

**Pilgrimage as singing and walking in the way of the law of
Christ: Interpreting ‘dying to the law’ in Gal. 2:19.**



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Declaration

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Acknowledgements

As people say, we were born in the love of God, live in the love of God, and will rest in the love of God. In a similar way, I must confess that I was born in the love of church, am living in the love of church, and I am convinced that I will rest in the love of church. As part of church (a gathering of God's people), I am now going on my pilgrimage to the presence of God, together with them.

The description of a church would differ from person to person. For me, the word "church" always evokes a sermon I heard once about Luke 4:16–30, sitting by the window on a beautiful spring day of 1992; of the rough and round communal meals we used to share on Sunday evenings; and of the savings account named "Elijah's raven" from which any of us could find help when in need. I have been formed in interaction with the church, named "love", and so is my dissertation. Truly it is. Books of Bonhoeffer and Lewis which influenced my thought greatly are those I read in the book club of the church and the Christian group named Students for Christ (SFC) in my early 20's. When I got lost in the forest of complex arguments of scholars, I could find a way as I prepared sermons for children and teens for Sunday school in simple language (it was extremely hard!). In this sense, this study is truly intertextual.

It is simply impossible to list all the people who helped me during my study in this limited space. The names below are only some of them:

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I dedicate my dissertation to them.

Abstract

Although being a key statement in dealing with the controversy over the law and faith, Paul's declaration about 'dying to the law, living by faith' in Gal. 2:19–20 has not been properly interpreted within the literary, social-historical context nor in relation to the before-mentioned controversy. In this study, Gal. 2:19–20 was re-interpreted as part of Paul's autobiographical narrative, considering the social-historical context, i.e. the first century Jewish pilgrimage.

Based on the antithetical structure between the present worldly empire and the empire of God which runs through the whole letter of Galatians, it was shown that Jesus' followers in those days were under social pressure to submit to the order of the present worldly empire, i.e. first century Judaism with the Jerusalem Temple at its centre. Some of the Jesus' followers (including Peter) gave in to this social pressure, and this led to the crisis in Galatia. Against this background, the researcher argued that the letter to the Galatians should be read from the perspective of an orthodox monotheistic Jew with a new awakening that God's forgiveness and acceptance is now mediated by Jesus Christ, not by the Jerusalem Temple and its priests. It was shown that the whole letter to the Galatians, especially Paul's autobiographical narrative, is orbiting around the controversy over the Jerusalem Temple and Jesus Christ as the new temple.

With this context, the research argued that the letter to the Galatians can be better understood with the motif of pilgrimage, which was one of the most important rituals of the existing world order, i.e. first century Judaism. Based on the researcher's definition of pilgrimage, 'journey to the centre', 'journey to the past' and 'journey to the presence of God', the first century Jewish pilgrimage was re-examined in this study, and then Galatians was reread from the pilgrimage perspective: Clarifying that the present Jerusalem was not the mother-city (pilgrimage centre) of Jesus' followers, and that the law of first century Judaism should not be identified with the law of God, Paul urges the Galatian believers who were delivered from the present evil empire, to make a pilgrimage to the presence of God in the heavenly Jerusalem, following the examples of the pilgrims who preceded them: Abraham, Paul himself and most significantly, Jesus Christ.

Paul's personal confession, 'dying to the law, living by faith' was also re-interpreted within this context. Paul's dying to the law was understood as his departure from the external worship and life according to the law of first century Judaism. However, 'dying to the law' must be understood in relation to the other side of the coin, 'living by faith'. Paul's present life which is characterized by 'being crucified with Christ', 'life led by Christ' and 'living by faith in Christ' was, in fact, Paul's pilgrimage, singing the way of Christ, walking in the law of Christ.

Following Christ who made the journey from the highest place to the lowest of the cross to offer his body in order that sinners may be forgiven and restored as the people of God, Paul is making his pilgrimage, which is characterized by persecution and crucifixion, in order to lead the Gentile sinners to the presence of God. Gal. 2:19–20 is Paul's song to invite the Galatian believers, and ultimately all believers, to participate in the pilgrimage of Christ, which leads us to the lowest place of the cross, and eventually to the presence of God.

Opsomming

Alhoewel dit 'n deurslaggewende stelling is wanneer dit kom by die debat rondom die wet en die geloof, word Paulus se verklaring “deur die wet is ek vir die wet dood sodat ek vir God kan lewe” (Gal. 2:19–20) nie binne die literêre sosio-geskiedkundige konteks, of in verhouding tot die voorafgenoemde debat altyd korrek geïnterpreteer nie. In hierdie studie word Gal. 2:19–20 as deel van Paulus se autobiografiese narratief, herinterpreteer, gegewe die sosio-geskiedkundige konteks, by name die Joodse pelgrimstog van die eerste eeu.

Gegronde op die teenstellende struktuur tussen die huidige wêreldse ryk en die ryk van God, wat deur die hele Galasiërbrief loop, is dit duidelik dat Jesus se volgelingen in daardie dae onder sosiale druk verkeer het om onderdanig te wees aan die orde van die wêreldse ryk van daardie tyd, d.i. die eerste-eeuse Judaïsme met die Jerusalemse Tempel as middelpunt. Sommige van die volgelingen van Jesus (onder meer Petrus) het onder hierdie sosiale druk geswig en dit het gelei tot die krisis in Galasië. Teen hierdie agtergrond, redeneer die navorser dat die brief aan die Galasiërs vanuit die perspektief gelees behoort te word van 'n ortodokse, monoteïstiese Jood met die vars bewuswording dat God se vergifnis en aanvaarding nou deur Jesus Christus bewerkstellig word, en nie deur die Tempel van Jerusalem en sy priesters nie. Daar word getoon dat die hele brief aan die Galasiërs, veral Paulus se autobiografiese narratief, rondom die debat oor die Tempel van Jerusalem en Christus as die nuwe tempel draai.

Binne hierdie konteks redeneer die navorsing dat die brief aan die Galasiërs beter verstaan kan word deur middel van die motief van die pelgrimstog, wat een van die belangrike rituele van die bestaande wêreldorde, dit is eerste-eeuse Judaïsme, was. Gebaseer op die navorser se definisie van die pelgrimstog; “reis na die middelpunt”, “reis na die verlede” en “reis na die aanwesigheid van God”, word die eerste-eeuse Joodse pelgrimstog in hierdie studie heronderzoek en Galasiërs vanuit sodanige perspektief van die pelgrimstog herlees. Dit verduidelik hoedat die huidige Jerusalem nie die moederstad (middelpunt van die pelgrimstog) van die volgelingen van Jesus was nie; en dat die wet van die eerste-eeuse Judaïsme nie met die wet van God geïdentifiseer moet word nie. Paulus moedig dus die Galasiëse gelowiges aan wat uit die bese imperiale ryk gered is, om pelgrimstogte te onderneem na die aanwesigheid van God in die hemelse Jerusalem, na aanleiding van die voorbeelde van die pelgrims wat hulle voorafgegaan het – Abraham, Paulus self en mees beduidend, Jesus Christus.

Paulus se persoonlike belydenis, “deur [...] is ek vir die wet dood sodat ek vir God kan lewe” word ook binne hierdie konteks herinterpreteer. Paulus se sterfte “vir die wet” is verstaan asof hy wegbeweeg het van die uiterlike aanbidding en lewe volgens die wet van eerste-eeuse Judaïsme. “[Om] vir die wet dood [te wees]” moet egter in verhouding met die keersy van die saak verstaan word, naamlik “[om] vir God [te] lewe”. Paulus se lewe op daardie stadium, wat die kenmerke gedra het van “gekruisig wees saam met Christus”, 'n “lewe [wat] deur Christus gelei [word]” en “[om] deur die geloof [te] lewe in Christus”, was in werklikheid Paulus se pelgrimstog, waar hy die pad van Christus vooruitgesing het en in die wet van Christus gewandel het.

In die voetspore van Christus, wat die reis onderneem het van die hoogste plek tot die laagste van die kruis, met die doel om sy liggaam te gee sodat sondaars vergewe mag word en herstel kan word as God se volk, onderneem Paulus hierdie pelgrimstog, gekenmerk deur vervolging en kruisiging, met die doel om die nie-Joodse sondaars in die teenwoordigheid van

God te bring. Gal. 2:19–20 is Paulus se lied waarin hy die Galasiëse gelowiges, en uiteindelik alle gelowiges uitnoui om aan die pelgrimstog van Christus deel te neem, wat ons na die laagste plek van die kruis toe lei, en eindelijk tot by die aanwesigheid van God.

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Abbreviations

Books of Bible

1 Cor.	1 Corinthians
1 Kgs.	1 Kings
1 Pt.	1 Peter
1 Sam.	1 Samuel
1 Tim.	1 Timothy
2 Chr.	2 Chronicles
2 Cor.	2 Corinthians
2 Kgs.	2 Kings
2 Sam.	2 Samuel
2 Tim.	2 Timothy
Col.	Colossians
Dan.	Daniel
Deut.	Deuteronomy
Eph.	Ephesians
Ex.	Exodus
Ezek.	Ezekiel
Gal.	Galatians
Gen.	Genesis
Hab.	Habakkuk
Heb.	Hebrews
Hos.	Hosea

ABBREVIATIONS

Isa.	Isaiah
Jer.	Jeremiah
Jn.	John
Judg.	Judges
Lev.	Leviticus
Lk.	Luke
Mk.	Mark
Mt.	Matthew
Neh.	Nehemiah
Num.	Numbers
Phil.	Philippians
Ps.	Psalms
Rom.	Romans

Ancient Writings

<i>1 Macc.</i>	<i>1 Maccabees</i>
<i>2 Bar.</i>	<i>2 Baruch</i>
<i>2 Macc.</i>	<i>2 Maccabees</i>
<i>4 Ez.</i>	<i>4 Ezra (=2 Esdras)</i>
<i>4 Macc.</i>	<i>4 Maccabees</i>
<i>b.Berachot</i>	<i>The Babylonian Talmud, Berachot (Steinsaltz; Rodkinson, 1916)</i>
<i>b.Pesachim</i>	<i>The Babylonian Talmud, Pesachim (Steinsaltz; Rodkinson, 1916)</i>
<i>Sir.</i>	<i>Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach</i>
<i>t.Menahot</i>	<i>Mishnah, Menahot (Steinsaltz; Rodkinson, 1916)</i>
<i>Tob.</i>	<i>Tobit</i>
<i>Wis.</i>	<i>Wisdom of Solomon</i>
Josephus, <i>Ant.</i>	Josephus, <i>Jewish Antiquities (Josephus, 1737)</i>
Josephus, <i>Life</i>	Josephus, <i>Life of Josephus (Josephus, 1737)</i>
Josephus, <i>War</i>	Josephus, <i>Jewish Wars (Josephus, 1737)</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

Philo, <i>Changes</i>	Philo, <i>Changes of Names</i> (Philo, 1854–1890)
Philo, <i>Laws</i>	Philo, <i>The Special Laws</i> (Philo, 1854–1890)
Philo, <i>Mos.</i>	Philo, <i>On the Life of Moses</i> (Philo, 1854–1890)

Journals and Series

<i>AThR</i>	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>
<i>BBR</i>	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin: A Journal of Bible and Theology</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>The Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
<i>DCLY</i>	<i>Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical literature</i>
<i>JBTh</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>The Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>Neo</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
AB	Anchor Bible
BINS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
FAT2	Forschungen zum Alten Testament 2. Reihe

ABBREVIATIONS

IJSSJ	Institute of Jewish Studies Studies in Judaica
JSNTMS	Journal for the Study of the New Testament, Monograph Series
JSNTsup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament, Supplement Series
JSOTsup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
LHB/OTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
NAC	The New American Commentary
NovTsup	Novum Testamentum, Supplements
OTM	Oxford Theological Monographs
SBLAB	Society of Biblical Literature Academia Biblica
SBLABS	Society of Biblical Literature Archaeology and Biblical Studies
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Christianity and Its Literature
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum / Text and Studies in Ancient Judaism
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
WUNT2	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2, Reihe
Others	
<i>BDAG</i>	Bauer <i>et al.</i> (2000) , <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i>
<i>Britannica</i>	Britannica (1974) , <i>The New Encyclopædia Britannica Micropaedia Volume VII</i>
<i>LN</i>	Louw <i>et al.</i> (1988) , <i>Greek-English lexicon of the New Testament: Based on semantic domains</i>
<i>LSJ</i>	Liddell <i>et al.</i> (1996) , <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i>
<i>Middle Liddle</i>	Liddell and Scott (1968) , <i>An intermediate Greek-English lexicon: founded upon the 7th ed. of Liddell and Scott's Greek-English lexicon</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>RPP</i>	Betz (2007) . <i>Religion Past & Present: Encyclopaedia of Theology and Religion</i> . Leiden: Brill.
<i>Strong</i>	Strong (1996) , <i>The new Strong's complete dictionary of Bible words</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	Kittel and Friedrich (1974) , <i>Theological dictionary of the New Testament</i>
<i>Thayer</i>	Thayer (1997) , <i>Greek-English lexicon of the New Testament</i>
ESV	English Standard Version (2001)
GNB	Good News Bible (1976)
LXX	Septuagint
NASB	New American Standard Bible (1971)
NIV	New International Version (1978)
NKJV	New King James Version (1982)
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version (1989)
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Motivation

In 2006, a book was published in Korea with a rather provocative title, “Salvation without works?: Rereading the gospel of Paul” (Kwon, 2006). In this book, Kwon (2006) criticizes Korean Christians for trying to compensate for their deficient ethical lives by appealing to the notion of ‘justification by faith’, insisting that justification is a futuristic gift (cf. Kwon, 2004). It was not long before this book became the focus of controversy, because Kwon (2006)’s argument was generally considered to be damaging to the essence of the Christian faith, namely justification by faith, as the heritage handed down from the great reformers, via Augustine and from Paul the Apostle. The controversy aroused by Kwon (2006) was so sharp that it has not been resolved yet. Kwon (2006) problematized *the professed Christians* of the conservative Korean churches who boast of their doubtful status acquired by faith, while Kwon (2006)’s opponents saw the ghost of *legalism and merit theology* in his writings. Kwon (2006)’s book resulted in a series of lively scholarly discussions among Korean theologians on the matter of the relationship between the *law, faith* and *ethical life* in the Pauline letters¹. It also motivated the researcher to think of Paul’s claim regarding the ethical life of Jesus’ followers shown in Gal. 2.

1.2 Research problem

“For through the law I died to the law, so that I might live to God. I have been crucified with Christ. It is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me. And the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me.” (Gal. 2:19–20)²

Galatians 2, along with Rom. 3, is perceived to stand at the centre of the controversy over the law and faith. Especially Gal. 2:15–16 has been used as a proof text by those who claim

¹In 2011, three major scholarly societies of the NT in Korea held conferences concerning this matter. Unfortunately, however, Korean conservative scholars’ main concern remained the relationship between the *law and faith*, rather than *the ethical life*.

²All quotations from the Bible in this dissertation are based on the English Standard Version (2008), unless stated otherwise.

1.2 Research problem

‘justification by faith’. However, it has been overlooked that what Paul ultimately aims to deliver in Galatians through the argument of the law versus faith is *the ethical life* of Jesus’ followers *conforming to their faith*, rather than ‘justification by faith’, and Gal. 2:19–20 are the key verses to understand Paul’s idea of their ethical life. In Gal. 2:19–20 Paul speaks of “the life I [...] live in the flesh” (Gal. 2:20) conforming to “faith in the Son of God who loved *me* and gave himself for *me*” (Gal. 2:20).

However, Gal. 2:19–20 has not been interpreted properly in this regard. On the one hand, the peculiarity of this passage (Betz, 1979; Winger, 2010:203–204) has caused general ignorance of literary context. Shauf (2006:87) writes, “No doubt due in large part to the vivid language and evocative claim of the verse, the context in which the statement appears in Galatians is largely if not entirely disregarded”. This has often led scholars to separate the verses from the literary context of Gal. 1–2 and to focus on subjects irrelevant to the context, such as Paul’s mysticism, his relationship to mystery religions or Gnosticism³. As Riches (2012:138–143) and Shauf (2006:86–87) demonstrate, numerous scholars through the centuries have failed to consider these verses (Gal. 2:19–20) in the context of the controversy over the law and faith.

On the other hand, conventional ways of reading, e.g. dogmatic reading focused on ‘justification by faith’ or ecclesiastical reading on ‘baptismal ritual’ (see Section 2.2), has also hindered scholars from reading Gal. 2:19–20 properly. Even the rare attempt to interpret this passage in the light of the controversy over the law and faith (Shauf, 2006) considers the passage only in connection with the doctrine of ‘justification by faith’ in Gal. 2:15–16, ignoring the broader literary context of Paul’s autobiographical section (Gaventa, 1986:318) or the socio-historical context, i.e. the ethical life of Jesus’ followers in first century Judaism (Nanos, 2001).

In sum, Gal. 2:19–20 has hardly been dealt with in a broader literary context of Gal. 1–2, nor has it been understood in terms of the controversy over the law and faith. With this in mind, the researcher tries to re-interpret Gal. 2:19–20 in this study. The basic research problems are

- how to interpret Gal. 2:19–20 considering the literary and socio-historical context, in the light of the controversy over the law and faith;
- how to relate *Paul*, *the law* and *the ethical life* of Jesus’ followers based on Gal. 2:19–20; and ultimately
- how to resolve the apparent contradiction between piety expressed in obeying the law and justification by faith, based on Gal. 2:19–20.

The understanding of Paul’s teaching on ethical life is closely related to the broader issue of how to define Paul’s attitude to the law. For example, from the perspective of Supersessionism which separates Paul (along with Christianity) from the law, Paul’s ethical teaching is understood as completely irrelevant to the law of the Old Testament. When this attitude is combined with fallacious emphasis on *sola gratia* and *sola fide*, Paul’s ethical instruction

³Shauf (2006:86–87) lists a number of scholars who devoted themselves to investigating mysticism (Betz, 1979; Davies, 1980; Deissmann, 2004b; Sanders, 1977; Schweitzer, 1998), mystery religions (Bousset, 1970; Reitzenstein, 2013) and Gnosticism (Bultmann, 1951) in interpreting Gal. 2:20, separated from the literary context. Scholars listed here are included in the bibliography for the sake of completeness.

1.3 Hypothesis

becomes mere *paraenesis* (Dibelius, 1971:239)⁴ and the ethical life of Jesus' followers becomes separated completely from the gospel.

However, this attitude is rejected by Paul himself (see Section 4.1.1). Paul clarifies that faith must be embodied by the works of love ("only faith working through love" (Gal. 5:6)), and that his ethical instruction is deeply rooted in the law of the Old Testament (Gal. 5:14). Even Schrage (1988:171) writes, "When *the imperative* is not heard, *the indicative* has no power."⁵

If Paul's ethical instruction is rooted in the law of the Old Testament, the relationship between Paul and the law should be interpreted more positively. The research problems identified above can be answered properly based on this positive relationship.

Scholars of the New Perspective and the Radical New Perspectives (see Sections 2.1 and 4.1.2) have tried to ease the tension between Paul's ethic (or rather ethos) and the law, by providing another picture of the relationship between Paul and the law. They seek the place of Jesus' followers' ethic in the reconciliation of the community (or community building). However, both perspectives fail to emphasize the important aspect of Paul's ethic: liturgical aspect. Paul's ethical instruction aims primarily to purify and prepare God's people to come into the presence of God.

1.3 Hypothesis

The basic purpose of the present study is to interpret Paul's claim to the Christian way of life, 'dying to the law in order to live for God, and Christ lives in me' in Gal. 2:19–20. In order to achieve the purpose, the researcher proposes to use an important but relatively neglected notion in Paul's letter, i.e. the pilgrimage motif. Paul, a first century Jew, cannot be fully understood apart from first century Judaism, where pilgrimage was the most distinctive characteristic of the society.

The hypothesis of this dissertation is then as follows:

- Paul's teaching on the ethical life of Jesus' followers in Gal. 2:19–20 can be understood as an exhortation of a senior pilgrim;
- the relationship between Paul, the law and the ethical life of Jesus' followers can be better understood through the pilgrimage motif; and
- the apparent contradiction between piety expressed in obeying the law and justification by faith, can be resolved by locating Paul and the Galatians in the procession of pilgrimage to the presence of God, i.e. by portraying them as pilgrims.

The hypothesis is built up out of three related aspects.

1.3.1 Story as an important strategy of Paul for exhortation

In his letter of exhortation, Paul does not give ethical instructions in a legalistic way. Rather, he uses *stories* for his moral exhortation (Meeks, 1993:196–197). In other words, Paul's

⁴Dibelius (1971:239) writes that exhortations "have nothing to do with the theoretical foundation of the ethics of the Apostle, and very little with other ideas peculiar to him".

⁵The terms *indicative* and *imperative* were used by Bultmann (1967) to refer to theology and ethics, respectively.

1.3 Hypothesis

moral exhortation is not only *halakhaic* (Tomson, 1990:264), but also *haggadic*. For example, examination of the so-called *imperative section* is not sufficient to understand Paul's whole picture of moral life in Christ.

In the middle section of his letter (Gal. 1:11–5:1)⁶, Paul tells many stories to promote the moral life of his audience. Hays (2002:228) writes, “Paul's language *enacts* the ongoing destiny of the foundational story [of Jesus] because he sees himself and his churches as agents within the final sequence.” This remark provides the foundation for our discussion:

1. The story of Jesus (Gal. 1:1, 1:4; 2:19; 4:4–5; Hays, 2002:228),
2. the stories of Israel (Gal. 3, 4)⁷, especially the story of the Exodus (Keesmaat, 1999) and Abraham, and
3. Paul's own autobiographical stories (Gal. 1:11–2:10, 2:15–21).

The functions of the first two stories for moral exhortation have been widely recognized, e.g. Hays (2002:228). However, what is significant for this study is that *Paul's own autobiographical stories*⁸, his life journey from Judaism to the present church of God (Gal. 1:13–2:10) along with his being condemned as a sinner by the Jews (Gal. 2:19⁹; cf. Gal. 2:15, 17), and his present life in Christ (Gal. 2:20), *are also used as a persuasive example for promoting the moral life of the community* (Lyons, 1985:171¹⁰; Gaventa, 1986:309–326). In fact, Paul's autobiographical story demonstrates how Jesus' crucifixion becomes the foundation for His followers', in this case Paul's, present ethical life. In other words, Paul's autobiographical storytelling establishes a stepping stone for his exhortation, arousing the sympathy of his fellow believers.

Basically, Paul's storytelling is participatory. The audience is invited to be partakers of the whole story: the story of Jesus, the union with Christ (Gal. 3:27–29); the stories of Israel, the sons of God, and the sons of Abraham (Gal. 3:26, 29); and the story of Paul, the union with Paul himself (Gal. 4:12). In the present study, the researcher argues that Paul's storytelling for moral exhortation can be best understood as that of a fellow pilgrim who is on the way to the presence of God in the heavenly Jerusalem (Gal. 4:26).

⁶Aletti (2013:398) titles this section (Gal. 1:11–5:1) as “the distancing perspective” in-between the “concrete problem” (Gal. 1:6–10 and 5:2–13). The researcher argues that in this section, Paul lays a common ground between himself and his audience by the stories.

⁷Wright (1992) rightly points out that Paul's gospel stands in continuity with the story of Israel.

⁸On the nature and purpose of the narrative section in Gal. 1–2, see Lategan (1988:411–430). In his article, Lategan (1988:430) argues that Gal. 2:20 “not only links Gal. 1–2 in an integrated way to Gal. 3–4 and Gal. 5–6, [...] but also appeals to Christ in a double way: his cross not only makes the new existence of the believer soteriologically possible, but at the same time demonstrates the ethical content of the gospel by the style of this existence as selfless giving”. Moon (2004:230) argues that Paul's autobiographical story (2 Cor. 10–13) provides the Christian *ethos* for the Corinthian Christians to follow, *imitatio Christi imitatio Pauli*.

⁹The phrases “through the law I died to the law” (Gal 2:19) and “being found to be sinners” (Gal. 2:17) in fact show Paul's social-ritual death as a Jew in terms of purity.

¹⁰Lyons (1985:171) argues that Paul's conversion story along with the emphasis on ‘formerly vs. now’ and ‘human beings vs. God’ functions as a paradigm for the Galatians' inverted conversion.

1.3.2 Pilgrimage as a central motif to interpret Paul's stories

A pilgrimage is generally defined as ‘a journey undertaken for a religious motive’ (*Britannica*, § Pilgrimage) in the sacred time, to the sacred place. Although there were pilgrimages to other sacred shrines¹¹, pilgrimage to Jerusalem was accepted as the only legitimate pilgrimage of Israel by first century Jews (*RPP*, § Pilgrimage).

The first century Jewish pilgrimage was not a merely religious journey, but had far more important associations. It was a social journey to the centre, a cultural journey to the past, and ultimately a transcendental journey to “the presence of God” (*Levine, 1990*). In fact, pilgrimage was the most distinctive characteristic ritual of first century Judaism¹². More significantly, Israel, the community of worshippers, found *the ideal order of life between Yahweh, Israel and the world* in pilgrimage (*Smith, 1997:264–265*).

The stories in Galatians, especially those of Israel (Gal. 3, 4), were based on the pilgrimage motif. *Keesmaat (1999:188)* clarifies,

“the whole movement of the book, from slavery to sonship, to desire to return to slavery, to threat of disinheritance, to a new creation, reflects the structure of the Exodus story as found in Israel’s scriptures”.

In fact, these stories can be better understood in terms of three festival pilgrimages which remind and enact the original Exodus¹³. In the book of Exodus, Moses and Israel are depicted “as pilgrims who journey to the mountain of God where they receive their call and commission” (*Smith, 1997:16*). Furthermore, their final destination is presented as Jerusalem, to the presence of God, in the theological imagination of later generations in the OT, Psalms in particular. Similar ideas can be found in Paul’s letter to the Galatians.

1.3.3 Pilgrimage as walking in the law of the Lord

The law should be understood in the relationship to God. *The way of the law of the Lord* (Ps. 119:1)—not only the purity law but also the moral law (Ps. 15)—was given to *purify and prepare* people so that they could *come into the presence of God*, in addition to the social functions: regulating community and establishing identity (*Smith, 1997:36*). In fact, the law (Torah) was primarily a liturgical rule for Israel, the community of pilgrims, that is worshippers, rather than a social law for the territorial ethnic Jewish state. Based on this concept of the law, Psalmists identify the blessed people (God’s Israel) as “those who walk in the law of the Lord” (Ps. 119:1). That is why keeping the law—physical embodiment of the law, especially pilgrimage—was perceived as a manifestation of their monotheistic faith. In their pilgrimage, God’s Israel were walking in the way of the Lord, singing the way of the law.

¹¹Such as the tombs of the patriarchs, kings, prophets, martyrs and rabbis in the later times (*Solomon, 2013*)

¹²It is controversial how widely and extensively pilgrimage to Jerusalem was made in pre- and post-exilic Palestine (especially outside the Yehud region). However, it is obvious that in the first century, pilgrimage to Jerusalem was undertaken enthusiastically not only from Judea but also from other regions of Palestine and even from the diaspora communities (*Jeremias, 1969*).

¹³The three primal festivals are all related to the story of the Exodus. Passover celebrates the Exodus from the land of slavery (Deut. 16:1), the Feast of Weeks or Pentecost commemorates the giving of Torah at Sinai (Deut. 16:11–12), and the Festival of Booths is to remember the life in the wilderness (Lev. 15:43) (*Wright, 1992:234*).

In the first century Jewish world, the law was virtually recited and listened to, *sung and chorused*, and *visibly performed in worship* in their homes, synagogues, *on the way of the pilgrimage*, and lastly at the precinct of the Temple (cf. Lewis, 1958:44–48¹⁴). Paul also perceived himself as a pilgrim who was walking to the presence of God, not only in his previous life in Judaism (Gal. 1:13–14), but also in the later (present) life in Christ. Furthermore, the Gentile believers in Galatia were also identified as pilgrims (Wilson, 2004). This is supported by various sources of evidence that appear throughout Galatians, such as walking metaphors (e.g. Gal. 5:16, 25; 6:16), pilgrimage stories of the Exodus and Abraham (Gal. 3:6, 8; 4:1–7), and his remark on the pilgrimage centre (mother-city and centre of the world) (Gal. 4:26).

1.4 Methodology

Two important approaches will be introduced and used in the engagement with the Pauline texts in this study: intertextuality and postcolonial perspectives.

1.4.1 Intertextuality

Unlike the conventional historical-critical way of interpretation which focuses on the chronological order of the texts and the matter of agency and influence, intertextuality emphasizes a dialogical relationship between texts, arguing that “[a text] can only be understood as part of a web or matrix of other texts, themselves only to be understood in the light of other texts” (Moyise, 2005:447). In the intertextual approach, rigid historical order is of less importance than authenticity.

1.4.1.1 Important intertexts for Paul

The letter to the Galatians did not arrive *ex nihilo*, but rather from the intertextual matrix in which Paul and Jesus’ followers in Galatia were commonly immersed.

One group of important intertexts for Paul is the Old Testament texts interwoven with his own interpretation (cf. Punt, 2000:324). Separated from the Old Testament, Paul and his letters are not intelligible. Another group of intertexts that are important to understand Paul is the NT writings, not only the Pauline corpus but also the Gospels, Acts and Hebrews. Though many of them were written *after* the time of Galatians by different authors, since they shared basic common memories, e.g. the Jesus tradition, and the similar belief and perception of the world, these texts can be used to interpret Galatians. The third group is the ancient Jewish writings and the Greco-Roman writings which help to understand the world of Paul and his writing.

Among these three groups of intertexts, the researcher focuses on the second group, especially the Pauline letters and Luke-Acts. Conventionally, the relationship between the

¹⁴It is worth hearing Lewis (1958) on the matter of the strange world of the Psalms. He finely illustrates the literary path or pilgrimage to the presence of God via the literary sanctuary, Psalms. According to Lewis (1958), when Jews discuss seeing the Lord or wanting to be with Him, they are described as being in the temple, the central aspect of their worship to God (cf. Levine, 1990; Smith, 1997:102). The early Jews did not separate “beholding the Lord” from the act of worship itself (Lewis, 1958:48). Christians can still glean the value of the Psalms’ God-centred emphasis and their indicating the highest degree of joy found in God Himself alone (Lewis, 1958:49–53).

1.4 Methodology

Pauline letters and Acts has been dealt with from historical perspectives. In other words, most studies were devoted to establishing the ‘chronological order’ of the Pauline letters in accordance with Paul’s mission trips in Acts, e.g. Paul’s meeting with the Jerusalem apostles in Gal. 2 and Acts 15 (Longenecker, 1990; Moo, 2013:12–13). The results have been unsatisfactory and that has led many scholars to argue that the letters should be treated separately from Acts (e.g. Phillips, 2009). From a literary perspective, their argument can possibly be justified. Acts and the Pauline letters are separate literary works.

Unfortunately, however, sometimes an implicit assumption is fallaciously combined with this literary turn, i.e. either the Pauline letters or Luke-Acts is *ahistorical* or *fabricated*, based on the discordance between them, e.g. the complete absence of reference to Stephen (Acts 6–7) in the Pauline letters and different pictures of Paul, i.e. the law-observant Paul in Acts (Section 4.1.1.3) versus the seemingly anomistic Paul in Galatians (Section 4.1.1.4).

Without denying that Luke-Acts is a literary work with its own purpose, Rothschild (2004:1-2) rightly points out that this does not mean Luke-Acts is a fabrication. The ancient historians and the NT writers, including Paul and Luke, took pains to secure the authenticity of their writings (e.g. Gal. 1:20; 1 Cor. 2:4; Lk. 1:1–4). However, at the same time, the authors could interpret, rearrange, and put a different emphasis on the texts according to their literary purpose (Franklin, 1994; Strelan, 2008:161), without compromising their authenticity. If we recognize these characteristics of Luke-Acts and the Pauline letters as ancient writings, it is possible to use Luke-Acts and the Pauline letters to interpret each other, not as rigidly historical source-texts, but as intertexts which are located in the same matrix, especially in the studies of belief, social structures and the worldview of the time¹⁵.

In this study, the researcher uses Luke-Acts and other NT writings *intertextually* in order to interpret Galatians, based on the common belief of Jesus’ followers, and the general Jewish sentiment and reaction against those who followed Jesus.

1.4.1.2 Narrative intertextuality

Among the various concepts of ‘intertextuality’ currently in use¹⁶, ‘narrative intertextuality’ by Keesmaat (1999) will be used in the present study to provide the grounds for using the pilgrimage concept in the interpretation of Paul’s claim regarding the Christian ethos in Galatians. According to Keesmaat (1999:228), the intertextual matrix of Paul “is actually a larger *story*, told and retold in past remembrance and future hope to shape Israel’s identity

¹⁵Recently, admitting the difference in literary purposes of the Pauline letters and Acts, some scholars emphasize the homogeneity of *the gospel* which Paul and the Gospel writers have in common (Hengel, 2000; Tarazi, 1999; Wenham, 2002). If they have a shared understanding of the gospel, or if the author of Luke-Acts can be established as Luke, a co-worker of Paul (Fitzmyer, 1981; Stein, 1993:19–24), it is not unreasonable to speak of a common theology. In fact, many important features of the theology of Luke-Acts correspond to the theology of the Pauline letters: ‘salvation-historical perspective’ (e.g. Lk. 20:9–16; 24:27; Acts 7:2–53; 13:16–41 and Gal. 3:17–25; 4:4–6), ‘glory through suffering’ (e.g. Lk. 22:28–29; 24:26; Acts 9:16; 14:22 and Rom. 8:17; 2 Cor. 1:7; 2 Tim. 2:12; cf. Gal. 3:4; 6:12), ‘the inclusion of Gentiles’ (e.g. Acts 15:7–11, 15–17 and Gal. 3:28; 4:8–9; Rom. 1:16), ‘God in search of sinners’ (Lk. 15:7, 10 and Gal. 1:4; Rom. 10:20–21). Some of these are less obvious in the works of the other NT writers. In sum, the gospel of Luke-Acts shares its essential parts with the gospel of Paul.

¹⁶On the five types of intertextuality in use, see Moyise (2002:418–431). The notions of ‘intertextual echo’ (Hays, 1989), ‘narrative intertextuality’ (Keesmaat, 1999), ‘exegetical intertextuality’ (Berkley, 2000), ‘dialogical intertextuality’ (Moyise, 1995) and ‘postmodern intertextuality’ (Beal, 1992; Robbins, 1996; Van Wolde, 1989) are surveyed with the actual examples.

and future expectation”. “Narrative intertextuality shows the importance of stories shaping the way we think and the way we express ourselves” (Moyise, 2002:422). In fact, Paul perceived the story as Torah (Wenham, 2004)¹⁷ in his theology, in contrast to the dominant cultic/legalistic understanding of Torah of the time. Paul cannot be fully understood when separated from the *stories of Israel*, which run through scriptures he read, the cults he practiced and psalms he sang in his pilgrimage to Jerusalem (Wright, 1992:233).

Considering Paul’s understanding of Torah against the cultic nature of Second Temple Judaism, Keesmaat (1999)’s approach will be appropriate for our study of the Pauline texts. By employing “narrative intertextuality”, the researcher will detect the larger stories running through Galatians, and trace how Paul uses pilgrimage stories to exhort the backsliding Galatian believers.

1.4.2 Postcolonial perspectives

A postcolonial perspective is used to *reveal the hidden complex relations* of “domination and submission, dependence and independence, resistance and collusion that typically characterize the exchanges between colonizer and colonized” (Moore, 2006:5). As Moore (2006) demonstrates, a postcolonial perspective indicates an approach, rather than a methodology¹⁸. In spite of the diversity in the topics, many postcolonial researches have a common ground, i.e. the colonial experience (e.g. Segovia, 2000:59; Vena, 2000:84; Niang, 2009:1–7).

The nature of the crisis in Galatians and Paul’s response to it are much more complex than may be thought. The researcher argues that in order to resolve the crisis in Galatians Paul uses his autobiographical story (Gal. 1:10–2:21) as an effective strategy of exhortation for the Galatian believers, who have undergone the colonial experience themselves. The postcolonial concepts of ‘centre and periphery’ will be employed to understand Paul’s negative self-portrait; and ‘centre and periphery’ with ‘mimicry’ to portray Judaism as a symbolic empire (Wan, 2007), and to understand the Galatian believers’ desire to “be like Jews, the centre” (Niang, 2009:1–7).

In addition, the postcolonial perspective explains well the experiences of disenfranchisement, displacement and journey, typically also associated with pilgrimage. In this study, ‘pilgrimage’ will be explained through the postcolonial perspective as a submission to the centre which is, in the case of a Jewish-dominated perspective to which Paul subscribed, ‘keeping the law’.

1.5 Objective

In this dissertation, the following three objectives will be identified and sought.

Firstly, Gal. 2:19–20 will be re-interpreted based on the pilgrimage motif. More specifically, it will be shown that Gal. 2:19–20 is Paul’s autobiographical story, in which Paul himself is described as a pilgrim to the presence of God. This story is given as an effective strategy of exhortation to promote the ethical life of the Galatian believers. As a senior pilgrim, Paul

¹⁷Wenham (2004:2–3) points out that the stories of the Old Testament were used to “demonstrate truth about human behaviour and draw out principles of ethic”. It was also the case for Paul.

¹⁸For a more detailed discussion of the difference between a postcolonial perspective and the traditional sociological approaches, see Section 4.2.1.

1.6 Structure of the dissertation

presents the story of his own life in Gal. 2:19–20 as an example of the pilgrimage and on how to live in this world.

Secondly, the relationship between Paul, the law and the ethical life will be identified based on the pilgrimage motif. Paul invites the Galatian believers to a new understanding of the law, which had the ultimate power in first century Judaism. Through the fundamental stories, i.e. stories of the Exodus (Gal. 4:1–7, 5:1; Keesmaat, 1999) and the story of Abraham (Gal. 3:6, 8), Paul portrays himself and the Galatian believers as being in the procession of pilgrimage to the presence of God, and in this portrait the law is relocated as a guardian to help the pilgrims to walk straight. Paul does not deny the law, but understands that *walking by the law of Christ*, who is the fulfilment of the law, is the true pilgrimage to the presence of God. Paul presents the life of walking by the law of Christ as the ethical life of Jesus' followers, conforming to their faith in Christ.

Finally, the apparent contradiction between piety expressed in obeying the law and justification by faith will be resolved through the pilgrimage motif. In particular, it will be shown that Paul understands the ethical life as inseparable from the faith and vice versa. He argues that only those who walk by the law of Christ are defined as the true pilgrims to the presence of God; and identifies “those who walk by this rule [the law of Christ]” as “the Israel of God” (Gal. 6:16). For Paul, piety expressed in obeying the law and justification by faith no longer contradict each other because the Israel of God, the true pilgrims who are justified by faith, are always coming to the presence of God walking by the law of Christ.

1.6 Structure of the dissertation

The rest of the dissertation is structured as follows: Chapter 2 presents a literature study of the issue of Paul and the law, as well as of the interpretations of Gal. 2:19–20. An exegesis of Gal. 1–2 will be presented in Chapter 3, followed by the pilgrimage concept developed by the researcher in Chapter 4. In Chapter 5, the Galatian story will be reread through the pilgrimage motif, and in Chapter 6, Gal. 2:19–20 will be re-interpreted with pilgrimage being presented as an ethical way of life. Finally, Chapter 7 concludes the dissertation with a short summary.

Chapter 2

Literature Study

This chapter presents an overview of the literature study regarding the interpretation of Galatians. Firstly, scholarly discussions on the broader issue of Paul and the law will be surveyed in Section 2.1 to identify some determining lines of the interpretation. This work is important in the present study because the interpretation of Galatians has often centered on the understanding of Paul's portrayal of the law. Furthermore, the matter of how to define the relationship between Paul and the law becomes the basis for understanding Paul's teaching concerning the ethical life of Jesus' followers shown in Gal. 2:19–20, which is the focus of the present study.

Secondly, selected previous interpretations on Gal. 2:19 will be examined in Section 2.2. They have been roughly selected considering two issues which form important bases in the interpretation of Gal. 2:19–20, i.e. the identity of ἐγὼ (whether Paul himself or any believers in Christ) and the interpretations of 'dying' according to their theological stand and referential context (literary context and socio-historical context). This will provide a foundation on which the researcher develops his own interpretation of Gal. 2:19–20 in Chapter 3.

2.1 Paul and the law: the current debate

This section examines the scholarly discussions on the relationship between Paul and the law. The issues of the debate are diverse: regarding the character of first century Judaism—whether it was a legalistic religious system in which Jews pursued to earn their salvation through their works (Lutheran perspective) or an idealistic covenantal religious system based on the grace of God (covenantal nomism); regarding the problem of Judaism—whether the exclusiveness of Jews revealed in the course of mission (New Perspective and Radical New Perspective) or an invalid way to God, specifically regarding the agent (Protestant perspective); and Paul's theology—whether Paul was also concerned about the ethical defilement in his letters or whether he always spoke about the apocalyptic gospel in his letters.

2.1.1 Protestant Paul against legalistic ancient Judaism: the Lutheran perspective

In the conventional understanding, which [Stendahl \(1963:85–86\)](#) fallaciously labelled 'Lutheran', Paul's teaching on the law has largely been understood as the confrontation with the so-called

2.1 Paul and the law: the current debate

legalistic works, that is, *the righteousness of Second Temple Judaism* (Ware, 2011:514). Paul's contemporary Jews sought their salvation/justification by "works of the law" (Gal. 2:16), that is, by keeping the whole law. Believing that every individual can be saved, i.e. justified in a forensic sense, only by *faith in Jesus Christ*, scholars of this view have argued that Paul demonstrated *the inability of the law to serve as the means of salvation for individual sinners*, in his argument of 'universal sinfulness without means of atonement' and 'the impossibility of perfect obedience to the law' in Romans. In short, according to this view, Jews in the first century did not have a proper understanding of the law, and were eager to satisfy each and every regulation of the normative law in pursuit of salvation.

Such a portrayal of Judaism, however, had the undesirable effect of separating the ethical life of Jesus' followers from Israel's covenant and its law.

2.1.2 Heretical Jewish Paul against covenantal Judaism: Covenantal nomism

Sanders (1977) posed an important challenge to the conventional view of the law in Judaism. Based on his vast literature study on the writings of ancient and rabbinic Judaism, Sanders (1977) proposes a totally different, and maybe idealistic, picture of ancient Judaism, that is, covenantal nomism. "Ancient Judaism was [not a legalistic religion, but] a religion focused on God's covenantal grace, mercy, and forgiveness", and "the law functioned within the gracious framework of the covenant and its provision of mercy through repentance and sacrifice" (Sanders, 1977:422).

According to this view, Paul's contemporary Jews never sought their salvation on the basis of their observance of the law. Instead, they believed that they were God's people, who could be saved only by God's covenantal grace, and the law provided the means of atonement and the way of life for God's people in the covenantal relationship. Based on this picture, Sanders (1983:28) argues that Paul's concepts of 'universal sinfulness without means of atonement by the law' and 'the impossibility of perfect obedience to the law' are extraordinarily un-Pharisaic and even un-Jewish. He concludes that Paul eventually denies that the covenant of God with Israel is sufficient for salvation. He alleges that Paul rejected the law and the covenant of Israel because of his Christological soteriology (Sanders, 1977:551–552).

2.1.3 Sectarian Jewish Paul against exclusivism in ancient Judaism: the New Perspective

Agreeing with Sanders (1977) that the conventional picture of legalistic Judaism is erroneous, Dunn (1998b) tries to refine the portrait of Paul proposed by Sanders (1977), by limiting 'the law' to 'purity law'. Dunn (1998b:361) ascribes the erroneous picture to the later 'Lutheran interpreters' of Paul. According to Dunn (1998b), as a Second Temple Jew Paul problematized the exclusivism of Judaism, rather than its legalism.

In first century Judaism, the purity law worked as the boundary marker that separated the Gentiles from the people of God (Dunn, 1998b:354–359). The doctrine of 'justification by faith' is, in fact, a missiological doctrine which was developed in the course of the Gentile mission. It was coined to criticize the Jewish boasting of their covenantal privileges and the exclusivism of Judaism (Dunn, 2008:98–120). However, Dunn (1998b)'s explanation seems not to explain fully Paul's emphasis on Jesus' death of atonement.

2.1 Paul and the law: the current debate

In a similar vein, [Wright \(2009\)](#)¹⁹ tries to understand ‘Paul and the law’ in the context of ‘the covenant’. According to him, the covenant is “the single-plan-through-Israel-for-the-world” primarily given to Abraham ([Wright, 2009:130](#)). In the light of the covenant, [Wright \(2009:60\)](#) argues that the Jews, the observers of the law, were unfaithful to the covenant, and abandoned their mission to the Gentiles. As a result they experienced *captivity*, even after the exile. Jesus, the faithful Messiah, came and fulfilled the covenant through his death and resurrection, that is, the eschatological restoration of Israel. [Wright \(2009\)](#) explains that Paul’s notion of ‘justification’ should be understood as the *verdict* of the fulfilment of the covenant wherein Jews and Gentiles alike are declared the people of God²⁰. For the scholars of this perspective, Paul was a Jew who sought to reconcile Jews and Gentiles.

2.1.4 Progressive Jewish Paul and the two ways of salvation: the Radical New Perspective

[Stowers \(1994\)](#) highlights Paul’s Jewishness in another way. Reckoning Romans as a coherent argument written only for the Gentiles saturated with Greco-Roman ethics, [Stowers \(1994:176–180\)](#) argues that Paul was a Jew who was convinced that Jews are saved by God’s covenantal grace and that the means of forgiveness is revealed in the law. The only difference between Paul and other Jews was in the means of including the Gentiles into Israel, whether through the law, or through the adaptive strategy of faith in Christ, who chose to adapt himself to sinful conditions apart from the law.

Similarly, considering that Jewish Halakah is pervasive in the Pauline letters, [Tomson \(1990:264\)](#) argues that Paul was a Hellenistic Jew who taught both Jewish and Gentile believers to obey the commandments of God, albeit different ones. According to him, whereas Gentiles are to follow the Noachian commandments, the Jews needed to observe the laws concerning diets, festivals and days ([Tomson, 1990:271–272](#)).

2.1.5 Faithful Paul against fallacious means of salvation: responses from the Old Perspective

In opposition to such new trends of interpretation on ‘Paul and the law’, conservative scholars emphasize the sinfulness of the whole humanity before God and the gracious justification by faith, which is the legacy of the Reformation. [Westerholm \(2004\)](#) names these scholars as Old Perspective, because they are opposed to the New Perspective. However, they differ from the Lutheran perspective, discussed in Section 2.1.1, in that while the Lutheran perspective largely depends on the dogmatic reading focused on the literal meaning of the Scripture, these scholars use the extra-biblical resources and methodologies positively in their interpretation as the New Perspective scholars do.

From different approaches, interests and emphases²¹, scholars of the Old Perspective have

¹⁹In fact, now it seems inappropriate to categorize Wright under the banner of ‘the New Perspective’ inasmuch as he goes beyond that. Yet, he *was* a supporter of the New Perspective (e.g. [Wright \(1978\)](#)’s “The Paul of History and the Apostle of Faith”).

²⁰What is noticeable in [Wright \(2009\)](#)’s argument is that his dualistic eschatology consists of ‘present verdict enjoyed by faith’ and ‘futuristic final sentence based on works’. On the objection to a dualistic eschatology from the juridical setting of ancient Judaism, see [Downing \(2012\)](#).

²¹E.g., rhetorical dynamics in the Pauline letters ([Thurén, 2000:28](#)), rabbinic literature study ([AveMarie, 1996](#)), early Jewish literature study ([Gathercole, 2002](#)), exegetical interpretation ([Westerholm, 2004](#)), the

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challenged the New and Radical New Perspectives. They argue that what was at stake in the Pauline letters was not the exclusivism of Judaism (against New Perspective) (Schreiner, 1991:225–231), but rather the role of ‘the works of the law’ in salvation both of Jews and Gentiles (against Radical New Perspective) (Schreiner, 1991; Westerholm, 2004).

2.1.6 Orthodox Jewish Paul with a new awakening

Some scholars try to understand Paul’s teaching on the law, not from the perspective of the faults of ancient Judaism, whether legalistic or exclusivistic, but from that of Paul’s awakening to the means of God’s grace to sinful humans, that is, Jesus Christ (Aletti, 1998:1557–1560). These scholars admit that Sanders (1977)’s picture of ancient Judaism is generally acceptable (Thielman, 1994:176–180). However, they rightly point out that Paul’s description of the law in Romans, such as ‘universal sinfulness’ and the ‘need of atonement’, which Sanders (1977) labels as ‘un-Jewish’, were, in fact, widely recognized in Second Temple Judaism. Paul followed the very logic of Ps. 143 in order to point out the inability of the works of the law for salvation (Rom. 3) “*apart from* God’s gracious covenant and its provision of mercy” (Ware, 2011:532–539). Paul highlights “the need for God’s grace, mercy and covenant” which is revealed in Christ.

Paul’s teaching on the law corresponds to the covenantal theology of ancient Judaism (Ware, 2011:538)! Paul differed from his contemporaries only in terms of “the means whereby God’s grace comes to sinful humanity: through the law or through Christ?” (Ware, 2011:521). Paul’s conviction that the promise of the OT had been fulfilled through Jesus Christ (Thielman, 1994:241–245), and his experience of Christ (Das, 2001; Kim, 2002) led him to be assured that, not the law, but Jesus Christ was the means of God’s grace to sinful humanity. This understanding enables a more positive understanding of the law for the way of life in this world for Jesus’ followers.

