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PAUL: CRISIS IN GALATIA

A Study in Early Christian Theology

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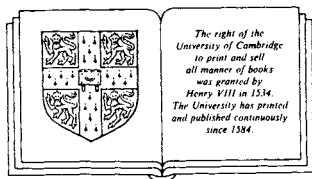
Paul: crisis in Galatia

A Study in Early Christian Theology

GEORGE HOWARD

Professor of Religion
University of Georgia

Second edition



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To my parents
F. S. and Ann Howard

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

The present study is a re-evaluation of Paul's letter to the Galatians, and, with the exception of a few references to Romans, 1 Corinthians, and Acts, is confined almost exclusively to Galatians. This means that a great many problems in current New Testament studies, particularly those involving the relationship of Paul's letters with Acts, are avoided. This is the case for two reasons: (1) the issue of the relationship of Paul's letters with Acts takes us far beyond the scope of the present work and is reserved for a later time; (2) in the judgment of the writer many of the problems arising from this relationship are caused by a misunderstanding of Galatians. The present study aims at re-examining the traditional interpretations of this letter and proposes a re-interpretation of it. As a result a few suggestions for re-evaluating the relationship of Paul's letters with Acts are given; but these are only provisional and programmatic.

The title of the study, *Paul: Crisis in Galatia. A Study in Early Christian Theology*, indicates my method of approaching Pauline theology. It suggests that Paul's genius is seen best when his theology is allowed to arise from the historical setting of his struggles with opponents and his methods in preaching the gospel. An understanding of Paul's theology and biblical historical exegesis go hand in hand. It is the historical exegetical process which must come first if there is to be a genuine understanding of Paul's theology. The present study is a historical exegetical approach to Galatians which concludes with certain (though by no means all) theological insights into Pauline thought.

There are two conclusions which arise from this study, which, though historical in nature, are not argued for or even systematically examined. It is best simply to state them at the beginning. (1) Galatians is held to be very early and is probably the earliest letter of Paul extant. (2) The meeting between Paul, Peter, James, and John, recorded in Gal. 2: 1-10, is not equated with the Jerusalem Conference recorded in Acts 15. The flow of the discussions throughout the book demands these conclusions.

The writer owes much to his predecessors. This is especially true in

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regard to those with whom he often disagrees. Much of what he writes has been provoked by those whose conclusions are farthest from his own. For this reason he has a feeling of close kinship with all who have studied Galatians regardless of their conclusions.

A special debt of gratitude is owed to Dr Robert Ayers and Dr John McRay who read the manuscript in draft form and made many helpful suggestions for its improvement. Any errors that remain are, of course, mine, not theirs. Appreciation is also extended to Mrs Lucile Epperson who proofread the final copy.

November 9, 1976

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

When Cambridge University Press asked me to prepare a new edition of *Paul: Crisis in Galatia* I was eager to do so. It gave me an opportunity to set down in writing some thoughts on Paul and Galatians that I had developed since 1979. Although I still agree with much of what I first wrote, I feel a need to bring my discussion into line with my present thinking. The new introductory chapter is designed to do this.

I am grateful to Cambridge University Press for granting me this opportunity. I am also grateful for the encouragement and support I have received in this project from Mr. Allen Walker, Jr. of Nashville, Tennessee.

George Howard
University of Georgia

INTRODUCTION TO THE SECOND EDITION

The first edition of *Paul: Crisis in Galatia* (hereafter *Crisis*¹) appeared in 1979. Now ten years later I return to the subject of Galatians to find that Pauline studies in general is a sea of controversy that needs to be addressed before critical attention can be given to Galatians. For the second edition of *Crisis*, however, I have been permitted to add only a few pages to the original. Sufficient space to do justice to even one of the above ideas is hardly available. In the meantime my own understanding of Paul's situation in Galatians has changed due largely to my recent interest in early Jewish Christianity. It has been necessary, therefore, to narrow the following narrative to include material that seems to be the most crucial for a new edition of *Crisis*. I have chosen to present my own developed views about the situation in Galatians by discussing once again the issue of Paul's opponents, by reexamining the Antioch incident recorded in Gal. 2:11-14, and by attempting to pinpoint Paul's position regarding the Gentiles. Finally, I return to the phrase *πιστις χριστου* which I find to be of particular significance.

Paul's opponents

In recent years scholars have become increasingly aware of the difficulty of knowing who Paul's opponents in Galatia were. Considerable attention has been given to what has come to be called 'mirror reading', that is, the attempt to understand the position of the opponents by reversing Paul's defensive statements. George Lyons recently levelled a broadside attack on mirror reading, arguing that Paul's negative and antithetical constructions in Galatians are often due to his rhetoric rather than to his opponent's charges against him.¹ Although there may be some truth in Lyons' thesis, it is not consistently operative. It is virtually impossible to understand Paul's defensive words in Gal. 5:11-12 as mere rhetorical language.

More reasonable is Betz's approach. He notes that although caution should be used in analyzing Paul's words, his letter to the Galatians is the only primary source available from which the views of the

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opponents may be reconstructed.² In addition he suggests the use of supplementary documents such as the Pauline and deutero-Pauline epistles, Acts, James and Jewish Christian texts of the post-apostolic age such as the Pseudo-Clementine literature.³

From the letter itself it appears that the opponents were Jewish Christian missionaries, although their personal identification is uncertain.⁴ It appears that they urged the adoption of circumcision and perhaps other Mosaic prescriptions. This was essentially my view of the opponents in *Crisis*¹.

But the Galatian opponents are not the only opponents reflected in the Galatian letter. The 'false brothers' mentioned in Gal. 2:4–5 do not appear to be the same as the Galatian opponents⁵ but were located either at Jerusalem or somewhere else.⁶ Again, 'certain men from James' (Gal. 2:12) do not appear to be the same as the opponents in Galatia. Those from James came from Jerusalem to Antioch. There is no evidence that they ever travelled to Galatia or had any dealings with Paul's churches there.⁷ From this it is clear that there are various levels of Jewish Christian opponents mentioned in the Galatian letter. If the Galatian troublemakers were part of the Galatian scene when Paul's letter arrived, the 'false brothers' and 'certain men from James' were removed from the scene, belonging to past events that took place elsewhere.

