restoration of Humanity in Light of Ancient Jewish Traditions* (Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 82, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2013), pp. 217–221. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004235472>

544 W.S. Campbell, “Unity in the Community: Rereading Galatians 2:15–21”, in: D.J. Downs and M.L. Skinner (eds.), *The Unrelenting God: God’s Action in Scripture: Essays in Honor of Beverly Roberts Gaventa* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2013), pp. 226–241.

the law but also unity amongst believers in spite of ethnicity. In a study of the relationship between the truth of the gospel and the unity of the church in the Pauline letters (amongst others, 2:5 and 14) and the Johannine writings, *Hans-Christian Kammler*⁵⁴⁵ (2014) shows that “truth” is understood in a Christological sense and that it is generally accepted that the truth of the gospel constitutes unity in the church. Kammler also works out the implications of this insight for current oecumenical dialogues.

One of the passages that *Jae Won Lee*⁵⁴⁶ (2015) uses to explain the politics of difference in Paul is 2:11–21. For Lee, this pericope is theologically the key passage in the letter, and it is clear that justification by faith was primarily concerned with equal relations between Jewish and Gentile believers. According to *Thomas Söding*⁵⁴⁷ (2016), Galatians calls for a “fundamental ecumenism” (“Fundamentalökumene”) in our time, implying that unity is approached from the common task of witnessing to God. This witness should be polyphonic but should also have a common orientation to the canon. *Yann Redalié*⁵⁴⁸ (2017) draws attention to Paul’s “intercultural ecclesiology”. He interpreted a basic baptismal tradition in different ways, depending on the particular situation. The three examples that Redalié discusses come from 3:23–29, 1 Corinthians 12:11–14 and Colossians 3:10.

In a study of inter-church relationships in the Pauline letters (amongst others, Galatians), *James T. Hughes*⁵⁴⁹ (2020) finds clear indications of a drive towards ecclesial solidarity (in belief and actions) and towards inter-church and trans-local relationships between congregations. This should inform the way in which churches interact

545 H.-C. Kammler, “Die Wahrheit des Evangeliums und die Einheit der Kirche: Exegetische Überlegungen zu ihrem sachlichen Verhältnis”, *Kerygma und Dogma* 60:2 (2014), pp. 126–152. <https://doi.org/10.13109/kedo.2014.60.2.126>

546 J.W. Lee, *Paul and the Politics of Difference: A Contextual Study of the Jewish-Gentile Difference in Galatians and Romans* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Pickwick Publications, 2015), pp. 107–135.

547 T. Söding, “Streiten verbindet: Der Galaterbrief als Wegweiser der Ökumene”, in: U. Luz, T. Söding and S. Vollenweider (eds.), *Exegese – Ökumenisch engagiert: Der ‘Evangelisch-Katholische Kommentar’ in der Diskussion über 500 Jahre Reformation* (Ostfildern/Göttingen: Patmos Verlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), pp. 89–98. <https://doi.org/10.13109/9783788731823.89>

548 Y. Redalié, “Paolo, un’Ecclesiologia Interculturale?”, *Protestantesimo* 72:4 (2017), pp. 355–367.

549 J.T. Hughes, “Inter-Church Relationships in Paul’s Epistles”, *The Global Anglican* 134:3 (2020), pp. 251–261.

nowadays. *Mitzi J. Smith*⁵⁵⁰ (2020) challenges Paul (“talks back” to Paul) because he exploits Hagar, an enslaved woman, to promote a gospel proclaiming freedom. Even 3:28 is challenged, since it normalises ethnic, class and gender binaries. Furthermore, 4:21–5:1 shows that there still is a distinction between slave and free amongst believers.

14.3 Sacraments

*Thomas A. Rand*⁵⁵¹ (2001) argues that in Galatians, Paul invoked rituals such as baptism and communion to signify the movement from the old age to the new age of the Spirit and to inculcate the gospel in the communal life of the readers. *J. Albert Harill*⁵⁵² (2002) believes that Paul’s reference to “putting on Christ” (3:27) is best understood in terms of the *toga virilis* coming-of-age ceremony in Roman household. Upon this occasion the youth were warned against succumbing to the flesh, a warning that Paul also gives in Galatians. *Debbie Hunn*⁵⁵³ (2004) contends that Paul is not referring to water baptism in 3:27. A reference to Spirit baptism fits the context better.

*Derek Woodard-Lehman*⁵⁵⁴ (2007) explores a dispersive universality not requiring others to be like oneself but by one identifying with them. This is linked to 3:26–28 and 2:19–20 as follows: “[B]aptism identifies the baptisand with Christ, inaugurates the new life of Christ living within, and initiates ongoing identification with others. The politics of baptismal identification is performative peace-making; a pneumasomatics of identity that is simultaneously a body politics and a politics of bodies.”⁵⁵⁵ In a study on baptism in the

550 M.J. Smith, “Hagar’s Children Still Ain’t Free: Paul’s Counterterror Rhetoric, Constructed Identity, Enslavement, and Galatians 3:28”, in: M.J. Smith and J.Y. Choi (eds.), *Minoritized Women Reading Race and Ethnicity: Intersectional Approaches to Constructed Identity and Early Christian Texts* (Lanham MD: Lexington Books, 2020), pp. 45–70.

551 T.A. Rand, “Set Free and Set Right: Ritual, Theology, and the Inculturation of the Gospel in Galatia”, *Worship* 75:5 (2001), pp. 453–468.

552 J.A. Harrill, “Coming of Age and Putting on Christ: The *toga virilis* Ceremony, Its Paraenesis, and Paul’s Interpretation of Baptism in Galatians”, *Novum Testamentum* 44:3 (2002), pp. 252–277. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156853602320249473>

553 D. Hunn, “The Baptism of Galatians 3:27: A Contextual Approach”, *The Expository Times* 115:11 (2004), pp. 372–375. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001452460411501103>

554 D. Woodard-Lehman, “One in Christ Who Lives Within: Dispersive Universality and the Pneuma-Somatics of Identity”, *The Bible & Critical Theory* 3:3 (2007), pp. 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.2104/bc070039>

555 *Op. cit.*, p. 1.

first five centuries, *Everett Ferguson*⁵⁵⁶ (2009) notes that 3:27 shows that what distinguishes Christian baptism from other similar rituals is the relationship to Christ – that one is baptised “into” Christ.

*Martin F. Connell*⁵⁵⁷ (2011) discusses the ways in which Paul refers to clothing the body of Christ in his letters. Connell suggests that the reference to clothing in 3:27 is not merely metaphorical. It might also have referred to a ritual action whereby people dissociated their values from those of the rest of the world. In the light of Paul’s references to baptism and views about incorporation into Christ in 1 Corinthians, Galatians, Romans and Colossians, *J. Ross Wagner*⁵⁵⁸ (2011) draws attention to the fact that it is the identity of the human Jesus Christ that determines the identity of the redeemed. They become one because they are united with him. According to *Teresa Kuo-Yu Tsui*⁵⁵⁹ (2012), in 3:27 (and in Romans 6:3), Paul refers to baptism apocalyptically in the sense that baptism points forward to the final transformation, the resurrection, that is based on the apocalyptic Christ event.

*Gitte Buch-Hansen*⁵⁶⁰ (2014) discusses baptism and notions on generation/genealogy in Galatians, showing how Paul navigates between Jewish notions of genealogy and Hellenistic ideas about generation, in particular Aristotelian ideas about generation as illustrated in *De generatione animalium*. This Aristotelian notion is combined with the idea that Christ literally became Abraham’s seed. *Stephen Richard Turley*⁵⁶¹ (2015) investigates references to baptism and meals in Galatians and 1 Corinthians from the perspective of ritual theory. According to Turley, these rituals were primarily revelatory in that they revealed the coming of the Messianic age by means of the bodies of the believers who participated in such rituals.

556 E. Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries* (Grand Rapids MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2009), pp. 147–148.

557 M.F. Connell, “Clothing the Body of Christ: An Inquiry About the Letters of Paul”, *Worship* 85:2 (2011), pp. 128–146.

558 J.R. Wagner, “Baptism ‘into Christ Jesus’ and the Question of Universalism in Paul”, *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 33:1 (2011), pp. 45–61. <https://doi.org/10.1163/019590811X571715>

559 T. Kuo-Yu Tsui, “‘Baptized into His Death’ (Rom 6,3) and ‘Clothed with Christ’ (Gal 3,27): The Soteriological Meaning of Baptism in Light of Pauline Apocalyptic”, *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 88:4 (2012), pp. 395–417. <https://doi.org/10.2143/ETL.88.4.2957935>

560 G. Buch-Hansen, “Paulus i Aristoteles’ Høsegård: Døb og Genealogi i Galaterbrevet”, *Dansk Teologisk Tidsskrift* 77:1 (2014), pp. 9–26.

561 S.R. Turley, *The Ritualized Revelation of the Messianic Age: Washings and Meals in Galatians and 1 Corinthians* (Library of New Testament Studies 544, London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2015).

Joshua Garroway⁵⁶² (2016) is of the view that Paul did not replace circumcision with baptism. He reinterpreted circumcision (an initiatory rite into Judaism) in the sense that he believed that circumcision was achieved by means of baptism. Štefan Paluchník⁵⁶³ (2016) examines the way in which Paul handled older traditions. One of the examples that are discussed is 3:26–29, in which case Paluchník accepts that Paul made use of a pre-Pauline baptismal tradition. Christoph Heil⁵⁶⁴ (2016) thinks the interpretation of rituals in Early Christianity was influenced by notions of piety in the mystery cults. In Galatians, this can be seen in Paul's reference to circumcision as castration (5:12), having as its background the emasculation associated with the Cybele cult, and the clothing referred to in the context of baptism (3:27), having as its background clothing metaphors in Hellenistic mystery cults.

Allan J. McNicol⁵⁶⁵ (2017) highlights the link between baptism and moral life in Galatians. Paul understood Christian life as “new creation” expressed in living according to “the law of Christ”. Baptism was an integral event in this enterprise. Jeremy Wade Barrier⁵⁶⁶ (2020) believes that the Jews in Galatia regarded circumcision as a talisman protecting them from harm and that they viewed Paul as a witch bringing evil to their community. Paul's defence was that baptism, not circumcision, protected them from the evil eye.

14.4 Ministry

Anthony Towey⁵⁶⁷ (2009) highlights the pastoral implications of the Damascus event, in particular three key insights that transformed Paul's ministry (and that may be applied to our current context): the awareness that he had persecuted God's church, meeting the

562 J. Garroway, “Engendering Judaism: Paul, Baptism, and Circumcision”, in: G. Boccaccini and C.A. Segovia (eds.), *Paul the Jew: Rereading the Apostle as a Figure of Second Temple Judaism* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress Press, 2016), pp. 219–244.

563 Š. Paluchník, “Der Apostel Paulus und die älteren christlichen Traditionen”, *Communio Viatorum* 58:1 (2016), pp. 55–76.

564 C. Heil, “Beschneidung und Taufe im Galaterbrief: Zur Bedeutung der Mysterienkulte in einem frühchristlichen Grundsatzstreit”, *Keryx* 4 (2016), pp. 87–98.

565 A.J. McNicol, “Baptism and the Moral Life”, *Christian Studies* 29 (2017), pp. 33–46.

566 J.W. Barrier, *Witch Hunt in Galatia: Magic, Medicine, and Ritual and the Occasion of Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (Paul in Critical Contexts, Lanham MD/New York NY/London: Lexington Books/Fortress Academic, 2020).

567 A. Towey, “Damascus and Pastoral Ministry”, in: M.A. Hayes (ed.), *In Praise of Paul* (London: St Pauls, 2009), pp. 48–57.

Risen Christ and a desire to bring the gospel to outsiders. Noting that Galatians has often been used in the past to foster division amongst believers, *Marion L.S. Carson*⁵⁶⁸ (2015) suggests that one should rather view Paul as tackling “immature religion” in the letter. In the current context, one may follow his arguments but not the divisive approach that he used. *Marcus A. Mininger*⁵⁶⁹ (2016) appropriates the message of 2:2, 2:11–14 and Philippians 1:12–18 for our current times as follows: One of the best ways to test one’s God-centredness in the ministry is the way one handles conflict with other people, in particular with peers.

*Michael F. Bird and John Anthony Dunne*⁵⁷⁰ (2017) describe Paul’s ministry in Galatians as “pastoring with a big stick” and draw attention to two important issues that may help one to understand his ministry in this letter better: his role as heresiologist and his maternal attitude toward the readers (4:12ff.).

14.5 Offices

*N.H. Taylor*⁵⁷¹ (2003) investigates the ways in which Paul and his rivals defined apostleship in the conflicts reflected in Galatians and the Corinthian letters. Taylor finds no common conception of apostleship underlying the conflicts. Claims for legitimacy were based on different criteria. *Boris Repschinski*⁵⁷² (2010) points out that Paul formulates his criticism of the Galatians in the light of Hellenistic notions of friendship. Accordingly, he depicts his ministry as an apostle as that of someone operating as an equal of the Galatians whereas the best that his opponents can offer is a patron-client relationship (and the

568 M.L.S. Carson, “Grown up Religion: Polemic and Pastoral Practice in Paul’s Letter to the Galatians”, *The Expository Times* 127:3 (2015), pp. 105–113. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0014524614535155>

569 M.A. Mininger, “A God-Centered Ministry and Responses to Conflict between Peers: Perspectives from the Apostle Paul”, *Mid-America Journal of Theology* 27 (2016), pp. 123–136.

570 M.F. Bird and J.A. Dunne, “Pastoring with a Big Stick: Paul as Pastor in Galatians”, in: B.S. Rosner, A.S. Malone and T.J. Burke (eds.), *Paul as Pastor* (London: T & T Clark/Bloomsbury, 2017), pp. 71–82. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9780567677938.ch-006>

571 N.H. Taylor, “Conflict as Context for Defining Identity: A Study of Apostleship in the Galatian and Corinthian Letters”, *HTS Theologese Studies* 59:3 (2003), pp. 915–945. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v59i3.680> Also available in: N.H. Taylor, “Apostolic Identity and the Conflicts in Corinth and Galatia”, in: S.E. Porter (ed.), *Paul and His Opponents* (Pauline Studies 2, Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 99–127. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047416074_007

572 B. Repschinski, “Gemeindekrise und Apostelamt im Galaterbrief”, *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 132:3 (2010), pp. 312–331.

worst a situation of spiritual slavery). Céline Rohmer⁵⁷³ (2019) argues that although the writers of the New Testament do not know the notion of synodality (literally, “having a common way”) their writings show what it means to be on a journey with Christ, an experience giving rise to true synodal events. The plurality of voices in this regard (amongst others, Galatians 2) gives one a pragmatic freedom in Christ regarding synodal matters in the current context.

15. Christian existence and spirituality

15.1 Studies based on the letter or parts of the letter

In a study of “in Christ”, “in the Spirit” and related expressions in Pauline letters, Andrie du Toit⁵⁷⁴ (2000) observes that although one finds some examples of ecstatic forms of mysticism in the letters, Paul mostly uses such expressions to refer to the daily experience of God’s presence in believers through the presence of Christ and the Spirit. Alain Gignac⁵⁷⁵ (2000) draws attention to Paul as a master and a teacher of an initiation process that transformed his readers by means of rhetorical techniques. His letters can still transform readers today. Scot McKnight⁵⁷⁶ (2000) investigates the identity of the “I” depicted as dying in 2:20. McKnight rejects two views, a universalistic view (that the “I” is everybody) and an autobiographical view (that the “I” is Paul) and argues for understanding it as referring to the “I’s” of Paul and Peter as Jewish believers.

According to Piotr Kasiłowski⁵⁷⁷ (2001), the essence of Christian existence as depicted in 2:16 and 19–20 may be summarised as follows: justification as a gift of God, Christ as the foundation of new life, a breaking with the law and the death of one’s “I”. Michael J. Gorman⁵⁷⁸ (2001) explains Paul’s spirituality as a “narrative spirituality”

573 C. Rohmer, “De la tradition synodale à l’événement synodal ou comment la Bible interroge la pratique”, *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 107:2 (2019), pp. 209–224. <https://doi.org/10.3917/rsr.192.0207>

574 A. du Toit, “In Christ’, ‘in the Spirit’ and Related Prepositional Phrases: Their Relevance for a Discussion on Pauline Mysticism”, *Neotestamentica* 34:2 (2000), pp. 287–298.

575 A. Gignac, “Paul le passeur, hier et aujourd’hui: Pédagogie rhétorique et lecture initiatique”, *Science et Esprit* 52:1 (2000), pp. 61–85.

576 S. McKnight, “The Ego and ‘I’: Galatians 2:19 in New Perspective”, *Word & World* 20:3 (2000), pp. 272–280.

577 P. Kasiłowski, “Życie Chrześcijanina (Ga 2,16.19–20)”, *Studia Bobolanum* 1:1 (2001), pp. 93–116.

578 M.J. Gorman, *Cruciformity: Paul’s Narrative Spirituality of the Cross* (Grand Rapids MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2001).

because it is based on Christ's character as depicted in the story of his cruciform death, ending in exaltation. Paul modelled and taught such a spirituality of cruciformity to believers. Gorman highlights four important concepts, cruciform faith, love, power and hope, which are to be expressed in communities of cruciformity. Stanley P. Saunders⁵⁷⁹ (2002) shows how eschatological rhetoric had a formative function in the spirituality of Early Christianity, by reshaping their view of space and time and by "learning" Christ. In the case of Galatians, the relationship between apocalyptic eschatology and a spirituality of freedom is of particular note.

Hans-Martin Barth⁵⁸⁰ (2002) compares the Christian notion of personal identity (as reflected in 2:20) and the Buddhist notion of "non-self". Whereas Buddhism invites people to find "emptiness" and not be person-centred anymore, this verse refers to a grateful transformation of the "I" to a true "I" established by Christ. Ladislav Tichý⁵⁸¹ (2004) argues that Paul's statement in 2:20a that Christ is in him, is one of the ways in which the close relationship between baptised believers and Christ is expressed by him. This expression also has a personal dimension in that he relies on his own experience of the presence of Christ. According to Pedro Mendoza Magallón⁵⁸² (2005), "being crucified with Christ" (a notion found only in 2:15–21 and in Romans 6:5–11) is the centre of Paul's message and depicts the fundamental situation of believers. They have to identify fully with Christ's loving redemption and cannot continue to live in sin anymore.

In a study of spiritual maturity and maturation in the undisputed Pauline letters, James G. Samra⁵⁸³ (2006) finds a maturational aspect in

579 S.P. Saunders, "'Learning Christ': Eschatology and Spiritual Formation in New Testament Christianity", *Interpretation* 56:2 (2002), pp. 155–167. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002096430005600204>

580 H.-M. Barth, "'Ich lebe, aber nicht mehr ich...': Christlicher Glaube und personale Identität", *Neue Zeitschrift für Systematische Theologie und Religionsphilosophie* 44:2 (2002), pp. 174–188. <https://doi.org/10.1515/nzst.2002.010>

581 L. Tichý, "Christ in Paul: The Apostle Paul's Relation to Christ Viewed through Gal. 2.20a", in: J. Mrázek and J. Roskovec (eds.), *Testimony & Interpretation: Early Christology in Its Judeo-Hellenistic Milieu: Studies in Honor of Petr Pokorný* (Journal for the Study of the New Testament Studies 272, London/New York NY: T & T Clark, 2004), pp. 40–48.

582 P. Mendoza Magallón, *Estar Crucificado Juntamente con Cristo: El Nuevo Status del Creyente en Cristo: Estudio Exegético-Teológico de Gal 2.15–21 y Rom 6.5–11* (Tesi Gregoriana: Serie Teologia 122, Roma: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 2005).

583 J.G. Samra, *Being Conformed to Christ in Community: A Study of Maturity, Maturation and the Local Church in the Undisputed Pauline Epistles* (Library

Paul's view of his mission in Galatians (1:17–2:10 and 4:8–20), as well as an emphasis on conformity to Christ's image, with the process of spiritual transformation depicted as a transformation to the image of Christ (Galatians 3–4). *Roberto Lopes de Souza*⁵⁸⁴ (2008) investigates Paul's mysticism in Galatians and draws attention to Paul's gospel, his personal detachment as a result of having been crucified with Christ (2:19 and 6:14), and his intimate union with Christ. This mysticism gave rise to an objective loving of other believers in the daily life of the Christian community and table-fellowship without any distinction.

In the light of 5:25, *Domingos Terra*⁵⁸⁵ (2008) points out that the nature of Christian experience is quite often misinterpreted in that people do not realise that the dominant aspect to be grasped for a true understanding of spirituality is an emphasis on God's primacy and sovereignty and not on social and cultural expressions. One of the issues that *Richard Valantasis*⁵⁸⁶ (2008) investigates in a study of ancient and modern asceticism is "competing ascetic subjectivities" in Galatians. Valantasis identifies three types of subjectivity in the letter: a subjectivity of the natural subject, a subjectivity of dominant Judaism at Paul's time and a spiritual/pneumatic subjectivity of a smaller Jewish group within a larger Jewish religious/social setup. According to Valantasis, in Galatians, Paul serves as an example of the third type of subjectivity.

In a contribution on the symbolism of mountains in Biblical spirituality, *Richard T. France*⁵⁸⁷ (2008) points out the contrasting ideologies associated with Sinai and Zion and the way in which this contrast is developed in the New Testament, amongst others in Galatians, in which case one finds a contrast between spiritual slavery and freedom in Christ. *D. Francois Tolmie*⁵⁸⁸ (2011) offers an overview of

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- of New Testament Studies 320, London: T & T Clark, 2006), pp. 212–233.
- 584 R.L. de Souza, "A Mística na Epístola aos Gálatas: 'Já não Sou Eu Que Vivo, Mas é Cristo que Vive em Mim'", *Estudos Bíblicos* 26:97 (2008), pp. 70–85.
- 585 D. Terra, "Experiência Cristã: Especificidade e Equívocos: A Propósito da Expressão 'Viver pelo Espírito' (Gal 5,25)", *Didaskalia* 38:1 (2008), pp. 89–112.
- 586 R. Valantasis, *The Making of the Self: Ancient and Modern Asceticism* (Eugene OR: Cascade, 2008). <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1c9f9xc>
- 587 R.T. France, "A Tale of Two Mountains: Mountains in Biblical Spirituality", *Rural Theology* 6:2 (2008), pp. 117–125. https://doi.org/10.1179/rut_2008_6_2_005
- 588 D.F. Tolmie, "The Spirituality of the Letter to the Galatians", *Acta Theologica Supplementum* 15 (2011), pp. 167–182. <https://doi.org/10.4314/actat.v31i1S.10>

the spirituality of Galatians in terms of Kees Waaijman's⁵⁸⁹ approach to spirituality by discussing the way in which (1) the divine-human relational and (2) the transformation processes are reflected in the letter. Dieter Sänger⁵⁹⁰ (2011) describes Paul's interpretative strategy in 4:21–31 as Christian identity formation by means of "Namenallegorese" (i.e., the allegorisation of names). In the first part, Paul develops metaphorical contrasts antithetically and in the second part, he constructs Christian identity narratively, in particular by focusing on the liberty that is based on Christ and that is experienced by means of faith.