2.1.7 Apocalyptic Paul: the participatory model revisited

Campbell (2009:6) boldly declares that most of the scholarly discussions on Paul and the law have been made on the wrong basis of a “forensic, individualistic, conditional, contractual” justification theory, which is expressed particularly poorly in the Western *ordo salutis*. Against such a tendency, he insists on “a [participatory] apocalyptic rereading of Paul”, following Wrede (1903), Käsemann (1971) and Martyn (1997) (Campbell, 2012:384–386). He explains that the term ‘apocalyptic’ denotes the dramatic, constitutive and fundamentally *unconditional saving act of God* in Christ (Campbell, 2009:756). Campbell (2012:391–392) argues that Rom. 1:18–32 up to chapter 3, which had functioned as the basis of the justification theory, is in fact not a part of Paul’s own account of God’s deliverance, but his satirical reduction of his opponent, the Judaizers. In other words, by presenting a caricatured summary of the Judaizer’s idea of God’s retributive justice and the need of human effort for sanctification, Paul paradoxically demonstrates how absurd their argument is. According to Campbell (2009), Paul never preached the retributive character of God and our efforts for sanctification.

anthropological pessimism of Paul (Laato, 1995; Sprinkle, 2013) and the divine agency (Sprinkle, 2008, 2013; Westerholm, 2004)

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2.1.8 Honourable Mediterranean Paul against the leaders of the Judean Jesus group

From the anthropological perspective on the ancient Mediterranean world, Malina and Neyrey (2006) present quite a different picture of the relationship between Paul and the law. They reconstruct the ancient Mediterranean world and ancient Judaism, as a *society with an agnostic culture* in which *honour and shame* had a prime importance. According to them, Paul was merely one of the innovators of Judaism, and Pauline letters were written to defeat his opponent. They portray Paul as an arrogant and boastful Mediterranean, who never speaks of ‘dying to the law’ or ‘being crucified with Christ’, let alone the concern for the Gentile sinners.

In addition, they distinguish *non-Israelite ethnic Jews* from *the covenantal Israelites* (Malina and Neyrey, 2006:200). According to them, it was not only Jewish ancestry that made Jews “Israel”, that is, the covenantal assembly of God, but also their keeping the law represented by circumcision. If a Jew did not conform to the law, he/she could not join Israel in spite of his/her Jewish ancestry²². Malina and Neyrey (2006) apply this notion to Paul’s ministry. According to them, Paul never preached to the Gentiles, and the Galatian believers were not Gentiles but the diaspora Jews in Galatia who were not circumcised. The gospel Paul preached was for the uncircumcised non-Israelite ethnic Jews: they could be included in Israel not by their keeping the law but through their faith in the God of Israel who raised Jesus Christ from the dead.

This perspective is too dependent on their anthropological and sociological reconstruction of the Mediterranean world. However, it should be admitted that their understanding of righteousness/justification as acceptability to God is truly informative.

2.1.9 Political Paul against both ancient Jewish colonizers and modern western colonizers

Influenced by modern rhetorical, ideological, feministic and postcolonial theories, some scholars interpret the relationship between Paul and the law in terms of politics. In spite of their diverse methodologies and interests, several common features can be detected: they largely concern power relations, whether macro or micro, especially in the hermeneutics; at the same time they invite the subjectivity and experience, whether personal or collective, in the field of scholarship, in opposition to the seemingly objective-normal-western (and androcentric) interpretation on the relationship between Paul and the law.

From the colonial experience of Senegal and his reading of ancient Greco-Roman colonization, Niang (2009) illustrates how the seemingly sound and neutral gospel can be used to enslave and colonize the Gentiles (Gauls and Senegalians) through the process of internalization of the colonizers’ laws (customs and norms) which are provided together with the gospel. Assuming that both Paul and his opponents were what in today’s terms can be called missionaries, Niang (2009) argues that Paul, who was once a colonizing missionary, became the anti-colonizing missionary true to the gospel after he had been enlightened.

²²A similar idea (Israel of Israel) is found in the thinking of Pharisees who distinguish themselves from *am-ha’aretz* (e.g. *Babylonian Talmud, Berachot* 47b). On previous studies on the relationship between *Ioudaios* and Israel, see Miller (2010).

2.2 Previous interpretations of Gal. 2:19 ‘Dying to the law’

2.2 Previous interpretations of Gal. 2:19 ‘Dying to the law’

Keeping in mind the discussions of the previous section (Section 2.1) on the larger issue of the relationship between Paul and the law, in this section, some previous interpretations of ‘dying to the law’ (Gal. 2:19) will be examined. This aims to lay a foundation for the researcher’s own interpretation of Gal. 2:19–20, by clarifying what is at issue in the interpretation of these verses, how it has been interpreted in the previous studies, and what has not been resolved. The following interpretations have been derived from the historical and protestant theological perspective (Bruce, 1982); from the New Perspective on the relationship between Judaism and Paul against Supercessionism (Dunn, 1993); from the salvation-historical framework (Wright, 2000b); from the catholic sacramental framework (Matera, 2007), from the reformed doctrinal perspective (Longenecker, 1990); from various readings of the historical-context of the recipients of Paul (Nanos, 2001; Oakes, 2015); from the rhetorical character and function of the autobiographical sections in the letters of both ancient writers and Paul (Gaventa, 1986; Lyons, 1985); and from the various readings of the rhetorical train of thought in Pauline letters (Tolmie, 2005). The interpretations of ‘dying to the law’ according to these different positions will now be explained briefly.

2.2.1 Bruce (1982) and ‘dying’ as believers’ release from the law and sin

From the historical and grammatical yet more protestant theological perspective, Bruce (1982) explains Paul’s remark of “I died to the law” as “Paul no longer lives under the power of the law; he has been released from its dominion and has entered into new life” (Bruce, 1982:143). According to Bruce (1982), ‘dying to the law’ means not only that obligations toward the law have ceased, but also that sin will no longer have dominion over believers.

Referring to Tannehill (1967:59), Bruce (1982) links “dying through the law” to the law’s relation to Jesus: Christ died through the law on behalf of his people, bearing the curse of the law and exhausting its penalty (Gal. 3:13). Because believers died in Christ’s death, the believers’ death to the law is also their death through the law.

Bruce (1982:142) does not see that ἐγὼ in Gal. 2:18, and probably that in Gal. 2:19–20 as well, is personal. It refers primarily to anyone who believes in Christ. Bruce (1982:143) writes, “[T]hey [in general, Jewish believers in specific,] have died in relation to the law”. It is a thoroughly protestant theological interpretation.

When he admits the personal character of “ἐγὼ [...] διὰ νόμου [...] ἀπέθανον” (Gal. 2:19), Bruce (1982) interprets it in the light of Romans 7 and produces a theological interpretation: “[...] the law had led him into sin. In the revelation of Jesus Christ on the Damascus road the moral bankruptcy of the law was disclosed” (Bruce, 1982:143). It can be true to Romans 7, yet not in the case of Galatians, especially Gal. 2:19. Whereas ἐγὼ in Rom. 7 is a fictional character which is created by Paul to highlight the human plight of being unable to keep the law, ἐγὼ in Gal. 2:19 is Paul himself who voluntarily chooses to die and be crucified with Christ in order to live for God and for the gospel.

Although Bruce (1982) displays his historical knowledge in the interpretation of the Antioch incident in Gal. 2:11–14, it is hardly used in the following section (Gal. 2:15–21) which is certainly related to the former. In addition, he consults the thematic passages of Romans in his interpretation of Gal. 2:15–21 rather than the very literary context. These aspects have hindered Bruce (1982)’s interpretation from being accepted as the best position, in spite of

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his informative historical and grammatical exegeses.

2.2.2 **Dunn (1993)** and ‘dying’ as the death of the old ἐγὼ of Paul himself

Dunn (1993) gives his exegesis from the similar historical platform as **Bruce (1982)** except the New Perspective on the relationship between Judaism and Paul against Supersessionism, and thereby provides a more fully historical interpretation than **Bruce (1982)**’s. Clarifying that Gal. 2:19 is primarily a personal statement of Paul himself, **Dunn (1993)** interprets “for I through the law I died to the law” as it highlights “the contrast between Paul’s way of life before his conversion-commissioning and his work among Gentiles since” (**Dunn, 1993:143**).

According to **Dunn (1993)**, it was Paul’s zeal for the law without proper knowledge that made him the enemy of the church of God. The old ἐγὼ found its identity in Judaism; “the maintenance of the law in order to preserve Jewish distinctiveness was the very reason of its existence” (**Dunn, 1993:143**). However, Paul’s encounter with the risen Christ “so completely turned upside down his understanding of the law and the covenant promises” that the old Paul died and no longer lived. **Dunn (1993:143)** writes, “[H]e became dead to what had previously been his primary motivating force”. The phrase “I, through the law, died to the law” echoes and reverses Paul’s previous zeal for the law in Judaism, and therefore indicates the death of the old ἐγὼ of Paul himself.

Then, **Dunn (1993)** identifies “I died to the law” with “I have been crucified with Christ”. Conceptualizing Christ’s crucifixion as a death of an outcast, **Dunn (1993)** argues, “[Paul’s] identification with [Jesus] in his death left him in the same position. It was precisely as one who by his identification with the crucified Christ numbered himself with the outcast, that Paul found it inconceivable that he should withdraw from table-fellowship with Gentile believers” (**Dunn, 1993:143**).

Dunn (1993)’s reading of Paul as a Jew (New Perspective) and his cautious interpretation on the passages (especially ἐγὼ as Paul himself and dying as the death of an outcast) have stimulated many subsequent studies in this field (see Sections 2.2.6 and 2.2.7).

However, it should also be pointed out that **Dunn (1993)**’s commentary tends to be confusing to some extent. He proposes many possible (and stimulating) fragmentary interpretations of a certain issue, and then turns to other issues without continuing with a persuasive explanation. Also, with some hesitation, yet consistently ignoring the apparent contrast between Judaism and the church of God in Paul’s wording, **Dunn (1993)** comments on Gal. 1:13–14 that Paul’s description of the sect of Jesus Messiah as ‘the church of God’ indicates a firm claim that Christianity was a sect in Judaism. And he adds that Paul converted from one Jewish movement, the Pharisees, to another, the Christians (**Dunn, 1993:57**). Moreover, just after commenting that “to return to [being] under the law was for him as inconceivable as for one who enjoys life beyond death to return to life before death, life under death”, **Dunn (1993)** insists, “[Paul’s negative verdict on his previous life] not necessarily [meant] that [his previous life] had not been to God” (**Dunn, 1993:144**).

However, the contrast between Ἰουδαϊσμός and τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ and Paul’s persecution of the church of God in Gal. 1:13–14 should not be summarily overlooked. Paul clarifies that Judaism as a human tradition (“τῶν πατριῶν μου παραδόσεων” in Gal. 1:14) cannot be equalled with the only true and divine church of God. Neither Judaism nor Christianity as human institutions as they are, can be identified with the church of God. Moreover, the church of God, consisting of all who hear and believe the gospel, cannot be merely treated as

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one of many sects in Judaism. Instead, Jews in Judaism, insofar as they were in the covenantal relationship to God, were a part of the church of God. [Gaventa \(1986:313\)](#)’s criticism on [Bruce \(1982\)](#) can also be applied to [Dunn \(1993\)](#): “Paul does not construct his theology out of the content or experience of his conversion. Indeed, the reverse is true. It is Paul’s understanding of the gospel that brings about a reconstruction or re-imagining of his past” ([Gaventa, 1986:313](#)).

2.2.3 [Wright \(2009\)](#) and ‘dying’ as a common experience of believers

[Wright \(2009\)](#) poses an important question that was often neglected by scholars: for what does God save people? The answer is to make them the people of God. While [Dunn \(1993\)](#) focuses on the synchronic division between Jews and Gentiles, [Wright \(2009\)](#) focuses on the diachronic covenant, which forms the people of God, in his whole process of interpretation. In part, his interpretative framework is similar to that of salvation-history²³.

Despite the fact that Gal. 2:19–20 is an “intensely personal, and deliberately rhetorical appeal”, [Wright \(2009:119–120\)](#) refuses to read it as a private religious experience. According to [Wright \(2009\)](#), ‘dying’ is a common experience of all who believe in Jesus the Messiah, especially the Christian Jews. For [Wright \(2009\)](#), ‘dying’ denotes “dying to the old identity defined by Torah (and thus separated from the Gentiles)”, whereas ‘rising’ means “a rising into the new identity defined by the Messiah himself, whose faithfulness unto death has brought his people out of the old age and into the new”. [Wright \(2009\)](#) shares the view of [Dunn \(1993\)](#) in relating Gal. 2:19–20 to “the radical change of identity which Paul has undergone” ([Wright, 2009:120](#)). Unlike [Dunn \(1993\)](#), however, he views such a radical change as not a private religious experience but a common experience. His comment on ‘dying’ clearly implies the baptismal experience which is common to all believers (1 Cor.; Gal. 3:27).

In his argument, his reading of πίστewς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ as ‘the faithfulness of Jesus the Messiah’ is of utmost importance. [Wright \(2009\)](#) writes, “Because the Messiah is the faithful Israelite who has carried God’s single saving plan to its utmost conclusion, his death on their behalf carries them with him (‘crucified with the Messiah’)” ([Wright, 2009:121](#)). In terms of his emphasis on communal salvation through participation in Christ’s work, [Wright \(2009\)](#) shares the same view with the apocalyptic readers of Paul (Section 2.1.7) as well as Catholic interpreters (Section 2.2.4).

[Wright \(2009\)](#)’s picture of the train of thought in Galatians is really clear and easy to understand. By perceiving Paul’s statement of ‘dying’ as his rhetorical appeal to a com-

²³This term ‘salvation-history’, and the German equivalent *Heilsgeschichte*, is a highly controversial one. See [Yarbrough \(2004:297–308\)](#) for the scholarly debate on the issue of salvation-history. As [Carson \(2004:396\)](#) rightly indicates, “Paul must not be prematurely encapsulated by the relatively atemporal categories of systematic theology”. However, it is also true that Paul had a specific understanding of the way God unfolds God’s revelation and salvation in human history, as it is implied in Gal. 3:10–29; 4:4–6 (cf. [Starling, 2011:39](#)). In this study, the terms ‘salvation-history’ and ‘salvation-historical perspective’ are used to denote “the personal redemptive activity of God within human history to effect his eternal saving intentions” ([Yarbrough, 2004:297](#)). “This activity finds fulfilment in the ministry of Jesus foreshadowed in various Old Testament writings and institutions, and culminates in the New Testament messages of his death, resurrection, and eventual return” ([Yarbrough, 2004:297](#); cf. [Hengel, 2005:71](#)). The researcher presumes that Paul and other Jesus followers, especially the author of Luke-Acts (Lk. 24:26–27) and Stephen (Act 7:2–53), shared the salvation-historical perspective (cf. Acts 13:16–41; [Yarbrough, 2004:298](#)). Even [Tarazi \(1999:5–6\)](#) argues that Paul simply took the salvation-historical perspective of Isaiah. For the Second Temple Jews, a salvation-historical framework itself was not new (e.g. Ps. 105).

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mon experience, and by presenting ‘dying’ in relation to identity redefinition, [Wright \(2009\)](#) successfully links ‘dying’ to the issue of Gentile exclusion from the table fellowship.

However, by ignoring the ambiguity of Gal. 2:19–20 in pursuit of the bigger picture, i.e. the covenantal history in which both Jews and the Gentiles throughout history are to be included, [Wright \(2000b\)](#) seems to pay less attention to the personal and confessional voice of Paul which originally includes ethical implications. The ethical aspects such as Paul’s personal experience, i.e. his transition from the old way in Judaism to the new way in Christ, his own decision to be dead to the law in order to live for God, and Paul’s personal confession that he is now being crucified with Christ, are not found in his discussion of Gal. 2:19–20.

2.2.4 [Matera \(2007\)](#) and ‘dying’ as sacramental union with Christ’s death

From the Catholic perspective, [Matera \(2007\)](#) interprets ‘dying to the law’ as a sacramental union with Christ’s death. According to [Matera \(2007:95, 103\)](#), Gal. 2:19–20 is Paul’s second response to the objection of ‘those from James’ to Paul’s preaching on justification in Gal. 2:17. They may have raised an objection that “faith in Christ results in ethnic Jews living as Gentile sinners because they no longer practice legal works such as dietary laws. Consequently, Christ has been turned into Sin’s agent!” ([Matera, 2007:95](#)). [Matera \(2007\)](#) explains that, from the deep and personal conviction, Paul gives a more theological answer in Gal. 2:19–20: “By association with Christ’s death through baptism, Christians die to the law” ([Matera, 2007:95](#)). It means that since a Christian “has been transferred to the sphere of Christ”, “the law has no more claim upon [one], because [one] died to it” ([Matera, 2007:103](#)). According to [Matera \(2007\)](#), as a participant of Christ’s death, believers are required to crucify their own $\epsilon\gamma\omega$ with its passions and desires, since “Christ lives in me”.

What is noticeable in [Matera \(2007\)](#)’s argument is that he continuously refers to the passages of sacraments. For example, in his exegesis of the word $\sigmaυνεσταύρωμαι$, he explains that Christians can locate themselves in the same place with the robbers on the cross through sacraments, the participation of Christ’ death.

2.2.5 [Longenecker \(1990\)](#) and ‘dying’ as full commitment to Christ

Standing in the reformed tradition, [Longenecker \(1990\)](#) explains Paul’s remark of ‘dying’ in terms of the role of the law as a $\piαιδαγωγός$. According to him, Gal. 2:19–20 offers the encapsulated essence of his theology. In the light of Gal. 3:19–4:7 [Longenecker \(1990:91\)](#) elaborates, “(1) the law’s purpose was to work itself out of a [juridical] job and point us beyond itself to a fuller relationship with God; (2) Christ’s death on the cross and our spiritual identification with his death effects freedom from the jurisdiction of the Mosaic law; and (3) the Christian’s focus is to be on Christ, who lives within us and to whom we look for direction in life”.

According to [Longenecker \(1990\)](#), Gal. 2:19–20 is gnomic that $\epsilon\gamma\omega$ refers to “all, who by an action of personal commitment (faith), have based their hope on Christ (the faithfulness of Christ) and not on the law (works of the law)”. He adds, the participation in Christ’s death implies the believers’ once-for-all commitment ([Longenecker, 1990:92](#)). Insofar as it does not transgress the reformed doctrine, however, [Longenecker \(1990\)](#) leaves a room to understand ‘dying’ in terms of the Christian mysticism as a deep and personal relationship with God.

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As a reformed theologian, Longenecker (1990) tries to interpret ‘dying to the law’ in relation to God, not damaging the status of the law. It turns the personal confession in the pastoral letter into an abstraction in the doctrinal treatise.

2.2.6 Nanos (2001) and ‘dying’ as the resistance true to the gospel in the context of the first century Jewish synagogues

Nanos (2001) reviews the matter in a different context by locating Galatians in the midst of intra- and inter-Jewish social-political conflicts of the first century. Nanos (2001) does not follow the conventional anti-Jewish perception of Paul’s opponents—he calls them in a neutral term, ‘influencers’ (cf. ‘teachers’ in Martyn (1997)). He explains that these influencers were not Christ-believers who came from Jerusalem (Gal. 2:12) but Jews who were in charge of Gentile proselytes in the local synagogues in Galatia (Nanos, 2001:257).

The gospel proclaimed by Paul was that “the new age had come and Gentiles could now be full members of God’s people simply through faith in Christ” (Oakes, 2004:166). However, this ‘good news of Christ’ was not recognized by Jewish society centring around the synagogues, and the Gentile believers without circumcision could not be accepted by the dominant Jewish society, which had worldly goods at that time. In the first century, social acceptance by the Jewish society was initialized by circumcision and was not just a psychological or religious matter, but a socio-political one (Nanos, 2001:154).

According to Nanos (2001), Galatians is an ‘ironic rebuke’ to the Gentile believers who stood at the crossroad between ‘the good news of Christ’ and ‘the news of goods’. Viewing from the genre of ironic rebuke, Nanos (2001) describes Paul as a parent who deliberately rebukes his own children, that is the Gentile believers in Galatia, presenting himself as a model of the life true to the good news of Christ. Nanos (2001) adds, “Peter and the other[s] [...] who have withdrawn in the face of social pressure [...] serve as an antimodel[s]” (Nanos, 2001:154).

Nanos (2001) contributes to understanding Galatians in a bigger picture of Judaism. His picture of Jesus-believers under the social pressure of the dominant society is persuasive: “They too suffered, some of [the leaders] even capitulated at Antioch in view of this truth in the face of intense social pressure. [...] There must be no compromise on this issue of Gentiles in Christ becoming proselytes as long as the present age persists. The cry thus goes on [...]: how shall we then live!” (Nanos, 2001:154). Nanos (2001) implicitly presents ‘dying to the law’ as the faithful way of life in Christ, since Paul calls for “resistance, at whatever price, for that is what faithfulness to the truth of the good news of Christ always involves” (Nanos, 2001:154).

2.2.7 Oakes (2015) and ‘dying’ as the social death in the context of the house-churches in the Greco-Roman society

Insisting that the opponents of Paul were the Jewish Christ-believers with the conservative view on the law (Oakes, 2004:166), Oakes (2015:77) tries to understand Galatians in the context of house-churches in the Greco-Roman world.

Following Dunn (1993) and Wright (2009), Oakes (2015) also perceives table-fellowship as the central issue of Galatians. According to Oakes (2015:77–78), “In Galatians, unity [of Jew and Greek] in Christ is a crucial element in the idea of salvation”, and therefore, “breaking

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that unity amounts to breaking Christian salvation”. As a family of God, all Christians are demanded to eat together (Wright, 2000b). Oakes (2015:78) continues, “For Christian Jews and Christian Greeks to stop eating together is a [...] central form of denial of [that unity]”. However, unlike Wright (2009), Oakes (2015:91) explains ‘dying’ in Gal. 2:19 as a personal social death of Paul himself. Since “eating with Gentiles is contrary to the law”, Paul died to the demands of the purity law and became a transgressor.

Assuming that Gal. 2:15–21 was primarily addressed to the Christian Jews, Peter in particular (Oakes, 2015:76, 91), Oakes (2015) further argues that through the account of his dying, Paul implies that the Christian Jews should also die to the law. This dying, however, does not call for the abandonment of the practice of the law. Rather “Galatians calls the Christian Jews to a different attitude toward the law” (Oakes, 2015:81, 92). The law does not provide the route to righteousness.

What is noticeable in Oakes (2015) is that, following Campbell (2009:686) and Harvey (2012:64), he rightly connects ‘being alive’ with ‘justification’ (Oakes, 2015:94). However, he does not directly link dying (aorist) in Gal. 2:19a with crucifixion (present participle) in Gal. 2:19b. Rather, Oakes (2015) links ‘crucifixion’ in Gal. 2:19b with ‘life’ in Christ in Gal. 2:20. He insists that dying in Gal. 2:19a is a sudden, absolute death linked with Paul’s turning to Christ, whereas crucifixion (Gal. 2:19b) is a process of dying: a social death, a sharing with Christ’s crucifixion, which eventually leads believers to being identified with Christ, i.e. life (Oakes, 2015:92).

2.2.8 Lyons (1985), Gaventa (1986) and ‘dying’ as moral paradigm true to God

Lyons (1985) and Gaventa (1986) regard the whole autobiographical section in Gal. 1:10–2:21 (including Paul’s remark about ‘dying’) as a moral paradigm for the Galatian believers. They refuse to read Galatians apologetically, criticizing the historical ‘mirror reading’ and many rhetorical analyses. They consider Galatians as a pastoral letter for the Galatian believers.

After examining various ancient autobiographical writings, Lyons (1985:60) argues that in the ancient rhetorical tradition moral persuasion was considered more valuable than historical accuracy in autobiographies; and autobiographies were largely concerned with ethical character formation and edification. Typical autobiographies often presented the author himself “as an ideal representative, even an embodiment, of his philosophy” (Lyons, 1985:67). Lyons (1985) argues that it is also the case for the autobiographical sections in Paul.

Since Lyons (1985)’s interest is limited to the function of autobiography, he does not give a detailed exegesis on Gal. 2:11–21. However, he delivers some insights which are relevant to this study. Firstly, according to Lyons (1985), the main issue of Galatians is “the Galatians’ relationship to Paul and the gospel he preached to them, more fundamentally their relationship to God, which he sees as potentially threatened by the existing situation” (Lyons, 1985:126). Lyons (1985) clarifies that “the Galatians are not really turning to ‘another gospel’, but to the people who are troubling them and wishing to pervert the gospel of Christ. They are turning from God to men”. In the autobiographical section, through the contrasts between ‘formerly’ and ‘now’, ‘man’ and ‘God’ (Lyons, 1985:146, 152–156), Paul presents his own conversion as a paradigm. These two contrasts serve “a paradigmatic function, to contrast Paul’s conversion from Judaism to Christianity, that is, from the life pleasing men to life pleasing God”, with the Galatians’ inverted conversion.

2.2 Previous interpretations of Gal. 2:19 ‘Dying to the law’

Secondly, [Lyons \(1985\)](#) argues that Paul opposed Gentile circumcision since it “implied the inadequacy of the death of Christ as the sole means of salvation (Gal. 2:21; 5:2–4), requiring the ‘perfecting’ of the work of God by the works of man” ([Lyons, 1985:129](#)). It was an act of apostasy, since thereby, in effect, the Gentile believers deserted the only hope of salvation.

[Gaventa \(1986\)](#) fortifies [Lyons \(1985\)](#)’s argument by presenting more direct evidence from the ancient letters of Seneca and Pliny ([Gaventa, 1986:323–326](#)). Though she differs from [Lyons \(1985\)](#) on several points, [Gaventa \(1986\)](#) agrees with [Lyons \(1985\)](#) in pivotal arguments: the contrast between ‘men and God’, ‘the singularity of the gospel’ ([Gaventa, 1986; Lyons, 1985](#)) and the contrast between ‘formerly and now’ entailing Paul’s reversal from the persecutor to the proclaimer ([Gaventa, 1986:316](#)).

[Gaventa \(1986:318\)](#) explains that ‘dying’ of Paul in Gal. 2:19 is another expression of Paul’s reversal in Gal. 1: “Paul died to the law and to his advancement in Judaism”. She argues that considering the larger argument, the separation of general ἐγὼ from individual ἐγὼ, and *vice versa*, is inadequate. [Gaventa \(1986:318\)](#) writes, “[Paul] sees in his experience a paradigm of the singularity of the gospel, and he uses his experience to call the Galatians into that singularity in their own faith-lives”. Through the remarks of his reversal, Paul reminds the Galatians of the reversals inherent in the gospel and calls on them to live out those reversals like him. Utilizing [Malherbe \(1983:238–256\)](#)’s study of exhortation, [Gaventa \(1986\)](#) explains Paul’s retrospective autobiographical section in Gal. 1:11–2:21 as the philophronetic element to recover the intimate relationship for a more direct appeal to imitate him in Gal. 4:12, “γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ, ὅτι καὶ ἐγὼ ὡς ὑμεῖς”. Paul urges the Galatians to imitate him: “as I died to the law, and to all the traditions and customs I had previously served (Gal. 2:19; cf. Gal. 1:13–14), so do you! As I let Christ live in myself instead of the law or any other tradition (Gal. 2:20; cf. Gal. 3:27–28), so do you!” (cf. [Gaventa, 1986:322](#)).

2.2.9 [Tolmie \(2005\)](#) and ‘dying’ as participating in the death of Jesus by the curse of the law

In his rhetorical analysis of Galatians, contrary to the ready application of ancient and modern rhetorical rules to Galatians, [Tolmie \(2005:95\)](#) proposes to read Gal. 2:11–21 as a rhetorical strategy of Paul.

According to [Tolmie \(2005\)](#), in Gal. 2:19–20, Paul “uses metaphorical language to heighten the impact of what he wants to convey” ([Tolmie, 2005:99](#)). Inviting the notion of defamiliarization ([Stacy, 1977:90](#)), [Tolmie \(2005\)](#) argues that the language of ‘death’, as contrast to ‘life’, provides the audience “with a new, unusual point of view on the issue”, thus “focusing their attention more intensively on the matter” ([Tolmie, 2005:99](#)). [Tolmie \(2005\)](#) interprets “ἐγὼ γὰρ διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον” (Gal. 2:19a) under the category of “Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι” (Gal. 2:19b) ([Tolmie, 2005:93](#)). For [Tolmie \(2005\)](#), these two denote the same thing. Following [Bruce \(1982:143\)](#), [Witherington III \(1998:189\)](#) and [Eckstein \(1996:68\)](#), [Tolmie \(2005\)](#) interprets διὰ νόμου as linked to the death of Jesus. He writes, “believers participate in the death of Christ—a death that had been brought about by the curse of the law as Paul states in Gal. 3:13”. For [Tolmie \(2005\)](#), ‘dying to the law’ indicates that “the law has lost its power over believers”, since the believers “have been released from its dominion into a new life in Christ”.

2.3 Chapter summary

This chapter has presented a survey of the literature regarding the interpretation of Galatians. In particular, diverse debates on the relationship between Paul and the law were reviewed (in Section 2.1), followed by the interpretations of ‘dying to the law’ in Gal. 2:19, as seen from various perspectives (in Section 2.2).

Like any other human social institution, as seen in writings (notably the four Gospels) of the time, first century Judaism also had many problems: legalism (Section 2.1.1)²⁴, exclusivism (Section 2.1.3), and more importantly, colonization of the Gentiles (Section 2.1.9). However, it should be noted that Paul did not abandon Judaism because of these problems, and that he did not become a freedom-fighter (as postcolonial Paul argues in Section 2.1.9), nor a convert of a new religion, namely Christianity (as argued in covenantal nomism in Section 2.1.2). The revelation of God which was found in Christ and his cross made Paul turn away from the way of life of first century Judaism (see Section 2.1.6). Other social matters were of less importance to Paul than *the authentic (ethical) way of life lived before God*. This enables a more faithful interpretation of “I died to the law” (Gal. 2:19) according to the literary and social-historical context, beyond conventional interpretation which only emphasizes separation from legalistic Judaism, which sought salvation through the works of the law.

Surely traditional interpretations which emphasize the communal aspect of dying in Gal. 2:19 shed light upon the character of the community of Jesus’ followers: it is the community of the covenantal people (Wright (1992) in Section 2.2.3), the sacramental community whose members are united through participation in the death and resurrection of Christ (Matera (2007) in Section 2.2.4), and the community of those who commit themselves to Christ (Longenecker (1990) in Section 2.2.5).

However, it should not be overlooked that these dogmatic interpretations have ignored the immediate literary context. Without doubt, the ἐγὼ in Gal. 2:19 refers to Paul himself (Dunn (1993) in Section 2.2.2). In order to be faithful to the gospel and to the will of God revealed in Christ, Paul identified himself as a friend of the Gentile sinners by eating the eschatological feast with them (Oakes (2015) in Section 2.2.7). Thereby Paul died socially in relation to the first century Jewish society centred around synagogues, and ultimately the Jerusalem Temple (Nanos (2001) in Section 2.2.6), and became an outcast (Dunn (1993) in Section 2.2.2).

Lyons (1985) and Gaventa (1986) in Section 2.2.8, and Tolmie (2005) in Section 2.2.9 provide a way toward understanding the communal aspect of Paul’s personal voice. By locating Gal. 1–2 in the context of Greco-Roman autobiographical writings, they reveal that Paul’s autobiographical section functions as a paradigm of the ethical life for believers.

On the basis of the previous studies reviewed in this chapter, the researcher will present his own interpretation of ‘dying to the law’ in the following chapter.

²⁴On a personal level, it would be fair to consider that some Jews (notably Sadducees and some Pharisees) acted hypocritically to enhance their reputation, being aware of their being human, rather than seeking salvation on the basis of their works (legalism). On a collective level, however, the peripheral Jews and the Gentiles were marginalized and considered as ‘sinners’ who could not enter the presence of God, because of their impurity. In this sense, first century Judaism was legalistic.

Chapter 3

An exegesis of Gal. 1–2

In this chapter an exegesis of Gal. 1–2, especially Gal. 2:19–20, will be done. Though the focus of this study is on the interpretation of Gal. 2:19–20, it cannot be properly understood separated from the whole autobiographical section of Gal. 1:10–2:21 (Aletti, 2005:322), particularly from Gal. 2:11–21. Thus, an exegesis of Gal. 2:11–21 along with the interpretation of the previous passage will be delineated in this chapter.

3.1 Preliminary remarks

Though avoiding the unwarranted hypotheses and re-constructions is a virtue of exegetes (Lambrecht, 1996:53), an exegesis is not free from the working hypotheses and some historical re-constructions. Following are some of those used in the exegesis in this chapter.

1. Galatians as a whole is a pastoral letter written for Paul’s children, the Galatian believers, as “my children” (τέκνα μου) in Gal. 4:19 illustrates (Gaventa, 2007:29–39; Kim, 2012:167–168), and every section in the letter is devoted to achieving this purpose. Thus, Paul’s personal narrative (Gal. 1:10–2:21) should not be treated as divorced from his theological argument (Gaventa, 1986:312) and ethical application.
2. As a Jew in the Greco-Roman world, Paul wrote his letters in the interplay with the rhetorical and epistolary customs of the day. However, Paul did not fully follow the customs but utilized them freely for his purpose of persuading the Galatians (Kwon, 2004:24–25; Witherington III, 1998:69). Thus, the train of thought and Paul’s own rhetorical strategy found in the text itself (Kern, 1998:260–261; Tolmie, 2005:28) in the autobiographical section will be considered more carefully than the ancient rhetorical or epistolary rules in this exegesis.
3. As a Second Temple Jew, Paul was *not so much* different from his contemporary Jews, not least in terms of the monotheistic belief, rituals and customs in Judaism (cf. Dunn, 2006; Eisenbaum, 2009; Zetterholm, 2009). Many were related to the worship in the Jerusalem Temple which entailed pilgrimage, in the first century (Neusner, 1992).
4. The memories of the Old Testament, especially those relating to Abraham (e.g. Hansen, 1989; Ciampa, 2010) and the Exodus (e.g. Wilson, 2004; Keesmaat, 1999) in Galatians,

3.2 Gal. 1:1–5 Opening of the letter

were so important to Paul that he continuously interacted with those memories throughout his writings. However, those memories are always related to/re-interpreted through the most important memory, i.e. the memory of Jesus (Gaventa, 2007:107; Hays, 2002). “The common ‘story’ to which [Paul] refers is one about Jesus and his actions, in accordance with God’s will and as a result of God’s power, as Savior” (Gaventa, 2007:107). It also should be noted that this memory of Jesus refers not only to the abbreviated story about Jesus’ crucifixion and resurrection (Gal. 1:3–4; 2:20; 3:1) but also to more detailed Jesus tradition, including the kingdom of God (Gal. 5:21), the calling of apostles (especially of Peter) (cf. Gal. 2:6–9), the destruction of the Temple (Gal. 2:18), the crucifixion of Christ (Gal. 2:19) and the teaching of Jesus on the law (Gal. 5:14) (Wenham, 2002:60–74)²⁵. Based on these stories, Paul relates the life of the Galatian believers with the lives of Old Testament figures as well as that of Jesus.

3.2 Gal. 1:1–5 Opening of the letter

In this rather extraordinary greeting (Gal. 1:1–5)²⁶, two distinctive features need to be mentioned, since they propose a hermeneutical key for the later passages.

3.2.1 Contrast between human beings and God

Firstly, Paul intentionally contrasts human beings and God from the beginning, “not from men nor through man, but through Jesus Christ and God the Father” (οὐκ ἀπ’ ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι’ ἀνθρώπου ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς) (Gal. 1:1). The contrast between humans and God in the first two chapters can be illustrated graphically as follows:

Beginning (1:1–5)			
apostle from human	apostle from God/Christ		(1:1)
Thesis (1:6–10)			
different gospel of human	gospel of God/Christ		(1:6–7)
approval of human/pleasing human	approval of God/pleasing God		(1:10)
(servant of human)	servant of (God)/Christ		(1:10)
Autobiographical section (1:11–2:21)			
different gospel of human	gospel of God/Christ		(1:11–12)
tradition of fathers	revelation of Christ		(1:12, 14)
human influenced by the outward appearance	God who does not take the outward appearance (but the heart) ²⁷		(2:6; cf. 2:2, 9)
(living for human)	living for God		(2:19)

²⁵Concerning Paul’s dependence on the Jesus tradition in other Pauline letters, especially 1&2 Thessalonians, see Beasley-Murray (1954), Wenham (1995), Wenham (2004) and Motyer (2004:58–59). For recent argument on Luke’s dependence on Paul, see Strelan (2008).

²⁶Oakes (2015:34–35) illustrates well the peculiarity of the opening section of Galatians.

²⁷Most English Bibles interpret Gal. 2:6 “πρόσωπον [ὁ] θεὸς ἀνθρώπου οὐ λαμβάνει” as “God shows no partiality” (ESV, NIV, NKJV, NASB). However, the researcher adopts the literal interpretation, “God does not take the outer appearance” in order to demonstrate the intertextual linkage to the Old Testament, i.e. “man looks on the outward appearance, but the Lord looks on the heart” (ἄνθρωπος ὄψεται εἰς πρόσωπον, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ὄψεται εἰς καρδίαν) (1 Sam. 16:7 LXX).

3.2 Gal. 1:1–5 Opening of the letter

In fact, the force of this contrast between humans and God is not limited to the opening section (Gal. 1:1–5) nor to the autobiographical section (Gal. 1–2) but sustained to the end of his letter. Contrasts prevail in Galatians (Du Toit, 2007; Vos, 2002:90): e.g. ‘formerly and now’ (Gal. 1:13, 23; 4:8–9), ‘Judaism and the church of God’ (Gal. 1:13–14), ‘in Judaism and in Christ’ (Gal. 1:6, 13–14, 22), ‘works of the law and faith in Jesus Christ’ (Gal. 1:16), ‘flesh and Spirit’ (Gal. 3:3) and ‘slave and heir’ (Gal. 4). However, these contrasts are more or less in the same category of the contrast between human beings and God (Lyons, 1985). Admitting that the conflict between Paul and others is basically ‘intra-Christian’ conflict (Cummins, 2001:96; Dunn, 1993:9–11)²⁸, it can be said that through this contrast Paul is implicitly naming his opponents as ‘apostles who came from people’.

By describing himself as standing on God’s side while others on the other side (Du Toit, 2007:154; Breytenbach, 2006), Paul is persuading the Galatian believers in crisis to live conforming to the gospel that Paul has preached, standing on God’s side (cf. Ex. 32:26²⁹). Thereby, Paul clarifies in Gal. 1:1–5 that what is at issue in the present crisis in Galatia is life conforming to the monotheistic faith³⁰.

3.2.2 The content of the gospel: One God, one Lord, the only means of salvation

Secondly, the content of the gospel is presented in the beginning (Bligh, 1969; Cousar, 2012; Tolmie, 2005:35–37). What is noteworthy in Gal. 1:1–5 is that Paul elaborately connects the gospel to God the Father. As Witherington III (1998:73–74) argues, “the fatherhood of God plays an important role in Galatians” (Gal. 1:3–4; 4:2, 6). In Gal. 1:1–5, God is called “our Father” (πατὴρ ἡμῶν) (Gal. 1:3 and 1:4), and God is proclaimed as

1. God the Father who raised Jesus Christ from the dead (Gal. 1:1),
2. our Father and the source of grace and peace (Gal. 1:3), and more significantly,
3. our Father who is willing to deliver us from the present evil age by giving the Lord Jesus Christ for our sins (Gal. 1:4), and finally,
4. God our Father who is to be worshipped eternally (Gal. 1:5).

²⁸The naming of Jesus’ followers as ‘Christian’ may be anachronistic, yet is helpful for understanding the character of the conflict. ‘Intra-Christian’ means that the opponents of Paul were also claiming that they had faith in Jesus Christ (Dunn, 1993:9). To be sure, Paul does not explicitly criticize or oppose Judaism in general (implicitly he criticizes some sort of Judaism—see Section 3.4.2 for the attitude of Paul towards Judaism), and his main target in Galatians is *not* Jews outside the churches. On the contrary, Nanos (2001:152) understands it as ‘intra-Jewish’ conflict.

²⁹Wilson (2004) indicates the intertextual linkage between Galatians and the golden calf in Ex. 32. Considering this, Paul’s contrast between humans and God might be identified with the zeal of Moses against the apostate Israelites: “then Moses stood in the gate of the camp and said, ‘Who is on the Lord’s side? Come to me.’” (Ex. 32:26). In fact, Ex. 32 works as an intertext of Galatians as a whole, particularly in the case of the Antioch incident (see Section 3.5.6)

³⁰Unlike Barclay (1987) and Tolmie (2005:31–34), the researcher argues that Paul is not so much concerned about defending his apostleship against the charges of the opponent in Gal. 1:1–5 (cf. Lategan, 1988). Rather this antithetical structure should be understood in the broader contrast between humans and God as illustrated above, and it functions as a moral paradigm, as Lyons (1985) and Gaventa (1986) argue.

3.2 Gal. 1:1–5 Opening of the letter

Along with the phrase, “God our Father”, the second and fourth points reflect Jewish covenantal faith, which was confessed specifically in their worship. [Dunn \(1993:31–32\)](#) and [George \(1994:85\)](#) propose to read “grace and peace” in Paul’s greeting from the Jewish background. They argue that in Gal. 1:3 Paul confesses that grace and peace always come from God our Father who is the creator and benefactor, i.e. the sovereign Lord who rules over the nations (e.g. Ps. 96, 97, 99) ([Dunn, 1993](#); [George, 1994](#); [Moo, 2013:71](#))³¹. It is the essence of the covenantal faith of Israel (cf. [Mays, 1994:12–22](#)). This faith was embodied in their monotheistic worship, which often entailed pilgrimage to Jerusalem and worship at the Temple before the throne of God ([Mays, 1994:72–83](#)), in the first century.

Moreover, Paul’s unusual doxology in greeting ([Bruce, 1982:77](#)), “to whom be the glory forever and ever. Amen” (ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων: ἀμήν) (Gal. 1:5; the fourth point), also reflects the worship of Israelites ([Betz, 1979](#); [Longenecker, 1990:9](#)). In their worship, Israelites praised God with the similar expression, “Blessed be the Lord, the God of Israel, from everlasting to everlasting! Amen and Amen.” (εὐλογητὸς Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. γένοιτο, γένοιτο [ἀμήν, ἀμήν].) (Ps. 41:13 [Ps. 40:14 LXX]; cf. Ps. 72, 89, 106). On this point, Paul is deeply rooted in the heritage of Israel, i.e. the monotheistic faith in the only one God our Father, as expressed in their worship.

What differentiates Paul from his contemporary Jews is the essence of the early Christian faith presented in Gal. 1:1, 4 ([Tolmie, 2005:85](#)). By presenting Jesus Christ as *Lord*³² who “deliver[s] us from the present evil age” (Gal. 1:4) and brings peace (Gal. 1:3), and using the sacrificial language for Christ’s death ([Dunn, 1993](#); [Oakes, 2015:40](#)), “gave himself for our sins” (τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν) (Gal. 1:4), Paul clarifies that our Lord Jesus Christ is the only means of salvation (cf. Gal. 2:16). However, even this is also given in relation to the Father (the first and third points): salvation from the present evil age through the sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ was willed by God. This is supported by the phrases, “according to the will of God our Father” (κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν) (Gal. 1:4). In fact, Paul did not proclaim a new religion. Instead, he wanted to assert that now the God of Israel becomes the Father of both Jews and Gentiles *through the agency of “our Lord” Jesus Christ* ([Betz, 1979](#); [Witherington III, 1998:74](#)).

Here, it is important to note that Paul does not present the gospel as a mere individual reconciliation with God³³. The Lord Jesus Christ “gave himself for *our sins* to deliver *us*” (Gal. 1:4). [Oakes \(2015\)](#) points out,

“Where we might be expecting Paul to write that Christ’s self-giving for our sins was to reconcile us to God, he writes that it is ‘to rescue us from the present evil age.’ Instead of salvation in terms of dealing with individual guilt, or dealing with a person’s relationship with God, this verse presents a group salvation related to

³¹Furthermore, [George \(1994:85\)](#) links “grace and peace” (χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη) in Paul’s greeting in Gal. 1:3 with the Aaronic blessing in Num. 6:24–26, “The Lord bless you and keep you; the Lord make his face to shine upon you and be gracious to you (ἐλεῆσαι σε literally “have mercy upon thee” [Num. 6:25 LXX]); the Lord lift up his countenance upon you and give you peace (δῶη σοι εἰρήνην [Num. 6:26 LXX])”. In fact, this Aaronic blessing corresponds more with Paul’s final greeting in Gal. 6:16, “peace and mercy be upon them” (εἰρήνη ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔλεος) (cf. [Moo, 2013:71](#)).

³²As [Dunn \(1993:33\)](#) indicates, this title was used for the sacred name of God the Father in the Jewish scriptures.

³³[Wright \(2014:197\)](#) even argues, “there is no such thing as an ‘individual’ Christian” since “Paul’s gospel created a community” and “his doctrine of justification sustained it” (cf. [Dunson, 2012:117](#)).

3.3 Gal. 1:6–9 Introduction: The crisis of the Galatians

a particular view of the world” (Oakes, 2015:40–41).

It should not be ignored that Paul does not deny the personal dimension of the gospel (cf. Dunson, 2012:116–117)³⁴. It is evidenced by another summary of the gospel in Gal. 2:20, “[the son of God] loved *me* and gave himself for *me*” (Gal. 2:20). However, that is not what the gospel is all about. In most cases, Paul describes the gospel as communal (Malina and Neyrey, 2006:181). The individual reconciliation with God which is implied in “gave himself for [...] sin” and the group salvation in “to deliver us from the present evil age” can be harmonized, using the pilgrimage motif found especially in Exodus. In Exodus Israel is described as a band of pilgrims (a community of worship) who were delivered from the enslaving empire with sacrificial blood, and who were marching to the presence of God (McConville, 2004; Smith, 1997). Likewise, Paul describes the Galatians as the pilgrims who were walking or rather marching (Gal. 6:16) to the presence of God our Father in the Jerusalem above (Gal. 4:26), after being delivered from the present evil world (Gal. 1:4)³⁵ (cf. Keesmaat, 1999; Wilson, 2004) by the sacrificial death of Christ.

3.3 Gal. 1:6–9 Introduction: The crisis of the Galatians

“Θαυμάζω ὅτι οὕτως ταχέως μετατίθεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι Χριστοῦ εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον.” (Gal. 1:6)

“I am astonished that you are *so quickly deserting him who called you* in the grace of Christ and are turning to a different gospel.” (Gal. 1:6)

The introduction begins with a negative interjection “I am astonished” (Θαυμάζω) instead of a blessing. This Θαυμάζω is not merely a literary marker (cf. Nanos, 2001:32–61). Along with the twofold curses on the persuaders³⁶ “let him be accursed” (ἀνάθεμα ἔστω) (Gal. 1:8 and 1:9)³⁷, this also shows Paul’s deep concern about the crisis of the Galatians (Malina and Neyrey, 2006; Moo, 2013:75–76). Insofar as Paul sees, the crisis of the Galatians is one of monotheistic faith (Calvert-Koyzis, 2004; Eisenbaum, 2009), since the Galatians are now turning away *from God the Father* who called (delivered) them in the grace of Christ

³⁴In his study on the relationship between individual and community in Romans, Dunson (2012) clarifies, “[I]t is highly significant that Paul’s first direct mention of justification of the letter speaks *simply of the justification of the generic, ‘timeless’ individual*” (Dunson, 2012:117).

³⁵The researcher interprets αἰών as ‘world-system’ (LN § 41.38) rather than ‘era’ (LN § 67.143). In this spatial sense, the world can be conceptualized as ‘empire’, since, unlike individual nations, an empire consists of multiple nations by nature, thus denoting ‘world’ (Wallerstein, 2011). Moo (2013:73) also writes, ““This evil age” (αἰών) in Gal. 1:4 corresponds to the “world” (κόσμος) of Gal. 6:14; both of which stand in contrast to the “new creation” (κτίσις) (Gal. 6:15)”.

³⁶“Some who trouble you and want to distort the gospel of Christ” (Gal. 1:7) have been named diversely: “Judaizers” (Baur, 1831), “Paul’s opponents”, “the agitators” (Jewett, 1971), “false teachers” (Moo, 2013; Morris, 1996), “teachers” (Martyn, 1997), “influencers” (Nanos, 2001), “missionaries” (Dunn, 1993) and “colonizers” (Niang, 2009). In this study, they will be named as ‘persuaders’ because this corresponds better to the issue of Galatians and to their activity, “preaching to you a [different] gospel” (Gal. 1:8–9), “[...] force you to be circumcised [...] desire to have you circumcised [...]” (Gal. 6:12–13).

³⁷To be sure, in the context of the ancient Mediterranean society where existence of the supernatural powers were taken for granted (Niang, 2009:16 note 52), Paul’s curse should not be treated as an exaggerative literary device. Yamauchi (1983:181–192) introduces biblical examples of curses, especially in the Old Testament. Lightfoot (1865:133) and Deissmann (2004a:193) interpret “bewitched” (Gal. 3:1) in terms of ‘evil eye’.

