

ETDS

Galatians

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ETDS 2016—GALATIANS

Reconciling Acts & Galatians

Kevin Kay

Text:

Introduction:

- I. *Mike Willis:* “At the outset of the study of any New Testament book, the **introductory matters** attempt to answer these questions: (1) To **whom** was the book written? (2) **When** was it written? And (3) **Why** was it written? Few books of the New Testament prove to be **as difficult** as Galatians in providing answers to these questions.” (Bold emphasis added, x)
- II. I’ve been asked to **reconcile Acts and Galatians**. In an effort to do that, there are basically **four questions** that we want to consider:
 - A. **Who** are the Galatians to whom Paul writes his letter?
 - B. **How** should **Paul’s visits** to Jerusalem, mentioned in Acts and Galatians, **be correlated**?
 - C. **Where** and **when** was Galatians written?
 - D. **How** do we harmonize Paul’s preaching with his practice concerning the law of Moses?
- III. These are **difficult questions** to answer because “**sticky wickets**” abound
 - A. The first question is hard to answer, because the term “**Galatia**” had **two meanings** in the first century
 1. Sometimes it was used merely to refer to an area in north and east central Asia Minor settled by the **Gauls**
 - a. *Donald K. Campbell:* “First, it referred to the area in Asia Minor where the **Gauls** had settled after migrating from western Europe through Italy and Greece. The territory was limited to the **north central** and **east central** areas of **Asia Minor** and its principal cities were **Ancyra, Pessinus, and Tavium.**” (Bold emphasis added, 2:587)

2. Sometimes it was used to refer to the **Roman province of Galatia** that included:
 - a. The northern area settled by the **Gauls** ["North Galatia"]
 - b. Territory to the **south**, including the cities of Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe ["South Galatia"]¹ (Guthrie, 465)
 - 1) *Donald K. Campbell*: "[I]n 25 B.C. this kingdom was converted to a **Roman province**, and territory was added to **the south**, including the cities of **Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe.**" (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*)
 - 2) *Ben Witherington, III*: "It [the Roman province of Galatia, ksk] bordered on the **Black Sea** in the north and the **Mediterranean Sea** in the south, and in theory when Paul addressed persons as **Galatians**, if he used **Roman provincial designations**, he could be addressing **people anywhere in this region**. **Strabo** in his discussion of Galatia confirms that the province included old **Galatia, Pisidia, Lycaonia**, parts of **Pamphylia**, and **Cilicia Trachea** (12.5.1)." (Bold emphasis added, 3)
 3. The **letter** to the Galatians gives us **no direct clue** as to the **geographic area** of Paul's evangelism (Cole, 22)
 4. However, Paul could not have written to churches in both "North Galatia" and "South Galatia" at the **same time**, because the letter of Galatians implies that the "**churches of Galatia**" (Gal. 1:2) were all **established** at about the **same time** (Gal. 4:13-14, 19), and Paul did not **visit** both of these areas at the **same time** (Boice, 10:412)
 - a. The churches in "**South Galatia**" (i.e. Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe) were established by Paul and Barnabas on the **First Missionary Journey** (Acts 13:14, 51; 14:6, 20-23)
 - b. If Paul established churches in "**North Galatia**" at all (and this is disputed), they could not have been established until the **Second Missionary Journey** when he allegedly visited this area (Acts 16:6)
- B. The second question is hard to answer, because the **number of Paul's visits** to Jerusalem following his conversion **differ** in Acts and Galatians
1. In Acts, Luke mentions **5 visits** that Paul made to Jerusalem after his conversion

- a. 1st Visit: **The Post-Conversion Visit** (Acts 9:26-30; 22:17-18)
 - b. 2nd Visit: **The Famine Relief Visit** (Acts 11:27-30; 12:25)
 - c. 3rd Visit: **The Jerusalem Conference Visit** (Acts 15:4ff)
 - d. 4th Visit: **The Jewish Feast Visit**, after the Second Missionary Journey (Acts 18:21-22)
 - e. 5th Visit: **The Collection Visit**, after the Third Missionary Journey (Acts 21:15, 17)
2. In Galatians, Paul mentions only **2 visits** that he made to Jerusalem after his conversion
 - a. 1st Visit: After **3 Years** (Gal. 1:18-19)
 - b. 2nd Visit: After **14 Years** (Gal. 2:1-10)
 3. To complicate matters even further, we should at least consider the **possibility** that Paul's **Visit After 14 Years** (Gal. 2:1-10) **does not correspond** to any of his visits mentioned by Luke in the book of Acts
 - a. Perhaps **Luke failed to mention this visit** just as he did not mention Paul's trip to **Arabia** (Gal. 1:17) (*Ramsay, Galatians, 286*)
 - b. Although I think this is **highly unlikely**, I think this possibility should at least be **mentioned**
- C. The third question is hard to answer, because:
1. There is **no indication** in Galatians of its **place of origin** (unlike other Pauline epistles)
 - a. The **place of origin** for one Pauline letter is **explicitly stated**:
 - 1) **1 Corinthians** was written from Ephesus (cf. 1 Cor. 16:8-9)
 - b. The **place of origin** for two Pauline letters is **implied**:
 - 1) **Romans** was written from Corinth
 - a) Paul commends **Phoebe** who was from **Cenchrea** (Rom. 16:1-2), and Cenchrea was the **port city** for **Corinth** (cf. Rom. 16:1-2 & Acts 18:1, 18)
 - b) Paul sends greetings from **Gaius** (Rom. 16:23) who was baptized in **Corinth** (1 Cor. 1:14)

- 2) **2 Corinthians** was written from Macedonia (Acts 20:1-2)
 - a) When Paul wrote this letter, he was **boasting** [present tense] of the Corinthians to the Macedonians (cf. 2 Cor. 9:2-4)
- c. The **place of origin** for other Pauline letters may be **deduced** by “connecting the dots”
 - 1) The **“Prison Epistles”** were almost certainly written from Rome
 - a) **Four** of Paul’s letters were written from **prison**
 - 1] **Ephesians** (cf. Eph. 3:1; 4:1; 6:20)
 - 2] **Philippians** (cf. Phil. 1:7, 13-14, 16)
 - 3] **Colossians** (cf. Col. 4:3, 10, 18)
 - 4] **Philemon** (cf. Phile. 1, 9-10, 13, 23)
 - b) Although Paul was imprisoned several times in different cities, relevant data suggests that these **“Prison Epistles”** were written from **Rome**
 - 1] Paul was **imprisoned** in **Rome** for two years (Acts 28:16, 30-31)
 - 2] During his imprisonment, Paul continued to **preach** the gospel (Eph. 6:18-20; Phil. 1:12-18; Col 4:2-4)
 - 3] In Philippians, Paul mentions the **Praetorium** and **Caesar’s household** (Phil. 1:13; 4:22)
 - 4] **Aristarchus** accompanied Paul to Rome (Acts 27:2), and he is a **fellow-prisoner** with Paul when he wrote Colossians (Col. 4:14)
 - 5] **Luke** accompanied Paul to Rome (Acts 28:14, 16), and he was **with Paul** when he wrote Colossians (Col. 4:14)
 - 6] **Paul’s companions**, mentioned in the “Prison Epistles” are known to have been with him in **Rome**, but not in **Caesarea**
 - 7] Paul had **liberty** to **preach** the gospel during his imprisonment in Rome (Acts 28:30-31), but it is not known that he had such liberty in **Caesarea**

- 2) **1 Thessalonians** was written from Corinth
 - a) 1 Thessalonians was written not long after Paul **left** Thessalonica (1 Th. 2:17-18)
 - b) It was written while **Silvanus** (Silas) and **Timothy** were with Paul (1 Th. 1:1)
 - c) It was written after Paul sent **Timothy** from Athens to **revisit** the church in Thessalonica (1 Th. 3:1-5)
 - d) It was written after Timothy **rejoined** Paul to report on the condition of the church (1 Th. 3:6-8)
 - e) When Paul left Athens, he went to **Corinth** (Acts 18:1)
 - f) Silas and Timothy **left Macedonia** and **rejoined** Paul in **Corinth** (Acts 18:5)
 - g) Silas is not known to have been with **Paul** and **Timothy** after the initial mission in Corinth (Acts 18:5)
 - h) Therefore, Paul almost certainly wrote 1 Thessalonians from **Corinth**
 - 3) **2 Thessalonians** was written from Corinth
 - a) It must have been written before Paul's **second visit** to Thessalonica (Acts 20:1-3)
 - b) It was written while Paul was accompanied by **Silas** and **Timothy** (2 Th. 1:1), and **Corinth** is the only known place where this was the case in the intervening period
 - 4) **1 Timothy** was probably written from Macedonia (1 Tim. 1:3)
 - 5) **2 Timothy** was probably written from Rome during a Second Roman Imprisonment (2 Tim. 1:8, 16; 2:9)
- d. The **place of origin** for Galatians is not **explicitly stated** or **implied**. Furthermore, the letter alone does not give us enough information to even **deduce a conclusion** by "connecting the dots"
- 1) By using a **few clues** contained in Galatians and Luke's account of **Paul's Missionary Journeys**, we may be able to deduce a **probable place of origin**; but that's about all we can do

2. The answer to this question depends on the answers to the **first two questions**
 - a. The **identity** of the “Galatians”
 - b. The **correlation** of Paul’s visits to Jerusalem
 - D. About the time you think you have the **puzzle(s) solved**, another puzzle piece **doesn’t fit**
- II. The **good news** is that none of these questions affect the **interpretation** and **application** of Galatians
- A. *Mike Willis*: “The introductory problems related to Galatians will never be **convincingly settled**. All that a person can do is to **present both sides** of the controverted points and **leave these basic issues unsolved**. Let it be observed, however, that our ignorance of these matters does not preclude the **correct exegesis** of the letter. The main thoughts of the letter stand out quite clearly.” (Bold emphasis added, x)
 - B. There is **one exception** that I am aware of
 1. Some institutional brethren have accepted the “**North Galatian Hypothesis**” and have argued from it that **Galatians 6:10** refers to the **benevolent relief** sent by Gentile churches to Jerusalem (cf. Rom. 15:25-26, 31; 1 Cor. 16:1-4; 2 Cor. 8:1-4; 9:1, 12-13); and therefore this **great collection** was intended for **Christians** and **non-Christians**²
 - a. Analyzing this argument is **outside the scope** of this study, but **Martin Pickup** has written a helpful response³
- III. However, the questions we will consider are **important** because they do relate to:
- A. The **historical accuracy** of the book of Acts
 - B. The **integrity** of the apostle Paul
 - C. **NT chronology**
 - D. How we as Bible students **rightly divide** the word of truth (2 Tim. 2:15)

Body:

- I. **WHO ARE THE GALATIANS?**
 - A. **The North Galatian Theory:**

1. Explanation:

- a. Galatians was written to **churches** in various cities (e.g. Ancyra, Pessinus, Tavium) in “**North Galatia**” that were established by Paul and Silas on Paul’s **Second Missionary Journey**
- b. The “**North Galatian Theory**” is defended by **reputable scholars**: J. B. Lightfoot, James Moffatt, Conybeare & Howson, F. Godet, H.A.W. Meyer, Ellicott, Alford, Findlay, and the greater number of German critics (Willis, xv)

2. Affirmative Arguments:

- a. Argument #1: **The popular use of the terms “Galatia” (Gal. 1:2) and “Galatians” (Gal. 3:1) usually signified the Gauls living in “North Galatia”** (Lightfoot, 19; Carson & Moo, 460)

1) Explanation:

- a) The terms “**Galatia**” and “**Galatians**,” as used by Luke (Acts 16:6; 18:23) and Paul (Gal. 1:2; 3:1), refer to “**North Galatia**” and **ethnic Galatians**
- b) The northern area was the **true Galatia**, in **race and language**
- c) This is the **oldest and most obvious meaning** of the word “**Galatia**”
- d) Since the terms **Mysia**, **Phrygia**, and **Pisidia** are all “**geographical expressions**” (Acts 13:14; 14:24; 16:6-8; 18:23) and the term **Galatia** is used in the same contexts (Acts 14:24; 16:6-8; 18:23), it is reasonable to conclude that Galatia is also a “**geographical expression**”⁴
- e) Other parts of the **Roman province** would more truly be designated as **Pisidia** (Acts 13:14; 14:24), or **Phrygia** (Acts 2:10; 16:6; 18:23), or **Lycaonia** (Acts 14:6), as the case might be
- f) The official Roman title for the province was “**the Province of Galatia and...**” listing all these other areas in turn

2) Evaluation:

- a) Luke's usage of the term "Galatia" says **nothing** about Paul's usage of this term
 - b) The terms "**Galatia**" and "**Galatians**" were used to refer to the **whole Roman province** by that name and its **inhabitants** (Carson & Moo, 460)
 - 1] *Ben Witherington, III*: "[T]here is clear evidence from the inscriptions of the period that the **entire region** was regularly called **Galatia** in the NT era (cf. *ILS* 9499; *IG* Rom. 3.263, Eutropius 7.10), and not just the Celtic or Gallic part." (Bold emphasis added, 4)
- b. Argument #2: In Acts Luke describes places according to geographical region rather than political province (Wallace, 2; Rapa, 11:551)
- 1) Explanation:
 - a) Luke uses **geographical titles**, not **Roman provincial titles**, to describe the regions that Paul visited
 - 1] **Pamphylia** (Acts 13:13)
 - 2] **Perga** (Acts 13:14)
 - 3] **Pisidia** (Acts 13:14)
 - 4] **Lycaonia** (Acts 14:6)
 - 5] **Phrygia** (Acts 16:6)
 - 6] **Asia** (Acts 16:6)
 - 7] **Bithynia** (Acts 16:7)
 - 8] **Phrygia** (Acts 18:23)
 - b) Therefore, it is certainly reasonable to conclude that when he refers to "**Phrygia** and the region of **Galatia**" (Acts 16:6) and "the region of **Galatia** and **Phrygia**" (Acts 18:23), he refers to two districts, not one: **geographic Phrygia** and **geographic Galatia** [i.e. "North Galatia"]⁵ (Carson & Moo, 460; Longenecker, lxxv)
 - c) **Derbe** and **Lystra** were "**cities of Lycaonia**" (Acts 14:6, 11), not **Phrygia**, so "**Phrygia and the region of Galatia**" (Acts

16:6) cannot refer to the area Paul had **already visited** on his First Missionary Journey

- d) Furthermore, **“Galatia”** cannot refer to the **Roman province** of **“Galatia”** since it **included** a **part** of the former district of **“Phrygia”** (Guthrie, 466)

2) Evaluation:

- a) Ancient Greek and Latin writers consistently used the term **“Galatia”** to refer to **“North Galatia,”** but Luke uses **different terminology**. Why would he do that unless he was referring to a **different area** (Ramsay, *Galatians*, 314)

- c. Argument #3: In Acts Luke does not use the terms “Galatia” or “Galatians” when recounting Paul’s evangelistic efforts in “South Galatia” on his First Missionary Journey (Rapa, 11: 551)

1) Explanation:

- a) Luke does not refer to Pisidian **Antioch, Iconium, Lystra,** and **Derbe** as being a part of the Roman province of **“Galatia”**⁶ (Guthrie, 466)

- b) He refers to these cities in terms of **geographical districts**

1] **“Antioch in Pisidia”** (Acts 13:14)

2] **“Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia”** (Acts 14:6)

2) Evaluation:

- a) Luke’s terminology **says nothing** about Paul’s terminology

- d. Argument #4: In Acts Luke indicates that the apostle Paul evangelized in “North Galatia”

1) Explanation:

- a) Luke reports that Paul went through **“Phrygia and the region of Galatia”** on his **Second Missionary Journey** (Acts 16:6)

1] Luke’s terminology indicates that Galatia was **quite distinct** from Phrygia (and presumably other districts such as Lycaonia) (Carson & Moo, 461)

- 2] Therefore he is using **popular and geographical terms** that denote **two districts**, not one
- 3] Since Galatia is **distinct** from Phrygia and Phrygia was a **part of the Roman province of Galatia**, Luke must be referring to **“North Galatia”** (Longenecker, lxv; Boice, 414)
- 4] In Acts 16:6 the **aorist participle** κωλυθέντες [“they were forbidden,” ksk] refers to **action antecedent to the time of the main verb**, διήλθον [“when they had gone through,” ksk], in keeping with **normal grammar**
 - a] Thus the verse should read something like this:
 “Since they **were forbidden** by the Holy Spirit from speaking the word in **Asia**, they went through **the Phrygian and Galatian region.**”⁷
 - b] Since Paul was already in **Lycaonia** (Acts 16:1 & 14:6) when the Holy Spirit **forbade** him to preach the word in **Asia** (Acts 16:6), he had no alternative but to turn **north** (Guthrie, 467)
 - c] If so, then they did indeed travel through **“North Galatia”** and perhaps even **establish churches** there (as διήλθον seems to imply in 18:23) (Wallace, 3, n. 7)
- b) He also reports that Paul “went over **the region of Galatia and Phrygia** in order, **strengthening all the disciples**” on his **Third Missionary Journey** (Acts 18:23)
 - 1] The fact that Paul **strengthened** “**all the disciples**” indicates that **many** had been converted to Christ and that this had occurred **earlier**
 - 2] Since Paul apparently **established** the Galatian churches (Gal. 4:13, 19), they could not have been established by **others** before Paul visited “North Galatia”
 - 3] Furthermore, if Paul **visited the Galatians twice** before he wrote his letter (cf. Gal. 4:13, 19), then these churches must have been established before Paul visited this area a second time on his **Third Missionary Journey** (Acts 18:23)

- c) When Paul passed through the “**upper regions**” on his way to Ephesus (Acts 19:1), what else could that mean except “**North Galatia**”? (Hendriksen, 12)

1] Reply: *F. F. Bruce*: “More or less **any part of inland Asia Minor** could have been called ‘**the upper country**’ in relation to Ephesus....” (Bold emphasis added, 13)

2) Evaluation:

- a) *Timothy George*: “The Greek phrasing in both of these texts is **ambiguous** and, taken alone, could **lend support** to either the **North or South Galatia theory**....If indeed they can be read to mean that on these two missionary journeys Paul visited both **Phrygia** (in **Southern Galatia**) and **Galatia** proper (in the **North**), they constitute the **only evidence**, biblical or otherwise, of **Paul’s evangelization** of this region of Asia Minor.” (Bold emphasis added, 30:42)

- b) In Acts 16:6, there are good reasons to conclude that Luke is referring to **one region or district**, not two -- **the Phrygic-Galactic area, inhabited by Phrygians and known as Phrygia in “South Galatia”**

1] Luke uses the term “**Phrygia**” as an **adjective**⁸

- a] *F. F. Bruce*: “[I]n fact the **adjective Galatiko’s** (Latin *Galaticus*) is **well attested** for those regions of the province which were **not ethnically Galatian**, and also for **the province** as a whole, but not at this period for **ethnic Galatia**.” (Bold emphasis added, 15)

- b] *Ben Witherington, III*: “[T]here is now very clear evidence for the **adjectival use** of the word **Phrygian** in Greek. This means that the phrase found in Acts 16:6 can indeed refer to **one region**, not two, **the Phrygian part of Galatia (Phrygia Galatica)** would have been the Roman term, like the term **Pontus Galatica**). In other words Luke means that **Paul passed through the territory already covered** (including presumably the city of Pisidian Antioch) and then presumably on into uncharted

Phrygian territory on the way to Ephesus.” (Bold emphasis added, 6)

- c] *D. A. Carson & Douglas Moo*: “F. F. Bruce’s careful examination yields the conclusion that the expression can mean only ‘the territory through which Paul and his friends passed after leaving **Lystra**, the territory in which **Iconium** and **Pisidian Antioch** were situated.’ The similar expression in Acts 18:23 seems to mean much the same.” (Bold emphasis added, 458)⁹
- d] Several English versions reflect this view:
- 1} “...**the region of Phrygia and Galatia**” (ASV; ESV; HCSB; ISV; NET; NIV; NRSV; RSV)
 - 2} “...**the Phrygian and Galatian region**” (LEB; NASB)
 - 3} “...**the Phrygian and Galatian territory**” (NAB)
- e] Therefore, the book of Acts **does not really say** that Paul visited “**North Galatia**”
- 1} Response: No division of Galatia was known with the title “**Phrygian Galatia**” (Guthrie, 468)
 - 2} Reply: F. F. Bruce **refutes this objection** in his commentary on Galatians
- 2] Luke uses **one article** (“the”) to govern both terms (“Phrygia” and “Galatia”)
- a] *Ernest de Witt Burton*: “The joining of the words Φρυγίαν and Γαλατικήν by καί, with the **article** before the **first one only**, implies that the **region** designated by Χώρα is **one, Phrygian and Galatian.**”¹⁰ (Bold emphasis added, *A Critical And Exegetical Commentary On The Epistle To The Galatians*, xxxii, quoted in Longenecker, lxvii)
 - b] *Note*: The same grammatical construction is used in the phrase “**Iturea and the region of Trachonitis**” (Lk. 3:1) to refer to **one region**, not two

- 3] In Acts 16:6 *Κωλυθέντες* should be taken as an **aorist participle of subsequent action**
- a] Acts 16:6 would then read: “They went through the **Phrygian-Galatian region**, but were **then forbidden** by the Holy Spirit from **speaking the word in Asia**”
- b] Although this usage of the participle, *is*, admittedly, **quite rare**, in recent years **more and more scholars** are recognizing the validity (though rare) of the **aorist participle of subsequent action**
- 1} G. M. Lee has produced **several examples** of this phenomenon, in both **Koine Greek** (some even in Acts!) and **classical Greek** (“The Aorist Participle of Subsequent Action (Acts 16,6)?”, *Biblica* 51 [1970] 235-57; “The Past Participle of Subsequent Action,” *NovTest* 17 [1973] 199)
- 4] A prohibition against **preaching** in Asia is not necessarily a prohibition against **traveling** through Asia
- 5] Luke’s narrative (Acts 15:41-16:8) is **more intelligible** if “**Phrygia and the region of Galatia**” (Acts 16:6) refers to **one region**
- a] After passing through the **Phrygian-Galatian district**, Paul and Silas attempted to preach in **Asia**, but were **prohibited**. So they came close to **Mysia** and attempted to go north into **Bithynia**, but were again **prohibited** (Acts 16:7). So they went to the coast, to **Troas**, and there Paul saw the **vision** of the man from Macedonia who said, “**Come over to Macedonia and help us**” (Acts 16:8-9)¹¹ (Wallace, 3, 7)
- c) In Acts 18:23, there are good reasons to conclude that Luke is referring to “**South Galatia**” once again
- 1] *Ben Witherington, III*: “It may well **mean the same thing** as Acts 16:6, but there is a chance more is meant here because **Phrygia** is used as a **substantive** here rather than as an **adjective**, and the term **region** is only **coupled** with **Galatia**. Furthermore, the term *καθεξῆς* would seem to point to **the visiting of two regions**, for

the term means **in order**, assuming a **sequence** of at least two members.” (Bold emphasis added, 6)

- 2] *Ben Witherington, III*: “[I]t is likely that here Luke uses the term **Galatia** to refer to the **southern Galatian cities** previously visited, or **the province as a whole** which included these cities, and the term **Phrygia** is used with the awareness that **Phrygia extended beyond the Galatian province into the province of Asia** and that Paul went through both **Phrygian Galatia** and **Phrygian Asia** on his way to **Ephesus**.” (Bold emphasis added, 6)
- 3] Luke’s reference to “**strengthening all the disciples**” (Acts 18:23) favors the conclusion that Paul retraced his steps through an area already **evangelized** (Witherington, III, 6)
 - d) On Paul’s Second Missionary Journey, a trip to “North Galatia” would have been a **detour** from the **most direct route** from Antioch through Syria and Cilicia, Derbe and Lystra to Troas¹² (Acts 15:41; 16:1)
 - e) Even if Luke’s references to “**Galatia**” refer to “**North Galatia**,” at most they indicate that Paul **passed through** this area (Acts 16:6) and **strengthened existing converts** (Acts 18:23), not that he **established churches** in the area
 - 1] Paul certainly **passed through** other areas **without evangelizing** (cf. Acts 13:4; 14:25; 16:7-8, 11; 17:1; 18:18; 20:14-15; 21:1)
 - f) On Paul’s Second Missionary Journey, a trip from “North Galatia” to Troas would have taken Paul and Silas through the areas of **Bithynia** and **Asia** where the Holy Spirit had **forbidden** them to **preach** (Acts 16:6-7)
 - g) On Paul’s Third Missionary Journey, a trip to “North Galatia” would have been a **detour** from the **most direct route** from **Antioch** to **Ephesus** (Acts 18:22-23; 19:1)
- 3) Finally, even if it could be conclusively proven that **Paul visited “North “Galatia”** on his Second and Third Missionary Journeys

(Acts 16:6; 18:23), that would **not prove** that Paul's letter was **addressed to these churches** (Gal. 1:2) (Herrick, 9, n. 46)

- e. Argument #5: It is unlikely that Paul would use the term **"Galatians"** (Gal. 3:1) to address **Pisidians or Lycaonians** (Acts 13:14; 14:6) (Bruce, 14; Carson & Moo, 460)

1) Explanation:

- a) The term **"Galatians"** could properly be given only to the **Gauls**, the Celtic people, who lived in **"North Galatia"** (Berkhof, 180)
- b) *Robert Rapa*: "[I]t would have been **unusual** for Paul to have referred to Christians of **Phrygia** and **Lycaonia** as **Galatians** when they were not ethnically **Celtic** but were considered **'Galatians'** only **politically**." (Bold emphasis added, 11:551)
- c) This **linguistic usage**, *i.e.* referring to Pisidians and Lycaonians as **"Galatians,"** is **not generally attested**
- d) Addressing Pisidians and Lycaonians as **"Galatians"** would be **insulting** because it would remind them of their **subjugation** to Rome (Carson & Moo, 460)

2) Evaluation:

- a) Both Luke and Paul speak elsewhere of **all the inhabitants** of a city or district without making **ethnographical distinctions**:
 - 1] **Corinthians** (2 Cor. 6:11)
 - 2] **Philippians** (Phil. 4:15)
 - 3] **Macedonians** (2 Cor. 9:2, 4; Acts 19:29)
 - 4] **Pontians** (Acts 18:2)
 - 5] **Asians** (Acts 20:4)
 - 6] **Alexandrians** (Acts 18:24)
 - 7] **Romans** (Acts 2:10) (Zahn, 1:175)
- b) *Ben Witherington, III*: "**Strabo** in his discussion of Galatia confirms that the province included old **Galatia, Pisidia,**

Lycaonia, parts of **Pamphylia**, and **Cilicia Trachea** (12.5.1)."

(Bold emphasis added, 3)

- c) If **Lycaonia** and **Pisidia** were rightfully part of **Roman Galatia**, then Paul's terminology was **quite appropriate**
 - d) The inhabitants of "South Galatia" would have been **proud** of a title that implied **Roman citizenship**¹³ (Guthrie, 470)
 - 1] Though a **Jew**, and therefore one of a **subjugated people**, Paul proudly referred to himself as a **Roman citizen** (Acts 16:37-38; 22:25-29)
- f. Argument #6: Paul reminds the Galatians that he initially preached among them "because of physical infirmity" (Gal. 4:13-14), but Luke says nothing about this in Acts
- 1) Explanation:
 - a) Paul indicates that he initially preached among the Galatians because of some **physical infirmity** (Gal. 4:13-14)
 - b) Luke gives **no indication** in Acts that Paul either **began** to preach or **continued** his preaching longer than originally intended in Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe because of **illness** (Boice, 10:416)
 - 2) Evaluation:
 - a) This is an **argument from silence**, and such an argument is at best a **probability** (Boice, 10:417)
 - b) Furthermore, this argument cuts both ways since Luke is equally **silent** about any **illness** during Paul's alleged visits to "**North Galatia**" (Acts 16:6; 18:23) during his **Second and Third Missionary Journeys** (Willis, xiv-xv)
 - c) The book of Acts is obviously a **selective history**, rather than an exhaustive one
 - 1] For example, Luke only mentions a **few** of the **many afflictions** that Paul enumerates (2 Cor. 11:23-33)
 - a] Should we conclude that Paul **did not endure** the sufferings which Luke **does not mention**?¹⁴

d) It is unlikely that Paul would have made the **arduous trip** to “**North Galatia**” while **sick**¹⁵

1) Response:

a) Paul traveled to the mountainous northern region specifically to **convalesce from illness**¹⁶

2) Reply:

a) This is pure **speculation**

b) Would a **sick man** have deliberately tackled the **rigors** of the **much harsher northern climate**? (Cole, 23)

e) *William Hendriksen*: “[T]his difference between the two accounts can be removed by a **different interpretation** of Gal. 4:13, according to which it would not read ‘*because of*’ but ‘*amid*’ **physical infirmity**, which would fully harmonize with Acts 13:50; 14:5, 6, 19; cf. 2 Tim. 3:11.” (Bold emphasis added, 11)

g. Argument #7: Luke reports that Paul was persecuted in “South Galatia” during his First Missionary Journey, but Paul says nothing about this in Galatians (Carson & Moo, 460)

1) Explanation:

a) In **Antioch of Pisidia**, the Jews **opposed** Paul and Barnabas (Acts 13:44-46), then **persecuted** them, and **expelled** them from their region (Acts 13:50)

b) In **Iconium**, the unbelieving Jews **stirred up** the Gentiles against the brethren (Acts 14:2), the city was **divided**, and a violent attempt was made to **stone** Paul and Barnabas (Acts 14:4-5)

c) In **Lystra**, Jews from Antioch and Iconium stirred up the multitude and they **stoned** Paul and left him for dead (Acts 14:19)

d) Paul mentioned these persecutions in **2 Timothy** (2 Tim. 3:11); yet Paul **says nothing** about this persecution in his letter to the Galatians

2) Evaluation:

- a) Once again this is an **argument from silence**, and such an argument is **notoriously unreliable**
 - 1] If Paul's persecutions were **not germane** to the purpose(s) of his letter, there would be no reason for him to **mention** or **allude** to them
- b) However Paul did say, "I bear in my body **the marks** of the Lord Jesus" (Gal. 6:17) which certainly could refer to **scars** received in his stoning at Lystra (Acts 14:19)
- c) His allusion to possible **eye problems** (Gal. 4:13-15) also could have been caused or aggravated by his **stoning**

1] Response:

- a] **Possibility** is not **probability**, much less **certainty**

h. Argument #8: The problems addressed in Galatians, involving Gentile Christians, were more likely to have arisen in "North Galatia" than "South Galatia" since there were more Gentiles in this area

1) Explanation:

- a) The **churches** of Galatia were predominantly **Gentile**
 - 1] Paul was the **apostle** to the **Gentiles** (Gal. 1:16; 2:2, 9)
 - 2] Some/many of the Galatians had been **idolaters** (Gal. 4:8-11)
 - 3] Some/many of the Galatians were **uncircumcised** (Gal. 5:2-3; 6:12-13)
- b) There were **more Jews** in "South Galatia" than in "North Galatia"
- c) There were **more Gentiles** in "North Galatia"; therefore the **problems** addressed in Galatians would more likely **exist there**¹⁷

- d) In “**South Galatia**,” with its large **Jewish population**, the **problems** Paul addresses in Galatians would have **arisen immediately**, not later after Paul had left the area¹⁸

2) Evaluation:

- a) The **churches** in “South Galatia” were made up of both **Jews** and **Gentiles**
- 1] When Paul preached in the **synagogues**, it was to both **Jews** and **Gentiles** (Acts 13:42)
 - 2] Both **Jews** and **Gentiles** became **Christians** (Acts 13:43; 14:1)
- b) Furthermore, **Paul’s use of the OT** in the book of Galatians points to the presence of at least **some Jews** in the **Galatian churches** and of **considerable Jewish influence** even in predominantly **Gentile congregations** (Hendriksen, 11)
- c) Moreover, since Paul makes “**Jewish arguments**” to convince **Gentiles** not to become **more Jewish**, these Gentiles must have had some **acquaintance** with **Judaism** and the **OT** (Witherington, III, 7)
- 1] The references to **Abraham** (Gal. 3:6-9, 14, 16, 18, 29)
 - 2] The references to **the covenant** (Gal. 3:17)
 - 3] The allegory of **Hagar** and **Sarah** (Gal. 4:21-31)
- i. Argument #9: It is **unlikely that Paul would have referred to Barnabas as he does in Galatians (Gal. 2:1, 9, 13) if he were writing to churches in “South Galatia”**

1) Explanation:

- a) **Barnabas helped Paul establish** the churches in “South Galatia” (Acts 13:2, 43, 46, 50; 14:12, 14); yet Paul claims in his letter that **he established** “the churches of Galatia” (Gal. 1:8-9; 4:13, 19) (Berkhof, 180)
- b) Paul would not have **slighted Barnabas** like this if he were writing to the churches that they established in “South Galatia”

- c) Therefore, Paul must have been writing to churches in
“North Galatia” (Boice, 10:417)

2) Evaluation:

- a) Paul does indicate that there was a **“we”** who had preached the gospel to the Galatians (Gal. 1:8)
- b) Paul speaks of Barnabas as **an equal** in his letter to the Galatians (Gal. 2:1, 9)
- c) If Paul **could rebuke Peter** to his face (Gal. 2:11-12), and he was Peter’s equal (Gal. 2:6; 2 Cor. 11:5; 12:11), he could certainly **refer to Barnabas** as he did (Gal. 2:13)

j. Argument #10: The character traits of the Gaul’s fit Paul’s description of his readers (Berkhof, 180)

1) Explanation:

- a) Various ancient writers described the Gauls as a **fickle and superstitious** people (esp. Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 2.1; 4.5; 6.16; Cicero, *De Divinatione* 1.5; 2.36-37) (Lightfoot, 14-16; Longenecker, 41:lxv)
- b) The **Galatians** to whom Paul wrote had these **same character traits**
- 1] They **quickly accepted** the gospel and Paul (Gal. 4:14-15)
 - 2] Then they **quickly began to depart** from it (Gal. 1:6-10; 3:1-4)
 - 3] They were also attracted to **rituals** (Gal. 4:10; 5:1-2)

2) Evaluation:

- a) *James Montgomery Boice*: “[N]o **special traces** of the supposed **fickleness, drunkenness, revelings, superstitions**, or contact with Judaism by the northern Galatians can be **documented.**” (Bold emphasis added, 10:415)
- b) The **weakness** of this argument is **apparent** when it is stated in the form of a **sylogism**
- 1] *Major Premise*: The Gauls were **fickle and superstitious.**

- 2] *Minor Premise*: Paul's **Galatians** were **fickle** and **superstitious**.
 - 3] *Conclusion*: Therefore Paul's **Galatians** were **Gauls** (Bruce, 8)
- c) This syllogism is not valid because it contains an **"undistributed middle"**
- 1] **"Undistributed Middle"**: "a fallacy arising from the failure of the middle term of a syllogism to refer to all the members of a class in at least one premise.
- d) The **character traits** of the ethnic Galatians are **possessed by others** as well
- 1] The **citizens of Lystra** (in "South Galatia") initially welcomed Paul and Barnabas as **gods** in the likeness of men (Acts 14:11-13) and then later **stoned Paul** nearly to death (Acts 14:19)
 - 2] The **Corinthians** manifest many of the same characteristics as the Galatians (cf. 1 Cor. 1:10-13)
- e) If we accept the premise that the **Gauls** were fickle and the **recipients** of Galatians were fickle, that does not prove that they were **one and the same**, since **fickleness** can be a characteristic of **many people**
- k. Argument #11: The **"Church Fathers"** believed that Paul wrote to **churches in "North Galatia"**
- 1) Explanation:
 - a) The early **Church Fathers** interpreted the terms **"Galatia"** (Acts 16:6; 18:23; 1 Cor. 16:1; Gal. 1:2; 2 Tim. 4:10; 1 Pet. 1:1) and **"Galatians"** (Gal. 3:1) in the older **ethnic sense**
 - b) Presumably such a view was based on **local church traditions** now long lost to us
 - 2) Evaluation:
 - a) After Paul's death, the **boundaries** of the Roman province of Galatia were gradually **diminished** over time until its dimensions were roughly equivalent to **"North Galatia"**

- 1] In AD 74, Vespasian detached almost all of **Pisidia** from Galatia
 - 2] About AD 137, **Lycaonia Galatica** was removed and added to an enlarged province of **Cilicia**
 - 3] In AD 297, **southern Galatia** was united with surrounding regions to form a new province of **Pisidia** with Antioch as its capital
 - 4] As a result, at this point, the borders of the Roman province of Galatia were **diminished** to virtually its **original ethnological dimensions**, so that it no longer included **“South Galatia”** (Witherington, III, 5; Longenecker, lxiii)
- b) Evidently the “Church Fathers” were unaware that when Paul wrote his epistle, the terms **“Galatia”** and **“Galatians”** could have included churches in **“South Galatia”**; therefore, they understood these terms in light of the **current meaning** in their own day¹⁹
- 1] *Note:* There was at least **one dissenting voice** in ancient times. **Asterius**, bishop of Amaseia in Pontus (d. 410), interpreted **“the Galatic region and Phrygia”** of Acts 18:23 as **“Lycaonia and the Cities of Phrygia”** (*Homilia VIII in S. Petrum et Paulum*; Migne PG 40.293) (George, 41, n. 29)
- c) However, William Ramsay’s **historical research conclusively proved** that in the days of Paul, the term **“Galatia”** included the **southern cities** (Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe) that Paul visited on his **First Missionary Journey**²⁰
1. Argument #12: **Until the 19th century, most commentators believed that Paul wrote to churches in “North Galatia”**
 - 1) Explanation:
 - a) Until the **eighteenth century, no commentator** ever **seriously disputed** the idea that Paul’s letter was written to **Christians living in “North Galatia”**

- b) It was not until the **nineteenth century** that the **contrary view** began to **make progress** in the English-speaking world

2) Evaluation:

- a) **Accepted and widespread conclusions over a long period of time** are not necessarily **correct**

- 1] Burning **incense** to the bronze serpent (2 Ki. 18:4)

- 2] The earth is **flat**

- 3] Baptism by **sprinkling, pouring, or immersion**

- 4] Baptism is **not essential to salvation**

- 5] **Instrumental music** in worship is acceptable

- 6] **"Once saved always saved"**

- 7] Etc.