Rollin A. Ramsaran⁵⁹¹ (2012) investigates "in Christ" and "Christ in" as expressions of religious experience in Galatians and finds that interior religious experience plays an important role in the letter, in particular in the case of "Christ in" texts such as 1:16 and 2:20. Ramsaran also highlights the link between "Christ in" texts and "in Christ" texts, language of "belonging" and the presence of the Spirit – all regarded as giving rise to ethical actions. According to Daniel Marguerat⁵⁹² (2013), Paul may be described as a mystic, but he did not practise an evasive type of spirituality or dismiss the burdens of life. His Christic mysticism was motivated by his theological interpretation of the cross, implying a fundamental incarnation of God. In the case of Galatians, Marguerat considers 1:15b–16 and 2:19–20.

589 K. Waaijman, *Spirituality: Forms, Foundations, Methods* (Leuven/Paris/Dudley: Peeters, 2002).

590 D. Sänger, "Sara, die Freie – unsere Mutter: Namenallegorese als Interpretament christlicher Identitätsbildung in Gal 4,21–31", in: R. Deines, J. Herzer and K.-W. Niebuhr (eds.), *Neues Testament und hellenistisch-jüdische Alltagskultur: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen: III. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti, 21.–24. Mai 2009, Leipzig* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.274, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), pp. 213–239. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-151563-7>

591 R.A. Ramsaran, "'In Christ' and 'Christ in' as Expressions of Religious Experience: Testing the Waters in Galatians", in: C. Shantz and R.A. Werline (eds.), *Experientia, Volume 2: Linking Text and Experience* (SBL – Early Judaism and Its Literature 35, Atlanta GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), pp. 161–180. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt32bzkm.12>

592 D. Marguerat, "Paul the Mystic", in: J. Krans, B.J. Lietaert Peerbolte, P.-B. Smit and A.W. Zwiep (eds.), *Paul, John, and Apocalyptic Eschatology: Studies in Honour of Martinus C. de Boer* (Novum Testamentum Supplements 149, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2013), pp. 76–93. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004250369_007

In a study of the notion of union with Christ in the New Testament, *Grant Macaskill*⁵⁹³ (2013) discusses 2:19–20 and 4:5. In the first case, Macaskill highlights the total transformation of identity depicted and suggests that this idea might have been influenced by a reflection on the sacraments. In the second case, Macaskill highlights the fact that Paul specifically links adoption to receiving the Spirit. Furthermore, the importance of God’s fatherhood in this context is stressed, as well as the fact that Jesus’ sonship and his movement from a position of minority (under the law) to majority serve as the basis of adoption on the sacraments. *D. Francois Tolmie*⁵⁹⁴ (2013) identifies three core elements of the spiritual activity of discernment (reflection, choice and the relationship to God) and discusses several references to discernment in Galatians in 2:1–10, 2:11–21, 3:1–5 and 5:13–6:10.

*Pieter G.R. de Villiers*⁵⁹⁵ (2014) points out that scholars tend to ignore the importance of love in Galatians because of the polemical nature of the letter. De Villiers shows how important love in the letter is by discussing divine love (as the source of God’s salvific, transformative deeds and as divine characteristic) and love as the distinguishing mark of the believing congregation. De Villiers also works out the implications of love for the ethos and ethics of believers. *Eliezer González*⁵⁹⁶ (2014) believes that the notion of metamorphosis occupies a central place in Paul’s thought. (The term μεταμορφώω [“change”] is used in Romans 12:2 and 2 Corinthians 3:18, μορφή [“form”] in Philippians 2:6–7 and μορφώω [“form”] in Galatians 4:19.) González summarises Paul’s view on the matter as follows: “[T]he agent of metamorphosis is God, and the object for the transformation of humanity is Christ-likeness.”⁵⁹⁷

In a study of 4:4–7 and Romans 8:14–17, *Florin Bejenaru*⁵⁹⁸ (2014) stresses the role of the Spirit in experiencing divine childhood of God. The Spirit creates the awareness of childhood of God in believers

593 G. Macaskill, *Union with Christ in the New Testament* (New York NY/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 220–221. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199684298.001.0001>

594 D.F. Tolmie, “Discernment in the Letter to the Galatians”, *Acta Theologica Supplementum* 17 (2013), pp. 156–171. <https://doi.org/10.4314/actat.v32i2S.12>

595 P.G.R. de Villiers, “Transformation in Love in Paul’s Letter to the Galatians”, *Acta Theologica Supplementum* 19 (2014), pp. 143–163. <https://doi.org/10.4314/actat.v33i2S.8>

596 E. González, “Paul’s Use of Metamorphosis in Its Graeco-Roman and Jewish Contexts”, *DavarLogos* 13:1 (2014), pp. 57–76.

597 *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

598 F. Bejenaru, *Il Gridare “Abba, Padre!”: Spirito Santo e Filiazione Divina, Agire Umano e Proclamazione Liturgica: Studio Esetico-Teologico di Gal*

and proclaims it through the intense prayer “Abba! Father!” coming from them and the Spirit. Whereas a slowness to change spiritually is usually linked to sin or to the world, flesh and the devil, *Steven L. Porter*⁵⁹⁹ (2014) argues that a relational understanding of “flesh” as something resisting the Spirit offers a better explanation. Thus “flesh” should not simply be understood as the inclination to sin, but rather as the inclination to resist the Spirit and to live independently. This implies that sanctification is not primarily a matter of improved willpower, but rather of more dependence on God.

*Robert James Mason*⁶⁰⁰ (2014) highlights the notion of “eschatological ascetism” in 3:28: “Paul’s ascetic proclivity followed a coenobitic path of communal relationships with all likeminded followers of Jesus – a community of individuals united in their endeavor to deemphasize culturally generated social constructions of importance.”⁶⁰¹ *Kevin J. Vanhoozer*⁶⁰² (2015) interprets the notion of putting on Christ (3:27) from the perspective of a theodramatic approach to theology. Doctrine helps believers to understand what they are in Christ and directs them to participate in him and act their parts in the redemption drama. *Hanna Górska*⁶⁰³ (2019) discusses the relationship between adoption as children of God and spiritual liberty according to 4:1–7 and Romans 8:12–17. Believers do not merely receive spiritual liberty but also a new relationship with God. They have to accept this gift, but also have to follow the guidance of the Spirit in order to avoid losing their spiritual liberty.

*Thomas McCall*⁶⁰⁴ (2020) discusses various interpretations of Paul’s statement that he has been co-crucified with Christ (2:19) but

4,4–7 e Rm 8,14–17 (Studi e Ricerche: Sezione Biblica, Assisi: Cittadella, 2014).

599 S.L. Porter, “The Gradual Nature of Sanctification: σάρξ as Habituated, Relational Resistance to the Spirit”, *Themelios* 39:3 (2014), pp. 470–483.

600 R.J. Mason, “Galatians 3:28: An Aspect of Eschatological Ascetism in Paul”, in: D.L. Matson and K.C. Richardson (eds.), *One in Christ Jesus: Essays on Early Christianity and “All That Jazz”*, in *Honor of S. Scott Bartchy* (Eugene OR: Pickwick Publications, 2014), pp. 222–239.

601 *Op. cit.*, p. 237.

602 K.J. Vanhoozer, “Putting on Christ: Spiritual Formation and the Drama of Discipleship”, *Journal of Spiritual Formation and Soul Care* 8:2 (2015), pp. 147–171. <https://doi.org/10.1177/193979091500800203>

603 H. Górska, “Wolność Synów Bożych na Podstawie Rz 8,12–17 i Ga 4,1–7”, *Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny* 72:3 (2019), pp. 197–209. <https://doi.org/10.21906/rbl.3617>

604 T. McCall, “Crucified with Christ: The Ego and the Omega”, *Journal of Analytic Theology* 8 (2020), pp. 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.12978/jat.2020-8.190718120211>

opts for Chrysostom’s interpretation. Through baptism, believers are unified with Christ and then live in such a way that their members are spiritually mortified. Ulrich H.J. Körtner⁶⁰⁵ (2020) works out the implications of 2:20 for Christian self-liberation. By accepting sinners, Christ liberates them from themselves so that they can accept themselves. This implies that they are dialectically liberated from themselves but also towards themselves. Robert J. Gench⁶⁰⁶ (2020) offers a discussion of “the fruit of the Spirit” (5:22–23) as an expression of a cruciform spirituality – something that should not only be personal but should also have a very definite public, political, embodiment.

15.2 Wirkungsgeschichte

Friederike Nüssel⁶⁰⁷ (2002) interprets Christian self-conception in 2:20 on the basis of Luther’s interpretation of the verse and a Lutheran Christology. The new self-understanding of the believer depicted here is one in which the “I” is not dissolved through fellowship with Christ but in which the “I” differs from the old “I” outside of Christ. Samuel Fernández⁶⁰⁸ (2005) discusses the way in which Alberto Hurtado, a Jesuit saint, interpreted 2:20. According to Fernández, Hurtado’s interpretation of this verse (the verse that he cites most in his writings) helps one to understand his spirituality. The notion of being in Christ was integrated with that of recognising him in others, especially the poor.

Maria Isabel Barbeito Carneiro⁶⁰⁹ (2007) gives an overview of the way in which Song of Songs and Galatians were appropriated for understanding union and transformation of the soul in God by some Franciscans and Carmelites during the Early Modern Era: Teresa of Avila, John of the Cross, Cecilia del Nacimiento, Antonio Sobrino and Estefanía de la Encarnación.

605 U.H.J. Körtner, “‘Nicht mehr ich’ (Gal 2,20): Erwägungen zum Begriff der Selbstbefreiung im Anschluss an Paulus”, in: M. Bauspieß, J.U. Beck and F. Portenhauser (eds.), *Bestimmte Freiheit: Festschrift für Christof Landmesser zum 60. Geburtstag* (Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte 64, Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2020), pp. 291–308.

606 R.J. Gench, *The Cross Examen: A Spirituality for Activists* (Eugene OR: Cascade Books, 2020).

607 F. Nüssel, “‘Ich lebe, doch nun nicht ich, sondern Christus lebt in mir’ (Gal 2,20a): Dogmatische Überlegungen zur Rede vom ‘Sein in Christus’”, *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 99:4 (2002), pp. 480–502.

608 S. Fernández, “‘Ya no vivo Yo, es Cristo que Vive en Mí’ (Gál 2,20): ‘Ser Cristo’ Como Clave de la Vida del Padre Alberto Hurtado”, *Teología y Vida* 4:3 (2005), pp. 352–373. <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0049-34492005000200003>

609 M.I. Barbeito Carneiro, “En Él Fueron Transformadas”, *Via Spiritus: Revista de História da Espiritualidade e do Sentimento Religioso* 14 (2007), pp. 31–64.

David T. Ejenobo⁶¹⁰ (2009) investigates three passages in Paul's letters (1 Corinthians 12:3; Galatians 2:20 and Romans 8:9), highlighting the importance of the mystical element in Paul's view of the Spirit. This is appropriated for the African context as follows: If this aspect is taught more often, the Christian religion will be accepted more readily.

James O. Adeyanju⁶¹¹ (2010) explains how Nigerian churches can play a role in the rebranding of Nigeria by taking the view of spirituality expressed in 5:16–18 seriously. This would help to turn around socio-economic and political problems in the country. Carolyn Muessig⁶¹² (2013) discusses the evolution in the interpretation of the stigmata that Paul mentions in 6:17: an invisible mark that bishops or priests received at ordination (seventh century), a stigmatic spirituality that could be achieved by vows and penances (Peter Damian), the marks/wounds that the crusaders bore in or as result of battle (twelfth century), and, finally, a pious superlative that could be achieved by devout lay people (thirteenth century). In a book published in 2020, Muessig⁶¹³ (2020) offers a comprehensive overview of the way in which the stigmata have been interpreted. Amongst other things, Muessig shows that women more frequently reported having stigmata than men, and that the perception of stigmata was later influenced by doctrinal differences between Catholics and Protestants.

Marshall Welch⁶¹⁴ (2013) designed a curriculum based on 5:22–23 for developing Christian men spiritually. It was tested in practical situations and it was found that it can be used successfully by pastoral staff and lay leaders. Boris Repschinski⁶¹⁵ (2013) compares the ways in which Paul and Ignatius of Loyola reflected on events in their life as an opportunity

610 D.T. Ejenobo, "The Mystical Element in Paul's Theology of the Holy Spirit: An African Interpretation", *The Asia Journal of Theology* 23:1 (2009), pp. 69–81.

611 J.O. Adeyanju, "Christian Spirituality, Depicted in Galatians 5:16–18, as a Tool for Rebranding in Nigeria", *African Journal of Biblical Studies* 28:1 (2010), pp. 84–101.

612 C. Muessig, "Signs of Salvation: The Evolution of Stigmatic Spirituality before Francis of Assisi", *Church History* 82:1 (2013), pp. 40–68. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S000964071200251X>

613 C. Muessig, *The Stigmata in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

614 M. Welch, "Manifestation of the Spirit: An Investigation on the Impact of a Curriculum and Small Group Spiritual Direction on the Spiritual Formation of Protestant Men", *Pastoral Psychology* 62:1 (2013), pp. 81–99. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11089-012-0449-9>

615 B. Repschinski, "Lebensreflexion als Ort der Gotteserfahrung: Ignatius von Loyola und Paulus von Tarsus im Vergleich", *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 135:2/3 (2013), pp. 230–251.

to recognise the presence of God. Both of them emphasised God’s will without offering systematic autobiographies or memoirs. There are also differences: for example, for Paul, his own life was a proof of the truth of the gospel and his experiences thus had argumentative value (as may be seen in 1:10–2:14) – something that does not happen in the case of Ignatius.

*Elma Cornelius*⁶¹⁶ (2014) explores the relevance of 5:16–25 for the current debate on spiritual excellence. Cornelius shows that virtues used by Paul to characterise a life filled by the Spirit are similar to what is nowadays regarded as having a life that is spiritually mature. Thus, living a life filled by the Spirit helps one to manage problems, changes the way in which one does business, and contributes to individuals, families, companies and nations being successful and becoming whole. *Michael H. Crosby*⁶¹⁷ (2015) offers an appropriation of “the fruit of the Spirit” (5:22–23) as an expression of Pauline mysticism for the current context. Crosby believes that such a mystical theology will help to cross the divide between episcopal nominalists and other Catholics who are not satisfied with institutional Catholicism.

*Leslie T. Hardin*⁶¹⁸ (2015) investigates the viability of Pauline spirituality in a digital age. Hardin offers an overview of the spiritual practices that Paul engaged in, highlighting that spirituality was more than mere experience for him. It entailed everyday practices under the guidance of the Spirit – an approach that can still work in the current context. *Josias da Costa Junior*⁶¹⁹ (2015) discusses Heidegger’s *The Phenomenology of Religious Life*, in particular the way in which Heidegger understands the notions of hermeneutics, phenomenology and facticity. Furthermore, the focus falls on mystical religious experience. *P. Adam McClendon*⁶²⁰ (2015) looks critically at contemporary Christian spiritualities in the light of the spirituality of Galatians.

616 E. Cornelius, “The Relevance of Galatians 5:16–26 in the Modern ‘Spiritual Intelligence’ Debate”, *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Theologische Tydskrif* 55:3/4 (2014), pp. 589–610. <https://doi.org/10.5952/55-3-4-655>

617 M.H. Crosby, *Fruit of the Spirit: Pauline Mysticism for the Church Today* (Maryknoll NY: Orbis, 2015).

618 L.T. Hardin, “Is a Pauline Spirituality Still Viable?”, *Journal of Spiritual Formation and Soul Care* 8:2 (2015), pp. 132–146. <https://doi.org/10.1177/193979091500800202>

619 J. da Costa Junior, “Experiência Religiosa Mística a Partir de Martin Heidegger”, *Revista de Estudos e Pesquisa da Religião* 18:2 (2015), pp. 55–71.

620 P.A. McClendon, *Paul’s Spirituality in Galatians: A Critique of Contemporary Christian Spiritualities* (Eugene OR: Wipf & Stock, 2015).

McClendon approaches the spirituality of the letter from four angles: the central position of the cross, the central position of Christ, the continued tension caused by the flesh, and how faith is authenticated according to the letter.

Matthew Rosebrock⁶²¹ (2016) shows that the concepts *oratio*, *meditatio* and *tentatio* (“prayer”, “meditation” and “temptation”) are not only pivotal in Luther’s theology (as illustrated in his lectures on Galatians) but also had an influence on artistic manifestations of the Reformation, as is evident from some of the altarpieces created by Lucas Cranach the Elder. Samuel J. Dubbelman⁶²² (2016) suggests that Luther borrowed the expression *tenebra et caligo fidei* (“the darkness and cloud of faith”; used in his 1535 commentary on Galatians) from Dionysius the Areopagite. Thus, Luther appropriated expressions associated with mystical theologians in order to explain the great difference between gospel and law.

Andrea D. Saner⁶²³ (2017) offers a spiritual perspective on the depiction of Hagar in Christian theology. On the one hand, she should be “cast out” (4:30) in the sense that human effort (without the Holy Spirit) is to be rejected, but on the other hand, she also represents the effect that transformation by the Spirit may have. Nancy Carol James⁶²⁴ (2017) published the first English translation of and introduction to the French mystic Jeanne Guyon’s commentaries on Galatians, Ephesians and Colossians, with explanations and reflections for the interior life. Stephen J. Chester⁶²⁵ (2018) points out that Joseph Lortz and Jared Wickes – the two most important twentieth-century Roman Catholic scholars of Luther – have opposite views of his stance towards religious experience. Chester argues that these opposing views are

621 M. Rosebrock, “Luther’s Visual Theology: The Lectures on Galatians and Cranach’s Law and Gospel Paintings”, *Concordia Journal* 42:4 (2016), pp. 332–339.

622 S.J. Dubbelman, “The Darkness of Faith: A Study in Martin Luther’s 1535 Galatians Commentary”, *Trinity Journal* 37:2 (2016), pp. 213–232.

623 A.D. Saner, “Of Bottles and Wells: Hagar’s Christian Legacy”, *Journal of Theological Interpretation* 11:2 (2017), pp. 199–215. <https://doi.org/10.5325/jtheointe.11.2.0199>

624 N.C. James (transl. & ed.), *Jeanne Guyon’s Christian Worldview: Her Biblical Commentaries on Galatians, Ephesians, and Colossians with Explanations and Reflections on the Interior Life* (Eugene OR: Pickwick Publications, 2017).

625 S.J. Chester, “‘Abba! Father!’ (Galatians 4:6): Justification and Assurance in Martin Luther’s *Lectures on Galatians* (1535)”, *Biblical Research* 63 (2018), pp. 15–28. For a response to Chester’s contribution, see P.J. Leithart, “Response: Galatians Five Hundred Years Later”, *Biblical Research* 63 (2018), pp. 63–71.

caused by a polarity in Luther's views in this regard, as can be seen from his exegesis of 4:6.

Norman K. Swazo⁶²⁶ (2019) discusses Heidegger's interpretation of Galatians and points out that for Heidegger, faith as lived experience and recognising "the Christ" are essential. However, recognising him needs phenomenological clarification. On the basis of Pauline pneumatology (as reflected amongst others in Galatians), Wei Hua⁶²⁷ (2020) argues that the Spirit can transform a culture receiving the Christian gospel. Accordingly, it is possible that Chinese commemorating rites can be renewed and practised by Chinese Christians as a type of humanising etiquette.

16. Ethics

16.1 Approaches and important themes

Approaches to the ethics of the letter

James L. Boyce (2000)⁶²⁸ stresses the link between ethical guidelines in Chapters 5 and 6 and the theological argument in the previous parts of the letter. In Galatians, theology and ethics are thus inextricably linked. Larry W. Hurtado⁶²⁹ (2004) draws attention to the different ways in which New Testament writers depict Jesus' death as paradigmatic and as criterion for the daily life of believers. In Galatians, Hurtado discusses 2:19–20, 5:24–25, as well as 6:13–14 and 17. Gys M.H. Loubser⁶³⁰ (2005) points out that scholars too easily pass over Galatians as an important source for Paul's conception of Christian freedom, since they regard it as a contingent letter. Loubser thus highlights the important ways in which Paul uses apocalyptic notions in the letter to get the idea across that a totally new

626 N.K. Swazo, "Heidegger's *Destruktion* of Theology: 'Primordial Faith' and 'Recognition' of the Messiah", *Modern Theology* 35:1 (2019), pp. 138–162. <https://doi.org/10.1111/moth.12447>

627 W. Hua, "Pauline Pneumatology and the Chinese Rites: Spirit and Culture in the Holy See's Missionary Strategy", in: G.L. Green, S.T. Pardue and K.K. Yeo (eds.), *Majority World Theology: Christian Doctrine in Global Context* (Downers Grove IL: Intervarsity Press, 2020), pp. 280–294.

628 J.L. Boyce, "The Poetry of the Spirit: Willing and Doing in Galatians 5 and 6", *Word & World* 20:3 (2000), pp. 290–298.

629 L.W. Hurtado, "Jesus' Death as Paradigmatic in the New Testament", *Scottish Journal of Theology* 57:4 (2004), pp. 413–433. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S003693060400033X>

630 G.M.H. Loubser, "Paul's Ethic of Freedom: No Flash in the Galatian Pan", *Neotestamentica* 39:2 (2005), pp. 313–337.

era has arrived in Christ, characterised by freedom and by the activity of the Spirit that produces the spiritual fruit that the law cannot bring about.

In a study of the morality of Paul's converts, *Edwin D. Freed*⁶³¹ (2005) stresses the importance of faithfulness towards God and the experience of the Spirit in Paul's efforts to convert Gentiles. Freed discusses the authentic Pauline letters one by one. The morality of Galatians is summarised as a morality of "faithfulness, the Spirit and the Jewish law" and the letter is discussed pericope by pericope from this perspective. In a contribution on vocation and leadership in the Pauline literature, *A. Katherine Grieb*⁶³² (2005) draws attention to the disruptive nature of the grace in Christ whereby Paul, and others, were called by God to a new type of freedom and service.

*D. Francois Tolmie*⁶³³ (2006) provides a lengthy list of various types of positive and negative behaviour mentioned in Galatians before investigating the theological background of identity and ethics presupposed by the letter. The effect of God's salvation is described as spiritual liberation and the ethics underlying the letter is summarised by means of three concepts: spiritual freedom, love and the Spirit. Noting that the situational impact on the literary function of Pauline paraenesis has not been studied thoroughly, *Rudolf Hoppe*⁶³⁴ (2010) focuses on this issue in Galatians. Hoppe shows that in this instance the paraenesis primarily serves inner-Christian disputes instead of positioning the congregation in a non-Christian context.

*James W. Thompson*⁶³⁵ (2011) highlights the coherence in Paul's moral teaching. It was based on the memory of Jesus' death and resurrection that would guide their behaviour, against the background of the story

631 E.D. Freed, *The Morality of Paul's Converts* (Bibleworld, London/Oakville CT: Equinox, 2005), pp. 212–248.

632 A.K. Grieb, "'The One Who Called You...': Vocation and Leadership in the Pauline Literature", *Interpretation* 59:2 (2005), pp. 154–165. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002096430505900205>

633 D.F. Tolmie, "Liberty – Love – Spirit: Ethics and Ethos According to the Letter to the Galatians", in: J.G. van der Watt (ed.), *Identity, Ethics, and Ethos in the New Testament* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 141, Berlin/New York NY: De Gruyter, 2006), pp. 241–256. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110893939.241>

634 R. Hoppe, "Paränese und Theologie im Galaterbrief – eine Profilskizze", in: M. Bachmann and B. Kollmann (eds.), *Umstrittener Galaterbrief: Studien zur Situierung und Theologie des Paulus-Schreibens* (Biblich-Theologische Studien 106, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2010), pp. 207–230.