It would be a mistake to assume *a priori* that all these opponents held the same views, even though it appears that they were all concerned with the Gentile issue. In *Crisis*¹ I made this *a priori* assumption by failing to analyze possible differences in the various groups of opponents. There is no reason to assume, however, that 'Jewish Christianity' was a theologically monolithic entity any more than there is to assume that Christianity as a whole was a theologically monolithic entity. From the letter to the Galatians it appears that the troublemakers in Galatia insisted that Gentile Christians accept circumcision and perhaps other Mosaic prescriptions in order to be properly included among the saved. It is not necessarily the case, however, that the other opponents held precisely these views. There is evidence that another view regarding the Gentiles was held by some Jewish Christians. This view is that the Gentiles as a group will not be included among the saved during the present age, but will be included at the beginning of the age to come. There is, I think, some evidence for this view in the NT.

A. The episode of the conversion of Cornelius, recorded in Acts 10:1–11:18, suggests that some Jewish Christians did not at first

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conceive of the inclusion of the Gentiles into the church. Haenchen writes: 'It was precisely in the earliest days that the admission of Gentiles must have been unthinkable to the community.'⁸ Although the episode as it is written in Acts appears in some way to be connected to the question of food and social intercourse between Jewish and Gentile Christians (Acts 10:9–18; 11:3), Luke's use of the account pertains primarily to the inclusion of the Gentiles, as Acts 11:18 shows: 'Then to the Gentiles also God has granted repentance unto life.' This issue raised by the Jerusalem authorities over the conversion of Cornelius is not the same as that dealt with at the Jerusalem conference, recorded in Acts 15. The issue of the conference, as the issue in Galatians, was whether the Gentiles have to be circumcised (Acts 15:1) and/or keep the law of Moses (Acts 15:5). The issue of the Cornelius episode was whether the Gentiles can be included among the saved at all.⁹

The conference, coming after the Cornelius episode, suggests that a shift had taken place in the thinking of the church authorities from the idea of the acceptance of the Gentiles to concern over the terms of their acceptance. At the same time it is possible that the idea of the inclusion of Gentiles itself remained an issue for some Jewish Christians after their acceptance by the authorities. It may be that at the time Paul wrote Galatians, opposing some Jewish Christians who insisted on circumcision and the Law of Moses for Gentiles, there may have been other Jewish Christians who had not yet accepted the very notion of the inclusion of the Gentiles.

B. Paul's Letter to the Romans may also reflect a group who held this latter view. The letter clearly teaches that redemption comes to all through Jesus Christ. It suggests that, though some may have doubted whether Israel as a whole would accept redemption (cf. Rom. 11:19–25), no one seriously doubted the right of Israel to redemption. It argues, on the other hand, for the right of the Gentiles to receive redemption and this implies that some doubted this right. A conclusion to be drawn from this letter is that whatever the view that Paul may have wished to rectify in Romans, it elicited from him arguments justifying the inclusion of the Gentiles.

Hans Hübner recently argued that Romans is a rewriting of Galatians after much reflection.¹⁰ He conjectured that James and the church leaders at Jerusalem knew Paul's argument in Galatians and perhaps even the text of Galatians itself. Paul wrote Romans with a view toward conciliating Jerusalem in regard to the harsh things about circumcision and the law he had previously written. According to Hübner, Paul possibly sent a copy of Romans or a letter similar to it to

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James so that the Jerusalem leaders could see that his tone regarding the law had changed and was now more favourable than before.¹¹

However one may wish to receive Hübner's thesis, it appears to me that some differences between Romans and Galatians go back to different issues regarding the acceptance of the Gentiles. With the Galatian troublemakers the issue clearly was the terms of the acceptance of the Gentiles. In Romans, on the other hand, the specificity of this Galatian issue is lacking. Romans never defines this as the issue. In Romans the issue seems to be the acceptance of the Gentiles,¹² not the conditions under which they were to be accepted. If this is the case, the two documents differ, at least to some extent, because of a change in issues and not simply or only because of a change in Paul's theology about the law.¹³

C. Further evidence for Jewish Christians who rejected the inclusion of Gentiles into the Church comes from the Hebrew Matthew I recently published.¹⁴ The text is from a fourteenth-century Jewish polemical treatise entitled the *Even Bohan* written by Shem-Tob ben-Isaac ben-Shaprut (=Ibn Shaprut). Book twelve of the treatise contains the entire Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew along with polemical comments by Shem-Tob interspersed throughout the text. The Matthean narrative, in my view, contains an old substratum that goes back to primitive times. A comparison of this old substratum with the canonical Greek text suggests that the Hebrew reflects a Jewish Christian document which, in regard to the inclusion of the Gentiles is anti-Pauline. It does not envision the inclusion of the Gentiles during the present age, but suggests that some Gentiles will be saved in the age to come. The great commission (Matt. 28:19–20) in the Hebrew text, for example, lacks mention of the Gentiles and the trinitarian baptismal formula.¹⁵ Even more decisive is the Hebrew at 24:14–15. The text reads: 'And this gospel . . . will be preached in all the earth for a witness concerning me to all the nations and then the end will come. This is the Anti-Christ and this is the abomination which desolates which was spoken of by Daniel as standing in the holy place. Let the one who reads understand.' Thus the Hebrew Gospel interprets the 'abomination which desolates' as the preaching of the gospel to the Gentiles before the end.

It is not the case, however, that no ultimate hope of salvation is given to the Gentiles by the Hebrew Gospel. Preaching to the Gentiles is an abomination apparently only when it is done before the time of the end. But, according to this gospel, the Son of Man will return in glory and all the Gentiles will be gathered before him. Then he will assign

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some to *eternal life* and some to eternal abhorrence (25:31–46). The Hebrew Gospel thus gives hope for the salvation of the Gentiles at the dawn of the age to come.

This view regarding the Gentiles corresponds to a major position in Judaism. In order to elaborate on this point it is necessary to review briefly two important Jewish ideas about the salvation of the Gentiles. One view is that some Gentiles may be saved in the present world by becoming proselytes of Judaism. Another view is that the great influx of Gentiles will take place at the dawn of the age to come. In Judaism these views were compatible with each other. In Jewish Christianity, as we will see below, they were sometimes held to be mutually exclusive.