3.3 Gal. 1:6–9 Introduction: The crisis of the Galatians

(Gal. 1:6). The evidence for Paul’s perception of the situation of the Galatians is found in the term, “deserting” (μετατίθεσθε) (Gal. 1:6) which “was used to describe the apostasy of the Hellenistic Jews from their covenant faith during the Maccabean crisis (2 Macc. vi.46; vii.24; xi.24)” (Dunn, 1993:39–40). The term “quickly” (ταχέως) (Gal. 1:6) also conveys an Old Testament allusion, i.e. the apostasy of Israel in Exodus (Ciampa, 1998:71–77). As Wilson (2004:558–559) and Moo (2013:76–77) indicate, during their journey to the promised land, the Israelites who had been called out from the land of slavery were gone “*quickly out of the way* that I commanded them” (παρέβησαν ταχὺ ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἧς ἐνετείλω αὐτοῖς) (Ex. 32:8 LXX). Likewise the Galatian believers are now going astray, being prompted by the persuaders’ different gospel (Gal. 1:6–9) which is “man-made” (Gal. 3:15) and hinders their coming to the presence of God by enslaving them under the law (Gal. 4:9; 5:1). According to Paul, the Galatian believers are now turning back again to the land of slavery (“the present evil age” in Gal. 1:1) which they have already left (Wilson, 2004), deserting their covenantal faith to God (Ciampa, 1998)³⁸ who delivered them in the grace of Christ. It is clearly stated in Gal. 1:6 as well as in the following verses:

“[...] *how can you turn back again* to the weak and worthless elementary principles of the world, whose slaves you want to be once more? You observe days and months and seasons and years!” (Gal. 4:9–10)

“[...] *and do not submit again to a yoke of slavery* [...] if you accept circumcision, Christ will be of no advantage to you. [...] You are severed from Christ, you who would be justified by the law; you have fallen away from grace.” (Gal. 5:1–4)

Admitting that Paul was a monotheistic first century Jew (Eisenbaum, 2009:6) (Gal. 1:14; 2:15; cf. Rom. 11:1; 2 Cor. 11:11; Phil. 3:4–6), he surprisingly identifies the call of the persuaders for the observance of the law—circumcision (Gal. 6:13), dietary law (Gal. 2:12), and Sabbath, new moons and calendric pilgrimage festivals (Gal. 4:10)—as a different gospel which is contrary to the gospel of Christ (Gal. 1:6–7). Fredriksen (1995) and Nanos (2001) argue that becoming a Jew by circumcision enabled the Gentile believers to avoid the potential persecution from the surrounding pagan society. However, in spite of this obvious benefit—if Fredriksen (1995) and Nanos (2001) are correct—, Paul adamantly opposes the Gentile believers’ observance of the law. The other allusion to the law-giving in Sinai, “even if we or *an angel from heaven should preach to you a gospel* contrary to the one we preached to you, let him be accursed.” (Gal. 1:8; cf. Acts 7:53), also seems to make this point: the Gentile believers in Galatia should not observe the law of Moses.

If Paul was in line with the monotheistic faith of Israel, his argument should also be understood in terms of his monotheistic faith. As Calvert-Koyzis (2004:85) argues, the question Paul poses in Galatians is, “Who is the true monotheist?” As a monotheistic Jew who desired to conform to the will of God, Paul rejected the persuaders’ different gospel, simply

³⁸Ciampa (1998) points out that in the covenantal faith of Israel “[T]he ‘turning from the way’ that God commanded (Ex. 32:8; Deut. 9:12, 16; Judg. 2:17) is more specifically identified with turning to the other gods. In fact, the central section of the *Shema* (Deut. 11:13–21), which was recited daily by faithful Jews, canonized this understanding of apostasy. The two alternatives found there are to ‘obey my commandments which I command you this day, to love the Lord your God, and to serve him with all your heart and with all your soul’ (Deut. 11:13) or to ‘turn aside and serve other gods and worship them’ (Deut. 11:16)” (Ciampa, 1998:72–73). This understanding enables Paul to identify ‘turning to the different gospel’ with ‘turning to the previous life’ in which they “were enslaved to those that by nature are not gods” (Gal. 4:8).

3.4 Gal. 1:10–1:24 Presenting Paul’s life as a paradigmatic example

because it was not the gospel of Christ. This is affirmed by Gal. 1:7–9, where Paul elaborately emphasizes the singularity of the gospel (Gaventa, 2007:107). Paul declares that there is no other gospel but only “some [persuaders] who want to distort the gospel of Christ” (Gal. 1:7). Paul was different from his contemporary Jews only in terms of his awakening that God’s will is clearly demonstrated in the gospel of Christ “who gave himself for our sins to deliver us from the present evil age” (Gal. 1:4; cf. Section 2.1.6). Unlike the assumption of the Radical New Perspective (Eisenbaum, 2012:136,143), “the grace of Jesus” (Gal. 1:6) is not only for the Gentiles but also for the Jews, since Paul clarifies the need of Christ’s sacrificial death for himself (Gal. 1:4; 2:20) as well as for the Jewish believers (Gal. 1:4; cf. 2:16 in Section 3.6.2). In order to conform to the will of God revealed in Christ, Paul rejected the persuaders’ different gospel and urged the Gentile believers in Galatia to do so. In fact, this negative prohibition, i.e. *do not follow the different gospel which demands the works of the law*, should be understood in the light of active commands (Barclay, 1988:16–26), “walk [straight] by the Spirit” (Gal. 5:16), fulfilling the law of Christ (Gal. 6:2, 16). But now, as Paul sees, the Gentile believers are deviating from the way to the presence of God who delivered them in the grace of Christ, by heeding the different gospel.

3.4 Gal. 1:10–1:24 Presenting Paul’s life as a paradigmatic example

In the conventional view, the autobiographical section in Galatians³⁹ has been read as Paul’s defence of his apostleship and his gospel against the charges by his opponents (cf. Gaventa, 1986:310, note 2). From their reading of Greco-Roman epistolography, Malina and Neyrey (2006) propose the same opinion, i.e. that Paul defends his honour in this section. Malina and Neyrey (2006:183–184) understand Gal. 1:10–2:21 as an *encomium*, a stereotypical speech pattern for ‘self-praise’ in the ancient epistles, which is normally written to defend the honour of the author.

Opening (<i>prooimion</i>)	1:10–12
Lifestyle (<i>anastrophe</i>)	1:13–17
Deeds (<i>praxeis</i>)	1:18–2:10
Comparison (<i>synkrisis</i>)	2:11–20
Conclusion (<i>epilogos</i>)	2:21

This kind of reading inevitably separates Paul’s autobiographical section from his theological argument and ethical application (Gaventa, 2007:85–88). However, assuming that Galatians is a pastoral letter coherently calling for the life conforming to the gospel of Christ as mentioned in Section 3.1, the autobiographical section should not be understood separately from the theological argument (the gospel of Christ) and the pastoral purpose (promoting the life of the Galatian believers conforming to the gospel of Christ).

In this regard, Lyons (1985) and Gaventa (1986) shed light upon understanding the autobiographical section in accordance with the purpose of Galatians. They argue that the

³⁹Traditionally Gal. 1:11–2:10 is perceived as the autobiographical section in Galatians (Riches, 2012). However, some scholars such as Gaventa (2007), Lyons (1985) and Malina and Neyrey (2006) extend the scope of the autobiographical section to Gal. 1:10–2:21 based on their ancient epistological studies. In this study, the researcher follows the latter opinion.

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autobiographical section in the ancient letters is written primarily for *moral edification* by presenting the author as a moral example in *praxeis* faithful to their philosophy. Following this model, in the autobiographical section Paul is presenting his life as a paradigm of a life conforming to the gospel of Christ (Cummins, 2001:95; cf. Du Toit, 2007:158). Therefore, Paul’s autobiographical section as a whole (Gal. 1:10–2:21) should be read as a rhetorical device for persuading the Galatians to live in accordance to the gospel of Christ.

3.4.1 Gal. 1:10–12 Still persuade people? Still please people?

“Ἄρτι γὰρ ἀνθρώπους πείθω ἢ τὸν θεόν; ἢ ζητῶ ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκειν; εἰ ἔτι ἀνθρώποις ἤρεσκον, Χριστοῦ δοῦλος οὐκ ἂν ἦμην.” (Gal. 1:10)

“For am I now seeking the approval of man, or of God? Or am I trying to please man? If I were still trying to please man, I would not be a servant of Christ.” (Gal. 1:10)

As argued above, Paul’s thesis in Gal. 1:10–12 cannot be readily understood as a self-defence. Considering that the letter is written for the benefit of the Galatians in crisis, the contrast between human beings and God shown in Gal. 1:10–12 reflects the crisis of the Galatians: They are following the different gospel of human origin, i.e. “man’s gospel” (Gal. 1:11).

The series of rhetorical questions in Gal. 1:10 are not easy to understand, especially the second one, πείθω ἢ τὸν θεόν;. Most modern English translations (e.g. NIV, NASB, NRSV, ESV) translate πείθω as ‘seeking approval/favour’ in the light of “please” (ἀρέσκω). However, considering the literary context, where Paul speaks of the preaching/compelling (εὐαγγελίζω/ἀναγκάζω) of the persuaders’ different gospel (Gal. 1:8–9, 6:12) and his own preaching of the true gospel of Christ (Gal. 1:11–12, 16, 23), it is more natural to translate πείθω simply as ‘persuade’ (LN §33.301). Thereby Paul emphasizes in Gal. 1:10 the compelling aspect in the activities of the persuaders (Gal. 6:12), which caused the crisis in Galatia.

The term “still” (ἔρτι), combined with πείθω, reminds of Paul’s previous life in Judaism (Gal. 1:13) (Lyons, 1985:150), where he persuaded people in order to please humans. In fact, the mission activity of the persuaders is the same as Paul’s persuasion in his previous life (Niang, 2009:1–7); but now, Paul has turned away, and has become “a servant of Christ” (Χριστοῦ δοῦλος)⁴⁰ (Gal. 1:10), i.e. a faithful apostle (persuader) of the true gospel of Christ in order to please God. Through these questions Paul challenges the Galatians: “Are you still there to please human beings?”

3.4.2 Judaism in Gal. 1:13–14

The term Ἰουδαϊσμός in Gal. 1:13–14 is hard to define. To be sure, uniformly common Judaism never existed. This led some scholars to propose that various ‘judaisms’ existed during the

⁴⁰The word δοῦλος, along with others such as ἀπόστολος or διάκονος, is used mostly to refer to ‘(priestly) official’ by Paul (cf. Gupta, 2010:155–157; Moo, 2013:84). In many cases, the term δοῦλος is accompanied by ἀπόστολος and διάκονος in the Pauline letters and often used interchangeably: e.g. “Παῦλος δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, κλητὸς ἀπόστολος, ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ” (Rom. 1:1), “Παῦλος δοῦλος θεοῦ, ἀπόστολος δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ” (Titus 1:1) and “Ἐπαφρᾶ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ συνδούλου ἡμῶν, ὅς ἐστιν πιστὸς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διάκονος τοῦ Χριστοῦ” (Col. 1:7).

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Second Temple period (e.g. [Boccaccini, 1991](#))⁴¹. In spite of the varieties, however, there are undeniably some common features among them ([Goodman, 2011:21–24](#)). Presupposing some common features, [Malina and Neyrey \(2006:185\)](#) define Judaism as *Ioudaios*’ (originally, Israelites’) “worldview (cosmology) and the customary behaviour based on that worldview”, similar to “Judean way of belief and life” in *BDAG* 479.

In the first century, Judaism as a worldview and the customary behaviour cannot be understood separately from the Jerusalem Temple⁴² ([Goodman 2011:26](#); [Neusner 1992](#)). Despite, or maybe exactly because of, the controversy over the status of the earthly Jerusalem Temple in the various strands of Judaism, especially among the Essenes and diaspora Jews ([Goodman, 2011:21](#)), the Jerusalem Temple was definitely at the centre of their worldview or cosmology ([Klawans, 2006:142–144](#)). Even the three primary marks of Jewish piety, which are apparently unrelated to the Temple worship in the first century—prayer, fasting and almsgiving (Mt. 6)—were actually closely associated to the worship in Jerusalem: prayers of the diaspora Jews in the direction of the Temple (cf. Dan. 6:11), fasting for the restoration of Jerusalem (cf. Neh. 1:3–4) and alms delivered and distributed during the festivals in Jerusalem ([Jeremias, 1969](#)). Considering these facts, first century Judaism can roughly be understood as a cosmology with the Jerusalem Temple at its centre ([Sterling, 1999:202](#)). It is characterized by the customary behaviour based on the cosmology, among which the worship in Jerusalem is an important part.

However, it should be noted that the notion of Judaism was not fixed in the Second Temple period. In other words, this term could refer to different objects, according to how Ἰουδαῖος was defined. [Smith \(1999\)](#) distinguishes the meaning of Ἰουδαῖος as follows:

1. a member of the tribe of Judah;
2. a geographical and ethnic meaning: a native of Judaea, a ‘Judaeon’⁴³;
3. a religious meaning that developed during the exile: a ‘Jew’, i.e. a member of Yahweh’s chosen people, entitled to participate in those religious ceremonies to which only such members were admitted; and

⁴¹From the perspective of intellectual history, [Boccaccini \(1991\)](#) argues that the Second Temple period was marked by many competing judaisms, two of which were later developed as ‘Christianity’ and ‘Rabbinic Judaism’.

⁴²In his research on the works of Philo, [Sterling \(1999:199–217\)](#) illustrates how diaspora Jews tried to justify their status as God’s people in the foreign land, without ignoring the centrality of the Jerusalem Temple, by appealing to the Old Testament prophets.

⁴³Recently, based on the distinction between the Israelites (including the Benjamite Paul himself belongs to, Rom. 11:1; Phil. 3:5–6) and Ἰουδαῖος (the tribe of Judah) (see Section 2.1.8), [Snyder \(2015:129–130\)](#) argues, “according to Paul, the contemporary state of *Ioudaia*, including its *nomos* (‘custom; law’), was not the ideal for ‘Israel’ (Hebrew *Yisra-’el*, ‘God rules’ or ‘May God rule’). For, irrespective of its Temple in Jerusalem, *Ioudaia* had been conquered by and was subordinated to Rome. Rather, Paul’s hope for Israel was that an *anastasis* (Greek, ‘uprising’; cf. Latin ‘*superstitio*’) had been initiated in Jesus, whom ‘the rulers’ had executed on account of political sedition but whom God resurrected. [...] It was as a Benjamite that Paul proclaimed this message to peoples outside the land of *Ioudaia*, in order to call for the reunion of ‘all Israel’ (Rom. 9–11; cf. Gal. 6). Similarly, [Staples \(2011:371–390\)](#) argues that “Paul understood ‘Ephraim’ (including the other tribes from the former northern kingdom) to be dispersed and ‘intermixed’ with other peoples, so that Paul’s gathering of *ethne* was part and parcel with collecting the dispersed tribes of Israel” ([Snyder, 2015:133–134](#), note 27). The same understanding is taken by [Malina and Neyrey \(2006\)](#) as shown in Section 2.1.8.

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4. a political meaning: a member of the Judaeo-Samaritan-Idumaeo-Ituraean-Galilean alliance, as referred to in [Miller \(2010:113\)](#).

In fact, the identity of Ἰουδαῖος was negotiated in the interaction with larger pagan Greco-Roman world ([Sterling, 1992](#)) as well as with other subgroups such as Idumaeans and Galileans ([Miller, 2010:109–118](#)). So was Judaism. Given the basic notion of first century Judaism discussed above, a more direct meaning of Ἰουδαϊσμός in Gal. 1:13–14 should be found in the given text.

In Gal. 1:14, the parallelism between Paul’s “advancing in *Judaism*” and the fact that he was “extremely zealous [...] for *the traditions of my fathers*” (τῶν πατριῶν μου παραδόσεων) shows that Paul uses Ἰουδαϊσμός as “the traditions of fathers”. Unlike his contemporaries’ usage of Judaism as the antithesis of Hellenism (e.g. *2 Macc.* 4:13; cf. [Dunn, 1993:56](#); [Sterling, 1992](#)), Paul uses the term Ἰουδαϊσμός in Gal. 13–14 to refer to *a human tradition* as the antithesis of “the revelation of Christ” (Gal. 1:12) under the force of the contrast between human beings and God (Section 3.2.1). Here Paul follows the Jesus tradition which the Gospel writers and Paul himself share (see Section 3.1, the fourth point). The contrast between ‘the tradition of elders (humans)’ (τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων) and ‘the word of God (the revelation of Christ in Gal. 1:12)’ is apparent also in the Gospels which commonly share the Jesus tradition with Paul. Mk. 7:5–9 differentiates “walking according to the tradition of the elders” (Mk. 7:5) from Israel’s covenantal faith(ful worship and life) ([Brooks, 1991:116](#)), i.e. “walking in the law of the Lord” (Ps. 119:1; cf. Isa. 2:5):

“And the Pharisees and the scribes asked him, ‘Why do your disciples not *walk according to the tradition of the elders*, but eat with defiled hands?’ And he said to them, ‘Well did Isaiah prophesy of you hypocrites, as it is written,

This people honors me with their lips, but their heart is far from me; in vain do they worship me, teaching as doctrines *the commandments of men*. You leave the commandment of God and hold to *the tradition of men*.’

And he said to them, ‘You have a fine way of rejecting the commandment of God in order to establish *your tradition!*’” (Mk. 7:5–9; cf. Mt. 15:6–9)

In this passage, Jesus does not problematize the law as a whole nor oppose Judaism in a modern sense, i.e. the Jewish thought, ritual, and cosmology as a whole. Just as the prophets of biblical Israel did, Jesus criticizes *the external worship and life without heart*, i.e. hypocrisy, quoting the prophecy of Isaiah 29:13 LXX ([Brooks, 1991](#); [English, 2014](#)).

Paul’s attitude on Ἰουδαϊσμός can be understood similarly. Following Jesus, Paul also criticizes *the feature of worship and life*⁴⁴ of some privileged first century Jews⁴⁵, which neglected the heart, i.e. the will of God, which is ultimately revealed in Christ (cf. [Grindheim, 2007:548, 557–558](#)). It is evidenced by Paul’s categorization of Peter’s (and other Jewish

⁴⁴[Moo \(2013:100\)](#) opposes this idea and argues that Judaism in Pauline letters broadly refers to ‘the Jewish faith as a whole’. He seems to ignore the historical matrix in which the concept was formed, and fails to comprehend the rhetorical dynamics in it.

⁴⁵They were so *influential* (e.g. Sadducees and some Pharisees) that they dominated public discourse, and their cosmology and instruction were perceived as *normative* in the first century (cf. “influential” in Gal. 2:2, 6, 9).

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believers’) worship and life conforming to the law of Jerusalem, as being against the gospel (Gal. 2:14), and further as *hypocrisy* (Gal. 2:13; Section 3.5.4). Paul names *the cosmology and praxeis* of this group among first century Jews as Ἰουδαϊσμός in Gal. 1:13–14. Therefore, Paul’s speaking of Ἰουδαϊσμός must be differentiated from the modern concept of Judaism as cosmology and the customary behaviour of *general* Jews (e.g. Morris, 1996:52, note 56).

Moreover, in Paul’s usage, Ἰουδαϊσμός is contrasted to “the church of God” (τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ) (Gal. 1:13–14), and in a broader context, to “the Israel of God” (τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ) (Gal. 6:16). The term ‘church’ probably originated from the discussion of the true assembly of Israel as opposed to the ethnic Jews in the Old Testament (Martyn, 1997:154; Moo, 2013:100–101; cf. Zamfir, 2014)⁴⁶, e.g. Ἰσραὴλ ἐκκλησία (2 Esdras 10:1 LXX). Unlike the estimation of scholars of the New Perspective and the Radical New Perspective, i.e. the Jesus movement as a part of first century Judaism, Paul does not see “the church of God” (Gal. 1:13–14) as a part of Ἰουδαϊσμός, a human tradition. Instead, in Paul’s cosmology, Jews are a part of “the church of God”, “the (eschatological) Israel of God” (Gal. 6:16). For Paul, like many of his contemporary Jews (Boyarin, 2002), the term ‘Israel’ denotes the covenantal community of worship (Goodblatt, 2009:118; Tomson, 1986:278). However, unlike his contemporary Jews, Paul was convinced that Israel is the covenantal community of worship *in which both Jews and the Gentiles are included* (Elliott, 2007:149), and re-defined Ἰουδαϊσμός as a certain first century Jews’ customary behaviour based on their cosmology which is related to “the present Jerusalem” (Gal. 4:25). In this study, Paul’s notion of Ἰουδαϊσμός as shown in Gal. 1:13–14 will be referred to simply as *first century Judaism*.

3.4.3 Gal. 1:13–24 Paul’s reversed boasting

Some scholars argue that Paul boasts of his previous life in first century Judaism (τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναστροφὴν ποτε ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ) in Gal. 1:13–14 (Malina and Neyrey, 2006:185). According to them, Paul’s ‘advancement of Judaism’ in Gal. 1:14 corresponds more or less to ἀναστροφή, a technical term to indicate a praiseworthy ‘manner of life’ used in *encomium*, a self-praise pattern (Hester, 2002:181–196). Malina and Neyrey (2006:185) write, “Paul boasts that he was pre-eminent in his manner of life [in first century Judaism], which was rooted in respect for ancestors”.

However, as Lyons (1985) and Aletti (2012:220)⁴⁷ indicate, Paul does not see his previous life as praiseworthy. Noting Paul’s notion of Judaism as discussed in the previous section (Section 3.4.2), he cannot boast (cf. καυχᾶσθαι in Gal. 6:14) his pre-eminence in first century Judaism, as some privileged Jews’ cosmology centred around the present Jerusalem Temple and their customary behaviour conforming to it. Paul calls himself in first century Judaism a persecutor of the church of God (Gal. 1:13, 23), i.e. the assembly of God’s people (Dunn, 1993:58).

However, God’s revelation of Christ (Gal. 1:16) changed Paul radically (Grindheim, 2007:556). Paul’s conversion from first century Judaism to Christ was radical and complete

⁴⁶Zamfir (2014:514) speculates that this term was probably borrowed from the Hellenistic *polis* life. Thereby, Zamfir (2014) emphasizes the public dimension of ἐκκλησία. In other words, ἐκκλησία is not merely a private meeting, i.e. household. Jesus’ followers in the first century could gather at someone’s house, yet it is “a public, quasi-cosmic space, whose laws and structures receive divine legitimation” (Zamfir, 2014:511–514).

⁴⁷Aletti (2012) shows that “the triple denomination—*genos* (origin), *anastrophe* (formation) and *praxeis* (behaviour and virtues)—is totally inadequate for Gal. 1:13–24”, in comparison to Phil. 3:5–6, a true self-praise.

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in the sense that he became the proclaimer of the very faith he had persecuted (Gal. 1:23), and he insisted that justification is not granted by any other way than through faith in Jesus Christ (Gal. 2:16). However, it does not necessarily mean that Paul denied the law itself or the heritage of Israel’s faith in God. On the contrary, Paul sought to serve the God of Israel faithfully *before and after* his conversion, in accordance with first century Judaism in the former case, and in Christ (see Section 3.4.4) in the case of the latter⁴⁸. Here again, Paul presents God the Father as the subject of revelation, and thereby clarifies that he is deeply rooted in the heritage of Israel’s faith. In Gal. 1:15 God is explained in two ways:

1. “who had set me apart before I was born” (ὁ ἀφορίσας με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου);
2. “who called me by his grace” (καλέσας διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ) (Gal. 1:15).

The similarity of the call of the OT prophets (Isa. 49; Jer. 1) and Paul’s commission-language (the first point) is widely recognized (Bruce, 1982:92; Dunn, 1993:62–63). This fact led scholars to argue that the Damascus event was a commissioning one (Stendahl, 1963:204–205) and Paul was called as one of the prophets of Israel (Malina and Neyrey, 2006:186–189). However, there is more to consider regarding the Damascus event. As Sandnes (1991:60) points out, Paul’s commission is decisively different from those of the OT prophets in that the Son of God himself was revealed to Paul. Simply put, Paul was called as an apostle of Jesus Christ (Gal. 1:1,10; cf. 2 Cor. 1:1) for the nations (Aletti, 2012:227). Moreover, the commissioning event of Paul was at the same time the conversion event. Unlike Dunn (1993)’s claim, Paul’s remark “[God] called me by his grace” does not refer to Paul’s commission, but his salvation (Longenecker, 1990:30). It is obvious when referring to Gal. 1:6 where Paul speaks of the Galatians’ salvation, “[God] called you in the grace of Christ” (τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι [Χριστοῦ]). If the Gentile believers in Galatia were called out (Gal. 1:6; “deliver” (ἐξαιρέω) in Gal. 1:4) from the present evil empire in the grace of Christ, so was Paul.

When he encountered God’s will clearly revealed in Christ (Gal. 1:16; cf. Gal. 1:4), Paul was enlightened and immediately started to live *a new life conforming to the will of God* (Malina and Neyrey, 2006:192), i.e. proclaiming the gospel of faith [in Jesus Christ] which he had previously tried to destroy (Gal. 1:23; Betz, 1979:73–74; Bruce, 1982:96)⁴⁹. As for Paul, conversion and commission were inseparable, since ‘conversion’ denotes ‘turning to God’, i.e. turning to ethical monotheism (Sterling, 2008)⁵⁰. Paul started to walk straight

⁴⁸Paul’s ambivalent attitude toward ‘the law’, as well as contradicting or confusing statements in this study, if any, can be understood in this way: Paul (and the researcher) refers to the way of first century Judaism (see Section 3.4.2) when ‘the law’ is mentioned negatively.

⁴⁹Unlike the speculation of Tolmie (2005:62), there are sound reasons to identify Paul’s journey to Arabia and Damascus as a mission journey to preach the gospel, because (1) this explanation corresponds to his commission, “in order that I might preach him among the Gentiles” (Gal. 1:16; Dunn, 1993; Tolmie, 2005:62), and (2) the churches in Judea confirmed that Paul was preaching the gospel in his first few years (Gal. 1:23) in this area.

⁵⁰Based on Rambo (1993:12–14)’s five ideal types of conversion—(1) tradition transition (a shift from one major religious tradition to another); (2) institutional transition (a movement from one community to another within the same tradition); (3) affiliation (an alignment with little or no commitment); (4) intensification (a revitalized commitment to a tradition to which the individual had a previous affiliation); and (5) apostasy or defection—, Sterling (2008:74–76) argues that in LXX and Second Temple Jewish writings ‘conversion’ refers to (4) intensification, i.e. a turn to ethical monotheism (Sterling, 2008:94). It is also borne out by Paul’s own reference to conversion in Acts: “[...] I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision but I proclaimed first to those in Damascus, then to those in Jerusalem, then to the entire countryside of Judea, and to the Gentiles

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to the truth of the gospel as soon as he was delivered from the present evil world⁵¹. Paul’s conversion from his previous life in first century Judaism (Section 3.4.2) to the faith is the theme of praise among the churches in Christ (Gal. 1:24), not his previous advancement in first century Judaism, “He who used to persecute us is now preaching the faith he once tried to destroy!” (Gal. 1:23).

Admitting the pastoral purpose of Paul’s autobiographical section (Section 3.1), Paul’s reversed boasting about his immediate (εὐθέως) response to the revelation of Christ (Du Toit, 2007:158) is a means of exhortation for the Galatian believers who immediately turned away from the gospel of Christ (Gal. 1:6; Cummins, 2001:94; Gaventa, 2007:96).

3.4.4 Gal. 1:23 The faith in Christ as the new way

Gal. 1:23 draws special attention, since it is the first occasion where the term “faith” (πίστις), the main theme of this letter, appears (Tolmie, 2005:68). As Dunn (1993:84) and Moo (2013:114) indicate, “the faith” in Gal. 1:23 does not refer to “the act of believing” (cf. Fung, 1988:83) but objectively to the Jesus movement itself.

In fact, in Gal. 1:23, the term ‘us’ (ἡμᾶς) appears as the object of persecution, and ‘the faith’ appears as what “[Paul] once tried to destroy” (τὴν πίστιν ἣν ποτε ἐπόρθει) (Gal. 1:23). It is exactly paralleled to Gal. 1:13 (Moo, 2013:114–115):

“(i) ἐδίωκον (ii) τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ (iii) ἐπόρθουν (iv) [τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ],” (Gal. 1:13)

“(i) διώκων (ii) ἡμᾶς ποτε νῦν εὐαγγελίζεται (iv) τὴν πίστιν ἣν ποτε (iii) ἐπόρθει” (Gal. 1:23).

In this parallel structure, the term (ii) ‘us’—the churches *in Christ* (Gal. 1:22)⁵²—is identified with (ii) “the church of God” (Gal. 1:13), i.e. the covenantal liturgical assembly of God (Goodblatt, 2009:118; Tomson, 1986:278). Furthermore, (iv) ‘the faith’ is closely related to (iv) ‘the church of God’. In other words, along with ‘in Christ’ (Martyn, 1997:176) (iv) ‘the faith’ shows the characteristic of (ii) ‘we’, the church of God (cf. Dunn, 1993:84). Considering Paul’s notion of Judaism discussed in Section 3.4.2 and its antithetical relationship with ‘the church of God’, the relationship between ‘the faith’ and first century Judaism can also be defined as being antithetical.

The antithetical relationship between ‘the faith’ and first century Judaism is evidenced by the terms ‘proclaim’ (εὐαγγελίζω) (Gal. 1:8–9 negatively; Gal. 1:11, 16, 23 and 4:13 positively), (i) “persecute” (διώκω) (Gal. 1:13, 23; cf. Gal. 4:29) and (iii) ‘destroy’ (πορθέω) (Gal. 1:13, 23). From his position in first century Judaism Paul tried to destroy the faith since it threatened first century Judaism most significantly (Dunn, 1993:84), and after experiencing

that they should *repent and turn to God* (μετανοεῖν καὶ ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν), *performing deeds worthy of repentance* (ἔξια τῆς μετανοίας) (Acts 26:19–20; Sterling, 2008:69–70, his own translation).

⁵¹Admitting the intertextual relationship between the Exodus story and Paul’s salvation/commission story, Keesmaat (1999) renders Paul’s immediate journey more intelligible. Smith (1997) writes, “[...] Exodus created a picture of Moses and Israel [...] as pilgrims who journey to the mountain of God where they received their call and commission in liturgical fashion.” Similarly in his encounter with Christophany (metaphorically the crucified Christ; cf. Gal 1:19), Paul received his call and commission and walked to another mountain of God, his true pilgrimage goal, i.e. the Jerusalem above.

⁵²Martyn (1997:176) writes, “While the churches are geographically located in Judea, they are more importantly located in Christ.”

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a Christophany Paul proclaimed the faith in Jesus Christ, or the gospel of Christ (Gal. 1:7) (Longenecker, 1990:42), that God our Father willed to forgive our sins and deliver us from the present evil world, in the grace of Christ who sacrificed himself for us (Gal. 1:4, 6). Subsequently Paul lived his life conforming to this faith (or gospel; cf. Gal. 2:14) (Malina and Neyrey, 2006). Thus “the faith” in Gal. 1:23 can be understood as *a worldview or cosmology* centring around God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ and *the life conforming to this cosmology*. If the faith is defined as such, it cannot be perceived as the way only for the Gentiles (Eisenbaum, 2012; Gaston, 2006). Like Judaism, this passage relates faith to a new cosmology in which the Lord Jesus Christ, the new Temple and the new high priest, is its centre. It also entails a new way of life, including worship of God the Father in Jesus Christ and the eschatological feast in which both Jewish and Gentile believers participate (Oakes, 2015:77–78).

Many scholars (e.g. Stendahl, 1963:204–205) understand that “Paul did not *convert* to Christianity—there was no Christianity during his life time. Rather he maintained his reverence for and obedience to the God of Israel, who raised Jesus from the dead” (Malina and Neyrey, 2006:200). However, considering the contrast between the church of God and first century Judaism shown in Gal. 1:13–14 and Paul’s transformation from a persecutor to a proclaimer (Gal. 1:23; Grindheim, 2013:98), Paul has unmistakably converted to ‘the faith’ which has been developed anew through the revelation of Christ (Gal. 1:12) on the basis of the old roots of the monotheistic faith of Israel. Paul and his contemporary Jews shared a common monotheistic belief in the one true God of Israel, the Torah and maybe the similar way of life (Eisenbaum, 2012:136–137). However, Paul’s exclusive faith in the Lord Jesus Christ as the only means of grace, that is, the new Temple and the new high priest through whom humans can come into the presence of God (see Section 3.7.1), and his new understanding of the God of Israel (cf. Gorman, 2001:9–18)⁵³ could not be readily accepted by most of his contemporary Jews in first century Judaism (Dunn, 1993:84).

The phrase “the faith he once tried to destroy” (Gal. 1:23) reminds of Paul’s persecution of Stephen in Acts 6–7⁵⁴. In Acts 6, Stephen is accused of blasphemous words (Acts 6:11) against “this holy place and the law” (Acts 6:13–14), i.e. the two pivots of first century Judaism (cf. Bock, 1998:197–206; Collins, 2004:397–398)⁵⁵. People charged Stephen, “for

⁵³The new understanding of the God of Israel was also one of the main reasons that caused the crucifixion of Jesus. Gibson (2006:173–174) argues that the image of God was the main issue in the trial of Jesus in Mark.

⁵⁴Though Paul does not explicitly mention his persecution of Stephen in his letters, he often recalls his persecution of the church of God, e.g. “Formerly I was a blasphemer, persecutor, and insolent opponent” (1 Tim. 1:13; cf. 1 Cor. 15:9; Phil. 3:6).

⁵⁵Based on their survey of the vast Jewish literature, Bock (1998) and Collins (2004) show that the scope of ‘blasphemy’ is not limited to arrogant disrespect *toward God* but more broadly includes insulting *the Jewish leaders*. Bock (1998) argues that Jesus’ Christological claim that he is the Lord (Mk. 14:61; cf. Ps. 110:1) and the Son of man who sits at the right hand of God (Mk. 14:62; cf. Dan. 7:13) were seen as blasphemous in the eyes of the Jewish leaders centred around the Temple because this claim implied that Jesus was the true Jewish leader instead of them. Furthermore, Collins (2004:397) argues that the scribes’ response to Jesus’ declaration of forgiveness of sin (Mk. 2:7) concerns more *how* God forgives sins. According to the Torah (especially Leviticus), only the priest in the temple, i.e. the current position of the Jewish leaders, could make atonement for the sins of the people. This corresponds to the charge of blasphemy towards Stephen (Acts. 6:11). Here Stephen does not disrespect God, but the Jewish leaders, in his claims that Jesus is the Messiah, the rightful high priest. This was considered blasphemous in the eyes of the Jewish leaders because they were threatened.

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we have heard him say that this Jesus of Nazareth will destroy this place and will change the customs that Moses delivered to us” (Acts 6:14; cf. Mk. 14:58). In Acts 7, following OT (e.g. 1 Kgs. 8:27) and the Jesus tradition (Mk. 14:58), Stephen declares, “Yet the Most High does not dwell in houses made by hands!” (Acts 7:48), presenting *Jesus who was crucified by the law* as the new temple and the new high priest, the promised Righteous One (Acts 7:52). That is the gospel of faith which Paul, along with his Jewish leaders who were zealous for first century Judaism (Gal. 1:13; Acts 5:17), once really tried to destroy (e.g. Acts 5:27–33). And because of his life conforming to his faith, Stephen was persecuted and died. Likewise, in order to live for God by living conforming to the faith, the persecutor became the persecuted (Grindheim, 2013:98).

3.4.5 Summary of Gal. 1:10–24: Paul’s life as a paradigm from persecutor to proclaimer

Paul’s autobiographical statement was written to provide a moral example for the recipients, the Galatians (Du Toit, 2007; Gaventa, 2007; Lyons, 1985). Unlike the claim of scholars such as Malina and Neyrey (2006) and Hester (2002:181–196), Paul is not boasting his previous life in first century Judaism (Aletti 2012:220; see Section 3.4.3). Rather he clarifies that first century Judaism, being limited to some privileged first century Jews’ customary behaviour based on their cosmology and focusing on external features related to the present Jerusalem (see Section 3.4.2), cannot be identified with the true church of God or the Israel of God, i.e. the covenantal liturgical assembly of God (Martyn, 1997; Moo, 2013:100–101) in Christ. As soon as God revealed his will, i.e. forgiveness of sins and deliverance from the present evil world in the grace of Christ (Gal. 1:4), Paul abandoned his previous life and started to proclaim the gospel of the faith he once persecuted (Grindheim, 2013). This turning to the faith (cf. Acts 26:19–20; Sterling, 2008:70–90) became the theme of praise in Gal. 1:24. Upon the monotheistic crisis of the Galatians, i.e. turning away from the gospel of Christ and ultimately from the only true God who had called them in the grace of Christ (Calvert-Koyzis, 2004), Paul proposes his immediate conversion from a persecutor to a proclaimer, or the persecuted, as a moral example for his children to follow (Cummins, 2001).

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Along with the reference to the meeting with the Jerusalem apostles and the special note to Cephas (Gal. 1:18–20; 2:7, 9), Gal. 2:1–10 provides the background of the Antioch incident described in Gal. 2:11–14 (Bligh, 1969:173; Matera, 2007:85). Though there were ‘false brothers secretly brought in’ who insisted on the Gentile circumcision (Gal. 2:3–5; Moo, 2013:127–128; cf. Howard, 2004:xiv)⁵⁶, Paul and Barnabas allying with the Jerusalem pillars (Dunn, 1993:110) could defeat such attempts to enslave the Gentile believers by circumcision (Gal. 2:5). It is symbolized by the fact that “James and Cephas and John [...] gave the

⁵⁶The researcher basically agrees with Howard (2004:iv)’s statement, “There is no reason to assume [...] that ‘Jewish Christianity’ was a theologically monolithic entity any more than there is to assume that Christianity as a whole was a theologically monolithic entity.”. In the case of ‘false brothers’, however, unlike Howard (2004:xvi)’s claim, their theological tendency can be identified as similar to that of the persuaders’ in Galatia. In is evidenced by the terms, “circumcision” (Gal. 2:2), “slavery” and “freedom” (Gal. 2:34 and 5:1), and “truth of the gospel” (Gal. 2:5 and 1:6–7; cf. Gal. 2:14).

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right hand of fellowship to Barnabas and me” (Gal. 2:9; Longenecker, 1990:58; cf. Ezra 10:19; 2 Kgs. 10:15).

“But when Cephas came to Antioch” (Gal. 2:11), a tragic incident occurred. Combining with ἐπειτα (Gal. 1:18; 2:1), the adversative conjunction ὅτε δὲ in Gal. 2:11 indicates that this tragic incident contradicts the agreement in Gal. 2:9–10 (Moo, 2013:144–145). The past Antioch incident (Gal. 2:11–14) is inserted into Paul’s argument on the crisis of the Galatians over the Gentile circumcision (Gal. 5:2), since these two deal with the same matter (Esler, 1995:285) and the former incident impacted negatively on the latter (Martyn, 1997:230).

This section will discuss the Antioch incident (Gal. 2:11–14), focusing on Cephas’ withdrawal from the table fellowship (Sections 3.5.1 and 3.5.3), because it had an on-going effect on Jesus’ followers, even to the Gentile believers in Galatia. After clarifying the groups in Galatians (Section 3.5.2), Paul’s evaluation of Peter’s behaviour, “hypocrisy” (ὕποκρισις) (Section 3.5.4) and “force the Gentiles to live like Jews” (τὰ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις Ἰουδαΐζειν) (Section 3.5.5) will be scrutinised in the cultural-historical context, as well as in the intertextual context, the story of Exodus (Section 3.5.6). This will shed light upon understanding Paul’s argument in Gal. 2:15–17 (Section 3.6), the nature of the crisis in Galatia (Gal. 2:18, 21; Section 3.7), and finally Paul’s confession in Gal. 2:19–20 (Section 3.8).

3.5.1 Gal. 2:11 Anticipatory summary of the Antioch incident

“Ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν Κηφᾶς εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντέστην, ὅτι κατε-
γνωσμένος ἦν.” (Gal. 2:11)

“But when Cephas came to Antioch, I opposed him to his face, because he stood
condemned.” (Gal. 2:11)

The report of the Antioch incident (Gal. 2:11–14) starts with the anticipatory summary in Gal. 2:11 (Lambrecht, 1996:54). Here Paul reports that he reproached Cephas, the most influential pillar of the church, harshly (Gal. 2:6–9), because Cephas stood condemned before God. The reason for the condemnation is delineated later in Gal. 2:12–13.

The purpose of Peter’s visit to Antioch had not been resolved yet. Among the scholarly speculations⁵⁷, Matera (2007:85)’s explanation that Peter retreated to Antioch to avoid the persecution which had occurred recently in Jerusalem (Acts 12:1–19) seems most plausible (cf. Cousar, 2012:44–45; Hengel, 1989:70, 197). This explanation corresponds to the phrases, “fearing those from circumcision” (φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς) (Gal. 2:12) and “[the persuaders] force you to be circumcised, and only in order that they may not be persecuted” (Gal. 6:12; Cousar, 2012:44–45).

3.5.2 Gal. 2:12–13 Clarification of the groups in the passage

In this section, various groups which explicitly or implicitly influenced the crisis in Galatia will be introduced and classified. This will clarify this ambiguous text and help to understand the characteristic of the crisis.

⁵⁷For example, “Jerusalem apostles’ inspection trip” (Moo, 2013:145), “to visit large Jewish community in Antioch” (Dunn, 1993:116), “occasional journey between Jerusalem and Antioch”, “to visit Jewish [Christian] churches as an apostle of the circumcised or as a bishop” (cf. Longenecker, 1990:71–72).

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3.5.2.1 Those from the circumcision (τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς)

As many scholars indicate, τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς in Gal. 2:12 is hard to define. Some scholars propose to see them as the Torah-observant Jewish believers, i.e. the circumcision party (e.g. [Martyn, 1997:237–240](#)). In this view, they can be further identified with τινὰς ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου in Gal. 2:12 (e.g. [De Boer, 2011:133](#)) or not, i.e. some other people (e.g. [Howard, 2004:xiv](#)). Others insist that they are ethnic Jews outside of the church, either in Jerusalem (e.g. [Bruce, 1982:131](#)) or in Antioch ([Nanos, 2001:153–154](#)).

However, considering the fact that the persuaders in the church tried to avoid *persecution* entailed in preaching the crucified Christ (Gal. 6:12; cf. Gal. 5:11) *by converting [the Gentile] believers into Jews* (by forcing them to be circumcised) (Gal. 6:12), and that Cephas *feared* them (Gal. 2:12) and possibly came to Antioch to avoid persecution ([Matera, 2007:85](#)), τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς can be identified as ethnic Jews outside of the church. If τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς had been believers, preaching the crucified Christ would hardly have been the reason for persecution, and converting believers into Jews could not have been a reason for pardon from persecution. In fact, this explanation corresponds to the description in Acts where preaching the crucified Christ is presented as the main reason of the persecution of Jesus' followers (e.g. Acts 5:28; 6:14; 7:52).

3.5.2.2 Certain men from James (τινὰς ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου)

Opinions are divided on the question whether “certain men from James” (τινὰς ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου) are the official delegation from James or not. Some scholars insist that they were not officially sent by James ([Rohde, 1989:107](#)) in order to reconcile the Galatians with the Jerusalem council in Acts 15, while others see them as an official delegation from James ([Martyn, 1997:233](#); [Tolmie, 2005:85](#)). In the latter case, considering Acts 15:22–33, they probably came to encourage the brothers with their preaching (Acts 15:32).

3.5.2.3 Identification of group of peoples in Gal. 2:12–13

This letter does not give any clear clue to determine the identity of these people. Scholarly discussions on τινὰς ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου depend largely on speculation. However, the situation may be summarized as follows:

- (1) There were socio-political pressures which erupted sometimes as persecution by ethnic Jews outside of the church (Gal. 5:11; 6:12; arguably τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς in Gal. 2:12; [Bruce, 1982:131](#); [Nanos, 2001:153–154](#)). They “[...] remain offstage, but they were sufficiently powerful to cause an actor on the stage, Cephas, to act his part out of fear” ([Martyn, 1997:231](#))⁵⁸.
- (2) There were false brothers in the church ([Longenecker, 1990:71–72](#)) who insisted on the Gentile circumcision in Jerusalem (Gal. 2:4).
- (3) Though the relationship between the opponents of Paul in Antioch (Gal. 2:11–14) and those in Acts 15:1 remains uncertain, Acts witnesses the existence of some unofficial

⁵⁸The researcher borrowed this expression, which was originally used to describe the circumcision party in the church, from [Martyn \(1997:236–240\)](#).

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- teachers⁵⁹, from Judea who insisted on the Gentile circumcision in Antioch, previous to the Jerusalem council (Acts 15:1). Unlike the claims of some scholars, or the picture of Acts 15, their insistence on the Gentile circumcision might not have ended with the resolutions of the Jerusalem council (Martyn, 1997:231).
- (4) There were troublesome persuaders (missionaries) in the church (Dunn, 1993:42) now in Galatia (Gal. 1:6–9), who insisted that the Gentile believers should observe the Torah, including circumcision. Their purpose was to boast their successful mission of the Gentile believers' conversion to first century Judaism, and to avoid the persecution which might have been the response to the gospel of the cross (Gal. 6:12–13).
 - (5) There were certain men from James in Antioch (Gal. 2:12) whose stance is uncertain.
 - (6) There were Cephas, Barnabas and other Jewish believers who withdrew from the table fellowship with the Gentile believers in Antioch (Gal. 2:12–13), violating the truth of the gospel which had been affirmed in Jerusalem (Gal. 2:2–9), fearing those from the circumcision (Gal. 2:12).
 - (7) There were Gentile believers now in Galatia who were accepting the teaching of the troublesome persuaders (Gal. 1:6).
 - (8) And there was Paul, who previously used to persecute the church of God (Gal. 1:13–14) and who strove to persuade them to return to first century Judaism (Gal. 1:10; see Section 3.4.2). However, since he returned to the God of Israel (Longenecker, 1990:30; see Section 3.4.3; cf. Schnabel, 2015:173; Sterling, 2008:73–74) who called him by grace [in Christ] and gave his Son (Gal. 1:15–16; cf. Gal. 1:6), Paul has been faithfully walking straight to the truth of the gospel—preaching the gospel of faith (Gal. 1:24), which excludes the rigid Torah-observance of the Gentile believers (Gal. 2:5)—in spite of the persecution, i.e. the crucifixion with Christ (Gal. 2:19; Gal. 5:11; Barclay, 1988:45). Paul provides his turning away from first century Judaism to the faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and the crucified life with Christ (Gal. 6:14) as a moral example for the believers (Gaventa, 2007).

Presumably, the group of people in (2), (3), and (4) shared the same sentiment and similar opinion on the issue of the Torah observance of the Gentile believers (Martyn, 1997:230). Like the pre-converted Paul (Gal. 1:13–14), those troublesome missionaries (persuaders) in (2) and (3) were eager to go to foreign cities to convert the Gentiles believers to first century Judaism (Niang, 2009:1–7). The title of “false brothers” (Gal. 2:4) in (2) can be applied to the group of people in (3) as well as (4), since they distorted the truth of the gospel (Gal. 2:7). Paul is highly critical of their boasting of converting the Gentile believers to first century Judaism and their avoidance of the persecution for the cross of Christ (Gal. 6:12–13), and condemns them (Gal. 1:8–9).

⁵⁹If Paul's second visit to Jerusalem described in Gal. 2:1–10 can be identified with the 'famine visit' (Acts 11:27–30), there is a possibility to identify these unofficial teachers with *τινας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου* or *τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς*. However, it still remains uncertain.

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3.5.3 Gal. 2:12 The Antioch incident

“πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν τινὰς ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν συνήσθιεν: ὅτε δὲ ἦλθον, ὑπέστειλεν καὶ ἀφώριζεν ἑαυτὸν, φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς.” (Gal. 2:12)

“For before certain men came from James, he was eating with the Gentiles but when they came he drew back and separated himself, fearing [those from the circumcision].” (Gal. 2:12)

As [Matera \(2007:85\)](#) argues, it must have been habitual for Cephas to have table fellowship with the Gentile believers after he received the revelation concerning Cornelius (Acts 10), as the imperfect tense of *συνήσθιεν* indicates. Furthermore, as “living like a Jew” (Gal. 2:14) hints, Peter [and Paul] abandoned “the rules of the law relative to dietary purity and separation” ([Aletti, 2012:227–228](#); [Witherington III, 1998:153](#)).

However, when certain men came from James, Cephas started to withdraw and separated himself from the table fellowship with the Gentile believers and “live[d] like a Jew” in accordance with first century Judaism (cf. Acts 10:28), which had already been torn down and nullified (Gal. 2:18, 21) by Jesus (cf. Mk. 7) and God (cf. Acts. 10:15).

It is uncertain whether it was a eucharist ([Bligh, 1969:183–184](#)) or not ([Lambrecht, 1996:54](#)). However, since all table fellowship with the Gentiles believers embodies the fulfilment of Israel’s eschatological expectation ([Oakes, 2015:77–78](#)), which is symbolized by the reception of the Holy Spirit (Gal. 3:2; cf. Acts 10:46; Acts 11:17–18), there is no significant difference between the two.

There have been interpretations that Cephas withdrew from the table fellowship out of a theological pastoral consideration, i.e. for the benefit of the suffering Jewish believers ([Cousar, 2012:44–46](#); [Longenecker, 1990:64–65](#)). According to Paul, however, Cephas was afraid of Jews. Pointing out the fact that the same term *ὑποστέλλω* is used in Hab. 2:4 LXX, “If he should *draw back*, my soul has no pleasure in him: but the just shall live by my faith”, and this passage is alluded to in Gal. 2:13 and Gal. 2:20, [Ciampa \(1998:163–164\)](#) clarifies that Cephas was not living by faith in Antioch. Out of fear, Cephas drew back from his faith and separated himself from the table fellowship with the Gentiles ([Morris, 1996:79](#)). According to Paul, Peter was “out of the right way” (Gal. 2:14; [Barclay, 1988:77](#)).

3.5.4 Gal. 2:13 Actors in the theatre of ritual

“καὶ συνυπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, ὥστε καὶ Βαρναβᾶς συναπήχθη αὐτῶν τῇ ὑποκρίσει.” (Gal. 2:13)

“And the rest of the Jews acted hypocritically along with him, so that even Barnabas was led astray by their hypocrisy.” (Gal. 2:13)

Cephas’ withdrawal caused an ongoing tragic result. He was the most influential pillar of the church (Gal. 2:6, 9) who had been entrusted with the gospel (Gal. 2:7–8). Thus, his messages and behaviour were perceived as the norm for the church (cf. [Moo, 2013:149](#)). In these circumstances, Cephas’ hypocritical act was critical for the new-born church. Cephas’ withdrawal was not a one-time mistake ([Oakes, 2015:77](#)): It is certain that Cephas started to eat and drink only with Jewish believers, once having been separated from the Gentile believers after the Antioch incident. In many house churches in Antioch, Jewish believers followed Peter’s example, refusing to share the table fellowship with Gentile believers. [Lambrecht](#)

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(1996:54) declares Peter’s act as hypocrisy in this regard: “Peter’s withdrawal is qualified by the term ‘hypocrisy’; he is not only not straightforward about the truth of the gospel, but, what is worse, he knows that what he is doing is wrong”.