635 J.W. Thompson, *Moral Formation According to Paul: The Context and Coherence of Pauline Ethics* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2011).

of Israel. Furthermore, Paul viewed believers as holy people who had to separate themselves from the Gentiles, and their moral conduct had to be shaped by both the story of Jesus and the law. According to Thompson, the centrality of love is the most characteristic feature of Paul's moral instruction. *Jacobus Kok*⁶³⁶ (2011) highlights the important relationship between mission and ethics in Galatians. One thus should not study the one without the other. Contact with the gospel changes one's identity and leads to the development of new ethical values. In Galatians, Paul's ethics indirectly implies mission, thus pointing to the close link between mission and ethics.

*Bert Jan Lietaert Peerbolte*⁶³⁷ (2012) points out that Paul stressed the mental boundaries of his congregations so that they could develop into moral boundaries. In particular, he fenced them off from the past and the present: from the past, since the Christ event changed history totally, and from the present in the sense that he emphasised the boundaries between them and the Gentiles. They were now the "holy ones" and their sanctification was of utmost importance. *Chun Sunwoo*⁶³⁸ (2012) is critical of the indicative–imperative approach to Paul's ethics, in particular the idea that the "indicative" describes his theology and the "imperative" the moral action. From Galatians it is clear that Paul's ethics covers both aspects.

*Oliver O'Donovan*⁶³⁹ (2014) considers the flesh–Spirit contrast in the ethics in Galatians. It is a way of framing ethical issues and not a law or demand; it enables Paul to bring into moral life the notion of spiritual liberation brought about by the new creation in Christ, and it focuses ethics on mutual service, and love towards others. *Volker Rabens*⁶⁴⁰

636 J. Kok, "Mission and Ethics in Galatians", *Hervormde Theologiese Studies* 67:1 (2011), pp. 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v67i1.896>

637 B.J. Lietaert Peerbolte, "Morality and Boundaries in Paul", *Hervormde Theologiese Studies* 68:1 (2012), pp. 1–7. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v68i1.1240>

638 C. Sunwoo, "A New Understanding of Pauline Ethics Beyond 'Indicative and Imperative': With Reference to Galatians", *Canon & Culture* 6:1 (2012), pp. 193–218. <https://doi.org/10.31280/CC.2012.04.6.1.193>

639 O. O'Donovan, "Ethics: Flesh and Spirit", in: M.W. Elliott, S.J. Hafemann, N.T. Wright and J. Frederick (eds.), *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul's Letter* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2014), pp. 271–284.

640 V. Rabens, "'Indicative and Imperative' as the Substructure of Paul's Theology-and-Ethics in Galatians? A Discussion of Divine and Human Agency in Paul", in: M.W. Elliott, S.J. Hafemann, N.T. Wright and J. Frederick (eds.), *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul's Letter* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2014), pp. 285–305.

(2014) is of the opinion that one does not necessarily have to give up the indicative-imperative approach to the ethics of Galatians, as long as one keeps in mind that this is but one aspect underlying Paul's ethics in the letter. Rabens also suggests that it may be better to speak of the "implicit indicative-imperative" in the letter, since Paul does not always use these grammatical categories when expressing the divine and human sides of actions.

In a discussion of the depiction of Christian life in Galatians, *James D.G. Dunn*⁶⁴¹ (2016) emphasises the importance of faith and Spirit. In Paul's theology, the faith-Spirit nexus was fundamental. This is what he experienced when he came to faith and which characterised Christian life from his perspective. *Llane B. Briese*⁶⁴² (2016) draws attention to the imagery of slavery used in 5:13–18 and 2 Corinthians 4:1–6 to describe ethical issues, highlighting the way in which Paul uses this metaphor to link the behaviour of believers to the Father, Son and Spirit. *John Anthony Dunne*⁶⁴³ (2017) is of the opinion that Paul claims in Galatians that participating in Christ's death and suffering, and not circumcision, are for him the true indications of being part of the people of God.

In a thorough investigation of the ethics of Galatians, *Gysbert M.H. Loubser*⁶⁴⁴ (2017) highlights Paul's emphasis on the radicalness of the new life brought about by the coming of Christ and his Spirit. The Spirit introduces the followers of Christ to the new life in him and leads them to a life of faithfulness, bringing about the fruit of Spirit. This is a life of freedom (from the elements of the world and from the law), which implies that the ethics of the new creation is christological and pneumatological and also anomistic. *Scot McKnight*⁶⁴⁵ (2019) discusses discipleship in Romans and Galatians and points out that according to these two letters,

641 J.D.G. Dunn, "The Christian Life from the Perspective of Paul's Letter to the Galatians", in: S. McKnight and J.B. Modica (eds.), *The Apostle Paul and the Christian Life: Ethical and Missional Implications of the New Perspective* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2016), pp. 1–18.

642 L.B. Briese, *Walking the Path of Service: An Exegetical-Theological Study of Gal 5,13–18 and 2 Cor 4,1–6* (Tesi Gregoriana: Serie Teologia 223, Rome: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2016).

643 J.A. Dunne, *Persecution and Participation in Galatians* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.454, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-155418-6>

644 G.M.H. Loubser, *Paul Cries Freedom in Galatia! On Ethics in the New Creation* (Theology in Africa 6, Vienna/Zürich: LIT Verlag, 2017).

645 S. McKnight, "The Challenge of Allegiance in the Roman Empire: Discipleship in Romans and Galatians", in: J.K. Goodrich and M.L. Strauss (eds.), *Following Jesus Christ: The New Testament Message of Discipleship for Today: A Volume in Honor of Michael J. Wilkins* (Grand Rapids MI: Kregel Academic, 2019), pp. 92–108.

the essence of discipleship is love. The believers are called to commitment to one another, supporting one another and living with one another in a Christlike manner. *Grant Buchanan*⁶⁴⁶ (2020) highlights the link between identity and human agency in Galatians 5 and 6. Through Christ's coming, a new community has been established and this community is no longer controlled by the sin and flesh. Instead, believers should now actively choose themselves to lead a new life. Paul thus stresses agency in these two chapters.

*Céline Rohmer*⁶⁴⁷ (2020) draws attention to the aesthetic dimension of Galatians, arguing that in the three instances in the letter where Paul refers to “the good”, a Pauline aesthetics also becomes visible. Paul not only views the truth of the gospel as an event of liberation but also points out the beauty of the divine transformation at work. In 4:12–20, he describes beauty as a creative gesture of God, while in 5:1–13, he focuses on the usefulness of beauty for a free existence, and in 6:1–10, he stresses that the good depends on beauty.

The role of the Spirit

Gys M.H. Loubser published two contributions in which the role of the Spirit is stressed. In the first one, published in 2006⁶⁴⁸, *Loubser* points out that, according to Galatians, believers receive the Spirit by faith in Christ. The Spirit guides them to do the will of God according to the faithfulness of Christ. Such an ethics is thus Christological-pneumatological and anomistic but not libertinistic. In the second one, published in 2009⁶⁴⁹, *Loubser* stresses that, according to Galatians, ethical behaviour is not determined by the law but generated by Christ's faithfulness that is introduced in the lives of believers through the indwelling of the Spirit. Their behaviour is thus characterised by love and service to others. Accordingly, Paul's ethics has a pneumatological-soteriological basis.

646 G. Buchanan, “Identity and Human Agency in Galatians 5–6”, *Australian Biblical Review* 68 (2020), pp. 54–66.

647 C. Rohmer, “Du deutéro-Élian à l'Élian historique: Relecture d'une course belle”, *Études Théologiques et Religieuses* 95:3 (2020), pp. 531–541. <https://doi.org/10.3917/etr.953.0531>

648 G.M.H. Loubser, “The Ethic of the Free: A Walk According to the Spirit! A Perspective from Galatians”, *Verbum et Ecclesia* 27:2 (2006), pp. 614–640. <https://doi.org/10.4102/ve.v27i2.167>

649 G.M.H. Loubser, “Life in the Spirit as Wise Remedy for the Folly of the Flesh: Ethical Notes from Galatians”, *Neotestamentica* 43:2 (2009), pp. 354–371.

Susann Liubinskas⁶⁵⁰ (2012) uses social identity theory to show that Paul depicts the Spirit in 3:19–4:7 as the most important identity marker of believers and thus, according to 5:13–6:10, life in the Spirit (according to “the law of Christ”) is central to Christian ethos. Galatians 5:13–6:10 should thus not be regarded as an addendum. It is central to Paul’s argument and meant to reinforce identity. According to *Michael J. Gorman*⁶⁵¹ (2016), Paul was both an apocalyptic and a new-covenant theologian and reworked his theology of the covenant in the light of his experience of Christ as the Messiah and the Spirit, and in particular, in light of the fact that indwelling of the Spirit and the law took on a cruciform mode. The revelation to and in Paul can thus not be separated.

Freedom

*Thomas Söding*⁶⁵² (2003) regards freedom as a soteriological keyword in Galatians. Söding presents an overview of the way in which the concept developed in Paul’s thinking and goes on to outline the structure of the theology of freedom in the letter in terms of three categories: the freedom of the Spirit, of the congregation and of love. The implications for modern issues are also indicated. In another contribution, *Söding*⁶⁵³ (2008) takes 5:1 as point of departure to contrast Paul’s view of freedom and current views of freedom. In Christ, people are liberated from sin and death. They are also liberated to love. Söding furthermore compares Paul’s view on free will and the way in which Stoics interpreted free will.

*Matthias Konradt*⁶⁵⁴ (2005) summarises the ethical section in the letter (5:13–6:10) as “Die Christonomie der Freiheit” (“the Christonomy

650 S. Liubinskas, “Identification by Spirit Alone: Community-Identity Construction in Galatians 3:19–4:7”, *The Asbury Journal* 67:1 (2012), pp. 27–55.

651 M.J. Gorman, “The Apocalyptic New Covenant and the Shape of Life in the Spirit According to Galatians”, in: B.C. Blackwell, J.K. Goodrich and J. Maston (eds.), *Paul and the Apocalyptic Imagination* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 2016), pp. 317–338. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt19qgfj6.20>

652 T. Söding, “Die Freiheit des Glaubens: Konkretionen der Soteriologie nach dem Galaterbrief”, in: W. Kraus and K.-W. Niebuhr (eds.), *Frühjudentum und Neues Testament im Horizont Biblischer Theologie: Mit einem Anhang zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.162, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), pp. 113–134. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157377-4>

653 T. Söding, “Zur Freiheit befreit (Gal 5,1): Paulus und die Kritik der Autonomie”, *Internationale Katholische Zeitschrift/Communio* 37:2 (2008), pp. 92–112.

654 M. Konradt, “Die aus Glauben, diese sind Kinder Abrahams’ (Gal 3,7): Erwägungen zum galatischen Konflikt im Lichte frühjüdischer Abrahamtraditionen”, in: G. Gelardini (ed.), *Kontexte der Schrift: Band I:*

of freedom”) and discusses the characteristics of freedom in Christ as referred to in the letter, the relationship between freedom and mutual service through the power of the Spirit, and the pragmatic function of 5:13–6:10. Wayne Coppins⁶⁵⁵ (2009) offers an interpretation of freedom as conceptualised in Paul’s letters. In the case of Galatians, rather than describing the content of freedom as freedom from the law, Coppins argues that a more comprehensive type of freedom is in view in texts such as Galatians 2:4, 5:1, 13, namely a freedom from the elements of the world.

According to Ladislav Tichý⁶⁵⁶ (2010), when Paul refers to “freedom” in Galatians, he primarily has freedom from “the works of the law” in mind. Furthermore, he also stresses the positive side of freedom in Christ. Freedom should be manifested by loving service to other people. Ariane Chabert⁶⁵⁷ (2012) interprets the apparent opposition between 6:2a and 6:5 as an indication of the different types of freedom that faith in Christ brings: from the world, the flesh, judgement and the I – an indication that freedom is the condition and the border of “the law of Christ”. František Ábel⁶⁵⁸ (2019) points out that scholars’ view of freedom in Galatians has been influenced greatly by Luther’s interpretation of it as freedom from the law, and instead approaches the concept from the perspective of the sociocultural dynamics in the first century CE. Because of their acceptance of the gospel, the Galatians acquired a new identity, freedom in Christ.

Nina E. Livesey⁶⁵⁹ (2019) agrees with the classicist Matthew Roller that ἐλευθερία (“freedom”) was never an existential category in ancient discourse but was used for characterising a different situation. Livesey applies this insight to 5:1, arguing that Paul used the term as a metaphor for a different position that he wished the Galatians to adopt, namely

Text, Ethik, Judentum und Christentum, Gesellschaft: Ekkehard W. Stegemann zum 60. Geburtstag (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2005), pp. 25–48.

655 W. Coppins, *The Interpretation of Freedom in the Letters of Paul: With Special Reference to the “German” Tradition* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.261, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-151604-7>

656 L. Tichý, “‘Svoboda’ v Listu Galatanům”, *Studia Theologica* 4 (2010), pp. 1–16.

657 A. Chabert, “βάρη et φορτίον: Vocation et limite de la liberté en Christ: Une proposition de lecture de Gal 6,2 et 6,5”, *Rivista Biblica* 60:3 (2012), pp. 357–370.

658 F. Ábel, “Freedom in Christ in Galatians: A Matter of Identity”, *Communio Viatorum* 61:3 (2019), pp. 235–255.

659 N.E. Livesey, “Is Freedom an Existential Category in Ancient Discourse?”, *Biblical Interpretation* 27:2 (2019), pp. 274–297. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685152-00272p06>

“Paul’s position, or the no-Torah, no-circumcision position”.⁶⁶⁰ *Mihai Afrentoae*⁶⁶¹ (2020) offers an anthropological-ethical analysis of the concept “freedom” (and related concepts) in Galatians. The letter has a multi-dimensional perspective of freedom: freedom from sin, from this evil age, and from the Jewish law. The gift of freedom also implies ethical responsibility on the part of believers.

*Friedrich Wilhelm Horn*⁶⁶² (2020) discusses the use of the concept of freedom in 5:13 and 1 Peter 2:16, arguing that they are not related in any way. Galatians 5:13 focuses on freedom from slavery towards Christ, further characterised as freedom from oneself and as freedom to be expressed as love towards the neighbour, whereas the use of the concept in 1 Peter 2:16 presupposes the defamation of believers in society – a situation in which they are called upon to use their political freedom in such a way that no offense is caused to anyone.

Love

*Pieter G.R. de Villiers*⁶⁶³ (2014) points out that scholars tend to ignore the importance of love in Galatians because of the polemical nature of the letter. De Villiers shows how important love is in the letter by discussing divine love (as the source of God’s salvific, transformative deeds and as divine characteristic) and love as distinguishing mark of the believing congregation. De Villiers also works out the implications of love for the ethos and ethics of believers.

Obedience

In a discussion of the concept “truth of the gospel” in 2:5 and 14, *Moisés Silva*⁶⁶⁴ (2000) highlights the importance of obedience. It is vital to

660 *Op. cit.*, p. 296.

661 M. Afrentoae, “Lo Spartito della Libertà nella Lettera ai Galati”, *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai: Theologia Catholica Latina* 65:1 (2020), pp. 21–50. <https://doi.org/10.24193/theol.cath.latina.2020.lxv.1.02>

662 F.W. Horn, “Vom Missbrauch, von der Missdeutung und vom Bewahren der Freiheit: Galater 5,13 und 1. Petrus 2,16”, in: M. Bauspieß, J.U. Beck and F. Portenhauser (eds.), *Bestimmte Freiheit: Festschrift für Christof Landmesser zum 60. Geburtstag* (Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte 64, Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2020), pp. 81–94.

663 P.G.R. de Villiers, “Transformation in Love in Paul’s Letter to the Galatians”, *Acta Theologica Supplementum* 19 (2014), pp. 143–163. <https://doi.org/10.4314/actat.v33i2S.8>

664 M. Silva, “The Truth of the Gospel: Paul’s Mission According to Galatians: In Honor of Peter T. O’Brien”, in: P. Bolt and M. Thompson (eds.), *The Gospel to the Nations: Perspectives on Paul’s Mission* (Downers Grove IL: Apollos, 2000), pp. 51–61.

understand the teaching about Gentile liberty, but this also implies the responsibility to act accordingly.

Sanctification

J. Ayodeji Adewuya⁶⁶⁵ (2010) focuses on the link between crucifixion and sanctification in Galatians. On the basis of 2:19–20, 5:24 and 6:14, Adewuya argues that Paul uses the notion of crucifixion to describe what happens to believers when they convert. God's new people are identified by the indwelling of the Spirit and the Spirit brings about sanctification in their lives – an event that is both immediate (as in 2:20) and on-going (as in 5:24). Mariam J. Kamell⁶⁶⁶ (2014) highlights parallels between 5:13–6:10 and the Letter of James and notes the following: Both Paul and James emphasise the importance of grace. In Paul's case, the empowering agent is the Spirit. For James it is wisdom, but in both cases the empowering agent is given, not earned. In the light of the investigation, Kamell also stresses the importance of sanctification for one's understanding of soteriology. In an investigation of sanctification in the letters of Paul, Hanna Stettler⁶⁶⁷ (2014) finds the following: The subject of sanctification is God and the Spirit; its object is believers as the eschatological people of God; the content of sanctification is "the law of Christ", summarised in the love commandment; the means of sanctification is faith and love; and Paul motivates sanctification by depicting it as the necessary outcome of God's actions in believers.

665 J.A. Adewuya, "Paul, Crucifixion, and Sanctification in Galatians", in: S.J. Land, R.D. Moore and J.C. Thomas (eds.), *Passover, Pentecost and Parousia: Studies in Celebration of the Life and Ministry of R. Hollis Gause* (Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement Series 36, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2010), pp. 90–105. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004397125_008 See also the later version: J.A. Adewuya, *Holiness in the Letters of Paul: The Necessary Response to the Gospel* (Eugene OR: Cascade Books, 2016), pp. 86–98.

666 M.J. Kamell, "Life in the Spirit and Life in Wisdom: Reading Galatians and James as a Dialogue", in: M.W. Elliott, S.J. Hafemann, N.T. Wright and J. Frederick (eds.), *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul's Letter* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2014), pp. 353–362.

667 H. Stettler, *Heiligung bei Paulus: Ein Beitrag aus biblisch-theologischer Sicht* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.368, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), pp. 283–299. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-152758-6>

Mimesis

Antonio Pitta⁶⁶⁸ (2015) draws attention to mimesis in Galatians. Although it does not occur explicitly in the letter, it is found implicitly in 1:13–2:21, 3:5–6 and 4:28–31. This shows that mimesis is very important to Paul in situations where religious identity is in danger.

Justification and ethics

In a study on the moral-practical relevance of the doctrine of justification, Marcus Hüttner⁶⁶⁹ (2004) takes the importance of the concept “freedom” (in 5:1) as cue. The fact that a gracious God gives justification to people as a gift implies that faith enables them to live a humane way of life, motivated by the power of God’s liberating and encouraging love. According to Robert L. Brawley⁶⁷⁰ (2007), Galatians reflects a metaethical relationship with God that Paul describes as justification. Paul regards justification as the source of social identity and of a new way of behaving. Paul experienced this himself when his own relationship with God changed and his behaviour had to change.

Thomas Söding⁶⁷¹ (2010) discusses the relationship between justification and ethics in Galatians. After a historical overview of theological discussions on justification and an exegetical investigation of key texts in the letter, Söding characterises the ethics of the letter as an ethics of love indicative of the concrete relevance of justification in the lives of believers. This love-ethics stems from God, is revealed in Christ, powered by the Spirit and is essentially an ethics of freedom. Simon Buttica⁶⁷² (2017) takes 5:6 as point of departure for discussing the relationship between justification by faith and rewarding/punishment at the last judgement in the letter and argues that the theological and ethical

668 A. Pitta, “I Gradi della Mimesi nella Lettera ai Galati”, *Liber Annuus* 65 (2015), pp. 249–257. <https://doi.org/10.1484/J.LA.4.000113>

669 M. Hüttner, *Zur Freiheit befreit (Gal 5,1): Die moralisch-praktische Relevanz der Rechtfertigungslehre* (Bamberger Theologische Studien 25, Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2004).

670 R.L. Brawley, “Identity and Metaethics: Being Justified and Ethics in Galatians”, in: R.L. Brawley (ed.), *Character Ethics and the New Testament: Moral Dimensions of Scripture* (Louisville KY/London: Westminster John Knox, 2007), pp. 107–122.

671 T. Söding, “Glaube, der durch Liebe wirkt: Rechtfertigung und Ethik im Galaterbrief”, in: M. Bachmann and B. Kollmann (eds.), *Umstrittener Galaterbrief: Studien zur Situierung und Theologie des Paulus-Schreibens* (Biblich-Theologische Studien 106, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2010), pp. 165–206.

672 S. Buttica, “‘La foi agissant par l’amour’ (Galates 5,6): Justification par la foi et parénèse du jugement dans la Lettre aux Galates”, *Biblica* 98:1 (2017), pp. 91–111. <https://doi.org/10.2143/BIB.98.1.3197387>

arguments in the letter form an organic whole in that individuals justified without the law will appear before the Lord as judge and are thus called upon to practise a corresponsive ethos that is inclusive and reciprocal.

Violence, conflict and peace

In a study on conflict and peace in Galatians, *Michael Lattke*⁶⁷³ (2004) identifies several layers of conflict that are reflected in the letter and notes that it shows that the freedom Paul proclaimed cannot be upheld without conflict. However, one should strive to overcome violent conflict by peaceful conflict. *James A. Kelhoffer*⁶⁷⁴ (2007) responds critically to the remarks of William V. Harris⁶⁷⁵ about anger management in the Pauline letters. Amongst others, Kelhoffer refers to 5:20. Furthermore, Kelhoffer argues that the anger that Paul expressed toward Peter in Antioch was not consistent with Paul's own expectations of others but that he probably would have regarded his anger as justified.

One of the examples that *Jeremy F. Hultin*⁶⁷⁶ (2008) considers in a book on the ethics of obscene speech in Early Christianity and its environment comes from 5:12. According to Hultin, Paul's statement was sharp but should not be categorised as an example of obscene speech. *Jeremy Punt*⁶⁷⁷ (2009) believes that Paul regarded the crucifixion of Jesus as the result of violence and victimisation but that he also used the symbol of the cross to unmask powers of terror and to subvert dominant perceptions/structures in his time. Furthermore, Punt is critical of the fact that triumphalism seems to dominate churches in our time, pointing out that such an attitude will not help to promote human rights.

673 M. Lattke, "Conflict and Peace in Paul's Letter to the Galatians", *Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute* 30/31 (2004), pp. 155–180.

674 J.A. Kelhoffer, "Suppressing Anger in Early Christianity: Examples from the Pauline Tradition", *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 47:3 (2007), pp. 307–325. Also available in: J.A. Kelhoffer, *Conceptions of "Gospel" and Legitimacy in Early Christianity* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.324, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), pp. 317–334. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-152993-1>

675 W.V. Harris, *Restraining Rage: The Ideology of Anger Control in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge MA/London: Harvard University Press, 2001).

