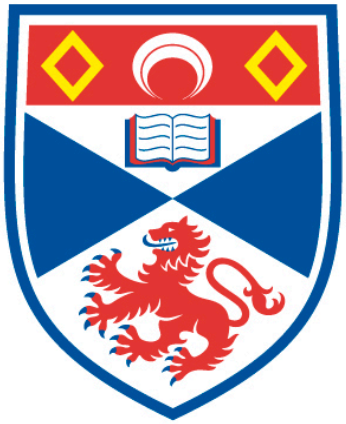
PERSECUTION IN GALATIANS : IDENTITY, DESTINY AND THE USE OF ISAIAH

John Anthony Dunne

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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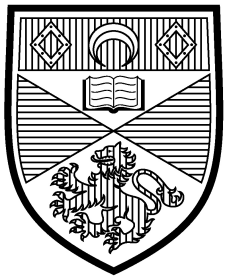

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at the
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23 September, 2015

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Abstract

This thesis contends that the theme of persecution plays a vital role in the argument of Paul's letter to the Galatians. Particularly, this thesis argues that *suffering for the cross* is seen as a mark of identity and a sign of destiny for those who follow the crucified Messiah. In regard to identity, suffering is shown to be a badge that demarcates Paul's Gentile audience as children of Abraham and children of God (i.e. the "Israel of God") in conformity with genuine Christian identity, represented chiefly by Paul himself through solidarity with the cross. In regard to destiny, those who are marked out by suffering for the cross will receive the future inheritance, as promised to Abraham, and be vindicated at the eschatological judgment. The relationship of suffering for the cross to Christian identity and destiny is shown to parallel other such markers like possession of the Spirit and justification by faith. This thesis proposes further that Paul derives his understanding regarding the importance of suffering from his wider reading of Isaiah, particularly chapters 49–54, which Paul believes prefigures the death of the Messiah, his own Gentile mission and the opposition to it, as well as the status of his Gentile converts as servants of the Messiah. The influence of Isaiah is demonstrated especially in Paul's paradigmatic self-presentation in the autobiographical section of the letter (Gal. 1–2), the subsequent summons to imitation (4.12–20), and the famous allegory where Paul explicitly cites Isa. 54.1. In this thesis it is demonstrated that all of these themes and emphases in Galatians related to persecution and suffering are utilized for the particular crisis in Galatia regarding the promotion of circumcision, which this thesis suggests is promoted aggressively. It is proposed, therefore, that Paul has utilized the theme of persecution with its Messianic and Isaianic influences to engage the way that receiving circumcision provides a means of avoiding and alleviating social tension and pressure. To that end suffering for the cross is upheld by Paul as a mark of identity and a sign of destiny to highlight the fact that receiving circumcision will lead to apostasy since Paul understands it to be a rejection of the Messiah and his cross.

Preface

Before commencing with the study proper I should note a few preliminary things: (1) all references to the Septuagint are taken from Rahlfs' eclectic text, (2) all references to the Greek text of the NT are taken from NA28, and (3) all translations of Greek and Hebrew are my own, unless indicated otherwise.

With this thesis I "bear my own load" of four years of research and writing on the theme of persecution in Paul's letter to the Galatians. However, although the load is mine to bear, I am grateful for all the family, friends, and colleagues who helped "bear my burdens" along the way.

First, I wish to thank all of those who have accomodated me at various stages during my PhD as I travelled, including, Matt and Annie Wilcoxen, Clayton and Carmen Rowe, Ernest and Tiffany Clarke, Andrew and Susan Cowan, Tavis and Alexandra Bohlinger, Roy Michael and Joy McCoy, Ben and Rachel Wilson, Andrew and Stephanie Kelly, Nathaniel and Charissa Warne, Logan Williams, Tanner Gish, Caleb Johnson, Steven Huggins, and Miles Bocianski.

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away from them. I dedicate this thesis to them as an expression of my deep gratitude. May they ever seek to be Χριστοῦ δοῦλοι.

John Anthony Dunne
St Mary's College
Holy Cross Day, 2015
Soli Deo Gloria

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Scholarship on Galatians & A Rationale for the Present Thesis

The lasting impact of Paul's letter to the Galatians is fascinating to consider, especially given its central role in inspiring diverse theological and scholarly projects. Within the history of Christianity the examples of Marcion and Martin Luther are particularly interesting. On the one hand, the second-century heretic Marcion regarded Galatians, along with Romans, as "the perfect illumination" of his theology.[1] On the other hand, Protestants have placed great emphasis on the letter, following the lead of Luther who said that Galatians "is my epistle, to which I am betrothed. It is my Katie von Bora."[2] The letter has not ceased to inspire in the academy either, being at the razor's edge of many exciting developments in NT studies. For example, the use of ancient rhetorical handbooks to analyze the letters of the NT first began when the method was originally applied to Galatians by H. D. Betz.[3] Additionally, Galatians has been central to reconstructions of Pauline chronology, particularly in the light of Paul's autobiography in Gal. 1–2. Major trends launching from Galatians include the recent "apocalyptic reading" of Paul that climaxed with J. Louis Martyn's magisterial *Anchor Bible* commentary (1997), though its lineage can be traced to the work of J. C. Beker, Ernst Käsemann, and Albert Schweitzer. Similarly, Galatians was at the heart of the development of the so-called "New Perspective on Paul"; in a personal anecdote, N. T. Wright recalls reading Galatians in the mid-seventies after re-thinking the nature of justification, and saying to himself, "This whole thing is going to fly."[4]

Since 1977, with the publication of E. P. Sanders' *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, a major shift in treatments of Galatians began. The questions of the Reformation, regarding the nature of justification and the meaning of the "works of the law," were given fresh consideration. In particular, the relationship between justification and "works of the law" became a vigorous debate. In saying that the "works of the law" do not justify (e.g. Gal. 2.16), was Paul critiquing the law *per se*, a legalistic approach to the law, a subset of the law such as the "boundary

[1] Harnack 2007, 21. Cf. Knox 1942, 45.
[2] Pelikan 1963, ix.
[3] Betz 1975; *idem* 1979.
[4] Tamerius 2003 cited in Piper 2007, 16.

markers" that separate Jews from Gentiles,[5] or something else? In addition to the discussion about "works of the law" many have debated the significance and meaning of justification itself. The heirs of Sanders' new reading, the "New Perspective on Paul," extended and critically chastened Sanders' account of "covenantal nomism" as the Jewish pattern of religion. Perhaps the main emphasis of these interpreters—particularly N. T. Wright and James D. G. Dunn—is the social and ecclesiological implications of justification. For instance, Wright understands justification in relation to covenant membership,[6] and Dunn sees Paul's main concern to be eradicating a divisive and separatistic sense of Jewish nationalism.[7] Following the development of the New Perspective, a post-New Perspective viewpoint emerged, or rather, *invaded* the scholarly scene. The "apocalyptic reading" of Paul, influenced in many respects by the theology of Karl Barth,[8] recast the meaning of justification to be "rectification."[9] Coupled with a subjective genitive reading of *pistis Christou*, rectification by faith is understood not to be about what humans do to "get saved" or "get right with God," but rather it is understood to be the divine rescue mission whereby God makes the world right. Proponents of this view include J. Louis Martyn, Douglas Campbell, Martinus C. de Boer, Beverly Gaventa, and others.

Although new and interesting proposals have arisen since 1977, the large-scale debates about Galatians still revolve around the same hot topics from the Reformation. Justification on the one hand and "works of the law" on the other appear again and again as centrally important to the meaning of Galatians, yet this has been to the neglect of other key themes in the letter. That being said, excellent proposals aiding our understanding of key features of the letter have been made. The most important monographs include John Barclay's *Obeying the Truth*, which has brought clarity to the vexing question regarding the relationship of Gal. 5–6 to the rest of the letter, and Richard Hays' *The Faith of Jesus Christ*, which opened up significant avenues for deciphering the deeper substructure of Paul's argumentation and engagement with Israel's Scriptures. Other interesting and important studies have given attention to the political, cultural, and social setting of the letter, including those by Robert Jewett, Bruce Winter, and Justin Hardin.

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[5] Dunn 1993, 134–41; *idem* 2005, 376–82; *idem* 2006, 354–59. Cf. Gordon 1987.

[6] Wright 1997, 113–33.

[7] Dunn 1993, 136–37; *idem* 2005, 111–30, 207–20; *idem* 2006, 354–71.

[8] McCormack 2014 contends that the "apocalyptic reading" of Paul stands much closer to Barth's *early* perspectives than to his later thought.

[9] Martyn 1997, 263–75; M. de Boer 2005; *idem* 2011, 31–35.

It is surprising that some themes still have not received much interest despite the great attention that Galatians has received in both the church and the academy. In regard to scholarship, at least, the themes of suffering and persecution have not been sufficiently addressed. For example, in 1984 Ernst Baasland was able to write an article entitled, "Persecution: A Neglected Feature in the Letter to the Galatians." Sadly, Baasland's article has not received the recognition it deserves, along with the topic he was attempting to illuminate. The dearth of scholarship on this topic and the neglect of Baasland's article has been noted again again.[10] Today, over thirty years from the original publication of Baasland's article, the situation is much the same.

Thus very few scholars have given the subject of persecution and suffering sustained attention. Many have even denied its relevance in the letter, particularly in relation to the suffering of the Galatians themselves. For instance, Silva argues, referring to the meaning of 3.4 (τοαῦτα ἐπάθετε εἰκῇ), "the principle of contextual interpretation would lead us to emphasize that nothing in the immediate context suggests suffering on the part of the Galatians—indeed, that nowhere in the letter is there an explicit reference to such suffering."[11] Likewise, Richard Longenecker contends, "For in the wider context of the letter there is no suggestion that the Galatian Christians had ever actually suffered any form of external persecution."[12] Witherington also insists, "There is in fact nothing in this letter to suggest that the Galatians themselves are being literally persecuted or are literally suffering."[13] Note, as well, the words of Kelhoffer in his recent volume on persecution, "nowhere in Galatians does Paul acknowledge that the addressees are suffering."[14]

As will be demonstrated, this denial of the significance of suffering and persecution *for the Galatians* creates a discord with the prominence of these and related motifs throughout the letter. The neglect appears to be due to four main factors. For one, scholarly interest in Galatians has often revolved around the hotly debated topics of justification and Paul's view of the law. Second, scholarship has often been divided on whether or not certain passages in Galatians count as evidence for the relevance of suffering. For example, Paul's question in 3.4, τοσαῦτα ἐπάθετε

[10] Goddard and Cummins 1993, 119; Cummins 2001, 97; Gorman 2003, 191; Wilson 2007, 80.
[11] Silva 1983, 153.
[12] Longenecker 1990, 104.
[13] Witherington 1998, 338, cf. p.215.
[14] Kelhoffer 2010, 36, n.17. Cf. n.52 on p.47.

εἰκῇ, has been understood in two primary, though polarized, ways. Saving the details for later (cf. §2.5), the debate can be summarized in the following way: Paul either asks the Galatians if they have *suffered* so much in vain, or if they have *experienced* so much in vain. The latter option is typically understood in a positive and "spiritual" sense (and it is suggested that this is more fitting with the context of 3.1–5). So the lack of consensus on this verse, and others as we will see, seems to have stifled progress on the topic. Third, the language of the cross and co-crucifixion, which most scholars acknowledge is one of the central topics of the letter, is often understood strictly as a cosmic metaphor referring to a believer's transfer from the old era into the new. Although such an understanding of the cross legitimately captures part of Paul's perspective, it undermines the fact that the cross also conveys an element of presently sharing in the Messiah's sufferings (cf. §3.2). Finally, the fourth factor is that it seems to be the case that many scholars avoid making judgments about the theme of suffering because of the assumption that such would necessitate a very specific historical reconstruction. However, the themes *in the letter* still need to be dealt with regardless of the many questions of history. We can ask, for instance, how did Paul ostensibly understand the conflict and how did he use the imagery of suffering for his purposes. This brings us to the burden of the present study.

1.2 Thesis Statement

The present study offers an account of the way that Paul's deep theological reflections on Christian suffering appear throughout Galatians. In particular, my proposal focuses on the way that Paul has utilized the themes of suffering and persecution for his argumentative purposes to persuade the Galatians to reject circumcision. My argument is that suffering is presented as an alternative identity marker to circumcision, and that both Paul's eschatology and his reading of Isaiah, among other Scriptures of Israel, inform the way that he understands the importance of suffering. The present thesis, therefore, can be stated briefly: *in Galatians, Paul is informed by the Christ-event and the prophecies of Isaiah in such a way that he sees suffering for the sake of the cross not as incidental, but as an alternative mark to circumcision, which demarcates the true people of God, and sets them apart for future blessing*. In other words, this thesis will demonstrate that suffering has both ecclesiological and eschatological implications in Galatians. These aspects of the thesis statement about *identity*, *destiny*, and Paul's reading of Isaiah can be unpacked further.

(1) First, Paul portrays suffering for the cross as a matter of *identity*. Suffering is one of the marks that identify those who genuinely belong to the community centered upon the Messiah. Paul uses a number of metaphors to depict the churches in Galatia, and the most important of these are *familial* and *domestic* images pertaining to sonship, on the one hand, and slavery on the other.[15] While this may seem paradoxical, and may appear to contradict Paul's words that the Galatians are no longer slaves (cf. 4.7), this creates no problem for Paul. Those who follow the Messiah were formerly enslaved to the στοιχεῖα (4.3), but have been set free by the Messiah in order to serve him (5.13; 6.2). They are now sons of God (3.26; 4.6–7) and sons of Abraham (3.29; 4.28–31), but they are also slaves/servants (cf. 1.10; 6.17) who *belong* to him (ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ in 3.29; οἱ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ in 5.24) as a slave to a master.[16] As will be argued in this study, suffering signifies multiple aspects of Christian identity, and is therefore part of the family resemblance.

Perhaps the most thorough study on identity in Galatians is Asano's *Community-Identity Construction in Galatians*. In his study, which draws upon the work of Kanzo Uchimura, Asano focuses on the role of scriptural interpretation,[17] baptism,[18] and the physical possession of Paul's letter[19] as part of the construction of community identity in Galatians. Suffering does not feature greatly in his analysis, but at one point he does address the importance of conflict. This is primarily done in relation to the interactions in Jerusalem (2.1–10) and Antioch (2.11–14), which he describes as conflicts arising from different approaches to community-identity construction.[20] However, Asano does not provide an account for the way that conflict contributes to identity formation itself. The closest he comes is in his section on the allegory in Gal. 4, where he primarily focuses on the re-creation of worldview and tradition. When commenting on 4.29, Asano states, "Instead of circumcision being a mark of authenticity, Paul seeks to persuade that their experience of 'persecution' (marginalization) is the stigma that proves their state of authenticity."[21] This point is good as far as it goes, but the topic is not developed beyond this passing comment.

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[15] On the theme of sonship in Galatians see Byrne 1979, 141–90; Scott 1992, 121–86; Burke 2006. On the theme of slavery in Galatians see B. Dodd 1996; Byron 2003, 181–202; Tsang 2005; Coppins 2009, 87–121.

[16] I take these genitives to be possessive genitives. Cf. B. Dodd 1999, 148, 150

[17] Asano 2005, 149–79.

[18] Asano 2005, 180–206.

[19] Asano 2005, 207–25.

[20] Asano 2005, 114–46. Cf. *idem* 2014.

[21] Asano 2005, 177.

Suffering undoubtedly played a crucial role in early Christian identity formation more generally. "When they in fact experience hostility," writes Meeks, "Paul uses that fact as a means for interpreting their identity as Christians."[22] For early followers of the crucified Messiah suffering was the "Messiah-shaped badge," as Wright calls it.[23] As a badge of identity, Wright also explains that suffering was both a "worldview symbol" and a matter of praxis for Paul. He states,

> [T]he final main category of praxis is *suffering*. This may sound paradoxical: praxis is something you do; suffering is what is done to you. But for Paul the fact of suffering became, from early on in his work as an apostle, not just a nuisance, not just something one would have to put up with, but actually a badge, a symbol. It was a sign, not just of being part of a special community, but of being part of a community which was itself, in effect, a sign to be spoken against.[24]

Suffering was bound to be important to a community that believed that the Messiah had suffered and died. As Meeks perceptively asks, "What other fate could believers expect so long as they live in the world that crucified the Son of God?"[25] The aim of the present study is to develop this further in relation to Galatians, where the role of suffering for Christian identity has received little attention. Coupled with the relationship of suffering and eschatology in Galatians (to be addressed presently) the lacuna becomes even wider.

(2) Second, suffering for the cross also guarantees a certain *destiny*, since it sets apart in advance those who stand to receive future blessings. The two instances of future blessing that emerge in Galatians are the future inheritance and vindication at the future judgment. In the present, Paul asserts, justification and the reception of the Spirit stand as proleptic signs that mark out God's people, and, furthermore, justification and the reception of the Spirit provide assurance that suffering is not a sign of rejection, but rather the opposite. This is because suffering is also a proleptic sign that the inheritance and the judgment are not in jeopardy, but are rather assured.

Discussing the topic of Christian destiny in relation to suffering is complicated by the fact that Galatians is often described as having minimal futuristic eschatology. For example, Meeks states, "The emphasis throughout Galatians is on present fulfillment of eschatological hopes."[26]

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[22] Meeks 1989, 692. Meeks said this in relation to 1 Thess. 3.2–4 and Paul's apocalyptic worldview, but when commenting on apocalypticism in Galatians (pp.695–97) suffering is not mentioned.

[23] Wright 2013, 889.

[24] Wright 2013, 431. For the role of worldview see Wright 1992, 38–44, 122–39.

[25] Meeks 1983, 96.

[26] Meeks 1983, 176. Cf. *idem* 1989, 695.

In fact, this understanding of the eschatology of Galatians was so prominent that J. C. Beker—for whom Paul's theology was chiefly concerned with God's apocalyptic triumph—thought that Galatians threatened to undo his systemization of Paul's thought.[27] Because of this, Beker did not regard Galatians as a normative guide for Pauline theology. In other words, because it was not *coherent* with the patterns of Paul's thought elsewhere (as he understood it) it therefore had too much *contingent* thought to be normative.[28] In an article on the eschatological structures of Galatians, Silva critiques Beker for not regarding Galatians as normative for Pauline theology, but he did not do so by critiquing Beker's basic account of eschatology in the letter. Note Silva's words,

> Precisely because this document grounds the future triumph of God's righteousness in *a carefully developed view of realized eschatology*, the teaching of Galatians is ideally suited to serve as a norm for understanding the core of Paul's theology.[29]

However, we need to ask if the eschatology of Galatians is as "realized" as most suggest.

In more recent discussions on Galatians the "apocalyptic reading" espoused by J. Louis Martyn, Martinus C. de Boer, Beverly Gaventa, Douglas Campbell, and Susan Eastman in particular has largely dominated the discussions about eschatology in Galatians. On the whole, while these figures find elements of futuristic eschatology in the letter, this approach to Galatians still largely regards the letter as having a more "realized" focus. Although, unlike Beker, the proponents of this view do not see Galatians as conflicting with Paul's apocalypticism elsewhere.

This is not the place for a full evaluation of the "apocalyptic reading" of Galatians, and I have elsewhere offered my thoughts on the insufficient way that this "reading" resembles first-century apocalyptic literature, particularly in accounting for the themes of suffering and persecution in Galatians.[30] Contrary to contemporary "apocalyptic readers" of Paul, Beker strongly correlated apocalyptic with suffering and persecution. As he states, "Apocalyptic is the product of a severe contradiction between legitimate expectations and reality."[31] He notes further,

> Jewish apocalyptic is a literary phenomenon that arose in Judaism in the second century B.C. The period within which Jewish apocalyptic flourished was a period of martyrdom for the Jewish people. The central question that occupies the apocalypticist is how to overcome the discrepancy

[27] Beker 1984, 58.
[28] Beker 1984; *idem* 1990, 15–24.
[29] Silva 1994, 161 (emphasis mine).
[30] Dunne 2015.
[31] Beker 1982, 23.

> between what is and what should be. Why is faithfulness to the God of the Law rewarded by persecution and suffering?[32]

Again, for Beker Galatians was *not* apocalyptic,[33] and so he did not make these connections between apocalyptic and suffering in Galatians. Yet those who have recently contended for a so-called "apocalyptic reading" of Galatians largely neglect the themes of suffering. This is true of Martyn, M. de Boer, Campbell, and Gaventa, although S. Eastman is a notable exception to this trend.

Despite the renewed interest in Galatians as an expression of "apocalypticism," studies on Galatians and eschatology are noticeably lacking. Only one monograph-length study on the topic, by Yon-Gyong Kwon, can be found. For Kwon, Galatians is thoroughly futuristic in its eschatology. Kwon attempts to shift the pendulum towards futuristic eschatology in Galatians, but he refuses to admit evidence of "realized" eschatology. His operating definition of eschatology appears to be "all things future." Kwon's study provides a welcome corrective to the over-emphasis on realized eschatology in evaluations of Galatians, but ultimately it goes too far. As well, the other major downside of Kwon's work, for our purposes, is that it does not make much of suffering in the letter. While he rightly suggests that the themes of apostasy and perseverance mitigate the claim that the eschatology of Galatians is primarily realized,[34] he does not account for the relationship between suffering and apostasy. In fact, at one point he specifically denies the significance of the role of suffering.[35] Thus we can see that there is ample room to discuss the correlation of suffering and eschatology in Galatians.

(3) Third, we will see that Paul's reading of Isaiah informs this whole picture. Paul's understanding of the way that suffering constitutes a mark of identity and destiny for those who follow the Messiah can be seen to be partly rooted in his reading of Isaiah, particularly Isa. 49–54, which appears implicitly in several instances and once explicitly in Gal. 4.27 with the citation of Isa. 54.1. The key works on the influence of Isaiah for Galatians, by Roy Ciampa[36] and Matthew Harmon[37] in particular, will be addressed and engaged more fully later on (§4.3). But at this stage it can be noted in advance that while these scholars contribute significantly to our

[32] Beker 1982, 30.
[33] Beker 1984, 58.
[34] Kwon 2004, 42–49.
[35] Kwon 2004, 29 n.9. Cf. footnote 69 in §5.2.3.
[36] Ciampa 1998.
[37] Harmon 2010.

understanding of Paul's use of Isaiah, they do not offer much towards understanding how this may have been relevant to the conflict of suffering that Paul appears to be addressing.

However, when we look at Paul's interpretation of Isaiah, we will see that it demonstrates that he believes that Isaiah has prefigured the death of the Messiah, his own mission to the Gentiles, as well as the experience of the Galatians who follow both Paul and the Messiah in their experience of opposition and hardship. Paul's emphasis on being a slave of Christ is shown to be nuanced further in the light of Isaiah. Just as Jesus, God's Son and the Isaianic Servant *par excellence*, was crucified and died, so the same would necessarily mark out the identity of God's true sons and Christ's true servants. As such, their destiny is also rooted in Isaiah since they are marked out as being recepients of a future inheritance (Isa. 54.17) as long as they maintain the marks that demonstrate their allegiance to the Servant.

Therefore, informed by the Christ-event and his reading of Isaiah, Paul is able to convey that the way that one responds to suffering for the cross determines both realities of Christian *identity* and *destiny*. In this manner suffering for the cross not only reinforces group coherence, but it also cements the boundaries from "outsiders" and establishes why the matters at hand in Galatia include potential apostasy. When Paul wrote his letter, the Galatians were on the verge of forfeiting the promises by embracing circumcision. Paul's understanding of their motivations for wanting to be circumcised needs to be reconsidered in the light of the references to conflict and hostility. I will argue that Paul sees circumcision as the option that alleviates social pressure and tension, and thus in Paul's mind such attempts to alleviate the conflict are tantamount to rejecting the Messiah. Part of the way that Paul challenges the Galatians to avoid circumcision is by reminding them of the cross. To receive circumcision in this context is a denial of the cross, the marks of allegiance to which are the only thing that will ensure eschatological blessing. Paul is attempting to spur the Galatians on to endure the conflict, real or imagined, because to give in and receive circumcision would result in eschatological damnation and apostasy whereas to maintain commitment to the cross in the midst of suffering guarantees reception of the future inheritance and vindication at the judgment. The Galatians are caught in the middle and must choose: circumcision or the way of the cross.

Therefore, the way that Paul argues against circumcision as a mark or symbol for the community provides important clarity on the matter of apostasy. In Galatians Paul does not argue against circumcision by pointing to the concept of the circumcision of the heart (as a work of the

Spirit; cf. Rom. 2.26–29; Col. 2.11), or by pointing to baptism as the replacement of circumcision (as in subsequent Christian tradition). Nor does he contend that Christians are free in matters of *adiaphora* (which we might expect; cf. 5.6; 6.15). Instead his argumentation, I argue, includes the idea that the cross and Christian suffering are what stand in the place of circumcision as markers of identity and signs of destiny for God's people. Thus reception of circumcision is contrasted with suffering for the cross in such a way that suggests that to receive circumcision is to reject the cross (i.e. by removing the experience of it in personal suffering). This leads to an important contrast: the agitators promote the *circumcision* of the flesh, but Paul calls for the *crucifixion* of the flesh.

At the outset it should be noted that this thesis is driven chiefly by conceptual rather than terminological concerns, and yet it is important to begin with a definition of key terms. In this study, "suffering" is understood to denote a variety of negative experiences including, but not limited to, persecution. By "persecution" I refer to a wide range of hostile behaviour, such as, pressure, threats, insults, and physical harm. It is important to be clear at the outset that the term "persecution" is not understood as a systemic intent to attack Christians. Such an idea lacks historical basis and is also anachronistic since Christians were not an identifiably distinct group at this early stage. Persecution, then, refers to localized and irregular patterns of hostility, not necessarily deriving from the same group nor even from the same set of motivations. Various factors ranging from prejudice, social inconvenience, misunderstanding, political fear, or theological consideration could have motivated certain groups, partial groups, or individuals to act aggressively or provoke social pressure. As noted already, this study is not concerned with historical reconstruction. It is Paul's colouring of the situation that is the focus—regardless of whether it is real or imagined, or whether it stems from his own interpretation of the implications of the conflict or even from misinformation. However, this does not preclude any historical conclusions or observations, but it does specify the primary aim of this thesis.

When we survey Galatians for the themes of suffering, persecution, and related motifs, a remarkable coherence is found. For instance, we find several references to suffering and persecution, including: (a) Paul's former life as a persecutor (1.13–14, 23), (b) Paul's disputed question in 3.4: τοσαῦτα ἐπάθετε εἰκῇ, (c) Paul's "weakness of the flesh" (4.13), (d) Paul's child-

bearing pain (4.19), (e) the persecution experienced by the children of the Spirit (4.29),[38] (f) Paul's experience of persecution for the sake of the cross (5.11), (g) the desire of Paul's opponents to flee persecution for the sake of the cross (6.12), and (h) Paul bearing the "marks of Jesus" (6.17). Other related motifs present themselves as potentially relevant for our topic. For instance, we find multiple references to Jesus' death, the cross, and co-crucifixion. These include: (a) the death and crucifixion of Christ (1.4; 2.20–21; 3.1; 3.13; 4.5; cf. 5.11; 6.12), (b) Paul's death to the law (2.19a), (c) Paul's co-crucifixion with Christ (2.19b), (d) the crucifixion of the flesh (5.24), (e) Paul's boast in the cross (6.14a), and (f) Paul's reciprocal crucifixion to the world (6.14b). Given all of this violent imagery, it seems that it might have some bearing on the conflict in Galatia, which includes trouble-making (1.7; 5.10), zealous behaviour and "shutting out" (4.17), persecution (4.29), agitation (5.12), and compulsion (6.12), which has resulted in hostile division (5.15, 19–21). From these passages we can already discern that Galatians contains a strong emphasis on (1) the death of Jesus, (2) Paul's own suffering, (3) the Christian life spoken of as co-crucifixion, and (4) the agitators' contribution to the conflict.

The dearth of scholarship on suffering and persecution in Galatians is surprising in the light of the passages just noted, but also because it is well known that suffering is central to Pauline theology. Copious amounts of ink have been spilled addressing these themes in Paul's other letters from various angles and utilizing various methods, in both article- and monograph-length studies, but the same cannot be said for Galatians. I will briefly survey some of the most significant studies on suffering and persecution in Paul's other letters collectively and individually followed by a survey of the studies that have attempted to address the topic in Galatians (even sparsely). When addressing the broader studies, I will begin with those monographs and articles that have attempted to synthesize the Pauline material before narrowing in on the studies that focus particularly on 1–2 Corinthians, Philippians, and 1 Thessalonians, which have received the most attention for this topic from Paul's undisputed letters. The following survey is not meant to be exhaustive, but is meant to indicate the kinds of analyses that have been undertaken thus far.

1.3 Studies on Suffering and Persecution in the Pauline Letters

[38] When commenting on Gal. 4.29 I will refer to the "children" of the Spirit/flesh rather than the singular "child" because the text suggests that the same dynamic exists in the present (οὕτως καὶ νῦν), suggesting that the conflict includes all those who can be described as a child of the Spirit/flesh.

1.3.1 Broader Studies

One of the major questions about suffering in Paul's letters is how Paul viewed Christian suffering in relation to the sufferings of Jesus. Albert Schweitzer, in his *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* (1931), famously articulated the view that Paul understood suffering to be a subset of union with Christ, which Schweitzer called "mysticism." The Christian experience of suffering, which atones for post-baptismal sin,[39] is what "dying with Christ" was really all about.[40] Many have reacted strongly against this interpretation. One key figure who distanced himself from Schweitzer's "mystical" approach was Erhardt Güttgemanns. In his *Der Leidende Apostel und sein Herr* (1966), Güttgemanns argued for an "epiphanic" interpretation. According to Güttgemanns, apostolic suffering was the means whereby the risen Lord revealed himself to others; Paul's body was therefore the *Ort* of revelation. Robert Tannehill likewise disagreed with Schweitzer, and in his *Dying and Rising with Christ* (1967) he focused on the death and resurrection of Jesus as eschatological events that transfer believers from the old aeon to the new one. Tannehill addressed the theme of dying and rising with Christ in two parts. Part one looked at dying and rising with Christ as a past event and part two addressed the way the theme includes a present experience of suffering. It is interesting to note that although Galatians is addressed in part one of the study, it does not factor into part two (where present suffering is addressed). A few other noteworthy studies related to this discussion include C. Merrill Proudfoot's study on participatory suffering (1963), and Morna Hooker's study on what she calls "interchange" (1981). They both argue in their own way against Schweitzer's mystical interpretation, but also react against a merely mimetic view of Christian suffering. For example, Hooker states, "The paradox of Christian salvation is that though Christ shares *our* death in order that we may share his life, the believer can only share that life if he, in turn, is willing to share *Christ's* death."[41] Although the positions noted here have played significant roles in establishing major paradigms for understanding the relationship between Jesus' suffering and Christian suffering, these will neither be utilized nor undermined in the present study.

In addition to understanding the relationship of Christian suffering and Jesus' suffering, various backgrounds have been proposed as the source of Paul's understanding of suffering. A few have contended that Paul's ideas were derived from his Greco-Roman context. For instance,

[39] Schweitzer 1931, 146–47.
[40] Schweitzer 1931, 141–59.
[41] Hooker 1981, 72 (emphasis original).

David Seeley, in *The Noble Death* (1990), argued that Paul's conception of Jesus' death was influenced by the Hellenistic philosophical conception of the "Noble Death," as represented in *2* and *4 Maccabees*, rather than Jewish traditions from the Temple cult, the Suffering Servant of Isaiah, or the binding of Isaac. In making this argument he also incorporated Schweitzer's interpretation by arguing that there is a mystical appropriation of the "Noble Death" on the part of believers.[42] John S. Pobee, in his *Persecution and Martyrdom in the Theology of Paul* (1985), also argued in a manner similar to Seeley that Paul understood the crucifixion of Jesus, not in terms of temple sacrifices, but in terms of Maccabean martyrdom.[43] In the present study, I will not attempt to account for the background of Paul's broader theology of suffering, but it will be demonstrated that in Galatians Paul's perspective on suffering is in line with Jewish traditions, as seen especially through his broader reading of Isaiah.

As a particular example of ways that Jewish traditions have been utilized to explain the background of Paul's theology of suffering, a few studies have addressed the way Paul appropriates the theme of the suffering of the righteous from the OT and other Jewish literature. Karl Kleinknecht, in his *Der Leidende Gerechtfertigte* (1984), argues that the tradition of the suffering of the righteous is the "*dominierenden* Hintergrund"[44] for Paul's theology of suffering. After surveying the relevant Jewish literature, Kleinknecht devotes chapters to Philippians, Romans, 1 Thessalonians, and 1 and 2 Corinthians to demonstrate the influence of this theme, but he does not devote a chapter to Galatians. As well, he does not even mention key "suffering" texts from Galatians, such as 3.4 or 4.29. Another study on the theme of the suffering of the righteous is by Barry Smith, who, in his study, entitled, *Paul's Seven Explanations of the Suffering of the Righteous* (2002), offers seven Pauline explanations: 1) suffering as the result of persecution, 2) suffering's remedial role, 3) suffering as salvation-historically necessary, 4) suffering as probationary, 5) suffering as the effect of the sin of the first man, 6) suffering as pedagogical, and 7) participation in the suffering of Christ. In each chapter Smith surveys the OT and broader Jewish traditions before addressing the appropriation of the theme in Paul's letters. Yet Galatians receives scant attention in his study.[45]

[42] Seeley 1990, 111.
[43] Pobee 1985, 47–73.
[44] Kleinknecht 1984, 365 (emphasis original).
[45] Galatians 3.4 receives a short paragraph on p.40; 2.20, 4.19, and 6.14 receive brief mention (B. Smith 2002, 175–77).

Galatians was also neglected in an important monograph on the theme of suffering and eschatology provided by Maurice Carrez, entittled, *De la Souffrance à la Gloire* (1964). Ultimately Carrez's study is concerned with providing a thorough treatment of Paul's use of δόξα, but he does provide a few sections on the way in which suffering and glory are connected. In §11 of his study, Carrez explores the relationship between suffering and glory in Rom. 8.17, 2 Cor. 4.17, and Col. 1.24–27, with some discussion on Eph. 3.13 and 2 Tim. 2.10 as well.[46] In this section he does not try to develop how this theme is present in Galatians (perhaps due to the fact that δόξα only occurs in 1.5), and in fact there are no extended discussions on any passage from Galatians in the study as a whole.

With Carrez's direct focus on δόξα, the issue of studies in lexicology that pertain directly to the topic of suffering and persecution in Paul's letters presents itself, but these studies are not prominent. However, there is one significant lexical study of relevance—David Black's *Paul, Apostle of Weakness* (1984). Black's study focuses on "every occurrence of ἀσθένεια and its cognates in the Pauline Epistles."[47] In doing this, Black is able to demonstrate that Paul used ἀσθένεια and cognates in a much more nuanced manner than the rest of the NT authors. Black's thesis is particularly relevant for the interpretation of Gal. 4.13, where Paul states that his ministry in Galatia was occasioned by a form of weakness (δι'ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκός), but that discussion will be saved for later (§5.2.2).

One recent development in the broader discipline of biblical studies is the incorporation of disability theory, which has been applied to Paul. In the edited volume, *Disability Studies and Biblical Literature* (2011), Adela Yarbro Collins' essay addressed the issue of whether or not Paul's "weakness of the flesh" in Gal. 4.13 and his "thorn in the flesh" in 2 Cor. 12 were the same nuisance. She contends that they were, and that Paul was referring to his experience of epilepsy. As with Black's thesis, I will reserve my comments on this for the relevant section (§5.2.2).

Related to the concept of disability, the question of Paul's reputation as a healer in connection with his theology of suffering has been a perplexing issue. Paul famously does not make much of his own role as a healer, despite the portrait of him in the canonical Acts. Audrey Dawson, in her *Healing, Weakness and Power* (2008), suggests that Paul did not think of healing

[46] Carrez 1964, 113–33.
[47] Black 1984, 1.

as central to his ministry to the Gentiles and probably downplayed it because of his own chronic illness—"the thorn in the flesh."[48] In Graham Twelftree's recent contribution, *Paul and the Miraculous* (2013), he similarly contends that Paul's theology of weakness tempered his emphasis on miracles. This intriguing question is beyond the scope of the present thesis, though we will see later how Paul was fully capable of incorporating power and weakness together (cf. Gal. 3.1–5; §2.5).

James Kelhoffer, in his *Persecution, Persuasion and Power* (2010), focuses primarily on the discourse of suffering and persecution in the NT as a claim to authority and "cultural capital," utilizing the work of Pierre Bourdieu. His study is framed by contemporary cultural concerns, primarily the ethics of claims regarding persecution for legitimacy and authority.[49] In his study he only provides a single chapter on Paul since he is attempting to address the NT as a whole, and so his discussion of Galatians in particular is quite brief. However, he draws some attention to Gal. 4.29 and 6.17 for their role in Paul's attempts to ascribe authority and legitimacy to himself and those who similarly endure persecution.[50] I will have more to say about Kelhoffer's arguments at various points in this study.

On the development of Paul's theology of persecution into the early church, Paul Middleton, in his *Radical Martyrdom* (2006), argues that early Christian martyrs saw themselves and their deaths as part of a cosmic battle against Satan with roots in Jewish Holy War tradition. According to Middleton, this theology goes back to Paul to some degree.[51] Candida Moss similarly finds the origin of subsequent martyrdom theology within Paul's thought in her study, *The Other Christs* (2010). However, she articulates this differently, stating that Paul "inaugurates a tradition within Christian communities in which the suffering of Christians is understood in terms of mimesis."[52] David Eastman, in his book *Paul the Martyr* (2011), also traces out the development of Paul's theology of suffering into a more fully developed martyrdom theology and cult in the Latin West. These studies all go beyond the purview of this thesis, but the trajectory of Paul's thought into later writings stemming from diverse forms of early Christianity will be noted at times.

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[48] Dawson 2008, 202–3.
[49] Kelhoffer 2010, 18.
[50] See Kelhoffer 2010, 48–51.
[51] Middleton 2006, 139.
[52] Moss 2010, 23.

1.3.2 Studies by Letter

Now that we have surveyed some significant synthezing studies on suffering and persecution in Paul's letters, I will address the most important studies devoted to a particular letter or correspondence from Paul's undisputed letters.[53] Studies on Galatians will be reserved for the following major section.

1.3.2.1 First and Second Corinthians

By far the most amount of attention paid to Paul's theology of suffering is given to the Corinthian correspondence. Karl Plank, in his *Paul and the Irony of Affliction* (1987), focused on 1 Cor. 4.9–13 and Paul's rhetorical use of irony in depicting his suffering. Rather than discerning Paul's historical intentions, Plank was concerned with the "textual foreground" since he argued that the meaning of the text was "surrendered" to the reader.[54] This study, therefore, does not offer much for historical analysis of Paul's thought.

In *Cracks in an Earthen Vessel* (1988), J. T. Fitzgerald focused on 1–2 Corinthians and in particular the *peristasis* catalogues, or, the "catalogues of hardships."[55] After looking at suffering and hardships in Greek philosophers,[56] Fitzgerald argued that Paul utilized these catalogues in 1 Cor. 4.9–13, 2 Cor. 4.7–12, and 2 Cor. 6.3–10 in order to present himself as the "ideal philosopher" and "suffering sage." Although coming at the issue of suffering from a different direction, Timothy Savage likewise addressed the Greco-Roman context of the Corinthian correspondence in his *Power Through Weakness* (2004). Focusing on 2 Corinthians, Savage explores the possibility that Paul's attempts to combat criticism may be in response to Greco-Roman cultural expectations and particular prejudices within Corinth.

Scott J. Hafemann, in his *Suffering and the Spirit* (1986), provides a detailed exegetical treatment of 2 Cor. 2.14—3.3. In this study Hafemann argues that Paul thought of his apostolic ministry as a death sentence. He demonstrates this partly through the way that Paul appears to speak of himself *as a captive* in a metaphorical allusion to the Roman Triumph (2 Cor. 2.14–16). Additionally, Hafemann contends that Paul held this theological conclusion alongside his robust understanding of the Spirit. As he states, "Rather than being at odds with each other as the *loci* of

[53] Romans lacks prominent studies on the topic, although see recently Wu 2015.
[54] Plank 1987, 6–7.
[55] Fitzgerald 1988, 46.
[56] Fitzgerald 1988, 33–116.

two contrasting theologies, i.e. a theology of the cross vs. a theology of glory (=Spirit), Paul's suffering and the work of the Spirit are brought together in our text as two complementary aspects of Paul's apostolic ministry."[57] Although Hafemann's primary focus is on a narrow section within 2 Corinthians, he demonstrates how this theme fits the Corinthian correspondence as a whole and coheres with Paul's letters elsewhere.

A. E. Harvey offers a chronologically sensitive approach to the question of Paul's theology of suffering in 2 Corinthians with implications for a possible development in his thought. In *Renewal Through Suffering* (1996), Harvey argues that Paul's theology of suffering radically changed during the interval between writing 1 and 2 Corinthians. The incident that led to Paul's reorientation, as Harvey sees it, is mentioned in 2 Cor. 1.8—"the tribulations in Asia." This change in perspective is the reason why Paul's emphasis on the *parousia* wanes after 1 Corinthians.[58] Thus, for Harvey, these tribulations led Paul to recognize "the positive value of suffering for the Christian, suffering that can be shared with Christ in a new and intimate solidarity."[59]

Interestingly, Harvey notes that Galatians could pose a problem for his theory since it could have been written earlier than 2 Corinthians. He says that the key difference that the near-fatal experience in Asia (2 Cor. 1.8) contributes to Paul's theology is that suffering renews the "inner man," whereas in Galatians Paul has external effects in mind, noting the στίγματα that Paul bears *on his body* (6.17).[60] He goes further and tries to demonstrate a lack of internal emphasis as well by suggesting that 2.19–20, particularly the idea of Paul's co-crucifixion with Christ, is not about suffering, but the Christian's position *vis-à-vis* the "observances of the law."[61] Although Paul does refer to his death to the law in 2.19, the image should not be split off from Paul's experience of suffering (§3.2).

Finally, a recent study by Kar Yong Lim, *'The Sufferings of Christ are Abundant in Us'* (2009), analyzes the theme of suffering in 2 Corinthians from a narratival perspective. In particular, Lim explores how Paul appropriates the story of Jesus in his articulation of his own suffering. As he argues, this approach is to be preferred over conceptions of the "messianic

[57] Hafemann 1986, 202–3.
[58] Harvey 1996, 28.
[59] Harvey 1996, 31.
[60] Harvey 1996, 115–16.
[61] Harvey 1996, 116 n.10.

woes," "spiritual union," or "imitation."[62] While I affirm that the story of Jesus plays an important role in Paul's conception of the Christian life, such an emphasis cannot be used to rule out other approaches. One can easily imagine how recapitulating the story of Jesus leads directly into mimesis, or how it could originate from union with Christ, or further, how it is rooted in the requisite "woes" that will usher in the new age. This is not to say that any one of those statements accurately reflects Paul's theology of suffering, but it does show that these ideas are not mutually exclusive.

1.3.2.2 Philippians

Aside from the Corinthian correspondence, Philippians has probably received more attention for our topic than the other Pauline letters. Three monographs are worth noting here. In his *Chained in Christ* (1996), Craig Wansink focuses primarily on the Roman prison system and, after extensively surveying the horrible conditions,[63] offers exegetical insight in the light of that background. Most noteworthy is the suggestion that Paul wobbles in Phil. 1.22b between choosing (αἱρέω) life or death because he is possibly communicating his desire to commit suicide,[64] which was not uncommon in Roman prisons.[65]

The other two monographs address the question of suffering in Philippians from the perspective of ancient rhetoric. L. Gregory Bloomquist offers the broadest study on suffering in Philippians in his *The Function of Suffering in Philippians* (1993). Bloomquist's main contribution is addressing suffering in the light of epistolary and rhetorical conventions. After surveying these conventions and how they are utilized in Philippians,[66] he makes his case for the function of suffering in the letter, which is to encourage readers in the midst of external conflict. He then proceeds to address suffering as it relates to the various components of the letter, based on his rhetorical analysis. D. Williams likewise contributes to the discussion of suffering and rhetoric in Philippians by focusing more specifically on the theology of the cross. In his *Enemies of the Cross* (2002), Williams argues that Paul uses cross terminology polemically. According to Williams, Paul employs this terminology in Philippians "as the *rhetorical/theological*

[62] Lim 2009, 45–50.
[63] Wansink 1996, 27–95.
[64] Wansink 1996, 96–125. Cf. Droge and Tabor 1992, 20.
[65] Wansink 1996, 58–61.
[66] Bloomquist 1993, 72–138.

terminology of argumentation."[67] This stands within the debate between Peter Stuhlmacher[68] and his *Doktorvater*, Ernst Käsemann,[69] regarding the extent to which the rhetoric of the cross was utilized for polemical situations, the latter affirming that this was its exclusive function and the former arguing for a broader role in Paul's theology.

1.3.2.3 First Thessalonians

The main study on persecution in 1 Thessalonians is Todd Still's *Conflict at Thessalonica* (1999), which addresses the issue of external persecution from a social-science perspective, utilizing theories of inter-group conflict and deviance as heuristic devices to gain insight into the problem. Here is Still's summary:

> [I]t is best to regard the Thessalonians' affliction to which Paul repeatedly refers as external (i.e. observable, verifiable), non-Christian opposition which took the forms of verbal harassment, social ostracism, political sanctions and perhaps even some sort of physical abuse, which on the rarest of occasions may have resulted in martyrdom.[70]

According to Still, it is Gentile opposition that lies behind the letter.[71] Intriguingly, despite the opposition, Still points out, "there is not a shred of evidence in 1 (or 2) Thessalonians to suggest that Paul's converts had 'apostatized.'"[72] This point provides an intriguing contrast in relation to Galatians, as we will see. Although it does not appear to be the case that Paul thought that the Galatians had already apostatized, it is quite clear that he sees the result of receiving circumcision in the midst of their conflict along those lines.

1.3.3 Summary of Non-Galatians Studies on Suffering

In the studies surveyed above we have seen multiple angles taken and various methods utilized on the topic of suffering and persecution in Paul's letters, including: mysticism, imitation, participation, revelation, Greco-Roman backgrounds, Jewish backgrounds, healing and miracles, Pauline chronology, martyrdom, narrative, rhetoric, social-scientific theories, disability theory, and lexicology. As well, it was noted how little attention was given to Galatians by those studies that were attempting to synthesize Paul's broader theology of suffering. When we turn to

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[67] D. Williams 2002, 3 (emphasis original).
[68] Stuhlmacher 1986, 156.
[69] Käsemann 1970, 154; *idem* 1971, 35.
[70] Still 1999, 217.
[71] Still 1999, 223–26. Cf. Barclay 1993, 512–30.
[72] Still 1999, 271. Cf. Barclay 1993, 517.

Galatians we will see that, while there are some studies directly on the topics of suffering and persecution, the net needs to be cast wider, in order to draw in as many relevant studies as we can.

1.4 Studies on Suffering in Galatians

As noted earlier, in 1984 Ernst Baasland wrote an article about the scholarly neglect of persecution in Galatians. Baasland's article was intended to demonstrate that persecution and suffering were more central to the situation than had previously been appreciated. Particularly, he noticed the imagery of blessing and cursing in the letter and argued, by way of mirror-reading, that Paul's opponents had claimed that Paul was under a curse because of his suffering.[73] Thus, according to Baasland, Paul attempted to combat this accusation. Baasland's thesis was later expanded by Basil Davis and Todd Wilson. Each of them argued that Paul's opponents interpreted his suffering as resulting in being under the curse of the law, which stemmed from his unfaithfulness to the law.[74] The importance of this proposal as an account of the impetus for Paul's emphasis on suffering in the letter deserves some comment.

In the studies of Davis and Wilson respectively the theme of curses in the letter is a major focus, but suffering is brought in to explain the role of curse language. In Basil Davis' *Christ as Devotio* (2002) the curse imagery in Galatians is explained utilizing the background of Greco-Roman magical texts and curse tablets. From this perspective Davis offers some discussion on the theme of suffering,[75] though the primary focus of the study is on 3.10–14 and the theme of Christ as a *devotio*, which is "the redeeming fine to be paid to the deity for the purpose of releasing the thief from the curse."[76] Davis' study on curse imagery in Galatians was followed a few years later by Todd Wilson who, in his study, *The Curse of the Law* (2007), situated his broader discussion on the theme of the curse of the law in Galatians within an Anatolian context. Wilson analyzed epigraphic evidence regarding the fear of divine curses and so was able to account for the theme of suffering within that framework.[77] Each of these reconstructions provide an intriguing explanation for the ostensible success of the agitators in encouraging the

[73] Baasland 1984.
[74] Davis 2002, 230; Wilson 2007, 79, 89–93.
[75] Davis 2002, 201–46.
[76] Davis 2002, 166.
[77] Wilson 2007, 69–94. For Anatolian curses see also S. Elliott 2003, 62–88.

Galatians to embrace the law fully, including the rite of circumcision: so that the Galatians can avoid the same accursed fate evinced by Paul's suffering.

Ultimately, however, this attempt at mirror-reading fails to convince. No doubt, blessings and curses are prominent themes in the letter, and it is quite likely that this imagery is in fact related to Paul's conception of suffering, but we do not know for sure if this kind of discourse was forced upon Paul or whether he chose to use it himself. John Barclay, who has written the most important article on the topic of mirror-reading, has rightly cautioned scholars to be circumspect when deciphering polemics.[78] It becomes particularly unlikely that the discourse derived from the teaching of the agitators if Paul's portrait of them as aggressive is historically accurate (cf. 4.17, 29; 5.19–21; 6.12; see §2.3.1). Without recourse to mirror-reading, then, we can see how Paul utilized the language of curses to suggest that the agitators were paradoxically outside of the Spirit's blessing (3.14) by being aligned with the flesh, because blessing and the Spirit only come through the cross where Jesus absorbed the curse of the law (3.13; cf. 3.10). For Paul, identification with the cursed Christ who died on a cross is paradoxically where blessing is found. Thus I agree with the conclusion of Holmstrand regarding the likelihood that the agitators were claiming that Paul was cursed because of his suffering:

> I find it difficult to believe that it was possible in an early church whose founder had been persecuted and put to death a few decades earlier, and whose leaders and members had subsequently met with a similar fate, to claim that persecution was automatically a sign of sin and being under a curse.[79]

Although I do not follow the mirror-reading of curse imagery just noted, there is more to say about the contributions of Basil Davis in both his 1999 article on 3.1 and his 2002 monograph on 3.1–14. In Davis' article on 3.1 he contended that Paul's reference to publically portraying (προγράφω) the crucified Messiah before the eyes of the Galatians (κατ' ὀφθαλμούς) refers to the way that Paul displayed the crucifixion in his own suffering.[80] This is against the main interpretation that Paul refers to the vividness of his preaching. I find Davis' proposal to be

[78] See esp. Barclay 1987. Cf. Lyons 1986, 79–112; du Toit 1994; Thurén 2000; *idem* 2008a; *idem* 2008b; Sänger 2011; Barclay 2011, 138; Hardin 2014.

[79] Holmstrand 1997, 152 n.28.

[80] Davis 1999 is normally credited with the origin of this idea. However, Mitternacht 1999 appears to come to a very similar conclusion at about the same time, stating, "Das Ziel ist die Anerkennung, daß der Gekreuzigte in Paulus präsent ist und in den Galatern durch ihre Nachahmung des leidenden Apostels Gestalt nehmen wird" (1999, 311). How Davis and Mitternacht read 3.1 is also remarkably similar to the broader emphasis of Güttgemanns, though he did not correlate his interpretation with 3.1.

convincing and ultimately correct. I will make reference to this interpretation of 3.1 at various stages in my argument and will attempt to buttress it in some unique ways. In 2002 Davis extended his argument on 3.1 to include 3.1–14 in *Christ as Devotio*. His main focus, as noted above, was to account for Christ's death in 3.13 as a *devotio* to eradicate the curse of the law (3.10). He devotes a chapter to suffering in the letter and helpfully observes an important connection between suffering and the Spirit that is usually missed, contending that persecution provides the link between crucifixion and the reception of the Spirit.[81]

Perhaps the study that has become the most definitive for the topic of suffering in Galatians is the article by A. J. Goddard and S. A. Cummins on 4.12–20 (1993). Their main contentions are essentially two-fold. First, Paul's reference to his "weakness of the flesh" in 4.13 refers not to an illness but rather to ill-treatment.[82] Second, the enigmatic summons in 4.12 (Γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ) is best understood in relation to 4.13 as a call to imitate Paul in his suffering. Following the lead of Goddard and Cummins, a few other studies have utilized 4.12–20 as a major text for addressing suffering and persecution in the letter. To start, one of the authors of that article, Cummins, would later build on this reading of 4.12–20 and argue that Paul portrays himself in the autobiographical portions of Gal. 1–2 as one who stands within the tradition of the Maccabean martyrs in his *Paul and the Crucified Christ in Antioch* (2001).[83] Linking 4.12–20 and the autobiography for understanding Paul's perspective on suffering is something I will do in this study as well, but I will argue that Paul's reflection on his call and original ministry is expressed in terms that reflect his belief that he continues the role of the Isaianic Servant in his mission to the Gentiles.

In Dieter Mitternacht's *Forum für Sprachlose* (1999), Mitternacht attempts to hear the "voiceless" or "speechless" in the text—the recipients of the letter and the opponents of Paul.[84] To accomplish this, Mitternacht places priority on passages in Galatians with "direct situational reference." He identifies these texts as 1.6–9, 3.1–5, 4.12–20, 5.2–12, and 6.11–13.[85] After addressing rhetorical and epistolary studies of Galatians, Mitternacht concludes that Galatians does not fit a rhetorical *genus* nor is Galatians a letter of rebuke, as Nils Dahl argued.[86] Instead,

[81] Davis 2002, 201–46.
[82] Goddard and Cummins 1993.
[83] Cummins 2001.
[84] Mitternacht 1999. Cf. *idem* 2002.
[85] See Mitternacht 1999, 89, for chart.
[86] Dahl 2002.

Mitternacht argues that Galatians is a "Petitionsbrief," suggesting further that the letter forms a chiasm with the petition of 4.12–20—"Be like me"—at the center.[87] While I am in agreement that Galatians does not fit an ancient rhetorical *genus* (§4.2), Mitternacht's overall suggestion fails to convince. Specifically, in regard to the chiasm, the component parts of the chiastic structure are disproportional (3.1–25 with 5.2–6) and in relation to content some of the sections do not seem to match or correspond (e.g. 2.16–21 with 5.13–26, which also is disproportional). However, Mitternacht suggests that Paul's petition in 4.12 is to call the Galatians to cease avoiding persecution, which becomes the purpose for the whole letter.[88] Yet Mitternacht's study was far too focused on epistolary and rhetorical issues, and did not offer a sustained exegetical treatment of how Paul was precisely attempting to motivate his audience not to avoid persecution in the letter as whole or 4.12–20 in particular.

Susan Eastman develops the connection between 4.12–20 and the autobiography in her *Recovering Paul's Mother Tongue* (2007). Her study focuses on the apocalyptic and maternal imagery in 4.12—5.1 as part of Paul's "mother tongue," which is a heuristic metaphor borrowed from Ursula Le Guin to convey Paul's relational discourse and his embodied message. As for the autobiography, Eastman argues that Paul sees himself in the light of the prophetic tradition broadly.[89] Overall, Eastman makes several helpful comments about the role of suffering in Galatians, but at times also diminishes its importance for the particular conflict in Galatia; as she states, "despite Paul's references to past suffering on the part of his converts (3:4), there is little in the text to indicate that in the current situation the Galatians see themselves as suffering."[90]

A final study to mention with relevance for the interpretation of 4.12–20 is Scott Hafemann's article, "The Role of Suffering in the Mission of Paul" (2000), where he focuses on Galatians and 1–2 Corinthians. His essay is important to mention here because he argues that when Paul stated that he preached to the Galatians δι'ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκός (4.13) he was speaking not about the *occasion* of his ministry in Galatia (διά + Accusative), but rather he was referring to the "basis upon which Paul preached *everywhere* he was sent by God."[91] This has implications regarding the nature and severity of Paul's weakness, and whether his ministry in

[87] Mitternacht 1999, 227–32.
[88] Mitternacht 1999, 216–19.
[89] S. Eastman 2007, 33–37, 63–88.
[90] S. Eastman 2007, 120.
[91] Hafemann 2000, 171 (emphasis original).

Galatia may have been uniquely characterized by suffering. This discussion will be saved for later (§5.2.2).

In C. Marvin Pate's study, *The Glory of Adam and the Afflictions of the Righteous* (1993), he argues that the glory of Adam was to be restored to those who suffered for righteousness. The main texts that he explores in the study include: 1 Cor. 15; 2 Cor. 12.1–10; Rom. 5.1–11; 6.1–11; 8.17–39; Phil. 2.5–11; 3.10–21; Col. 1.15–29; 3.1–11; Gal. 3.26–29/4.26; 6.12–18; Eph. 1.15–23/3:13; 2 Thess. 2.1–12; 1 Tim. 2.1–15; 2 Tim. 2.8–13. Pate is correct to find visions of restoration throughout the NT, but his specific contention that the texts under discussion convey a particular vision of restoring Adam's glory seems stretched.

Pate's study is relevant to address in this survey because he has a chapter on suffering and Adamic glory in Galatians.[92] In that chapter he does not seem to realize that previous scholarship had not made much of suffering in the letter. One of his intriguing observations, following the emphasis on antinomies by J. Louis Martyn, is that suffering and glory provide another antinomy.[93] The suggestion is ironic since Martyn would not have accepted this as an actual antinomy in Galatians.[94] In my analysis I also contend that Adamic imagery can be found in 3.26–29 and that this should be tied into our understanding of "new creation" in 6.15 (§3.3.4), but *reclaiming Adam's glory*, in particular, does not seem to be in view. However, Pate rightly highlights the eschatological orientation of the references to suffering, which will be further addressed in this study, and indeed I will go beyond Pate.

Charles Cosgrove contends in his study, *The Cross and the Spirit* (1988), that Paul presents crucifixion with Christ as "the sole condition for life in the Spirit."[95] This highlights the important link that Paul makes between the cross and the Spirit in Galatians (e.g. 3.1–2, 13–14). However, in the one chapter of his study that addresses the role of suffering in the letter, Cosgrove judges that "participation" in the cross is expressed in terms of "cosmic crucifixion" in Galatians, following the bifurcation of "existential" and "cosmic" crucifixion outlined by

[92] Pate 1993, 253–78.

[93] Pate 1993, 255, cf. pp.253–254.

[94] The irony comes from Pate suggesting that the antimony is suffering and *Adamic* glory, which conflicts with Martyn and M. de Boer's propsal that the theology of Galatians is not forensic because, in their unique account of apocalyptic Judaism, there are two distinct streams of thought, forensic and cosmic, with the forensic stream attributing sin to Adam and the cosmic one to disobedient angels. Galatians is seen to be on the cosmic side of this spectrum because of the angelolgy of the letter and the references to the στοιχεῖα. See M. de Boer 1989; *idem* 2011, 31–35; Martyn 1997, 95–97. I owe this point to N. T. Wright in a private conversation.

[95] Cosgrove 1988, 178, and *passim*.

Tannehill. He argues that in Galatians "existential" participation in the cross (i.e. suffering for the sake of the cross) is "at best only implicitly" presented by Paul as a "condition of life in the Spirit."[96] Instead, Cosgrove argues that Galatians focuses on "cosmic" crucifixion, which undermines Paul's emphasis on suffering in the letter as we will see later.