While *LN* (§88.227) define ὑπόκρισις (hypocrisy) as simply ‘pretense’, *LSJ* together with *Middle Liddell* and *Thayer* call this “a performance of an actor on the theatre in *Attic*”. The performance was more or less related to the religious ritual in the ancient society (*Csapo and Miller*, 2007:1, 31) which was not limited to Greco-Roman rituals. For example, *Mowinckel* (1962:118–128) conceptualizes *Sukkot* as a performance, the repeating enthronement of YHWH in the new year’s festival. As suggested in *TDNT* (§8.563), however, ὑπόκρισις is largely associated with “apostasy from God and his law”. In a similar way, Cephass’ withdrawal and the following acts to keep the ceremonial codes in Torah can be perceived as a performance in the theatre (*Betz*, 1979:110). In the Gospels which share the Jesus tradition with Paul in common, Jesus uses this term to denounce the Pharisees and the scribes’ external worship and life without heart (Mk. 7:5–8; see Section 3.4.2). Paul is now identifying Cephass with them.

Metaphorically, Cephass became an actor (*Martyn*, 1997:243). The rest of the Jews and even Barnabas participated in this performance with him, and performed their roles in the ritual (*Matera*, 2007:86). Though they knew that it was wrong (*Lambrecht*, 1996:54), they persisted in the performance, following the play script in Torah as if it was the legitimate means of grace God had provided.

In Paul’s opinion, their performance was idolatrous, since they worshipped the only true God in their own way, rejecting God’s own will which had been revealed clearly in Christ. In this sense Cephass and the Jewish believers who started to live like a Jew, abandoning the will of God, were similar to the apostatical ancient Israelites who worshipped God in vain (Mk. 7:6–7).

3.5.5 Gal. 2:14 Rebuke or lament

“ἀλλ’ ὅτε εἶδον ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσιν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου,” (Gal. 2:14a)
 “But when I saw that their conduct was not in step with the truth of the gospel,”
 (Gal. 2:14a)

The basic meaning of ὀρθοποδέω (in step with) is “walking in a straight course” (*Strong*, § 3716). And here πρὸς (with) is used to indicate ‘in terms of’. In light of the walking metaphor used to indicate ‘keeping the law’ (e.g. Gal. 5:16; 6:16; cf. Ps. 119:1), Paul is now witnessing that seemingly law-observant pious Cephass and Jewish believers in Galatia are, in fact, not walking straight, i.e. not keeping the law, *in terms of the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ* (cf. *Ciampa*, 1998:164–165)⁶⁰.

From a ritual viewpoint, the exclusive feasts of Cephass and the Jewish believers were contrary to the will of God, who calls everyone in the grace of Christ (cf. *Matera*, 2007:86). As *Dunn* (1993:117–118) indicates, “In Jewish thinking table fellowship [in itself] had [...] a sacramental character”. This legacy was continued in Jesus’ followers’ table fellowship. The believers’ table fellowship itself was a part of worship before God, just as the pilgrim-

⁶⁰*Ciampa* (1998:171) argues that the truth of the gospel is presented as ‘a new standard of conduct’, i.e. “the authoritative criterion of the epoch of eschatological salvation” by Paul.

3.5 Gal. 2:1–14 Life true to the truth of the gospel I

age feast was a part of Israel’s worship before God (e.g. Deut. 14:22–29⁶¹). Longenecker (1990:77) and Moo (2013:149) argue that ὅτε εἶδον implies that Paul was away from Antioch when the Antioch incident happened, and on his return he was presented with *locus in quo* (cf. Ex. 32:19, see Section 3.5.6). Cephas and Jewish believers were eating and drinking, singing and celebrating the feast of being the family of God by the blood of Jesus, not by the way God revealed but by the way of first century Judaism, excluding the Gentile believers⁶². As Paul sees it, Cephas and the rest of the Jews, the professed law observants are, in fact, law breakers in terms of the truth of the gospel, and offering an unacceptable worship to God in vain.

“εἶπον τῷ Κηφᾶ ἔμπροσθεν πάντων,” (Gal. 2:14b)

“I said to Cephas before them all,” (Gal. 2:14b)

So, Paul publicly reproached Peter, since he had misled the Jewish believers, and in effect the Gentile believers as well, into falling from the right way (Matera, 2007:86–87). Misled by Peter’s withdrawal, many of Jesus’ followers, including Barnabas, chose to separate themselves from the eschatological table fellowship with the Gentiles (Oakes, 2015:76–78) in order to “live like a Jew” in accordance with the directives of Torah, that is, the way of life in first century Judaism from which they had already departed when they started to believe in Jesus.

“Εἰ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ὑπάρχων ἐθνικῶς καὶ οὐχὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶς ζῆς, πῶς τὰ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις Ἰουδαΐζειν;” (Gal. 2:14c)

“If you, though a Jew, live like a Gentile and not like a Jew, how can you force the Gentiles to live like Jews?” (Gal. 2:14c)

In the question “how can you force the Gentiles to live like Jews?” (πῶς τὰ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις Ἰουδαΐζειν), Paul reveals that Peter is, in effect, compelling (ἀναγκάζω) the Gentile believers to follow first century Judaism in contrast to their belief in the Lord Jesus Christ (De Boer, 2011:137–138). It was the very behaviour of the false brothers whom Paul and Cephas had once defeated together (ἀναγκάζω in Gal. 2:3; Martyn, 1997:243).

The sarcastic phrase towards Cephas, “if you, though a Jew, live like a Gentile and not like a Jew” (Εἰ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ὑπάρχων ἐθνικῶς καὶ οὐχὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶς ζῆς), can be read as even more polemical. In this phrase, Paul speaks from the viewpoint of first century Judaism with sarcasm (Ciampa, 1998:179–180): *if you are only a lawless Jew following the Hellenistic way of life*, then how can you compel the Gentiles to follow Judaism?

By his turning to first century Judaism, Peter gives the Jews outside the church of Christ the ammunition to criticize his life in Christ, especially regarding the matter of the table fellowship with the Gentile believers (cf. Ciampa, 1998:159, note 7). The table fellowship which embodies the eschatological feast of God in Christ now became an impure table of sinners by Peter’s return to first century Judaism. Truly Cephas stood condemned (Gal. 2:11).

⁶¹It is noteworthy that Deut. 14:29 commands that sojourners, i.e. foreigners among the church of God, should not be excluded from the feast before God. Cephas and the Jewish believers violate this command.

⁶²Dunn (1993:119–121) and Matera (2007:86) imply that their separation was not a singular event but a gradual process, emphasizing the imperfect tense of ὑπέστειλεν καὶ ἀφώριζεν (Gal. 2:12). It is most plausible to think that the Jewish believers kept on worshipping God in Christ and sharing in the eucharistic feast, excluding the Gentile believers (cf. McKnight, 2000:275).

3.6 Gal. 2:15–17 Truth of the gospel: faith in the Lord Jesus Christ

3.5.6 Antioch incident and the golden calf

In many ways, Paul’s description of the Antioch incident is reminiscent of the episode of the golden calf in the memory of Torah and the prophets (Wilson, 2004:558–559). In the episode, Israelites “quickly turned out” (παρέβησαν ταχὺ) (Ex. 32:8 LXX; cf. Gal. 1:6; Wilson, 2004:558) “from the way God commanded” (Ex. 32:8 LXX; cf. “out of the way” in Gal. 2:14), ultimately “deserting the one who called them [from the land of slavery]” (Gal. 1:6; cf. Gal. 4:8, Ex. 32:7). Misled by the behaviour of Aaron, “they ate, drank, singing and dancing, and rose up to play [at the feast of the Lord] [to celebrate the salvation]” (Ex. 32:5). They worshipped God as “being scattered” (Ex. 32:25 LXX; cf. “led astray” in Gal. 2:13), that is, not in the way God had provided. Moses reproached Aaron harshly for having brought such a great sin upon Israel (Ex. 32:21; cf. Gal. 2:11, 14): “they have changed their glory for that which does not profit” (Jer. 1:11; cf. “the weak and worthless elementary principles of the world” in Gal. 4:9). By this, Aaron “made the enemies deride God’s salvation of Israel” (Ex. 32:12, 25; cf. “is Christ then a servant of sin?” in Gal. 2:17). The covenant was broken there (cf. Gal. 2:21). “It was shocking” (Jer. 2:12; Gal. 1:6 Θαυμάζω in Wilson, 2004:558).

Likewise the grace of God or covenant was nullified in Antioch [and in Galatia] (Gal. 2:21). Misled by Cephas’ return to the performance of Jewish ritual (Gal. 1:12), the Jewish believers partook in the feast of the Lord, i.e. the eschatological Israel of God, not in the way God had provided in the gospel of Christ, but excluding the Gentile believers (Gal. 2:13). Thus, the Gentile believers in Galatia were now longing to partake in the Jewish performance (Gal. 3:1), quickly deserting the only way provided by God in the gospel of faith in Jesus Christ (Gal. 1:6). That is an apostasy from God who called them in the grace of Christ from the land of slavery (Gal. 1:6). In their turning away, they have changed their glory (the faith) for that which does not profit (works of the law, that is, life under first century Judaism) (cf. Gal. 4:9), boasting their privileged status achieved by works of the law. Paul harshly reproaches Cephas that not only is he compelling the Gentile believers to turn away from the faith in Jesus Christ to first century Judaism (Gal. 2:14) just like the false brothers, but he has also made the enemies deride the life in Christ (Gal. 2:1, 17), especially the eschatological feast, as the life of lawless sinners. It is astonishing (Gal. 1:6; Wilson, 2004:558) that the grace of God (Gal. 2:21) who called them in the grace of Christ (Gal. 1:6) is thus nullified (Gal. 2:21) and the Galatian believers are turning to a different gospel (Gal. 1:6) which enslaves them.

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In Gal. 2:15–17 Paul imperceptibly transfers and expands the scope of his opponents and audience: from Peter in Antioch to the teachers in Galatia, from the church in Antioch to the church in Galatia and beyond (Matera, 2007:97–98). The rhetorical discussion of *narratio* and *probatio* does not fit well, since there is no marker here. Thus, it will be more reasonable to follow the train of thought of Paul himself. In any case, it should be noted that this letter is written for the Galatians, that is, to persuade the Galatian believers to walk straight in the way of the Lord Jesus Christ.

3.6 Gal. 2:15–17 Truth of the gospel: faith in the Lord Jesus Christ

3.6.1 Gal. 2:15–16 Yet we commonly know, experienced and heard

Gal. 2:15–16 forms one long repetitious sentence. The main clause of this sentence is “yet we know that a person is not justified by works of the law but through faith in Jesus Christ” (εἰδότες δὲ ὅτι οὐ δικαιούται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) (Lambrecht, 1996:56).

It begins with an argument from the perspective of first century Judaism:

“Ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί,” (Gal. 2:15)

“We ourselves are Jews by birth and not sinners [from Gentiles],” (Gal. 2:15)

It is typical reasoning for first century Judaism (Ciampa, 1998:180). Malina and Neyrey (2006:200) write, “φύσις (nature) first of all referred to what was customary and usual, [...] and given”. They continue, “nature stood opposed to the conventional or legal, that is the behaviour decided upon by a person or group with legal power”. In addition, Malina and Neyrey (2006) explains δικαιοσύνη (righteousness) as ‘accessibility’, more precisely ‘divine accessibility acceptable to the God of Israel’ in terms of purity, meaning “a characteristic of Israelites by nature, something that made Israelites to be who they are” (Malina and Neyrey, 2006:200–201).

According to the reasoning in first century Judaism, Jews are righteous by nature and the Gentiles are sinners by nature (Ciampa, 1998:180–181), that is, Jews are accepted/chosen by God, while the Gentiles are hostile to the God of Israel. It means that “non-Israelites could not *convert* to Judaism, the customary and usual qualities and behaviours of Judeans” (Malina and Neyrey, 2006:200–201). According to *Jubilee*, simple contact with the Gentiles makes Jews impure, not to mention the table fellowship with the Gentiles (Hanneken, 2015). Thus, in order to be accepted by God, the pious Jews separated themselves from the sinners, the Gentiles. In terms of first century Judaism, there was nothing wrong with Cephas. Paul repeats the way of thinking and living in first century Judaism in Gal. 2:15. It is to maximize the contrast between first century Judaism and the faith, the old world and the new world.

3.6.2 Gal. 2:16a What we commonly know: accepted by God through faith in Jesus Christ

What we commonly know (Gal. 2:16a)

(i) εἰδότες δὲ ὅτι οὐ δικαιούται ἄνθρωπος

(a) ἐξ ἔργων νόμου

(b) ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,

What we commonly experienced (Gal. 2:16b)

(ii) καὶ ἡμεῖς

(b') εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπιστεῦσαμεν,

ἵνα δικαιωθῶμεν

(b'') ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ

(a') καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου,

What we commonly heard from the scripture (Gal. 2:16c)

(iii) ὅτι οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ

(a'') ἐξ ἔργων νόμου

Gal. 2:16 begins with “yet we know” (εἰδότες δὲ). Here Paul testifies about the essence of the gospel of the faith, which we all (Jewish believers including Paul and Peter in particular)

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know and share (εἰδότες), that is, “a person is not justified by works of the law but through faith in Jesus Christ” (Gal. 2:16).

To resolve the crisis in Antioch (Gal. 2:11–14) and ultimately in Galatia, Paul starts his argument from the common ground to both Jewish believers and himself (Tolmie 2005: 88), i.e. how one can be justified by God (Martyn, 1997:250). It becomes obvious in the three repetitions of the word δικαιώω (i)(ii)(iii). The answer is also given by the triple contrast between “the works of the law” (a)(a’)(a”) and “faith in Jesus Christ” (b)(b’)(b”) (Lambrecht, 1996:56): One can be justified by God not by the works of the law but by faith in Jesus Christ.

Paul consolidates his thesis through gradation in terms of personal pronouns. Initially Paul deals with (i) a person ἄνθρωπος, then (ii) plural persons ἡμεῖς. Finally, referring to Ps. 143:2, he ends the verse (Gal. 2:16) with an assertion that (iii) every flesh πᾶσα σὰρξ cannot be accepted by God from the works of the law. It highlights in a negative way the fact that only through faith in Jesus Christ in whom God clearly revealed his grace, can anyone be justified⁶³.

Unlike the claim of the Radical New Perspective scholars that ‘justification by faith’ is a doctrine and means of salvation only for the Gentiles (Eisenbaum, 2012), Paul does not see that Jewish believers or Jews in general can be saved other than by the grace of God revealed in Christ (see Section 3.2.2). This surfaces in Paul’s reference to the common experience, “so we also have believed in Christ Jesus, in order to be justified by faith in Christ and not by works of the law” (Gal. 2:16b; see Section 3.6.3); and by the Jesus tradition on which Paul depends. There, many Jewish people who once were away from the grace of God are forgiven and accepted as the children of Abraham by faith in Jesus Christ (e.g. Lk. 19:1–10; cf. Gal. 3:7). It is also alluded to in Paul’s arguments that both the Gentile believers and Paul were called in the grace of Christ by God (Gal. 1:6, 15), or not only the Gentile believers in Galatia but also Cephas and Jewish believers are out of the true way of the gospel (Gal. 1:6, Gal. 2:14). In the cosmic salvation Jesus brought (Gal. 1:4; 6:12), Jews and the Gentiles alike are invited (Gal. 5:6; 6:12).

To be sure, it is important to note that Paul does not end his argument with justification by faith. His concern is not to argue the truth of ‘justification by faith’, but to promote the life conforming to the truth of the gospel, walking by the Spirit and the law of Christ. As for Paul, Gal. 2:16 is only a reconfirmation of *a fait accompli*.

3.6.2.1 Justification as ‘to be accepted by God’

The scholarly discussion on δικαιώω is a never-ending quest. From the classical “to make righteous” and “declare righteous” to “rectify as making right what has gone wrong” (Martyn, 1997:250) and “[declaring] to be a family of God (in the *eschaton*)” (Wright, 2009:116); from the forensic situation (Moo, 2013:55-56) to the religious and moral situation or both (Longenecker, 1990:95), scholars have continuously produced their understandings on the concept of δικαιώω.

Considering first century Judaism in which the Jerusalem Temple still stood at the centre of its cosmology, and Paul as a first century Jew who shared a lot with his contemporary Jews, this term needs to be understood in terms of purity or accessibility, i.e. ‘to be accepted by God’ (Malina and Neyrey, 2006:200). In fact, the word group δίκαιος, δικαιώω and δικαιοσύνη

⁶³The gospel Paul presents in Gal. 2:16 corresponds to what Peter confesses in Acts, “there is no other name under heaven given among men by which we must be saved” (Acts 4:12).

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is often used to illustrate the character of Godself with ἅγιος (holy or pure) (e.g. Isa. 5:16). As a result, it is connected to the character of ‘the true people of God who can stand in the presence of God’ in the Old Testament (e.g. Ps. 1:5–6; 15:1–5). In spite of the scholarly distinction between ἅγιος (holy) which connotes rather a social-religious meaning and δίκαιος (righteous) which bears a more ethical implication (Klawans, 2000:21–42), both are sometimes used interchangeably to indicate ‘the true people of God who can stand in the presence of God’ in Judaism (Ps. 15).

Focusing on the word ‘justify’, Rom. 4 provides a decisive key for understanding Paul’s notion of ‘justification’. There, in the middle of his argument of justification by faith emulating Abraham’s faith, Paul inserts Ps. 32:1–2 which speaks of God’s forgiveness for the undeserving (Paul says it “apart from works [of the law]”):

“Blessed are those whose lawless deeds are forgiven, and whose sins are covered; blessed is the man against whom the Lord will not count his sin.” (Rom. 4:7–8; Ps. 32:1–2)

Here Paul rephrases ‘justification’ (Rom. 4:5–6) as ‘forgiveness (of sins)’ (Rom. 4:7–8). Further, he clarifies that God’s forgiveness of sin (justification) is not based upon works of the law (Rom. 4:5–6) nor Jewishness represented by circumcision (Rom. 4:9–12). God’s justification/forgiveness is based only on his grace, which is now clearly manifested in Jesus. Through faith in Jesus Christ, everyone is invited to the arms of God the Father who is ready to forgive.

If so, justification in Galatians can be understood in the same way: justification is another expression of forgiveness. This corresponds to the summary of the gospel in Gal. 1:4 and Gal. 2:21 where Jesus’ salvific activity is presented as forgiveness of sins.

In fact, God’s justification described in Ps. 32:1–2 (Rom. 4:7–8) is perfectly fulfilled in Jesus’ divine declaration to the sinners in the Gospels, “your sins are forgiven”, “Your faith has saved you; go in peace” (Lk. 7:48, 50)⁶⁴. As mentioned above, Paul’s argument about ‘justification by faith’ is a reaffirmation of the truth of the gospel which Paul himself and Peter shared. If Paul deliberately repeats the word ‘justify’ in order to remind Peter of his present state and restore him again, ‘justify’ is certainly used to remind him of Jesus’ declaration “your sins are forgiven”, since both Cephas and Paul can stand before God only because of the forgiveness of Jesus. Both of them are fully aware of this fact, and experienced the forgiveness and acceptance by God in Jesus Christ. Therefore, in Gal. 2:16 ‘justification’ is used to refer to ‘forgiveness of sins’, possibly in order to remind and highlight Jesus’ divine *action* of declaration and the present status of believers restored by the forgiveness of Jesus.

3.6.2.2 Works of the law

Since Luther and Calvin, conventionally ἐξ ἔργων νόμου (from the works of the law) has been understood as ‘doing’, i.e. observing the whole law (in order to obtain justification), as an antithesis of ‘believing’, i.e. *sola fide* for Luther. Many scholars (e.g. Betz, 1979:116; Bruce, 1982:137; Moo, 2013) follow this understanding, although there are trivial diversities in terms and expressions. This understanding has been criticized for its biased understanding of Judaism as a monolithically legalistic religion (Sanders, 1983) and its general neglect of

⁶⁴See Mouton (2007) for the ethical character of Jesus’ forgiveness in Luke 7:36–50.

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‘doing’ (Smith, 1997). Dunn (1998b) changed the stream from the theological-anthropological ‘doing’ vs. ‘believing’ to the sociological-salvation-historical ‘Jewish exclusivism’ vs. ‘God’s inclusivism’, basically reaffirming the significance of the observance of the law (doing), except for the purity law. According to Dunn (2008), ἐξ ἔργων νόμου refers to the purity law as a boundary marker which had excluded the Gentiles. Wright (2009) and Barclay (1988) more or less support this opinion. Others (e.g. Martyn, 1997; Campbell, 2009; Wakefield, 2003) try to explain ἐξ ἔργων νόμου from the apocalyptic perspective. Since ἐξ ἔργων νόμου represents the old religious system, i.e. first century Judaism, it is no longer valid in the new era.

In the given immediate literary context (Gal. 2:11–12), the phrase ἐξ ἔργων νόμου is used to describe the unfaithful behaviour of Cephas, i.e. hypocrisy. As discussed above in Section 3.5.4, ‘hypocrisy’ can be defined as an external act of worship and behaviour without heart. Fearing the Jews in first century Judaism, Cephas gave up living according to the truth of the gospel, and started to worship and behave according to the old way of first century Judaism. It is true that the aspect of performance (doing) is emphasized in ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, especially in ἔργον. However, it is not to make the believers abandon the law (doing), but primarily to remind Cephas and Jewish believers of how they are straying from the way of Christ. Paul repeats ἐξ ἔργων νόμου three times in Gal. 2:16 in order to expose the hypocritical behaviour of Cephas and the Jewish believers, with the aim of calling for a life conforming to the faith. In every case, the phrase appears in contrast to ‘in faith’⁶⁵. Cephas and the Jewish believers all knew (Gal. 2:16a; see Section 3.6.2) and had experienced (Gal. 2:16b) the truth of the gospel. But under social pressure, they came to act as if their external worship and life away from the truth of the gospel was acceptable to God. Paul uses the phrase ἐξ ἔργων νόμου to describe the external worship and life without heart, following the old way of first century Judaism, as the antithesis of the faithful worship of God in Christ. Thus, it can be argued that ἐξ ἔργων νόμου (or simply νόμος at times) synecdochically implies *the worship and life of a believer in opposition to his/her faith*.

3.6.2.3 Faith in Jesus

Traditionally, πίστewς Χριστοῦ has been interpreted as ‘faith *in* Christ’. It refers to the faith of believers as antithetical to human observance of the (moral) law. And it has been understood as it refers to ‘human inability concerning his/her salvation beyond believing (as works of the Spirit)’. However, since Hays (2002)’s work, it became a trend to interpret πίστewς Χριστοῦ as ‘faith of Christ’. This phrase refers to ‘the faith of Christ or the faithfulness of Christ’ in contrast to any kind of human efforts. This understanding highlights more the participation of believers in Christ and the apocalyptic nature of salvation: we will be saved by participating in the faithfulness of Christ (Campbell, 2009; cf. Wright, 2009). It also emphasizes Christ as a model, focusing on the story of Christ (e.g. Gorman, 2001; Hays, 1987). In terms of grammar, both the objective genitive (Christ as an object of faith, i.e. faith in Christ) and the subjective genitive (Christ as a subject of faith, i.e. the faith of Christ) are possible. Thus, it should be examined in the immediate context. In the case of ‘faith of Christ’, the argument depends largely on salvation-historical reading of Gal. 3:1–10.

As Barclay (1988:78, note 8) indicates, at least in the main clause (ἡμεῖς εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπιστεύσαμεν), the phrase should be interpreted as ‘faith in Christ’. Moreover, if

⁶⁵It is not only in Gal. 2:16 but also in other Pauline letters such as Rom. 3:22 and Phil. 3:9.

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ἔργων νόμου can be interpreted as the worship and life of a believer in opposition to his/her faith, it is more natural to interpret πίστewς Χριστοῦ as ‘faith in Christ’, i.e. the faithful worship and life of believers conforming to Christ. In fact, in Galatians, as well as in other New Testament scriptures, Jesus is depicted mainly as the object of [believers’] faith, rather than the subject of faith in God the Father (Moo, 2013:44–45). It is true that Jesus is the faithful Messiah unlike the unfaithful priests of the day, and in his faithful mediation, his people can come to the presence of God. However, as Oakes (2015) points out, in Galatians Jesus is presented in relation to his people, rather than in relation to God.

3.6.3 Gal. 2:16b What we commonly experienced

“καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπιστεύσαμεν, ἵνα δικαιωθῶμεν ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου,” (Gal. 2:16b)

“so we also have believed in Christ Jesus, in order to be justified by faith in Christ and not by works of the law,” (Gal. 2:16b)

In Gal. 2:16b, Paul reminds the Jewish believers (Gal. 2:15, 16a), Peter in particular, of their common experience of believing in Christ Jesus in order to be accepted by God in faith in Christ, abandoning the old way of life in first century Judaism (καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου). Paul’s immediate following of Jesus Christ and departing from his previous life in first century Judaism is well documented in Gal. 1:13–24 (Section 3.4.3). In fact, it corresponds to Peter’s immediate following of Jesus, departing from his previous life in Jesus tradition (Mt. 19:27; Mk. 10:28; Lk. 18:28; Mt. 4:19–20; Mk. 1:17–18; Lk. 5:11).

“they left everything and followed him.” (Lk. 5:11)

“And Peter said, ‘See, we have left our homes and followed you.’” (Lk. 18:28)

In Luke 18:29, Jesus approves Peter’s immediate response to Jesus in language that is reminiscent of the departure of Abraham (Gen. 12:1).

“[...] Truly, I say to you, there is no one who has left house or wife or brothers or parents or children, for the sake of the kingdom of God,” (Lk. 18:29: cf. Lk. 14:26)

“[...] Go from your country and your kindred and your father’s house to the land that I will show you.” (Gen. 12:1)

And Jesus himself conceptualizes the following as the way of the cross (Mt. 10:38–39; Mk. 9:34–35; Lk. 9:23–24).

“[...] If anyone would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross daily and follow me. For whoever would save his life will lose it, but whoever loses his life for my sake will save it.” (Lk. 9:23–24)

Though the four Gospels themselves were not inscribed by the time Galatians was written, yet Peter’s immediate following of Jesus and Jesus’ own teaching about following himself as taking the cross must have been well-retained and widely known among the believers. Paul shares this memory.

Based on the memory of following Jesus, Paul addresses Peter: Haven’t we followed Jesus departing from the old way of life in first century Judaism in order to be accepted by God through the faith in Jesus Christ?

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3.6.4 Gal. 2:16c What we commonly heard: Paul's theo-logic in ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιοθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ

“ὅτι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιοθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ.” (Gal. 2:16c)

“because by works of the law no one will be justified.” (Gal. 2:16c)

The concept of δικαιοῶ (justification) as ‘to be accepted by God’ is also found in Old Testament passages (e.g. Ps. 143:2; Hab. 2:4). Paul quotes these passages in Gal. 2:16c to prove his argument for justification by faith.

“Hear my prayer, O Lord; give ear to my pleas for mercy!

In your faithfulness answer me, in your righteousness!

Enter not into judgement with your servant,

for no one living is righteous before you.” (Ps. 143:1–2)

“Behold, his soul is puffed up; it is not upright within him,

but the righteous shall live by his faith.” (Hab. 2:4; cf. Rom. 1:17; Gal. 3:3;

Heb. 10:38)

Both passages illustrate the speaker as one of the true people of God who is praying in suffering from the unjust and arrogant enemies—ethnic Israelites or the Gentile nations. And both speakers are convinced that their moral and ethical issues will be resolved in the presence of God. Then why does the speaker confess that “for no one living is righteous before you” and how does this confession become evidence for the acceptance by God only through faith in Jesus Christ?

The phrase “for no one living is righteous before you” in Ps. 143:2 shows the speaker’s anxiety about his/her prayer not being accepted by God. Behind this anxiety is a strong Jewish conviction that only the righteous will be accepted by God. The anxiety is resolved when the speaker comes to trust the faithfulness and righteousness of God (Ps. 143:11–12) when he/she remembers the past salvific event of God (Ps. 143:5). Through the memory of God in the past, the speaker can trust the faithful and righteous reign of the one true God, once again.

“I *remember* the days of old;

I *meditate* on all that you have done;

I *ponder* the work of your hands.” (Ps. 143:5; cf. Ps. 77:11–15)

The past salvific event unmistakably indicates the one of the Exodus. In the memory of the Exodus, the psalmist visits the locale of the Exodus and encounters God Godself. And based on the faithfulness and righteousness of God Godself (Ps. 143:1, 8, 11, 12) which is displayed most clearly in that event, in other words, based on the covenant (Ware, 2011:532), the psalmist is accepted by God.

Though it is still true that no one living is righteous before God and thus cannot be accepted by God, through the memory of the Exodus the psalmist comes to be convinced that he/she is accepted by God.

As for Paul, God’s holiness and righteousness are displayed most clearly in the mighty work of God (cf. Acts. 2:11; 13:41), that is, in the death of Jesus on the cross and his resurrection (Gal. 1:1, 4). Thus, the cross is the locale of the new Exodus. In the memory

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of Christ who is still living, thus simply in Christ, the psalmist is convinced that he/she is accepted by God. Similarly, based on the new covenant entailed by the new means of grace of Jesus Christ, Paul is convinced that he is accepted by God—not a person or we, but every flesh can be accepted by God in faith in the Lord Jesus Christ (see Section 3.6.2).

3.6.5 Gal. 2:17 Is Jesus a priest in the Temple of sin?

“εἰ δὲ ζητοῦντες δικαιωθῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ εὐρέθημεν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτωλοί,” (Gal. 2:17a)

“But if, in our endeavour to be justified in Christ, we too were found to be sinners,” (Gal. 2:17a)

In Gal. 2:17, Paul recalls the common experience of the persecution. In seeking to be accepted by God in Christ, they were found to be sinners in terms of first century Judaism (Gilthvedt, 2015:34). Peter and other Jewish believers as well as Paul had participated in the table fellowship with Gentile believers, the eschatological feast of God, before the Antioch incident (Gal. 2:11–14). Their fellowship was in accordance to the revelation given to Peter (Acts. 10) and the example of the feast of Jesus with sinners (Lk. 5:27–32; 19:1–10). However, like Jesus, Peter (i.e. Acts 11:2–18) and Paul were accused for being sinners.

“ἄρα Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας διάκονος;” (Gal. 2:17b)

“is Christ then a servant of sin?” (Gal. 2:17b)

Paul asks, “Does it mean that Christ is a servant of sin?” In the ancient Greco-Roman society, διάκονος (servant) at times indicates ‘an attendant or official in a temple or religious guild’ (*LSJ*). By the term ἁμαρτίας διάκονος (a servant of sin), Paul is asking, “Does it mean that Christ is the priest in the Temple of sin?”⁶⁶

In fact, Paul was even accused of having promoted ‘antinomianism and immorality’ (Lambrecht, 1996:58) (cf. Gal. 5:13; Rom. 3:7–8; Rom. 6:1, 15) which were considered characteristics of foreign temples from the perspective of first century Judaism. Insofar as Paul sees, his gospel of faith originates from Jesus himself. If so, then the accusation of Paul’s gospel of faith concerning antinomianism and immorality is an accusation levelled against Jesus himself. Paul is now asking: Is Jesus then a priest in the Temple of sin (Gal. 1:17), thus, the one who should be cursed? (cf. Gal. 3:13–14; 1 Cor. 12:3)

“μὴ γένοιτο.” (Gal. 2:17c)

“Certainly not!” (Gal. 2:17c)

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It seems that there is a kind of break between Gal. 2:17 and Gal. 2:18. Based on the change of the personal pronoun referring to the speaker (from ‘we’ to ‘I’), Lambrecht (1996:58) interprets γὰρ as ‘but’. However, it is more reasonable to understand Gal. 2:18 and Gal. 2:21 as the responses to the question in Gal. 2:17, “ἄρα Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας διάκονος;”, interpreting γὰρ as ‘for’ (Gilthvedt, 2015:34–35). There is an obvious continuity between Gal. 2:17 and Gal. 2:18.

⁶⁶This question seems to reflect the accusation of first century Judaism against Jesus who proclaimed God’s forgiveness and restoration by casting out demons, i.e. the agent of “Beelzebul” (Mt. 12:22–37; Mk. 3:20–30; Lk. 11:14–23).

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3.7.1 Gal. 2:18 Returning as rebuilding the Temple I tore down

“εἰ γὰρ ἄ κατέλυσα ταῦτα πάλιν οἰκοδομῶ, παραβάτην ἑμαυτὸν συνιστάνω.” (Gal. 2:18)
 “For if I rebuild what I tore down, I prove myself to be a transgressor.” (Gal. 2:18)

What Paul tore down and rebuilds has been traditionally understood as ‘the law’. Viewed from the light of Eph. 2:14, [Dunn \(1993:142\)](#) explains it as the purity law, that is, the dividing wall between Jews and Gentiles.

“Αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν, ὁ ποιήσας τὰ ἀμφότερα ἐν καὶ τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ λύσας, τὴν ἔχθραν, ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ.” (Eph. 2:14)
 “For he himself is our peace, who has made us both one and has broken down in his flesh the dividing wall of hostility.” (Eph. 2:14)

[Dunn \(1993\)](#)’s interpretation is plausible, but unsatisfactory in two ways: (1) it does not convey the full impact of Paul’s seriousness on the crisis in Galatia, i.e. the crisis of the monotheistic faith, and (2) in spite of the thematic consistency, there is linguistic inconsistency.

Rather, the researcher argues that Gal. 2:18 should be interpreted in relation to the Temple, on three grounds: (1) the wording of Gal. 2:18 (κατέλυσα [...] οἰκοδομῶ) is reminiscent of the charge against Jesus regarding the Temple controversy in the Gospels (cf. [Moo, 2013:166](#) note 13), (2) Paul himself, with Stephen, was accused of teaching against the Temple in Acts. Thus, it can be judged that there was a negative sentiment among some Jews against Jesus’ followers over time concerning the believers’ attitude toward the Jerusalem Temple, and their claim that Jesus is the new Temple; and (3) the Gentile problem cannot be understood properly separated from the law and the Temple in the first century. The three grounds are discussed in more detail in the following three subsections.

3.7.1.1 The charge against Jesus

Referring to [Brueggemann \(1988:13–14\)](#), [Ciampa \(1998:203\)](#) argues that in Gal. 2:18 Paul is alluding to the key theme of the book of Jeremiah, ‘to pluck up and tear down’, using the synonyms. “What needs to be torn down (καθαίρειω) or up-rooted (ἀπόλλυμι) is the royal priestly ideology of the Jerusalem establishment” ([Ciampa, 1998:203](#)). “The Jeremiah tradition assumes and argues that the historical process in Judah is rightly perceived not by those in the temple establishment, but by the voice of covenantal fidelity that is clearly marginal” ([Brueggemann, 1988:13–14](#)). In fact, this idea was pronounced by Jesus himself and clearly expressed in his claim, “Destroy this temple (along with its ideology), and in three days I will raise it up.” (Jn. 2:19).

Along with his messianic claims ([Bock, 1998](#)), Jesus was charged of the transgression against the Mosaic law and, especially, the Temple ([McKnight, 1999:97–98](#); [Regev, 2010:82](#)). What makes Jesus different from Jeremiah is that Jesus was convinced that he is the true Temple himself in whom people can come to the presence of God ([Gibson, 2006:174](#)):

“But he was speaking about the temple of his body (τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ).” (Jn. 2:21; cf. Jn. 1:14, 51; 4:21–25; 14:2; Acts. 7; cf. Mt. 27:5; Mk. 15:38; Col. 2:9).

This claim aroused a severe accusation against Jesus:

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“[...] Ὁ καταλύων τὸν ναὸν καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις οἰκοδομῶν, [...]” (Mt. 27:40)

“[...] You who would destroy the temple and rebuild it in three days, [...]”
(Mt. 27:40)

Gal. 2:18 clearly reminds of the charge against Jesus. The same words καταλύων and οἰκοδομῶν in Gal. 2:18 appear repeatedly in the Gospels where the charge against Jesus is mentioned (Mt. 26:61; 27:40; Mk. 14:58; 15:29; cf. Jn. 2:19; Nel, 2015). This similarity calls for a new reading of Galatians, i.e. the Galatian believers are located in the same symbolic world where Jesus had lived, and where their faith in Jesus as the true Temple made them live under severe social-cultural-religious pressure.

3.7.1.2 Charges against Paul and Stephen

The accusation against Paul in Acts 21 can be properly understood when his teaching of Jesus as the new Temple is considered. Paul had been accused not only of his teaching against the Mosaic law (Acts 15:1) but also of his teaching against the Temple (Regev, 2010:68–69):

“[...] This is the man who is teaching everyone everywhere against the people and the law and *this place*. Moreover, he even brought Greeks into *the temple* and has defiled *this holy place*.” (Acts 21:28; cf. 24:6; 25:8)

In fact, as seen in Section 3.4.4, the charge against Paul is the same as that against Stephen,

“This man never ceases to speak words against *this holy place* and the law, for we have heard him say that *this Jesus of Nazareth will destroy this place* and will change the customs that Moses delivered to us.” (Acts 6:13–14)

Out of zeal for the Temple, pre-converted Paul “tried to destroy the faith” (Gal. 1:23) of those who followed the destroyer of the present Jerusalem Temple, including Stephen (Acts 6:13–14). However, after he experienced the Christophany, Paul realized that the present Jerusalem Temple had already been destroyed symbolically (it had already been disqualified as a mediator) and now God calls everyone in Christ, the new Temple. Therefore, the persecutor became the proclaimer and started to preach the gospel of Christ:

“Let it be known to you therefore, brothers, that through this man *forgiveness of sins* is proclaimed to you, and by him everyone who believes is freed from everything from which you could *not* be freed *by the law of Moses*.” (Acts 13:38–39)

This was the very gospel proclaimed to the Gentiles in southern Galatia.

3.7.1.3 Connection

To be sure, a different interpretation of Torah was hardly the matter of serious accusation in first century Judaism. However, the transgression against the Temple was harshly punished, since the Jerusalem Temple was the pivot of the Jewish identity in the first century. Such a public sentiment can be recognized in Maccabees and Josephus: the insult of the Temple was the main reason of Jewish revolts.

3.8 Gal. 2:19–20 Paul’s singing (boasting) his walking in Christ

As the speaker of Acts 21:28 demonstrates clearly, for the first century Jews, the Jewish people and the law and the Temple were inseparable. In this light, Paul’s speaking of ‘the law’ should be re-examined in relation to the Temple.

Jesus was derided by the Jews as “the one who destroys the temple and rebuilds it in three days” (Ὁ καταλύων τὸν ναὸν καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις οἰκοδομῶν) (Mt. 27:40) and probably so was Paul. In Gal. 2:18, Paul uses this mockery to reveal the profound implication of the problem of which Cephas and other followers are still unaware:

- Am I a transgressor because I tore down [the foundation of Israel’s ideological belief by nullifying the effectiveness of] the Temple [as the means of justification and rebuilt the new Temple of Jesus]?
- If I rebuild the old Temple again [by following the law], I prove myself to be a transgressor [against the new Temple, Jesus Christ]!
- [But you are doing that] and stand self-condemned! (2:11)

With this interpretation of Gal. 2:18, Cephas’ behaviour can be understood as rebuilding the old way of life, and as a result, rebuilding the old Temple which was proved to be an invalid means of coming into the presence of God. Thus, Cephas’ behaviour amounts to the nullification of the grace of God which was provided by the death of Jesus (Gal. 2:21).

3.7.2 Gal. 2:21 Returning as nullifying the grace of God

“οὐκ ἀθετῶ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ: εἰ γὰρ διὰ νόμου δικαιοσύνη, ἄρα Χριστὸς δωρεὰν ἀπέθανεν.” (Gal. 2:21)

“I do not nullify the grace of God, for if righteousness were through the law, then Christ died for no purpose.” (Gal. 2:21)

At the epilogue of his autobiographical section, Paul clarifies that returning to the old way of life in first century Judaism is in fact nullifying the grace of God provided by the death of Jesus Christ. Though some scholars claim that τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ (the grace of God) is linked to Paul’s mission, Gal. 2:21 clearly shows that the grace of God indicates the death of Christ. Understanding this grace as “God’s favour, especially the favour tendered Israel through the death and resurrection of Jesus”, [Malina and Neyrey \(2006:201\)](#) interpret, “If Israelite acceptability to God derives from doing Torah commandments, then Jesus’ death makes no sense.”

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The peculiarity of Gal. 2:19–20 is widely recognized by scholars ([Betz, 1979:121](#)). Though Gal. 2:18–21 have repeated references to ‘I’, Gal. 2:19–20 has a distinctive feature from Gal. 2:18 and Gal. 2:21. Whereas the latter can be understood as critical statements referring to the Antioch incident, the former cannot be treated as such, since it is given as a thoroughly personal confession.

The vagueness of the first person singular pronoun “I” (ἐγὼ) is well known, too. While [Dunn \(1993\)](#) identifies ἐγὼ with Paul himself, others reject that interpretation by viewing ἐγὼ as a specific individual. Then, how can this be interpreted?

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3.8.1 Gal. 2:19–20 Paul’s walking in Christ

“ἔγω γὰρ διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον ἵνα θεῷ ζήσω. Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι.” (Gal. 2:19)
 “For through the law I died to the law, so that I might live to God. I have been crucified with Christ.” (Gal. 2:19)

It is natural to interpret ἐγὼ as Paul himself, considering the literary context. In Gal. 2:18 Paul states that if he re-erects the Temple he already destroyed, he will be proved to be a real transgressor. Here Paul alludes to Peter’s withdrawal in Antioch and his return to the old way toward salvation. And in Gal. 2:19 Paul responds to the question posed in Gal. 2:17 “is Christ a priest of sin?” from his stand opposed to Peter. Paul’s emphatic ἐγὼ indicates the personal stand of Paul himself: “I for my part” (Gilthvedt, 2015:35).

3.8.1.1 “I died to the law” as Paul’s radical departure from the law in the past

Paul died to the law. In order to understand Gal. 2:19 properly, the relationship between “I died to the law” (νόμῳ ἀπέθανον) and “I have been crucified with Christ” (Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι) needs to be established. While “I have been crucified with Christ” is a present ongoing event (Oakes, 2015), “I died to the law” should be understood as a decisive past event as the aorist of the verb ἀπέθανον indicates (Gilthvedt, 2015:37). These two events of ‘dying’ are related but distinct: one is in the past tense, the other has implications for the present tense.

In addition, these two events of dying can be properly understood only in relation to ἵνα θεῷ ζήσω (so that I might live to God). Considering the dative of advantage in θεῷ (Gilthvedt, 2015:36), ἵνα θεῷ ζήσω is interpreted as ‘in order to live for God’. ‘Paul’s death to the law in the past’ can be understood in terms of his eagerness to live for God. Paul longed to live for God, and he found the true way of life for God in Christ, who led him to die to the law.

The dative of νόμῳ in “dying to the law” is best understood as a dative of respect/relation, ‘in the sight of’, or, ‘in relation to’; hence, “In relation to the law, I died” (Gilthvedt, 2015:36). This relationship can be understood in terms of possession or rule of the slave master (Tannehill, 1967:18), and Paul died to the law and was freed from the law. It was already mentioned that ἐξ ἔργων νόμου (or simply νόμος at times) synecdochically implies the old way of access to God in first century Judaism (Section 3.6.2.2). In this view, Paul’s “dying to the law” indicates his radical departure from first century Judaism which he described in the autobiographical section (Section 3.4.3). In Gal. 2:19 again Paul is speaking of his walking in Christ, yet in a condensed language, “I died to the law”.

3.8.1.2 “Through the law” as Paul has passed beyond the law

If this phrase had been presented with the verb, “ἐγὼ [...] διὰ νόμου [...] ἀπέθανον”, it would have been more appropriate to interpret this phrase as “I died by the law”. However, here διὰ νόμου is presented on its own without the verb, which leaves it open to various interpretations. The researcher interprets this phrase as part of Paul’s autobiographical narrative, more specifically a metaphorical restatement of his life, *in transition* from one mode of life to another. If Paul’s reference to ‘dying to the law’ concerns his walking in

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Christ, a radical departure from first century Judaism, διὰ νόμου also can be understood as referring to his previous walking: I passed through the law.

As the researcher has demonstrated in the exegesis of Gal. 1:13–24 (Section 3.4.3), Paul does not see his previous life under the law in first century Judaism as praiseworthy. Rather he sees it as the life in accordance to the law to please human beings. But he passed beyond the law.

Paul’s discussion of the law as a παιδαγωγός in Gal. 3:24 probably reflects his personal experience. For Paul, the law is something beyond which to pass, something to surpass, because, though it is good to regulate people’s life, it cannot provide the access to God which is provided only in Christ. Rather, Paul went against the life for God under the law. Thus, Paul passed through the law; radically departed from the law; and has never returned to it again.

3.8.1.3 I have been crucified with Christ

Oakes (2015) examines the effect of the present perfect tense in Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι (I have been crucified with Christ) in metaphorical language: “I have been crucified with Christ, and I am still hanging on the cross”. It unmistakably indicates Paul’s present life in Christ as one of being crucified.

As many scholars agree, this expression links Paul’s present life in Christ to Christ’s death on the cross in Gal. 3:1. Some scholars interpret this phrase as participating in Christ’s death of atonement: we are saved by participating in Christ’s death (Campbell, 2009). In a similar vein, other scholars understand that this phrase indicates baptism (Matera, 2007; Wright, 2009).

However, these interpretations ignore the literary context in Gal. 2, where Paul’s autobiographical narrative is given. Just as ‘dying to the law’ is interpreted as Paul’s own departure from first century Judaism, ‘crucifixion with Christ’ should also be interpreted as Paul’s testimony of his present life. The mention of Jesus’ death in Gal. 3 provides a clue to interpret Paul’s crucifixion with Christ: Jesus’ death was under the curse of the law. He was condemned to be a sinner and died as a transgressor to the law and Temple. Jesus’ death was perceived as a death of a priest of sin.

Crucifixion with Christ is perceived as participation in Christ’s suffering for the sake of Christ. Paul’s life, true to the gospel, is the crucifixion with Christ. Because he proclaims that the gospel of Jesus Christ is the only means of grace God has provided, Paul is accused of being a transgressor who opposes the law and Temple. In order to be justified/accepted by God in the faith in Jesus Christ, Paul participates in table fellowship with the Gentile believers, the eschatological feast, following the revelation and Christ’s example, abandoning his privileged status in first century Judaism. As a result, he is suffering. Paul’s proclamation, and his praxis true to the gospel embody his crucifixion with Christ. In his life, Paul dares to say, “I bear on my body the marks of Jesus” (Gal. 6:17), and “Now I rejoice in my sufferings for your sake, and in my flesh I am filling up what is lacking in Christ’s afflictions for the sake of his body, that is, the Church” (Col. 1:24).

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3.8.1.4 Christ lives in me: Christ as law

“ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ,
 ζῆ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός:
 ὃ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί,
 ζῶ ἐν πίστει τῆ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ
 τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντός με καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ.” (Gal. 2:20)

“It is no longer I who *live*,
 but Christ who lives in me.
 And the life I now *live* in the flesh
 I *live* by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me.”
 (Gal. 2:20)

While Paul speaks of his life in terms of *dying* in Gal. 2:19, his present life in Christ is described as *living* in Gal. 2:20. Here Paul’s repeated emphasizing of ‘living’ is noticeable: “I live [...], I live [...], I live [...]”. However, more important phrases to note are “Christ lives in me” and “I live in faith in the Son of God”. Combined with ἵνα θεῶ ζήσω (so that I might live to God) in Gal. 2:19, “the life Christ lives in me” and “the life living by faith in the Son of God” are presented as ‘life for God’. Paul is shouting: my life of ‘Christ lives in me’ and my life of ‘living by faith in the Son of God’ are truly the genuine life for God.

In Gal. 2:20 Christ is presented as the law of life insofar as he motivates and regulates Paul’s life. The faith in the Son of God who loved Paul and gave himself for Paul, not first century Judaism, motivates Paul’s bodily life now and here. Paul is now living in accordance with faith in Christ as a new law.

In fact, ‘dying to the law’ and ‘living in faith in Christ’ are the two sides of the same coin. In other words, present life in faith in Christ is demonstrated in dying and suffering to the law. In Gal. 2:19–20, Paul speaks of his life: I passed through the law and died to the law in order to live for God. I have been crucified with Christ, found to be a sinner and accused to be a transgressor. However, I am living in accordance with Christ, the new law. I am living in faith in the Son of God who loved me and gave himself for me.

3.8.2 Gal. 2:19–20 as Paul’s singing (boasting)

Gal. 2:19–20 can also be seen as Paul’s singing or boasting of his new life walking in Christ. This section provides an exegesis of Gal. 2:19–20 from this point of view.

3.8.2.1 Singing

Though many scholars have noted the peculiarity of Gal. 2:19–20, the theoretical framework has hardly been investigated properly. Tolmie (2005) provides a very brief yet useful insight into understanding this peculiarity. He writes, “Paul uses metaphorical language to heighten the impact of what he wants to convey” (Tolmie, 2005:99). Inviting the notion of defamiliarization (Stacy, 1977:90), Tolmie (2005) argues that the language of ‘death’, with its contrast to ‘life’, provides the audience with “a new, unusual point of view on the issue”, thus “focusing their attention more intensively on the matter” (Tolmie, 2005:99). The idea of defamiliarization comes from Plato’s discussion of poetic language. Although Gal. 2:19–20 cannot be regarded as a proper Greek poem in terms of form (due to its lack of regular

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meter) (cf. [Gordley, 2007:196–197](#)), this metaphorical speech is poetic insofar as it arouses the audiences’ fresh understanding of reality.