676 J.F. Hultin, *The Ethics of Obscene Speech in Early Christianity and Its Environment* (Supplements to Novum Testamentum 128, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2008), pp. 148–150. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004168039.i-279>

677 J. Punt, "Cross-Purposes in Paul? Violence of the Cross, Galatians, and Human Dignity", *Scriptura* 102 (2009), pp. 446–462. <https://doi.org/10.7833/102-0-606>

In a contribution on violence in Galatians, *D. Francois Tolmie*⁶⁷⁸ (2012) offers an overview of all the references to violence in the letter and outlines the violent rhetoric used in the letter. Tolmie also points out that Paul apparently was not aware that his rhetoric and his gospel had a violent side. In a study of the politics of peace in Paul's letters, *Jeremy Gabrielson*⁶⁷⁹ (2013) argues that Galatians shows how Paul's trajectory of violence came to a sudden end when Christ was revealed to him at the Damascus event and that his life was thereafter put on a non-violent trajectory. *Marcus A. Mininger*⁶⁸⁰ (2016) appropriates the message of 2:2, 2:11–14 and Philippians 1:12–18 for the current context as follows: One of the best ways to test one's God-centredness in the ministry is the way one handles conflict with other people, in particular with peers.

Law

According to *Heikki Leppä*⁶⁸¹ (2012), Paul forbade the Galatians (who were Gentile Christians) from following the law and instead provided them with a list of vices and virtues. Since the law was not part of the list of virtues, it does not play a part in Paul's ethics in this letter. *Serge Holvoet*⁶⁸² (2015) summarises Paul's view of freedom as an articulation between the law and moral philosophy. For Paul, it is important that Christ is the end of the law and that the law is best practised by means of perfect love. *Sean Winter*⁶⁸³ (2019) is of the opinion that the positive statements that Paul makes about the law in 5:13–14 and 6:2 amidst his

678 D.F. Tolmie, "Violence in the Letter to the Galatians?", in: P.G.R. de Villiers and J.W. van Henten (eds.), *Coping with Violence in the New Testament* (Studies in Theology and Religion 16, Leiden MA/Boston: Brill, 2012), pp. 69–82. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004221055_005

679 J. Gabrielson, *Paul's Non-Violent Gospel: The Theological Politics of Peace in Paul's Life and Letters* (Eugene OR: Pickwick, 2013), pp. 79–138.

680 M.A. Mininger, "A God-Centered Ministry and Responses to Conflict between Peers: Perspectives from the Apostle Paul", *Mid-America Journal of Theology* 27 (2016), pp. 123–136.

681 H. Leppä, "The Torah in Galatians", in: M. Meiser (ed.), *The Torah in the Ethics of Paul* (Library of New Testament Studies 473, London: T & T Clark, 2012), pp. 59–69. See also the more general contribution by Meiser in this volume: M. Meiser, "The Torah in the Ethics of Paul", in: M. Meiser (ed.), *The Torah in the Ethics of Paul* (Library of New Testament Studies 473, London: T & T Clark, 2012), pp. 120–143.

682 S. Holvoet, "Esquisse d'une définition de la liberté selon Paul", *Mélanges de Science Religieuse* 72:2 (2015), pp. 17–28.

683 S. Winter, "Paul's Ethics and Paul's Experience: Law and Love in Galatians", in: M. Zehnder and P. Wick (eds.), *Biblical Ethics: Tensions between Justice and Mercy, Law and Love* (Gorgias Biblical Studies 70, Piscataway NJ: Gorgias Press, 2019), pp. 251–270. <https://doi.org/10.31826/9781463239466-012>

otherwise sharp criticism of the law in the letter can be explained by means of Lou Martin's notion of the two voices of the law, something that Paul experienced himself and expressed in 2:19–21.

Poverty

On the basis of 6:10, *Kjetil Fretheim*⁶⁸⁴ (2008) argues that one should view Christian ethics as a communitarian type of ethics and that it should be guided by a preference for poor people. In *Bruce W. Longenecker's*⁶⁸⁵ (2009) argument that care for the poor was an integral part of the gospel for Paul, 2:10 plays an important role. According to Longenecker, this verse does not only refer to poor believers in Jerusalem but to the poor everywhere. Furthermore, for Paul caring about the poor had everything to do with the truth of the gospel and thus it was a fundamental aspect of his message, also in Galatians. *Jinsu Im*⁶⁸⁶ (2014) notes that Jesus and the Early Church transformed the vertical form of euergetism that was characteristic of the time, to horizontal solidarity. One of the examples that Im discusses in this regard is 2:10. Im believes that the support of poor believers in Jerusalem illustrates such a horizontal solidarity. *Kar Yong Lim*⁶⁸⁷ (2017) identifies the following economic principles in Pauline letters with the Jerusalem collection as a test case: grace and generosity, equality and sharing resources as a spiritual family.

16.2 Background

According to *Bertram L. Melbourne*⁶⁸⁸ (2002), the vices and virtues in 5:19–23 do not represent a random selection from Hellenistic sources but are

684 K. Fretheim, “Grums i Galaterbrevet: Om Kristen Etik, Paulus og den Prioriterte Andre”, *Tidsskrift for Teologi og Kirke* 79:2 (2008), pp. 113–129. <https://doi.org/10.18261/ISSN1504-2952-2008-02-03>

685 B.W. Longenecker, “The Poor of Galatians 2:10: The Interpretative Paradigm of the First Centuries”, in: B.W. Longenecker and K.D. Liebengood (eds.), *Engaging Economics: New Testament Scenarios and Early Christian Reception* (New Testament Scenarios and Early Christian Reception, Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2009), pp. 205–221. See also earlier: B.W. Longenecker, “Good News to the Poor: Jesus, Paul, and Jerusalem”, in: T.D. Still (ed.), *Jesus and Paul Reconnected: Fresh Pathways into an Old Debate* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2007), pp. 37–65.

686 J. Im, “Euergetism in Greco-Roman Antiquity and in Early Christianity”, *Canon & Culture* 8:2 (2014), pp. 269–303. <https://doi.org/10.31280/CC.2014.10.8.2.269>

687 K.Y. Lim, “Paul the Economist? Economic Principles in Pauline Literature with the Jerusalem Collection as a Test Case”, *Evangelical Review of Theology* 41:1 (2017), pp. 19–31.

688 B.L. Melbourne, “Order or Disorder: The Structure of the Vices and Virtues in Galatians 5:19–23 Reconsidered”, *St. Nersess Theological*

arranged in an orderly manner in the following way: vices linked to the individual, the divine and other people, and virtues linked to the divine, other people and the individual. James W. Thompson⁶⁸⁹ (2011) analyses the way in which Paul formed his congregations morally. One of the sections that Thompson investigates is the virtue and vice list in 5:19–23. According to Thompson, Paul’s approach to moral formation was analogous to what happened in moral instruction in Hellenistic Judaism. Jonathan A. Draper⁶⁹⁰ (2011) focuses on the way in which the *topos* of the two ways functioned in Galatians and in *Didache* 1–6 and 16 and finds that one can identify differences with regard to the way in which it was used in the two communities in terms of Christology, eschatology and views of ethics and the law.

David S. Harvey⁶⁹¹ (2012) is of the opinion that Paul aligns his own biography with the “upside-down honour” demonstrated in Christ’s death in Galatians. This code of honour is also enacted in the community by the Spirit. Troels Engberg-Pedersen⁶⁹² (2013) discusses the movement from sin to virtue in 5:13–26 from two perspectives: the characteristics of sin and how Paul views the movement from sin to virtue (“the fruit of the Spirit”). In the discussion, Engberg-Pedersen points out similarities between Paul’s views and Stoic and Aristotelian views. František Ábel⁶⁹³ (2016) investigates the Psalms of Solomon as background for understanding what is called “Paul’s messianic ethics”. Ábel outlines a common messianic ethics based on the notions of mercy and merit in Pauline theology (amongst others, in 5:13–6:10) and the Psalms of Solomon, with Paul’s views on justice and mercy being integrated by the concept of obedience (linked to faith in the crucified and resurrected Messiah).

Review 7 (2002), pp. 85–99.

689 J.W. Thompson, *Moral Formation According to Paul: The Context and Coherence of Pauline Ethics* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2011).

690 J.A. Draper, “The Two Ways and Eschatological Hope: A Contested Terrain in Galatians 5 and the *Didache*”, *Neotestamentica* 45:2 (2011), pp. 221–251.

691 D.S. Harvey, “‘Upside-Down Honour’ and the Spirit of the Faithful Son in Galatians”, *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association* 32:1 (2012), pp. 61–74. <https://doi.org/10.1179/jep.2012.32.1.006>

692 T. Engberg-Pedersen, “Von der ‘Sünde’ zur ‘Tugend’: Worum geht es eigentlich bei Paulus?”, *Zeitschrift für Neues Testament* 16:32 (2013), pp. 37–47.

693 F. Ábel, *The Psalms of Solomon and the Messianic Ethics of Paul* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.416, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-153992-3>

Christopher M. Tuckett⁶⁹⁴ (2015) draws attention to Paul's diverse use of traditions – a situation that might incline one to think that some of his statements lack coherence. However, Tuckett suggests that there is some coherence to be found in this diversity if one realises that there is an underlying principle guiding Paul's choices, namely the notion of (spiritual) freedom towards other people (5:1). From Paul's use of the term εὐπροσωπέω (“make a good showing”) in 6:12–13, David S. Harvey⁶⁹⁵ (2018) deduces that there was also a concern about honour in the Galatian crisis. Accordingly, Paul tried to encourage a type of ethics specifically rejecting attempts to publicly gain honour.

16.3 Studies on specific verses/pericopes

1:8–9

Anthony C. Thiselton⁶⁹⁶ (2018) poses the question as to whether it was appropriate for Paul to curse people who taught false doctrine, as he does in these two verses and in 1 Corinthians 16:22. According to Thiselton, Paul's practice makes sense if one takes into account the covenant context (blessing/curse) within which Paul uttered the curses.

2:10

In Bruce W. Longenecker's⁶⁹⁷ (2009) argument that care for the poor was an integral part of the gospel for Paul, this verse plays an important role. According to Longenecker, Paul does not only refer to poor believers in Jerusalem but to the poor everywhere. Furthermore, for Paul caring about

694 C.M. Tuckett, “‘For Freedom Christ Has Set Us Free’ (Gal 5,1): Freedom and Constraints in Paul's Hermeneutics and Ethics”, *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 91:4 (2015), pp. 547–567. <https://doi.org/10.2143/ETL.91.4.3129668>

695 D.S. Harvey, “Saving Face (εὐπροσωπέω) in Galatia: Concern for Honour in the Argument of Paul's Letter”, in: J.M. Keady, T.E. Klutz and C.A. Strine (eds.), *Scripture as Social Discourse: Social-Scientific Perspectives on Early Jewish and Christian Writings* (T & T Clark Biblical Studies, London/New York NY: T & T Clark, 2018), pp. 183–196. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9780567676061.ch-012>

696 A.C. Thiselton, *Puzzling Passages in Paul: Forty Conundrums Calmly Considered* (Eugene OR: Cascade Books, 2018), pp. 107–110.

697 B.W. Longenecker, “The Poor of Galatians 2:10: The Interpretative Paradigm of the First Centuries”, in: B.W. Longenecker and K.D. Liebig (eds.), *Engaging Economics: New Testament Scenarios and Early Christian Reception* (New Testament Scenarios and Early Christian Reception, Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2009), pp. 205–221. See also earlier: B.W. Longenecker, “Good News to the Poor: Jesus, Paul, and Jerusalem”, in: T.D. Still (ed.), *Jesus and Paul Reconnected: Fresh Pathways into an Old Debate* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2007), pp. 37–65.

the poor had everything to do with the truth of the gospel and thus it was a fundamental aspect of his message, also in Galatians. According to *Jinsu Im*⁶⁹⁸ (2014), Jesus and the Early Church transformed the vertical form of euergetism that was characteristic of the time, to horizontal solidarity. One of the examples that Im discusses in this regard is this verse. Im believes that the support of poor believers in Jerusalem illustrates such a horizontal solidarity.

3:28

Studies of a more general nature

*Ed L. Miller*⁶⁹⁹ (2002) is of the opinion that this verse is not the great egalitarian text it is often assumed to be. It refers to the soteriological unity that all believers have in Christ, but this does not annul the social differences between them. *Andrew D. Clarke*⁷⁰⁰ (2002) investigates Romans 16 in the light of Galatians 3:28 and concludes that the greetings in Romans demonstrates Paul's theology of inclusiveness – in ethnic, social and gender terms. *John H. Elliott*⁷⁰¹ (2003) disagrees with scholars who believe that Jesus created a community of equals that were structured as egalitarian house churches after his death. Elliott also disagrees with scholars who interpret v. 28 as indicating an equalisation of statuses and roles. It only shows that social distinctions were not determinative any more for being in Christ.

*Douglas A. Campbell*⁷⁰² (2003) views v. 28 as an admirable summary of Paul's gospel. It clearly stipulates the negations caused by the reconciliation in Christ, thus illustrating the eschatological logic of Paul's gospel. In another contribution, *Campbell*⁷⁰³ (2005) argues that

698 J. Im, "Euergetism in Greco-Roman Antiquity and in Early Christianity", *Canon & Culture* 8:2 (2014), pp. 269–303. <https://doi.org/10.31280/CC.2014.10.8.2.269>

699 E.L. Miller, "Is Galatians 3:28 the Great Egalitarian Text?", *The Expository Times* 114:1 (2002), pp. 9–11. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001452460211400103>

700 A.D. Clarke, "Jew and Greek, Slave and Free, Male and Female: Paul's Theology of Ethnic, Social and Gender Inclusiveness in Romans 16", in: P. Oakes (ed.), *Rome in the Bible and the Early Church* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2002), pp. 103–125.

701 J.H. Elliott, "The Jesus Movement Was Not Egalitarian but Family-Oriented", *Biblical Interpretation* 11:2 (2003), pp. 173–210. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156851503765661276>

702 D.A. Campbell, "Reconciliation in Paul: The Gospel of Negation and Transcendence in Galatians 3.28", in: C.E. Gunton (ed.), *The Theology of Reconciliation* (London/New York NY: T & T Clark, 2003), pp. 39–65.

703 D.A. Campbell, *The Quest for Paul's Gospel: A Suggested Strategy* (Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplements 274, London/New

v. 28 may be viewed as a compact articulation of the PPME model (the Pneumatologically Participatory Martyrological Eschatology model) which characterises Paul's gospel. This model also highlights important ethical actions emanating from Paul's gospel. *Kathy Ehrensperger*⁷⁰⁴ (2004) discusses the dynamic underlying Paul's theologising and cites v. 28 and Romans 9:24 as examples. According to Ehrensperger, this dynamic is best described as "a vivid process of dialogic interaction between the Scriptures, the Christ-event and the actual life of the communities."⁷⁰⁵

*Michel Serres*⁷⁰⁶ (2006) understands v. 28 as meaning that there is not any belonging in the sense of class, sex, language or nation anymore. There is only one identity: "I", i.e., the "I" in Christ. *Derek Woodard-Lehman*⁷⁰⁷ (2007) explores a dispersive universality not requiring others to be like oneself but by one identifying with them. This is linked to 3:26–28 and 2:19–20 as follows: "[B]aptism identifies the baptisand with Christ, inaugurates the new life of Christ living within, and initiates ongoing identification with others. The politics of baptismal identification is performative peacemaking; a pneumasomatics of identity that is simultaneously a body politics and a politics of bodies."⁷⁰⁸

*Denis Fricker*⁷⁰⁹ (2009) points out that many exegetes interpret v. 28 as if it referred exclusively to some kind of utopia. By means of an analysis of the verse and a comparison thereof to Mark 10:6–8, Fricker shows that such an approach is not correct. *David E. Aune*⁷¹⁰ (2010) investigates

York NY: T & T Clark International, 2005), pp. 95–111. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9780567661289> For a critical response, see: Joel Thomas Chopp, "Unearthing Paul's Ethics: Douglas Campbell on Creation, Redemption, and the Christian Moral Life", *Journal of Theological Interpretation* 11:2 (2017), pp. 259–276. <https://doi.org/10.5325/jtheointe.11.2.0259>

704 K. Ehrensperger, "Scriptural Reasoning: The Dynamic That Informed Paul's Theologizing", *Irish Biblical Studies* 26:1 (2004), pp. 32–52.

705 *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

706 M. Serres, "Ego credo", *Contagion* 12/13 (2006), pp. 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1353/ctn.0.0016>

707 D. Woodard-Lehman, "One in Christ Who Lives Within: Dispersive Universality and the Pneuma-Somatics of Identity", *The Bible & Critical Theory* 3:3 (2007), pp. 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.2104/bc070039>

708 *Op. cit.*, p. 1.

709 D. Fricker, "'Il n'y a pas l'homme et la femme' (Ga 3,28), utopie ou défi?", *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 83:1 (2009), pp. 5–22. <https://doi.org/10.4000/rsr.482>

710 D.E. Aune, "Galatians 3:28 and the Problem of Equality in the Church and Society", in: P. Walters (ed.), *From Judaism to Christianity: Tradition and Transition: A Festschrift for Thomas H. Tobin, S.J., On the Occasion*

Early Christianity in the light of v. 28. Aune explains how Jesus dramatised a new notion of equality before God and how Paul's view of human equality (which he limited to the church of God) also signalled a change in one's attitude towards other people. Bruce Hansen⁷¹¹ (2010) focuses on Paul's social vision as found in v. 28, 1 Corinthians 12:13 and Colossians 3:11. Hansen proposes that Paul's vision is best explained by means of theories on ethnicity. Paul viewed believers as a new ethnic group that had been created through participation in Christ, with all other norms being relativised.

Aquiles Ernesto Martínez⁷¹² (2011) explores the prophetic scope of vv. 26–29. One should look critically at sociological strata in one's world and why certain people are excluded, sometimes even moving beyond Paul's own example, who did not always act consistently. A. Sue Russell⁷¹³ (2014) explains the contradictions between Paul's statement in v. 28 and other instances in the Pauline tradition, where hierarchical structures are reinforced, by means of three concepts formulated by Victor Turner: liminality, structure and anti-structure. Pauline communities did not abolish societal structures but redefined the way in which people were to relate to each other within these structures.

D. Francois Tolmie⁷¹⁴ (2014) points out that v. 28 has often been interpreted in such a way as to exclude or turn away certain people and thus advises that one should deliberately opt for interpreting this verse so that people are included and liberated. Wolfgang Stegemann⁷¹⁵ (2014)

of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday (Novum Testamentum Supplements 136, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2010), pp. 153–183. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004187696.i-336.49>

711 B. Hansen, "All of You Are One": *The Social Vision of Gal 3.28, 1 Cor 12.13 and Col 3.11* (Library of New Testament Studies 409, London/New York NY: T & T Clark, 2010), p. 195.

712 A.E. Martínez, "Fe Cristiana, Bautismo e Identidad Social: Diálogo con Gál 3,26–29", *Revista Bíblica* 73:3/4 (2011), pp. 163–186.

713 A.S. Russell, "Galatians 3:28 Beyond Status and Role: Living Anti-Structurally within Structure", in: D.L. Matson and K.C. Richardson (eds.), *One in Christ Jesus: Essays on Early Christianity and "All That Jazz", in Honor of S. Scott Bartchy* (Eugene OR: Pickwick Publications, 2014), pp. 1–19.

714 D.F. Tolmie, "Oor die Interpretasie van Paulus se Uitspraak in Galasiërs 3:28", *Litnet Akademies: 'n Joernaal vir die Geesteswetenskappe, Natuurwetenskappe, Regte en Godsdienwetenskappe* 11:2 (2014), pp. 331–350.

715 W. Stegemann, "Hierarchisierung und Relativierung multipler Identitäten in Galater 3:28", in: D.L. Matson and K.C. Richardson (eds.), *One in Christ Jesus: Essays on Early Christianity and "All That Jazz", in Honor of S. Scott Bartchy* (Eugene OR: Pickwick Publications, 2014), pp. 20–34.

distinguishes between the following four ways of interpreting v. 28: The text promotes a radical egalitarianism annulling all differences; it refers only to soteriological issues and has no practical implications for daily life; it refers primarily to the ritual of baptism and not to everyday life (although practical implications are not excluded); and it does not refer to the eradication of differences between people but to the relativisation of such differences in the light of the new identity in Christ. Stegemann opts for the fourth option and explains the implications of such a choice.

One of the examples that *Stephen Richard Turley*⁷¹⁶ (2015) uses in a study of ritualised washings and meals in Galatians and 1 Corinthians, is vv. 26–29. One of the issues that Turley emphasises in this case is that Paul appeals to the fact that their baptised bodies witness to the Messianic age. This means that their bodies are oriented towards Christ and towards one another – an insight that should transform their relationships to one another. *Jan Lambrecht*⁷¹⁷ (2017) argues that “one” in v. 28d means neither “one person” nor “the One New Man”. In this context, it means the same as “equal”. In Christ, everybody has an equal status. *Elaine Padilla*⁷¹⁸ (2017) develops a politics of love on the basis of vv. 26–28. Such a revolutionary form of love can enable people to extend themselves to the limit, denounce practices intended to fragmentise, and heal what has been violently torn apart.

On the basis of vv. 26–28 and five other New Testament texts, *Jason Goroncy*⁷¹⁹ (2017) argues that believers’ new identity in Christ does not annul their other identities, but it means that all boundary markers have to be removed. *Michel Gourgues*⁷²⁰ (2017) notes that v. 28 is probably a pre-Pauline baptismal tradition going back to the first generation of believers, thus reflecting the conviction that in Christ, inequalities may not be maintained anymore. This is very important for the notion of equal dignity

716 S.R. Turley, *The Ritualized Revelation of the Messianic Age: Washings and Meals in Galatians and 1 Corinthians* (Library of New Testament Studies 544, London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2015), pp. 29–58.

717 J. Lambrecht, *In Search of Meaning: Collected Notes on the New Testament (2014–2017)* (Balti: Scholars’ Press, 2017), pp. 455–461.

718 E. Padilla, “An Axis of Revolutionary Love”, *Toronto Journal of Theology* 33:2 (2017), pp. 181–194. <https://doi.org/10.3138/tjt.2017-0018>

719 J. Goroncy, “Ethnicity, Social Identity, and the Transposable Body of Christ”, *Mission Studies* 34:2 (2017), pp. 220–245. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15733831-12341503>

720 M. Gourgues, “‘Ni Juif ni Grec, ni esclave ni libre, ni mâle et femelle’ (Ga 3,28): Sur une contribution de la première génération chrétienne à une affirmation des droits humains”, *Science et Esprit* 69:2 (2017), pp. 241–262.

in current times. Nikki Holland⁷²¹ (2018) reads the Letter to Philemon in the light of v. 28. In Philemon, Paul supersedes earthly hierarchies by means of the notion of fellowship in several different ways: by highlighting Onesimus's role, by portraying Gentiles as family members and by addressing Apphia as an equal.

According to Stephen J. Patterson⁷²² (2018), vv. 26–28 contain the oldest ancient creed of Christianity. Paul did not create it and did not fully accept it, but by quoting it, he preserved it. Patterson emphasises that this creed did not focus on salvation but on the commitment of the first believers to fight against social distinctions classifying certain people as inferior and explains in detail how the creed functioned in Early Christianity. Luca Castiglioni⁷²³ (2019) investigates Paul's views on equality as depicted in vv. 26–28, 1 Corinthians 7:17–24 and 12:1–31. Castiglioni concludes that Paul bases the notion of equality between people on the unity of God's children in Christ. Jakobus M. Vorster⁷²⁴ (2019) considers the value of v. 28 for equality as a human right. This verse was revolutionary in the sense that it annulled all forms of superiority and this principle is still very important for developing equality as a value in the discourse on human rights.