- b) Until **William Ramsay** conducted his extensive research in the late 1800's, the earlier commentators were influenced by the **mistaken views** of the **"Church Fathers"**

B. The South Galatian Theory:

1. Explanation:

- a. Galatians was written to churches in **"South Galatia"** that Paul established on his **First Missionary Journey** (i.e. **Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe**)

- b. The **"South Galatian Theory"** is defended by **reputable scholars**: William Ramsay, Ernest De Witt Burton, James Montgomery Boice, Frederic Rendall, George S. Duncan, R. A. Cole, and many others
(Willis, xviii)

2. Affirmative Arguments:

- a. Argument #1: **Paul preached to the Galatians before his Visit After 14 Years to Jerusalem (Gal. 2:1, 4-5)**

1) Explanation:

- a) Paul **preached** the gospel to the Galatians (Gal. 1:8-9; 4:13) and **established** the Galatian churches (Gal. 4:19; cf. 1 Cor. 4:15)
- b) Paul **preached** to the Galatians **prior** to his **Visit After 14 Years** to Jerusalem (Gal. 2:1, 4-5)
 - 1] According to Paul, it was during this visit that he refused to yield submission to the **Judaizing teachers** “even for an hour, that the truth of the gospel might **continue** with you” (Gal. 2:4-5)
 - 2] For the gospel to “**continue**,” it must have already been **preached**
 - a] “**Continue**” (*diameno*)
 - 1} *BDAG*: “...gener. ‘remain’. 1. **to continue in an activity, state, or condition, remain....** 2. **continue to exist, live on....** 3. **to continue in association with someone, remain continually w. someone** δ. πρὸς τινά **Gal 2:5....**” (233)
 - 2} *Thayer*: “...to stay permanently, remain permanently, continue.... Gal. 2:5....” (140)
 - 3} *Vine*: “**“to continue throughout,’ i.e., without interruption** (No. 3 [*meno*, ksk] with *dia*, ‘through’), is said of the dumbness of Zacharias, Luke 1:22, KJV, ‘remained’; of the ‘continuance’ of the disciples with Christ, Luke 22:28; of the permanency of the truth of the gospel with churches, Gal. 2:5; of the unchanged course of things, 2 Pet. 3:4; of the eternal permanency of Christ, Heb. 1:11.” (Bold emphasis added, 2:126-127)
 - b] Our major English versions translate the term:
 - 1} “**Continue**” (ASV; KJV; NKJV)
 - 2} “**Remain**” (ISV; NASB; NET; NIV84; NRSV; YLT)
 - 3} “**Remain continually**” (LEB)

4} **“Remain intact”** (NAB)

5} **“Be preserved”** (ESV; HCSB; NIV; RSV)

3] Since Paul is writing to the **“churches of Galatia”** (Gal. 1:2) and **addressing them** throughout his letter, the **“you”** (Gal. 2:5) most obviously refers to the **Galatians**

4] Therefore Paul had **already preached** the gospel to the Galatians before his Visit After 14 Years to Jerusalem

c) Paul’s Visit After 14 Years (Gal. 2:5) to Jerusalem must correspond to either:

1] The **Famine Relief Visit** (Acts 11:27-30; 12:25)

2] The **Jerusalem Council Visit** (Acts 15)

d) Yet both of these visits to Jerusalem occurred **before** Paul allegedly visited **“North Galatia”** (Acts 16:6; 18:23)

e) Therefore, Paul must have written to the **churches** in **“South Galatia”** established on his First Missionary Journey

f) This argument seems **“un-get-over-able”** to me

2) Evaluation:

a) Paul’s statement does not necessarily mean that **he already had converts in Galatia** before his Visit After 14 Years²¹

b) The **“you”** (Gal. 2:5) refers to the **Gentiles** generally, not to the **Galatians** specifically

c) While acknowledging that the **“you”** (Gal. 2:5) refers to **Paul’s Galatian converts**, Richard Longenecker asserts, although he doesn’t really argue or defend the point, that before Paul **wrote** Galatians, rather than before **his second visit** to Jerusalem, his readers had **responded** to the gospel²²

1] Response:

a] In Paul’s letter to the Galatians, the second person plural pronoun **“you”** [*hymas*] consistently refers to the **Galatians**. Sometimes the context indicates that **Gentiles** are in view (cf. Gal. 4:8, 17; 5:2; 6:12-13) and

sometimes **Jews** (cf. Gal. 3:23-25, 26-29; 4:3-7, 9-10; 5:1); but nonetheless **Galatians** (cf. Gal. 1:2-3, 11, 20; 2:5; 3:1, 26-29; 4:12-14, 19; 5:13; 6:1)

b] Although Paul mentions the **Gentiles** in the immediate context (Gal. 2:2, 8-9), why would he use the pronoun “**you**,” if he intended to refer to the Gentiles as a group or a class, since he is addressing this remark (Gal. 2:5) to the **Galatians**?

1} If the “**you**” referred specifically to **Gentiles**, Paul would likely have added an **appositional phrase** to indicate such (cf. Eph. 2:11; 3:1) (Zahn, 1:178, n. 7)

c] To what **time period** is Paul referring?

1} Is Paul referring to when he **wrote Galatians** or to when he **visited Jerusalem** the second time?

d] **Why** does Paul make this remark? What is his **purpose**?

1} Is Paul saying that he **did not yield** to the Judaizing teachers so that the **truth** of the gospel might **continue** when he **eventually visited** Galatia and **preached** the gospel to the Gentiles there?

2} Is Paul saying that he **did not yield** so that the **truth** of the gospel, which he had **already preached** to the Gentiles in Galatia, might **continue/remain** with them?

e] *Greg Herrick*: “The **highly situational and intimate context** of Galatians 2 makes it **improbable** that the ‘**you**’ is general, referring to the **Gentiles**, but rather is to be understood as specific, referring to the **actual recipients** of the letter. (Bold emphasis added, 13, n. 76)

b. Argument #2: The terms “Galatia” and “Galatians” were used to refer to the Roman province of Galatia and its inhabitants

1) Explanation:

- a) *William Ramsay*: “It seems clearly proved that so early as the **second century B.C.** the **Phrygian origin** of the larger half of the Galatian population was **forgotten** by ordinary people of the surrounding countries; and the **whole state** was thought of as **Galatia** and its **people as Galatians.**” (Bold emphasis added, *Galatians*, 84)
- b) When “**Galatia**” was expanded and became a **Roman province** in **25 BC**, the terms “Galatia” and “Galatians” were used to refer to the **whole Roman province** by that name and its **inhabitants** (Carson & Moo, 460; Longenecker, lxvi)
- 1] *Ben Witherington, III*: “[T]here is clear evidence from the inscriptions of the period that the **entire region** was regularly called **Galatia** in the NT era (cf. *ILS* 9499; *IG* Rom. 3.263, Eutropius 7.10), and not just the Celtic or Gallic part.” (Bold emphasis added, 4)
- 2) Evaluation:
- a) The popular use of the terms “**Galatia**” (Gal. 1:2) and “**Galatians**” (Gal. 3:1) usually signified the **Gauls** living in “**North Galatia**”
- c. Argument #3: Paul normally describes places according to political province rather than geographical region (Carson & Moo, 459; Rapa, 11:551)
- 1) Explanation:
- a) Paul normally used **provincial, not ethnic, terms** to identify locale²³ (Willis, xiv)
- 1] **Achaia** (Rom. 15:26; 16:5; 1 Cor. 16:15; 2 Cor. 1:1; 9:2; 11:10; 1 Th. 1:7-8)
- 2] **Arabia** (Gal. 1:17)
- 3] **Asia** (Acts 20:18; 24:18; 1 Cor. 16:19; 2 Cor. 1:8; 2 Tim. 1:15)
- 4] **Dalmatia** (2 Tim. 4:10)
- 5] **Illyricum** (Rom. 15:19)
- 6] **Judea** (Acts 26:20; Rom. 15:31; 2 Cor. 1:16; Gal. 1:22; 1 Th. 2:14)

- 7] **Macedonia** (Rom. 15:26; 1 Cor. 16:5; 2 Cor. 1:16; 2:13; 7:5; 8:1; 11:9; Phil. 4:15; 1 Th. 1:7-8; 4:10; 1 Tim. 1:3) (Wuest, 13)
- b) *F. F. Bruce*: “[H]e [Paul, ksk] repeatedly refers to **Achaia** in the **Roman sense**, as including **Corinth**, and not in the **traditional Greek sense**, of a territory in the North-Western Peloponnese, to which Corinth did not belong....” (Bold emphasis added, 10)
- c) *H. Wayne House*: “In 1 Corinthians Paul alluded to the churches of **Galatia** (16:1); in that same context, he referred to other regions by their provincial names: **Macedonia** (16:5), **Achaia** (16:15), and **Asia** (16:19). Thus Paul most likely used ‘**Galatia**’ as a **provincial title** also.” (Bold emphasis added, 138; Wallace, 4)
- d) *Theodor Zahn*: “Paul **never designates** any part of the Roman Empire by any other name than that of the **Province** to which it belonged; and he **never uses** any of the **old names of countries**, except in so far as these had become names of Provinces (*Einleitung in das N. T.*, p. 124).” (Bold emphasis added, quoted in Ramsay, *Galatians*, 278)
- e) *Note*: **Peter** evidently used **similar terminology**²⁴ (1 Pet. 1:1)
- 2) Evaluation:
- a) Paul does not **invariably** use Roman provincial titles
- 1] Paul used both **regional** (Rom. 15:31; 2 Cor. 1:16; Gal. 1:17, 21; 1 Thess. 2:14) and **provincial** names (1 Cor. 16:1, 5, 15, 19). (Hughes & Laney, 577)
- 2] It cannot be proven that Paul used **political terminology** when he speaks of **Cilicia** (Gal. 1:21), **Judea** (Gal. 1:22) and **Arabia** (Gal. 4:25) (Hendriksen, 11)
- a] Response:
- 1} Paul’s references to **Cilicia** (Gal. 1:21) and **Judea** (Gal. 1:22) are **not an exception**, because they were **quasi-provinces** governed independently by imperial procurators (Rendall, 126)

- 3] *H. Wayne House*: “Paul often used **territorial** rather than official names, e.g., **Syria** (in Gal. 1:21) for **Seleucidian Syria**, in which was Antioch rather than the broader Roman province to which also Jerusalem belonged. In reference to Christians in Judea, he was thinking of the territory of **Judea** (2 Cor. 1:16; 1 Thess. 2:14); **Arabia** was territorial, not a name for the kingdom of the Nabatians (Gal. 1:17).” (Bold emphasis added, 138)
- 4] Paul refers to the geographical regions of **Syria** and **Cilicia** (Gal. 1:21), which together formed **one Roman province**
- a] Response:
- 1} There is a **distinction** here, because Paul is describing **his own movements**, not the location of churches (Guthrie, 469)
 - 2} *Donald Guthrie*: “It seems probable that he followed Luke’s practice when tracing **itineraries**, but considered it more appropriate to group his **churches** under their respective **provincial areas**.” (Bold emphasis added, 469-470)
- 5] Paul’s reference to the “churches of God which are in **Judea**” (1 Th. 2:14) does not exclude **Galilee**
- a] Reply:
- 1} Perhaps this is the case; but Paul could have been thinking specifically of **Judea**. He mentions the **killing of Jesus** in the very next verse (1 Th. 2:15)
 - 2} Even if Paul did **depart** from his **customary usage here**, that does not cast **much doubt** on a practice he almost **invariably seems to follow** elsewhere
 - 3} *F. F. Bruce*: “[A] number of terms occurring in Paul could be used either in the **technical Roman sense or more generally and traditionally** (e. g. Macedonia, Asia), but this

argues neither **for** nor **against** the technical Roman sense in other instances." (Bold emphasis added, 15, n. 67)

- b) If Paul customarily used **Roman provincial titles**, then the term "**Galatians**" would have included all within the Roman province of "**Galatia**," including **ethnic Galatians** in "North Galatia" (Bruce, 9)
- c) So this argument is certainly **not conclusive**
- d. **Argument #4: "Galatia" and "Galatians" were the only terms available to include all the people in all the cities that were visited on Paul's First Missionary Journey** (Boice, 10:415)
 - 1) Explanation:
 - a) Since the **Roman province of Galatia** included many different **tribes** and **peoples**, not just the descendants of the Celts or Gauls, the **only term** that could **encompass all of them** in Paul's day would have been "**Galatians**" (Witherington, III, 4; Berkhof, 181)²⁵
 - 1] *D. A. Carson & Douglas Moo*: "[I]n modern times an audience of **Welsh**, **Scots**, and **English** people would be addressed as **British**, with none of them **objecting** -- that is the only term that covers them all. So with ancient Galatia." (Bold emphasis added, 460)
 - b) Since the Roman province of "**Galatia**" was organized as early as **25 BC**, and therefore had been in existence for **75 years** when Paul wrote Galatians, it is hard to see why Paul could not have addressed its inhabitants as "**Galatians**" (Berkhof, 180; Guthrie, 466, n. 2)
 - 2) Evaluation:
 - a) This does not exclude the possibility that the term could refer to the **ethnic Galatians** in "**North Galatia**" (Carson & Moo, 459)
- e. **Argument #5: It is unlikely that Paul would have established churches in "North Galatia"**

- 1) Explanation:

- a) Paul's *modus operandi* was to concentrate his efforts on **heavily-populated areas**
 - b) "North Galatia" was more **geographically isolated** than "South Galatia"
 - 1] In his commentary on Galatians, William Ramsay describes "North Galatia" as a **rugged, remote, and isolated** area²⁶
 - c) The people of "North Galatia" were **culturally more impoverished** and **religiously less open** to Paul's message than the people of "South Galatia" (Longenecker, lxix)
- 2) Evaluation:
- a) This argument disregards the **Roman road system**
 - 1] It would be a problem only if Paul were a **tourist** and not an **evangelist** (Longenecker, lxix)
 - b) This argument also disregards the **mixing of populations, cultures, and religions** in both areas (Longenecker, lxix)
- f. Argument #6: Luke gives us virtually no information about the alleged churches in "North Galatia"
- 1) Explanation:
- a) Luke tells us about Paul's **evangelistic labors** in "**South Galatia**" (Acts 13-14)
 - b) He tells us in **some detail** about **Paul's labors** among the churches to whom he writes
 - 1] Paul visited **Philippi** (Acts 16:11-40; 20:1-3) and wrote **Philippians**
 - 2] Paul visited **Thessalonica** (Acts 17:1-10) and wrote **1 & 2 Thesalonians**
 - 3] Paul visited **Corinth** (Acts 18:1-17; 20:2) and wrote **1 & 2 Corinthians** and **other letters** that are no longer extant
 - 4] Paul visited **Ephesus** (Acts 19:1-20:1) and wrote **Ephesians**

- 5] Paul wanted to visit **Rome** (Acts 19:21; 23:11), wrote **Romans**, and eventually visited Rome (Acts 28:14ff)
- c) Yet Luke says **almost nothing** about Paul's alleged work in "North Galatia"
- 1] If Luke's references to "**Galatia**" actually refer to "**North Galatia**," all that he actually says is that Paul **passed through** this region (Acts 16:6) on his Second Missionary Journey and then **strengthened disciples** there on his Third Journey (Acts 18:23). He does not say that Paul **established any churches** in this area; nor does he give us **any other details**
- 2] It seems highly unlikely that Luke would say virtually **nothing** about **Paul's work** in **North Galatia** (Acts 16:6; 18:23) if the **controversy** mentioned in **Galatians** occurred in those churches
- d) **J. B. Lightfoot**, who along with other older commentators held the "North Galatian Hypothesis," acknowledged the **puzzling nature of this silence**²⁷

2) Evaluation:

- a) This argument **begs the question**, assuming what must be proven, *i.e.* that Luke does not refer to "**North Galatia**" (Acts 16:6; 18:23)
- b) There are **exceptions**. Paul wrote to the **Romans** (Rom. 1:7) and the **Colossians** (Col. 1:2), yet Luke gives us **no information** about the **establishment** of these churches
- c) Therefore Paul could have written to **churches in "North Galatia"** even though we **know very little** about them

1] Response:

- a] There is an important difference. While Paul had **heard** of the Colossian's faith (Col. 1:4, 9), he had **not visited** Colosse (Col. 2:1).
- b] However, he did **visit** "Galatia" (Acts 16:6; 18:23)

- c] If Luke is referring to “**North Galatia**” in these passages, then he gives us **no information** about **Paul’s evangelism** in this area or any of the **churches**
- g. Argument #7: We know of no churches at this early date in “North Galatia” from the NT or other sources
- 1) Explanation:
- a) *James Montgomery Boice*: “We know of **no churches** at all in the **north** at this **early date**, either as mentioned in the New Testament or outside it, and what information we do have seems to point to the establishing of churches (which, moreover, remained relatively weak) **fairly late** in early church history. By contrast, we do have a record of the founding of the **strong, important churches** of the **southern region**, into which all that Paul tells us about his initial preaching to the Galatians fits nicely.” (Bold emphasis added, 10:415)
- b) *William Ramsay*: “**Ancyra** and the Bithynian city **Juliopolis** (which was attached to Galatia about 297) are the **only Galatian bishoprics** mentioned **earlier than 325**: they alone appear at the **Ancyran Council** held about **314**. The **Ancyran Church** is first mentioned about **A.D. 192** as having been affected by **Montanism**, but saved by the writer of an anti-Montanist treatise quoted by Eusebius.” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 165-166).
- 2) Evaluation:
- h. Argument #8: It seems highly unlikely that Paul would write a letter to virtually unknown churches in “North Galatia” and not write a letter to well-known churches in “South Galatia” (Hendriksen, 14)
- 1) Explanation:
- a) *R. Alan Cole*: “[I]t would be **strange** if we had a Pauline letter addressed to a group of otherwise **unknown Christians** in the **north** of the province, where Paul could have **spent little time** and about whom the book of **Acts** is

strangely silent, but no letter to a familiar group in the south, of which we know much." (Bold emphasis added, 9:26)

- b) In his letters, Paul characteristically demonstrated his **love** and **concern** for his converts
 - 1] He had a **special love** for the saints in **Philippi** (Phil. 1:3-5, 7-8; 4:1) and **Thessalonica** (1 Th. 1:2-4; 2:7-8, 11, 17-20; 3:1-6, 8-10; 2 Th. 1:3-4)
- c) Paul's **concern** for the saints in "**South Galatia**" is evidenced by at least **two visits** (Acts 13-14; 16:1, 6), if not **three** (Acts 18:23); yet according to the **North Galatian Hypothesis**, **Paul wrote not one word** to these churches, referring only once to the **persecutions** he suffered in their midst (2 Tim. 3:11) (Ramsay, *The Church*, 102)
- d) **How can it be** that Paul would **write** a letter to the churches in "**North Galatia**" and **not write** a letter to the churches in "**South Galatia**"?
- e) *James Moffatt* [North Galatian Advocate]: "Luke devotes far more attention to **South Galatian churches**, and [therefore] Galatians is **more likely** to have been **addressed to them** than to Christians in an **out-of-the-way, unimportant district like North Galatia.**" (Bold emphasis added, *An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, 96, quoted in Wallace, 4)

2) Evaluation:

- i. Argument #9: **The Judaizing teachers were more likely to infiltrate churches in "South Galatia" than "North Galatia"**

1) Explanation:

- a) Paul's letter to the **Galatians** indicates that they were being troubled by **Judaizing teachers** who were trying to bind **circumcision** and **Torah observance** on **Gentile converts** (Gal. 3:1-5; 4:21; 5:1-10; 6:12-13)
- b) The **heresy** that Paul addresses in his letter to the Galatians is certainly **consistent** with Luke's account of Paul's **First Missionary Journey** in "**South Galatia**" and its **aftermath**

- 1] Paul and Barnabas **preached** to both **Jews** and **Gentiles** (Acts 13:14-16, 42)
 - 2] **Jews** and **Gentiles** became **Christians** (Acts 13:43, 46-48; 14:1)
 - 3] Unbelieving Jews **opposed** the gospel (Acts 13:45. 50; 14:2, 4-5, 19)
 - 4] Certain men from Judea came up to Antioch insisting that Gentile converts be **circumcised** and **keep the law** of Moses (Acts 15:1)
 - 5] On the Second Missionary Journey, Paul **circumcised Timothy** at Derbe, to placate the Jews in that region (Acts 16:3-4)
 - 6] Paul and Silas delivered **the decrees** from the Jerusalem Conference in this area (Acts 16:4), which suggests that these churches were already being **troubled by Judaizing teachers**²⁸ (Willis, xvi)
- c) While there were certainly **Jews** in “**North Galatia**,” the **rugged terrain** in this area made **travel difficult**; therefore these Jews were not as **closely linked** with **Jerusalem** and the mainstream of **Jewish life** as were the **Jews** in “**South Galatia**” (Cole, 23)
- d) *H. Wayne House*: “The **Judaizers**, the enemies of Paul, would have invaded the densely populated area of **southern Galatia**, below the Taurus Mountains, where **Jews** and **synagogues** were located rather than the **sparsely settled** and **inaccessible northern sections**.”²⁹ (Bold emphasis added, 138; Cole, 23; Guthrie, 472)
- 2) Evaluation:
- a) The references in Galatians that could refer to **Jewish Christians** (Gal. 3:2-3, 13-14, 23-25; 4:1-5; 5:1) are really general statements to **Christians**. The Galatians were **Gentiles** (Gal. 4:8; 5:2-3; 6:12-13)
- 1] Response:

- a] The churches of Galatia were composed of both **Gentiles** (cf. Gal. 4:8, 17; 5:2; 6:12-13) and **Jews** (cf. Gal. 3:23-25, 26-29; 4:3-7, 9-10; 5:1)
- b) The Judaizing teachers were **so fanatical** that they might have **pursued Paul wherever** he established a **church** (Bruce, 9; Carson & Moo, 459)
- c) *H. Wayne House*: “Nothing is **known** about these **envoys** from Jerusalem. They could have gone into the territory of **Galatia** without there being **any knowledge** of it.” (Bold emphasis added, 138)
- j. Argument #10: **The content of Paul’s letter to the Galatians is consistent with Luke’s account of Paul’s work in “South Galatia”** (George, 30:44)
- 1) Explanation:
- a) **Justification by faith** (Gal. 2:16; 3:8, 11, 24 & Acts 13:38-39)
- b) **Predominantly Gentile churches** (Gal. 1:14; 4:8-11; 5:2; 6:12 & Acts 13:42, 46, 48; 14:1-2, 27)
- c) **A Jewish element** (Acts 13:43; 14:1-2; Gal. 3:23-25, 28)
- d) **Miracles, signs, and wonders** (Gal. 3:5 & Acts 14:3, 8-10)
- e) **Reception as if an angel** (Gal. 4:14 & Acts 14:11-15)
- f) **Persecution** (Gal. 6:17 & Acts 13:45, 50; 14:2, 4-6, 19) (George, 30:44-45)
- 2) Evaluation:
- k. Argument #11: **Paul’s *modus operandi* better fits the “South Galatian Hypothesis”**
- 1) Explanation:
- a) Paul’s *modus operandi* was to visit the **main cities** on the **main roads** in the Roman provinces he visited (Bruce, 9)
- b) In Paul’s day, “South Galatia” was **more accessible** and **more important** than “North Galatia”³⁰
- c) **Antioch** (Pisidian), **Iconium**, **Derbe**, and **Lystra** were situated along the **Sabastian Way**, a **major imperial**

highway linking Ephesus in the west to the provinces of Syria and Cilicia in the east (George, 30:44)

- d) **Roman roads** in “North Galatia” were **not constructed** until the **70’s and 80’s AD** (Witherington, III, 4)

2) Evaluation:

- a) This argument ignores the **insignificance** of **Lystra** and **Derbe** in the south compared to **Ancrya** and **Pessinus** in the north (Longenecker, lxix; Bruce, 10)

1. Argument #12: The collection delegation contained no representative from North Galatia (Guthrie, 466; Campbell, 2:588)

1) Explanation:

- a) Paul ordered the **churches in Galatia** to **collect funds** for the needy saints in Jerusalem (1 Cor. 16:1-2)
- b) Paul authorized the **contributing churches** to select their own **representatives** to deliver their relief funds to the needy saints in Jerusalem (1 Cor. 16:3-4)
- c) In the list of men who accompanied Paul to Jerusalem, the only “**Galatians**” mentioned are men from “**South Galatia**”: **Gaius** of Derbe and **Timothy** of Lystra (Acts 16:1; 20:4)³¹
- d) **No representatives** from any church in “**North Galatia**” are mentioned

2) Evaluation:

- a) This is an **argument from silence**, and arguments from silence are **precarious**
- b) Luke does not actually say that the men mentioned in Acts 20:4 were “**church representatives**” bearing the **benevolent relief funds** to the needy saints in Jerusalem (Carson & Moo, 459)

1] Response:

- a] Paul wrote **Romans** toward the end of his **Third Missionary Journey**, probably from **Corinth** (Acts 19:21; 20:3)

- b] When Paul wrote **Romans**, he was going to **Jerusalem** to minister to the needy saints there (Rom. 15:25)
 - c] The churches in **Macedonia** (Philippi, Thessalonica, & Berea) and **Achaia** (Corinth) had collected **benevolent relief funds** for the needy saints in Jerusalem (Rom. 15:26)
 - d] Paul instructed the Gentile churches making the benevolent contribution to assist the needy saints in Jerusalem to **select their own messengers** to accompany their gift (1 Cor. 16:1-4)
 - e] **The men** mentioned in Acts 20:4 accompanied Paul as he journeyed to Jerusalem with the **benevolent relief funds**
 - f] Therefore, it is **probable**, if not **certain**, that these men were **representatives** of the Gentile churches sending **benevolent relief funds** to the needy saints in Jerusalem
- c) No mention is made from any delegates from **Corinth** or **Philippi**
- 1] Response:
 - a] It is certainly possible that **Titus**, although not mentioned in Acts, represented the **Corinthian church** (1 Cor. 16:1-9)
 - 1} He is **associated** with the church in **Corinth** (2 Cor. 2:12-13; 7:6-7, 13-16) and involved in **the collection** for the needy saints in Jerusalem (2 Cor. 8:6, 16-24)
 - b] It is also possible that **Luke** was a delegate from **Philippi**
 - 1} A **“we” section** begins after Paul leaves **Philippi** (Acts 20:5-6) (Guthrie, 471)

- c] **Gaius** may have been a **Macedonian** (Acts 19:29; 20:4, Codex D [?])
 - d] Therefore **the list** of “church representatives” (Acts 20:4) could be **incomplete** (Boice, 10:415)
- m. Argument #13: Paul’s references to Barnabas in Galatians (2:1, 9, 13) suggest that he was already well known to the Galatians (Carson & Moo, 460)
- 1) Explanation:
 - a) Paul refers to **Barnabas** in Galatians without any kind of **introduction** or **explanation** (Gal. 2:1, 9, 13), presumably because he was **already well known** by the Galatians³²
 - b) This would have been the case only for the **churches in “South Galatia”** (Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe) since Barnabas traveled with Paul only on his **First Missionary Journey** (Acts 13:1-3)
 - c) If Paul were writing to churches in **North Galatia**, the churches in that area would have had **no known occasion** to be **acquainted with Barnabas** (Willis, xvi)
 - d) It is highly unlikely that Paul would have mentioned **Barnabas**, without any kind of **introduction** or **explanation**, if Barnabas were **unknown** to those Christians
 - 2) Evaluation:
 - a) Paul refers to **Barnabas** in connection with events in **Jerusalem** and **Antioch**, not **Galatia** (Longenecker, 41:lxix)
 - b) Paul mentions **Titus** in Galatians (Gal. 2:1), and he would have been **unknown** to the saints in **“South Galatia”**
- 1] Response:
- a] Paul has a **special reason** for mentioning Titus in the context of Galatians (Campbell, 9:25)
 - c) Paul also mentions **Barnabas** in letters to the **Corinthians** and the **Colossians** without explaining who he is (1 Cor. 9:6; Col. 4:10), and there is no indication in the book of Acts that **Barnabas visited Corinth or Colosse**

1) Response:

a) In both of these cases, there were special reasons for Paul to mention Barnabas

1} In 1 Cor. 9:6, Paul wants to emphasize that he **followed the principle** under discussion from the **beginning** of his ministry when he was associated with **Barnabas**

2} In Col. 4:10, in **commending Mark**, who was unknown in Colosse, it was helpful to mention his **kinship** with **Barnabas** (Zahn, 1:179)

b) *James Montgomery Boice*: "The Corinthian letter does not imply that the believers in Corinth **knew Barnabas personally**, while at least one of the references in Galatians suggests that the Galatians did ('**even [such a man as] Barnabas**,' 2:13). Besides, we cannot even be sure that Barnabas did not **visit Corinth** sometime after having separated from Paul, in which case the Corinthians would have **known him**." (Bold emphasis added, 10:416)

d) Paul also mentions **Peter** (Gal. 2:7-8), although there is no evidence that he visited "**North Galatia**"; so this argument **cuts both ways** and is of **little weight** (Carson & Moo, 460)

n. Argument #14: **The absence of any reference to Timothy is strong circumstantial evidence that Paul wrote Galatians before he became one of Paul's assistants** (Longenecker, lxxi)

1) Explanation:

a) Timothy was more or less a **constant companion** of Paul from his visit to **Lystra** near the beginning of his Second Missionary Journey (Acts 16:1-4) through his **final trip to Jerusalem** (Acts 20:4)

b) Paul's **letters** indicate that Timothy was actively involved in **Paul's evangelistic activities** (1 Th. 1:1; 3:1-2, 6; 2 Th. 1:1; 1 Cor. 4:17; 16:10; 2 Cor. 1:1, 19; Rom. 16:21;) and with Paul during his **imprisonment** (Phil. 1:1; 2:19; Col. 1:1; Phile. 1)

- c) Timothy is mentioned in all of Paul's epistles except **Galatians, Ephesians, and Titus**
 - d) If Galatians was written to churches in "**North Galatia**," it must be assumed that **Timothy** was **as involved** in their evangelization as he was in the establishment of churches in **Asia, Macedonia, and Achaia**
 - e) Yet Paul **does not mention Timothy** anywhere in Galatians
 - f) This **omission** argues strongly against:
 - 1] The "**North Galatian**" Hypothesis
 - 2] The **classic form** of the "**South Galatian**" Hypothesis -- *i.e.* Galatians was written after Paul's Second Missionary Journey (Acts 16:6)
 - a] *Richard Longenecker*: "[I]t is virtually **unthinkable** that Paul would have addressed a letter to Christians in an area that included **Lystra** without **sending news** or making any mention of their **native son.**" (Bold emphasis added, 41:lxix)
 - g) Therefore, Paul most probably **wrote Galatians before Timothy became his assistant**, and he wrote to the **churches in "South Galatia"** established on his First Missionary Journey
 - h) This is an indication that Paul wrote Galatians sometime **before he revisited "South Galatia"** on his Second Missionary Journey (Acts 16:1-5)
- 2) Evaluation:
- o. Argument #15: **Paul's silence in Galatians about the Jerusalem Council decree indicates that Galatians must have been written before the Jerusalem Council; and therefore before Paul could possibly have visited "North Galatia"**
- 1) Explanation:
- a) Paul does not mention **the decree** of the Jerusalem Council (Acts 15:23-29) in his letter to the Galatians

- b) It is **inconceivable** that Paul would **not mention** this decree, since it **settled the issue** under discussion and it was **written before** Paul allegedly visited “**North Galatia**” and **wrote his letter** to the Galatians (Coad, 1415)
- c) Therefore, Galatians must have been **written before** the **Jerusalem Council** to the churches that he visited in “**South Galatia**” on his First Missionary Journey

2) Evaluation:

- a) Paul does not **mention** the **decree** from the Jerusalem Council in **any of his letters** – even letters obviously written **afterwards** and in letters dealing, to some extent, with **Jew-Gentile relationships** (House, 139; Carson & Moo, 462)

1] **Romans** (Rom. 1:16; 2:9-10; 3:9, 29; 9:24; 10:12)

2] **1 Corinthians** (1 Cor. 1:22-24; 10:32; 12:13)

3] **Colossians** (Col. 3:11)

- b. Argument #16: Paul was charged with practicing circumcision in spite of preaching against it (Gal. 5:11)

3) Explanation:

- a) This charge may have arisen because **Paul circumcised Timothy** in Derbe (Acts 16:3) in “**South Galatia**”

4) Evaluation:

- p. Argument #17: Paul addresses the Galatians in Greek

1) Explanation:

- a) *R.C.H. Lenski:* “If Paul had worked in **Upper Galatia**, he would have encountered **language difficulties** since **Greek culture** and **Greek speech** were **not dominant** in these regions.” (Bold emphasis added, 12)

2) Evaluation:

- a) **Greek** would also have been **familiar** in the cities of **Ancyra** and **Pessinus** in “**North Galatia**” (Bruce, 8)

- q. Argument #18: Paul's comment that the Galatians had received him as "an angel of God" (Gal. 4:14) could be an indirect allusion to his reception as Hermes at Lystra (Acts 14:11-15) (Cole, 9:25; Carson & Moo, 459; Guthrie, 471)
- 1) Explanation:
 - 2) Evaluation:
 - a) **Possibility** is not **probability**, much less **certainty**
 - b) Why would Paul's language be **alluding to this incident** when he **rebuked** the inhabitants of Lystra for trying to **worship** him and Barnabas (Acts 14:14-15)
 - c) Receiving Paul as an "**angel of God**" (Gal. 4:14) is a very different thing from hailing him as **Hermes** (Acts 14:12) (Longenecker, lxv)
 - d) Any coincidence is spoiled by the Lystrans' later attempt to **stone Paul** (Acts 14:19) (Bruce, 9; Carson & Moo, 459)
- r. Argument #19: Paul's comment that "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus" (Gal. 6:17) could be an allusion to his stoning in Lystra (Acts 14:19)
- 1) Explanation:
 - 2) Evaluation:
 - a) **Possibility** is not **probability**, much less **certainty**

C. Conclusion:

1. *D. A. Carson & Douglas Moo*: "From all this it appears that there is **no final proof** for either the North Galatian or the South Galatian theory. But it surely seems that, while the **South Galatian theory** comes **short of complete demonstration**, the arguments in its favor are considerably **more compelling** than those for North Galatia." (Bold emphasis added, 461)
2. Personally, I am **quite confident** that **Galatians** was written to the churches in "**South Galatia**" that Paul established on his First Missionary Journey

II. HOW SHOULD PAUL'S VISITS TO JERUSALEM, MENTIONED IN ACTS AND GALATIANS, BE CORRELATED?

A. As mentioned in the introduction, Luke mentions **five visits** to Jerusalem in the book of Acts and Paul mentions **two visits** in Galatians

1. Five visits to Jerusalem in Acts:

- a. 1st Visit: **The Post-Conversion Visit** (Acts 9:26-30; 22:17-18)
- b. 2nd Visit: **The Famine Relief Visit** (Acts 11:27-30; 12:25)
- c. 3rd Visit: **The Jerusalem Conference Visit** (Acts 15:4ff)
- d. 4th Visit: **The Jewish Feast Visit**, after The Second Missionary Journey (Acts 18:21-22)
- e. 5th Visit: **The Collection Visit**, after The Third Missionary Journey (Acts 21:15, 17)

2. Two visits to Jerusalem in Galatians:

- a. 1st Visit: After **3 Years** (Gal. 1:18-19)
- b. 2nd Visit: After **14 Years** (Gal. 2:1-10)

B. There is virtually unanimous agreement that the **first visits** mentioned by both Paul and Luke **correspond**

1. When Paul **left Jerusalem** after his **post-conversion visit**:

- a. **Luke** says that Paul went to **Caesarea** and **Tarsus** (Acts 9:30) and later **Antioch** (Acts 11:25-26; 13:1)
 - 1) Evidently Paul **sailed** from **Caesarea** to **Tarsus**
 - 2) **Antioch** was in **Syria** (Acts 15:23)
- b. **Paul** says he went “into the regions of **Syria** and **Cilicia**” (Gal. 1:21)
 - 1) **Tarsus** was in **Cilicia** (Acts 21:39; 22:3)

2. Luke and Paul’s accounts can be **harmonized** by supposing that:

- a. Paul did not **go directly to Tarsus** but **visited Syria** on the way [?]
 - 1) Why should Paul go to **Caesarea** before going to **Tarsus** unless he **sailed** from Caesarea to Tarsus?
- b. Paul went to **Tarsus** and then **later visited Syria** from Tarsus and **returned to Tarsus** (Luke does not mention these visits to Syria) [?]