The poetic element in Gal. 2:19–20 becomes more apparent if we consider the metaphorical contrasts and repetitions which run through this passage. Especially two types of contrasts are remarkable in this passage: the contrast between ‘death’ and ‘life’, and the contrast between ‘I’ and ‘Christ’.

In the first contrast, Paul’s new life in Christ is explained:

The contrast between death and life

I died (ἀπέθανον) to the law

crucified with Christ (συνεσταύρωμαι)

I no longer live (ζῶ οὐκέτι)

the Son of God gave (παράδόντος)
himself for me

I live (ζήσω) for God

Christ lives (ζῆ) in me

the life I live (ζῶ) in the flesh

I live (ζῶ) by faith

Two apparently contrasting metaphorical words (death and life) are used here in fact to describe the same object: Paul’s new life. In other words, Paul portrays his new life in Christ paradoxically using the metaphor of death and life. As [Winger \(2010:203\)](#) points out, this repeated metaphor of death and life effectively conveys the message to the hearers:

I died to the law, yet I live for God. I have been crucified with Christ, yet Christ lives in me. I no longer live(died) but I live by faith in the Son of God.

The second contrast, which is tied intimately to the first, links ‘I’ to ‘Christ’, and *vice versa*.

The contrast between I and Christ

I (ἐγώ) died to the law

I (ἐγώ) no longer live

in me (ἐμοί)

loved me (με)

gave himself for me (ἐμοῦ)

crucified with Christ (Χριστῶ)

Christ (Χριστός) lives

the Son of God (τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ)

Here, two seemingly distinct subjects (Paul and Christ) are combined into one using Paul’s life as a medium. The message is also clear to the hearers:

I died, Christ died. I am not living on my own, Christ lives in me. My life cannot exist apart from Christ.

Using these two types of contrasts, Paul reminds how his life (or death) is closely linked to that of Christ.

The effectiveness of these contrasts is reinforced by repetition. In this short passage made up of forty-two words, almost all words except for prepositions or conjunctions are used with

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repetition semantically. Especially, the first person singular pronouns (ἐγὼ, ἐγώ, ἐμοί, με, ἐμοῦ) occur with exceptional frequency, in contrast to the case in Gal. 2:18 and Gal. 2:21. Also, the use of ‘life’ (ζῆσσω, ζῶ, ζῆ, ζῶ, ζῶ), in which 4 out of 5 are given in the first person singular form, is a distinctive feature of this section. This frequent use of the first person singular form in a short passage is unusual and even hampers the natural flow of thought.

Paul uses this form even in his description of Jesus’ death. Surprisingly, Paul says that Jesus’ death of atonement is for himself: “who loved *me* and gave himself for *me*”. In Jewish theological language, God and his work are not referred to in personal language. In the society where collective identity was dominant, ‘our God’ or ‘God of Israel’ is found more commonly than ‘my God’. Usually, God is considered as having done God’s mighty work for God’s collective people, rather than for ‘me’ (Mowinckel, 1962:42–46). It is also the case for Jesus and his work. Jesus is usually called ‘our Lord who died for us’ rather than ‘my Lord who loved me and gave himself for me’. However, in Gal. 2:20 Paul vigorously relates Jesus’ atoning death with himself.

This excessive use of repetition in a short passage and the exceptional usage of the first person singular pronouns are hardly explicable apart from the poetic purpose. By the contrasting metaphor and repetition of language, Paul fortifies the poetic character of his confession in Gal. 2:19–20. Then, what does this passage sing of?

3.8.2.2 Boasting

A vital clue for understanding Gal. 2:19–20, i.e. the summary of Paul’s autobiographical narrative, can be found in the last summary of the whole letter.

“It is those who want to make a good showing in the flesh who would force you to be circumcised, and only in order that they may not be persecuted for the cross of Christ. For even those who are circumcised do not themselves keep the law, but they desire to have you circumcised that they may *boast* (καυχῆσονται) in your flesh. But far be it from me to *boast* (καυχᾶσθαι) except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world.” (Gal. 6:12–14)

Judging from this passage, the evaluation of Malina and Neyrey (2006:185) on Paul, that in Gal. 1–2 he boasts his pre-eminence in first century Judaism, seems wrong (see Section 3.4.3). In fact, this evaluation rather fits the persuaders. They praise themselves (καυχᾶσθαι) not only for their Jewishness but also for their ministry of converting the Gentile believers to first century Judaism (Gal. 6:13). For Paul, those activities are not praiseworthy at all (cf. Gal. 1:8–9). More importantly, Paul does not see his previous life as praiseworthy: he evaluates himself in first century Judaism only as a persecutor of the church of God (Gal. 1:13).

However, it does not necessarily mean that Paul denounced all kinds of boasting. Though Paul criticizes the agonistic attitude toward others (Gal. 6:4; cf. 1 Cor. 3:21), he sees that a self-reflective (Gal. 6:4; cf. 1 Cor. 1:31; 2 Cor. 10:17) and self-sufficient way of life (Gal. 6:5) is praiseworthy (καύχημα; Gal. 6:4). Furthermore, in Gal. 6:14, Paul does boast:

he has *nothing* to boast/praise *except* (μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι εἰ μὴ) the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ (Gal. 6:14 modified).

3.8 Gal. 2:19–20 Paul’s singing (boasting) his walking in Christ

This double negative expression “μὴ [...] εἰ μὴ” does not express humility. On the contrary, Paul uses the double negative in order to express an emphatic ‘yes’: I have something to boast! It is evidenced by another letter in which Paul praises the glorious knowledge of the crucified Christ:

“For I decided to know *nothing* (οὐ) among you *except* Jesus Christ and him crucified (εἰ μὴ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ τοῦτον ἐσταυρωμένον).” (1 Cor. 2:2)

Here again, a double negative is used to effect strong emphasis. Paul is now shouting loudly, “I have something to boast of!”, “I have something to sing about!”.

3.8.2.3 The theme of singing/boasting

In Gal. 6:14, Paul enthusiastically praises the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ. As in his other letters (e.g. 1 Cor. 2:2; Phil. 2:5–11), the crucified Christ is presented as the theme of praise here. However, it is important to note that Paul adds,

“δι’ οὗ ἐμοὶ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται καὶ γὰρ κόσμος” (Gal. 6:14b)

“by which the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world.” (Gal. 6:14b)

Here Paul presents *his complete dying to this world and his crucifixion with Christ*, the main theme of Gal. 2:19–20, as the theme of praise in Gal. 6:14. Paul does have something to boast about: the crucified Christ who loved Paul and gave himself for Paul (Gal. 2:20), and Paul’s own life conforming to the crucified Christ, “being crucified with Christ” (Gal. 2:19). Ironically, not his pre-eminence in first century Judaism, but Paul’s crucified life becomes the theme of a song: once he realized the truth of the gospel, Paul immediately turned away from first century Judaism and started proclaiming the gospel of the faith [in Jesus Christ] which he had once striven to destroy (Gal. 1:23). Paul’s conversion became the theme of praise among the churches in Christ (Gal. 1:23–24):

“Ὁ διώκων ἡμᾶς ποτε νῦν εὐαγγελίζεται τὴν πίστιν ἣν ποτε ἐπόρευει!” (Gal. 1:23)

“He who used to persecute us is now preaching the faith he once tried to destroy!” (Gal. 1:23)

And now his faithful walking to the truth of the gospel becomes Paul’s theme for singing in Gal. 2:19–20. When the privileged false brothers tried to enslave the Gentile believers, he never submitted to them but stood with the Gentile believers. When Cephas and other Jewish believers drew back and separated themselves from the Gentile believers, Paul stayed with them and confronted Cephas and the others on behalf of the Gentile believers, and ultimately for the truth of the gospel. All these are included in Gal. 2:19–20 in a condensed form. Thus, Gal. 2:19–20 can be understood as Paul’s singing or boasting of his walking in Christ:

[After] I [passed] through the law
I died to the law in order to live for God.
I have been crucified with Christ.
I am not living on my own
But Christ is living in me.

The life I am living in my body
 I am living in faith in the Son of God
 who loved me and gave himself for me.

3.8.3 Paul's singing to invite Galatians' singing and walking

The persuaders sang their privilege of being Jews and their ministry of converting the Gentile believers to first century Judaism for the purpose of self-praising (Gal. 6:12–13). However, the purpose of Paul's singing/boasting of his walking in Christ (Gal. 2:19–20) is *to invite others*.

First of all, it needs to be reminded that 1) Gal. 2:19–20 is given as part of Paul's autobiographical section; and 2) autobiographical narratives in Greco-Roman letters were written primarily for the purpose of promoting the moral life of the audiences (Gaventa, 1986; Lyons, 1985).

More importantly, Paul's letter to the Galatians was written to be recited among the gatherings of Jesus' followers in Galatia. When this personal confession of Paul's (Gal. 2:19–20), full of metaphorical contrasts and repetition, was recited to the audience in a poetical manner, the Galatians were convinced that it was their own confession too, and joined in singing this song.

If eating together is a metaphor for the eschatological feast of all the justified people of God (Gal. 2:12), singing together signals the eschatological worship of them. As a cantor, Paul calls for the participation of the Gentile believers in Galatia, and ultimately all the believers in Jesus Christ, in his song: turning to the faith in Jesus Christ again and living a life crucified with Christ.

3.9 Chapter summary

In this chapter, the researcher has given an exegesis on Gal. 1–2, considering how the broader literary context frames Gal. 2:19–20. The letter to the Galatians as a whole was written for Paul's children, the Galatian believers in crisis of returning to the old way of coming to the presence of God, i.e. first century Judaism.

In the opening section (Gal. 1:1–5), the main structure of Galatians (the contrast between humans and God) and the content of the gospel (one God, one Lord) are presented. In Gal. 1:6–9, the monotheistic faith and its means of grace are introduced as the main issue in Galatians. In Gal. 1:10–2:14 Paul's life is presented as a paradigmatic example. However, here Paul is not boasting his previous pre-eminent life in first century Judaism (Gal. 1:13–14); instead Paul's immediate turning from persecutor to proclaimer of the faith (Gal. 1:15–24) and his faithfulness to the truth of the gospel (Gal. 2:1–14) are presented as the themes of boasting.

In the Antioch incident (Gal. 2:11–14), Peter is presented as an actor who leads the believers to commit sin, like Aaron. In Gal. 2:15–16, the truth of the gospel is presented. Here from the ritual context, the understanding of δικαιώω is suggested as to be accepted by God, while 'works of the law' synecdochically implies the old way in first century Judaism. In Gal. 2:16 Paul appeals to the common experience of following Jesus, departing from the old way of life. In Gal. 2:17–18, the Temple is presented as a new way of reading the passages.

3.9 Chapter summary

The researcher proposes to read Gal. 2:19–20 as Paul’s singing his walking in Christ: “passing through the law, I died to the law in order to live for God. I am living in accordance with the law of Christ”. This invites all the believers, since as a cantor Paul calls for the life true to the gospel.

In the next chapter, the researcher will examine the notion of pilgrimage and the first century pilgrimage. These issues will shed light on Galatians in terms of pilgrimage, one of the pivotal ritual and concepts of first century Judaism.

Chapter 4

Pilgrimage

The purpose of this study is to re-interpret Paul's teaching regarding the believers' way of life, particularly 'dying to the law' in Gal. 2:19, using the pilgrimage motif.

In the previous chapter, the researcher argued that "works of the law" in Gal. 2:16 is primarily a description of Peter's behaviour, i.e. hypocrisy as external worship and life without heart. Upon the apostasy of Peter which overlaps with that of the Galatian believers, Paul reaffirms the truth of the gospel—justification by faith: we are accepted by God *by faith* in Jesus Christ, *not by the external worship and life* which does not conform to the truth of the gospel. The apostasy of Peter as well as that of the Galatian believers should not be treated as mere personal moral defilement. Rather, as [Nanos \(2001\)](#) argues, their turning away was a result of "yield[ing] in submission" (Gal. 2:5) to social pressure from the existing world-order, i.e. first century Judaism, which tried to enslave them once more (Gal. 2:3; 4:3, 9). Paul, Peter, Jewish believers and the Gentile believers were all exposed to the political-cultural-religious pressure from the existing world-order. Evidence is found in the temple controversy in Gal. 2:18, 21. This feature—the life of believers under pressure—is understood more clearly through the perspective of pilgrimage.

This chapter introduces the pilgrimage concept, which will serve as a framework in the further study of Galatians in this dissertation. Firstly it deals with the question of why the pilgrimage motif is needed in this research (Section 4.1), then the concept of pilgrimage is defined in Section 4.2, focusing on its political, cultural and religious aspects. Finally, in Section 4.3, the first century Jewish pilgrimage practice, as a background of Paul's theology, will be discussed based on the pilgrimage concept presented in Section 4.2. Thereby, this chapter provides a basis for interpreting the stories in Galatians (Chapter 5) and Paul's ethical voice in Gal. 2:19–20 (Chapter 6) through the lens of pilgrimage.

4.1 Why the pilgrimage motif?

In order to discuss the necessity of the pilgrimage motif in this study, it is important to understand Paul's attitude towards the law. This section first briefly reviews how the law was perceived in general and by Paul (Section 4.1.1), discusses the problem of existing solutions (Section 4.1.2), and proposes the pilgrimage motif as a solution (Section 4.1.3).

4.1 Why the pilgrimage motif?

4.1.1 How the law was perceived

This section discusses how the law was generally perceived in the Old Testament, in Second Temple Judaism, by Jesus and Paul, and in Galatians.

4.1.1.1 *Living according to the law as living for God in the Old Testament*

“Blessed are those whose way is blameless,
 who walk in the law of the Lord!
 Blessed are those who keep his testimonies,
 who seek him with their whole heart,
 who also do no wrong,
 but walk in his ways!” (Ps. 119:1–3)⁶⁷

As sung in Psalms 119 in an enthusiastic voice, ‘keeping the law’, which has often been conceptualized in a walking metaphor⁶⁸, was at the heart of Israel’s identity. Though the covenantal relationship had been initiated by God’s mercy (Ex. 19:4), obeying the voice of God and keeping the covenant of God (Ex. 19:5) was required to maintain Israel’s covenantal relationship with God (Sanders, 1977:31–42). The Mosaic law⁶⁹ was given as an important symbol of this relationship (Deut. 5:2)⁷⁰. Thus, keeping the law was the mark of their fidelity and love to God, rather than a heavy burden. In addition, the law was a lamp and a light to show the way in which God’s people should live in this world (Ps. 119:105)⁷¹. How should the people of God indeed live in this world? The Psalmist’s answer would be ‘by walking in the way of the law of the Lord’. Thus, it is not unusual that the Psalmist joyfully sang, “Blessed are those whose way is blameless, who walk in the law of the Lord!” (Ps. 119:1). The Israelites could *live* for God only when they *live by the law of God* (Lev. 18:5; Deut. 30:16).

4.1.1.2 *Living according to the law as living for God in Second Temple Judaism*

‘Keeping the law’ was still considered as central to Jewish identity in Second Temple Judaism. Burrowes (2004:71) writes, “Torah was perceived to be divine in origin (*Wis.* 18:9; *Sir.* 33:3; *2 Macc.* 6:23; *4 Macc.* 5:16), eternal (*Bar.* 4:1; *Wis.* 184; *4 Ez.* 9:37; *2 Bar.* 77:15; Philo, *Mos.* 2:3), life-giving (*Sir.* 17:11–12; 45:5; *2 Bar.* 38:2; 46:3), ..., wisdom [of God] (*Wis.* 18:4; *Sir.* 21:11; 45:17; 38:2), the supreme manifestation of God’s grace to Israel”. In fact, the Jews were more vigorous in keeping the law in the postexilic period. In their endeavours to redefine their identity as God’s people, separate from the peoples of the land, what they did

⁶⁷Compare Ps. 1 and Mat. 5:1–12. In his sermon on the mount, using a similar formula, Jesus erects the foundation of the new way of life for his followers, that is, the way of life of the ancient prophets of Israel. What he problematizes in Mat. 1–7 is not so much the content as the attitude and inner mind-set.

⁶⁸For example, the meaning of ‘halakah’ is ‘to walk’.

⁶⁹The Mosaic law regulates purity codes (including circumcision, the pilgrimage to/worship in the Jerusalem Temple) as well as civil and moral codes. In fact, purity codes could not be separated from moral codes in Second Temple Jewish thought (e.g. Klawans, 2006:187).

⁷⁰In the Jewish tradition, the Sinai covenant was considered to mean “the birth of the people of God”, rather than “giving of the law itself” (Joslyn-Siemiatkoski, 2009:448).

⁷¹In fact, ‘keeping the law as an expression of the fidelity of God’s people to God’ is the perspective which penetrates the OT as a whole. The prophets evaluated the reign of Israel’s kings (e.g. 1 Kgs. 11:10–13; 2 Kgs. 23:21–25) and Israel’s covenantal relationship to God (e.g. 1 Kgs. 19:10; Hos. 8:11–14; Amos 2:4–6) in terms of their obedience to the law.

4.1 Why the pilgrimage motif?

first was to make an oath to *walk in God's law* (Ezra. 9–10; Neh. 9–10). ‘Keeping the Mosaic law’ is presented as the mark and the way of life of the righteous, true people of God in the writings of Second Temple Judaism (e.g. *Tob.* 1:6–8⁷²; *Sir.* 32:24; *2 Macc.* 6:7–7:42⁷³), as well as in the New Testament (e.g. Lk. 1:6; 2:27, 36–37). Roughly, ‘circumcision’ and ‘pilgrimage to/worship in the Jerusalem Temple’ were the marks of God’s people in this period. In spite of a variety of sects in Second Temple Judaism in terms of the strategy of observance of the law⁷⁴, the importance of these two rites was maintained (cf. [Goodman, 2011:21–26](#)⁷⁵). Jews in the Second Temple era were convinced that they could live a life acceptable to God when they kept the Mosaic law.

4.1.1.3 Jesus and his early followers, including Paul, as law-observant Jews

To be sure, Jesus and his early followers were all Jews and therefore law-observers in a broad sense. In fact, Jesus and his early followers generally kept the Mosaic law ([Regev, 2004:385](#); [Fredriksen, 1995:25](#)). They were all circumcised, they visited the synagogue regularly (Lk. 4:16; 6:6; 13:10; cf. James 2:2⁷⁶), and they went to the Jerusalem Temple during religious festivals (Lk. 2:41; Jn. 2:13; 5:1; 7:2, 10; 10:22; 12:1, 12; 13:1) as well as on other occasions (e.g. cf. Lk. 2:22–24; Acts 3:1). Jesus never taught his disciples not to keep the law (Mt. 5:17–20; 19:16–30). In addition, Paul himself was also a pious Jew (Rom. 11:1; 2 Cor. 11:22). He was a Pharisee (Phil. 3:5; Acts 22:3; 23:6; 26:5), carried out his ministry centring around the Jewish synagogue (Acts 13:5, 14; 14:1; 17:1–2, 10; 18:4, 19). Paul followed Jewish customs even after his conversion (cf. 1 Cor. 9:20–21), for example, the circumcision of Timothy (Acts 16:3), the feast of Unleavened Bread (Acts 20:6) and vow and purification (Acts 18:18; 21:20–26). Paul basically admitted that the law was good (Rom. 7:12; cf. Rom. 3:31).

4.1.1.4 *Dying to the law as living for God in Galatians*

However, Paul seems to overthrow the age-old foundation of Israel’s covenantal theology in his letter to the Galatians. Paul declares boldly that he died to the law through the law so that he might live for God (Gal. 2:19; cf. Rom. 7:4⁷⁷)! Surprisingly, Paul contrasts ‘living to the law’ with ‘living to God’ (Gal. 2:19; cf. Rom. 7:20), and ‘doing the work of the law’ with ‘living by faith’ (Gal. 2:16; cf. Rom. 3:20–28; 10:5–11). Those notions had been considered inseparable in Old Testament theology and during Paul’s day and age, and still,

⁷²It is noteworthy that pilgrimage to the Jerusalem Temple is presented as a mark of fidelity of the righteous in Tobit.

⁷³[Haber \(2006\)](#) titled her article “Living and dying for the law” which deals with *2 Macc.*, a text of the Second Temple Judaism era. This title may characterize the Jews’ attitude to the law in the Second Temple period.

⁷⁴The variety of the sects in the Second Temple period was derived from (1) their interpretation of the law ([Alexander, 1984:1](#)) and (2) their strategies to apply the law to everyday life.

⁷⁵[Goodman \(2011:26\)](#) argues that no group, even Essenes, fully separated themselves from the Jerusalem Temple. Second Temple Jews including Essenes went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and participated in the centralized cult.

⁷⁶Unlike modern English translations, James referred to the meeting place of Jesus’ followers as “your synagogue” (συναγωγὴν ὑμῶν) (James 2:2).

⁷⁷According to [Burrowes \(2004:71\)](#), “the idea of being *put to death to the Torah* was blasphemous to the Jews”.

4.1 Why the pilgrimage motif?

Paul nullifies here the usefulness of the law, especially circumcision, for God's people. In addition, he reproaches Cephas fiercely for his withdrawal from the communal meal with the Gentiles (Gal. 2:11–14), which was prohibited by the law (Acts 10:28). In his letter to the Galatians, Paul urges his audience *not to obey the law*, in order to *live to God*. Does this mean becoming sinners (i.e. un-law-ful) in order to be justified in Christ (Gal. 2:17)?

4.1.2 Beyond the New Perspective and the Radical New Perspective

As seen in the previous section (Section 4.1.1), the law still remained important to Paul even after his conversion. How do we, then, resolve the apparent contradiction between Paul's Jewish identity, which cannot be separated from obeying the law, and his declaration 'I died to the law, in order to live for God' (Gal. 2:19), or rather as expressed in Section 1.2, the contradiction between piety expressed in obeying the law, and justification by faith? The answers to this question proposed by the New and the Radical New Perspective scholars do not seem satisfactory.

4.1.2.1 Exclusiveness of Israel? Unfaithfulness of Israel to the only true God!

The New Perspective scholars, driven by their emphasis on the purity law as a boundary marker (e.g. Wright, 1992:238), fallaciously understand the law as it primarily defines the relationship between people. In a similar manner, they seek the fundamental sin of Israel from their ethnic arrogance or exclusiveness in relation to the Gentiles (Dunn, 2004:361), and portray Paul as a peacemaker. This view certainly reveals an important dimension of Paul, yet it is not the whole picture. Does Paul really ask concession of the Jews in Galatians, assuming that there is no problem with the Jews regarding their attitude towards the law?

From this point of view, Sanders (1977) seems to have a better understanding of the law in monotheistic Judaism, since he tries to understand it in the context of the covenant, that is, in relationship to God (Sanders, 1977:422). His reading of the law fits better to the voice of the first century Jews.

In fact, in monotheistic Judaism, the law, especially the purity law, primarily defined the relationship between humans and God (e.g. Ten Commandments)⁷⁸. All the other laws regulating the ethics among people, in fact, came from this covenantal relationship (Wright, 2013). Moreover, the sin of Israel was the theological sin represented by idolatry, that is, unfaithfulness to the only true God, rather than arrogance or exclusiveness (e.g. Jer. 2:13; cf. Grindheim, 2007:548). Thus, the law must be understood in the relationship to God.

4.1.2.2 Two means of justification? Only means of justification!

The Radical New Perspective scholars successfully locate the matter of the law in the context of the covenant of Israel, e.g. the Noachian law for the Gentiles and the Mosaic law for Jews, rather than *anomism* (Tomson, 1990:271–272). However, trying to put Paul and Jesus' followers in the category of Judaism, some of the Radical New Perspective scholars come to claim that Paul proposed two means of salvation, i.e. 'faith in Jesus Christ' along with the Noachian law for the Gentiles and 'Jewish covenantal relationship with God' along with the

⁷⁸Neyrey (1996:94) and Neusner (2003) argue that the concepts of 'clean' and 'unclean' was related to the cult and Temple in Jerusalem.

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Mosaic law for the Jews *regardless of whether the Jews have faith in Jesus Christ or not*⁷⁹. Even Eisenbaum (2012:143) argues, “In Paul’s theology, Jesus’ death is surely a saving event, but it is not everyone that needs saving, only Gentiles”. This claim ignores Paul’s explicit declaration that no one can be saved apart from the faith in Jesus Christ.

“[. . .] yet we (Jewish believers) know that a person is not justified by works of the law but through faith in Jesus Christ, so we also have believed in Christ Jesus, in order to be justified by faith in Christ and not by works of the law, because by works of the law no one will be justified.” (Gal. 2:16)

“For I bear them witness that they have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge. For, being ignorant of the righteousness of God, and seeking to establish their own, they did not submit to God’s righteousness.” (Rom. 10:2–3)

Paul is strongly convinced that both Jews and the Gentiles can come to the presence of God in the grace/righteousness of God which is clearly revealed in Christ.

4.1.3 The necessity of the pilgrimage motif

As seen above, neither the New Perspective nor the Radical New Perspective provides a proper framework to explain the contradiction between piety, expressed in obeying the law, and justification by faith. Therefore an alternative perspective is needed, where the law is understood in the covenantal relationship to God; and Paul’s claim to the only means of salvation, Jesus Christ, is not ignored. The researcher proposes that the pilgrimage motif can be used to resolve the problem of the law and faith, which is shown in Paul’s teaching regarding the ethical life of Jesus’ followers in Galatians.

4.1.3.1 Ethical life, the law and the walking metaphor

The use of a walking metaphor for ethical life was not Paul’s original creation. In fact, it was customary for Jews to articulate the ethical life using walking metaphors. References to keeping the law and the ethical life are often accompanied by walking metaphors in the Old Testament (Muilenburg, 1961; Wright, 2013:39), which Paul and the Gentile believers perceived as their Scripture:

“Blessed are those whose way is blameless, who *walk in the law of the Lord!* (πορευόμενοι)” (Ps. 119:1; LXX Ps. 118:1)

“Blessed is everyone who fears the Lord, who *walks in his ways!*” (Ps. 128:1)

“*He walked in all the way in which his father walked* and served the idols that his father served and worshipped them.” (2 Kgs. 21:21)

“And he did what was right in the eyes of the Lord and *walked in all the ways of David his father*, and he did not turn aside to the right or to the left.” (2 Kgs. 22:2; 2 Chr. 34:1)

⁷⁹In fact, there are various voices among the Radical New Perspective scholars concerning ‘justification by faith in Jesus Christ’. As for Tomson (1990), ‘which law to keep’ is at issue. However, as for Eisenbaum (2012) along with Gaston (2006), the means of salvation matters.

4.1 Why the pilgrimage motif?

This customary expression is also found from New Testament writings:

“And they [Zechariah and Elizabeth] were both righteous before God, *walking blamelessly in all the commandments and statutes of the Lord* (πορευόμενοι).” (Lk. 1:6)

In above verses, ‘keeping the law’ is articulated by ‘walking in the way of the Lord’; and ‘living an ethical life according to the law’ by ‘walking in the way of his ancestor David’ or ‘walking along the way that Moses has commanded’. For Jews, ethical life was the life *walking* according to the law of God, and the life following the *walk* of their ancestors life who lived according to the law of God.

4.1.3.2 Pilgrimage as the paradigm for the ethical life

The articulation with the walking metaphor for keeping the law is not coincidence. Jewish religion in the first century was the religion of cult, rather than the religion of word (Schmid, 2012:293–296). Israel’s monotheistic faithful life crystallized in the centralized worship in Jerusalem (Knowles, 2006:3), the only appointed sanctuary on earth to worship the only God in heaven (Josephus, *Against Apion* 2.23.193; Philo, *Laws I*. XII. 67), and the way to worship in Jerusalem, i.e. pilgrimage, *provided a perspective and a language to explain their life*. In other words, pilgrimage was a paradigm for the Jewish ethical life.

This relationship between the ethical life and pilgrimage motif is evident in the quotations in Section 4.1.3.1. The wicked way of life in 2 Kgs. 21:21 is described as the way to the shrines of the foreign idols, and *vice versa*. Zechariah and Elizabeth’s blameless ethical life in Lk. 1:6 was, in fact, the life of a priestly family who went to Jerusalem to worship. In all these verses the walking metaphor is connected to the worship to God, which is the ultimate purpose of Jewish pilgrimage. In addition, the concept of a *blameless* (ethical) life is also related to the victim *without blemish* at the sacrifice (cf. Ex. 29:1; Lev. 1:3), which would be given at the end of pilgrimage.

In summary, in the cult-centred first century Jewish society (Schmid, 2012:293–296), the ethical life of a believer was often expressed with a walking metaphor, and this was often linked to the pilgrimage motif.

4.1.3.3 Walking as pilgrimage in Galatians

Paul also uses walking metaphors in Galatians:

“[...] πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε [...]” (Gal. 5:16)

“[...] *walk* by the Spirit [...]” (Gal. 5:16)

“εἰ ζῶμεν πνεύματι, πνεύματι καὶ στοιχῶμεν” (Gal. 5:25)

“If we live by the Spirit, let us also *keep in step with* [march] the Spirit.” (Gal. 5:25)

“[...] ὅσοι τῷ κανόνι τούτῳ στοιχήσουσιν [...]” (Gal. 6:16)

“[...] all who walk by this rule, [...]” (Gal. 6:16)

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In these verses the walking metaphor is used to indicate the ethical life of Jesus's followers. Especially in Gal. 5:25, Paul links 'the life in the Spirit' to 'walking with the Spirit' directly.

One might argue that in the Greco-Roman world where the Galatians lived, 'walking' simply means a way of life, and need not necessarily be linked to the pilgrimage motif. Admittedly, the philosophers in the Greco-Roman world often named their philosophy as 'way' (ὁδός), and articulated the virtuous life conforming to the philosophy as 'walking' (περιπατεω), e.g. the Peripatetic school founded by Aristotle (Furley, 2003). In fact, the term περιπατεω itself is used 95 times in the NT. Paul also uses this term in Gal. 5:16. Then, how can we argue that the walking metaphors in Galatians are linked to pilgrimage?

Circumstantial evidence First of all, Paul, a first century Jew, often uses cultic metaphors to describe the believers' ethical life in his letters. As Gupta (2010) shows, various cultic metaphors are used in Pauline letters: the metaphors of atonement (Gal. 1:4), *Mikva* (1 Cor. 6:11), cleansing (2 Cor. 7:1), a victim without blemish (Phil. 2:14), burnt offering and drink offering (Phil. 2:17). Furthermore, Paul exhorts Jews and the Gentiles in Rome to live an ethical life so that they may glorify God together in one voice (Rom. 15:5–6). This recalls the chant sung together by the worshippers in the Temple precinct at the end of the pilgrimage (Viljoen, 2001). In this sense, it can be argued that Paul sees the ethical life of believers as a pilgrimage that comes to its climax with the chant of Jews and the Gentiles together before the presence of God. In Galatians, Paul links the crucifixion of Jesus to offering the sacrifice for atonement (Gal. 1:4); and the deliverance (and the crisis) of the Gentile believers in Galatia are linked to the experience of the ancient Israelites during the Exodus, the prototypical pilgrimage (e.g. Gal. 1:6). Also, Paul presents the motif of an eschatological Gentile pilgrimage (Gal. 4:27) through the reference to Isaiah.

Secondly, the Gentile believers in Galatia were *not illiterate* of the stories of Israel nor the Jewish cult. If they had been, the letter to the Galatians would have been completely incomprehensible. They were aware of the stories of the Exodus, Abraham, Sarah and Hagar (Gal. 4). They were also familiar with Jewish customs such as circumcision, Sabbath, the new moon festivals and the annual pilgrimage festivals (Gal. 4:10). This can be explained by the existence of a large number of Jewish communities centring around the synagogues and Paul's ministry (Acts 13:13–14:23), if the recipients of the letter were the churches in southern Galatia (cf. Breytenbach, 2014:1–17). In fact, it was widely known among pagans in Asia Minor as well as in Rome that every year a great amount of tribute was delivered to Jerusalem with the pilgrimage procession (Goodman, 1999; Marshall, 1975:139). In his *Pro Flacco* 28.67–69, Cicero (1856) advocates Flaccus, the governor of Asia Minor, who prohibited this procession around 62 BCE:

“As gold, under pretence of being given to the Jews, *was accustomed every year to be exported* out of Italy and all the provinces *to Jerusalem*, Flaccus issued an edict establishing a law that it should not be lawful for gold to be exported out of Asia [...] to resist *this barbarous superstition*. [...] While Jerusalem was flourishing, and while the Jews were in a peaceful state, still *the religious ceremonies and observances of that people* were very much at variance with the splendour of this empire and the dignity of our name and the institutions of our ancestors. And they are the more *odious* to us now because that nation has shown by arms what were its feelings towards our supremacy.” (Cicero (1856), *Pro Flacco* 28.67–69)

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Here, Cicero demonstrates his acquaintance with Jewish customs, most probably circumcision, Sabbath, the festival pilgrimage with a huge amount of tributes, and their observance of the Jewish laws including the Jewish calendar.

Thirdly, the crisis in Galatia was deeply related to the matter of Jewish cult. In the first century, circumcision functioned not only as an ethnic marker, but also as the token for the entrance of the Temple. The fact that Paul was arrested by the accusation of Jews from Asia Minor that he had brought the uncircumcised Gentiles into the Temple (Acts 21:27–28) shows the sentiment of the day regarding the circumcision issue. The Gentile believers in Galatia were compelled not only to be circumcised, but also to keep the Sabbath, the new moons, and the pilgrimage festivals (Gal. 4:10) which were regulated by the priests and the sages centring around the Temple (Herr, 1987). Considering these facts, though Jesus' followers in Galatia were physically far from the pilgrimage centre, Jerusalem, they were still under social pressure from the Jerusalem authority.

Communal marching rather than individual walking A more direct link to the pilgrimage motif is found in the words used for the walking metaphor in Galatians. Paul uses a different word (στοιχέω) from the word 'walking' (περιπατέω), a more general term which was commonly used by Greco-Roman philosophers and occurs sometimes in his other letters (e.g. Thess. 4:1).

After Paul writes "walk by the Spirit" (πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε) (Gal. 5:16), he rephrases these words with "if we live by the Spirit, let us also keep in step with the Spirit" (εἰ ζῶμεν πνεύματι, πνεύματι καὶ στοιχῶμεν) (Gal. 5:25). By this paraphrasing, Paul clarifies that the personal walking (περιπατέω, Gal. 5:16) is, in fact, part of communal marching (στοιχέω Gal. 5:25). It is evidenced by the fact that Paul defines the Israel of God as a marching community (Gal. 6:16), which recalls the march during the Exodus.

Unlike περιπατέω, στοιχέω appears only five times in the NT (including the two cases used in Galatians). In Acts, this term appears when Paul goes up to the Jerusalem Temple with vowers. In that scene, Paul is advised to prove himself as the one who is marching (στοιχέω) according to the law by participating in the Temple ritual (Acts 21:24). Rom. 4:12 draws more attention. Here στοιχέω is used to indicate a procession of people who march the very steps of the ancestor Abraham. These two images are deeply related to the pilgrimage of Israel. The usage of στοιχέω in Phil. 3:12–17 is important for this study:

"Not that I have already obtained this or am already *perfect* (τετελείωμαι end up; cf. Gal. 3:3), but I press on to make it my own, because Christ Jesus has made me his own (cf. Gal. 2:20). Brothers, I do not consider that I have made it my own. But one thing I do: forgetting what lies behind and straining forward to what lies ahead, I press on (διώκω run, cf. Gal.5:7) toward the goal for the prize of the upward call of God in Christ Jesus. [...] Only let us hold true (στοιχεῖν *march*; cf. Gal. 5:25; 6:16) to what we have attained. Brothers, join in *imitating* (Συμμιμηταί) me, and keep your eyes on those who walk (περιπατοῦντας; cf. Gal. 5:18) according to the example you have in us." (Phil. 3:12–17)

In this passage, the decisive metaphors and terms in Galatians appear repeatedly: 'perfect', 'run', 'imitate', 'walk' (περιπατέω) and 'march' (στοιχέω). The followers of Christ are those who run (Phil. 3:14) toward the goal. Paul himself is described as a forerunner who

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has not finished the way yet and is still on the road. In this road, they have seniors who walk (Phil. 3:17) before them, and Jesus' followers in Philippi are urged to *march* together (Phil. 3:16).

As seen in those cases, *στοιχέω* is used to refer to the *communal marching of a community who are progressing together to the Temple or to Christ*, following the example of their seniors, notably Abraham, rather than a personal ethical life according to one's philosophy. This is unmistakably the image of pilgrimage, a procession of a community of worshippers to the presence of God.

4.1.3.4 The importance of pilgrimage in first century Judaism

Pilgrimage was one of the important customs in first century Judaism. In addition to the rather enthusiastic records on the first century pilgrimage practice, such as those of Josephus (*War* 6.420), Philo (*Laws* I, 69) and later rabbis, the pilgrimage motif appears repeatedly in many other ancient writings: in the New Testament⁸⁰, i.e. the first century documents, and in Mishnah (*Seder Moed*), i.e. the second or early third century document based on the oral Torah of the first century. The frequent appearances of the pilgrimage motif offer strong evidence of the importance of pilgrimage in Judaism and for the followers of Jesus in the first century.

It is true that there is no evidence of massive pilgrimage especially from the diaspora communities before the time of Herod (Goodman, 1999:71), and, as Neusner (1992:1) rightly points out, Jewish pilgrimage declined drastically with the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 CE, though it continued until 132–138 CE when the Roman emperor Hadrian deported all Jews from the former Jerusalem area after the Bar Kokhba revolt (132–136 CE)⁸¹.

However, in the first century (c.20 BCE–70 CE) the Jewish pilgrimage experienced its golden age (Goodman, 1999:70–72; Jeremias, 1969:77–84). According to Josephus, approximately 255,600 victims were offered and 2,700,000 pilgrims streamed to Jerusalem in *Pascha* between 63 and 66 CE (*War.* 6.424–425); and Philo records that “enumerable companies of men from a countless variety of cities, some by land and some by sea, from east and from west, from the north and from the south, came to the Temple at every festival” (Philo, *Laws* I, 69). Imitating the writing style of 2 Kgs. 23:22 and 2 Chr. 35:18–19, it can be said, “No such Jewish pilgrimage to Jerusalem had been made before the construction and after the destruction of the Herodian Temple”⁸². Figure 4.1 shows the popularity of historical Jewish pilgrimage over time in a graphical manner.

Rather surprisingly, however, pilgrimage has rarely been dealt with seriously in New

⁸⁰The Gospel of John and the letter to Hebrews serve as examples. As Lincoln (2004:34–39) rightly points out, the main events of the fourth Gospel are narrated in relation to the pilgrimage festivals: *Pascha* (Jn. 2:13; 6:4; 11:55), *Sukkot* (Jn. 7:1–10:31) along with Hanukkah, and probably *Shavuot* (Jn. 4:1–42). The letter to Hebrews presents Jesus as the faithful high priest in the heavenly Temple (Heb. 3:1–6; 5:1–10; 6:19–10:25), while the believers are described as pilgrims (strangers and foreigners on earth, Heb. 11:13) who are walking to the heavenly (mother-)city, following Abraham (Heb. 11:8–10, especially 11:13–16) and senior pilgrims.

⁸¹In addition to the deportation, keeping the Torah law and the Hebrew calendar were also banned by the Roman emperor Hadrian, both of which are essential elements of Jewish pilgrimage.

⁸²Although pilgrimage to Jerusalem was revived in the fourth century by Christians (Maraval, 2002:63–74), it was more like a nostalgic personal religious journey, separated from the sacrifice in the Jerusalem Temple which was the goal of the first century Jewish pilgrimage.

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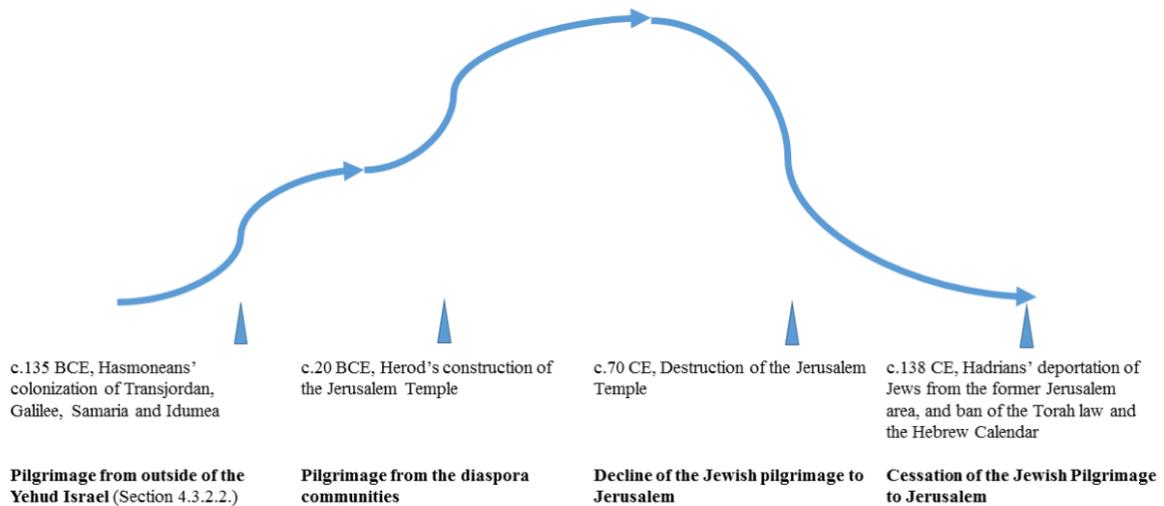


Figure 4.1: The Jewish pilgrimage (Own construction, SM)

Testament studies because it is largely considered as no more than a mere ancient geographical journey based on the theology of space, with little validity for today's church (Lincoln, 2004:40). The researcher argues that pilgrimage has far more important implications, and therefore, deserves more attention.

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According to Eade and Sallnow (1991:3), "pilgrimage as an institution cannot actually be understood as a universal or homogeneous phenomenon but should instead be deconstructed into historically and culturally specific instances." Embracing their view, the researcher argues that Jewish pilgrimage in the first century was not a mere religious customary practice, but a peculiar social phenomenon in which political, cultural and religious voices of society are heard. Accordingly, the first century Jewish pilgrimage should be understood in its socio-historical context.

In this section, pilgrimage will be redefined for this purpose. More specifically, the general concept of pilgrimage is contemplated in terms of its relationship to power (Section 4.2.1), memory (Section 4.2.2) and divinity (Section 4.2.3). Based on this concept of pilgrimage, the features of the first century Jewish pilgrimage will be discussed in Section 4.3.

4.2.1 Pilgrimage and power: pilgrimage as a journey to the centre

The most conventional concept of pilgrimage is that it is an extraordinary 'religious and spiritual journey', apart from the secular world. In this view, pilgrimage is generally accepted as having nothing to do with everyday life.

However, as Rappaport (1999:52–54) argues, every ritual reflects the physical, psychic and social state of the participant. Pilgrimage as a ritual, also can be thought to reflect the matter of real life of the pilgrims (Eade and Sallnow, 1991:3). And all matters on earth are

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inseparable from the matter of power. The theoretical discussion of pilgrimage in this study begins with the matter of power, i.e. centre and periphery.

The power relationship between centre and periphery has traditionally been explained in terms of political domination and economic exploitation *within a society* (Knowles, 2006:5). In this view, pilgrimage is an expression of political subordination of the periphery and the result of economic exploitation from the centre because it usually entails large tribute to the centre. This perspective certainly explains an important characteristic of pilgrimage.

However, this traditional understanding of centre and periphery, which deals with the power relationship only within the society, cannot fully explain the peculiarity of the phenomenon of the first century Jewish pilgrimage: it encompasses much more beyond the boundary of the Jewish society in the Judea region (Fredriksen, 1995:23). In this regard, postcolonial perspectives bring a new understanding to the relationship between centre and periphery.

The most significant difference between postcolonial perspectives and the traditional sociology lies in the scope of thinking. While social stratification and dynamics are discussed *within the society* in traditional sociology (e.g. Meeks, 2003; Oakman, 1996), postcolonial perspectives extend the scope of thinking to include the peripheral colonies, which exist outside of the society. There is a spectrum of social classes within a society; further still outside of the society, there exist the peripheral colonies, the *outcasts* of the society. The peripheral colonies are not visible nor mentioned in the public discourse of the society, yet they are the foundation which sustains the whole society.

The postcolonial theorists argue that the power relationship can be properly understood only in this bigger picture. They redefine the existing sociological concepts, which will be discussed in detail in the rest of this section.

4.2.1.1 Centre and periphery

The notion of ‘centre and periphery’ implies not only geographical difference but also hierarchical order: the centre is superior to the periphery.

The hierarchical order is not fully explained by the gap in the social status, power, or wealth. Ideologically the centre is superior to periphery in terms of morality as well. Typical examples are the Jewish dichotomy between the righteous Jews and the sinful Gentiles (Gal. 2:15) or the Hellenistic division between the civilized Greek and the barbarian Gaul (Niang, 2009:1–2). The centre defines itself as *normal* and the periphery *abnormal* (Ben-Zion, 2009:92–93). It discriminates against and excludes the periphery. In doing so the centre establishes the world, more precisely the cosmology, centring around itself (Gramsci, 1971). The discrimination and exclusion of the *heterogeneous* periphery is justified in this cosmology, according to which the periphery can be defined as ‘outcasts’ regardless of whether they are physically banished or not. The periphery is alienated, marginalized and detached from the world the centre established, and its population are rendered sojourners.

The hierarchical order in postcolonial perspectives can be illustrated as follows:

- Centre: the ruling class of the society. They establish the cosmology centring around themselves.
- Retainers or semi-periphery (Wallerstein, 2014): the middle class who links the centre and the periphery. They manage the bureaucratic system and reinforce the social order

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by educating the periphery (Ben-Zion, 2009:94–95)⁸³. They enthusiastically accept the cosmology of the centre and desire to be included in the centre.

- Periphery within the society: the lower class of the society. Most members of the society fall within this category. They conform to the cosmology of the centre out of fear that they might be cast out of the society or slip into an even worse state.
- Periphery outside of the society or outcasts: the peripheral colonies. As the aliens outside of the social order, they long to be included in the society. However, in most cases this yearning is not met.

This model will be helpful for understanding the social dynamics of the first century Jewish world behind the New Testament documents which will be discussed in Section 4.3.2. In this sense, Ἰουδαϊσμός in Gal. 1:13–14 can be understood as the ideological cosmology of the centre, i.e. priestly aristocrats, rather than general Jewish belief and life (Section 3.4.2).

4.2.1.2 Internalization

Excepting for a few episodic resistances, the periphery⁸⁴ generally accepts the ideology of the centre. This is called internalization (Punt, 2012b:196).

The process of internalization is bilateral. On the one hand, the centre implants its law, custom and culture in the periphery while depreciating the periphery's own law, custom and culture, as “strange” and “savage” (Punt, 2012b:194). This is done particularly by the education from retainers, who act as agents between the centre and the periphery (e.g. Niang, 2009:1–7). Through the education of the ideology which contains *partial* truth, the centre tries to prevent conflict between the centre and periphery caused by oppression and exploitation beforehand. Charles Grant, an English colonizer of the nineteenth century wrote, “*partial reform* will produce an empty form of *the imitation* of English manners which will induce them [the colonized] to remain under our protection” (Bhabha, 2012:124).

On the other hand, however, the ideology of the centre is internalized by voluntary efforts of the periphery (cf. Bhabha, 2012:121–122). They are eager to stay in the world-order established by the centre by keeping the law, custom and culture of the centre. At the same time, mimicking the attitude of the centre, the peripheries in society try to secure their identity by discriminating and excluding the alien outcasts outside of the social order. They become the oppressing centre to the peripheries outside of the social order⁸⁵.

4.2.1.3 Migration to the centre: assimilation

The effort of internalization of the periphery is expressed by the geographical migration to the centre. The periphery is eager to move to the centre (Eliade, 1959:43), which is politically, economically, culturally and socially superior. This results in the centralization of human and material resources. The phenomenon of centralization should not be treated monolithically

⁸³Ben-Zion (2009:94–95) calls the semi-periphery ‘agents’.

⁸⁴Hereafter the term ‘periphery’ indicates both peripheries inside and outside of the system unless otherwise stated.

⁸⁵The xenophobia in South Africa is a tragic example. The lower class which has historically been marginalized and is still in a desperate state, discriminates against the aliens (mainly from other African countries) who can potentially threaten their social-economic security.

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as a result of the exploitation of the centre. It would ignore the periphery's fear for exclusion and their desire towards the centre⁸⁶.

The migration to centre is not necessarily physical. As Wallerstein (2014) points out, it is located at the centre in terms of geography, but it is at the top of the social hierarchy. Therefore, 'following the law and custom of the centre' and 'the desire for a better social status' can be also considered as the migration to the centre.

The migration to the centre is also called assimilation. People move toward the centre by assimilating themselves into the law, custom and culture of the centre (or the higher ranks of the society).

4.2.1.4 Pilgrimage as a journey to the centre

Eliade (1969) and Turner (1973) contribute by revealing the social aspect of pilgrimage, that is, pilgrimage as a journey to the centre (*axis mundi*, the centre out there). However, for them the centre is completely spiritual, apart from the secular world. They emphasized the liminal characteristic of pilgrimage, that is, *detachment* and *departure* from the existing world-order.

However, they fail to grasp another social aspect of pilgrimage, i.e. that of pilgrimage as a social phenomenon in the existing world-order (Eade and Sallnow, 1991:3). They overlook that, at the end of pilgrimage, the pilgrims encounter not only God but also human power as a centre, therefore a power relationship exists between the centre and the periphery (the pilgrims). As a social centre, the religious centre may define the periphery as abnormal and opt fallaciously to discriminate and exclude the periphery (Punt, 2012b:194). The religious centre imposes the cosmology centring around itself, and identifies the heterogeneous periphery as outcasts, that is, unclean sinners. The religious periphery is alienated, marginalized and detached from the world the religious centre has established. They become sojourners.