1. Some Gentiles may become proselytes of Judaism during the present age. The Hebrew Bible contains rules for the sojourner who lives within the land of Israel (Lev. 17–25). The sojourner who conforms to Israel's customs was to be treated on equal footing with the native-born Israelite in regard to civil law (Lev. 24:22); he was to have the same religious duties and privileges as the native-born Israelite in regard to religious law (Lev. 17:8–15) including the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:29–34; Num. 19:1–10) and the Passover (Num. 9:14; Ex. 12:19).¹⁶ Since the Gentile referred to by these rules was a sojourner, that is, one who actually lived among Israel in the land of Israel, no mass inclusion of Gentiles is envisioned by these passages. In the intertestamental period after the dispersion and even later there are references to non-Jews, some not living in the land of Israel, who became proselytes of Judaism (Judith 14:10; Jos., *Ant.* 20.17–48)¹⁷ and on some counts the numbers may have been quite large. Nevertheless, there does not seem to have been a view that Gentiles as a whole, including the teeming masses of the nations, would join Judaism during the present age.

2. A great host of Gentiles will join Israel in the golden age to come. The prophets spoke of a golden age to come in which the good fortunes of Israel would be restored in the realization of Israel's national hope. This national hope, expressed first in visionary prophecy, became an eschatological triumph of Israel over the nations and all that is evil in apocalyptic and other writings.¹⁸ It was believed, among other things, that during the golden age after the present era a massive influx of Gentiles into the kingdom of God would take place. Isaiah 56:6–7 refers to foreigners who join the Lord as ministers to love his name and to keep his Sabbaths and covenant. It is said that Gentiles will come to Zion to learn the law of the Lord (Isa. 2:2–4, Micah 4:1–4). Israel's salvation will be a light to the nations reaching to the ends

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of the earth (Isa. 49:6; cf. Zech. 2:11, 8:20–23; Tobit 14:6–7; I Enoch 91:14d) and God will have mercy on all the nations that stand before him in fear (Ps. Sol. 17:34 [38]). Especially will God spare all those nations who have not exploited Israel or trampled them underfoot (2 Baruch 72:2–6). A number of passages speak of the Gentiles bringing their wealth into Jerusalem and bowing down to serve Israel (Isa. 60:4–7, 1QM 12.13–14; 19:5–6; Tobit 13:13 [RSV 13:11]; Ps. Sol. 17.31 [34]). God's acceptance of the Gentiles in the golden age is expressed most aptly in the festal banquet that God will give for the nations upon the Mountain of God: 'On the mountain the Lord of hosts will make for all peoples a feast of fat things' (Isa. 25:6 RSV).¹⁹

In early Jewish Christianity both of these ideas must have played some role. First, the church at its beginning did not conceive of the inclusion of the Gentiles during the present age. Like most Jews, it must have believed that a massive influx of the Gentiles would take place in the age to come.²⁰ Later, as we know, the church accepted the notion of the inclusion of the Gentiles in the present age *rather than* in the age to come. It was this idea that gave it its great missionary thrust. This position, however, does not correspond to the view of most Jews of that day, who continued to believe that the Gentiles as a whole would be admitted only after this present age had passed. Second, most Jews accepted proselytes during the present age on an individual, case-by-case basis. In no way was the acceptance of individual proselytes, however, thought to be a replacement for the view that the masses of Gentiles would be included in the age to come. With Jewish Christianity there seems to have been considerable confusion at this point. Some Jewish Christians may have continued to interpret the acceptance of Gentiles solely in terms of proselytization, believing that Gentiles were to be added now only on an individual case-by-case basis as in Judaism, with their great influx to come at the beginning of the next age. Others seem to have interpreted the acceptance of the Gentiles now as a *replacement* for the Jewish view of the ingathering of the nations during the age to come. Since many of these believed that the Gentiles had to accept circumcision and the law, however, they too continued to accept Gentiles as proselytes in some sense, differing from the former group primarily in regard to the number of converts envisioned. In my view, the Galatian troublemakers as well as those described in Acts 15:1, 5 represent this position.

If this delineation of views in early Judaism and in early Jewish Christianity is correct, one should not automatically place all of Paul's Jewish Christian opponents into the same group. His opponents may

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have come from various groups representing different views about the salvation of the Gentiles. Thus the ‘false brothers’ of Gal 2:4 may not have held the same view about the Gentiles as the Galatian troublemakers, although both opposed the Gospel of Paul. ‘Certain men from James’ of Gal. 2:12 may have held the same view about the Gentiles as the Galatian troublemakers, though this is not absolutely certain. Whatever the case, if one makes a distinction between various Jewish Christian groups, some obscure passages in Galatians are made clearer. Among these is Gal. 2:11–14 which records the Antioch incident. It is to this passage that I now turn.

Gal. 2:11–14.

The event recorded by these verses took place at Antioch sometime before the Galatian correspondence. Peter (Cephas) came to Antioch and at first ate with the Gentiles. But when certain men came from James he withdrew from them. Paul described this as an act of ‘hypocrisy’ (*ὑποκρίσει*) and quotes from his public condemnation of Peter: ‘If you, though a Jew, live like a Gentile and not like a Jew, how can you compel the Gentiles to live like Jews?’ (RSV).

Räsänen argues that both Paul and Peter had given up Jewish food regulations at Antioch when they ate with the Gentiles, and that Peter in his withdrawal had taken them up again. He writes: ‘The context shows that the reference is (at least primarily) to the food regulations that Paul as well as Peter had once given up (but which Peter and Barnabas had, under external pressure, taken seriously again),’²¹

It should be noted, however, that nothing in the text of this passage explicitly says that Paul and Peter had ever given up Jewish food laws. The issue presented here is about Jewish Christians eating with Gentiles, not about *what* they ate when they ate with Gentiles.²² It is only assumed that when Paul and Peter ate with Gentiles they ate ritually unclean food.²³ The wording of the text, however, is satisfied by the notion that Paul and Peter ate with Gentiles for a while and that Peter later broke off eating with them, without any reference to what either ate before or after.