- c. Paul mentions these areas in terms of **geography** or **prominence** rather than **chronology**
 - 1) Syria was **closer** to Jerusalem than Cilicia
 - 2) Syria was **more important** than Cilicia³³
 - 3) Also **Cilicia** had a **greater affinity** with **Syria** geographically than with Asia Minor
 - d. It is also possible, if not probable, that “**Syria and Cilicia**” refer to **one district** instead of two³⁴ (Lightfoot, 85)
3. Paul’s time in Syria and Cilicia resulted in **conversions** and **new churches** (cf. Acts 15:23, 41)
4. Since the **first visits** mentioned by both Paul and Luke almost certainly **correspond**, and the **last two visits**, the Jewish Feast Visit (Acts 18:21-22) and the Collection Visit (Acts 21:15, 17), are **too late**, there are only two possibilities:
- C. There is also widespread agreement that the **last two visits** mentioned by Luke, the Jewish Feast Visit (Acts 18:21-22) and the Collection Visit (Acts 21:15, 17), are **too late**
- D. Therefore, only **two possibilities** have much claim to **viability**:³⁵
- 1. Paul’s Visit After 14 Years (Gal. 2:1-10) corresponds to the **Famine Relief Visit** (Acts 11:27-30; 12:25)
 - 2. Paul’s Visit After 14 Years (Gal. 2:1-10) corresponds to the **Jerusalem Council Visit** (Acts 15:2-4)
- E. Paul’s **Visit After 14 Years** (Gal. 2:1-10) corresponds with the **Famine Relief Visit** (Acts 11:28-30; 12:25) and Galatians was **written before** the Jerusalem Council
- 1. This is a **minority view** that is **gaining in popularity**
 - 2. Argument #1: Paul mentions **two visits** to Jerusalem after his conversion (Gal. 1:18; 2:1), and according to Luke, Paul’s **second visit** to Jerusalem after his conversion was the **Famine Relief Visit** (Acts 11:29-30; 12:25)
 - a. Explanation:

- 1) The **natural reading** of Galatians suggests that Paul is giving an account of his **successive visits** to Jerusalem (Gal. 1:18; 2:1)
- 2) *William Ramsay*: “Apart from the desire to **harmonise** Luke with Paul, no one would ever have **inferred** from these words that Paul’s intention was to give an account only of **interviews with Apostles**, and that he **omits visits to Jerusalem** on which he **did not see Apostles.**” (Bold emphasis added, *A Historical Commentary on St. Paul’s Epistle to the Galatians*, 281)

b. Evaluation:

- 1) The **Visit After 14 Years** (Gal. 2:1-10) does not have to be Paul’s **second visit** to Jerusalem
 - a) Paul’s statement, “I went up **again** [*palin*] to Jerusalem” (Gal. 2:1) does not necessarily mean that this trip was only his **second trip** to Jerusalem after his conversion
 - 1] John says: “Peter then denied **again** [*palin*]; and immediately a rooster crowed” (Jn. 18:27); but this was **Peter’s third denial** (cf. Jn. 18:17, 25, 26-27)
- 2) Based on **Paul’s letter alone**, there would be no reason to believe that an **intervening visit** to Jerusalem had been **omitted**. However, we do not have **Paul’s letter alone**; we also have **Luke’s account** in Acts
 - a) Either these two documents are **contradictory**, or they can be **reasonably harmonized**
 - b) If they are to be **reasonably harmonized**, **all the puzzle pieces** must **fit together** without being **forced**
- 3) Furthermore, the same thing that Mr. Ramsay says about **Galatians** could also be said about **the Gospels**
 - a) Each Gospel routinely **omits details** that are included in other Gospels, and there would be **no reason** for us to **conclude such** were it not for these **other accounts** of Jesus’ life
 - 1] The healing of the **centurion’s servant** (Mt. 8:5-13; Lk. 7:1-10)

- 2] The healing of **Bartimaeus** and **his companion** (Mt. 20:29-34; Mk. 10:46-52; Lk. 18:35-43)
 - 3] The **superscription** on the cross (Mt. 27:37; Mk. 15:26; Lk. 23:38; Jn. 19:19)
 - 4] Etc.
3. Argument #2: Logically, Paul would not **omit a reference** to any visit to Jerusalem, e.g. the **Famine Relief Visit** (Acts 11:27-30; 12:25), because that would **defeat his argument** that he had not received his gospel from men because there was **no opportunity** for him to do so
- a. Explanation:
 - 1) Paul is trying to prove that on **none of his post-conversion trips to Jerusalem** could he have **received his gospel from men**, especially from the leaders of the Jerusalem church
 - a) He argues that he began to **preach immediately after his conversion** before he **visited Jerusalem** where the apostles were (Gal. 1:15-17; cf. Acts 9:18-22)
 - b) He argues that although he had **visited Jerusalem** on one occasion after his conversion, he was there for just a **short time** and only saw **Peter** and **James**, the Lord's brother (Gal. 1:18-20)
 - 2) If Paul **omitted the Famine Relief Visit** (Acts 11:27-30; 12:25) in his account in Galatians, then his critics could argue that he **received his gospel from the apostles on that visit to Jerusalem**³⁶
 - 3) *Richard Longenecker*: "The adverb *ἔπειτα* ('**then,**' '**next**') stands over all that Paul recounts in 2:1-10, identifying this as **the third enumerated event** following his time at Damascus (cf. 1:18ff. and 1:21ff. for the first two) and assuring his readers that there are **no gaps** in his narrative." (Bold emphasis added, 41:44)
 - b. Evaluation:
 - 1) First, because of **the circumstances** in Jerusalem at the time, the **Famine Relief Visit** (Acts 11:27-30; 12:25) would have been an

unlikely time to discuss the **Jew-Gentile issues** that were discussed during the Visit After 14 Years (Gal. 2:1-10)

- a) The time of the Famine Relief Visit was a time of **political agitation** against the apostles
 - 1] **James** the son of Zebedee was executed by Herod Agrippa I (Acts 12:1-2)
 - 2] **Peter** was imprisoned (Acts 12:3-4)
 - b) As a result, the other church leaders may have **fled Jerusalem**
 - 1] **The apostles** are **not mentioned** in Luke's account of the Famine Relief Visit
 - 2] Luke says that the funds for famine relief were delivered to the "**elders**" (Acts 11:30)
 - 3] There is **no mention** of **any contact** with the **apostles** during the **Famine Relief Visit**, only contact with the **elders** in the churches of Judea (Acts 11:30)
 - c) Therefore, the **Famine Relief Visit** would appear to be an **inauspicious**, if not **impossible**, time for a **full scale discussion** of the **Gentiles** and **the law of Moses** (Boice, 419)
- 2) Second, Paul is not attempting to give a **full account** of **all his activities** during the **early years of his ministry**. Rather, he is attempting to answer **specific criticisms** directed against him by the Judaizing teachers
- a) Objection 1: Paul got his gospel (and got it imperfectly) from **others**
 - 1] Paul answers this objection by showing that in the early years of his ministry, he was **not influenced** by any of the apostles at all either before or after his conversion (Gal. 1:11-24)
 - 2] To prove his case (*i.e.* that he did not receive his gospel from men), Paul only needed to refer to visits to Jerusalem where that **might have occurred**

- 3] Since Paul **did not meet** with any of the apostles during the Famine Relief Visit (Acts 11:27-30; 12:25), there was **no reason** for him to **mention it**
- b) Objection 2: Paul was preaching a **different gospel** than the other apostles
- 1] Paul responds to this objection by arguing that he was preaching **the same gospel** as the other apostles, and they **endorsed** what he preached among the Gentiles without any **correction** or **addition** (Gal. 2:1-10)
(Hendriksen, 71, n. 45; Willis, 46-47)
- 3) Third, when Paul mentions his Visit After 14 Years to Jerusalem (Gal. 2:1-10), he has moved on to his **second argument**
- a) He is no longer defending **the source** of his gospel (*i.e.* it was from **God**, not men)
- b) He is defending **the content** of his gospel (*i.e.* his gospel was exactly **the same** as the other apostles')
- c) Since the **Famine Relief Visit** (Acts 11:27-30; 12:25) was **not germane** to his second argument, Paul **does not mention it**³⁷
- d) Response:
- 1] *Daniel Wallace*: "If Gal. 2:1 could be **stripped of its context**, this argument might have **some validity**. But the entire narrative, from 1:11 to 2:14, has the feel of a **legal defense** (cf. 1:20) in which the apostle would be careful *especially* about **how many visits** he had made to Jerusalem and **when he had visited**. (Bold emphasis added, 5, n. 14)
4. Argument #3: There are **similarities** between the Visit After 14 Years (Gal. 2:1-10) and the Famine Relief Visit (Acts 11:27-30; 12:25)
- a. Explanation:
- 1) The admonition from James, Peter, and John to "**remember the poor**" (Gal. 2:10) **coincides perfectly** with the **Famine Relief Visit** (Acts 11:27-30; 12:25)
- b. Evaluation:

- 1) There are **significant differences** between the Visit After 14 Years (Gal. 2:1-10) and the Famine Relief Visit (Acts 11:27-30; 12:25), and these **differences far outweigh** any similarities

The Visit After 14 Years Is Not The Famine Relief Visit	
Visit After 14 Years (Gal. 2:1-10)	Famine Relief Visit (Acts 11:27-30)
Leader: Paul (2:1, 6, 8-9)	Leader: Barnabas (11:30; 12:25)
Titus (2:3)	
Apostles (2:6-9)	Elders (11:30)
Circumcision for Gentiles (2:3)	Relief for Christians (11:29)
Paul preached to Galatians earlier (5)	Paul didn't preach to Galatians earlier (Acts 13-14)
From James (12)	Not from Us (Acts 15:24)

a) Response to Contrast #1:

- 1] *Richard Longenecker: "But it is also to be expected – at a time after the missionary party's return from southern Galatia when Paul was not only the **chief speaker** but also **the leader de facto** – that Paul would **recount earlier events from such a perspective**, particularly when, as he saw it, **Barnabas had vacillated** on the issue at hand (cf. Gal 2:13)." (Bold emphasis added, 41:46)*

b) Response to Contrast #3:

- 1] This is an incredible **argument from silence**
- 2] Luke's silence does not mean that a **private meeting** with the apostles **did not occur**
- 3] It assumes that "**elders**" **cannot include "apostles"** in its referent. However, this is almost surely not the case. In Acts 16:4, **one article** governs "the **apostles and elders** at Jerusalem" and means "**apostles and other elders**" (Wallace, 5, n. 14)

a] Reply:

- 1} **Paul** would have been among "the **apostles and elders** at Jerusalem" (Acts 15:2, 12, 22, 25)
- 2} Elders must be **married** (1 Tim. 3:2; Tit. 1:6)

- 3} Paul was an **apostle**, but he was **not married** (1 Cor. 9:5, 12)
- 4} Therefore, he could not have been an **elder**
- 4] Some North Galatianists argue that Acts 11:30 is unhistorical
 - a] Reply:
 - 1} Luke has a **proven track record** as a historian (Wallace, 5, n. 14)
- 5. Argument #4: Peter's **withdrawal** from **Gentile Christians** in Antioch (Gal. 2:11-14) is more likely to have occurred **before**, rather than after, the Jerusalem Council (Carson & Moo, 462)
 - a. Explanation:
 - 1) In light of what Peter said at the **Jerusalem Conference** (Acts 15:7-11), it seems **highly unlikely** that he would have engaged in this kind of **hypocrisy after** the Jerusalem Conference³⁸
 - b. Evaluation:
 - 1) During the Personal Ministry of Jesus, **Peter's impetuosity** was demonstrated time and time again
 - a) Would it seem likely that Peter would vehemently declare his **unwavering loyalty** to Jesus (Mt. 26:33) only to **deny Him** three times in just a few hours? (Mt. 26:74-75)
 - 2) *James Montgomery Boice*: "[T]his overlooks both **the reality of human inconsistency** (even among the best people) and the fact that **the Antioch incident reflects an entirely new situation**. There was: (1) a **new issue**--foods rather than circumcision; (2) a **new area of the faith**--Christian living rather than the basis of salvation; and (3) a **new subject**-- Jewish liberty rather than the liberty of Gentile Christians. This dispute could have followed naturally upon the compromise reached at the council." (Bold emphasis added, 10:446)
- 6. Argument #5: The **criticism** of Paul's apostolic authority more likely occurred **early** in his ministry rather than later
 - a. Explanation:

- b. Evaluation:
- 1) If Paul were still defending **the source** of his apostleship (Gal. 2:1-10), the **Famine Relief Visit** (Acts 11:27-30; 12:25) would have **no real bearing** on that:
 - a) By that time, Paul had been **an apostle** for about **ten years**
 - b) He had been **preaching the gospel** in:
 - 1] **Damascus** (Acts 9:19-22; Gal. 1:15-17)
 - 2] **Jerusalem** (Acts 9:26-30)
 - 3] **Tarsus** of Cilicia (Gal. 1:21; Acts 11:25)
 - 4] **Antioch** of Syria (Gal. 1:21; Acts 11:25-26)
 - a] Since the Jerusalem Council decree was addressed “to the **brethren** who are of the **Gentiles** in **Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia**” (Acts 15:23), Paul must have been **preaching the gospel** in these areas **earlier**
 - c) The churches in Judea **kept hearing** that Paul was **preaching the faith** he once tried to destroy, and they **glorified God** as a result (Gal. 1:22-24)³⁹ (Willis, 49)
7. Argument #6: Paul’s refusal to **circumcise Titus** (Gal. 2:1-5) more likely occurred before the Jerusalem Council (Acts 15) (Utley, 7:2)
- a. Explanation:
 - b. Evaluation:
8. Argument #7: Paul does not mention any **church leaders** among the churches of Galatia
- a. Explanation:
 - 1) It seems **highly unlikely** that Paul would have **failed to mention church leaders** if they had been **in place** when he wrote Galatians, and this suggests an **early stage of development** in these churches (Witherington, III, 10)
 - 2) The Galatians were **departing** from the faith relatively **soon** after their conversion (Gal. 1:6-10)

b. Evaluation:

- 1) The Galatian churches were predominantly **Gentile**; therefore **more time** may have been required for **qualified men** to be appointed to leadership positions

9. Objection #1: Paul **preached** to the **Galatians** prior to the Visit After 14 Years (Gal. 2:5)a. Explanation:

- 1) Since I have **already made this argument**⁴⁰, I will merely **restate** it here briefly
- 2) Paul **preached** the gospel to the Galatians (Gal. 1:8-9; 4:13) and **established** the Galatian churches (Gal. 4:19; cf. 1 Cor. 4:15)
- 3) Paul **preached** to the Galatians **prior** to his **Visit After 14 Years** to Jerusalem (Gal. 2:1, 4-5)
- 4) Paul **did not preach** in “South Galatia” until his **First Missionary Journey** which occurred **after** the Famine Relief Visit to Jerusalem (Acts 11:27-30; 12:25)
- 5) Therefore, Paul’s Visit After 14 Years (Gal. 2:1-10) **could not have been** the Famine Relief Visit (Acts 11:27-30; 12:25)
- 6) *Sherlock Holmes*: “How often have I said to you that when you have eliminated the **impossible**, whatever remains, *however improbable*, must be the **truth**?” (Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Sign Of Four*, Chap. 6, p. 111)

b. Evaluation:

- 1) See the evaluation already provided⁴¹

10. Objection #2: When Paul visited Jerusalem the **second time**, the Visit After 14 Years (Gal. 2:1-10), he was already a **missionary to the Gentiles** (Gal. 2:2, 7-9); but Paul did not evangelize the Galatians until **after** the **Famine Relief Visit** (Acts 11:25-30; 12:25). Therefore, the **Visit After 14 Years** could not have been the **Famine Relief Visit** (Longenecker, lxxxi)a. Explanation:b. Evaluation:

- 1) Paul was called to preach to the Gentiles at his **conversion** (Acts 9:15; 22:12-16, 21; 26:14-18; Gal. 1:15-16)
 - 2) Since the **decree** of the Jerusalem Council was addressed “To the brethren who are of the **Gentiles** in **Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia**” (Acts 15:23), **Gentile churches existed** in these areas **before** the Jerusalem Council
 - 3) Since the “**churches of Judea**” were hearing [present tense] that Paul was **preaching the faith** [present tense] that he once tried to destroy (Gal. 1:22-24), he must have been **evangelizing** in **Syria** and **Cilicia** before the Jerusalem Council (Acts 11:25-26)
 - 4) Paul began his **Second Missionary Journey** going through **Syria** and **Cilicia, strengthening the churches** (Acts 15:41); therefore these **churches existed** even though Luke does not report their establishment
 - 5) So Paul could have described himself as a **missionary** to the **Gentiles** on the basis of his work with Gentiles in **Syria** and **Cilicia** even before His **First Missionary Journey** in “South Galatia” (Acts 13-14)
11. Objection #3: If the **Visit After 14 Years** (Gal. 2:1-10) is the **Famine Relief Visit** (Acts 11:27-30; 12:25), then the **question** about whether or not Gentile converts had to be circumcised was **officially settled** long before the Jerusalem Council; thus making it **superfluous**
- a. Explanation:
 - 1) *James G. D. Dunn*: “[I]f the issue of circumcision was **resolved** as **decisively** as Gal. 2:1-10 indicates, with the **full and formal approval** of the **Jerusalem leadership** (2:3, 6-9) in the face of strong internal pressure to the contrary (2:4-5), it is difficult to see how it could have **become an issue once again in Acts 15.**”
(Bold emphasis added, 88)
 - 2) Is it reasonable to conclude that there were **two separate conferences** over the same issue with a **similar outcome**?
 - b. Evaluation:

- 1) The admission of **Gentile converts** was a **serious and recurring problem**, not just in **Antioch** and **Galatia** but in **other cities** as well
 - a) **Rome** (Rom. 2:25-29; 3:1, 20; 4:9-12; 15:8)
 - b) **Philippi** (Phil. 3:3-5)
 - c) **Corinth** (1 Cor. 7:18-20)
 - d) **Colosse** (Col. 2:9-15; 3:10-11)
 - 2) Therefore, it is not **impossible**, or even **improbable**, that this subject would be **discussed on more than one occasion** (George, 30:137, n. 91)
12. Objection #4: Identifying the Visit After 14 Years (Gal. 2:1-10) with the Famine Relief Visit (Acts 11:27-30; 12:25), is **chronologically untenable** (Lenski, 67)
- a. Explanation:
 - 1) The **Famine Relief Visit** took place **before** the death of **Herod Agrippa I** (Acts 11:26-30; 12:20-25), and secular sources indicate that he died in **AD 44** (cf. Josephus, *Antiquities Of The Jews*, 19:8:2)
 - 2) Paul's **Visit After 14 Years** to Jerusalem (Gal. 2:1-10) took place either:
 - a) **Seventeen years** after his conversion
 - 1] Fourteen years after his **Post-Conversion Visit**, which was three years after his **conversion** (Gal. 1:18) [14 + 3 = 17]
 - b) **Fourteen years** after his **conversion**
 - 1] Many commentators believe that **both of Paul's visits to Jerusalem**, the one after 3 years (Gal. 1:18) and the one after 14 years (Gal. 2:1), should be calculated from the same **starting point – his conversion**
 - a] The apparent **contrast** between "I did not **immediately** confer with flesh and blood" (Gal. 1:16) with "**after three years** I went up to Jerusalem...." (Gal. 1:18) suggests that this visit to

Jerusalem occurred three years after **Paul's conversion**⁴² (Lightfoot, 84)

- 2] However, this is not a conclusion **accepted by all**
- a] *R.C.H. Lenski*: "Some interpreters count the fourteen years from the time of **Paul's conversion** on the plea that this is the **dominating date** for the reckoning of time. It is; but it **dominates** just as strongly when the fourteen years follow the three as when they include the three. If they include the three, the conversion of Paul is moved forward three years, which **upsets the entire chronology**. The date of Herod's frightful death (Acts 12:23) is known independently of the Scriptures: **the summer of the year 44**. Paul is speaking of the time of **the convention** (Acts 15)." (Bold emphasis added, 68)

3) Therefore, **Paul's conversion** occurred in:

a) **AD 30** ($44 - 14 = 30$) or

b) **AD 27** ($44 - 17 = 27$)

4) But Jesus was **crucified** ~AD 30

5) Since **this chronology** does not allow **enough time** between Jesus' crucifixion and Paul's conversion, it **cannot be correct**

a) *Everett Harrison*: "Even if the **fourteen years** of Gal 2:1 refer to the **conversion** rather than to the **first visit** to Jerusalem, the dating of the **conversion** is still **too early**; it leaves **no interval** between the **resurrection** of Christ and the **conversion** of Paul." (Bold emphasis added, 1287)

b. Evaluation:

1) The chronology is not untenable if **two of three assumptions** are correct:

a) The **Visit After 3 Years** (Gal. 1:18) and the **Visit After 14 Years** (Gal. 2:1-10) are both measured from Paul's **conversion**⁴³ (Gal. 1:15-16)

b) Paul used an **inclusive method** of time reckoning⁴⁴

- c) Jesus was **crucified in AD 30** (Longenecker, lxxxiii)
- 2) If the **Visit After 14 years** occurred 14 years after **Paul's conversion**, rather than his Post-Conversion Visit to Jerusalem, and if Paul is using an **inclusive method of time reckoning**, then Paul's second visit to Jerusalem occurred ~**AD 44-46**, and he was converted ~**AD 32-33**. This means that the Visit After 14 years could be the **Famine Relief Visit** (Acts 11:27-30; 12:25) (George, 30:136)
- 3) Josephus indicates that **the famine** recorded in Acts 11:28-30 took place during Roman governorships **later** than the **death of Herod Agrippa I** (*Antiquities* 20:5:2)
- a) Luke's account of the **persecution** in Jerusalem (Acts 12:1-17) and the **death of Herod Agrippa I** (Acts 12:20-23) is a **flashback**, corresponding with earlier events (cf. Acts 11:19-26)
- 4) So the alleged chronological difficulties are **not insurmountable** after all
- F. Paul's **Visit After 14 Years** (Gal. 2:1-10) corresponds with the **Jerusalem Council Visit** (Acts 15:1-2, 4) and Galatians was **written after** the Jerusalem Council
1. This is the **traditional** and **majority view** that was virtually **unchallenged** until the early 20th century
- a. Until recently only **John Calvin** identified the Visit After 14 Years (Gal. 2:1-10) with the Famine Relief Visit (Acts 11:27-30) (Longenecker, 41:lxiv)
2. Argument #1: Paul **preached** to the **Galatians prior** to the Visit After 14 Years (Gal. 2:5)
- a. Explanation:
- 1) Since I have **already made this argument**⁴⁵, I will merely **restate** it here briefly
- 2) Paul **preached** the gospel to the Galatians (Gal. 1:8-9; 4:13) and **established** the Galatian churches (Gal. 4:19; cf. 1 Cor. 4:15)
- 3) Paul **preached** to the Galatians **prior** to his **Visit After 14 Years** to Jerusalem (Gal. 2:1, 4-5)

- 4) Paul **did not preach** in “South Galatia” until his **First Missionary Journey** which occurred **after** the Famine Relief Visit to Jerusalem (Acts 11:27-30; 12:25)
 - 5) Therefore, Paul’s Visit After 14 Years (Gal. 2:1-10) **could not have been** the Famine Relief Visit (Acts 11:27-30; 12:25)
 - 6) *Sherlock Holmes*: “How often have I said to you that when you have eliminated the **impossible**, whatever remains, *however improbable*, must be the **truth**?” (Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Sign Of Four*, Chap. 6, p. 111)
- b. Evaluation:
- 1) See the evaluation already provided⁴⁶
3. Argument #2: The Visit After 14 Years (Gal. 2:1-10) is **strikingly similar** to the Jerusalem Council Visit (Acts 15:1-2, 4)
- a. Explanation:
- 1) The striking similarities:
 - a) Same Geography: **Antioch to Jerusalem** (Gal. 1:21; 2:1; Acts 14:26-28; 15:2, 4)
 - b) Same Participants: **Paul & Barnabas** (Gal. 2:1; Acts 15:2)
 - c) Same Companions: **Titus** (Gal. 2:1) & **Others**, who could have included Titus (Acts 15:2)
 - d) Same Opponents: **False brethren** (Gal. 2:4) = **Believing Pharisees** (Acts 15:5)
 - e) Same Disputed Issue: **Circumcision** for Gentile converts (Gal. 2:3; Acts 15:1, 5)
 - f) Same Church Leaders: **Those of reputation** (Gal. 2:2) = **Those who seemed to be something** (Gal. 2:6) = **James, Cephas, & John** (Gal. 2:9) = **Apostles & Elders** (Acts 15:6); **Peter** (Acts 15:7-11); **James** (Acts 15:13-18)
 - g) Same Result: **Gentiles are not obligated to be circumcised** (Gal. 2:3; Acts 15:19-21, 23-29) (Lightfoot, 123-124)

Visit After 14 Years Is The Jerusalem Council Visit
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Visit After 14 Years Is The Jerusalem Council Visit	
Visit After 14 Years (Gal. 2:1-10)	Jerusalem Council Visit (Acts 15:4-29)
Syria & Cilicia (1:21)	Antioch (14:26-28)
Go up to Jerusalem (2:1)	Went up to Jerusalem (15:2)
Paul & Barnabas (2:1)	Paul & Barnabas (15:2)
Titus (2:1)	Certain Others (15:2)
Communicated Gospel (2:2)	Reported all God had done with them (15:4)
Those of Reputation (2:2)	Apostles & elders (15:4)
False brethren (2:4)	Believing Pharisees (15:5)
Secretly brought in to spy out liberty & bring us into bondage (2:4)	“It is necessary to circumcise them, and to command them to keep the law of Moses” (15:5)
We did not yield that the truth of the gospel might continue (2:5)	Peter recounted the conversion of Cornelius (15:7-11)
	Barnabas & Paul recounted the miracles God had worked among the Gentiles (15:12)
	James argued that the conversion of the Gentiles fulfilled OT Scripture (15:13-18)
Those who seemed to be something added nothing to me (2:6)	James proposed a letter stipulating a few restrictions for the Gentiles (15:19-21)
	Apostles, Elders, & Church decided to send Chosen Men with Paul & Barnabas to Antioch (15:22)

- 2) *James Montgomery Boice*: “[A] **combination of circumstances** so striking is **not likely to have occurred** twice within the space of just a few years.” (Bold emphasis added, 418)
- 3) *James Montgomery Boice*: “[T]here is absolutely **no correspondence** between what Paul tells us of his visit and what Luke writes of the so-called ‘**famine visit,**’ which is the only other option....” (Bold emphasis added,418)

b. Evaluation:

- 1) While there are **several similarities** between the Visit After 14 Years (Gal. 2:1-10) and the Jerusalem Council Visit (Acts 15:1-2, 4), there are also **significant differences**

The Visit After 14 Years Is Not The Jerusalem Council Visit	
Visit After 14 Years	Jerusalem Council Visit

(Gal. 2:1-10)	(Acts 15:4-29)
2 nd Visit (Gal. 2:1; cf. 1:18)	3 rd Visit (Acts 15:2-4; cf. 9:26-30; 11:27-30)
Paul, Barnabas, Titus (Gal. 2:1)	Paul, Barnabas, & Others (Acts 15:2)
Divine Revelation (Gal. 2:2)	Church Decision (Acts 15:2)
Issue In Jerusalem (Gal. 2:3-5)	Issue In Antioch (Acts 15:1-2)
Private Meeting (Gal. 2:2, 7-9)	Public Meeting (Acts 15:2, 4, 6, 12, 22)
Titus not circumcised (Gal. 2:3)	
Major Role For Paul: Key Figure (Gal. 2:2)	Minor Role For Paul: Witness (Acts 15:12)
Church Leaders Added Nothing (Gal. 2:6)	Decree From Apostles, Elders, & Church (Acts 15:22-29)
No Regulations For Gentiles	Regulations For Gentiles (Acts 15:20, 29)

a) Response To Contrast #1:

- 1] "I went up **again** to Jerusalem" (Gal. 2:1) does not necessarily mean that this was only Paul's **second trip** to Jerusalem

b) Response To Contrast #2:

- 1] Luke **does not mention Titus at all** in Acts even though he was **Paul's assistant** on his Third Missionary Journey (2 Cor. 2:13; 7:6, 13-14; 8:6, 16, 23; 12:18)
- 2] "**Certain others**" accompanied Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem (Acts 15:2), and **Titus** could have been among those individuals

c) Response To Contrast #3:

- 1] The **reasons** stated by Luke and Paul are not **mutually exclusive**
 - a] **Peter's visit to Caesarea to see Cornelius** was the result of a **vision** from the Lord (Acts 10:9-16), **instructions** from the Holy Spirit (Acts 10:19-20), and a **summons** by Cornelius' servants (Acts 10:17-18, 21-22)
 - b] **Paul's flight from Jerusalem** because of persecution involved both **assistance** from his brethren in Jerusalem (Acts 9:28-30) and **instruction**, while in a trance, from the Lord (Acts 22:17-18)

- c] **Paul's First Missionary Journey** involved both **instruction** from the Holy Spirit (Acts 13:1-2) and **involvement** by the brethren in Antioch (Acts 13:3)
- d] Perhaps Paul was **reluctant to accept the assignment** of the church in Antioch and a **divine revelation** was needed to spur him on
- d) Response To Contrast #4:
 - 1] Although Paul **does not mention any dispute in Antioch**, he went to Jerusalem from **Antioch** (Gal. 1:21), and a **dispute in Antioch** that precipitated this journey is certainly **not impossible**
- e) Response To Contrast #5:
 - 1] Acts 15 may refer to both a **private** (Acts 15:5-6) and a **public** meeting (Acts 15:7-22)
 - a] The term **"them"** may refer to the **whole church** (Gal. 2:2) [?] (Harrison, n.p.)
 - 2] A **private meeting** certainly could have occurred on this occasion, and Luke simply did not **mention** it⁴⁷
 - 3] Galatians 2 leaves room for both: a **public conference** (2:2a) and a **private meeting** (2:2b)⁴⁸
- f) Response To Contrast #6:
 - 1] Luke's omission of any reference to **Titus and circumcision** is no different than his omission of any reference to **Paul's visit to Arabia** (Gal. 1:17)
 - 2] Whether or not **Gentiles** had to be **circumcised** was **the issue** in the Jerusalem Council (Acts 15:5)
- g) Response To Contrast #7:
 - 1] Paul could have played **different roles** in private and public meetings
- h) Response To Contrast #8:

- 1] Paul says that the church leaders in Jerusalem **added nothing to him personally**. That statement does not necessarily **preclude a decree** sent to Gentile churches
 - i) Response To Contrast #9:
 - 1] These regulations do not touch the **main issue** discussed in Galatians 2
 - 2] Galatians 2 may contain a **veiled reference** to these regulations (Gal. 2: 6) [?]
 - j) *Note*: Many of these alleged differences are a matter of **perspective**, and **plausible explanations** can be offered for others
4. Objection #1: If Paul **evangelized** “South Galatia” **prior** to the **Jerusalem Council**, why didn’t he **mention that** in Gal. 1:21?
- a. Explanation:
 - 1) Between Paul’s two visits to Jerusalem, the Visit After 3 Years (Gal. 1:18) and the Visit After 14 Years (Gal. 2:1-10), he spent time in **Syria** [Antioch (Acts 11:25-26)] and **Cilicia** [Tarsus (Acts 9:30; 11:25)] (Gal. 1:21).⁴⁹
 - 2) This implies that he **did not evangelize** the **Galatians** until **after** his **second visit** to Jerusalem
 - 3) However, Paul’s **First Missionary Journey** in “South Galatia” occurred **before** the **Jerusalem Council** (Acts 13-14)
 - 4) Therefore, the **Visit After 14 years** (Gal. 2:1-10) could not be the **Jerusalem Council Visit** (Longenecker, lxxxii)
 - b. Evaluation:
 - 1) Paul’s reference to his time in **Syria** and **Cilicia** (Gal. 1:21) is to make the point that he did not have an opportunity to have **contact with the apostles** or **receive his gospel from them**
 - 2) It does not **preclude** his **First Missionary Journey** in “South Galatia”
 - 3) Furthermore, Paul indicates that he had **preached the gospel** to the Galatians **before** his **second visit** to Jerusalem (Gal. 2:5)

- 4) Finally, if Paul wrote to the churches in “South Galatia,” they would have **known** that he had **spent time among them** during this period without Paul **mentioning it** (Ramsay, *The Church*, 106-108)
5. Objection #2: If the letter to the Galatians was **written after** the Jerusalem Council, why doesn’t Paul **settle the question** once and for all by referring to the **apostolic decrees**?⁵⁰
- a. Explanation:
- 1) The fact that the **decree** from the Jerusalem Council is **not mentioned** in Galatians indicates that Galatians was **written before the council**
- b. Evaluation:
- 1) Paul does not mention the Jerusalem Council decree because his purpose was to show the Galatians his own **independent apostolic authority** without relying on **any decree** from the other apostles or the church in Jerusalem (Boice, 419; Hahne, 6)
 - a) *Donald Guthrie*: “To him the enunciation of **theological principles** was of much greater value than **ecclesiastical pronouncements**.” (Bold emphasis added, 476)
 - 2) If Paul **wrote Galatians** after the **decrees** of the Jerusalem Council were **delivered** to the Galatian churches on his Second Missionary Journey (Acts 16:4), there would have been **no need to refer** to those decrees, because the Galatians were **already familiar** with them, and they had **not convinced or silenced the Judaizing teachers** (Hendriksen, 71, n. 45)
 - 3) *Everett Harrison*: “[S]ince Paul was concerned with **the Gospel** in this whole passage, and since **the decree did not bear directly on the Gospel** but simply provided for **harmonious relations** between Jewish and Gentile believers, he was **not under obligation to include the decree in his argument**.” (Bold emphasis added, 1288)
 - 4) *Jamieson, Fausset, & Brown*: “The Galatians were **Judaizing**, not because the **Jewish law was imposed by authority of the Church as necessary to Christianity**, but because they thought it necessary to be observed by those who **aspired to higher perfection** (Ga 3:3; 4:21). The decree would not at all **disprove**

their view, and therefore would have been **useless to quote.**"

(Bold emphasis added, 2:326)

- 5) The Jerusalem Council decrees were not so significant as this objection implies. They were addressed to "the **Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia**" (Acts 15:23), not to **Gentiles** throughout the whole Roman world
 - a) Response:
 - 1] That may be, but the **decrees** were for **all Gentile churches** (Acts 21:25), including the churches in "South Galatia" (Acts 16:1-4)
 - 2] After all, the **NT epistles** are for us today even though they were addressed to **churches** and **individuals** in the first century

- 6) The Jerusalem Council decrees were a **compromise** that Paul **initially agreed** with but later viewed as a **dangerous concession** likely to be **misunderstood**
 - a) They freed the Gentiles from adherence to the law, but they added certain **restrictions for conscience' sake** (Acts 15:28-29)
 - 1] Response:
 - a] I **do not agree** with this explanation at all, but mention it here, because **some offer it**
 - b] This explanation assumes that the Jerusalem Council decrees were merely **restrictions for conscience sake** as opposed to **universal principles**

6. Objection #3: It is **inconceivable** that Peter would have **snubbed his Gentile brethren** in Antioch if that had occurred **after the Jerusalem Conference**
 - a. Explanation:
 - b. Evaluation:
 - 1) **Inconsistency** and **momentary fear** constituted the weak strain in Peter's character (Hendriksen, 93)

- a) *R.C.H. Lenski*: “Do not ask how a man like Peter **could have done what he did**. Just ask yourself how you at times **can and do sin even against better knowledge**.” (Bold emphasis added, 94)
- 2) Why should **the decree** of the Jerusalem Council (Acts 15:22-29) be **more compelling** against a defection than the **Holy Spirit baptism** at Cornelius’ house a few years before (Acts 10:44-48)? (House, 139)
- 3) Although some suggest that **Peter’s hypocrisy** in Antioch (Gal. 2:11-14) may have **occurred before** the Visit After 14 Years (Gal. 2:1-10), *i.e.* Paul may be reporting it **out of chronological order**, this seems **highly unlikely** to me (Hahne, 6)
7. Objection #4: Paul’s reference to his **rebuke of Peter** in Antioch (Gal. 2:11-14) **undercuts his polemical argument** if this event occurred **after** the Jerusalem Council⁵¹
- a. Explanation:
- b. Evaluation:
- 1) This reference **fits** Paul’s polemical argument because his rebuke of Peter, one of the leading apostles, demonstrates that he was “not at all **inferior** to the **most eminent apostles**” (2 Cor. 11:5; cf. 12:11)
8. Objection #5: How could **the problem[s]** that Paul addresses in Galatians have **arisen** at all **after** the **Jerusalem Conference**?
- a. Explanation:
- b. Evaluation:
- 1) The Jerusalem Council dealt with **Gentile acceptance** in the church without circumcision or law-observance; it did not explicitly deal with “**table fellowship**” between Jewish and Gentile Christians
- a) *Jamieson, Fausset, & Brown*: “**The question** at Antioch was not whether **the Gentiles were admissible to the Christian covenant without becoming circumcised**—that was the question settled at the Jerusalem council just before—but whether **the Gentile Christians were to be admitted to**

social intercourse with the Jewish Christians without conforming to the Jewish institution.” (Bold emphasis added, 2:327)

2) Response:

- a) Peter **knew what was right** with respect to “table fellowship” before he played the hypocrite in Antioch (cf. Acts 10:48; 11:2), he just **didn’t practice it**

9. Objection #6: Several things mentioned in Galatians could reasonably have **occurred before** the Jerusalem Council, but **not afterwards**

a. Explanation:

- 1) Jewish Christians’ claim of **James’ support** (Gal. 2:11-12)
- 2) Jewish Christians’ claim that **Paul’s gospel was inadequate** for Gentile acceptance
- 3) Paul’s **polemical approach**
- 4) Peter and Barnabas’ **hypocrisy** (Gal. 2:11-14) (Witherington, III, 16; Longenecker, 41:lxix)

b. Evaluation:

- 1) I am **leery of objections** based upon what **finite and fallible men** think “woulda,” “coulda,” or “shoulda” happened (or not) because:
 - a) Sometimes **truth really is stranger than fiction**
 - b) God’s ways are **higher** than man’s (Isa. 55:8-9)

G. Conclusion:

1. Personally, I am **fairly confident** that the **Visit After 14 Years** (Gal. 2:1-10) corresponds to the **Jerusalem Council Visit** (Acts 15:4-29)

III. WHERE AND WHEN WAS GALATIANS WRITTEN?

- A. *Richard Longenecker:* “Without a doubt, the date of Galatians is one of the most **knotty problems** in Pauline studies. It is not, however, an **incidental problem** or one that can be **ignored**. Because the letter deals with such important matters as the **salvation of Gentiles apart from the Jewish law** and **relationships between Paul and the Jerusalem church**, one’s view as to date has **wide-ranging implications** for one’s understanding of **Paul’s**

theology and the reconstruction of the history of early Christianity.” (Bold emphasis added, 41:lxviii)

- B. Any attempt to **establish a chronology for Paul** and a **date for Galatians** must begin with **Paul’s statements in Galatians** (Gal. 1:18-2:14)
1. **Priority** must be given to **primary sources** [Paul’s letter(s)] over **secondary sources** [Luke’s account in Acts]
 2. Paul writes Galatians under **oath** (Gal. 1:20)
 3. Any **mistake** or **dissimulation** by Paul would have played into the hands of his **opponents** (Longenecker, 41:lxviii)
- C. Since Paul does not explicitly or implicitly identify **where** or **when** he wrote Galatians, deducing a probable **location** and **date** depends upon:
1. The **identification** of the “**Galatians**”: North or South
 2. The **completion** of all the **events** mentioned in the letter. Obviously Paul wrote Galatians **after these events** occurred
 - a. Paul’s **persecution** of the church (Gal. 1:13-14)
 - b. Paul’s **conversion** (Gal. 1:15-16)
 - c. Paul’s visit to **Arabia** and return to **Damascus** (Gal. 1:17)
 - d. Paul’s visit to **Jerusalem** after 3 years (Gal. 1:18)
 - e. Paul’s visit to **Syria** and **Cilicia** (Gal. 1:21)
 - f. Paul’s visit to **Jerusalem** after 14 years (Gal. 2:1-10)
 - g. Paul’s **rebuke of Peter** in Antioch (Gal. 2:11-14)⁵²
 - h. Paul’s **preaching** to the Galatians (Gal. 2:5)
 - i. Paul’s **establishing churches** among the Galatians (Gal. 4:19)
 - 1) Since he **preached** the gospel to the Galatians (Gal. 1:8-9; 4:13) and **established** the Galatian churches (Gal. 4:19; cf. 1 Cor. 4:15), he could not have **written** his letter **before his initial visit** -- unlike his letters to **Rome** (Rom. 1:7) and **Colosse** (Col. 1:2)
 - j. The Galatians’ **rapid departure** from the gospel following their conversion (Gal. 1:6)⁵³

3. The **number of visits** Paul made to “Galatia” before he wrote his letter: **1 or 2** (Gal. 4:13)
- a. Some scholars argue that Paul’s statement: “You know that because of physical infirmity I preached the gospel to you at **the first**.” (Gal. 4:13) implies **two visits** to Galatia before he wrote Galatians
- 1) *Proteros*:
- a) *BDAG*: “1. **pert. to a period of time preceding another period of time, earlier** a. adj. (Hom. et al.) *former, earlier*....
 b. the neut. πρότερον as adv. *earlier, formerly, in former times*.... β. w. art. and functioning as an adj. *former*....—W. the art. simply adverbially τὸ πρότερον *before, once, formerly*....*The first time* Hv 3, 12, 1; Hs 9, 1, 3. So prob. also **Gal 4:13**. Naturally the transl. *once* is also prob., but from a linguistic point of view it is not poss. to establish the thesis that Paul wished to differentiate betw. a later visit and an earlier one....” (888-889)
- b) *Thayer*: “[fr. Hom. down], *before, prior; of time, former*....Neut. adverbially, *before* (something else is or was done).... opp. to ἔπειτα, Heb. 7:27; *before* i. e. *aforetime, in time past*....i. q. our *the first time*, Gal. 4:13....” (552)
- 2) *Proteros* is found **11x** in the NT, and it is **variously translated** in the NKJV
- a) “**Before**” (Jn. 6:62; 7:51; 2 Cor. 1:15)
- b) “**Previously**” (Jn. 9:8)
- c) “**First**” (Gal. 4:13; Heb. 4:6; 7:27)
- d) “**Former[ly]**” (Eph. 4:22; 1 Tim. 1:13; Heb. 10:32; 1 Pet. 1:14)
- 3) In Gal. 4:13, our English versions **variously translate** *proteros*:
- a) “The **first** time” (ASV; ISV; LEB)
- b) “At the **first**” (KJV; NKJV; NRSV; YLT)
- c) “At **first**” (ESV; RSV)
- d) “**Previously**” (HCSB)

- e) **"First"** (NET; NIV)
 - f) **"Originally"** (NAB; NASB)
- b. Whether this statement requires more than one visit to Galatia is **debatable**
- 1) Some scholars say **"Yes"**⁵⁴
 - 2) Some scholars say **"Maybe"**⁵⁵
 - 3) Some scholars say **"No"** or **"Probably not"**⁵⁶
- c. The contrast in Galatians 4:13-16 is likely between the **Galatians' reception** of Paul when he **first preached** the gospel to them and their **response** to him now after the Judaizer's intrusion; therefore it is **unlikely** that Gal. 4:13 implies that Paul had already made **two trips** to Galatia (Witherington, III, 13)
- d. Even if Gal. 4:13 definitely indicates **two visits**, they could be the **outbound** and **return** visits during the First Missionary Journey (Carson & Moo, 463)
4. The correlation of **Paul's Visit After 14 Years** (Gal. 2:1-10)
- a. Was this the **Famine Relief Visit?** (Acts 11:27-30; 12:25)
 - b. Was this the **Jerusalem Council Visit?** (Acts 15)
 - 1) *Note:* This is **not a pertinent factor** for the **North Galatian Hypothesis** since Paul could not have visited "North Galatia" until his **Second Missionary Journey** (Acts 16:6) which followed the **Jerusalem Council**
5. **How quickly** the necessary antecedent conditions developed
- a. The **infiltration** by the Judaizing teachers after Paul left Galatia (Gal. 1:7; 3:1; 4:17; 5:7, 10, 12; 6:12-13)
 - b. The **turning away** by the Galatians to another gospel (Gal. 1:6-9)
 - c. The **news** of this departure reaching Paul
 - d. The **writing** of Galatians (presumably soon afterwards)
 - 1) Unfortunately we **cannot know** with any certainty the **timeframe** involved in these developments