Studies on “no longer Jew or Greek”

Miroslav Kocúr⁷²⁵ (2003) discusses Paul's treatment of nationality/ethnicity in this pericope and in Romans 10:12–21. These texts show that Paul regarded Jewishness as something temporary and of limited importance and instead promoted a new form of self-identification in Christ. Kocúr also points out the implications of this insight for believers of our time.

721 N. Holland, “Philemon in Light of Galatians 3:28”, *Priscilla Papers* 32:3 (2018), pp. 12–16.

722 S.J. Patterson, *The Forgotten Creed: Christianity's Original Struggle against Bigotry, Slavery, and Sexism* (New York NY: Oxford University Press, 2018). See also Yolanda Dreyer's reflection on Patterson's work: “Remembering the ‘Oldest Creed’: Overcoming the Age-Old Anomaly”, *Neotestamentica* 53:2 (2019), pp. 249–269. <https://doi.org/10.1353/neo.2019.0018>

723 L. Castiglioni, “Uguaglianza Battesimale e Differenze Carismatiche: La Prospettiva Paolina Fondamentale (I)”, *Scuola Cattolica* 147:4 (2019), pp. 667–693.

724 J.M. Vorster, “The Theological-Ethical Implications of Galatians 3:28 for a Christian Perspective on Equality as a Foundational Value in the Human Rights Discourse”, *In die Skriflig* 53:1 (2019), pp. 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.4102/ids.v53i1.2494>

725 M. Kocúr, *National and Religious Identity: A Study in Galatians 3,23–29 and Romans 10,12–21* (Österreichische Biblische Studien 24, Frankfurt/New York NY: Peter Lang, 2003).

Lung-kwong Lo⁷²⁶ (2010) disagrees with scholars who interpret this verse as annulling ethnic diversity and argues that one should instead take both unity and diversity among different ethnic groups seriously. William S. Campbell⁷²⁷ (2013) is also of the opinion that Paul did not oppose all ethnic distinctions. From his letters, it is clear that he distinguished between Jews and Greeks. He thus did not advocate cultural or social uniformity.

Studies on “no longer slave or free”

In a book on enslaved leadership in Early Christianity, Katherine A. Shaner⁷²⁸ (2018) draws attention to ambiguities in Paul’s letters about slavery. On the one hand, v. 28 states that distinctions between slaves and the free are irrelevant, yet on the other hand Paul’s position on manumission in 1 Corinthians 7:20–24 is ambiguous.

Studies on “no longer male and female”

Martin Ebner⁷²⁹ (2000) points out that the baptismal formula in vv. 27–28 was revolutionary in terms of the usual ancient social experience but that Paul did not always keep to it as 1 Corinthians 11:2–16 shows. V. 28 was thus a catalyst for defining gender roles in a new way but did not offer such a definition itself. Klara Butting⁷³⁰ (2000) discusses various Pauline receptions of the promise in Genesis 2:24 in v. 28, 1 Corinthians 6:13–17, 7:32–34 and Ephesians 5:30–32, arguing that the way in which Paul does so liberates both females and males from any form of gender polarity. According to Brigitte Kahl⁷³¹ (2001), the reference to male/female in v. 28 is

726 L.-k. Lo, “‘Neither Jew nor Greek’: Galatians 3,28 Revisited”, *Annali di Storia dell’Esegesi* 27:2 (2010), pp. 25–33.

727 W.S. Campbell, “Differentiation and Discrimination in Paul’s Ethnic Discourse”, *Transformation* 30:3 (2013), pp. 157–168. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0265378813490472>

728 K.A. Shaner, *Enslaved Leadership in Early Christianity* (New York NY: Oxford University Press, 2018). <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190275068.001.0001>

729 M. Ebner, “Wenn alle ‘ein einziger’ sein sollen: Von schönen theologischen Konzepten und ihren praktischen Problemen: Gal 3,28 und 1 Kor 11,2–16”, in: E. Klinger, S. Böhm and T. Seidl (eds.), *Der Körper und die Religion: Das Problem der Konstruktion von Geschlechterrollen* (Würzburg: Echter, 2000), pp. 159–183.

730 K. Butting, “Pauline Variations on Genesis 2.24: Speaking of the Body of Christ in the Context of the Discussion of Lifestyles”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 23:79 (2000), pp. 79–90. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X0102307907>

731 B. Kahl, “No Longer Male: Masculinity Struggles Behind Galatians 3.28?”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 23:79 (2001), pp. 37–49. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X0102307904>

not a mere side-quotation. It fits Paul's overall argument in the letter well and helps to replace a focus on maleness with an ethics of mutuality.

In a study of patriarchy of the New Testament, *Elma M. Cornelius*⁷³² (2002) points out that New Testament authors tend to reinforce patriarchy although there are some exceptions in their writings, such as v. 28. According to *Mary Rose D'Angelo*⁷³³ (2002), the words "male and female" were interpreted in different ways in Paul's time. They could be interpreted in any of the following ways: a reference to all human beings, to some kind of disadvantageous relationship or to marriage/sexual intercourse. It thus seems as if there was no more agreement in Paul's time about the implications of the words than in our current situation. *Richard Hove*⁷³⁴ (2002) is of the view that v. 28 states that, regardless of the distinctions made between people, all of them may become children of God but that it does not annul gender-specific roles in church and at home.

*Richard B. Hays*⁷³⁵ (2004) highlights a tension regarding women in Paul's symbolic world. On the one hand, one has vv. 26–28 promoting egalitarianism, but on the other hand, a pericope such as 1 Corinthians 14:34–35 suppresses women's role in the public ministry. According to Hays, this situation is caused by Paul's dialectical eschatology and the fact that "[t]he transformation of gender roles was not a programmatic emphasis of Paul's mission; rather, it was an unintended consequence, as the Spirit worked in the churches."⁷³⁶ *Austin Busch*⁷³⁷ (2004) uses the peculiar way in which Paul presents Eve in Romans 7:7–25 to illustrate the implications of Galatians 3:28. Whereas Eve was typically interpreted in terms of a notion of passivity that was usually linked to femininity,

732 E.M. Cornelius, "Patriarchy and the New Testament", *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 13:1 (2002), pp. 50–65. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10226486.2002.11745703>

733 M.R. D'Angelo, "Gender Refusers in the Early Christian Mission: Gal 3:28 as an Interpretation of Gen 1:27b", in: C.A. Bobertz and D. Brakke (eds.), *Reading in Christian Communities: Essays on Interpretation in the Early Church* (Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series 14, Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), pp. 149–173.

734 R. Hove, "Does Galatians 3:28 Negate Gender-Specific Roles?", in: W. Grudem (ed.), *Biblical Foundations for Manhood and Womanhood* (Foundations for the Family Series, Wheaton IL: Crossway Books, 2002), pp. 105–143.

735 R.B. Hays, "Paul on the Relation between Men and Women", in: A.-J. Levine and M. Blickenstaff (eds.), *A Feminist Companion to Paul* (Cleveland OH: T & T Clark International, 2004), pp. 137–147.

736 *Op. cit.*, p. 146.

737 A. Busch, "The Figure of Eve in Romans 7:5–25", *Biblical Interpretation* 12:1 (2004), pp. 1–36. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156851504322887663>

Paul highlights an element of activity that was typically associated with masculinity, thus illustrating the implications of the text in Galatians.

F. Gerald Downing⁷³⁸ (2005) reads v. 28 against the social background of the first century CE, emphasising that Paul's view of women differed from commonly-held views in his time. Although he sometimes gave in to social pressure, he never explicitly retracted the statement in v. 28. Robbie F. Castleman⁷³⁹ (2006) draws attention to the “and” in “no longer male and female” that is different from the other two pairs in v. 28. This shows that Paul believed that the distinction between genders was part of God's creation and that it was upheld and redeemed in Christ. Mimi Haddad⁷⁴⁰ (2009) discusses views on women in Pauline texts and argues that the best way to understand Paul's views is to read them in terms of the central expression of his thoughts as encountered in v. 28.

Ben Witherington III⁷⁴¹ (2009) is of the opinion that the rhetorical function of v. 28 might have been to counter the opponents' attempts to re-establish the patriarchal order of things. However, Paul did not mean that gender distinctions between men and women disappeared. They continued to exist but did not determine one's standing in the body of Christ. Joachim Kügler⁷⁴² (2009) discusses v. 28 as an impulse for a pastoral ministry on gender roles that moves beyond the typical sex/gender divisions. Kügler first shows that it is not adequate to interpret vv. 26–28 in terms of a sex-gender duality as the text refers

738 F.G. Downing, “The Nature(s) of Christian Women and Men”, *Theology* 108:843 (2005), pp. 178–184. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0040571X0510800303>

739 R.F. Castleman, “The Last Word: Gender, Grace and a Greek Conjunction”, *Themelios* 32:1 (2006), pp. 57–59.

740 M. Haddad, “Reading the Apostle Paul through Gal 3:28”, in: C.P. DeYoung (ed.), *Coming Together in the 21st Century: The Bible's Message in an Age of Diversity* (Valley Forge PA: Judson, 2009 [1995], revised edition), pp. 73–93.

741 B. Witherington III, *What's in the Word: Rethinking the Socio-Rhetorical Character of the New Testament* (Waco TX: Baylor University Press, 2009), pp. 113–121.

742 J. Kügler, “Gal 3,26–28 und die vielen Geschlechter der Glaubenden: Impuls für eine christliche Geschlechtsrollenpastoral jenseits von Sex and Gender”, in: M.E. Aigner and J. Pock (eds.), *Geschlecht quer gedacht: Widerstandspotenziale und Gestaltungsmöglichkeiten in kirchlicher Praxis* (Werkstatt Theologie 13, Münster: LIT Verlag, 2009), pp. 53–70. Republished in: J. Kügler, “Gal 3,26–28 und die vielen Geschlechter der Glaubenden: Impuls für eine christliche Geschlechtsrollenpastoral jenseits von Sex and Gender”, in: J. Kügler (ed.), *Exegese zwischen Religionsgeschichte und Pastoral* (Stuttgarter Biblische Aufsatzbände 64, Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2017), pp. 347–370.

to various gender roles. Accordingly, one should not fall into the trap of distinguishing between “typically male” and “female” roles in the current context.

François Lestang⁷⁴³ (2012) describes Paul’s view of male and female in v. 28 as an “anthropology in between”. Paul situates the male/female tension between the first and the new creation. In Christ, there exists a relational unity between them, a “transcendent complementarity”. Elian Cuvillier⁷⁴⁴ (2014) investigates v. 28 and Romans 1:26–27, asking where the emphasis falls: on “founding differences” (“différences fondatrices”) or on “messianic refoundation” (“refondation messianique”)? Cuvillier’s investigation identifies three propositions: unconditionally recognising a person without considering origins, quality or heritage, a radical universalism relativising all differences, and an ethics characterised by living in the messianic age.

In a discussion of Paul’s view of the new being in Christ, Peter von der Osten-Sacken⁷⁴⁵ (2014) draws attention to the fact that the wording of v. 28d reflects Genesis 1:27. This implies that the creation order does not apply where Christ reigns. Gesila Nneka Uzukwu⁷⁴⁶ (2015) interprets v. 28 in the light of Paul’s theology of promise, an important issue in Galatians 3 and 4. Because of the promise, males and females now have equal standing in Christ. This should lead to an ethics of solidarity and mutuality. On the basis of v. 28, Jennifer Slater⁷⁴⁷ (2015) identifies inclusiveness as an important characteristic of Christian identity and explains how this can substantially make a difference and guide one towards gender inclusiveness that is meaningful.

743 F. Lestang, “‘Ni mâle ni femelle’ (Ga. 3,28): L’anthropologie paulinienne de l’entre-deux”, *Revue de l’Université Catholique de Lyon* 22 (2012), pp. 15–19.

744 E. Cuvillier, “‘Différences fondatrices’ ou ‘refondation messianique’: De quoi Paul est-il le nom?”, *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 102:2 (2014), pp. 265–275. <https://doi.org/10.3917/rsr.142.0263>

745 P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Der Gott der Hoffnung: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Theologie des Paulus* (Studien zu Kirche und Israel: Neue Folge 3, Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2014), pp. 571–586.

746 G.N. Uzukwu, *The Unity of Male and Female in Jesus Christ: An Exegetical Study of Galatians 3.28c in Light of Paul’s Theology of Promise* (Library of New Testament Studies: International Studies on Christian Origins 531, London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2015).

747 J. Slater, “‘Inclusiveness’ – An Authentic Biblical Truth That Negates Distinctions: A Hermeneutic of Gender Incorporation and Ontological Equality in Ancient Christian Thought”, *Journal of Early Christian History* 5:1 (2015), pp. 116–131. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2222582X.2015.11877319>

Kirsten Laurel Guidero⁷⁴⁸ (2019) discusses the way in which evangelical Christians understand vv. 26–29, in particular, the male/female distinction and argues as follows: “[U]nity in the one body of Christ does not erase differences but consists of cleaving together in and through differences. This cleaving in the midst of difference requires both the baptismal posture of conversion to Christ by forming union with one another and public accountability for interpretations, even where we disagree.”⁷⁴⁹ Yonathan Moss⁷⁵⁰ (2020) disagrees with scholars who are of the opinion that Paul’s depiction of gender in v. 28 contradicts the views found on this matter elsewhere in the Pauline writings. Moss proposes that one should not interpret such differences as a contradiction but rather see them as paradoxes. Thus, both sides of a specific difference are true and should be held in tension. Both are essential for the daily living of believers.

Studies on the implications of “no longer male and female” for the ordination of women

Several studies were published in which v. 28 was used to argue for the ordination of women in the current context: *Christine Lienemann-Perrin*⁷⁵¹ (2004), *Elelwani B. Farisani*⁷⁵² (2006), *N.T. Wright*⁷⁵³ (2006), *Philip B. Payne*⁷⁵⁴ (2009) and *Jim Reiher*⁷⁵⁵ (2012). The way in which v. 28 is used in arguments for and against the ordination of women was set out in a publication by *The Lutheran Church of Australia*⁷⁵⁶ (2005).

748 K.L. Guidero, “‘No Longer Any Male and Female’? Galatians 3, Baptismal Identity, and the Question of an Evangelical Hermeneutic”, *Priscilla Papers* 33:3 (2019), pp. 19–27.

749 *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

750 Y. Moss, “From Contradiction to Paradox: A New Perspective on Galatians 3,28”, *Marriage, Families & Spirituality* 26:1 (2020), pp. 26–40. <https://doi.org/10.2143/int.26.1.3288947>

751 C. Lienemann-Perrin, “The Biblical Foundations for a Feminist and Participatory Theology of Mission”, *International Review of Mission* 93:368 (2004), pp. 17–34.

752 E.B. Farisani, “The Use of Galatians 3:28 in Promoting Gender Equality”, *Journal of Constructive Theology* 12:1 (2006), pp. 53–65.

753 N.T. Wright, “The Biblical Basis for Women’s Service in the Church”, *Priscilla Papers* 20:4 (2006), pp. 5–10.

754 P.B. Payne, *Man and Woman, One in Christ: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Paul’s Letters* (Grand Rapids MI: Zondervan, 2009), pp. 79–104.

755 J. Reiher, “Galatians 3:28 – Liberating for Women’s Ministry? Or of Limited Application?”, *The Expository Times* 123:6 (2012), pp. 272–277. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0014524611431773>

756 Anon., “Galatians 3:26 – 29 and the Ordination of Women”, *Lutheran Theological Journal* 39:1 (2005), pp. 84–93.

Finally, some scholars were quite critical of Paul's view of women: Pieter J.J. Botha⁷⁵⁷ (2000) describes gender relations in the first-century world as fundamentally hierarchical and inherently violent. Some New Testament texts are also investigated. With regard to v. 28, Botha is of the opinion that Paul did not really believe that there was no longer male or female in Christ: "This is an incidental outburst (or an unguarded quotation), nothing more: the thrust of the Letter, its textual world, remains unaffectedly male".⁷⁵⁸ Shaye J.D. Cohen⁷⁵⁹ (2005) is of a similar view. Paul did not attempt to annul the social boundaries between men and women in v. 28. Men and women had different functions and even in the new order women were subordinate to men.

4:12–20

Jacob Cherian⁷⁶⁰ (2001) stresses the significance of the parental imagery that Paul uses in his letters, as happens in 1 Thessalonians 2:1–12 and Galatians 4:19–20. Paul's use of this imagery shows that he is often misunderstood as opposing the participation of women in public worship. Benjamin J. Lappenga⁷⁶¹ (2012) draws attention to the way in which Paul redefines "the good" in this pericope: "[I]n place of the 'good' object of ζήλος ["zeal"] sought by Paul's opponents, namely, fame and the power to exclude (4:17), Paul substitutes paradoxical, cruciform weakness as the definition of 'the good' for zealous Christ-followers."⁷⁶²

757 P.J.J. Botha, "Submission and Violence: Exploring Gender relations in the First-Century World", *Neotestamentica* 34:1 (2000), pp. 1–38.

758 *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

759 S.J.D. Cohen, *Why Aren't Jewish Women Circumcised? Gender and Covenant in Judaism* (Berkeley CA/Los Angeles CA/London: University of California Press, 2005), pp. 72–73. <https://doi.org/10.1525/california/9780520212503.001.0001>

760 J. Cherian, "Paul: A Mother to His Churches: A Brief Examination of Parental Imagery in 1 Thess. 2:1–12 and Gal. 4:19–20", *Dharma Deepika* 5:1 (2001), pp. 35–47.

761 B.J. Lappenga, "Misdirected Emulation and Paradoxical Zeal: Paul's Redefinition of 'The Good' as Object of ζήλος in Galatians 4:12–20", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 131:4 (2012), pp. 775–796. <https://doi.org/10.2307/23488267> Updated version: B.J. Lappenga, *Paul's Language of ζήλος: Monosemy and the Rhetoric of Identity and Practice* (Biblical Interpretation Series 137, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2016), pp. 118–140. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004302457>

762 *Op. cit.*, p. 777.

4:30

John Anthony Dunne⁷⁶³ (2014) disagrees with scholars who interpret this verse as a warning to the recipients against embracing the law. Dunne believes that it serves as both a command and a warning and that it reflects Paul's belief that Christian identity presupposes suffering with the crucified Christ. Paul's views in this regard were based on his understanding of his mission in terms of the Servant of Isaiah.

5:1

In a study on the moral-practical relevance of the doctrine of justification, Marcus Hüttner⁷⁶⁴ (2004) takes the importance of the concept "freedom" (in 5:1) as cue. The fact that a gracious God gives justification to people as a gift implies that faith enables them to live a humane way of life, motivated by the power of God's liberating and encouraging love. Thomas Söding⁷⁶⁵ (2008) takes 5:1 as point of departure to contrast Paul's view of freedom and current views of freedom. In Christ, people are liberated from sin and death. They are also liberated to love. Söding furthermore compares Paul's view on free will and the way in which Stoics interpreted free will. Nina E. Livesey⁷⁶⁶ (2019) agrees with the classicist Matthew Roller that ἐλευθερία ("freedom") was never an existential category in ancient discourse but was rather used for characterising a different situation. Livesey applies this insight to 5:1, arguing that Paul used the term as a metaphor for a different position that he wished the Galatians to adopt, namely "Paul's position, or the no-Torah, no-circumcision position".⁷⁶⁷

763 J.A. Dunne, "Cast out the Aggressive Agitators (Gl 4:29–30): Suffering, Identity, and the Ethics of Expulsion in Paul's Mission to the Galatians", in: J. Kok, T. Nicklas, D.T. Roth and C.M. Hays (eds.), *Sensitivity Towards Outsiders: Exploring the Dynamic Relationship between Mission and Ethics in the New Testament and Early Christianity* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.364, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), pp. 246–269. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157504-4>

764 M. Hüttner, *Zur Freiheit befreit (Gal 5,1): Die moralisch-praktische Relevanz der Rechtfertigungslehre* (Bamberger Theologische Studien 25, Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2004).

765 T. Söding, "Zur Freiheit befreit (Gal 5,1): Paulus und die Kritik der Autonomie", *Internationale Katholische Zeitschrift/Communio* 37:2 (2008), pp. 92–112.

766 N.E. Livesey, "Is Freedom an Existential Category in Ancient Discourse?", *Biblical Interpretation* 27:2 (2019), pp. 274–297. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685152-00272p06>

767 *Op. cit.*, p. 296.

In three articles, *Marinko Vidović*⁷⁶⁸ (2020) explains Paul's statement in 5:1 that Christ has set people free for freedom step by step: 1. Paul's statement should be interpreted against the historical background of the letter and the dilemma that he faced when the Galatian churches turned to the law; 2. Paul interpreted freedom as freedom from the law. According to him, the history of salvation did not begin with the law but with Abraham's faith, which was based on God's promise; 3. Freedom was a spiritual state of non-slavery based on God's promise and not on the flesh. This freedom should constantly be maintained by believers.

5:6

*Simon Buttica*⁷⁶⁹ (2017) takes 5:6 as point of departure for discussing the relationship between justification by faith and rewarding/punishment at the last judgement in the letter, and argues that the theological and ethical arguments in the letter form an organic whole in that individuals justified without the law will appear before the Lord as judge and are thus called upon to practise a corresponsive ethos that is inclusive and reciprocal.

5:12

One of the examples that *Jeremy F. Hultin*⁷⁷⁰ (2008) considers in a book on the ethics of obscene speech in Early Christianity and its environment comes from 5:12. According to Hultin, Paul's statement was sharp but should not be categorised as an example of obscene speech.

768 M. Vidović, "‘Za Slobodu Nas Krist Oslobodi’ (Gal 5,1) – Poimanje Slobode u Poslanici Galaćanima (I: Sintagma u Povijesnom Kontekstu Poslanice i Kristološke Vjere)", *Nova Prisutnost* 18:1 (2020), pp. 115–126, <https://doi.org/10.31192/np.18.1.9>, M. Vidović, "‘Za Slobodu Nas Krist Oslobodi’ (Gal 5,1) – Poimanje Slobode u Poslanici Galaćanima (II: Sloboda kao Sloboda od Zakona)", *Nova Prisutnost* 18:2 (2020), pp. 397–407, <https://doi.org/10.31192/np.18.2.11>, M. Vidović, "‘Za Slobodu nas Krist Oslobodi’ (Gal 5,1) – Poimanje Slobode u Poslanici Galaćanima (III: Sloboda kao Status Ne-Robovanja i Afirmativno Opredjeljenje Za)", *Nova Prisutnost* 18:3 (2020), pp. 625–640, <https://doi.org/10.31192/np.18.3.13>

769 S. Buttica, "‘La foi agissant par l’amour’ (Galates 5,6): Justification par la foi et parènese du jugement dans la Lettre aux Galates", *Biblica* 98:1 (2017), pp. 91–111. <https://doi.org/10.2143/BIB.98.1.3197387>

770 J.F. Hultin, *The Ethics of Obscene Speech in Early Christianity and Its Environment* (Supplements to Novum Testamentum 128, Leiden/ Boston MA: Brill, 2008), pp. 148–150. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004168039.i-279>

5:13–14

Peter G. Kirchsclaeger⁷⁷¹ (2014) investigates the relationship between freedom, love, the Spirit and the flesh according to 5:13: the Spirit directs the freedom of believers, thereby moving them away from the flesh towards lives characterised by love. According to Gideon Baker⁷⁷² (2020), Paul's reduction of the dual commandment (love of God and the neighbour) to love of the neighbour in 5:13 and Romans 13:9 should be understood in terms of his messianic perspective on worldliness. Since he thinks of one's neighbour as somebody living right next to one in this world, he reduces love of God to love of one's neighbour. Baker also refers to the contributions of Heidegger and Agamben in this investigation. In a study of Pauline ethics in 5:13–14 and Romans 13:8–10, Mariapushpam Paulraj⁷⁷³ (2020) argues that Paul correctly makes Jesus' proclamation of love the foundation of his ethics but that one should also take note of the fact that he tends to reduce love to insiders in his exhortations and that this might cause the church to become inward-looking.