Philip Kern has an article on suffering and the cross in Galatians (2011) that notes the importance of Paul's rhetorical emphasis on the cross for his argumentative purposes. He rightly points to the way that the cross functions as an identifier of the community, and, like Cosgrove, demonstrates the important relationship between the cross and the Spirit. However, also like Cosgrove, Kern follows the unfortunate bifurcation of the cross and suffering in Paul's theology.[97] For instance, he speaks of the "indirect" relationship between the cross and the suffering of Christians. Also, Kern does not read the letter's emphasis on the cross and suffering in relation to the present crisis. He writes that the Galatians should "expect" to suffer,[98] but does not demonstrate how the themes in the letter relate to the present conflict, specifically the pressing issue of circumcision.[99]

Jonas Holmstrand, in his analysis of discourse markers in 1 Thessalonians, Philippians, and Galatians (1997), does not set out to demonstrate the relevance of suffering for Galatians, but in the end he suggests many relevant things for our purposes.[100] His primary contention is that in 1.10, Paul's denial that he is not a people pleaser, provides the logic for Paul's discussions throughout the letter.[101] Holmstrand's comments on most sections of the letter in relation to 1.10 are illuminating though at times he seems to stretch the evidence. But, interestingly, his analysis demonstrates the importance of suffering in the letter. In the conclusion to his entire study he remarks,

> Consequently, in the Letter to the Galatians too, the arrangement of the text that has been identified results in the idea of *imitatio*, with a particular emphasis on the persecuted Paul and the crucified Christ, emerging as a crucial pattern of thought in the text. Once again, therefore, there is reason to ask whether an inability — or perhaps an unwillingness — to recognize this pattern of

[96] Cosgrove 1988, 184.

[97] Kern 2011, 140–41, follows the bifurcation proposed by Beker instead of Tannehill (§3.2). However, Kern 2011, 144, speaks of Gal. 2.20 as a "past event" in a manner similar to Tannehill.

[98] Kern 2011, 153.

[99] Kern (2011, 151) rightly notes the contrast between the cross and circumcision in 6.12–17, but he does not show how these verses relate to the present suffering and tension caused by the advocacy of circumcision.

[100] Holmstrand 1997, 145–216.

[101] Holmstrand 1997.

> thought has not been at least a contributory factor behind the difficulties which scholars have experienced in discerning the internal coherence of the epistle.[102]

With Holmstrand I agree the themes of suffering and persecution contribute to the coherence of the letter. Surprisingly, however, Holmstrand's helpful analysis does not develop Paul's understanding of the conflict in Galatia much further.

Jeff Hubing (2015) has argued for the importance of persecution in Galatians by contending that 6.11–17 forms the "closing to the letter body," instead of it being a postscript or a subscription, with 6.18 as the actual letter closing. As part of his argument for this, Hubing devotes three chapters to the role of persecution in the letter. However, his engagement is perfunctory. For example, in the chapter devoted to a review of secondary literature, he only surveys the articles by Baasland, Goddard and Cummins, Muddiman, and Troy Martin.[103] All of these works appeared from 1984–1999, though Hubing's thesis was published in mid-2015. Not only has he left out other contributions to the topic, including my own,[104] but his inclusion of Troy Martin seems out of place because Martin does not positively contribute to the topic but rather attempts to resurrect Jerome's interpretation of 4.13 that the "weakness of the flesh" has nothing to do with suffering (§5.2.2). In the chapters Hubing devotes to exegesis of the theme of persecution in the letter outside 6.11–17, he offers one chapter on "explicit" references to the topic (1.13–14, 1.21–24, 4.28–5.1, 5.7–12)[105] and another on "implicit" references (2.11–14, 3.1–5, 4.12–18, 2.1–5, 1.7 and 5.4).[106] As such, he does not offer much of a synthetic or constructive contribution to the topic of persecution, except to reinforce his thesis regarding the particular epistolary function of 6.11–17. Additionally, in regard to his main topic, it appears that he missed the important study of Jonas Holmstrand, who, on the basis of discourse markers in Galatians, argued that the letter-closing was 6.18,[107] and, incidentally, had much to say about suffering in the letter (as noted above).

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[102] Holmstrand 1997, 216.
[103] Hubing 2015, 85–117.
[104] Dunne 2013; *idem* 2014; *idem* 2015.
[105] Hubing 2015, 118–58.
[106] Hubing 2015, 159–187.
[107] Holmstrand 1997, 195, states, "Unlike the other letters of Paul, Galatians does not include any greetings, and *the letter ending is confined to a wish of grace in 6:18*, aimed at the addressees" (emphasis mine). Cf. p.196, 202. Hubing's study expands this point, and at the same time they differ on whether 6.11–17 forms a single unit; Holmstrand sees 6.11–13 as the closing of a section beginning at 5.11 and then also sees 6.14–16 and 6.17 as distinct units.

Finally, Prokhorov (2013) has made a case for the importance of persecution in 6.12–17 by emphasizing that the conflict in Galatia was strictly a matter of Gentile concern over persecution.[108] Circumcision is not viewed as having theological importance, but only social and political expedience, being a way to legitimize non-observance of the Roman imperial cult since Jews were exempt. A few others have noted the implications of persecution for the motivation of the agitators in a non-theological manner, including Harvey[109] and Muddiman,[110] although they saw the conflict in relation to local non-Christian Jews rather than Rome. These proposals raise the issue of the broader socio-political context of the letter. It is to this engagement that we now turn.

The final few studies to note in this survey are more devoted to the socio-political context of Galatians, but they have some bearing on the present topic. In accordance with their own historical reconstructions they attempt to make sense of the themes of suffering and persecution in the letter as caused by broader social factors.

In particular, Robert Jewett's hypothesis has been very influential. He argued, based on the reference to the agitators' fear of persecution in 6.12, that the agitators were trying to appease Zealots in Jerusalem by showing them that the Jewish Christians were not fraternizing with Gentiles but were making them full proselytes through circumcision.[111] Thus the agitators were content simply with the Galatians receiving circumcision; hence Paul's reminder in 5.3 regarding the observation of the whole law.[112]

Jewett's thesis has as its starting point the question of why Jewish Christians would engage in mission when there was no analogue within contemporary Judaism.[113] He argued that there was growing zealotry in Jerusalem in the late forties and early fifties, a fervor which would ultimately culminate in the Jewish War. The argument is that Jewish Christians based in Jerusalem were under serious pressure from these Zealots to prove that they were not doing anything to jeopardize their cause, such as fraternizing with Gentiles who were not pursuing full conversion through circumcision and law observance.

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[108] Prokhorov 2013. Following Munck 1959, 87–89 on Gentile concerns.
[109] Harvey 2002, 327–31.
[110] Muddiman 1994, 259–61.
[111] Jewett 2002.
[112] Jewett 2002, 342–44.
[113] For those who express skepticism about speaking of Judaism as a religion that actively sought the conversion of non-Jews see McKnight 1991 and Bird 2010. *Contra* Dickson 2003.

There are two major problems with this view. First, it is anachronistic to speak of Zealots prior to the time immediately preceding the Jewish War, although analogous groups surely existed.[114] But second, it is unclear how a full-scale Gentile mission through Asia Minor would be necessary to satisfy Zealots in Jerusalem.[115] Additionally, I would add that there should be a stronger dose of skepticism towards the idea that the agitators were from Jerusalem.[116] It seems to me that the dominance of the view that the agitators were from Jerusalem is a post-Baur residue. Scholars no longer bifurcate Petrine and Pauline Christianity like Baur once did, but for Baur this conclusion was largely linked to viewing the opponents of Paul's letters as being emissaries from Jerusalem.[117]

More recently, various cases have been made for seeing the tension within a local Galatian context. Bruce Winter argued that the Galatians were experiencing social dislocation by leaving behind their pagan way of life,[118] which included their civic duties as regular participants in the imperial cult. Since Jews were allowed to practise their own religion legally and were also exempt from participating in the imperial cult, the agitators may have been advocating circumcision in order to alleviate pressure from Roman officials.[119] Thus, in this manner, Winter argued that the agitators wished to have a "good face" (εὐπροσωπῆσαι) before the local authorities.[120]

Winter's emphasis on the context of the Roman imperial cult does not necessarily mean that local Jewish concerns did not contribute to the problem in Galatia. Rather such concerns would serve to place this possible tension in a much broader political context. For example, Mark Nanos makes this case by emphasizing the role of local Jewish comunities in *The Irony of Galatians* (2002). For Nanos, Paul's opponents ("influencers" as he calls them) were not Christians.[121] What stood behind some of the impetus to persuade these Galatians to receive circumcision was the imperial cult, since in accepting Paul's message they were renouncing their

[114] See Wright 1992, 170–81; Hengel 1989, 62–66.

[115] So also Muddiman 1994, 259–60.

[116] The idea that the agitators were from Jerusalem is by no means clear in Galatians. It is based on a particular mirror-reading of Paul's autobiographical travelogue in Gal. 1–2 and a particular interpretation of the contrast in Gal. 4.26 between the "Jerusalem above" and the "present Jerusalem."

[117] On Baur see Wright 2015, 12–16. Sumney 1999, 32, concludes that there is no evidence in Paul for organized counter-mission from Jerusalem.

[118] Winter 2002. Cf. Adams 2000, 221–32.

[119] Cf. also Oepke 1964, 159.

[120] Winter 2002, 73–75.

[121] Nanos 2002, 203–316. Followed by Hubing 2015, 227.

participation in pagan religious activities but without fully transferring into the Jewish communities. To demonstrate such a transfer they would need to receive circumcision.[122] The addressees of Paul's letter, being non-Jewish Christians, were thus in a politically and religiously liminal state and needed to remove the ambiguity.

A similar proposal is made by Justin Hardin, who argues in his study, *Galatians and the Imperial Cult* (2008), that the Galatians were continuing to participate in the cult of Rome as an attempt to alleviate their ambiguous standing prior to being circumcised. Hardin finds evidence for this in the reference to calendrical observance in 4.10,[123] which famously lacks specifically Jewish terminology, such as "Sabbaths." Hardin also sees an oblique reference to Roman authorities in 6.12 with the agitators' fear of persecution.[124] Although his study was not on the topic of persecution *per se*, Hardin does note in his conclusion how further work needs to be done on this topic: "Our study has therefore confirmed that the theme of suffering is crucial for understanding the Galatian crisis, and much more needs to be said to redress this shortcoming in the study of Paul's letter to the Galatians."[125]

The studies of Davina Lopez and Brigette Kahl deserve to be mentioned at this point because they build on the background of the imperial cult for addressing the topic of suffering in Galatians. In Lopez's *Apostle to the Conquered* (2008) she engages in a "gender-critical re-imagination" of Paul as an apostle to the nations under the thumb of Rome. She has a lengthy chapter on Galatians,[126] and makes much of the references to suffering and persecution in the letter, but does so in relation to a post-colonial hermeneutic that reads Paul and his audience as members of the defeated nations suffering underneath Roman hegemony. In a similar manner, though at a much more sustained and nuanced level, Brigette Kahl's *Galatians Re-Imagined* (2010) likewise addresses the context of the Roman Empire for the interpretation of Galatians. Kahl uses the depiction of ethnic Gauls in Roman sculptures, reliefs, and monuments as defeated "others" as a lens through which to read Galatians. In the end Kahl's re-imagination of Galatians leads to the conclusion that Paul was not really engaged in a polemical dispute regarding Jewish law observance, but was ultimately disputing the claims of imperialism.[127] It seems to me to be a

[122] Nanos 2002, 105–6.
[123] Hardin 2008, 116–47.
[124] Hardin 2008, 85–115.
[125] Hardin 2008, 152–53.
[126] Lopez 2008, 119–63.
[127] For example, see her comments on the law in Kahl 2010, 9, 217, 226–27, 262–63.

severe misreading of Galatians to think that Paul was critiquing the Empire's claims and aspirations as a theological foil. I suggest that if Roman civic authorities were involved in the Galatian crisis it was only as a social impetus (cf. discussions on 6.12 in §2.3.1.3).

Assigning the problem of 6.12–13 to Rome is not entirely a recent development. For example, Jerome,[128] Haimo of Auxere,[129] and Aquinas[130] all made a similar case, though the latter two appear to be building on Jerome's earlier interpretation. Thus Jerome's words are worth citing here in full:

> Gaius [Julius] Caesar, Octavian Augustus, and Augustus's successor Tiberius had published laws that allowed the Jews scattered throughout the whole stretch of the Roman Empire to live by their own rites and to keep their ancestral ceremonies. Therefore, whoever was circumcised, even if he was a Christian, was considered a Jew by outsiders. But anyone who was not circumcised, and by his uncircumcision declared that he was not a Jew, became liable to persecution from Gentile and Jew alike. Those who had led the Galatians astray were hoping to evade persecution and persuaded the disciples to be circumcised for protection. The Apostle now says they put their trust in the flesh because they made circumcision a matter worthy of persecution for both the Gentiles, whom they feared, and the Jews, whom they wanted to please. For neither the Jews nor the Gentiles could persecute people they saw circumcising new converts and keeping the commandments of the Law.[131]

The various socio-political reconstructions are relevant to my thesis, but this study will not advocate a particular approach. My study is concerned primarily with the way Paul represents the conflict and incorporates his theological reflections on suffering in the letter.

As can be seen from this survey there is still much work to be done. The studies that directly engage the present topic can be summarized in this way: imitation and suffering is addressed by Cummins (independently in a monograph as well as in a co-authored article with Goddard), S. Eastman, Mitternacht, and Holmstrand; the relationship of curse imagery and suffering is addressed by Baasland, Davis, and Wilson; the relationship between the cross and the Spirit is addressed by Cosgrove, Davis, and Kern; the way Gal. 6.11–17 functions within the letter as a whole in relation to the theme of persecution is addressed by Hubing; and the relationship between suffering and Adamic glory was argued by Pate. Of these studies only Cummins, S. Eastman, and Hubing offered monograph-length treatments pertaining to suffering in Galatians. Even so, the main focus of these was not chiefly to account for the role of suffering

[128] Cain 2010, 262–63.
[129] Levy 2011, 129.
[130] Larcher 1966, 201.
[131] Cain 2010, 262–63.

in the letter; Cummins was primarily concerned with the Antioch Incident and Paul's response to Peter (2.11–21), S. Eastman was largely offering an exegetical treatment of 4.12—5.1, and Hubing was arguing that 6.11–17 was the "closing of the letter body" rather than the epistolary closing. We also looked at the socio-political studies of Hardin, Nanos, Jewett, Kahl, and Lopez, noting as well the non-theological accounts of the conflict by Prokhorov, Muddiman, and Harvey. This survey has therefore shown that there is ample room to address the topic of suffering and persecution in Galatians. In particular, more can be said regarding the way that suffering (1) was understood as a badge of identity, (2) fits into the eschatology of the letter, and (3) was understood in the light of Paul's reading of Isaiah.

Having provided overviews of studies on suffering in Galatians, it will now be beneficial to survey the landscape of the primary source literature most relevant to Paul. Since the present study focuses on the way that Paul's theology of suffering is informed by a variety of elements from his Jewish context, including the Abraham story, Isaianic prophecies, and the death of Israel's Messiah on the cross, the following survey will be limited to contemporary Jewish literature and the rest of the NT. In doing so we will see that Paul's ideas in Galatians are consistent both with his Jewish context, the other Pauline letters, and the nascent Christian movement more broadly.

1.5 Suffering in Second Temple Jewish Literature & The New Testament

In this survey I will take note of the various places within the relevant literature where references to suffering and persecution are related to group identity and linked to expectations of the future. In this survey I will not be able to address the use of Isaiah in these texts because very few would actually fit. Furthermore, my argument regarding the use of Isaiah in Galatians is that it contributes to the way that suffering is linked to identity and destiny. Since Isaiah is used to buttress the main claim regarding the role of suffering it can be left aside for now. Thus, this survey will explore the following questions: Where do we see suffering as a sign of identity, where do we see suffering as leading towards eschatological benefits? Alternatively, where does lack of suffering cut one off from the community and future benefits?

1.5.1 Old Testament/Hebrew Bible

In the OT, hope for those suffering is typically expressed in terms of individual preservation or corporate restoration. The Psalms, for instance, are a good example of the theme of personal preservation. Hope in the midst of suffering and in the face of oppression is not placed in *eschatological* life or blessing, but rather in the *prolonging* or *preservation* of earthly life (e.g. Ps. 16.10; 119.93). Throughout the Psalms there is also a strong sense that Israel's God would punish persecutors and oppressors. In the prophetic literature, the eschatological hope is usually given in terms of the national restoration of Israel (e.g. Isa. 51.11; Ezek. 37; Hos. 6.1–2; Zeph. 3.19–20). In Isaiah, the Suffering Servant is promised that he will see his offspring (Isa. 53.10–11: σπέρμα in LXX; זרע in MT), that is, "the children of the new Zion."[132]

However, there are a few places in the OT that do anticipate the developed version of the theme of eschatological blessing for those suffering that we find in other Jewish and early Christian writings. In Daniel, the persecution of the people of God is portrayed through the stories of Daniel's three friends being thrown into the fiery furnace (Dan. 3) and Daniel himself into the lion's den (Dan. 6). Within the final redacted form of Daniel, the oppression of Daniel and his three friends is given an eschatological orientation. In chapter 7, the oppressed people of God will receive the kingdom (Dan. 7.25–27). The wise (MT: מַשְׂכִּילִים), who will die by the sword, will be refined and be spotless (Dan. 11.33–35); they will experience great distress but will rise to everlasting life (Dan. 12.2) and "shine like the stars" (Dan. 12.3).[133]

1.5.2 Apocrypha

Within the Apocrypha there are elements of the future restoration of Israel depicted in relation to suffering. For example, the author of Tobit writes that those who grieve in their afflictions are blessed because they will rejoice and see the glory of Israel (13.16–17). In the Apocrypha the most prominent text for the present theme of suffering is 2 Maccabees. Here the eschatological benefits for suffering are conveyed in a manner similar to Daniel. As the story unfolds, a certain Jewish man named Eleazar refused to abandon his ancient customs when forced to do so (6.18–19). He determined to become an example (6.28, 31: ὑπόδειγμα) of one dying willingly for the

[132] Koole 1998, 324.

[133] Di Lella 1978, 306–10, suggests that this text only concerns the fate of those in the conflict, whether they were faithful or cowardly. In particular, the "wise," those from among the faithful "many" (רבים in MT; πολλοί in LXX) who will be raised, will also "shine like the stars."

sake of his beliefs and traditions. This leads directly into the famous chapter about the seven brothers. These brothers were resolute unto death in the face of oppression, believing that God εἰς αἰώνιον ἀναβίωσιν ζωῆς ἡμᾶς ἀναστήσει (7.9).[134] Breath and life will be given to those who perished (7.23),[135] however, the resurrection of life will not be provided to the ones perpetuating the persecution (7.14). Instead there will be torment (7.17) and punishment (7.19). They will not escape God's hands (7.31) nor will they escape punishment at the judgment (7.35–36). Judgment against oppressors can also be seen in relation to Antiochus, who died by being eaten by worms (2 Macc. 9.5–18; cf. Acts 12.20–23). Similarly, those who are oppressive will be punished according to Wis. 5. They will see the righteous man whom they oppressed at the judgment (5.1), and the righteous man will go on to receive a reward, including a crown and entrance into the kingdom (5.15–16).

1.5.3 Dead Sea Scrolls

While much of the sectarian literature from Qumran conveys a general outlook that is conducive to the present theme, the primary text for our purposes is the Habakkuk *pesher* (1QpHab).[136] In 1QpHab V 4–6, God will give his people the power to judge the wicked, and the people are described as those who keep God's commandments during times of distress (בצר למו). When commenting on Hab. 2.4, 1QpHab VIII 1–3 states that those observing the law will be free from the house of judgment (מבית המשפט)[137] due to their suffering and their faith in the Teacher of Righteousness (עמלם ואמנתם במורה הצדק). Here we have a clear expression of suffering and faith marking out those who will not be judged in the end.

1.5.4 Pseudepigrapha

The Pseudepigrapha as a whole reflect the theological motifs present in 2 Maccabees and Daniel and develop them further. After the judgment, there will be restoration. Both the Greek and

[134] Cf. 2 Macc. 7.29.

[135] In 2 Maccabees, suffering is spoken of as constituting discipline and instruction (6.12: πρὸς παιδείαν), being due to sin (7.18, 32–33), and providing atonement (7.37–38).

[136] There is also an interesting, though elusive, reference to the salvific effects of suffering in *4QHistorical Work* (4Q183 f1 ii:7) regarding the ability of suffering to make amends for sin (וירצו את עונם יעינגב[הם]).

[137] Brownlee 1979, 127, says that "the meaning here is not merely that the righteous will escape their persecutors on the scene of present history, but that they will also escape their eschatological doom."

Slavonic recensions of *2 Enoch* speak of suffering ceasing after the judgment (*2 En.* 65.6–10).[138] There will be judgment and recompense on the last day for both the persecuted and those persecuting (*Apoc. Dan.* 14.13–16). God's servants will be healed and raised up, whereas their enemies will be punished (*Jub.* 23.23–31). Those who experience persecution will receive the endless age, and the persecuted will be avenged (*2 En.* 50.1–4). Blood is required from those who persecuted the prophets (*4 Ezra* 1.32). The fate of those persecuting is judgment (*1 En.* 62.11; 95.7; 98.13; 100.7–9; *2 Bar.* 82; *Apoc. El.* 5.27).

Though the righteous have suffered, they will be recompensed and receive blessing (*1 En.* 108.4–15). The Lord receives the spirits of the sufferers as pure spirits at the judgment (*1 En.* 108.8–10). Those who suffer have their names written in the book of life (*T. Jacob* 7.26–27). When the righteous are killed they are taken to the tree of life (*Apoc. El.* 4.30–5.6) and to the garden of God (*2 En.* 9.1; cf. 8.1–8). They will receive immortal life (*Ode Sol.* 31.6–13), new life (*T. Jud.* 25.4), and a reward (*2 Bar.* 52.1–7; 84.6). They will be crowned (*2 Bar.* 15.7–8; *Quest. Ezra* 6–7 [A]) and will receive thrones (*Apoc. El.* 4.20–29).

One text from the Pseudepigrapha, *4 Maccabees*, contains much of the same theology as 2 Maccabees.[139] Those who gave up their lives unto death did so while believing that they live to God (7.19). Those who suffered will obtain a prize (9.8) and the torturers will suffer divine justice (9.9, 24, 32; 10.11), just as Antiochus was punished (18.5, 22). After encouraging her sons to endure suffering and pain (16.16–23), the mother of the seven sons then reminded them that those who die for God will live (16.25). It is said of Eleazar as well as the mother and her seven sons that they received τὸ νῖκος ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ ἐν ζωῇ πολυχρονίῳ (17.12). The sons and their victorious mother (τῇ ἀθλοφόρῳ μητρί) received ψυχὰς ἁγνὰς καὶ ἀθανάτους (18.23).

1.5.5 Josephus

Josephus' contribution to this theme is largely confined to his record of Jews who were opposed to seeing their traditions and customs tainted. During the Maccabean revolt some Jews believed that by standing up for their ancestral traditions and fighting to the death they would obtain everlasting glory (*A.J.* 12.304). Elsewhere Jews are portrayed as choosing to suffer instead of

[138] The Slavonic recension (J) of *2 Enoch* goes on to describe how, after the judgment, those who suffered will inherit blessing (*2 En.* 66.5–8). See also the Greek recension A: *2 En.* 50.2, 5; 51.3; 53.1. For an overview of texts and recensions of *2 Enoch* see Macaskill 2013a, 3–35.

[139] In addition to eschatological benefits, the same themes of suffering as providing instruction (*4 Macc.* 10.10) and atonement (*4 Macc.* 6.27–29) are seen.

seeing their traditions be destroyed (*A.J.* 16.35–36, 265–68; *B.J.* 1.649–50; 2.195–98; *C. Ap.* 1.42–44; 2.218–19). There are also deleterious results for those who chose not to endure suffering; Josephus records how some Jews believed that denying God when forced to do so (ἀναγκαζόμενοι) leads to divine abandonment (*B.J.* 2.391). At Masada, the trapped Jewish soldiers who refused to submit to Rome decided that they should all kill themselves along with their wives and children. As part of the consolation for this extreme decision, they spoke about how the soul is eternal and how there will be true freedom on the other side of death (*BJ* 7.347–50).[140]

1.5.6 Philo

Like Josephus, Philo also speaks about the prospect of death for those determined to preserve Jewish laws and customs in the face of opposition (*Leg.* 192; 209–10). Additionally, Philo understands suffering to have an instructional element to it (*Cher*. 78–82). At one point he speaks about God giving virtue without the experience of suffering, suggesting that suffering aided the learning of virtues (*Mut.* 258). Although the eschatological benefit of suffering is not broached by Philo—in fact he does not appear to have much of an eschatology beyond the individual level[141]—he does reflect the broader Jewish view that God would punish those who oppressed and inflicted harm on God's people. Although the scene is not eschatological, it is nonetheless suggestive: Flaccus, who was oppressing the Jewish people, was brought to justice, and the end of this persecutor was interpreted as evidence that God had not left his people destitute (*Flacc.* 191).

1.5.7 New Testament

The NT is distinguished from the previous literature by the fact that the central meaning of Christian suffering is rooted in a positive view of the suffering and death of Jesus.[142] It can be

[140] This particular consolation is Stoic. See Wright 1992, 326–27.

[141] Cf. Grabbe 2000, 164–73.

[142] This trajectory is carried forward into the early church (cf., e.g., Ign. *Magn.* 5.2; 8.2; Ign. *Trall*. 10.1; Ign. *Rom.* 6.3; Ign. *Smyrn*. 1.1; 2.1; 4.2; Ign. *Phld.* 9.2; *Mart. Pol*. 1.2; 2.2; 6.2; 14.2; *Acts Paul* 13.2; *Acts Pet.* 35[6]; *Acts Andr.* 41[9]; 54[4]; 63[9]; *Acts Andr. Mth.* 18; *Ap. Jas*. 4.20–5.35; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.1). However, the texts found at Nag Hammadi reveal a different tendency: to devalue the role of suffering for Christians (*1 Apoc. Jas.* 30–33; *Teach. Silv.* 98; *Testim. Truth* 33–34; *Treat. Seth*; *Interp. Know.* 5; *Apoc. Pet.* 78.32–79.8; 81; *Acts John* 96, 101), though this is not entirely consistent (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 68; *Treat. Res.* 45; *Thom. Cont.* 145; *Ep. Pet. Phil.* 138.17–28). As Pagels 1989, 90, rightly notes, whatever perspective might be taken on the question of Christian

seen that suffering both reinforces the identity of the early followers of the Messiah, and provides the logic for why there are eschatological benefits attached to suffering; just as Jesus suffered and was raised from the dead, so too his people will share in this pattern.

In Romans, those who have been baptized have been baptized into Christ's death (Rom. 6.3–4), and are joined to him in death (Rom. 6.5). The old self was crucified with him (Rom. 6.6) and died with him (Rom. 6.8; cf. 2 Tim. 2.11). This results in a death to sin (Rom. 6.11) and the law (Rom. 7.4, 6). The Christian life is therefore shaped after the death and resurrection of the Messiah. Additionally, the Christian life is seen as a continual "dying" manifested in suffering.

The authors of the NT reflect an expectation that Christians would suffer (Acts 9.16; Phil. 1.29–30; 1 Thess. 3.3–4; 2 Tim. 3.12; Rev. 1.9). Suffering reinforced identity and was seen as a badge of honour (Acts 5.40–41; 1 Pet. 4.16). In the Gospels, we see Jesus tell his followers that they will experience ill-treatment and persecution after the same manner that he received it (Matt. 10.22; 24.9; Mark 13.9; Luke 21.12; John 15.20–21). Early Christians therefore drew a connection between the sufferings of Jesus and the sufferings of Christians (Matt. 25.40; Acts 9.4–5; 22.7–8; 26.14–15; 2 Cor. 1.5; 2.14–17; 4.7–12; Col. 1.24; 1 Pet. 4.1, 12–13). Following Jesus in hardships and suffering was understood to lead to eschatological benefit and glory, after the pattern of Jesus' vindication (Matt. 20.22; Mark 10.39–40; Rom. 8.17–24, 35–39; 2 Cor. 1.8–9; 4.13–18; Phil. 2.16–17; 3.10–14; 1 Pet. 1.11; 2.21–23; 5.1, 10). To be a follower of Jesus meant carrying one's cross (Matt. 10.38; 16.24; Mark 8.34; Luke 9.23) and losing one's life in order to find it (Matt. 10.39; 16.25–27; Mark 8.35–38; Luke 9.24–26). Suffering is explicitly said to be a "blessing" (Matt. 5.10; Luke 6.22; Jas. 5.11) and "glory" (Eph. 3.13), and is linked to eschatological benefits, rewards, and future vindication (Matt. 5.11–12; Luke 6.23; Acts 7.57–60; 14.22; 2 Thess. 1.5; 2 Tim. 2.3–6, 9–10, 12; 4.6–8; 1 Pet. 1.4–6; Rev. 20.4; 21.7).

Believers are to suffer for good purposes (1 Pet. 2.18–25; 3.14, 16–17), and should continue to do good as they suffer (1 Pet. 4.19). Matthew records Jesus saying that people should love their enemies and pray for those persecuting them (Matt. 5.44). However, those who do the persecuting will be punished (2 Thess. 1.6). The slain believers will be avenged (Rev. 6.9–11), and, according to the Revelation, although Babylon the Whore is drunk from the blood of the saints (Rev. 17.6), she will ultimately be destroyed (Rev. 17.8).

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suffering it nevertheless "corresponds to the interpretation of Christ's suffering and death." In relation to the NT we can see how a positive view of Christian suffering stems from a positive interpretation of Jesus' death.

The implication of suffering being a badge of identity is that the avoidance rather than the endurance of suffering shows that one is not truly a follower of the crucified Messiah. It was expected that many will leave the faith due to persecution (Matt. 24.10). Only the one who stands firm to the end will be saved (Matt. 24.13; Mark 13.13; cf. 2 Tim. 1.12). In Revelation the author encourages his readers to endure (Rev. 2.3, 9–10, 13; 3.8, 10; 13.10; 14.12) with eschatological promises extended to them if they "conquer" (Rev. 2.7, 11, 17, 26; 3.5, 12, 21; 21.7).[143] This theme of apostasy and suffering is most prominent in the letter to the Hebrews. The author points to Jesus (2.9–10, 18; 5.7–8; 12.2–3) and former heroes of the faith who suffered greatly (11.35–37) as examples to be emulated because they suffered and were vindicated. The same can be true of the readers (10.32–36; 12.4–13), but they are in danger of committing apostasy in the midst of their suffering. This is seen as a denial of the cross and the atonement (6.6; 10.26), leading to condemnation (6.8; 10.27).

Thus we have seen how suffering plays a central role in the NT for the way that Christians conceived of their identity and how they expected to experience the same fate as the crucified Messiah who was raised and exalted. This also meant that those who did not fit this pattern, particularly the oppressors and those seeking to avoid suffering, were seen to be "outsiders" who did not belong to the genuine community centered upon the Messiah.

1.6 The Procedure of the Present Study

With this brief overview of the role of suffering for constructing identity and destiny in the relevant primary sources, we are now in a position to see how these themes are worked out in Galatians. In any thesis on a thematic topic such as this one, the selection and order of the material under discussion can seem arbitrary. I have chosen the order that aids the clarity of the argument. The present study will therefore proceed to demonstrate the thesis that in Galatians Paul understands suffering and allegiance to the cross to be central to community identity and destiny. The study will be broken down into two parts containing two chapters each. Part one of the study emphasizes the way that suffering for the cross is a sign of Christian identity and a promise of future blessing, particularly future inheritance and vindication at the judgment (i.e. destiny). Part two continues to buttress these conclusions by emphasizing the way that Paul's reflections on Isaiah have influenced his self-presentation in the letter and his call for imitation,

[143] "To conquer" in the Revelation is "to witness resistantly." See Blount 2009, 52.

which reinforces the idea that marks of suffering for the cross are meant to characterize the community and set them on the proper course.

To begin part one, then, chapter two will explore the way that Paul understands suffering to be a mark for *sonship* that leads to *inheritance*. This mark exists alongside another marker of Christian identity—the reception of the Spirit. Thus suffering and the reception of the Spirit are marks of identity and proleptic signs that point forward to the future inheritance (i.e. destiny). To demonstrate this, I will look at three places where both divine and Abrahamic sonship are expressed through marks of suffering and the reception of the Spirit. These are 3.4, 4.6, and 4.29. In each case we will see that these markers of identity also secure a particular destiny—the future inheritance. With 3.4, in particular, we will see how the Galatian response to suffering could potentially be rendered worthless or in vain, which jeopardizes the future inheritance. To buttress this assessment, it will also be shown that the agitators are not marked out by the Spirit or suffering, but rather are characterized *by the flesh* and both avoidance of suffering on the one hand and the infliction of it on the other. Therefore, they do not stand to receive the inheritance and are thus the wrong kind of sons (cf. Gal. 4.28–30).

Chapter three continues the focus on suffering's role in constructing expectations of identity and destiny. In this chapter it will be seen that allegiance to the cross marks out the identity of those who belong to ἡ καινὴ κτίσις and ὁ Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ (6.15–16)—which are other ways of speaking of divine and Abrahamic sonship—and marks out those who will be vindicated at the final judgment. Essentially, those marked out in the present by the cross, rather than circumcision, will be vindicated on the final day, cohering with the pattern of justification as both a present and a future reality. Just as suffering and the Spirit coexist and co-mark out the true sons of God and Abraham (so chapter two), this chapter will show how justification as the divine verdict announced in advance stands alongside cruciform living as proleptic signs. As in chapter two, this chapter will explore how this reality could be compromised if the Galatians do not continue to endure for the sake of the cross. If they do not endure, they will end up like the agitators who will be judged.

Transitioning into part two we will continue the study on the role of suffering for the cross as central to Christian identity and destiny by exploring two related features of Galatians. First, we will see how Paul embodies and portrays the sort of identity that is meant to characterize true followers of the Messiah. Second, we will explore one possible influence for

the way that Paul views suffering for the cross as centrally important, namely, his reading of Isaiah.

Chapter four, then, will look at the way that the autobiography in Gal. 1–2 is meant to be paradigmatic. The Galatians are to follow Paul's lead as a Χριστοῦ δοῦλος (1.10) who does not give in to compulsion (2.3–5; 2.11–14) and so become slaves of others (cf. 2.4). Informing and underlining Paul's self-presentation is a deep conviction that he is continuing the ministry of the Isaianic Servant of Isa. 49–54, which not only strengthens his resolve to ensure that his Gentile ministry in Galatia does not fail (Isa. 49.4), but additionally explains his experience of suffering (cf. 2.19–3.1).

Chapter five builds upon the way Paul presents himself paradigmatically by showing how this connects to his call for imitation in 4.12–20. I will buttress the argument, made by others, that Paul's enigmatic imperative in 4.12, Γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ, partially builds upon Paul's self-presentation in the autobiography and his references to continued reciprocity in suffering that existed during Paul's original ministry in Galatia (4.13–15). This line of thought will be extended further by showing how the call for imitation, just like the self-presentation in Gal. 1–2, is informed by Paul's reading of Isaiah. Particularly, I contend that Paul believes that, as one who continues the role of the Servant of YHWH, his mission includes making additional servants. To buttress this claim the relationship between 4.12–20 and the subsequent allegory in 4.21–5.1 will be explored. I will argue that the Isaianic line of thought in 4.12–20 flows directly into the allegory where Paul refers to the persecution experienced by the "children of the Spirit" and offers an Isaianic reading of Genesis signaled by the citation of Isa. 54.1. Paul desires to be imitated as a means of ensuring group identity and coherence so that neither his ministry nor the salvation of the Galatians are forfeited. The influence of Isaiah further demonstrates that if the Galatians maintain their commitment to the Messiah this will lead directly to their destiny as servants of YHWH who will receive the inheritance (Isa. 54.17). Therefore the link between identity and destiny from part one will be seen to cohere with an important Isaianic logic.

Finally, this study will offer a brief conclusion in chapter six that summarizes and synthesizes the main conclusions of the present study, enumerates the ways that this study has contributed to current discussions on Galatians, and then offers a few areas where further research is needed. With this summary of the procedure and flow of the argument, we are ready to proceed.

Part One

Suffering for the Cross as Marks of Identity and Destiny

Chapter 2

Suffering and the Spirit: Marks of Sonship, Signs of Inheritance

2.1 Introduction

To commence our study on the way Paul understands suffering to be a marker of Christian identity and destiny, we will look at the way that Paul has closely linked suffering with another important marker—the reception of the Spirit. Rather than being antithetical to each other, both the experience of opposition and the ministry of the Spirit confirm that one belongs to the Messianic community as sons. In this chapter I contend that these two identity markers of sonship function as proleptic signs that anticipate the future inheritance. I will make this case through three important passages within their immediate literary contexts: 3.4, 4.6–7, 4.29. The reason for this is that these three passages structure the beginning, middle, and end of the argument from 3.1 to 5.1, providing a coherence to the way that suffering and the Spirit function as marks that designate the sons of Abraham and the sons of God and also function as signposts of the future inheritance. For the sake of clarity I have chosen to look at these in reverse order. Galatians 4.28–5.1 provides both the clearest expression of the pattern, and because this passage will constitute a helpful entry into discussing the Galatian crisis directly, especially in relation to the agitators. Essentially, then, this passage expresses Paul's understanding that the true sons of Abraham who will inherit are marked out by the Spirit and their experience of persecution, and they are contrasted with the "children of the flesh"—which I will argue includes the agitators—who are not legitimate sons of Abraham because they do not have the identity marker of the Spirit and because they avoid and inflict suffering rather than endure it (cf. 6.12). I will argue that this conflict is assumed in both 4.6–7 and 3.4 where other elements of the pattern appear. Concluding with 3.4 I will argue that the Galatians' status as sons and the certainty of receiving the future inheritance could potentially be rendered empty or in vain if they do not respond to suffering the way that Paul hopes they will. This will be the focus of the present chapter, but before I turn to analyze the present texts, I need to look briefly at the way that the relationship between suffering and the Spirit, in Galatians especially, has been handled in scholarship.

2.2 A Brief Survey of Suffering & The Spirit in Galatians

As for studies dedicated to the Spirit in Galatians, there is a surprising lack of treatment on the connection with suffering, and, in some cases, explicit denial of the link. David John Lull's published dissertation, *The Spirit in Galatia: Paul's Interpretation of Pneuma as Divine Power,* was one of the first sustained treatments of pneumatology in Galatians. The major aim of the study was to suggest that the reception of the Spirit was not through baptism, but through the proclamation of Paul's *kerygma.*[1] Lull argued, based on his mirror-reading of 3.3, that the main contention of the agitators was that the Spirit was for beginners, but if the Galatians wanted "to be τέλειοι they had to perform the rites required by the law of Moses."[2] Lull's emphasis on the reception of the Spirit as a result of Paul's preaching fits 3.1–5 well, but his analysis misses the context of suffering. Paul's original proclamation of the gospel was undertaken in the midst of suffering, which visibly displayed the crucified Messiah to the Galatians (3.1),[3] and, as I will argue below (§2.5), Paul speaks of the reception of the Spirit in close proximity to the Galatians' experience of suffering (3.4). In fact, Lull made it clear that he did not think that suffering was relevant for this section, stating,

> [A]lthough the 'imitation' motif and the suffering of persecution do appear in the letter to the Galatians, neither is brought into relationship with the reception of the Spirit. Paul, therefore, does not refer in 3:1-5 to the Spirit's empowerment of the converts in Galatia with courage in the face of 'great opposition' and 'suffering.'[4]

Ten years later another monograph on pneumatology in Galatians came out by Charles Cosgrove, *The Cross and the Spirit*. Cosgrove argued that the agitators were trying to persuade the Galatians that obeying the law would allow them to continue to receive the Spirit. His emphasis on the cross allowed him to address suffering, contrary to Lull who essentially dismissed it. Cosgrove proposed that the main contention of Paul in Galatians is that participation in Christ's cross is the sole condition for life in the Spirit.[5] This is fine as far as it goes, but things get muddled once Cosgrove utilized Tannehill's distinction between types of co-crucifixion (cosmic and existential). Cosgrove claims, "In Galatians cosmic crucifixion with Christ is affirmed explicitly as a condition for ongoing life in the Spirit, but existential participation in Christ's death (suffering with Christ) is treated as a condition of life in the Spirit

[1] Lull 1980, 12, 54–56.
[2] Lull 1980, 42.
[3] So rightly Davis 1999. More on this below, cf. §2.5.1.
[4] Lull 1980, 58.
[5] Cosgrove 1988, 172.

at best only implicitly."[6] Although he admits that there is a connection between suffering and the Spirit,[7] he adds, "the theme of suffering and the Spirit never becomes an object of reflection in Galatians."[8] He states further:

> [W]e do find references to suffering, weakness, and persecution for the cross (3:4; 4:13–14; 4:29; 5:11; 6:12; 6:17), and these references are consistent with Paul's understanding that cosmic crucifixion with Christ has cruciform existence as one of its consequences for Christian experience in the world. But existential crucifixion never becomes an explicit theme in Galatians. Therefore, if we are to understand what form of action or obedience may be entailed in crucifixion with Christ as the ground of ongoing life in the Spirit, we need to explore the idea of sharing Christ's sufferings as it is treated elsewhere in the Pauline corpus.[9]

When Cosgrove looks elsewhere he primarily addresses 2 Corinthians; apparently he does not think that Galatians is able to address these questions. I contend however that Paul's understanding of the relationship between the Spirit and suffering in Galatians is theologically nuanced, and specifically that this includes "existential participation" in suffering (to borrow Cosgrove's borrowing of Tannehill's terminology).

Gordon Fee has provided one of the major studies on the Spirit in Pauline theology more broadly. In the section dedicated to Galatians, Fee explicitly denies the link between suffering and the Spirit in Galatians. He argues in regard to translating πάσχω in 3.4 that "Pauline usage, significant as this is in most circumstances, is in this case the *only* thing in favor of translating the verb 'suffered.'"[10] Although I will have more to say about 3.4 below (§2.5), it is important to list the main reasons for Fee's interpretation as part of the broader discussion on the way interpreters have seen suffering as out of place. His reasons are:

> (1) the clear sense of the context, in which the traditional meaning of the word makes eminently good sense; (2) that in contrast to most of Paul's other letters there is not the slightest hint in this one that the churches of Galatia were undergoing suffering, not to mention suffering τοσαῦτα (so many things); and (3) that the word order puts the τοσαῦτα in the emphatic first position, referring to what has just been said in vv. 2-3, not to 'so many things in general.' That v. 5 picks up on this question by putting their past experiences in light of their current experience of the Spirit seems to be the clincher. Otherwise the question sits in the middle of an appeal to their experience of the Spirit, past and present, as something of a rock, with no specific reference in the immediate context.[11]

[6] Cosgrove 1988, 184.
[7] Cosgrove 1988, 185–86.
[8] Cosgrove 1988, 187.
[9] Cosgrove 1988, 188.
[10] Fee 1994, 387 (emphasis original).
[11] Fee 1994, 387.

The important point to note here is that even a scholar like Fee, who has written an important treatment of pneumatology in Paul's letters, and who recognizes the Pauline connection between suffering and the Spirit elsewhere,[12] does not make such a case from Galatians.

More recently, there have been two studies on the Spirit in Galatians that have either neglected the topic of suffering or dismissed it. In Rodrigo Morales' study, *The Spirit and the Restoration of Israel*, the bestowal of the Spirit in Galatians is regarded as the signifier of the restoration of Israel. However, he does not correlate his picture of the Spirit with the references to suffering throughout Galatians. The same goes for C. C. Lee in her published dissertation, *The Blessing of Abraham, the Spirit, and Justification in Galatians*, since she explicitly denies a correlation between the Spirit and suffering in her comments on 3.4.[13]

This downplaying of suffering from the life of the Spirit is a major problem with studies on Galatians. However, the Pauline notion that the Spirit and suffering go hand in hand can be seen throughout Paul's letters. A few examples are noteworthy. In 1 Thess. 1.6 ("receiving the word in much affliction [θλῖψις] with the joy of the Holy Spirit") Paul associates the Spirit and suffering in a context about the original gospel proclamation (δεξάμενοι τὸν λόγον). According to Acts, when Paul was persecuted in Pisidian Antioch he was filled with the joy of the Spirit (Acts 13.52). The Spirit is the one who warned Paul that in every city hardships await (Acts 20.23). In Rom. 5.3–5, Paul writes καυχώμεθα ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν, because of the way that suffering ultimately produces hope in the believer (from suffering to endurance to character to hope). Paul notes that this hope in the midst of suffering is legitimized through the love of God that the Holy Spirit provides. The Spirit, Paul says, helps us in our weakness (Rom. 8.26). The author of 1 Peter speaks of being blessed when insulted and persecuted, because the Holy Spirit rests on those being oppressed (1 Pet. 4.14). Thus, it is legitimately Christian, not to mention typically Pauline, to link the ministry of the Spirit to the suffering of believers. As Gorman notes, Paul never separates "experiences of God's power from the experience of the cross."[14]

The way that some interpreters separate suffering from the Spirit in Galatians has an ironic twist to it. Former generations of Pauline scholars used to infer from Paul's theology of the Spirit's work in the midst of weakness that Paul's opponents must have taught a different

[12] Fee 1994, 822–26.
[13] Lee 2013, 29–30.
[14] Gorman 2001, 280.

message in which the theology of the cross was divorced from a theology of the Spirit.[15] This reconstruction was often muddled by the anachronistic notion that Paul was engaging the views of Gnostics or similar types. And so the irony: scholars who bifurcate the Spirit from suffering in Galatians seem to follow a similar logic as these fictional Gnostic foes.

In some Christian denominations in particular an over-emphasis on the Spirit's powerful work has left little room for a theology of weakness. Martin Mittelstadt, in his study, *The Spirit and Suffering in Luke-Acts*, highlights the absence within Pentecostal circles of a theology that links suffering and the Spirit.[16] Mittelstadt writes as a Pentecostal *for* Pentecostals about Luke-Acts (much-loved by Pentecostals), and he systematically demonstrates that Luke-Acts often associates the Spirit and suffering.

Other studies exist that do justice to the link between suffering and the Spirit in early Christianity in general and Pauline theology in particular. But there is no study that focuses squarely on these themes in Galatians. Outside of Galatians there is the published dissertation of Scott Hafemann, *Suffering and the Spirit,* but this study is dedicated chiefly to an exegetical treatment of 2 Cor. 2.14–3.3. Oddly enough, previous studies concerned with demonstrating the relationship between suffering and the Spirit within early Christianity more broadly did not draw connections with Galatians. In William Weinrich's *Spirit and Martyrdom*, which is focused on the NT and other early Christian literature, there is no sustained treatment of any passage in Galatians.[17]

With this discussion in mind it is clear that there is much room to contribute to this topic in Galatians, and we are now able to address the key passages where Paul links the suffering of the Galatians with the Spirit as signs of inheritance and marks of sonship. This chapter will provide us with a coherent picture regarding the way Paul reinforces the idea that Christian identity and destiny are directly linked to suffering and are not antithetical to it.

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[15] Güttgemanns 1966, suggested that the opponents had "eine pneumatische Verachtung der Leiden" (p.190) and that their gospel had "eine anderen Χριστός . . . der nicht der ἐσταυρωμένος ist" (p.184). Also, Brinsmead 1982, 87, said, "The intruders have a particular Christology which minimises the significance of the cross and its eschatological consequences."

[16] Mittelstadt 2004, 20–28.

[17] See Weinrich 1981, 43–63, for the discussion on Paul.

2.3 Galatians 4.28–5.1

As mentioned earlier, our survey of the way that suffering and the Spirit function as markers of sonship and signposts of future inheritance will begin with Gal. 4.29 within the context of the allegory. We are starting here, as noted, because 4.29 provides the clearest expression of the theme under discussion and allows us to address the conflict caused by the agitators up front. As an entry into discussing the agitators, we will need to bring in other texts regarding Paul's opponents throughout the letter in order to provide a clear picture of how Paul portrays and critiques them.

In analyzing the allegory (4.21–5.1) it will not be pertinent to address every detail. The main focus here will be on *the fact* that Paul refers to the persecution of one group by another in 4.29 as a recapitulation of the behaviour of Ishmael against Isaac (οὕτως καὶ νῦν), and that this has implications for the future inheritance (4.30–5.1). It is often noted that this passage is hermeneutically peculiar, especially since a *prima facie* reading of Gen. 21, from which Paul cites in Gal. 4.30, would not lead to the sort of interpretation Paul provides. Towards the end of this study (§5.3.2), we will return to this passage and ask *how* Paul is able to read Genesis in the way that he does, especially in relation to his citation of Isa. 54.1 in Gal. 4.27. In this section the concern is with the way that Paul applies this reading to the present context as a means of reinforcing the true identity of the Galatians as the true children of Abraham who possess the Spirit and stand to receive the future inheritance. It is apparent that the Galatians are included as part of the referent for the Spirit-children since they are children like Isaac who are similarly not Abraham's children by fleshly means, but rather by means of the Spirit and God's promise (4.28, 31). This identity and destiny is contrasted with that of the "children of the flesh," and I will argue that this enigmatic group includes the troublemakers advocating circumcision in Galatia.[18] Thus circumcision is an identity marker for the *wrong kind of children of Abraham*. The true marks are the reception of the Spirit and the experience of persecution.

[18] So also, e.g., Lagrange 1950, 131; Jewett 1971, 100; Mußner 1974, 330–31; Baasland 1984; Goddard and Cummins 1993; McKnight 1995, 232; Cummins 2001, 101. Most scholars argue that the actions of the agitators are in view, but they often downplay the reference to persecution, suggesting that mental pressures are in view. See, e.g., Burton 1921, 266; Ridderbos 1953, 181; Calvin 1965 [1548], 89–90; Lincoln 1981, 27; Fung 1988, 213; Matera 1992, 171, 178; Fee 1994, 415; S. Williams 1997, 131; Martyn 1997, 445; Witherington 1998, 337–38; Hays 2000, 305; Tolmie 2005, 169–70; M. de Boer 2011, 307; Hubing 2015, 140–47. For those who think that non-Christian Jews are in view instead of the agitators, see, e.g., Schlier 1951, 161–62; Bonnard 1953, 99; Oepke 1964, 114–15; Betz 1979, 250; Borse 1984, 175; Baasland 1984, 136; Cosgrove 1987a, 229; *idem* 1988, 83–84; Muddiman 1994, 260; Esler 1998, 214; Wilk 1998, 94; Mitternacht 1999, 94; *idem* 2002, 427; Wilson 2007, 83–84; Starling 2011, 46 n.73; Moo 2013, 309–11; Oakes 2015, 158.

In order to demonstrate that the agitators are included in the reference to "the children of the flesh" we will need to look broadly across the letter. We will see that the agitators are not the true sons of Abraham because they are characterized by the flesh, they both avoid and inflict persecution, and they are aggressive in their advocacy of circumcision. After surveying the way that Paul presents the agitators in this manner, which will include an overview of references to the agitators in the letter along with extended discussions on 5.19–21 and 6.12–13, we will be able to conclude that the agitators are included in Paul's description of the flesh-children in 4.29. Thus we will see how persecution in 4.29 not only contributes towards identifying the distinct groups in the conflict (flesh-children and Spirit-children) but also how it affects their futures, as we will see in 4.30–5.1 (§2.3.2). It is to this portrait of the opponents that we now turn.

2.3.1 The Fleshly Agitators

If we want to answer any question about Paul's opponents we have to begin by addressing the thorny issue of mirror-reading. To what extent does Paul accurately convey information about his opponents, including their identity, origin, message, methods, and motivations? The possibility presents itself that the people Paul was writing against might not have been opponents at all. Some scholars have argued that these figures were simply trying to complete Paul's ministry by filling in the gaps that he missed, such as circumcision.[19] With possibilities similar to this, less value-laden terminology has been sought for these figures. They have been called, "The Teachers,"[20] "The Influencers,"[21] and "The New Preachers,"[22] among other things.[23] This study will use terms such as "opponents" or, preferably, "agitators" because Paul explicitly refers to them by the latter appellation (5.12) and it is clear that Paul *does* regard them as opponents. To be sure, Paul is polemical and pejorative, and so a pure, clean, and objective picture of his opponents cannot be found in Galatians, and thus the historian's task is rather difficult. This study, however, does not intend to offer a precise historical reconstruction. The focus will be on Paul's depictions, interpretations, and evaluations of the situation and his opponents as the main subjects of investigation. What Paul thinks is at stake and how Paul frames the issues are what

[19] Cf. 3.3; 5.11. See Sumney 1999, 145–46, 158; Jewett 2002, 343. Howard 1990 suggested, as part of his critique of mirror-reading, that the agitators were sympathetic to Paul.

[20] Martyn 1997.

[21] Nanos 2002.

[22] M. de Boer 2011.

[23] The misnomer "Judaizers" has been rightly rejected because "judaize" is an intransitive verb.

matters here. That being said, it is probable that Paul's comments reflect, to some degree, the situation to which he writes, since otherwise Paul would have been a very unpersuasive writer.[24] With Paul's portrayal of the situation as our primary concern, we can ask how Paul portrays the agitators in contrast to the true children of God and of Abraham.

To begin, Paul associates the agitators with the flesh, rather than the Spirit. The nature of the contrast between the flesh and the Spirit in Galatians has been variously understood.[25] The scholarly consensus, at the very least, is that the over-individualized and over-internalized interpretation of the flesh as a sinful nature should be abandoned. How it is to be understood beyond that is still a matter of debate. For some, such as Martyn and M. de Boer, the flesh is understood to be a supra-human or cosmic power (i.e. "Flesh").[26] Walt Russell, on the other hand, argues that the flesh represents a salvation-historical epoch prior to the Spirit.[27] However, without determining precisely what Paul believes the flesh *is*, or whether he uses it consistently at each point,[28] it is important to recognize the way he uses the flesh-Spirit contrast as part of an external/communal bifurcation between insiders and outsiders. In terms of the crisis in Galatia specifically, it appears to be part of a contrast between the Galatians and the agitators.[29] Neither the Galatians nor the agitators exhaust the referents for the "children of the flesh" and the "children of the Spirit" respectively, but the passage is best understood as including these two groups and speaks to their current conflict.

The association between the agitators and the flesh is natural given their insistence on the physical act of circumcision. As a way of referring to their desire to have the Galatians be circumcised (6.13), Paul says that their motivation was to boast in the Galatians' *flesh* (6.13) and to have a "good face" (εὐπροσωπῆσαι) in the *flesh* (6.12). The link between the flesh and circumcision probably also lies behind Paul's question regarding the perfection of the flesh subsequent to beginning in the Spirit (3.3).[30] Given the centrality of circumcision in the present

[24] Barclay 1987, 76; Sumney 1990, 84; Hardin 2008, 94–102.

[25] For an overview of σάρξ in Paul see Jewett 1971, 49–166.

[26] Martyn 1997, 479–501, 524–40; M. de Boer 2011, 335–42.

[27] Russell 1993; *idem* 1995; *idem* 1997.

[28] Barclay 1988, 203–9, notes that all uses of σάρξ can be understood as referring to "what is merely human." This seems correct, but in this study I am concerned with Paul's polemical usage.

[29] This is rightly noted by Jewett 1971, 95–116. However, his particular reconstruction, that Paul's use of σάρξ critiques both nomists and libertinists, is not convincing.

[30] This link between circumcision and the flesh is also made through the way 5.16 mentions that the lust of the flesh should not be perfected (τελέσητε), which recalls the reference in 3.3 about being perfected in flesh (ἐπιτελεῖσθε).

conflict (5.2–6), Paul appears to be suggesting in 3.3 that circumcision is unnecessary if the Galatians have already been accepted by God and received the Spirit. This anticipates the contrast Paul makes later in Gal. 5–6 between the flesh and the Spirit. But the link between the flesh and circumcision is more than simply physical; it is also ironic. The irony stems from the fact that circumcision was believed by many Jews to hinder the desire and lust of the flesh from getting out of hand.[31] However, Paul's strategy appears to be to suggest that the very insistence on circumcision itself has led to the manifestation of the flesh in the Galatian communities. To demonstrate this point we will need to look directly at the so-called "vice list" in 5.19–21. Before we can begin to understand the role of the "vice list" within Paul's portrayal of his opponents, it is necessary to survey briefly the way that the "vice list" in particular and Gal. 5–6 more broadly have been understood by scholars in relation to Paul's argument.

The relationship between Gal. 5–6 and the rest of the letter has been variously understood in scholarly discussions. Part of the problem with the history of scholarship on Gal. 5–6 was that scholars assumed that these chapters comprised the paraenetic or "ethical" section of the letter, and therefore struggled to see how ethical instruction could be relevant in a treatise against (what was perceived to be) legalism. For this reason, and due to the emphasis on the Spirit in contrast to the flesh in these chapters, a few scholars argued that the opponents must have been Gnostics or pneumatics.[32] However, this position could not explain the emphasis on the law elsewhere in the letter. Galatians 5.13—6.10 was seen by many to be so at odds with the rest of the letter that some began to regard it as being directed against a different group[33] or to be an interpolation.[34] R. Jewett and R. Longenecker, among others, attempted to remove the bifurcation by arguing that the letter addressed two potential *threats* to the community: legalism and libertinism.[35] Yet this position was really no better than previous attempts because it still assumed a general bifurcation between Gal. 5–6 and the preceding material. The common assumption was that, functionally speaking, Gal. 5–6 seeks to accomplish different aims—either attacking different opponents or different temptations.

[31] Cf. Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 1.9; *Quaest. in Gn.* 3.48, 52.
[32] E.g. Schmithals 1965, 9–46.
[33] Lütgert 1919; Ropes 1929.
[34] The latter position was made famous by O'Neill 1972, 65. Smit 2002, 45 n.29, ambivalently suggested that Paul probably wrote 5.13—6.10, but that it was not originally part of the composition of the letter.
[35] R. Longenecker 1990, 187; Jewett 2002, 344.

Against these tendencies, the studies by John Barclay[36] and Frank Matera[37] have curtailed bifurcations of the letter. Barclay argued that the ethical section is Paul's attempt to pacify the Galatians' concern about living ethically without following the Torah, especially since there was much division in their congregations (as Gal. 5–6 demonstrates).[38] His attempt to read Gal. 5–6 as addressing legitimate concerns arising from the Galatian conflict effectually brought the bifurcated treatment of Galatians to an end. For this his study is to be highly commended. However, more ought to be said about the way that Gal. 5–6 continues *the same argument* against the conflict caused by the agitators.[39] A proposal that comes closer to this was provided by Matera, who suggested that Gal. 5–6 is not purely paraenetic, but comprises the culmination of Paul's theological argument against circumcision.[40] In my estimation this is on the right track. However, my final evaluation goes beyond Matera in a few important ways. In my analysis of Gal. 5–6, Paul is arguing against circumcision *and* critiquing the agitators throughout. This helps to demonstrate further how Gal. 5–6 is related to the rest of the letter and to the specific conflict that Paul thinks he is addressing. To demonstrate that Paul does this, I will look at the "vice-list" in 5.19–21 in relation to the way Paul critiques and vilifies his opponents throughout the letter as those associated with the flesh and not the Spirit, with circumcision and not the cross.