D. The **North Galatian Hypothesis** would require a **later date**

1. *North Galatia & 1 Visit:*

- a. Paul allegedly **visited** “North Galatia” the **first time** not long after he began his Second Missionary Journey (Acts 16:6)
- b. Paul probably **wrote Galatians** during his **18 month stay** in **Corinth** (Acts 18:1ff, 11) sometime between **AD 49/50-52**⁵⁷
 - 1) **Enough time** would have elapsed for the necessary **antecedent conditions** to develop
 - 2) Lenski argues that Paul wrote Galatians from **Corinth** because:
 - a) Although Paul usually dictated his letters to an **amanuensis**, he wrote Galatians with **his own hand** (Gal. 6:11)
 - b) He sends **no greetings** from a **church**
 - c) He sends **no greetings** from **Timothy** or **Silas** or any of his **other assistants**
 - 1] It is **inconceivable** that Paul would have **failed to include Timothy** and **Silas** in his greetings, since they would have been well-known to the Galatians
 - 2] Therefore, they must have been **absent** when he wrote Galatians (Berkhof, 186)
 - a] They had not yet **arrived** from **Macedonia** (Acts 18:5)
 - b] Paul sent them **elsewhere** on some mission [?]
 - d) **Corinth** fits these criteria (Lenski, 15)
 - e) Paul implies that he was **some distance** from the Galatian churches (Gal. 4:20)
- c. *Note:* It seems unlikely that Paul could have written to the “North Galatians” from anywhere other than Corinth because of **time constraints**

2. *North Galatia & 2 Visits (Gal. 4:13):*

- a. Paul allegedly **visited** “North Galatia” the **second time** not long after he began his Third Missionary Journey (Acts 18:23)
- b. Paul probably **wrote Galatians** during his **3 year stay** in **Ephesus** sometime between **AD 52/53 – 55/56**⁵⁸ (Acts 19:1ff, 8, 10, 22; 20:31)
 - 1) The Galatians were **quickly turning away** from the gospel (Gal. 1:6) after Paul’s visit, and he **wrote Galatians soon after** he heard about their departure
 - a) Response:
 - 1] *Tacheos* probably refers to their **conversion** rather than Paul’s visit; therefore the term has a **relative significance** (Guthrie, 473)
 - 2] If Paul wrote Galatians from **Ephesus**, why didn’t he just **visit** the Galatians rather than **write** to them, since he wanted to **be with them**? (Gal. 4:20) (Berkhof, 186; Zahn, 1:194)
 - 3] A trip from **Ephesus** to “**North Galatia**” could have been made at any time of year
 - 4] Furthermore, Paul made a trip to **Corinth** from Ephesus during this same period. He **wrote 1 Corinthians** from **Ephesus** (1 Cor. 15:32; 16:8), and from Ephesus he made a “**painful visit**” to Corinth (2 Cor. 1:15; 2:1; 13:1)
 - b) Reply:
 - 1] Why didn’t Paul make a trip to **Colosse** rather than write a letter? (Col. 1:1-2; 2:1)
 - 2] Perhaps Paul couldn’t have made a trip to Galatia because he made **the painful visit** to Corinth
 - 2) The **style** and **subject matter** of Galatians, Romans, and the Corinthian letters are **so similar**, they must have been written about **the same time period** (Longenecker, 41:lxiv, lxix; Rapa, 551)
 - a) Explanation:
 - 1] During his **Third Missionary Journey**, Paul wrote:

- a] **1 Corinthians** while he evangelized in **Ephesus** for 3 years (cf. 1 Cor. 16:9; Acts 19:1, 8, 10; 20, 22; 20:31)
- b] **2 Corinthians** from **Macedonia** (Acts 20:1-2)
 - 1} When Paul wrote this letter, he was **boasting** [present tense] of the Corinthians to the Macedonians (cf. 2 Cor. 9:2-4)
- c] **Romans** from **Corinth** (Acts 20:2-3)
 - 1} Paul commends **Phoebe** who was from **Cenchrea** (Rom. 16:1-2), and Cenchrea was the **port city** for **Corinth** (cf. Rom. 16:1-2 & Acts 18:1, 18)
 - 2} Paul sends greetings from **Gaius** (Rom. 16:23) who was baptized in **Corinth** (1 Cor. 1:14)
 - 3} Paul wrote Romans after 1 & 2 Corinthians while he was on his way to **Jerusalem** with **the collection** for the needy saints there (Rom. 15:25-26; 1 Cor. 16:1-4; 2 Cor. 8-9)
- 2] Lightfoot argues that **Galatians** and **2 Corinthians** are strikingly similar, not only in **words** and **argument** but also in **tone** and **feeling**, and that there is even a **closer resemblance** between **Romans** and **Galatians** (George, 30:46)
- 3] All scholars date **Galatians earlier than Romans** (Cole, 9:34)
 - a] *Timothy George*: “The **doctrine** Paul set forth in the **white-hot polemics of Galatians** he developed in a more **formal** and **comprehensive** way in **Romans**.” (Bold emphasis added, 30:47)
- 4] Some scholars arrange these books in the following order: **1 & 2 Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans**
- 5] Others arrange them: **Galatians, 1 & 2 Corinthians, and Romans**
 - a] A good case can be made for the view that, in the **Corinthian letters**, Paul is **carefully qualifying** some of the **general statements** that he has already

made in **Galatians** (cf. Gal. 3:28 with 1 Cor. 11:1-16)
(Cole, 9:34)

b) Evaluation:

- 1] This argument is **denied** by many North Galatian advocates
 - 2] These affinities can certainly be **explained in other ways**
 - a] **Subject matter** could **dictate style** to a great extent regardless of the **time period**
 - b] The doctrine of **justification by faith** was a **major concern** for Paul throughout his ministry
 - 3] The **differences** between Galatians and Romans are as striking as their **similarities** (George, 30:42)
 - 4] All of Paul's letters were written within a relatively **short period of time** (12-15 years) (George, 30:42)
- c. Paul might possibly have written Galatians during his **3 month stay** in **Corinth** (Acts 20:1-3) during the winter months of **AD 56/57**⁵⁹
(Willis, xxiv)
- 1) Galatians must have been **written after 1 & 2 Corinthians**, since those letters do not mention the **Jewish controversy**, but before Romans, since Romans presents a **more mature approach** to the same problems
 - 2) Therefore Galatians was probably written from **Corinth** toward the end of Paul's Third Missionary Journey (Guthrie, 473)
 - a) Response:
 - 1] If so, then Paul wrote both **Galatians** and **Romans** during his **3 month stay** in **Corinth** near the end of his Third Missionary Journey, and there would be **no time** for Paul to formulate this so-called "**more mature approach**"

E. The **South Galatian Hypothesis** would allow a **much earlier date**

1. *South Galatia & 1 Visit & V14Y* (Gal. 2:1-10) = *FRV* (Acts 11:27-30):

- a. Paul made the **Famine Relief Visit** (Acts 11:27-30; 12:25) = the **Visit After 14 Years** (Gal. 2:1-10)
 - b. Paul returned to **Antioch** (Acts 13:1)
 - c. Paul **visited** "South Galatia" on his First Missionary Journey (Acts 13-14)
 - d. Paul returned to **Antioch** (Acts 14:26-28)
 - e. Paul **confronted Peter** in Antioch (Gal. 2:11-14)
 - 1) Assumption: Peter would not have **withdrawn** himself from Gentile Christians **after** the Jerusalem Council; therefore this must have occurred **earlier**
 - a) *Note*: The conclusion that **Paul confronted Peter in Antioch before the Jerusalem Council** is driven by this **assumption**, not by any **compelling contextual evidence**
 - f. Paul **wrote Galatians** from **Antioch** between his First Missionary Journey and the Jerusalem Council in ~AD 49/50 (Acts 14:26-28; 15:1-2)
 - 1) Assumption: Paul must have written Galatians **before** the Jerusalem Council; otherwise he would have mentioned the **Jerusalem Council decree** in his letter
 - g. Paul **wrote Galatians** from **Jerusalem** on the eve of the Jerusalem Council in ~AD 49/50 (Acts 15:4)
 - 1) *Note*: This seems **highly unlikely** to me because of **time constraints**
 - h. *Note*: Paul does not mention the **Jerusalem Council Visit** (Acts 15:4-29) in Galatians
2. **South Galatia & 2 Visits** (Gal. 4:13) & **V14Y** (Gal. 2:1-10) = **FRV** (Acts 11:27-30):
- a. *Note*: This scenario is basically **the same** as the previous scenario except the First Missionary Journey is divided into **two visits**:
 - 1) 1st Visit: The **outbound journey** (Acts 13:14; 14:1, 6, 8, 20)
 - 2) 2nd Visit: The **return journey** (Acts 14:21-23)

3. *South Galatia & 1 Visit* (Gal. 4:13) & *V14Y* (Gal. 2:1-10) = *JCV* (Acts 15:2, 4):
 - a. *Note:* Paul does not mention the **Famine Relief Visit** (Acts 11:27-30; 12:25) in Galatians
 - b. Paul **visited** "South Galatia" during his First Missionary Journey [**1st Visit**] (Acts 13-14)
 - c. Paul returned to **Antioch** (Acts 14:26-28)
 - d. Paul made the **Jerusalem Council Visit** (Acts 15:2, 4) = the **Visit After 14 Years** (Gal. 2:1-10)
 - e. Paul returned to **Antioch** (Acts 15:30-35)
 - f. Paul **confronted Peter** in Antioch (Gal. 2:11-14)
 - 1) Problem: Peter **withdraws** from Gentile Christians **after** the Jerusalem Council
 - g. Paul **wrote Galatians** from **Antioch** (Acts 15:30-35)
 - 1) Problem: Paul does not mention the Jerusalem Council **decree** in Galatians

4. *South Galatia & 2 Visits* (Gal. 4:13) & *V14Y* (Gal. 2:1-10) = *JCV* (Acts 15:2, 4):
 - a. *Note:* Paul does not mention the **Famine Relief Visit** (Acts 11:27-30; 12:25) in Galatians
 - b. Paul **visited** "South Galatia" during his First Missionary Journey [**1st Visit**] (Acts 13-14)
 - c. Paul returned to **Antioch** (Acts 14:26-28)
 - d. Paul made the **Jerusalem Council Visit** (Acts 15:2, 4) = the **Visit After 14 Years** (Gal. 2:1-10)
 - e. Paul returned to **Antioch** (Acts 15:22, 30, 35)
 - f. Paul **confronted Peter** in Antioch (Gal. 2:11-14)
 - g. Paul **revisited** "South Galatia" during his Second Missionary Journey [**2nd Visit**] (Acts 16:1-6)

- h. Paul **wrote Galatians** during his 18 month stay in **Corinth** (Acts 18:1ff, 11)
- i. Paul **revisited** “South Galatia” during his Third Missionary Journey [**3rd Visit**] (Acts 18:23)
- j. Paul **wrote Galatians** during his 3 year stay in **Ephesus** (Acts 19:1ff, 8, 10, 22, 20:31)
 - 1) This seems **highly unlikely** to me because the **interval** between the Galatians departure and Paul’s writing would probably be **too long** (Gal. 1:6-7)
 - 2) However, this assumes that the Judaizing teachers began to **influence** the Galatians soon after **Paul’s First Missionary Journey**. If this did not occur until **later**, then **this interval** would not necessarily be **too long**
- 5. *Note:* Since Paul seems to be a **liberty** when he wrote **Galatians**, it must have been written sometime before **his arrest in Jerusalem** at the conclusion of his **Third Missionary Journey** (Acts 21)
- 6. The hypothesis that Paul wrote Galatians while imprisoned in **Rome** is quite **untenable**
 - a. When Paul wrote as a **prisoner**, he indicated such in his epistles:
 - 1) **Ephesians** (Eph. 3:1; 4:1; 6:20)
 - 2) **Philippians** (Phil. 1:7, 13-14, 16)
 - 3) **Colossians** (Col. 4:3, 10, 18)
 - 4) **Philemon** (Phile. 1, 9, 10, 13, 23)
 - 5) **2 Timothy** (2 Tim. 1:8, 16; 2:9)
 - b. There is **no such indication** in **Galatians** (Zahn, 1:195)
 - c. When Paul wrote Galatians, he was **still preaching** the gospel among the **Gentiles** (Gal. 5:11)
 - d. *Mike Willis:* “The designation at the end of the book in some copies of the Authorized Version that the book was **written from Rome** is altogether **incorrect.**” (Bold emphasis added, *Truth Commentaries: Galatians*, xxvi)

F. Conclusion:

1. Personally, I am **not confident** about a definitive **provenance** for Galatians
 - a. There are so many **variables** and some factors that cannot be **known with certainty**; therefore, I don't think anyone can do more than offer **an educated guess**
 - b. If the **Visit After 14 Years** (Gal. 2:1-10) corresponds to the **Famine Relief Visit** (Acts 11:27-30), Galatians would be the **earliest** Pauline epistle
 - c. If the **Visit After 14 Years** (Gal. 2:1-10) corresponds to the **Jerusalem Council Visit** (Acts 15:4-29), Galatians could still be the **earliest** Pauline epistle, but then again, it may have been written **after 1 & 2 Thessalonians**

IV. HOW DO WE HARMONIZE PAUL'S PREACHING WITH HIS PRACTICE CONCERNING THE LAW OF MOSES?

- A. In Galatians, Paul **preached** that the **law of Moses** has been **superseded** and/or **replaced** by the **gospel of Christ**
 1. Man is **not justified** by works of [the] law but by faith in Christ (Gal. 2:16, 21; 3:10-14; 5:18)
 2. We are no longer under a **"tutor"** (Gal. 3:15ff, 23-25)
 3. We are no longer slaves, but **sons** (Gal. 4:1-7)
 4. Like Ishmael, the old covenant is **cast out** (Gal. 4:21-31)
 5. Circumcision **profits nothing** and **avails nothing** (Gal. 5:1-3, 6; 6:15)
 - a. Paul **refused to circumcise** Titus, a Gentile Christian (Gal. 2:)
 - b. He did not **preach circumcision** and was **persecuted** as a result (Gal. 5:11)
 6. Those who attempt to be justified by law are **fallen from grace** (Gal. 5:4)
- B. In Acts, Luke reports that Paul continued to **practice** various **Jewish rituals** and **customs**
 1. He routinely went to the **synagogues** to teach and preach
 - a. **Salamis** [Crete] (Acts 13:5)

- b. **Antioch** [Pisidia] (Acts 13:14ff)
- c. **Iconium** [Pisidia] (Acts 14:1)
- d. **Thessalonica** [Macedonia] (Acts 17:1-4)
- e. **Berea** [Macedonia] (Acts 17:10-12)
- f. **Athens** [Achaia] (Acts 17:16-17)
- g. **Corinth** [Achaia] (Acts 18:1-4)
- h. **Ephesus** [Asia] (Acts 18:19; 19:1, 8)
 - 1) *Note:* **Jewish Christians** continued to **meet** in the **temple** (Acts 2:46; 3:1; 5:20-21, 42; 21:26-27; 22:17; 24:17-18) and **synagogues** (Acts 22:19; 24:12; 26:11)
- 2. He **circumcised** Timothy (Acts 16:1-3)
- 3. He **cut off his hair** at Cenchrea in connection with a **vow** (Acts 18:18)
- 4. He kept a **Jewish feast** in Jerusalem (Acts 18:21)
- 5. He wanted to be in Jerusalem for **Pentecost** (Acts 20:16)
- 6. He **sponsored** four Jewish Christians who had taken a vow (Acts 21:23-26)

C. This **apparent contradiction** is not really that hard to **reconcile**

- 1. As a Jewish Christian, Paul continued to **keep Jewish customs**
 - a. Not to be **justified** (Acts 13:38-39; Gal. 2:15-16)
 - 1) In the Jerusalem Council, Peter proclaimed that **Jews** would be **saved** in the same way as Gentiles by faith in Christ (Acts 15:7-11)
 - 2) Peter's **initial behavior** among Gentile Christians in Antioch – *i.e.* **living like a Gentile though a Jew** – and Paul's **rebuke** of Peter because of his later **hypocrisy** (Gal. 2:11-14) demonstrate that both Peter and Paul understood that Jewish Christians did not have to "**keep the law**" to be **justified** before God
 - 3) Paul's charge to the **Colossians** that they let no one **judge/condemn** them regarding the [non]observance of **Jewish rituals** (Col. 2:16-17) demonstrates that he understood that

Jewish Christians did not have to “**keep the law**” to be **justified** before God

- b. But out of **respect** for his **Jewish heritage** (Acts 21:20-26)
- c. To **become all things** to all men (1 Cor. 9:19-23)
 - 1) Paul **lived like a Jew** among Jews, and he **lived like a Gentile** among Gentiles. This demonstrates that he understood that Jewish Christians were **permitted**, but not **required**, to “**keep the law**”
 - 2. And he **encouraged other Jews** to do the same (1 Cor. 7:17-24)

Conclusion:

- I. Reconciling Acts and Galatians is fraught with **difficulty**. Because of the “**sticky wickets**” that abound:
 - A. We must be **careful students** of the word
 - 1. Considering **all the pertinent information** [pro and con] (Pr. 18:13)
 - 2. Reserving judgment until “**both sides**” are given a fair hearing (Pr. 18:17)
 - 3. Weighing **the strength** of the various arguments
 - a. It is not the **quantity**, but the **quality**, of the arguments that ultimately matters
 - B. We should avoid **dogmatism**
 - 1. *Bertrand Russell*: “A habit of basing **convictions** upon **evidence**, and of giving to them only that **degree of certainty** which the **evidence warrants**, would, if it became general, **cure most of the ills** from which **the world is suffering**.” (Bold emphasis added, *Why I Am Not A Christian*, pp. vi-vii, quoted in Kenneth Chumbley, *The Gospel Argument For God*, p. 61)
 - C. We should be **tolerant** with those who have drawn different conclusions whenever we can be
- II. May the Lord help us to **rightly divide** His word (2 Tim. 2:15)

End Notes

¹ *Theodor Zahn*: “From the time of its establishment, the province, the **boundaries** of which **fluctuated greatly**, included besides the **Galatian region** the greater part of the region of **Pisidia, Isauria, and Lycaonia**, also a portion of eastern **Phrygia**, though the greater part of Phrygia belonged to the province of **Asia**. In Asia Minor, as elsewhere, the organisation and marking out of Roman provinces, though furnishing new names, did not by any means **displace the old territorial designations**. Roman writers, such as the elder **Pliny** (died 79) and **Tacitus** (*circa* 115), also the geographer **Ptolemy** (*circa* 150), understood by **Galatia** the entire **Roman province**, which, besides other districts, included **Galatia proper**” (Bold emphasis added, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 1:174).

² See Steve Gibson, *Galatians 6:10 and the Great Collection*, and Steve Gibson “The Meaning of Galatians 6:10,” *The Restorer*, Aug., 1990, 10:8:11-13.

³ See Martin Pickup, “A Response to Steve Gibson’s Galatians 6:10 and the Great Collection,” *Guardian of Truth* XXXV: 15, August 15, 1991, 496-498; *Guardian of Truth* XXXV: 17, September 5, 1991, 528-530; and *Guardian of Truth* XXXV: 18, September 19, 1991, 554-556.

⁴ J. B. Lightfoot: “**Mysia, Phrygia, Pisidia**, are all ‘**geographical expressions**’ destitute of any political significance; and as they occur in the same parts of the narrative with **Galatia**, it seems fair to infer that the latter is similarly used. The **direct transition** for instance, which we find from **Galatia** to **Phrygia**, is only explicable if the two are **kindred terms**, both alike being used in a popular way. Moreover, St Luke distinctly calls **Lystra** and **Derbe** ‘**cities of Lycaonia**,’ [Acts 14:6, ksk] while he no less distinctly assigns **Antioch** to **Pisidia** [Acts 13:14, ksk]; a convincing proof that in the language of the day they were **not regarded as Galatian towns**.” (*Saint Paul’s Epistle To The Galatians*, 19).

⁵ *Daniel Wallace*: “In Acts 13:13; 13:14; and 14:6, Luke speaks of **Pamphylia, Pisidia, and Lycaonia** respectively, all of which are **geographical terms**. This indicates that he probably used the term “**Phrygian and Galatian region**” in 16:6 as a **geographical term**, too.” (Bold emphasis added, “Galatians: Introduction, Argument, and Outline,” 2).

⁶ *James Montgomery Boice*: “**The southern Galatia hypothesis** does not take Luke’s terminology seriously enough. Luke does not refer to those living in the cities of **Derbe, Lystra, Iconium**, and Pisidian **Antioch** as **Galatians** when he describes Paul’s work there. He used geographical titles—**Pamphilia** (Acts 13:13), **Pisidia** (Acts 13:14), and **Lycaonia** (Acts 14:6). It is strange to think that he is not, therefore, still using **geographical terminology** when he refers to **Galatia** a few chapters later. (Bold emphasis added, *The Expositor’s Bible Commentary: Romans through Galatians*, 10:416).

⁷ *Donald Guthrie*: “It should be noted that the **tense** of the participle implies that after being **prevented** from speaking the word in Asia Paul and his companions proceeded through **Phrygia** and **Galatia**.” (*New Testament Introduction*, 467).

⁸ *Daniel Wallace*: “Acts 16:6 and 18:23 are taken to mean, respectively, ‘**the Phrygian-Galatian region**’ and ‘**the [Roman] province of Galatia and Phrygia**.’ In the first instance, Φρυγίαν is taken (rightfully) as an **adjective**, and thus indicates that Luke is here using a **political** (rather than an ethnic/geographical) term. This opens up the **distinct possibility**—even though it may be **against his normal practice**—that he does the **same thing** in Acts 18:23. If so, **in neither verse does Luke affirm that Paul visited the geographical region of Galatia**.” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 3).

Donald Guthrie: “According to Ramsay Acts 16:6 refers to the **Phrygic-Galatic region**, by which he meant

that part of the Roman province of **Galatia** which was inhabited by **Phrygians** and was known geographically as **Phrygia**. This involves treating '**Phrygian**' (Φρυγίαν) as an **adjective**....The parallel description in Acts 18:23 was taken to mean districts in the province of **Galatia** and the part of **Phrygia** in the adjoining province of **Asia**." (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 468).

For a more detailed explanation, see William Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170*, 80-81, 90-93.

⁹ See F. F. Bruce, "Galatian Problems. 2. North or South Galatians?" *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 52 (1970): 258.

¹⁰ F. F. Bruce: "The **non-repetition of the article** before Γαλατικὴν χώραν (except in the Byzantine text) suggests that **this**, and **not 'Phrygia and Galatic region'**, is the **proper translation**. Φρύγιος appears as an **adjective** of both two and three terminations but predominantly of three, even in later Greek; Φρυγίαν is therefore most probably an **adjective here**, and not a noun, as (e. g.) E. Haenchen asserts (*Acts*, 483)." (Bold emphasis added, *The Epistle to the Galatians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* 11, n. 42).

¹¹ F. F. Bruce: "The **narrative** of Acts 15:41-16:8 is certainly **more intelligible** if the '**Phrygian and Galatic region**' is that **part of Phrygia included in the province of Galatia**. Although there were naturally lines of communication linking the various regions of the province, the **cities of North Galatia** were **not readily accessible** from the road leading from **Cilician Gates** through **Lystra**. Any one proposing to evangelize North Galatia would have been better advised to set out from **some other place than Lystra**." (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 13).

¹² Ben Witherington, III: "There is in any case no reason to think that Luke assumed that Paul took a **major detour** after Lystra, going far to the north to the region of Ancyra before coming to Ephesus. In short, there is **no reason** either in **Galatians** or in **Acts** to assume that Paul evangelized north Galatia." (Bold emphasis added, *Grace in Galatia: A Commentary on St. Paul's Letter to the Galatians*, 6).

James Montgomery Boice: Being **forbidden** by the Holy Spirit to preach either in **Asia** to the south or **Bithynia** to the north (Acts 16:6, 7), Paul and his companion, Timothy, pressed on through **Iconium** and **Antioch** of Pisidia to **Troas**, where for the first time on the journey they encountered an **open door** before them into **Greece**. On this journey they would have passed through areas of **Phrygia** and **Roman Galatia**, as Acts 16:6 indicates; but they would have had to take a most **unlikely detour** of about **three hundred miles** to have entered **ethnic Galatia** and to have preached there. The difficulty of assuming that Paul traveled three hundred miles to preach in Galatia is further increased when we take into account the probability that Paul went there originally as a **sick man** ([Gal.] 4:13)." (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 413).

¹³ *William Ramsay*: "We must observe that a **non-Roman people**, and an individual who is not a Roman or Latin citizen, could **belong to the empire** only by virtue of **belonging to a Province**. The status of each non-Roman person in the Empire was that of a '**provincial**'; and he was designated as a **member of the Roman Empire**, not by his **nation**, but by his **Province**. His nation was a **non-Roman idea**; so long as a person is described as a **Phrygian** or a **Lycaonian**, he is thereby described as **outside of the Empire**....

"When an audience of **Antiochians** and **Lystrans** was addressed by a **courteous orator**, he would certainly not address those citizens of the **Coloniae** by the servile designation as **Phrygians** or **Lycaonians**. If he sought to please them, he would designate them either as **Galatae**, i.e., members of the Roman Empire as being members of the **Province Galatia**, or as **Coloni**, citizens of **Roman Coloniae**, which would be an even more honorific term." (Bold emphasis added, *A Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, 119-120).

¹⁴ *Richard Longenecker*: “Even where Paul and Luke treat the **same event**, as is generally thought to be the case with respect to Gal 1:18-20 and Acts 9:26-30, the **differences** between the accounts is a clear indication that the two authors wrote from **different perspectives**, shaping their presentations in strikingly **different ways**” (Bold emphasis added, *Galatians. Word Biblical Commentary* 41:1xxviii).

¹⁵ *Donald Guthrie*: “The cities of Pessinus, Tavium and Ancyra were all on the central plateau and were not the sort of places to be **visited** at a time of **bodily weakness**.¹⁵” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 469).

¹⁶ *R. J. Utley*: “Some have linked Paul’s illness in Gal. 4:13 to **malaria**. They assert that Paul went north into the highlands to **get away** from the marshy, malaria-infested, coastal lowlands.” (Bold emphasis added, *Paul’s First Letters: Galatians and I & II Thessalonians*, 11:1).

¹⁷ *William Hendriksen*: “On the other hand, the **churches** established in the **southern part** of the Roman province of **Galatia** consisted of both **Jews** and **Gentiles**, perhaps in Equal proportion. The **Jews** may even have **predominated**. In fact, in **Antioch of Pisidia** there were ‘*many Jews*’ who turned to Christ (Acts 13:43). In **Antioch** and in **Iconium** there were found **synagogues** of Jews. Into these synagogues the apostle entered and preached. At **Iconium** ‘a **great multitude** both of **Jews** and of **Greeks** believed’ (Acts 14:1). This decided difference between the **constituency** of the **southern churches**, described in the book of Acts, and the **Gentile converts** whom Paul addresses in his letter to the Galatians, proves that this **letter** cannot have been written to **South** and must have been intended for **North Galatia**.” (Bold emphasis added, *Exposition of Galatians*, 9).

William Ramsay: “A few late Galatian inscriptions, belonging to the **fourth** and **fifth centuries**, mention persons with **Jewish names**: at Eudoxias Jacob the Deacon and Esther, at Tavium Daniel, Joannes, etc., elsewhere Joannes, Sanbatos, Thadeus, etc.; but all are probably late, and may be Christian (or Jewish Christian)....

“**No settlements of Jews** are known to have been made in North Galatia by the Greek kings, whereas **large bodies of Jews** were settled in the cities along the great line of communication through **Lycaonia** and **Southern Phrygia** by the Seleucid kings. Thus **North Galatian Jewish settlements** are **later** and **sporadic**.” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 168-170).

¹⁸ *R. Alan Cole*: “In the **south**, with **large Jewish communities** and a considerable **Jewish element** in the churches, such a **problem** would have to be **faced squarely** from the **start** before a Jew so much as believed in Jesus. There was **little likelihood** of its **appearing later** as a new and unexpected temptation to which the whole church succumbed.” (Bold emphasis added, *Galatians: An Introduction and Commentary*, 9:18).

James Montgomery Boice: “Paul assumes in his letter that **all**, or at least **most**, of the **Galatians** are **Gentiles**. But this **does not seem to fit conditions** in the **south** where, according to Acts, there was a **large Jewish population**. Moreover, if the **churches of Galatia** possessed **large numbers of Jews**, it is hard to see how the situation of a **later drifting into Judaism** by Paul’s converts could have **occurred at all**, particularly in a manner that would have surprised him. Indeed, the issue of a **Christian’s relationship to the law of Moses** would have had to be **faced from the start**.” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 10:416).

¹⁹ *Richard Longenecker*: “So with the province of **Galatia reduced** to its original ethnological dimensions, early commentators **generally assumed** that Paul’s addressees were **located there**.” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 41:lxiii).

Timothy George: “In their day the *Provincia Galatia* had again **been reduced in size** to encompass an area

roughly equivalent to the **old pre-Augustan kingdom of Galatia**, a fact that reflected the shifting circumstances of Roman imperial policy. Moreover, by the fourth and fifth centuries **the Christian faith was thriving** in this part of northern Asia Minor. For example, in A.D. 314 an important meeting of the church, the Council of Ancyra, convened in the ancient Galatian capital. Very likely the church fathers of this period **read back into the New Testament the contemporary church setting of their own day.**" (Bold emphasis added, *Galatians. The New American Commentary*, 30:40-41).

R. K. Rapa: "[E]arly in the second century AD, the Roman province of Galatia began to be **diminished** until it entailed little more than the **original territory** of the **ethnic Galatians**. It was **natural**, then, for the **early church** to understand 'Galatia' in terms of its own day, and little was made of the question of the identity of the Galatians until the **eighteenth century**. Throughout the **major period** of the history of Christianity, then, the view that Paul wrote to the North Galatians has been the '**default**' position." (Bold emphasis added, *The Expositor's Bible Commentary: Romans–Galatians (Revised Edition)* 11:550).

William Ramsay outlines the changing dimensions of the Roman province of Galatia from 25 BC – AD 297 (See *The Historical Geography Of Asia Minor*, 252-254, 453; *The Church in the Roman Empire Before A.D. 170*, 13-15).

²⁰ R. K. Rapa: "Though Ramsay **began** this work firmly convinced of the **North Galatian destination** for the letter, his **explorations** throughout **Asia Minor** in the decades of the **1880s** and **1890s** convinced him, on **historical** and **archaeological grounds**, that Paul must have written to the **political Galatians** of southern Asia Minor rather than to the ethnic Galatians of the north." (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 11:551).

²¹ Ben Witherington, III: "Now Paul is probably not suggesting that he **already had converts in Galatia** at the time of the second visit to Jerusalem, although that is **not entirely impossible**. He is most likely saying that he stood on principle about a Law-free Gospel so that **his Gentile converts wherever they were or would be could be benefited.**" (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 138).

²² Richard Longenecker: "The verb διαμείνη, '**might remain,**' implies that **at the time of writing** the addressees had **previously responded positively** to Paul's preaching and so were already in possession of 'the truth of the gospel.' The pronoun ὑμᾶς, '**you,**' refers directly to **Paul's Galatian converts**, though by extension has **all Gentile Christians** in view as well." (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 41:53).

²³ James Montgomery Boice: "This means that if **Luke used local, ethnic names** (as he seems to have done), it would have to be shown that **Paul used local, ethnic names, too**. Did he? Apparently not, for Paul seems to have preferred **provincial titles**, especially when referring to groups of churches. Thus Paul writes of the churches of **Macedonia** (2 Cor 8:1), **Asia** (1 Cor 16:19), and **Achaia** (2 Cor 1:1). He also speaks of **Judea, Syria, and Cilicia**, but never of **Lycaonia, Pisidia, Mysia, and Lydia** (which are not Roman names). The presumption that he is also using the **Roman title** in speaking of **Galatia** is therefore **strong.**" (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 10:414-415).

²⁴ Richard Longenecker: "**1 Peter 1:1** seems to denote the **province** in general, since it is associated with the other Anatolian provinces of **Pontus, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia.**" (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 41:lxiii).

William Ramsay: "**The superscription of 1 Peter** to the elect who are sojourners of the Dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, beyond a doubt **employs these terms in the Roman sense**....If, on the other hand, we take these terms in the **popular sense** in which they were employed by some writers, **what an amorphous and haphazard enumeration it is!** **Mysia, Phrygia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, are omitted**, some of the most important and **many of the earliest Christian churches are excluded**, and

precisely the countries where evidence of **the strength and numbers of the Jews is strongest are left out.**" (Bold emphasis added, *The Church*, 110).

²⁵ R.C.H. Lenski: "[I]f Paul desired to name the churches of **Phrygia, Pamphylia, and Lycaonia** in Lower Galatia with **one name**, that name could have been only '**Galatians.**'" (Bold emphasis added, *The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistles to the Galatians, to the Ephesians and to the Philippians* 12).

Robert K. Rapa: "[O]nly the term "**Galatians**" would fit the letter in this **historical time period** in that Paul could not have used a **more inclusive term** for churches from such a **large geographical area.**" (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 11:551).

²⁶ See William Ramsay, *A Historical Commentary On St. Paul's Epistle To The Galatians*, 12ff, 73-74, 79, 160.

²⁷ J. B. Lightfoot: "It is **strange** that while we have more or less **acquaintance** with all the other **important Churches** of St Paul's founding, with **Corinth** and **Ephesus**, with **Philippi** and **Thessalonica**, not a **single name** of a person or place, scarcely a **single incident** of any kind, connected with the Apostle's preaching in **Galatia**, should be **preserved** in either the history or the epistle." (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 21).

²⁸ William Hendriksen: "[I]t was to the churches of *South* Galatia that the **regulations** of the **Jerusalem Council** were delivered, showing that it was exactly there that **Judaism was a live issue**, the very Judaism against which Paul contends in his letter." (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 13).

²⁹ James Montgomery Boice: "It is more natural to suppose that the **legalistic party** would have pursued Paul first in the **southern region** of Galatia, where Paul had early established **good churches**, than that they would have **bypassed** these bastions of "Paulinism" in order to push on over the **remote northern plateau** to less important strongholds (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 10:415).

R. Alan Cole: "We know that he had already met with **Jewish opposition** in the **south**. If Jews were turning to Christ, this would be intensified. **Antioch** was near; even **Jerusalem** was not too far away. What more natural than that **emissaries of the Judaizers** should have **campaigning in the south?**" (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 9:19).

³⁰ F. F. Bruce: "The **southern side** of the Anatolian plateau was **more important** than the northern under the earlier Roman Empire; the full development of the northern side did not take place until **Diocletian** transferred the centre of imperial administration to **Nicomedeia** in AD 292." (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 9).

³¹ Daniel Wallace: "The reference to **Paul's companions** in Acts 20:4, who were apparently part of this **delegation**, includes **Sopater** (of Berea), **Aristarchus** and **Secundus** (from Thessalonica), **Gaius** (from Derbe), **Timothy** (from Lystra), etc. The **churches of Galatia** are explicitly mentioned as **participating** in this good will gesture in 1 Cor. 16:1. On the south Galatian theory, **Timothy** and **Gaius** would be the **delegates**; on the north Galatian theory, **no one is mentioned. This silence is difficult to explain.**" (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 4).

³² Daniel Wallace: "In Gal. 2:13 Paul says that '**even Barnabas was carried away by their insincerity.**' The grammar (ὥστε plus indicative mood, found elsewhere in the NT only in John 3:16) indicates 'actual result' rather than [sic] 'natural result' (which ὥστε plus the infinitive more normally indicates); further, the ὥστε clause follows an ascensive καί, which in itself expresses **some surprise**. The implication seems to be that **the audience knew that such insincerity was against Barnabas' normal character.**" (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 5, n. 13).

³³ *Kenneth Wuest*: “The name Syria is placed first because **Paul’s ministry at Antioch preceded that at Tarsus**, and because **Cilicia was subordinate to Syria** in the Roman empire, being only a district of the great province of Syria.” (Bold emphasis added, *Wuest’s Word Studies from the Greek New Testament: For the English Reader*, 54).

³⁴ *William Ramsay*: “In accordance with his usual practice, Paul here thinks and speaks of the **Roman Province**, which consisted of two great divisions, **Syria and Cilicia**; and he designates it by the **double name**, like *Provincia Bithynia et Pontus*.” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 277).

Timothy George: “From 25 B.C. to A.D. 72, **Syria and Cilicia were united** as a single Roman province with a common governor who was based in **Syrian Antioch**. **Tarsus**, Paul’s home city, was the **capital of Cilicia**, which covered the southeastern region of Asia Minor.” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 30:130).

³⁵ For a brief explanation of other views, see Richard Longenecker (*Ibid.*, 41:lxv).

³⁶ *D. A. Carson & Douglas Moo*: “On the face of it, in Galatians 1-2 Paul purports to give a **complete list of his trips to Jerusalem**, and leaving out the one recorded in Acts 11:30 would leave him open to a charge of **fudging the record**.” (Bold emphasis added, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 463)

David deSilva: “To **omit mention of a visit** (e.g., the famine relief visit...), especially when he invokes **oaths** about the **truthfulness and completeness** of his information (Gal 1:20), would leave Paul open to immediate **disconfirmation and loss of the debate** in Galatia.” (Bold emphasis added, *An Introduction to the New Testament: Contexts, Methods and Ministry Formation*, 494)

F. F. Bruce: “The force of Paul’s argument here depends on his giving a **consecutive account of his career since his conversion**, with special reference to **his visits to Jerusalem**. His case would be **weakened** if his readers were given reason to suspect that he had **omitted any material detail**—it would be particularly suspicious if he omitted a **visit to Jerusalem**.” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 97)

Richard Longenecker: “[T]he identification of Gal 2:1-10 with Acts 15:1-30 forces one to say that Paul in Galatians has **omitted** reference to the **famine visit** of Acts 11:27-30 for reasons of his own. But it is difficult to imagine how Paul, who **affirms his truthfulness** so vehemently in Gal 1:20, could have **failed to mention that visit** in the recitation of his contacts with the Jerusalem leaders in Gal 1-2. In the context of his emphasis on the **minimal nature** of his **contacts** with the Jerusalem leaders (Gal 1:16-17, 18-19; 2:1) and their **confirmation of his ministry** on those few occasions when they did meet (Gal 1:23-24; 2:6-9), such an omission is **hard to justify** since it tends to **discredit his argument**. Would not his opponents have been quick to seize on such an omission? Would they not have said that, after all, there was a second visit of Paul to Jerusalem, which Paul has failed to mention—perhaps because it showed that he was no independent apostle, as he claimed, but a mere disciple whose authority stemmed from the apostles at Jerusalem?” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 41:lxviii)

³⁷ *Mike Willis*: “The better understanding of this text is to view it as **another argument** presented by Paul to strengthen his case. He has already presented the evidence for **the source of his apostleship**. He now turns to show that the Jerusalem brethren **endorsed his gospel**. Consequently, he is **not interested in relating every trip** that he made to Jerusalem. Because he changed his point of emphasis, **the absence of any reference to the trip to Judea** during which funds to assist the needy in Judea were distributed (Acts 11:27-30) is **logical**. **Nothing happened** on that trip **pertinent** either to his **next point** or his **preceding point**. Those who knew of his work knew that he had **already been preaching** what he was **presently preaching** prior to that trip (the trip in Acts 11:27-30 is estimated to have occurred in **A.D. 44-46**, approximately **ten years** after Paul began preaching). If Paul had been **preaching the gospel for ten**

years, the mention of a **meeting with the apostles** that occurred at **some subsequent time** would **prove nothing** as to **the source** of his message.” (Bold emphasis added, *Truth Commentaries: Galatians*, 47)

³⁸ *Richard Longenecker*: “[I]t is difficult to imagine why Peter and Barnabas (καὶ Βαρναβᾶς, ‘even Barnabas’) would have **caved in** under the pressure of Jewish Christians from Jerusalem if the **decision** and **decrees** of the **Jerusalem Council** had then been in **existence**. The situation at Syrian Antioch, it seems, could only have arisen where there were **no clear guidelines to govern table fellowship** between Jewish and Gentile Christians. While one could posit various reasons for Peter’s action, only in the **confusion** of the **pre-council period** would such a pioneer in the Gentile mission as **Barnabas** have **pulled back** from **full fellowship** with Gentiles under Jewish Christian pressure.” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 41:lxxxii)

³⁹ *William Hendriksen*: “It is exactly as Greijdanus says: ‘The question whether Paul in obtaining his gospel ministry had been **dependent on the other apostles** could have reference only to **the early period of that ministry**.’ It is not even strictly necessary to argue that on this relief mission Paul and Barnabas had contacted only ‘**elders**’ and not ‘**apostles**’ in Jerusalem, for even if everyone of the apostles had been in the welcoming committee and if Paul had remained with them for an entire year, **they could not have given him the gospel which he already had, and which he had been proclaiming for such a long period!**” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 74)

⁴⁰ See pages 24-26.