There is precedent in Jewish history for pious Jews to eat food either out of Gentile utensils and prepared by Gentiles or in the company of Gentiles or both without any implication that the food that was eaten was contaminated. In some instances the implication is clearly made that the food was considered to be according to Jewish standards and

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that God was pleased with the act of eating. Salient examples are Daniel and his three Hebrew companions (Dan. 1:8–16), Judith (Judith 10:5, 12:1–14, 19) and Esther (Esther 5:4ff, 7:1ff). In the Letter of Aristeas (180–6) the pious elders from Judea ate food prepared according to their customs with the king of Egypt. They ate food from Egyptian utensils prepared and served ‘by Dorotheus’ staff, among whom were royal pages and persons who had been honored by the king’ (Aristeas 186).²⁴

These examples provide a scenario from which to view the Antioch incident differently from Räisänen. At Antioch, according to this scenario, Peter and the other Jewish Christians ate with Gentiles, but the food they ate was according to Jewish standards. Peter’s withdrawal, then, was a withdrawal from Gentiles without any implication that he withdrew from eating unclean food.

Further, it is argued by some that Peter on this occasion did not compel the Gentiles to live like Jews. Räisänen, for example, writes: ‘Probably Peter did not in any way attempt to “compel the Gentiles to live in the Jewish way” as Paul insinuates (Gal. 2.14). He decided to behave, in the given circumstances, in the “Jewish way”, probably leaving it free to the Gentile Christians to continue *their* way of daily life.’²⁵

I have dealt with the notion of Peter ‘compelling’ Gentiles to live like Jews in *Crisis*¹ (p. 24) and will not be detained with it further except to note Räisänen’s denial of it. What needs to be dealt with here is the charge of hypocrisy that is brought against Peter. The exact wording of the charge is particularly interesting. Gal. 2:14b reads: ‘If you, being a Jew, live like a Gentile and not like a Jew, how is it that you compel the Gentiles to live like Jews?’ The present tense, ‘live like a Gentile’ (ἐθνικῶς... ζῆς),²⁶ suggests that even after Peter had withdrawn from the Gentiles he was accused of living like a Gentile. This shows that Peter’s withdrawal from the Gentiles was not a withdrawal *back* into the Jewish way of life, but in fact was only a lateral move within an overall Hellenistic position.²⁷ Support for this is the fact that his actions are described as being ‘hypocrisy’.²⁸ This requires the understanding that Peter was living like a Gentile at the time he was compelling Gentiles to live like Jews. If Peter was living like a Jew at that time, Paul could hardly have accused him of hypocrisy. There is certainly nothing hypocritical about converting people to one’s own way of life. Consequently, either the present tense is out of place here or there is something in the background of Paul and his problems at Galatia that needs further explanation.

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In order to proceed with a possible explanation, it is necessary to categorize even more exactly the different groups of Jewish Christians in regard to their views about the Gentiles. On the basis of the discussion above I suggest that three groups are reflected by the incident of the Antioch confrontation. (1) A liberal group that believed that *non-circumcised* Gentiles were to be accepted in mass now into the people of God. There was nothing in Judaism comparable to this position; those who held it had to break with Judaism in regard to the salvation of the Gentiles. Paul adhered to this view, as is clearly implied by the Galatian correspondence. Off and on Peter (and perhaps James and John) also held this view. (2) A less liberal group that believed that *circumcised* Gentiles were to be accepted in mass now into the people of God. Although Judaism did provide for Gentiles to become proselytes of the Jewish religion on the basis of circumcision and the acceptance of the Law of Moses, nothing in Judaism of that day suggests that Gentiles would join Israel *in mass* before the dawn of the golden age. The Galatian trouble makers apparently adhered to this position along with those mentioned in Acts 15:1, 5 since both seem to have envisioned an influx of Gentiles beyond the number of those one might expect for individual proselytization.²⁹ After his withdrawal at Antioch Peter apparently accepted this position. (3) A very conservative group that rejected the inclusion of the Gentiles in mass now regardless of the conditions, but believed that the Gentiles would be included among the saved at the dawn of the golden age to come. In all probability this group accepted Gentile proselytes now on an individual basis without equating their acceptance with the great influx of Gentiles that was to come later. Since the ‘false brothers’ of Gal. 2:4 are mentioned in regard to the individual case of Titus rather than in regard to the acceptance of large numbers of Gentiles, it is possible that they held this view. If this is the case, they should be distinguished from the Galatian troublemakers who apparently insisted that the Galatians as a whole be accepted on the basis of circumcision. Whether ‘certain men from James’ of Gal. 2:12 belonged to this view or to that of no. 2 listed above is difficult to say since the wording of the text lacks precision at this point. Whatever the case, it seems likely that those who accepted this view would have considered both positions 1 and 2 above apostate.

This is the point at which another look should be given to the phrase ἐθνικῶς...ζῆς. Since it is a hapax in biblical Greek the Galatian context must be given careful consideration for determining its specific nuance. The context is generally understood to mean that Peter had

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given up the Jewish way of life before his withdrawal and that he renewed the Jewish way of life after his withdrawal. The problem with this, as explained above, is that the present tense ἐθνικῶς... ζῆς describes Peter's manner of life after his withdrawal from the Gentiles. This suggests that his maneuvering from one position to another did not involve his own personal piety. He was living ἐθνικῶς both before and after his withdrawal. In order to give serious consideration both to the context and to the present tense of the verb ζῆς the phrase ἐθνικῶς... ζῆς must mean 'to live Gentile-like' only in a very general sense. The context and grammar of the passage require a much narrower meaning for the specific nuance Paul wished to imply here and that seems to be 'to live a pro-Gentile life'. Peter was Hellenistic not because he had given up Jewish piety, but because his life stood for the inclusion of the Gentiles before the dawn of the age to come. If this understanding is correct, one may conclude that Peter, before and after his withdrawal from the Gentiles at Antioch, did not hold a view that was acceptable to most Jews of his day. Before his withdrawal he accepted non-circumcised Gentiles and associated freely with them. After his withdrawal he continued to accept Gentiles in principle since he compelled them to judaize. In either case Peter's view was that Gentiles are to be accepted in mass now into the people of God, and this was contrary to the belief of most Jews of his day. Jews who believed that the Gentiles would enter the people of God in mass only at the dawn of the golden age to come no doubt viewed Peter as apostate both before and after his withdrawal. Paul's charge of hypocrisy against Peter after his withdrawal from the Gentiles, then, was a reasonable charge. Peter was compelling the Gentiles to judaize while he himself, from the standpoint of most Jews, was Hellenizing. Paul's wording was exact and to the point.