Paul's inclusion of the "vice list," which enumerates the "works of the flesh," is not some ethical aside. It appears that this list has been tailored by Paul to critique the agitators.[41] This is discernable from five observations. First, by calling these vices *works* of the flesh (ἔργα), Paul seems to be associating them with the *works* of the law (2.16; 3.2, 5, 10).[42] Second, one of these "works" is ζῆλος, and Paul mentions misplaced zeal as characteristic of the agitators (4.17–18).[43] Additionally, this zeal in 4.17 manifests itself in a divisive action—"shutting out" the Galatians (ἐκκλεῖσαι). Third, another one of the "works" in 5.20, ἔχθραι, parallels 4.16, where Paul asks if

[36] Barclay 1988.
[37] Matera 1988.
[38] Barclay 1988, 68–72. Cf. Barclay 2014.
[39] Schewe 2005, 52, has recently contended that Barclay essentially continues the bifurcation of Gal. 1–4 and 5–6 by speaking of the former as Paul's discussion on the identity/status of the Galatians and the latter as concerned with behaviour.
[40] Matera 1988, 82.
[41] Rightly S. Eastman 2007, 165–66; Ukwuegbu 2008, 549. *Contra*, e.g., Eckert 1971, 149; Mitternacht 2002, 429. Russell 1997, 160, also opposes the idea that the agitators are being critiqued here because he contends that they are Christians and that the flesh refers to an eschatological era before Christ. But this actually begs the question: would Paul have viewed the agitators as Christians considering what he says about them in the letter?
[42] So, e.g., Burton 1921, 304, 313; Dunn 1993, 301; Tolmie 2005, 201.
[43] Cf. §5.3.1. On connecting 4.17 and 5.20, see also Schewe 2005, 127, cf. n.333; Barclay 1988, 208.

he has become an ἐχθρός of the Galatians as a result of the agitators' efforts.[44] Fourth, Paul's inclusion of φαρμακεία seems unlikely for a generic "vice list." This word occurs in no other such list in Paul's letters and is actually a Pauline *hapax legomenon*. In fact, only one other occurrence of the word can be found in the NT (Rev. 18.23). This seems to be connected in some way to Gal. 3.1, where Paul speaks of the activity of the agitators as bewitchment (ἐβάσκανεν), evoking the imagery of the evil eye, which suggests that Paul aligns the activity of the agitators with demonic powers.[45] Due to the rarity of the word φαρμακεία, and due to the other link to sorcery in Gal 3.1, it is probable that Paul includes φαρμακεία in the "vice-list" to rhetorically critique and vilify his opponents.[46] Fifth, and finally, at the heart of this "vice-list" are divisive actions: ἔχθραι, ἔρις, ζῆλος, θυμοί, ἐριθεῖαι, διχοστασίαι, αἱρέσεις, φθόνοι. The inclusion of these actions conveys the central thrust of the list.[47] These references to divisive activity probably include the behaviour of the agitators because Paul portrays them throughout the letter as community-destroying and conflict-increasing.[48] Paul therefore depicts the ones who place great emphasis on the flesh, namely by wanting to circumcise it, as the ones who produce the very fleshly vices that Jews believed circumcision would help stop.[49] We will now briefly look for additional evidence from the letter to corroborate the claim that Paul uses the "vice list" to critique the agitators.

Just before Paul writes the "vice-list" in 5.19–21 he refers to the need for the community to love and serve one another (5.13–14) rather than bite and devour one another (5.15).[50] Gal. 5.15 includes a first class conditional clause (εἰ + Indicative), suggesting that the protasis is true for the sake of argument.[51] Semantically it is not necessarily the case that Paul thought that such biting and devouring was happening, but the context helps us determine that this is part of Paul's portrayal and understanding of the situation. The point is that, as a result of the opponents, the

[44] Rightly noted by Barclay 1988, 208.

[45] Schlier 1951, 79; Neyrey 1988; J. H. Elliott 1990; Morland 1995, 146, 169; B. Longenecker 1998, 150–57; S. Eastman 2001.

[46] *Contra* du Toit 1994, 407 n.19, who downplays this as "audacious."

[47] Rightly Barclay 1988, 153–54, although he does not develop the agitators' contribution to the division.

[48] Even the references in 3.1 and 4.17, to sorcery and zeal, speak to the tension these figures caused.

[49] In 5.24, where Paul speaks of the crucifixion of the flesh σὺν τοῖς παθήμασιν καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, Paul appears to be addressing the widespread Jewish belief that circumcision helps alleviate the desires of the flesh. For instance, Philo regarded circumcision as a symbol for the excision of pleasure (*Spec. Leg.* 1.9; *Quaest. in Gn.* 3.48) and an aid against "vices of the flesh" (*Quaest. in Gn.* 3.52). See Yonge 2013, 860. The only thing that can hinder the "works of the flesh," according to Paul, is the cross (5.24).

[50] Cf. *1 Clem*. 46.7.

[51] Porter 1994, 256–59.

community is in turmoil.[52] In keeping with the metaphor, the flesh-people have turned the community into one that devours each other's *flesh*.

The connection of the agitators with the flesh and the divisive "works of the flesh" brings us back momentarily to 4.29, where the children of the flesh are said to be engaging in persecution (διώκω).[53] This is best seen as a way of aligning the agitators with the wrong kind of children of Abraham. Thus their persecution (4.29) and divisive activity (5.19–21) demonstrate that they are not the true children of Abraham indwelt by the Spirit. As it applies to the conflict, then, the agitators are on the side of the flesh and the Galatians are in danger of joining them if they receive circumcision.

The association of the opponents with persecution fits the way that Paul refers to them as "trouble-makers" (1.7; 5.10: ταράσσω) and "agitators" (5.12: ἀναστατόω). This "trouble" and "agitation" appears to manifest itself in divisive and even aggressive behaviour towards the Galatians. The problem with the way these verbs have been understood in the letter is that it is assumed that the Galatians were being bothered merely by the prospect of circumcision.[54] It seems more legitimate, however, to recognize that Paul thinks the agitators were troubling the Galatians with both their message *and behaviour*. As an example of this use of terminology to convey both, 1 Pet. 3.14 issues a call not to fear or be troubled by those who might bring harm (τὸν δὲ φόβον αὐτῶν μὴ φοβηθῆτε μηδὲ ταραχθῆτε). This understanding of the agitators' "trouble making" fits the context of the letter and the emphasis on hostile behaviour, as we have seen.

Because the portrait of the agitators is one of division in the community, it can be seen that the "vice-list" in 5.19–21 was tailored as a critique.[55] Utilizing a "vice-list" for the purpose of criticizing the actions of persecutors can also be found in the *Didache* (5.1–2) and the *Epistle of Barnabas* (20.1–2). The contrast between the flesh and the Spirit in Gal. 5–6 more broadly has

[52] So Bruce 1982, 242; Russell 1997, 149; Keesmaat 1999, 197; Oakes 2015, 171–72. *Contra* Betz 1979, 277, who regards 5.15 as hypothetical. R. Longenecker 1990, 244, interprets the verse as a critique of the Galatians' "own indigenous and loveless libertine attitudes."

[53] Although Cosgrove rightly regards division to be a central part of the crisis in Galatia (see 1988, 158), he does not regard the persecution of 4.29 to be a reference to the activity of the agitators because he contends that διώκω is only used to refer to the activity of those outside the church (see 1988, 83–84). Even if this were correct, one must ask if Paul viewed these figures as being *insiders* (cf. 1.6–9; 5.10–12, 19–21; 6.12–14).

[54] See, e.g., R. Longenecker 1990, 16; Dunn 1993, 42–43. Martyn 1997, 111–12, adds the nuance, in the light of 4.17, that the Galatians are frightened by the agitators' threats of condemnation.

[55] *Contra* Oropeza 2012, 25, who regards 5.19–21 as directed against the Galatians rather than the agitators because Paul is calling to mind what he taught them originally (προεῖπον). However, the "vice list" is best understood as both a warning to the Galatians and a judgment against the agitators.

many resonances with the Two-Spirits discourse in *The Community Rule* (1QS III, 13—IV, 26), particularly in the division of humanity into two types of people. This fits as a critique of the agitators since it contrasts with the Galatians who possess the Spirit (Gal. 3.1–5; 4.1–7, 28–29) and who have crucified the flesh (5.24).

The final place where divisive and hostile actions are discernable is in the manner that Paul says that the agitators advocated circumcision. It appears that Paul understood that the agitators were placing immense pressure upon the Galatians to be circumcised. To demonstrate this point we will need to look more directly at 6.12–13. In the final section of the letter Paul says that the agitators compel/force (ἀναγκάζουσιν) the Galatians to be circumcised (6.12) and that they do not keep/guard (φυλάσσουσιν) the law themselves (6.13). I contend that with both of these references Paul was thinking of the hostile behaviour of the agitators in keeping with the presentation we have just seen. We will look at each in turn.

2.3.1.1 Forced Circumcision (Galatians 6.12)

So what does Paul mean when he says that the agitators force/compel the Galatians to be circumcised? The first thing to note is that Paul uses ἀναγκάζω two other times in the letter in analogous situations (2.3, 14). In each case, Paul opposes attempts to compel Gentiles towards Jewish customs. In 2.3 Paul refers to the fact that Titus was not forced (ἠναγκάσθη) to be circumcised during his visit to Jerusalem, and in response Paul says that he did not submit to such pressure (2.5). The other instance is in Paul's account of the Antioch incident, when he told Peter that by withdrawing from table fellowship with Gentiles he was "compelling" the Gentiles to be Jews (2.14: ἀναγκάζεις ἰουδαΐζειν).

With these two instances of ἀναγκάζω in 2.3 and 2.14 included as part of the so-called autobiographical section of the letter, Paul presents instances of compulsion upon Gentiles that he himself resisted. It appears that these were recounted to be examples for the Galatians not to give in to compulsion (§4.3.4). Just as Paul did not give in to the pressure in Jerusalem and Antioch, so too the Galatians must not give in to the pressure to receive circumcision. Given the portrait of the agitators' behaviour elsewhere—they are trouble-makers (1.7; 5.10), agitators

(5.12), persecutors (4.29), zealous and exclusive (4.17), and divisive (5.15, 19–21)—we have reason to see that Paul interprets the compulsion in 6.12 as being aggressive.[56]

There are a few passages in Jewish literature that refer to forced circumcision and conversion motivated by fear. During the initial stages of the Maccabean revolt, Mattathias and his men forcibly circumcised (ἐν ἰσχύι) all the uncircumcised boys they could find (1 Macc. 2.46). In the Greek versions of Esther, some Gentiles motivated by fear (διὰ τὸν φόβον) were said to have "become Jews" (ιουδάιζον)[57] through circumcision (Esth. LXX 8.17; cf. Esth. AT 8.41; Josephus, *A.J.* 11.285). On two occasions, Josephus records his disapproval of forced circumcision and proselytization, speaking of such activity as compulsion (*Vita* 113: περιτέμνεσθαι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀναγκαζόντων) and even persecution (*Vita* 150: διώκεσθαι). One man, named Metilius, avoided murder by agreeing to be circumcised and to become a Jew (*BJ* 2.454: ἰουδαΐσειν). Josephus also records how the Idumeans were subjugated and then allowed to stay in their country only if they circumcised themselves and followed the Jewish law, and once they did so they were considered to be Jews (*A.J.* 13.257–258: εἶναι τὸ λοιπὸν Ἰουδαίους). Josephus records that Apion had to be circumcised because of a problem with a phallic ulcer. Thus circumcision was a necessity for Apion (*C. Ap.* 2.143: περιετμήθη γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης).[58] However, the result was that his penis became putrid (σηπόμενος), leading to his death. Thus when circumcision was done out of fear or necessity, some imminent threat was in view. Most of these examples occur in military contexts, but despite that fact they are still relevant for our purposes, especially because we are dealing with Paul's portrayal. What we can see from these texts is that violence could be a motivating factor in receiving circumcision. Although this study is not concerned with historical reconstruction, it is not difficult to see how the Galatians could have been motivated to receive circumcision if they were genuinely being forced to receive it in some way.[59]

[56] So rightly McKnight 1991, 220; *Contra* Eckert 1971, 32; Betz 1979, 315.

[57] The breathing mark is surprisingly missing from Rahlfs.

[58] Barclay 2007, 242, renders it "an emergency."

[59] The agitators' aggressive behaviour could explain the Galatians' interest in circumcision. Philo records that circumcision was normally conducted in infancy because otherwise people would be fearful of the procedure at an older age (*Quaest. in Gn.* 3.48). Additionally, Philo reports that circumcision was ridiculed by non-Jews (*Spec. Leg.* 1.1). Why would the Galatians pursue this fear-inducing and ridicule-receiving procedure? The conflict caused by the agitators, if historically accurate, could contribute towards an explanation.

2.3.1.2 They Do Not Keep The Law (Galatians 6.13)

The intense pressure and divisive behaviour of the agitators probably lies behind Paul's statement in 6.13 that the agitators do not keep (φυλάσσουσιν) the law. A minority of scholars has argued from this suggestion that the agitators were not actually Jews (6.13).[60] This interpretation is often conjoined with the argument that Paul's appellation for them in this verse (οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι) suggests that they were Gentiles in the process of undergoing circumcision.[61] Others, however, see in these words a general critique of inability to keep the law completely (cf. 3.10 and 5.2–3).[62] Another possibility is that Paul has polemically characterized the agitators as being more concerned about the Galatians receiving circumcision than scrupulously keeping the law themselves.[63] Others suggest that it is beyond knowing what exactly Paul meant.[64] Yet it seems possible that Paul might have something specific in mind.

I contend that Paul is thinking of the many ways in which he has already portrayed the agitators as not keeping the law—namely through their hostile behaviour. Since Paul has stated that ὁ πᾶς νόμος is fulfilled through *loving one's neighbor* (5.14), and that *bearing burdens* fulfills τὸν νόμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ (6.2), it is clear that the agitators have failed to keep the prescriptions of the law (6.13) precisely by the way they fail to bear burdens and to display neighborly love. Instead of bearing burdens they place burdens upon the Galatians (5.1), and instead of showing neighborly love they are hostile and divisive.

There are two points to buttress this reading further. First, it should not be missed that the reference to loving one's neighbor as the fulfillment of the law in 5.14 is given in a context about division and conflict, as noted above. In 5.15 Paul speaks of biting and devouring one another (i.e. eating one another's *flesh*), and in 5.13 he calls the community not to give an opportunity to "the flesh." This "fleshly opportunity" represents the way that circumcision had led to division

[60] This view was primarily associated with the earlier view that the opponents were pneumatics or Gnostics. See esp. Schmithals 1965, 9–47.

[61] A few scholars regard the present tense of οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι as indicating that the opponents themselves were undergoing circumcision, suggesting that they were actually Gentiles. See Munck 1959, 87–89; Gunther 1973, 82–83; Harvey 2002, 326; Prokhorov 2013, 180. Yet this presses the tense of the participle too far since participles only communicate relative time. Most scholars note that the middle voice likely makes the participle causative. See Lightfoot 1902, 222–23; Bruce 1982, 269–70; Howard 1990, 18; Jewett 2002, 337–38.

[62] E.g. Russell 1997, 25; Schreiner 2010, 378; Moo 2013, 394–95.

[63] R. Longenecker 1990, 293; du Toit 1994, 160; Martyn 1997, 563; Hays 2000, 343. A variation of this view is offered by Burton 1921, 351–53, but for him οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι refers to the Galatians and thus "not keeping the law" is primarily about their selective observance to the law. This is followed by Muddiman 1994, 259; Vouga 1998, 156.

[64] Betz 1979, 316–17; Dunn 1993, 338–39; M. de Boer 2011, 400; Oakes 2015, 188–89.

and friction. Paul specifically warns against taking an opportunity for the flesh by saying in the second half of v.13 that they should instead serve one another through love. Then in 5.14 he summarizes the law as the command to love one's neighbor. As well, in vv. 10–12, Paul has harsh words for these trouble-makers and agitators, no doubt because of the division reflected in 5.13–15. If serving one another through love (5.13) and loving one's neighbor (5.14) is the answer to giving an opportunity to the flesh, then it is likely that Paul is anticipating his discussion on the divisive nature of the flesh in 5.19–21 and is harking back to the fact that "the children of the flesh" are persecuting the children of the Spirit (4.29). Simply put, those aligned with the flesh will produce conflict. Thus we have good reason to read 6.13 in the light of this.

Second, the idea that "not keeping the law" in 6.13 refers to divisive behaviour is also seen from the way Paul speaks of the "vice-list" (5.19–21) in relation to the fruit of the Spirit (5.22–23). If it is the case that the agitators are producing the divisive "works of the flesh," as I have argued, then this leads to two conclusions. First, this means that they are not producing the fruit of the Spirit (5.22–23). And, second, if they are not producing the fruit of the Spirit, then *the law will condemn them*; only those who produce the fruit of the Spirit will not have the law condemn them (5.23b: κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστιν νόμος) because the Spirit is the one that produces the love that extends towards one's neighbor and fulfills the law. Thus the agitators were not "keeping the law" as Paul states in 6.13, even if they emphasized the law's requirements on circumcision and other Jewish customs. Whether the reference to not keeping the law in 6.13 refers specifically to the divisive and aggressive activity of the agitators or not, it would no doubt be included as part of the indictment.

So from this portrait we can see that Paul regards the behaviour of the agitators to be hostile—behaviour that he calls "persecution" in 4.29. From a historical perspective, the question then is, why would they act this way if they were trying to persuade the Galatians to be circumcised? But for our purposes, the more important question is, what reasons does Paul give for this reaction?

2.3.1.3 The Fear of Persecution as the Rationale

The clearest statements Paul gives regarding the motivation of the agitators are in 6.12–13 (cf. 4.17). Paul explains that the agitators were motivated by a desire to be "good faced" (εὐπροσωπῆσαι) in the flesh and a desire to avoid persecution for the cross (6.12). To whom do

the agitators wish to have a good face? As well, does having a "good face" help them avoid persecution somehow (6.12)? Who is this additional group oppressing or threatening the agitators?

Since the present thesis is not concerned with offering a precise historical reconstruction, it is not necessary for us to determine the identity of this "third party." Paul's explanation of the agitators' divisive behaviour is sufficient to construct a plausible scenario in which he assumes that the agitators are pressuring the Galatians because of the pressure that they themselves are experiencing. The pressure in Galatia is therefore three-tiered.

Although it is possible that the reference to avoiding persecution in 6.12 is a polemical exaggeration, there have been two main suggestions for the source of this hostility. This "third party" was either (1) zealot Jews in Jerusalem[65] or (2) local civic authorities; the latter position is further divided into two main sub-positions: (2a) these authorities were local Jews from the synagogue[66] or (2b) local Roman officials.[67] A related issue that often appears in this discussion is the origin of the agitators. Whatever merits position (1) might have, it would be seriously mitigated if the agitators were not from Jerusalem. Yet even if the agitators were from Jerusalem this would not nullify either form of position (2).

Nothing in this study depends on a particular reconstruction. Whether we imagine that the agitators were locals from Galatia or from Jerusalem, and whether we think that the pressure upon them came from Zealots in Jerusalem, local Jews from the synagogue, or local civic authorities, is irrelevant. At the same time, we also cannot discount other possible historical motivations for the agitators.[68] The point is that 6.12 suggests pressure, and we do not need to put too much effort into finding an explanation *for the explanation that Paul provides*: the agitators fear some form of persecution from a legitimate threat and so seek to alleviate this by having a "good face" before them (6.12).[69] This pressure upon the agitators, in turn, provides an

[65] See esp. Jewett 2002.

[66] See Dunn 1993, 336–37; Harvey 2002; Oakes 2015, 187. For the synagogue punishment of forty lashes minus one, see 2 Cor. 11.24; Josephus, *A.J.* 4.248.

[67] Winter 2002; Kahl 2010, 226; Cf. also Aquinas (Larcher 1966, 201); Jerome (Cain 2010, 262–63); Haimo of Auxere (Levy 2011, 129). Hardin 2008, 85–115 argues for a mixture of Roman and Jewish authorities.

[68] According to Harvey 2002, 328, the reference to avoiding persecution in 6.12 shows that the agitators did not represent "a theological position." See also, e.g., Prokhorov 2013; Hubing 2015, 228. In my estimation, this reflects a false dichotomy.

[69] The idea of having a "good face" before those who were persecuting could possibly be correlated with 1.10 and people pleasing; regardless of whether 1.10 was written to combat an accusation or not, we can see that Paul understood the agitators to be the real people pleasers.

explanation for the divisive and aggressive actions that constitute pressure on the Galatians.[70] The actions of the agitators mirror those of Peter, who compels Gentiles to "judaize" (2.14: ἀναγκάζεις ἰουδαΐζειν)[71] because he was "afraid of the circumcision" (2.12: φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς).[72] Paul sees the conflict in Galatia as a similar three-tiered pressure; pressure upon the agitators, in turn, causes them to pressure the Galatians.

2.3.1.4 Summary

When Paul refers to the way that the flesh-children persecute the Spirit-children (4.29), we can conclude that by referring to this activity Paul includes the behaviour of the agitators. This can be seen from the way he closely aligns them with the flesh and hostile behaviour. Thus in their advocacy of circumcision, the agitators have ostensibly demonstrated their status as sons of Abraham, but the irony is that, as far as Paul is concerned, they are children of Abraham after the manner of Ishmael—children born according to the flesh. This is evidenced not only by their focus on the circumcision of the flesh, but also by the way they inflict persecution (4.29) and avoid it (6.12).[73] This is to be contrasted with the Galatians who are seen to be "Isaac children" both by their possession of the Spirit (being Gentiles with no physical lineage to Abraham), and by their experience of opposition. With this clear understanding of the distinct identities that Paul has for the Galatians and for the agitators, we are now prepared to see how this relates to his expectations for their respective futures as articulated in the final verses of the allegory.

2.3.2 The Implications of Identity for the Inheritance (Galatians 4.30–5.1)

In Galatians 4.30–5.1 Paul refers to the destinies of the flesh-children and the Spirit-children in relation to the future inheritance. The section is concluded with a final command to stand firm (5.1: στήκετε) instead of receiving circumcision in the midst of the pressure.

[70] Such a possibility could alleviate the doubts of Barclay 1987, 86, who asserts, "It is doubtful that they could or would actually *compel* the Galatians to get circumcised (6:12; cf. 2:14)."

[71] For those who think that the compulsion was intentional, see, e.g., Watson 1986, 54–55; McKnight 1995, 106–7; Elmer 2009, 109.

[72] For those who see Peter's fear as a concern about potential persecution, see, e.g., Watson 1986, 53–54; *idem* 2007, 120; R. Longenecker 1990, 74–75; Dunn 1993, 123; Gibson 2013, 262–75; Carson 2014, 99–112. Cf. esp. Gibson 2013, 141–214, for the possible political situation that could have led to this scenario.

[73] What is important here is not whether the agitators would have agreed that these descriptions accurately portrayed their efforts, but rather that Paul evaluated them in this way. In sociological terms we could say that the agitators have been labeled as "deviants." This is broadly coherent with the "interactionist" perspective on deviance since I am concerned with Paul's non-objective labelling of his opponents. For more on "Deviance Theory" see esp. Becker 1973. Cf. Still 1999, 84–106; Barclay 2011, 123–39.

In 4.30 Paul cites from Gen. 21.10 LXX, which includes Sarah's command to cast out (ἔκβαλε) the slave girl and her son (i.e. Hagar and Ishmael) because the inheritance is only for the son of the free girl (i.e. Isaac). Paul's intention in citing this verse at the end of the allegory has been variously understood. Some take it as a general statement about the status of Judaism *vis-à-vis* Christianity.[74] This however is not only anachronistic, but it also generalizes beyond the Galatian crisis itself. As Mußner noted, "Zu solcher antijüdisch klingenden Auffassung kommt man, wenn man den unmittelbaren Kontext, der eindeutig auf die Situation in Galatien abhebt, nicht beachtet."[75] Therefore, the command to cast out the slave woman and her son is most likely in reference to separating from the agitators, which keeps the Galatian crisis in view.[76]

However, Susan Eastman has recently argued that the citation of Gen. 21.10 LXX should not be interpreted as a *command* to expel the agitators.[77] She contends that the second person singular imperative (ἔκβαλε) is not directed to the Galatians,[78] but rather the Galatians are meant to "overhear" Sarah's words to Abraham from the citation.[79] Thus the purpose is not to *command* the Galatians but to *warn* them about the dangers of associating with the agitators.

Eastman's arguments fail to convince, however, for several reasons. Paul specifically asks if his readers *hear* the law (τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἀκούετε) in 4.21, which appears to be connected to the citation of Gen. 21.10 LXX in Gal. 4.30 since that is the only citation of *the law* in this passage.[80] Thus the contention that the Galatians are simply meant to "overhear" Sarah's words undermines the implications that Paul draws from Ishmael's treatment of Isaac in Gen. 21.9 with his comments in Gal. 4.29 regarding the nature of persecution in the past (τότε) and in the present (νῦν).[81] Ishmael persecutes Isaac (as then so also now) and Ishmael must be expelled (as then so also now). The slight change that Paul makes to the citation from "with my son Isaac"

[74] Burton 1921, 267; Duncan 1934, 146; Betz 1979, 250. Cf. Moo 2013, 311–12, who offers a more nuanced and palatable version of this perspective.

[75] Mußner 1974, 332.

[76] So, e.g., Mußner 1974, 332; Lincoln 1981, 27; Hansen 1989, 86, 145–46; Hays 1989, 116, 167; R. Longenecker 1990, 217; Matera 1992, 178; Fowl 1994, 89–90; Morland 1995, 170; McLean 1996, 125; Martyn 1997, 446; Ciampa 1998, 84; Wisdom 2001, 215–19; Willitts 2005, 209; Harmon 2010, 182, 184; M. de Boer 2011, 306–8; Das 2014, 509–11. Bonnard 1953, 99, thinks that the removal of the agitators is possibly included in this along with the current rejection of the Jews by God.

[77] S. Eastman 2006. This interpretation is followed by Schreiner 2010, 306; Lyons 2010, 294–95; Oakes 2015, 159. For similar though independent readings of 4.30 see Nanos 2002, 157; Di Mattei 2006, 120–22; Starling 2011, 59.

[78] S. Eastman 2006, 319–24; *eadem* 2007*,* 133.

[79] S. Eastman 2006, 314, 321, 324.

[80] So Hays 1989, 116.

[81] I will have more to say about how Paul can read Gen. 21.9 in this way in §5.3.2.

(Gen. 21.10 LXX: μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ μου Ισαακ) to "with the son of the freewoman" (μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἐλευθέρας) is evidence that he is not strictly speaking the words of Sarah that the Galatians are meant to "overhear" but he is speaking the words of Scripture directly to them, as noted by Hays.[82]

Additionally, as for the use of a second person singular imperative, it is possible that Paul has preserved this part of the citation to enhance the individualized nature of the command.[83] Paul uses the second person singular εἶ in 4.7 presumably to communicate to individuals directly.[84] However, another possibility presents itself when we compare the way Paul uses second singular imperatives elsewhere to command his readers:[85]

Figure 1

Rom. 11.18	μὴ κατακαυχῶ τῶν κλάδων
Rom. 11.20	μὴ ὑψηλὰ φρόνει ἀλλὰ φοβοῦ
Rom. 11.22	ἴδε οὖν χρηστότητα καὶ ἀποτομίαν θεοῦ
Rom. 12.21	μὴ νικῶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ ἀλλὰ νίκα ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ κακόν
Rom. 13.3	τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποίει
Rom. 13.4	ἐὰν δὲ τὸ κακὸν ποιῇς, φοβοῦ
Rom. 14.15	μὴ τῷ βρώματί σου ἐκεῖνον ἀπόλλυε ὑπὲρ οὗ Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν
Rom. 14.20	μὴ ἕνεκεν βρώματος κατάλυε τὸ ἔργον τοῦ θεοῦ
Rom. 14.22	σὺ πίστιν [ἣν] ἔχεις κατὰ σεαυτὸν ἔχε ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ
1 Cor. 7.21	μᾶλλον χρῆσαι
1 Cor. 7.27	δέδεσαι γυναικί, μὴ ζήτει λύσιν: λέλυσαι ἀπὸ γυναικός, μὴ ζήτει γυναῖκα.

These imperatives do not appear in citations of Scripture, as in Gal. 4.30, but an interesting commonality between these passages nevertheless emerges. Although the examples in Rom. 12–13 are exceptions, Paul is able to utilize second person singular imperatives to address *a portion of his audience*, whether they be Gentiles, the "strong,"[86] slaves, men, etc. . . This is helpful for our purposes in Gal. 4.21–5.1 since Paul addresses "those who want to be under the law" in 4.21. The allegory contains two other plural imperatives, to be sure (Λέγετε in 4.21; στήκετε in 5.1),

[82] Hays 1989, 116.
[83] So Moo 2013, 311.
[84] So R. Longenecker 1990, 175; Moo 2013, 217.
[85] The following chart can be found in Dunne 2014, 250.
[86] Dunn 1988, 826, and Jewett 2007, 870, view the singular imperative in 14.22 directed to individuals among "the weak" and "the strong." However, this is unlikely since the singular is used in 14.15 and 14.20 to address "the strong," and in v.23 Paul transitions to "the weak."

but these do not create problems for this proposal. This is because in some of the contexts of the passages noted above second person *plural* imperatives can also be found. For instance, note the presence of the plural κρίνατε in Rom. 14.13 before the singulars in 14.15, 20 and 22. Also note the use of the plural μὴ γίνεσθε in 1 Cor. 7.23 in the midst of the singulars in 7.21 (for slaves) and 7.27 (for men). Thus my suggestion is not that Paul consistently or only uses second person singular imperatives when he is speaking to a portion of his audience, but rather that this was a grammatical possibility for him.

It seems probable, therefore, that the citation in 4.30 was intended to function as a warning *and* as a command to "cast out" the agitators from the community (whether the imperative is intended for all individuals or "those who want to be under the law"). This stands as a marker of judgment against the agitators indicating that they will not receive the future inheritance. This also coheres with the other references to the judgment of the agitators in Galatians, and matches the emphasis throughout Jewish and Christian literature that persecutors and oppressors will be punished.[87] They are to be "cast out," which highlights their distinction from the ecclesial community of the Spirit-children, and so they will not receive the future inheritance as a result.

But what exactly are the flesh-children being excluded from? What exactly is the inheritance? The first thing to affirm is that the inheritance here in 4.30 is not the Spirit *per se*. Rather the Spirit is a sign that points forward to the inheritance. If the Spirit-children are said to be heirs then they are inheriting something other than the Spirit. The language of inheritance in Galatians seems to demonstrate that Paul has the Abrahamic promise of land in mind in accordance with the way that the OT typically associates inheritance with the land.[88] Therefore the Spirit is not the inheritance but an accompanying sign that points to the inheritance. Elsewhere this is articulated in the Pauline corpus through the image of the Spirit being an ἀρραβών (2 Cor. 1.22; 5.5; Eph. 1.14; cf. Eph. 4.30). This role of the Spirit in relation to the inheritance is important to note because many see the content of the Abrahamic promise in Galatians to be the reception of the Spirit in the light of 3.14.[89] However, Paul has not sidelined

[87] See, e.g., 2 Thess. 1.6; Rev. 6.9–11; 17.6–8; 2 Macc. 7.14, 17, 19, 31, 35–36; 9.5–18; *4 Macc*. 9.9, 24, 32; 10.11; 18.5, 22; *1 En.* 62.11; 95.7; 98.13; 100.7–9; *2 En.* 50.1–4; *Jub.* 23.23–31; *2 Bar.* 82; *Apoc. Dan.* 14.13–16; *Apoc. El.* 5.27; *2 Clem*. 17.7; *Apoc. Pet.* 9 (Eth.); *Ep. Apos.* 38.

[88] Cf. Forman 2011, 64–68.

[89] Cosgrove 1988, 85; Hafemann 1997, 350; Hays 2002, 183.

the land promise or spiritualized it into possession of the Spirit.[90] Yet this does not mean, as Kwon has argued, that the Spirit and the land promise are "not related."[91] Rather the Spirit points forward to the inheritance and produces the fruit that will lead to the kingdom (5.19–23; cf. Phil 1.5–11). The Spirit leads believers to the promised land, the inheritance, which fits with many of the parallels to the wilderness wanderings that scholars have noted here (cf. 5.18).[92] Although the language of inheritance probably refers to the land promise, it is clear from Rom. 4.13 that Paul understands the land promise to have expanded to include the whole world (cf. Rom. 8; *Jub.* 22.14). Although the connection here is sometimes made to καινὴ κτίσις in 6.15, I suggest that this reference is not to the content of the inheritance.[93] Rather I will argue that it has more to do with the way the Spirit functions as a down-payment, or, in other words, we might say that "new creation" in this verse is not about *what* is inherited but *who* will inherit (§3.3.4). In the light of 5.21, the best way to speak of the inheritance and the expanded land promise in Galatians is to say that the inheritance is *the kingdom of God*. In other words, the inheritance refers to the promise of the future rule of the sons of Abraham over all creation (cf. 4.1). What further links 4.29–30 with 5.21 as an explanation of what the inheritance actually is, is the Spirit-flesh contrast in each, as rightly noted by Kwon.[94] However, this can be extended further due to the fact that Paul explicitly says that those who produce the "works of the flesh" recorded in 5.19–21 will not inherit the kingdom of God. This matches the fact that the "children of the flesh" will not inherit because of their persecuting activity (4.29–30). Thus the lack of inheriting the kingdom of God for the "flesh people" means that those who produce the fruit of the Spirit, i.e., the Spirit-children, will receive the inheritance, as the parallel in 4.30–31 also anticipates.

Important for this interpretation of 4.29–31 is also recognizing the proper conclusion to the allegory. Most have seen the ending of the allegory to be v.31 signaled by the διό. However, Cosgrove argued that the allegory ends at v.30 and that v.31 is really the proper start of the next section. He argued that Paul uses the vocative to structure his discourse, and thus the use of ἀδελφοί in v.31 should signal the start of a new section.[95] But this is not utilized very consistently; for example, does 4.6 or 4.19 or 4.28 begin a new section? Verse 31 is better

[90] *Contra* W. Davies 1974.
[91] Kwon 2004, 109; cf. p.132.
[92] Wilder 2001; Wilson 2004; Harmon 2010, 222–25.
[93] *Contra*, e.g., Keesmaat 1999, 185.
[94] Kwon 2004, 149.
[95] Cosgrove 1988, 27–29.

understood as making an inference (διό) from the scriptural citation of v.30, with 5.1 containing a final imperative (στήκετε: cf. Phil. 4.1). To make this case stronger, 5.2 appears to be the start of a brand new section with the use of Ἴδε and the fact that Paul draws attention to himself (ἐγὼ Παῦλος).

With 5.1 as the proper ending to the allegory, the call for the Galatians to stand firm (στήκετε) is suggestive in the light of the reference to persecution in 4.29. This fits similar contexts where the *endurance* of conflict is commended. In Matthew, Jesus says in the middle of the great Olivet Discourse that the one who endures (ὁ ὑπομείνας) to the end will be saved (Matt. 24.13). Similarly, the author of Hebrews calls for his readers to "hold firmly" (κατέχω) or to "grasp" (κρατέω) the faith to the end (Heb. 3.6, 14; 4.14; 6.11; 10.23). When Paul recalls how the Philippians were called to suffer (Phil. 1.26–30), he commands them to "stand firm" (Phil. 1.27: στήκετε). Then later in the letter, after referring to the "enemies of the cross" (Phil. 3.18), Paul speaks of their hope in the *parousia* and the resurrection, and then calls his readers to "stand firm" again (Phil. 4.1: στήκετε). With the Thessalonians, Paul notes how he was happy to hear that they were "standing firm" in the face of persecution (1 Thess. 3.8: στήκετε). Elsewhere Paul, or a disciple, also calls for his readers to "stand" in a context about spiritual battles (Eph. 6.14: στῆτε). In 1 Peter the audience is called to be "firm" (στερεοὶ) in the face of suffering, which, similarly to Eph. 6, is seen as a spiritual battle (1 Pet. 5.9). If Gal. 5.1 is part of the allegory, therefore, the call to stand firm makes sense precisely in response to the opposition that Paul describes in v.29 (i.e. "persecution").[96] This also coheres broadly with expectations that Christians would receive an inheritance for enduring suffering and hardship,[97] and with other instances where other blessings would be received, such as entering the kingdom, receiving a prize, exaltation, and resurrection itself.[98]

[96] Cf. also *Acts Andr. Mth.* 18: "For behold, I show you, Andrew, before you enter their city what you must suffer. They will show you many terrible insults, contrive tortures, scatter your flesh on the public avenues and streets of their city. Your blood will flow on the ground like water. They will not be able to kill you, but they will contrive many afflictions. *Stand firm*, our Andrew, and do not respond in kind to their unbelief." See J. K. Elliott 1993, 291 (emphasis added).

[97] 1 Pet. 1.4–6; *1 Clem.* 45.8; *Acts Pil.* 6[22]; *Apoc. Paul* 47.

[98] Matt. 5.10–12, 44–45; 10.38–39; 16.24–27; Mark 8.34–38; Luke 6.22–23; 9.23–26; Acts 7.57–60; 14.22; Rom. 8.17–24, 35–39; 2 Cor. 1.8–9; 4.7–18; Phil. 2.16–17; 3.10–14; Eph. 3.13; 2 Thess. 1.5; 2 Tim. 1.12; 2.3–6, 9–10, 12; 4.6; Heb. 2.9; 10.32–36; 11.35–37; 12.2; 1 Pet. 1.11, 21–23; 5.1, 10; 2 Pet. 1.10–11; Rev. 2.7, 11, 17, 26; 3.5, 12, 21; 6.9–11; 13.10; 14.12; 20.4; 21.7; *1 Clem.* 5.4–7; *2 Clem.* 5.1–5; 11.4–5, 7; 19.3–4; 20.1–2; Ign. *Rom.* 4.3; Ign. *Pol.* 7.1; Ign. *Phld.* 9.2; *M. Pol.* 14.2; 19.2; 22.1; *Herm.* 9.9—10.1; 13.2; 105.4; *Did.* 16.5; *Barn.* 7.11; 8.5–

In addition to standing firm, Paul also calls the Galatians not to submit again (πάλιν) to a yoke of slavery (5.1: ζυγῷ δουλείας). With this reference Paul is drawing a connection between submitting to the law and the former days of the Galatians while they were enslaved to the στοῖχεια (4.9: οἷς πάλιν ἄνωθεν δουλεύειν θέλετε). This reference in 5.1 also appears to be an allusion to Lev. 26.13 LXX.[99] The exodus imagery is relevant at this stage because, as we will see (§5.3.2), the citation of Isa. 54.1 in the allegory signals an end to exile, the second exodus (4.27). More importantly though, regarding the compulsion upon the Galatians to be circumcised, it is important to recognize the link between compulsion and slavery. Note the words of Philo:

> Again, one who cannot be compelled (ἀναγκάσαι) to do anything or prevented from doing anything, cannot be a slave. But the good man cannot be compelled (ἀναγκάσαι) or prevented: the good man, therefore, cannot be a slave. That he is not compelled (ἀναγκάζεται) nor prevented is evident. One is prevented when he does not get what he desires, but the wise man desires things which have their origin in virtue, and these, being what he is, he cannot fail to obtain. Further, if one is compelled (ἀναγκάζεται) he clearly acts against his will (Philo, *Quod Omn. Prob.* 60).[100]
>
> Whence it is clear that he does nothing unwillingly and is never compelled (ἀναγκάζεται), whereas if he were a slave he would be compelled, and therefore the good man will be a free man (Philo, *Quod Omn. Prob.* 61).[101]

Similarly, Epictetus also states, "The unhampered man, who finds things ready to hand as he wants them is free. But the man who can be hampered, or subjected to compulsion (ἀναγκάσαι), or hindered, or thrown into something against his will, is a slave" (Epictetus, *Diss.* 4.1.128).[102] This could further explain some of Paul's references to slavery and being a slave throughout Galatians. In fact, in the light of the persecution reference in 4.29, it is likely that the reference to submitting to slavery in 5.1 picks up on this idea of giving in to compulsion. Since Paul writes in 6.12 that the agitators were compelling the Galatians to be circumcised, this explains the connection. The relationship between slavery and compulsion is present in one of the other two passages where compulsion is mentioned. In 2.1–10, when Paul recounts how the "false brothers" tried to compel Titus to be circumcised (2.3: ἠναγκάσθη περιτμηθῆναι), Paul describes

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6; *Apoc. Pet.* 16; *Mart. Paul* 4, 6; *Ep. Lao* 6–7; *Acts Thom.* 160; *Ep. Apos.* 38, 50; *Acts Andr.* 54[4]; *Gregory of Tours' Epitome* 20; *Ap. Jas.* 4.20—5.35; 6.1–20; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.1. Cf. 2 Macc. 7.9, 23, 29.

[99] See Keesmaat 1999, 171, 187; Wilson 2004. Cf. Lev. 26.13 LXX (Rahlfs): ἐγώ εἰμι κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν ὁ ἐξαγαγὼν ὑμᾶς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ὄντων ὑμῶν δούλων καὶ συνέτριψα τὸν δεσμὸν τοῦ ζυγοῦ ὑμῶν καὶ ἤγαγον ὑμᾶς μετὰ παρρησίας.

[100] LCL: Colson 1954, 45.

[101] LCL: Colson 1954, 45–47.

[102] LCL: Oldfather 1959, 289.

their actions as an attempt to enslave (2.4: ἵνα ἡμᾶς καταδουλώσουσιν). This means that the agitators' efforts to compel the Galatians to be circumcised (6.12) are here referred to as an act of persecution (4.29). This points strongly in favour of regarding the compulsion as forceful in 6.12. Yet the Galatians are not to give in, but must stand firm (5.1). If they do so, they will receive the future inheritance (4.30).

2.3.3 Conclusion on Galatians 4.28–5.1

From this brief look at the Galatian allegory, it appears that Paul imagines that his audience is experiencing persecution and that his opponents are enacting it. Regardless of whether this would have been the most historically appropriate way to describe the events, it nevertheless appears to be the case that Paul portrays the events in this way. The conflict is depicted as one of persecution, and from this portrait Paul has drawn conclusions regarding Christian identity and destiny; the Galatians stand to receive the future inheritance because they are the legitimate children of Abraham, evidenced by their reception of the Spirit and their experience of persecution. On the other hand, Paul concedes to the agitators that they are indeed the children of Abraham, but they are the ones who have been disqualified from being heirs.

2.4 Galatians 4.6–7

The pattern present in 4.29 that unites the themes of sonship, the Spirit, suffering, and the future inheritance, I contend, can also be found in 4.6–7. Here in this context we read that God sent his Son in response to the problems created by the curse of the law (4.5) and the rule of the στοιχεῖα (4.3).[103] The result was the adoption of God's people and the pouring out of the Spirit of the Son, making them heirs (4.5b–7). Because scholars have often recognized the role of sonship, the Spirit, and inheritance in this section, to the neglect of suffering, we will focus our attention on this last element. In particular, our discussion will concern the possibility that Paul's reference to the Spirit crying αββα ὁ πατήρ reflects a context of suffering.

[103] For this study we do not need to determine the exact nature of the στοιχεῖα. If the Galatians follow the agitators they will remain slaves of the στοιχεῖα. Interestingly, in *T. Sol.* 18.39 the στοιχεῖα cause the "evil eye." This may partly illuminate the rationale behind the way that following the agitators' "bewitchment" (3.1: ἐβάσκανεν) leads the Galatians to the realm of the στοιχεῖα.

In this section I will argue that the best explanation for the "Abba cry" is that it stems from a context of suffering.[104] Rather than viewing the "cry" as expressing intimacy,[105] confidence,[106] ecstasy,[107] the charismatic nature of prayer,[108] or being an imitation of Jesus' "religious-ethical life before God,"[109] it is preferable to regard κράζω in this context as a cry in the midst of suffering. This further buttresses the claim that Paul presents suffering as a mark of sonship along with possession of the Spirit, and that both are signs of inheritance. In this context, however, the sonship is divine rather than Abrahamic; the true sons of Abraham are marked out as the true sons of God by the same marks of identity (4.6) and so stand to experience the same destiny (4.7). Yet these two categories of sonship should not be separated since Israel was spoken of as God's son (e.g. Exod. 4.22; Hos. 11.1).[110] As well, in the immediately preceding literary context, Paul moves quickly from speaking of believers as sons of God (3.26) to calling them Abraham's offspring (3.29). Therefore, the fact that this passage deals with divine rather than Abrahamic sonship is not incongruous with the pattern. Sonship and future inheritance are still marked out by the Spirit and suffering in this passage.

Now, there are three main reasons why suffering should be seen as part of the pattern in 4.6–7: first, the fact that the Spirit is specifically the Spirit of *the Son*, whom Paul portrays consistently in Galatians as the crucified Messiah; second, the analogous use of the "Abba cry" in Mark 14 and Rom. 8, which are the only other instances of the "Abba cry" in the NT; third, and finally, the exodus and second exodus imagery in the immediate context. These three reasons will each be expanded below.

2.4.1 The Spirit of the Crucified Son

The first reason to see the "Abba cry" as including a reference to suffering is from the implication of receiving the Spirit of God's *Son*. The focus on the positive results of the Gentiles having the Spirit in 4.7 brings full circle the set of questions from 3.1–5 where Paul asks the Galatians about their experience of the Spirit. As we will see in the next section (§2.5) this

[104] So also Keesmaat 1999, 179, 181; Bryant 2001, 181 n.54; Wilson 2007, 86.
[105] Mußner 1974, 274–76.
[106] Lightfoot 1902, 169; Bonnard 1953, 88; Calvin 1965 [1548], 121; M. de Boer 2011, 265–66.
[107] Burton 1921, 223; Jewett 1971, 99; Betz 1979, 210 n.88; S. Williams 1997, 121; Witherington 1998, 291.
[108] Fee 1994, 409.
[109] Rabens 2014, 301.
[110] Rightly Byrne 1979, 174.

includes experiences of suffering (3.4), but here we see that suffering does not disqualify one from sonship or being a future heir (4.6–7). In 4.6, then, the Spirit provides the assurance of sonship to the believer even when such sonship seems unlikely. In the midst of suffering the Spirit comforts the believer, bringing remembrance of the paternal love and care of God (4.6). Part of the reason why the reception of the Spirit can provide this sort of assurance is because the Spirit is the Spirit of God's Son—the one who suffered and died on the cross.

The giving of the Spirit, which was so closely tied to the Messiah's death on the cross (3.13–14), further demonstrates the link between suffering and the Spirit, and more significantly, the link between Jesus and the Spirit. Just as Paul writes about the Spirit being poured out after Jesus bore the curse on the cross in 3.13–14, and just as he recalls how the Galatians received the Spirit through the proclamation of the crucified one—both heralded in Paul's *kerygma* (3.2) and also displayed in Paul's person (3.1)—so we see Paul make a similar connection in 4.1–7. The Spirit of God's Son was sent after redemption was secured on the cross (4.5).[111]

Elsewhere Paul can speak directly of the Spirit as the Spirit of Jesus (Rom. 8.9; Phil. 1.19) and can also refer to Jesus doing what is normally said to be true of the Spirit, such as dwelling within the believer (Rom. 8.10–11; cf. Col. 1.27, 29; Eph. 3.16–17). In Galatians, we should especially make note of the similar sending formula in 4.4 and 4.6 provided below.[112]

Figure 2

Galatians 4.4	Galatians 4.6
ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ	ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ

The Spirit and the Son are both sent by God, and in 4.6 the Spirit is explicitly called "the Spirit of his Son." As v.6 goes on to say, the Spirit was sent into "our" hearts (εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν),[113] which reflects other language in the letter where Christ indwells believers (1.15–16, 2.20, and 4.19), which will be explored further in part two of this thesis.

[111] For the allusion to crucifixion in 4.5, see Weima 1994, 172; Hays 2000, 284; *idem* 2002, 109.

[112] So, e.g., Moo 2013, 269.

[113] The pronoun ἡμῶν is well-attested (P46, ℵ, A, B, C, D*, F, G). It is clear that ἡμῶν is the more difficult reading and we can more readily explain why a scribe would want to change ἡμῶν to ὑμῶν.

Having received the Spirit of God's crucified Son, the Galatians are sons and heirs (4.7). The "Abba cry," which is the cry of the Spirit within believers,[114] points to "a participation in the suffering of the Son."[115] Thus suffering is shown to be a mark of *sonship* because the same was true for God's *Son*, whose Spirit they possess. Being set apart as sons and heirs by suffering and the Spirit coheres with 4.28–31 where the suffering Spirit-children are likewise those who will receive the inheritance.

2.4.2 The Two Other Instances of the "Abba Cry" in the New Testament

Having argued that the Spirit here is to be understood as the Spirit of God's crucified Son crying in believers as an assurance of their status as sons and heirs despite their suffering, we can see how this fits the other appearances of the "Abba cry" elsewhere in the NT (Mark 14.36; Rom. 8.15). Taking a closer look at those passages will bolster the interpretation of Gal. 4.6 further.

When Jesus uttered the "Abba cry" in Mark he was in the Garden of Gethsemane struggling with a lack of assurance regarding his own sonship and mission (Mark 14.36). In Rom. 8 we find a context of suffering, including the groaning of creation as it longs for redemption, and it is in this dissonance that the "Abba cry" appears (8.15). The Spirit's witness to the believer of her status as a child of God (8.16), helps her to endure the sufferings of the Messiah which make her a co-heir with the Messiah (8.17; cf. 8.35–39). The correspondence between Rom. 8.15–17 and Gal. 4.4–7 in regard to inheritance, Spirit, and sonship, helps demonstrate that the context of the "Abba cry" in Gal. 4.6 is similar to Rom. 8: a context of suffering, a context in which one's status as a son may appear threatened or disproved, but is actually shown to be validated.

It is interesting to see that scholars do not often make these connections. For example, in David Wenham's study on the relationship between Jesus and Paul, he claims that Gal. 4.6 and Rom. 8.15 show that Paul was probably familiar with the Gethsemane story.[116] He states further, "This has added probability in Romans 8, since the reference to the Christian crying 'Abba' comes in a passage that speaks of the Christian sharing in the death, sufferings, and resurrection of Christ."[117] Wenham has only one small paragraph on Galatians; although he finds

[114] κρᾶζον is neuter and modifies τὸ πνεῦμα (4.6).
[115] Keesmaat 1999, 184. Cf. p.200, 202.
[116] Wenham 1995, 278.
[117] Wenham 1995, 278.

corroboration for the Gethsemane view in Rom. 8, he regards Galatians as outlying data: "The case for this proposal is, however, not certain. In Gal 4:6 the reference to the Christian crying 'Abba' does not come in a context of discussion of Christian suffering or spiritual conflict."[118] However, leaving aside the issue of the Gethsemane tradition, I contend that the context of suffering is in fact present in Galatians throughout, and is indeed suggested by the "Abba cry" in 4.6. The other occurrences of the "Abba cry" suggest that it was a deep cry of longing for assurance in the face of unmet expectations.

2.4.3 The Exodus and Second Exodus Context of the "Abba Cry"

The above explanation of the "Abba cry" as a cry of dissonance is reminiscent of the "cry" of the people of Israel prior to the exodus (βοή in Exod. 2.23; κραυγή in Exod. 3.7, 9). The "cry" prior to the exodus came from a people who had received several promises but were not experiencing the fulfillment of them. This is similar to 4.6–7 since the Spirit's presence, which marks God's sons as heirs, is given *prior* to the reception of the inheritance itself. In the face of suffering, one might fear that the inheritance had been forgotten or rescinded. This connection between the "Abba cry" and the exodus is likely for additional contextual reasons that point to a pattern of exodus and exile in Paul's thought.

Within the flow of Paul's argument Galatians 4.1–7 appears to be the third retelling of the history of Israel leading up to the Christ-event and the inclusion of the Gentiles. In the first iteration (3.6–14) we see the narrative move from the promises to Abraham regarding a large family (3.6–9), to the curse of the law (3.10)[119]—which kept the promises from extending to the Gentiles—to the Christ event (3.13), and subsequent inclusion of the Gentiles (3.14). When this is recapitulated in 3.15–29 we similarly move from promises to Abraham (3.15–16) to the giving of the law (3.17–21) and subsequent imprisonment (3.22–24) until the Christ-event (3.25), which

[118] Wenham 1995, 280.

[119] "The curse of the law" in 3.10 is best understood as the chief curse of Deut. 27–30—exile. So Thielman 1989, 65–72; Hafemann 1997, 342–349; Lincicum 2010, 142–47; Starling 2011, 47–52; Wright 2013, 863–67. This interpretation has been rejected by Wisdom 2001, 179, and Gombis 2007 because the citation of Deut. 27.26 focuses on individual rather than corporate curses. Morales 2010, 91–93, however, contends that the citation of Deut. 27.26 is a conflated citation with either Deut. 28.58 or 29.19b. The context of each of these suggested texts includes the full range of curses associated with disobedience, culminating in the curse of exile. The conflation has the effect of broadening the context of Deut. 27.26 to Deut. 27–30. However, Morales also attempts to distance his view from the exilic interpretation by focusing on the curse as death. Yet while exile and death are undoubtedly linked in the OT, as Morales shows, such an interpretation for 3.10 does not account for the distinctly Jewish plight Paul is dealing with in 3.10–14; everything and everyone is under the power of death, so how is this a Jewish problem?

results in Gentile inclusion (3.26–29). This then leads into another repetition of the overview of Israel's history, in the text we are presently discussing, which moves from the promises being obscured by slavery (4.1–3) to the Christ event (4.4–5) and subsequent Gentile inclusion (4.6–7).[120] This summary is overly simplistic but it helps establish that Paul is reflecting widely on Israel's history here in 4.1–7 and has been exploring this history from multiple angles in the preceding sections. In particular, the conceptual repetition of redemption from the law (3.13, 25; 4.4–5), which was given after Israel's redemption at the exodus, casts an ironic twist on Israel's history under the law as a time of slavery from which a second exodus must be accomplished.[121]

A more specific argument for exodus imagery in the immediate literary context of the "Abba cry" has been offered by James Scott.[122] He argued, against prevailing views, that Gal. 4.1–2 was not about Greco-Roman customs but was a typology of the exodus. His main points can be summarized here. The proposal builds on the immediately preceding verses regarding the fact that believers who belong to Christ are Abraham's offspring and therefore heirs (3.29: κληρονόμοι). Paul explains in 4.1 that the heir (ὁ κληρονόμος) is no better than a slave (οὐδὲν διαφέρει δούλου) while a child (νήπιος), which Scott interprets as a reference to Israel's experience in Egypt prior to the exodus though Israel was meant to be κύριος πάντων as a result of the Abrahamic promise (3.29). According to Scott, then, the ἐπιτρόποι and οἰκονόμοι refer to the Egyptian taskmasters under whom Israel lived as slaves. Thus, the time set by the father (ἄχρι τῆς προθεσμίας τοῦ πατρός) refers back to Gal. 3.17 and the 430 years between the promise to Abraham and the end of slavery in Egypt. Scott's position, which has been very influential, has been developed further in important ways by Keesmaat, Wright, Hafemann, and others.[123]

Recently, however, John Goodrich has offered a compelling critique of Scott's position.[124] In essence Goodrich has attempted to vindicate the traditional view against which Scott built his case, claiming that 4.1–2 accurately reflects Roman guardianship. On the whole I find his case very persuasive. In particular, I find his contention convincing that the ἐπιτρόποι

[120] Oakes 2015, 134, makes a similar observation about recapitulation in 3.15—4.7. However, I think 3.6–14 contains another "retelling" of the story.

[121] Cf. Keesmaat 1999, 186.

[122] Scott 1992, 123–49.

[123] Hafemann 1997, 331–49; Keesmaat 1999, 158–167; Wright 2013, 876–79. See also Byron 2003, 185–93; Wilson 2004, 559–60; Harmon 2010, 161–67; Forman 2011, 176–82.

[124] Goodrich 2010; *idem* 2013.

and οἰκονόμοι are not Egyptian taskmasters, but rather Roman guardians of the household.[125] In broad-brush strokes, however, I would say that I can agree with much of what Goodrich affirms but not with most of what he denies. Goodrich's critique, important though it is, does not nullify the way that a domestic metaphor in 4.1–2 could be used for its utility in retelling Israel's history. Since Goodrich rightly sees the ἐπιτρόποι and οἰκονόμοι in 4.2 as a parallel to the law's role as a παιδαγωγός in 3.24–25,[126] we can see how Paul, in recapitulating Israel's history once more, has chosen a different domestic metaphor. This means that we can appropriately see in 4.1–2 a blending of typology and metaphor.[127] In particular, Hafemann's earlier development of Scott's exodus interpretation is, in my view, broadly compatible with Goodrich's reaffirmation of the Roman guardianship interpretation and can be brought together with it.

For example, Hafemann agrees that the ἐπιτρόποι and οἰκονόμοι are not Egyptian taskmasters, but refer to the law and the στοιχεῖα from the present literary context and reflect the metaphor of the παιδαγωγός in the previous context.[128] Although he does not relate them to Roman guardianship laws, as Goodrich convincingly does, Hafemann nevertheless offers a very similar interpretation of the way that 4.2 relates to 4.3–7. In particular, Hafemann and Goodrich both critique Scott by arguing that the προθεσμία does not refer back to the 430 years in 3.17, but looks forward to τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου in 4.4.[129]

So then, if it is possible to combine a typological reading of 4.1–2 with Roman guardian laws, how does Israel's history fit into the domestic metaphor? This is where I simply disagree with Goodrich. I think he has gone farther than necessary to advance his case for the accuracy of the reference to Roman guardianship laws. In particular, the preceding context, which speaks of those who "belong to Christ" (ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ) being Abraham's sons and heirs (3.29), recalls the promises made to Abraham in Gen. 15 in which he would possess a great family and inheritance (cf. κληρονομέω in Gen. 15.3–4, 7–8). It is in this context in Gen. 15 that the exodus is also anticipated (vv.12–16). Within the flow of Paul's argument then, the heir of 4.1 can reasonably be seen to be anaphoric (ὁ κληρονόμος) referring back to the plural κληρονόμοι in 3.29.[130]

[125] Goodrich 2010, 262–73. Cf. pp.275–78 for extensive lexical evidence.
[126] Goodrich 2010, 272.
[127] Rightly suggested (though not developed) by Schreiner 2010, 266–67.
[128] Hafemann 1989, 339, 341, 346–47, 349.
[129] Hafemann 1989, 338; Goodrich 2010, 259–61.
[130] Hafemann 1989, 339.

Goodrich rejects the idea that 4.1–2 refers to Jews before Christ on the grounds that 3.29 includes Jews and Gentiles.[131] However, Paul's focus is on the time when the heir *was a child*, and in 3.6—4.7 Paul is recapitulating a corporate history. In 3.29 Paul has included the Gentiles in Abraham's offspring as heirs (3.29), and so it is not problematic to speak of an early event in Israel's history as the time when the heir was a child. This is similar to the way that Paul can include his Gentile audience in a retelling of Israel's history that constitutes the story of "our fathers" (1 Cor. 10.1: οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν). In fact, the pre-Christian temporal nature of the metaphor in Galatians is made clear by the flow of the logic; this all took place before "the fullness of time" when God sent his Son (4.4). This could be the case even with the presence of the Roman guardian metaphor in 4.1–2 because we have already seen that such a metaphor, if present, must have been utilized for what it could helpfully communicate *as a metaphor for something else*. Therefore, the reality that the heir is no greater than a slave while a child (4.1: νήπιος), although the heir is κύριος πάντων, can rightly be seen to have connotations of both Israel's "childhood" at the exodus (cf. Ezek. 16; Hos. 2.17; 11.1)[132] and promises of inheriting a cosmic rule (cf. Rom. 4.13; Gal. 5.21) even alongside the Roman guardianship metaphor.[133] Furthermore, as Hafemann argued, Paul would then be making the point that Israel's entire history under the law continued that same status as an *enslaved heir* until the fullness of time.[134]

Therefore, with these exodus connotations likely in the background of 4.1–2, we are given additional room to interpret the "Abba cry" in 4.6 as recalling the cry of Israel prior to the exodus. In this case Paul is speaking of the cry as arising in the context of a second exodus that the Messiah is bringing about (cf. 4.3–7).[135] The inheritance has still not been received, but the sons of God are assured of their status as sons and heirs by the reception of the Spirit of God's Son and enduring a similar suffering as God's Son. This means that suffering will continue as a mark of their status as heirs until the second exodus is brought to completion and they receive the inheritance they await.