⁴¹ See pages 26-27.

⁴² *Richard Longenecker*: “The **language** and **syntax** of 2:1a do not, however, aid us in any direct manner in answering the question as to whether the fourteen years of Paul’s second Jerusalem visit should be counted from his **conversion** (1:15) or from his **first Jerusalem visit** (1:18-20). The **probability** is that the three years of 1:18 and the fourteen years of 2:1 are to be understood **concurrently, not consecutively**—that is, that both are to be measured from **Paul’s conversion** and not that the fourteen years are to be counted from his first Jerusalem visit. Determination of that matter, however, can only be made in connection with a number of other issues having to do with the addressees and date of the letter....” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 41:45)

⁴³ *Richard Longenecker*: “The adverb ἔπειτα, ‘**then,**’ appears frequently in Koine Greek (at times with its cognate εἶτα) in enumerations to denote **chronological sequence** or the **logical succession of ideas** (cf. 4 Macc 6:3; Josephus, *Ant.* 12:92; 1 Cor 15:5b-7) and is often contrasted with πρῶτον, ‘**first**’ (cf. 1 Cor 15:46; 1 Thess 4:16b-17; Heb 7:2; Jas 3:17; see also the ἀπαρχή ... ἔπειτα ... εἶτα series of 1 Cor 15:23-24). Here it is contrasted with εὐθέως, ‘**immediately thereafter,**’ of v 16b. Therefore, just as ‘**immediately thereafter**’ refers back to **Paul’s Damascus-road experience**, so ‘**after three years**’ has as its referent that **same experience**—i.e., **the three years are not to be counted from the immediate antecedent**, Paul’s return to Damascus after residence in Arabia, **but from the earlier antecedent** of vv 15-16a, the crisis in Paul’s life that occurred on his way to Damascus. The **exact interval** of time between this revelatory experience and his first visit as a Christian to Jerusalem, however, **cannot be determined**—and so the **precise length of time** spent in either Arabia or Damascus **cannot be calculated**—for ‘**after three years**’ is probably to be understood in an **inclusive manner** to mean ‘**in the third year**’ rather than ‘**after three full years**’ (cf. μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, ‘**after three days,**’ of Mark 8:31; 10:34 par.).” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 41:37)

⁴⁴ *Timothy George*: “[I]n the New Testament era an **inclusive method of reckoning** periods of time was often used. By this method **any portion of a given year could be counted as a whole year**.... This means

that in Gal 1:18 the ‘three years’ could have been **slightly more than one**, and the ‘fourteen years’ of Gal 2:1 possibly could have **covered only twelve.**” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 30:136)

⁴⁵ See pages 24-26.

⁴⁶ See pages 26-27.

⁴⁷ *Donald Guthrie*: “[I]t is not impossible that at a **public conference** of the **whole church** there would have been some **private discussions preparatory** or **subsequent** to the general assembly, and if so Paul may have had greater cause to mention these talks since they clearly indicated his **relationship** with the **Jerusalem leaders.**” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 475-476)

⁴⁸ *Richard Longenecker*: “Paul may be speaking of **two events** in this verse: one when he appeared before the **Jerusalem Christian community** in an open session (v 2b), and the other when he met privately with the **Jerusalem leaders** (v 2c), either before or after the open session.” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 41:48)

Richard Longenecker: “On the other hand, the verse may be read simply as a **general statement** (‘I set before them the gospel that I preach among the Gentiles’), with succeeding amplifications as to (1) the essentially **private nature** of the principal discussion (v 2c), (2) the **identity** and **character** of those taking part (vv 2c, 6-9), and (3) the **result** and **agreements** reached (vv 7-10).” (Bold emphasis added *Ibid.*, 41:48)

⁴⁹ *Richard Longenecker*: “The **repetition of the article** τῆς suggests that **two geographical districts** are in view: the district of **Syria** and that of **Cilicia**. From v 22 it seems evident that Paul does not regard **Judea** (here probably the **Roman province of Judea**, which included the districts of **Judea**, **Samaria**, and **Galilee**...) as **part of Syria**. So by the district of **Syria** he probably means **the area around Antioch** and by the district of **Cilicia** **the area around his hometown of Tarsus** (cf. Acts 9:30; 11:25–26). (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 41:40)

⁵⁰ *Martin Pickup*: “[I]t seems strange that Paul would **make no mention** in Galatians of **the decrees** of the **Jerusalem Conference** which by that time he had **already delivered** to these churches (Acts 15:22-29; 16:4). These decrees had addressed the **Judaizing heresy**, the very issue which Paul is discussing in Galatians.” (Bold emphasis added, “A Response to Steve Gibson’s ‘Galatians 6:10 and the Great Collection’ (1),” *Guardian of Truth*, Aug. 15, 1991, 497)

James Montgomery Boice: “[I]t is **most unlikely** that Paul would have **neglected to appeal to the council** if, at the time of writing this letter, he held such a **trump card** in his hand. If the matter had already been **decided**, why did Paul not simply **quote the council?**” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 419)

F. F. Bruce: “After the publication of the apostolic decree of Acts 15:20, 29, it would have been **difficult** for judaizing preachers invoking the authority of the leaders of the Jerusalem church to **impose circumcision on Gentile Christians.**” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 52)

Richard Longenecker: “A second omission in Galatians that stands in the way of taking Gal 2:1-10 as Paul’s account of the Jerusalem Council...is **Paul’s silence** as to the **major decision** of the council, which decision would have served as the **coup de grâce** to the conflict at Galatia...it is difficult to see why in the midst of the Galatian conflict he chose to be **silent** about the **decision** reached at Jerusalem—or how, in fact, he **could have avoided any mention of it**—if he were **writing after the Jerusalem Council**. Paul certainly did not draw his punches or refrain from using arguments advantageous for his position elsewhere in his Galatian letter. It seems, therefore, **inconceivable** that he would **not have brought in the decision of the Jerusalem Council** in his debate with the Judaizers—indeed, that he would not have

driven its major point home in his argument—had he known about the council’s decision when writing Galatians.” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 41:1xxix)

⁵¹ *Richard Longenecker*: “Furthermore, assuming that **Paul’s clash with Peter** of Gal 2:11-14 took place **after the Jerusalem Council**, Paul’s account of that clash **undercuts his whole argument** and turns to the advantage of his judaizing opponents. Indeed, it would reveal Paul’s recognition of a **chasm** that still existed between himself and the Jerusalem apostles, which had only **superficially** been **bridged over** at the Jerusalem Council. The inclusion of this Antioch episode in Paul’s argument at a time *before* the council is **understandable**. But to use it in support of his polemic *after* the decision of the council, and without **reference** to that **decision**, casts considerable doubt on **Paul’s logical powers**. One might, of course, attempt to rescue Paul’s logic by **reversing the order of events** in Gal 2, so that Gal 2:11-14 refers to a time **before the Jerusalem Council** and Gal 2:1-10 is Paul’s version of that council....That, however, is a rather **drastic expedient** for which there is **no manuscript support** and which flies in the face of any **normal reading**.” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 41:1xxx)

⁵² *Ben Witherington, III*: “Paul’s use of **temporal designations of sequence**...strongly suggests he is following the **normal rhetorical practice** at this point. Certainly, his audience listening to 1:13-2:14, would assume that the incident at Antioch **followed** the second meeting in Jerusalem, in the absence of hints or statements to the contrary.” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 97)

Ben Witherington, III: “Verse **18** begins with the word **ἔπειτα** which must surely be seen to indicate **temporal sequence**. It is also found in **vs. 21** and again at **2:1**, and what it means in one of these instances is surely what it means in all of them....It is natural in the wake of these three uses of **ἔπειτα**, which should be translated ‘**then**’, that we take the **ὅτε δὲ** (‘**but when**’) in 2:12 to indicate **further developments** (cf. the identical phrase at 1:15) that took place **after the sequence of three events**, unless there are strong reasons in the context to think otherwise, and there are not.” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 118)

R.C.H. Lenski: “**When did this episode occur? Before or after** the public acknowledgment mentioned in v. 9? **No indication of time appears**. Such a **temporal particle** ought to appear if this happened **earlier**. Otherwise the **natural thing** to do is to **follow the previous narrative** where **one episode succeeds the other in time**, and to understand **this last as likewise occurring later than the preceding**....**Paul follows the chronological order up to 2:10**, the **natural expectation is that he continues thus in the final episode**. If Paul now **reversed the order of time**, this would necessitate **an indication** to this effect. Besides all this, it is **incomprehensible** that Paul could use this episode regarding Peter as **the climax** of his historical proof if it had **occurred at an earlier date**. Then, most assuredly, **the conference would form the climax**.” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 90-91)

Richard Longenecker: “The Antioch episode of 2:11-14 is the last account in Paul’s *narratio* of 1:11-2:14. It is not introduced by the adverb **ἔπειτα** (‘**then**,’ ‘**next**’), as are the three preceding stages of Paul’s defense (cf. 1:18ff.; 1:21ff.; 2:1ff.), but by the indeterminate particle **ὅτε** (‘**when**’). This has led a number of commentators to postulate that **the Antioch episode is not related in its true historical order**, but must be seen as having taken place before the meeting narrated in 2:1-10.... It is **most natural**, however, to take the Antioch episode of 2:11-14 as having occurred **after the meeting narrated in 2:1-10**. And that is how the **vast majority of commentators** have taken it, whether they see the meeting of 2:1-10 as being the famine visit of Acts 11 or the Jerusalem council of Acts 15.” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 41:63-64)

⁵³ *Timothy George*: “The most natural and most obvious way to read the expression ‘**so quickly**’ is with reference to **a defection that took place shortly after the conversion of the Galatians**, that is, almost immediately after Paul’s missionary activity among them. True, this expression is a **relative one** and could conceivably be **stretched to cover a period of several years**. However, it more likely refers to the eruption of **a controversy that followed almost in the wake of Paul’s first preaching ministry in Galatia**.” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 30:47)

⁵⁴ *R. Alan Cole*: “If, as most scholars assume, *to proteron* in 4:13 should be translated ‘**on the former occasion**’, and not simply ‘**at first**’ (see RSV), then at least **two visits** by Paul to the region must be assumed, although **BAGD denies that any distinction is being drawn here between an earlier and a later visit**.” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 9:32)

⁵⁵ *F. F. Bruce*: “The phrase ‘**at first**’ (τὸ πρότερον) **possibly**, though **not necessarily**, implies that by the time he wrote he had paid them at least **two visits**. Not necessarily, I say, because the words may simply mean, ‘it was bodily illness that **originally** led to my bringing you the Gospel’. That is how the NEB text has it, although a footnote offers in place of ‘originally’ the alternative renderings ‘**formerly**’ or ‘**on the first of my two visits**’.” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 44)

⁵⁶ *D. A. Carson & Douglas Moo*: “In **classical Greek** the expression means **on the former of two occasions**, but in **Hellenistic Greek** it signifies ‘**formerly, in the past**’ (as in John 6:62; 9:8; Heb. 4:6, etc.).” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 462)

Donald Guthrie: “Yet τὸ πρότερον could be understood to mean ‘**originally**’, after its **more common Koine meaning**, and **two visits would not then be implied**.” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 473)

Ben Witherington, III: “It is quite true that the adjective **πρότερος** can function as a **comparative** (the former of two) in distinction from **πρώτος** (the first of a series), but in **Hellenistic or Koine Greek** the two terms often were **equivalent**. In their detailed analysis of the papyri and comparison of them with the New Testament, J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan pointed out that **πρότερον** in all its NT uses has the more general sense of ‘**previously**’ or ‘**originally**’, **not the comparative sense** (on the former of two occasions)... Other grammarians of the Greek NT are in agreement that it is **unlikely** that we have a **comparative use** of the neuter substantive here.” (Bold emphasis added, *Ibid.*, 12)

⁵⁷ “An **inscription** discovered at nearby **Delphi** indicates that in all likelihood **Gallio’s term of office** was from **mid-51 to mid-52**. The incident recorded in Acts 18:12-17 probably occurred at **the beginning** of Gallio’s term, since the Jews hoped to get a ruling against Paul from their new proconsul. Not long after that, **Paul left Corinth**, probably in **the summer or autumn of 52**. According to Acts 18:11 Paul had spent **18 months in Corinth**; that means that he probably arrived in **the early months of 50 or the end of 49**. That arrival date is confirmed by Acts 18:2, which says that **Aquila and Priscilla** had only recently been **exiled from Rome** when Paul came to Corinth. A fifth-century historian, **Orosius**, dated the **edict of Claudius** expelling the Jews from Rome in **AD 49**. Therefore, Paul and Aquila and Priscilla probably arrived close together **late in 49 or early in 50**.” (Bold emphasis added, *Tyndale Bible Dictionary*, 279-280)

⁵⁸ “Between Paul’s departure from **Corinth** on the second missionary journey (Acts 18:18) in the autumn of **51** and his arrival in **Corinth** on the third missionary journey (20:2) in the **late winter** of **56** are **five years** of activities that cannot be given **exact dates**. Paul said that he worked during **three** of those years in **Ephesus** (20:31; cf. 19:1-20:1). With enough time allowed for the travels before and after, that stay at Ephesus probably lasted from **52 or 53** to the summer of **55 or 56** (cf. 1 Cor 16:8). During his long stay in Ephesus, Paul wrote his **First Letter to the Corinthians**. Then, on his way to **Corinth** in **56**, he wrote 2

Corinthians from Macedonia." (Bold emphasis added, "Chronology of the Bible (New Testament), *Tyndale Bible Dictionary*, 280)

⁵⁹ "A careful analysis of the evidence given by Eusebius, a fourth-century historian, leads to the probable conclusion that **Felix** was replaced in the summer of **59**.

"Working backward from that date, **Paul's arrest** in Jerusalem (Acts 21:33) must have occurred in **57**, some two years before the coming of Festus. More precisely, Paul's arrest probably occurred in the **late spring or summer of 57**; Paul's goal (20:16) was to arrive in Jerusalem by Pentecost of that year, and Pentecost occurred at the end of May. He was not long in the city before he was arrested.

"The **Passover** festival, 50 days before Pentecost, was celebrated by Paul with the church in Philippi (Acts 20:6). That would have been **April 7-14, AD 57**. Only after the feast did he continue his hurried journey to Caesarea and Jerusalem (20:6-21:16). Before his Passover visit to Philippi, Paul had spent **three months** in **Greece** (20:3). Allowing some time for him to travel through **Macedonia** and visit the **Thessalonians** and **Bereans**, those three months were probably the **winter months of 56-57** (Acts 20:3; cf. 1 Cor 16:6). No doubt they were spent in the main church of Greece, **Corinth**, and were used in part for the writing of the Letter to the **Romans.**" (Bold emphasis added, "Chronology of the Bible (New Testament), *Tyndale Bible Dictionary*, 280)

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*The most helpful resources to me.

ETDS 2016—GALATIANS

Paul's Disputed Apostleship*Doug Focht, Jr.*

“Then they said, ‘Come and let us devise plans against Jeremiah. Surely the law is not going to be lost to the priest, nor counsel to the sage, nor the *divine* word to the prophet! Come on and let us strike at him with *our* tongue, and let us give no heed to any of his words.’”

—Jeremiah 18:18

Introductory remarks

How to proceed? Historical? Textual-analytical? Conceptual? Combinations?

Though there is benefit in looking at historical matters, it seems to me that more time spent in the text produces a greater blessing. In that regard, although verse-by-verse analysis is good, it yields less value if structural and thematic ideas are not incorporated into the study.

I have chosen a textual study, but with several underlying perspectives that in turn are undergirded by an appeal from love and fear. Notice both in these two examples:

Cor. 1:21 (God to all) → 1 Cor. 8:3 (God to me) → 1 Cor. 13 (me to God and others).

Gal. 1:4 (God to all) → Gal. 4:9 (God to me) → Gal. 5:16–26 (me to God and others).

Consider especially the subtlety of both 1 Cor. 8:3 and Gal. 4:8–11, which undercuts both the Gnostics and the Judaizers: Being known by God is better than knowing God; people can be mistaken about whether or not they know God, but God can never be mistaken about whom He knows (and doesn't). Therefore, anyone who rejects Paul's claim to speak for God rejects also the message of the hope preached by him concerning their being known by God.

Five perspectives:

- Mission of the Holy Spirit.
- Spirit of the Times.
- The significance of Antioch of Syria.
- Paul, defender of the faith and of his new brethren.
- Paul's angst.

The Mission of the Spirit in the apostles and prophets

John 16:8–11: to convict the world concerning:

1. Sin (belief in Christ—or not) Jn. 15:22 (Jews first); Acts 14:16, 17:30–31 (then to the Gentiles).
2. Righteousness (through faith, not sight; spirit, not flesh).
3. Judgment (sharing the same fate as the “ruler of this world”).

Premise: Since the Spirit, who revealed God's word to all those who wrote in the Old Testament, is the same Spirit who revealed His word to the world through Christ and His apostles and prophets, we should therefore expect the words of the prophets—both Old and New—to be not only consistent with each other, but tightly woven together from Testament to Testament.

Spirit of the Times

Characteristically, we use this phrase in talking about fads, movements, and other such things. But in this study, I really mean *spirit* of the times; or, as Paul describes it: “...according to the prince of the power of the air, of the spirit that is now working in the sons of disobedience (Eph. 2:2).” That he was referring not only to Gentiles, but Jews also is forced upon us in the next verse, “Among them we too all formerly lived...indulging the desires of the flesh and of the mind...” As if to hammer this point home, he declares, in 6:12, that these enemies at work to destroy our faith are nothing less than the rulers, the powers, the world forces of this darkness and spiritual forces of wickedness in the heavenly places. If these words also express Paul's personal perspective, and not just the expression of the Spirit working through him, then we should expect to see evidence of this not just in his words, but in his actions. We should

expect that he would be consistently and persistently working to put aside fleshly ideas, thoughts and deeds, in favor of the spiritual.

The concept of a completely “New Israel,” shaped and refashioned in the image of God—an Israel of the Spirit, not of the flesh—was slow to be internalized among the Jewish converts especially, but also among the Gentiles, and even somewhat among the apostles. Paul, however, seemed to have understood and embraced this concept from his conversion, or at least by the time of his first journey¹. It is not, therefore, by mention of mere historical facts that he pointedly asserts to the readers of the epistle (Gal. 1:15–21) that he was preaching these things three years before he ever came in contact with any apostle, and even after going to Jerusalem, he only met Peter and James before being instructed by the Lord to flee Jerusalem (Acts 9:26–30; 22:17–21).

Lk 24:44–47

Jesus opened their mind to understand that the prophets had predicted (1) that repentance for forgiveness of sins would be proclaimed (2) in His name (i.e. the name of the Christ) (3) to all the nations (Gentiles), (4) beginning from Jerusalem.

Is 2:1–3 “...in the last days...”

- “Mountain of the house...” = Court of the Gentiles (Edersheim, “The Temple,” chapter 2, “Court of the Gentiles,” fn. 3, pg. 45 in my edition.)
- “All the nations (Gentiles) will come up to it; *stream to it...*”
- “The law (*torah*) will go forth from Zion...”

Peter

- Acts 2:39: He spoke the concept which the Spirit impelled him to speak: “...as many as the Lord our God will *call to Himself*.”
- He did not understand the concept (Acts 10:9–17) until he arrived at the household of Cornelius (10:34ff).
- He, along with James and John—the *stuloi* (“pillars,” Gal. 2:9)—acknowledged Paul as an apostle to the Gentiles in the same sense as Peter

¹ Besides being taught and guided by the Spirit, his personal understanding may have been more quickly crystalized because of his intense study of the law and the prophets under Gamaliel (Acts 22:3). All he really needed in this regard was to have his understanding awakened by the “removal of the veil” (his words, 2 Cor. 3:14).

was apostle to the Jews (as, “to the Jew first” — Peter — “and also to the Greek” — Paul) — Gal. 2:7–10.

- He bore powerful testimony in Jerusalem on the question of circumcision (Acts 15:7–11); he was among those who chose Paul, Barnabas, Judas Barsabbas and Silas to carry the “letter of decrees” — Acts 16:4 — to Antioch (15:22). In this very letter they all praised Barnabas and Paul as “men who have risked their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.”

Yet at Antioch, Peter feared his fellow *brethren in the flesh* more than he feared God! (Gal. 2:12).

Paul and the Galatians

Early into the first journey, Paul’s sermon in the synagogue at the Pisidian Antioch is referenced (Acts 13:14–52). After concluding, the people begged to hear more the next Sabbath. At that following Sabbath, nearly the whole city was gathered and when the Jews saw the crowds they were “filled with jealousy” and raged against the things spoken by Paul. Consider:

- The Jews thought it *their* destiny to teach the *torah* to the Gentiles (Is. 2);
- Paul and Barnabas spoke out boldly saying it was necessary to preach the word to the Jews first; but since they (the Jews) considered themselves “unworthy of eternal life,” they were turning to the Gentiles.
- They quoted the prophets (e.g., Isaiah 42:1–9) as their authority to show that the Lord — *through those very scriptures* — has *commanded them* thus.² The Gentiles were overjoyed and began glorifying the word of God. They were witnessing the prophets being fulfilled in their own back yards!
- So in this epistle, when Paul argues for a thoroughly spiritual Israel born from a thoroughly spiritual Zion (4:26–28), he engages the physical and spiritual in opposition to each other in all his arguments. Gal. 3:26–29 forms the first of two pillars of the argument for a spiritual Israel; 4:26–31 forms the other pillar. But the implication to the Galatians is pointed and powerful: If they do not accept his apostolic authority to speak for God in everything,

² Thus, perhaps “reinterpreting” some of their previous teachings they may have received from the Jews, to their proper fulfillment in the gospel and in the apostles.

then neither can they trust his words of hope for their salvation, which they heard from him, and by which they then “glorified the word of God.”

Significance of Antioch of Syria

In Acts 8, when the apostles heard that Samaria had received the word, they sent Peter and John (two of the *stuloi* of Gal. 2) down to them to validate the work by bestowing upon them the Holy Spirit. There could be no mistaking that “phase 2” of the Lord’s commission had begun (Acts 1:8). So also, in Acts 11, once “those who were circumcised” glorified God and accepted that, “God has granted to the Gentiles also the repentance that leads to life” (v. 18), mass conversions of Gentiles began at Antioch; so much so that (again), when the church in Jerusalem heard of it, they sent Barnabas to Antioch. And while there is no mention of any apostle going there, as to Samaria, Barnabas did go to Tarsus to retrieve Saul, most certainly with the knowledge that the Lord had previously told Saul he would be sent “far away to the Gentiles (22:21).” When they returned together, Saul remained there for an entire year, working among the Gentiles. Can there be a doubt, then, that with Saul’s commission also went the authority to bestow the Spirit?³ (A point which Paul makes the Galatians in 3:2–5).

Then in verse 26, almost in passing, arguably one of the most significant statements regarding the character of the new Israel occurs: “*The disciples were first called Christians in Antioch.*” There is little doubt in my mind that this is the “new name” of Is. 62:2. And, while it is beyond the purview of this study to argue that point in detail, consider the following parallel structure with Isaiah’s statement and what happened at Antioch (see also introductory comments and comments under “Mission of the Holy Spirit.”)

A word search for the word “new” in Isaiah shows that in the first 39 chapters, that word is used only of physical things—specifically new moon and new wine. Suddenly, from chapters 40 to the end, the word “new” has a consistently spiritual meaning when applied to His people:

- New strength (40:31–41:1);
- New, sharp threshing sledge (41:15);
- “I declare new things...” (42:9),

³ This is also implied in his and Barnabas’ later testimony in Acts 15 (comp. 15:11—signs and wonders done not only by them but by those converted Gentiles—with Gal. 3:5).

- A new song to Jehovah (42:10),
- A new roadway in the wilderness (43:1);
- A new name for God's people. See also 65 which in context, Paul shows in Rom. 10:20f, is a conflict between the old, disobedient Israel of the flesh and the New Israel, incorporating the Gentiles. Then, almost immediately after the restatement that His people will be called by another name...
- ...A new heavens and a new earth (65:17; 66:22).

The New Name of Isaiah 62 occurs only after it has been made clear that the New Israel would incorporate all people of all nations—sons and daughters—from all over the earth, including the blind, deaf, maimed and those, such as *eunuchs* (ch. 56; Acts 8:26–39) and others who were not allowed into the assemblies (Deut. 23:1). Likewise, the New Israel could not wear the name of God (Christ) until it was clear to all that the Gentiles had been brought in (cf. Acts 11:18). It could be coincidental (though I tend to doubt it) that this statement also came only after the Gentiles *and* the “apostle to the Gentiles” were brought together.

In any case, “...first called Christians in Antioch” is a monumental event that may have elevated that city to the status of a “memorial city” in the minds of the Gentiles, as Jerusalem had been to the Jews: “In the place (Jerusalem) where I have caused my Name to dwell...” (cf. Deut. 12:11; Jer. 7:11–14; Dan. 9:18–19—city and people, etc.), even if only temporarily.⁴

It was from this city that the first evangelists (Paul and Barnabas) were sent out to the world of the Gentiles *by direction of the Holy Spirit* (“For the work to which I have called them,” —Acts 13:2). And, as Paul became known and approved by the *stuloi* as an apostle to the Gentiles, his arguments to the Galatians carry with them the weight of that moment and place where the disciples began wearing the Name—carrying the Name—to the “uttermost part” of the world. Therefore, the weight of Paul's arguments, and his authority as an apostle to make those arguments, could not be set aside by the Galatians, without also setting aside the hope of their own salvation which Paul had

⁴ Of course, the desire of God was always to dwell in the hearts of His people. This was in fact the last “new” of Isaiah, prophesied in chapter 66, and so pointedly revealed in Eph. 2:11–22.

preached to them, and the "Fair Name" by which they too were now being called (Jas. 2:7).⁵

Thus, "when Cephas came to Antioch" (Gal. 2)—to the place where *all* the disciples began to wear the Name—his sin in separating himself from his new brethren (according to the Spirit), "fearing the party of the circumcision," (according to the flesh) was as if he was in danger of separating himself from the Name. He was in a state of condemnation, as Paul rightly said.

Paul, defender of the faith and of his brethren,

When Paul stood against Peter's hypocrisy toward the Gentiles, he not only proved his equality of authority with the other apostles, but his genuine zeal to stand against anyone who would hinder the cause of the "only" gospel (Gal. 1:9–10), including the false teachers of Galatia and all who followed them.

Several other examples are chosen here that show Paul's love for the Galatians, even though as he strongly rebukes them for their foolishness.

Acts 14:1–7:

- Vs. 1: A large number of people believed, both of Jews and of Greeks.
- Vs. 2: Jews who did not believe, "stirred up the minds of the Gentiles" and embittered them against the brethren (composed now of both Gentiles and Jews).
- Vs. 3: *Therefore* they spent a long time there (i.e., to defend them and secure their faith).

Gal. 2:4–5:

- When Paul and Barnabas went up "by revelation" to Jerusalem (Acts 15), Titus went with them. The false brethren wanted Titus to be circumcised, but they withstood them "so that the truth of the gospel *would remain with you*" (i.e., the Galatians).

⁵ Lit., which has been called upon you.

5:11–12

- Verse 11 indicates that Paul's critics may have claimed that Paul had agreed with the (false) brethren in Judea and was now preaching circumcision. But Paul not only refutes that in vs. 11, but also expresses his anger, not at the Galatians, but those who were "troubling" them. He wishes their enemies would "cut themselves off." The word is *apokopto*, to cut off, as in a "hand" (Mk 9:43, 45), "ear" (Malchus-John 18:10); Acts 27:32—they cut away the life-boat ropes so no one could leave the ship. Thus, their enemies are his enemies as well. It is comforting to know that, even though the Lord may become angry and frustrated with His people, He is still their greatest defender; and so the remedy of love and encouragement follows, vv. 13–26.

Paul's Angst

We can see from the litany of "necessary boasting" that Paul engaged upon in 2 Cor. 11, that he disdained it ("...bear with me in a little foolishness..." vs. 1; "What I am saying, I am not saying in accordance with the Lord, but as in foolishness..." vs. 17; "...I speak in foolishness...", "vs. 21;...I speak as if insane!...", vs. 23, etc.). Yet he boasts, as in a desperate effort to break their pride by shaming them into realizing that the boisterous and boastful seem to be the only ones they will accept (vv. 16–20), and yet the very ones that the Lord rejects.

But however "foolish" Paul's defense may seem to be, the conclusion drawn from it in verse 30 is remarkable, in that all his boasting has been from a point of weaknesses of the flesh: spirits cannot be stoned, beaten with rods, drowned at sea, starved, frozen to death, etc. All these things are worthless without a connection, "spirit to Spirit" with God (John 4:24). Therefore, any appeal to the physical for one's glory is an appeal from weakness.

Thus, all this boasting is prefaced, "He who boasts, let him boast in the Lord," (10:17) which is the perspective which underlies all that Paul must say about himself for the sake of those he wishes to save. There is a similarity also with this to the latter part of the Galatian letter, "May it never be said that I would boast except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ..." (Gal. 6:14).

But Paul's defense of himself to the Galatians is much more subdued and subtle than in the Corinthian epistles; and yet, in some ways, his angst seems to burn greater in the

Galatian letter. In 2 Cor. 11:25 he says he was stoned once (at least by that time). This happened on his first journey, at Lystra (Acts 14:19) when Jews from Antioch and Iconium came, won over the crowds and stoned Paul, dragging him out of the city, leaving him for dead. Here, the text continues laconically, saying he got up, went into the city and left with Barnabas for Derbe the next day. From this, we assume that Paul was completely healed, and everything was fine. But that's not necessarily the case. From what Paul says in Gal. 4:13–15, it looks like he carried those severe bruises—especially to head and face—with him, not only to Derbe (for the first time), but also on the return trip through the cities to which they had already been. One can imagine Paul being moved to tears as he testified of them, how that they did not shrink back because of his bodily *astheneia* (ailment, weakness, sickness, disease), that is, because of his appearance.⁶ Rather, they accepted him as an “angel of God” and, Paul says, would have plucked out their own eyes and given them to him.

Therefore, the love they showed Paul then was as puzzling as it was inconsistent for the disrespect they now seemed to have for him. We might see an even deeper sense of personal hurt and sorrow caused by their “desertion” (1:6), worse for him than the stoning he received. “Where then is that sense of blessing you had?” he asks. His terrible conflict of heart comes forth even more poignant: “Have I become your enemy by telling you the truth?” And again, “My children, with whom I am again in labor until Christ is formed in you—but I could wish to be present with you now and to change my tone, *for I am perplexed about you.*”

Most likely, these things could be said, not only of those in Derbe, but in all the cities in which they retraced their journey. Acts 14:21–22 records that on their way back, they strengthened the souls of the disciples, and encouraged them to continue in the faith, saying, “Through many tribulations we must enter the kingdom of God.” Well, if they could see the difference in his appearance from the time he left them to the time he returned, it would have offered solid proof that this man was genuine; that he practiced what he preached; that he was a worthy example for them. The Galatians, too, upon receiving this letter could not gainsay the consistency of Paul's view: “...it is no longer I who live, but Christ lives in me; and the life which I now live *in the flesh* I live by faith

⁶ Compare this with others (e.g., the Corinthians): “His letters are weighty and strong, but his bodily presence is unimpressive and his speech contemptible” (2 Cor. 10:10).

(i.e., in the spirit) in the Son of God who loved me and gave Himself up for me..." thus, connecting this to 1:4 and the Galatians to himself.

The epistle's closing (6:17) sums up his personal angst: "From now on let no man cause trouble for me..." The opinion of some commentators that Paul refers to his physical mistreatment seems unfounded, inasmuch as Paul would never have considered that he would not be further "troubled" by beatings, imprisonments, stoning, etc. Rather, this seems to be a warning against anyone troubling him further in this matter. That is, "let me not hear any more about this from you." He follows this up by recalling to them what they already knew about his physical mistreatments at the hands of the enemies of the gospel. Consistent with his view of the spiritual triumphing over the physical, he views the scars of his injuries in the cause of Christ as a kind of "badge of honor." A similar honor had once been bestowed upon Peter and John when, after being physically "bruised" for the cause of Christ by the high council, they rejoiced that they had been considered worthy to suffer shame for the Name (Acts 5:41). To describe this, Paul uses a word—*stigmata*—found only here in the New Testament. This is sometimes translated as "brand-marks" or "branded." The word implies something pressed in (as a tattoo) or burnt in (as a branding). It was often used to mark a slave or, sometimes, a devotee of a god. Either way, it fits Paul's meaning, for he considers himself (as should we all) *both* a bond-servant (*doulos*, slave—Gal. 1:10) belonging to, and one devoted to, Jesus.

Additional Personal Arguments

1:1–5—Opening statements:

- Not just, "...an apostle Jesus Christ by the will of God..." but also, for emphasis, "...not from men nor through the agency of man, but through Jesus Christ and God the Father... (Hence, carrying the authority of God); immediately centering their mind toward a choice: who they will believe and follow?
- "All the brethren with me..."⁷
- The opening "love statement (vs. 4) previously discussed.

⁷ In *Antioch*, if the epistle was written just prior to the 2nd journey.

1:6–9–Paul and Barnabas versus false brethren:

- The Galatians were deserting the One who, in vs. 4, had rescued them for a different gospel that wasn't even close to the gospel which Paul and Barnabas preached to them.
- In vs. 7, the word *tarasso* (to trouble, disturb) is the same word used later in 5:10. It is a word which is only used 18 times in the New Testament, 12 of which occur in the gospels. All but one of the remaining usages are found in Acts and Galatians, and always to describe the actions of Jewish enemies of the gospel. It is the word used in Acts 15:24 of those of the party of the circumcised.⁸
- Vs. 8–This was the gospel which *Paul and Barnabas preached* and, in vs 9, reaffirmed by Paul (“I, Paul”) as the gospel *they received*;
- A deviation, from the gospel they received, by any person or being will result in the one so teaching to be accursed,⁹ thus preparing them for the final “separation” judgments of 5:1–4.
- In effect, “Choose ye this day...!”

1:10: This is the only direct statement (in Galatians) of Paul as bond-servant (but see closing paragraph under “Paul’s Angst.”) Qualification here for a bond-servant of Christ: must seek to please Him and not man. They can count on Paul’s consistency.

1:10–2:14: Paul’s longest, direct defense of his calling and apostleship. Referenced previously.

- Of special interest is his statement concerning his commission to the Gentiles “from the womb” (vv. 15–16), in which he aligns himself with Jeremiah—the only prophet to make the same claim (Jer. 1:4–5).

2:20: Statement of personal transformation from the flesh to the Spirit; Paul was longing for his brethren to be thus “fully formed” — 4:19.

3:1: They are foolish to have allowed themselves to be “bewitched.” Who has done this to them? (They knew).

⁸ It could also be argued that the reference Peter makes in 1 Pt. 3:14 (quoting Is. 8:12 from the LXX), also refers to the actions of disobedient Jews toward the faithful remnant.

⁹ *Anathema*, a votive gift, but stressing separation, either for dedication or destruction; cf. Rom. 9:3.

3:2-5 Miraculous spiritual gifts were given, in large part, to confirm their own inheritance (Eph. 1:13-14). And from where did they get these gifts? From the Judaizers?

4:8-20: Heart-rending passages, previously discussed

In chapters 5:1-6:10, the arguments reach their peak and conclusions. Notice the interplay between sin, righteousness and judgment. By the time he is finished, they will have been forced to a decision to stand with Christ, through Paul—or not.

5:1-6: These strong statements of judgment are not now directed toward the false teachers (whom he already condemned in chapter 1), but upon on *all who receive* their teachings.

5:7, 10: Statements of hope. It's not too late; always, the remedy to get back into God's graces: "Remember from where you have fallen and repent and do the deeds you did at first" (cf. Rev. 2:5, Heb. 10:32-36). Even though the Lord is repulsed by sin, He still offers grace and hope to the penitent.

5:13-6:10: Proving his love for them to the end, he offers them practical ways to train themselves to set their minds on the Spirit. If only they will believe him and trust the word that he speaks.

Closing Statements (chapter 6:11-18)

Finally, Paul ends with a summary of reminders.

Vs. 11: A reminder of his *astheneo* of the flesh (4:13-14).

Vs. 12-13: A reminder fruit of the Spirit—how he had defended them, even in the face of persecution (1:10; 2:5, 12-14; 5:11)—versus works of the flesh (15-26).

Vs 14: Though he defended his apostleship, he was not happy or boastful in doing it; all things said were for their good, and for the glory of the cross.

Vs.14-16: His clear perspective on the New (spiritual) Israel (4:26-31).

Vs. 18: His final ending is as a request, a prayer, a blessing; and even there his perspective is focused on the spirit of the person.

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit, brethren. Amen"

ETDS 2016—GALATIANS

The Judaizing Teachers*Stephen Rouse*

Intro: The false teaching and negative influence of the Judaizing teachers is prevalent throughout the New Testament. Who were they? What were their motives? What were their methods? How did Paul counteract their teaching? What relevance does this have?

I. Judaizing Agenda In Action - **Acts 15**

Context: **Acts 10** - Cornelius converted in Caesarea - accompanying signs and Spirit
Acts 11:1-18 - Report in Jeru., Peter convinces opposition Gentiles accepted

Acts 11:19-26 - Church in Antioch started, Greeks converted (**11:20**)

Acts 13-14 - 1st missionary journey - Gentiles converted (**14:27**)

A. **15:1** - "Some men came down from Judea"

1. Implied authority from the apostles/Jerusalem
 - a. Apostolic authority critical in this time of transition - power play
2. Message: "unless you are circumcised... you cannot be saved."
 - a. This is not a peripheral issue, but a question of eternal consequences

B. **15:2** - "[lit. *not a little*] dissension and debate ...should go up to Jerusalem"

1. Again, the implication is that the Judaizers came from the apostles, thus the effort to go check with the apostles themselves.

C. **15:5** - "But some of the sect of the Pharisees who had believed stood up, saying, 'it is necessary to circumcise them and to direct them to observe the Law of Moses.'"

1. The push for judaizing the Gentiles apparently came from the party of the Pharisees in particular—and no wonder, from what we know about the Pharisees' emphasis on the Law of Moses.
2. These are believers—Christians, baptized followers of Christ—not from another idolatrous religion. The struggle with the Judaizers was from within the Christian faith.