It may be that this understanding of the Antioch incident sheds some light on the curious statement in Gal.6:13: 'For not even the circumcised themselves keep the law.' If the 'circumcised' are Jewish Christians, as I argued in *Crisis*¹, how is it that they do not keep the law? Assuming the analysis of the Antioch incident given above, the answer may be that Jewish Christians who accept the conversion of masses among the Gentiles now, even if they demand their converts to submit to circumcision and the law, have broken away from the law as it was conceived by most Jews of that day. They do not keep the law because they teach that the great influx of Gentiles is to take place now rather than in the age to come. They are in fact guilty of the same hypocrisy with which Paul accused Peter. They compel Gentiles to judaize while they themselves hellenize.

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Paul's position regarding the Gentiles

In my view Paul led a liberal group within early Christianity which stood for the inclusion of masses of *uncircumcised* Gentiles *now* into the people of God. His position represented a radical break with most Jews of that day who held that although Gentiles could become proselytes of Judaism now on an individual, case-by-case basis, the great influx of Gentiles would take place at the dawn of the age to come. Conceivably Paul argued that the age to come had already appeared with the advent of Christ and in this way tried to remain tied to Judaism, at least in regard to the time the Gentiles were to be included. But various statements scattered throughout his letters suggest that he thought that the age to come had not yet arrived (Rom. 8:18; 1 Cor. 2:6, 7:26, 7:29–31; 2 Cor. 4:4; Gal. 1:4; Phil. 2:15–16; cf. Eph. 1:21, 5:16). Even if he did think the new age had arrived, his insistence on the inclusion of uncircumcised Gentiles was enough to make him heretical in the eyes of most Jews, who traditionally insisted that Gentiles assume the burden of the law when they became proselytes.³⁰

There were, of course, other positions regarding the Gentiles among Jewish Christians that differed from Paul's, as the discussion above shows. The most significant issue in all these views is the *time* the Gentiles were envisioned to be included. Whether the Gentiles would be included does not seem to have been an issue.³¹ Most Jews in the first century believed that the Gentiles, at least the righteous among the nations, would be included. But they did not believe that the great influx of the Gentile nations would take place during the present age. This means that the views of Paul, the judaizers in Galatia and those mentioned in Acts 15:1, 5 were the same on the issue of the time the Gentiles would be saved. To characterize the troublemakers in Galatia, therefore, as ultraconservative is incorrect. Most Jews probably viewed both them and Paul as virtually the same and disapproved of one about as much as the other.

In *Crisis*¹ (pp. 8–11) I argued that the troublemakers in Galatia considered Paul to be an ally rather than an enemy. I have been criticized for this since it is said that this would require communication in the ancient world to have been incredibly bad.³² Communication in the ancient world no doubt was incredibly bad. But a major reason for thinking that the troublemakers considered Paul *not* to be an ally is the presupposition that Paul and the troublemakers represented opposite

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poles on the theological spectrum. When, however, it is understood that from the perspective of Jews and very conservative Jewish Christians their views were close, it is less difficult to believe that some Hellenistic Jewish Christians (such as the Galatian troublemakers) on occasion disregarded their differences with Paul.³³

A significant question that needs to be raised is why did Paul insist on the inclusion of the Gentiles now rather than in the age to come? If most Jews believed that the Gentiles would be included into the people of God in the age to come, why did Paul devote his life to getting them included now? I suggest the answer is to be found in Romans 11. There Paul describes God as maneuvering Israel and the nations in such a way as to save both. Thus Paul's insistence on the inclusion of the Gentiles now was because he understood the Gospel to include a dynamic interaction now between Israel and the nations. At this point I find myself in basic agreement with Gaston's theses regarding this chapter that Paul's view of the salvation of Israel was not one where individual Jews converted to faith in Christ.³⁴ I think rather that Paul envisioned Israel and the nations in terms of national entities and that he believed that the salvation of Israel as a nation was in some sense bound up with the idea of the inclusion of the Gentiles in the present age.

Another question that needs to be raised is why did Paul insist on the inclusion of uncircumcised Gentiles? Before an answer to this question is attempted some preliminary matters need to be considered.

Sanders recently suggested that Paul opposed law observance *only* as a condition for *entering* the people of God. According to him Paul taught that Christians otherwise should fulfill the law in their daily lives. Consider the following statements: 'In itself obedience to the law is a good thing (Rom. 12.13)';³⁵ 'He reaffirms that Christians should fulfill the law in [Rom.] 13:8–10';³⁶ 'In both Romans and Galatians, after sharp statements which deny that one can be righteous by works of law, and after connecting the law with sin, Paul nevertheless summarizes correct behavior by saying that those in Christ either do or should fulfill the law.'³⁷

Even though Christians should fulfill the law, Sanders believes that Paul excluded from the law three requirements, namely, circumcision, special days and dietary regulations. Sanders noted that Paul offered no theological reason for eliminating these requirements and that it cannot be determined how much Paul was aware of his own reductions.³⁸ In an attempt to make some sense out of Paul's reductions, Sanders says that in Galatians Paul ruled out circumcision for Gentile converts, Jewish dietary laws for Jewish Christians (when in the company of Gentile

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Christians) and the observance of special Jewish days. He writes that the observance of the latter was 'tantamount to returning to idolatry'.³⁹ In an examination of Romans and 1 Corinthians, Sanders concludes that although there is some variation in these letters about these three requirements when compared to Galatians, these three requirements are the ones Paul singles out. Sanders then suggests that the three have a common denominator which makes them distinct: 'they created a social distinction between Jews and other races in the Greco-Roman world'.⁴⁰ Finally, Sanders says that the deletion of these three requirements was so that Jews and Gentiles could stand on an equal footing.⁴¹

In a similar way Dunn singles out circumcision, special days and food laws as identity markers that set Israel off from the other nations and gave it a particular social identity. He argues that requirements such as these were what Paul terms 'works of the law'. They brought Israel's distinctiveness into sharp focus separating Jew and Gentile. They encouraged a feeling of national superiority and gave a presumption of God's favor by virtue of belonging to a particular people. Paul's attacks on the works of the law should be understood from this point of view. Otherwise, Paul believed that the law, when understood in terms of faith separate from its socially defining aspects, continued to serve in a positive way.⁴² Dunn writes: 'It is because they have such a crucial role in defining 'Jewishness', membership of the covenant people, that circumcision and food laws feature so prominently in discussion of works of the law and righteousness. What lies behind so much of the debate is the identity crisis which Paul's work among the Gentiles precipitated for his fellow Jewish Christians.'⁴³

Although there are points of difference between Sanders and Dunn, both argue that Paul was opposed to those aspects of the law that set Israel off from the Gentiles. Other aspects of the law such as its ethical teachings continued to play a positive role in Paul's theology. Circumcision, dietary laws and special holy days were another matter. They tended to separate Israel from the Gentiles and were, therefore, eliminated as requirements. With their elimination Jew and Gentile could stand on an equal footing and be saved alike.