[131] Goodrich 2010, 258–59. So also Kwon 2004, 135.

[132] Cf. Morales 2010, 119–20. Cf. p.122.

[133] Cf. Goodrich 2013, 68–70, for evidence in P.Ryl. 2.153 that κύριος πάντων refers to the heir of an estate.

[134] Hafemann 1989, 337–39. Cf. Morales 2010, 123. *Contra* Goodrich 2010, 256–57, 261–62, who discounts the possibility that Paul establishes an ironic retelling of the giving of the law as a time that introduces slavery. Cf. Keesmaat 1999, 186.

[135] Hafemann 1989, 368–69 n.74, helpfully notes that the second exodus typology is not fully "realized."

2.4.4 Conclusion on Galatians 4.6–7

In this section it was shown that the reference to the "Abba cry" is most likely a reference to the cry of the Spirit in the midst of suffering in anticipation of the promises. Thus we see another example of suffering and the Spirit marking out the people of God for inheritance as we saw in 4.28–31. In 4.6 the nuance is that the Spirit that testifies to sonship is the Spirit of God's *crucified* Son (cf. 4.5), and those who are true *sons* will suffer as he did, awaiting the promised inheritance.

2.5 Galatians 3.4

The next passage to analyze that connects the reception of the Spirit with the experience of suffering as identity markers of sonship and signposts of future blessing is 3.4. In this passage we will see how many of the themes already noted in 4.28–5.1 and 4.6–7 appear in 3.4 and its literary context as well. Though in this section we will see how the identity and destiny of the Galatians could all be in jeopardy because of their pending rejection of the identity marker of suffering in favour of circumcision. To demonstrate this we will need to comment on the meaning of Paul's question to the Galatians: τοσαῦτα ἐπάθετε εἰκῇ (3.4). Additionally, to fill out the discussion, it will be necessary to enquire how this question, within the context of 3.1–5, flows into Paul's discussion in 3.6–14.

2.5.1 Interpretative & Contextual Issues[136]

The main dispute regarding the interpretation of 3.4 is whether πάσχω carries its normal meaning of "suffering" or whether it should simply be rendered "experience" with positive connotations. In the English-speaking world there is a clean split between the two options among Bible scholars and Bible translations. However, in the German-speaking world there is a near consensus that πάσχω does not refer to suffering here. In fact, the idea is so prevalent that Luther's translation of the Bible was updated in 1984 to reflect this. The text was changed from the original "erlitten" to "erfahren." A similar thing happened when the NIV was updated in 2011; the original "suffered" was changed to "experienced."

Those who espouse the view that πάσχω does not refer to suffering tend to utilize the same arguments regarding the fact that 3.1–5 is about the reception of the Spirit.[137] The first

[136] This section summarizes, updates, and expands the arguments made in Dunne 2013.

appearance of these arguments for πάσχω referring to positive experiences of the Spirit was in the posthumously published commentary by Justus Christoph Schomer (1706).[138] However, within the current debate it is not acknowledged that this interpretation is a post-Reformation development that has no connection with the interpretation of 3.4 prior to the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[139]

Regardless of the history of interpretation, we have already noted that the Spirit is not foreign to the topics of suffering or the cross in the letter (cf. §2.2). However, this is the primary force behind the argument that 3.4 does not refer to suffering. Yet, connecting suffering and the Spirit is a natural expression of the overlap of the ages (inaugurated eschatology). What could be more demonstrative that the new age has dawned than the outpouring of God's Spirit upon his people? Additionally, what could be more demonstrative of the lingering reality of the present evil age (1.4) than the continuous suffering of God's people?

A context about the reception of the Spirit in 3.1–5 is not sufficient grounds for regarding πάσχω as positive. This is because there are good lexical and contextual reasons to regard πάσχω as a reference to suffering, which is also in accordance with the history of interpretation.[140] The consistent usage of Paul, the other NT writers, the translators of the Septuagint, and the writers of the Pseudepigrapha,[141] all points to πάσχω being a reference to suffering. In the respective corpora of Josephus and Philo there is some divergence here. Josephus overwhelmingly uses the word in a negative sense except where he has clearly modified the meaning of πάσχω by adding the word εὖ.[142] Philo, on the other hand, tends to use the word as a way of speaking of passive

[137] For those who regard πάσχω as a reference to the positive associations of receiving the Spirit, see, e.g., Burton 1921, 149–50; Schlier 1951, 83–84; Bonnard 1953, 63–64; Oepke 1964, 68; Eckert 1971, 75; Mußner 1974, 49; Lull 1980, 58, 78 n.35; Brinsmead 1982, 80; Silva 1983, 153–56; *idem* 2001, 57–58; Radl 1986, 146; R. Longenecker 1990, 104; Dunn 1993, 156; Fee 1994, 387; Boyarin 1994, 124–26; Morland 1995, 145; Martyn 1997, 285; Witherington 1998, 215; Vouga 1998, 69; Cousar 2001, 56; Hays 2002, 168; Wakefield 2003, 187; Hietanen 2007, 86, 91; Kelhoffer 2010, 36 n.17; Kerry 2010, 81–82; M. de Boer 2011, 180; Lee 2013, 29–30; Twelftree 2013, 189, 275; Rabens 2014, 300.

[138] Schomer 1706, 11.

[139] Dunne 2013, 4–6.

[140] For those scholars of the past two centuries that regard πάσχω as a reference to suffering, see, e.g., Lütgert 1919, 97–98; Bruce 1982, 150; Baasland 1984, 139–40; Cosgrove 1988, 185; Goddard and Cummins 1993, 119; Russell 1997, 99; Cummins 2001, 102–3; Gorman 2001, 151; *idem* 2003, 191–92, 206; Nanos 2002, 189–91; Davis 2002, 202, 211–13; Wilson 2007, 87–89; S. Eastman 2007, 110; Lopez 2008, 151; Schreiner 2010, 185.

[141] The one exception appears to be *Letter of Aristeas* 214.

[142] Those instances where he uses εὖ are Josephus, *A.J.* 8.111; 10.166; 12.134; 13.147; 14.295; 15.18; 16.140; 20.154; *B.J.* 1.426. There are only thirteen counter-examples where πάσχω is unqualified and does not refer

experiences more generally. However, the meaning of πάσχω is controlled by the context in which it is found, and this is the main argument of those who do not regard it as a reference to suffering in 3.4. Thus it is necessary to make sure we understand what the context is.

In the light of 3.1 it is apparent that suffering is integral to the immediate literary context. The Galatians received the Spirit during the proclamation of the gospel (however we understand ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως),[143] and at the core of this message was the crucified Messiah (3.1). On top of this fact, which by itself supports the case being made here, there is good reason to understand Paul's words in 3.1 as a reference to his own suffering as a display of the crucified Messiah, as argued by Davis.[144] The majority of commentators, however, understand Paul's presentation (προγράφω) of Christ crucified to be a reference to the vividness of Paul's apostolic *kerygma*.[145] Since the word προγράφω means, "to write beforehand," some have suggested that written documents are in view, such as the OT.[146] Yet this suggestion does not do justice to the fact that the Galatians "saw" (κατ' ὀφθαλμούς) the crucified Messiah. Some attempts to account for the visual dimension suggest that Paul either utilized or made reference to some sort of visual aid, including signs, paintings, coins, statues, etc.[147] However, despite these attempts, the evidence appears to suggest that Paul viewed *himself* as the "public portrayal" of Christ's crucifixion.[148]

The main idea behind the public portrayal of the Messiah's crucifixion in 3.1, then, is that Paul is referring to his own suffering as one crucified with the Messiah (2.19–20). He is thinking of the manner in which he displayed the crucified Messiah in his ministry among the Galatians and how his preaching of the gospel was depicted violently upon his body through the beatings, hardships, and persecutions he endured for the sake of the Messiah. When one looked upon the

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to suffering (Josephus, *A.J.* 2.184; 3.22, 312; 6.222; 7.164; 15.52, 97, 218, 280; 16.45; 20.22; *C. Ap.* 2.13, 251). However, the rest of the nearly three hundred instances of πάσχω do refer to suffering. See Dunne 2013, 7.

[143] For the emphasis on receiving the Spirit during Paul's proclamation see Lull 1980, 54–59.

[144] Davis 1999; *idem* 2002.

[145] So, e.g., Lightfoot 1902, 134; Burton 1921, 143–45; Lietzmann 1923, 17; Schlier 1951, 80; Bonnard 1953, 62; Calvin 1965 [1548], 46–47; Käsemann 1970, 168; *idem* 1971, 49; Mußner 1974, 207; Luther 1979 [1535], 107; Betz 1979, 131; Weder 1981, 183; Bruce 1982, 148; Cosgrove 1988, 41; Fung 1988, 129; Hays 1989, 107; *idem* 2002, 167–68, 206; *idem* 2014, 212; R. Longenecker 1990, 100-1; Matera 1992, 112; Dunn 1993, 152; Weima 1994, 172; George 1994, 209; McKnight 1995, 137–38; S. Williams 1997, 83; Martyn 1997, 283; Vouga 1998, 67; B. Longenecker 1998, 154; Wright 2004, 29; Tolmie 2005, 102; Garlington 2007, 180–81; Schreiner 2010, 181–82; Kerry 2010, 71–72; M. de Boer 2011, 171; Lee 2013, 24–25; Cf. Schrenk, "προγράφω," *TDNT.* Bryant 2001, 171, contends that here he "celebrates his rhetorical skills" in contrast to his comments in the Corinthian correspondence.

[146] So Jerome (cf. Cain 2010, 119–20).

[147] Duncan 1934, 77–79; Balch 2003, 24–55 (27–28); Lopez 2008, 163.

[148] Those who follow Davis include, e.g., Hafemann 2000, 174; Gorman 2001, 31; *idem* 2004, 188; S. Elliott 2003, 338–39; Kwon 2004, 38 n.55; S. Eastman 2007, 66; Wilson 2007, 88. Cf. also Macaskill 2013b, 221.

beaten and bloodied Paul, one could see in Paul's weakness the crucified Messiah. If this interpretation is correct, then Paul is suggesting that the Galatians received the Spirit during his proclamation of the crucified Messiah in the midst of his own suffering (cf. 4.13).[149] This would then mean that from the very beginning of Paul's ministry in Galatia, the Spirit was associated with suffering.

This idea that the Spirit was received during a proclamation of the crucified Messiah, which was proclaimed by someone displaying the crucified Messiah through his own suffering, coheres with the link between the Spirit and the cross/death of Jesus elsewhere in Galatians (3.13–14; 4.5–6). Thus the association of the Spirit with weakness and suffering, and particularly the cross, should not be ignored.

The interpretation of πάσχω offered here in 3.4 also fits perfectly well with the emphasis on the powerful working of the Spirit in 3.5. It seems that if more scholars recognized the reference to suffering in 3.4 it would affect their interpretation of 3.5 as well. These "powerful workings" (δυνάμεις) would then be produced within a group that is simultaneously experiencing weakness and suffering. Thus these miracles could be acts of healing among the Galatians, or they could refer to the empowering presence of the Spirit in the midst of suffering.[150] If either of these interpretations of 3.5 are correct, this would provide further contextual support from the immediate literary context for our interpretation of 3.4.

2.5.2 Suffering in Vain

If it is the case that in Gal. 3.4 Paul is asking the Galatians if they have suffered, what does he mean when he speaks of suffering *in vain*? Paul's language implies that the Galatians' current course of action would render their suffering meaningless and insignificant; it would be devoid of its eschatological and soteriological purpose. We can see this connection in 6.7–9, where Paul speaks of reaping what was sown to the Spirit if "we do not give up" (μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι), suggesting that the outcome of sowing to the Spirit could be compromised. The way this is done, in the metaphor, is by sowing to the flesh—receiving circumcision (more on 6.7–9 later; §3.3.3). This is the same course of action in 3.3–4; being *perfected* by the flesh would result in the suffering bein in *vain*. Thus in 3.3–4 we can see suffering being contrasted with circumcision, and the

[149] Rightly noted by Mitternacht 1999, 307–11; Davis 2002, 207–8.

[150] Hietanen 2007, 89, has suggested prophecy and speaking in tongues. Schlier 1951, 84–85, has suggested exorcisms in the light of the "evil eye" in 3.1. Most understand the passages to reflect "wonders" more generally.

former being aligned with the Spirit. It is important to highlight the juxtaposition of suffering and circumcision as sources of identity and as possessing eschatological significance.

The way that Paul moves from the reference to fleshly perfection in 3.3 to a question about suffering in 3.4 probably also suggests something about the origin and nature of the suffering. The idea of the suffering being "in vain" suggests that the suffering has value, and the word τοσαῦτα implies a significant form of suffering. Together with the fact that Paul's question about suffering arises in a context about the reception of the Spirit during Paul's original ministry, it is most likely that Paul has in mind *suffering as a result of becoming a follower of the Messiah*. This view was explicitly denied by Cosgrove, who argued, "It is not that the Galatians spurn the cross as a symbol of Christ's identity or refuse to share in his sufferings. The problem is that they have lost sight of the meaning of the cross."[151] This "meaning" about the cross, according to Cosgrove, is that "it alone mediates the Spirit."[152] He then asserts, "Paul does not think that the Galatians have rejected sharing Christ's sufferings as a fundamental aspect of existence in Christ. Rejecting existential participation in the cross is a Corinthian, not a Galatian problem."[153] However, against Cosgrove, an interpretation that sees this suffering as the experience of persecution would explain why the suffering could be in vain; it has some connection to their original choice to embrace Paul's message. In the light of this, I think it is best to regard this suffering then as suffering *persecution as a result of following the Messiah*.[154] Paul's experience of persecution is probably implied in 3.1, as was briefly noted above, and so this reading of 3.4 would correspond. Furthermore, in context Paul refers to the negative activity of the agitators as conjurers of the evil eye in 3.1 (ἐβάσκανεν) and implicitly refers to their promotion of circumcision in 3.3. Paul sees a sharp disconnect between (a) the Galatians' current course of action and the tactics of the agitators on the one hand and (b) *the public portrayal of the Messiah's crucifixion* on the other. Therefore, it appears that Paul is referring to suffering caused by the agitators. This creates a parallel between 3.3–4 and 4.29. Not only do both passages contrast the flesh and the Spirit, but I suggest as well that both reflect opposition

[151] Cosgrove 1988, 192.
[152] Cosgrove 1988, 192.
[153] Cosgrove 1988, 193.
[154] So also Lütgert 1919, 97–98; Jewett 1971, 100; Pate 1993, 276; Davis 2002, 202, 238; B. Smith 2002, 40. *Contra* Bruce 1982, 150.

against those with the Spirit. What ties these texts together further is the temporal element; these are things that are happening *now* (νῦν in 3.3; 4.29).

The fact that suffering has come as *a subsequent development* from the Galatians' initial reception of the Spirit is suggested by an implicit chronology in 3.1–5.[155] Paul displayed the crucified Messiah to the Galatians (3.1) and they received the Spirit through his message (3.2: ἀκοῆς πίστεως). After beginning with the Spirit (ἐναρξάμενοι) they are *now* (νῦν) about to pursue the flesh for some reason (3.3). The reason, it seems, is because of the great suffering they have experienced as a result of their reception of the Spirit and subsequent conflict with the flesh (3.4: τοσαῦτα ἐπάθετε). Yet the present supply (ἐπιχορηγῶν) and powerful working (ἐνεργῶν) of the Spirit is not mediated through the law, but continues on the same basis as before (3.5).[156] If there is not a chronological flow to Paul's questions in 3.1–5, and if πάσχω is not a reference to suffering, then Paul essentially asks the same question three times in this section.[157] It is preferable for these reasons to see an implicit chronology to Paul's questions, suggesting that the suffering that the Galatians experienced was subsequent to their initial reception of the Spirit and has come in conjunction with the advocacy of circumcision (3.3b).[158]

Paul's hope, as a result of this situation, is that the Galatians will continue to endure the suffering they are experiencing rather than receive circumcision. This is against Cosgrove who states, "what Paul questions is not the Galatians' readiness to suffer with Christ but their understanding of the relationship between that suffering and the Spirit."[159] However, Cosgrove never tells us what this relationship is that the Galatians have failed to grasp. As well, this interpretation does not adequately account for the "in vain" language.

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[155] For all of 3.1–5 as referring to the initial conversion of the Galatians, see e.g., Lightfoot 1902, 136; Burton 1921, 151–52; Longenecker 1990, 105–6.

[156] This argument that 3.5 refers to the present work of the Spirit is not based on the fact that the participles are present tense, since participles only communicate "relative time" depending on the context. See Porter 1994, 187–89. Rather my argument is based on the flow of the passage, which suggests a chronology. The Galatians received the Spirit (ἐλάβετε; ἐναρξάμενοι), and now they are experiencing the supply (ἐπιχορηγῶν) of the Spirit. For 3.1–5 as containing a chronology, see esp. Cosgrove 1988, 46–48. Cf. Horn 1992, 351; Dunn 1993, 157–58; Martyn 1997, 285–86; Mitternacht 2002, 425; M. de Boer 2011, 182–84.

[157] For example, 3.5 would merely repeat 3.2, and 3.4 would then ask about the initial experience of the Spirit.

[158] I should note that Prokhorov (2013, 183) misunderstood this element of my 2013 article, stating, "John Dunne (2013) has shown that 3.4a refers to the suffering which the Galatians had endured *prior* to their contact with the influencers" (emphasis added). Although I did not address the chronological elements in 3.1–5 overtly, I did refer to suffering in the context of *the agitators' advocacy of circumcision* (cf. Dunne 2013, 6–10).

[159] Cosgrove 1988, 187.

Thus Paul recalls his own suffering (3.1) to reinforce the identity of the group and remind them that they are meant to continue to suffer for the sake of the cross. Eusebius' story of Blandina is of interest here since her suffering, like Paul's in 3.1, functioned as a representation of Christ's suffering and therefore as an encouragement to fellow sufferers. As Blandina was hanging on a post for the animals to devour, she appeared as if she was hanging on a cross (σταυροῦ σχήματι), and her fellow martyrs gazed upon her and saw τοῖς ἔξωθεν ὀφθαλμοῖς διὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐσταυρωμένον (*Hist. eccl*. 5.1.41). Though she was weak (ἀσθενής) she "had put on the great and invincible athlete, Christ" (*Hist. eccl.* 5.1.42: μέγαν καὶ ἀκαταγώνιστον ἀθλητὴν Χριστὸν ἐνδεδυμένη).[160] In a similar manner, Paul reminds the Galatians of his own suffering for the cross while he was in Galatia (3.1) as a way to affirm that the Messianic community should pursue the cross instead of the flesh (3.3).

This means that if the Galatians received circumcision that would undo the ministry Paul had among them. Thus it is also likely that Paul asks if they have suffered in vain because he fears that the Galatians are about to make a decision with grave consequences: one that nullifies their future and one that would render Paul's ministry a failure (2.2; 4.11). This idea is also expressed in a similar context from 1 Thess. 3.1–6 regarding the endurance of hardships. Note the words of Kelhoffer on 1 Thess. 3:

> Paul's earlier fear 'that somehow the tempter had tempted you and that our labor had been in vain (εἰς κενόν)' indicates that for Paul *withstanding hardships when they arise is a requirement for remaining in the faith* and that, hypothetically, the Thessalonians' failure to have done so would have nullified the Pauline mission's initial gains in Thessalonica among those who had subsequently succumbed to 'the tempter' and forfeited their salvation.[161]

This connection seems to be at work in 3.4 as well.[162]

The eschatological nature of the "in vain" language in relation to suffering is also exemplified in the way that the passage as a whole concerns the reception of the Spirit, an inherently eschatological reality. Kwon rightly acknowledges that 3.4 includes an element of futuristic eschatology since it suggests that the Galatians are in danger of compromising the future blessing to which their suffering points forward. "In vain" implies that they could fail to

[160] Cf. LCL: Lake 1926, 427.
[161] Kelhoffer 2010, 35 (emphasis original).
[162] However, Kelhoffer (2010, 36 n.17, 47 n.52) does not think that 3.4 contains a reference to suffering.

"achieve the goal of their coming to Christ."[163] Surprisingly, however, he does not make much of suffering in Galatians nor does he speak about the eschatological value of suffering anywhere else.

But what exactly will be lost by the suffering being in vain? In the light of the close connections between sonship, suffering, and the Spirit in 4.21–5.1 and 4.6–7, I suggest that here in 3.4 "in vain" probably suggests more than a vague sense of missing out on eschatological blessing. Given the focus on the inheritance and the status of the true heirs in the main argument from 3.1–5.1 (cf. 3.29; 4.1, 7; 4.30–31), and the reprisal of this theme again in 5.21, I suggest that in 3.4 "in vain" implies missing out on the future inheritance. If "in vain" in 3.4 is related to the inheritance in some way, this could partly explain why the language of inheritance suddenly emerges in 3.18 seemingly without prior anticipation. This interpretation about the implicit connotation of "in vain" is buttressed by the way that 3.1–5 flows into Paul's narration of the Abrahamic promises in 3.6–14 and the subsequent reprisals, with each focused on inheritance in 3.15–29 and 4.1–7 (not to mention the subsequent material in 4.28–5.1). As well, the flow into this section also shows that 3.4 is relevant for the status of sonship. It is to that development in Paul's argument that we now turn.

2.5.3 Suffering & The Story of Abraham

With the flow from 3.1–5 into the following section (3.6–14) there is some debate as to how the two sections relate and how Paul makes the transition that he does. Since 3.6 begins with a καθώς it is likely that Paul understands 3.6–9 to be building from 3.1–5.[164] On the face of it, v.6 more naturally goes with what follows since Paul introduces Abraham in v.6 and speaks about the Abrahamic promise in vv.7–9 and then Abraham appears again in v.14. However, v.6 is best regarded as a janus between 3.1–5 and 3.7–9.[165] Hays notes, the conjunction καθώς in v.6 "posits a direct analogy between the story of Abraham and the Galatians' experience."[166] Yet we can go further; because Paul cites Gen. 15.6 here, regarding Abraham being justified by faith, it is important to recognize that, contextually, this faith is Abraham's trust in the divine promise to provide him with a large family (Gen. 15.1–5). Thus the reception of the Spirit by the Galatians

[163] Kwon 2004, 44.
[164] Rightly C. Stanley 2004, 121. *Contra* Tolmie 2005, 100–1.
[165] So also Silva 2001, 218–20; Moo 2013, 187; Lee 2013, 31.
[166] Hays 1989, 108.

is linked to the Abrahamic narrative, as Paul explains in 3.6–14, and then again two more times in 3.15–29 and 4.1–7, with each re-telling culminating in the Christ event and the inclusion of Gentiles (§2.4.3). Thus with the final recapitulation in 4.1–7 we see Paul merge the picture of suffering and the Spirit from 3.1–5 into the retelling (cf. 4.6).

This must mean, then, that the Galatians' experience of the Spirit *and suffering* is somehow related to Paul's use of the Abraham story. Abraham is not brought in as an illustration of someone who was justified by faith, but because Paul sees the Galatians' reception of the Spirit as *a* fulfillment of the promise to Abraham (not *the* fulfillment). It is often noted that Paul's movement into the story of Abraham in 3.6 is related to 3.1–5 by way of the Spirit (3.14b) and blessing (3.8–9, 14a). But the connection is also related to suffering. In the allegory of Gal 4, as we saw above (§2.3), where Paul's use of the Abraham story comes to a close, it is reiterated that the true children of Abraham are born according to the Spirit, just as Isaac was (4.28). Furthermore, these Spirit-children of Abraham are *persecuted* (4.29). Thus 3.1–14 and 4.21–5.1 weave together themes of suffering and the Spirit in relation to the *sons of Abraham* providing a coherence throughout the main argumentative section of 3.1—5.1.

2.5.4 Conclusion on Galatians 3.4

When 3.4 is interpreted in the light of the context of 3.1–14, therefore, we can see that Paul understands both the reception of the Spirit and the experience of suffering to be identity markers of the sons of Abraham just as in 4.29. The suffering could all be in vain (3.4) if the Galatians follow the flesh (3.3), which anticipates the Spirit-flesh contrast later in the letter, not least in 4.29, and similarly points to the fact that future blessing is reserved for those marked out by suffering. In particular, I suggested that the future blessing implied in 3.4 is the future inheritance. This then demonstrates that the Spirit, suffering, Abrahamic sonship, and the prospect of the future inheritance bookend the main argument from 3.1—5.1. This observation about the bracketed themes that hold together the main argument of the letter is buttressed by the fact that the middle of the argument contains similar emphases (4.6–7).

2.6 Conclusion

In each of the three main passages that we looked at in this chapter—4.28–5.1, 4.6–7, and 3.4—we saw that suffering and the Spirit together are identity markers of sonship (Abrahamic in 3.4

and 4.29; divine in 4.6). The Spirit which sets apart Abraham's family likewise sets apart God's family and shows them to be one and the same. In other words, there are not two groups that make up God's family, Gentiles and Abraham's offspring. Rather suffering and the Spirit are markers that show there is really only one family "in Christ." The Spirit that the Galatians have received is both the Spirit of the true seed of Abraham (3.16), who makes all who belong to the Messiah part of the true family of Abraham (3.29), and the Spirit of God's Son, who makes those who receive the Spirit God's sons (4.6). This provides a rationale for the suffering of Christians since they are indwelt with the Spirit of the one who was crucified (3.1–2, 13–14; 4.5–6). Suffering and the Spirit, therefore, are not competing or conflicting marks but simultaneously identify God's people. As well, they both function as signposts for future blessing. In this chapter we saw that the future inheritance would be in vain if the Galatians received circumcision and rejected their suffering (3.3–4), that suffering does not disqualify one's status as an heir (4.6–7), and that those who are persecuted are precisely those who are set to receive the future inheritance (4.29–31). We have also seen that the agitators, by contrast, do not have the Spirit but are fleshly, and produce the hostile "works of the flesh," which Paul can call persecution. As a result, they do not stand to inherit. The contrast with the agitators further corroborates the claim that suffering and the Spirit together mark out the identity of the true sons of God and of Abraham since the agitators are characterized by inflicting/avoiding suffering rather than enduring it, and by the flesh rather than the Spirit. Thus the agitators are the illegitimate children of Abraham for these reasons and so, by extension, are not children of God. The Galatians, on the other hand, are the true children of Abraham and of God indwelt by the Spirit of the crucified Son of God. Yet 3.4 shows that the Galatians are close to forfeiting it all. The true people of God ought rather to be shaped by and conformed to the cross. The way that Paul presents allegiance to the cross for creating identity and securing destiny will be the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Judgment & The Marks of Jesus

3.1 Introduction

The present chapter develops from the previous one—where we saw that suffering and the reception of the Spirit constitute markers of identity and signs of destiny for the sons of God and of Abraham who will receive the future inheritance—by exploring the way that suffering is regarded as a form of allegiance to the cross, which is seen to be the grounds of vindication at the final judgment. Just as I argued in the previous chapter that suffering provides boundary markers between the Galatians (Spirit-children like Isaac) and the agitators (flesh-children like Ishmael), so in this chapter I will contend that alignment with the cross is shown to be a marker of identity and that the agitators are portrayed as "outsiders" who do not possess the mark. The clearest expression of the contrast is in 6.11–17 and so our study will be based primarily on those final verses. What we will see is that 6.11–17, read in the light of the eschatological emphases of Gal. 5–6 as a whole, points to the way that allegiance to the cross, as represented by Paul, designates those who truly belong to the "Israel of God" and the "new creation," and who will therefore be vindicated at the final judgment.

However, the Galatians are in danger of missing out on the inheritance and not being vindicated on the final day. This is because Paul regards receiving circumcision (in the midst of the present situation) as a form of apostasy that will lead to the same fate as the agitators. Thus it will be demonstrated that Paul's attempt to reinforce the identity of the Galatians is part of a persuasive effort to keep them from forsaking their identity. The implication appears to be that the reception of circumcision is understood by Paul to be a denial of the cross. This is because, as we saw in the previous chapter, circumcision provides a means of alleviating the pressure and tension caused by the agitators. For Paul, only steadfast allegiance to the cross is what matters. On the final day, God will not vindicate all those who have *circumcised* the flesh, but only those who have *crucified* the flesh.

Before we begin this analysis we need to engage a few preliminary issues regarding previous broader treatments of Paul's theology of the cross, and whether Paul's emphasis on the cross in Galatians was motivated by the teachings of the agitators in some way. After offering a

few comments we will turn our attention to the way Paul uses the cross to mark out identity and point to destiny in Galatians.

3.2 Preliminary Remarks on the Cross in Galatians

3.2.1 A Brief Note on Paul's Theology of the Cross

In this section we will need to comment on the contributions of E. Käsemann, J. C. Beker, and R. Tannehill to Paul's broader theology of the cross. This can only be done briefly, but it is necessary to do because many studies on Paul's theology of the cross, especially in Galatians, have utilized the paradigms created by these scholars.

Käsemann classically understood the cross to be part of Paul's polemical rhetoric against his opponents.[1] "[T]he slogan 'theology of the cross,'" writes Käsemann, "loses its original meaning when used apart from polemics."[2] Certainly, references to the cross are concentrated in highly polemical sections in Paul's letters. Käsemann's student Peter Stuhlmacher, however, sided against him on this issue. In his list of theses on the cross, Stuhlmacher states in the first one, "The proclamation of the cross involves the whole of Pauline theology, focused on critical issues relating to the law and wisdom."[3] Entering this debate directly is beyond the scope of the present thesis although it is important to bring up at the outset of this chapter since the focus is on Paul's polemical references to the cross as creating a boundary between "insiders" and "outsiders." The present thesis will not try to solve this broader debate regarding Paul's use of the cross, but the polemical thrust of Paul's theology of the cross in Galatians will certainly be highlighted.

As for Beker, we need to address his claim regarding the importance of distinguishing between Paul's references to the death of Jesus, the suffering of Jesus, and the cross of Jesus.[4] For Beker, the cross cannot be conflated with suffering in any way.[5] However, this seems to be unwarranted. Against the bifurcation, it is preferable to agree with D. Williams who sees an "intimate relationship" between the cross/crucifixion of Jesus on the one hand and the

[1] Käsemann 1971, 32–59.
[2] See Käsemann 1970, 154; *idem* 1971, 35.
[3] Stuhlmacher 1986, 156.
[4] Beker 1987, 198–208.
[5] This is also followed by Kern 2011, 141.

death/suffering/humility of Jesus on the other.[6] It seems unnecessary to divide and separate these very united christological issues.

Tannehill offers another bifurcation similar to Beker. He stressed that a distinction needs to be made between "cosmic crucifixion" and "existential crucifixion." The images of co-crucifixion in Galatians (2.19–20, 5.24–25, and 6.14–15) are regarded as "past experiences" in which the cosmos is undone and the believer enters a new state or realm.[7] In his comments on 6.14–15 in particular, Tannehill notes, "This motif is used to indicate the decisive transfer of the believers from the old to the new aeon which has taken place in the death of Christ as an inclusive event."[8] Tannehill is correct to note the transfer that takes place in this passage, and as he notes later on the transfer also includes "the same break with flesh (Gal. 5.24), law (Rom. 7.4, Gal. 2.19), world (Gal. 6.14), and self (II Cor. 5.14-15)."[9] However, the distinction between these two forms of crucifixion ultimately breaks down. Certainly the cross creates and inaugurates new realities, but it is a false antithesis to bifurcate "cosmic crucifixion" and "existential crucifixion."

The most egregious problem with Tannehill's distinction is that it leads him to conclude that only "existential crucifixion" includes experiences of suffering.[10] That the bifurcation of "cosmic" and "existential" crucifixion is arbitrary is made clear from three main lines of evidence in Galatians. These comments anticipate subsequent treatments in this thesis, but are offered here for the sake of demonstrating that Tannehill's distinction is arbitrary. First, in 2.19 and 6.14 crucifixion is expressed in the perfect tense (συνεσταύρωμαι in 2.19; ἐσταύρωται in 6.14), which does not convey a "past experience" but either (a) a state that one has entered or (b) an ongoing experience.[11] Second, consider the flow of the section from 6.14 into 6.17, where the signs of the so-called "cosmic" crucifixion (6.14) are brought to the fore as the "marks of Jesus" on Paul's body (6.17). Third, notice the way 2.19–20 transitions into 3.1. Being crucified with Christ in 2.19 creates a death to the law and a new life (2.20); then in 3.1 Paul speaks of himself as the one who displays the crucified Messiah to the Galatians in his own suffering. These

[6] See D. Williams 2002, 31–32. Cf. also Cousar 1990, 21–24; Gorman 2001, 77.
[7] Tannehill 1967, 55–65. Cf. Cosgrove 1988, 177–194.
[8] Tannehill 1967, 70.
[9] Tannehill 1967, 116.
[10] Tannehill 1967, 6. So also Cosgrove 1988, 184.
[11] For stative aspect of the perfect see Porter 1989, 251–70. For imperfective aspect of the perfect see C. Campbell 2007, 161–211.

parallels are striking because they underscore the fact that Paul understands his suffering to be a display of Jesus, but it should be noted that "cosmic" and "existential" crucifixion are so inextricably linked that the distinction is unhelpful.

We will proceed in our study, therefore, with a holistic approach to the cross in Galatians. We will bifurcate neither the death/suffering/cross of Christ (*contra* Beker) nor cosmic/existential crucifixion with Christ (*contra* Tannehill). When we look at all the images of the death and crucifixion of the Messiah as well as co-crucifixion with the Messiah, we see an overwhelming emphasis on this point in Galatians (cf. 1.4; 2.19–21; 3.1, 13; 4.5; 5.24; 6.12, 14, 17). The centrality of the cross, over against other christological images such as the resurrection or the *parousia*, needs to be appreciated.[12] This emphasis on the cross stands out when compared with other Pauline texts.[13] There seems to be a unique emphasis at work here, an emphasis which Hays refers to as "apocalyptic *staurocentricity*."[14] If the cross "was destined to prove one of the most powerful symbols that has ever appeared in the history of religions,"[15] then Galatians is the Pauline letter that anticipated this the most. But why did Paul emphasize the cross as much as he did?

3.2.2 The Cross & The Agitators' Message

In general, scholars have made several attempts to try to reconstruct the teachings of the agitators. These teachings could have included accusations against Paul and specific interpretations of various Scriptures. More particularly for the purposes of this chapter, some have thought that Paul's emphasis on the cross indicates that his opponents downplayed the cross. Güttgemanns and Brinsmead, for example, thought that the agitators were pneumatics who were opposed to a theology of the cross and looked instead for manifestations of power.[16] This form of mirror-reading has not won many supporters. On the other side of the spectrum, Sumney has recently provided a study on the death of Jesus as a component of identity formation in the early church. In it he contends that "the importance of the death of Jesus" was not contested by either his readers or his opponents.[17] Sumney suggested that since it appears to be the case that

[12] For a proposal on the prominence of resurrection motifs, see esp. Bryant 2001, 143–61.
[13] E.g. Romans contains neither σταυρός nor σταυρόω, and has only one occurrence of συσταυρόω (6.6).
[14] Hays 2014, 213.
[15] Meeks 1983, 180.
[16] Güttgemanns 1966; Brinsmead 1982. Cf. footnote 15 in §2.2.
[17] Sumney 2010, 153.

all parties involved recognized that the cross was "salvific," this demonstrates their agreement.[18] For our purposes with Galatians there is no reason to deny these claims in terms of the actual historical perspectives of the readers and opponents. However, there does seem to be a major division, in Paul's mind, between himself and his opponents over the implications of the Messiah's death on the cross in Galatians, specifically in relation to the implications of suffering and persecution. Sumney's analysis seems to miss the polemical edge of Paul's theology of the cross as well as the fact that the Messiah's atoning sacrifice was not the only thing that could be a matter of dispute about the cross among early Christians.

In the end it is not clear if Paul's theological argumentation related to the cross was directly opposed to the teaching of the agitators. Whatever reconstructions we provide of the agitators' teaching by way of mirror-reading can only be tendentious. The emphasis on the cross appears to be Paul's; he does not dispute aspects about the cross, such as its atoning efficacy, but rather seems to be arguing for certain implications that arise from the cross. The juxtaposition of the cross with circumcision should therefore be seen as part of Paul's own attempt to create "insiders" and "outsiders"; the cross rather than circumcision is a badge or symbol of identity. This does not appear to have arisen from the teaching of the agitators, but as part of Paul's critique of the social tension caused by the agitators.

So now we turn to look at precisely how Paul utilized the cross for his argumentative purposes, in the finale of the letter (6.11–17), as a sign of identity for God's people (6.15–16) and the only source of hope at the judgment (6.14, 17).

3.3 Paul & God's Vindicated People (Galatians 6.11–17)

With the preliminary discussions out of the way, we are now in a position to discern more about the way that Paul contrasts himself with his opponents on the basis of the cross in the final section of the letter (6.11–17). This section reinforces the role of suffering for the identity of the people of God, as those who belong to the "Israel of God" and the "new creation," and the destiny of the people of God in relation to vindication at the judgment. In regard to the judgment, I have already noted (§1.2) that studies on eschatology in Galatians are not common. However, many have noted that Paul's justification language points forward to the final judgment (2.16;

[18] Sumney 2010, 156.

5.5)[19] and a few have also noted the possible allusions to it elsewhere (e.g. 5.2, 10, 6.4–5, 7–9). Kuck, however, has offered the main study on this theme. In particular, he demonstrated how 6.4–5 should be understood as including references to the future judgment, particularly due to their focus on the future of individuals (cf. ἕκαστος / ἑαυτοῦ), which is a common theme for final judgment scenes (cf. Rom. 2.6; 14:12; 1 Cor. 3:8, 13; 4:5; 2 Cor. 5:10). We will have more to say about these verses and this particular theme of individualized judgment presently. The theme of the final judgment in Galatians has not been correlated with the themes of suffering and persecution, nor has it been seen as part of a larger vision of eschatological blessings for those marked out by suffering and eschatological demise for those not marked out by the same. This is part of the burden of the present section.

To set the stage, a few comments are needed before engaging the text with our specific questions in my mind. Within the letter as a whole, 6.11–17 contains the clearest contrast between the cross and circumcision. The agitators are on the side of circumcision and Paul is on the side of the cross. The agitators, whom Paul calls οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι, are doing four things: (1) they seek to have a good face in the flesh, (2) they desire to boast in the flesh of the Galatians, (3) they want the Galatians to be circumcised, and (4) they are compelling the Galatians to be circumcised (6.12–13). Clearly they are strongly aligned with both the flesh and circumcision. As well, Paul regards their motivations to be solely (μόνον) rooted in the desire to flee persecution *for the cross of Christ*. This contrast has clear reverberations with other contrasts between circumcision/flesh and the cross elsewhere (e.g. 5.11, 24). The agitators' emphasis on circumcision is a denial of the cross both by the way they avoid persecution for the cross, and in the way they aggressively promote circumcision.[20] Paul continues the contrast into v.14, where he states that his only boast is in the cross, and into v.17 where he draws attention to his experience of the cross through bearing the "marks of Jesus."

These verses at the very end of the letter reinforce the importance of the theme of the cross in Galatians. This is apparent from the way that Paul concludes the letter (a) with his own hand,[21] and (b) in larger letters.[22] Whether we understand this section of the letter to be (1) the

[19] So Bruce 1982, 231–32; Dunn 1993, 140–41, 269–70; Moo 2013, 60–62, 327–29.
[20] Cf. §2.3.1.1–2.
[21] For Paul's use of a secretary, see Richards 1991, 172–75.
[22] The large letters are neither due to Paul's poor eyesight (cf. 4.15) nor to a physical deformity of his hands from tent-making (so Deißmann 1912, 51), but rather these were most likely used for emphasis. So Weima 1994, 129.

rhetorical *peroratio* or *conclusio*,[23] (2) a subscription,[24] (3) a postscript or letter closing,[25] or (4) the closing of the body of the letter,[26] it is nevertheless apparent that 6.11–17 reiterates the centrality of the cross in the letter. If we come to understand 6.11–17 as in some sense containing an important hermeneutical key to the letter, we can see that the central theme of the letter is the cross.[27] I suggest, therefore, that in these final verses Paul presents himself as a representative of God's people who will be vindicated on the final day by virture of his allegiance to the cross.

To demonstrate these points this chapter will focus on 6.14–17 in the light of the eschatological focus of Gal. 5–6 as a whole. We will begin by looking at Paul's boast in the cross (6.14) alongside his reference to bearing the "marks of Jesus" (6.17) as a contrast with the boast of the agitators and their fear of persecution (6.12–13). I will contend, as well, that 6.14 and 6.17 should be understood in the light of the eschatological emphasis of Gal. 5–6 as anticipations of the final judgment. The implications that this has for justification, on the one hand, and apostasy, on the other, will be explored before addressing how Paul's references to the eschatological realities of the "Israel of God" and "new creation" in 6.15–16 refer to the people of God who, like Paul, are marked out by the cross and therefore stand to be vindicated at the final judgment.

3.3.1 Boasting in the Cross (Galatians 6.14)

With Paul's reference to boasting in the cross (6.14), it is clear that he is contrasting himself with the agitators who boast in the circumcision of the Galatians (6.13). It is not just the content of the two boasts that are being contrasted. Paul's boast is also in contrast to their *fear of persecution for the cross*. Thus we should not miss the emphasis on Paul's suffering. Here I would like to explain how this boast fits as a boast in Paul's sufferings, and, in the light of the present focus of this chapter, show how it is a boast before God at the final judgment.

Simon Gathercole's *Where is Boasting?* is the key book on the subject of eschatological boasting. Gathercole explains that boasting, in this sense, is about the assurance and confidence of being vindicated at the final judgment. Although Gathercole's main focus is on Rom. 1–5, he nevertheless provides a helpful survey of this theme from Second Temple Judaism. One clear

[23] Betz 1979, 312–13.

[24] As a subscription, 6.11–18 functions as a way to address material "touched upon but not developed in the letter body." See Bahr 1968, 27–41; Cosgrove 1988, 30.

[25] A postscript contains the summary of the most important points in the letter. See Weima 1993, 90–107.

[26] Hubing 2015, 11–84.

[27] Weima 1993; *idem* 1994, 106; Hubing 2015, 188–258.

example of this comes from Sir. 31.5–11, where the boasting of the wise rich person in v.10 is mentioned in a context about how the unwise rich person will not be justified (v.5).[28]

When addressing Romans, in particular, Gathercole makes several important connections. For instance, he takes the boast of Rom. 5.2 (καυχώμεθα) to be a boast in the hope of the glory of God, interpreted in relation to eschatological salvation.[29] The future orientation of the boasting in 5.2 is corroborated by the references to being saved from God's wrath in 5.9–11. Hence Gathercole argues that the boast of 5.11 (καυχώμενοι) is similarly linked to the certainty of redemption and vindication.

Of interest for the present chapter is this link between eschatological boasting in 5.2 and the boast in suffering in 5.3 (καυχώμεθα ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν). Gathercole contends that the boast in suffering reflects a stormy historical background.[30] However, against those who see in Paul's words an idea that suffering marks out the people of God before the eschaton, Gathercole argues, "Paul's reason for boasting in sufferings in this verse is neither because they mark out the true people of God and thus contribute to assurance, nor especially because they are a sign of the last age, but simply because they bolster the first boast."[31] However, against Gathercole, it should be emphasized that in 5.1–5 the boast in suffering is made because suffering contributes to the production of hope, and it is the hope of the future glory that is the cause for boasting. Thus it seems that suffering is a necessary link in the chain (5.3–4). Why else would suffering be something to boast in? It seems that a statement like this in 5.3 would be made precisely because of how counter-intuitive suffering's relationship to hope appears to be. Therefore, boasting in suffering in 5.3 does relate to the question of who stands to receive the glory (destiny), and thus suffering does mark out those who will receive it (identity). In fact, this seems to be precisely the point Paul ends up making in 8.17 and following. Whereas Gathercole's study on eschatological boasting is helpful, I find his engagement with this theme in relation to suffering to miss an important element. However, the link between boasting and final judgment is surely on the right track.

[28] Gathercole 2002, 191, 226.
[29] Gathercole 2002, 256. Cf. Keck 2005, 136. *Contra* Jewett 2007, 352.
[30] Gathercole 2002, 257.
[31] Gathercole 2002, 257.

There are other Pauline texts which also probably point to the link between boasting and the final judgment.[32] It is probable, for instance, that Rom. 2.17 and 2.23 refer to a Jewish boast in the law before God at the judgment.[33] In 2 Cor. 1.14, Paul writes that he wants the Corinthians to acknowledge "that on the day of the Lord Jesus you will boast of us as we will boast of you" (cf. 2 Cor. 1.12). Elsewhere he writes that on the day of Christ Paul hopes to boast that his ministry was not in vain (Phil. 2.16). Similarly, in 1 Thess. 2.19, he writes, "For what is our hope or joy or crown of boasting before our Lord Jesus at his coming?" Related to this theme, praise on the last day will come from God (Rom. 2.29; 1 Cor. 4.5). Paul can also speak about one's worth or abilities as not being grounds for boasting before God. Paul writes that if justification were by works then Abraham could boast; however, he could not boast before God (Rom. 4.2). Likewise, Paul states that God chose the weak and poor among the Corinthians so that no one could boast before God (1 Cor. 1.29).

This brings us back to Paul's boast in the cross in Gal. 6.14. Intriguingly, Gathercole never mentions the verse in his study on boasting and the judgment. However, the likelihood that Paul's boast in 6.14 is meant to be a boast at the final judgment is strengthened by a couple of factors.

(1) First, within Galatians itself this link between boasting and the judgment is apparent. The future boast in 6.4 (καύχημα ἕξει) comes as a result of testing one's own work (τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἑαυτοῦ δοκιμαζέτω ἕκαστος), which is best understood in relation to assurance of vindication on the final day.[34] This can be seen, not least from the individualistic focus, but also from the way that Paul grounds these ideas (6.5: γάρ) in the fact that each one (ἕκαστος) will bear his own load in the future (βαστάσει). If bearing one's own load is understood to take place at the final judgment,[35] this would further corroborate the reading of 6.4 suggested here. Compare 6.5 with *4 Ezra* 7.104–105 (below) to see that this is most likely what Paul had in mind:

[32] Cf. Heb. 3.6.

[33] Gathercole 2002, 201. Cf. Stuhlmacher 1994, 48–49.

[34] For the boast in 6.4 being eschatological, see, e.g., Bonnard 1953, 124; Mußner 1974, 401; Vouga 1998, 148; Schreiner 2010, 361–62; M. de Boer 2011, 383; Barclay 2014, 314–15. For self-evaluation and the final judgment see Kuck 1992, 227. Cf. 1 Cor. 11.28–32.

[35] Cf. also *2 En.* 48.9; 51.3. For those who see 6.5 as including an allusion to the final judgment, see, e.g., Bonnard 1953, 125; Oepke 1964, 149; Mußner 1974, 401–2; Bruce 1982 263; Barclay 1988, 162; Martyn 1997, 550; Hays 2000, 335; Tolmie 2005, 213; Schreiner 2010, 362–63; M. de Boer 2011, 383–84; Moo 2013, 381–82. *Contra* Betz 1979, 304; Dunn 1993, 326; Witherington 1998, 428–29.

> The day of judgment is decisive and displays to all the seal of truth. Just as now a father does not send his son, or a son his father, or a master his servant, or a friend his dearest friend, to be ill or sleep or eat or be healed in his stead, so no one shall ever pray for another on that day, neither shall anyone a lay *a burden* on another; for then everyone shall *bear* his own righteousness or unrighteousness (*4 Ezra* 7.104–105).[36]

This passage is clearly set in a future judgment scene and the correspondence between 6.5 and *4 Ezra* 7.104–105 in relation to both *bearing burdens* and individualism suggest that 6.5 is also concerned with the same.[37] This helps to show that 6.4–5 refers to a context of future judgment with the focus on an individual's own work, load, and boasting.

Thus the emphasis on individual load-bearing (6.5) begins in 6.4 where Paul calls each person to test their own work so that one's boasting is not in another (εἰς τὸν ἕτερον). This idea of not boasting in others in 6.4 anticipates the boasts in 6.13–14 where the agitators boast in the flesh of *the Galatians* (6.13: ἐν τῇ ὑμέτερᾳ σαρκί), but Paul boasts in *his* experience of the cross (6.14). Paul's boast in the cross, therefore, demonstrates that his confidence *on the final day* is based squarely on the cross.[38]

(2) Second, what makes this assertion (that the boasting in 6.13–14 is eschatological) even more likely is the possibility that Paul might also be alluding to Jer. 9.23–26 in Gal. 6.14.[39] The likelihood of the allusion is heightened by the fact that Paul cites Jer. 9.24 elsewhere (1 Cor. 1.31; 2 Cor. 10.17).[40] In favour of the allusion are clear parallels between boasting and circumcision in each context. Yet what has not been appreciated before, as far as I can tell, is the eschatological connection between the passages. See the text of Jer. 9.23–26 (NRSV) below:

> Thus says the LORD: Do not let the wise boast in their wisdom, do not let the mighty boast in their might, do not let the wealthy boast in their wealth; but let those who boast boast in this, that they understand and know me, that I am the LORD; I act with steadfast love, justice, and righteousness in the earth, for in these things I delight, says the LORD. The days are surely coming, says the LORD, when I will attend to all those who are circumcised only in the foreskin: Egypt, Judah, Edom, the Ammonites, Moab, and all those with shaven temples who live in the desert. For all these nations are uncircumcised, and all the house of Israel is uncircumcised in heart.

The imagery of Jer. 9.23–26 fits the context of Gal. 6.14–16 very well. In Jer. 9 it is expressed that boasting should only be in the Lord (9.23–24), and Paul places a similar confidence in the

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[36] Metzger 1983, 540. Cf. *2 En.* 53.1–3.

[37] Kuck 1992, 209.

[38] Winter 2002, 71–75, sees the boast in 6.13, in conjunction with his interpretation of εὐπροσωπῆσαι in 6.12, to be a boast before civic authorities. However, the parallel to 6.4 helps demonstrate that Paul has a future oriented boast in mind. Cf. Dunn 1993, 339.

[39] As noted by Hubbard 2002, 220–21.

[40] Cf. also Phil. 3.3.

work that God accomplished through Christ on the cross (6.14). To anticipate our discussion below on 6.16 (§3.3.4.2), Jer. 9.23–26 also fits Paul's idea of an "Israel of God" that transcends circumcision (6.16) in the light of the references to uncircumcised hearts in Jer. 9.25–26.[41] The phrase "behold the days are coming"[42] in Jer. 9.24 portrays a future-oriented eschatological context for this Jeremiah passage,[43] and so, if Paul's boast in 6.14 is an allusion to Jer 9.23–26, this would bolster the case for the eschatological context of the boast in 6.14 even further.

If, therefore, Paul's boast in the cross is meant to reflect the source of his boast at the final judgment, over against the boast of the agitators in circumcision (6.13), what is it about the cross that causes Paul to boast? Undoubtedly this includes all that the cross accomplished. But, additionally, it is best understood as part of Paul's comformity to the cross, particularly in suffering. Paul's boast is therefore not simply different from the agitators in terms of content (circumcision v. crucifixion) but also in terms of experience; the agitators fear *persecution for the cross* (6.12), but Paul embraces it. Thus Paul's boast in the cross should be understood holistically (cf. 5.11).

This idea of Paul boasting in the cross as including a boast in his own sufferings is consistent with his words elsewhere. He says that he boasts in his weakness (2 Cor. 11.30; 12.5, 9: ἀσθένεια), in his suffering (Rom. 5.3: θλῖψις), and in both the persecutions and the sufferings of the Thessalonians (2 Thess. 1.4: διωγμός / θλῖψις).[44] Another passage worth noting, although textual uncertainty reduces confidence, is 1 Cor. 13.3. There it seems that Paul probably speaks about giving over his body in order that "I might boast" (καυχήσωμαι).[45] The point of the passage would then be that, without love, boasting in suffering

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[41] This also fits a concept of "new creation" that is more anthropological than cosmological (6.15), as I will argue below (§3.3.4.1). See also Hubbard 2002, 221.

[42] ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται in Jer. 9.24 LXX; הנה ימים באים in Jer. 9.24 MT.

[43] So, e.g., Clements 1988, 67; Jones 1992, 170–71; Brueggemann 1998, 96; Stulman 2005, 106. Cf. the use of the same phrase in Jer. 7.32 LXX/MT; 16.14 LXX/MT; 19.6 LXX/MT; 23.5 LXX/MT; 23.7 LXX/MT; 28.52 LXX (51.52 MT; cf. 51.47 MT); 30.18 LXX (48.12 MT); 31.12 LXX (33.14 MT); 37.3 LXX (30.3 MT); 38.27 LXX (31.27 MT); 38.31 LXX (31.31 MT); 38.38 LXX (31.38 MT).

[44] Even if 2 Thessalonians was not written by Paul this verse still coheres with the Pauline notion.

[45] The variant καυχήσωμαι is preferred over the variants καυθησομαι ("I will be burned"), καυθησωμαι ("I might be burned") or καυθη ("it is burned"). This is because: (a) boasting is a more typical lexical choice for Paul, (b) burning here is anachronistic in terms of martyrdom, (c) the external evidence seems to favour this reading with mss P^{46}, ℵ, A, and B, among others, attesting to it, and (d) Paul not only uses boasting terms quite often (καυχάομαι, καυχήσις, καύχημα together occur fifty-four times in the undisputed Pauline letters), but also particularly speaks of boasting *in weakness and suffering*. See Fee 1987, 633–35; Thiselton 2000, 1042–44; Ciampa and Rosner 2010, 633–34.

(i.e., giving over of his body) amounts to *nothing* (οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦμαι).[46]

So then, returning to 6.14, when Paul boasts in the cross here, it fits his emphasis on boasting in his suffering by which he believes that he will be vindicated. Further evidence of this comes from Paul's words in 6.17, that he bears on his body the "marks of Jesus," to which we now turn.

3.3.2 Bearing the Marks of Jesus (Galatians 6.17)

In this section we will see how τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ relate to Paul's reference to his eschatological boast in the cross in 6.14. The first issue to determine, though, is what these "marks" refer to and signify. These "marks," as most contend, probably refer to the scars and visible signs of persecution that Paul received during his ministry.[47] A στίγμα often designated the marks used to brand slaves (Philo, *Quod Omn. Prob.* 10; cf. 156),[48] which suggests that Paul viewed his bodily scars as demonstrating that he belonged to Jesus. This coheres with the way he both closely aligns himself with the crucified Messiah in his own suffering (2.19–3.1; 4.13–14; 5.11; 6.14) and calls himself a "slave of Christ" (1.10).

With the result of persecution as the most likely referent for the "marks of Jesus," the next question is to determine the significance that Paul places upon this. The main suggestions have been to view the reference to Paul's marks as an appeal to his authority and/or as expressing a warning. As already noted, στίγμα is a common slave image. Dale Martin argues for the background of slavery, but specifically suggests that this carries connotations of authority since a slave could be an important representative of the master in the ancient world.[49] Kelhoffer likewise connects 6.17 with authority and specifically in relation to persecution, though without the image of slavery. It is persecution, according to Kelhoffer, that gave Paul and other early Christians a set of cultural currency that was utilized to legitimize true Christians.[50]

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[46] The probable benefit at the future judgment suggested here (ὠφελέω) is similar to Gal. 5.2. Cf. §3.3.3.

[47] So, e.g., Lightfoot 1902, 225; Lietzmann 1923, 42; Duncan 1934, 193–94; Bonnard 1953, 132; Calvin 1965 [1548], 119; Mußner 1974, 417–20; Betz 1979, 324; Bruce 1982, 276; Baasland 1984, 146; Borse 1984, 224–26; R. Longenecker 1990, 300; Matera 1992, 227; Goddard and Cummins 1993, 104; George 1994, 441–42; Weima 1994, 165–66; McKnight 1995, 304; Martyn 1997, 568–69; Vouga 1998, 159; Witherington 1998, 454; Davis 1999, 208; Gorman 2001, 31; Wright 2004, 81; Garlington 2007, 393; Hardin 2008, 98; Schreiner 2010, 383–84.

[48] Burton 1921, 360–61; Schweitzer 1931, 143; D. Martin 1990, 59–60; B. Dodd 1999, 168; Gorman 2001, 31. Anderson 1985, 520, explains, commenting on *3 Macc.* 2.29, "The practice of branding or tattooing [. . .] goes back to the Thracian origins of the Dionysiac cult."

[49] D. Martin 1990, 60.

[50] Kelhoffer 2010, 50–51.

As for viewing v.17 as providing a warning, B. Dodd coupled the notion of authority just mentioned with an implicit warning: "to oppose Paul is to oppose Christ."[51] Another line of thought connects these marks to magic and curses, and so in that way the rhetorical significance of v.17 functions as an authoritative warning. Deißmann and Witherington argued that these marks were seen as a kind of talisman; thus to "cause me trouble" would be to bring down a curse.[52]

A modification of the "authority" interpretation was offered by Güttgemanns, who specifically denied that the στίγματα function as a warning. His argument was that the marks were significant for Paul because they revealed Jesus as Lord. Güttgemanns contended that 6.17 should be read in the light of Gal. 1–2, where he understood Paul to be defending himself. He therefore agreed with others that the στίγματα conveyed authority, but he stressed dignity over the function of warning: "er vielmehr auf seine Würde verweist."[53] In my estimation, Güttgemanns went too far in arguing for Paul's suffering as revelation. Although I agree that Paul sees himself in solidarity with the Messiah and as someone who displays the crucified Messiah in his suffering (cf. 3.1; 4.14), Güttgemanns stressed in 6.17 that there is *no analogy* between Paul's στίγματα and the στίγματα of Jesus. Thus they refer not to Paul's στίγματα, "sondern von den στίγματα *Jesu* an seinem σῶμα."[54] It appears that Güttgemanns was pressing this point because of his aversion to earlier attempts to link suffering with a form of "mysticism" (i.e. Schweitzer). Despite these concerns, it is important to point out that Paul was not saying that Jesus *has* στίγματα. Nowhere do any NT authors use this word to speak of Jesus' wounds (cf. τύπος in John 20.25).[55] Jesus himself did not have στίγματα because only *a follower of Jesus* could possess the slave markings of identity connoting the fact that one belonged to him.

Therefore, without denying that Paul believed that these marks revealed the crucified Messiah, or that he derived a sense of authority from them, or even that he offered them as a warning to detractors, I propose that there are a few additional aspects of Paul's understanding of these "marks." As noted, slave imagery is conveyed in 6.17, which provides an intriguing bookend to the letter that looks back to one of the opening lines about Paul being a Χριστοῦ

[51] B. Dodd 1999, 168. Cf. also Hubing 2015, 256.
[52] Deißmann 1903, 349–52; Witherington 1998, 454; cf. Lagrange 1950, 167; Oepke 1973, 165.
[53] Güttgemanns 1966, 132–33.
[54] Güttgemanns 1966, 129.
[55] στίγμα is a NT *hapax legomenon*.