D. **15:6-22** - Discussion and Conclusion: Gentiles not bound by Law or circumcision

1. The claim of the Judaizers is proved false
 - a. **v7-11** - Peter again reports the events of Acts 10

- b. **v12** - Paul and Barnabas bear witness to the signs and wonders done among the Gentiles - proof that God is pleased with Gentile converts.
 - c. **v13-22** - James confirms conclusion with OT scripture (**Amos 9:11-12**).
 - d. **v22-29** - A letter is composed for Antioch relating the truth of the matter: the Gentiles are not bound by circumcision or the Law—only four regulations are given (**v29**).
- E. **15:24** - "...to whom we gave no instruction"
- 1. This critical correction severs the lifeline of the Judaizers - they were never from the apostles/elders at all. They had no apostolic authority to back them.
 - 2. **v24** "Since we heard that some of our number... have disturbed you with their words, unsettling your souls" (emphasis added)
 - a. Understandably so, as their eternal salvation was brought into question.
 - b. "disturbed" - Gk. *ταράσσω* - tarassō (tä-rä's-sō) also used 2x in Galatians:
 - Gal 1:7** - "...only there are some who are disturbing you..."
 - Gal 5:12** - "I wish that those who are troubling you..."

II. Judaizing Agenda Implied - **Galatians** (and related texts)

Intro: You can imagine the Judaizers' entrance into the churches of Galatia. You are a Jew, and for centuries the Gentiles have had to come through the Law of Moses to have a relationship with Yahweh. Yet lately you've heard of this upstart Paul who is suddenly wholesaling the God of Israel to the Gentiles! You find among the congregations in Galatia these uncircumcised, pork-eating, non-Sabbath-keeping Gentiles... worshiping Yahweh like they're saved or something! You need to fix this problem quickly. So you tell them they need to keep the Law—but they tell you Paul, who converted and taught them, said nothing of the sort. What is your new mission?

- 1) attack Paul and his teaching, and
- 2) promote yourself as the authority on the matter.

The letter of Galatians serves as a footprint of the arguments the Judaizers made against Paul. A careful reading of Paul's defense outlines the attacks of the Judaizing teachers in the wake of their devastating influence among the churches of Galatia.

- A. **1:1** - "Paul, an apostle (not sent from man nor through the agency of man, but through Jesus Christ and God the Father, who raised Him from the dead)..."
 Implied argument: "*Paul isn't a real apostle.*"
- 1. Though not the focus of this lecture, Paul must staunchly defend his apostleship in this letter.
 - 2. Much of the Judaizers' power against Paul rests in the claim that he is not a true apostle, as their claim to power lies largely in their coming (so they want to imply) from the "true" apostles in Jerusalem.

3. Here, only a few words into the letter, Paul immediately makes it clear that his apostleship is not inferior or man-made, but from Christ and God Himself.
- B. **1:8** - "But even if we, or an angel from heaven, should preach to you a gospel contrary to what we have preached to you, he is to be accursed!"
 Implied argument: "*We're from Jerusalem, so listen up!*"
1. Why does Paul invoke the language of "an angel from heaven" here?
 2. Paul sometimes turns to angels when he uses hyperbole:
 - a. **Gal 4:14** - "...but you received me as an angel of God, as Christ Jesus Himself." - Not that they literally thought Paul was an angel or Jesus himself, but they held Paul in the highest regard upon his first visit.
 - b. **1 Cor 13:1** - "If I speak with the tongues of men and of angels..." - Not that Paul could literally speak in angelic languages, but it doesn't matter what language he speaks in, if he doesn't have love, he is nothing.
 3. The language "angel from heaven" parallels the Judaizers implicit claim: "We're from Jerusalem! We're from the "real" apostles!"
 - a. Paul is essentially saying here: "I don't care who you are... *where you're from*... You could be an *angel from heaven* for all I care. If you don't preach the true gospel, it doesn't matter."
 4. These claims' nearness to the start of the letter indicates their importance. The lack of a thanksgiving section so typical of Paul's letters underscores Paul's urgent tone—no formalities, get straight to the point.
- C. **1:10** - "For am I now seeking the favor of men, or of God? Or am I striving to please men? If I were still trying to please men, I would not be a bond-servant of Christ."
 Implied argument: "*Paul is just trying to please people!*"
1. It would have been *far easier* to Paul to make Gentile converts if he did not compel them to keep the Law of Moses and the males to be circumcised.
 2. The Judaizers' claim might have had an emotional appeal to it, but the right way is not always the hardest or most restrictive way.
 3. Paul defends against this implicit claim of the Judaizers by pointing out that he could not be a man-pleaser and still be a servant of God—he will go on to prove this with the review of his past in **1:11 - 2:14**.
- D. **1:11-15** - "...the gospel which is preached by me is not according to man. For I neither received it from man, nor was I taught it, but I received it through a revelation of Jesus Christ."
 Implied argument: "*Paul gets his teaching/authority from men—he was taught this.*"
1. Paul reviews how his ministry was not at all the invention of himself or any man, but they knew of "...my former life in Judaism, how I used to persecute the church of God beyond measure and tried to destroy it." (**v13**) This was never Paul's idea, but the Lord's

2. Paul reviews his zeal for the Law, "...and I was advancing in Judaism beyond many of my contemporaries among my countrymen, being more extremely zealous for my ancestral traditions." If Paul wanted to keep pleasing men, he would have stuck to that track.
 - a. This is parallel to Paul's argument in **Php 3:1-11** - Basically, if anyone could have been a Judaizer, it would have been Paul. Perfect pedigree, perfect track record... if this *was* according to man, Paul would not be in the position he was currently in.
 3. It is vital that Paul first appeals to his receiving the gospel from a revelation from Christ Himself, and not just identifying with the apostles.
 - a. Instead of simply claiming solidarity with the apostles, Paul *trumps* the Judaizers' argument by going to a higher authority—Christ Himself!
 - b. Paul will go on to claim the apostles' support in **2:1-10**, but only after establishing that his source is higher than the apostles themselves.
- E. **1:16-24** - "But when God... was pleased to reveal His Son in me so that I might preach the gospel to the Gentiles, I did not immediately consult with flesh and blood, nor did I go up to Jerusalem to those who were apostles before me..."
 Implied argument: "*Paul is dependent on the apostles just like everybody else.*"
1. Here we find the implicit claim of the Judaizers that Paul was somehow dependent on the apostles for his teaching, and therefore inferior and subordinate to them.
 - a. This would allow the Judaizers to claim a higher authority, having just come (supposedly) from the apostles in Judea.
 2. Paul includes all the details about the length of his separation (**1:18**), the brevity of his stay (**1:18**), and the limited exposure to the apostles themselves (**1:19**), all to affirm that he couldn't have received his teaching from them. Thus, he invalidated the Judaizers' accusations.
 3. Paul's interjection in **v20** "...I assure you before God that I am not lying." indicates Paul's urgency to counteract the effects of these arguments.
- F. **2:1-10** - "...those who were of reputation contributed nothing to me. But on the contrary... gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship..."
 Implied argument: "*The apostles are on our side—we came from them.*"
1. When Paul finally, after fourteen years (**2:1**), went to the apostles, they not only refrained from correcting him, but gave him their full support.
 2. Having already trumped their argument (**1:12**), Paul goes on to dismantle the Judaizers' claim of being from the "true" apostles. The apostles knew exactly what Paul was teaching and had expressed their approval.
- G. **2:11-15** - "...when I saw that they were not straightforward [lit. *walking straightly*] about the truth of the gospel, I said to Cephas in the presence of all..."
 Implied argument: "*Paul has been two-faced—he actually teaches circumcision.*"

1. Implicit later in the letter (5:11) is the claim that Paul himself taught circumcision, which, if true, would indicate a two-facedness in Paul's teaching.
2. Paul does refer to some two-facedness here, but it wasn't him. It was, of all people, one of the apostles themselves—Peter.
3. Paul doubly defends against the Judaizers' claims that he was two faced:
 - a. Paul himself was acting consistently with his teaching—by “becom[ing] as you are” (4:12) and acting like the Gentiles.
 - b. Paul was the one who *openly opposed* the hypocritical behavior, even when it appeared in Peter.

H. 2:15 - 4:7 (mainly 3:6ff) & 4:21-31 - Paul defends his position using one of the primary tools of the Judaizers: the Law of Moses / Old Testament.

Implied argument: *“We've got the Law of Moses on our side—this is from God.”*

1. One of the most powerful claims the Judaizers would have had is that the Law of Moses, delivered by God, did in fact teach circumcision and Law-abiding in connection to pleasing God.
 - a. By quoting from numerous Old Testament passages, Paul is able to say things like, “Tell me, you who want to be under law, do you not listen to the law?” (4:21) Paul is responding to those who claimed the law as their authority by using the authority of the law itself to show them their error.
2. By using the teachings of the Old Testament to illustrate and prove his points, he strips the monopoly the Judaizers would have claimed on support from the Hebrew scriptures.

I. 5:2-4 - “... if you receive circumcision, Christ will be of no benefit to you. ...he is under obligation to keep the whole Law. You have been severed from Christ... you have fallen from grace.”

Implied argument: *“We are saved, and you can't be without being circumcised.”*

1. The Judaizers had been making this claim consistently: “Unless you are circumcised... you cannot be saved.” (Ac 15:1)
2. Paul's most severe language is unleashed here to completely contradict them and make the opposite point: for Gentile Christians, circumcision won't save you, it will make you lost.

J. 5:11 - “...if I still preach circumcision, why am I still persecuted?”

Implied argument: *“Paul actually teaches circumcision himself.”*

1. The claim that Paul taught circumcision wasn't made up out of thin air. As is often the case, a grain of truth would make the accusation more believable.
 - a. Paul did have Timothy circumcised (Ac 16:3), and instances like this (1 Cor 9:20-22) could have been misconstrued to mean that Paul wanted the same for the Gentiles. The fact is, Timothy would have been considered Jewish

- through his mother. To circumcise Timothy was an act of wisdom and influence, not a precedent for the full-Greek converts (like Titus - **Gal 2:3**).
2. Paul points to his own persecutions as living proof that this was a ridiculous claim.
 - a. Paul's persecutions from the Jews were a well-established fact in nearly every place he visited (possibly including the churches of Galatia themselves: **Ac 13:45,50; 14:5,19**; etc.). This claim was dead in the water.
 3. It is notable that in **Ac 21:21** when Paul returned from the third missionary journey, the rumor had been spread that Paul was teaching against the *Jews* practicing circumcision for their families. He must later defend against the opposite claim, and does so effectively (**Ac 21:22-26**).
- K. Paul effectively shuts down each of the Judaizers' claims and defends his integrity and, more importantly, the integrity of the gospel teaching.

III. Judaizing Agenda Identified - **Galatians** (and related texts)

Intro: As Paul reacted to and dismissed each of the accusations made by the Judaizers, he also pointed out their *motives* and *methods* to his audience. The Galatians were being "bewitched" (**3:1**), and Paul wanted to reveal to them the very tactics that were stealing their hearts away from Christ (and from Paul).

These methods and motives form an accurate template for many other types of false teaching and are comparable to other lists found in passages like **2 Peter 2:1-22**.

- A. **2:4** - "But it was because of the false brethren secretly brought in, who had sneaked in to spy out our liberty we have in Christ Jesus..."
 1. It is unclear how the details of this secrecy played out, but Paul shines light on their unscrupulous methods.
 - a. It may be that the Judaizers didn't want people to know of their presence, at least initially. In **Ac 15:1-5**, the way Luke writes, there could have been ample time for the Judaizers to slowly increase their influence, employing some of the same tactics Paul describes here.
 2. Paul spoke of himself and his companions in the very opposite terms in passages like **1 Thess 2:1-8** - "not... by way of deceit... not as pleasing men..." and **2 Cor 4:2** "...not walking in craftiness or adulterating the word of God, but by the manifestation of truth commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God."
 - a. The truth has nothing to fear from open proclamation and examination.
- B. **2:4; 4:8-9; 5:1** - "...in order to bring us into bondage."
 1. **2:4** - Paul wants the Galatians to see clearly that what the Judaizers are offering is *slavery*, not freedom.

- a. The Judaizers to gain control over the Gentiles by converting them to Judaism—a control they feel they are losing as Paul’s teaching spreads.
 2. **4:8-9** “...you were slaves to those which by nature are no gods... how is it that you turn back again to the weak and worthless elemental things, to which you desire to be enslaved all over again?”
 - a. Here, Paul even compares the slavery of Judaism to the slavery of idolatry from which they had originally escaped. A different kind of slavery, to be sure, but slavery nonetheless.
 - b. No one would normally *desire* to be enslaved, but the Judaizers had been effective enough to trick these Gentile Christians into desiring that route.
 3. **5:1** - “...do not be subject again to a yoke of slavery.”
 - a. Paul urges them to stand firm in the freedom they have already gained in Christ: “It was for freedom that Christ set us free; therefore keep standing firm...”
- C. **4:16** “So have I become your enemy by telling you the truth?”
1. To me this seems the most passionate and personal of Paul’s pleas. The Judaizers have succeeded in turning his own converts against him, poisoning their minds to the truth he delivered to them.
 2. Who in their right mind counts a truth-teller as an enemy?
 - a. One who has been poisoned by bitterness and back-biting. The goal of the Judaizers here is to *shut down the mind*. If they can get the Gentiles angry and bitter at Paul, nothing Paul says can have its affect.
 - b. This is a critical element of much false teaching.
 3. Paul’s phrasing of the situation in this way would hopefully wake the Galatians up to how they had been deceived: Who is really telling the truth? Who is really their enemy?
- D. **4:17** “They eagerly seek you, not commendably, but they wish to shut you out so that you will seek them.”
1. The Judaizers had shown much initiative in seeking out the Gentiles (**Acts 15:1ff**; cf. **Matt 23:15**), but it was not for a noble cause.
 - a. Paul will clarify in **4:18** that this in itself is not wrong, but the motive makes all the difference. Paul himself had sought them in the first place.
 2. Like a middle-school “secret club,” the Judaizers had created a situation where the “real” people of God were the ones who were circumcised and kept the Law of Moses, creating the pressure of being “shut out” for the Gentiles.
 - a. This process of making someone feel that they are outside of Christ is sometimes necessary in convicting someone in error, but here it is an emotional ploy by the Judaizers to make more converts for themselves.
 - b. It was this same pressure that Peter himself (and those he influenced) participated in when he acted hypocritically in **2:11-14**. Indeed, Paul uses

the very term for “Judaize” in **2:14** “...how is it that you compel the Gentiles to ἰουδαῖζω?” (ioudaizō [ēü-däē'-zō])

3. The goal of the Judaizers was not that the Gentiles would seek Christ, but “that you will *seek them*.”
 - a. This attitude pride and self-seeking is spiritually deadly. They were in this for themselves: to make disciples not of Christ, but of themselves.
 - b. Paul pointedly reveals that the Gentiles have been tricked into changing their focus. Hopefully this awakens them to renew their search for Christ.
- E. **5:9** “A little leaven leavens the whole lump of dough.”
 1. As with many false teachings, the Judaizers didn’t have to deceive everyone at once. If this teaching was accepted by a few, it would spread like leaven.
 - a. Paul uses the same principle with the tolerance of the immoral man in **1 Cor 5:6-8**. This applies to moral as well as “doctrinal” teaching.
 - b. Jesus used this metaphor frequently, both positively and negatively: **Mt 13:33; 16:5-12; Mk 8:14-21; Lk 12:1-3; 13:20-21**.
- F. **6:12** “...compel you to be circumcised, simply so that they will not be persecuted for the cross of Christ.”
 1. As a direct contrast to Paul (**5:11**), the Judaizers were motivated by fear of their fellow Jews, and preached circumcision in part to avoid persecution.
 - a. It is easier to compromise when we know we will suffer for our teaching.
 2. Both here and in **5:11**, Paul connects this teaching/suffering with the cross of Christ. “...Then the stumbling block of the cross has been abolished.”
 - a. We must be ready to suffer with Christ in maintaining the purity of His doctrine. The message of the *cross* is not only the life/death/resurrection of Christ, but all the teaching that comes with it.
 3. Paul effectively contrasts the integrity of his own teaching with the corruption of the Judaizers teaching by demonstrating his willingness and their unwillingness to suffer for what they taught.
- G. **6:12-13** “Those who desire to make a good showing in the flesh... they desire to have you circumcised so that they may boast in your flesh.”
 1. Paul reveals the Judaizers’ selfish motive once again: flesh-centered.
 - a. There may be conveyed with the idea of “boast in your flesh” a picture of the Judaizers boasting in the number of foreskins they could flaunt when they returned to Jerusalem.
 - b. This is consistent with the appearance-focus of the Pharisees in Jesus’ time.
 2. This language is parallel to Paul’s warning against the Judaizers in **Php 3:3** “for we... put no confidence in the flesh”
- H. **Php 3:9** “...not having a righteousness of my own derived from the Law...”
 1. Paul’s warning in Philippians also reveals the self-righteousness that the Judaizers derived from the Law.

- a. Paul, though he knew he could have this type of flesh-centered confidence (**Php 3:4**), counted all these things loss in view of knowing Christ.
2. Once again, Paul's willingness to walk away from his former life in Judaism (**Php 4:4-11**) underscores the selfish nature of the Judaizers.

IV. Applications and Misapplications

We will not cover this material in detail, but it is here as a springboard for discussion and for personal reflection.

A. Misapplications

1. Found on GotQuestions.org, a Reformed/Calvinistic-based Q&A site while researching this topic: "In the early church, those who taught a combination of God's grace and human effort were called 'Judaizers.'"
 - a. Paining with too broad of a brush, this would likely make those who teach baptism for remission of sins into the category of "Judaizers."

B. Applications

1. **1:1** - The importance of apostolic authority in our own teaching
 - a. If it was such a big deal to the Judaizers and to Paul, there is certainly still something important for those who desire to restore pure NT Christianity.
 - b. How can we be sure our teaching is based in apostolic authority?
2. **1:6** - The danger of adding *anything* of our own to the gospel
 - a. Is there anything we might teach that could fall into the same category as circumcision/the Law of Moses: something we teach something as essential to salvation that is, in fact, not?
3. **5:16-26** - The heart of false teaching - guarding ourselves and our hearers
 - a. Division and deserting the Lord often come not from a specific "doctrinal" issue, but from fleshly attitudes that manifest themselves in various forms.
 - b. Much false teaching boils down to works of the flesh, and must be countered first by the fruit of the Spirit.
4. **Gal 3,4,5** - Appeal to both the head and the heart
 - a. Paul does not take a unilateral approach to winning the Galatians—helpful for us to consider as we reach out to others.
5. **6:14** - The power of the cross to humble and unite
 - a. At the foot of the cross, we are moved set aside our bitterness and pride, and find that the self-sacrificial model of the cross leads us to the Lord.

Additional Notes:

A. Origin of Term "Judaize"

1. Used only in **Gal 2:14** - "how it is that you compel the Gentiles to $\text{iou}\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$?" Strong's G2450 - $\text{iou}\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ (ēü-däē'-zō)

- a. Thayer: "to adopt Jewish customs and rites, imitate the Jews, Judaize; of one who observes the ritual law of the Jews"
 2. Related Hebrew word used only in **Esther 8:17** - "And many among the peoples of the land יהדו ..." Strong's H3054 - yahad (yă-had')
 - a. Gesenius: "to make one's self a Jew, i.e. to embrace the Jewish religion"
- B. Proselytization in OT
1. "Sojourner" in OT Law
 - a. **Dt 5:14** "sojourner who is in your gates"
 - b. **Dt 14:21** - free to eat meat prohibited to Israel
 - c. **Ex 12:48-49** - Only required circumcision if desired to eat the Passover
 - d. Not actively evangelizing, but provisions made to include those who desired to seek the LORD
 2. Full proselytes: Rahab (Canaanite), Ruth (Moabite), Uriah (Hittite), Doeg (Edomite)
 - a. **Ruth 1:16** "...your people shall be my people, and your God, my God."
 - b. **Isa 56:3** "foreigner who has joined himself to the LORD" (different sense in prophecy)
- C. OT prophecies of Gentiles' inclusion
1. **Isa 2:2-4** - "all the nations shall flow to it... the law will go forth from Zion"
 2. **Isa 51:4** - "a law will go forth... I will set My justice for a light of the peoples."
 3. **Zech 8:20-23** - "ten from from all the nations will grasp the garment of a Jew, saying, 'Let us go with you, for we have heard that God is with you.'"
 4. Possibly misconstrued to envision a conversion of all nations to Judaism (earthly kingdom mindset)
- D. Proselytization in NT
1. Full proselyte:
 - a. **Mt 23:15** - "you travel around on land and sea to make one proselyte..."
 - b. **Ac 2:9-11** - "Jews and proselytes"
 - c. **Ac 6:5** - "Nicolas, a proselyte from Antioch"
 - d. **Ac 13:43** "God-fearing proselytes"
 2. "God-fearers" - holy living, not circumcised
 - a. "fearing God" - **Ac 10:2,22,35** (Cornelius); **13:16,26**
 - b. "reverencing God" - **Ac 13:50; 16:14; 17:4,17; 18:7**
 3. References to proselytization in extra-biblical writings:
 - a. Josephus: "They also made proselytes of a great many of the Greeks perpetually, and thereby after a sort brought them to be a portion of their own body." (Wars, VII, iii, 3)
 - b. Josephus, quoting Strabo: "It is hard to find a place in the habitable earth that hath not admitted this tribe of men, and is not possessed by them." (Ant., XIV, vii, 2)

- E. NT Passages Relevant to Judaizing Teaching (by no means exhaustive)
1. **Acts 15** - Intro to Judaizers; questions brought to Jerusalem, conclusion
 2. **Romans 2:25-29; 4:9-14; 15:7-13** - circ. of heart, Abraham justified before circ.
 3. **1 Cor 7:17-20** - remain as you were called - circ. / uncirc. means nothing
 4. **2 Cor 3:7-18** - ministry of death / Spirit
 5. **Galatians** - thorough discussion of Judaizing teaching
 6. **Eph 2:11-22** - circ./uncirc. united by abolishing law of commandments
 7. **Php 3:2-11** - warning against judaizers / self-righteousness
 8. **Col 2:8-17** - warning against judaizers / self-abasement
 9. **Titus 1:10-11,14** - warning against circ. party / disputes about Law
 10. **1 Tim 1:3-11(?)**; **4:3** - teachers of the Law, good if used lawfully; forbid foods
 11. **Hebrews** - don't return to old Law

F. A Memorable Rap Encapsulating the Message of the Judaizers (by Lukas Smelser)

"A Rap About the False Teachers"

They they they want control
 And they have a really bad goal
 They they are the real mole
 They are full of so much pride
 They also try to chide
 It can be hard to abide
 And it will be a rough ride
 If you do not know that they lied
 In the inside they're very bitter
 And their morals are just like litter
 To God they're just a tiny critter
 But to men they look like glitter

- Luke Smelser (from sermon notes 4.3.16)

Bibliography

- All Scripture quotations are from the New American Standard Bible (1995 update)
- Blue Letter Bible: <https://www.blueletterbible.org>
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ETDS 2016—GALATIANS

Justification by Faith, 2:15-4:7*Jeff Smelser*

We begin at verse 15 of Galatians 2 not because there Paul begins a new thought, nor even because we are certain that he is no longer describing what he said to Peter, but because his focus has turned from his defense of his apostleship to the subject to which we wish to give attention, that being justification by faith and the place of the law.

I'm going to end up looking at trees instead of forest. I'll leave the forest to you. But first, I'll offer some made up quotes...

"Someone must explain the trees so that others may enjoy the forest"

—famous philosopher

"He who explains each tree is often lost in the forest"

—more insightful philosopher

"There's a forest?"

—Jeff Smelser

I. Justification by Faith

A. Does 2:16 say we *are* justified of works through faith?

1. A Grammatical Response (Skip to the next section to see the easy contextual response!)

a. ἐὰν μὴ, like εἰ μὴ, is *if not*, often = *except* (see e.g., Robertson, Word Pictures, on this passage)

i. preliminary translation: *"A man is not justified by works of law, except by faith of Jesus Christ"*

a) This would seem to say we *are* justified by works of law, but only through faith.

- b) If this were the correct translation, we might think of Rom. 8:4, *“that the ordinance of the law might be fulfilled in us.”*
- ii. Alford saw an elliptical expression, *“a man is not justified by works of law, [a man is not justified] except through faith...”*
- a) While no other instance of such an elliptical construction with $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu \mu\grave{\eta}$ is found in the NT, Alford cites the following examples of such an elliptical construction with $\epsilon\grave{\iota} \mu\grave{\eta}$.
- b) Mt. 12:4, *“which was not permitted to him to eat neither to those with him, [it was not permitted] except to the priests only.”* To translate, *“was not permitted to him...except to the priests only”* makes no sense.
- c) Rev. 9:4, *“and it will be said to them that that they might not hurt the grass of the land nor any green thing nor any tree, [they might not hurt] except the men who do not have the seal of God upon the foreheads.”*
- b. Zerwick simply takes $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu \mu\grave{\eta}$ as equal to “but” in an adversative sense (i.e., = $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$) citing Gal. 1:7 where $\epsilon\grave{\iota} \mu\grave{\eta}$ = but in an adversative sense. (Zerwick, Grosvenor: Analysis of the Greek New Testament)
- i. Though the English translation of H.A.W Meyer on Galatians uses the word “except,” Meyer seems to be construing $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu \mu\grave{\eta}$ as did Zerwick, citing Mt. 12:4 (advanced by Alford as an example of an elliptical construction).
- ii. Meyer also cited Rom. 14:14, *“nothing is defiled of itself, but [$\epsilon\grave{\iota} \mu\grave{\eta}$] to the one who accounts something to be defiled, to that man it is defiled.”*

- iii. Notice that the word *except* does not work in Romans 14:14, for if εἰ μὴ were truly to be reckoned as *except*, this would mean that some food is defiled of itself to the man who accounts it defiled.
- iv. εἰ μὴ for *but* (ἀλλά) factors into the discussion of whether or not James is counted as an apostle in Gal. 1:19.
 - a) The text reads, “Other of the apostles I did not see, εἰ μὴ James, the brother of the Lord.”
 - b) “the strict sense of εἰ μὴ implies that Paul regards James as an apostle; but this conclusion cannot be drawn with certainty, because εἰ μὴ may be used instead of ἀλλά.” (Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, p. 158, §470)
- c. There is a clue in the use of ἐὰν μὴ rather than εἰ μὴ that has been overlooked, and it points to the same conclusion, that the meaning is not a true *except* but is rather adversative *but*.
 - i. ἐὰν=εἰ+ἄν, and this form, rather than εἰ, is what we should see with a subjunctive mood verb.
 - ii. The fact that δικαιοῦται is indicative argues against Alford’s elliptical theory, for if the repetition of the indicative mood δικαιοῦται were to be inferred, we should see εἰ μὴ, not ἐὰν μὴ.
 - iii. Similarly, if Paul intended “if not”=“except” we should also expect εἰ μὴ inasmuch as the indicative δικαιοῦται still rules the clause, the exceptive clause being a dependent clause.
 - iv. But if we follow Zerwick’s theory, that in fact, Paul uses ἐὰν μὴ as equivalent to ἀλλά (adversative “but”)...

- a) Then the clause in question becomes an independent clause with its own implied verb, and that implied verb should be inferred to be subjunctive by the introductory ἐὰν μὴ
- b) The implied subjunctive anticipates the subsequent subjunctive, δικαιωθῶμεν (*we might be justified*).
- c) From ἐὰν μὴ on we would read “*but a man [might be justified (subjunctive)] through faith...and in Jesus Christ we believed, that we might be justified by faith.*”
- d) Thus we account for the use of ἐὰν μὴ as opposed to εἰ μὴ which the foregoing explanations did not do.

2. A Contextual Response

- a. We don't have to go far in the context to see that Paul is not saying we are justified by works but only if through faith, as 2:16 continues, “*in order that we might be justified by faith of Christ and not by works of law.*”
 - i. It's not one *through* the other
 - ii. It's one *not* the other
- b. And 2:16 concludes, “*because no flesh shall be justified by works of law.*”
 - i. Paul speaks of justification as a legal act, and argues that under law, justification would not be the outcome.
 - ii. Furthermore, he argues that justification of the seed is connected with the promise, and the law which came 430 years after the promise does not qualify or nullify the promise.
 - iii. So when Paul says, “*man is not justified by works of law ἐὰν μὴ...*”, in the words of H.A.W. Meyer, this is “*not a compromise between justification by works and justification by faith.*”

B. "Christ's Faith" or "Faith in Christ?"

1. Some translations read, "faith of Jesus Christ" (Gal. 2:16a) and "faith of Christ" (Gal. 2:16b). See also Gal. 2:20 and 3:22 as noted below.
 - a. In 2:16, the KJV has "*Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law: for by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified.*"
 - i. This does not necessarily mean the KJV translators espoused the view that Christ's faithfulness, or Christ's own faith, is in view.
 - ii. So Macknight at Gal. 2:16, "According to Chandler, *the faith of Jesus Christ, is the gospel of Jesus Christ*. But I rather understand the apostle as meaning, *the faith which Jesus Christ hath enjoined* as the means of men's justification. For this is the genitive not of the object, but of the agent." (p. 123)
 - b. Darby Translation and Douay-Rheims 1899 American Edition have "*faith of Jesus Christ,*" "*faith of Christ,*" at Gal. 2:16, leaving the meaning ambiguous.
 - c. The Common English Bible (CEB) translates the phrases in Gal. 2:16, "*the faithfulness of Jesus Christ*" and "*the faithfulness of Christ,*" and in Gal. 2:20 the CEB has "*the faithfulness of God's Son.*"
2. Over the past half century, the idea that several passages translated "faith in (him/Jesus/Jesus Christ/Christ/the Son of God)" actually speak of Christ's faith rather than our faith in him has been increasingly promoted in the theological journals. Wright describes the proliferation of writings on the subject saying, "What began as a question, then an initial proposal, has become a substantial industry, generating more debate than one would have believed possible. The debate has now been pressed down and sprinkled together, and is threatening to nest in every tree." (p. 836)
3. In Paul's writings, there are eight occurrences of "faith of Christ" or something equivalent.

- a. Galatians 2.16a, πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
 - b. Galatians 2:16b, πίστεως Χριστοῦ
 - c. Galatians 2.20, πίστει...τῆ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ
 - d. Galatians 3.22, πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
 - e. Romans 3.22, πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
 - f. Romans 3.26, πίστεως Ἰησοῦ
 - g. Philippians 3.9, πίστεως Χριστοῦ
 - h. Ephesians 3.12, πίστεως αὐτοῦ.¹⁰
4. The significance of the Genitive case
- a. In Galatians 2:16, the words “in Jesus Christ” represent genitive case Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
 - b. Apart from any context, the phrases in question would most often be translated using the word “of” (e.g., “of Jesus Christ”), the genitive case being thought of as the “of” case.
 - i. Rather than saying it is the “of” case, it is more precise to say the genitive case, which includes ablatives (indicating source from which) as well as true genitives (indicating kind), is the case of *kind* or *source*.

¹⁰ With reference to Eph. 3:12 specifically, among those who have argued that the genitive is subjective: Gabriel Hebert “‘Faithfulness’ and ‘Faith’” *Theology* 58.24 (Oct. ’55), 373-79; George Howard “On the ‘Faith of Christ’” *HTR* 60(1967), 459-484, and *ExpTims* 85 (p. 212f); Luke Timothy Johnson, “Romans 3:21-26 and the Faith of Jesus,” *CBQ* 44 (1982) pp. 77-90; Morna Hooker, *NTS*, 35 (1989), p. 322; Sam K. Williams, “Again Pistis Christou,” *CBQ*, 49, p. 432. C.F.D. Moule (“The Biblical Conception of Faith,” *ExpTim* 68 [February 1957]:157) did not think highly of this interpretation. Arland Hultgren (“The Pistis Christou Formulation in Paul,” *NovTest* 22, (1980) p. 248-263) argued that in the various passages of Paul’s letters where πίστις is followed by a genitive referring to Christ, the meaning is “faith in Christ.” But Hultgren did not discuss Eph. 3:12 inasmuch as he considered Ephesians to have been written by someone other than Paul. Thomas Torrance tried to have it both ways, interpreting the genitives subjectively as speaking of Christ’s faithfulness, but also “suggesting the answering faithfulness of man” (Torrance, “One Aspect of the Biblical Conception of Faith,” *ExpTim* 68 (January 1957):113.) In the standard grammars, there is a tendency to come down on the side of the objective genitive, though with some caveats. See Robertson, p. 499-501. BDF, p. 90. Turner, p. 210-212. BGAD, p. 663.

- ii. The word “of” happens to be useful in translating many genitives because it can often be used to indicate either kind (*sky of blue*) or source (*man of noble birth, fruit of the ground*).
- c. In Galatians 2:16, as well as in the other passages where a similar phrase occurs, the genitive probably indicates *kind*, the *Christ-kind of faith*.
 - i. That can mean the faith that is the kind that has to do with Christ (“faith in Christ”), or it can mean the faith that is the kind that Christ had (“Christ’s faith”).
 - ii. You may be familiar with this distinction expressed in terms of “objective genitive” vs. “subjective genitive.”
 - a) Familiar passages where we may have encountered this issue include Acts 2:38 (gift of the Holy Spirit) and 2 Jn 9 (doctrine of Christ).
 - b) If genitive Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ is understood as being objective, that is, Jesus Christ is the object of the faith, the meaning is equivalent to “faith in Jesus Christ.”
 - c) But if genitive Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ is understood as being subjective, that is, *Jesus Christ* is the one who had faith, then *faith of Jesus Christ* would mean “Jesus Christ’s faith.”
 - 1) Compare Rom. 4:12, τῆς... πίστεως τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ, *the faith...of our father, Abraham*.
 - 2) Clearly that means Abraham’s faith, not faith in Abraham (but just as clearly, Paul speaks of our walking in the faith of Abraham, in other words, having a similar faith and living thereby).
 - iii. There is no suggestion that an objective meaning (Christ is the object of the faith, i.e., “faith in Christ”) is a grammatical impossibility.

- iv. With reference to Gal. 2:16, though he argues for understanding Χριστοῦ as a subjective genitive, Wright allows that “it is true that the phrase as it stands in its present context could go either way” (p. 857)
- v. D. W. B. Robinson has argued that usage argues against an objective meaning in the absence of an introductory preposition (εἰς or ἐν).¹¹
- vi. Outside of Paul’s writings, we have clear examples of an objective genitive construction for our faith in Christ.
 - a) James 2.1 *My brothers, show no partiality as you hold the faith in our Lord Jesus Christ (πίστιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν), the Lord of glory.*
 - b) Revelation 2.13 *...Yet you hold fast my name, and you did not deny my faith (τὴν πίστιν μου) even in the days of Antipas...*
 - c) Because of the objective genitive in Rev. 2:13, it seems reasonable that Rev. 14:12 might well be construed the same way, rather than as a dative.
 - α. Revelation 14.12 *Here is a call for the endurance of the saints, those who keep the commandments of God and their faith in Jesus (πίστιν Ἰησοῦ).*
 - β. A.T. Robertson identified Ἰησοῦ in Rev. 14:12 as an “objective genitive,” and cited Rev. 2.13, Jms 2.1, and Mk 11:22 (Word Pictures, vol. 6, p. 413).
 - γ. Mk 11:22 *And Jesus answered them, “Have faith in God(πίστιν θεοῦ).”*
- vii. While the use of the genitive to mean *faith in Christ* does seem a bit odd, we see essentially the same use in 1 Thess. 1:3...
 - a) τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
 - b) Surely this means our hope in Christ rather than Christ’s hope.

5. Romans 3:22 as Ground Zero

¹¹ Robinson, RTR, p. 78.

- a. Romans 3:22 serves as the starting point for several who argue the passages in question should be taken to mean Christ's faith or faithfulness.
 - b. They argue that Romans 3.22 is made redundant by understanding it to mean faith in Christ
 - c. They suppose that in that passage, if we reckon the expression διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ to mean faith in Jesus Christ, we are at a loss to understand why Paul in that passage would redundantly add εἰς πάντας τοὺς πιστεύοντας (to all that believe).¹²
 - d. this perception of a difficulty in Romans 3.22 is misguided.
 - i. In Romans 3.22 Paul's "*unto all who believe*" is not at all redundant even if we understand Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ objectively.
 - ii. The phrase διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ would affirm that the righteousness of God is *through faith in Christ*, and then, in keeping with the theme of the immediate context as well as the whole letter, the words *unto all that believe*, with emphasis on *all*, are added to make clear that this is true of both Jews and Gentiles.
6. Theological Implications among those taking Christ/Jesus/Him subjectively
- a. **Imputation of Christ's Faith, Imputation of Christ's Righteousness**
 - i. Meyer, who took Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in Gal. 2:16 as an objective genitive, saw the potential for imputational mischief in the context: "...we have here neither *justification by the works*, which are done by means of faith (the Catholic view), nor *Christ's* fulfilment of the law, which is *apprehended* by faith. The former is not Pauline, and the latter has only its indirect truth (for the N.T. nowhere teaches the imputation of Christ's obedience to

¹² Herbert, Johnson, and Hooker all argued from the idea that an objective genitive in Rom. 3.22 would make the relevant phrase redundant. Though D. W. B. Robinson (p. 72, "Faith of Jesus Christ"—a New Testament Debate," (p. 72, The Reformed Theological Review, 29 (1970) pp. 71-81) did not ultimately pronounce a verdict on the meaning in Eph. 3:12, he also cited the seeming redundancy in Rom. 3.22 as a factor in the evolution of his thinking about the expression πίστις Χριστοῦ.

the law), in so far as the atoning work of the Lord completed on the cross, which is the specific object and main matter of justifying faith, necessarily presupposes His active, sinless obedience (2 Corinthians 5:21), of which, however, nothing is here said." Meyer, p. 114

- ii. But an article at www.askelm.com/ citing Gal. 2:16 says...
 - 1) "It is not our own faith that makes us perfectly righteous in God's eyes. It is Christ's faith!"
<http://www.askelm.com/essentials/ess013.htm>
 - 2) earlier in the same article, the writer says, "But whose faith really counts in granting us salvation? Is it our faith? Is it our own belief? Paul said it is not our own faith that gives salvation. It is the faith of Christ."
<http://www.askelm.com/essentials/ess013.htm>
- iii. Ian Potts at the blog, "The Gospel of God," writes "the sinner is justified by having the very righteousness of God imputed to him," and goes on to argue that we are justified by Christ's faith, citing among other passages, Gal. 2:16 as well as Rom. 3:22. <https://thegospelofgod.wordpress.com/2007/11/14/the-faith-of-jesus-christ-romans-321-22/>
- iv. R T Kendall
 - a) "Scottish theologian T. F. Torrance, arguably the most famous Barthian in the world, wrote that we are not saved by our faith but 'by the faith of Christ'." <https://rtkendallministries.com/the-faith-of-christ>
 - b) "According to T. F. Torrance (whom I knew fairly well – and admired), all people are already saved for this reason: Jesus believed for all and we are saved by Jesus' faith."
<https://rtkendallministries.com/the-faith-of-christ>

- c) “we believe IN Jesus Christ in order to be saved by the faith OF Jesus Christ.”
<https://rtkendallministries.com/the-faith-of-christ>
- d) “The reason, then, that Paul said that the righteousness of God is “from faith to faith” (Rom.1:17) is because our faith must be ratified by His faith – or we will not be saved.”
<https://rtkendallministries.com/the-faith-of-christ>
- e) “Jesus did everything for us – he was baptized for us, kept the Law for us, believed for us, died for us. But until we believe all He did is of ‘no value’.”
<https://rtkendallministries.com/the-faith-of-christ>

v. Jefferis Kent Peterson

- a) “Because it is not our faith in Jesus which justifies us, but the faith of Jesus Christ in us which justifies us. In other words, it is his faith at work in us and in our hearts which produces righteousness and the God kind of life. And what is most important about this is the implications it has for us and our faith. First of all, it explains why faith is a gift and why we are saved through faith by grace and not as a work of our own.”
<http://scholarscorner.com/didache/faithofjesus>
- b) As do some others, Peterson connects Rom. 1:17 with this transitive idea
<http://scholarscorner.com/didache/faithofjesus>

vi. N.T. Wright’s view

- a) Wright translates Galatians 2:16a, “But we know that a person is not declared ‘righteous’ by works of the Jewish law, but through the faithfulness of Jesus the Messiah.” (p. 856)
- b) Wright explains, “his faithfulness here, as becomes clear in 2.20, denotes his faithful, loving, self-giving to death.” (p. 856)

- c) Once again, the impetus for so interpreting is Romans 3. Wright says, "The phrase about 'the faithfulness of Jesus the Messiah' in verse 16a could of course be translated 'faith in Jesus the Messiah'. I regard the line of thought in Romans 2.17-20, 3.1-4 and 3.22, discussed above, as constituting a strong *prima facie* case for taking it as 'the Messiah's faithfulness'..." (p. 857)
- α. Wright's explanation goes beyond the alleged tautology of Romans 3:22.
 - β. But even as Wright argues for the subjective genitive from a comprehensive theory, he too says, Romans 3:22 "otherwise would be a tautology" (p. 839).
- d) Wright's overall view is that the key aspect of Jesus' Messianic role is to serve as the "faithful Israelite" (p. 839), "Israel's representative," (p. 836) whereby God could bless the world through Israel as promised.
- α. Inasmuch as Israel failed to faithfully serve as the conduit for the oracles with which it was entrusted (Rom. 3:2), there remained a need for a faithful Israelite such that the faithfulness of God could be vindicated.
 - β. "Abraham's family fail [sic] to pass on the 'oracles', in other words, to be the 'light to the nations, the guide to the blind' and so on that they were supposed to be (2.17-20); how is this God then going to keep his promises through Israel to the world? If the person responsible for delivering the mail has proved untrustworthy, how can I keep my promises to send you a letter by the same mail system?" (p. 838)

- γ. I think a flaw in Wright's scheme is that he too narrowly interprets the unbelief of the Jews (3:3) as being specifically unfaithfulness in delivering the message to the world.

b. Universalism

- i. T.F. Torrance leaned in the direction of universalism, though he denied universalism...

