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052166201X - Paul and the Crucified Christ in Antioch: Maccabean Martyrdom and Galatians 1 and 2

Stephen Anthony Cummins

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The so-called ‘Antioch Incident’ – the confrontation between the apostles Peter and Paul in Galatians 2.11–21 – continues to be a source of controversy in both scholarly and popular estimations of the emergence of the early church and the development of Pauline theology.

Paul and the Crucified Christ in Antioch offers an innovative interpretation of Paul’s account of and response to this event, creatively combining historical reconstruction, detailed exegesis and theological reflection. S. A. Cummins argues that the nature and significance of the central issue at stake in Antioch – whether the Torah or Jesus Christ determines who are the people of God – gain great clarity and force when viewed in relation to a Maccabean martyr model of Judaism as now christologically reconfigured and redeployed in the life and ministry of the apostle Paul.

S. A. CUMMINS is Associate Professor of New Testament at Canadian Theological Seminary, Regina, Saskatchewan. He has taught both in Canada and the UK, and has published in academic journals.

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STEPHEN ANTHONY CUMMINS

Canadian Theological Seminary



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For Jayne,
and Leah, Hannah and Jared

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PREFACE

This monograph is an abbreviated version of a doctoral dissertation accepted by the University of Oxford in 1995, further revised in various respects while interacting with more recent significant studies. At every stage of this project I have benefited greatly from the wisdom and support of many scholars, colleagues, friends and institutions, and with appreciation here acknowledge their considerable contribution.

Above all I am indebted to my supervisor, Canon Revd Dr N. T. Wright, whose exemplary commitment to both church and academia continues to evoke fidelity to the task at hand. The Revd Dr Andrew Goddard, a soul mate in matters Pauline, was a constant and enduring source of insight and inspiration. Others who contributed in ways they may not know include Professor Christopher Rowland, the Revd Robert Morgan, Dr Jan Willem van Henten, and the examiners, Dr John Barclay and Dr William Horbury. Additionally, aspects of my research in progress were presented in the form of papers read at the annual meetings of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies, the Society of Biblical Literature and the British New Testament Conference; and I learned much from the responses of various participants.

Concurrent with writing the dissertation I enjoyed the empathetic environment provided by students and colleagues in the Department of Religious Studies, Cheltenham & Gloucester College of Higher Education, and at Wycliffe Hall, Oxford. I am also most grateful to the Revd Dr Roger Beckwith and Mrs Mary Oxford at Latimer House who provided a quiet and congenial context within which to work. Throughout I was encouraged and assisted by a theological support group, variously comprising Sabina Elkire, Andrew Goddard, Paula Gooder, Kendall Harmon, Bruce Hindmarsh, Moyer Hubbard, Sylvia Keesmaat, Rick Simpson and Nick Townsend.

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Companionship and comic relief were also provided by Norman Klassen.

Gratefully acknowledged is the considerable financial assistance provided during the period of my doctoral research by the following bodies: the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for successive doctoral fellowships; the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of the Universities of the United Kingdom for an Overseas Research Student Award; and Oxford University Faculty of Theology for a Hensley Henson Award.

In revising the dissertation I have enjoyed the congenial context of Canadian Theological Seminary, not least the warmth and support of successive students and colleagues. Considerable technical expertise was deployed by Mr Gerry Hall and Dr Andy Reimer. I am especially thankful for the assistance and wisdom of my colleague and friend, Dr Mabilia Kenzo. Additional thanks to Dr Robert Webb for his sound judgement and grace. Finally, I express appreciation to Professor Richard Bauckham for his careful consideration of the manuscript; to Mr Kevin Taylor, Publishing Director (Humanities and Social Sciences), for his patience and kindness; and to Jan Chapman for her remarkable attention to detail.

My vocation in biblical studies would not have taken place without the formative influence of my parents. This monograph would have been neither undertaken nor completed without the faithfulness of my wife Jayne and, *in media res*, the joy that is our three children Leah, Hannah and Jared. To them it is dedicated with love.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Publications

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
ARw	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>
ATR	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BAGD	Bauer, Arndt, Gingrich and Danker, <i>A Greek–English Lexicon</i>
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeologist Reader</i>
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BBR	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
BFCT	Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BR	<i>Biblical Research</i>
BRS	Biblical Resource Series
BTS	<i>Bible et terre sainte</i>
BU	Biblische Untersuchungen
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZNW	Beihefte zur ZNW
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CNT	Commentaire du Nouveau Testament
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad novum testamentum
CTM	<i>Concordia Theological Monthly</i>
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
ETL	<i>Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses</i>
EvK	Evangelische Kommentare

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<i>EvT</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
<i>ExpT</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
<i>FrRu</i>	<i>Freiburger Rundbrief</i>
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion
<i>HeyJ</i>	<i>Heythrop Journal</i>
HKNT	Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
<i>JRH</i>	<i>Journal of Religious History</i>
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Periods</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Meyer)
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LD	Lectio divina
LXX	Septuagint
<i>LumVie</i>	<i>Lumière et Vie</i>
MBT	Münster Beiträge zur Theologie
<i>MGWJ</i>	<i>Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums</i>
MNTC	Moffatt NT Commentary
MT	Masoretic Text
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplement Series
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OTL	Old Testament Library
<i>OTS</i>	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
<i>PAPS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society</i>
<i>PG</i>	<i>J. Migne, Patrologia graeca</i>
<i>PL</i>	<i>J. Migne, Patrologia latina</i>

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PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti graece
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>REJ</i>	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
<i>RelSRev</i>	<i>Religious Studies Review</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>RevScRel</i>	<i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i>
<i>RHPR</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>
RMP	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie
RNT	Regensburger Neues Testament
<i>RSR</i>	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SB	Sources bibliques
<i>SBFLA</i>	<i>Studii biblici franciscani liber annuus</i>
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
SBLEJL	SBL Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBL SBS	SBL Sources for Biblical Study
SBLSCS	SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies
<i>SBLSP</i>	<i>SBL Seminar Papers</i>
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SJSJ	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
<i>SNTU</i>	<i>Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt</i>
<i>SR</i>	<i>Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses</i>
<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
STANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testaments
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigrapha
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>TBei</i>	<i>Theologische Beiträge</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	Kittel and Friedrich (eds.), <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
TextS	Texts and Studies
<i>TGl</i>	<i>Theologie und Glaube</i>
Th.	Theodotion
<i>ThBl</i>	<i>Theologische Blätter</i>
THKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>TQ</i>	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>
<i>TRE</i>	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
<i>TZT</i>	<i>Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie</i>
<i>USQR</i>	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament

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WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZBK	Züricher Bibelkommentar
ZKT	<i>Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZST	<i>Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

Bibliographical

ed.	editor, edited by, edition
eds.	editors, edited by
ET	English Translation
intro.	introduced by
no.	number
rev. edn	revised edition
trans.	translator, translation, translated by
vol(s).	volume(s)