δοῦλος (1.10).[56] This coheres with the fact that crucifixions were often reserved for members of the lower classes of society, including slaves.[57] These marks seem to be linked to the imagery of slavery as a symbol of identification. That is to say, these marks demonstrate that Paul *belongs* to Jesus. As well, I suggest that the significance is deeper, as will be seen in part two of this thesis, since Paul sees his ministry as an extension of the Isaianic Servant's ministry. Thus Paul's identity as that "Servant" fits the slave-branding connotation of 6.17.

There may be an additional connection to slavery through the link between *bearing* (βαστάζω) "the marks of Jesus" in 6.17 and *bearing* (βαστάζετε) "one another's burdens" as the fulfillment of the "law of Christ" (6.2). Byron has made the interesting observation that since Paul aligns slavery with the Mosaic law throughout Galatians (cf. 5.1), this would then naturally mean that those who obey the "law of Christ" (6.2) are therefore *slaves of Christ*.[58] As well, Barclay notes that bearing burdens is "a slave's task."[59] This connects well to the other passage about fulfilling the law (5.14), which is introduced with the plea to *serve one another* (5.13: δουλεύετε ἀλλήλοις). This then provides a link both with Paul's statement that he is a "slave of Christ" in 1.10 and with the fact that he bears on his body the slave-like στίγματα (6.17).

But what are these burdens that should be borne by the slaves of Christ as a fulfillment of the law of Christ in 6.2? Despite the arguments that these burdens refer to financial problems,[60] or the burden of sin,[61] and despite the arguments that the "the law of Christ" refers to the teachings of Jesus,[62] or the Mosaic law "in the hands of Christ,"[63] perhaps we have here a broad description of self-giving service according to the paradigm of Christ, as Hays suggested,[64] which is used polemically as part of Paul's broader contrast of circumcision and the cross. Bearing burdens in 6.2, therefore, probably has a cross-shaped logic that mirrors Paul bearing the "marks of Jesus" in 6.17. Oakes makes a suggestion along these lines particularly because Jesus' death on the cross in 1.4, 2.20, and 3.13 was for the sake of others (ὑπέρ).[65] Since the Christ of

[56] Holmstrand 1997, 195, sees 6.17 as linking back to 1.10. However, he does not draw out the slave imagery that I do here.
[57] Hengel 1977, 51–63; Pobee 1985, 81.
[58] Byron 2003, 202.
[59] Barclay 1988, 131. Cf. 1 Tim. 6.1.
[60] Strelan 1975; Witherington 1998, 422–23; B. Longenecker 2010, 216–19.
[61] Mußner 1974, 399; Garlington 1991.
[62] C. Dodd 1968, 134–48.
[63] Barclay 1988, 126–142; Martyn 1997, 547–49, 554–58.
[64] Hays 1987.
[65] Oakes 2015, 180.

Galatians is the crucified Christ, this passage may include the notion of mutual burden-bearing in the context of suffering—identifying with the sufferings of others. It is likely that Paul had a broad referent in mind, but given Paul's portrayal of the conflict (cf. §5.2.2), "bearing burdens" could include the notion of mutual reciprocity in the endurance of hardships.[66] This would then further identify the "law of Christ" as a law that prescribes cross-shaped living, which therefore includes a solidarity with the crucified Lord. It includes self-sacrificial loving, and conveys a notion of aligning oneself with the crucified Christ. Thus all Christians are called to this cross-shaped life of mutual burden-bearing that marks them out as slaves of Christ.[67]

Paul sharply expresses the fact that he is marked out as a servant of Christ by bearing the στίγματα, which stunningly highlights that his identity is not found in circumcision. Many have also noted that the στίγματα are likely intended to be contrasted with the marks of circumcision.[68] Weima, however, has suggested that the line of thought does not link up with circumcision, but rather is meant to critique the "markless" agitators who avoid persecution (6.12).[69] Weima's comments are surely right in what they affirm, but not in what they deny. It is correct to see a contrast with the agitators, which stands out sharply in this final section of the letter, but the marks of circumcision are directly relevant for Paul's choice of words. Again, the agitators fear persecution (6.12) and boast in circumcision (6.13). Paul, on the other hand, boasts in the cross (6.14) and gladly endures persecution, as the στίγματα make clear (6.17).

Although others have noted the contrast between circumcision and the marks of Jesus, Paul's comments need to be placed more firmly within his eschatological emphases in Gal. 5–6. When seen in this light, his words suggest that the "marks of Jesus" are what mark out those who will be vindicated on the final day. That is, the marks that count before God are not the marks of circumcision, but those received in solidarity with Jesus—the suffering and persecution endured for the sake of the Messiah and his cross. These are the badges that demonstrate who the true people of God are, but they are more than just badges that demonstrate "who's in." And neither do they simply regulate how to "stay in" (although it does do that as demonstrated by the discussion on apostasy). As will be suggested presently, Paul is probably thinking of the grounds

[66] So similarly Dunn 1993, 321–22; Lopez 2008, 146.

[67] This is not invalidated by 4.7 since the slavery is to the στοιχεῖα. For those who recognize a positive role of being slaves in Galatians, see B. Dodd 1996, 99; *idem* 1999, 150; Harris 2001, 146–48; Byron 2003, 197–202.

[68] Rightly Deißmann 1903, 351; Bligh 1970, 496–97; Brinsmead 1982, 47; Gordon 1987, 43; Fung 1988, 314; Pate 1993, 273; Russell 1997, 100; Beale 1999, 221–22; S. Eastman 2007, 54, 104, 109; Wright 2013, 435.

[69] Weima 1994, 166. So also Pobee 1985, 94–96; Cousar 1990, 141 n.16.

of his vindication on the final day. The language of *bearing* the "marks of Jesus" should probably be interpreted as an image of the final judgment for six main reasons.

(1) First, βαστάζω is used as an image of the final judgment in 6.5, as we saw above, and additionally it also appears with reference to judgment in 5.10. In the latter verse Paul says that "the one troubling you *will bear* the judgment" (5.10: βαστάσει). This is best taken as a reference to divine judgment, and, in particular, a reference to the future eschatological judgment.[70] This interpretation not only fits the emphasis on the final judgment in the final chapters of Galatians, but also coheres with the use of the singular ὁ ταράσσων. Paul's focus on an individual is not likely meant to single out a leader or representative, but is rather an individualization of judgment. This explains why elsewhere the agitators are referred to in the plural (1.7; 5.12).

What is additionally significant about this example is the reason why Paul most likely declares judgment upon the agitators. In 5.11 Paul affirms that he does not "preach circumcision" because otherwise he would not be persecuted for the sake of the cross.[71] Intriguingly, he interrupts the progression from protasis to apodosis (εἰ . . . ἄρα) by refering to his experience of persecution as definitive proof of the matter.[72] Not only is there a clear contrast between the cross and circumcision here, but also persecution shows that Paul is aligned with the cross over against circumcision. In other words, experiencing the cross displays one's allegiance to it. The logic of the transition from 5.10 to 5.11 is somewhat abrupt and awkward, yet it seems likely that the contrast between the cross and circumcision, as marks of identity, informs this section. That circumcision is on Paul's mind when speaking of the judgment in 5.10 is clear from the circumcision-type punishment he wishes for the agitators in 5.12—that they would be fully emasculated rather than simply circumcised.[73] Thus bearing judgment in relation to circumcision (5.10) provides a helpful contrast with the vindication of bearing the στίγματα (6.17).

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[70] For 5.10 as a reference to the final judgment, see Bonnard 1953, 106; Betz 1979, 267; Martyn 1997, 475; B. Longenecker 1998, 26; Sänger 2011, 172; Oropeza 2012, 12; Moo 2013, 336; Hubing 2015, 156. *Contra* Dunn 1993, 277.

[71] Although some scholars have argued that Paul did preach circumcision during an early period after his conversion (see D. Campbell 2011), it is far more likely that in 5.11 he is referring to his pre-Christian zeal for the law (1.13–14). So Burton 1921, 286; George 1994, 369–70; McKnight 1995, 252; Witherington 1998, 373; Wright 2004, 66. In other words, in 5.11 Paul reflects on his change from persecutor to persecuted.

[72] See Baarda 1992. However, Lambrecht 1996 argues that there are two apodoses.

[73] This reading of 5.10–12 with punishment levelled on the side of circumcision, and the cross on the other side, fits well with 1.10, where being a "slave of Christ" for Paul looks like being persecuted, and "preaching circumcision" for the agitators looks like "pleasing people." See Holmstrand 1997, 178–87; B. Dodd 1999, 166–67.

(2) Second, as we saw above, 6.14 probably reflects the eschatological boast of Paul in his own suffering for the cross. Along with the eschatological realities of the "Israel of God" and the "new creation," to be addressed below (§3.3.4), we can see that an eschatological interpretation of 6.17 fits the context well. Most importantly, if in 6.14 Paul is boasting in the cross as the basis of future vindication, then 6.17 can be seen to reaffirm that point with greater emphasis on his own participation in the cross of Christ.

(3) Third, the context of 6.2–5 provides additional parallels that fit neatly with 6.14–17. Just as eschatological "bearing" in 6.5 is preceded by eschatological boasting in 6.4, so this boasting-bearing pair in 6.4–5 corresponds to the boasting-bearing pair in 6.14 and 6.17. As well, if mutual burden-bearing of others in 6.2 suggests that corporately believers will be marked out as slaves of Christ by their own "marks of Jesus," in 6.17 we see Paul "bearing his own load," as it were, in accordance with 6.5, and in 6.14 we see Paul having his own boast, in accordance with 6.4. This interpretation of 6.14 and 6.17 fits the emphasis on the individual in eschatological scenes, as was mentioned above.

(4) Fourth, with the final judgment in view, this provides some additional explanation for Paul's words that no one should trouble him (κόπους μοι μηδεὶς παρεχέτω). Perhaps there is an implicit warning here that judgment will come to those who do not listen to Paul.

(5) Fifth, the opening words of 6.17, Τοῦ λοιποῦ, are best taken as a genitive of time, meaning, "from now on." Given the emphasis on time and a future-oriented perspective, we can see how a rendering like "during the remaining course of time"[74] best fits the context. With the time that is left, no one should cause Paul trouble.

(6) Sixth, the eschatological interpretation of 6.17 that I am arguing for here coheres with a passage from the final section of *3 Corinthians* that appears to be alluding to 6.16–17:[75]

> 34. If, however, you receive anything else let no man trouble me, (35) for I have these bonds on me that I may win Christ, and I bear his marks that I may attain to the resurrection of the dead. 36. And whoever accepts this rule which we have received by the blessed prophets and the holy gospel, shall receive a reward, (37) but for whomsoever deviates from this rule fire shall be for him and for those who preceded him therein (38) since they are Godless men, a generation of vipers. Resist them in the power of the Lord. 40. Peace be with you (*3 Corinthians* 3.34–40).[76]

[74] Cf. deSilva 2014, 146. Such a rendering could suggest that Paul may have an eschatological time frame in mind, which, along with 6.10, could be the closest we come in Galatians to seeing Paul's *imminent* eschatology.

[75] It is likely that *3 Corinthians* circulated independently of the *Acts of Paul*, and thus it could have been written before the middle of the second century. So Ehrman 2003, 157.

[76] J. K. Elliott 1993, 382.

As we can see, there are many parallels: (i) similar statements about not letting anyone "trouble me," (ii) attention is drawn to "bonds" and "marks" in a manner that parallels the "marks of Jesus" in 6.17, and (iii) a "rule" is mentioned twice that resembles the "rule" in 6.16. Thus when it is recognized that this passage at the end of *3 Corinthians* is also (a) juridical, as seen through the language of recompense, and (b) eschatological, as seen especially through the language of resurrection, eternal life, and damnation (i.e. "fire"), this provides an interesting corroboration of the argument being made here. It is likely that the author of *3 Corinthians* was familiar with the ending of Galatians and intentionally mimicked it. What we see here, then, is an early interpretation of 6.17,[77] and it is noteworthy that such use reflects a similar eschatological emphasis.

With these six reasons in mind it is probable that 6.17 is an image of final judgment. Thus Paul appears to be suggesting that he bears on his body *at present* (βαστάζω) the very thing that will lead to his vindication on the final day—the marks of his allegiance to the cross and the crucified Messiah. If allegiance to the cross and the Messiah is the basis of the final judgment, as I have suggested for both 6.14 and 6.17, this leads directly into the broader discussions about Paul's theology of justification. If Paul was thinking about the grounds for his vindication at the final judgment when he referred to his exclusive boast in the cross and bearing the "marks of Jesus," what implications might this have for how Paul conceives of justification in the letter? If suffering for the cross is relevant for the final judgment, it must therefore be relevant for justification by faith in some way.

For Paul, it is quite clear that justification is *by faith* (2.16), although recent debates regarding the proper understanding of πίστις Χριστοῦ have shown that there is some difficulty in understanding Paul's precise point. This is not the place to dive into all of the exegetical and theological issues in this larger discussion, but it is important to offer a brief comment on how the present argument fits Paul's broader framework. If it is correct to assert that the basis of vindication at the final judgment is one's allegiance to the crucified Messiah, as I have argued, does this detract from justification by faith? Hardly; a cross-shaped life is the proof that one genuinely trusts and follows the crucified Messiah. This suggestion applies to justification no

[77] Pervo 2014, 271, affirms, "The basis of v. 34 is Gal 6:17, upon which v. 35 builds."

matter how we interpret πίστις Χριστοῦ.[78] Whether πίστις entails Christ's faithful death (subjective genitive), or whether πίστις is placed in the one who died faithfully (objective genitive), both of the major interpretations can be seen to be cross-centered.[79]

It should be no surpise, then, that the passage with the clearest articulation of justification in Galatians also contains the clearest articulation of co-crucifixion (2.15–21). Thus we can see why Gorman asserts that "justification is by cruciform faith."[80] And so, in Sanders-esque fashion, he states, "Gal 2:19–21 suggests that co-crucifixion is both the *way in* and the way to *stay in* the covenant."[81] Yet what we can see from the eschatological implications of Galatians, more importantly, is that co-crucifixion is the means to *get there*,[82] that is, the "marks of Jesus" are the marks that lead to vindication on the last day.[83] The way that justification is linked to co-crucifixion in 2.19–20 is similar to how 6.17 points to the "marks of Jesus" in an eschatological context of final judgment. The idea that Paul's *present* boast in the cross in 6.14 and *present* bearing of the marks of Jesus in 6.17 has implications for the final judgment is therefore rooted in the logic of justification. For instance, when Paul speaks of being justified by faith in 2.16 he is speaking of the future judgment being announced in advance.[84] He even uses the future passive to express this (δικαιωθήσεται) in his allusion to Ps. 142.2 LXX (143.2 MT).[85] This is why he says later in 5.5 that "we await" (ἀπεκδεχόμεθα) the *hope* of righteousness (5.5).[86] To disclose the final judgment in the present (i.e. justification by faith) is an "apocalyptic" move

[78] If we are to understand πίστις Χριστοῦ as a subjective genitive, a link between justification by faith and judgment by allegiance to the cross is understandable. Christ's πίστις unto death led to his vindication, and so those who share in Christ's πίστις should adopt a similar posture. Cf. Hooker 1981, 76; Gorman 2001, 141; Hays 2002, xxx. For those who understand πίστις Χριστοῦ as an objective genitive, the link might not appear as clear, at least initially. But the reason why faith is placed in Christ is because of what was accomplished in his death on the cross and subsequent vindication.

[79] The interpretative options go beyond the binary of "subjective" and "objective." For more, see Bird and Sprinkle 2009.

[80] Gorman 2001, 138; cf. *idem* 2009, 40–104.

[81] Gorman 2009, 71.

[82] This borrows the language of Gathercole 2002, 24.

[83] Cosgrove 1987b comes close to this in a short section of an article on Justification. The section is entitled, "Justification as the Vindication of Cruciform Existence" (pp.667–69). Unfortunately this section is largely based on Rom. 8.17 (and the following verses). Yet the idea of cruciform existence leading to vindication underlies much of Galatians.

[84] For 2.16 referring to the final judgment see Betz 1979, 116–17; Silva 1994, 148–49; Kwon 2004, 18.

[85] It is possible that Paul's allusion to this Psalm is a critique of the agitators since the text of Galatians (πᾶσα σάρξ) differs from the Psalm (πᾶς ζῶν) regarding who will not be justified (§2.3.1). Cf. Jewett 1971, 97–98; Dunn 1993, 140.

[86] For 5.5 as a reference to the final judgment, see, e.g., Bonnard 1953, 104; Betz 1979, 262; Bruce 1982, 231–32; Oropeza 2012, 30.

since it is revealing a reality that is still future. This understanding of justification by faith as proleptically related to the final judgment is similar to the pattern we saw in chapter two of this study: the Spirit is a proleptic sign of the future inheritance. And just as in chapter two the Spirit is accompanied by *suffering* as a proleptic sign of inheritance, so also justification by faith is accompanied by *cruciform living* as a proleptic sign of future vindication.[87] Thus in 6.17 Paul refers to the present marks that will lead toward vindication on the final day, which will be the object of his boasting before God (6.14).

With these things established concerning the identity of Paul as one aligned with the cross and so marked out for vindication at the judgment, it is now necessary for us to see further evidence that Paul's depiction of himself as one who will be vindicated and receive eschatological vindication is meant to help reinforce the identity of the people of God. The reason for this is because of the *paradigmatic* function of Paul's references to himself.[88] Paul's words in 6.11–17, as in the autobiography of Gal. 1–2 (which will be discussed in the following chapter), are meant to be *paradigmatic* and have some meaningful appropriation for the Galatian believers.[89] In particular, we will see how Paul's words about himself were designed to spur on the Galatians to endure the conflict they were experiencing rather than commit apostasy through receiving circumcision, and so forfeit the possibility of future vindication. As well, this will provide additional corroborating evidence for the arguments that 6.14 and 6.17 have the final judgment in view.

3.3.3 Eschatological Judgment & Apostasy

The depictions of judgment outlined in this chapter appear to be utilized by Paul as part of his attempt to call the Galatians to maintain their Christian identity. This is to be maintained by enduring suffering rather than giving up through the reception of circumcision, which Paul believes would result in apostasy and condemnation rather than future vindication. This strategy can be seen from three factors.

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[87] What ties justification and the Spirit together as proleptic signs, as well, is the fact the one seems to entail the other in Paul's thought. Compare the contrast between faith and works of the law *for justification* in 2.16 with the contrast between faith and works of the law *for the reception of the Spirit* in 3.2 and 3.5. For more on justification and pneumatology in Galatians see S. Williams 1987; Macchia 2010.

[88] See B. Dodd 1996; *idem* 1999, 133–70.

[89] So also Wolter 1990, 548; Cousar 1990, 147–48; Holmstrand 1997, 195; B. Dodd 1999, 167–68; Gorman 2001, 31; Barclay 2002, 146.

(1) First, the fate of the agitators seems to function as a warning to the Galatians. The agitators are accursed (1.8–9),[90] will not receive the inheritance (4.30, 5.21), and will be condemned at the judgment (cf. 5.10). The Galatians, therefore, are not to receive circumcision, nor are they to associate with the agitators, because to do so will lead to the same eschatological demise.[91] The eschatological nature of the punishment of the agitators, especially in 5.10 and 5.21, has been noted already (§3.3.2), but in regard to 5.21 this can be extended further because there the warning element is explicit.

Paul introduces the "vice list" (5.19–21) which includes certain "vices" that will keep people from entering the kingdom of God by saying, "Now the works of the flesh are φανερά" (5.19). Most translations and commentators render φανερά as "evident," "obvious," or use another synonym.[92] Yet, in keeping with the judgment imagery noted thus far, it seems preferable to regard this as an eschatological disclosure.[93] This is likely for four reasons. First, the "vices" are disclosed as those things that will keep one from inheriting the kingdom (5.21). Second, the first use of προλέγω in 5.21 at the end of the "vice list" also points in this direction since Paul is announcing these truths *in advance*. Third, the eschatological emphasis in 5.19–21 also suggests that the "fruit of the Spirit" (5.22–23) has eschatological connotations. The association of fruit with eschatology, particularly the harvest, is common.[94] Additionally it coheres with the eschatological imagery of sowing and reaping in 6.7–10 (to be discussed further below). Fourth, elsewhere Paul uses φανερός in a manner similar to the way I am arguing that he does here. For example, in 1 Cor. 3.13 Paul writes, "Each one's (ἑκάστου) work will become manifest (φανερόν), for the Day will disclose it, because it will be revealed by fire, and the fire will test what sort of work each one (ἑκάστου) has done." Similarly, in 1 Cor. 4.5 Paul warns against prematurely announcing judgment before the final day, stating that when Christ comes he

[90] It is likely that ἀνάθεμα (1.8–9) is meant to recall Achan (Josh. 7; 22.20) who caused *trouble* for Israel (1 Chr. 2.7). See R. Longenecker 1990, 16; Ciampa 1998, 79–82. Just as Achan was condemned and expelled from the community (not to mention executed) so Paul twice pronounces a curse using the same key term (ἀνάθεμα in LXX; חרם in MT).

[91] Enduring suffering and hardship as a means of avoiding damnation can be seen in, e.g., 1QpHab VIII 1–3; *M. Pol*. 2.3–4; *Acts Andr.* 41[9]; 63[9].

[92] E.g. Mußner 1974, 379; Dunn 1993, 302; Martyn 1997, 496; Vouga 1998, 134; M. de Boer 2011, 355; Oakes 2015, 175; See also English translations: NIV; ESV; HCSB; KJV; NKJV; NASB; NET; NLT; RSV; NRSV.

[93] This is also briefly noted as a possibility by Kamlah (1964, 19–20 n.5) in the light of Rom. 1.18.

[94] Cf. Jer. 51.33; Hos. 6.11; Joel 4.13; Matt. 13.1–21, 24–30, 36–43; Mark 4.1–20; Luke 8.1–15; John 4.36–38; 6.26; 2 Cor. 9.6–10; Phil. 1.10–11; Heb. 6.7–8; Jas. 3.18; 5.7–8; Rev. 14.15–16; *4 Ezra* 3.20; 4.28–32, 35; 9.17, 31; *2 Bar*. 70.2; Philo, *Som.* 2.23–24.

will bring to light the things hidden by darkness and make known (φανερώσει) the intentions of the heart. At this point each one (ἕκαστος) will receive praise from God. For these reasons, we can see how 5.19–21 discloses in advance the "works of the flesh" that will keep one from entering the future kingdom, which functions as a warning regarding apostasy.

(2) Second, in addition to the indirect warnings noted above, Paul also offers warnings specifically directed at the Galatians in 5.2, 5.4, 5.7, and 6.7–10, which I will address in turn. When circumcision is mentioned directly for the first time as an issue for the Galatians in 5.2 it is clearly presented as an alternative to Christ. Paul says that if you receive circumcision, Christ will be of no gain for you. The future ὠφελήσει in this verse probably points forward to the final judgment.[95] A parallel can be found in Rom. 2.25 where the use of ὠφελέω seems to convey a similar notion of benefit *at the judgment* (cf. also 1 Cor. 13.3). The basic idea here in Galatians is that Christ cannot benefit, on the day of judgment, the one who receives circumcision (under the present circumstances). The future eschatological orientation of Gal. 5.2 is further demonstrated a few verses later in 5.5, where Paul mentions "eagerly waiting for the hope of righteousness." It also should not be missed that when Paul says "Christ" will be of no advantage in 5.2, he probably has the benefits of what Christ accomplished on the cross in view. In other words, the benefits of what Christ accomplished on the cross will not be found on the final day if they receive circumcision.

The damnable nature of circumcision in 5.2 is additionally made clear in this context in 5.4, where Paul writes that his audience has been "cut off" (καταργέω) from Christ. The use of καταργέω in 5.11, where Paul refers to removing the scandal of the cross by preaching circumcision, sheds some interesting light on the meaning of καταργέω in 5.4. The Galatians are in danger of being "removed from Christ" in their movement towards circumcision because Paul thinks that receiving circumcision removes the scandal of the cross. I suggest that, in addition to the implications that the cross creates for the era of the law, Paul is partly able to make this connection between circumcision and removing the scandal of the cross because he believes that persecution for the cross would be avoided if they received circumcision (cf. 5.11). Therefore, the Galatians' movement towards circumcision is understood by Paul as a movement away from

[95] Rightly Bonnard 1953, 103; Mußner 1974, 346; Dunn 1993, 264–65; Martyn 1997, 469; Witherington 1998, 367; Schreiner 2010, 313. *Contra* R. Longenecker 1990, 226.

the cross and away from suffering, and this link between 5.4 and 5.11 helps to demonstrate this line of thought.

In 5.7 we can see a similar perspective on how circumcision would lead the Galatians away from future blessing, further highlighting the negative consequence that circumcision will create for the judgment. Circumcision is not explicitly mentioned in 5.7, nor is the cross for that matter, but the basic perspective seems to be carried forward from 5.2 and 5.4, and so it is assumed that the hindrance from running in 5.7 leads to apostasy. With this verse we see that the athletic image of running a race has an inherent notion of the future.[96] The negative result for those who receive circumcision coheres with the imagery of the final judgment elsewhere.

Just before the final section of the letter in 6.11–17, Paul contrasts those who sow to the flesh and those who sow to the Spirit which functions as both a warning against circumcision and a call to endure (6.7–10). The eschatological image in 6.9 offers a guarantee of a good harvest if the Galatians continue without "growing weary" (ἐγκακέω) or "giving up" (ἐκλύω). This has been understood as a general summons to persist in doing good,[97] as a call to persevere instead of losing enthusiasm,[98] and as a reminder that salvation is conditional on perseverance.[99] The notion of perseverance in relation to eschatological reaping should not be missed (θερίζω occurs four times in the future tense in 6.7–9), especially since the results are eternal life (ζωὴν αἰώνιον) or corruption (φθοράν). Additionally, the eschatological focus is seen in the final exhortation in 6.10. The Galatians should do good to all, especially to those who belong to τοὺς οἰκείους τῆς πίστεως, which is given a clear eschatological time-frame: ὡς καιρὸν ἔχομεν. Paul begins this section with final judgment themes by saying that "God will not be mocked" (6.7). Here Paul underscores the seriousness of impending judgment if the Galatians "sow to the flesh."[100]

But I suggest, additionally, that it is preferable to regard the impetus for Paul's reminder of the need for perseverance as being the hardship and suffering that the Galatians are facing.[101] Although ἐκλύω is a Pauline *hapax legomenon,* ἐγκακέω is used four other times in the Pauline

[96] Pfitzner 1967, 138; Kwon 2004, 49.
[97] E.g. Burton 1921, 344; Hays 2000, 337.
[98] E.g. Betz 1979, 309; R. Longenecker 1990, 281–82.
[99] E.g. Bonnard 1953, 127; M. de Boer 2011, 390.
[100] Jewett 2002, 346–47, attempts to mirror-read this verse as proof that the Galatians were pneumatics with a contempt for the future judgment.
[101] Compare the promise of vindication at the judgment for those who endure suffering in 2 Tim. 4.8; *1 En.* 108.4–15; *2 En.* 65.6ff; *Acts Paul* 4.13; *Apoc. Dan.* 14.13–16.

corpus and each of them is found in contexts of suffering (cf. 2 Cor. 4.1, 16; Eph. 3.13; 2 Thess. 3.13). Describing his ministry in 2 Cor. 4.1, Paul announces that he and his co-workers "do not lose heart" (οὐκ ἐγκακοῦμεν), and he proceeds in vv.8–12 to describe their experience of suffering. Again in v.16 Paul writes οὐκ ἐγκακοῦμεν even though "our outer self is wasting away." Likewise, in Eph. 3.13 Paul, or a Pauline disciple, tells the Ephesians not "to lose heart over what I am suffering for you" (μὴ ἐγκακεῖν). The final usage in 2 Thess. 3.13 seems to be more general: "do not grow weary in doing good" (μὴ ἐγκακήσητε). But in the light of the references to persecution throughout 2 Thess. 1, it seems likely that the call to endurance implied by the use of ἐγκακέω includes the endurance of doing what is good even in the light of the present predicament. In relation to the Galatian context, then, Paul is calling his audience to endure to the end "for in due course we will reap, if we do not give up." Thus 6.9 is not a general ethical statement, but relates to the present experience of suffering. In fact, this is probably what Paul had in mind in the *crux* passage—Gal. 3.4. As we saw in the previous chapter (§2.5), "Have you suffered in vain?" implies that the future benefits of suffering could potentially be wasted. Additionally, because the alternative is "sowing to *their own* flesh" (6.8: εἰς τὴν σάρκα ἑαυτοῦ), giving up is the same as receiving circumcision (cf. 3.3),[102] which coheres with the portrait we have seen thus far that for Paul to receive circumcision is to avoid suffering for the cross.[103]

Paul draws an inference from the preceding imagery (Ἄρα οὖν) and calls the Galatians to do good to everyone, and particularly to "the household of faith" (6.10). This is certainly a call that is applicable to the Galatians. But it is also likely to be a critique of the agitators who, we have seen (§2.3.1), have been hostile and divisive. This critique is likely for three reasons. First, the need to endure as stated in 6.9 probably stems from the pressure and tension caused by the agitators, especially with the references to "sowing to the flesh." Second, doing good to the household τῆς πίστεως stands in explicit contrast to the way that Paul formerly sought to *destroy* τὴν πίστιν (1.23). Paul speaks of his former activity persecuting the church in 1.13–14 and 1.23–24 at least in part to contrast his former life of misplaced zeal with the agitators' current innappropriately zealous behaviour (4.17; 5.20). Third, we note the flow from 6.10 into 6.12–13,

[102] For those who see "sowing to the flesh" in 6.8 as including an oblique word of warning regarding circumcision, see Dunn 1993, 330; Martyn 1997, 553; Hays 2000, 336; Tolmie 2005, 214–15. *Contra* those who see a critique of libertinism: Burton 1921, 342; Longenecker 1990, 281; Jewett 2002, 346.

[103] It is important to note that in this context, 6.7–10 incorporates references to suffering, the Spirit, and identity ("the household of faith"), which coheres with the patterns in chapter two of this thesis.

where I have argued that the agitators are depicted as aggressive in their attempts to *compel* the Galatians to be circumcised (§2.3.1.1–2). Thus we can see that 6.10 probably contains an additional critique of the agitators within this final set of eschatological images before the final section section of the letter.

(3) This brings us to the third and final factor that suggests that Paul utilizes final judgment imagery in 6.14 and 6.17 as part of an attempt to keep the Galatians from comitting apostasy in the midst of suffering. This third factor is coherent with the use of all of the final judgment motifs noted already. That Paul could have used these themes to call those suffering to endure can be seen from the way this imagery was sometimes used in a similar way in apocalyptic literature (cf. *1 En.* 104.1–5; *2 Bar.* 52.6–7; 78.5–6; 84.6). I contend that this same pattern is also found in Galatians. The function of this imagery appears to be that vindication is for those *who endure to the end*. As Paul sees it, giving up in the midst of conflict will not result in a favourable verdict on the final day. It is only through the cross that vindication comes, just as Jesus was raised from the dead on the other side of crucifixion (1.1). In his study on final judgment imagery in Galatians, Kuck has this to say in conclusion about final judgment imagery generally in Paul's letters:

> What we see here in Galatians 6.5 is true, I think, for many of the other references to apocalyptic judgment in Paul's letters. The present realities of tensions in the community, ethical uncertainties, disappointed expectations, flagging endurance, and disconcerting sufferings are to be resolved or endured with a view to the final judgment of God.[104]

This conclusion makes good sense of Galatians. Yet Kuck does not attempt to correlate the element of suffering that he mentions with any specifics in Galatians, nor does he even mention a possible background of conflict or persecution. In the light of our present study it is hopefully apparent that Kuck's comments are particularly appropriate for Galatians.[105]

With the following three factors in mind—regarding the rhetorical function of final judgment imagery in Galatians as partly intended to persuade his audience to endure their present conflict with the agitators—we need to ask why Paul chose to refer *to himself* in 6.14 and 6.17. There appears to be two reasons for this. The first is because he alone, as he sees it, is truly trusting in the cross in the face of conflict. The second reason is because final judgment imagery

[104] Kuck 1994, 297.

[105] S. Eastman 2007, 161–79, comes the closest to articulating that the rhetorical aim of the eschatological imagery in Galatians is to call for the endurance of suffering to the end.

is often focused directly on individuals, as we have seen. But even with the emphasis on Paul as an individual we can see how these words are meant to be paradigmatic for the Galatians as well. As Kuck notes, the focus on the individual is meant to have communal implications. And so it is the case here. Believers are to bear each other's burdens (6.2), but each one will have his own boast (6.4) and bear his own load (6.5).

Together the three factors noted above also combine to provide the best explanation for the reason why Paul regards circumcision as an act of apostasy. Since Paul is clear that circumcision *per se* is actually meaningless (τι ἰσχύει in 5.6; τί ἐστιν in 6.15), there must be a good reason why Paul views receiving circumcision as an act of apostasy. It is important to recognize that circumcision is uniquely a matter of apostasy in Galatians and not elsewhere in Paul's letters.[106] Paul wants the Galatians to resist circumcision, not merely because, as he says elsewhere, he believes that people should remain in the position in which they were called, in this case, as uncircumcised (1 Cor. 7.18). The best explanation for the reason Paul considers circumcision an act of apostasy is because he believes that the Galatians would be denying Christ in the process of avoiding and/or alleviating their present suffering.[107] Throughout early Christian literature it was understood that to deny Christ in the midst of suffering was to commit apostasy.[108] By receiving circumcision the Galatians would therefore be denying the cross. The reason why Paul does not simply say, "go ahead and get circumcised to alleviate the pressure you are under," is twofold, and both reasons pertain to the cross. First, this is because of what the cross accomplished in inaugurating a new age. The old age of the στοιχεῖα, the law, the world, and the flesh, are coming to an end (cf. 1.4). For the Galatians to be circumcised is therefore to move backwards (4.8–10) and to deny what the cross accomplished (2.21). Most scholars readily note this first reason, but we can go further with a second reason. In the light of Paul's portrayal of the conflict as one of hostility, to give in to circumcision is to deny the very pressures that sent Jesus to the cross. It is to deny living in solidarity with the crucified Messiah, which is the badge of Christian identity, and to forfeit the eschatological reality that the cross secures.

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[106] Oropeza 2012, 30, notes this issue as well, but does not answer the question in the manner that I will.

[107] *Contra* Watson 1986, 69, who states, "Paul opposes circumcision because it is the rite of entry into the Jewish people, *and for that reason alone*" (emphasis original). Cf. Watson 2007, 130. Watson states this because he contends that the central issue in Galatians is "whether the church should be a reform-movement within Judaism or a sect outside it." See Watson 1986, 49.

[108] See Mark 8.38; Luke 9.26; Heb. 6.6–8; 10.26–27; *Mart. Pol*. 4.1; 17.2; *Herm*. 6.7–8; 14.5–7; 105.4; *Ap. Jas*. 4.20–5.35; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.15; 5.1; 6.41–43; 8.2. Cf. Josephus, *B.J.* 2.391.

Thus circumcision in Galatians is seen as the way to alleviate persecution.[109] If the Galatians received circumcision it would ostensibly alleviate the pressure upon them and it would also alleviate the pressure upon the agitators (6.13). Paul depicts the agitators as motivated by a fear of persecution to compel the Galatians to be circumcised, a compulsion that we have seen included intense pressure and conflict. And it is important to reiterate that 6.12–13 does not simply say that the agitators feared persecution, but rather persecution *for the cross of the Messiah*. It should not be missed that Paul sees the cross as leading to persecution, which suggests as well that *circumcision does not*. Paul focuses on the agitators in their fear of persecution for the cross because they are a paradigm of the wrong way to react to conflict. The Galatians are in a position to make a similar move of denying the cross out of fear of persecution and Paul warns them not to do so.[110] The comment about fearing persecution for the cross reflects the wedge that Paul has driven between the cross on the one hand and circumcision on the other. The strong language against the agitators is equalled by the strong language against the Galatians should they continue to pursue circumcision. If the Galatians follow the agitators it would result in apostasy.[111] The Galatians are therefore in limbo.

Therefore, Paul's presentation of himself as one vindicated in accordance with his allegiance to the cross is meant to be paradigmatically imitated so that the Galatians avoid apostasy. Additionally, we can see the paradigmatic force of Paul's words in 6.14 and 6.17 in the light of the community-enforcing language of the "new creation" and the "Israel of God" in 6.15–16. To establish this connection we will need to develop these points further.

3.3.4 The Eschatological Cruciform People (Galatians 6.15–16)

In this section we will see how Paul understands the "new creation" (6.15) and the "Israel of God" (6.16) in their own right and specifically in relation to his emphasis on the cross as constituting a badge of identity marking out those who will be vindicated on the final day. As I

[109] So also, e.g., Mitternacht 1999, 299–313; Harvey 2002, 330.

[110] Jewett 2002, 339, does not think that the Galatians were seeking to avoid persecution, even though he does affirm that Paul considered them to have suffered, since 6.12 only speaks of the agitators avoiding persecution. However, this misses the relation between the conflict itself and the Galatians' experience of suffering in Paul's portrayal.

[111] In Oropeza's three-volume study on apostasy, he makes an explicit comment about how the near-apostasy of the Galatians was not occasioned by persecution: "They might turn into precipitate defectors similar to the second seed in Jesus' parable of the Sower, but in this case their falling away would not be caused by persecution or affliction but by turning away from the gospel." See Oropeza 2012, 18. However, we have seen there are good reasons for seeing the danger of committing apostasy a result of avoiding persecution.

argued, the two boasts in 6.13–14, in the cross and in circumcision, are to be seen in an eschatological context. Paul's assurance on the final day is solely in the cross, a point he reiterates in 6.17. But before doing so he speaks of the "new creation" and the "Israel of God." These references are not peripheral to what Paul is trying to communicate in these final verses. As we will see, 6.15–16 not only continues the eschatological outlook that I have argued for, but these two verses are also deeply rooted in Paul's understanding of the cross. In particular, these verses articulate the identity of those who will boast in the cross on the final day and stand to be vindicated. As well, these verses help demonstrate that Paul's words in 6.14 and 6.17 are meant to be paradigmatic. We will look at each verse in turn.

3.3.4.1 A New Creational People Created By The Cross

In 6.15 Paul says that neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is anything (τί ἐστιν), but "new creation" (καινὴ κτίσις). As to the precise referent for the "new creation" in 6.15 there have been three main suggestions: (1) an anthropological interpretation,[112] (2) an ecclesiological interpretation,[113] and (3) a cosmological interpretation.[114] The consensus opinion throughout church history has been to interpret this phrase as a reference to a new created person; this was essentially unchallenged until after the second World War.[115] However, the tide quickly changed towards a cosmological reading, which is perhaps the dominant view today.

In favour of the cosmological view it is argued that the reference to the crucifixion of the κόσμος in 6.14 anticipates a newly reconstituted world.[116] It is also suggested that the references to the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου in 4.3 and 4.9, and the reference to the present evil age in the letter's opening (1.4), anticipate an apocalyptic new age in 6.15. On the other hand, against the cosmological view it should be emphasized that it was not merely the κόσμος that was crucified in 6.14, but Paul as well.

[112] E.g. Lightfoot 1902, 224; Lagrange 1950, 165–66; Bonnard 1953, 130–31; Oepke 1964, 162; Betz 1979, 319–20; Borse 1984, 222; R. Longenecker 1990, 296; Vouga 1998, 157. See esp. Hubbard 2002.

[113] E.g. Mußner 1974, 415; Bruce 1982, 273; Barclay 1988, 102; Schewe 2005, 198–99; Oakes 2015, 189–91.

[114] E.g. Dunn 1993, 342–43; Martyn 1997, 565, 570–74; Hays 2000, 344–45; Harmon 2010, 228–36; M. de Boer 2011, 402–3; Moo 2013, 396–98. Jackson 2010, 83–114, argues for a combination of the three.

[115] So Hubbard 2002, 3.

[116] The κόσμος should undoubtedly be understood in accordance with what Philo refers to as the primary meaning (καθ' ἕν μὲν πρῶτον)—both heaven and earth together (*Aet*. 4).

Thus in favour of an anthropological interpretation is the fact that the contrast in 6.15 is between circumcision and uncircumcision; *people* are circumcised or uncircumcised. Granted that ancient people understood the world to be structured on pairs of opposites, as Martyn famously pointed out,[117] it is nevertheless still *people* who make up this particular set of opposites. An anthropological reading of καινὴ κτίσις here in 6.15 would cohere with the only other use of this phrase by Paul in 2 Cor. 5.17, where τις is best understood as a person made into a new creation/creature.[118]

The idea that "new creation" refers to people complements Paul's self-presentation in Gal. 1–2 as someone who was radically transformed.[119] Of course, the autobiography ends with the reference to Paul's co-crucifixion with the Messiah and his new life (ζῶ δὲ) in which the Messiah lives in him. Galatians 2.19–20 is therefore quite similar to 6.14–15 in this respect. In 2.19–20 the death in view is in relation to the law and in 6.14 it is in relation to the world. Both passages similarly depict a death/life schema that helps us see the "new creation" in 6.15 as an explication of this pattern.[120] This is similarly articulated in 5.24, where those who belong to Christ have crucified the flesh. Just as 2.19–20 contains a death/life pattern, so a similar one emerges here. If believers have crucified the flesh—*the location of circumcision and uncircumcision*—then they have become a "new creation" since those categories are rendered irrelevant. Contrasts elsewhere in the Pauline letters between the "old man" and the "new man" also fit this pattern (Rom. 6.6; Eph. 4.24). This emphasis on anthropology is not to deny that Paul's eschatological expectations included cosmic renewal.[121] Rather, we might say, God creates a *new creation* (Gal. 6.15) for the *new creation* (Rom. 8). In Galatians the focus appears to be on the spiritual change of people, which is similar to the link between the Spirit and sonship (noted in chapter two of this study). The importance of this has been rightly noted by Vouga, "Die neue Schöpfung entsteht dadurch, daß Menschen Söhne werden, den Geist empfangen (Gal 4,5–7) und Christus bzw. der Geist in ihnen lebt (Gal 2,20a; 3,27–28; 5,25)."[122]

However, while there is much to commend about the anthropological view, it needs to be nuanced towards an ecclesiological focus. Edward Adams, who contends that "καινὴ κτίσις refers

[117] Martyn 1997, *passim* (see esp. pp.570–74).
[118] So also Hubbard 2002, 179–80; Matera 2003, 135–37; Harris 2005, 430–34; Schmeller 2010, 326–28.
[119] Cf. Hubbard 2002, 217–18; Kim 1981, 18.
[120] See Hubbard 2002, 123–32, for the death/life pattern in Galatians.
[121] I am mindful of the concerns of Minear 1979.
[122] Vouga 1998, 157.

to the new eschatological world," asserts that "we can nevertheless agree with those who argue that Paul's focus in vv. 14–16 is on the believing community."[123] He then explains by stating, "Paul is not saying that the community of Christ *is* the new creation. But he is suggesting that the church *belongs* to the new creation (they are *of* the new world, so to speak, though they are not yet *in* it)."[124] But if Adams is correct that καινὴ κτίσις serves a social function in this way, might it actually refer to the community?

As noted, *people* are the ones who are circumcised or uncircumcised, and here in 6.15 it appears that Paul is saying that these *community* demarcations are irrelevant: οὔτε γὰρ περιτομή τί ἐστιν οὔτε ἀκροβυστία**.** Paul uses these terms elsewhere in Galatians as circumlocutions for Jews and Gentiles respectively.[125] Note the following examples. In the immediate context of 6.15 the agitators are referred to as οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι (6.13). Earlier, Paul refers to Peter's fear of τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς (2.12). Paul recounts the Jerusalem agreement regarding the gospel τῆς ἀκροβυστίας and the gospel τῆς περιτομῆς (2.7)—each refer to the respective missions of the one gospel to different people[126]—and then reiterates Peter's apostleship and ministry to the circumcision (2.8–9). Beyond Galatians, we can see how Paul uses circumcision to delineate God's people in Phil. 3.3 as well, though in a highly ironic and polemical way (ἡμεῖς γάρ ἐσμεν ἡ περιτομή). Thus 6.15 points to the fact that the cross has created a people and that those people are marked out by the cross (note the γάρ pointing back to 6.14).[127] In the light of 6.17 we can agree with Beale that the "marks of Jesus" are the marks of the new creation over against circumcision.[128]

Furthermore, the best text from Galatians to shed light on the meaning of 6.15 is 3.28. In that passage Paul says that (among other contrasts) there is neither Jew nor Greek. This contrast between Jew and Greek is very similar to the contrast in 6.15. What connects this passage to the idea of "new creation" in particular is the fact that Paul alludes to Gen. 1.28 LXX when he says that there is no ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ in Christ. The allusion suggests that Paul has in mind the creation of a new humanity and a new people, drawing upon the original creation story in order to show

[123] Adams 2000, 227.
[124] Adams 2000, 228 (emphasis original). Similarly Forman 2011, 203–5.
[125] *Contra* Hubbard 2002, 218.
[126] So Dunn 1993, 106; Martyn 1997, 202; M. de Boer 2011, 119; Moo 2013, 134.
[127] This is briefly suggested by Russell 1997, 129.
[128] Beale 1999, 222.

the new creational connection.[129] Thus the parallels between 3.28 and 6.15 are illuminating regarding the meaning of "new creation" as a new humanity.[130] The connection to 3.28 is additionally illuminated by the baptismal context of the passage in 3.27. Believers coming out of the baptismal waters are "new creatures" with new social relations and expectations. This further identifies how 6.15 is explained by 3.28, especially since the language of crucifixion in 6.14 has connotations of baptism, as is also likely with 2.19–20 and 5.24. This reading of "new creation" in 6.15, informed by 3.28, sets up our discussion on the meaning of the "Israel of God" in 6.16, and supports it further.

3.3.4.2 The Israel of God as the New Creational People

Developing from the previous discussion on the interpretation of 6.15, here I contend that the title "Israel of God" is the proper appellation for the collection of God's newly transformed people, the "new creation." Although the "Israel of God" has been variously understood—either as a reference to (a) all Jewish people,[131] (b) Jewish Christians who *are not* law observant,[132] (c) Jewish Christians who *are* law observant,[133] or (d) Christians inclusive of Jews and Gentiles[134]—it is preferable to view the "Israel of God" as a collection of all Messiah followers. Thus the words εἰρήνη ἐπ᾽αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔλεος καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ should be taken as a *benediction*[135] for all those who will follow "the rule" (καὶ ὅσοι τῷ κανόνι τούτῳ στοιχήσουσιν) with the second

[129] Adams 2002, 41, suggests otherwise, contending that the idea that "God's eschatological programme is *continuous* with God's original programme in creation, is called into question" because the split between male and female is what Paul contends is overcome. However, Paul is no more disparaging creation for containing males and females than he is disparaging creation for containing a split between Jews and Greeks, or slaves and free. The emphasis is on unity. Paul is not undermining the creation story, but rather is utilizing Genesis in order to point to the "new creation" brought about by the Messiah. It should also be noted that Paul is not alluding to the primal androgyne myths reflected in, e.g., *Gos. Phil.* 68–70; Philo, *Leg. All.* 2.4, 13; *Quis Her.* 164. *Contra* MacDonald 1987; Boyarin 1994, 180–200.

[130] Hubbard 2002, 223, explicitly denies these connections by arguing: "The symbolism of 6.14–15 is death/life, whereas the foundational metaphor of Galatians 3.28 is that of baptism, *which in this passage is not related to the death-life scenario*" (emphasis original). However, this misses the connection in Paul's theology of co-crucifixion and baptism as symbols sharing in the death and life of Jesus.

[131] Mußner 1974, 415–17; Bruce 1982, 273–75; Dunn 1993, 343–46; S. Eastman 2010; Hubing 2015, 250–52; Oakes 2015, 192 (tentatively). Recently, both B. Longenecker (2012, 79–81) and Barclay (2015, 418–21) changed their views to this one (cf. their earlier views in B. Longenecker 1998, 87–88; Barclay 1996, 389).

[132] See, e.g., Burton 1921, 357–59; Richardson 1969, 74–84.

[133] M. de Boer 2011, 403–8.

[134] Lightfoot 1902, 224–25; Lagrange 1950, 166; Schlier 1951, 209; Bonnard 1953, 131; Calvin 1965 [1548], 118; Betz 1979, 320–23; Borse 1984, 223–24; R. Longenecker 1990, 296–99; Martyn 1997, 565–67, 574–77; Donaldson 1997, 238; Witherington 1998, 451–53; Vouga 1998, 157–58; Hays 2000, 345–46; Schreiner 2010, 380–83; Moo 2013, 398–403; Wright 2013, 1143–51; deSilva 2014, 145.

[135] Note the words of Bonnard 1953, 131, "Il ne s'agit, dans ces mots, ni d'un souhait de l'apôtre [. . .], ni d'une simple prière, mais d'une bénédiction apostolique autorisée."

καὶ in the benediction being ascensive. That both εἰρήνη and ἔλεος should be taken as part of the same benediction is corroborated by the fact that the words appear to allude to Isa. 54.10 LXX (οὕτως οὐδὲ τὸ παρ᾽ἐμοῦ σοι ἔλεος ἐκλείψει οὐδὲ ἡ διαθήκη τῆς εἰρήνης οὐ μὴ μεταστῇ).[136] This suggestion is strengthened by the additional evidence regarding the influence of Isaiah in Galatians, including the citation from Isa. 54.1 LXX in Gal. 4.27, as we will see in part two of this thesis.

With this interpretation of the "Israel of God" as a collection of all Christians, including both Jews and Gentiles, we can see how the "Israel of God" relates to the "new creation." What strengthens the connection further is the fact that the κανών in 6.16, according to which the "Israel of God" *will walk* in order to receive the blessings of peace and mercy, is the rule of the "new creation" in 6.15.[137] If the future στοιχήσουσιν is to be preferred over the present στοιχουσιν, this would further fit the eschatological orientation in the final chapters of Galatians.[138] In other words, what this means is that those who will walk "according to this rule" of "new creation" and the irrelevance of circumcision and uncircumcision are the eschatological "Israel of God." I contend that this suggests that the "Israel of God" helps to define who/what the "new creation" is. Therefore, 6.15 moves from the "new creation" of Jews and Gentiles into 6.16 where they are designated the "Israel of God" with calculated rhetorical effect.

This development from 6.15 into 6.16 is paralleled by the flow from 3.28 to 3.29, which further fills out the argument for an anthropological-ecclesiological reading of "new creation."[139] In 3.28 the movement is from Jews and Greeks being a new humanity in Christ to the fact that they collectively belong to Abraham's offspring in 3.29 (notice the second person plurals: ὑμεῖς / ἐστέ). The connection between "Abraham's offspring" as a collection of Jews and Gentiles in 3.29 and the "Israel of God" as a collection of Jews and Gentiles in 6.16 is striking, and these realities are informed by the visions of a new humanity (3.28) and "new creation" (6.15) respectively. As well, in the broader context of 3.28–29 believers are called υἱοὶ θεοῦ (3.26). The

[136] Beale 1999; Harmon 2010, 236–38. The only other text in the LXX that has both ἔλεος and εἰρήνη is Ps. 84.11 LXX.

[137] So, e.g., Bruce 1982, 273; R. Longenecker 1990, 296–97; Martyn 1997, 566–67; M. de Boer 2011, 403; Moo 2013, 399; Oakes 2015, 191. Hubing 2015, 247–48, sees the κανών as boasting in the cross in 6.14.

[138] The future form στοιχήσουσιν is attested by ℵ, B, C^2, K, L, P, Ψ, and more. The present form στοίχουσιν is attested by A, C^*, D, F, G, and more. Moo 2013, 399, interprets the future verb gnomically.

[139] Jackson 2010, 111–13, also makes a connection between 6.15 and 6.16 based upon a parallel to Isa. 65–66; the world is re-created (i.e. "new creation") and the redeemed humanity indwell it (i.e. the "Israel of God"). However, I contend that the "Israel of God" helps define what the "new creation" is.

combination of being sons of God (3.26) and sons of Abraham (3.29) is precisely what the title "Israel of God" (6.16) encapsulates.

So, to reiterate, I contend that the reference to "new creation" in 6.15 refers to people, and so it is anthropological, but the focus is more on the community, the church, the new people that God is creating from both Jews and the Gentiles—*the Israel of God*. This interpretation finds corroboration in Eph. 2.11–22, whether or not it was written by Paul (since it would then reflect the earliest interpretation of Paul's teaching on the matter). In Eph. 2 we clearly see that a new creational moment is taking place in the joining of Jews and Gentiles into "one new man" (Eph. 2.15; τοὺς δύο κτίσῃ ἐν αὐτῷ εἰς ἕνα καινὸν ἄνθρωπον). God made the two groups, Jews and Gentiles, into one new humanity and one body (Eph. 2.14–16; cf. 3.6) by his Spirit (Eph. 2.21–22). The metaphor is not exactly the same, but it demonstrates a similar logic. In *Joseph and Aseneth*, conversion is portrayed as a transformation that renews an individual (15.4–5; 18.7–9), and as resurrection (20.7).[140]

This interpretation of "new creation" in Galatians also fits one of Paul's contentions in the letter, namely, the ecclesiological issue in which Jewish and Gentile Christians need to be reminded of their unity in the Messiah and hence that the Galatians are accepted by God as his children *qua* Gentiles, thereby excluding the necessity of circumcision.[141] For Paul full conversion was predicated not on circumcision, but rather on trust, and obedience to, the crucified Messiah. By coming to the God of Israel and by embracing Israel's Messiah, all people, both Jews and Gentiles, comprise the "Israel of God." By doing so, they become children of Abraham (3.29) and children according to the promise like Isaac (4.28). As Paul writes elsewhere in Rom. 4.16, Abraham is "the father of us all."

But what is the origin of the "new creation" and the "Israel of God"? There seem to be two overlapping explanations. First, given the emphasis on the Spirit in Galatians, these realities must be the work of the Spirit (as in Eph. 2.21–22). As is often noted, the fact that the Spirit is not mentioned in 6.11–17 is particularly odd given the importance of the Spirit throughout the letter. However, I think it is correct to see an allusion to the work of the Spirit here in the

[140] See Hubbard 1997; *idem* 2002, 54–76.

[141] For the idea that fully converted Gentiles could be considered Jews, regardless of political and social motivations, see Jdt. 14.10; Esth. LXX 8.17; Esth. AT 8.41; Josephus, *A.J.* 11.285; 13.257–58; 20.75, 139; *B.J.* 2.454.

reference to "new creation,"[142] as intimated above. It is the Spirit who creates this new people of God and transforms them.

Second, both "new creation" and the "Israel of God" are created by the cross and co-crucifixion with Jesus and so are marked out by it. Paul explains the reciprocal crucifixion of the world to himself (6.14) with reference to the "new creation," as the γάρ in 6.15 makes clear, and the "Israel of God" refers to those who follow the "rule" previously expressed in 6.15—the rule of "new creation" and the irrelevancy of (un)circumcision. This is also seen in the way that Paul is able to transition directly from 6.15–16 into his statement about the στίγματα *of Jesus* that he bears on his body in 6.17.[143]

Together, the cross and the Spirit are complementary, as can be seen from the way Paul puts these themes together (cf. 3.1–2, 13–14; 4.5–7), which resembles the way suffering and the Spirit are similarly put together (as in 3.4; 4.6, 29). Through the cross the believer is dead to the law (2.17–19) but now alive to God because Christ, by the Spirit, indwells believers (2.20). Through the cross the flesh is crucified (5.24) and now one lives in the life of the Spirit and produces its fruit (5.22–23). The new creational Israel is therefore a people whose marks of identity are the cross and the Spirit. The implicit contrast is that if there is an "Israel of God" so marked out by the cross, there is also an "Israel according to the flesh" (cf. 1 Cor. 10.18: τὸν Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ σάρκα) whose marks of identity are circumcision.

This understanding of the role of the cross for creating and shaping the identity of the "new creation" and the "Israel of God" is further illuminated by comparing the contrast made between circumcision and uncircumcision in Gal. 6.15 with Gal. 5.6 and 1 Cor. 7.19, where both are contrasted with right living ("faith working itself through love" in Gal. 5.6 and "keeping the commandments of God" in 1 Cor. 7.19). These parallels suggest further that καινὴ κτίσις refers to God's formation of transformed people beyond ethnic bounds who are identified by a certain moral standard. The question then for 6.15 is, what exactly is the standard implied by "new creation"? The answer must be, in the light of the immediate context, *the cross*. In other words, the standard is not the "law of Moses" but the "law of Christ" (Gal. 6.2).

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[142] So Hubbard 2002, 210, 226; Yates 2008, 120–21.

[143] *Contra* Pobee 1985, 94, who separates v.17 and makes it a separate paragraph. Hubing 2015, 70, has rightly noted that λοιπός in 6.17 could introduce a new paragraph, but if this were the case here one would expect the accusative (τὸ λοιπόν) rather than the genitive (Τοῦ λοιποῦ).

This discussion on "new creation" and the "Israel of God" helps to demonstrate further that Paul's words about himself in 6.14 and 6.17 are meant to be paradigmatic. The Galatians are meant to follow Paul in his confidence in the cross rather than circumcision. Thus the point is that those who embrace circumcision and flee persecution have not gone the way of the crucified Messiah; they will miss out on being part of God's new-creational community (*identity*) and they will not be vindicated at the judgment (*destiny*). For this reason Mitternacht is correct to state, "Teilhabe an der neuen Schöpfung ist konträr zur Verfolgungsflucht."[144] Therefore, if Paul's boast before God is in the cross (6.14), then it is no wonder that in this context he looks specifically to the "marks of Jesus" (6.17) as that which vindicates him, both before his opponents and before God. Those who genuinely belong to the "Israel of God" and "new creation" will follow suit.

3.4 Conclusion

From the present chapter we can see that, for Paul, one's future is directly linked to the cross. The agitators will be punished because their behaviour does not cohere with the cross and because they are fleeing persecution. The Galatians are on the verge of committing apostasy by accepting circumcision. The specific reason why Paul understands the reception of circumcision to be an act of apostasy is because he sees it as a denial of the cross in the midst of conflict. Paul therefore aligns eschatological blessing not with the recipients of circumcision, but with crucifixion. Those marked out by the cross stand to be vindicated on the final day just as Paul will be. It is only those who appropriate the cross who are the true people of God (the "new creation," the "Israel of God"), and who will be vindicated on the last day. Just as we saw in the previous chapter that Paul understands suffering and the reception of the Spirit to be identity markers of the true children of Abraham and the true children of God who stand to receive the future inheritance, so too in this chapter we have seen that allegiance to the crucified Messiah, including the experience of suffering, is what constitutes the identity of the "new creation" God is making from Jews and Gentiles—the "Israel of God." This group, marked out by the cross rather than by circumcision, will be vindicated on the final day.

[144] Mitternacht 1999, 311. Cf. Borse 1984, 222, who also states that "new creation" comes "aus der von Gott geschenkten und in Leiden und Verfolgungen bewährten geistigen Verbundenheit mit dem gekreuzigten und auferstandenen Christus."

Getting circumcised (and avoiding persecution) and following the cross, therefore, are the two alternatives. Paul rhetorically aligns himself with the crucified Christ and hence with persecution in coherence with that identity. The reason he does this, as we have seen in this chapter, is to spur the Galatians on to continue in their commitment to the cross. If they follow him they will avoid apostasy and so demonstrate that they are true members of the new creational "Israel of God." However, we saw that Paul refers to his own suffering as "marks of Jesus" (6.17), which is linked to his status as a "slave of Christ" (1.10). If the Galatians follow Paul this makes them slaves as well (cf. 6.2). But if the "new creation" and the "Israel of God" are so identified by the same marks, does this demonstrate a mixture of the themes of slavery and sonship? If so, how does this cohere with Paul's emphasis that the Galatians are *sons* of God rather than slaves, as we saw in the previous chapter? At this point more needs to be said about Paul's self-portrayal in Galatians as an attempt to reinforce the true identity of the people of God, which is the topic of part two. There we will find further insight into the way Paul is able to view the Galatians as simultaneously sons and slaves. Specifically, we will see that Paul's self-presentation (chapter four) and call for imitation (chapter five), which together reinforce community identity and destiny, are deeply informed by his reflection and meditation on Isa. 49–54, where he finds scriptural corroboration both of his call to the Gentiles in the midst of suffering and of his specific commission to make *servants*.