“God has taken the great positive decision for man, the decision of love translated into fact. But because the work and the person of Christ are one, that finished work is identical with the self-giving of God to all humanity which he extends to everyone in the living Christ. God does not withhold himself from any one, but he gives himself to all whether they will or not — even if they will not have him, he gives himself to them, for he has once and for all given himself, and therefore the giving of himself in the cross when opposed by the will of man inevitably opposes that will of man and is its judgement. As we saw, it is the positive will of God in loving humanity that becomes humanity's judgement when they refuse it.”

(Thomas F. Torrance, *Atonement*, 188-89) as quoted at

<https://growrag.wordpress.com/2011/09/09/torrance-universalism-and-the-limited-atonement/>

- ii. If that sounds like universalism, Torrance seems to say the problem is you're trying to look at this too rationally, too logically...

Here we see that man's proud reason insists in pushing through its own partial insight into the death of the cross to its logical conclusion, and so the great mystery of the atonement is subjected to the rationalism of human thought. That is just as true of the universalist as it is of those who hold limited atonement for in both cases they have not yet bowed their reason before the cross of Christ. (*Atonement*, 187-88) as quoted at <https://growrag.wordpress.com/2011/09/09/torrance-universalism-and-the-limited-atonement/>

- iii. Torrance seemed to say that because Jesus died for all, and limited atonement is false, and inasmuch as Jesus “believed for us, was faithful for us” (ExpTim 68 p. 114), the conditions have been met for the salvation of all. But goes on to say in essence, we must recognize that salvation is a mystery and we don't really know for sure what is going to happen if some people get to the day of judgment and at that time simply decline the salvation that has already been achieved from them—whether God saves them or not, we just don't know.

7. A Rebuttal

- a. In several of these passages it may be difficult to prove with absolute certainty that the genitive “of Jesus/Christ/him” is objective, or on the other hand, subjective
 - i. Certainly Christ’s faithful obedience was necessary for our salvation (Phil. 2:8, Heb. 3:1-2, 5:7-9, 12:1-2)
 - ii. This is not the same as saying his faith, or his righteousness, counts as ours.
- b. The conclusion that Jesus’ faith is imputed is demonstrated to be false in the letter that most especially develops the doctrine of justification by faith
 - i. Our justification by faith is developed in Romans 3.
 - ii. In Romans 4, Abraham, whose own faith was credited to him for righteousness, is the prototype for our justification on the same basis.

II. The Seed

A. **What OT passage did Paul have in view** when he indirectly quoted, saying, “to his seed” (τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ) and then apparently directly quoted, saying, “*And to your seed*” (Καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου)?

1. Gen. 12:7 has τῷ σπέρματί σου
 - a. But this is in regard to the land promise
 - i. We would expect the promise to be the spiritual blessing for all families of the earth
 - ii. On the other hand, the promised land foreshadows the spiritual habitation of the Israel of God (cf. Ps. 37:11,29, Mt. 5:5, Zech. 13:1-3).
 - b. Also the καὶ is not present in the LXX of Gen. 12:7

- i. and given the nature of Paul's argument precisely identifying the number of the word σπέρμα, it seems we should suppose Paul is quoting carefully.
 - ii. As Alford says, "These words, on which, from what follows, the stress of the whole argument rests, are probably meant to be a formal quotation."
2. Gen. 13:15 has καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου, but is again especially referring to the land.
3. Gen. 17:8 has καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου
 - a. To be sure, this precise phrase is used in 17:8 with reference to the land
 - b. But the preceding verse (17:7) includes the idea "to be God to you and to your seed after you" (...τοῦ σπέρματός σου)
 - c. The context uses the word covenant, (*berit*/διαθήκη)
 - d. So Paul could easily have had this passage in mind even though the , where both the land and the spiritual promises are in view and where the singular noun for seed is used both in the genitive case and in the dative case, Paul's purposes the dative case works better even though
 - e. One problem here is that in this passage, circumcision is the everlasting sign of the covenant, the very thing Paul is identifying as unnecessary to the Galatians.
 - f. Gen. 24:7 has καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου, but is again especially referring to the land.
 - g. Probably, Paul has in view all of these passages.
 - i. In various passages where Paul speaks of the promise or promises, he may once be referring most especially to Gen. 17:5 as in Romans 4:13-17, then in another place to Gen. 21:12 as in Romans 9:7-8, or to the various passages in Genesis when God made the promises to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, as in Romans 15:8.

- ii. While the promise of a great nation and the land have at first a reference to earthly Israel in the land of Canaan, ultimately both of these promises as well as the promise of a blessing for *all* families of the earth are realized in "*all the seed*" (Rom. 4:16), that is "*all Israel*" which includes Gentiles (Romans 11:25-26), and which inherits the ultimate land (Mt. 5:5).
- iii. Perhaps in all these promises, especially in the repeated phrase "to your seed," Paul saw the church, those who walk in the steps of the faith of Abraham whether they be of the circumcision or of the uncircumcision.
- iv. But for purposes of his point in Galatians, he uses the form most grammatically appropriate, which also is the form connected most closely with the word *covenant*, that being the form found in Gen. 17:7.

B. Did Paul Make a False Argument Regarding the Singular “Seed”?

1. A typical take on Gal. 3:16, this one from Burton Scott Easton in the original ISBE, “In Galatians 3 16 St. Paul draws a distinction between ‘seeds’ and ‘seed’ that has for its purpose a proof that the promises to Abraham were realized in Christ and not in Israel. The distinction, however, overstates the language of the OT, which never pluralizes *zera`* when meaning ‘descendants’ (plural only in 1 S 8 15; compare Rom 4 18; 9 7). But in an argument against rabbinical adversaries St. Paul was obliged to use rabbinical methods (cf Gal 4 25). For modern purposes it is probably best to treat such an exegetical method as belonging simply to the (now superseded) science of the times.”
 - a. This approach begins with the assumption that by singular “seed, which is Christ,” Paul means Jesus, the individual.
 - b. This approach ends with a wink, “well you know how those Jews were with their argumentation.”
2. Hebrew *zera`* and Greek σπέρμα are both collective nouns
 - a. The singular can refer to many of one class
 - b. Generally, a plural collective noun refers to plurality of classes, plurality of groups
 - c. It is sometimes said there is no plural form of the Hebrew *zera`* (seed), but this is not true.
 - i. The plural is found in 1 Samuel 8:15, where I would suppose the meaning is “your various seeds,” i.e., your corn seed and your wheat seed and your barley seed, hence, your seeds.
 - ii. Ernest De Witt Burton says plural forms of Hebrew *zera`* are found in late Hebrew “meaning ‘races’ or ‘families,’” but questions whether such a usage was current in Paul’s day. ICC on Galatians, p. 506.

3. Gal. 3:29 provides the key.
 - a. “If *ye* (plural) are Christ’s, then are *ye* (plural) Abraham’s seed (singular), *heirs* (plural) according to promise”—this is a reference to the promise that was to the singular seed!
 - b. Compare Romans 4:13, 4:16 (“all the seed”), 4:18 (“many nations...so shall thy seed be”)
 - c. So then in 3:16, the single “seed” meaning “Christ” is comparable to “Christ” in 1 Cor. 12:12, where “Christ” is a collective that “has many members” and yet, like the human body, is “one.”
 - d. This understanding, that the seed is the body of Christ, is the view argued by Alford.
 - e. This was the view of Irenaeus (c. A.D. 200 or earlier) who wrote,

For his seed is the Church, which receives the adoption to God through the Lord, as John the Baptist said: “For God is able from the stones to raise up children to Abraham.” Thus also the apostle says in the Epistle to the Galatians: “But you, brethren, as Isaac was, are the children of the promise.” And again, in the same Epistle, he plainly declares that they who have believed in Christ do receive Christ, the promise to Abraham thus saying, “The promises were spoken to Abraham, and to his seed. Now He does not say, And of seeds, as if [He spoke] of many, but as of one, And to your seed, which is Christ.” And again, confirming his former words, he says, “Even as Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness. Know therefore, that they which are of faith are the children of Abraham. But the Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, declared to Abraham beforehand, That in you shall all nations be blessed. So then they which are of faith shall be blessed with faithful Abraham.” Thus, then, they who are of faith shall be blessed with faithful Abraham, and these are the children of Abraham. (Against Heresies, V.xxxii.2)

4. Why make the point, “not of many but of one”?
 - a. It’s all one seed—The seed is a single group *of one class*, composed of many.

- b. Gal. 3:28—There is no Jewish seed distinct from a Gentile seed, etc.
- c. So Bacon, who paraphrased Paul as saying the seed is “believers generally, including the Gentiles, who on their part also had been undergoing a different discipline. These are the ‘seed.’ I mean all together in a comprehensive unity, not Jew on one side, Greek on the other; not slave on one side, free on the other; not a σπέρμα Ἰουδαῖον and a σπέρμα Ἑλληνικόν, σπέρμα δοῦλον and σπέρμα ἐλεύθερον, σπέρμα ἄρσεν and σπέρμα θῆλυ; not σπέρματα, but σπέρμα for ye are all one man in Christ Jesus (πάντες εἰς ἓστε), and if ye are members of Christ, then are ye the seed of Abraham, heirs according to promise.” (p. 140)

III. The Purpose of the Law

- A. The purpose was not to replace the promise, for once a covenant has been confirmed, a law that comes along later does not nullify it.
 - 1. There is some (not much) debate about the word διαθήκη, whether at Gal. 3:15 it means *covenant*, or *testament/will*.
 - 2. The word itself can mean either.
 - a. Ellicot: “The word has both senses. It meant originally a ‘disposition’ or ‘settlement,’ and hence came, on the one hand, to be confined to a ‘testamentary disposition,’ while, on the other hand, it was taken to mean a settlement arrived at by agreement between two parties. The first sense is that most commonly found in classical writers; the second is used almost entirely in the LXX. and New Testament. The one exception is in Hebrews 9:15-17, where the idea of ‘covenant’ glides into that of ‘testament,’ the argument rather turning upon the double meaning of the word.”
 - b. For further discussion of the meanings of the word, see
 - i. Burton, ICC on Galatians, pp. 496-505.

ii. Duggin, <http://sitsstudy.com/resources/Archives/2004---Hebrews/04---The-Two-Covenants-Duggin.pdf>

3. According to Meyer, at Gal. 3:15, the meaning *testament* was favored by “the Vulgate, Luther, Erasmus, and many others, including Olshausen”
4. But here, in this context where the promises to Abraham and to his seed are in view, the meaning is *covenant*. (See throughout Gen. 17.)

B. 430 Years

1. In Galatians, this seems to be the time from the giving of the promise (Gen. 12) until the giving of the law (Ex. 20)
2. However Ex. 12:40 seems to speak of the sojourning in Egypt alone to have been 430 years.
 - a. So too Gen. 15:13 marks the time of Abram’s descendants being strangers in a land not theirs as 400 years (rounded),
 - b. Stephen also seemed to indicate that the sojourning, if not the ill treatment alone, lasted 400 years. (Ac 7:6)
 - c. This would mean the time from the promise until the time of the law would have been at least 645 years.
 - i. 25 years from the promise in Gen 12 when Abram was 75 (Gen. 12:4) until the birth of Isaac when Abram was 100.
 - ii. 60 years from the birth of Isaac until the birth of Jacob (Gen. 23:26)
 - iii. 130 years from the birth of Jacob until the family was located in Goshen (Gen. 47:9)
 - iv. $25+60+130+430=645$
3. In the LXX, Ex. 12:40 reads ἡ δὲ κατοίκησις τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραηλ, ἦν κατώκησαν ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν γῆ Χανααν, ἔτη τετρακόσια τριάκοντα, and the dwelling of the sons of Israel, which they dwelt in the land of Egypt and in the land of Canaan was 430 years. (in Vaticanus, the original hand added πεντε so as to read 435 years.)

- a. The Samaritan Pentateuch reads similarly.
 - b. This accords with Paul's accounting in Galatians 3.
4. The lives of Levi's descendents down to Moses is in keeping with a time in Egypt much shorter than 430 years.
- a. Levi's age at the time the Israel's family settled in Egypt was about 46.
 - i. When Jacob and his progeny came down to Egypt, Joseph was 39 years old.
 - a) Joseph was 30 years old when he first stood before Pharaoh (Gen. 41:46)
 - b) 7 years of abundance followed (Gen. 41:47)
 - c) 2 years of famine had already passed (Gen. 45:6)
 - d) $30+7+2=39$
 - ii. That makes Jacob 91 at the time of Joseph's birth
 - a) Jacob was 130 when he came down to Egypt
 - b) $130-39=91$.

- iii. Joseph seems to have been born just before Jacob and Laban reached a new agreement (Gen. 30:25ff) which was necessarily after Jacob completed his contracted 14 years of service (Gen. 30:26), and before Jacob left Padan-Aram having completed 20 years of service. (Gen. 31:41). So then Jacob was age 91 sometime during the last 6 years of his service. This means he was between 71 ($91-20=71$) and 77 ($91-14=77$) when he first met Rachel. But practically speaking, we must allow at least a couple of years, at a bare minimum, for the livestock breeding described in Gen. 30:31ff and the repeated changes in the agreement (“ten times”) mentioned in 31:7-8. So then Joseph’s birth and the agreement of 30:25ff must have taken place no later than 18 years after Jacob met Rachel. (This means 11 sons were born in an 18 year period. See Appendix 1 for a chronology that would allow for this.) And that means Jacob was between 73 ($91-18$) and 77 ($91-14$) when he first met Rachel.
 - iv. This puts Jacob’s age between 80 and 84 at the time of his marriage to Rachel and Leah.
 - v. Levi was the third child born to Jacob and Leah. This must have been at least 3 years after their marriage, making Jacob between 83 and 87 at the time of Levi’s birth. I’ll use 84, based on the calculations in **Appendix 1**.
 - vi. This makes Levi 46 years old at the time Israel settled in Egypt ($130-84=46$).
- b. Levi died at 137.
 - c. Therefore Levi lived 91 years in Egypt ($137-46=91$).

- i. Jochebed was born to Levi in Egypt (Num. 26:59) during this 91 years. She gave birth to Moses who lived 80 years before the giving of the law. The only thing we don't yet know is Jochebed's age at the time of Moses' birth.
 - a) But we can calculate a maximum sojourn in Egypt by allowing the greatest possible time before Jochebed's birth and then the greatest possible time from her birth to Moses' birth.
 - b) Of course the latest possible time for her birth would be 9 months after Levi's death, and the greatest possible time from her birth to Moses' birth might safely be assumed to be about 60 years.
- ii. **Maximum time in Egypt:** So assuming these numbers, we have a maximum of 231 years ($91+9 \text{ mos.}+60+80=231$ yrs 9 mos., rounded to **232 years.**) from the time Israel settled in Egypt until the giving of the law.
- iii. **Minimum time in Egypt:** If Jochebed were only 20 at Moses' birth, we would have a minimum of **191 years** ($91+20+80=191$).
- iv. **Suggested time in Egypt:** If Jochebed was 44 at the time of Moses' birth, we would have **215 years** from settling in Egypt to the giving of the Law ($91+44+80=215$).

- v. While some have supposed generations may have been skipped in the record from Levi to Moses, what we have (Levi, Kohath, Amram, Moses) agrees nicely with Gen. 15:17 where it is said “in the fourth generation they shall return here,” supposing the four generations count only the time of the sojourning in Egypt. Others however suppose that a generation is being reckoned as 100 years, and that the reference to the fourth generation includes the time in Canaan.
5. Do the events in Canaan described in the historical narrative (Gen. 15-36) fit within a period of roughly 200 years?
 - a. We actually know the time from the promise until Jacob’s arrival in Egypt.
 - i. Abraham was 75 when the promise was first made
 - ii. Isaac was born 25 years later, when Abraham was 100 (Gen. 17:1, 17:17).
 - iii. When Jacob was born Isaac was 60 years old (Gen. 25:26).
 - iv. Jacob lived 130 years in Canaan.
 - v. So from the promise to Jacob’s arrival in Egypt was 215 years ($25+60+130=215$).
 - vi. If Jochebed was 44 at the time of Moses’ birth, we would have 215 years from settling in Egypt to the giving of the Law ($91+44+80=215$), for a total of 430 years from the promise to the giving of the law.
 6. So then, Paul’s number (430 years from the promise to the law) agrees with the LXX, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the OT account of Levi’s descendants.

7. This also agrees with Josephus: "They left Egypt in the month of Xanthicus, on the fifteenth by lunar reckoning, 430 years after the coming of our forefather Abraham to Canaan, Jacob's migration to Egypt having taken place 215 years later." Ant. 2.15.2
8. It seems we are mis-reading Genesis 15:13 if we take it to say the Israelites were slaves for 400 years.
 - a. Even if we supposed the Israelites were in Egypt 400 years, the indication is that they were not enslaved and oppressed till the latter portion of that time.
 - b. But Genesis 15:13 might be read, "your descendants will be strangers in a land that is not theirs (where they will be enslaved and oppressed) 400 years (i.e., from now) and (as in the KJV, ASV) I will judge that nation," such that the 400 years marks the time at which God would judge that nation rather than the duration of Israel's sojourn there, so the passage would agree with Paul's number.

C. The Scripture Shut up all things under Sin

1. *The scripture*
 - a. "The scripture (singular) says/foresees/preaches..." refers to a particular passage in both Gal. 3:7 and Rom. 9:17
 - b. In this instance, perhaps Dt. 27:26?
 - c. F.F. Bruce on 3:8... "ἡ γραφή is here practically equivalent to ὁ θεός, as in Rom. 9:17 (cf. B. B. Warfield, *The Inspiration and Authority of the Bible* [Philadelphia, 1948], 299—348)... he uses 'the scripture' here more or less as an extension of the divine personality."
 - d. Note that whereas here in Galatians, Paul says, scripture shut up..., in Romans 11:32 he says "God shut up..."
2. *Shut up*
 - a. For συγκλείω in the NT, in addition to Romans 11:32 and Galatians 3:22,23 see Luke 5:6

- b. In the LXX, συγκλείω is used often. A few relevant examples are...
- i. Barren wombs, Gen. 16:2, 20:18, 1 Kings (=1 Sam.) 1:6,
 - ii. Isreal trapped in the wilderness, Ex. 24:3
 - iii. (gates of) a city closed, Josh. 6:1, Isaiah 45:1, Jeremiah 13:19
3. *under*
- a. compare the phrase “under sin” and the phrase “under law” and “under a curse.”
 - b. See Rom. 3:9, 7:14, cf. Rom. 6:14f.
4. *All things = people?*
- a. For the neuter for persons, see Jn. 17:10.
 - b. Less certain that 1 Cor. 1:27, Col. 1:20, Eph. 1:10 illustrate the point, though these passages along with Jn. 17:10 were cited by Burton.
5. *Sin*
- a. singular, not *sins* plural
 - b. The point being that one is a slave, not of some particular activity, such as an addict who is a slave of heroin, but rather one is in the state of slavery, one is in bondage by virtue of sin, conceptually. That is, by virtue of sin, one is no longer free. He is subject to the consequence of sin, death. There is no escape.
6. *On the whole phrase, compare Romans 11:32 with Galatians 3:22*
- a. Rom. 11:32 συνέκλεισεν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τοὺς πάντας εἰς ἀπειθειαν ἵνα τοὺς πάντας ἐλεήσῃ. *For God shut up everyone unto disobedience, that he might have mercy upon all.*

- b. Gal. 3:22 ἀλλὰ συνέκλεισεν ἡ γραφή τὰ πάντα ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν ἵνα ἡ ἐπαγγελία ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοθῇ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν. *But the scripture shut up all things under sin, that the promise by faith in Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe.*
7. *On the concept, see throughout Romans...*
- a. Romans 3:19, “every mouth stopped, and all the world may be brought under the judgment of God”
 - b. Romans 5:20, “and the law came in besides, that the trespass might abound”
 - c. Romans 7:13, “but sin that it might be shown to be sin, by working death to me through that which is good—that through the commandment sin might become exceeding sinful”
 - d. Romans 7:24, “Wretched man that I am!, who shall deliver me out of the body of this death?”
8. In context vs. 3:22 is the counter to 3:21.
- a. Is the law against the promises?
 - b. No, the scripture (the law) shut up all things under sin that promise might be by faith!
 - c. Together, 3:21-3:22 are similar to the thought flow in Romans 7:7-24.
 - i. E. Huxtable (Pulpit) commented, “The apostle does not, in the present connection, make it his business to explain in what way the Law was preparatory, which he does in Rom. vii.; his purpose at present is to insist upon its purely provisional character.”
 - ii. I would say Galatians 3:22 is the apostle’s cursory explanation, and that the thought is more thoroughly developed in Romans 7.

D. *Paidagōgos*

1. Meaning of the word
 - a. Etymologically, “child leader,” from *παῖς* (*child*) and *ἄγω* (*lead*)
 - b. English *pedagogue* comes from this word, but has a different meaning.
 - c. The Greek word was not used so much with reference to one who gave instruction as with reference to a slave who functioned as a guardian, and who was especially responsible for getting his charge(s) to those who would instruct.
 - i. Greek-English Lexicon (LSJ): *paidagōgos* slave who went with a boy from home to school and back again.
 - ii. Socrates’ Conversation with Menexenus and Lysis, Boys at a Wrestling School, (Plato, Lysis 208c)

But some one controls you?

Yes, he said, my *paidagōgos* here.

Is he a slave?

Why, certainly; he belongs to us, he said.

What a strange thing, I exclaimed; a free man controlled by a slave! But how does this *paidagōgos* actually exert his control over you?

By taking me to school, I suppose, he replied.

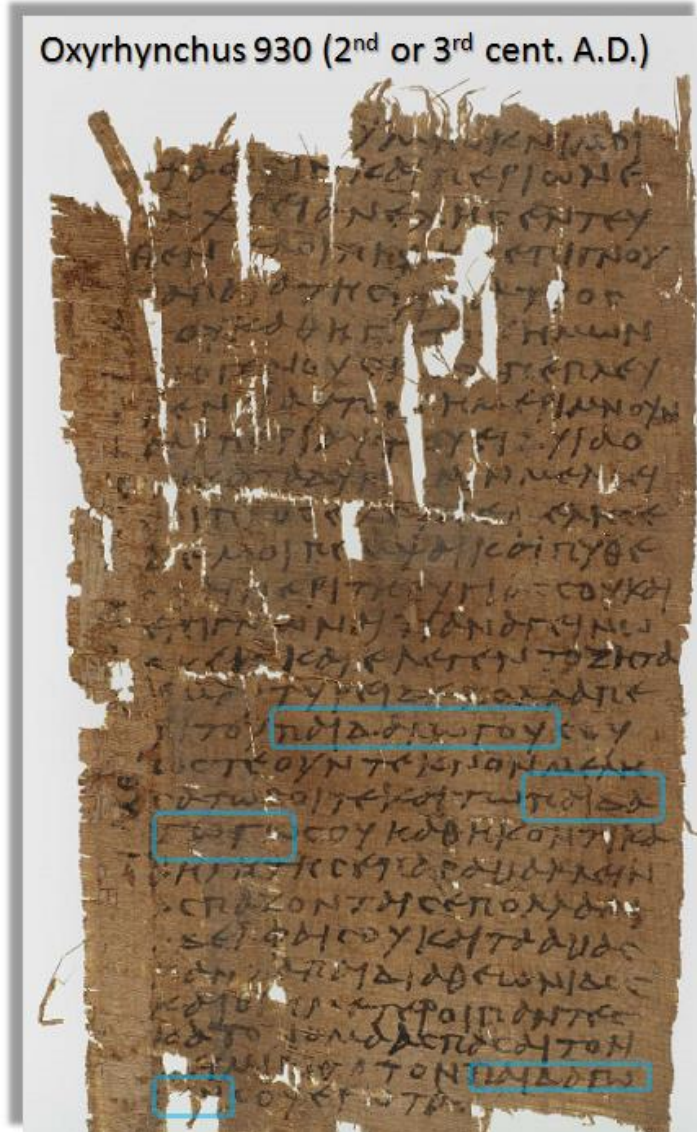
And your schoolmasters, can it be that they also control you?

And later in the text (Plato, Lysis 223a)...

Having thus spoken, I was minded to stir up somebody else among the older people there; when, like spirits from another world, there came upon us the *paidagōgoi* of Menexenus and Lysis: they were bringing along the boys'

brothers, and called out to them the order to go home; for it was getting late.

- iii. Letter to a schoolboy, Ptolemaeus, from his mother
(Oxyrhynchus 930, 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D.)



Do not hesitate to write to me about anything which you require from here. I was grieved to learn from the daughter of our teacher Diogenes that he had gone down the river; for my mind was easy with regard to him, as I knew that he intended to look after you to the best of his power. I took care to send and inquire about your health and to learn what you were reading. He said it was the 6th book, and he testified at large to the conduct of your *paidagōgos*. So now my child, you and your *paidagōgos* must take care to have you placed under a suitable teacher. Many salutations from your sisters and the children of Theonis, whom the evil eye shall not harm, and from all our friends by name. Salute from me your esteemed *paidagōgos*, Eros.

a) Observations highlighting the distinction between the *paidagōgos* and the teacher.

α. Diogenes, the teacher, is gone

β. Diogenes, the teacher, had commended the *paidagōgos*, Eros.

γ. Now the boy and his *Paidagōgos* must find a new teacher for the boy

d. In what sense is the law a *paidagōgos*?

i. Just as being under the charge of a *paidagōgos* restricts one's independence, so the law compelled those under it to realize their need.

a) This especially is Paul's point in Galatians 3

b) By virtue of shutting up all to sin, the law made clear to its subjects their bondage, thus making evident the need for escape in Christ.

- c) The perfect tense, *has become* (γέγονεν) a *paidagōgos*, speaks of this function of the law as an effect more than a design
 - α. Alford translates, “*has turned out to be*”
 - β. Although certainly it was God’s intent all along that the law would serve this purpose.
 - d) Remember that Paul is writing primarily to Gentiles, Gentiles who want to be under the law, and in effect, he is telling this Gentile audience that that to which they are trying to subject themselves was something to be outgrown!
 - e) Notice the change from *we* to *you* (3:24ff)
 - α. 3:24, We Jews had a *paidagōgos* (So Meyer, p. 205)
 - β. 3:25, Now that faith is come, *we* are no longer under a *paidagōgos*
 - γ. 3:26, *You all* (Jews & Gentiles, as will become evident in 4:5) are sons of God through faith in Christ Jesus!
 - δ. 3:29, *You* (Jews & Gentiles) are heirs according to promise.
 - f) It is the Jews who were under a *paidagōgos*
- ii. Was it a foundation for understanding spiritual principles?
- a) The law was indeed designed to serve this purpose, for example,
 - α. The need for intercession taught via the priesthood

β. The need for a sacrifice

γ. The holiness of God and the incumbent holiness of his people

b) But this is not Paul's point in Gal. 3:25

iii. Was it prophetic foreshadowing?

a) The law was indeed designed to serve this purpose,

b) But this is not Paul's point in Gal. 3:25

2. If the law is the *paidagōgos*, is Christ the teacher?

a. Meyer, Alford, Huxtable all are at pains to say, no!

i. Meyer: "the idea of Christ as a *teacher*...is foreign to the passage."

ii. Alford: "to Christ *as a Teacher* there is here no allusion"

iii. Huxtable: "The clause, 'unto Christ,' can hardly mean 'to bring us to Christ...The function of Christ is not viewed here as instruction."

b. Rather than seeing an allegory wherein Christ is represented by an implied teacher to whom the *paidagōgos* leads the child, they see the figure of a *paidagōgos* as pointing to an anticipated age of majority at which time the son attains freedom. Meyer in particular says explicitly that being justified by faith "*is the divine destination.*" (p. 204)

c. This would be worthy of some discussion during the discussion period.

IV. The Fulness of Time

A. There were circumstances that made the first century a good time for the coming of the Messiah

1. *Pax Romana* (27 B.C. to A.D. 180) facilitated travel



2. A world language, namely Greek Language, facilitated the spread of gospel message in written form
 - a. This circumstance was due to the conquest of Alexander the Great
 - b. This is the sense in which we should use the word *koine*.
- B. However, we should not think that God was merely waiting around till the stars lined up right, till things happened to fall into place.
1. “until the date set by the father” Gal. 4:2
 2. Daniel 2 and 7 foretold the coming kingdoms and when the Kingdom of God would arise.
 3. Daniel 8 foretold in greater detail the things that would transpire during the time of the Medo-Persian and Greek periods, and pointed specifically to the exploits of Alexander the Great which were responsible for creating a common (*koine*) language throughout the world.
 4. Daniel 9 had laid out a chronology pointing to a particular time
 5. Daniel 11 foretold in great detail the events of the intertestamental period
 6. God knew how long it would be before he would send his Son into the world and arranged the events of the intervening years to create a circumstance that would facilitate the spread of the gospel, and when that time was fulfilled, he sent his son into the world. “When the fulness of time came” essential means “when the appointed time came.”

V. Additional Comments

- A. (3:3) beginning and completing, a subtle point regarding Realized Eschatology
1. *having begun in spirit, are you now completed in flesh?* ἐναρξάμενοι πνεύματι νῦν σαρκὶ ἐπιτελείσθε; (3:3)
 2. Compare Phil. 1:6 where the same two verbs are used, ὁ ἐναρξάμενος ἐν ὑμῖν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐπιτελέσει ἄχρι ἡμέρας Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ· *the one who began a good work in you will complete until the day of Christ Jesus.*
 3. The Christian life has a beginning point and a goal. The goal is not achieved at the beginning point.
 - a. the beginning is at the point of Baptism, cf. Gal. 3:27,
 - b. the completion, that is, the goal, is, achieved at the day of the Lord Jesus (Phil. 1:6)

- i. that is the resurrection, which Paul says he has not yet obtained, Phil. 3:12.
 - ii. For 1st century Christians, Realized Eschatology has the Resurrection (and hence, the completion) being the events of A.D. 70.
 - iii. Otherwise, for Christians today, the only resurrection known within Realized Eschatology is the spiritual resurrection experienced at baptism. So then RE has the resurrection, which is the goal, being realized at the beginning, while Paul speaks of an end, goal, that is yet future.
 - c. Assuming the RE viewpoint such that the perfection of the disciple of Jesus is accomplished at A.D. 70 rather than at some yet future resurrection, and otherwise the only resurrection to which disciples may aspire is that experienced at baptism, does it make sense for Paul to ask, "having begun in the Spirit, are you now perfected in the flesh?"
- B. (3:4) *Suffering in vain*
- 1. It is argued that *τοσαῦτα ἐπάθετε εἰκῆ* may be construed as meaning "did you experience such things in vain" referring to their beginning in the Spirit.
 - 2. Or alternatively, the verb *ἐπάθετε* (from *πάσχω*) may be taken as having a negative connotation, "suffer," as in Acts 9:16, "For I will show him whatsoever things it is necessary for him to suffer on behalf of the my name."
 - 3. Assuming the latter meaning is correct, the things suffered would be the opposition and persecution suffered at the hands of unbelieving Jews (Ac 14:2), similar to that suffered by Paul and Barnabas (Ac 13:50, 14:5, 14:19). The point of *τοσαῦτα ἐπάθετε εἰκῆ* is that the Galatian brethren could have avoided all of that persecution had they been willing to be Judaized from the beginning
- C. The Spirit was associated with the faith and not with the "different gospel," as evidenced by the rhetorical question in 3:5
- 1. Only one side of the contest laid claim to the working of the Spirit
 - 2. So then there is no element of Gnostic error in Galatians, a fact which is in keeping with an early date for Galatians (contrast with Colossians)

VI. Textual issues (with brief descriptions, not exhaustive citations, of the evidence for the various readings)

A. Gal. 2:20

1. υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ (*son of God*) is the reading in the UBS5/NA28 and is supported by “a broad spectrum of Greek, versional, and patristic witnesses” (Metzger) including Sinaiticus and the Byzantine tradition (the so-called Majority Text).
2. θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ (*of God and Christ*) is the reading found in P46 and Vaticanus, as well as a handful of other witnesses.

B. Gal. 3:1a

1. ἐβάσκανεν (*bewitched/envied*) is the reading in the UBS5/NA28
2. ἐβάσκανεν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι (*bewitched to not be obedient to the truth*) is the reading in the Received Text, (in agreement with a few uncials and most minuscules) and therefore the KJV has “*bewitched you, that ye should not obey the truth.*” Metzger opined that the words τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι were carried over by copyists from Galatians 5:7.

C. Gal. 3:1b

1. προεγράφη ἐσταυρωμένος (*proclaimed crucified*) is the reading in the UBS5/NA28, supported by Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, a couple of other uncials, several minuscules, and early versions.
2. προεγράφη ἐν ὑμῖν ἐσταυρωμένος (*proclaimed in you crucified*) is the reading found in the Received Text (in agreement with several uncials and many minuscules and some early versions. Following the Received Text, the KJV has “*evidently set forth, crucified among you?*”

D. Gal. 3:14

1. ἐπαγγελίαν (*promise*) is the reading in the UBS5/NA28, supported by P99, Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, other uncials, many minuscules including the Byzantine mss (the so-called Majority Text), ancient versions and patristic quotations.
2. εὐλογίαν (*blessing*) is the reading of P46, three uncials, a few ancient versions, and 3 patristic citations. Metzger supposes the reading εὐλογίαν entered the text due to the presence of εὐλογία in the earlier in the verse. It is likely that having just written εὐλογία (*blessing*), an inattentive scribe then encountered ἐπαγγελίαν in his exemplar (the first three letters of which would look similar to those of εὐλογίαν in the uncial script, and of course the last three letters are identical), and wrote εὐλογίαν the second time.

E. Gal. 3:17

1. ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ (*by God*) is the reading in the UBS5/NA28, supported by P46, Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, other uncials, several minuscules, ancient versions and patristic quotations.
2. ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς Χριστόν (*by God unto Christ*) is the reading of a few uncials, many minuscules including the Byzantine mss (the so-called Majority Text), and is found in the Received Text. Accordingly, the KJV reads, “*of God in Christ.*” This appears to be something added into the text to make sense of the preceding verse, probably by someone who supposed the meaning of “to thy seed, which is Christ” was that the promise was to the individual Jesus Christ. See comments above on the meaning of this phrase.

F. Gal. 3:19

1. νόμος; τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν προσετέθη (*law? It was added on account of transgressions*) is the reading in the UBS5/NA28, supported by the vast majority of witnesses, including the best.
2. νόμος; τῶν παραδόσεων χάριν ἐτέθη (*law? It was placed on account of traditions*) is supported by one uncial, a few ancient versions, and a handful of patristic citations.
3. νόμος τῶν πράξεων ἐτέθη (*law of the practices? It was placed*) is supported by two uncials, a couple of ancient versions in Italian, and a couple of patristic citations.
4. νόμος τῶν πράξεων ἐτέθη (*law of the practices?*) this the reading in P46.

G. Gal. 3:21

1. τοῦ θεοῦ (*of God*) is the reading in the UBS5/NA28, supported by Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, a few other uncials, many minuscules including the Byzantine mss (the so-called Majority Text), several ancient versions and patristic citations.
2. τοῦ Χριστοῦ (*of Christ*) is the reading found in two minuscules of the 11th century. With such poor support, this reading can be discounted.
3. The words are absent in P46 (c. A.D. 200) and Vaticanus (c. A.D. 250).

H. Gal. 3:28

1. εἷς ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ (*your are one in Christ; with masculine one*) is the reading in the UBS5/NA28, supported by the a corrector in Sinaiticus, by Vaticanus, four other uncials, many minuscules including the Byzantine mss (the so-called Majority Text), a couple of ancient versions and patristic citations.
2. ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ (*your are in Christ*) is the reading found in several lectionaries.
3. ἓν ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ (*you are one in Christ; with neuter one*) is the reading found two late uncials, one minuscule, one lectionary, some ancient versions and numerous patristic citations.
4. ἐστε Χριστοῦ (*you are of Christ*) is the reading found in P46 (c. A.D. 200).
5. ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ (*your are one/in of Christ; ἐν is ambiguous and could be either one or in*) is the reading found in the original hand in Sinaiticus.

I. Gal. 4:6

1. τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν (*our hearts*) This is the reading in the UBS5/NA28, supported by p46, Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, several other uncials, several minuscules, many ancient versions, and many patristic citations.
2. τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν (*your hearts*) This reading is found in four uncials, many minuscules including the Byzantine mss (the so-called Majority Text), some ancient versions, and many patristic citations. It is the reading found in the Received Text, and accordingly stands behind the KJV translation (*your hearts*).

VII. Unusual or Significant Vocabulary

A. 3:1 *Bewitch*, (ἐβάσκανεν from βασκαίνω)

1. NT hapax legomenon
2. The Latin for βασκαίνω is *fascino*, from which we get the word *fascinate* and the meaning was *to enchant, bewitch*. The Vulgate has *quis vos fascinavit* at Gal. 3:1.
3. 1st possible meaning: *Bewitch*
 - a. There is much discussion of the superstitions of the day pertaining to the evil eye with which one might “bewitch” someone. See the article on “Evil Eye” in the ISBE edited by Bromiley.

- b. In The Anchor Bible Commentary, Martin translated the verb, “cast a spell,” and explained, “Given Gentile aversion to circumcision, the Teachers must indeed have been virtual magicians to have made the Galatians long to come under the Law.” (p. 282f) He further comments, “In antiquity people were often thought to fall under magic spells.”
4. 2nd possible meaning: *Envy*, or *Begrudge*
 - a. The noun βασκανία is a synonym of φθόνος (envy)
 - b. See in the LXX, Dt. 28:54, 56, Ecclus 14:6,8 for examples of βασκαίνω in this sense.
 - c. Paul will go on to describe the Judaizers jealousy or envy, (ζήλος) in Gal. 4:14.
 - i. To be sure, jealousy and envy are two different things in English. It is said that one is jealous of what is his and envious of what is someone else’s.
 - ii. While this distinction does not always hold up when considering the Greek words ζήλος (jealousy) and φθόνος (envy), there is some merit in keeping this distinction in mind. God is a jealous God. He wants what is his to be his exclusively.
 - iii. For Jewish jealousy stirred up by Gentiles’ response to the gospel, we may think of Acts 13:45, where we may understand the meaning to be that the Jews were jealous of the access they supposed they had to God through the law. They wanted it to be theirs exclusively (cf. Acts 22:21-22).
 - iv. But some who attempted to stir up affliction for Paul preached Christ out of envy (Phil. 1:15). They were envious of what Paul had, the influence he had. Based on Phil. 3:1ff, it seems likely these were Judaizers.