I have problems with this understanding of Paul. First of all I find it difficult to believe that circumcision, dietary laws and special holy days had to be eliminated so that Jews and Gentiles could stand on an equal footing. A universal requirement (for both Jews and Gentiles) of circumcision, dietary laws and special holy days would just as easily

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have placed Jews and Gentiles on an equal footing. If Paul had been interested in making Jews and Gentiles equal why would he have gone against his own tradition and against many in the church by forcing the Jews to accept Gentile ways rather than forcing Gentiles to accept Jewish ways? The same objective could have been obtained either way.

Second, I find it difficult to believe that Paul eliminated circumcision, dietary laws and special holy days because they defined Israel socially. A socially defined Israel played an important role in Paul's concept of the Gospel. It was because of Israel's trespass that salvation had come to the Gentiles (Rom. 11:11). The Gentiles were a wild olive shoot grafted into the holy lump of Israel (Rom. 11:16–24). The Gentiles had come to share in Israel's spiritual blessings (Rom. 15:27). The salvation of the Gentiles was for the purpose of making Israel jealous (Rom. 11:11). Paul magnified his ministry as an apostle to the Gentiles in order to save Jews (Rom. 21:13–14). He insisted that all Israel would be saved (Rom. 11:26). He pointed out that regarding the election they were beloved for the sake of their forefathers because the gifts and calling of God are irrevocable (Rom. 11:28–9). Finally, he said that Christ had become a servant to the circumcised for the truth of God in order to confirm the promises to the fathers (Rom. 15:8). From this it does not seem that Paul wanted to erase the social distinctiveness of Israel. It was the social distinctiveness of Israel that gave the Gospel of Christ meaning in regard to the Gentile mission. The 'Gentile mission' implied an already existing entity, namely, Israel, to which the Gentiles might be added. Sam K. Williams criticized me on this point, saying that I had overlooked the clear implications of Gal. 3:28, 5:6 and 6:15 in regard to the distinctiveness of Israel.⁴⁴ Gal. 3:28 reads: 'There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus' (RSV). Williams' point seems to be that in Christ there are no distinctions whatever. This is no doubt true when individual salvation is considered. Women are saved as well as men, etc. But Paul, in spite of his words, knew that women in this world were different from men. Gaston gives the correct interpretation to this passage when he writes: 'Paul also says that in Christ 'there is neither Jew nor Greek . . . neither male or female' (Gal. 3:28). That means that in Christ there is both Jew and Greek, both male and female. Just as women do not need to become men nor men women to attain their full humanity, so Jews do not need to become Gentiles nor do Gentiles need to become Jews.'⁴⁵

In my view, then, Paul's understanding of Christianity included a law-abiding Israel. He gave sanction to this when he accepted the right

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hand of the pillar apostles in Jerusalem. The agreement reached in Jerusalem was that Peter would go to the circumcision; Paul and Barnabas would go to the Gentiles. At the same time it is clear from Galatians that Paul forbade the observance of circumcision, special holy days and Jewish dietary laws to the Gentiles. Although he spoke sometimes of Gentiles fulfilling the law (Gal. 5:14; Rom. 8:4) he did not mean for them to keep the regulations mentioned above. But to describe this as an elimination is off the mark. The law had been given to Israel *alone*; not to the Gentiles. The observation of these regulations by Jews, with Paul's sanction, therefore, showed that they were not eliminated. Although it is true that Paul sometimes spoke of the 'whole law' in regard to Gentile behavior (Gal. 5:14) the context shows that he did not want the Gentiles to keep the 'whole law'. One can ascribe this to inconsistency or whatever, but the bottom line is that the Law of Moses as it was known among the Jews of that day, with its regulations and circumcision, special holy days and dietary laws, was forbidden by Paul to the Gentiles, but *only* to the Gentiles, not to the Jews.

I return now to the question of why Paul insisted on the inclusion of uncircumcised Gentiles. He did so because his view of the Gospel envisioned a unity between a socially defined Israel who kept the law and Gentiles who did not. His understanding of the Gospel was that the Gentiles were to join Israel's religion without becoming Israel. They were to accept Israel's God, Israel's Messiah and Israel's Scriptures. But, except as an engrafted wild olive shoot, they were not to become Israel. Thus Paul's view of the Gospel envisioned a unity between Israel and the nations without identifying Israel with the nations. To erase the socially definable aspects of either entity would be to destroy his understanding of the Gospel. In *Crisis*¹ I argued that Paul held this view because he believed that 'only in this way could Israel conceptualize *their* God as a universal God, and only in this way could the Gentiles conceptualize the one God of the world as *the God of Abraham the Hebrew*' (p. 81). I still think this is on the right track.

The faith of Christ and the inclusion of the Gentiles

In order to conclude my thoughts on Paul's position regarding the Gentiles I come to the phrase *πίστις χριστοῦ* which in *Crisis*¹ (pp. 57–8) I suggested played an important role in Paul's thought. It appears in Gal. 2:16 (twice), 2:20, 3:22, 26 (in P46 *et al.*) and several times elsewhere in Paul's letters (i.e., Rom. 3:22, 26; Phil. 3:9). A number of