Part Two

Suffering for the Cross & Paul's Reading of Isaiah

Chapter 4

A Sketch of the Servant in Paul's Autobiography

4.1 Introduction

Thus far we have seen that suffering for the cross in Galatians is an alternative to circumcision which marks out the people of God (identity) who will receive the future inheritance and be vindicated at the judgment (destiny). Paul's attempt to communicate these points focuses not least on conforming to the cross in suffering (6.14, 17). The way in which Paul presents himself in Galatians for the purpose of reinforcing group identity will be addressed more fully in this and the following chapter (which comprise part two of this study). However, we will see in particular that Paul's self-presentation as one aligned with the cross is buttressed by a deeper self-understanding. The contention of part two of this study is that Paul's reading of Isaiah further fills out his understanding of the way that suffering is constitutive of identity and destiny for Messiah followers. This chapter will attempt to demonstrate this through an analysis of the autobiographical material (Gal. 1–2), then in the following chapter we will see how this is developed in 4.12—5.1.

As noted, in this chapter primary attention will be given to the function of Paul's autobiographical narrative. Two features of the text will be noted; the first is the influence of Isaiah, and the second is the section's *paradigmatic* intent. These two features suggest that Paul's self-understanding is rooted in the Isaianic Servant. These motifs provide a rationale, not only for Paul's Gentile mission, but also for his own suffering and allegiance to the Messiah. Furthermore, in the light of Paul's broader reading of Isaiah, we will see that Paul includes the Galatians in this pattern (to be developed in the next chapter).

Because of the way that scholarly discussion on the autobiography has been subsumed under larger discussions on the rhetoric of Galatians, this chapter will begin with a discussion on the autobiography's function, followed by an analysis of Isaianic influence on the autobiography.

4.2 Ancient Species of Rhetoric & The Function of Galatians 1–2

Ever since Betz's groundbreaking article (1975) and commentary (1979), in which he analyzed Paul's letter to the Galatians in the light of ancient rhetorical handbooks, the question of the

autobiography's function has often been linked to the letter's rhetorical genre. According to ancient rhetoricians, there were three main rhetorical genres—forensic, deliberative, and epideictic. Betz identified the rhetorical *genus* of Galatians as forensic, suggesting that the letter as a whole is an apology for Paul's apostolic authority. This meant that Paul utilized the autobiographical material as evidence to defend himself. Part of the impetus for this reading is the use of mirror-reading to reconstruct possible accusations against Paul. Although scholars prior to Betz had interpreted Paul's autobiography in Gal. 1–2 as a form of self-defense, Betz's arguments for Galatians as a form of forensic rhetoric made this association even stronger.

Although Betz has made a major impact on biblical scholarship, his arguments in favour of designating Galatians as a piece of forensic rhetoric were quickly rejected in favour of the case for deliberative rhetoric.[1] Since deliberative rhetoric is focused on the future and is designed to persuade an audience to take a particular course of action (Quintilian, *Inst.* 3.8.6), many have found this to fit the emphasis in Galatians on avoiding circumcision. Some scholars, however, suggest that Galatians does not represent a particular genre of rhetoric, but either transitions from forensic to deliberative, or is a mixture of the two.[2]

A more potent critique has come from those who question the legitimacy of utilizing ancient rhetorical handbooks to analyze Paul's letters, which were obviously not speeches, despite the fact that Paul's letters were often read aloud to his churches. Paul's educational background in Tarsus is often mentioned as possible proof that Paul would have been exposed to classical rhetoric. Yet whether or not Paul had any formal training in rhetoric, or even if rhetorical conventions were ubiquitous, there is no evidence, as Porter has noted, that letters were ever subjected to rhetorical convention, either for their production or analysis.[3]

As for Galatians in particular, Kern has provided the best rebuttal of the use of ancient rhetorical conventions for analyzing the letter. For one, Kern argues that this enterprise should be "predictive"[4] but notes that it is anything but that. The use of these conventions is largely problematic because of the way individual sections relate to the whole. On this issue he is worth quoting at length:

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[1] See, e.g., Kennedy 1984, 145; Russell 1997, 44–53; Witherington 1998, 25–36; Hall 2002, 29–38; Smit 2002, 39–59; Debanné 2006, 121. Epideictic has had meager support; although see Hester 2002, 181–96.

[2] See, e.g., Aune 1981, 325; Hansen 1989, 16; Longenecker 1990, c–cxix; Morland 1995, 113.

[3] Porter 1993, 100–22; *idem* 1997, 567.

[4] Kern 1998, 257.

> It seems that the most the handbooks can offer when adapted for description rather than prescription is a proposal of function for each of the various parts of a speech; but before they can describe these functions the analyst must first identify the sections – which is done by comparing the handbook descriptions to the shape of the parts of Galatians. Unfortunately, these shapes do not correspond to the handbooks' descriptions, thus begging the question of what the handbooks can contribute when analysis turns from shape to function; logic seems to suggest that they can, in fact, add little.[5]

Additionally, Kern has rightly critiqued the notion that identifying the *function* of Galatians as a whole equates with determining its *species* of rhetoric.[6] Thus it is inappropriate to suppose that Galatians is a form of deliberative rhetoric simply because Paul aims to persuade his audience not to be circumcised. Subsequent to Kern's excellent critique, there have been other types of rhetorical analyses of Galatians that go beyond comparisons to ancient rhetorical handbooks.[7]

In the process of reassigning the genre of the letter as a whole, and moving beyond rhetorical analyses, the function and purpose of the autobiography have emerged for re-evaluation. Those who have argued strongly against designating Galatians as forensic rhetoric have been critical of the contention that Paul is defending himself in the autobiography, and therefore the entire enterprise of mirror-reading has been questioned.[8] In his research on Pauline autobiography, Lyons has persuasively defended a paradigmatic interpretation of Gal. 1–2. He argues, "...Paul's autobiographical remarks function not to distinguish him from his converts nor to defend his person or authority but to establish his ethos as an 'incarnation' of the gospel of Jesus Christ."[9] Additionally, against the apologetic view, Gaventa notes the contrast between Gal. 1–2 and 2 Cor. 10, where it is clear that Paul is responding to accusations against him.[10] Other scholars have also contended that the autobiography is paradigmatic in their own ways.[11]

On the whole I find the general paradigmatic approach persuasive, although I do not wish to suggest that Paul had only one aim in mind. I conclude therefore that both apologetic and

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[5] Kern 1998, 119.

[6] Kern 1998, 120–66.

[7] To note a few examples: Tolmie 2005, 28, offers a "text-centered descriptive analysis" of Paul's persuasive strategy, Thurén 2000 and 2008a attempts to "derhetorize" Paul's letters by removing the persuasive elements, and Hietanen 2007 and 2008 assesses Paul's argumentative skills following the methods of the Amsterdam school of argumentation.

[8] One particular exception to this is Tolmie 2005, 59, who argues that the autobiography has self-defense as one of its rhetorical aims even though he does not view the letter as forensic.

[9] Lyons 1986, 226.

[10] Gaventa 1986, 312.

[11] See, e.g., Schütz 1975, 128; Lategan 1988; Verseput 1993; Vos 1994; B. Dodd 1996; *idem* 1999; Holmstrand 1997, 153–65; Sumney 1999, 149; Barclay 2002, 133–46.

paradigmatic elements are present.[12] Because the function and purpose of the autobiography should be distanced from discussions regarding the rhetorical *genus* of Galatians, there is no need to *deny* slavishly the idea that Paul's defends himself in Gal. 1–2. In a few instances it seems that he is probably doing just that (1.20).[13] Therefore, it is not my aim to deny that Paul is defending himself in the autobiography. However, I do intend to argue that Paul's self-portrayal includes an important paradigmatic element. Yet the question arises, if Paul's life is meant to be a paradigm, how exactly does he present himself and what course of action is expected?

According to the traditional apologetic reading, Paul may have been attempting to present himself as either a genuine or independent apostle (among other things). However, if Paul's autobiography includes paradigmatic intentions, he may be relaying events that are particularly relevant for the crisis in Galatia. To be clear, I am not suggesting that Paul imagines that his audience would imitate every aspect of his call or ministry. Barclay puts it best when he contends for the paradigmatic function of the autobiography: "Paul's story is paradigmatic, therefore, not in the particulars of his individual life journey, nor in his achievements, but in the sense—and to the degree—that his encounter with Christ crucified has refashioned his existence."[14] I agree with this assessment but think that we can take this further.

One particular attempt to offer a specific paradigm came from S. A. Cummins, who argues that Paul presents himself as "a Maccabean model of Judaism radically reworked through Christ,"[15] which accounts for Paul's steadfast allegiance to the gospel. For Cummins, this is part of an ironic reworking of Paul's former zeal. This interpretation is certainly attractive. However, as we will see presently, it seems more likely that Paul sees himself as one who continues the ministry of the Isaianic Servant. While the two paradigms are not mutually exclusive—and together could bolster Paul's self-identity—it seems more apparent that Paul is utilizing Isaianic motifs than Maccabean motifs, and thus the former should be considered primary. So it is to this alternative paradigmatic interpretation of Paul's autobiography that the study now turns.

[12] Even Gaventa 1986, 315; *eadem* 2007, 94, does not overstate her case, allowing some apologetic intent to be present. See also B. Longenecker 1998, 148; Wiarda 2004, 251.

[13] Cf. Sampley 1977.

[14] Barclay 2002, 144.

[15] Cummins 2001, 119.

4.3 The Isaianic Servant in Galatians

The primary goal of this section is to point out the many Isaianic allusions/echoes from the autobiography and to discern the way they contribute to Paul's paradigmatic self-presentation. The influence of Isaiah upon these chapters has been noted before. However, it will be argued that the significance of Isaiah's influence has not been fully appreciated for the way it informs Paul's argumentative purposes. Particularly, these allusions/echoes have not been considered in the light of Paul's paradigmatic self-presentation, nor have they been seen to be relevant for the context of conflict, suffering, and persecution to which Paul thinks he is writing. Before offering a fresh examination of Isaianic influence, it is necessary to address a few issues. I will comment on a few previous studies that have recognized the prevalence of Isaianic imagery in Paul's autobiography, which will be followed by a brief comment on detecting allusions/echoes of antecedent Scripture and tradition.

4.3.1 A Note on Previous Studies of Isaianic Influence in Galatians 1–2

The first study that warrants attention is Roy Ciampa's analysis of the presence and function of scriptural citations throughout Gal. 1–2. Due to the intentionally limited scope of the project, Ciampa does not develop the motifs that he finds in Gal. 1–2 beyond a short concluding chapter on implications.[16] Likewise he does not address whether there is a specific Isaianic pattern, since he is concerned with all detectable OT influence. The other notable study is Matthew Harmon's systematic treatment of Isaianic influence on Galatians. With his broader focus on the whole letter, and his narrower focus on the influence of Isaiah, Harmon is able to offer a comprehensive and constructive analysis. Both Ciampa and Harmon have made significant contributions to our knowledge of Isaianic influence in Paul's autobiography; however, they have not accounted for the way that Paul presents himself as a *suffering* servant in Galatians,[17] nor how this contributes to the *paradigmatic* function of Paul's self-presentation throughout the letter.[18] The main implication that these studies draw regarding the use of Isaiah relates to Paul's mission to the Gentiles.[19] While it is undoubtedly the case that Isaiah provided support for Paul's missional vocation (cf. Isa. 49.1–6), it also probably informed Paul's understanding that such a mission

[16] Ciampa 1998, 271–96.

[17] Wagner 2005, 131, notes these similar allusions to Isaiah briefly and makes no connection to suffering.

[18] Harmon 2010, 47–48. Cf. Lindars 1961, 223–24.

[19] Ciampa 1998, 106–56; Harmon 2010, 105. Cf. Kerrigan 1963, 228; Stendahl 1977, 7–23; Kim 1981, 91–97; S. Williams 1997, 46; Hays 2000, 215.

included suffering. Thus a fresh examination of the Isaianic influence on Paul's autobiography will be provided. Before this is conducted, we need a brief note on method.

4.3.2 A Note on a Method for Detecting Allusions/Echoes of Scripture

Richard Hays has set forth helpful criteria for determining an allusion/echo. Distinguishing between an allusion and an echo is not always done in biblical research, but I follow Hays' simplified approach: allusions are more obvious and echoes are more subtle. His seven criteria are (1) Availability, (2) Volume, (3) Recurrence, (4) Thematic Coherence, (5) Historical Plausibility, (6) History of Interpretation, and (7) Satisfaction.[20] The main criterion in this study is volume (i.e. linguistic and syntactical overlap), which will be evaluated on a case-by-case basis. The other criteria can be briefly addressed here. In regard to availability, Isaiah was one of the most cited OT books in the NT,[21] especially in Paul's letters, and Isa. 54.1 is explicitly cited in Gal. 4.27. The availability of Isaiah for Paul likewise satisfies the criterion of historical plausibility. The third and fourth criteria – recurrence and thematic coherence – will be satisfied when the cumulative effect of multiple allusions/echoes is discerned. This leaves the final two criteria. As for the history of interpretation, it is often the case that interpreters missed the subtlety of OT allusions/echoes and this point need not detain us here. Additionally, as noted above, discerning Isaianic influence in these passages is not novel; *my aim however is to discern how it informed Paul's broader self-presentation and theology of suffering*. Lastly, the criterion of satisfaction is fairly subjective, but when criteria three and four are considered, the allusions/echoes can be seen to make good sense of Paul's words.

It should also be noted, since I am suggesting that the influence of Isaiah contributes to Paul's paradigmatic self-portrait, that I am not suggesting that these allusions/echoes would necessarily be detected by Paul's audience. C. Stanley has pushed back against studies on subtle scriptural influence because (he suggests) Paul's audience would have been largely illiterate and might not even have recognized clearly demarcated quotations of Scripture.[22] While not wishing to challenge those assertions directly, I do think that Paul's own allusions to these scriptural texts are evidence of his self-understanding and self-presentation. If it is the case that these scriptural connections are made in a context where Paul functions as a paradigm for his audience, these

[20] Hays 1989, 29–32.
[21] Cf. Harmon 2010, 21–26, for the many ways that Isaiah could have been available to Paul.
[22] C. Stanley 1999, 128–30; *idem* 2004, 43–48.

connections are not irrelevant. They inform *how* and *why* Paul is to be a paradigm. The fact that Paul has these in mind as part of his self-portrait (the focus of the present chapter) becomes more probable in the light of the Isaianic train of thought that we can follow into Gal. 4 (the focus of the following chapter). Thus in this chapter our aim is to discern evidence of Paul's self-presentation that coheres with the way he aligns himself with the crucified Messiah (as we saw in the previous chapter). With these issues of prolegomena addressed, we will now analyze the Isaianic Servant motifs in the autobiography.

4.3.3 An Examination of Galatians 1–2 with Reference to Isaianic Influence[23]

In this section we will look at the places in Gal. 1–2 where Isaianic influence can be discerned. We will look at those passages that possibly allude to Jesus as the Servant of Isa. 53 (Gal. 1.4; 2.20) and those passages where Paul speaks of his calling and ministry in terms of the Isaiainic Servant (Gal. 1.10, 15–17, 24; 2.2, 10). This will be followed by a further discussion on how Paul is able to speak of himself as the Isaianic Servant if he also believed that the Messiah held that role. After these discussions related to Isaianic allusions/echoes are provided, we will see how Paul's reading of Isaiah has contributed to the paradigmatic way in which he does not give in to the pressure that attempts to thwart the Gentile mission—a mission that he believes is prefigured in Isaiah.

4.3.3.1 Jesus as the Servant of Isaiah

The two main places where we find probable allusions to Jesus as the Servant of Isa. 53 are in 1.4 and 2.20. In this section we will briefly explore the possibility of an allusion to Isa. 53 in each passage before turning to the more substantive section of the present chapter where I offer an analysis of those texts where Paul alludes to Isaiah in relation to his own Gentile ministry.

At the outset of the letter there are two references to the Messiah's death (1.1, 4). In v.4 the Messiah is said to be τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν. A similar statement occurs in 2.20, where Paul says that the Messiah is τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντός με καὶ παραδόντας ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ. It has been suggested that vv.5, 6, 10 and 12 of Isa. 53 are possible sources for allusions in 1.4 and 2.20. The possible verses are listed below next to both 1.4 and 2.20:[24]

[23] This section significantly expands and develops the arguments made in Dunne 2014, 257–60.
[24] See especially the discussion in Harmon 2010, 56–66.

Figure 1

Isaiah 53 LXX	Galatians
Isa. 53.5: ἐτραυματίσθη διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν καὶ μεμαλάκισται διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν Isa. 53.6: καὶ κύριος παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν Isa. 53.10: ἐὰν δῶτε περὶ ἁμαρτίας Isa. 53.12: καὶ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθη	Gal. 1.4: τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν Gal. 2.20: τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντός με καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ

David Seeley, who contends that Paul's atonement theology is informed by the concept of the "Noble Death" rather than Isaiah, suggests that although multiple texts within Isa. 53 have been suggested, since "none of these various candidates provides a complete linguistic correspondence with Gal. 1.4," there is no allusion to Isa. 53.[25] John Pobee similarly contends that Maccabean martyrdom traditions are more relevant than Isa. 53, and so suggests that in Gal. 1.4 and 2.20 "the idea is so general that it cannot be connected to a particular passage."[26] Others similarly contend against seeing an Isaianic allusion.[27] However, the fact that multiple verses *within Isa. 53* have been suggested as the source of a possible allusion/echo lends itself to the possibility that the words function as a general allusion to the entire passage.[28] Within the entire LXX only vv.6, 10, and 12 of Isa. 53 use either δίδωμι or παραδίδωμι as verbs to accomplish something in direct relation to ἁμαρτία; this act of giving/delivering is either "for" or "because of" sins. This strengthens the probability that Paul intends a broad allusion to Isa. 53 in Gal. 1.4, where the Messiah is said to have given himself ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, and, since in the flow of the letter 2.20 recalls the description of 1.4, it is likely that 2.20 possesses the same background.[29] There may even be a hint of Jesus as the Servant in the context of 2.20 with the question in 2.17 about whether Christ is a ἁμαρτίας διάκονος. Paul responds strongly in the negative; however,

[25] Seeley 1990, 47.
[26] Pobee 1985, 49.
[27] Most notably, Hooker 1959, 116–123, 137.
[28] So Harmon 2010, 56–66 (65). Cf. Ciampa 1998, 51–59.
[29] So Harmon 2010, 101–2. Ciampa 1998, 212, regards 2.20 as an allusion to Isa. 53.6. For those who see an allusion to Isa. 53 in 1.4 see Bruce 1982, 75; R. Longenecker 1990, 7; Hays 2000, 203; Moo 2013, 72.

this does not nullify the designation of Jesus as a true διάκονος, which 2.20 suggests with language regarding the Servant of Isa. 53.[30]

4.3.3.2 Paul as the Servant of Isaiah

Now that we have looked at the way Paul probably thought of Jesus as fulfilling the role of the Isaianic Servant with his allusions to Isa. 53, we will look at the way he alludes to Isaiah, and particularly Isa. 49.1–6, in relation to himself in the autobiography. This creates an immediate problem regarding the way that Paul was able to apply language about the Servant to both Jesus *and* himself. This will be addressed further below (§4.3.3.3).

4.3.3.2.1 Χριστοῦ δοῦλος

We begin our analysis of Paul's self-presentation in the autobiography with 1.10. Situating 1.10 is difficult because the autobiography is generally understood to begin in vv.11–12, which function like a thesis statement before the narrative begins at v.13, and vv.6–9 clearly form a separate unit. Most scholars assign v.10 to the preceding verses, but there is good reason to see v.10 connecting to v.11 since the following verses seem to be beginning an explanation for the way that Paul is not a people pleaser but rather a slave of Christ. Thus for similar reasons Martyn is able to regard v.10 as a "transition" into vv.11–12.[31] However we understand the function of v.10 and the official opening of the autobiography, we should not confuse the flow of thought. For this reason I agree with B. Dodd, who stated that v.10

> is formally related to the verses on either side of it. In this case exegesis is hindered by seeking a clear 'section' divider between verses 9 and 10 or between 10 and 11, succumbing to a pitfall of structural analysis obscuring 'the natural flow of the argument.'[32]

Although v.10 is not considered the official beginning of the autobiography by most scholars, it can certainly be seen to stand over the autobiography, not to mention the entire letter, as a kind of thematic header.[33]

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[30] Although διάκονος is never used to translate עבד in the LXX, it is nevertheless a part of the same semantic domain of servant terms. Cf. Louw and Nida 1988, 460–61 (§35.19–35.30). Note that עבד is translated into many different words in the LXX, including, δοῦλος, θεραπεύω, οἰκέτης, παῖς, ὑπηρέτη, and more.

[31] Martyn 1997, 25, 136–44.

[32] B. Dodd 1996, 92–93.

[33] In fact, although Holmstrand 1997, 164, regards the autobiography beginning at 1.11 based on his analysis of discourse markers in the letter, he has argued that 1.10 provides the logic to each of Paul's discussions throughout the letter.

In v.10 Paul declares that he does not seek to please people or otherwise he would no longer be a "slave of Christ" (Χριστοῦ δοῦλος).[34] Some have seen this reference as essentially synonymous with the word "apostle" and as expressing authority (cf. 1.1).[35] However, against this suggestion is the fact that Paul did not regard only apostles/leaders as "slaves" of Christ,[36] which is important for the argument that Paul presents himself as a paradigm (§4.3.4). More importantly, in response to the idea that Paul is simply defending his authority, the term δοῦλος seems to relate to the Isaianic Servant.[37]

The LXX translator(s) of Isaiah used παῖς most often to render the Hebrew term עבד,[38] yet δοῦλος, which is the most common rendering for עבד in the LXX, is also used in Isaiah.[39] The use of both Greek terms for עבד seems to be the case because, as Ekblad asserts, in Isaiah "δοῦλος and παῖς are synonymous."[40] The choice of δοῦλος in 1.10 could be influenced by the fact that עבד is rendered as δοῦλος in Isa. 49 three times (49.3, 5, 7 LXX; cf. 48.20 LXX),[41] and is rendered as παῖς only once in this section (49.6 LXX). As we will see, Isa. 49 was a very influential chapter for Paul as he wrote Gal. 1–2, which strengthens the association.

4.3.3.2.2 The Servant Called From the Womb

Out of Paul's former life of zealous persecution (1.13–14),[42] he was called to proclaim the good news of God's Son (1.15–16); the persecutor becomes the persecuted. It is clear that Paul has a particular understanding of his commission, one that is informed by Isaiah's Servant. Paul

[34] Cf. Col. 3.22; Eph. 6.6.

[35] See Lyons 1986, 142; D. Martin 1990, 52. Cf. Sass 1941, 30–32.

[36] Rightly Harris 2001, 132–33.

[37] The connection between Gal. 1.10 and Isa. 49 has also been noted by D. Stanley 1954, 418; Ciampa 1998, 93–94; Gorman 2001, 29; Harmon 2010, 75. A few other scholars rightly suggest that this is associated with Paul's suffering: Lyons 1986, 150; Hays 2000, 207; Cummins 2001, 110; Schreiner 2010, 89.

[38] Cf. Isa. 20.3, 20; 24.2; 36.11; 37.5, 35; 41.8–9; 42.1, 19; 43.10; 44.1–2, 21, 26; 45.4; 49.6; 50.10; 52.13.

[39] Cf. Isa. 14.2; 48.20; 49.3, 5, 7; 56.6; 63.17; 65.9. See also the use of δουλόω in Isa. 53.11; 65.8, 13–15.

[40] Ekblad 1999, 97.

[41] Cf. Isa. 48.20 LXX: τὸν δοῦλον αὐτοῦ (MT: עבדו); Isa. 49.3 LXX: Δοῦλός μου (MT: עבדי); Isa. 49.5 LXX: ἐκ κοιλίας δοῦλον (MT: מבטן לעבד); Isa. 49.7 LXX: τῶν δουλῶν (MT: לעבד).

[42] On Paul's former persecution see Hurtado 1999, 50–51. Paul recounts how he was previously a persecutor of the Christian assemblies to the point of excess (ὑπερβολὴν ἐδίωκον) and how he sought to destroy it (ἐπόρθουν αὐτήν) due to the great zeal (περισσοτέρως ζηλωτής) he had for his ancestral traditions (Gal. 1.13–14; cf. Gal. 1.23; Acts 8.3; 9.1, 4–5, 13, 21; 22.3–4, 7–8, 19; 26.14–15; 1 Cor. 15.9; Phil. 3.6; 1 Tim. 1.13). All of this reflects his former life ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ, which is best rendered as "the Judaization movement," and understood to mean "the defense and promotion of Jewish customs by Jewish people," referring to "what Jews who reject hellenization do" (Novenson 2014, 33–34). Cf. Mason 2007.

affirms that he had been separated by God from his mother's womb (ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου), which has led scholars to both Jer. 1.5 and Isa. 49.1 as scriptural inspiration. In each of these texts a prophetic call to go to the nations is recounted, making them particularly relevant for the context. Because both verses fit Paul's ministry to the Gentiles so well, some scholars do not attempt to argue that either text is more significant but speak merely about the prophetic tradition generally and how Paul imagines himself to be in the line of a "prophet."[43] Jer. 1.5 contains the phrases ἐν κοιλίᾳ and ἐκ μήτρας, which are conceptually parallel to Gal. 1.15, and so some scholars maintain that Jer. 1.5 is the proper background.[44] However, Isa. 49.1 LXX contains more linguistic parallels with Gal. 1.15 than Jer. 1.5 as *Figure 2* demonstrates:

Figure 2[45]

Jeremiah 1.5 LXX	Isaiah 49.1b LXX	Galatians 1.15
Πρὸ τοῦ με πλάσαι σε <u>ἐν κοιλίᾳ</u> ἐπίσταμαί σε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ σε ἐξελθεῖν <u>ἐκ μήτρας</u> ἡγίακά σε, προφήτην εἰς ἔθνη τέθεικά σε.	<u>ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου</u> <u>ἐκάλεσεν</u> τὸ ὄνομά μου	ὅτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν ὁ ἀφορίσας με <u>ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου</u> καὶ <u>καλέσας</u> διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ

As the figure illustrates, the phrase ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου is present in both Gal. 1.15 and Isa. 49.1 LXX. This exact prepositional phrase appears infrequently in the LXX (cf. Judg. 16.17; Ps. 21.11; 70.6; Job 1.21).[46] Intriguingly, the simplified prepositional phrase ἐκ κοιλίας occurs fifteen times in the LXX and six of these instances are used for the Servant's calling (Isa. 44.2, 24; 46.3; 48.8; 49.1, 5). Furthermore, these are the only occurrences of ἐκ κοιλίας in Isaiah LXX, which shows an interesting connection to the Servant, and the phrase does not appear anywhere in Jeremiah LXX. Strengthening the possibility that Isa. 49.1 provides the background for Gal. 1.15 even more is the fact that these two passages also use forms of the verb καλέω to express the

[43] So Stendahl 1977, 7–23; Wisdom 2001, 130–34; Davis 2002, 205; Oropeza 2009, 150; Oakes 2015, 55–56. In the light of this, Sandnes 1991, 57, has argued that Paul was accused of being a false prophet and therefore constructed the autobiographical material apologetically.

[44] Lietzmann 1923, 7; Ridderbos 1953, 63; Cole 1965, 51; Lührmann 1978, 32; Baasland 1984, 144; Baird 1985, 656–57; Morales 2010, 4. S. Eastman 2007, 63–88, rightly notes some of the connections between Gal. 1–2 and Isa. 49, but ultimately she focuses on Jeremiah.

[45] A similar chart can be found in Dunne 2014, 258.

[46] The phrase also occurs with αὐτός instead of μου (Job 38.8).

prophetic call. Isaiah 49.1 is also more thematically relevant to Galatians because Paul's calling was with the intent of preaching the good news about God's Son to the nations (Gal. 1.16). Yet although both Isaiah's Servant and Jeremiah were called to the nations, only the Servant's calling was intended to be salvific (cf. Isa. 49.6).[47] Additionally, Paul clearly understands his ministry to be linked to suffering (2.19–20; 3.1; 4.13–14; 5.11; 6.14, 17), which fits the vocation of the Servant (Isa. 53). Thus in the light of the linguistic, syntactical, and thematic overlap noted above, an allusion to Isa. 49.1 seems legitimate.[48] The plausibility of this suggestion is strengthened by the cumulative evidence of additional influence from Isa. 49 in the surrounding verses, as we will see.

There may also be something worth mentioning about Paul's Isaianic commission in relation to v.17. From vv.15–16 we can see the great deal of emphasis that Paul places upon his "calling." Paul understands that this calling is shaped according to the pattern of the Servant of Isa. 49. It is also important to recognize that the reference to Paul's calling in vv.15–16 does not form a complete sentence. Rather v.17 completes it. The sentence begins with an extended temporal clause introduced by ὅτε, and it is not until the εὐθέως in v.16b that we find the main verbs of the sentence. In the light of this syntactical fact, it appears that Paul's Isaianic calling is related to: (a) not consulting "flesh and blood," (b) not meeting the Jerusalem apostles, and (c) going to Arabia and Damascus. According to an apologetic reading of Paul's autobiography, it is often suggested that Paul was trying to defend his independence from the Jerusalem apostles by stating how far he was from them. Whether or not this is the case, interpreters have also been intrigued by the reference to Arabia—why did Paul go there? It is normally debated whether Paul went there to study, or to pray, or to wait for divine direction, or to begin his ministry to the Gentiles.[49] N. T. Wright has suggested that this early portion of the autobiography portrays Paul's life as patterned after Elijah, especially in relation to zeal, going to Arabia just as Elijah did (1 Kgs. 19).[50] However, given the Isaianic imagery in vv.15–16 (and elsewhere in Gal. 1–2) it is possible that this background may help illuminate v.17 as well, especially given its

[47] Rightly noted by M. de Boer 2011, 90.

[48] For those who see Isa. 49 as the text being alluded to, see, e.g., Cerfaux 1954, 446; Radl 1986, 148; Harmon 2010, 76–79. Kim 1981, 10, sees the connection to Isa. 49 and combines it with Isa. 6 and 42.

[49] Murphy-O'Connor 2012, 37–47.

[50] Wright 1996, 683–92.

syntactical relationship to vv.15–16. It is possible that Paul went to Arabia because he understood that his role was to be "a light *to the nations*" (Isa. 49.6).[51]

Regardless of how Arabia fits in this Isaianic portrait, the fruition of Paul's Isaianic calling came with the revelation of God's Son (1.16). The purpose of the revelation is expressly stated as a mission to the Gentiles (ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν), which probably echoes Isa. 49.6 LXX where the Servant is described as a "light to the nations" (εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν).[52] Yet intriguingly, Paul states that the revelation was ἐν ἐμοί. This prepositional phrase occurs in another possible allusion to Isa. 49.3 LXX in Gal. 1.24, where Paul states that the churches in Judea glorified God "in me."[53] See *Figure 3*:

Figure 3

Isaiah 49.3 LXX	Galatians 1.24
καὶ εἶπέν μοι Δοῦλός μου εἶ σύ, Ισραηλ, καὶ ἐν σοὶ δοξασθήσομαι.	καὶ ἐδόξαζον ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸν θεόν.

Both passages use the preposition ἐν with a personal pronoun as well as a form of the verb δοξάζω with God as either the implied or explicit subject. The divergent textual forms are explained by their different *perspectives*: Isa. 49.3 LXX contains direct speech from God, and Gal. 1.24 is written from a third person perspective. Thus the use of the phrase ἐν ἐμοί in 1.24 appears to be drawn from Isa. 49.3 LXX and it is possible that the same is true for the use of ἐν ἐμοί in 1.16.[54] The reason why Paul may possibly be highlighting the response of the Judean churches in 1.24 is because their response demonstrates the veracity of his call to continue the Servant's ministry in 1.15–16. This is done in two ways. First, by glorifying God on account of the drastic change in Paul's life, the Judean assemblies were fulfilling Isa. 49.3.[55] Secondly, their response coheres with the Servant's ministry specifically because these were *Jewish* congregations. The Servant's

[51] This may also relate to preparing the way of the Lord in the desert (Isa. 40.3).

[52] Rightly Ciampa 1998, 124–25. Cf. also Isa. 42.6.

[53] Noted by Lightfoot 1902, 86; R. Longenecker 1990, 42; Ciampa 1998, 124; Wilk 1998, 378; Cummins 2001, 128; Harmon 2010, 87–89.

[54] Newman 1992, 205–6, has argued that the language of revealing God's Son ἐν ἐμοί in Gal. 1.16 corresponds to the idea of glorification ἐν ἐμοί in Isa. 49.3 LXX. This interpretation is followed by Ciampa 1998, 115–16; Harmon 2010, 83.

[55] Bammel 1968, 108–12, has made the interesting suggestion that Gal. 1.23 is a "Märtyraretalogie" which contains "einem Märtyrhymnus der Urgemeinde."

mission was not merely directed to the Gentiles, but also included the remnant of Israel (cf. Isa. 49.5–6). So the response of the Judean churches coheres with the holistic nature of the Servant's ministry. The confirmation that the Judean churches provide also makes sense of the particularly Isaianic connotation of ἐν ἐμοί. Yet the difficult question remains for determining what Paul precisely meant by the use of this enigmatic phrase in both 1.16 and 1.24.

As for 1.16, BDAG and BDF suggest that ἐν ἐμοί should be interpreted as a simple dative.[56] Thus some translations opt for "to me" (e.g. RSV; NRSV; NLT; ESV). However, there are good reasons to interpret ἐν ἐμοί as "in me" (so HCSB; NASB; KJV; NKJV; NIV; KNT). This interpretation of 1.16 should not be understood as undermining the objective nature of Paul's experience, nor should it be taken reductionistically to refer to an inward/mystical experience. Bruce Longenecker's distinction between "enlivenment" and "enlightenment" helpfully expresses the main idea.[57] Thus Paul seems to use ἐν ἐμοί instrumentally: Paul's life had become the stage upon which the revelation of God's Son took place.[58] An instrumental reading (i.e. "in and through me") would also cohere with the use of ἐμοί in 2.8—the one who works "in Peter" (Πέτρῳ) also works "in me" (ἐμοί). This interpretation of 1.16 provides an important connection between Paul's Servant-like call and revealing God's Son to the nations. An association between representing God's Son and Paul's role as the Servant is most explicit in 2.19–20, the only other place where ἐν ἐμοί occurs in Galatians. There the phrase is also best rendered as "in me" (more on this later; §4.3.3.3). Although the meaning of the prepositional phrase ἐν ἐμοί in 1.24 is probably "because of me" or "on account of me," the Isaianic connection with 1.16 and 2.19–20 should not be lost. In addition, just as in 1.16 and 1.24, 2.19–20 also contains a mixture of Isaianic motifs regarding Paul's self-understanding as one who continues the ministry of the Servant (§4.3.3.3).

[56] BDAG, 329; BDF §220.1. This interpretation is followed by Schlier 1951, 26–27; Oepke 1964, 32–33; Martyn 1997, 158; Oakes 2015, 57–58. M. de Boer offers the unique interpretation "in my former manner of life" (2002, 29–33; *idem* 2011, 92–93, 103).

[57] B. Longenecker 1998, 149–50.

[58] Cf. also Dunn 1993, 64; B. Longenecker 1998, 149; Hays 2000, 215–16; Cummins 2001, 123; Gorman 2001, 30; Barclay 2002, 141; Tolmie 2005, 57 n.69; S. Eastman 2007, 35; Das 2014, 132. Chrysostom explains this in pneumatological terms (Schaff 1994, 11). Harmon 2010, 82, argues that when the preposition ἐν is used after the verb ἀποκαλύπτω it is never used to denote the person that receives the revelation. This is also true of occurrences of ἐν placed before ἀποκαλύπτω (cf. Rom. 1.17; 1 Cor. 3.13; 2 Thess. 2.6).

4.3.3.2.3 The Servant & "The Pillars"

As Paul continues his autobiography in 2.1–10 he recalls his trip to Jerusalem to meet the "pillars," and several elements of this section suggest that Paul saw his visit as part of his role as prefigured in Isaiah's prophesy about the Servant. Paul states that he went to Jerusalem according to a revelation (2.2: κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν), which recalls the revelation of God's Son that provided the basis of Paul's Isaianic calling in 1.15–16. He then states that he presented his gospel to the "pillars" lest he was running or had run in vain (2.2). The language of "running in vain" is probably an allusion to Isa. 49.4 LXX, as *Figure 4* shows:[59]

Figure 4

Isaiah 49.4 LXX	Galatians 2.2
καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπα Κενῶς ἐκοπίασα	μή πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἤ ἔδραμον.

As Harmon has noted, the plausibility of an allusion to Isa. 49.4 LXX here in Gal. 2.2 is increased when one notices that this allusion follows chronologically from the allusion to Isa. 49.3 LXX in Gal. 1.24.[60] The connections between Isa. 49.4 LXX and Gal. 2.2 are seen in the first person perspectives, the synonymous words for "vain" (κενός / κενῶς),[61] and the fact that – besides Paul's use of the present tense τρέχω – both texts contain aorist indicative verbs in the active voice (ἐκοπίασα / ἔδραμον). Although Paul does not use the verb κοπιάω in Gal. 2.2, the idea of exerting energy in vain by running is conceptually parallel.[62] The use of the present subjunctive τρέχω, as Pfitzner notes, "expresses the fear of continuous fruitless effort into the future."[63] The future orientation of the language is also clear from the context of Isa. 49.4 LXX, where the Servant expresses the belief that his judgment is with the Lord (ἡ κρίσις μου παρὰ κυρίῳ). Paul's fear of exerting energy to no avail is rooted in his calling to the nations as the Isaianic Servant; a fear that his ministry could be rendered vain (cf. Gal. 4.11).

[59] So Cerfaux 1954, 449; Bruce 1982, 111; Ciampa 1998, 132; Wagner 2005, 131; Harmon 2010, 89–90. Cummins 2001, 130–31, suggests that the language is a reference to "the Jewish athlete martyr." Oropeza 2009, argues that Habakkuk 2.2–4 is in view instead of Isa. 49.4.

[60] Harmon 2010, 90.

[61] The fact that Paul does not use κενῶς is not problematic since κενῶς in Isa. 49.4 is an LXX *hapax legomenon.*

[62] Pfitzner 1967, 99–108, who has a good discussion on "running in vain" in relation to the Agon motif, does not mention Isa. 49 in his comments on Gal. 2.2.

[63] Pfitzner 1967, 101.

As a conclusion to this private meeting, the "pillars" had discerned that Paul was to take his message to the Gentiles as they continued their efforts towards the Jews. The dual nature of the Christian mission to Jews and Gentiles is probably an additional echo of Isa. 49.5–6 LXX.[64] Yet in the agreement that Paul would go to the nations, the "pillars" also asked Paul to remember "the poor,"[65] which Paul was eager to do (2.10), suggesting that he may have understood "preaching good news to the poor" (Isa. 61.1) to be part of his Isaianic Servant vocation.[66]

With this evidence that Paul sees himself as continuing the ministry of the Isaianic Servant, we have to ask how Paul is able to think this way if he simultaneously views Jesus as the Servant of Isa. 53. Is this incompatible? As Harmon has rightly argued, the answer appears to be provided at the very end of the autobiography (2.20). Yet there is room to extend his proposal, as we will see.

4.3.3.3 The Servant Indwelt By The Servant

In 2.20 Paul states that the Messiah, who has fulfilled the role of the Isaianic Servant through his death on the cross, lives ἐν ἐμοί. This verse comes at a crucial part of the speech that Paul gave to Peter in Antioch (2.15–21) in response to the way he had withdrawn from eating with the Gentiles (2.11–14).[67] This understanding of vv.15–21 helps make sense of the "we" in vv.15–17, and places the entire discussion of justification by faith rather than "works of the law" in the context of Gentiles appropriating Jewish customs. More importantly for our purposes, vv.15–21 should also be understood as the conclusion to the autobiographical material. Galatians 3.1 clearly demarcates the start of a new section with Paul's vocative exclamation—"O foolish Galatians!" As well, in the following chapters Paul begins to introduce brand new topics, like Abraham, and makes extensive arguments with the use of Scripture. So vv.15–21 should be taken with the autobiographical material that precedes it. This argument can be extended by the obvious fact that Paul is still using first person singular verbs and pronouns in vv.18–21. But now we ought to ask if this section is tied together with the autobiographical material through Isaianic Servant imagery.

[64] Ciampa 1998, 145–46. *Contra* M. de Boer 2011, 91.

[65] Recently, B. Longenecker 2010, 157–206, argues that "the poor" refer, not to Jewish Christians in Jerusalem, but the poor "without geographical restriction or specificity" (2010, 182–83). Cf. Oakes 2015, 72–73.

[66] Neither Ciampa 1998 nor Harmon 2010 mention this.

[67] *Contra* Esler 2002, 280.

At the conclusion of 2.15–21, Paul declares that his identity is found in the cross: "I have been crucified with Christ" (2.19). Because of Paul's association with the crucified Messiah, Paul declares further that the Messiah now indwells him (2.20). For several reasons this passage should be interpreted similarly to 1.16. The parallels can be seen in *Figure 5:*

Figure 5

Galatians 1.16a	Galatians 2.20
ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί	ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ζῇ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός· ὃ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί, ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντός με καὶ παραδόντας ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ.

A connection between 1.16 and 2.20 is evidenced through Paul's reference to Jesus as God's Son in each text.[68] As with 1.16 and 1.24, the language of ἐν ἐμοί in 2.20 is probably an allusion to Isa. 49.3 LXX.[69] Thus Paul's role as the Isaianic Servant is drawn into this verse, which makes problematic the simultaneous allusion to the Messiah's role as the Servant of Isa. 53—"the one who loved me and gave himself for me."

However the difficultly is best explained by the notion of indwelling, as argued by Harmon.[70] The Servant of Isa. 53 lives "in Paul," and thus Paul is able to continue the ministry of the Servant. Harmon perceptively regards Gal. 2.20 as the "bridge" in Paul's logic, the link that allows him to view both himself and the Messiah as doing the Servant's work.[71] Paul's calling and sense of ministry as the Isaianic Servant is intimately connected to the Messiah; the revelation of the Messiah is *in Paul* (1.16) and the crucified Messiah now lives *in Paul* (2.20). Jesus is the true Servant and Paul continues his ministry.[72] Paul does not merely find Isaiah's prophecy to be a "model" for his ministry,[73] but rather, because he is indwelt by Jesus through the Spirit,[74] he sees himself continuing the Servant's role.

[68] The only other passage that explicitly refers to Jesus' sonship is Gal. 4.4, which contextually also speaks about indwelling (4.6). Cf. §2.4.

[69] Harmon 2010, 101. Cf. ἐμοὶ in 2.8.

[70] Harmon 2010, 117–121.

[71] Harmon 2010, 119.

[72] So D. Stanley 1954, 416; Cerfaux 1954, 446–47.

[73] Donaldson 1997, 254.

[74] Cf. Betz 1979, 124; Bruce 1982, 144–45; Dunn 1993, 145–46; Fee 1994, 299–300. That the indwelling of Christ is by the Spirit is made apparent by the contrast with life ἐν σαρκί. The logic is that, although Paul has "died," nevertheless he is animated by the Spirit.

When we look more widely at Paul's other letters and the traditions about Paul, it is clear that this association between Paul's ministry and the Servant's ministry was pervasive. Our arguments for this interpretation of Paul's self-understanding in Galatians are further buttressed by the way that he utilizes Isa. 49–54 elsewhere to show that his ministry has been prophetically prefigured as a continuation of the Servant's ministry. This can be seen in the other undisputed Pauline letters (Romans; 2 Corinthians; Philippians), the so-called Deutero-Pauline letters (Colossians; Ephesians), and even in Acts. At this stage it would be helpful to survey briefly each of these before continuing our analysis of the way that 2.20 explains how Paul continues the Servant's ministry.

At the end of Romans Paul cites from the "Fourth Servant Song" (Isa. 52.15) to show that his Gentile mission is not meant to build on another person's foundation (Rom. 15.21), demonstrating that he sees his ministry as an extension of the Isaianic Servant.[75] In this context, where Paul sees his ministry prefigured in the Servant's ministry, he also refers to the Messiah's role as a διακόνος to the circumcised (Rom. 15.8).[76]

In 2 Corinthians there are a few instances worth noting. In 2 Cor. 4.5 Paul refers to himself and his co-workers as δούλοι for Jesus' sake, and then lists the afflictions and hardships associated with their ministry, including "carrying the death of Jesus" in their bodies (2 Cor. 4.7–12). Moreover, if 2 Cor. 4.6 is a reference to Paul's conversion/call,[77] the idea of being "slaves" in 4.5 could reflect Isa. 49.3 LXX (Δοῦλός μου εἶ σύ) and Paul's Isaianic interpretation of his conversion/call (cf. Gal. 1.15–16).[78] Additionally, later in the letter Paul cites from Isa. 49.8 LXX in 2 Cor. 6.2 to demonstrate that now is the "acceptable time" and the "day of salvation" for the Corinthians to respond. That Paul cites this verse because he sees his ministry continuing the Servant's work is buttressed by three factors. First, in the immediately preceding context Paul warns against receiving God's grace εἰς κενόν (6.1), which could connect to Isaianic language (cf.

[75] Rightly Dunn 1988, 866; Wilk 1998, 80–82; Wagner 2002, 329–36; *idem* 2005, 128; Harmon 2010, 108. Cf. Rom. 1.1 where Paul calls himself δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ. For those who do not think that Paul sees himself as the Servant in this passage, see, e.g., Schreiner 1998, 770–71; Byrne 2007, 437, 439.

[76] Intriguingly, Paul says that the Messiah was a servant in order to confirm the promises to the patriarchs, and that the Gentiles might glorify God (Rom. 15.9: δοξάσαι τὸν θεόν). This pattern, and the language used, seems to echo Isa. 49.3 LXX (ἐν σοὶ δοξασθήσομαι).

[77] See Plummer 1915, 121; Kim 1981, 6–8; R. Martin 1986, 80; Harris 2005, 336–37.

[78] *Contra* Witherington 1995, 386, who thinks that Paul is presenting himself as an enslaved leader or sage.

49.4: κενῶς).[79] Second, Paul goes on to refer to himself and his co-workers as θεοῦ διάκονοι (6.4a). And third, he proceeds to mention *their endurance of hardships* as "servants" (2 Cor. 6.4b–10).[80] The final passage to address in the letter is 2 Cor. 11. Here Paul says that he is more (ὑπὲρ ἐγώ) a servant of Christ (cf. διάκονοι Χριστοῦ) than his opponents, which he goes on to explain in terms of suffering hardships (2 Cor. 11.23–29). Notice especially the reference to κόπος in v.23, which could allude to Isa. 49.4 LXX about labouring in vain (Κενῶς ἐκοπίασα). The association between suffering and the Isaianic Servant probably informs, to some degree, the additional references to suffering in 2 Corinthians (e.g. 1.3–10; 2.14–16; 4.7–12, 16–18; 11.21b–29; 12.10).

Writing from prison to the Philippians, Paul exhorts them to "hold fast"[81] the "word of life," so that οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον οὐδὲ εἰς κενὸν ἐκοπίασα at the *parousia* (Phil. 2.16). Here Paul's words should be understood as an allusion to Isa. 49.4 LXX (Κενῶς ἐκοπίασα).[82] A connection with suffering is also present contextually since Paul uses a sacrificial metaphor to express his willingness to endure anything for the perseverance of the Philippians (Phil. 2.17).

The language of affliction and fulfilling the role of the Isaianic Servant is also in the background of Col. 1.24.[83] In v.23 it is stated that Paul became a διάκονος of the gospel just before referring to his afflictions (1.24).[84] Then v.25 states that Paul had become a διάκονος by God's commission. The broader context is clearly about Paul's ministry to the Gentiles (v.27) and so echoes of the Isaianic Servant cohere contextually. Additionally, Paul maintains that the goal of his ministry is for the maturation of the Gentiles. He toils (1.29: κοπιάω) for his mission's success according to God's powerful work ἐν ἐμοί. He toils because he does not want the mission to end up being "in vain" (Isa. 49.4).

In Ephesians either Paul or an early disciple states in 2.17 that the Messiah preached peace ὑμῖν τοῖς μακράν and τοῖς ἐγγύς (cf. Isa. 52.7). Harmon rightly notes that this means that

[79] Note also the way Paul applies the Isaianic language of activity not being "in vain" to his readers when he calls the Corinthians to be diligent because ὁ κόπος ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔστιν κενὸς ἐν κυρίῳ (1 Cor. 15.58).

[80] Wilk 2005, 151–52, does not link the Isa. 49.8 citation in 2 Cor. 6.2 with Paul's suffering and the list of his hardships that follow in 2 Cor. 6.4b–10.

[81] Or, "hold out" (ἐπέχω): see Ware 2005, 256–70; Stenschke 2014.

[82] So O'Brien 1991, 300–1.

[83] Whether Colossians is primary or secondary evidence, it fits this survey.

[84] Dunn 1996, 116, rightly interprets 1.24 as demonstrating that Paul was to "fulfill or complete" the Servant's ministry. *Contra* Cerfaux 1954, 453, who does not think that 1.24 is rooted in Isaianic prophecy.

the Messiah preached through Paul's ministry.[85] The general tenor of Eph. 2.11–22 regarding Jewish and Gentile reconciliation is thematically consistent with Isa. 49.6 regarding the restoration of Israel and the inclusion of the nations. The nature of Gentile inclusion is elaborated in accordance with God's plan in 3.1–6, and then in 3.7 Paul is said to be a διάκονος for the purpose of "bringing to light" (φωτίζω) the mystery of God's plan. This likely echoes Isa. 49.6 LXX and the Servant's ministry εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν. Then v.13 exhorts readers not to lose heart ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσίν μου ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν.

The book of Acts is likewise relevant for this discussion since it provides an early interpretation of Paul's ministry. Acts depicts multiple hostile situations and interprets them as a part of Paul's commission. In the initial report of Paul's Damascus road experience, we read about a vision that Ananias received in which he was told that Paul would suffer greatly (Acts 9.15–16). Then during the first missionary journey, Luke records Paul's initial preaching in Pisidian Antioch where he cites Isa. 49.6 LXX as the rationale for the Gentile mission (13.47). From there he goes on to experience severe conflict, and on his way back through (14.21) he reminds them of the necessity of suffering for entering the kingdom of God (14.22).

Thus it is quite clear from Pauline and Lukan tradition that Paul was seen to have understood his Gentile mission as a continuation of the work of the Isaianic Servant. This can be seen both from his sense of calling to bring the good news to the Gentiles and also through his experience of suffering, which helps to confirm the arguments I have been making from Galatians.

Gignilliat, however, contends that Paul did not conceive of himself as the Servant, but rather as one of the *servants* of the Servant from Isa. 53–66. He argues specifically in relation to the use of Isa. 49.8 in 2 Cor. 6.2 that Paul did not think he was *the* Servant from Isa. 49 because he spoke of Jesus as the Suffering Servant in 2 Cor. 5.14–21. Gignilliat states, "That Paul would allow this typological significance to slip onto himself in such close proximity (5.21 and 6.2) is not found tenable."[86] Yet part of the problem with Gignilliat's reading of 2 Cor. 6.2 is that it does not adequately handle Paul's broader use of Isa. 49 throughout his letters, as we have seen, and, more importantly, Paul's use of Isa. 49 in Galatians. As noted, the logic of Gal. 2.20 seems to provide the rationale for the way Paul thinks that he continues the Servant's ministry—through

[85] Harmon 2010, 110.
[86] Gignilliat 2007, 47.

the indwelling of the Messiah (cf. 1.16). As we will see in the following chapter, Gignilliat's claims about the plural "servants" of Isaiah are not irrelevant for Galatians. In fact, this contributes to the reason Paul may have chosen to cite Isa. 54.1 (Gal. 4.27) since Zion's children are the "servants" (54.17).[87]

While questions still remain regarding Paul's reading of Isaiah, it seems likely that he assumed Isa. 49 prefigured his own ministry. As F. Wilk states about Paul's self-understanding:

> Deutlich ist aber, daß der Apostel nicht bei einem Abschnitt stehenbleibt, sondern bald mehrere Jesajatexte als Prophetien auf sein Wirken liest und auslegt. Dabei identifiziert er sich zumal mit der – in seinem Sinne: einzigen – Person, die in Jes 42.6, 49.1–8, 52.7–12 und 6.11–13 spricht bzw. angesprochen oder beschrieben wird; so gelesen erlauben es ihm diese und weitere Texte, sein Apostolat zu legitimieren, die Eigenart seines heidenmissionarischen Auftrags zu verstehen, seine Tätigkeit zu definieren.[88]

Yet it must not be missed that Paul's calling as the Isaianic Servant is not limited to his role as one who extends the good news to the Gentiles, but it also includes his understanding of his own suffering. Cerfaux, who argued long ago that Paul believed he continued the ministry of the Isaianic Servant, did not think that this included suffering. Note his words in comparison with Acts, where he does think that Paul's sufferings were interpreted in this way:

> On se demande si saint Paul a jamais conclu que ses souffrances apostoliques, elles aussi, accomplissaient en lui les prophéties du «Serviteur de Dieu.» Malgré une faible indication dans le Livre des Actes, il nous semble qu'il ne s'est pas orienté dans cette direction.[89]

More recently Harmon has offered the most extensive treatment of Paul's use of Isa. 49 and he rightly notes its importance for Paul's apostolic vocation to the Gentiles, yet this is not connected sufficiently with Paul's experience of suffering. In an excursus, Harmon only devotes one paragraph to relate Isaianic Servant motifs in Paul's letters with the theme of suffering.[90] Furthermore, this connection is only made while commenting on Col. 1.24.[91] Harmon does not demonstrate how the Isaianic imagery is relevant for Paul's experience of suffering and persecution *in Galatians*, nor that it has any paradigmatic force for his Galatian readers.

However, within 2.19–20 itself Paul refers to his crucifixion with the Messiah. As we saw in the previous chapter, the language of co-crucifixion in Galatians has been understood by

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[87] Cf. עבדי (MT; 1QIsa[a]); τοῖς θεραπεύουσιν (LXX).
[88] Wilk 1998, 406.
[89] Cerfaux 1954, 453.
[90] Harmon 2010, 120–21.
[91] The connection to Col. 1.24 is particularly interesting since Paul's suffering is in relation to Christ indwelling Paul (ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου), as Harmon 2010, 121, rightly notes but does not develop in Galatians. Cf. Carrez 1964, 127: "Dans Col. I. 24 l'origine des souffrances était le présence du Christ dans l'apôtre."

many scholars to be devoid of connotations of suffering. This perspective is largely due to the work of Tannehill and Beker (§3.2.1). However, it is misguided to bifurcate notions of co-crucifixion into "cosmic" and "existential" categories (so Tannehill), or to split the cross from Christ's death and from his suffering (so Beker). No doubt Paul wishes for his Galatian readers to understand the way in which the cross creates a new relationship to the law (2.18–19, 21),[92] but it should be realized that this can manifest itself in the midst of suffering.[93] This is especially the case given Paul's clear self-understanding as one continuing the role of the Servant. If Paul really believed that the Servant of Isa. 53 was indwelling him by virtue of co-crucifixion, it is likely that suffering would have reinforced and informed his understanding. As Hays rightly notes, "among the many things that Paul means by this extraordinary claim is that he is a participant in Christ's suffering."[94] Indeed, persecution would serve to confirm that Paul was indeed crucified with Christ. Co-crucifixion is therefore not a "past event" for Paul, but rather a reality that he continued to live in, and one which included personal suffering. Thus Paul concludes his autobiographical section in a way that ties together all of the Isaianic imagery that we have seen in this study by placing major emphasis on his association with the crucified Messiah. The reference in 1.10 that Paul is Χριστοῦ δοῦλος, which functions either as the start of the autobiography or as a header, shows that the autobiographical section is bracketed by Paul's role as the Isaianic Servant.

This now concludes our analysis of Paul's use of Isaiah for his self-understanding in the autobiography. At this point we should see how these ideas get "fleshed out." In the previous chapter we saw that there are multiple references to Paul's experience of persecution and suffering throughout the letter (4.13, 19; 5.11; 6.14, 17). As well, we saw that he bears the marks of identity that set him out as a slave of Christ (6.17). His experience of hardship has confirmed his reading of Isaiah and *vice versa*. Yet what needs to be addressed in this context regarding Isaianic influence in Paul's autobiography is the immediately following reference to Paul's ministry among the Galatians in 3.1–5. This passage has already been addressed (§2.5), but we will consider how the Isaianic train of thought may have carried its freight into this section.

[92] This new relationship, *contra* Boyarin 1994, 123, is much stronger than a new allegorical interpretation.
[93] *Contra* Tannehill 1967, 61; Cosgrove 1988, 192–94; Cousar 1990, 143–44.
[94] Hays 1991, 241. Cf. also Moss 2010, 27; Oakes 2015, 194.

4.3.3.4 The Servant Displaying The Servant in Galatia

The fact that Paul understands his Servant ministry to include suffering is clear from the flow of 2.19–20 into 3.1. I have already argued (§3.2.1) that the flow of thought confirms that co-crucifixion in 2.19–20 cannot be divorced from existential experiences of co-crucifixion in real suffering in the light of 3.1. Now we can see that this flow of thought also confirms that Paul's Servant ministry likewise includes suffering. In 3.1 Paul refers to his own experience of suffering as a visible representation of the crucified Messiah. Paul's co-crucifixion with the Messiah, and the subsequent indwelling of Christ (2.19–20), anticipate the external presentation of the crucified Messiah in 3.1.[95]

Surprisingly, although Harmon speaks of 2.20 as the "bridge" for the way that Paul can see himself and Jesus fulfilling the Servant's ministry,[96] he does not address how this identification might inform Paul's words in 3.1. Instead he interpets 3.1 as a reference to the vividness of Paul's proclamation.[97] When it is recognized that Paul speaks of Christ as indwelling him in 1.16 and 2.20, and that the indwelling is expressed in terms specifically taken from Isaiah's Servant in each passage, this provides an excellent explanation for Paul's subsequent statements immediately following the autobiographical section in 3.1. It is entirely likely that after writing an autobiographical section in Gal. 1–2 in which Paul emphasized his role as one extending the mission of the Isaianic Servant that he would make a reference to his suffering in solidarity with the Servant-Messiah.

The move from Servant imagery in Gal. 1–2 to suffering among the Gentiles in 3.1 provides an important link for Paul's self-understanding as a light to the nations (Isa. 49.6). Paul's portrayal of the crucified Christ in his own person (3.1) was the context for his *kerygma* about the crucified Messiah in which the Galatians originally received the Spirit (3.2). What makes the Isaianic link even more probable is the fact that the phrase ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως in Gal. 3.2 probably alludes to Isa. 53.1 LXX.[98] In the context of a similar phrase (cf. ἡ πίστις ἐξ ἀκοῆς in Rom. 10.17), Paul explicitly quotes Isa. 53.1 LXX (Rom. 10.16), and it is not unreasonable to imagine that he is alluding to the same text here. With the multiple allusions to Isa. 49 in Gal. 1–2, this increases the likelihood of the allusion. Note the figure below:

[95] Davis 1999 rightly made the connection between 2.19–20 and 3.1 but he did not connect this to Isaiah.
[96] Harmon 2010, 118–19.
[97] Harmon 2010, 187.
[98] See Harmon 2010, 125–32; Morales 2010, 81–86.