5:17

Otto Hofius⁷⁷⁴ (2003) disagrees with scholars who interpret this verse as indicating a constant battle between the Spirit and the flesh in the lives of believers. Hofius thinks that believers still experience temptation but are expected not to succumb to it – something they will achieve if they do

771 P.G. Kirchsclaeger, "The Relation between Freedom, Love, Spirit and Flesh in Galatians 5:13", *Acta Theologica Supplementum* 19 (2014), pp. 130–142. <https://doi.org/10.4314/actat.v33i2S.7>

772 G. Baker, "Paul's Reduction of the Dual Commandment: The Significance of Worldliness to Messianic Life", *Political Theology* 21:7 (2020), pp. 606–622. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1462317x.2020.1787603>

773 M. Paulraj, "Love of Neighbour: The Axis of Pauline Ethics: A Brief Study of Gal 5:13–14 and Rom 13:8–10", *Jnanadeepa* 24:1 (2020), pp. 74–94. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4060142>

774 O. Hofius, "Widerstreit zwischen Fleisch und Geist? Erwägungen zu Gal 5, 17", in: U. Mittmann-Richert, F. Avemarie and G.S. Oegema (eds.), *Der Mensch vor Gott: Forschungen zum Menschenbild in Bibel, antikem Judentum und Koran: Festschrift Hermann Lichtenberger* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2003), pp. 147–159. Also available in: O. Hofius, *Exegetische Studien* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.223, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), pp. 161–172. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-151512-5> For a response to Hofius's contribution, see J. Lambrecht, "Once Again Galatians 5,17: Grammar and Logic in the Exegesis of O. Hofius", *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 89:1 (2013), pp. 113–115. <https://doi.org/10.2143/ETL.89.1.2985327>

not restrict the Spirit. According to *Jean-Noël Aletti*⁷⁷⁵ (2014), it is wrong to interpret this verse negatively as if it depicts believers as being ethically paralysed. Paul does not portray them as enslaved by the flesh or left to their own resources. They can allow the Spirit to guide them.

5:19–23

*René A. López*⁷⁷⁶ (2012) is of the opinion that Paul wishes to exhort Galatian believers by means of the vice list in 5:19–21. He wants them to stop performing “the works of the flesh” and instead allow the position that they have in Christ to enable them to live according to the Spirit. *Matthew Myer Boulton*⁷⁷⁷ (2016) explains the meaning of “self-control” in v. 23 as follows: “It is our inner strength, but at a deeper level it is the strength of the Spirit flowing in us and through us. In this sense it is a participation in the Spirit’s vitality and vigor. It is within us, but it is also something we are within.”⁷⁷⁸

5:20

*James A. Kelhoffer*⁷⁷⁹ (2007) responds critically to the remarks of William V. Harris⁷⁸⁰ about anger management in the Pauline letters. Amongst others, Kelhoffer refers to this verse. Furthermore, Kelhoffer argues that the anger that Paul expressed toward Peter in Antioch was not consistent with Paul’s own expectations of others but that he probably would have regarded his anger as justified

775 J.-N. Aletti, “Paul’s Exhortations in Galatians 5:16–25: From the Apostle’s Techniques to His Theology”, in: M.W. Elliott, S.J. Hafemann, N.T. Wright and J. Frederick (eds.), *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul’s Letter* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2014), pp. 318–335.

776 R.A. López, “Paul’s Vice List in Galatians 5:19–21”, *Bibliotheca Sacra* 169:673 (2012), pp. 48–67. See also (more generally): R.A. López, “Views on Paul’s Vice Lists and Inheriting the Kingdom”, *Bibliotheca Sacra* 168:669 (2011), pp. 81–97.

777 M.M. Boulton, “Self-Control”, *Journal for Preachers* 39:4 (2016), pp. 55–58.

778 *Op. cit.*, p. 58.

779 J.A. Kelhoffer, “Suppressing Anger in Early Christianity: Examples from the Pauline Tradition”, *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 47:3 (2007), pp. 307–325. Also available in: J.A. Kelhoffer, *Conceptions of “Gospel” and Legitimacy in Early Christianity* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.324, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), pp. 317–334. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-152993-1>

780 W.V. Harris, *Restraining Rage: The Ideology of Anger Control in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge MA/London: Harvard University Press, 2001).

5:24–26

Oda Wischmeyer⁷⁸¹ (2013) disagrees with scholars who read 5:24–26 and Philippians 3:20 politically. According to Wischmeyer, these texts do not focus on political issues and do not have the city as theme. They are ethical texts in which Paul attempts to develop and strengthen the ethos of believers.

6:1

James P. Sweeney⁷⁸² (2003) draws attention to Paul's statement on spiritual restoration in 6:1, emphasising two issues: that Paul assumes that the Galatian believers already possess the Spirit but that they are still vulnerable to temptation and thus have a pastoral responsibility towards each other.

6:2

Tadeusz Knut⁷⁸³ (2016) describes this verse as an incentive by Paul to believers to help sinners carry their burdens (with “burdens” to be taken as moral “weight” caused by sinning) so that conversion can take place. Jacobus de Koning⁷⁸⁴ (2017) identifies this verse as the guideline for Christian ethics in the new dispensation. According to it, the law is replaced by the crucified Christ. De Koning also works out the implications of this insight for believers in South Africa.

6:2 (“the law of Christ”)

Claude Pigeon⁷⁸⁵ (2000) identifies three different ways in which the expression “the law of Christ” has been interpreted by scholars: the reinterpretation of the Mosaic law by Christ, a concept used by Paul's opponents and a reference to the commandment of love. Pigeon opts for interpreting it as a reference to mutual support, thus manifesting the love

781 O. Wischmeyer, “Philippi und Jerusalem: Sind Phil 3,20 und Gal 4,24–26 politische oder ethische Texte?”, *Theologische Zeitschrift* 69:4 (2013), pp. 298–319. <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-877668>

782 J.P. Sweeney, “The ‘Spiritual’ Task of Restoration: A Brief Note on Galatians 6:1”, *The Expository Times* 114:8 (2003), pp. 259–261. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001452460311400803>

783 T. Knut, “Analiza Egzegetyczna Wypowiedzi św. Pawła Apostoła ‘Jeden Drugiego Brzemiona Noście’ (Ga 6,2) w Kontekście Ga 6,1–5”, *Studia Koszalińsko-Kołobrzeskie* 23 (2016), pp. 43–54. <https://doi.org/10.18276/skk.2016.23-03>

784 J. de Koning, “Die Riglyn vir Christen Etiek: Galasiërs 6:2 onder die Loep”, *In die Skriflig* 51:1 (2017), pp. 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.4102/ids.v51i1.2205>

785 C. Pigeon, “‘La loi du Christ’ en Galates 6,2”, *Studies in Religion* 29:4 (2000), pp. 425–438.

emanating from the Christian community, a commandment addressed to all members. *Michael Winger*⁷⁸⁶ (2000) believes that the expression “the law of Christ” does not refer to any legal instruction. It is rather a metaphor denoting the lordship of Christ over believers which practically implies that their lives are taken over by the Spirit.

In a study of Paul’s use of the term “law” plus the genitive, *J. Louis Martyn*⁷⁸⁷ (2003) also discusses the expression “the law of Christ”. According to Martyn, “Paul coins that expression in order to speak of the Law as it has been taken in hand by Christ, thus being delivered from its lethal alliance with Sin and made pertinent to the church’s daily life.”⁷⁸⁸ In a chapter on the expression “the law of Christ”, *Graham Stanton*⁷⁸⁹ (2004) investigates several interpretations of the expression over time. Stanton opts for understanding it as referring to the Mosaic law as it was interpreted by Christ, having as its essence the love commandment and a willingness to carry the burdens of others. *Todd A. Wilson*⁷⁹⁰ (2006) offers an overview of the shift in the way in which the expression “the law of Christ” is interpreted. Formerly scholars tended to take it as referring to something replacing the Mosaic law, but now more and more scholars prefer to link it directly to the Mosaic law. Wilson also points out the implications of this development.

According to *Femi Adeyemi*⁷⁹¹ (2006), the law that Jeremiah refers to in Jeremiah 33:33 should be identified with “the law of Christ” that Paul mentions in 1 Corinthians 9:21 and Galatians 6:2. *Jerome Murphy-O’Connor*⁷⁹² (2012) interprets the expression “the law of Christ” as

786 M. Winger, “The Law of Christ”, *New Testament Studies* 46:4 (2000), pp. 537–546.

787 J.L. Martyn, “Nomos Plus Genitive Noun in Paul: The History of God’s Law”, in: J.T. Fitzgerald, T.H. Olbricht and L.M. White (eds.), *Early Christianity and Classical Culture: Comparative Studies in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe* (Supplements to *Novum Testamentum* 110, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2003), pp. 575–587. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047402190_028

788 *Op. cit.*, p. 583.

789 G. Stanton, *Jesus and Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 110–123. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511616976>

790 T.A. Wilson, “The Law of Christ and the Law of Moses: Reflections on a Recent Trend in Interpretation”, *Currents in Biblical Research* 5:1 (2006), pp. 123–144.

791 F. Adeyemi, “The New Covenant Law and the Law of Christ”, *Bibliotheca Sacra* 163:652 (2006), pp. 438–452.

792 J. Murphy-O’Connor, “The Unwritten Law of Christ (Gal 6:2)”, *Revue Biblique* 119:2 (2012), pp. 213–231. Also available in: J. Murphy-O’Connor, *Keys to Galatians: Collected Essays* (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press, 2012), pp. 123–143.

meaning “the law which is Christ”, which makes sense if one keeps Philo’s notion of a person as “a living law” (a notion going back to ideas related to Hellenistic kingship) in mind. *Francesco Bianchini*⁷⁹³ (2013) detects a coherent development in Paul’s references to the law in 5:13–6:10 (in particular in 5:14, 23 and 6:2) culminating in 6:2 where Paul claims that believers do not need the law of Moses anymore, since they have “the law of Christ” and are guided by the Spirit. *Ho Hyung Cho*⁷⁹⁴ (2015) interprets the expression “the law of Christ” as referring to a principle created by Christ and not to any written laws, such as the Mosaic law or any other written law. In another study, *Cho*⁷⁹⁵ (2019) offers an overview of the meaning of the expression “the law of Christ” in 6:2, Barnabas 2:6 and Ignatius’s Letter to the Magnesians and comes to the same conclusion. It refers to the principal characteristic of the new era that Christ inaugurated.

*Arland J. Hultgren*⁷⁹⁶ (2019) understands “the law of Christ” as the guidance that believers in Christ experience because they are led by the Spirit. Accordingly, their actions are directed by the love commandment so that they serve one another.

6:1–6

*John M.G. Barclay*⁷⁹⁷ (2014) thinks that in 6:1–6, Paul gives the Galatians a series of maxims to protect them from the disparaging influence of a contest-culture dominated by a strife for honour. Paul expects them to behave in a way corresponding to the nature of the Christ-event as an unconditioned gift from God.

793 F. Bianchini, “Il νόμος in Gal 5,13–6,10”, *Biblica* 94:1 (2013), pp. 47–62.

794 H.H. Cho, “The Study of the Meaning of Ο ΝΟΜΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ in Galatians 6:2”, *신약연구* 14:4 (2015), pp. 516–543.

795 H.H. Cho, “ὁ νόμος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Reconsidered: A Fresh Look at Galatians 6:2, Barnabas 2:6, and Magnesians 2”, *Canon & Culture* 13:1 (2019), pp. 263–294.

796 A.J. Hultgren, “The Ethical Reorientation of Paul: From the Law of Moses to the Law of Christ”, *Currents in Theology and Mission* 46:2 (2019), pp. 30–33.

797 J.M.G. Barclay, “Grace and the Countercultural Reckoning of Worth: Community Construction in Galatians 5–6”, in: M.W. Elliott, S.J. Hafemann, N.T. Wright and J. Frederick (eds.), *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul’s Letter* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2014), pp. 306–317.

6:10

On the basis of 6:10, Kjetil Fretheim⁷⁹⁸ (2008) argues that one should view Christian ethics as a communitarian type of ethics and that it should be guided by a preference for poor people.

16.4 Wirkungsgeschichte

Michael McGhee⁷⁹⁹ (2002) believes that finding commonalities between different religions may be deceptive. Although 6:10 and a passage from the Buddhist *Mahavagga* may sound the same, one should look at how things are understood and practised. Without this perspective, interfaith dialogue will remain shallow. Álvaro Michelín Salomón⁸⁰⁰ (2004) draws attention to the importance of the ethical guidelines in 5:22–23 for believers in our time. Paul does not distinguish between ecclesial and secular life. Everything that one does must be a manifestation of Christ and the Spirit. Johann-Albrecht Meylahn⁸⁰¹ (2005) uses the notion of freedom in Christ as depicted in Galatians (an eschatological liberty of calling and promise) to help people handle the immense ethical challenges posed by postmodernity.

Khiok-khng Yeo⁸⁰² (2005) compares *li* in *The Analects* and the law in Galatians, drawing out the implications of *li* and the law for contemporary society. Yeo suggests that the goal of living by *li* and the law is the common good. In a second study, Yeo⁸⁰³ (2006) compares the concepts of *xin* (trust) in Confucius and *pistis* in Paul and demonstrates how Confucius might help one to interpret Paul. In a third contribution,

798 K. Fretheim, “Grums i Galaterbrevet: Om Kristen Etik, Paulus og den Prioriterte Andre”, *Tidsskrift for Teologi og Kirke* 79:2 (2008), pp. 113–129. <https://doi.org/10.18261/ISSN1504-2952-2008-02-03>

799 M. McGhee, “Editorial: Greeks, Galatians and Western Buddhists: Christianity, Buddhism, and ‘Social Responsibility’”, *Contemporary Buddhism: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 3:2 (2002), pp. 99–109. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14639940208573760>

800 Á. Michelín Salomón, “El Fruto del Espíritu: Acerca de la Carta a los Gálatas”, *Cuadernos de Teología* 23 (2004), pp. 31–43.

801 J.-A. Meylahn, “Called into the Freedom of Christ in a Postmodern Age and the Moral Debate”, *Verbum et Ecclesia* 26:3 (2005), pp. 740–755. <https://doi.org/10.4102/ve.v26i3.248>

802 K.-K. Yeo, “Li and Law in the Analects and Galatians: A Chinese Christian Understanding of Ritual and Property”, *The Asia Journal of Theology* 19:2 (2005), pp. 309–332. See also the reprint of a work originally published in 1998: K.-K. Yeo, *What Has Jerusalem to do with Beijing? Biblical Interpretation from a Chinese Perspective* (Contrapuntal Readings of the Bible in World Christianity 2, Eugene OR: Pickwick, 2018).

803 K.-K. Yeo, “On Confucian *xin* and Pauline *pistis*”, *Sino-Christian Studies* 2 (2006), pp. 25–51.

Yeo⁸⁰⁴ (2006) uses an intertextual reading of Confucius and Galatians for constructing a Chinese Christian identity. According to Yeo, Christ fulfils Confucian ethics, protects China from the anomalies of Western Christian history and protects the universal church from the anomalies of Chinese history. In a fourth contribution, Yeo⁸⁰⁵ (2009) investigates the theme of moral freedom and human nature in Confucius and Galatians. According to Yeo, there is widespread agreement between Paul and Confucius, but Christ broadens or adds what is absent or implicit in Confucius and Confucius stresses aspects of Christian belief that are underplayed by Western Christians. In a book published in 2008, Yeo⁸⁰⁶ gathers the insights from nearly two decades of cross-cultural interpretation of *The Analects* and Pauline literature, in particular, Galatians. Yeo maintains that it is possible to be both Chinese and Christian, i.e., to be a Chinese Christian, and shows how one can integrate insights from the Confucian tradition and from Paul on issues such as virtue ethics, violence, political ethics and being human in a world full of difference.

Peter Mageto⁸⁰⁷ (2006) highlights the ethics of shared responsibility underlying 5:13–15 and points out the implication for churches in the current context. This type of ethics provides one with a model for Christian unity where groups can be enriched by other groups. In the light of 5:3 and 13, Burchell K. Taylor⁸⁰⁸ (2008) argues that freedom is both a gift and a demand. Taylor appropriates this as follows: Although slave trade has officially been abolished, other unjust systems still impact negatively on the descendants of slaves, and the church thus has to continue the fight for true freedom. Kyung-Sik Hyun⁸⁰⁹ (2009) is of the opinion that the gospel was inculturated in Galatia by means of the ethical behaviour of believers, behaviour characterised by equality, love and freedom. Hyun appropriates this for

804 K.-K. Yeo, “Musing with Confucius (the *Analects*) and Paul (Galatians) on a ‘Theological-Cultural’ Chinese Journey”, *The Asia Journal of Theology* 20:2 (2006), pp. 385–398.

805 K.-K. Yeo, “An Intertextual Reading of Moral Freedom in the *Analects* and Galatians”, in: S.E. Porter and M.J. Boda (eds.), *Translating the New Testament: Text, Translation, Theology* (McMaster New Testament Studies, Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2009), pp. 271–289.

806 K.-K. Yeo, *Musing with Confucius and Paul: Toward a Chinese Christian Theology* (Eugene OR: Cascade Books, 2008), pp. 53–109.

807 P. Mageto, “Toward an Ethic of Shared Responsibility in Galatians 5:13–15”, *Evangelical Review of Theology* 30:1 (2006), pp. 86–94.

808 B.K. Taylor, “Abolished, but Not Destroyed: Freedom – Gift and Demand (Gal 5.2,13)”, *Reformed World* 58:1 (2008), pp. 30–35.

809 K.-S. Hyun, “Inculturation of the Gospel in Galatians”, *한국기독교신학논총* 63 (2009), pp. 57–76.

missionaries currently in Asia. They should have consensus on what the gospel entails and should try to foster a culture characterised by equality, love and freedom.

G.N. Toryough and S.O. Okanlawon⁸¹⁰ (2014) point out that, in the light of Genesis 12:1–3, the blessing that Paul refers to in 3:13–14 should be understood in a spiritual and not a material sense as many prosperity preachers tend to interpret it. Rather, it refers to sonship of God. Jennifer Slater⁸¹¹ (2014) explains how what is theologically implicit in Paul's call to freedom in 5:1 can be made explicit in South Africa, especially by countering corruption. In another contribution, Slater⁸¹² (2016) uses 3:28 as a point of departure for outlining a way to cultivate an inclusive type of diversity in South Africa. According to Zorodzai Dube⁸¹³ (2015), the way in which Paul contrasts the image of Abraham with that of Moses in Galatians (Abraham was the public image best representing cosmopolitan and heterogeneous identity in the Hellenistic setup) can help one to understand the debate about statues in South Africa.

Bartosz Adamski⁸¹⁴ (2015) outlines Aquinas's views on the freedom in Christ in his comments on Galatians 5 and its contemporary relevance. Freedom is achieved through union with Christ and love is the gift whereby freedom becomes a reality. Emily A. Peck-McClain⁸¹⁵ (2015) considers the implications of the notion of agency in Paul's letters for adolescent girls. The type of agency depicted in 2:20 can offer liberation and hope for adolescent girls, since it is possible to live in the faith in/of Christ

810 G.N. Toryough and S.O. Okanlawon, "The Blessing of Abraham: Seeking an Interpretive Link between Genesis 12:1–3 and Galatians 3:13–16", *Ilorin Journal of Religious Studies* 4:1 (2014), pp. 123–136.

811 J. Slater, "Freedom: The Liberative Value and Ethical Credential for Christian Living in South Africa", *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 148 (2014), pp. 48–64.

812 J. Slater, "Intersecting Culture, Values and Transformation in Shaping an Integrated Ethnic Identity within a Diastatically Variated Society: Employing South Africa as a Case Study", *Verbum et Ecclesia* 37:1 (2016), pp. 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.4102/ve.v37i1.1598>

813 Z. Dube, "The Statue Debate: Ancestors and 'Mnemonic Energy' in Paul and Now", *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 71:3 (2015), pp. 1–5. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v71i3.3035>

814 B. Adamski, "Wolność w Chrystusie: Aktualność Nauczania Św. Tomasza z Akwinu o Wolności Chrześcijańskiej na Podstawie Piątego Rozdziału *Super Epistolam S. Pauli Apostoli ad Galatas Lectura*", *Biblica et Patristica Thoruniensia* 8:3 (2015), pp. 15–25. <https://doi.org/10.12775/BPTh.2015.014>

815 E.A. Peck-McClain, "Agency in Paul and Implications for Adolescent Girls", *Religious Education* 110:1 (2015), pp. 95–109. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00344087.2015.989099>

even though the power of sin has not been conquered fully. *Lovemore Togarasei*⁸¹⁶ (2016) points out that Christianity has still not succeeded in providing an alternative identity to ethnicity in Africa. Accordingly, Togarasei investigates the implications of Pauline texts such as 3:28 for Christian identity in this continent.

17. Missiology

*Lucien Legrand*⁸¹⁷ (2001) discusses Paul's missionary strategy in terms of ancient geography. According to Legrand, at the Jerusalem meeting, ideas on which parts of the world could be regarded as Judaised or not, played a role. From 2:9, it is clear that Europe (regarded as not Judaised) was given to Paul as missionary field, whereas Peter, James and John received the diaspora in Africa and the East as their missionary fields. *Michael W. Payne*⁸¹⁸ (2002) suggests a new missiological approach in the light of the rise in ethnic violence by focusing on the notion of identity in the light of insights offered by Miroslav Wolf. From Galatians, Payne utilises the notions of being new people in Christ and Paul's focus on centred-set thinking.

*Christine Lienemann-Perrin*⁸¹⁹ (2004) points out that the Early Church did not follow the spirit of 3:28 and did not allow women to take part in mission. Nevertheless, there were women in the Early Church that prepared the way for women to participate later in mission. This (subversive) tradition in the Early Church should be followed in our times. In an analysis of 1:11–24, *Elvis Elengabeka*⁸²⁰ (2007) highlights the way in which charismatic initiative and institutional regulation were joined. For current missionaries, this shows that trust in an institution and faithfulness to the Spirit are both important. They should thus cultivate their personal creativity but also always be open for inputs from the side of the institution.

816 L. Togarasei, "Rethinking Christian Identity: African Reflections from Pauline Writings", *Perichoresis* 14:1 (2016), pp. 101–114. <https://doi.org/10.1515/perc-2016-0006>

817 L. Legrand, *L'apôtre des nations? Paul et la stratégie missionnaire des églises apostoliques* (Paris: Cerf, 2001).

818 M.W. Payne, "'Identity' and Global Ethnic Violence: A Theological-Missiological Reflection", *Mission Studies* 19:2 (2002), pp. 113–135.

819 C. Lienemann-Perrin, "The Biblical Foundations for a Feminist and Participatory Theology of Mission", *International Review of Mission* 93:368 (2004), pp. 17–34.