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interpretations have been given to the phrase by those who believe that it employs a subjective genitive meaning, 'the faith of Christ'. Gabriel Hebert explained it as the frailty of man taking refuge in the firmness and faithfulness of Christ.⁴⁶ Thomas Torrance explained it as both the faith of God and the faith of man being performed by Christ.⁴⁷ G. M. Taylor believed that in Galatians the phrase referred to the *fidei commissum* of Roman law. According to him it explains in juristic terms how Abraham's inheritance is passed on through Christ to both Jews and Greeks.⁴⁸ E. R. Goodenough argued that Christ's faith was his 'trusting that the cross would not be the end, and that God would save him from death because God is *pistos*, God is the righteous one who is absolutely supreme in that he is beyond life and death'.⁴⁹ He further stated that we share in Christ's faith when we identify with him. Richard Hays concluded that Christ's faith 'was manifested in his death on the cross, which, as a representative of human faith, brought about redemption and which at the same time manifested the faithfulness of God'.⁵⁰ He further said that Christians are saved not by their own faith but by participation in Jesus Christ who was a representative figure. Finally, Paul Pollard interpreted the phrase as Christ's own faith in God demonstrated by his obedient life and death. He suggested that Christians participate in this system of faith by believing in God and obeying him as Christ did.⁵¹

Without denying the validity of these explanations, I view the meaning of the *πίστις χριστοῦ* formula from a different perspective. Particularly in Romans and Galatians, the formula relates primarily to the inclusion of the Gentiles. The explanations offered above (with the exception of Taylor) apply primarily to the salvation of individual persons. They express notions of participating in Christ, following the example of Christ, taking refuge in Christ or of obeying God. In Romans and Galatians, however, the context to the formula suggests that Israel and the nations are in view. In Romans Paul writes: 'Or is God the God of Jews only? Is he not the God of Gentiles also? Yes, of Gentiles also since God is one' (Rom. 3:29–30 RSV). The context is one in which it is stated that the righteousness of God has been manifested by the faith of Jesus Christ (Rom. 3:21–22). In Galatians a similar pattern emerges. There Paul writes that 'in Christ Jesus the blessing of Abraham might come upon the Gentiles' (Gal. 3:14 RSV). This is written in the context of the promise given to Abraham that all the nations will be blessed in him (Gal. 3:8). Shortly before this Paul speaks of the faith of Christ (Gal. 2:16) and afterwards he mentions the coming of the faith of Jesus Christ (Gal. 3:22–5). In my view, Paul

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understood the faith of Jesus Christ to be the fulfillment of the promise given to Abraham which stated that all the nations would be blessed in him. Christ kept faith (=faith of Christ) with the divine promise by opening the doors to the Gentile nations. This was a pure act of grace initiated and completed by the will of God. It was designed to lead both Israel and the Gentiles to faith in Yahweh, the God of Israel, as the one and only God of all. For Paul the doctrine of justification by faith is the doctrine that by the faith of Jesus Christ God has united Israel and the nations now in this present age in order to accomplish the salvation of mankind.

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NOTES

- 1 George Lyons, *Pauline Autobiography Toward a New Understanding* (SBLDS 73; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 76–121. See also J. Louis Martyn, 'A Law-Observant Mission to Gentiles: The Background of Galatians', *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 38 (1985), 313. For a balanced view of mirror reading see J.M.G. Barclay, 'Mirror Reading a Polemical Letter: Galatians as a Test Case', *JSNT*, 31 (1987), 73–93. For a discussion of the proper use of Paul's letter as source material for early Christianity see E. Larson, 'Die paulinischen Schriften als Quellen zur Geschichte des Urchristentums', *Studia Theologica*, 37 (1983), 33–53.
- 2 Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979) 5–6.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 5–6.
- 4 For surveys of research and views see Heinrich Schlier, *Der Brief an Die Galater* (5th ed; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1971), 19–24; Franz Mussner, *Der Galaterbrief* (Freiburg: Herder, 1974), 10–30.
- 5 See however, Johannes Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1977), 96–8 who argues that the 'false brothers' were Galatian opponents.
- 6 Betz, *Galatians*, 90.
- 7 Watson argues that they did go to Galatia 'to put into practice the policies which had already been successful at Antioch'. See Francis Watson, *Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles* (SNTSMS 56; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 60.
- 8 Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles* (English translation, Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971), 361.
- 9 A distinction between the two issues is noted by, among others, Richard J. Cassidy, *Society and Politics in the Acts of Apostles* (Maryknoll, NY; Orbis Books, 1987), 70–1.
- 10 Hans Hübner, *Law in Paul's Thought* (English translation, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1984). See also U. Wilkens, 'Zur Entwicklung des paulinischen Gesetzesverständnis', *NTS*, 28 (1982), 154–90.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 60–5.
- 12 For my treatment of two specific passages in Romans see George Howard, 'Christ the End of the Law: The Meaning of Romans 10:4ff.', *JBL*, 87 (1969), 331–7; 'Romans 3:21–31 and the Inclusion of the Gentiles', *HTR*, 63 (1970), 223–33.
- 13 For another recent study of development in Paul's thought see S. Schulz, 'Der frühe und der späte Paulus. Überlegungen zur Entwicklung seiner Theologie und Ethik', *Theologische Zeitschrift*, 41 (1985) 228–36.
- 14 George Howard, *The Gospel of Matthew According to a Primitive Hebrew Text* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987).
- 15 See George Howard, 'A Note on the Short Ending of Matthew', *HTR*, 81 (1988), 117–20.