Figure 6

Isaiah 53.1a LXX	Galatians 3.2b
κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν;	ἐξ ἔργων νόμου τὸ πνεῦμα ἐλάβετε ἢ ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως;

The likelihood of an allusion is considerable in the light of the overlap in vocabulary. As Harmon notes, "The combination of ἀκοή and πίστις appears nowhere in the LXX, but in Isa 53:1 the verb πιστεύω does appear with the noun ἀκοή, the only place in the LXX where the two occur together."[99] The legitimacy of this proposal is also strengthened by the way that Isa. 53.1b LXX seems to be an implicit topic throughout Gal. 1–2 (καὶ ὁ βραχίων κυρίου τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη;).[100] The answer to this question, according to Paul, is *Paul himself*. Of course, Paul uses the same verb (ἀποκαλύπτω) to refer to God revealing his son to him in 1.16 (cf. ἀποκάλυψις in 1.12).[101]

An allusion to Isa. 53 provides an additional thematic coherence to the interpretation of 3.1 offered here. If Paul is thinking of his own suffering as a display of the crucified Messiah in the light of his interpretation of Isaiah, an allusion to Isa. 53 in Gal. 3.2 is even more probable. As well, we have already seen that the logic of 3.1 is rooted in Paul's statements in the previous section, 2.19–20, and there we have an allusion to Isa. 53 LXX as noted earlier (§4.3.3.1). This all flows naturally out of Paul's suffering and belief that Christ, the true Servant, was living within him, making him a Servant destined to continue the same mission and ministry.

Thus we can see from the indwelling of the Servant that Paul saw his original call and subsequent activities leading up to his original ministry to the Galatians to be prefigured in Isaiah's prophecy regarding the Servant. With a clear portrait of Paul's self-understanding about the nature of his Gentile mission, we are now in a position to see what paradigmatic purpose this material may have had for Paul's readers who originally embraced his message.

4.3.4 The Autobiography & The Paradigmatic Paul

In the autobiography Paul presents himself as a paradigm to be imitated (§4.2). It appears that Isaiah so informed Paul's understanding of his mission that its influence was woven throughout

[99] Harmon 2010, 130.
[100] Morales 2010, 83.
[101] Also noted by Morales 2010, 83.

his self-presentation. But what does Paul actually *do* in the autobiography that he wants his readers to imitate? In particular, Paul has presented this narrative in such a way to show how he responded to *compulsion*. The scenes in Jerusalem (2.1–10) and Antioch (2.11–14) stand out as instances where the veracity of Paul's Isaianic commission to be a light to the nations was on the line. These instances in the autobiography are parallel to the compulsion placed on the Galatians to be circumcised (6.12: ἀναγκάζουσιν), which suggests that these scenes are partly recounted for their relevance. They are, in fact, analogous situations. Paul wants the Galatians to follow his lead and resist the compulsion to be circumcised.

In the first instance, some "false brothers" in Jerusalem had tried to compel Titus to be circumcised (2.3: ἠναγκάσθη). Although it is often noted that the grammar in vv.3–5 is quite jumbled, the point must be that Titus was not circumcised.[102] Allowing Titus to be circumcised would have amounted to Paul's Gentile ministry being "in vain" (Gal. 2.2; cf. Isa. 49.4). Instead, Paul resisted compulsion (2.5), and in so doing avoided becoming enslaved (2.4: καταδουλώσουσιν).

After recounting the meeting in Jerusalem, Paul describes, in the second instance, a deeply confrontational episode in Antioch (2.11–21). Here, Peter and Barnabas are presented as examples of those who did not remain steadfast in their commitment to the gospel. Their responses are to be contrasted with Paul.[103] Again, we see Paul resisting compulsion (2.14: ἀναγκάζεις). His call to be a light to the Gentiles (Isa. 49.6) was under attack by the way that the Gentiles were not being treated as genuine members of the people of God *qua* Gentiles.

Paul says that Peter was "compelling" the Gentiles in Antioch to "judaize" (2.14: ἰουδαΐζειν) because he was "afraid" (2.12). It is probably the case that Paul wants his readers to see a correspondence between their own concerns to alleviate persecution through receiving circumcision and Peter's actions which were motivated by fear (just as it critiques the agitators for being motivated by fear). In all cases fear of persecution is an illegitimate reason to compromise (§2.3.1.3).

When it is recognized that 2.15–21 is part of the same scene as the Antioch incident (2.11–14), we can see that Paul's culminating response to Peter, the one who fearfully pressured Gentiles to judaize, is about co-crucifixion (2.19–20). Paul's relationship to the cross is as much

[102] E.g. Bruce 1982, 111–17; Dunn 1993, 94–102.
[103] So rightly Cummins 2001, 120.

a paradigm for Peter to imitate (otherwise 2.15–21 is an odd excursus) as it is for the Galatians. This means that co-crucifixion is part of Christian identity over against "Judaization" (2.14: ἰουδαΐζειν). Most likely this includes circumcision, since the other two uses of ἀναγκάζω in Galatians refer to forced circumcision (2.3; 6.12).[104] If circumcision is included as part of what it means to "live like a Jew," this would provide another strong contrast between the cross and circumcision as appears elsewhere in the letter (e.g. 3.1–3; 5.11, 24; 6.12–17). Paradigmatically, then, the thrust of the autobiography can be found in 2.20, being as well the "hermeneutical center"[105] of the entire letter. Thus just as Paul's life is entirely bound up with the cross of Christ, the same should be true of the Galatians. Suffering is therefore the badge that identifies one as a true follower of the crucified Messiah. The cross, as we have seen, was central to Paul's response to fear and compulsion in Antioch, just as it is central to his response to the problem in Galatia.

This reading of the autobiography's function as a display of complete commitment to the cross is also reflected in 1.10 *in nuce*. Just like Paul, the Galatians are to be slaves of Christ and, therefore, *slaves to no one else*. As B. Dodd argued regarding 1.10, "Paul's 'I' statement functions to lead the readers to only one possible conclusion: when they read/hear Paul's 'I am not a people pleaser', they will want to conclude, 'Neither are we.'"[106] Thus the Galatians would be "pleasing people" (1.10) if their response to compulsion would be to receive circumcision (6.12). As well, to give in to compulsion is to become a slave (2.4: καταδουλώσουσιν). Rather than give in to the compulsion and become a slave—a slave not only to the στοῖχεια, but also to the agitators—they should be slaves of Christ (1.10). Paul does not give in to compulsion, showing that he is a slave to no one except the Messiah, and his particular understanding of this slave role, as we have seen, is informed by Isaiah. Thus Paul sees the Galatians as about to "give in," which would result in his Gentile mission being in vain (2.2). As B. Dodd rightly notes, this makes circumcision the "soft option"[107] in relation to enduring persecution. Furthermore, Holmstrand is correct to note that Paul speaks of people-pleasing in 1 Thess. 2.2–4 as a contrast with his experience of enduring suffering.[108] The same connection seems to be reflected here in 1.10.

[104] So also McKnight 1995, 107.
[105] Hays 1991, 242.
[106] B. Dodd 1996, 96. Cf. Byron 2003, 200–1.
[107] B. Dodd 1996, 94. Cf. *idem* 1999, 145–46. However, for B. Dodd (1999, 149) the background of Jeremiah where the prophets are regarded as slaves is more relevant than the Isaianic Servant.
[108] Holmstrand 1997, 152 n.27.

This all leads directly into Paul's question in 3.4 immediately following the autobiographical section (τοσαῦτα ἐπάθετε εἰκῇ;). When seen in the light of this flow of thought we have additional reason to read 3.4 as a reference to suffering (cf. §2.5). Paul's paradigmatic self-presentation as a slave of Christ who does not give in to compulsion, a view which is informed and influenced by his understanding that his Gentile mission continues the Servant's work, leads directly into 3.1–5. There Paul refers to his own suffering (3.1) as a result of the crucified Messiah indwelling him by the Spirit (2.19–20), and in turn refers to the Galatians' reception of the crucified Messiah's Spirit (3.2–3, 5) in a context regarding their own experience of suffering (3.4). The reminder of Paul's suffering, which displayed the crucified Messiah, was intended to encourage the Galatians in their suffering so that they would likewise be *slaves of Christ* who do not give in to compulsion.

This buttresses the claims made in chapter two of the present study regarding the way that *sonship* is marked out by suffering. Here we see further that sonship is only one side of the coin of Christian identity. Being a true *slave of Christ* is also marked out by suffering because to give in to forceful compulsion is to become *slaves of others*. This is precisely why Paul asks the Galatians if they have "suffered in vain" (3.4: ἐπάθετε εἰκῇ). In the light of our comments regarding the exertion of energy in vain in 2.2 (cf. also comments on 4.11 in §5.2.1), it is plausible that when Paul asked the Galatians if they have suffered in vain (εἰκῇ) in 3.4 he was echoing Isa. 49.4 LXX. This important point is explicitly denied by Matthew Harmon in his study on Isaianic influence in Galatians. This is because he interprets πάσχω as "experience," which contributes to his dismissal of the potential echo.[109] However, when it is recognized that Paul is in fact referring to the suffering of the Galatians (§2.5), and that this is part of a larger flow of thought informed by Paul's reading of Isaiah, we can see that Paul has brought the Galatians into the pattern of the Isaianic Servant. Just as Paul's suffering is an external representation (3.1) of the indwelling of Christ by the Spirit (3.4) so the same external suffering of the Galatians (3.4) is brought together with their possession of the Spirit (3.2–3a). The Galatians too, therefore, are to be slaves of Christ, indwelt by the Servant (cf. 4.6) and clothed with him (cf. 3.27), resisting compulsion and enduring whatever consequences may arise for the sake of the cross. This raises additional questions regarding *how* Paul is able to include his

[109] Harmon 2010, 132–33, concludes that as a result of taking πάσχω as "experience," "any possibility of an echo back to Gal 2:2 and Isa 49:4 can be safely eliminated."

readers in this Isaianic pattern beyond the notion of indwelling, regardless of their ability to recognize Paul's Isaianic logic. This question will need to be reserved for the fuller discussion in the next chapter.

4.4 Conclusion

In the light of the thematic introduction of Paul as a δοῦλος of the Messiah in 1.10, the influence of Isa. 49.1–6 in Gal. 1.15–17, 24, and 2.2, and Paul's identification with the "poor" (2.10), it is apparent that, throughout the entirety of his autobiographical remarks, Paul was reflecting on his ministry in terms of the Isaianic Servant. Paul was determined that his Isaianically prefigured ministry to the nations would not be rendered worthless or in vain, and thus he resisted compulsion that would attempt to make Gentiles inappropriately embrace Jewish customs (2.3, 14). All of this imagery climaxes in 2.19–20 with Paul's co-crucifixion with the Messiah, which both paradigmatically reflects a relationship to the law (thus rendering circumcision and Judaization unnecessary), and manifests itself in suffering. This identification with Christ – ἐν ἐμοί (1.16; 2.20) – provides both the rationale and the precedent for Paul's additional statements in the remaining portions of the letter regarding his suffering, and informs the way he understood his role as the Isaianic Servant (cf. 3.1; 4.13, 19; 5.11; 6.14, 17). The Galatians are meant to follow Paul in his resistance to compulsion, however severe. In doing so, they are demonstrating their alignment with the crucified Messiah, the Servant who likewise indwells them by the Spirit. This portrait of Paul as the Servant with paradigmatic implications for his readers, we will see in the next chapter, informs the rationale for Paul's appeal for imitation (4.12) and its connection to the immediately following allegorical section (4.21–5.1). It is to this that we now turn.

Chapter 5

Be Like Me: The Servants of the Servant (Galatians 4.12—5.1)

5.1 Introduction

After seeing in the previous chapter that Paul presents himself paradigmatically as the Isaianic Servant, and the one who completely aligns himself with the cross in chapter three, we can now look at the passage where Paul calls the Galatians to imitate him (4.12–20) and then moves into the famous allegory (4.21–5.1). In relation to 4.12–20 it will be argued that the Galatians are meant to imitate Paul in his experience of suffering in order to maintain their Christian identity and to ensure their eschatological blessing. In this section, characterized by personal appeal, many scholars have wondered what it contributes to Paul's argument,[1] and the lack of perceived relevance has led to diverse theories. In this chapter it will be argued that part of the reason why this section has seemed so unrelated to Paul's developing argument is because there is a lack of appreciation for both the role of persecution in Paul's argumentation overall and the way that Paul utilizes Isaiah. We will consider not only how 4.12–20 is crafted as a call to imitate Paul in his allegiance to the cross, but also how Paul's self-identification as the one continuing the ministry of the Servant of Isaiah informs this pattern. As such, the flow of 4.12–20 into the allegory (4.21–5.1) will be considered, especially because it contains the only explicit citation of Isaiah in the letter (Isa. 54.1 in Gal. 4.27). In the end it will be seen that Paul has been reflecting widely on Isa. 49–54, which has coloured his presentation of himself and his expectation of being imitated in accordance with an Isaianic pattern. Before engaging the various exegetical issues, a few initial questions need to be answered.

5.1.1 Is Galatians 4.12–20 An Interpolation?

The first preliminary issue to address is whether the personal appeal in 4.12–20 was an interpolation. There has only been one serious argument for the present section being secondary (along with 4.8–11), which was mounted by Witulski. In making this case, Witulski contended that 4.8–20 was a fragment of a letter that was inserted into Galatians "A" (the text of Galatians minus 4.8–20). His arguments include: (a) 4.8–20 ostensibly presents the Galatians' need for a second conversion, whereas the rest of the letter suggests

[1] Cf. Schlier 1951, 147; Oepke 1964, 104.

their decisive decision is pending,[2] (b) there are no references to the law or circumcision in 4.8–20,[3] (c) if 4.8–20 is removed, a seamless argument from 4.1–7 into the allegory can be seen,[4] (d) since 4.10 lacks Jewish calendrical terms (e.g. "Sabbaths"), it must be the case that 4.8–20 is not engaging a problem concerning Jewish customs,[5] and (e) Paul would not speak of the law in demonic terms as one of the στοιχεῖα.[6]

However, there are several problems with Witulski's arguments. In response to (a), Witulski's suggestion fails for two reasons. First, Paul refers to his audience as ἀδελφοί in 4.12, demonstrating that Witulski has overstated his point about the Galatians' need for a second conversion. Second, Witulski's point here does not cohere with the uncertainty and nervousness that Paul expresses throughout the letter, especially that his labour (4.11), his ministry (2.2), and the Galatians' suffering (3.4) may have been in vain. Argument (b) is hardly convincing because, whereas circumcision is not mentioned as an explicitly Galatian problem until 5.2, the law and circumcision can be seen to comprise part of the letter's subtext from the outset. Regarding (c), one has to wonder if it is actually legitimate to smooth out the argument of a passionate pastor in fear of losing his congregation. Additionally, the assumption that this section is disjointed from the letter is something that this thesis seeks to challenge. As for (d) and (e), Witulski's argument fails to recognize the way that Paul characterizes the illegitimate appropriation of Jewish customs as a form of paganism; circumcision, for instance, can be akin to cultic castration (5.12)[7] and mutilation (Phil. 3.2)[8] when applied inappropriately. The calendar in 4.10, coupled with the στοιχεῖα reference, can be seen as a polemical critique of illegitimately appropriating Jewish calendrical observances; to begin following the nomistic calendar is tantamount to reverting back to pagan observances because such activities are part of the realm of the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου.[9] Accordingly, the temporal role of the law is displayed throughout Galatians. For instance, Paul says that the law παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν γέγονεν εἰς Χριστόν (3.24), which is best taken as a

[2] Witulski 2000, 48–49, 54–55.
[3] Witulski 2000, 54.
[4] Witulski 2000, 73.
[5] Witulski 2000, 48.
[6] Witulski 2000, 55–58.
[7] On 5.12 and the polemical comparison of circumcision with cultic castration see Bonnard 1953, 107; Ridderbos 1953, 194; Betz 1979, 270; Dunn 1993, 282–84; Martyn 1997, 478; M. de Boer 2011, 325–27. Oepke 1964, 125–27 and S. Elliott 1999; *eadem* 2003 take this too far since they contend for the influence of the Cybele cult for the Galatian crisis.
[8] On Phil. 3.2 and pagan mutilation see, e.g., O'Brien 1991, 356–57; Hansen 2009, 219–20.
[9] So Martyn 1997, 414–18; M. de Boer 2011, 276–77. For those who think that the Jewish calendar is in view without polemical intent, see Burton 1921, 232–34; Bruce 1982, 205–7; R. Longenecker 1990, 182–83; Dunn 1993, 227–29. *Contra* those who think that the Galatians were involved in *pagan* observances at the time of Paul's writing: T. Martin 1995; Hardin 2008, 122–27.

temporal reference.[10] So the movement towards Jewish customs is like moving backwards in time to a former pagan way of life. Intriguingly, position (e) creates obvious problems with Witulski's interpolation theory because of the reference to the στοιχεῖα in 4.3. In order to get around this problem, Witulski hypothesizes that the redactor who inserted 4.8–20 into Galatians "A" between 4.1–7 and 4.21–5.1 also added the phrase ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου in 4.3 in order to connect the sections more easily.[11] Of course, by arguing this, Witulski's redactor vanishes, rendering the case for interpolation superfluous.[12] More to the point, however, there is no external textual evidence to suggest interpolation. So, with that said, there are no plausible reasons to deny the authenticity of 4.8–20.

5.1.2 Galatians 4.12 & The Beginning of the Letter's Exhortation?

Another issue worth mentioning at the outset of this chapter is the suggestion by R. Longenecker and Hansen that 4.12 ushers in the beginning of the letter's exhortation section, since Paul's summons, Γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ, contain the first major imperative in the letter.[13] Within their understanding of the ethical section, the allegory also fits because it contains another major imperative in the citation of Gen. 21.10 LXX (ἔκβαλε). For R. Longenecker and Hansen this determination is based on their assessment of Galatians as a mixture of rhetorical genres and epistolary features. Accordingly, the letter begins as an apologetic for Paul's apostleship/gospel and then transitions at 4.12 into deliberative rhetoric to chart the future course of action for Paul's audience. However, Rabens has rightly argued that this proposal is based on a simplistic and outdated assumption about Paul's letters, namely, that the letters begin with the "Indicative" and then shift to the "Imperative" in the latter half.[14] As well, the rhetorical grounds upon which R. Longenecker and Hansen have built their argument are shaky at best (§4.2). Regardless of whether or not Galatians contains a

[10] So, e.g., R. Longenecker 1990, 148–49; Martyn 1997, 363; M. de Boer 2011, 240–42; Moo 2013, 243–44. *Contra* Luther 1979 [1535], 216–18.

[11] Witulski 2000, 77–78.

[12] Witulski 2000, 133–58, goes on to argue that the στοιχεῖα refer to the divine status attributed to Caesar Augustus and his family, making the *Sitz im Leben* of the audience of Gal. 4.8–20 somewhere that the imperial cult was thriving. He suggests (2000, 218–19, esp. n.272), that Pisidian Antioch was the most likely destination for 4.8–20, yet he also suggests that Galatians "A" was a "Rundschreiben" sent to south Galatia as well. It seems odd to argue that an interpolated letter fragment was destined for a particular city and then suggest the very same provenance for the rest of the letter. Perhaps the entire letter was sent to the same recipients?

[13] See Hansen 1989, 44–50; R. Longenecker 1990, 184–87. The previous imperatives in Galatians are ἔστω (1.8–9) and possibly γινώσκετε (3.7).

[14] Rabens 2014, 285–305.

legitimate paraenesis or ethical section,[15] and where that section might begin (4.12, 5.1, 5.2, or 5.13 have been the main candidates), we can safely conclude for our purposes that 4.12–20 and the following allegory are part of the same section of the letter. However, I contend that these two passages do in fact continue Paul's argument. This means that they must somehow be interpreted within that flow of thought.

4.12–20 is admittedly an abrupt personal appeal in the midst of the argument. Mußner called it "eine große Parenthese."[16] Yet one ought to ask how this personal appeal both develops out of the preceding argument and aids Paul's transition into the allegorical section. The present chapter, therefore, will focus on the possibility that these two passages are informed by Paul's emphasis on persecution in the letter and his reading of Isaiah. My argument is that Paul calls for the Galatians to imitate him in both the way he presents himself in the letter and in accordance with how he ministered among them in person. The pattern for this, as we saw in the previous chapter, is rooted in Paul's reading of Isaiah. It will be argued, based on 4.19 and 4.29–30 especially, that Paul assumes that the Galatians are meant to fit the same pattern as Paul: called from the womb, undergoing a transformative Christological indwelling, and experiencing persecution in conformity with the pattern and scriptural expectation. In other words, the Galatians are called to be servants who follow the Servant.

5.2 The Galatian Imitation

As noted, with the start of 4.12–20 we are met with the first major imperative of the letter—Γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ. Is it appropriate to speak of this as a call to imitation? Galatians 4.12 lacks direct terminology for imitation (such as μιμητής or μιμέομαι), and contains language of reciprocity (ὅτι κἀγὼ ὡς ὑμεῖς). However, this does not rule out the possibility of imitation, since a denial along these lines results from confusing terms with concepts. As W. P. de Boer concludes regarding this verse, it "is not an express call to imitation, but in substance it amounts to just that."[17] Furthermore, the maternal reference towards the end of this section in 4.19 fits the association elsewhere in Paul's letters between imitation and parental guidance.[18] Thus it is best to regard 4.12 as a summons to imitation.[19]

[15] Matera 1988 contends that Galatians does not contain a purely paraenetic section.
[16] Mußner 1974, 305.
[17] W. de Boer 1962, 195. See also S. Eastman 2007, 25–62; Moss 2010, 27.
[18] W. de Boer 1962, 214; Güttgemanns 1966, 194.
[19] Castelli 1991 has argued, following Foucault, that imitation in Paul implies a hierarchy of power. For a critique, see Ehrensperger 2009, 137–54.

But what does Paul want the Galatians to imitate? The consensus view is that Paul is referring to his freedom from the law. The typical argument runs like this: the Galatians are to become like Paul in his exercising of his own freedom, just as Paul has become like them (as Gentiles) in their freedom from the law.[20] Particularly noteworthy is the way Boyarin regards 4.12 as such a clear reference to Paul's law-free lifestyle that he is able to say, "It is difficult for me to understand how scholars can assume that Paul remained Law-observant given this verse."[21] Without affirming that Paul did, in fact, live a law observant life-style, or the opposite, I simply contend that this is not what 4.12 is about. In order to understand what Paul had in mind it is necessary to consider how Paul portrayed himself to the Galatians, both throughout the letter and in his personal visit with them. I will suggest that suffering as allegiance to the Messiah is the primary aim of this call to imitation, which some have rightly noted, and that such is informed by Paul's self-understanding as the Isaianic Servant.

Previous studies have provided helpful arguments for the importance of suffering in the interpretation of 4.12–20, the most influential being by Goddard and Cummins.[22] I will not duplicate all of their arguments, although my discussion is indebted to them. However, I will attempt to go beyond them. The same is true for the other noteworthy studies on this passage that have tried to connect it to the letter's broader emphasis on suffering and persecution, such as those by Baasland,[23] Mitternacht,[24] and S. Eastman.[25]

5.2.1 Be Like Me—The Autobiographical Portrait

A number of scholars have suggested that 4.12 should be interpreted in relation to the autobiography of Gal. 1–2, including those who suggest that Paul's law-free lifestyle is implicit in 4.12.[26] Lyons calls 4.12 "the major *raison d'être*" for the autobiography."[27] When

[20] So Lightfoot 1902, 174; Burton 1921, 236; Lietzmann 1923, 26; Duncan 1934, 138; Bonnard 1953, 92; Ridderbos 1953, 165; Tinsley 1960, 140; W. de Boer 1962, 191, 196; Guthrie 1969, 124; Schneider 1969, 88; Mußner 1974, 305–6; Betz 1979, 222; Black 1984, 70; Lyons 1986, 165–66; Gaventa 1986, 321; *idem* 2007, 95–96; Fung 1988, 195; R. Longenecker 1990, 189; Matera 1992, 159; Dunn 1993, 232; George 1994, 321; McKnight 1995, 218; Lambrecht 1996, 29; Martyn 1997, 420; S. Williams 1997, 120; Vouga 1998, 107; Witherington 1998, 307; Hays 2000, 293; Perkins 2001, 82; Cousar 2001, 76; Gorman 2003, 212; Tolmie 2005, 157; S. Eastman 2007, 39; Garlington 2007, 253; Schreiner 2010, 285; M. de Boer 2011, 278; Oakes 2015, 146. Hafemann 2000, 167, offers a similar but nuanced interpretation, suggesting that Paul specifically has in mind the "works of the law" as encountered in slavery under the old covenant.

[21] Boyarin 1994, 155–56.

[22] Although Goddard and Cummins 1993 are the main scholars credited with the idea that 4.12 contains a summons to imitate Paul's sufferings, Pate 1993, 276, made a similar suggestion the same year.

[23] Baasland 1984.

[24] Mitternacht 1999, 215–20; *idem* 2002, 419–23.

[25] S. Eastman 2007, 25–126.

[26] So Gaventa 1986, 322; *eadem* 2007, 96; R. Longenecker 1990, 189; Hester 1991, 307; B. Longenecker 1998, 100, 148; Mitternacht 1999, 246; Hansen 2002, 145–46; Dahl 2002, 134; S. Eastman 2007, 37–43; Wilson 2007, 84–85; Twelftree 2013, 188; Oakes 2015, 146.

Paul says, "Be like me," therefore, he seems to be referring to his portrait of himself in the letter. Gaventa suggests that the reason why a call for imitation does not immediately appear at the end of the autobiography is because the relationship between Paul and the Galatians is fragile, which is different from other imitation texts.[28] Hence, the call for imitation in 4.12 has been moved to later in the argument, but should be understood as recalling that previous material.

However, I contend that the fact that 4.12 recalls the autobiography actually undermines the case of others who suggest that what is to be imitated is Paul's *law-free lifestyle*. In the previous chapter we saw that Paul portrayed himself as one who undertakes a divinely sanctioned Gentile mission in accordance with Isaianic prophecies (§4.3.3.2–4). Paul viewed himself as being in solidarity with the crucified Christ (2.18–20), the Suffering Servant *par excellence* (1.4; 2.20). In that section, although he resists compulsion upon Gentile believers (2.3–5; 2.11–14), Paul does not speak of being "free from the law." In the broader context of 4.12, "freedom" is seen in relation to the στοῖχεια (4.3, 9).[29] The most appropriate way to speak about Paul's relationship to the law, in terms of Galatians, is to say that Paul *died to the law* (2.18–19). His relationship to the law *is therefore rooted in the cross*, since it was through co-crucifixion that this reality came to be. Again as we have seen, co-crucifixion is not simply a reference to Paul's status or position, but actually manifests itself experientially in, and is confirmed by, suffering—hence his ability to speak of his own suffering as revealing Christ crucified to the Galatians (3.1). Paul was one who identified with Christ and his cross, being indwelt by Christ through the Spirit (2.20), and so he saw himself as continuing the ministry of the Isaianic Servant.

These connections are important to recognize because, just before Paul's summons in 4.12, we read that Paul feared that he was labouring in vain (4.11). Similar to 2.2, this language of exerting energy in vain stems from Isa. 49.4 LXX, as *Figure 1* shows:[30]

Figure 1

Isaiah 49.4 LXX	Galatians 4.11
καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπα Κενῶς ἐκοπίασα	φοβοῦμαι ὑμᾶς μή πως εἰκῇ κεκοπίακα εἰς ὑμᾶς.

[27] Lyons 1986, 136.
[28] Gaventa 1986, 320–21.
[29] On freedom in Galatians see Coppins 2009, 87–121.
[30] So Wagner 2005, 131; Harmon 2010, 196–97.

As in 2.2, the relevant portions of the two passages correspond as first person utterances. Although Paul uses a synonymous word to refer to an action being done "in vain" (εἰκῇ for Κενῶς), he does use a form of the verb κοπιάω. Thus, as a transition into 4.12–20, Paul fears his Servant ministry is in jeopardy (4.11) and so he calls the Galatians to imitate him (4.12).

The call to imitation (4.12) in relation to a fear of failure (4.11) also points toward an eschatological future. Pfitzner notes that κοπιάω has "more than mere labour or effort" in view "since the thought of *the goal* is always prominent" (emphasis mine).[31] B. Dodd likewise states, "If he has laboured in vain with the Galatians, then they have no eschatological hope."[32] Thus the imitation of 4.12 stems from an expression of nervousness regarding the ultimate outcome of the Galatians' destiny and therefore the legitimacy of Paul's calling to be a light to the nations. We should not miss the eschatological implications suggested in 4.11, which create the impetus for Paul's call for imitation.[33]

So if the request, "be like me," as Paul understands it, includes his portrayal of himself in letter-form, it probably also includes Paul's ministry among the Galatians. The content of Paul's preaching *per se* is not accessible to us;[34] however, Paul's personal experiences among the Galatians are mentioned in the following verses. These will be explored in the subsequent section as further explanation of Paul's call for imitation.

5.2.2 Be Like Me—Paul's Ministry Among the Galatians

In addition to drawing on the autobiography, the summons "Be like me" ought to be understood as a reference to the way that Paul presented himself to the Galatians when he was with them in person. It is no surprise, therefore, that Paul immediately transitions into recalling his initial time with them in vv.13–15. Here Paul declares that his ministry in Galatia was occasioned (διά + Accusative) by a "weakness of the flesh" (δι'ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκός).[35] He speaks of this experience, in 4.14, as τὸν πειρασμὸν ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου,[36] but

[31] Pfitzner 1967, 103.

[32] B. Dodd 1999, 162.

[33] The eschatological orientation of both Gal. 2.2 and 4.11 is paralleled in the words of Polycarp to the Philippians (Pol. *Phil.* 9.2). He writes that Paul and the other apostles did not run in vain (οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον) because they went on to receive τὸν ὀφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τόπον after they had suffered with the Lord (συνέπαθον).

[34] For an attempt to reconstruct this, see Winger 2002. As a window into aspects of Paul's *kerygma*, note προλέγω in 1.9; 5.21.

[35] See Burton 1921, liii; Betz 1979, 224; Fung 1988, 196; R. Longenecker 1990, 190; Matera 1992, 159; Dunn 1993, 233; Lambrecht 1996, 19. Opposing this view, Güttgemanns 1966, 174–76, stated that the idea that Paul's ministry was occasioned by his "weakness" is "außerst unwahrscheinlich" and suggested the rendering "durch." Hafemann 2000, 171, similarly states, "Rather than being an unusual circumstance that occasioned Paul's preaching in Galatia, Paul's 'weakness' was the basis upon which Paul preached *everywhere* he was sent by God" (emphasis original). Certainly Paul's sufferings were a central part of his own apostolic

instead of being tempted, the Galatians did two counter-cultural things (by omission and commission). They did not "despise" (ἐξουθενέω) or "reject" Paul (ἐκπτύω; lit. "spit out"), but rather received him as an angel of God, and as Jesus the Messiah. Paul goes on to ask, "where then is your blessing?" (4.15: ὁ μακαρισμός), and recalls the extent of the former reciprocity between them—recalling ὅτι κἀγὼ ὡς ὑμεῖς from 4.12—and here that reciprocity is expressed as their willingness to dig out their eyes for Paul in his time of weakness.[37] In other words, they were formerly willing to endure pain for the sake of Paul and identify with him in his weakness, but not any more. This overview of vv.13–15 raises several interpretative questions that need to be addressed.

What does Paul refer to when he speaks of this "weakness of the flesh" in 4.13? The most common understanding of Paul's "weakness" is that it refers to either a disability or an illness that Paul had. A quick glance at most English translations reveal that the majority render ἀσθένεια as "illness" (NIV; CEB; NET; HCSB; NASB), "sickness" (NLT), "ailment" (RSV; ESV), or "infirmity" (KJV; NKJV; NRSV). There is a similar trend in German translations, where the majority have "Krankheit," "krank," or a related term (see HFA; NGÜ; GNB; NLB; NeÜ; EU). Only three German translations that I could find had "Schwachheit"—Elberfelder (ELB), Luther's original translation and revisions (LUT), and Schlatter's translation (SLT). The same broad consensus holds for the relevant scholarly literature.[38]

The three most common suggestions for Paul's "weakness of the flesh" in 4.13 have been malaria, ophthalmia, and epilepsy. Sir William Ramsay first popularized the view that Paul may have contracted a malarial fever.[39] Ramsay's argument is impressive, given the way it relates to his firsthand knowledge of Turkey, but the arguments for ophthalmia and epilepsy are more closely linked to the text. In favour of epilepsy it is often argued that, since Paul says that the Galatians did not "spit at him" (ἐκπτύω) when he was present with them

identity. Yet Paul appears to have the specific occasion in mind in 4.13. Note *Acts Thom.* 1, which speaks of the process of determining where the apostles would minister throughout the world: "By lot India fell to Judas Thomas, also called Didymus. And he did not wish to go, saying that he was not able to travel on account of the weakness of his body." See J. K. Elliott 1993, 447.

[36] When Paul says ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου in v.14, he makes it clear that the "weakness of the flesh" in v.13 was his, rather than the Galatians. *Contra* T. Martin 1999; Jerome (Cain 2010, 169–72).

[37] This idea of reciprocity is also conveyed in 6.2 through bearing *one another's* burdens.

[38] So Lightfoot 1902, 174; Burton 1921, 237–39; Lietzmann 1923, 26–27; Duncan 1934, 139; Bonnard 1953, 92; Guthrie 1969, 125; Schneider 1969, 89; Mußner 1974, 307–8; Betz 1979, 224; Bruce 1982, 208–9; Black 1984, 79, 82, 232; R. Longenecker 1990, 190–91; Neyrey 1990, 176–77; Matera 1992, 159; George 1994, 322–23; McKnight 1995, 219; Martyn 1997, 420; Mitternacht 1999, 308; Hafemann 2000, 168; Gorman 2001, 281; Dunn 2003, 233; Tolmie 2005, 158; Schreiner 2010, 286; M. de Boer 2011, 279–81; Murphy-O'Connor 2012, 115–22.

[39] Ramsay 1900, 417–28; *idem* 1902, 94–97.

(4.14), this probably alludes to epilepsy as the "spitting disease." In fact there is evidence that some people thought that if they spat at someone with epilepsy that would ward off the evil spirits associated with the disease.[40] This link between spitting and demonology is notable, but it need not be seen as evidence that Paul suffered from epilepsy since demons were associated with a wide range of maladies. In favour of a chronic eye-related disability, or ophthalmia, it is often suggested that Paul's comments in v.15, that the Galatians would have removed their eyes for him, point in this direction. As well, many bring in the concluding section of the letter as evidence when Paul says, "see with what large letters I write to you with my own hand" (6.11). However, these two arguments in favour of ophthalmia can easily be explained another way: the metaphor of giving one's eyes for another expresses a deep level of friendship,[41] and the large letters at the end of Galatians are not likely due to poor eyesight, but rather serve as emphasis, and, as well, Paul was probably marking the start of a handwritten section, having utilized an amanuensis or secretary for the earlier sections.[42] The arguments for epilepsy and ophthalmia are worth considering, especially since they are directly tied to the immediate literary context of 4.12–20. Suffice it to say, however, that Paul's "weakness" is no more likely to be epilepsy because of the reference to spitting (ἐκπτύω) in v.14, or ophthalmia because of the reference to gouging out eyes in v.15, than it is likely to be *morning sickness* because of the reference to Paul's convoluted pregnancy in v.19! All attempts to diagnose Paul's "weakness" as a particular illness have serious shortcomings.

Without diagnosing Paul's "weakness," then, it seems preferable to view the "weakness" as a form of suffering resulting from persecution, which coheres with references to Paul's experience of persecution elsewhere in the letter (5.11; 6.17).[43] Contrary to the views of those who argue that 4.13 refers to a disability or disease of some kind, it seems that if "weakness" marked the occasion for Paul's ministry in Galatia, it was an unexpected rather than a chronic issue.[44] In this reading, persecution *per se* as well as its effects could have provoked a change in travel plans.[45] At the very least, therefore, Paul's weakness was neither

[40] A. Y. Collins 2011. Cf. also Dawson 2008, 195.

[41] Black 1984, 78.

[42] See esp. Richards 1991, 172–75.

[43] See Ridderbos 1953, 166–67; Lyons 1986, 149, 166; Goddard and Cummins 1993, 95; Harvey 1996, 22; Mitternacht 2002, 422; Davis 2002, 213; S. Eastman 2007, 97, 100–8; Lopez 2008, 141.

[44] For this reason I do not conflate Paul's "weakness" in Gal. 4 with his "thorn" in 2 Cor. 12, which is clearly a chronic issue. Rightly Black 1984, 77, 154; Dawson 2008, 193. *Contra* Hafemann 2000, 170; A. Y. Collins 2011, 173; Twelftree 2013, 158–62.

[45] It is worth noting that Hafemann 2000, 171, argues against διά marking the occasion for Paul's evangelism by saying: "there is no evidence in Paul's letters or Acts that Paul's sickness or personal suffering

a *chronic* disability nor a *chronic* illness. Ἀσθένεια then is to be read as a contrast with strength rather than health.[46] This interpretation regarding persecution is in keeping with several earlier interpreters such as Chrysostom,[47] Ambrosiaster,[48] Augustine,[49] and Luther,[50] to name a few. However, I do not think that this rules out the possibility that the "weakness" in 4.13 refers to a disability or illness, so long as it is understood that it was not a chronic issue but rather *the result of, or aggravated by, persecution*. Whatever the "weakness" was it came unexpectedly as the result of persecution.

Thus in this milieu of being beaten up and sore, Paul ministered to the Galatians. As Wilson has shown, suffering in ancient Anatolia was often associated with being cursed by divine beings,[51] and was often considered to be the result of demonic influence. This seems to be why Paul notes that the Galatians did not drive him away or "spit him out" (ἐκπτύω) since spitting was a form of warding off evil spirits,[52] including those associated with the "evil eye" (3.1).[53] This is partly why Paul's suffering was a "temptation" for the Galatians, and this "temptation" would have been heightened if the "weakness" came as the result of persecution because the external threat could have spread to them for welcoming Paul. However, Paul recalls that the Galatians ministered to him in his suffering and identified with him. When Paul says that the Galatians did not spit at him he is therefore drawing further upon imagery of cursing in association with suffering. This is because Paul's weakness could have been perceived as a sign that he was under a divine curse, or that he had a demon, but the Galatians embraced him as an angel (not a demon) and as Jesus himself (the one who suffered under a curse: 3.13). This reception "as Messiah Jesus" probably further recalls Paul's understanding of his close relationship to Jesus, particularly in identifying with his sufferings (3.1; 6.17).[54] As Barclay concludes, "We would be tempted to dismiss this as hyperbole had Paul not talked earlier of Christ living in him (2:20). The enfeebled Paul was, for them, a

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ever influenced his chronology or travel plans. When Paul's plans change it is due either to the needs of others (cf. 2 Cor 1:15–2:4; 2:12–13; Rom 15:22–29), *to persecution* (cf. 2 Cor 11:32–33; Rom 15:30–33; 1 Thess 2:18), or to divine intervention (cf. 1 Cor 16:9)" (emphasis mine). Hafemann notes the possibility of persecution altering Paul's travel plans, but does not think that Paul's "weakness" refers to the effects of persecution.

[46] Rightly Twelftree 2013, 130. However, Twelftree 2013, 155–58, 319, still regards "weakness" in 4:13 as an illness.

[47] Schaff 1994, 32.

[48] Bray 2009, 23–24.

[49] Plumer 2006, 191.

[50] Luther 1979 [1535], 267–70.

[51] See the discussion in Wilson 2007, 69–94. Cf. also Baasland 1984, 142–44.

[52] See Schlier, "ἐκπτύω," *TDNT*; *idem* 1951, 149. Cf. Lietzmann 1923, 27; Schweitzer 1931, 153; B. Longenecker 1998, 159; Hafemann 2000, 173. *Contra* Goddard and Cummins 1993, 105–7; Twelftree 2013, 157.

[53] See esp. Neyrey 1988; J. H. Elliott 1990; S. Eastman 2001; B. Longenecker 2010, 213.

[54] So rightly Cosgrove 1988, 78–79; Goddard and Cummins 1993, 109–10.

representative, even a personification, of the crucified Christ whom he placarded (3:1). Here, then, was *their* 'revelation of Jesus Christ' (1:16)."[55]

It is important to see how Paul moves from (a) recounting his personal experience in 4.13–14 of being embracing by the Galatians as Christ Jesus in the midst of his suffering to (b) asking them in 4.15, "where then is your blessing?" The blessing they experienced was in their identification with the weak and suffering Paul. Against religious and cultural prejudices, the Galatians found blessing in an unlikely situation, where they perhaps had assumed there would only be accompanying curses, plagues of demons, and possibly angry persecutors, due to the "weak" Paul. This reference to blessing (ὁ μακαρισμός) has been understood by those who argue for the relevance of suffering and persecution in this passage as a perspective on joy in the midst of suffering within the early Christian ethos,[56] which coheres with a number of Christian texts.[57] While this much seems to be true, I do think that the blessing Paul has in mind is more specific. Although the term for blessing here only occurs once in Galatians, it is likely that this is meant to refer back to the blessing of the Spirit mentioned in 3.8–9 and 3.14 (εὐλογία and cognates). This interpretation is plausible not simply because of the association between blessing and the Spirit in the letter, but also because the context is about the initial proclamation of the gospel to the Galatians (4.13: εὐηγγελισάμην), which would have included the Galatians' reception of the Spirit/blessing (cf. 3.2–3a). As well, this points to the theme of linking the ministry of the Spirit to suffering, as we saw in 3.4, 4.6, and 4.29 especially (cf. 6.9). To bolster the case for this interpretation of v.15, as well as v.13, a quick comparison with 3.1–3a is in order.

In 3.1 Paul says that he publicly portrayed Christ as crucified before the eyes of the Galatians. We have already seen how this should be understood as a reference to the revelation of Christ through the sufferings of Paul. But it should not be missed that this helps us to identify the meaning of δι'ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκός (4.13) and Paul being embraced by the Galatians ὡς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν (4.14). If Paul thinks of his own suffering as part of what it means to follow a crucified Messiah, and if he can speak about his ministry among the Galatians in 3.1 as publicly portraying the crucified Messiah in his person, surely the "weakness of the flesh" in 4.13 refers to that same image of the crucified Christ in the suffering of Paul. This fits quite well since the next verse refers to the initial reception of Paul

[55] Barclay 2002, 145 (emphasis original). However, I would quibble with the idea that Paul was simply "placarding" the crucified Messiah in this instance. Cf. §2.5.1.

[56] Baasland 1984, 145–46; Davis 2002, 213–14; Wilson 2007, 86.

[57] Cf. Matt 5.10–12; 10.22; 24.10, 13; Mark 13.13; Luke 6.22; 1 Pet. 1.6; 3.14; 4.14; Jas. 1.2–12; 5.11; Tob. 13.16–17; *1 En.* 1.1; *Apoc. Paul* 47.

"as Christ Jesus" (4.14).[58] Again this shows the link between Paul and Christ in relation to suffering.[59] Furthermore, the blessing that the Galatians experienced while suffering (4.15) in solidarity with the "weak" Paul (4.13) corresponds to the ministry of the Spirit (3.2–3a) by the *crucified* Paul (3.1). Both 3.1–3a and 4.13–15 recall Paul's ministry among the Galatians and their initial reception of Paul, his message, and the Spirit. Kwon points out that there is a "then" versus "now" contrast in both passages, and he links this contrast to the threat of apostasy looming over the Galatians.[60] This is good as far as it goes, but Kwon misses the additional link to suffering here, which impacts the nature of the potential apostasy. The "then" and "now" contrast, so to speak, is related to former postures towards suffering and present ones. Thus the question in 4.15, *ποῦ οὖν ὁ μακαρισμὸς ὑμῶν*, in a context about receiving the *weak* Paul (4.13), recalls receiving the Spirit from the *crucified* Paul (3.1–3a). Their response to the agitators in each text (3.3b; 4.16–18) shows that things have changed, and they have forgotten the association of the Spirit/blessing and suffering as Paul displayed. To "be like me," therefore, is to remain on the proper course for blessing,[61] but being like Paul is only accomplished through embracing suffering for the cross. With all of this in mind, it is very likely that 3.1–3a and 4.13–15 are windows into the same reality.

Thus the meaning of the imitation must be understood in relation to Paul's suffering among the Galatians. Although it is true that in this section of the letter "le style est très elliptique et fait sans doute allusion à des faits que nous ignorons,"[62] we should nevertheless follow Paul's train of thought to understand what would have been much more plain for the original readers. Paul's former experience and the Galatians' response to him are therefore utilized by Paul as a guide for the way that the Galatians are meant to respond in their present experience.

With this analysis of 4.13–15 we have seen that Paul's ministry among the Galatians serves as part of the context for Paul's call for imitation in 4.12 in addition to the way that Paul presents himself in the letter. Together Paul's physical and literary presentation provide a coherent picture of an apostle whose mission to the Gentiles is accompanied by opposition, hardship, and suffering. Rather than demonstrating that Paul was under a curse or that he was

[58] We can also add 6.17 to this. What ties 3.1, 4.13–14, and 6.17 together is the clear association between Paul and Jesus in each text, and further, that the association is expressed in relation to Paul's *visible* suffering.

[59] Rightly Güttgemanns 1966, 185; Baasland 1984, 145; Goddard and Cummins 1993, 109–10. *Contra* Kahl 2010, 269, who regards the link as a note of power in relation to the resurrection.

[60] Kwon 2004, 44.

[61] Similarly Pate 1993, 19.

[62] Bonnard 1953, 91.

a fraud, his sufferings served to confirm that his mission was legitimate, being both in continuity with the Messiah who suffered and died on a cross, and being prefigured in Isaiah. Thus we can see how this all comes together to inform how Paul summons the Galatians to imitate him (4.12). This is the trajectory of this section of the letter, which can be seen especially in the light of 4.19 and 4.29–30 (as I will argue below; cf. §5.3). Yet before we move to the way that Paul understands that the Galatians fit within the Isaianic pattern, it will be helpful to explore whether Paul's imitation language elsewhere reflects a call to imitate him in his cross-shaped life, and particularly if this reflects his Isaianic Servant-ministry, as I argue it does in 4.12.

5.2.3 Imitating the Servant in Paul's Letters

Intriguingly, there are elements of the same pattern linking Servant imagery with imitation in the Pauline corpus. The most noteworthy aspect of Paul's imitation language elsewhere is that each occurrence is in a context related to suffering in some manner. This is rightly noted by S. Eastman,[63] Pate,[64] and Tinsley.[65] In this section I will note the evidence of suffering in the wider context as part of the desired imitation, and additionally I will contend that Servant motifs can be discernable in the broader contexts of the imitation commands. I will look at 1 Corinthians, Philippians, and 1 Thessalonians in turn. These correspondences will corroborate the claim that in 4.12 Paul is summoning the Galatians to endure suffering, and that the themes of the Isaianic Servant inform this.

The first call to imitation in 1 Corinthians comes after Paul describes himself and his apostolic cohort as ὑπηρέτας Χριστοῦ (1 Cor. 4.1)[66] and lists their hardships and persecutions (1 Cor. 4.8–13). He then refers to himself as a guide and father of the Corinthians (vv.14–15) and calls them to be imitators of him (4.16: μιμητής). In the second summons to imitation, Paul calls the Corinthians to imitate him as he imitates Christ (11.1: μιμητής). This comes at the end of a lengthy discourse in 1 Cor. 8.1—11.1 regarding the eating of meat offered to idols. In the immediate context the imitation of Paul involves a non-offensive lifestyle towards Jews and Greeks alike (10.32). Paul is one who does not seek his own advantage, but rather that of many in order to bring about their salvation. This idea draws upon Paul's earlier words in 9.19–27. In that passage Paul describes how he has become a "slave" to all

[63] See S. Eastman 2007, 27–28.

[64] See Pate 1993, 276, who asserts, "elsewhere in Paul's writings" imitation signifies "an invitation to emulate his suffering lifestyle."

[65] Tinsley 1960, 139, "the particular object for imitation is either some suffering or some humiliation."

[66] Cf. ὑπηρέτης as a translation for עבד in Prov. 14.35.

(ἐδούλωσα) by identifying with Jews, Gentiles, and "the weak" (9.20–22). He then describes his efforts in a series of athletic and competitive analogies including running and boxing. Paul continues the metaphorical language to suggest that he disciplines himself athletically to ensure that he is not "disqualified" (9.27: ἀδόκιμος). The language of exerting energy to keep from being disqualified is conceptually parallel to Isa. 49.4 with its prospect of "labouring in vain" (cf. Gal. 2.2). In the light of Paul's role as a "servant" to Jews, Gentiles, and "the weak" in 9.20–22, it is plausible that Paul developed the athletic analogy as a reflection on Isa. 49.4 in the light of the Servant's ministry in Isa. 49.5–6. Thus when Paul calls for imitation in 11.1 it is probable that the imitation involved is influenced by Paul's self-understanding as the Isaianic Servant.[67]

Paul calls the Philippians to join in imitating him (Phil. 3.17: Συμμιμηταί) in a context that is full of autobiographical remarks. It is intriguing that the call to imitation in 3.17 follows a brief autobiography since it parallels the relationship between Gal. 4.12 and Gal. 1–2 as I am arguing in this study. Additionally, a connection between Paul's suffering and Isaianic Servant imagery was already discerned in Phil. 2.16–17, with its allusion to Isa. 49.4 LXX (§4.3.3.3). In the present context of Phil. 3.17, Paul declares that his aim in life is to attain the resurrection from the dead, which comes through identifying with the sufferings of the Messiah (Phil. 3.10–11). There is also a contrast between Paul and the "enemies of the cross" (Phil. 3.18: ἐχθρούς), suggesting that the imitation in view is cross-shaped. Thus it is probable that in Phil. 3.17 Paul has suffering in mind as a by-product of imitating him.

In the first half of Paul's letter to the Thessalonians he recounts their initial encounter. The Thessalonians became μιμηταί of Paul, his co-workers, and the Lord, because they received the word—the gospel message—in much affliction (1 Thess. 1.6: θλῖψις). Paul affirms that his ministry among the Thessalonians was not in vain (κενός), even though he and his co-workers had already suffered in Philippi, because they determined to declare the gospel in the midst of conflict (1 Thess. 2.1–2) and the Thessalonians received it. The "in vain" language here could echo Isa. 49.4 LXX since it is in a context of suffering and relates to Paul's ministry to the Gentiles.

When the Thessalonians received Paul's gospel and embraced it, they became imitators (μιμηταί) of the Christian assemblies in Judea by suffering as a result (1 Thess. 2.14). After leaving Thessalonica, Paul and his co-workers stayed behind in Athens and sent

[67] Davis 2002, 210 n.20, contends that although suffering is not explicit here in 1 Cor. 11, there is nonetheless a logic that that is deeply rooted and informed by the cross. Cf. Conzelmann 1969, 212; Thiselton 2000, 796–97.

Timothy to discern if the Thessalonians had remained steadfast in their acceptance of the gospel and had not apostatized in the midst of persecution (3.1–3). He reminds them that he had spoken to them about their "destiny to suffer" when he was with them (3.4). Paul was grateful that they had remained steadfast in the midst of persecution and he called them to continue to remain resilient to all opposition (3.6–8). However, for a time Paul was afraid that ὁ πειράζων had tempted them (ἐπείρασεν), implying that he feared the Thessalonians might have apostatized in the face of persecution. This, Paul feared, would have resulted in his labour being in vain (3.5: εἰς κενὸν γένηται ὁ κόπος ἡμῶν). The allusion to Isa. 49.4 LXX makes it even more likely that Paul echoes the same passage earlier in 1 Thess. 2.1–2 (noted above).

As can be seen, 1 Thess. 3.1–10, in particular, contains many parallels with our interpretation of Gal. 4.12–20: (a) there is an experience of persecution, (b) Paul fears apostasy, (c) which Paul describes in language related to temptation,[68] (d) Paul recalls the initial encounter with his audience, (e) Paul speaks of his role as the Isaianic Servant through an allusion to Isa. 49.4 LXX (cf. Gal. 4.11), and (f) just as Gal. 4.12 utilizes imitation language, Paul refers to the Thessalonians' "imitation" (μιμηταί) of the churches in Judea through their persecution (1 Thess. 2.14). All of these points converge to suggest that Paul is dealing with similar issues regarding persecution in 1 Thess. 3.1–10 as in Gal. 4.12–20.

The parallels to 1 Thessalonians likewise highlight an important contrast. In 1 Thessalonians Paul fears that the church may have succumbed to the pressure of persecution and apostatized, yet they have not.[69] However, in Galatians, the jury is still out, so to speak.[70] At the same time, the social situation that Paul portrays is quite similar. Both the Thessalonians and the Galatians were experiencing some form of conflict that could potentially lead to apostasy. However, in the case of the Galatians the hostile threatening

[68] The connection between apostasy, temptation, and suffering in 1 Thess. 3.1–10 and Gal. 4.12–20 is also noted by Goddard and Cummins 1993, 104. The explicit association of temptation with the demonic in 1 Thess. 3.5 may also shed further light on the nature of the temptation in 4.14 and the possible demonology implied by spitting (ἐκπτύω).

[69] There is no evidence that the Thessalonians nearly committed apostasy (Barclay 1993, 517; Still 1999, 271), which makes for an important contrast with Galatians. This is partly why Kwon's argument against Mitternacht 1999 is not valid. Kwon (2004, 29 n.9) argues against Mitternacht's contention, that Galatians was written to call his audience to endure rather than avoid persecution, by arguing, "On his hypothesis, one cannot help wondering why Paul does not say more straightforwardly: 'Do not avoid persecution!' A comparison with 1 Thessalonians, where the theme of persecution stands out quite prominently renders his reading of Galatians very unlikely (1:6; 2:2, 14; 3:3–4, 7)." The trouble with this assessment, beyond the important differences between the two letters, is that Paul does not say "Do not avoid persecution!" in 1 Thessalonians either.

[70] So similarly S. Eastman 2007, 106.

group was also the group preaching "another gospel" (1.8–9), which necessiates certain theological argumentation in addition to pleas for endurance.

5.2.4 Final Remarks on Galatians 4.12 & Imitation

So then, Paul calls for the Galatians to imitate him. This probably included Paul's self-portrayal in the autobiography of Gal. 1–2 as one who suffers in solidarity with the crucified Christ, and included Paul's presence among the Galatians, as one whose suffering was a revelation of Christ crucified (4.13–14; cf. 3.1; 6.17). This helps us understand what Paul means by saying ὅτι κἀγὼ ὡς ὑμεῖς, especially in regard to the lack of a verb in this clause and in the call for imitation (Γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ). W. P. de Boer renders the verse as "Become as I am (εἰμί), for I also have become (ἐγενόμην) as you were (ἦτε; or "are," ἐστέ)."[71] The absence of a verb in this clause is notoriously difficult for interpretation, but it seems preferable to regard the absence of a verb as deliberate, with the suggestive implication being that a reciprocal relationship did exist and still exists.[72] In relation to the traditional view, we are left wondering how Paul was like the Galatians – both past and present – in regards to the law. However, given the *present* call for imitation (4.12) being directly linked to a *past* situation that Paul finds analogous (4.13–15), it is entirely understandable that Paul omitted the verbs. In the past there was a reciprocity in the reception of Paul as one persecuted for the cross. Now Paul is summoning the Galatians to imitate him in what is a similar circumstance. It should be noted as well that this is not the only place where reciprocity in suffering can be found in Paul's writings (2 Cor. 1.7; Phil. 1.29–30; 1 Thess. 3.1–8). Furthermore, in other Jewish and Christian texts imitation of suffering is quite common.[73] The Galatians could either choose to identify with Paul and the cross in the midst of the conflict, or not. In this way, and in this context, a "freedom from the law" interpretation can fit, since embracing Jewish custom, and circumcision in particular, is the way to alleviate the social tension. This is where the call for imitation finds its connection to the crisis in Galatia. It is ultimately therefore a call to endure persecution instead of submitting to circumcision (which they are being "compelled" to do: 6.12). Paul is therefore summoning the Galatians to imitate him in his suffering and he does so being informed by his self-understanding as the Isaianic Servant. This last part will now be fleshed out further.

[71] W. de Boer 1962, 191.

[72] So Goddard and Cummins 1993, 99; Mitternacht 2002, 421.

[73] See, e.g., 1 Pet. 2.21; 4.1; Heb. 2.9–10, 18; 5.7–8; 12.3–13; 13.3; 2 Macc. 6.28, 31; *4 Macc* 9.23; *1 Clem*. 6.2; 46.1–2; Ign. *Rom.* 6.3; Ign. *Phld*. 8.2; Ign. *Smyrn*. 5.1; *Mart. Pol*. 1.2; 19.1; 22.1; *Ap. Jas.* 6.1–20; *Acts Andr. Mth.* 18.

5.3 The Servants Imitating The Servant

The likelihood that Paul's summons to imitation in 4.12 is informed by Isaiah is further demonstrated by looking at the second half of 4.12–20 and by considering the way that the personal appeal segues into the allegory (4.21–5.1). In particular, we will explore the way that Paul's pregnancy metaphor regarding the formation of Christ *in the Galatians* (4.19: ἐν ὑμῖν) fits into this pattern, as well as the reference to the persecution of the children of the Spirit by the children of the flesh (4.29) in the context of the allegory where Paul cites explcitily for the first time from Isaiah (4.27). We will consider both sections in turn. In the end we will see how Paul's personal identification as the Isaianic Servant informs both the purpose for, and the nature of, the call for imitation.

5.3.1 The Servants Called From The Womb of the Servant (Gal. 4.19)

To understand Paul's desire that Christ be formed in the Galatians (4.19), we need to consider how Paul contrasts his comments regarding his former ministry among the Galatians (4.13–15) with the current situation caused by the agitators (4.17–18). Paul needs to summon the Galatians to imitate him (4.12) because there has been a rupture in their relationship; he is now considered to be their enemy (4.16). Paul proceeds to describe the actions of the agitators in 4.17–18 and then contrasts their behaviour with his own in 4.19–20.[74] The actions of the agitators are referred to as "zealous" (ζηλόω). Betz famously contended that 4.12–20 contains "a string of topoi belonging to the theme of 'friendship' (περὶ φιλίας)," [75] and so most interpreters, following Betz's original study, argue that the language of zeal refers to courtship and friendship, especially since the zeal in this context has a personal object.[76] Yet there is a possibility that Paul is making a play-on-words and is actually criticizing the aggressive zeal of the agitators.[77]

As McKnight notes, "though the term 'zealous for you' can mean nothing more than 'working hard to proselytize you,' the term here describes the intensity of their action."[78] Paul previously used the noun form of the same word to describe his own persecution of the

[74] Some scholars interpret 4.19 as a unique interjection unrelated to the preceding verses, but it is preferable to see 4.17–20 as a section contrasting the efforts of Paul and the agitators. See, e.g., Lightfoot 1902, 178; Lambrecht 1996, 14–15; S. Eastman 2007, 96.

[75] Betz 1979, 221, cf. 220–37.

[76] Grammatically the object of zeal is the thing which someone is passionate about, such as God, or the law, or one's traditions. The agitators are zealous for the Galatians in the same way, but this zeal is expressly said to be manifested in their desire to "shut them out."