In this cosmology, the religious periphery lives in fear of being cast out of society, which leaves them no choice but to accept the cosmology; i.e. internalization. By keeping the law, custom and the culture of the religious centre, they separate themselves from the outcasts outside of the society, thereby securing their position in the world-order as defined by the centre. They ultimately seek salvation by being included in the centre. In this view, pilgrimage can be redefined as a journey to the centre from the periphery. It is a willing conformity to the law of the centre and, at the same time, another form of yearning to be assimilated into the centre. Pilgrims, departing from the religious periphery, walk along the way which is regulated by the law, custom and culture of the centre. It is undoubtedly a journey to the centre.

Such a characteristic feature of pilgrimage as a journey to the centre becomes clearer when the religious centre plays the role of political centre as well, as was the case of Jerusalem in the first century. Therefore, the first century Jewish pilgrimage should be understood in relation to power. This will be delineated in Section 4.3.2.

⁸⁶The exploitation of the centre and the subsequent expulsion from the land certainly prompted the migration to the centre (e.g. English peasants during the enclosure movement in the eighteenth century). Supporters of 'People's history' (e.g. Herzog, 2000) explain the first century Galilee in a similar manner. However, along with socio-political reasons, inner motivation should not be overlooked—especially in the case of the poor in the first century Jerusalem who came from foreign countries, e.g. the widows of Hellenists in Acts 6:1, whose immigration was caused largely by religious motivation. They wanted to spend their last days in Jerusalem.

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4.2.2 Pilgrimage and memory: pilgrimage as a journey to the past

Some scholars (e.g. Heschel, 1976) pay attention to the concept of ‘memory’ and ‘time’ and their importance in the practice of pilgrimage (Ioannides and Ioannides, 2004:95). Pilgrims travel not only to a strange place, but also to a strange time: the time of the ancestors (Lowenthal, 1985:4). In this strange time, the same place acquires a new meaning. In this sense, pilgrimage can be called as a time travel.

4.2.2.1 Roots tourism

It has been noticed that pilgrimage as a journey to the ancestors’ past shares a common feature with roots tourism. Both types of journey are knowledge-based (Jackowski and Smith, 1992). And for both, the memory of ancestors is of prime importance. The memory of ancestors here is, in other words, tradition in a comprehensive sense, which includes normative custom and stories of the ancestors.

Through the knowledge-based journey to the past, roots tourists link the stories of the ancestors to their own, and in doing so they confirm their identity (Ioannides and Ioannides, 2004:106), rendering roots tourism as a kind of *social ritual* in a broad sense. However, the relationship between roots tourists and the tradition is rather arbitrary and subjective: roots tourists visit their ancestors in order to confirm their identity. They observe the ancestors from a safe distance and their life is not regulated by the tradition (Ioannides and Ioannides, 2004:103). For example, the purpose of the roots tourism of an African-American is to reaffirm his/her identity as an *African*, and yet to live as an *American* without compromising the respect for his/her roots, rather than to live as an African. Roots tourism, in a way, is a nostalgic journey for the unreachable past (Eisen, 1999:184).

4.2.2.2 Pilgrimage as re-enacting the past

However, the tradition or the memory of the ancestors has more significance in pilgrimage, especially for the Jews (Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 2004:387–394). Pilgrims do not link the stories of the ancestors to their own (as roots tourists do), but incorporate themselves into the bigger story of their ancestors. They willingly engage with the tradition to be regulated⁸⁷. Each and every process of pilgrimage is more or less practiced as appointed by tradition or the memory of the ancestors (Eck, 1998; Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 2004:393). In this regard, pilgrimage is the embodiment of keeping the tradition, i.e. keeping the law in the case of Jewish pilgrimage before the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple.

Several important elements of pilgrimage are identified as follows: in the process of pilgrimage,

- pilgrims visit the ancestors’ site (place),
- on the day appointed in their ancestors’ calendar (time),
- keeping the custom handed down from the ancestors (custom),
- as the heir of their ancestors (relationship).

⁸⁷In this sense, most contemporary Christian journeys to the religious sites such as Jerusalem can be classified as religious tourism, i.e. a kind of roots tourism (Collins-Kreiner, 2010:442–444) rather than pilgrimage.

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In short, the ancestors' walking in the past is re-enacted by pilgrimage. This will be more evident in the following few sections, where each element of pilgrimage is examined.

4.2.2.3 The place of ancestors

In the postcolonial theory of centre and periphery, the religious centre, which is the final destination of pilgrimage, is depicted as a centre with power. However, in the actual pilgrimage, the destination is often no more than ruins (Turner, 1973:211–214). Many places of ancient cities in Turkey are good examples. Those places are important because of the memory of ancestors. Pilgrims see the past religious centre where their ancestors lived and worshipped, not a present ruin. The pilgrimage destination is where the ancestral memory is borne (Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 2004:394).

4.2.2.4 The time of ancestors

Pilgrimage is generally undertaken on the day appointed in the ancestors' calendar. In many cases it is different from the dominant calendar used in everyday life. In the ancient societies where the calendar symbolized dominion (Stern, 2012:2), following the calendar of the ancestors demonstrated loyalty to the tradition. It meant that they were living in a different world centring around the religious centre, in which pilgrims and their ancestors lived together.

4.2.2.5 Keeping the custom as it is handed down

The pilgrimage is taken according to the custom 'as it is handed down'. The phrases, "as it is written" and "as it is spoken" which frequently appear in the Old and New Testament, should not be treated readily as a simple indicator of moral standards. In the religion of cult, the regulations following these phrases sometimes work like a directive in a play script. In re-enacting the ancestors' walking, every detail is directed by the custom handed down from their ancestors: circumcision, clothes, food, behaviour and so on (Eck, 1998:9).

This praxis of custom is important not only because the customs were handed down from the ancestors (tradition), but also because the praxis relates pilgrims to the event of the past, allowing them to associate with the past event and to identify themselves with the ancestors. Ultimately the pilgrims meet the God of their ancestors. As for Jews, this is clearly demonstrated in the phrase, "I am the God of your father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob" (Ex. 3:6; 4:5; 1 Kgs. 18:36; cf. Mt. 22:32; Mk. 12:26; Lk. 20:37).

To be sure, pilgrims longed to meet the God of their ancestors, the very God their ancestors had met, in their pilgrimage. It is achieved by keeping the custom "as it is written". Pilgrims walked the same path as the ancestors, they arrived at the same place, and they worshipped the same God. Therefore, keeping the custom "as it is written" is an important means to open the door for the journey to the past, which leads them to the God of their ancestors.

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4.2.2.6 Heir

The matter of ‘how to follow the tradition of the ancestors faithfully’ has a significant meaning in pilgrimage. It was widely accepted that the pilgrimage should be undertaken “as it is written” in order to follow the tradition of the ancestors faithfully⁸⁸. However, some insisted that it is more important to follow the ethical way of life of their ancestors described in the stories. This kind of understanding is apparent in *Nevi'im* (prophets) and *Ketuvim* (writings) (e.g. 2 Kgs. 22:2), which the Sadducees did not consider as Torah, as well as New Testament and Christian writings, notably *The Lives of the Prophets* and the Pauline letters where Paul instructs his recipients to follow the faith of Abraham (e.g. Gal. 3:7).

Assuming that not every descendant by blood is the true heir, this matter is directly connected to the discussion of who is the true heir. The one who follows the tradition of the ancestors faithfully is considered as the right one. The discussion has not only social but also liturgical implications. Only the true heir can come to the God of their ancestors.

4.2.3 Pilgrimage and divinity: pilgrimage as a journey to the transcendental centre of the world

In the last two sections, pilgrimage as a journey to the centre (Section 4.2.1) and pilgrimage as a journey to the past (Section 4.2.2) have been discussed. However, the spiritual aspect is much more important because pilgrimage is essentially a journey to a sacred place with a purpose of encountering the Divinity (Bartholomew and Llewelyn, 2004:xii). In this regard, pilgrimage can be called a liturgical journey to the transcendental centre of the world.

4.2.3.1 The spatial mediator and human mediator

As mentioned earlier, the pilgrimage destination can be located in the remote place, separated from the social-political centre (Turner, 1973:211–214). In addition, no matter how important the memory of ancestors is (especially in traditional societies), being identified with ancestors cannot be the ultimate purpose of the pilgrimage. The importance of the destination comes from the belief that it is the transcendental centre of the world (*axis mundi* or *omphalos* in Eliade, 1969:27–56) through which humans can encounter the Divinity.

The sanctuary and its shrine as the pilgrimage destination are sacred (Eliade, 1996:367–370). They are separated from the outer world by some barriers (e.g. stream, fence or rope). In the Mediterranean world, a mountain or a hill demonstrates such a separation. Ziggurat in Mesopotamia and Temple-mountain (hill) in Greece (Olympus), Rome and Palestine (high places: *Tel*) are good examples. They show that the holy place belongs to the heavenly realm beyond the order of the profane world. Though it stands on earth, yet it is in the divine or heavenly realm. The shrine is where the gate of gods, the world tree, or the stairway to heaven is located. In this regard, the sanctuary is called a spatial mediator between human beings and God; and the pilgrimage centre becomes the *axis mundi* through which the pilgrims can ascend to the real centre of the world, the presence of God (Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 2004; Smith, 1978:18).

Pilgrims can meet with the Divinity at the holy place (the spatial mediator) through the mediation of the human mediator (agent). The human mediator (prophet, priest or shaman)

⁸⁸The previous section (Section 4.2.2.5) is based on this view.

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offers the prayer of the worshippers with sacrifice or offering to God, and delivers the will of God to the worshippers [man] through prophecy, oracle or divination. The authority of a human mediator came mainly from the ancestry (especially in the Mediterranean world). However, the spiritual (prophetic) ability was also important (Aune, 1983:36–48) since it provided strong evidence of divine appointment.

Through the mediation of the human mediator at the pilgrimage destination, the spatial mediator, pilgrims, (humans) could meet God (Divinity). This was what led pilgrims to the human mediator at the transcendental centre of the world.

4.2.3.2 The stairway to heaven

In pilgrimage, not only the place or time, but also the customs and whole procedure are regulated. Pilgrimage is a ritual in the broad sense that it consists of a series of regulated rites (Rappaport, 1999:24). More specifically, it is a liturgy, because it leads a pilgrim to the Divinity (Smith, 1997:16) in the heavenly realm.

The liturgy is embodied in the bodily praxis in pilgrimage: The separation from the profane world is embodied in bodily *departure* from the familiar land; preparation of themselves entails *ceremonial purification* such as cleansing the body and clothes. The *suffering* which pilgrims experience during the pilgrimage is sometimes considered as a rite of purification (Turner, 1973). The pilgrims who are ceremonially cleansed, are now ready to cross the bridge between two worlds or to ascend along the stairway to the heavenly realm. Through the physical journey in the human world, pilgrims undertake the journey to the transcendental world. Thus, pilgrimage can be conceptualized as a stairway to heaven.

4.2.4 Section summary

In this section, the concept of pilgrimage was introduced from three perspectives: power, memory and divinity. From the view of postcolonial theory of centre and periphery, pilgrimage was defined as a journey to the centre (power), which expresses the subordination of the periphery and the yearning to be assimilated into the centre. Pilgrimage was also understood as a journey to the past. In this journey to a strange time, the memory of ancestors plays a key role. By re-enacting the ancestors' walk, pilgrims identify themselves with their ancestors. Finally, the religious aspect of pilgrimage was considered: pilgrimage as a liturgical journey to the presence of God through the mediation of the spatial mediator, the temple, and of the human mediator, the priests.

In the following section (Section 4.3), the first century Jewish pilgrimage will be examined in the light of the three aspects of pilgrimage according to the definition presented in this section.

4.3 Pilgrimage in first century Judaism

Pilgrimage is one of the most distinctive social phenomena in first century Judaism. Thus, it gives an opportunity for a better understanding of first century Judaism, which forms the basis of Paul's theology. In this section the first century Jewish pilgrimage as a social phenomenon will be described in detail, particularly in relation to power, memory and divinity.

4.3 Pilgrimage in first century Judaism

4.3.1 A general description of the first century pilgrimage

As De Hemmer Gudme (2009) points out, “in order to be able to *understand* a certain ritual, one will have to become acquainted with this ritual’s liturgical orders, its encoded message. In other words to understand a ritual it is necessary in some way to be informed of this ritual’s particular worldview”. In this section, the researcher tries to understand the worldview of the first century Jewish pilgrimage by describing a general picture of it. This description will be based on the pilgrimage of an imaginary diaspora pilgrim to the presence of God as a liturgical journey.

4.3.1.1 In their land

The important preliminary step before the actual pilgrimage, i.e. fascination, is often neglected. Pilgrimage actually begins with the fascination of the pilgrims.

Fascination In his description of Jerome’s pilgrimage in the fourth century, Frank (2000:1) argues, “The first step for any pilgrimage lands not on the road, but somewhere in the imagination”. He continues to write, “In the years preceding that journey, Jerome, like many Christians of his day, fed his fascination by reading the lives of these saints. In the reading of these stories, [...] the desert became a stage for biblical spectacles” (Frank, 2000:1–2). Fascination leads them to a pilgrimage (Cragg, 2004:1). Like Jerome, the pilgrims to Zion in the Psalms also express their fascination with the pilgrimage, as follows:

“How lovely is your dwelling place, O Lord of hosts!
My soul longs, yes, faints for the courts of the Lord;
my heart and flesh sing for joy to the living God.
Even the sparrow finds a home, and the swallow a nest for herself,
where she may lay her young, at your altars, O Lord of hosts,
my King and my God.
Blessed are those who dwell in your house, ever singing your praise! Selah
Blessed are those whose strength is in you,
in whose heart are the highways to Zion.” (Ps. 84:1–5)

This psalm shows that the pilgrim’s mind has already gone to the Temple precinct in Zion even before the pilgrimage began.

The first century pilgrims to Jerusalem shared the same fascination as that expressed in Psalm 84 and Jerome, otherwise, they would have considered the pilgrimage to Jerusalem too costly and hazardous (Hezser, 2011:381).

To be sure, not all the Jews undertook pilgrimage to Jerusalem as Torah commanded, even in the first century (Hezser, 2011:376). Some were even indifferent about the heritage of Israel. For example, Philo of Alexandria complained about some Jews who were concerned only about their social and political success in the pagan society (*Laws III*. 164 as referred to in Borgen, 1981:145); and Josephus voiced criticism that only a few pilgrims came from Tiberias, one of the most Hellenized cities in Galilee, to the *Pascha* in 70 CE (*Life* 354; *War* XI.421). In addition, diaspora Jews were not obligated to the *ma’amad* system which applied to the inhabitants of the land of Israel (Goodman, 1999:72). However, many pilgrims still streamed to Jerusalem from every corner of the world to the festivals in the first century

4.3 Pilgrimage in first century Judaism

before 70 CE (Acts 2:9–11; Philo *Laws* 281f). Pilgrimage to Jerusalem, especially that of diaspora Jews, cannot be fully explained except for their religious fascination.

Fascination formed by memory This fascination was formed by the stories they had heard about their ancestors. As Wold (2007:47) rightly points out, “The Jewish people were and are a people who are distinctive for their emphasis on remembering. [...] *Shema* [...] commands the Israelites to remember all times—in waking and walking—and to bind memorials on their homes, heads and hands”. In their homes on the eve of *Pascha* (*haggadah*) and in their synagogues on Sabbaths, the first century pious Jews listened to the stories of ancient Israel, especially the story of the Exodus, which ultimately led them to the worship in the Temple in Mount Zion at the three pilgrimage festivals (Wright, 1992:233–234).

Moreover, they enacted the stories in their lives. They circumcised themselves following the story of their ancestor Abraham; lived in accordance to the Jewish calendar, including ritual keeping of Sabbath (creation) and Jewish festivals (the Exodus); they prayed three times a day in the direction of Jerusalem for the restoration of Israel (the promise of Solomon, and the story of Daniel and Nehemiah); and sang the psalms, including the Psalms of Ascents which were sung in the pilgrimage procession and finally chanted in the Temple. All of these performances had narrative bases which were more or less related to the worship in Jerusalem.

Like the fourth century Christian audience (Frank, 2000:1), the first century pious Jews, proselytes and God-fearing Gentiles spread over the Mediterranean world (Jeremias, 1969:77) were drawn in their imagination by these stories into another world, where pilgrims gathered at the precinct of the Temple, offered sacrifices, and sang psalms which declared that God reigns. Some of them who were deeply attracted to this world actually set out on a pilgrimage.

Departure as conversion Departure on the pilgrimage symbolized the separation from the profane world where the pilgrims lived (Smith, 1997:56). However, the impact of departure was not the same for all pilgrims. It was not easy for the diaspora pilgrims to decide on a pilgrimage. They had been settled in a foreign land, such as Babylonia or Alexandria for several generations. Though they heard about the God of their ancestors and the Temple in Jerusalem, the pagan society surrounding them was more familiar to them. For the diaspora pilgrims, pilgrimage was an act of departure from their country, kindred and their father’s house to go to the land that God had appointed (cf. Gen. 12:1).

It was especially the case for the Gentile converts or proselytes. In order to live for God and belong to the family of God, they had to leave their homes, their brothers and sisters, parents, children and lands (cf. Mk. 19:29). Their conversion was perceived as following the model of Abraham, who was considered as the first Gentile convert by the first century Jews (Philo, *On Dreams* 1. 160–161). The Gentile Abram who used to worship the Sun, Moon and Zodiac in Mesopotamia turned away from his previous life to the one true God, after being called by God (Donaldson, 2007:297–298). Circumcision was the mark of his conversion. Therefore, circumcision was essential for the Gentile converts to be considered as a proper heir to Abraham, who had abandoned his previous life and walked in the way of the Lord to the land God appointed.

Preparation for the journey As mentioned above, pilgrimage was a costly journey. First of all pilgrims had to prepare a large amount of money for tithe, animal sacrifice, second

4.3 Pilgrimage in first century Judaism

tithe⁸⁹ and alms for the poor in Jerusalem in addition to Temple dues such as ‘half-shekel’ and ‘release of dedication’. It often more than doubled for the diaspora Jews who needed extra money for the journey and accommodation. Thus, the diaspora pilgrims at times sought patronage from the neighbouring Gentiles (Goodman, 1999:73) who sympathized with the Jewish religion and custom (Donaldson, 2007:630–635; cf. Hezser, 2011:374). Also, those who could not afford a pilgrimage asked neighbouring pilgrims, as opportunity offered, to deliver their offerings and tributes to Jerusalem (Goodman, 1999:71).

4.3.1.2 On the way to Jerusalem

Calendar The first century Jewish pilgrimage was undertaken according to the ancient Jewish calendar. This differed from the Julian calendar, which was used in everyday life since it had been proclaimed by Julius Caesar in 45 BCE. As mentioned before, in the ancient society where calendar symbolized dominion (Stern, 2012:2)⁹⁰, following the ancestors’ calendar demonstrated their loyalty to the God of Israel. As Stern (2012:1) writes, “To the Jews, [keeping the calendar] [...] was an act of ‘sanctification’, the fulfilment of a commandment”, since they were appointed by Godself (Lev. 23:2; Weyde, 2004). In order to keep the ancient calendar, “flares were waved at the start of every month” and “messengers were sent out to announce the start of six months, *Nisan* to celebrate the time of *Pascha* [...]” (Herr, 1987:851, 854).

The first century Jewish pilgrims went to Jerusalem mainly on the three primal festivals: *Pascha* (Passover and the following feast of Unleavened Bread), *Shavuot* (Pentecost) and *Sukkot* (Tabernacles). *Pascha* was celebrated on the 14th–21st of *Nisan/Aviv*, the first month (Lev. 23:5; Num. 28:16; Deut. 16:1). The second *Pascha* (Num. 9:6–13) was celebrated a month later. *Shavuot* was on the 6th of *Sivan*, the third month (Lev. 23:15–16; Num. 28:26; Deut. 16:9), and *Sukkot* (Tabernacles) was on the 15th–21st of *Tishri*, the seventh month (Lev. 23:23–44; Num. 29; Deut. 16:13), along with *Rosh Hashana* (the Feast of Trumpets) on the first day and *Yom Kippur* (Day of Atonement) on the tenth day of this month⁹¹.

The pilgrims from the foreign land left for Jerusalem a few weeks prior to these festivals, so that they could be there in time (Jeremias, 1969:58). They wanted to spend the most sacred time of the year in the Temple in Jerusalem, the most sacred place of the world.

Pilgrimage caravan The last stage of preparation for the journey was to find companions who could protect them from the danger during the journey (Jeremias, 1969:59). Josephus (*Ant.* XVIII. 313.) recorded the festival caravan of thousands of pilgrims assembled in Babylonia. Without companions, the journey was extremely dangerous and almost impossible in the ancient Mediterranean world (Hezser, 2011:381).

⁸⁹The second tithe was needed to be used fully in Jerusalem for private purposes (Jeremias, 1969:58–59)

⁹⁰Caesar’s proclamation of the Julian calendar in 45 BCE is meaningful in this regard. Caesar proclaimed the Julian calendar based on the pure solar calendar, which was originally the Ptolemaic calendar only after the annexation of Egypt (Herr, 1987:840).

⁹¹However, the exact date was a matter of controversy even in the first Temple period (Weyde, 2004) as well as in the Second Temple period (Herr, 1987). As for the Qumran community, they strictly followed the Enoch circle calendar which is contained in *Enoch* and *Jubilee*, rejecting the dominant Sadducees’ calendar. Accordingly they celebrated the festivals on other days, e.g. they kept the seventh year’s *Pascha* at the beginning of winter instead of spring (Herr, 1987:840–841).

4.3 Pilgrimage in first century Judaism

United in the pilgrimage caravan, pilgrims walked to Jerusalem. Under the reign of Herod and the Roman Empire, the journey to Jerusalem became easier than before. *Pax Romana*, paved Roman roads and the military camps installed along the route⁹² made the pilgrimage more convenient and safer, at least from Babylonia (*Ant.* XVII. 29–31. in [Goodman, 1999:73](#)).

Communitas The caravan not only protected the pilgrims from danger on the journey but also provided companions who shared their religious motivations. The pilgrimage procession consisted primarily of relatives or fellow countrymen ([Smith, 1997:58](#)), but the pilgrims met others as well from all around the world, who shared the same faith. The joy of finding such a companion is well described in Ps. 122, a Song of Ascent:

“I was glad when they said to me, “Let us go to the house of the Lord!””
(Ps. 122:1)

Little Jesus and his family also went to Jerusalem, along with such a pilgrimage procession. They recited Torah together and sang the Songs of Ascent (Ps. 120–134) along with fellow pilgrims (*Mishnah Bikk.* 3:2–5). This scene is alluded to in Psalms 42:

“[...] how I would go with the throng
and lead them in procession to the house of God
with glad shouts and songs of praise,
a multitude keeping festival.” (Ps. 42:4)

During this liturgical journey, pilgrims experienced a gradual inner transformation from pious individuals to a worshipping community, and by the time they reached Jerusalem, their identity was newly established in this intimate pilgrimage procession group. [Turner and Turner \(2011:xxx–xxx\)](#) call such a liminal and ideal group of worshippers *communitas*.

4.3.1.3 In the city of Jerusalem

By the first century, Jerusalem was no longer the ruined small fortress of David. As [Strange \(2003\)](#) illustrates, it was transformed into a large and beautiful Hellenized Oriental city by the hand of Herod. Jerusalem was enlarged and fully renovated (*Ant.* XV.11; *War* I. 21.1).

The upper city As can be seen in [Figure 4.2](#), the whole city was surrounded by walls and divided into several sectors: the upper city, the lower city and *Bezetha* (the new city). The upper city was a Hellenized or Romanized city, enclosing spacious villas and palaces with gardens and pools ([Levine, 2002:326–332](#)) for kings, Roman governors, priestly aristocrats (the Sadducees) and elders ([Goodman, 1993:54–55](#)). There were a theatre for Greek and Roman dramas, and a hippodrome for sports (cf. *Ant.* XII.5.1 (240ff)). At the upper market with well-paved Roman arcade, luxurious goods were sold from all over the Mediterranean world. Jerusalem was crowded with nobles and slaves, Jewish and foreign merchants, Roman soldiers and foreign mercenaries ([Jeremias, 1969:33–35](#)). It was not so much different from any prosperous city in the East Mediterranean basin.

⁹²Herod installed military camps to protect the pilgrims, notably the military colony in Batanaea.

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Figure 4.2: The city of Jerusalem (Dennis *et al.*, 2008)

The lower city Generally, however, poor pilgrims were not allowed in the upper city. They had to stay in the lower city or *Bezetha*, and from there they could go to the Temple.

The scene of the lower city was different from that of the upper city. The sector was densely filled with small buildings of two to three storeys, which consisted of smaller houses. These houses were filled with poor migrants who were deracinated from their land (Goodman, 1993:64–66) and widows who depended upon charity (*tamhuy* and *quppah*; cf. Acts 6:1)⁹³. The narrow, unpaved and dusty streets led in all directions. The way to the Temple was a kind of bazaar full of noises. The animals for sacrifice, the tables of money-exchangers and the hands of beggars (e.g. Acts 3) often stopped the pilgrims. The portrait of Jerusalem in the first century had two completely different faces.

Accommodation Accommodation in Jerusalem was a big problem since the number of pilgrims far exceeded the capacity of the city. Pilgrims usually stayed in the allocated sector which was related to their community, i.e. Galileans in Bethany (Jeremias, 1969:61–62). Some

⁹³ “The *tamhuy* (poor bowl) was distributed daily among wandering paupers, and consisted of food (bread, beans and fruits, with the prescribed cup of wine at Passover). The *quppah* (poor basket) was a weekly dole to the poor of the city, and consisted of food and clothing” (Jeremias, 1969:131).

4.3 Pilgrimage in first century Judaism

of them could find accommodation from the diaspora communities which had developed centring around their synagogues (Acts 6). However, still many of the pilgrims had to stay in tents stretched out along the slope, or even worse, in the street (Jeremias, 1969:61).

Preparation to go up to Mount Zion In spite of all these inconveniences surrounding the accommodation problem, pilgrims usually came earlier to prepare themselves to ascend to Mount Zion.

Only those who proved themselves pure were allowed in the Temple, and it was demonstrated by observing the purity law, which was commanded in the Pentateuch. For example, they had to wash their bodies and clothes before going up to the Temple, they should not touch women nor the dead, etc. (Ex. 19:9–15). The pilgrims came to Jerusalem usually a week earlier⁹⁴ in order to avoid potential defilement during the journey which would have excluded them from the festival. The parable of the Good Samaritan shows portraits of a priest and a Levite who tried to avoid defilement caused by touching a corpse (cf. Goodman, 1993:104).

As Fredriksen (1995:23) points out, purity in the first century was primarily a state. Pilgrims could be in the state of purity through rituals of purification. The ritual bath in *Mikva* (ritual purity pools) along the way to the Temple was an important procedure in the sequence which ultimately led to the presence of God. The rituals of purification was, in fact, for the participants to go up to Mount Zion.

4.3.1.4 Mount Zion

The purified pilgrims went up to Mount Zion, the mountain of YHWH, along the stairs ascending to the Jerusalem Temple. From anywhere in Jerusalem, people could see the Temple standing high up on Mount Zion, shining in gold and white.

The Temple complex The Jerusalem Temple which was rebuilt by Herod along with the surrounding Temple complex, was the pride of Jews in the first century. It was far grander and more magnificent than Solomon's and Zerubbabel's Temple (Strange, 2003:110). The Temple itself had to be built following the structure of the Tabernacle, therefore it could not be much different from the previous temples in size. However, Herod enlarged the top of Mount Zion to build the foundation of a bigger structure: the Temple and its surrounding complex (see Figure 4.3) (Josephus, *War* I. 21.1). The Temple complex⁹⁵ was the largest shrine in the Mediterranean world. The Babylonian Talmud writes of the beauty of the Jerusalem Temple as follows:

“He who has not seen Jerusalem in its beauty, has not seen a beautiful great city in his whole life; and who has not seen the building of the Second Temple, has not seen a handsome building in his life. What is meant by this? Said Abayi, according to others Rabbi Hisda: It means the building of Herod.” (Babylonian Talmud: *Tractate Sukkah* chapter 5; cf. Mk. 13:1)

⁹⁴Jesus' last entry to Jerusalem, which was a week before the *Pascha*, probably shows this custom of pilgrims of coming earlier.

⁹⁵In many cases the term 'the Jerusalem Temple' is used to indicate the whole Temple complex.

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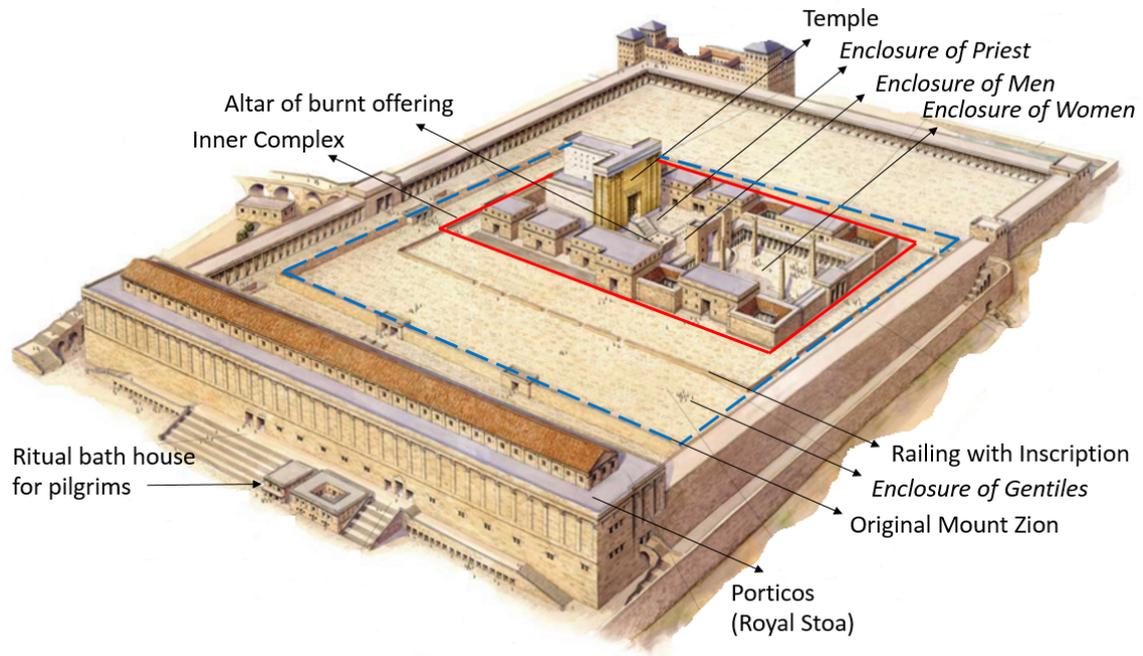


Figure 4.3: The Jerusalem Temple (Dennis *et al.*, 2008)

Goodman (1999:72) argues that it was the Temple that stimulated the diaspora Jews to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

As can be seen in Figure 4.3, the Temple complex consisted of porticos, the enclosure of Gentiles and the inner complex. The enclosure of Gentiles and the inner complex were positioned in the original Temple Mount (as before the expansion by Herod), which was marked by walls. The inner complex was divided into several sections: the enclosure of women, the enclosure of men, the enclosure of priests, and the Temple itself, which consisted of the Holy Place and the Most Holy Place.

Porticos The whole Temple complex was surrounded by porticos, including the Royal Stoa, the meeting place of Sanhedrin after 30 CE⁹⁶ and Solomon's Porch (cf. John 10:23; Acts 3:11). In these places, along with their synagogues in the city, the pilgrims could hear the public speeches, including the teachings of the Torah.

The enclosure of Gentiles Both Jewish and Gentile pilgrims could enter the original Temple Mount. The first enclosed court (*Ant.* XV.11.5.) that pilgrims encountered in the original Temple Mount was the Court of Gentiles. There, the God-fearing Gentiles could pray to God, so that the Temple was called "the house of prayer for all peoples" (Isa. 56:7; Mk. 11:17).

In the middle of this court was a low stone railing with an inscription (Josephus, *Ant.* XV. 410ff.) proclaiming that Gentiles, who are ceremonially unclean by birth, that is, sinners

⁹⁶The Pinnacle of the Temple mentioned in Mt. 4:5 and Lk. 4:9 possibly means this Royal Stoa.

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(cf. Gal. 2), are prohibited from entering the Temple court. The Gentile pilgrims could not venture beyond this railing (Llewelyn and van Beek, 2011:6). The suspicion of a Gentile intruder became the issue of controversy between Paul and Jews in Acts 21 (Llewelyn and van Beek, 2011). Some interpreters suggest that Paul alluded to this railing when he spoke of ‘the dividing wall of hostility’ abolished by Christ in Eph. 2:13 (Dennis *et al.*, 2008).

Inside the railing there were several chambers which were used for the administrative affairs for priests (the chamber of Nazirites, the chamber of the Lepers, the chamber of hearth, etc.) and for Sanhedrin before 30 CE (the chamber of Hewn). On the terrace next to the chamber of Hewn, the Sanhedrin came out to recite the Scripture during the Feasts of Passover and Tabernacles.

The enclosure of women Through the large eastern gate, pure Jewish pilgrims might enter the inner complex with their wives (*Ant.* XV.11.5). This was usually called the enclosure of women since the Jewish women were allowed only in up to this court. In fact, the whole family was forbidden to progress further, except for the head of the family who could enter through the Nicanor gate to the enclosure of men. The rest of the family had to stay in the enclosure of women and watch the sacrifice from there.

Concerning this court, the statement of Josephus is noteworthy: “There was one large gate, through which such as were *pure* came in” (Ferguson, 2003:562). *Purity* was emphasized more strictly here. Not all the ethnic Jews were allowed into this court, let alone the Gentiles. Ideally only those who were pure in hearts (Ps. 24:4; cf. Mt. 5:3) and in hands (Ps. 23:4; cf. Ps. 15:2–5; Ezek. 44:9) could come further into this court. In this regard, it would be more appropriate to call this place ‘the enclosure of pure Israelites’. However, realistically, this term ‘pure’ denotes ethnic and religious purity (e.g. Isa. 35:8; 52:1; Joel:3:17; Rev. 22:14–15) rather than morality (cf. Ezek. 44:9).

4.3.1.5 Worship in the Temple

Inside the Nicanor gate were the inner court and the Temple itself, where the worship (e.g. Levites’ singing of the Psalms, priests’ burnt and incense offering) was offered (Ferguson, 2003:562–563). Unlike the rabbinic Judaism, Jewish worship in the first century was deeply connected to the place of worship (Neusner, 1992:1). In the first century, worship primarily indicated the ritual in Jerusalem.

The inner court The head of each family could come into the inner court where the animal sacrifices were offered for justification⁹⁷. The inner court was divided further by a few steps, into the enclosure of men and the enclosure of priests. In the enclosure of men the head of the family handed over the sins of the family to the victim, and brought the sacrifice to the priest, as it was written. There the head of the family watched their sacrifice being offered.

The priest took the victim to the enclosure of priests, where the basin and the sacrifice altar were located. There he slaughtered the victim and burnt the sacrifice on the altar (Safrai, 1987:869). After that, it was declared that their sins were forgiven on the basis of the covenant (Lev. 4–6) and the pilgrims became purified and justified.

⁹⁷Obviously there were other kinds of offerings (Lev. 1–6) presented in the worship at the Temple. However, the sin offering is used for the discussion in this section.

4.3 Pilgrimage in first century Judaism

In fact, the sacrifice of atonement was deeply related to the *status* of the pilgrims. Their status was restored to the people of God through the sacrifice. *The people of God* meant the people who are acceptable to God. Through the sacrifice of atonement, pilgrims became acceptable to God.

The Holy Place and the Most Holy Place Pilgrims could not enter the Temple itself, not the Holy Place, nor the Most Holy Place behind the curtain, because the Temple, especially the Ark of Covenant and the Throne of Grace, were considered as a place where God dwells (Ex. 25:22). Only the consecrated priests could enter the Holy Place in order to offer the daily sacrifice to God (cf. Heb. 7:27). As long as the daily sacrifice (*Tamid*) was maintained, the covenantal relationship with God was considered secure (cf. Dan. 8:11–14; 12:11; Hamm, 2003:215–216).

Only the high priest could come into the Most Holy Place once a year on *Yom Kippur* (the Day of Atonement) in order to offer blood sacrifice for the sins of the Israelites (Lev. 23:26–32; cf. Heb. 9:7). If the pilgrims' sin offering was for the atonement of the family, for them to be accepted by God, the sacrifice of atonement offered by the high priest was for the whole Israel to be restored as the people of God.

The Israelites could communicate with God in this proper covenantal relationship. The aroma arising from the altar of incense in the Holy Place was considered as the prayers of the Israelites. The first century Jews believed that their prayers were delivered to the heavenly Temple along with the aroma offered by the hands of the priests (cf. *Judith* 9:1). From the heavenly Temple, the angels take the prayers to God, who is seated on the heavenly Throne (cf. Rev. 5:8; 8:3–4).

Communal feast After the sacrifice the communal feast followed. The pilgrims shared the flesh of the victim together, celebrating being the people of God (e.g. *Pascha* meal in Ferguson, 2003:557–558). This feast was allowed only to the people accepted by God. Foreigners were not excluded in the beginning (Deut. 16:11, 14), yet, the separation started over the course of time, especially after the reformation of Ezra and Nehemiah and in the following history of the Israelites.

This purity regulation of table in the Temple was broadly applied even to the ordinary meal in the everyday life of Jews in the first century (e.g. Acts 10), possibly under the influence of the Pharisees, and became an exclusive barrier to the outcasts and the Gentiles (Dunn, 1993:120–121). However, it should not be forgotten that the purity code was initially given to purify the Israelites and prepare them to participate in the feast with God. The ceremonial water jars were there to purify pilgrims/Israelites from the possible defilement caused by contact with unclean, so that they might worship and participate in the communal feast.

4.3.2 Pilgrimage to the centralized Temple

The first century was the Renaissance of the Jewish pilgrimage (Goodman, 1999). On each of the three primal festivals (*Pascha*, *Sukkot* and *Shavuot*), pilgrims streamed to the Jerusalem Temple, the final destination of the pilgrimage. The Jerusalem Temple was not only the religious centre, appointed by God as the only place to worship, but also the social/political centre of the first century Jews (Wright, 1992:225). The Jerusalem Temple stood at the centre

4.3 Pilgrimage in first century Judaism

of first century Judaism, thereby corresponding to the notion of centre in the hierarchical order of the postcolonial perspectives presented in Section 4.2.1.1.

The hierarchical order in first century Judaism can be distinguished as follows:

- Centre: the Jerusalem Temple and its priestly aristocrats. They establish the cosmology, i.e. first century Judaism (Section 3.4.2) centring around Temple and themselves (Ben-Zion, 2009:22, 63–66), i.e. the Sadducees (Jeremias, 1969:147–182).
- Retainers or semi-periphery: the teachers of the law who reinforced the social order by educating the periphery (Ben-Zion, 2009:94–95), mainly the Pharisees (Wright, 1992:189)
- Periphery within the society: the majority of the Jews in Israel, including Galileans and other converted Jews⁹⁸ who largely conformed to first century Judaism (cf. Wright, 1992:213–214).
- Periphery outside of the society or outcasts: the Samaritans and the Gentile sinners.

4.3.2.1 Pilgrimage and tribute

Many references of pilgrimage in the Old Testament link closely to the command of payment of tribute:

“then to the place that the Lord your God will choose, to make his name dwell there, there you shall *bring all that I command you*: your burnt offerings and your sacrifices, *your tithes and the contribution that you present, and all your finest vow offerings that you vow to the Lord.*” (Deut. 12:11; cf. Deut. 12:6)

“Three times a year all your males shall appear before the Lord your God at the place that he will choose: at the Feast of Unleavened Bread, at the Feast of Weeks, and at the Feast of Booths. *They shall not appear before the Lord empty-handed.*” (Deut. 16:16; cf. Ex. 23:15)

Pilgrims in the Old Testament were not to come before the Lord with empty hands, but had to bring tributes to God. In fact, it is well known that the three pilgrimage festivals (*Pascha*, *Shavuot* and *Sukkot*) were actually a kind of harvest festivals, where people brought their offerings to the temple after harvest (Mowinckel, 1962:120–121; Weyde, 2004:19–20).

The first century Jewish pilgrimage can be understood in the same manner. The Jewish pilgrims in the first century had to come to Jerusalem with poll (head) tax for each male (half shekel), income tax (tithe) and other legal taxes (birth redemption, vow redemption, etc.)⁹⁹ as well as the second tithe (Jeremias, 1969:58–59). Regardless of the original theological intention of the festivals, in practice the pilgrimage in the first century, especially that of Jews from the Judean region, can be understood as the tribute procession after the harvest. Thus first century Jewish pilgrimage can be construed as an expression of subordination to the Jerusalem Temple and its priestly aristocrats (cf. Herzog II, 2005:48–49).

⁹⁸Galileans and other converted Jews, such as Idumean Jews, were considered inferior to the Jews in Judea. They were second class citizens.

⁹⁹All these taxes were legally levied on Jews in the Judean region because the priestly aristocrats in the Jerusalem Temple were the official bureaucratic rulers of this area. However, they imposed this duty on the Galileans and the Samaritans, too, who were already obligated to pay taxes to the Roman Empire and the local governors.

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4.3.2.2 The Jerusalem Temple as a political centre and its colonization

It was not by the commandment of Torah that Jerusalem was appointed as the central sanctuary. Although some narrative foundations are found in other Old Testament texts (2 Chr. 3:1; 2 Sam. 24:18–25; cf. Gen. 22:2ff), the centralization of the Jerusalem Temple involves political issues (Smith, 1997:73). Kings in Jerusalem had obvious political interests: they wanted a centralized kingdom beyond the loose league of tribes of Israel (2 Sam. 24:1–9). The centralization of a sanctuary and the ban of local shrines implied the reinforcement of the domination of Jerusalem (Smith, 1997:53; cf. Jonker, 2016). The kings of the Northern Kingdom of Israel, for example Jeroboam, also perceived this as such (1 Kgs. 12:27). The pilgrimage to Jerusalem meant not only the outflow of the national wealth but also the downfall of the kingdom into a colonial state. That was why the northern kings established *other sanctuaries to worship the same God*, in Dan and Bethel (1 Kgs. 12:28–33). In order to ensure the legitimacy of the new sanctuaries (against the Ark of Covenant of Moses in Jerusalem), they enshrined the bronze serpent made by Moses (Num. 21:8–9; 2 Kgs. 18:4) at Dan, and the golden calf of Aaron at Dan and Bethel (1 Kgs. 12:29). These were destroyed by Hezekiah and Josiah, the restorers of Jerusalem. It certainly derived from their religious zeal, but at the same time it was a matter of politics too.

A similar evaluation may be applied in the case of the post-exilic rulers of Jerusalem. The Hasmonean kings had enough reasons to destroy the Samaritan sanctuary to worship the same God (cf. Jn. 4; Tuval, 2013:6, note 19.), besides the old theological reason of Jerusalem being the only place of worship to the only true God. Their emphasis on the centralized Temple in Jerusalem in fact stemmed from their political interests.

The rulers of Jerusalem were eager to establish Jerusalem's authority beyond the Judean region. The so-called restoration of the glory of Solomon was achieved by a series of military campaigns and colonization which established itself as centre and set up the ten tribes as peripheral. The military campaigns of Hasmonean kings and Herod did not simply derive from the romantic dream of the restoration of the glory of Israel. A political agenda usually has realistic interests behind it (Bryan, 2002:176)¹⁰⁰. For example, the enforced conversion of the Idumeans, which was seemingly a missionary activity¹⁰¹, was in fact a form of colonization through which the Idumeans could be incorporated into the governance system in which the Jerusalem Temple would be at the centre (Levine, 1997:142). Through the conversion the Idumeans became Jews, subjects of the *ma'amad system*, and therefore additional religious tax resources.

It seems quite certain that the rulers of Jerusalem were hardly concerned about the restoration of the house of Israel through the incorporation of the lost ten tribes (cf. Jonker, 2016). Rather, as a centre, they discriminated against the periphery, that is, Galileans, Samaritans and Idumean Jews. The ridicule directed at the Galileans (Jn. 1:46; 7:41; 7:52) or the slander on Herod the king of Jews as 'an Idumean slave'¹⁰² demonstrate such discrimi-

¹⁰⁰Bryan (2002:176) points out how the Hasmoneans justified their conquest by ahistorical identification of Samaritans with the Israel-polluting Shechemites in *Judith* 9:2–4.

¹⁰¹Bird (2009) explains the conversion of Idumeans under John Hyrcanus I as a means of purifying and defining the nation of Israel—not as a Gentile missionary.

¹⁰²ESV study bible (Dennis *et al.*, 2008) points out that even Herod was unable to go beyond the enclosure of the Gentiles in the Temple complex because of his Idumean origin. Herod was an Idumean *Jew* (see Section 3.4.2), probably circumcised by the impact of the enforced conversion of Idumeans in 135 BCE, with a knowledge of Torah, at least of purity law (Strange, 2003:107). However, many contemporary Jews would

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nation. Even a century after the annexation, Galileans still remained seen as the second-class Jews. Those regions were stigmatized as homes of insurgency, and harshly suppressed (Horsley, 2005:27)¹⁰³.

4.3.2.3 The ideology¹⁰⁴ of the Jerusalem Temple

The priestly aristocrats in first century Judaism, as a political/social centre, established their authority based on ideological theology. The term ‘ideological’ here connotes ‘ahistorical and illusionary’, since, in terms of history, Jewish priestly aristocrats were no more than the retainers of the Roman colony. The main theses of the ideological theology of the priestly aristocrats can be described as follows (cf. Tuval, 2013:6, 9)¹⁰⁵:

- The Jerusalem Temple is the only place of worship for the only true God.
- The high priest is the only legitimate mediator between God and people. Without the mediation of the high priest, people cannot communicate with God.
- The sacrifice in the Jerusalem Temple is the only valid means of atonement. As far as daily sacrifices are continued, the covenantal relationship with God is secure¹⁰⁶.
- The purity law regulates the way to God. Without keeping the purity law, people cannot come closer to God.

“If the man who is unclean does not cleanse himself, that person shall be cut off from the midst of the assembly, since he has defiled the sanctuary of the Lord. [...]” (Num. 19:20)

“[...] Go to the people and consecrate them today and tomorrow, and let them wash their garments and be ready for the third day. For on the third day the Lord will come down on Mount Sinai in the sight of all the people.” (Ex. 19:10–11)

The magnificence of the Jerusalem Temple, the procession of numerous pilgrims, and the spectacular festivals made the pilgrims accept the ideology unconsciously. Along with visible manifestation of the ideological theology, local synagogues and teachers of the law (mainly the Pharisees) played a retainer’s role in the internalization of the ideology.

not have recognized him as a *full Jew*.

¹⁰³Those suppressions were so severe that pilgrims from those areas were slaughtered during the pilgrimage (Lk. 13:1; *War* II.223–226; *Ant.* XX.105–112).

¹⁰⁴The claim of Marx and Durkheim that religion is nothing but an ideology to support and idealize the power cannot be fully accepted. The researcher believes that religion can be more than that. However, it is deceitful to claim that our religion is totally independent from the secular powers or that our religion has never functioned as the ideology to advocate and support the powers. Religion, sometimes, functions as an ideology.

¹⁰⁵Ben-Zion (2009:41–42) summarizes their ideology as ‘holiness’ and ‘ritual purity’.

¹⁰⁶In this regard, their ideology is the same as that of the Temple establishment in Jeremiah (see Section 3.7.1.1). Referring to Brueggemann (1988:13–14), Ciampa (1998:203) argues that the “priestly ideology [is] repeatedly embodied, generation after generation, in monopolistic centres of domination in every sphere of human life”.

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4.3.2.4 Retainers of the Jerusalem Temple: Synagogues and the Pharisees

The Jerusalem Temple could exercise its authority beyond the Judean region through local synagogues¹⁰⁷. These were primarily the centres of the local Jewish community (Levine, 2000:139). They were spontaneous institutions where the political/social/judicial issues were discussed and decided (Alexander, 1984; Nanos, 2001).

However, it would be inappropriate to say that the synagogues were independent from the Jerusalem Temple. They were the place where the Torah was recited, and where the Jews gathered and prayed twice or three times a day in the direction of the Jerusalem Temple (Sanders, 2005:6–13). Sometimes, the teachers of the law were dispatched from Jerusalem and taught Torah in the synagogues. In other cases, letters from the Jerusalem Temple concerning important matters were sent to the local synagogues, e.g. “bring the tithe” in *Tosefta Sanhedrin* ii, 6 (Oppenheimer, 1977), even to the diaspora synagogues (Acts 7, 28). Through the synagogues spread throughout the world, Jerusalem rulers could exert their influence to the local Jewish communities, especially in terms of ritual purity and festivals (Herr, 1987:843–851).

In this process, the teachers of the law played a crucial part in internalization of first century Judaism (Ben-Zion, 2009:297–298). Most of them were Pharisees, who had been incorporated into the system centring around the Jerusalem Temple, namely first century Judaism, since the reign of Queen Salome Alexandra (76–67 BCE). Though the Pharisees had a different perspective from the Sadducees, who were the priestly aristocrats in the Jerusalem Temple, on the issues of theology, ethics and purity, they were not outside the system. Basically, the Pharisees were important members of the Sanhedrin, the ruling authority in Jerusalem (Ferguson, 2003:568).

The Pharisees pursued purity in everyday life as the extension of the purity in the Temple. They wanted to practice the priestly purity in every aspect of life (Neusner, 2003:67), to the extent that they refused to have table fellowship with sinners or the Gentiles, not only at the feast table, but also in their everyday table. The Pharisees were eager to internalize the domination of the Jerusalem Temple (Herzog, 2000:148–149).

Not only did the Pharisees pursue the priestly purity for themselves, but they also forced everyone to become like them (Wright, 1992:189–190). For this purpose, they went down to the synagogues of Galilee and even to the diaspora synagogues to persuade people to follow their lifestyle (*Ant.* XIII.10.6; XVIII.1.3). They were passionate missionaries of first century Judaism¹⁰⁸. The Pharisees from Jerusalem in the Gospels and Saul on the way to Damascus are good examples of such Jewish missionaries.