- v. These Judaizers wanted to control the Galatian believers. Once they had them in their power, they zealously (jealously) attempted to control them.
 - vi. So we see in Gal. 4:17-18, the Judaizers were jealous (zealous) for the Gentile believers but not in a good way. They attempted to shut out the Gentile believers (cf. 2 Cor. 11:19-20) such that the Gentile believers would come begging, groveling, for whatever crumbs the Judaizers might give them.
5. The connection between the two meanings of βασκαίνω is seen in Elliot's comment, "Foremost among the malevolent emotions associated with the Evil Eye was that of envy (*phthonos*, *zêlos*)—resentment over another's prosperity [sic] and good fortune and the wish to see this success destroyed." (Biblical Interpretation vol II, 1994, p. 55)
6. Chrysostom commented on the significance of the verb βασκαίνω in Gal. 3:1 and implicitly acknowledged the possibility of understanding Paul's question as a reference to magical power, while at the same time arguing that this was not Paul's meaning.

And when you hear of jealousy [φθόνου=*envy*] in this place, and in the Gospel, of an evil eye, which means the same, you must not suppose that the glance of the eye has any natural power to injure those who look upon it. For the eye, that is, the organ itself, cannot be evil; but Christ in that place means jealousy by the term. To behold, simply, is the function of the eye, but to behold in an evil manner belongs to a mind depraved within. As through this sense the knowledge of visible objects enters the soul, and as jealousy is for the most part generated by wealth, and wealth and sovereignty and pomp are perceived by the eye, therefore he calls the eye evil; not as beholding merely, but as beholding enviously from some moral depravity. Therefore by the words, Who has looked enviously [ἐβίασκανεν] on you, he implies that the persons in question acted, not from concern, not to supply defects, but to mutilate what existed. For envy [φθόνου], far from supplying what is wanting, subtracts from what is complete, and vitiates the whole. And he speaks thus, not as if envy [φθόνου] had any power of itself, but meaning, that the teachers of these doctrines did so from envious motives [βασκανίαν].

7. Most commentators seem to be convinced the meaning in Gal. 3:1 is *bewitched*.
 - a. The interpretation which sees a reference to a superstitious belief in magic may indeed be correct.
 - b. But I wonder if it's not a case of exegesis getting carried away by what is "fascinating" (from the Latin for bewitch) rather than being content with what may be mundane but is sufficient within the context.
 8. Oxyrhynchus 930 (2nd or 3rd cent. A.D.), mentioned earlier, illustrates βασκαίνω as well as παιδαγωγός.
- B. 3:22 "Ordained of Angels," three things to be considered....
1. The Fact
 - a. Acts 7:35
 - b. Acts 7:53, the expression here uses vocabulary related to that found in Gal. 3:19.

- i. Gal. 3:19, διαταγεις δι' ἀγγέλων (having been ordained through angels).
 - ii. Acts 7:53, εις διαταγὰς ἀγγέλων (in ordinances of angels).
 - c. Commentators often note several extra Biblical passages attributing a role to angels in giving the law, suggesting that these reflect Rabbinical tradition rather fact.
 - i. A phrase not found in the Hebrew of Dt. 33:2 but rendered in the LXX (ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ ἄγγελοι μετ' αὐτοῦ, from his right hand with his angels)
 - ii. Josephus gives an account of a speech by Herod in which he says, "having learned the most excellent of the decrees and the most worthy of our laws through angels from God...." (Antiquities 15.136)
 - iii. Various Apocryphal and Talmudic writings are cited to the same effect.
 - d. The commentators suggest that Paul availed himself of the prevailing rabbinical thinking about the involvement of angels.
 - e. Stephen's testimony in Acts 7, along with the argument made by the writer of Hebrews, and Paul's comment here at Galatians 3 should point us to a different conclusion.
2. The Significance of the Fact in Galatians
- a. Burton, who it seems to me was not convinced of the accuracy of Paul's statement, said, "The intent of the whole phrase is to depreciate the law as not given directly by God." (p. 189)
 - b. If this is the point, it might be compared to the contrast developed in Hebrews 3...
 - i. ...that Moses, the messenger of the first covenant, was faithful as a servant in God's house, whereas Jesus is faithful as a son over God's house

- ii. and this is not very different than the point being made in Hebrews 2 where reference is made to the law having been spoken through angels. See the next section...

3. The Significance of the Fact in Hebrews

- a. Hebrews 1 presents the Son as superior to the angels.
- b. Hebrews 2 mentions the word that came through angels, that being the 1st covenant (cf. Acts 7:35, 53).
- c. The argument is a fortiori. If the word spoken through angels demanded obedience, how much more is this true of the word spoken through Jesus.

C. 3:20 *Mediator is not of one, but God is one.*

1. Elsewhere in the NT, the word μεσίτης (mediator) is used of Christ

- a. in 1 Tim. 2:5, Heb. 8:6, 9:15, 12:24.
- b. In these passages, especially in Hebrews, Christ is the mediator of a new and better covenant, not the mediator of the old covenant.
- c. In Galatians, Paul speaks of a mediator by whose hand the law was ordained.

2. Moses was a mediator.

- a. As Paul says, “by the hand of a mediator” (3:19), so quite literally, the law was ordained “by his hand” inasmuch as he wrote the many ordinances of the law (Ex. 24:4, 34:27), and inasmuch as he carried the tablets containing the Ten Commandments “in his hand” (Ex. 32:15). And though he broke the first set, the replacement tablets were also brought down from Sinai “in Moses’ hand” (34:29).
- b. Moses said, “And I had stood between the Lord and you” καὶ γὰρ εἰστήκειν ἀνὰ μέσον κυρίου καὶ ὑμῶν (Dt. 5:5). Compare μέσον (midst, between) and μεσίτης (mediator).

- c. Philo called Moses a μεσίτης, the same word Paul uses in Gal. 3 (Philo De Vita Mosis II.166).
3. The significance of Galatians 3:20 in the argumentation
- a. According to DeWette (quoted in Alford), Winer counted 250 interpretations, according to Burton, Fricke counted 300 interpretations, according to DeWette (quoted in Alford), Jewett counted 430 interpretations.
 - b. The statement that a mediator is not a mediator of one points simply to the two parties between whom the mediator mediates.
 - c. We are compelled to see an allusion to Dt. 6:4
 - i. Gal. 3:20, ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἷς ἐστίν, *But God is one*
 - ii. Dt. 6:4 (LXX), κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν κύριος εἷς ἐστίν, *The Lord is our God, the Lord is one*
 - d. So perhaps the idea is, Moses was the mediator and as in any case where there is a mediator, there were two sides, God and Israel. But God is one, i.e., the God who made the promise acted unilaterally. So then, inasmuch as the law required mediation, is its existence evidence that the promise, unilaterally established by God, has failed? I.e., is the Law against the promises?
- D. 3:28 Why “Greek” rather than “Gentile”
- 1. “Greek” (Ἕλληνας) at times, though rarely in NT, does mean actually, Greek.
 - a. Rom. 1:14 where “Greeks” is used opposite Barbarians
 - b. Cf. the geographic use of “Greece” (Ἑλλάς) in Ac. 20:2.
 - c. Cf. the use of the Ἑλληνιστί for the language in Jn. 19:20, Ac 21:37
 - 2. But in the NT “Greek” (Ἕλληνας) is frequently used opposite “Jew” (Ac 14:1, 18:4, 19:10,17, 20:21, Ro 1:16, 2:9f,3:9, 10:12, 1 Cor 1:24, 10:32, 12:13, Gal. 3:28, Col 3:11)

- a. The usage distinguishes between the Jewish culture and the rest of the world which had come under Greek culture
- b. This identification of the culture of the non-Jewish world as not only a threat but also specifically Greek has its roots in the Maccabean period. "We owe it to the Seleucid attempts at Hellenisation, and the Jewish resistance, that already in Jewish Greek of the period 'Greek' has the accompanying sense of 'anti-Jewish' or 'hostile to the Jews,' and that it thus approximates to the term 'Gentile.'" Windisch, TDNT vol. 2, p. 507.

Appendix 1

	Event	Jacob's age
	Jacob meets Rachel	74
	marries Leah, Rachel	81
Leah	birth of Reuben	81.75
	birth of Simeon	82.75
	birth of Levi	83.75
	birth of Judah	84.75
Bilhah	birth of Dan	84.75
	birth of Naphtali	85.75
Zilpah	birth of Gad*	87.5
	birth of Asher	88.5
Leah	birth of Issacher†	88.5
	birth of Zebulun	89.5
	birth of Dinah	90.5
Rachel	birth of Joseph	91
	Gen. 31:25ff agreement	91
	completion of the 20 years	94

Putting Joseph's birth and the Gen. 31:25ff agreement immediately at the end of 14 years hardly allows time for the 12 births. Putting Joseph's birth any closer to the end of 20 years hardly allows for the breeding described in Gen. 31 and the change of wages "ten times."

* Leah had seen that she had stopped bearing (Gen. 30:9), hence Gad's birth was at least 2 years after the birth of her last child, Judah, to realize she wasn't bearing, and 9 months for Zilpah to conceive and carry a child to term.

† This makes Reuben about 6 years old when he gathered the mandrakes.

Appendix 2

The section outlined in blue is the passage quoted from Chrysostom.

κλήξας. Οὐ γὰρ εἶπε, Τίς ὑμᾶς ἠπάτησε; Τίς ὑμῖν ἀπεχρήσατο; Τίς ὑμᾶς παρελογίσατο; ἀλλὰ, Τίς ὑμᾶς ἐδάσκαλεν; οὐκ ἄμοιρον ἐγκωμίων τὴν ἐπίπληξιν θεῖς. Τοῦτο γὰρ δεικνύντος ἐστίν, ὅτι φθόνου ἄξια ἐπραττον πρότερον, καὶ δαίμονος ἐπήρεια τὸ γινόμενον ἦν, σφοδρὸν κατὰ τῆς εὐημερίας αὐτῶν πνεύσαντος. Ὅταν δὲ φθόνον ἀκούσης ἐνταῦθα, καὶ ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ ὀφθαλμὸν πονηρὸν τὸ αὐτὸ δηλοῦντα, μὴ τοῦτο νομίσης, ὅτι ἡ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν βολὴ τοὺς ὀρῶντας βλάπτειν πέφυκεν· ὀφθαλμὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν εἴη πονηρὸς, αὐτὸ τὸ μέλος· ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα ὁ Χριστὸς οὕτω τὸν φθόνον λέγει. Ὅφθαλμῶν μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀπλῶς ὀρῶν μόνον, τὸ δὲ πονηρῶς ὀρῶν τῆς ἐνδον διεστραμμένης γίνεται γνώμης. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ διὰ τῆς αἰσθήσεως ταύτης εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν εἰσρεῖ τῶν ὀρωμένων ἡ θεωρία, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐν πλούτῳ μάλιστα ὁ φθόνος τίκεται, ὁ δὲ πλοῦτος ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ὁρᾶται, καὶ αἱ δυναστεῖαι καὶ αἱ δορυφορίαι· διὰ τοῦτο πονηρὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκάλεσεν, οὐ τὸν ὀρῶντα, ἀλλὰ τὸν μετὰ βασκανίας ὀρῶντα ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν πονηρίας. Εἰπὼν δὲ, Τίς ὑμᾶς ἐδάσκαλεν; δείκνυσιν ὅτι οὐχ ὡς κηδεμόνες, οὐδὲ ὡς τὸ λείπον ἀναπληροῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἄκρωτηριάζοντες, τοῦτο ποιῶσι. Φθόνου γὰρ ἐστίν, οὐ τὸ λείπον προσθεῖναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πεπληρωμένων ὑφαλίσθαι τι, καὶ λυμῆνασθαι τῷ παντί. Ταῦτα δὲ λέγει, οὐχ ὡς τοῦ φθόνου καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἰσχὺν ἔχοντος, ἀλλ' ὡς τῶν ταῦτα διδασκόντων διὰ βασκανίαν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθόντων. **Οἷς κατ'**

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ETDS 2016—GALATIANS

The Allegory (Galatians 4:21-5:12)*Bob James*

I) Introduction

In our text we find the apostle Paul once again defending the position that only those who accept God's promises by a true and living faith are truly His children. He argues specifically here that the true children of Abraham, the true inheritors of the Promise, are not those whose bond of union is the law, but those who have been set spiritually free by the grace of Jesus Christ.

Ogilvie in his commentary on Galatians states that though allegory was a popular style of teaching among Jewish rabbis, Paul used it very infrequently. He goes on to say that the apostle had the highest, almost sacred, regard, for the actual history of his people. Therefore, when he says in Galatians 4:24 that these things "*are an allegory,*" he does not mean that the story is unhistorical, but that there is a religious meaning that goes beyond the literal account.

We will consider some vivid contrasts presented through the allegory ... Hagar is a slave and Sarah is free ... two covenants flow from them. Hagar represents the covenant of law and corresponds to the present Jerusalem ... Sarah represents the covenant of promise and corresponds to the Jerusalem on high.

The summary of Paul's argument is that all those who seek salvation apart from the freely given grace of God through Jesus Christ, whether they in fact trace their ancestry to Ishmael or not, were sons of Hagar.

Conversely, those who acknowledge Christ as Lord, and are believing recipients of His grace, are the children of promise whether any trace of Isaac's blood flows through them or not.

II) The historical facts - To better grasp the allegorical meaning let's rehearse the story from Genesis 16, 17, and 21.

- A) **Genesis 16: 1-6** ... Sarah and Abraham were without children. They were getting old and Sarah was considered too old to bear children. In the legal custom of that day a barren woman could give her maid to her husband as a wife, and the child born of that union was regarded as the first wife's child. She had Abraham go to her slave girl, Hagar, in order for Hagar to bear a child for her. Hagar bore a son named Ishmael. After Hagar became pregnant she began to despise Sarah. Sarah blamed Abraham for the conflict between the women. Abraham told her to handle it in whatever way she wished. Sarah then mistreated Hagar such that Hagar fled.
- B) **Genesis 16:7-15** ... While Hagar was in the desert at Shur, on the way to Egypt, the Angel of the LORD came to her. He counseled her to return and submit to Sarah, and promised that her son would become head of a great nation. Hagar's exclamation in verse 13 might be paraphrased, "*You are a God who may be seen,*" for she said, "*Have I also here seen Him who sees me?*" She named the well "*Beer Lahai Roi*" (literally, *well of the One who lives and sees me*).
- C) **Genesis 16:16** ... Abraham was eighty-six when Ishmael was born to Hagar.
- D) **Genesis 17:1-14** ... God reassures His promises by changing Abraham's name from Abram to Abraham. The name Abram, meaning "exalted father," references *back* to Terah (Genesis 11:27) and implied that Abram came from royal lineage. But in Hebrew the name Abraham (*'abrahām*) sounds similar to "father of a multitude" (*'ab hāmo'n*) of nations (Genesis 17:4-5). His new name implied a look *ahead* to his descendants. Circumcision was then instituted as a sign of the covenant. Every male in Abraham's house was circumcised, and thereafter every male baby was to be circumcised when he was eight days old or else be cut off from his people (Genesis 17:9-14) to which Barnes states means "to be excluded from any part in the covenant, and treated simply as a Gentile or alien, some of whom seem to have dwelt among the Israelites." However, it should be noted that the expression "cut off" sometimes means to put to death, (Exodus_31:14-15).
- E) **Genesis 17:15-22** ... God tells Abraham that Sarai was to be called Sarah. This new name, though involving only a slight change, means "princess," and was fitting for one whose seed would produce kings (Genesis 17:6, 16). Hearing this, Abraham ... laughed because it seemed incredible that a barren 90-year-old woman could give birth to a son. Abraham had assumed that his descendants

would come through Ishmael. Yet God assured him that Sarah would bear... a son whose name would be Isaac, meaning "he laughs" (Genesis 17:19). Isaac's name would be a constant reminder that a word from God was laughed at. Ishmael was not forgotten, however, for God said he would have many descendants also. Even the number of Ishmael's sons was foretold to be 12. Their names are recorded in Genesis 25:13-15.

- F) *Genesis 17:23-27* ... Abraham, having received God's word about Isaac, immediately obeyed God's command relative to circumcision, further showing his faith in God's word. Abraham was circumcised at the age of 99... Ishmael was about 13 at this time ... and every male in Abraham's household, whether born there or bought from a foreigner, was also circumcised.
- G) *Genesis 21:1-7* ... God provided the child of promise to Abraham and to Sarah at the very time He had set (Genesis 18:10). They named him Isaac, circumcised him according to the covenant, and praised God for this amazing fulfillment of His promise.
- H) *Genesis 21:8-13* ... God used the incident of Ishmael's mocking Isaac to drive out the child and his mother Hagar. The word "mocking" is *m^eṣahēq* ("laughing or jesting"), from which comes "Isaac" (*yishāq*). Earlier Sarah had mistreated Hagar (Genesis 16:6); now Hagar's son was mistreating Sarah's son. Earlier Sarah caused a pregnant Hagar to flee (Genesis 16:6); now she caused Hagar and her son to flee. Abraham was 86 when Ishmael was born (Genesis 16:16), and 100 when Isaac was born (Genesis 21:5), and Isaac was probably weaned (Genesis 21:8) at age 2 or 3. When Abraham became distressed because of Sarah's request to exile Hagar and Ishmael, God assured Abraham that Ishmael would have a future because he too was Abraham's offspring (Genesis 21:11-13).
- I) *Genesis 21:14-21* ... The Angel of the Lord met Hagar in the desert as before (Genesis 16:7), and provided water from a well as before (Genesis 16:14). God told Hagar, as He had told Abraham, that from Ishmael would come a great nation. Ishmael lived in the desert, became an archer, and married an Egyptian.

III) The allegorical interpretation (Galatians 4:24-27)

- A) *Galatians 4:24* ... In order to emphasize the contrast between Law and grace Paul used the historical events above as an allegory, that is, he treated the two mothers figuratively (*allēgoroumena*). He did not in any sense deny the literal meaning of the story of Abraham, but he declared that that story had an additional meaning. First, the apostle pointed to two covenants. He identifies that one, the Mosaic, had its origin at Mount Sinai. Those under this legal covenant were slaves. As Hagar brought forth a slave, so does the Law.
- B) *Galatians 4:25-26* ... Next, Paul pointed to two Jerusalems. Hagar stood for the first-century city of Jerusalem, a city enslaved to Rome and in slavery to the Law. Sarah, on the other hand, corresponded to the "*Jerusalem above*", the spiritual Jerusalem. Jerusalem was the place where God was worshipped. Barnes notes that among some at the time of Paul's writing Jerusalem had become synonymous with the word church, or was used to represent the people of God. The word rendered "*above*," here may more accurately be rendered that "*which is above*" (Colossians 3:1-2; John 8:23), for here it references the heavenly or celestial Jerusalem (Hebrews 12:22), "*ye are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem.*" The reference here is to the church, as being of heavenly origin...
- 1) *Is free* - The spirit of the gospel is that of freedom. It is freedom from sin, freedom from the bondage of rites and customs ... Galatians 4:7; John 8:32; 8:36.
 - 2) *Which is the mother of us all* - Of all who are true Christians, whether we are by birth Jews or Gentiles ... 1Corinthians 6:12.
- C) *A Little Excursion* ... some have suggested that Paul here may have taken an opportunity to emphasize the location of Mt. Sinai and/or made a play with the name Hagar...
- 1) *Wuest* - The exact meaning of the statement, "For this Hagar is Mount Sinai," is in debate among commentators. A possible interpretation is as follows: The word *Hagar* in this verse is not used of the woman Hagar, but is another designation of Mount Sinai. The name *Hagar* resembles the Arabic name of Sinai. The Arabians are called sons of Hagar.
This Hagar or Sinai corresponds, Paul says, to the then existent city of Jerusalem, the center of the apostate observance of Judaism. Just as Hagar, a

slave, bore children that by birth became slaves, so the followers of legalistic Judaism are in bondage to law.

Translation: *Now this Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia, and corresponds to the Jerusalem which now is, for she is in bondage with her children.*

- 2) **Henry** - *For this Agar is mount Sinai in Arabia (mount Sinai was then called Agar by the Arabians), and it answereth to Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children; that is, it justly represents the present state of the Jews, who, continuing in their infidelity and adhering to that covenant, are still in bondage with their children.*

- 3) **Barnes** - **For this Agar is Mount Sinai** - This Hagar well represents the Law given on Mount Sinai. No one can believe that Paul meant to say that Hagar was literally Mount Sinai. A great deal of perplexity has been felt in regard to this passage, and Bentley proposed to cancel it altogether as an interpolation. But there is no good authority for this. Several manuscripts and versions read it, "For this Sinai is a mountain in Arabia;" others, "to this Hagar Jerusalem answereth," etc. Griesbach has placed these readings in the margin, and has marked them as not to be rejected as certainly false, but as worthy of a more attentive examination; as sustained by some plausible arguments, though not in the whole satisfactory. The word Hagar in Arabic is said to signify a rock; and it has been supposed that the name was appropriately given to Mount Sinai, because it was a pile of rocks, and that Paul had allusion to this meaning of the word here. So Chandler, Rosenmuller, and others interpret it. But I cannot find in Castell or Gesenius that the word Hagar in Arabic has this signification; still less is there evidence that the name was ever given to Mount Sinai by the Arabs, or that such a signification was known to Paul. The plainest and most obvious sense of a passage is generally the true sense; and the obvious sense here is, that Hagar was a fair representation of Mount Sinai, and of the Law given there.

In Arabia - Mount Sinai is situated in Arabia Petraea, or the Rocky.

Rosenmuller says that this means "in the Arabic language;" but probably in this interpretation he stands alone.

4) *Keener* - "Arabia" included Mount Sinai, south of Judea, as well as the northward area mentioned in Galatians 1:17. The Nabataean Arabs were viewed as Ishmaelites, descendants of Hagar, in Paul's day, thus making the connection clearer to ancient readers familiar with eastern Mediterranean geography. Commentators have suggested that Paul answers his opponents' claims here, because an allegorical style of argumentation is rare for him. His opponents may have identified Sinai with the new Jerusalem, the place from which the law would go forth in the future (Isaiah 2:2-4; 65:17-19).

D) *Galatians 4:27* ... The quotation from Isaiah 54:1 prophesied the changing fortunes of Israel, which Paul applied to Sarah's history. Isaiah had compared Israel before her Babylonian Captivity to a woman with a husband but having no children. God brings her a message of cheer in that though she is now barren, she will be fruitful, and more fruitful than ever before. Paul applied this passage in this context to Sarah, who though previously barren, was later blessed with a child, and who would ultimately enjoy a greater posterity than Hagar.

1) *Clarke* - The Church of God under the Old Testament, confined within the narrow bounds of the Jewish nation, and still more so in respect of the very small number of true believers, and which sometimes seemed to be deserted of God her husband, is the barren woman, that did not bear, and was desolate. She is exhorted to rejoice, and to express her joy in the strongest manner, on the reconciliation of her husband, (see Isaiah 54:6), and on the accession of the Gentiles to her family. The converted Gentiles are all along considered by the prophet as a new accession of adopted children, admitted into the original Church of God, and united with it. See Isaiah 49:20; 49:21.

2) *Lipscomb & Shepherd* - Isaiah 54:1 had foretold this state, that she who first was barren, brought forth not children, would rejoice in the number of her children for she would have more children than the one that bore children. Sarah, the lawful wife, childless until the child of promise came, had more children than Hagar, who early bore children of the flesh. So the church of promise, or the promise through the seed of promise, has in these last days burst forth and bore children not only among the fleshly children of Abraham, but among the Gentiles not married to Christ. And there were

many more converts among the Gentiles who had not been in covenant relation with God than among the Jews who had been.

IV) The personal application (Galatians 4:28-31)

- A) *Galatians 4:28* - In applying the truth from the biblical illustration, Paul made three comparisons...
- B) First, Paul compared the birth of Isaac to that of Christians. As "Isaac" experienced a supernatural birth and was a child by means of a promise, so each believer experiences a supernatural birth (John 3:3, 5) and is a recipient of the promise of salvation (Galatians 3:9, Galatians 3:22, Galatians 3:29).
- C) *Galatians 4:29* - Second, the apostle compared Ishmael's persecution of Isaac to the false teachers' opposition to believers. Abraham celebrated the weaning of Isaac with a banquet. On that occasion Ishmael mocked Isaac. Paul likened the Judaizers of his day to Ishmael identifying them as those who were born out of legalistic self-effort ... he asserted that they continued to persecute the true believers who were born by the power of the Spirit.
- D) *Galatians 4:30* - Third, Paul compared the action of Abraham to the obligation of the Galatians. When Sarah observed Ishmael mocking Isaac, she asked Abraham to expel the slave woman and her son for fear that Ishmael became a joint heir with Isaac. God granted Sarah's request (Genesis 21:10, Genesis 21:12). This reminded the readers that observance of the Law brought no inheritance in the family of God, and it also indicted them to excommunicate the Judaizers and those who accepted their false doctrines. A fundamental incompatibility remains today between Law and grace, between a religion based on works and a religion based on faith.
- E) *Galatians 4:31* - In conclusion, Paul affirmed that he and the Galatian believers were not children of the slave woman who was driven away and denied a share in the inheritance ... but rather all believers are children of the free woman, "*heirs of God and co-heirs with Christ*" (Romans 8:17).

V) Turning to Law ruins grace (Galatians 5:1-2)

- A) *Galatians 5:1* - Paul continues by declaring that Christ was the great Liberator who set believers free from bondage. The apostle then exhorts the Galatians to stand firm (1Corinthians 16:13; Philippians 1:27; 4:1; 1Thessalonians 3:8; 2Thessalonians 2:15) in that liberty, and challenges them not to again become entangled in slavery to the Mosaic Law.
- B) *Galatians 5:2* - Using a prime example of such an entanglement, namely circumcision, Paul issued a strong warning to the Galatians who were considering submitting to that rite. If they did, and were thereby seeking righteousness by works, Paul declared that Christ would be of no value to them at all. It is not that the apostle condemned circumcision in itself, for he had Timothy circumcised in Galatia so that the young man might have a wider ministry (Acts 16:1-3). But Paul was strongly opposed to the Judaistic theology which insisted that circumcision was necessary for salvation.

VI) Turning to Law makes man a debtor (Galatians 5:3)

- A) *Galatians 5:3* - In addition to the fact that turning to the Law nullifies grace, it also creates an entirely new obligation ... a person is obligated to obey the whole Law. The Law is a unit, and if a person puts himself under any part of it for justification, he is a "debtor" (KJV) to the entire Law with its requirements and its curse (Galatians 3:10; James 2:10).

VII) Turning to Law is to fall away from grace (Galatians 5:4-6)

- A) *Galatians 5:4* - Turning to the Law and accepting circumcision as a meritorious work has further dire implications which the Galatians were called on to consider. Anyone seeking justification by Law has been alienated from Christ, that is, such a person would not be living in a sphere of influence where Christ was operative. The KJV has a helpful rendering, "*Christ is become of no effect unto you.*" Paul goes on to say that they would have fallen away from grace because salvation is only through Christ (Galatians 2:21).
- B) *Galatians 5:5* – A Christian guided and strengthened by the Spirit waits for the that hope of righteousness that comes by faith ... not for that which comes through the works of the Law.

- C) *Galatians 5:6* - It makes no difference whether a man is circumcised or not ... he is not saved because he is circumcised, nor is he condemned because he is not. These types of rites and ceremonies were abolished, to introduce a way of salvation that is applicable to all mankind (*Galatians 3:28; 1Corinthians 7:19; Romans 2:29.*)

VIII) Turning to Law hinders the progress of believers (*Galatians 5:7-10*)

- A) *Galatians 5:7* - Employing a metaphor he was fond of, Paul described the Galatians' Christian experience as a race (*1Corinthians 9:24-26; 2Timothy 4:7*). They had begun their race well, but someone had cut in on them, causing them to break stride and stumble.
- B) *Galatians 5:8-10* - Such false teaching as the Galatians were beginning to embrace did not come from agent(s) of the God who called them (*Galatians 1:6-9*). Paul quotes a proverb that he also used in *1Corinthians 5:6* ... but he was optimistic towards a positive outcome.

IX) Turning to Law removes the offense of the Cross (*Galatians 5:11-12*)

- A) *Galatians 5:11* – Some write that Paul's reference here is to the accusation that he had an inconsistent position on circumcision ... he was pro-circumcision relative to Timothy, and did not forbid the Jews from circumcising their children ... so, they said that he taught one way to the Jews, another to the Gentiles, seeking to please both. His response was ... *brethren, if I still preach circumcision, why do I still suffer persecution?*
- B) *Galatians 5:12* - Speaking out of deep concern for the gospel of the grace of God, Paul made a strong expression. There are two major positions relative to Paul's intent here. One takes Paul figuratively and states that he is implying that those responsible for troubling the Galatian Christians would cut themselves entirely off from *communion* with the church there. The other position applies his words literally, implying that he wished that the Judaizers, who were so enthusiastic about circumcision, would go the whole way and castrate themselves ... this is suggested to be a reference the pagan priests of the cult of Cybele in Asia Minor.

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IN THE BEGINNING GOD...

Bob and Sandra Waldron, 1993

WORD STUDIES IN THE GREEK NEW TESTAMENT

Kenneth S. Wuest

ETDS 2016—GALATIANS

False Freedom Versus True Freedom*Gardner Hall*

Intro.

- A. Concept we are to discuss now involves two of the favorites words of propagandists – Freedom, liberty
- B. Abuses
 - 1. Moral liberation
 - 2. Political liberation – Isis has “liberated” portions of Syria and Iraq, Hitler “liberated” Austria
- C. And yet, “free” “freedom” also word found often in the scriptures. ESV– translated “free” or “freedom” over 30 times, translated liberty about 6 more times.
 - 1. Important principal in Galatians
 - a. Gal. 5:1 – “For freedom Christ has set us free; stand firm therefore, and do not submit again to a yoke of slavery.”
 - 2. Speaking of the yoke of slavery to the old law that’s time had passed
 - a. Compared to Hagar and her son Ishmael, replaced by promise, Sarah and Isaac.
- D. When using that word “freedom” in a legitimate way, Paul realizes its abuse
 - 1. Gal. 5:13a “For you were called to freedom, brothers. Only do not use your freedom as an opportunity for the flesh,”
 - 2. Much of the rest of chapter 5 and the first part of chapter 6 dedicated to contrast false freedom with true freedom.
 - 3. Starts off with a quick summary that he expands on later
 - a. True freedom – Love service, not selfishness
 - 4. 5:13b and 14 “but through love serve one another. For the whole law is fulfilled in one word:

“You shall love your neighbor as yourself.”

5. False freedom vs 15 – “But if you bite and devour one another, watch out that you are not consumed by one another.”
- E. Goes into detail in verses 16-26
- F. Before going there, an illustration of the fact that propaganda and reality often different
1. Met Cuban on plane who had spent time in prison in Cuba – Hated Castro with all his heart
 - a. Couldn’t say “Fidel” normally, but with seething hatred.
 2. When thinking of him, thought of propaganda of communism
 - a. Equality, health care for all, full employment
 3. What would my friend have done if I had started spouting it with him?
Disgusted, asked another seat.
 4. Why? Reality completely different for him. - Torture, prison death, separation
- G. The flesh has its propaganda
1. Freedom from any kind of moral restraint – sexual - “If it doesn’t hurt anyone it’s not wrong.”
 - a. Problem is man doesn’t know what hurts.
 2. Freedom from having to worry so much about others – “Look out for number one.”
 - a. Number of popular songs with this concept – Loving Yourself first
 - b. Whitney Houston – “The Greatest Love of All” 1980’s

*Because the greatest love of all
Is happening to me
I found the greatest love of all
Inside of me
The greatest love of all
Is easy to achieve
Learning to love yourself
It is the greatest love of all (No it’s not!)*

- c. Diana King You've got to love yourself

If you want somebody else

To love you

You got to love yourself

You've got to reach inside

If you're ever gonna find

Someone to love you

You got to love yourself

- d. Justin Bieber "Love Yourself"

3. Freedom from the concept of man as a spiritual being

- a. Bible teaches that we are the offspring of a loving God

- b. Ps. 100:3 "It is he who made us, and we are his; we are his people, and the sheep of his pasture."

- c. Implies responsibility to obey – restrictions

- H. Modern man wants freedom from these God given principles – What is the reality of that way of living?

Vss. 19-2 - sexual immorality, impurity, sensuality, idolatry, sorcery, enmity, strife, jealousy, fits of anger, rivalries, dissensions, divisions, envy drunkenness, orgies, and things like these

- I. Let's analyze more closely – Fall into four categories

1. Sexual impurity
2. Idolatry
3. Strife
4. Lack of self control

I. Results of False Freedom (vss. 19-21)

A. Sexual immorality – Fornication, illicit sexual behavior

B. Impurity – Uncleaness

1. Refers to different types of "dirtiness"
2. Here it refers to moral uncleaness

C. Sensuality – lasciviousness, unbridled lust – Found nine times in NT

1. Where do we hear this word defined most? Lessons on dancing!

2. "Wanton (acts or) manners' as filthy words, indecent bodily movements, unchaste handling of male and females, etc." Thayer's Greek-English Lexicon.
 3. Package that is related to earlier mentioned words
 4. Probably biggest evil that can relate to these last two words – Pornography
 5. An epidemic even among Christians. Even among preachers!
 - a. Find help! We have some young men who have become experts on dealing with it.
- D. Idolatry – Image in the likeness of a god, a heathen God.
1. Something that takes the place of God in our hearts
- E. Sorcery – "*pharmakeia*"
1. Obviously see word "Pharmacy" – Drugs used by ancient sorcerers
 2. When people reject God, fill up vacuum with irrational and empty substitutes
 3. Astrology, palm readings, speaking with the dead (Long Island Medium)
- F. Enmity – hatred, hostility
1. Used in reference to Herod's relationship with Pilate (Luke 23:12)
 2. Rom. 8:7 "The mind of the flesh is enmity with God."
 3. Worldly people hate a lot! Haters!
 4. Area where Christians need to be careful – political hatred.
- G. Strife – Goes with enmity, result of it –
1. Fights! Everyone struggling to gain mean little advantages over each other
 2. Paul's is warning Christians here! They were the ones "biting and devouring."
- H. Jealousy – If I am number 1, I'm not going to be happy with anyone who might surpass me or get more attention than me.
- I. Fits of anger – Word implies brief but violent! "Fits" evidently a great translation.
1. Screaming sessions, usually about gaining an advantage, or someone else gaining advantage
 2. Think of a dog fight
- J. Rivalries – (Factions ASV) Next three words are closely related
1. Spirit of personal ambition and rivalry that results in forming of parties. Partisanship

2. Related to following words
- K. Dissensions –
1. William Barclay says, "The word denotes a state of things in which men are divided, in which feuds flourish, and in which unity is destroyed." He further states, "It literally means 'a standing apart', that is, a state in which all community, all fellowship, and all togetherness are gone."
 2. Sounds like some churches I have known. (Not to mention politics.)
 3. "Us versus them mentality."
- L. Divisions (Parties)
1. Vine – "... an opinion, especially a self-willed opinion, which is substituted for submission to the power of truth, and leads to division and the formation of sects."
 2. Corinthians told they were fleshly, carnal (1 Cor. 3:3,4)
- M. Envy – "feeling of displeasure and ill will because of another's advantages, honor, possessions, etc."
1. Preacher when another is praised.
- N. Drunkenness – Goes with everything else here. Part of the package.
- O. Orgies (Revellings) – Used two other times in N.T. (Rom. 13:13; 1 Peter 4:3)
1. Wild, drunken parties
- P. Etc, - It's a large package?
- * Stop and think a minute- Is this really freedom?*
–Yes, freedom from any law, any spiritual concepts. Freedom in regard to righteousness (Rom. 6:20)
*–Bible talks about freedom but not **to** this empty life. Freedom **from** this empty life.*
–Replaced by Galatians 5:22,23

II. Results of Giving Ourselves Over to the Spirit – Most have to do with how we treat each other.

- A. Love – This is the basis of everything else –
- B. Joy – "*chara*" Not something we seek, but the "experience of gladness."
 1. 1 Peter 1:8,9 "Joy that is inexpressible!"
 2. If we are having trouble reaching this, perhaps we are still dominated too much by the flesh.
- C. Peace – State of harmony – Especially with God!

1. When you have peace with God, you have the only peace that matters.
 2. Philippians 4:7 – “And the **peace of God, which surpasses all understanding**, will guard your hearts and your minds in Christ Jesus.”
- D. Patience – (Longsuffering (NKJV) Forbearance [NIV])
1. Word often translated “patience” means is perseverance under trials
 2. Idea here is loving others in spite of their faults -probably best represented in the word “forbearance.”
- E. Kindness - (Gentleness KJV)
1. Albert Barnes = “Religion makes no one crabby, and morose, and sour. It sweetens the temper; corrects an irritable disposition; makes the heart kind; disposes us to make all around us as happy as possible.”
- F. Goodness – Beneficial - Later on Gal. 6:10 “Let us do good unto all men.”
- G. Faithfulness - Trustworthiness, fidelity
1. 1 Cor. 4:2 – “it is required of stewards that one be found **trustworthy**.”
- H. Gentleness, (In other texts often translated Meekness as it is here in the KJV)
1. Misconception - meekness = weakness
 2. The stronger you are, the more gentle you can be
 - a. St. Bernard versus Chihuahua
 - b. The more insecurity the less gentle, meek – Barney Fyfe
 3. The more confident we are, the more strength that comes through God, less we feel compelled to try to bluster our way around, brag on ourselves to artificially build ourselves up.
- I. Self-control – Temperance (KJV)
1. Strength is implied in the word as opposed to weakness (Just as in previous word.)
 2. Not dominated by passions or emotions but by good judgment and reason
 3. We live in a world dominated every day more by passion and emotion and less by reason.
 4. Results – disaster – chemical addiction -children born out of wedlock, violence
 5. The Spirit gives us strength to control those harmful impulses.

This is real freedom!

III. An essential concept forgotten by those who promote false freedom

- A. To be free to live, you have to accept restraint
 - 1. Moral restraint
 - 2. Concern for others first, not fixation on self love
 - 3. Concept of man as a spiritual being.
- B. Without these – you can only hope for some artificial attainment of pieces of this good
- C. Couple of Proverbs get to the heart of this point
 - 1. Proverbs 29:18 - Where there is no prophetic vision the people cast off restraint...”
 - 2. Proverbs 25:28 – “A man without self-control is like a city broken into and left without walls.”
- D. Illustration - You are not free to ride in an automobile without brakes!
 - 1. Freedom to drive depends on them!
 - 2. Freedom to live depends on brakes (self-control)
 - 3. Self control comes from God.

Conclusion – Hard to live in this shallow, Post-modern world, where feelings are supreme without being affected by those who proclaim this false freedom.

- A. God through his inspired messenger Paul calls us away from false freedom of the world, back to His true freedom in Christ.
- B. Other passage where Paul talks most of this Romans 6
 - 1. Vss 15-16 – No such thing as being a slave to nothing. No neutral territory here!
 - a. Either a slave to sin or a slave to God!
 - b. How does being a slave to sin work?
 - 2. Verse 17-18 Thanks be to God!
 - 3. Verse 20 – There is a sense in which you are free from responsibility to God
 - 4. Verse 21 – But what are the results?
 - 5. Verse 22,23 –
- C. Choice is ours!