[77] So (ambivalently) Still 1999, 178–79. This is denied by Bruce 1982, 211.

[78] McKnight 1995, 220.

early Christian assemblies (1.14: ζηλωτής).[79] As well, we have seen that Paul includes ζῆλος among the other divisive "works of the flesh" (§2.3.1), which functions as a critique of the agitators, those who advocate the circumcision *of the flesh* (cf. 3.3; 6.13).[80] And, furthermore, the "children of the flesh" are being aggressive—*persecuting* (4.29: διώκω).[81] Thus we have reason to see ζηλόω in 4.17 as referring to their hostile behaviour.[82] In the context of 4.17, as well, Paul says that the agitators are zealous for the Galatians οὐ καλῶς. This could be critiquing either the manner or the purpose in which the agitators are being zealous.[83] The precise meaning can be discerned through the strong adversative that introduces the next clause (ἀλλά). Paul interprets their actions as an attempt to "shut out" (ἐκκλείω) the Galatians (4.17b), which, in the light of the purpose clause in 4.17c (ἵνα αὐτοὺς ζηλοῦτε), must be interpreted as a reference to their methods. The best interpretation, therefore, seems to be that οὐ καλῶς in 4.17a critiques the manner of the agitators' zeal (i.e. it is aggressive) with the ἀλλά functioning to contrast the incongruity of their methods (ζηλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς οὐ καλῶς / ἐκκλεῖσαι ὑμᾶς θέλουσιν) with their intentions (ἵνα αὐτοὺς ζηλοῦτε). The agitators are zealous for the Galatians in an inappropriate way (οὐ καλῶς), but the reason why they would "shut out" the Galatians in this way is so that it provokes the Galatians to turn their zeal towards the agitators.

But from what exactly were the agitators "shutting out" the Galatians? Whatever Paul had in mind with the use of ἐκκλείω, it results in the Galatians being zealous for the agitators (4.17c). Most interpreters argue that Paul sees himself as the one who is "shut out" from the Galatians.[84] However, if this were the correct reading one would expect Paul to say ἐκκλεῖσαι με θέλουσιν, but he does not; the ones who are shut out *are the Galatians*.[85] This probably means that the Galatians are excluded *qua* Gentiles (from the community, salvation, corporate meals, or something else) until they conform to the desires of the agitators (hence

[79] Cf. Dunn 1993, 307; Muddiman 1994, 267–68; B. Longenecker 1998, 28, who also connect 4.17 and 1.14.

[80] Schewe 2005, 127, cf. n.333.

[81] This is similar to Paul's description of himself in Phil. 3.6 as one persecuting (διώκω) the church κατὰ ζῆλος. Cf. *1 Clem.* 3.2; 5.2, 4, 5; 6.1–2; 45.4. Thus Paul has something far more sinister in mind than "wooing."

[82] Goddard and Cummins 1993, 114–15.

[83] S. Eastman 2007, 54, sees the purpose, not the manner, of their zeal as οὐ καλῶς.

[84] The NIV renders 4.17, "what they want is to alienate you from us." See also Oepke 1964, 107; Mußner 1974, 310–11; Betz 1979, 229–31; Borse 1984, 156; Cosgrove 1988, 79; Morland 1995, 167; B. Longenecker 1998, 26–27; Sumney 1999, 138–39; Moo 2013, 287–88.

[85] So Lightfoot 1902, 176–77; Gunther 1973, 147; Dunn 1993, 237–39; Martyn 1997, 422–23; *idem* 2002, 355; Barclay 1988, 59; Witherington 1998, 313–14; Hafemann 2000, 182–83; Hays 2000, 295; Nanos 2002, 251; S. Eastman 2007, 55; Schreiner 2010, 288; M. de Boer 2011, 283.

the pressure). Christopher Smith argues that Paul's use of ἐκκλεῖσαι and ζῆλοω together form part of the motif of "the excluded lover." As he states, "[Paul's] implication is that the Galatians will, as it were, be left lamenting before a bolted door, the victims of the opponents' insincere 'courtship,' but nevertheless still desiring the very opponents who have excluded them."[86] Although I do not think that Paul is using the language of courtship here (and if he were surely the metaphor would be better described as "domestic abuse"), I agree with the basic notion that Paul thinks that the agitators are excluding the Galatians in order to make them "zealous" (which I take to refer to conforming to the agitators' desires). This behaviour by the agitators is to be contrasted with Paul, who is suffering as a mother in the pains of childbirth (4.19). Likewise, the Galatians' "zeal" for the agitators is a misplaced zeal that should be contrasted with Paul's desire that the Galatians imitate him (4.12). On top of this, the actions of the agitators to "shut out" the Galatians stand in complete contrast to the reception and reciprocity that took place when Paul was among them (4.13–15).

After referring to the agitators' attempts to get the Galatians to imitate them in v.17 (by excluding them until they conform), Paul turns in v.18 to speak of appropriate zeal. The standard translation renders ζηλοῦσθαι as a passive and καλόν as a predicate adjective—"it is good to be made much of" (e.g. RSV; NRSV; NET; NASB; ESV).[87] Recently it has been suggested by Lappenga that the anarthrous καλόν at the start of v.18 should be understood as the subject of the passive infinitive and rendered as "the good." Thus the sentence would be, "*The good* is to be zealously pursued in a good way."[88] The best way to understand v.18 in relation to v.17 is to see it as Paul's criticism of the methods and the manner of the reciprocal zeal in v.17. Thus the standard translation does not properly convey this and does not fit the context. As Paul has portrayed the situation, the Galatians are not having "much" made of them, rather they are being excluded (4.17), persecuted (4.29), troubled (1.7; 5.10), unsettled (5.12), and compelled to be circumcised (6.12) by these agitators. As well, since Paul refers to his presence among the Galatians in the second half of v.18, when did Paul "make much of" the Galatians? Instead, by referring to his presence among them in v.18, Paul is recalling his experience in weakness (4.13) and their reception of him (4.14–15). Again, this contrasts with the agitators who are excluding the Galatians (4.17),[89] but furthermore, it suggests that Paul is referring to the Galatians' former actions in contrast to their current ones. Thus

[86] C. Smith 1996, 484.

[87] Or similarly, "to be courted," so Betz 1979, 231; Bruce 1982, 212; Martyn 1997, 423; M. de Boer 2011, 283; Moo 2013, 288. Cf. "d'être recherchés" in Bonnard 1953, 94.

[88] Lappenga 2012, 781 (emphasis original). Cf. Witherington 1998, 314; Tolmie 2005, 161–62.

[89] The parallel between 4.17 and 4.14 in regards to exclusion/reception is noted by Kraftchick 2001, 61.

whether we take καλόν as a predicate adjective with the infinitive ζηλοῦσθαι as middle (as NKJV; NIV)[90] or if we take ζηλοῦσθαι as passive and καλόν as the subject of the passive infinitive following the translation suggested by Lappenga, where "the good" is to be pursued (implying that the Galatians are the ones who should be doing the pursuit), it is clear that the focus is on the manner/object of the Galatians' zeal.[91] And, sadly for Paul, things have changed.

Galatians 4.17–18, therefore, further points to a paradigmatic interpretation of the autobiography because in Gal. 1–2 we read of a reversal of zeal that Paul underwent (1.13–16; cf. 1.23–24). He went from being zealous for his traditions, even to the point of persecuting others, to enduring persecution in his zeal for the Messiah. This helps us understand further what "be like me" in 4.12 means. It includes a rightly focused zeal. Not only this, but the language of reciprocal zeal in 4.17 between the Galatians and the agitators, as noted already, contrasts sharply with the initial reciprocity between Paul and the Galatians in 4.13–15, and the desire for continued reciprocity between them in 4.12.

As a result of the current state of affairs, Paul declares in a mixed metaphor that he is again experiencing the pains of childbirth (ὠδίνω) until "Christ is formed" in the Galatians (4.19: ἐν ὑμῖν).[92] Martyn has suggested that there is an allusion to Isa. 45.7–11 LXX through the use of ὠδίνω.[93] However, it seems preferable to regard this verse as an anticipation of Paul's citation of Isa. 54.1 LXX where ὠδίνω also occurs. This will be addressed below, but at this stage we can simply note that this ties together the two seemingly disparate sections of 4.12–20 and 4.21–51.

When Paul says that he is undergoing these "birth pains" *again* (πάλιν) in 4.19, he appears to be recalling his initial ministry among the Galatians. Most interpreters focus on the idea that the Galatians need to undergo a "second conversion,"[94] but it seems that 4.19 and the "birth pains" are looking back to how Paul's initial ministry was conceived in turmoil

[90] So Schreiner 2010, 288.

[91] Clement speaks of misplaced zeal and how zeal should be directed towards things that lead to salvation (*1 Clem.* 45.1). *Pseudo-Phocylides* 65 states that "Zeal for good things is noble, but (zeal for) bad things (is) excessive." See Van Der Horst 1985, 576. Similarly, *Sibylline Oracle* 2.137 states, "The zeal of the good is noble, but that of the bad is bad." See J. J. Collins 1983, 348. A contrast between good and bad zeal can also be found in Josephus. He contrasts pursuing good things (ἐπ'ἀγαθοῖς) with being zealous in bad actions (*B.J.* 4.161: ζηλώσαντες τὰ κάκιστα τῶν ἔργων).

[92] The connection between birth pains and cosmic renewal is prominent (Ps. 48.6; Isa. 26.17–18; Hos. 13.13; Mic. 4.9–10; Matt. 24.8; Mark 13.8; John 16.21; Acts 2.24; Rom. 8.22; 1 Thess. 5.3; Rev. 12.2; 1QH^a XI 8–19; *4 Ezra* 4.40–42; Ign. *Rom*. 6.1), but it does not fit the present context. *Contra* Gaventa 2007, 29–39, who also notes her skepticism that this verse relates to physical suffering as a result.

[93] Martyn 1997, 426–31. This has been followed by Harmon 2010, 168–73.

[94] Witulski 2010, 48–49, 54–55.

(4.13).[95] The "formation of Christ," therefore, should be seen along similar lines. Interpretations regarding the nature of the "formation of Christ" are varied, including, receiving salvation,[96] rebirth,[97] new creation,[98] Christ-likeness,[99] the mystical indwelling of Christ,[100] reflecting the image of Christ,[101] moral character,[102] ensuring one's election,[103] the inability to apostatize,[104] eschatological Christian maturity,[105] the promise of fellowship with the death and resurrection of Jesus,[106] recognizing the "nonreligious" nature of Christ,[107] "entering into the spiritual body of Christ,"[108] and the Spirit's enabling of believers to cry "Abba Father" and say "No" to the law,[109] to sample but a few of the options. However, it is more likely that the "formation of Christ" corresponds to the consistent portrait of Christ in Galatians; namely, that he is a crucified Messiah.[110]

This is the way that the Galatians are to be like Christ: they are to identify with his sufferings. This is also how the Galatians "become like Paul" (4.12) since he is so closely identified with Christ's afflictions (2.19–20; 3.1; 5.11; 6.14, 17). The correspondence between 4.12 and 4.19, Pauline imitation and Christological formation, matches those passages where Paul calls for the imitation of himself as he imitates Christ (e.g. 1 Cor. 11.1). That Paul's close identification with Christ is mirrored among believers generally is expressed in the image of baptism (3.27) and the crucifixion of the flesh (5.24). This extends to Paul's co-crucifixion in 2.19–20, which as we have seen should be regarded as paradigmatic, and it is therefore not uniquely related to Paul but to all believers who identify with the crucified Christ.[111] As Barclay rightly asserts, "Not surprisingly, 4:19 (Paul's desire that 'Christ be formed in/among you') echoes the paradigmatic statement about the 'I' in

[95] Rightly S. Eastman 2007, 97.
[96] Luther 1979 [1535], 276–77.
[97] Betz 1979, 233–35.
[98] Garlington 2007, 259–62.
[99] Bruce 1982, 212; Witherington 1998, 315–16.
[100] Lietzmann 1923, 28.
[101] Fung 1988, 203; McKnight 1995, 221.
[102] Guthrie 1969, 128; Dunn 1993, 241; B. Longenecker 1998, 158; *idem* 1999, 92; Engberg-Pedersen 2000, 132–36; Hays 2000, 296; Perkins 2001, 85.
[103] George 1994, 330.
[104] Schreiner 2010, 289.
[105] Cosgrove 1988, 78.
[106] Vouga 1998, 112.
[107] Martyn 1997, 431.
[108] Boyarin 1994, 24, 33.
[109] M. de Boer 2011, 284.
[110] So also Matera 1992, 166; Goddard and Cummins 1993, 115; Cousar 2001, 78; S. Eastman 2007, 126.
[111] Gorman 2001, 31–32; Gaventa 2007, 35.

2:19–20 (‘Christ lives in me’).”[112] Thus by summoning the Galatians to “be like me” (4.12), Paul is essentially calling for the imitation of Christ since he has so closely aligned himself to Christ. This explains why the call for imitation also includes the christological formation. Both the imitation of Paul (4.12) and the formation of Christ (4.19) look the same: they are centered on the cross.

In 4.19 then, Paul is likely referring to the fact that *he* is experiencing suffering *because* the Galatians are attempting to alleviate their sufferings by embracing circumcision. The idea of a christological birth being related to suffering fits Eusebius’ reference to those who did not endure suffering as being “stillborn” (*Hist. eccl.* 5.1.11: ἐξέτρωσαν). In one instance where he refers to failed martyrs as “stillborn,” he says that those who formerly had not endured martyrdom were thus “miscarried” (ἐξέτρωσε), nevertheless they are described as having been “conceived again” (ἀνεκυΐσκοντο) and “brought to life again” (ἀνεζωπυροῦντο) once they learned to keep their confession in the midst of hardship (*Hist. eccl.* 5.1.45–46).[113] The imagery of conception and new birth, filling out the metaphor of being stillborn, fits the idea of 4.19 advocated here.

Beyond the association with the crucified Christ through the “formation of Christ” among the Galatians, it is probable that Paul intends this christological formation to align with Paul’s role as the Suffering Servant. There are three reasons for this. The first reason to think this is because 4.19 echoes back to Paul’s own calling (1.15–16). His calling as the Servant took place ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου (cf. Isa. 49), and in 4.19 Paul refers to his suffering as birth pains (ὠδίνω) associated with a “pregnancy” designed by God[114] to produce the formation of Christ among the Galatians. In Isaiah the Servant was formed by God in the womb (Isa. 43.1; 44.2, 21, 24; 49.1, 5). Thus it might be the case that Paul is thinking that the Galatians are “back in the womb” before they in turn respond properly to the call to be a Servant. The implication is that they have neglected this calling by not being willing to suffer for Christ in the face of persecution. Both Paul and the Galatians were called *graciously*, which shows an additional parallel between their “callings” (ἐν χάριτι [Χριστοῦ] in 1.6; διὰ

[112] Barclay 2002, 138. Cf. also Wright 2013, 858–59.
[113] LCL: Lake 1926, 428.
[114] Note the passive form (μορφωθῇ).

τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ in 1.15).[115] This already shows that both the "callings" of Paul and the Galatians have a similar shape and purpose.[116]

The second reason is that the link back to 1.15 becomes even more plausible in the light of the immediately preceding discussion on zeal in 4.17–18. Just as Paul's former zeal (1.13–14) was interrupted by the revelation of God's Son ἐν ἐμοί (1.15–16), so likewise the Galatians need to reorient their misplaced zeal (4.17) and undergo a christological formation (4.19).

The third and final reason for this interpretation is the notion of Christ indwelling Paul and the Galatians. This interpretation helps demonstrate further how Paul can see his role as the Isaianic Servant to be paradigmatic since it came through being indwelτ by Christ (1.16; 2.20). As for the Galatians experiencing the same indwelling as Paul, note both 4.6 and 4.19. In 4.6 the Spirit of God's Son is sent εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν. In 4.19 Paul desires that a christological formation take place ἐν ὑμῖν, which, in the light of the imagery related to pregnancy in the passage, is probably meant to refer to an internal formation. Thus 4.19 should be understood similarly to 4.6: the inward formation of Christ is accomplished by the Spirit. Just as ἐν ἐμοί in 1.15–16 and the indwelling of Christ in 2.20 is pneumatological, so also here in 4.19 (cf. 4.6). Furthermore, in 4.19, the combination of sonship, suffering, and the Spirit arises again, as we saw in chapter two of the present study,[117] and, in this case, the sonship at stake is whether the Galatians are children of Paul.[118] This also points forward to the reference to the *children of the Spirit* in 4.29 (to be addressed below in §5.3.2).

These three reasons combine to show that in 4.19 Paul is most likely communicating how the Galatians should "be like me" by similarly being spiritually transformed into *a slave* of Christ. This utilization of imitation with these motifs would then suggest that Paul understands that his mission as the Servant is intended to produce Servants. This coheres with the literary flow of Paul's argument into the allegory of 4.21–5.1, as we will see, where the

[115] Carlson 2015, 145–49, contends for the originality of Χριστοῦ in 1.6 as a "genitive of complement," meaning that the Galatians were "called to be of Christ." Such a reading fits the point being made here in terms of christological formation.

[116] On connecting the "callings" in 1.6 and 1.15 see esp. McFarland 2013.

[117] Galatians 4.12–20, therefore, ties together the themes of suffering, sonship, and the Spirit in a manner similar to the broader contexts of 3.4, 4.6, and 4.29, as argued earlier. As we have seen, (a) 4.19 speaks of sonship, (b) 4.13 explicitly speaks of suffering and I have made the case that it is implicit in 4.12, and (c) in 4.15 and 4.19 there are allusions to the Spirit. This also shows the coherence of Paul's thought in his argumentation in Gal. 3–4 especially, and in his plea for imitation.

[118] In *Mart. Paul* 5, as Paul is executed by decapitation, his head bounces around as milk bursts forth. The scene probably resonates with passages like Gal. 4.19 where Paul appears as the mother of his churches.

citation of Isa. 54.1 and the reference to the persecution of the Isaac/Spirit-children fills out the trajectory of Paul's thought.

It is pertinent to mention one final aspect at the end of 4.12–20 that flows into the allegory. At the end of this section in v.20 Paul declares that he desires to be present with the Galatians because he is perplexed about them. Thus at the opening of the subsequent allegory in 4.21, Paul asks the question that he would ask them if he was present among them,[119] which connects these two sections. It is therefore important to consider why Paul has placed the allegory at this point in the letter. Burton has famously called the allegory an "afterthought" since it seems more suited for the Abrahamic discussions in Gal. 3.[120] Yet one ought to ask what it is about the personal appeal in 4.12–20 that aids Paul's transition into the allegorical section. It is to that question that we now turn.

5.3.2 The Servants of Isaiah Will Inherit (Gal. 4.29–30)

In this section we will further consider how Isaianic motifs fit in relation to Paul's summons for imitation in 4.12 by looking at the way 4.12–20 flows directly into the allegory of 4.21–5.1. I contend that this is answered by Paul's reading of Isaiah, which ties together the two sections. In particular, we will see how Paul's citation of Isa. 54.1 LXX in Gal. 4.27 demonstrates that Paul's wider reading of Isaiah has contributed to his argumentative strategy in Galatians and especially his belief that the Galatians are to imitate him in their experience of opposition (cf. 4.29).

I have already argued that with 4.29 Paul demonstrates that he imagines that the Galatians were experiencing persecution from the agitators (§2.3). What has not been addressed yet in this study is the way that Paul was able to read Genesis as reflecting this reality. It is often noted that Gen. 21.9 does not support the interpretation that Ishmael persecuted Isaac. Ishmael was merely "laughing" or "playing" with Isaac (MT: צחק / LXX: παίζω). Later Rabbinic and other Jewish sources, however, do contain evidence of interpreters reading Ishmael's actions as hostile behaviour, and scholars tend to conclude that Paul was familiar with contemporary strands of those traditions.[121] Witherington takes this connection as proof that there was no actual experience of physical persecution, stating, "the

[119] Funk 1967, 266, regards 4.20 as possibly conveying the notion of the apostolic *parousia*, which he says can be found in all of Paul's undisputed letters except for Galatians.

[120] Burton 1921, 251.

[121] So Duncan 1934, 149; Bonnard 1953, 99; Mußner 1974, 330; Betz 1979, 249; Baasland 1984; Fung 1988, 213; Dunn 1993, 256; Martyn 1997, 444; Esler 1998, 214; Hays 2000, 305; Perkins 2001, 90–91; Kelhoffer 2009; *idem* 2010, 49; Harmon 2010, 182 n.184; M. de Boer 2011, 306.

exegetical handling of this Genesis story in early Judaism already involved a metaphorical handling of the key verb."[122] However, the later interpretations are not "metaphorical" since the story is retold as an event that included violence. For instance, *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 30 describes Ishmael as an archer who "shot an arrow at [Isaac] to slay him" (cf. *Pesikta Rabbati* 48.2).[123] In *Palaea Historica* 56.3–4, a ninth century document at the earliest,[124] the author writes, "When Isaac was seven years of age, he was playing with Ishmael, his brother from Hagar, and Ishmael was thrashing Isaac. [When Sarah saw that Ishmael was beating Isaac], she was wounded in her soul and quarrelled with Abraham."[125] Thus Witherington's suggestion that the interpretation is "metaphorical" does not withstand scrutiny. Even if Paul relied upon the tradition preserved in these sources this would not necessarily undermine Paul's portrayal of the situation as including persecution.

As a more substantial critique, there were other interpretations on offer besides actions of hostility. *Genesis Midrash Rabbah* 53.11 records that "bloodshed" (R. Eleazar) is an option for interpreting צחק, but so was idolatry (R. Ishmael), fornication (R. Akiba), pretending to shoot arrows (R. 'Azariah "in R. Levi's name"), and disputes regarding inheritance (R. Simeon b. Yoḥai).[126] Interestingly, *t. Sota* 6.6 attributes these interpretations to different Rabbis; idolatry is attributed to R. Aqiba, fornication to R. Eliezer b. R. Yosé, "bloodshed" to R. Ishmael, and disputes regarding inheritance to R. Simeon b. Yoḥai.[127] Two things can be discerned from these comparisons. First, there were multiple Rabbinic interpretations on offer, and secondly, it is the view of R. Simeon b. Yoḥai, which is the only constant between the two sources, that is given official commendation in the *Tosefta* and the *Midrash*, and he did not regard Ishmael's actions as violent. Thus the view regarding Ishmael's violent behaviour may not have been widespread or influential. This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that the *Targumim* interpret Ishmael's behaviour as idolatrous (*Tg. Neofiti* 21.9; *Tg. Ps. Jon*. 21.9), and including a dispute regarding inheritance (*Tg. Ps. Jon.* 22.1). Jubilees 17.4 simply has Ishmael "playing and dancing."[128] Philo also downplays the rudeness and violence as references to sophistry and argumentation (*Fug*. 209; *Quaest. in Gn.* 3.33). Although Josephus does record that Sarah did not want Ishmael and Isaac together because Ishmael was older and would be able to harm Isaac once Abraham was dead

[122] Witherington 1998, 337–338.
[123] Friedlander 1981, 215.
[124] Adler 2013, 585.
[125] Adler 2013, 622.
[126] Freedman 1939, 469–70.
[127] Neuser 1979, 172–73.
[128] This passage is not extant in Greek. Cf. Wintermute 1985, 90.

(Josephus, *A.J.* 1.215: κακουργεῖν δυνάμενον), this is not the same perspective that emerges in some strands of later tradition where Ishmael acts violently towards Isaac at that moment in the story.

In addition to this critique about diversity and influence, the traditions that regard Ishmael as violent in this scene are too late to have been known by Paul. While it could be suggested that these ideas were present in the time of Paul, it is interesting to see that in Jerome's commentary on Genesis, which was written at the end of the fourth century,[129] he recounts Jewish interpretations of Gen. 21.9 and makes no mention of hostility.[130] He wrote,

> [T]his verse is explained by the Hebrews in two ways, either to mean that he made game of idols, in line with what is written elsewhere: *the people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play*; or to mean that he arrogated to himself by means of a jest and a game the rights of the first-born in opposition to Isaac, on the grounds that he was the elder.[131]

Jerome appears to be unfamiliar with traditions related to the violent treatment of Isaac by Ishmael. It seems that this is because the tradition itself was quite late, though not necessarily later than Jerome.

Generally speaking, however, it is not unreasonable that one could read Gen. 16–21 with an eye towards Ishmael's hostility, which might perhaps colour the reading of Ishmael's actions in Gen. 21.9. For example, the description of Ishmael in Gen. 16.11–12 states that he was a "wild donkey."[132] Perhaps a connection to Gen. 16 is not too far out of the question for Paul, especially when we consider that in the allegory Paul has chosen to use Isa. 54.1 alongside Genesis. This is significant because of the discovery of the liturgical Haftara on Isa. 54.1–9(10) in the Cairo Geniza that connects the text to Gen. 16.[133] So it is possible that Paul drew upon the description of Ishmael in Gen. 16–21 for his interpretation. Alongside this suggestion we could note that the OT regards the descendants of Ishmael to be among Israel's grave enemies (e.g. Gen. 25.18; Judg. 8.24; Ps. 83.1–8). Perhaps Jews began to read Gen. 16–21 as a more significant etiology for their mutual opposition over time.

In addition to these observations, the most apparent reason for the interpretative diversity is that readers wanted to provide justification for the actions of Sarah in calling for Ishmael and Hagar to be cast out (Gen. 21.10). Perhaps the diversity of views regarding the reason why Sarah would kick out Ishmael is related to the fact that, independently, readers sought to insert a more satisfying reason than Sarah merely being jealous of Ishmael

[129] Hayward 1995, 23–27.
[130] Hayward 1995, 174.
[131] Hayward 1995, 53 (emphasis original).
[132] Note also the allusion to Ishmael as a "wild donkey" in the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 En*. 89.11). See Tiller 1993, 32, 274; Olson 2013, 129.
[133] J. Mann 1940, 122–24; Callaway 1986, 111.

"laughing." The implication would then be that Paul's handling of the text could have been independent of Rabbinic traditions—traditions which are far too late and far too diverse to actually explain Paul's hermeneutics. He simply could have read the Ishmael story differently on his own accord and there is no need to reach for later traditions to account for his interpretation. Rather than stemming from poor exegesis of Genesis or a dependence on later Jewish tradition, I contend that there is a better explanation for his understanding that Ishmael was "persecuting" Isaac. Here we have Paul interpreting the Genesis narrative *through the lens of Isaiah 53*. To substantiate this claim it will be important to look more closely at Paul's citation of Isa. 54.1 within the context of the allegory to see the many ways in which he reads Genesis *Isaianically*.

5.3.2.1 The Use of Isaiah 54.1

At first glance Paul seemingly introduces a reading of the Hagar and Ishmael episode that hardly appears to do justice to the original context. Additionally, because of the fact that Paul is referring to a portion of Scripture that could easily have been used against him according to a "literal" interpretation of the episode—since the covenant that God made with Abraham included circumcision (cf. Gen. 17)—it was suggested by Barrett that Paul's comments in the allegory are actually a response to the interpretation offered by the agitators.[134] However, this does not appear likely. For one, Paul does not give any indication that he is responding to an alternative exegesis.[135] Secondly, as some have noted, Paul could have responded to their alleged interpretation of circumcision as requisite for inheritance by noting that Ishmael was also circumcised just as Isaac.[136] And thirdly, this understanding of the text misses how Paul is utilizing the Genesis narrative in the light of Isaiah, as this section will demonstrate.

As the conclusion to his allegorical interpretation Paul cites Isa. 54.1 LXX.[137] In context this passage announces the end of exile. The barren woman who has no children is a picture of exilic Israel.[138] As an expectation of hope she is promised to have more children

[134] Barrett 1976, 1–16. This view is followed by many scholars, e.g., Lincoln 1981, 12; Bruce 1982, 218; Barclay 1988, 91; R. Longenecker 1990, 200; Matera 1992, 174; Jobes 1993, 318; Fowl 1994; S. Williams 1997, 125; Esler 1998, 209–10; Witherington 1998, 324; S. Eastman 2007, 128.

[135] S. Elliott 2003, 17, notes some instances where Paul is responding to argumentation: 1 Cor. 1.11; 5.1; 6.12; 10.23; 15.35.

[136] As argued by Cosgrove 1987a, 223; Martyn 1997, 305; Sumney 1999, 154–55; Kwon 2004, 93 n.54.

[137] Isaiah 54.1 was a passage of some interest in antiquity. Although the important interpretative comments are lacking, *4QMiscellaneous Rules* (4Q265 f1:4–6) contains a citation of Isa. 54.1–2. Philo also makes reference to Isa. 54.1, though he does not cite it directly (*Praem.* 158), and interprets it as an allegory for the soul.

[138] So most commentators. See, e.g., Paul 2012, 417–19.

than the woman with a husband, which refers to pre-exilic Israel.[139] Rather than viewing Isa. 54.1 as secondary in Paul's allegory, a few scholars have rightly acknowledged that it should be considered the main passage being interpreted.[140] As M. de Boer rightly notes, Paul has here placed the "cart before the horse," so to speak, by placing his *interpretation* of Isa. 54.1 prior to his *citation* of it.[141] Paul's starting point, therefore, is not Genesis, but Isaiah.

This may potentially explain Paul's use of ἀλληγορέω to describe his exegesis. That is, Paul's specific strategy of reading Genesis through the lens of Isaiah may be what he has in mind. This could get beyond the impasse of debates regarding whether Paul's interpretation is "allegorical" or "typological."[142] Regarding the meaning of ἀλληγορέω, Harmon contends that, "it has the sense of *reading a text through the lens of another textual, philosophical, or theological framework to reveal a fuller meaning*."[143] He offers three examples from Philo to make this case: *Post.* 7 (δι'ἀλληγορίας); *Leg. All.* 2.5 (ἀλληγορεῖ); and *Leg. All.* 3.4 (ἀλληγορήσειέ).[144] Harmon thus states that Paul goes beyond typology because of the extra-textual construct that he places upon Gen. 16–21, namely, Isa. 54.1.

The description of such a technique is similar to what the Rabbis would later call *gezerah shewah*. In his study of pre-70 CE exegetical practices, Instone-Brewer distinguishes between two types of *gezerah shewa*. The first kind is understood as a "definition of an ill-defined phrase or word in one text by its use in another text where its meaning is clearer."[145] The second kind is more pertinent to our discussion. He describes it as "the interpretation of one text in the light of another text to which it is related by a shared word or phrase."[146] In our case, the link between Isa. 54.1 and Genesis is partly explained by the "barren" Sarah (Gen. 11.30: στεῖρα). This anticipates ways in which Isaiah itself may be intentionally drawing upon imagery from the Patriarchal narratives in Genesis, which I will address below. Regardless of what ἀλληγορέω means, Paul has signalled to his readers that he is doing something unique, something he calls "allegorical." At the very least, it seems probable that Paul is indeed reading Genesis through the lens of Isaiah.

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[139] *Contra* M. de Boer 2004, 371, 380; *idem* 2011, 302, who suggests that the married woman is Babylon.

[140] Willitts 2005, 188–210.

[141] M. de Boer 2004, 379; *idem* 2011, 303–5. Cf. Moo 2013, 306.

[142] Philo seems to conflate allegory and typology at times; for example, he speaks of "types in allegory" (*Opif.* 157: τύπων ἐπ'ἀλληγορίαν). For discussion on ἀλληγορέω see Goppelt 1982, 139–40; Steinhauser 1989; Chrysostom (Schaff 1994, 34); Boyarin 1994; Martyn 1997, 436; Di Mattei 2006; Schreiner 2010, 300.

[143] Harmon 2014, 150 (emphasis original).

[144] Harmon 2014, 150–52.

[145] Instone-Brewer 1992, 17.

[146] Instone-Brewer 1992, 18.

What makes this interpretation likely is a combination of two factors; (1) there is evidence that within Isaiah there were many connections being made to Genesis, and (2) Paul's Isaianic reading of Genesis appears within the allegory itself. Each of these will be looked at in turn.

5.3.2.2 Allusions to Genesis in Isaiah

There are a few important ways in which Isaiah itself alludes to Genesis, which could partly explain Paul's use of Genesis and Isaiah together in the allegory. In Isa. 54.1 itself we can see that exilic Israel is being likened to barren Sarah. This is all the more evident in the light of the fact that the only other reference to Sarah in the whole OT is in Isa. 51.2.[147] Thus with these examples we have both explicit (Isa. 51.2) and implicit (Isa. 54.1) allusion to Sarah.

Intriguingly, Shalom Paul also notes that the language of expanding "tents" in Isa. 54.1–3 is "reminiscent of Israel's patriarchal period."[148] Callaway argues similarly, stating, "The use of these terms evokes the semi-nomadic life of the patriarchs in the Bronze Age, and makes the allusion to patriarchal times very graphic."[149] Such an idea would then provide further rationale for linking Genesis and Isaiah. Callaway even goes further and suggests that Isa. 54.3 "recalls the promise of land and descendants."[150] She notes that Isaiah "begins in language which is traditional and reminiscent of the Torah traditions, and then switches to language which is contemporary, using words which are exilic or post-exilic."[151] This conflation is certainly something that Paul appears to utilize in the allegory.

This expansion in Isa. 54.1–3 is best understood as a fulfillment of Abrahamic promises brought about by the Servant. In the broader context, 48.19 LXX makes reference to the conditional promise of "the seed" (τὸ σπέρμα) being as numerous as the sand (Gen 22.17; cf. 15.5).[152] Barren Zion questions where her large offspring originated (49.21) prior to the announcement of Zion's large and expanding family in 54.1–3. These two passages are connected by multiple parallels, including: (a) Zion's barrenness (49.21; 54.1), (b) commands to "sing" (εὐφραίνεσθε; Εὐφράνθητι) and to "burst" (ῥηξάτωσαν; ῥῆξον) in 49.13 and 54.1 respectively, and (c) expansion of living spaces to accomodate the people (49.18–20; 54.2–3). The flow of the text suggests, as Gignilliat has recently noted, that the answer to the

[147] As noted by Hays 1989, 119.
[148] Paul 2012, 419.
[149] Callaway 1986, 69.
[150] Callaway 1986, 70.
[151] Callaway 1986, 70.
[152] Blenkinsopp 2002, 295.

question posed in 49.21 is that the Servant has brought about the seed as the result of his suffering (cf. Isa. 53.10: σπέρμα).[153] Thus, Gignilliat can claim, "*Abraham's true progeny are the Servant's offspring*."[154] This conclusion is also vindicated by the way that Isaiah links Abraham's descendants with the Servant elsewhere. For example, Jacob and Israel are repeatedly refered to as the Servant (41.8; 44.1–2, 21; 45.4; 48.20; 49.3), and, most straightforwardly, in 41.8 LXX the people are called both παῖς μου and σπέρμα Αβρααμ. Thus, Gignilliat is right to note the connection between the Servant's offspring and the offspring of Abraham, which shows the ways that Isaiah itself is using Genesis.[155] This is also coherent with the emphasis on the themes of sonship and slavery in Galatians that we have seen.

To add to this picture, there are multiple parallels between Gen. 22 and Isa. 53 as has been demonstrated by De Andrado. In particular, De Andrado notes nine aspects between the two chapters that would later be merged together in subsequent tradition, becoming what she terms "the Akedah Servant complex." These nine aspects include: (1) a righteous person suffering unjustly, (2) suffering stemming from a supernatural figure, (3–4) the one suffering cooperates and responds voluntarily, (5) suffering *per se* is seen as a test of obedience and faithfulness, (6) the one suffering goes on to receive a reward, (7) the suffering has universal consequences, (8) familial relationship between sufferer and the one instigating the suffering, and (9) the suffering is associated with atonement/sacrifice.[156] Thus we can see conceptual overlap between Isaac and the Isaianic Servant.[157]

In the light of the nine parallels noted above, De Andrado suggests that the translator(s) of the LXX may have used the term παῖς in 52.13 and the diminutive παιδίον in 53.2 to speak of the Servant, instead of other possible renderings of עבד, for two reasons. The first reason is because of the way it would draw attention back to Gen. 22, where Isaac is referred to as a παιδάριον (Gen. 22.5, 12), another diminutive of παῖς. The second reason is that the term παῖς and its diminutives are polyvalent and contain notions of sonship *and* servanthood.[158] This blending of sonship and servanthood may have been on Paul's mind as

[153] Gignilliat 2015, 215.

[154] Gignilliat 2015, 212 (emphasis original).

[155] Gignilliat does not address the implications that this could have for the element of violence towards Isaac in 4.29.

[156] De Andrado 2013, 67–98.

[157] A connection between Isaac and the Servant has also been noted by Rosenberg 1965, 385. I am not here suggesting that Isaiah contains "Akedah" motifs, since those are best understood in a milieu of Rabbinic responses to Christian theologies of the atonement. See P. Davies and Chilton 1978. My concern is simply to note the various ways that a reader of Isa. 53 could be caused to think of Isaac.

[158] De Andrado 2013, 81.

well, and this will become more apparent as this present section concludes. Another important link between Isaac and the Servant through the use of παῖς can be found in Isa. 50.10.[159] What is significant about the latter instance is that it appears just a few verses prior to the references to Abraham and Sarah in 51.2, which could further demonstrate the link between Isaac and the Servant. But at this stage it should be apparent that Genesis imagery, particularly from the Patriarchal narratives, is prevalent in the relevant chapters of Isaiah, including important allusions to Isaac, which fit the allegory in Galatians well.

5.3.2.3 Paul's Isaianic Reading of Genesis

In the light of the allusions to Genesis in Isaiah itself, it is clear how Paul could be led back from Isaiah to Genesis. In fact, as I have argued, Paul has been reflecting widely on Isaiah, and thus it can be clearly seen how the Isa. 54.1 citation has priority in the allegory. Now we will look at the ways that Paul reads Genesis *through* Isaiah.

In the allegory we can see how the broader context of Isa. 54.1 has shaped Paul's engagement with Genesis. Paul's contrast between the present Jerusalem and the Jerusalem above in 4.25–26 as part of his interpretation of Genesis is readily explained by the Isaianic contrast.[160] Paul works back to the Genesis narrative from Isaiah where he sees the two sons of Abraham representing the children of two Jerusalems, which in turn represent Sarah and Hagar (although Sarah is not explicitly mentioned).[161]

Shalom Paul describes the expansion of Jerusalem to include its new citizens in Isa. 54.2–3 as "the building of a 'new Jerusalem.'"[162] This would then partly explain why Paul would speak of a "Jerusalem above" (4.26). Furthermore, the expansion of Jerusalem to include the nations—we saw previously that this alludes to the patriarchal period with the references to expanding tents—also reflects Paul's Isaianic reading of Genesis, because he appears to apply the logic of these verses to his understanding that the Galatians are now children according to the promise like Isaac (4.28). Isaiah 54.1–3 is about the expansion of God's people and Paul undoubtedly reads this expansion in the light of Gentile inclusion in his own ministry. In the light of the way that 54.1 connects back to 51.1–2 and the image of Sarah, it is interesting to note the words of Callaway that Sarah is said to be the mother of "those who pursue righteousness." For this reason she concludes, "Already in the sixth

[159] The rest of the occurrences are Isa. 54.17; 56.5; 60.12; 63.17; 65.8–9, 13–15, 66.14.

[160] So Willitts 2005, 205–8; M. de Boer 2011, 303; Moo 2013, 307.

[161] Philo speaks similarly of Sarah and Hagar as not being two women, but rather two minds (*Congr.* 180).

[162] Paul 2012, 418.

century [B.C.E.] the idea that the true sons of Abraham are those who seek Yahweh anticipates the later Pauline concept of sons according to the flesh as against sons according to the promise."[163] This therefore explains how Paul is able to say in the allegory directly after citing 54.1 that the Galatians are Isaac-children (Gal. 4.28).[164] This no doubt is rooted in Paul's understanding that Gentile inclusion is part of the promise made to Abraham (3.6–9) and that their reception of the Spirit constitutes proof (3.2, 5, 14). The Jerusalem above, which is the mother of Christians, is a spiritual reality that produces Spirit-children like Isaac. As Hays contends, the warrant for Paul's use of Isa. 54.1 in this context is "Isaiah's metaphorical linkage of Abraham and Sarah with an eschatologically restored Jerusalem."[165] This provides a further explanation for how Paul can view the Gentiles as Isaac children, and is consistent with the argument that Paul is interpreting the Genesis narrative Isaianically.

When Paul says that the "Jerusalem above is our mother" (4.26) he also appears to be developing the image from Isa. 54.1 by utilizing imagery from apocalyptic Judaism (cf. *4 Ezra* 7.26; 8.52; 9.26—10.59; 13.35ff; *2 Bar.* 4.2–7; 6.9; 32.4).[166] A remarkable aspect of heavenly Jerusalem language in the relevant apocalyptic sources that has not been noted in relation to 4.26—as far I as can detect—is that this language stems from a milieu of suffering. The heavenly Jerusalem stands as an apocalyptic hope in the midst of conflict and persecution. It is an apocalyptic image that would conjure up notions of future blessing to be contrasted with the current state of affairs. It is quite similar to the language of awaiting a Saviour from heaven in Phil. 3.20. Thus the connotations of hope in the midst of suffering, rooted in this apocalyptic image, should not be lost. The same sentiment of hope in the midst of affliction is recorded in Isa. 54.1, which strengthens the point being made here. Not only does suffering illuminate this reference, but we can also see how it developed directly out of the context of Isa. 54.1.

One of the unique twists that Paul applies to the "Jerusalem as mother" tradition is that it is the heavenly Jerusalem that is depicted as a mother in 4.26, not the Jerusalem in mourning. Callaway states, "In naming the Jerusalem which is above as our mother, Paul departs from the tradition."[167] Although the Jerusalem above, rather than the Jerusalem in mourning, is the mother of Messiah followers in Paul's interpretation, this does not mean that

[163] Callaway 1986, 60.

[164] For the way that Paul is able to interpret texts about Jewish exiles and apply them to his Gentile audience, see Starling 2011 (and see esp. pp.23–60 for his section on the allegory in Galatians).

[165] Hays 1989, 120; *idem* 2000*,* 304.

[166] Other texts where Jerusalem is depicted as a mother include: Isa. 49.19–23; 66:7–14; Bar. 4.8–37. Other references to Zion and the heavenly Jerusalem include: Heb. 12.2; Rev. 3.12; 21.2, 10; *2 En.* (J) 55.2.

[167] Callaway 1986, 112.

the children cease to experience suffering and hardship, as 4.29 demonstrates. This seems to show that the Jerusalem above is an image of hope in the midst of suffering. What this also means is that Paul has transposed onto Genesis from Isaiah (a) the Jerusalem contrast, and (b) the element of conflict and suffering.

This all builds to an important observation: Paul also reads Genesis Isaianically when he speaks of Ishmael's behaviour against Isaac *as persecution* (4.29). As noted, Isa. 54.1 LXX announces the end of exile. In the context immediately preceding this is the so-called "Fourth Servant Song" in Isa. 52.13—53.12. As the Song progresses into Isa. 54.1 LXX it is understood that the Servant's suffering is what ultimately brings about the promised end of exile that Isa. 54.1 envisions. As Oswalt concludes, "If nothing intervenes between 52.12 and 54.1 the shift is unaccountable."[168] The reference to barrenness in Isa. 54.1, therefore, presupposes the exilic suffering depicted in Isa. 53.[169] Thus Paul appears to be viewing the conflict and hostility that pervades Isa. 53 as reflected in the experience of his audience—the Spirit-children. There are at least two ways that he is able to do this.

First, I have already noted the relationship in Isaiah between Abraham's offspring and the Servant's offspring (cf. Isa. 41.8; 53.10), which leads to some overlap between Isaac and the Servant. Second, as noted earlier, a connection can be found between Isaac and the Servant through the use of παῖς in the "Fourth Servant Song," since Isaac is called a παιδάριον in Gen. 22. It is also the case that Isaac is called a little παῖς in Gen. 21.7–8 LXX (τὸ παιδίον), which occurs directly before Gen. 21.9, where Paul interprets Ishmael's actions as persecution. This connection is strengthened, and the rationale of Paul's interpretation is potentially explained, when the connection between Isaac and the Servant each as a παῖς is seen in relation to Ishmael's actions as παίζοντα (Gen. 21.9 LXX).[170] Παίζω is a cognate of παῖς and Paul could have understood it as suggesting that Ishmael was treating Isaac like a παῖς. This is paralleled in Isa. 53.5 LXX where the activity against the Servant is called παιδεία. Thus the persecution against the Galatians, who are Isaac-children (Gal. 4.28), can be seen to fit this pattern.

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[168] Oswalt 1998, 413.

[169] Hays 1989, 120, comes close to affirming this by saying that Isa. 54.1 "metaleptically evokes the whole rippling pool of promise found in the latter chapters of that prophetic book." In the endnote—n.92 on p.215—on that sentence he goes a step further and states, "One question inevitably raised by this analysis is the role of Isa. 52:13–53:12 in Paul's vision. If the citation in Gal. 4:27 evokes echoes of Isaiah 51–54, is the Suffering Servant figure—who 'opened not his mouth'—to be seen standing silently behind the text?" However, I suggest that Isa. 53 informs how Paul sees the conflict as persecution (4.29).

[170] Ishmael is also called a παιδίον after this scene throughout the rest of Gen. 21 LXX, though this does not affect the interpretation being offered about about how the connection between the Servant and Isaac specifically, or about Ishmael's actions against Isaac.

What makes this move possible within Isaiah itself is the final element of thematic coherence between Isaiah and the allegory. At the conclusion of Isa. 54 a reference is made to the multiple "servants of the Lord" (v.17), which is the first occurrence of the pluralization of "servant" in Isaiah.[171] Isaiah 54.17, therefore, fills out the pattern of Paul's thought that I have been developing in this chapter. Paul understands that his role as the Servant is designed to produce servants (4.19). This further informs why Paul presents himself as the paradigmatic Servant who is willing to suffer for the gospel, and likewise summons the Galatians to "be like me" in their endurance of suffering for the cross. It is informed by the flow of Isa. 49–54, which we have seen throughout Gal. 1–4, culminating in the citation of Isa. 54.1, which we have seen has implications for the way Paul understands the servant-like suffering of the Galatians. That Paul is thinking of the broader context of his citation of Isa. 54.1 also comes through in the light of the fact that in 54.17 these plural servants *receive the inheritance* (54.17 LXX: ἔστιν κληρονομία τοῖς θεραπεύουσιν κύριον),[172] which fits the logic of Gal. 4.30–31. Additionally, the servants will be righteous (καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθε μοι δίκαιοι),[173] which fits the emphasis in Galatians on justification and final judgment (as we saw in chapter three).

Furthermore, the flow of thought from 4.12–20 should not be lost here. The suffering of Isa. 53 can be seen to apply to the Spirit-children because of the christological formation within them (4.19). The Servant of Isa. 53 (1.4; 2.20) dwells within them by the Spirit (4.6; 4.19; cf. 3.1–5, 13–14). Isaiah makes a few important connections between the *Spirit* and both the Servant (Isa. 42.1; 61.1) and the Servant's offspring (44.3; 59.21), which may have helped Paul make this connection since the Galatians are Isaac children through the work of the Spirit (Gal. 4.28). Just as Paul being indwelt by the Servant (1.16; 2.20) provides a rationale for his experience of suffering in fulfillment of the work of the Servant, the same is true of the Galatians.

When the allegory of 4.21–5.1 is read alongside 4.12–20, as well, the persecution of 4.29 sheds further light on the "zealous" behaviour of the agitators in 4.17. Additionally, a connection is made between Paul's labour pains in 4.19 and the eschatological fecundity of the Jerusalem above who is depicted as a barren woman with no birth pains. Whereas Paul imagines that his labour may have been in vain (4.11) and describes his pregnancy in terms

[171] The significance of Isa. 54.17 for Galatians is only briefly acknowledged by Harmon, and he does not address how this might relate to suffering or the present crisis in Galatia. See Harmon 2010, 119–20 n.257. Furthermore, Harmon's (2010, 173–85) discussion on 4.21–5.1 does not include Isa. 54.17 LXX.

[172] In the context of Isaiah the inheritance is the land. See Baltzer 2001, 462.

[173] Cf. Isa. 54.14.

that suggest there may be a miscarriage (4.19), ultimately Isa. 54.1 stands as a promise that Paul's Gentile ministry will be successful despite the present experience of suffering. If the Galatians imitate Paul the Servant (4.12), and are truly transformed by Jesus the Servant (4.19), this will lead them to their due inheritance as servants (Isa. 54.17; Gal. 4.30–31).

5.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, in 4.12 Paul has called the Galatians to imitate him in his role as the Suffering Servant. In summoning imitation, Paul recalls both the antecedent autobiography (Gal. 1–2) as well as his initial encounter with the Galatians in a context of suffering. He fears he may have laboured in vain (4.11), which would have resulted in the failure of his calling as the Servant. Thus the summons to "be like me" in 4.12, which recalled Paul's Isaianic self-presentation in the letter and the Galatians' experience of his suffering as a representation of the Servant (cf. 3.1; 4.13–14), is a summons to endure the current hostility (4.17, 29). The Isaianic summons is buttressed by 4.19, where we see that Paul's role as the Servant included producing *servants*. This derives from the flow of Isaiah itself, especially Isa. 54, which he goes on to cite (4.27). The future inheritance set aside for those servants (Isa. 54.17; Gal. 4.30–31) is in jeopardy (4.11); hence Paul's call for imitation (4.12), his desire that the Servant be formed in them (4.19), and his call to stand fast in the midst of the pressure to be circumcised (5.1). Paul is saddened by the disruption in their relationship and the prolonged anguish associated with the formation of Christ among the Galatians. The Galatians are to have Christ formed *in them,* just as Paul has Christ *in him* (1.16; 2.20). The subsequent allegory reinforces the fact that this is to be understood as constituting their identity (4.28–29) and securing their destiny (4.30–31). Paul's reading of Genesis through the lens of Isaiah demonstrates how Isaiah has been informing much of Paul's thinking and concerns in Galatians. In particular, this chapter has explored how it informs Paul's call to imitation, being linked to his broader reading of Isaiah as a movement that includes suffering (53), sonship (54.1–3), and the inheritance (54.17).

Chapter 6

Conclusion

In this study we have seen that Paul attempts to persuade his readers to avoid circumcision by showing that the true marks that identify Messiah followers, and lead to future vindication and blessing, are those which demonstrate solidarity with the cross. These marks are accompanied by the reception of the Spirit and justification by faith as marks of identity and as proleptic signs.

Thus we have seen that suffering and persecution were understood by Paul to be badges of *identity*. These alone are the marks of the true people of God; they identify the children of God and of Abraham, and they demonstrate who the slaves of Christ are, the servants who follow the Servant. God's Son and Abraham's true seed is the crucified Servant. Therefore, the followers of the Messiah, filled with his Spirit, are likewise children of God, children of Abraham, and, in turn, servants themselves, which means that they too must take up their cross. Those who do so comprise the "Israel of God," which is God's creation of a new people transformed by the Spirit and distinctly shaped by the cross. The agitators, however, are illegitimate children, like Ishmael, characterized by the flesh and conflict, because they do not follow the cross in the midst of persecution but rather avoid and inflict it.

The marks of suffering and persecution are also seen to be the signposts of *destiny*. Those who endure suffering as the Messiah did will receive eschatological blessing. The potential eschatological blessings in this scenario are hinted at or briefly mentioned throughout Galatians—inheritance and vindication at the judgment—and Paul demonstrates that the way that these blessings are received is through the marks of the cross, not the marks of circumcision. Alternatively, circumcision leads to apostasy, which is particularly the case in this context in which suffering for the cross would be denied, and this would lead to "not inheriting the kingdom" (5.21). The fact that circumcision leads to apostasy reinforces the association of the identity markers setting one apart for a particular destiny.

The Galatians, therefore, are left with a major decision. They can choose to maintain the proper identity of God's people or they can follow the route of the flesh and deny the cross in the process. As Paul portrays it, they have already endured a conflict after accepting Paul's message, demonstrating their genuine sonship and their slavery to Christ, but now it is in jeopardy. Paul's

attempts to persuade the Galatians not to receive circumcision include the various ways in which suffering and persecution are seen to be important marks of identity and signs of their coming destiny. In Paul's portrayal of the conflict, the agitators are aggressively promoting circumcision, and thus, by receiving circumcision, the Galatians would be attempting to ease the hostility they are experiencing, which would result in denying their suffering for the cross.

In this study I did not contend that a particular paradigm controls the way that Paul understands Christian suffering in relation to the suffering of Jesus. However, if we were to synthesize our study, a pattern does emerge. In short, one of the patterns at work in Galatians that informs the way suffering marks out the *identity* and the *destiny* of the people of God is christological. As can be seen throughout Galatians, what is true of the Messiah becomes true of believers. Just as the Messiah is the true seed of Abraham (3.16), the son of God (1.16; 2.20; 4.4, 6), and the one who was crucified (1.4; 2.19–21; 3.1; 3.13; 4.5; 5.11; 6.12, 14, 17), so too his people become the seed of Abraham (3.7, 29), the sons of God (3.26; 4.6–7), and crucify their flesh (5.24). Thus there is a "family resemblance" among those who follow the Messiah. These realities are created through trusting in the Messiah (2.16; 3.22), and the logic of it appears to be: (a) the indwelling Spirit is the Messiah's Spirit (2.20; 3.1–2; 4.6), (b) at baptism believers *wear Christ* like clothing (3.27), and (c) being set free by the Messiah (5.1) means that one belongs to him as a slave (1.10; 3.29; 5.24; 6.17; cf. 5.13; 6.2). In the light of the main christological emphasis in Galatians, which is directly focused on the cross, this logic also informs the nature of suffering in Galatians.

Having briefly summarized and synthesized the main arguments of this study, I will now list positive areas of contribution that arise from this study as well as areas where further research is needed.

Areas of Contribution

Broadly speaking, this study has extended the discussions on the themes of suffering and eschatology in Galatians despite the fact that each in their own right has received little scholarly attention. In my attempt to fill this lacuna, I believe I have contributed in the following ways:

(1) *By providing more rationale for Paul's unique emphasis on the cross in Galatians*. Towards that end I have suggested that, within Paul's argumentative purposes, his emphasis on the cross fits his sense of the situation as one that includes a serious conflict of persecution. For

Paul *the implications* of the cross are at stake (i.e. falling back to the era of the law and the στοιχεῖα) as well as *the experience* of the cross (i.e. allegiance to the cross in the midst of suffering). This further contributes to the way that Paul understands the conflict as one between the cross and circumcision.

(2) *By offering a distinct reading of the way that Paul perceives the agitators and their responsibility in the present conflict*. This study has emphasized that Paul regards the agitators as hostile persecutors who are promoting circumcision out of their own fear of being persecuted. I have argued that this interpretation is rooted in the Spirit/flesh contrast as well as the Isaac/Ishmael contrast, and that Paul utilizes the agitators as a foil for his argumentative strategy.

(3) *By contributing to the role of Paul's own suffering in the letter by highlighting his self-understanding as continuing the Isaianic role of the Servant and correlating the two topics in Galatians*. This connection has developed not only the interpretation of the autobiography (Gal. 1–2), but also the personal appeal (4.12–20) and the allegory (4.21–5.1) as being linked to a larger line of thought from Paul's reading of Isaiah.

(4) *By highlighting the role of pneumatology in Galatians in relation to suffering, particularly when correlated with the notion of sonship.* Just as God's Son suffered and died on a cross, so too God's sons will suffer and be cruciform. The logic behind this is the fact that the Spirit is the Spirit of the crucified Messiah.

(5) *By showing the eschatological implications of suffering in the letter*. In general I have contended that futuristic eschatology is far more prominent in the letter than has been acknowledged so far. In particular as this relates to suffering, I have shown how the future inheritance is predicated on suffering, and likewise, how the future judgment is grounded in one's allegiance to the cross.

(6) *By offering a reading of Galatians that emphasizes the unity of the letter.* I have offered a unified reading of the letter, including the integration of Gal. 5–6, but also by showing how seemingly peripheral sections like 4.12–20 and 4.21–5.1 fit within Paul's main aims and argumentation.

(7) *By making better sense of the language of apostasy in Galatians*. I have done this by not only rooting it in the eschatology of the letter but also in relation to the Galatians' desire to avoid persecution for the cross.

Areas of Further Research

Although this study has contributed to Galatians in general, and particularly to the topics of suffering and eschatology, there is still much to be explored further. The following areas are still open for research, and are areas that I hope to address in future studies. These are:

(1) *A comparison of Galatians with the other letters of Paul that depict external persecution*. It is interesting to compare Galatians with Philippians and 1 Thessalonians along the lines of suffering and eschatology since these other letters apparently deal with the issue of external pressure and conflict as well. As a sample of interesting avenues for comparison, note the distinct christological and eschatological emphases in these texts. In Philippians and 1 Thessalonians the focus is on the resurrection and the *parousia* as encouragement for those suffering, but in Galatians the focus is on the cross. The key difference in this area, it would seem at first glance, is the response to persecution. In Galatians, Paul's audience stands in a liminal state. Paul does not know what they will decide to do and so naturally the letter is filled with threats and warnings. The main rhetorical emphasis for this appears to be that the Galatians should not waver, but endure to the very end. Seeing how Paul responds to similar situations of external persecution with different theological argumentation *based on the response, or perceived response, of his audience* would make for an interesting analysis.

(2) *A study of Galatians and suffering in relation to the topic of Pauline chronology, the dating of the letter, and the location of the audience*. Very few have addressed this topic, and even when it is addressed it receives only brief comment. This seems like a study that could be extended further.

(3) *A study on other matters of historical reconstruction*. A full-scale study is needed that moves beyond the *imagery* of suffering and persecution in the letter, and the way that Paul *perceives* and *portrays* the crisis, to matters of historical reconstruction. Why were the Galatians really interested in circumcision? What were the agitators' motivations, methods, and message likely to be? How accurate is Paul's understanding of the situation?

(4) *A holistic treatment of Paul's theology of the cross in Galatians*. Whereas this study has contributed to one major facet of Paul's use of the cross in his argumentation against circumcision, namely the way that suffering for the cross is an important marker of identity and sign of destiny that should not be rejected, a more thorough study is needed that also addresses the way that this relates to the law and justification. This study could only make passing

suggestions towards a possible synthesis. I suggested, though this would need sustained treatment, that Paul's argument against circumcision deals with the implications of the cross and the Christ-event, and that this manifests itself in Paul's understanding of the era of the law prior to Christ, on the one hand, and the experience of the cross in terms of suffering within the present evil age (1.4), on the other. Together the argument of Galatians can be seen to be holistically unified by the cross, although this thesis was only able to emphasize the experiential and personal nature of Paul's critique of circumcision in terms of the cross.

In Galatians we find a major conflict, and one that is not often addressed in scholarly discussions. Despite this fact, the context of conflict illuminates several elements of the text and provides intriguing avenues for historical queries. According to Paul's depictions, the agitators appear to be attempting to force the Galatians to be circumcised, which Paul regards as a movement towards slavery and a movement away from the cross of Christ; in a word—apostasy. This is not adequately accounted for in the light of Paul's stated ambivalence elsewhere towards circumcision. Something else must be going on which explains better why circumcision is so problematic. The reason appears to be related to the specific occasion to which Paul thinks he is writing. After Paul's provision of multiple arguments against the Galatians' decision to be circumcised, the letter ends abruptly with Paul's climatic reference to the "marks of Jesus" that he bears on his body. The question for the Galatians at the end of the letter, therefore, is whether they will prize the same marks that Paul did or if they will exchange them for another. The agitators advocate that the flesh must be circumcised, but Paul holds out that the flesh must be crucified.

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