In their missionary activities, the Pharisees emphasised not only the purity law but also tribute (Mt. 23:23). They taught people to offer tribute to God even in desperate situations (cf. Herzog II, 2005:48–49). Through their teachings, they supported oppression by the Jerusalem Temple. These missionary activities were harshly criticized in the Gospel:

“But woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For you shut the kingdom

¹⁰⁷In this study, the word ‘synagogue’ refers to both ‘*proseuche*’ (place of prayer; e.g. Acts 16:13) of the diaspora communities, which was dominant in the first century CE, and ‘synagogue’ (place of meeting) of Palestine which became dominant worldwide from the second century CE (Levine, 2000:138–139).

¹⁰⁸Bird (2009) clarifies that their mission did not aim to convert pagans. Instead, the Pharisees tried to win other Jews to their particular brand of Judaism. They attempted to convert partial Gentile adherents (God-fearing Gentiles) who had already attached themselves tangentially to the God of Israel.

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of heaven in people's faces. For you neither enter yourselves nor allow those who would enter to go in. Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For you travel across sea and land to make a single proselyte, and when he becomes a proselyte, you make him twice as much a child of hell as yourselves." (Mt. 23:13–15)

4.3.2.5 Pilgrimage from the periphery

As mentioned above, pilgrimage to the Jerusalem Temple was a kind of religious obligation imposed on the periphery as an expression of subordination toward the centre. However, not every Jew could undertake the pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the first century. For many peripheral Jews who led a desperate life no better than that of slaves (Scroggs, 1999:78), pilgrimage to Jerusalem was a much too costly journey. Although the first century was the Renaissance of pilgrimage, there was still a large proportion of the population who could not take a pilgrimage as often as the law required; and they were accused of not keeping the law and custom of the centre (Philo, *Laws III*. 164) and stigmatized as a *'am-ha'aretz*.

As Ben-Zion (2009:299) clarifies, the term, *'am-ha'aretz* did not refer to any specific group or class. This term was used to refer to Jews who kept the Mosaic law in general, or even to priests. This led scholars to oppose perceiving *'am-ha'aretz* negatively. However, it should be noted that this term was *never* used to refer to the Pharisees. In fact, *'am-ha'aretz* was a "virtual identity created by the Sages [in order] to stigmatize Jews" "who kept the law but not to the standard and to the extent that the Sage [required]" (Ben-Zion, 2009:299). When this term was applied to the peripheral Jewish person, it became stigmatization. This fact becomes apparent in the second century Rabbinic documents:

"[...] Who is an *'am-ha'aretz*? Anyone who does not eat his non-holy food in purity; [...] who does not tithe properly; [...] who does not recite *Shema* in the evening and in the morning; [...] Even if he has read [Scripture] and repeated but has not ministered to the Rabbinical sages, this is an *'am-ha'aretz*." (*Babylonia Talmud, Berachot* 47b)

In opposition to the prevailing opinion that the peripheral Jews were secularized, and therefore, unfaithful to first century Judaism and indifferent to the purity law (cf. Borgen, 1981:145), they longed to be included in the society. The peripheral Jews willingly kept the law and custom of the centre as best they could (Wright, 1992:214). The Galilean Jews accepted their obligations to separate tithe (Oppenheimer, 1977:208) in addition to the rent to their landlord [in Jerusalem] and the tax to the Roman Empire (Scroggs, 1999:78). They tried to take a pilgrimage to Jerusalem whenever possible. The *annual* pilgrimage of a family of a poor Galilean artisan, Joseph the father of Jesus of Nazareth (Lk. 2:41), demonstrates their loyalty to first century Judaism. They went up to Jerusalem to offer two young pigeons, the best sacrifice they could afford, for the redemption of their first-born (Lk. 2:24; Lev. 12:8; Jeremias, 1969:116). The procession of the Galilean pilgrims was never ceased in spite of their harsh conditions. The peripheral Jews were as eager to keep the law as the privileged Pharisees.

However, in spite of their efforts to keep the law, their circumstances hindered them from obeying the law *perfectly* and as a result they were sentenced as follows:

"An *'am-ha'aretz* who accepts upon himself all the ways of membership (*chaverut*)

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except one, is not accepted [...]. Even [if he does not observe] one small thing from the details of the Scribes.” (*Tosefta, Demai* 2:5)

“An *'am-ha'aretz* who accepted upon himself the ways of membership (*chaverut*) but is suspect concerning one matter, he is suspect regarding the entire Torah [...]” (*Babylonian Talmud, Bechorot* 30b)

Paul’s negative statement on the law in Gal. 3:10 reflects the Pharisaic reasoning cited above.

“[...] Cursed be everyone who does not abide by all things written in the Book of the Law, and do them.” (Gal. 3:10; cf. Mt. 5:18–20)

Scroggs (1999:78–79) writes, “The Pharisees, with their fellowships and strict laws of table and ritual purity, had made the peasants into virtually an untouchable class. And since the Pharisees claimed to represent God’s will, they in effect, whatever their expressed intent, read the peasants out of the kingdom of God”. The peripheral Jews within the Jewish world kept the law imposed by the centre, longing to be included and remained the people of God. However, they were not far from the cursed outcasts.

4.3.2.6 New centre, new order

In this environment, the desire for a new order, i.e. the restoration of Israel (cf. Lk. 1:46–55, 67–79; 2:29–32, 38; Acts 1:6), was aroused. This desire was often related with apocalyptic expectations, being inspired by the reading of *Nevi'im* (e.g. Isa. 2:2–5; Mal. 3–4) and *Ketuvim* (e.g. Daniel) which had been neglected by the Sadducees. It was closely linked to the negation of the existing centre and its world-order. The priestly aristocrats were widely criticized as usurpers and oppressors. Furthermore, unlike the claim of the centre that they succeeded ancient Israel, many Jews in the first century perceived their present state as an exile (Wright, 2009:60–61).

The privileged groups such as the Qumran community (the priestly community) and the Pharisees (the political group) sought to be the centre replacing the Sadducees. Thus, they criticized the illegitimate claim to succession (Klawans, 2006:147–161; Rooke, 2000:325–326) and the moral defilement of the high priesthood (*b.Pesachim* 57a; *t.Menahot* 13.21¹⁰⁹; Herzog II, 2005:49). Their desire for the centre was reflected in their expectations. As for the Qumran community, they waited for the priestly Messiah who would destroy the wicked high priest (Ferguson, 2003:524–525; Poirier, 2003:221–242). The Pharisees, along with Zealots, desired to restore the Jewish empire, freed from the Roman Empire, based on the Zion theology (cf. Wright, 1992:192–195).

Whereas the privileged groups sought to be the centre, not seriously damaging the existing Jewish world-order, many common Jewish people longed for the apocalyptic intervention of God which would resolve the oppression and discrimination at once. They believed that the Davidic messiah would restore everything (cf. Jn. 4:25; cf. Deut. 18:18; Aune, 1983:122–124). Those expectations were sometimes connected to the messianic movements which led to revolts against the Jerusalem rulers and the Roman Empire, some of which happened during the *Pascha* which commemorates God’s salvation from the land of slavery (Horsley,

¹⁰⁹The harshest criticism came from the Pharisees, the rival party, yet Jesus pronounced the same criticism against them (Mt. 23:13–36).

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2005:27–30). The shouting of the people at Jesus' entry to Jerusalem before the *Pascha*, “Hosanna (literally, ‘save us’)! Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord! Blessed is the coming kingdom of our father David! Hosanna in the highest!” (Mk. 11:9), reflects their expectation for the Davidic messiah.

4.3.3 Pilgrimage as re-enacting the past through memory

The first century Jewish pilgrimage should not be under-estimated summarily as merely the repetitive enthronement of YHWH after the harvest (Mowinckel, 1962:1) or one of the cyclical autumn festivals pervasive in the ancient Middle East (cf. Smith, 1997:68; Weyde, 2004:163–165). For the Israelites, especially in the conceptualization of the diaspora Jews, the pilgrimage was something more special, deeply rooted in the memory of their ancestors. In this section, the first century Jewish pilgrimage is articulated in terms of memory.

4.3.3.1 Pilgrimage as time-travel

For the first century Jews, not all times were considered equal (Neyrey, 1996:92): Sabbaths were more sacred than the weekdays; the new moon was more sacred than other Sabbaths; and the pilgrimage festivals were more sacred than the ordinary new moons. Thus, it can be said that pilgrimage was undertaken to the most sacred place on the most sacred time of the year.

For some Jews, especially for the Sadducees who understood Torah in terms of instruction focusing on the present ritual process, time was repetitive and cyclical. There was no difference between the *Pascha* of the previous year and the present year. The same four seasons come and go and a person simply joins the circle by birth, lives through his/her life, and disappears with death. For them, the everyday routine was repetitive and monotonous (Malina, 1989:20–22).

The Pharisees and Jews with apocalyptic perspective, however, had a different time concept, i.e. ‘contingent time of human being’ and ‘eternity of God’ (Philo, *changes*, 31–32; *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, 17:8–11; Rowe and Neyrey, 2010:82–83). Time is not a merely cyclical repetition, but a progressive procedure toward the definite time-goal, the Day of the Lord (Whitrow, 1989:51) when God reveals Godself and God’s time intervenes into human time. On the Day of the Lord, God will judge between the righteous and the wicked; and will reward the righteous and punish the wicked. It will be the most sacred time (Malina, 1989:14–15). Classifying the ancient Mediterranean time into two different modes, “the experienced time, i.e. the extended present” (Bourdieu, 1964)¹¹⁰ and “the imaginary time, i.e. past and future beyond the experienced present”, Malina (1989) writes,

“What stood beyond the horizon of the present was the region of imaginary time, the world of past and future [...] As a domain that can actually impinge upon the world of experience, the imaginary world and imaginary time in a Jewish framework are the domain exclusive to God, for whom all things are possible (Gen. 18:14; Jer. 32:27; Mt. 19:26; Lk. 1:37; Rom. 4:21).” (Malina, 1989:14–15)

¹¹⁰According to Bourdieu (1964:59–60), the *experienced time* is “the whole of an action seen in the unity of a perception including both the retained past and the anticipated future. The ‘present’ of the action embraces, over and above the perceived present, an horizon of the past and of the future tied to the present because they both belong to the same context of meaning”.

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Similarly, Whitrow (1989:52) writes, “One of the most significant features characterizing the Hebrew experience of time was the ‘contemporaneity of the past and future’”. He adds, “for the Hebrews the present was never a clearly delimited unit with precise boundaries but was part of a continuum stretching from the beginning to the end of time and was continually influenced by both past and future” (Whitrow, 1989:52–53).

Such a concept of *God’s time* was recognized more intensely during the pilgrimage¹¹¹. When the pilgrims set out on a pilgrimage on the appointed time by the sacred calendar (Herr, 1987:854), they realized that they were walking along a different track of time, departing from the everyday routine. They started the pilgrimage of time, that is, a time-travel into a different time-sphere which belongs to God.

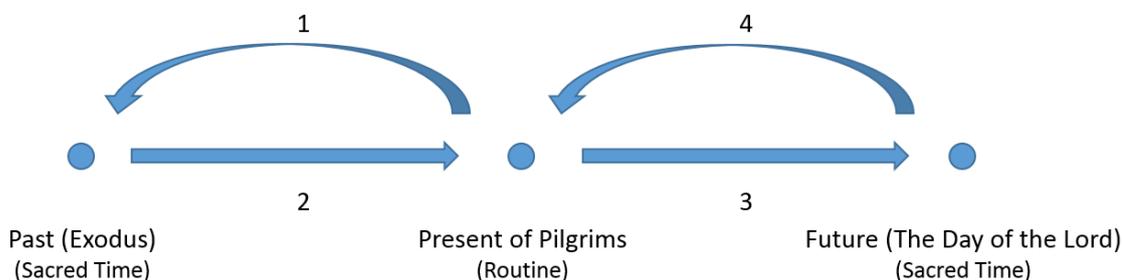


Figure 4.4: The pilgrimage of time (Own construction, SM)

The Jewish pilgrimage into *God’s time* always started by commemorating the past, particularly the Exodus event (McConville, 2004:17). The time-travellers, departing from the repetitive routines and ongoing present (Rayner, 2013:257), initially headed to the locale of the Exodus via memory (Step 1 in Figure 4.4).

Although the Exodus was definitely a past event, their remembrance of it did not remain a simple unfolding of the faded photograph of the past, since the Exodus, the reality which belongs to God’s time, was impinging into their world of experience (Malina, 1989:15; Whitrow, 1989:53). As mentioned in Section 4.2.2, along the different time track, the pilgrims walked together with their ancestors in their pilgrimage, identifying themselves with their ancestors. They revitalized the past as today’s event during the pilgrimage: in their recitation of the story of Exodus, in their re-enacting the walk of the past, in their chanting that the covenantal love of God is everlasting (Ps. 136). And in this walk, the God of the past becomes the God of the present (Step 2 in Figure 4.4). While singing of the God who did great things in the past, the pilgrims never stopped praising the God of the present. They confessed joyfully that God is the Lord who reigns now and here (Ps. 136; cf. Rowe and Neyrey, 2010:82–83).

In addition, some Jewish pilgrims who had an apocalyptic perspective linked their memory of the past to the expectation of the future (Step 3 in Figure 4.4; e.g. *Jubilee* 1:29; 1 *Enoch* 45:4–6). They were heading to the most sacred time, the Day of the Lord. The God of creation (Alpha as expressed in the book of Revelation) is the sovereign Lord in the present. At the end of this world, everyone will see and know that God is the Lord of the

¹¹¹Similarly, Cilliers (2009) argues that this kind of time is experienced especially in the time of worship.

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world (Omega). That day will be the most glorious day of the Lord when God returns and corrects every irregularity to the order of Creation (cf. Jackson, 2010:37, 44–55). The first century Jews believed that the righteous will see the Lord who stands at the end of time (Wright, 1992:333). The pilgrims, who departed from the present routine, through the ancestral past, could journey to the presence of God who is in the future. If pilgrimage was the journey to the presence of God, their life as a whole could be conceptualized as pilgrimage. In this concept of time, the first century pilgrims could coin the notion of ‘life-long pilgrimage’ (cf. McConville, 2004:19–20; Smith, 1997:137–138; Tuval, 2013:54) and could conceptualize themselves as ‘life-long pilgrims in this world’.

All pilgrims return to the routine (Step 4 in Figure 4.4) when their pilgrimage come to an end. However, for the pilgrims with apocalyptic perspective, it was not a return to the meaningless circular and repetitive time. Through the pilgrimage, they were strengthened to continue their life-long pilgrimage to God, who will certainly stand on earth in the future. In the larger context of the grand story which begins with the ancestral story in the past and ends with the presence of God in the future, the physical pilgrimage to Jerusalem could gain a different meaning. In the concept of life-long pilgrimage, the routine could be reassessed as a liturgical procedure of the life-long pilgrimage to the presence of God.

4.3.3.2 The restored pilgrimage based on memory

The first century Jewish pilgrimage was not directly connected to the pilgrimage in the pre-exilic Kingdom, or that in the time of Judges or Joshua, and, more significantly the pilgrimage regulation in Pentateuch.

As mentioned earlier in Section 4.3.2.2, Jerusalem was not commanded as the central sanctuary of Israel by Torah¹¹² (Smith, 1997:73). Also, the command of pilgrimage to the centralized sanctuary three times a year in the Torah had hardly been kept in ancient Israel as it was commanded. Furthermore, the priesthood of Aaron’s lineage ceased soon after the United Kingdom of Israel¹¹³. In addition, the pilgrimage to Jerusalem itself was often abandoned by the decline of monotheistic faith (due to the assimilation with the neighbouring people) and political obstacles (such as the schism of the kingdom and the exile). In most of the period, the Jerusalem Temple existed only as a royal sanctuary of Davidic monarchy or a local shrine of the Judean region of Yehud Israel (Rooke, 2000).

However, there were episodic reformation movements to revive the rite of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The reformations before the exile—those of Hezekiah [*Pascha*; 2 Kgs. 18:4; 2 Chr. 30] and Josiah [*Pascha*; 2 Kgs. 22–23; 2 Chr. 34–35]—and in the post-exilic period—those of Ezra-Nehemiah [*Sukkot*; Neh. 8] and the Maccabees [*Hanukkah*]—clearly sought for the revival of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. One of the most distinctive features of these movements was the claim to return to the original form of pilgrimage, based on the memory of the ancestors (2 Chr. 31:3; 2 Kgs. 22:8–23:3; Neh. 8:1–8). The memory was mostly of Moses (the law). They called for the newly restored pilgrimage, based on the foundational memory of the law (Levine, 1997:141). For them “as it is written” (Neh. 8:14) or “as the Lord commanded” (2 Chr. 31:3) were the most important *mottos*.

¹¹²The central sanctuary was continuously moved from one place to another (Shiloh to Gibeon to Bethshemesh) before the time of King David (cf. Leuchter, 2010:100–102).

¹¹³The high-priesthood was transferred from Aaron’s ancestry to Zadok’s; from Zadok’s to the Hasmoneans; again to the Sadducees appointed by King Herod and the Romans.

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The first century Jewish pilgrimage was the result of those revivals, notably those of Josiah and Ezra-Nehemiah, and more recently the Maccabees (Levine, 1997:141). Thus, the first century Jewish pilgrimage as a whole can be seen as the restored pilgrimage based on memory. They sought to worship the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, at the Jerusalem Temple which bore the memory of Abraham and David, on the day which reminds of the Exodus, in the way their ancestors had followed. For them, pilgrimage was to identify themselves as the heirs of the ancestors and to assure the bond with them. The memory of the ancestors was of utmost importance.

This understanding of the first century Jewish pilgrimage leads to a question: Which memory was important for them?

4.3.3.3 Which memory? Written Torah or oral Torah¹¹⁴

Unlike the monotonous picture of pilgrimage provided by Sanders (1977), diverse notions and practices of pilgrimage existed in first century Judaism. These practices arose from the different understandings of Torah, the pivotal memory (Punt, 2012a:30).

Written Torah For the stricter groups such as the Sadducees, Torah was the closed canon (Josephus, *Ant.* XIII.297). They perceived only the Pentateuch as Torah (Ferguson, 2003:520), since it had been inscribed by the hand of Moses or an angel on Mount Sinai. Among the Pentateuch itself, they emphasized the ritual laws and purity laws more than the narratives, since they believed the legal parts introduced the way and the proper mediator, priest, for people to be accepted by God. They believed that their worship to God would be accepted only when performed according to what was written in Torah (Goodman, 2011:30–31). If there were Jews who tried to obtain salvation by the works of the law, they belonged to these strict groups, like the Sadducees.

The fact that they accepted only the written Torah had an important implication for the Sadducees and their followers. Just as Moses was the sole medium of revelation, the [high] priest was the sole mediator through whom all Israelites could come closer to God. It was prescribed in the law of Moses. Torah was closed, and the means of coming to the presence of God was limited, that is, through the sacrifice offered by the hands of the priest (cf. Tuval, 2013:6). For the Sadducees, pilgrimage was a ritual journey of which every procedure was regulated by the written Torah (Goodman, 2011:31). They would say to the pilgrims, “do exactly what is written.”

Oral Torah and the liturgical journey through the stories Other groups, such as the Pharisees and the diaspora Jews, had a more inclusive opinion about Torah. They never denied that the written Torah was at the heart of the Jewish identity, yet they also recognized that Torah should be accepted in a wider sense so that it could be applied to the Israelites in a different time and space. The Pharisees and the diaspora Jews in the first century included the narrative section of the Torah as well as the prophecies (what was spoken by prophets) and Psalms (what was sung by prophets) in their Bible. This can be called the ‘oral Torah’.

¹¹⁴The notion of ‘written Torah’ and ‘oral Torah’ generally denotes the Hebrew Bible and its oral interpretations of the Sages in the post-exilic period, respectively. However, in this study, the term ‘written Torah’ will be used to refer to the legal and purity sections of the Pentateuch while the term ‘oral Torah’ denotes the narrative sections of the Pentateuch as well as the Prophets and Psalms.

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The Pharisees and the diaspora Jews recognized the importance of the narrative part in the Pentateuch. These were only stories, not included in the written laws, yet they were foundational for the identity of the Israelites (Wright, 1992:215–219). The wandering story of Abraham and the patriarchs, the story of the Exodus, and the marching and failure of the Israelites in the desert as a whole was accepted as Torah that the Israelites should keep and follow, by the Pharisees and the diaspora Jews. They were sure that not only the directives in the Pentateuch but also the stories of the ancestors could function as the law which defined their life and showed them the way to the presence of God, by providing their ancestors as their models and mediators (Tuval, 2013; Wenham, 2004). These stories were spoken as Torah not only in the precinct of the Temple, but also in the synagogues and in the houses of Israelites (Levine, 2000:151). The stories in Genesis and Exodus were told again and again; and became the theme of many Psalms.

The Pharisees and the diaspora Jews also perceived the writings of prophets as Torah. In their Bible, not only the sayings of the prophets but also the historical books were classified as the Prophets. As many scholars agree, both sayings and writings of prophets are deuteronomic (Hahn, 2009:238). The prophets spoke the will of God (which was revealed originally in the written Torah) to the people (Malina, 1989:15), attuned to the different time and space. They interpreted the written Torah to apply it to their current situation based on the will of God revealed to them. In this sense, *Nevi'im* itself can be said to be the oral Torah *on* the written Torah.

It is noteworthy that not only the sayings of prophets but also their lives were perceived as Torah (e.g. Elijah, Elisha [1 Kgs. 17–2 Kgs. 13] and Jeremiah). Like the patriarchs of the Pentateuch, prophets were also accepted as models and even mediators for the Israelites¹¹⁵ (Tuval, 2013:6). As a result, the ethical life of pilgrims becomes an important factor in pilgrimage. If the ethical life of the worshipper was more important than his sacrifice at the Temple, as prophets proclaimed (1 Sam. 15:22–23; Amos 5:21–24; Isa. 1:10–17), the prophet-like ethical life would be a proper way of pilgrimage for the true Israel, the heir of the prophets.

The Psalms, which are linked closely to the Temple sacrifice and the prophets, were also perceived as Torah by the Pharisees and the diaspora Jews. In addition to the fact that chanting of Psalms was an important part in the worship at the Temple (Safrai, 1987:869), it should be mentioned that the Psalm was perceived as prayer. Like the incense in the Holy Place, another metaphor of prayer, the Psalm was offered to the presence of God. In other words, the first century Jewish pilgrims found in Psalms a different way to the presence of God besides the Temple sacrifice (Waltke *et al.*, 2010:26–27). The pilgrims could come closer to the heavenly/spiritual sanctuary through their singing of the Psalms and their prayer with the Psalmists. Here again, it is worth noting that the Psalmists were considered prophets by the first century Jews (Acts 2:30).

The concept of the oral Torah opens the door to understand pilgrimage not only as a bodily practice accomplished according to the written regulations but also as a ritual of re-enacting their ancestors' story. In this notion of pilgrimage, reciting and re-enacting the stories and singing of Psalms are presented as the means to come closer to God, allowing the pilgrims to participate in the stories of the ancestors. Then, how could the pilgrims

¹¹⁵In fact, at times, a prophet as a person embodied the true Israel. Jeremiah is a good example: the language used in the calling of Jeremiah was derived from Ex. 19 where God called Israel.

4.3 Pilgrimage in first century Judaism

participate in the stories of ancestors?

4.3.3.4 Re-enacting the memory of ancestors

In the praxis of pilgrimage, as seen above, the memory of the ancestors takes a crucial part in addition to the ritual and purity regulations. The memory is linked to the first century pilgrimage through the four important elements of pilgrimage discussed in Section 4.2.2.

The place of ancestors For almost every Jews in the first century, Jerusalem had an important meaning. Mount Zion in Jerusalem embodied the stories of Abraham (Gen. 22), David (2 Sam. 24) and Solomon (1 Kgs. 8) (Levine, 1997:140). These were not simply stories of the past but *covenantal* stories which were directly related to them. Jerusalem was the place where the firstborn of Israel was redeemed (Gen. 22), and the sin of Israel was atoned (2 Sam. 24). And the prayer of Israel toward this place was promised to be heard by God (1 Kgs. 8). In other words, the promise was given that the people of Israel would ascend to the presence of God in this mountain, and God would descend from heaven and dwell in the midst of God's people in this mountain. Jerusalem embodies this promise of God. The Jerusalem Temple was largely considered as the place of atonement (cf. Tuvail, 2013:9)¹¹⁶.

The time of ancestors As mentioned in Section 4.3.3.1, the first century Jewish pilgrims went to the past, to the locale of the Exodus (cf. McConville, 2004:17) and walked with their ancestors (Cragg, 2004:1). Through the pilgrimage they could meet the God revealed in the past event, believed that the same God reigns in the present, and waited in expectation for the God in the future (cf. Rowe and Neyrey, 2010:82–83).

In addition, the pilgrimage was undertaken on the appointed time according to the ancient Jewish calendar (Herr, 1987:850–851), which was different from the dominant Julius calendar in the first century. By keeping the Jewish calendar, the pilgrims identified themselves with their ancestors, demonstrating their monotheistic faith in the one true God (Stern, 2012:1).

The pilgrimage undertaken on the appointed festivals manifests not only the apocalyptic expectation of the Lord's intervention but also the monotheistic faith of the first century Jews (Goodman, 1993:107).

Keeping the custom as it is written or spoken In the first century, pilgrimage was a ritual journey which should be undertaken "as it was written". On this journey, pilgrims were required to follow the purity laws written in the Pentateuch (cf. Bosman, 2013). First of all they had to be circumcised. Also, they had to wear proper clothes; eat proper food and exhibit proper behaviour as their ancestors had done¹¹⁷; otherwise they would not be allowed to ascend to the Jerusalem Temple (Fredriksen, 1995:42), because these customs were believed to make the pilgrims holy and acceptable to God. The customs directed pilgrims to the presence of God.

¹¹⁶Tuvail (2013:35) points out that this Zion theology started to be marginalized among the diaspora Jews in the Second Temple period.

¹¹⁷For example, Jewish pilgrims on the *Pascha* should eat unleavened bread and the lamb, putting on the clothes and holding the staff. Probably, Jesus' last supper was done in accordance to the *Pascha* meal.

4.3 Pilgrimage in first century Judaism

In the first century, however, the importance of the narratives in the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Psalms were also being widely recognized¹¹⁸ as mentioned before. As a result, the moral lives of the patriarchs and prophets were started to be considered as the way acceptable to God (e.g. Philo, *On Abraham* and *The Lives of the Prophets*). As for Philo, “[he] consistently views both ritual and moral purity as prerequisites to sacrifice” (Klawans, 2006:117).

The Heir of Abraham The first century Jewish pilgrims could enter the inner complex of the Temple as ‘pure Israelites’ (*Ant.* XV.11.5). Considering the inscription on the railing and general Jewish sentiment in the second Temple period (Llewelyn and van Beek, 2011:6), the term ‘pure Israelites’ refers to *the ethnically and ritually pure Jews*, which is often articulated by the phrase, “the children of Abraham” (e.g. Mt. 3:9; Lk. 3:8; Jn. 8:39) in the first century. Since the Jews could enter the presence of God only in the covenantal relationship with God, which had originally been made with Abraham (Wright, 2009:67), their status as the heirs of Abraham had prime importance.

Some Jews in the first century, especially those who conformed to the ideology of first century Judaism (Mt. 3:7; see Section 4.3.2.3), thought that their ancestry and the ritual observance of the purity law, especially circumcision, sufficiently proved that they were the legitimate heirs of Abraham. Accordingly, they could reject the call for repentance of John the Baptist and Jesus, replying, “Abraham is our father” (Mt. 3:9; Lk. 3:8; Jn. 8:33, 39).

However, there were other Jews with a different opinion on this matter. Based on the writings of prophets (e.g. 1 Sam. 15:22; Hos. 6:6) and Psalms (e.g. Ps. 40:6–8; 51:16–17), some Jews argued that the true Israel could be proved not by the ancestry nor the outer mark (circumcision in particular), but by the ethical life before God like the ancestor Abraham (*Ant.* I.155–157; Philo, *On Abraham* 4; *On Virtues* 219; Thiessen, 2016:28–29; Jn. 8:39; Mk. 12:33). As the Psalmist sang, only those who are pure in heart and hands could go up to the holy mountain (Ps. 15), thus, qualifying as the true heir of Abraham. This ethical life following the will of God was articulated as Abraham’s *faith* by Jesus and his followers (Jn. 8:39; Gal. 3:7; Heb. 11).

4.3.4 Pilgrimage to the presence of God

As discussed in the previous two sections, the first century Jewish pilgrimage certainly had political and social/cultural motivations. However, it cannot be fully understood without considering the enthusiasm of the pilgrims to meet God in Jerusalem. Pilgrims were drawn to Jerusalem, as Philo (*Laws* I. 69) described “from east and west, north and south”, *in order to worship the God of Israel*. Nothing could replace the worship in Jerusalem.

¹¹⁸In this regard, Smith (1997:277) argues that the linkage of legal and narrative materials under the genre of covenant was an old one. Smith (1997:278–279) writes, “Law and priestly instructional literature penetrate narrative, and narrative penetrates law and instructional literature [...] Legal texts commonly make the Exodus event the basis of the law [...] [and] many usages in the Exodus story are based on known social practices reflected in legal material including the Covenant Code”. Furthermore, Carmichael (2001:321–334) argues that by telling the original stories (e.g. the Passover stories, the Decalogue, and the failures of the first-borns [e.g. Gen. 35:22 Reuben’s lying with one of the wives of his father and Lev. 18:1–30]), the narratives provide the basis of the legal instructions for the nation at its beginning (law-giving at Sinai). This understanding sheds light on Paul’s argument on the (written) law in Gal. 3:19, “Why then the law? It was added because of transgressions [430 years afterward]”.

4.3 Pilgrimage in first century Judaism

4.3.4.1 The heavenly Jerusalem

The first century Jews rarely called the Herodian Temple ‘the house of God’¹¹⁹. Though they praised the magnificence of the Herodian Temple, the first century Jews did not forget that it was a human-made Temple as well as the fact that the Ark of Covenant and the Throne of Grace were missing. The Most Holy Place at the Herodian Temple was empty (*War* V.221) excepting for the foundation stone on which the Ark had originally been placed¹²⁰ (Achenbach, 2016:51–52).

Some first century Jews, especially the diaspora Jews, considered the earthly Temple as a reflection of the heavenly Temple (Klawans, 2006:124–130). They argued that the earthly Temple is not ‘the house of God’ nor ‘true Temple’, because heaven is the true Temple of God, and the angels are the true priests.

“We ought to look upon the universal world as the highest and truest temple of God, having for its most holy place that most sacred part of the essence of all existing things, namely, the heaven; and for ornaments, the stars; and for priests, the subordinate ministers of his power, namely, the angels.” (Philo, *Laws I*. XII.66)

This Pharisaic and diasporic perspective in the first century about the Jerusalem Temple was derived from the writings of prophets which was perceived as Torah by them (see Section 4.3.3.3). God does not dwell in a man-made temple.

“But will God indeed dwell on the earth? Behold, heaven and the highest heaven cannot contain you; how much less this house that I have built!” (1 Kgs. 8:27)

According to the Prophets, the throne of God was not limited to a place, and could move (Ezek. 1; Achenbach, 2016:39). Before Solomon’s Temple was established in Jerusalem, the Tabernacle had been moved around. Where the Ark of Covenant stopped was the holy place and the real centre of the world. God did not belong to a specific place: the earthly Jerusalem (Gordon, 2004:27–30). They believed the throne of God was in the heavenly Jerusalem.

4.3.4.2 Spatial mediator, the Jerusalem Temple

In spite of all these notions, the centrality of the Jerusalem Temple was not seriously compromised in the first century. The Jewish writers mentioned above never separated themselves from the worship in Jerusalem (Klawans, 2006:117). Like the pilgrims in the Old Testament, the first century Jewish pilgrims believed that the Jerusalem Temple was the only legitimate place on earth to worship the one true God.

“God is one, his temple also should be one.” (Philo, *Laws I*. XII. 67)

The notion of the heavenly Jerusalem did not actually nullify the mediation of the earthly Temple (cf. Tuval, 2013:6). Instead, the two were regarded as connected: pilgrims could

¹¹⁹In the New Testament, this expression is used solely to indicate the Tabernacle or the Temple of Solomon, except when Jesus remarks, “the house of my Father” (Lk. 2:49; Jn. 2:16). Similarly, Josephus and Philo refrained from using this expression when referring to the Herodian Temple.

¹²⁰In his “Till we have faces”, Lewis (1980) vividly describes the feature of the seemingly *atheistic* ancient primitive Jewish religion *which depended on a rock* from the point of view of a civilized Hellenist.

4.3 Pilgrimage in first century Judaism

participate in the worship in the heavenly Temple through the worship in the earthly Temple. As it was in the Old Testament era, worship in different places was not allowed.

“[God] does not permit those who desire to perform sacrifices in their own houses to do so.” (Philo, *Laws I. XII. 68*)

Worship in Jerusalem was still considered the only legitimate worship to God. The first century Jewish pilgrims believed that through the sacrifice in the Jerusalem Temple, their sins were pardoned, and they were accepted by God (cf. [Gibson, 2006:174](#)).

Furthermore, the first century Jews assured that their prayers in the direction of Jerusalem were delivered to the heavenly throne, as it was promised. The fact that they lost the Ark of Covenant and the Throne of Grace, and thus were still experiencing a state of exile ([Wright, 2009:59–61](#)), did not stop the pilgrims’ walk to Jerusalem. They prayed for the restoration of Jerusalem, believing that the Ark and the Throne would come back to the Jerusalem Temple once again (*2 Macc. 2:4–8*). In addition, they believed that, as far as the daily sacrifice was offered to God, the covenant of ancient Israel with God was valid:

“It shall be a regular burnt offering throughout your generations at the entrance of the tent of meeting before the Lord, where I will meet with you, to speak to you there. There I will meet with the people of Israel, [...]” (Ex. 29:42–43)

In first century Judaism, the Jerusalem Temple was believed to be the spatial mediator between earth and heaven.

4.3.4.3 Human mediator, the high priest

As mentioned in Section [4.3.2.6](#), there was criticism against the illegitimacy of the Sadducean high priests and their moral depravity. Such criticism is sometimes read by scholars of these days as the denial of the high priesthood. They also understand the emergence of non-Levitical rabbis as a sign that the exclusive status of priesthood as a divine mediator began to crumble away.

However, those readings are exaggerated. The criticisms of Josephus or Qumran community (see [Klawans, 2006:147–161](#)) against the high priests must be read as a criticism from the inner priestly circles: we, the Zadokite priests, are the legitimate divine mediator, not the Sadducees (cf. [Jassen, 2007:331–332](#)). None of them criticized the high priesthood itself¹²¹.

It is verified by the long treatises of Josephus, Philo and even Mishnah where they delineated the excellence and the qualifications of the high priesthood. Philo writes,

“[the high priest] should be the partaker of a nature superior to that of man; inasmuch as he approaches more nearly to that of the Deity; being, if one must say the plain truth, on the borders between the two, in order that men may propitiate God by some mediator, and that God may have some subordinate minister by whom he may offer and give his mercies and kindnesses to mankind.” (Philo, *Laws I. 116*)

¹²¹It is even more clearly demonstrated in Josephus’ interpretation of the destruction of Jerusalem. He thought it was caused by the zealots’ assassination of the high priest at the Temple (*War IV.5.2. 318; Ant. XX.8.5.164–166*). The judgement was given against the apostate Jews who shed the blood of a holy priest in the holy Temple.

4.3 Pilgrimage in first century Judaism

The high priest was still regarded as the mediator between humans and God in the first century (cf. Leuchter, 2010:101). Through the sacrifice offered by the holy priests, the sins of the pilgrims were ransomed. With the incense burned by the priests, the prayer was offered in the presence of God in heaven (Klawans, 2006:119).

4.3.4.4 Pilgrimage as an ascending way to God

Pilgrimage is expressed as to ‘appear before God’ in the Old Testament (e.g. Ps. 42, 84). The purpose of the Exodus, which was the first pilgrimage in the history of Israel (see Section 5.3.1), was “to serve God on this mountain” (Ex. 3:12). They consecrated themselves in order to meet God who would descend onto the mountain (Ex. 19:9–15). As Brueggemann (2005:11–12) writes, pilgrimage *per se* was an act of worship in the Old Testament.

This idea of pilgrimage continued in the first century. Pilgrims set out in order to worship God in Jerusalem. The departure from the profane world was the first step of the worship. The way to Jerusalem was filled with the voices of pilgrims who recited Torah and sang Psalms. They formed *communitas* of fellow worshippers. In Jerusalem, they purified themselves to go up to Mount Zion (Fredriksen, 1995:42), where they listened to the recitation of Torah by the priests and responded to the chant of the Levites. They came closer to God to the inner court, offering the sacrifice and being ransomed. And finally their prayers were delivered to God in heaven with the incense in the Temple.

As described in the previous paragraph, the whole procedure of the first century Jewish pilgrimage can be understood as a process of approaching closer to God. Figure 4.5 shows this concept of pilgrimage as an ascending way to God. Each procedure in pilgrimage corresponds to going up one step of the ascending way in Figure 4.5, and pilgrimage as a whole is understood as ascending the stairs towards the heavenly Jerusalem where God dwells. The first century Jewish pilgrimage was a liturgical journey to the presence of God.

4.3.4.5 Dead end?

However, the concept of pilgrimage as the ascending way to God was severely abused by the religious leaders in the first century. They turned the concept into an elaborate scheme to secure their authority and social position.

As mentioned before, the high priesthood of the Sadducees lacked legitimacy (Klawans, 2006:145–174). They were not the legitimate heirs of Zadok, nor did they have Urim and Thummim (Feldman, 2006:238). As a matter of fact, the illegitimate high priesthood was started by the Hasmoneans who had taken over the high priesthood from the legitimate (but corrupt) Zadokite priests (Rooke, 2000:325–326). In order to establish their legitimacy and secure their authority the Hasmoneans invented a cosmology centring around the Jerusalem Temple and its priests: Judaism (see Section 3.4.2). This cosmology was consolidated by the Sadducean high priests in the first century (first century Judaism) who were appointed by Herod and the Roman Empire. The structure of the Herodian Temple clearly shows this Jewish cosmology.

As described before in Figure 4.3, the Temple complex was divided into several enclosures: the enclosure of Gentiles, of women, of men, and the enclosure of priests. Such a classification reflected the Jewish cosmology in a highly symbolized way: The enclosure of pure Israelites (women) was more sacred than the enclosure of Gentiles. Likewise the men’s enclosure was

4.3 Pilgrimage in first century Judaism

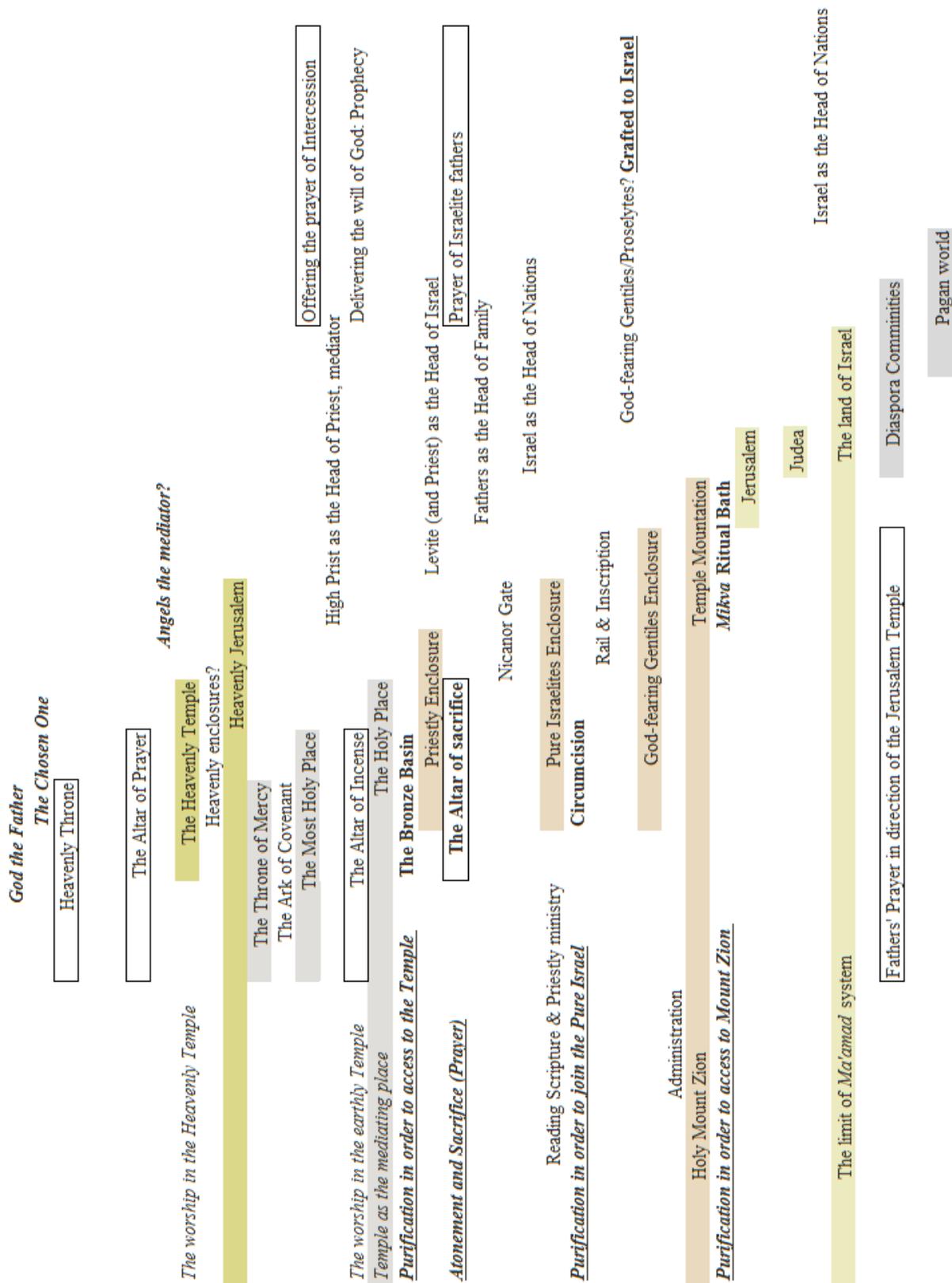


Figure 4.5: The ascending way to heaven (Own construction, SM)

4.3 Pilgrimage in first century Judaism

holier than women's; this was followed by the enclosure of priests, then the Holy Place, then the Most Holy Place, then the Ark of Covenant and its Throne of Grace (Goodman, 1993:106). This hierarchical order applied to the world outside of the Temple as well: Palestine was more sacred than the pagan world, the region of Judea than Galilee, Transjordan, and Idumean. Jerusalem was holier than Judea, Mount Zion was holier than the rest of Jerusalem (*Jubilee* 8:19; *War* III.51–52; Gordon, 2004:30–31; Klawans, 2006:120). Also, Jews were purer than Gentiles, men than women and priests than laymen (Jeremias, 1969:272). The Jerusalem Temple and its high priests stood at the centre of this cosmology, that is, first century Judaism.

Under the influence of such a cosmology, the ascending way to heaven presented in Figure 4.5 became a kind of *purity map*, where the Jews and the Gentiles were differentiated according to their rank of purity, and no group could go up the stairs beyond the level allowed to them. This purity map divided people and enforced a centre-periphery division. The ascending way to heaven became a barrier blocking the way to God. For example, although the Gentile converts (who had been circumcised and who observed Torah) should ideally be accepted as Israelites (and there are abundant examples of Israelites of Gentile origin in the Old Testament), a Gentile convert could never be included in Israel in the first century (Malina and Neyrey, 2006). Only pure Israelites, that is, ethnic Jews, could enter the Temple¹²².

In their cosmology, the subject was changed from God to humans. Instead of “God accepted us” the Jewish religious leaders taught “we were chosen”. Although the purity law was given originally to provide a way to come closer to God (Ex. 19:9–15), they made it their boast: ‘we are pure enough to be chosen by God because we kept all the purity laws’ (e.g. Lk. 18:9–14). They drew the attention of people from God to humans, and led them to boast about their privileged status (on the purity map) over the under-privileged. They made people look down upon those who were below them on the stairs instead of looking up to God.

As a result, the more people learned from the first century Jewish religious leaders, the more they estranged themselves from God. Seeking to be found righteous (pure) in first century Judaism, people had fallen away from grace (cf. Gal. 5:4). This was exactly what happened to Paul: as a diaspora Jew in Tarsus, he came to Jerusalem driven by the zeal (fascination) for the God of the ancestors, and internalized the ideology and way of life of first century Judaism. The more advanced he was in first century Judaism, the more he grew away from God (Gal. 1:14). As a result, he became a persecutor of the church of God (Gal. 1:13, 23), and did not submit to God's righteousness, seeking to establish his own righteousness in first century Judaism (Rom. 10:3), of which Jesus condemned the religious leaders:

“But woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For you shut the kingdom of heaven in people's faces. For you neither enter yourselves nor allow those who would enter to go in. Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For you travel across sea and land to make a single proselyte, and when he becomes a proselyte, you make him twice as much a child of hell as yourselves.” (Mt. 23:13–15)

And he lamented the corruption of the Jerusalem Temple:

¹²²It seems that the fear of assimilation with the Gentiles (the main problem of ancient Israel) led them to reject the Gentiles. It is clearly seen in the inscription on the railing at the Temple.

4.4 Chapter summary

“[...] It is written, ‘My house shall be a house of prayer,’ but you have made it a den of robbers.” (Lk. 19:46)

The Jerusalem Temple should have been the house of prayer (worship) open for everyone, and keeping the law should have served as the ascending way to heaven through which everyone could come and appear in the presence of God:

“these I will bring to my holy mountain,
and make them joyful in my house of prayer;
their burnt offerings and their sacrifices will be accepted on my altar;
for my house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples” (Isa. 56:7)

According to Jesus and Paul, however, if anyone sought to be righteous according to the cosmology centring around the Jewish religious leaders in the Jerusalem Temple, then he/she would never be found to be justified in God’s sight.

This forms the larger context of the letter to the Galatians: the worship in the Jerusalem Temple, first century Judaism as a cosmology, as well as the way of life conforming to that cosmology together provided the background to the crisis in Galatia.

4.3.5 Section summary

In this section, the first century Jewish pilgrimage was reviewed from the three perspectives presented in the previous section (Section 4.2). Firstly, a general description of the first century Jewish pilgrimage was provided, following the walk of an imaginary pilgrim (Section 4.3.1). This gave a basis for the further discussions, where the first century Jewish pilgrimage was analysed from various angles.

In Section 4.3.2, the pilgrimage was presented as a journey to the centre, that is, to the Jerusalem Temple and its aristocratic priests. It was a procession of tribute from the exploited and discriminated colonized provinces, and at the same time, it was the symbolic behaviour of the periphery which shows the desperate effort to be included in the cosmology.

In Section 4.3.3, the pilgrimage was presented as time-travel to the past, especially to the Exodus. In the first century pilgrims could identify themselves with their ancestors by re-enacting the memory of the ancestors. In this process, the memory of the ancestors shown in oral Torah was proposed as an important aspect of the first century Jewish pilgrimage.

Finally Section 4.3.4 discussed the first century Jewish pilgrimage as an ascending way to the presence of God, where the Jerusalem Temple and its high priests were expected to mediate between people and God. However, in the first century, the religious leaders abused the Jerusalem Temple to secure their political/social position. As a result, the ascending way to heaven became an hierarchical order (the purity map) and people could never appear before God through their teaching.

4.4 Chapter summary

In this chapter, the concept of pilgrimage was dealt with as an important element in this study. Firstly pilgrimage was presented as a key to understanding Paul’s teaching in Galatians. Secondly, the concept of pilgrimage was proposed in three perspectives: pilgrimage and power, pilgrimage and memory; and pilgrimage and divinity. Finally pilgrimage as a peculiar

4.4 Chapter summary

phenomenon of the first century Jewish society was studied, based on these three perspectives. This provides a bigger picture against which the crisis in Galatians and Paul's exhortation to this problem (the letter of Galatians) can be understood.

Chapter 5

Rereading the Galatian story

The previous chapter reviewed pilgrimage from the aspects of ‘journey to the centre’, ‘journey to the past’ and ‘journey to the presence of God’. The transcendental or spiritual aspect is of course a decisive element in pilgrimage, yet its social and cultural aspects should not be ignored. These aspects reveal that pilgrimage is not merely a religiously motivated journey, but a social cultural phenomenon. It was also the case for the first century Jewish pilgrimage.

The crisis in Galatia occurred with this social-cultural-religious world as background; and in that world pilgrimage had prime importance. Through the lens of pilgrimage, the whole Galatians can be understood more properly. In this chapter, we will reread the Galatian story with the pilgrimage motif, and then narrow the focus to Gal. 2:19–20 in Chapter 6.

5.1 Main problem in Galatians

At first glance the main problem in Galatians seems to be the circumcision of the Gentile believers.

“It is those [...] who would force you to be circumcised [...];” (Gal. 6:12)

“[...] if you accept circumcision, Christ will be of no advantage to you.” (Gal. 5:2)

Should the Gentile believers be circumcised in order to be the heirs of Abraham, more fundamentally, in order to be the people of God? This is the question that would most likely be posed by readers of the letter to the Galatians.

The actual problem in Galatians, however, is not as simple. It should not be overlooked that Paul does not see circumcision in isolation, but continuously relates circumcision with *the whole law*.

“[...] who accepts circumcision [...] is obligated to keep the whole law.” (Gal. 5:3)

Paul raises the Antioch incident (Gal. 2:11–14) to resolve the crisis in Galatia (Matera, 2007:87–88), of which the main point is not only the matter of circumcision but also the dietary regulation. Also in Gal. 4:10, Paul criticises the Gentile believers for their observing days, new moons and years. Without doubt, Paul is speaking here of the Jewish calendar: Sabbath, new moons and pilgrimage festivals (Moo, 2013:278).