820 E. Elengabeka, "Paul en mission: Fidélité à l'Esprit et confiance à l'institution", *Spiritus (Revue d'Expériences et de Recherches Missionnaires)* 187 (2007), pp. 155–164.

J.W. Maris⁸²¹ (2008) focuses on the missionary task of the church, in particular in the light of the fact that the heavenly Jerusalem is called “mother” in 4:26. Maris argues that the church cannot claim these heavenly qualities directly. It should rather use the mother image to view itself critically and to focus on mission. In a contribution on missional perspectives in Galatians, Jeremy Punt⁸²² (2009) highlights Paul’s concern for the identity of the Galatians, the significance of his claims about justification and the impact of apocalyptic notions on Paul’s view of God. In the light of these insights, Punt challenges the church to come to terms with the radical spiritual, social and cosmic aspects of peace. In a contribution on missiological perspectives in certain pericopes in Galatians, Bernard Y. Quarshie⁸²³ (2009) stresses the importance of focusing on the crucified Christ, the vital role of preaching, the need for appreciating the vulnerability of both preachers and converts, as well as the importance of continuing one’s spiritual life in the Spirit.

John Mansford Prior⁸²⁴ (2010) points out that 3:27–28 is mostly interpreted in a spiritualised way by minority Christian groups in Indonesia and thus thinks that it is a missiological imperative to move to a social reading of the text so that its radical egalitarian claim may be manifested in South East Asian societies. Jacobus Kok⁸²⁵ (2011) highlights the important relationship between mission and ethics in Galatians. One thus should not study the one without the other. Contact with the gospel changes one’s identity and leads to the development of new ethical values. In Galatians, Paul’s ethics indirectly implies mission, thus pointing to the close link between mission and ethics.

Michael Knowles⁸²⁶ (2011) points out that Christianity, Judaism and Islam are nowadays usually regarded as “Abrahamic religions”. However,

821 J.W. Maris, *De Missie van een Moeder* (Apeldoornse Studies 50, Apeldoorn: Theologische Universiteit, 2008).

822 J. Punt, “Come to Terms with the Radical Spiritual, Social and Even Cosmic Dimensions of Peace: Missional Perspectives in Paul’s Letter to the Galatians”, in: J. du Plessis, E. Orsmond and H. van Deventer (eds.), *Missionary Perspectives in the New Testament* (Wellington: Bible Media, 2009), pp. 185–204.

823 B.Y. Quarshie, “Paul and the Primal Substructure of Christianity: Missiological Reflections on the Epistle to the Galatians”, *Journal of African Christian Thought* 12:1 (2009), pp. 8–14.

824 J.M. Prior, “Integration, Isolation or Deviation: Reading Galatians 3:27–28 in Indonesia Today”, *Mission Studies* 27:1 (2010), pp. 71–90. <https://doi.org/10.1163/157338310X497964>

825 J. Kok, “Mission and Ethics in Galatians”, *Hervormde Theologische Studies* 67:1 (2011), pp. 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v67i1.896>

826 M. Knowles, “The Galatian Test: Is Islam an Abrahamic Religion?”, *New Blackfriars* 92 (2011), pp. 318–321. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741->

in the light of Galatians, Islam should not be called an “Abrahamic” religion. *Richard Last*⁸²⁷ (2011) raises the question as to what Paul thought the purpose of his mission was. After an investigation of several Pauline texts, amongst others from Galatians, Last concludes: “The apostle understood the purpose of his mission as preparing individuals for the *eschaton* — which meant getting individuals to believe in Christ and getting them involved in local Christ-believing communities before the *parousia*.”⁸²⁸ *Ed Mackenzie*⁸²⁹ (2012) points out that the Emerging Church emphasises three aspects in its attempt to contextualise the gospel, mystery, journey and conversation but that such an approach differs from Paul’s missiological approach in Galatians, since he stresses the coherency of the gospel, the importance of conversion and the obligation to proclaim the gospel.

According to *Jeremy Punt*⁸³⁰ (2014), in Galatians, Paul is primarily concerned about the community to whom he writes the letter and its identity, and not so much about outsiders. Outsiders are mentioned in the letter, but Paul refers to them quite harshly. *Cheon Seol Han*⁸³¹ (2015) explains why a missiological reading of Galatians is helpful. The letter focuses primarily on safeguarding the congregation against Paul’s opponents, thus foregrounding issues such as identity. A missional reading focuses on a different issue, the attitude of the congregation towards outsiders. According to *Peter J. Leithart*⁸³² (2016), God reconfigures the fallen situation in which humankind finds itself (under “the elements of the world”) so that a new community is formed, operating in a different way. God does this by imparting to them a new nature. Leithart also works out the implication of this idea for missiology.

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- 2005.2010.01403.x
- 827 R. Last, “What Purpose Did Paul Understand His Mission to Serve?”, *Harvard Theological Review* 104:3 (2011), pp. 299–324. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S001781601100023X>
- 828 *Op. cit.*, p. 324.
- 829 E. Mackenzie, “Mission and the Emerging Church: Pauline Reflections on a New Kind of Missiology”, *Missiology: An International Review* 40:3 (2012), pp. 315–328. <https://doi.org/10.1177/009182961204000307>
- 830 J. Punt, “Mission, Ethics, and Outsiders/Insiders in Galatians”, in: J. Kok, T. Nicklas, D.T. Roth and C.M. Hays (eds.), *Sensitivity Towards Outsiders: Exploring the Dynamic Relationship between Mission and Ethics in the New Testament and Early Christianity* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.364, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), pp. 225–245. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157504-4>
- 831 C.S. Han, “Missional Perspective in Galatians: A Sociological Approach”, *성경과 신학* 73 (2015), pp. 141–168.
- 832 P.J. Leithart, *Delivered from the Elements of the World: Atonement, Justification, Mission* (Grand Rapids MI: InterVarsity Press, 2016).

Anselmo Ernesto Graff and Evaldo Luis Pauly⁸³³ (2017) identify a two-dimensional missiological structure in Luther's lectures on Genesis and Galatians, consisting of a vertical dimension (it is exclusively God's work) and a horizontal dimension (it is the responsibility of believers). According to Jacobus Kok and John Anthony Dunne⁸³⁴ (2017), from Galatians, it is clear that Paul did not view participation as some kind of ecstatic experience, removing believers from the world. It was primarily missionally motivated. This is clear from the way in which he understood his own calling and from what he expected from the Galatians. According to Peder Borgen⁸³⁵ (2018), 3:1–14 offers us insight into Paul's perspective as a missionary to the Gentiles. In this passage, Paul distinguishes between two jurisdictions, a Sinaitic one and an Abrahamic one, and uses the expression "in Jesus Christ" to refer to Christ in a collective sense and to the fulfilment of the promise to Abraham that believers now experience.

Michael L. Sweeney⁸³⁶ (2019) regards the collection mentioned in 2:10 as an expression of Christian solidarity between different areas in Early Christianity. Sweeney also considers the missiological implications of the event, in particular the underlying values and motives that Paul expressed by his actions.

833 A.E. Graff and E.L. Pauly, "A Estrutura Teológica Missionária Bidimensional de Lutero: Preleções Sobre Gênesis e Gálatas", *Caminhos* 15:2 (2017), pp. 342–353. <https://doi.org/10.18224/cam.v15i2.5726>

834 J. Kok and J.A. Dunne, "Participation in Christ and Missional Dynamics in Galatians", in: A. Despotis (ed.), *Participation, Justification, and Conversion: Eastern Orthodox Interpretation of Paul and the Debate between "Old and New Perspectives on Paul"* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.442, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), pp. 59–87. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-155453-7>

835 P. Borgen, "Perspectives for Mission: Galatians 3:1–14 in Context", in: D.E. Aune and R. Hvalvik (eds.), *The Church and Its Mission in the New Testament and Early Christianity: Essays in Memory of Hans Kvalbein* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.404, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), pp. 181–193. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-155910-5>

836 M.L. Sweeney, "The Pauline Collection, Church Partnerships, and the Mission of the Church in the 21st Century", *Missiology* 48:2 (2019), pp. 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0091829619887387>

18. Eschatology and apocalypticism

18.1 Eschatology

According to *Hubert Ordon*⁸³⁷ (2001), 4:4 is the literary and theological centre of 4:1–7. It focuses on the soteriological turning point of personal and world history, with Christ's incarnation as an event bringing time to its full measure. Paul's "fullness of time" thus also becomes the "middle of time", *sumum temporis*. *Michel Gourgues*⁸³⁸ (2001) discusses the notion of the fullness/fulfilment of time in three traditions: Mark 1:15, Galatians 4:4 and Ephesians 1:10. Gourgues shows that the expression has a specific connotation in each context and that it refers to different events. According to Mark, time reached a peak because of the advent of the Kingdom of God; according to Galatians, time "switched" from the time of the law to the time of faith, and in Ephesians, the concept is linked to the eschatological recapitulation of all things.

*Moisés Silva*⁸³⁹ (2001) notes that scholars often ignore the eschatology of Galatians because they focus on other issues such as the justification debate. Silva then shows how pervasive eschatology in the letter is by discussing several sections in the letter, pointing out that by ignoring or minimising the eschatology of the letter one distorts its message. *Stanley P. Saunders*⁸⁴⁰ (2002) demonstrates how eschatological rhetoric had a formative function in the spirituality of Early Christianity, by reshaping their view of space and time and by "learning Christ". In the case of Galatians, the relationship between apocalyptic eschatology and a spirituality of freedom is of particular note. *J. Prescott Johnson*⁸⁴¹ (2002/2003) discusses the expression "ages of ages" found in 1:5 and Ephesians 3:21. According to Johnson, the expression should not be interpreted as indicating something static but rather as a reference to eternity as life and movement, the supreme experience of God.

837 H. Ordon, "'Kiedy Zaś Nadeszła Pełnia Czasu' (Ga 4,4)", *Roczniki Teologiczne* 48 (2001), pp. 105–119.

838 M. Gourgues, "La 'plénitude des temps', ou le temps marqué de façon décisive par la référence à Jésus Christ: Polysémie d'une formule néotestamentaire (Mc 1,15; Ga 4,4; Ep 1,10)", *Science et Esprit* 53:1 (2001), pp. 93–110.

839 M. Silva, *Interpreting Galatians: Explorations in Exegetical Method* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2001 [1996], 2nd edition), pp. 169–186.

840 S.P. Saunders, "'Learning Christ': Eschatology and Spiritual Formation in New Testament Christianity", *Interpretation* 56:2 (2002), pp. 155–167. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002096430005600204>

841 J.P. Johnson, "The Age of the Ages", *The Asbury Theological Journal* 57/58:2/1 (2002/2003), pp. 105–127.

Yon-Gyong Kwon⁸⁴² (2004) rejects the notion that the eschatology of Galatians is dominated by realised eschatology and argues, instead, that Paul's argument was set within a futuristic eschatology. He reminds the Galatians of the implications of their current actions for the future, the "not yet". Douglas A. Campbell⁸⁴³ (2005) is of the opinion that 3:28 may be viewed as a compact articulation of the PPME model (Pneumatologically Participatory Martyrological Eschatology) which characterises Paul's gospel. It also highlights important ethical actions sprouting forth from Paul's gospel. Marinko Vidović⁸⁴⁴ (2005) draws attention to the fact that the incursion of the eschaton into history was normally linked in Paul's time to Jesus' death but that Paul linked it in 4:4 to Jesus' birth. With Jesus' birth (in which Mary also had her role to play) the end of history was thus already anticipated although history paradoxically still continued – a situation enabling believers to live optimistically, experiencing the new creation brought about by God.

Andrew W. Pitts⁸⁴⁵ (2008) notes that scholars tend to focus on developments or tensions in Paul's eschatology and, instead, focuses on its unity. Pitts shows that, in spite of a rhetorical diversity in Paul's letters, there is a constant eschatological framework underlying them. In a contribution on the unfolding of eschatology in Scripture, Keith A. Mathison⁸⁴⁶ (2009) notes that eschatology does not dominate Galatians but that it underlies much of Paul's argument, in particular the fact that he believed that the Mosaic covenant had come to an end when

842 Y.-G. Kwon, *Eschatology in Galatians: Rethinking Paul's Response to the Crisis in Galatia* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.183, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157091-9>

843 D.A. Campbell, *The Quest for Paul's Gospel: A Suggested Strategy* (Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplements 274, London/New York NY: T & T Clark International, 2005), pp. 95–111. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9780567661289> For a critical response, see: Joel Thomas Chopp, "Unearthing Paul's Ethics: Douglas Campbell on Creation, Redemption, and the Christian Moral Life", *Journal of Theological Interpretation* 11:2 (2017), pp. 259–276. <https://doi.org/10.5325/jtheointe.11.2.0259>

844 M. Vidović, "'Punina Vremena' (Gal 4,4) – Iskaz Prisutnosti Eshatona u Povijesti (I)", *Crkva u Svijetu* 40:1 (2005), pp. 7–28, and M. Vidović, "'Punina Vremena' (Gal 4,4) – Iskaz Prisutnosti Eshatona u Povijesti (II)", *Crkva u Svijetu* 40:2 (2005), pp. 143–160.

845 A.W. Pitts, "Unity and Diversity in Pauline Eschatology", in: S.E. Porter (ed.), *Paul: Jew, Greek, and Roman* (Pauline Studies 5, Leiden/Boston MA: Brill, 2008), pp. 65–91. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004171596.i-370.37>

846 K.A. Mathison, *From Age to Age: The Unfolding of Biblical Eschatology* (Phillipsburg NJ: P & R Publishing, 2009), pp. 493–530.

Jesus came. The Mosaic covenant thus only had to prepare for the new age inaugurated by his advent. In a study of Paul's references to the kingdom, Réne A. López⁸⁴⁷ (2011) also looks at the term "inheritance", raising the question of whether the term only refers to the future or also to a present reality. In the case of 3:18, 29, 4:1, 7 and 30, López is of the opinion that it refers to the world to come.

In a contribution on eschatology in Galatians and Romans, *Christof Landmesser*⁸⁴⁸ (2011) points out how Paul uses the final judgement of the end-time to make the gospel effective in the current situation. *Richard Last*⁸⁴⁹ (2011) raises the question as to what Paul thought the purpose of his mission was. After an investigation of several Pauline texts, amongst others from Galatians, Last concludes: "The apostle understood the purpose of his mission as preparing individuals for the *eschaton*— which meant getting individuals to believe in Christ and getting them involved in local Christ-believing communities before the *parousia*."⁸⁵⁰ *D. Francois Tolmie*⁸⁵¹ (2011) notes that all three eras normally distinguished in the New Testament (the era before the coming of Christ, Christ's coming and the end of time) are reflected in Galatians and that Christ's coming receives the most attention. However, this does not mean that the future is unimportant to Paul, since the nature of the "fulness of time" (4:4) theologically implies that something still has to happen in the future, making believers long for the future and live in hope of what is still to come.

847 R.A. López, "A Study of Pauline Passages on Inheriting the Kingdom", *Bibliotheca Sacra* 168:672 (2011), pp. 443–459.

848 C. Landmesser, "Eschatologie im Galaterbrief und im Römerbrief", in: H.-J. Eckstein, C. Landmesser, H. Lichtenberger, J. Adam and M. Bauspiess (eds.), *Eschatologie – Eschatology: The Sixth Durham–Tübingen Research Symposium: Eschatology in Old Testament, Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity (Tübingen, September, 2009)* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.272, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), pp. 229–248. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-151561-3>

849 R. Last, "What Purpose Did Paul Understand His Mission to Serve?", *Harvard Theological Review* 104:3 (2011), pp. 299–324. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S001781601100023X>

850 *Op. cit.*, p. 324.

851 D.F. Tolmie, "Living in Hope 'in the Fullness of Time': The Eschatology of Galatians", in: J.G. van der Watt (ed.), *Eschatology of the New Testament and Some Related Documents* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.315, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), pp. 239–255. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-151814-0>

According to Scott J. Hafemann⁸⁵² (2019), from Galatians 3 and 4, it is clear that Paul thought that the eschatological restoration dawned in Christ, thus ending the era of the Sinai covenant. However, the two covenants (of the flesh and of the Spirit respectively) would continue until the present evil age comes to an end. In a study of the flesh–Spirit antithesis in Romans and Galatians, Brian H. Thomas⁸⁵³ (2020) argues that the “overlap of ages” scheme generally accepted by Pauline scholars to explain this antithesis is not adequate. Thomas proposes a tripartite salvation–historical schema: SH–yesterday (time in the flesh), SH–now (time in the Spirit before the *parousia*) and SH–soon (time after Christ’s return).

18.2 Apocalypticism

J. Louis Martyn⁸⁵⁴ (2000) offers an overview of Paul’s apocalyptic gospel in Galatians. According to Martyn, “Galatians is a clear witness to a basic conviction of Paul: the gospel is not about human movement into blessedness, but about God’s liberating invasion of the cosmos. Christ’s love enacted in the cross has the power to change the world because it is embodied in the new community of mutual service.”⁸⁵⁵ In a contribution on Paul’s use of Second Isaiah in Galatians, Martinus C. de Boer⁸⁵⁶ (2002) argues that there are clear indications that Paul knew Second Isaiah and that he used insights from it to formulate his own apocalyptic eschatology. De Boer discusses 1:15–16, 4:19, 21–5:1 and 6:15. In another contribution, De Boer⁸⁵⁷ (2002) depicts Paul as a theologian of God’s apocalypse, arguing

852 S.J. Hafemann, *Paul: Servant of the New Covenant: Pauline Polarities in Eschatological Perspective* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1435, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), pp. 52–89. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157702-4> Updated version of: S.J. Hafemann, “Paul and the Exile of Israel in Galatians 3–4”, in: J.M. Scott (ed.), *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish and Christian Conceptions* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 56, Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 329–371.

853 B.H. Thomas, *Living in the Flesh by the Spirit: The Pauline View of Flesh and Spirit in Galatians* (Eugene OR: Wipf & Stock, 2020).

854 J.L. Martyn, “The Apocalyptic Gospel in Galatians”, *Interpretation* 54:3 (2000), pp. 246–266. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002096430005400303>

855 *Op. cit.*, p. 246.

856 M.C. de Boer, “Second Isaiah and Paul’s Eschatology in the Letter to the Galatians”, in: F. Postma, K. Spronk and E. Talstra (eds.), *The New Things: Eschatology in Old Testament Prophecy: Festschrift for Henk Leene* (Amsterdamse Cahiers voor Exegese van de Bijbel en zijn Tradities Supplement Series 3, Maastricht: Shaker Publishing, 2002), pp. 35–43.

857 M.C. de Boer, “Paul, Theologian of God’s Apocalypse”, *Interpretation* 56:1 (2002), pp. 21–33. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002096430005600103>

that he does not only use apocalyptic terms to refer to the end-times and Christ's *parousia* but also when he speaks of the gospel that he preaches and the faith that it brings about. This implies that gospel and faith are also part of his apocalyptic eschatology. In a third contribution, *De Boer*⁸⁵⁸ (2004) explains that Paul reflected on Isaiah 54:1 in the light of the crisis in Galatia and this prompted his allegorical interpretation of the story in Genesis, in that the two women who are contrasted in Isaiah 54:1 provided him with an apocalyptic antinomy which helped him to find other pairs in the Genesis story that he could interpret within a Christological and apocalyptic eschatology.

*Gys M.H. Loubser*⁸⁵⁹ (2005) points out that scholars quite often pass over Galatians as an important source for Paul's conception of Christian freedom, since they regard it as a contingent letter. Loubser thus highlights the important ways in which Paul uses apocalyptic themes in the letter to get the idea across that a totally new era has arrived in Christ, characterised by liberty and by the activity of the Spirit that produces the spiritual fruit that the law cannot bring about. In a discussion of Paul's maternity as reflected in 4:19, *Beverly Roberts Gaventa*⁸⁶⁰ (2007) argues that this verse should not be regarded merely as an appeal supported by the friendship between Paul and the Galatians. Rather, it is a theological claim "that Paul's work as an apostle occurs within an apocalyptic framework that is created by God's revelation of Jesus Christ and that looks forward to the full incorporation of all believers – indeed, of the cosmos itself – into Christ".⁸⁶¹

*Moisés Silva*⁸⁶² (2007) offers a detailed explanation of Paul's use of Psalm 143:2 (142:2 LXX) in 2:16, pointing out that Paul was thinking

Also available in: M.C. de Boer, *Paul, Theologian of God's Apocalypse: Essays on Paul and Apocalyptic* (Eugene OR: Cascade Books, 2020), pp. 39–54.

858 M.C. de Boer, "Paul's Quotation of Isaiah 54.1 in Galatians 4.27", *New Testament Studies* 50:3 (2004), pp. 370–389. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688504000219>

859 G.M.H. Loubser, "Paul's Ethic of Freedom: No Flash in the Galatian Pan", *Neotestamentica* 39:2 (2005), pp. 313–337.

860 B.R. Gaventa, *Our Mother Saint Paul* (Louisville KY/London: Westminster John Knox, 2007), pp. 29–39. Earlier versions: B.R. Gaventa, "Our Mother St Paul: Toward the Recovery of a Neglected Theme", in: A.-J. Levine and M. Blickenstaff (eds.), *A Feminist Companion to Paul* (Cleveland OH: Pilgrim Press, 2004), pp. 85–97, and B.R. Gaventa, "Our Mother St Paul: Toward the Recovery of a Neglected Theme", *The Princeton Seminary Bulletin* 17:1 (1996), pp. 29–44.

861 *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

862 M. Silva, "Galatians", in: G. Beale and D. Carson (eds.), *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker

of a broader concept of the law and that the quotation brings definite apocalyptic overtones to his argument. According to *David I. Starling*⁸⁶³ (2011), Paul's use of Isaiah 54:1 in 4:27 is not explained sufficiently by the apocalyptic or Christological notions that he brings to the text or even the wider context of Isaiah. It should rather be understood in terms of a larger argument from Scripture that Paul uses in the letter. *Teresa Kuo-Yu Tsui*⁸⁶⁴ (2012) is of the opinion that in 4:27 (and in Romans 6:3), Paul refers to baptism apocalyptically in the sense that it points forward to the final transformation, the resurrection, that is based on the apocalyptic Christ event.

Jason Maston (2012)⁸⁶⁵ disagrees with scholars who think that Paul's apocalyptic theology in Galatians implies the absence of salvation history. Maston detects a notion of salvation history underlying 3:15–4:7, according to which the period of the law is portrayed as a period of "Unheil". In his overview of the "rhetoric of difference" and the genealogy of heresy in Second Temple Judaism and Early Christianity, *Robert M. Royalty Jr.*⁸⁶⁶ (2013) also discusses Paul's views. They were based on an apocalyptic dualism and Paul created his own version of the gospel which he defended in ideological discourses of power (as happened in Galatians). *Joseph Hyung S. Lee*⁸⁶⁷ (2013) describes Paul's use of Scripture as "apocalyptic allegory" and explains his use of Genesis and Isaiah in terms of three perspectives: intertextuality, the use of a historical narrative and an apocalyptic perspective.