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- 16 I have written this section with an eye on George Foot Moore, *Judaism* (8th printing; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958) I, 323–53.
- 17 For references in Rabbinic sources see *ibid.*, I, 341–9.
- 18 *Ibid.*, II, 323.
- 19 For literature on this subject see Joachim Jeremias, *Jesus' Promise to the Nations* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), 59–60; T. L. Donaldson, 'The "Curse" of the Law and the Inclusion of the Gentiles: Galatians 3.13–4', *NTS*, 32 (1986), 99–100; *Jesus on the Mountain* (JSNT Supplement Series 8; Sheffield: University of Sheffield, 1985), 43–5; 62–9; B. Sundkler, 'Jésus et les païens', *RHPR*, 16 (1936), 485–8; Roger D. Aus, 'Paul's Travel Plans to Spain and the "Full Number of the Gentiles" of Rom. XI: 25', *NT*, 21 (1979), 232–62.
- 20 Munck argued for a similar view in *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind*, 247–81.
- 21 Heikki Räisänen, *Paul and the Law* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), 47. See also Heikki Räisänen, 'Paul's Conversion and the Development of His View of the Law', *NTS*, 33 (1987), 406.
- 22 See Peter Richardson, 'Pauline Inconsistency: I Corinthians 9:19–23 and Galatians 2:11–14', *NTS*, 26 (1980), 348. Richardson writes: 'The issue here, too, is a question of eating practices, this time apparently focused on the problem of the company, not the menu as in 1 Cor. 8.' Cf. also Walter Schmithals, *Paul and James* (Studies in Biblical Theology 46; Naperville, IL: Alec R. Allenson, 1965), 64.
- 23 A good example of this assumption is James D. G. Dunn, 'The New Perspective on Paul', *BJRL*, 65 (1983), 109. For perhaps a slight modification of this view see Dunn's later article: 'The incident at Antioch (Gal. 2:11–18)', *JSNT*, 18 (1983), 3–57. Catchpole also makes this assumption in David R. Catchpole, 'Paul, James and the Apostolic Decree', *NTS*, 23 (1976–7), 440.
- 24 Esler uses these examples to demonstrate that Jews did not eat with Gentiles. See Philip Francis Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke–Acts* (SNTS 57; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 80–2. The examples demonstrate the opposite.
- 25 Räisänen, *Paul and the Law*, 259.
- 26 The present tense is virtually taken as a past tense by interpreters. See *Crisis*¹, 43: 'Peter had himself lived like a Gentile.' Cf. Ernest De Witt Burton, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (New York: Scribners, 1920), 211: 'It is an overpressing of the present tense to maintain that it must refer to an act at the very time in progress'; J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to Galatians* (6th edn.; London: Macmillan, 1880), 114: 'The present tense describes St. Peter's general principles as acted upon long before at Caesarea (Acts X.28) and just lately at Antioch (ver. 12), though at the exact moment when St. Paul was speaking, he was living ' *ἰουδαϊκῶς* and not *ἔθνικῶς*.'
- 27 Räisänen missed the point of the present tense when he wrote: 'Correspondingly, in 2.14 Peter's return to the observance of table regulations is called "living like a Jew" (*ἰουδαϊκῶς ζῆν*, *ἰουδαΐζειν*).'
 Räisänen, 'Paul's Conversion and the Development of His View of the

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- Law', 406. The text, by employing the present tense ζῆς and the negative οὐχὶ says the opposite, namely, that Peter was living 'Hellenistically' (ἑθνικῶς . . . ζῆς) and not 'Judaistically' (οὐχ Ἰουδαϊκῶς ζῆς).
- 28 Richardson doubts the validity of the charge of hypocrisy. See Richardson, 'Pauline Inconsistency: 1 Corinthians 9:19–23 and Galatians 2:11–14', 350.
 - 29 See J. Louis Martyn, 'A Law-Observant Mission to the Gentiles: The Background of Galatians', *SJT* 38 (1985) 315: 'It is apparently the vocation of the Teachers to make it clear that the Law is good news for the Gentiles, and they do that with a vision which we may assume to be, in their view at least, no less universalistic than that of Paul (3.8).'
 - 30 For the possibility that there were Jews of the first century who did not demand circumcision of proselytes see Peder Borgen, *Philo, John and Paul* (Atlanta: Scholars Press 1987), 61–71. See also Neil J. McEleney, 'Conversion, Circumcision and the Law', *NTS*, 20 (1974), 319–41.
 - 31 There were apparently some exceptions. The following passages suggest the partial or total destruction of the Gentiles: Isa. 34:2, 63:1–6; Jer. 25:30–32; Dan. 2:44; Psalms of Solomon 17.24 (27); 1 QM 12.11–12; Enoch 91.9; 2 Bar. 72:2–6; Ben Sira 36.1–9.
 - 32 See the reviews of *Crisis*¹ by A. J. M. Wedderburn in *SJT*, 33 (1980), 376; James D. G. Dunn, *ET*, 91 (1979), 26.
 - 33 Peder Borgen suggests that the troublemakers deduced from Paul's ethical demands that he actually did preach circumcision because 'among the Jews at that time, circumcision was understood to portray the removal of passions, desires and the evil inclination'. See Borgen, *Philo, John and Paul*, 256–7.
 - 34 Lloyd Gaston, *Paul and the Torah* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987), 148.
 - 35 E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), 550.
 - 36 E. P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), 93.
 - 37 *Ibid.*, 113.
 - 38 *Ibid.*, 102–3.
 - 39 *Ibid.*, 100–1.
 - 40 *Ibid.*, 102.
 - 41 *Ibid.*, 103.
 - 42 James D. G. Dunn, 'Works of the Law and the Curse of the Law (Galatians 3.10–14)', *NTS*, 31 (1985), 523–42. See also his earlier study, 'The New Perspective on Paul', 95–122.
 - 43 Dunn, 'Works of the Law', 531.
 - 44 See Sam K. Williams' review of *Crisis*¹, in *JBL*, 100 (1981), 307–8.
 - 45 Gaston, *Paul and the Torah*, 33–4.
 - 46 Gabriel Hebert, 'Faithfulness and "Faith"', *Theology*, 58 (1955), 373–9.
 - 47 Thomas Torrance, 'One Aspect of the Biblical Conception of Faith', *ET*, 68 (1957), 111–14.
 - 48 G. M. Taylor, 'The Function of ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ in Galatians', *JBL*, 85 (1966), 58–76.

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- 49 Ervin R. Goodenough with A. T. Kraabel, 'Paul and the Hellenization of Christianity', in *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough*, ed. Jacob Neusner (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 57.
- 50 Richard B. Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ* (SBLDS 56; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 174.
- 51 Jesse Paul Pollard, 'The Problem of the Faith of Christ' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Baylor University, 1982).

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ABR</i>	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
<i>BLE</i>	<i>Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique</i>
<i>BR</i>	<i>Biblical Research</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>ET</i>	<i>The Expository Times</i>
<i>ETR</i>	<i>Études Théologiques et Religieuses</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>Kaige</i>	A recension of the Septuagint
<i>KUD</i>	<i>Kerygma und Dogma</i>
<i>LXX</i>	Septuagint
<i>MT</i>	<i>Masoretic Text</i>
<i>MTZ</i>	<i>Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>NT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>RHPR</i>	<i>Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses</i>
<i>RSR</i>	<i>Recherches de Science Religieuse</i>
<i>RSV</i>	<i>Revised Standard Version</i>
<i>SE</i>	<i>Studia Evangelica</i>
<i>SEA</i>	<i>Svensk Exegetisk Arsbok</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Translated by G. W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids, 1964.
<i>TL</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>TQ</i>	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>
<i>TR</i>	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>