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- Academic, 2007), pp. 785–810.
- 863 D.I. Starling, *Not My People: Gentiles as Exiles in Pauline Hermeneutics* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 184, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), pp. 23–60. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110259612>
- 864 T.K.-Y. Tsui, "'Baptized into His Death' (Rom 6,3) and 'Clothed with Christ' (Gal 3,27): The Soteriological Meaning of Baptism in Light of Pauline Apocalyptic", *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 88:4 (2012), pp. 395–417. <https://doi.org/10.2143/ETL.88.4.2957935>
- 865 J. Maston, "The Nature of Salvation History in Galatians", *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 2:2 (2012), pp. 89–103. <https://doi.org/10.2307/26426549>
- 866 R.M. Royalty Jr., *The Origin of Heresy: A History of Discourse in Second Temple Judaism and Early Christianity* (Routledge Studies in Religion 18, London/New York NY: Routledge, 2013), pp. 64–88.
- 867 J.H.S. Lee, "Apocalyptic Allegory: Paul's Use of Genesis and Isaiah in Galatians 4:19–5:1", in: H.C. Kim (ed.), *Galatians as Examined by Diverse Academics in 2012 (St. Andrews, Scotland)* (Hermit Kingdom Studies in Christianity and Judaism 3, Newark NJ/Seoul: The Hermit Kingdom Press, 2013), pp. 42–56.

Sigve K. Tonstad⁸⁶⁸ (2013) believes that, whereas Paul's opponents regarded Abraham as the primary proof of their message on circumcision, Paul's interpretation of Abraham was based on apocalyptic notions and the Akedah. This is expressed primarily by the call "Abba! Father!" (4:6). Michael B. Cover⁸⁶⁹ (2014) reads 4:21–5:1 in the light of Philo's practice of allegory, as well as similar Jewish traditions reflected in the Letter to the Hebrews. Cover highlights Platonising and apocalyptic polarities in Paul's eschatology, showing that Paul's allegoresis is similar to what is found in Philo's Pentateuchal commentaries. Richard B. Hays⁸⁷⁰ (2014) identifies 18 apocalyptic themes and images in Galatians and discusses three dominant motifs in this regard: paternity (that God adopted Gentiles so that they could become part of the covenant people), passion (that Jesus' death saved people) and participation (that believers are united with Christ). Hays also discusses the theological implications of these notions and what they tell us about the pastoral nature of Paul's theology.

Gys M.H. Loubser⁸⁷¹ (2014) stresses the importance of apocalyptic in Galatians. Paul uses it to convey the drastic soteriological and ethical changes occasioned by the coming of Christ and the Spirit. Thereby he wishes to reframe the way the Galatians think, an insight that should help believers currently to understand their times as an era that is post-law. Todd D. Still⁸⁷² (2014) combines a narratival and an apocalyptic

868 S.K. Tonstad, "Inscribing Abraham: Apocalyptic, the Akedah, and 'Abba! Father' in Galatians", in: H.C. Kim (ed.), *Galatians as Examined by Diverse Academics in 2012 (St. Andrews, Scotland)* (Hermit Kingdom Studies in Christianity and Judaism 3, Newark NJ/Seoul: The Hermit Kingdom Press, 2013), pp. 15–28.

869 M.B. Cover, "'Now and Above; Then and Now' (Gal. 4:21–31): Platonizing and Apocalyptic Polarities in Paul's Eschatology", in: M.W. Elliott, S.J. Hafemann, N.T. Wright and J. Frederick (eds.), *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul's Letter* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2014), pp. 220–229.

870 R.B. Hays, "Apocalyptic *poiēsis* in Galatians: Paternity, Passion, and Participation", in: M.W. Elliott, S.J. Hafemann, N.T. Wright and J. Frederick (eds.), *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul's Letter* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2014), pp. 200–219. Also available in: R.B. Hays, *Reading with the Grain of Scripture: Resurrection, Canon, Community* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2020), pp. 182–203.

871 G.M.H. Loubser, "About Galatians, Apocalyptic and the Switching of Paradigms", *Acta Theologica Supplementum* 19 (2014), pp. 164–185. <https://doi.org/10.4314/actat.v33i2S.9>

872 T.D. Still, "'In the Fullness of Time' (Gal. 4:4): Chronology and Theology in Galatians", in: M.W. Elliott, S.J. Hafemann, N.T. Wright and J. Frederick (eds.), *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel,*

reading of Galatians by means of Greimas's narrational model. Still distinguishes between three sequences: the initial sequence (before faith came), the topical sequence (the time of the gospel, Paul's time in and away from Galatia, and his encouraging of the Galatians to recall what happened earlier in their spiritual lives) and the final sequence (time beyond time).

John Anthony Dunne⁸⁷³ (2015) disagrees with the apocalyptic interpretation of Paul by Martyn and De Boer. Dunne's primary argument is that such an apocalyptic reading does not bear a resemblance to what happens in Jewish apocalyptic literature. Dunne does not find the motives of discontinuity, duality and dichotomy that they emphasise in Jewish apocalyptic literature, neither in Galatians. Taking J. Louis Martyn's⁸⁷⁴ question "What time is it?" as cue, Chad Chambers⁸⁷⁵ (2015) investigates the presentation of time in 1:11–2:21. Chambers argues that Paul structures time metaphorically and that he thinks of time as multidirectional as well as multidimensional: "[T]ime is multidimensional, consisting of multiple pasts, presents, and futures with each linked to the revelatory nature of Christ's coming into the world. God's revelation of Christ is an event that happens within history but changes time."⁸⁷⁶ Jan Lambrecht⁸⁷⁷ (2017) disagrees with Chambers and prefers to describe Paul's view of time not by means of opposing time metaphors (as Chambers does) but by focusing on the fact that God caused discontinuity in the continuity by means of a breakthrough in history.

According to Michael J. Gorman⁸⁷⁸ (2016), Paul was both an apocalyptic and a new-covenant theologian and reworked his theology

and Ethics in Paul's Letter (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2014), pp. 239–248.

873 J.A. Dunne, "Suffering and Covenantal Hope in Galatians: A Critique of the 'Apocalyptic Reading' and Its Proponents", *Scottish Journal of Theology* 68:1 (2015), pp. 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0036930614000866>

874 J.L. Martyn, *Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (Anchor Bible 33A, New York NY/London/Toronto/Sydney/Auckland: Doubleday, 1997), p. 23.

875 C. Chambers, "'Before I Was Born': Time in Paul's Autobiographical Reflections in Galatians 1 and 2", *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 5:2 (2015), pp. 257–269. <https://doi.org/10.2307/jstudpaullett.5.2.0257>

876 *Op. cit.*, p. 268.

877 J. Lambrecht, *In Search of Meaning: Collected Notes on the New Testament (2014–2017)* (Balti: Scholars' Press, 2017), pp. 434–438.

878 M.J. Gorman, "The Apocalyptic New Covenant and the Shape of Life in the Spirit According to Galatians", in: B.C. Blackwell, J.K. Goodrich and J. Maston (eds.), *Paul and the Apocalyptic Imagination* (Minneapolis MN:

of the covenant in the light of his experience of Christ as the Messiah and the Spirit, in particular the fact that indwelling of the Spirit and the law took on a cruciform mode. The revelation to and in Paul can thus not be separated. *Michael F. Bird*⁸⁷⁹ (2016) disagrees with Martyn’s apocalyptic interpretation of Galatians. Bird does not believe that it is necessary to make a distinction between apocalyptic and salvation history. As Bird puts it: “The invasive action of God declared in the gospel still stands within a promise–fulfilment scheme that Paul frequently utilises in his theological discourse. There is no requirement that we divorce Paul’s apocalyptic theology from its metanarrative in the Jewish Scriptures.”⁸⁸⁰

*J.P. Davies*⁸⁸¹ (2016) offers a comparison of 4 Ezra and Galatians, emphasising the themes of the two ages and salvation history. Davies points out that in some interpretations of Galatians there is sometimes “a false antithesis between the ‘punctiliar’ and the ‘linear’, between the two ages and redemptive history, that does not do justice to the way in which multiple eschatological metaphors interrelate in the apocalypses”.⁸⁸² To absolutise the two–ages scheme and apply it to Galatians univocally thus ignores the complex way in which Paul uses eschatological metaphors. In another contribution, *Davies*⁸⁸³ (2016) offers a detailed evaluation of the “apocalyptic Paul” as interpreted in some Pauline circles by examining such claims in the light of 1 Enoch, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch and Revelation. Davies confirms that Paul may indeed be regarded as an apocalyptic thinker but raises critical questions about the ways in which this is handled in recent approaches.

*Douglas Harink*⁸⁸⁴ (2017) develops Louis Martyn’s apocalyptic perspective on Paul further by highlighting trinitarian and

Fortress, 2016), pp. 317–338. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt19qgfj6.20>
Also available in: M.J. Gorman, *Participating in Christ: Explorations in Paul’s Theology and Spirituality* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2019), pp. 96–114.

879 M.F. Bird, *An Anomalous Jew: Paul among Jews, Greeks, and Romans* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2016), pp. 108–169.

880 *Op. cit.*, p. 116.

881 J.P. Davies, “The Two Ages and Salvation History in Paul’s Apocalyptic Imagination: A Comparison of 4 Ezra and Galatians”, in: B.C. Blackwell, J.K. Goodrich and J. Maston (eds.), *Paul and the Apocalyptic Imagination* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 2016), pp. 339–359.

882 *Op. cit.*, p. 357.

883 J.P. Davies, *Paul among the Apocalypses? An Evaluation of the “Apocalyptic Paul” in the Context of Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Literature* (Library of New Testament Studies 562, London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2016).

884 D. Harink, “J.L. Martyn and Apocalyptic Discontinuity: The Trinitarian, Christological Ground of Galatians in Galatians 4:1–11”, *Journal for*

Christological aspects in 4:1–11. Harink identifies two aspects of apocalyptic discontinuity: the difference between divine being and creaturehood, and the messianic liberation of a spiritually enslaved world by Christ. Harink further argues that for Paul apocalyptic was essentially a peaceful union of divine and human realities in the incarnation of Christ. James M. Scott⁸⁸⁵ (2017) sets out to answer the question of whether it makes sense to interpret Galatians from an apocalyptic perspective by comparing it with an apocalyptic text, the Epistle of Enoch (1 Enoch 92–105). Scott picks up enough similarities between the two writings in terms of form and content to claim that the two writings are analogous.

Logan Williams⁸⁸⁶ (2018) compares the Apocalypse of the Weeks in 1 Enoch with Galatians in order to determine whether the motif of *creation e contrario* that plays such an important role in Galatians is apocalyptic. Williams finds that this motif is absent from the Apocalypse of the Weeks, which means that one cannot classify this motif in Galatians as apocalyptic. Williams prefers to refer to it as “christomorphic”. Kang-Yup Na⁸⁸⁷ (2019) offers a multidimensional reading of Galatians on the theme of borders in the light of a Korean world view (in particular in terms of the concept of *dao*). According to Na, “Seen through a *dao* lens, Paul’s use of *κτίσις* and his allusions to creation signal the ultimate border crossing, from this age into the apocalyptic age to come, from separation and alienation to the primordial dynamics of undifferentiated reality”.⁸⁸⁸

the Study of Paul and His Letters 7:1/2 (2017), pp. 101–111. <https://doi.org/10.5325/jstudpaullett.7.1-2.0101>

885 J.M. Scott, “A Comparison of Paul’s Letter to the Galatians with the Epistle of Enoch”, in: B.E. Reynolds and L.T. Stuckenbruck (eds.), *The Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition and the Shaping of New Testament Thought* (Minneapolis MN: Fortress, 2017), pp. 193–218. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1kgqv21.14>

886 L. Williams, “Disjunction in Paul: Apocalyptic or Christomorphic? Comparing the *Apocalypse of Weeks* with Galatians”, *New Testament Studies* 64:1 (2018), pp. 64–80. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0028688517000170>

887 K.-Y. Na, “Of Great Walls, DMZs, and Other Lines in the Sand: The Truth (of the Gospel) About Borders and Barriers – and Crossing Them in Galatians”, in: J. Ahn (ed.), *Landscapes of Korean and Korean American Biblical Interpretation* (International Voices in Biblical Studies 10, Atlanta GA: SBL Press, 2019), pp. 217–240.

888 *Op. cit.*, p. 240.

18.3 New creation (6:15)

According to *Moyer V. Hubbard*⁸⁸⁹ (2002), the expression “new creation” is used in 6:15 in an anthropological sense, with the emphasis on God’s creative work in the individual, which makes one’s outer state irrelevant. *Douglas J. Moo*⁸⁹⁰ (2010) interprets the expression in 6:15 and in 2 Corinthians 5:17 as referring to the new situation brought about by Christ’s coming – a situation that will be consummated at his return. This will involve a total, cosmic renewal. *Rodrigo J. Morales*⁸⁹¹ (2010) discusses the importance of the themes of the new exodus, new creation and the restoration of Israel in Galatians. According to Morales, Paul regarded the gift of the Spirit as a fulfilment of God’s promise to restore Israel. Furthermore, Paul followed Deutero-Isaiah by linking the Spirit to the blessing of Abraham and the inclusion of the Gentiles.

*T. Ryan Jackson*⁸⁹² (2010) thinks that the Galatians would have understood the expression “new creation” in a cosmological sense and would not have restricted it to private individual experiences. *Grant Macaskill*⁸⁹³ (2013) interprets the expression as an indication that Paul regarded the church as the new eschatological temple (with Isaiah as background) in which God restores cosmic order, thereby fulfilling the expectations that Isaiah had about Zion. In a study of “new creation” in Galatians, 2 Corinthians and Ephesians, *Mark D. Owens*⁸⁹⁴ (2015) argues that it was based on an intertextual reading of the Hebrew Scriptures and that Paul used it to summarise the redemptive significance of Christ’s death and resurrection. It has anthropological, cosmological

889 M.V. Hubbard, *New Creation in Paul’s Letters and Thought* (Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 119, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 131–232.

890 D.J. Moo, “Creation and New Creation”, *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 20:1 (2010), pp. 39–60. <https://doi.org/10.2307/26423963>

891 R.J. Morales, *The Spirit and the Restoration of Israel: New Exodus and New Creation Motifs in Galatians* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.282, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010). <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-151625-2>

892 T.R. Jackson, *New Creation in Paul’s Letters: A Study of the Historical and Social Setting* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.272, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), pp. 84–114. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-151615-3>

893 G. Macaskill, *Union with Christ in the New Testament* (New York NY/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 225–227. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199684298.001.0001>

894 M.D. Owens, *As It Was in the Beginning: An Intertextual Analysis of New Creation in Galatians, 2 Corinthians and Ephesians* (Eugene OR: Pickwick Publications, 2015).

and ecclesiological dimensions and should be understood in terms of a primeval–end time (“Urzeit–Endzeit”) typology.

On the basis of 6:11–16, 2 Corinthians 5:17 and Romans 8:18–22, *Luis Espíndola García*⁸⁹⁵ (2016) links the expression to God’s power to create and re–create. Paul thus used it to refer to the fact that every time a human being receives the gift of salvation from God, a new being is created. *Scott J. Hafemann*⁸⁹⁶ (2019) draws attention to the close relationship between “new creation” and the notion of the consummation of the covenant in 6:15 and 2 Corinthians 5:17. Hafemann believes that the expression “new creation” summarises Paul’s eschatological soteriology and that his thoughts on “new creation” are closely linked to his views on the “new covenant”. “New creation” is thus inextricably linked to the history of Israel and the move from the old covenant to the new covenant.

895 L. Espíndola García, “La Nueva Creación en el Pensamiento de Pablo”, *Veritas* 35 (2016), pp. 217–233. <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-92732016000200010>

896 S.J. Hafemann, *Paul: Servant of the New Covenant: Pauline Polarities in Eschatological Perspective* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1.435, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), pp. 300–343. <https://doi.org/10.1628/978-3-16-157702-4>

Conclusion

From this survey, it has become clear that research on the Letter to the Galatians is flourishing. Although it is true that much of what has been published is not new and that well-known arguments and insights have often been repeated, it is also clear that much progress has been made. To my mind, significant advances have been made in three areas, without which our knowledge of Galatians would have been the poorer. First, there has been a substantial increase in the *sources* made available to scholars. In this regard, I refer in particular to the studies and new translations of interpretations of the letter noted in Chapter 3 on the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the letter. All of these will be valuable resources for adding depth to future attempts at interpreting the letter. Secondly, the broadening of the variety of *interpretative approaches* applied to the letter should be applauded. In particular, the growth in non-traditional readings of the letter should be viewed as a positive development. This may also serve as an indication that there is still more to come as far as this aspect is concerned. Thirdly, in several instances, small but significant advances have been made in terms of *detailed exegetical issues* or, in a broader sense, in terms of the way in which *theological issues* in the letter may be interpreted. In our continuing endeavour to arrive at a better understanding of this letter, this should serve as encouragement to keep on testing new avenues and to investigate as many new angles as possible.

In the first chapter, studies focusing on *introductory issues* were discussed. Of all the issues discussed in this chapter, *authorship* received the least attention, with only sporadic suggestions that Paul did not write the letter. With regard to the *occasion* of the letter, the North- and South-Galatian debate continued unabatedly with no possibility of a consensus being reached. Furthermore, in this chapter, a representative example of *studies done outside our discipline* regarding the recipients was also offered. Such studies addressed a wide variety of themes, such as overviews of the settlement of the Galatians in Asia Minor, their language, diet, cities, customs and important persons and events. Research such as this is mostly ignored by Galatians scholars and it might be worthwhile for us to take note of what is happening in this discipline in the Humanities. Regarding the identity of Paul's *opponents*, most scholars still preferred to describe them as either Jewish Christians or Jews, but a small number of differing options were also raised. In the first chapter, it also became clear that the aspect that received the most attention from scholars was *historical issues* underlying Galatians and/or its relationship to Acts. Of these, what

exactly happened at the Jerusalem conference and at the Antioch incident, and how one should understand the events, drew the most interest from scholars. In this chapter, an overview of research on possible *backgrounds* for understanding Galatians was also given. The variety was astounding: 1 Enoch, 4 Ezra, Maccabees, Psalms of Solomon, the Dead Sea Scrolls, the LXX, Philo, Judaism (in a broader sense), the Targums and Rabbinic literature, philosophy (Stoicism and other philosophical movements) and the ancient world (in a broader sense).

In the second chapter, a variety of aspects was discussed: text-critical, linguistic, stylistic and translation issues. In the case of *textual criticism*, most of the publications focused on textual issues in particular verses or pericopes in the letter. The impact of several new approaches on the practice of textual criticism was also illustrated. Amongst these were cladistics, systemic functional linguistics and reasoned eclecticism. Furthermore, several scholars focused on versions of the texts used by scholars who had not received much attention before, such as Arab^{Gr1}, Old Latin witnesses to Galatians, the Gothic version and Origen's and Jerome's texts of the letter. P⁴⁶ also drew a good deal of interest. Under the heading "*linguistic issues*", a broad variety of studies was noted in which careful and in some instances highly technical investigations of the letter or parts of it were offered. *Stylistic issues* drew the most attention, with Paul's use of metaphor in the letter being the favourite of scholars. The metaphor that received the most attention was Paul's depiction of the law as a pedagogue (in 3:24–25), followed by slavery and kinship metaphors. In the final section in this chapter, contributions on the *translation* of Galatians or parts of it were discussed. Several new translations of the letter or the Pauline letters were published, as well as an English translation of the Syriac Peshitta of the letters from Galatians to Philemon. The other studies in this section all focused on translation problems in Galatians or part of it.

The third chapter was devoted to the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the letter. From the overview, it is evident that this is a growing field in Galatians research, since the number of studies published per year has constantly increased. The themes that scholars are interested in, are quite diverse. The person that attracted the most attention was Martin Luther (by far!), followed by Jerome, Chrysostom, Augustine, Aquinas and, perhaps surprisingly, Martin Heidegger. One of the major developments in the period under review was the astounding number of primary sources that were made accessible in other languages. English translations of commentaries on Galatians by the following people appeared: Marius Victorinus, Ambrosiaster, Jerome, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Augustine, Sedelius Scottus, Thomas Aquinas, Nicholas of

Lyra, Heinrich Bullinger, Jeanne Guyon, Emil Fuchs, and Sylvain Maréchal. Heidegger's interpretation of Galatians was translated into English. Chrysostom's homilies on the letter were translated into French and Luther's commentary on the letter was translated into English. Critical texts of Erasmus's annotations on the letter and of Heinrich Bullinger's commentary appeared. Several studies containing translated extracts also appeared, thus making it easy to get an idea of how certain groups of commentators interpreted the letter: *The Ancient Christian Commentary Series*, the *Reformation Commentary on Scripture* and the *Reformation Heritage Bible Commentary*. The comprehensive volume on Galatians in the *Novum Testamentum Patristicum* and the publication by Ian Christopher Levy on six medieval commentaries also definitely should be mentioned.

In the fourth chapter, research on the *interpretative approaches* that scholars use when they interpret Galatians was summarised. The huge diversity in approaches that are followed was truly amazing. The following approaches were discussed: A focus on the way in which Paul uses the Hebrew Scriptures, social-scientific/sociological approaches, epistolographical approaches, rhetorical approaches, narrative approaches, semiotic approaches, studies focusing on intertextuality, recipient-orientated approaches, psychological approaches, ideology-critical approaches (liberational, feminist, gender-critical and post-colonial readings), literary analysis, philosophical approaches, logical analysis, register analysis, speech act theory, cognitive science approaches, memory studies and theories on embodiment and ritual. It also became clear that the issue that received the most interest (by far!) was the way in which Paul interpreted and used the Hebrew Scriptures. More than 140 studies from this perspective were published during the period that we considered. Next in line were three other approaches: rhetorical analysis was used in more than 70 studies, social-scientific approaches in more than 60 studies and ideology-critical approaches in more than 40 studies.

In the final chapter, an overview of research on the *theology* of the letter was presented. The three themes that received the most attention from scholars were Paul's view of the law, soteriology and ethics. In the case of *Paul's view of the law*, several aspects received attention. Most of the studies that were published were of a more general nature, but several other issues were also of interest to scholars: the expressions "works of the law", "under the law" and "the law of Christ", as well as the depiction of the law as a pedagogue in 3:23–24. The *Wirkungsgeschichte* of Paul's view of the law in Galatians was a theme that constantly attracted the attention of scholars. In the case of the *soteriology* of the letter, most of the studies focused on the soteriology of the letter in a broader sense.

Apart from this, the New Perspective on Paul, the expression “faith of Christ”, the possibility of salvation history in Galatians and the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the soteriology of the letter also kept scholars occupied. However, interest in the New Perspective on Paul seems to be on the decline (perhaps there is not really anything new to say from this perspective?) and the possibility of salvation history in the letter seems to appeal to only a small group of scholars. The “faith of Christ” debate continues unabatedly, with no consensus in sight. From the overview in this chapter, it is also clear that John Barclay’s *Paul and the Gift* generated a remarkable amount of attention and was perceived by many scholars as an important new perspective for understanding Paul’s soteriology in the letter (and in the other Pauline letters). The *ethics* of the letter was approached from a large variety of angles: the first century CE background, the function of paraenesis, the relationship between ethics and mission, the indicative–imperative debate, the flesh–Spirit contrast, the relationship between faith and the Spirit, suffering, human identity and agency and aesthetics. Some studies focused on important terms/concepts in the ethics of Galatians: grace, spiritual slavery, freedom, love, obedience, sanctification, mimesis, justification, violence, conflict, the law and poverty. A great number of studies focusing on particular verses or pericopes also appeared. The *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the ethics of the letter received much attention, with most of the studies focusing on the way in which the text has been interpreted or should be interpreted in the current context. In many instances, such studies focused on the appropriation of 3:28 in our context, with great emphasis on the notion of equality and the possibility of ordination women in church offices.