In fact, throughout Galatians, Paul locates circumcision in a contrasting structure, which hinges on a number of interrelated contrasts: ‘true gospel vs. false persuasion’ (Gal. 1:6),

5.1 Main problem in Galatians

‘promise vs. law’ and ‘faith vs. works of the law’. After asserting that the Gentile believers should not be circumcised, Paul says that circumcision itself is not the actual problem.

“For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor uncircumcision counts for anything, [but only faith working through love].” (Gal. 5:6)

“For neither circumcision counts for anything, nor uncircumcision, [but a new creation].” (Gal. 6:15)

It is clear that Paul was not simply talking of circumcision in his letter to the Galatians. Then, what was the actual problem that Paul problematized in Galatians?

5.1.1 The empire of God

The letter to the Galatians begins and ends with the contrast between the present evil world and the new world of God.

“[...] the Lord Jesus Christ, who gave himself for our sins to deliver us from *the present evil age* (τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστώτος πονηροῦ) [...]” (Gal. 1:3–4)

“[...] the *world* (κόσμος) has been crucified to me, and I to the *world* (κόσμῳ). For neither circumcision counts for anything, nor uncircumcision, but a *new creation* (καινὴ κτίσις).” (Gal. 6:14–15)

This understanding is supported by Paul’s use of the term βασιλείαν θεοῦ (Gal. 5:21; cf. Dan. 6:26; Mt. 6:33) in the context of two modes of life: the life of flesh in this world and the Spirit-led life of God’s world (Wenham, 2002:67–68). In addition, as Kwon (2004:158) indicates, ‘this age’ and ‘this world’ are given as antithesis of God’s (world) in 1 Corinthians (1:20–21, 27–28; 2:6, 8, 12) and Romans (12:2).

Martyn (1985:412) conceptualizes this as a contrast between ‘the old age’ and ‘the new age’¹²³. In the liturgical understanding, however, this contrast is not necessarily understood as a temporal concept. The contrast can also be conceptualized spatially: ‘the old realm’ and ‘the new sphere’ (Grindheim, 2013; Wakefield, 2003). These two concepts—temporal and spatial—demonstrate well the transcendental characteristic of the new world of God (Malina, 1989:14–15; see Section 4.3.3.1).

LN (§ 1.4) list these terms—αἰῶνος, κόσμος and κτίσις which are often translated differently as ‘age’, ‘world’ and ‘creation’—under the same category, ‘universe’. These words are all related to the better known and often-invoked terms ‘world’ or ‘empire’¹²⁴. According to Paul, the Galatians were delivered from the present worldly empire (Gal. 1:4) and marching to the heavenly Jerusalem (Gal. 4:26), i.e. the centre of the new empire of God.

In fact, the concept of the empire of God was not strange to first century Jews. It corresponds to the Jewish cosmology and faith, notably expressed in Daniel where all the enslaving worldly empires were categorized under the *human empire* confronting the *empire*

¹²³Many scholars (e.g. De Boer, 2011; Oakes, 2015) agree with Martyn (1985) that the main issue in Galatians is the eschatological new age. However Kwon (2004:86) points out that “Paul *never* speaks of ‘the coming age’ in his undisputed writings”.

¹²⁴In the field of New Testament studies, the term, ‘empire’ is used almost exclusively to refer to the Roman Empire (e.g. Punt, 2012b:198–205). However, in this study, the term will be used in a broader sense, i.e. a symbolic world consisting of/ruling over multiple nations.

5.1 Main problem in Galatians

of God (Dan. 2, 7, 8). Furthermore, Abraham and the patriarchs were promised to be “the father of a multitude of nations” (Gen. 17:4–5; 48:19), i.e. becoming the ruler of the new empire of God (Ciampa, 2010). Though they were living in the colonized status under the Roman Empire (and Mesopotamian and Egyptian empires before that), the Israelites tried not to lose their belief that the God of Israel is the creator of heaven and earth (Ex. 20:11) and the sovereign Lord of all nations (e.g. Ps. 115), and that Israel had been chosen as the priestly nation (Ex. 19:6; Ezek. 5:5), i.e. the centre of the world (Gordon, 2004:30–31).

The crisis in Galatia was that the Galatians were turning back to the present worldly empire, going astray from the way to the new empire of God (Gal. 5:21). As Wakefield (2003:189) points out, the main problem in Galatians is ‘where to live’: the worldly empire from which the believers in Galatia had already departed or the empire of God where God reigns?

5.1.2 Return to slavery

The notion of empire is related to another important notion in Galatians, i.e. *slavery/enslavement*. Paul defines life under the dominion of the present evil empire as a state of slavery (Gal. 4:8, 21ff). The believers in Galatia are on the way to the heavenly Jerusalem (cf. Gal. 4:26–27)¹²⁵, having been delivered from the present evil empire (Gal. 1:6). The problem of the believers in Galatia is this: though they have already been delivered from the evil dominion, they are now turning away from God and heading back to the life of slavery by trying to live according to the law (Wilson, 2004:551). The matter of ‘the law’, which has traditionally been perceived as a central problem in Galatians, should be considered in this broader context.

The rule of the present evil empire is specified as “the elementary principles of the world” (τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου) in Gal. 4:3 and 4:9.

“In the same way we also, when we were children, were enslaved to *the elementary principles of the world*.” (Gal. 4:3)

“But now that you have come to know God, or rather to be known by God, how can you turn back again to *the weak and worthless elementary principles of the world*, whose slaves you want to be once more?” (Gal. 4:9)

Surprisingly, Paul relates “the elementary principles of the world”, which some scholars identify as pagans’ false deities¹²⁶ based on Gal. 4:8 (Nanos, 2001:267–269; Tarazi, 1999:45–46), to ‘the Jewish law’ in Gal. 4:9 (Cousar, 2012:72; Grindheim, 2013). How can the law, which was divinely given, be defined as “the elementary principles of this world”? Does the law stand against the covenant (Gal. 3:21)? Paul answers this question in Gal. 3:21, after raising the question himself: “Is the law then contrary to the promises of God? Certainly not!” (Gal. 3:21)

¹²⁵Unlike Hebrews 12:22, Paul does not explicitly designate the Jerusalem above as the pilgrimage goal in Galatians. However, as Hays (1989:120) rightly points out, Isa. 54:1 quotation in Gal. 4:27 should be understood in the “pool of promise” of Isaiah. The promise is that “the Gentile will come to worship the God of Israel” (Eastman, 2007:143), i.e. the eschatological Gentile pilgrimage to the restored Jerusalem. If it is the case, the Jerusalem above can be understood as the goal of pilgrimage.

¹²⁶Following Martin (1995), Nanos (2001:267–269) argues that the Gentile believers in Galatia were turning back to paganism, i.e. the imperial cult. However, Paul identifies the Gentile believers in Galatia in the following section as “you who desire to be under the [Jewish] law” (Gal. 4:21) rather than under paganism.

5.1 Main problem in Galatians

As mentioned in Section 4.1.1.3, Paul never denies the goodness of the law. However, he views the law as having played a limited role in the divine drama, the salvation-history (Starling, 2011:39, 47–55; cf. Kwon, 2004:165). Paul’s salvation-historical perspective is found clearly in the following phrases,

“[...] *until the offspring should come* [...]” (Gal. 3:19)

“Now *before faith came*, we were held captive under the law, imprisoned *until the coming faith would be revealed*. So then, the law was our guardian *until Christ came*, [...]” (Gal. 3:23–24)

“But now that faith has come, [...]” (Gal. 3:25)

and most clearly in

“But when the fullness of time had come, God sent forth his Son, born of woman, born under the law, to redeem those who were under the law, so that we might receive adoption as sons. And because you are sons, God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, ‘Abba! Father!’” (Gal. 4:4–6)

According to Paul,

1. the law is given for the regulation of the transgressions (Gal. 3:19), and not for giving life to the followers (Gal. 3:21). Life is given only by grace.
2. The law was given 430 years after the covenant (Gal. 3:17) and is valid only till the promised one, Jesus Christ, comes (Gal. 3:19, 23).
3. The matter of sin and the consequential exclusion from the kingdom of God can be resolved only in the person of Jesus Christ (Gal. 3:22).
4. In the grace of God revealed in Jesus Christ, all believers are invited to the new empire of God, and in faith all who belong to Jesus Christ are the descendants of Abraham and the heirs of the inheritance.

However, the Galatians gave more power to the law by choosing to be circumcised, to keep the Jewish calendar (Gal. 4:10; cf. Cor. 2:16) and to follow the Jewish customs. By these actions, they were turning back to the elementary principles of the world, ultimately to the present evil empire from which they had already departed (Moo, 2013:278). For Paul, this meant their return to slavery.

In conclusion, the law itself, the written regulations excluding the stories (see Section 4.3.3.3), is good. However, when it is abused as a means of the old world, or to speak in traditional terms, when people try to be saved by keeping the law, it becomes a means of enslavement.

5.1.3 Enslaving by persuasion

The apostasy of the Galatian believers was triggered by the preaching (Gal. 1:6; cf. 3:1; 5:11), or the persuasion, of persuaders that are mentioned in Gal. 5:7–9 and 6:12–13 (cf. Gal. 1:7; 3:1). Their proclamations persuaded the Gentile believers to be circumcised (cf. Gal. 5:11).

5.1 Main problem in Galatians

In fact, persuasion is broadly understood as one of the main themes which permeate this letter.

The activities of the persuaders (see Section 3.3) follow the same trajectory of former Paul, the Pharisee in first century Judaism (Niang, 2009:1–7).

- (1) I (Paul) still (Ἄρτι) *persuade* (πείθω) men to please men? (Gal. 1:10)
- (2) If [I] still (ἔτι) *preach* (κηρύσσω) circumcision, why am I still being persecuted? (Gal. 5:11)
- (3) This *persuasion* (πεισμονή) [of the persuaders] is not from him who calls you. A little leaven (ζύμη) leavens the whole lump. (Gal. 5:8)

As seen above in (1) and (2), Paul articulates his formal Pharisaic mission activity (Gal. 1:13–14) as *persuasion* (πεισμονή) (Gal. 1:10). The same word is used in Gal. 5:8 to describe the missionary activities of the persuaders (3).

Paul's reference to leaven (ζύμη) in Gal. 5:9 draws special attention. The memory of Jesus' own voice is alive in this phrase (cf. Moo, 2013:334).

- “[...] Προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης, ἣτις ἐστὶν ὑπόκρισις, τῶν Φαρισαίων.” (Lk. 12:1)
 “[...] Beware of the *leaven* of the Pharisees, which is *hypocrisy*.” (Lk. 12:1)

Here leaven is explained as hypocrisy. In the previous passages (Lk. 11:37–53), the Pharisees' hypocrisy refers not so much to the inconsistency between their teaching and behaviour, but rather to their *consistent teaching and behaviour to secure their Temple system*, neglecting the intention of God (Lk. 11:42). By their exclusive emphasis on the superfluous observance of the law, they lead people to miss the decisive point, God. The Pharisees and teachers of the law hinder people from entering the kingdom of God (Lk. 11:52).

Paul criticizes the persuaders in the church who preach circumcision, as if one cannot be saved without following the rule established by the Jerusalem rulers, in the same criticism Jesus gave to the Pharisees who preached the ideology of the Jerusalem Temple (Gal. 5:7–8). Like the usage of leaven for hypocrisy in Luke, Paul also uses leaven for hypocrisy, i.e. the persuaders' teaching and behaviour focusing on human beings/flesh rather than God/soul (i.e. 1 Cor. 5:6).

Their mission activity (persuasion) is conceptualized further as *compulsion*, by the word “force” (ἀναγκάζω) and ultimately *colonization* with the expression of “enslavement” (καταδουλω) (Gal. 2:4).

- “[...] [the persuaders] would *force* (ἀναγκάζουσιν) you to be circumcised [...]” (Gal. 6:12)
 “[...] Titus [...] was not *forced* (ἠναγκάσθη) to be circumcised [by Paul] [...]” (Gal. 2:3)
 “[...] how can you (Peter) *force* (ἀναγκάζεις) the Gentiles to live like Jews?” (Gal. 2:14)

What Paul problematizes in Galatians is the *compulsory* Gentile circumcision. He defines the persuaders' argument as ‘enslavement’. Like the persuasion (mission) of former Paul (Gal. 1:6, 13–14) and the Pharisees in Luke (11:37–12:1), the persuaders' mission activity is that of the retainers of first century Judaism against the church of God. Their emphasis on the (outer) works of the law, in effect, leads the Gentile believers to be blind to God who calls them in the grace in Christ (Gal. 1:6) and to return to slavery of the old world.

5.2 Rereading Galatians in light of pilgrimage to the centre

5.1.4 Keep marching in Christ and Spirit

Paul exhorts the Gentile believers in Galatia “not to submit again to a yoke of slavery” (Gal. 5:1; cf. 2:5), and instead “stand firm” (Gal. 5:1), “walk (περιπατέω) by the Spirit” (Gal. 5:16; cf. ‘walking straight’ (ὀρθοποδοῦσιν) 2:14) and “walk [*march*] (στοιχέω) by this rule [of the new empire]” (Gal. 6:15–16; cf. 5:25).

The walking or rather marching metaphor in his exhortation is noteworthy, and Paul uses it to describe the proper way of life of God’s people. It is remarkable in the ending section:

“[...] by [the cross] the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world. For neither circumcision counts for anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creation (world/empire). And as for *all who walk (march) by this rule*, peace and mercy upon them, and upon *the Israel of God*.” (Gal. 6:14–16)

In this passage, Paul defines the Israel of God as “all who walk [*march*] by this rule [of the new creation or new empire]”. He presents ‘marching by the rule of the new creation’ as the most distinctive characteristic of the people of God, not ethnicity or custom. It corresponds to the understanding of people of God in the OT, especially in Psalms: “Blessed are those whose way is blameless, *who walk in the law of the Lord!*” (Ps. 119:1)

As discussed in Section 4.1.3, the customary articulation of ‘keeping the law’ as ‘walking’ in the OT is related to the pilgrimage to Jerusalem (e.g. Ps. 15; Isa. 2:5). Here, not only the actual travellers to Jerusalem, but also those “in whose heart are the highways to Zion” (Ps. 84:1–5) are defined as pilgrims in a broader sense (Section 4.3.1.1). By their law-abiding life, the Israelites could demonstrate that they were pilgrims in whose heart are the highways to Zion, the centre of the world.

Furthermore, the term *στοιχέω* in Gal. 5:25 and 6:16 is used for armies’ marching, which reminds of the marching of the Israelites in Exodus, “And the people of Israel went up out of the land of Egypt equipped for battle” (Ex. 13:18; cf. Num. 1–2). In this sense, Paul redefines the Gentile believers in Galatia as “the Israel of God”, a procession of pilgrims marching to the heavenly Jerusalem (cf. Gordon, 2004:81–82, 85–89). Based on this new identity, Paul urges the Gentile believers to march by the spirit (Gal. 5:25; 5:16), to march by the rule of the new empire of God (Gal. 6:15–16), to the heavenly Jerusalem, the new centre of the world.

5.2 Rereading Galatians in light of pilgrimage to the centre

As discussed in Section 4.2.1, pilgrimage can be defined as a journey to the centre. In this regard, the importance of ‘space’ or ‘a theology of space’ is decisive. In Galatians, Paul reveals the meaning of the present city of Jerusalem for the Gentile [and Jewish] believers briefly yet clearly.

5.2.1 Paul’s journey to Jerusalem

In his autobiographical section, Paul’s references of his ‘going’ or ‘not going up to Jerusalem’ draw attention.

“nor did I go up to Jerusalem [...]” (οὐδὲ ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα) (Gal. 1:17)

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“[...] I went up to Jerusalem [...]” (ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα) (Gal. 1:18)

“[...] I went up again to Jerusalem [...]” (πάλιν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα) (Gal. 2:1)

The first century Jews did not have a specific vocabulary which distinguishes the religiously motivated journey to worship God in Jerusalem (e.g. ‘pilgrimage’ in English) from the journey to Jerusalem in a general sense. Sometimes they used other expressions such as ‘come to the presence of God’ for pilgrimage. Yet in many cases, they simply said ‘go up (*hag* in Hebrew/ἀναβαίνω in Greek) to Jerusalem’ (Turner, 1973). Likewise, the word ‘worship’ primarily meant ‘to worship God in the Jerusalem Temple, the only appointed place, through the mediation of the priest’ (Charlesworth, 2008:399–400). They prayed from other places in the direction of Jerusalem, based on the promise that affirms the centrality of Jerusalem, given to Solomon (1 Kgs. 8–9). The Jerusalem Temple still stood at the centre of their world (symbolic empire) (Klawans, 2006). By offering tribute, by praying in the direction of the Jerusalem Temple, by keeping the laws imposed by the authorities in Jerusalem (Charlesworth, 2008:406), and by living in the world (empire) which had Jerusalem as its mother-city, the first century Jews showed their loyalty to Jerusalem. In this context, ‘going up to Jerusalem’, especially with reference to the diaspora Jews, was considered naturally as a pilgrimage to meet God through the worship in Jerusalem. For example, Paul explains his journey to Jerusalem in Acts 21:15–21 as a pilgrimage, “I went to worship in Jerusalem” (ἀνέβην προσκυνήσων εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ) (Acts 24:11).

Paul’s journeys to Jerusalem mentioned in the above passages could also have been understood as pilgrimages, if there had not been additional clauses. However, Paul adds such clauses in Gal. 1:17, 18 and 2:1, to clarify the purpose of these journeys to Jerusalem.

5.2.1.1 Additional clauses

Whenever Paul speaks of his journeys to Jerusalem in the letter to the Galatians, he clarifies the purpose of his journey by adding additional clauses:

“But when he (God) [...] was pleased to reveal his Son to me, in order that I might preach him among the Gentiles, [...]

nor did I go up to Jerusalem [...]” (Gal. 1:15–17)

“[...] I went up to Jerusalem

to visit (ἱστορήσαι) Cephas and remained with him fifteen days.” (Gal. 1:18)

“[...] I went up again to Jerusalem [...]

because of a revelation and set before them [...] the gospel that I proclaim among the Gentiles, [...]” (Gal. 2:1–2)

The purpose of these additional clauses is clear: Paul wants to clarify that *his journeys to Jerusalem were not pilgrimages*. Without these explanations, his journeys would surely have been misunderstood as pilgrimage. Not allowing any room for misunderstanding (Dunn, 1993:71), his journeys described in the autobiographical section are specified as not having been Jewish pilgrimage. What then was the purpose of these journeys to Jerusalem?

5.2.1.2 Journey to meet the apostles before me

Paul went up to Jerusalem to meet the apostles who had been called before him (Gal. 1:18; Aletti, 2012:226). Paul consistently combines Jerusalem with the apostles, especially with

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Peter. If Jerusalem had any significance for the Gentile followers of Jesus, it was because the apostles were there.

“But when he who had set me apart before I was born, and who called me by his grace, was pleased to reveal his Son to me, in order that I might preach him among the Gentiles, I did not immediately consult with anyone; nor did I go up to Jerusalem to those who were apostles before me, but I went away into Arabia, and returned again to Damascus.” (Gal. 1:15–17)

In Gal. 1:15–17, which is often misunderstood as supporting the independence of Paul’s apostleship, Paul confesses that it was God’s election and calling that made him an apostle. It is often overlooked in the interpretation of this passage that Paul does not exclude the other apostles from this election and calling (Tarazi, 1999:38). Here he calls the other apostles “those who were apostles before me” (τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους) (Gal. 1:17). He realizes that *the other apostles share the common identity with Paul himself*. They were also chosen and called by God, and in their immediate response to that calling confirms this fact (see Section 3.6.3).

“Immediately (εὐθέως) they left their nets and followed him.” (Mt. 4:20; Mk. 1:18; cf. Lk. 5:11)
 “[...] immediately (εὐθέως) I went away into Arabia, [...]” (Gal. 1:17)

The similarity of the calling scene is confirmed by the term, “immediately” (εὐθέως). As for Paul, the other apostles before him were not his rivals, but his co-workers in the gospel (Gal. 2:7–9). Paul wanted to see them first of all, after he met the risen Christ on the way to Damascus.

This claim is supported by another journey of Paul after three years in Gal. 1:18.

“Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to visit (ἱστορῆσαι) Cephas and remained with him fifteen days.” (Gal 1:18)

At that time, Paul took the journey to Jerusalem *only to meet and become acquainted with Peter* (Moo, 2013:109), in spite of all the difficulties of journeying in general in those days (cf. 2 Cor. 11:25–27). Paul reports that he spent fifteen days with Peter and met James, the brother of Jesus, though not other apostles. Presumably, it was an unforgettable time for Paul. Aletti (2012:226, note 38) writes, “Undoubtedly, Peter would have spoken of the Jesus whom he had followed, loved, denied, and met resurrected [...]”.

Paul’s following comment, “In what I am writing to you, before God, I do not lie!” (Gal. 1:20) seems to be an argument against the view that sees Paul as antithetical to the Jerusalem apostles: “We (the Jerusalem apostles and I) are fellow-workers in Christ, already have become acquainted. This is not a lie!” Paul and the apostles in Jerusalem, especially Peter, were comrades-in-arms, each being called and sent by God as apostles, as seen in the following verse: “they gave the right hand of fellowship to Barnabas and me (Paul)” (Gal. 2:9).

The fact that Paul and the Jerusalem apostles, especially Peter, shared the same identity and commission, and more significantly, once fought the same battle as comrades against the false brothers (Gal. 2:4, 7–9), adds significant impact to the incident in Antioch (Gal. 2:11–14; see Section 3.5).

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5.2.1.3 Jerusalem apostles, those who seem influential

However, in Gal. 2:6, Paul seems to be antithetical to the Jerusalem apostles.

“And from those who seemed to be influential (what they were makes no difference to me; God shows no partiality)—those, I say, who seemed influential added nothing to me.” (Gal. 2:6)

He repeatedly refers to the Jerusalem apostles as ‘those who seemed to be influential’ or ‘who seemed to be pillars’ (Gal. 2:2, 6, 9), and says they are nothing to him.

These expressions do not necessarily mean that Paul is degrading the Jerusalem apostles. Rather it should be understood in the contrasting structure between humans and God (see Section 3.2.1). Compared to the importance of the gospel of Christ, the significance of the Jerusalem apostles cannot but fade even though they were pillars of the church. Especially now when the inappropriate behaviour of Peter, the most prominent apostle, causes the crisis of the church (Gal. 2:11–14), Paul has to emphasize that the Jerusalem apostles are nothing but human beings compared to the gospel and God.

The phrase *πρόσωπον θεός άνθρωπου οὐ λαμβάνει* (Gal. 2:6) together with the term *προσανατιθῆμι* (Gal. 1:16 and 2:6) deserve special attention. Many modern English Bibles translate this phrase as “God shows no partiality or favouritism” (NIV, NRSV, ESV). But it is more appropriate to interpret it as “God does not judge by outer appearance” (GNB), which reminds of the same expression in the OT: “man looks on the outward appearance (*πρόσωπον*), but the Lord looks on the heart” (*ὁ δὲ Θεός ὄψεται εἰς καρδίαν*) (1 Sam. 16:7 LXX).

In fact, the theme of ‘the Lord who looks on/tests the heart’ (*καρδιογνώστης*) is repeated throughout the OT (e.g. 1 Kgs. 8:39; 1 Chr. 28:9; Ps. 7:9; Jer. 11:20; 17:10; 20:12) and even in the NT (Acts 1:24; 15:8)¹²⁷. God does not consider outward appearances such as position or ethnicity; in God’s sight, the authority of Jerusalem apostles who seem to be influential is no different from that of Paul who joined the apostles later (Tarazi, 1999). Likewise, God does not distinguish the Gentile believers from Jews, the chosen people. God who does not regard the outward appearance (Gal. 2:6) examines whether the heart of a believer is devoted to God, or in the OT expression, whether he is walking straight in the way of the Lord (Ps. 119:1). It corresponds to the main message of Galatians, ‘walk true to the gospel’ (Gal. 2:14).

The contrast between the Jerusalem apostles and Paul himself has only secondary importance for Paul, though he presents himself as a paradigmatic model for believers in Gal. 2:11–14 and 2:19–20. What was more significant to him was the life conforming to the truth of the gospel. Therefore, it is more appropriate to understand that in Gal. 2:6 Paul contrasts ‘outer appearance’ (human being) and ‘heart’ (God), following the voices of the OT.

This is why Paul emphasizes that his journey to Jerusalem was not to worship in the Jerusalem Temple. If his journey were to be misunderstood as a Jewish pilgrimage, then the Gentile believers in Galatia would most likely perceive that keeping the Jewish law (including the pilgrimage to Jerusalem) is essential for their salvation, just as the persuaders were preaching in Galatia. Furthermore, Peter in effect showed a counterexample by his tragic

¹²⁷It is noticeable that the similar expression ‘God the knower of the heart’ (*ὁ καρδιογνώστης θεός*) is used when the twelfth apostle is chosen (Acts 1:24) and when the problem of Gentile inclusion was dealt with in the Jerusalem council (Acts 15:8).

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retreat in Antioch (Gal. 2:11–14). Therefore, Paul needs to clarify that his journeys were not pilgrimage in order to meet God by the worship in the Jerusalem Temple.

Then, what does Gentile believers' pilgrimage to Jerusalem mean to Paul, or more specifically, Jerusalem itself?

5.2.2 The present city of Jerusalem

In Galatians, the phrase “the present city of Jerusalem” (τῆ νῦν Ἱερουσαλήμ) (Gal. 4:25) is particularly prominent. In the letter to the Galatians, Paul does not talk about the glorious restoration of Jerusalem in the last days; his primary concern is the specific first century city of Jerusalem and its meaning to the Gentile believers in Galatia. In this section, we review how Paul perceived the present city, based on Gal. 4:25–26.

“Now Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia; she corresponds to the present Jerusalem, for she is in slavery with her children. But the Jerusalem above is free, and she is our mother.” (Gal. 4:25–26)

5.2.2.1 Jerusalem—not our mother-city

According to Paul, the present city of Jerusalem is not our mother-city—the heavenly Jerusalem (ἡ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ) is.

In the Greco-Roman world, the term ‘mother-city’ (μητρόπολις) indicates the capital or centre of the empire to which the colonies gather with their tributes, e.g. Rome (Niehoff, 2001:37; Pearce, 2004:34–35)¹²⁸. The Jewish understanding of the ‘mother-city’ was not so different from this (Maier, 2007:479)¹²⁹. The first century Jews dreamed that, when the Messiah comes, Jerusalem becomes the capital of the Jewish empire to which all the colonized nations gather with their tributes (e.g. *Bar.* 4:5–5:9; *2 Esd.* 10:50; Lincoln, 2004:31–32). The quotation from Isaiah (Isa. 54:1) in Gal. 4:27 is perceived as referring to the glorious restoration of Jerusalem as the mother-city of the whole world.

“Rejoice, O Barren one who does not bear;
break forth and cry aloud, you who are not in labor!
For the children of the desolate one will be more
than those of the one who has a husband.” (Gal. 4:27; Isa. 54:1)

Surprisingly, however, Paul applies this quotation not to the present city of Jerusalem¹³⁰, but to the heavenly Jerusalem, because the present Jerusalem does not know the good news

¹²⁸The term *μητρόπολις* was coined by ancient Greek colonists to describe the relationship between their home city (*μητρόπολις*) and ‘the daughter colonies’. The relationship between the mother-city and daughter colonies in Greek empires were not monolithic, and mother-cities often lost their control over the daughter colonies (Graham, 1999). However, as for the Roman Empire, Rome was the one and absolute mother-city in the empire and never lost its sovereignty over the colonies for several centuries.

¹²⁹Maier (2007) argues that the term ‘mother-city’ (*μητρόπολις*) is used in 2 Sam. 20:19 and Isa. 1:26 in a similar context. Schwemer (2000) shows that *μητρόπολις* is applied to Jerusalem by Hellenistic-Jewish authors, especially by Philo.

¹³⁰De Boer (2004:381) argues that ‘the present Jerusalem’ does not refer to *the Jerusalem of non-Christian Judaism* (i.e. first century Judaism), but to *the law-observant Jewish-Christian community of Jerusalem*. However, as Starling (2011:36–37) indicates, there was no shared idea of such a notion of Jerusalem, *the law-observant Jewish-Christian community of Jerusalem* in the first century.

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of Jesus Christ that makes for peace (cf. Lk. 19:41–42). In order to understand Paul’s rather bold interpretation of the quoted verse, it is necessary to examine the verse in the literary context of Isaiah (Jobes, 1993:308).

Isaiah sings of the inclusion of the Gentiles (Isa. 54:2–3) along with the good news of the Lord’s redemption (Isa. 54:4–8). Considering the fact that Paul and the interpreters in the church basically perceived Isaiah’s good news (e.g. Isa. 52:7; 53:1; 65:1–2 in Rom. 10:15–16, 10:20–21) as the good news of Jesus Christ (cf. Tarazi, 1999:113–114), Paul argues here that Jerusalem’s glorious restoration is only possible when she responds properly to the good news of Christ. If the present Jerusalem had understood the good news properly, she would have

“[e]n-large[d] the place of [her] tent, and let the curtains of [her] habitants be stretched out” (Isa. 54:2)

and welcomed the Gentiles. Therefore, in Paul’s understanding, “Israel’s inheritance of the Abrahamic promises comes only in Christ, only together with the Gentiles, and only by faith” (Starling, 2011:55). In fact, Ps. 87 shares the same vision with Paul, “Psalm 87 offers a new statement in the Zion tradition by depicting foreign peoples not as pilgrims to Zion but as children of this city” (Maier, 2007:477)¹³¹.

However, since the present city of Jerusalem does not know and accept the good news of Christ, the restoration of Jerusalem is distant; and she is still in slavery with her children (Gal. 4:25).

5.2.2.2 Jerusalem as Mount Sinai outside of the promised land

In Gal. 4:25, Paul compares the present city of Jerusalem as ‘Mount Sinai in Arabia’ instead of ‘Mount Zion’. By this comparison to Mount Sinai, Paul characterizes Jerusalem as a centre that forces observance to the Mosaic law.

Curiously, however, Paul clarifies that Jerusalem is located ‘in Arabia’, a place outside of the promised land (Arabia—the land given to Ishmael) (Malina and Neyrey, 2006), let alone the centre of the world. Paul strikingly claims that the present city of Jerusalem is located in the land of the Gentile sinners, not in the holy land, denying the holiness of Jerusalem. Furthermore, Paul declares that the present earthly city of Jerusalem is not the final destination of pilgrimage. Just as Mount Sinai was not the final destination of the ancient Israelites in the desert, neither is the earthly Jerusalem (Keesmaat, 1999) to the Galatian believers. Likewise, as the ancient Israelites headed to the promised land, Paul sees the Gentile believers in Galatia as being on a pilgrimage to the heavenly Jerusalem (Gal. 4:26).

5.2.2.3 Jerusalem in exile

In Gal 4:25, Paul also portrays the present city of Jerusalem as in the state of slavery, that is, in the state of exile (Wright, 2009). Unlike the contemporary Jews of the time, Paul does not

¹³¹However, these two statuses of the Gentiles (pilgrims and children) are, in fact, inseparable. Eastman (2007:143) argues, “[t]o be precise, the many children in the Galatian congregations demonstrate that the time of fulfilment has begun for the eschatological city, and thus *anticipate* the ultimate fulfilment of the promise to Sarah that she will indeed become the ‘mother of multitudes.’” In this world, however, the Gentile believers are but “sojourners and exiles” looking for their homeland in heaven.

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seek the reason of the exilic state from the Roman occupation. Rather, in part, Paul's voice is more similar to that of the Qumran community who perceived the worship in the Jerusalem Temple, which was usurped by the wicked priests, as illegitimate. In Gal. 4:29–30, Paul argues that the illegitimate children (who were “born according to the flesh” and insist on the worship in Jerusalem Temple) persecute the legitimate heirs (who were “born according to the Spirit” (Gal. 4:29) and worship God in Christ), trying to usurp the inheritance (cf. Gal. 4:30).

At the same time, however, Paul's position differs from those of the Qumran community on two points:

- unlike the Qumran community who set a high value on their Zadokite ancestry (born according to flesh), Paul emphasizes the Spiritual ancestry (born according to the Spirit, born from Jerusalem above); and
- unlike the Qumran community who tried to restore their position in the earthly Jerusalem, Paul does not stress on the earthly Jerusalem.

In Gal. 4, Paul relates the present Jerusalem with the law, in a negative way: the law is depicted as “weak and worthless elementary principles of the world” (Gal. 4:9) and Jerusalem is the centre of the world (empire), which is the subject of enslavement (colonization) and persecution of the church (Gal. 4:29). This world is articulated as ‘Judaism’ in the discussions in Galatians (Gal. 1:13–14) and referred to as ‘first century Judaism’ in this dissertation (see Section 3.4.2).

5.2.3 First century Judaism: the world order

In Section 3.4.2, it was argued that when he referred to ‘Judaism’ in Gal. 1:14 Paul meant ‘the customary behaviour of certain privileged first century Jews, based on their cosmology centring around the Jerusalem Temple’. It was also noted that this notion of Judaism is called ‘first century Judaism’ in this study.

In his autobiographical section, Paul identifies first century Judaism as “the traditions of [...] fathers” (Gal. 1:14), in other words, the traditions of humans. This expression, which was often used with pride in the ensuing rabbinic Judaism (e.g. *Mishnah Avot* 1.1), is now used to refer to the human world order which confronts the kingdom of God and persecutes the church of God in the contrasting structure of ‘human beings vs. God’ in Galatians. This understanding corresponds to the contrasts between the tradition of priests and elders vs. God in Luke-Acts (e.g. Acts 4:19; 5:29). In these passages, first century Judaism is described as a hindrance to the presence of God. It is more evident in Gal. 1 and 4, where Christ's salvation is described as “a deliverance from the present evil world” (Gal. 1:4).

Then, is Judaism itself wrong? Is Judaism the evil empire that confronts God? Does Paul promote anti-Judaism? The answers to these questions are closely related to the matter of how Judaism is defined.

5.2.3.1 Judaism as Jewishness

If Judaism is defined as “the Israelite worldview (cosmology) and the customary behaviour based on that worldview” (Malina and Neyrey, 2006:185) or Jewishness, Paul hardly denies

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Judaism. He was never ashamed of his Jewish identity (Gal. 2:15). Paul was a Jew and lived as a Jew (see Section 4.1.1.3).

More significantly, the phrases “salvation is from the Jews” (Jn. 4:22) and “repentance and forgiveness of sins should be proclaimed in his name to all nations, beginning from Jerusalem” (Lk. 24:47) are alive for Paul, too. In Rom. 11:26, Paul declares, “The Deliverer will come *from Zion*” (Ἦξει ἐκ Σιῶν ὁ ῥυόμενος) (Rom. 11:26), quoting Isa. 59:20 combined with Ps. 14:7 (Ps. 53:6)¹³². It is impossible for Paul to assume an anti-Judaic (anti-Jewish) stance.

“They are Israelites, and to them belong the adoption, the glory, the covenants, the giving of the law, the worship, and the promises. To them belong the patriarchs, and from their race, according to the flesh, is the Christ, who is God over all, blessed forever. Amen.” (Rom. 9:4–5)

However, it should be noted that Paul re-evaluates ‘Jewishness’ through the salvation-historical perspective, i.e. the will of God ultimately revealed in Christ (Yarbrough, 2004:297). According to Paul, the circumcision, which was traditionally understood as an expression of the covenantal faith of God’s people, now became a mere custom which was only valid for the Jews (Gal. 5:6; 6:15). The law, more specifically the written law except the narratives (Section 4.3.3.3), was added to the promise 430 years later as regulation, rather than as the means of salvation (Gal. 3:21), because of transgressions (Gal. 3:17, 19). Because the object of faith and the content of hope, i.e. Jesus Christ, had now come, the law had finished or fulfilled its function as our guardian (παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν) (Gal. 3:23–26). This re-evaluation should not be readily identified as ‘anti-Judaism’.

5.2.3.2 Paul against first century Judaism as the worldly empire confronting the church of God

Again, it is important to clarify that the Judaism to which Paul refers in Gal. 1:13–14 is not a general Jewishness, but the cosmology of certain privileged Jews which is related to “the present Jerusalem” (Gal. 4:25) in the first century, i.e. the hierocratic symbolic empire (Moon and Punt, 2013:208–209) which persecutes the church of God (see Section 3.4.2). In the contrasting structure between humans and God, first century Judaism is used as a synonym of ‘the tradition of the fathers’ and as an antonym of ‘the church of God’.

The law itself which first century Judaism emphasizes, is good (Gal. 3:21). However, *when it is separated from the promise, faith and God’s grace* (Ware, 2011),—more precisely the content of the promise given to Abraham, the object of the faith of Abraham and the true revelation and means of God’s grace, that is, Jesus Christ—the law becomes the means of enslavement of the human worldly empire which confronts God (cf. Charlesworth, 2008:404–406). This understanding is evident in Gal. 4:8–10:

“Formerly, when you did not know God, you were enslaved to those that by nature are not gods.” (Gal. 4:8)

“But now that you have come to know God, or rather to be known by God,”

¹³² “And a Redeemer will come *to Zion*, to those in Jacob who turn from transgression, [...]” (Isa. 59:20); “Oh, that salvation for Israel would *come out of Zion*! When the Lord restores the fortunes of his people, let Jacob rejoice, let Israel be glad” (Ps. 14:7 and 53:6).

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(Gal. 4:9a)

“How can you turn back again to the weak and worthless elementary principles of the world, whose slaves you want to be once more?” (Gal. 4:9b)

“You observe days and months and seasons and years!” (Gal. 4:10)

In Gal. 4:8, Paul describes the Gentile believers’ former idolatrous life in the pagan world, when they did not know God (cf. Zetterholm, 2005:16–17). However, unlike the opinions of some commentators (e.g. Martin, 1995; Nanos, 2001:267–269), “the weak and worthless elementary principles of the world” in Gal. 4:9b refers to the life of now believers under the Jewish law (see Section 5.1.2). It is verified by the following verse Gal. 4:10 where Paul exemplifies their keeping of new moon and Jewish festivals (Cousar, 2012:72). Strikingly Paul considers these two modes of life, the idolatrous pagan way of life (Gal. 4:8) and the life under the Jewish law (Gal. 4:9b–10), as basically one and the same (Calvert-Koyzis, 2004:107–109). This is proved by the term “again” (πάλιν and πάλιν ἄνωθεν in Gal. 4:9). According to Paul, the Gentile believers’ observance of the Jewish law signifies that they are returning to the life in the old world characterized by idolatry.

A similar understanding is found in some summaries of the history of Israel, notably Stephen’s story in Acts 7 (Wischmeyer, 2006). In this story, Stephen equates the life of ancient Israel, who worshipped the golden calf and zodiacs but never quite abandoned fully their sacrifices to God, to the idolatrous life of the Gentiles, because “in their heart they turned to Egypt” (Acts 7:39). According to Stephen, Jews in the present Jerusalem or first century Judaism are doing the same:

“You stiff-necked people, uncircumcised in heart and ears, you always resist the Holy Spirit. As your fathers did, so do you. Which of the prophets did your fathers not persecute? And they killed those who announced beforehand the coming of the Righteous One, whom you have now betrayed and murdered, you who received the law as delivered by angels and did not keep it.” (Acts 7:51–53)

This kind of historical perception can only be properly understood from the perspective of radical monotheism, the characteristic feature of the ancient prophets (Grindheim, 2007) who called for the worship of mind rather than the ritual performance (e.g. Amos 5:25–27 cited in Acts 7). From the viewpoint of “God who tests the mind” (καρδιογνώστης; cf. Gal. 2:6; see Section 5.2.1.3), both the ancient Israelites who worshipped the golden calf and those in first century Judaism worship the hosts of this world who are not gods by nature, through their ritual performances.

Similar perception is found in the letter to the Galatians.

1. First century Judaism denies the promise of Abraham concerning the seed, Jesus Christ (Gal. 4:15–18).
2. Rather, it solely emphasizes the works of the law, the ritual performance, as if it is essential to come to the presence of God, nullifying the grace of God revealed in Jesus Christ.
3. Moreover, first century Judaism as the worldly empire persecutes the church of God (Gal. 1:13; 4:29), the Israel of God (Gal. 6:16).

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In this regard, the letter to the Galatians echoes the voice of Jesus who criticizes the Jerusalem Temple system. In his message, Jesus declares that the Jerusalem Temple system (or the hierocratic symbolic empire called Judaism centring around the Jerusalem Temple and its priestly aristocrats) has already been destroyed. Through the death and resurrection of Jesus the Temple has exhausted its validity (see Section 3.7.1.1). Similarly Paul announces the end of the old world, “the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world” (Gal. 6:14). According to Paul, the people of God are no longer obligated to take pilgrimage to Jerusalem, either actual pilgrimage or a symbolic one by keeping the Jewish customary law imposed by the priestly aristocrats. However, the Gentile believers in Galatia were being persuaded to do this from the persuaders in the church.

5.2.4 The influence of Judaism in Galatians

To be sure, Galatians is a letter to the Gentile believers in Galatia proposing to resolve the crisis which had happened *in the church*. Jews outside the church are hardly mentioned by Paul, except by a few implications. Therefore, first century Judaism itself is not the focus of this letter. However, as Martyn (1997:231) indicates, its influence is crucial. The crisis in Galatians was triggered under the influence of first century Judaism.

5.2.4.1 Mission and colonization

The term ‘persuasion’ has a special importance in the letter to the Galatians (Ciampa, 2010). This term, which usually indicates the Greco-Roman rhetoric, is used to refer to “mission” or “evangelical activity” in Galatians, both of Paul and the persuaders.

As Niang (2009) describes, mission activity is often accompanied by colonization/enslavement. The expansion of the kingdom of God is not an exception, often being described as a kind of military campaign in the Gospels against the worldly empire¹³³ (e.g. Garroway, 2009; Moore, 2006).

In the picture of universal war between the two empires, the campaign of the empire of God is the gospel of liberation, since it consequently liberates its people from the worldly empire (cf. Snodgrass, 2005:40–41). The gospel of the liberation and the call for the obedience to God are inseparable: “Jesus came into Galilee, proclaiming the gospel of God, and saying, ‘The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand. Repent and believe in the gospel [of God’s empire]’” (Mk. 1:14–15). Namely, we are freed from the worldly empire, and we now are freely obedient to the heavenly empire.

As mentioned earlier, Paul confesses that he was the destroyer of the church of God (Gal. 1:13) who preached the works of the law in order to please human beings (Gal. 1:10; see Section 5.1.3). The purpose of his former mission (persuasion) was *not* to proclaim God who is calling the lost among the nations. On the contrary, his former mission was to subjugate the peripheries (e.g. Jesus’ followers in Damascus, Arabia, when he encountered the risen Christ, Acts 9:1–3) to the rule of first century Judaism centring around the Jerusalem Temple and its rulers. As Niang (2009) argues, Paul’s former mission activity before his conversion can be classified as an enslaving or colonizing activity.

¹³³It should be noted that the word βασιλεία which is often translated as ‘kingdom’, in fact can mean ‘empire’ in the context.

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As scholars indicate (e.g. Phillips, 2009; Snodgrass, 2005), there are significant differences between the Pauline letters and the Gospels. However, it also should be admitted that the mission activities of the *persuaders* in Galatia are on the same trajectory as those of *the former Paul* (Section 5.1.3) and the *Pharisees* in the Gospels (Mt. 23:13–14). This is confirmed by Paul’s quotation of Jesus’ own words in Gal. 5:9:

“A little leaven leavens the whole lump.” (Gal 5:9; cf. Lk. 12:1; see Section 5.1.3)

They are all supporters and retainers of first century Judaism which has Jerusalem as its mother-city. They all proclaim and educate the law and customs of the centre in order to reinforce the old world order (see Section 4.3.2.4), travelling all around the world (cf. Acts. 9:1–2; Mt. 23:14).

Their proselytes grow accustomed to doing the works of the law, while not coming to the presence of God (cf. Gal. 5:4; Mt. 23:13). This is called ‘hypocrisy’ (Gal. 2:13; cf. Mt. 23:28; Lk. 12:1). In Paul’s usage, ‘hypocrisy’ is ‘a religious ritual (play) in which humans rather than God is at the centre’ in the contrasting structure between humans and God (see Section 3.5.4). Those who are accustomed to hypocrisy cannot walk straight to the truth of the gospel (cf. Gal. 2:14) revealed in Christ, thus, can never come to the presence of God.

The persuaders teach as if one can be saved by the works of the law, that is, through the traditions of the elders, even though they know that salvation is only through Jesus Christ. As a result, as in the case of the Pharisees in the Gospels (Section 4.3.4.5), the more people learned from them, the more they grew estranged from the truth of the gospel, and ultimately from the grace of God.

Concerning the motivation of the persuaders’ mission, Paul writes,

“[...] but they desire to have you circumcised that they may boast in your flesh.”
(Gal. 6:13)

According to Paul, the persuaders want to boast their achievement in converting ‘the Gentile believers’ into ‘law-observant Gentile proselytes’ in first century Judaism. They did not preach the gospel to the pagans who had never heard of the gospel, but preferred to persuade ‘the already-believers’ to follow the Jewish customary laws which support the dominion of the Jerusalem authority, in a kind of colonizing (enslaving) campaign of first century Judaism (Ciampa, 2010:160–161).

Paul confronts this kind of mission as colonization. Paul, once a colonizer, is now preaching the liberating gospel (Niang, 2009). In Galatians, Paul contrasts his mission to that of the persuaders:

- While the persuaders force the Gentile believers to be circumcised (Gal. 6:12), Paul did not force anyone (Titus) to be circumcised (Gal. 2:3).
- While they preach the gospel of circumcision (cf. Gal. 6:12–13), Paul did not (Gal. 1:10; 5:11).
- While they persuade (preach) in order to please human beings (Gal. 5:7), Paul did not (Gal. 1:10).
- While they are enslaving the Gentile believers (Gal. 4:3, 9, 24–25; cf. Gal. 2:4), Paul liberates them (Gal. 5:1).

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By this contrast, Paul clarifies that he strongly opposes any attempt to enslave the Gentile believers. The crisis in Galatians is not simply a matter of the law, but the human empire's enslavement, which hinders believers to come to the presence of God.

5.2.4.2 Persecution

Another form of colonization can be found in persecution. In fact, fear of persecution is one of the major motivations of the characters in the letter to the Galatians (Cummins, 2001).

The persuaders in the church According to Paul, this fear drove the persuaders to go out and preach circumcision. In fear of the possible persecution due to the existence of the Gentiles in the churches (Bruce, 1982; Zetterholm, 2005), the persuaders compromised the gospel in advance (of the persecution).

“[...] but there are some who trouble you and want to distort the gospel of Christ.” (Gal. 1:7)

“[...] who slipped in to spy out our freedom that we have in Christ Jesus, so that they might bring us into slavery.” (Gal. 2:4)

“[...] who hindered you from obeying the truth? [...] A little leaven leavens the whole lump. [...] the one who is troubling you [...];” (Gal. 5:7–10)

“It is those who want to make a good showing in the flesh who would force you to be circumcised, and only in order that they may not be persecuted for the cross of Christ.” (Gal. 6:12)

The persuaders longed to stay in first century Judaism, the existing Jewish world order. As a result, they chose to follow the tradition (law) of the Jews, rather than the Spirit of the Lord. By this, in effect, they denied Christ before people (cf. Lk. 12:9) and chose to speak against the Holy Spirit before people.

Peter The fear of exclusion from the existing world order (first century Judaism) is so immense that even Peter was influenced. He withdrew from the fellowship table with the Gentile brothers and sisters in Christ (Gal. 2:11–14; see Section 3.5.3). However, unlike the persuaders, Peter was the comrade-in-arms of Paul in Christ: they shared the same calling and the same experience (cf. Tarazi, 1999:38).

“[...] when they saw that I had been entrusted with the gospel to the uncircumcised, just as Peter had been entrusted with the gospel to the circumcised, [...] they gave the right hand of fellowship to [...] me [...];” (Gal. 2:7–9)

Peter's behaviour led many Jewish (Gal. 2:13) and Gentile believers to want to stay under the law and first century Judaism (Gal. 4:21). Although the motive might be different, Peter's behaviour was, in effect, the same as the teaching of the persuaders and the Pharisees, the retainers of first century Judaism (Section 3.5.5). Paul saw through this and harshly reproached Peter, “Now you became a colonizer who forces the Gentile believers to submit to Judaism and to live like Jews. You are not walking straight to the truth of gospel.” (cf. Barclay, 1988:77)

5.2 Rereading Galatians in light of pilgrimage to the centre

Although they *knew and proclaimed* Jesus Christ (cf. Gal. 2:16), Peter and the Jewish leaders in the church submitted to first century Judaism in fear of exclusion from the existing world order. As a result, they fell to the state they had been in before they met Jesus Christ, that is, Galilean *am-ha'aretz* who were despised as the peripheral Jews under first century Judaism (cf. Gal. 2:14; see Section 3.5.5). Their hypocrisy is even more striking, because they acted as if they were the retainers of the old world order (first century Judaism) when, in fact, they were the retainers of the new world order centring around Christ. Their hypocritical behaviour made the Gentile believers return to slavery under first century Judaism (cf. Gal. 4:21), and ultimately lose their freedom in Christ (cf. Gal. 2:4; 5:4).

Galatian believers Nanos (2001) gives an interesting explanation for the Gentile believers' subordination to the Jewish law. He argues that in the Greco-Roman world, where a community played an essential role for a person's social/economic life, the Gentile believers, having been excluded from their original communities due to their conversion, would have tried to join the Jewish diaspora community, expecting protections and alms. He claims that this is why the Gentile believers in Galatia were eager to be like Jews.

However, it is still uncertain whether the social/economic matter was the main reason for the Gentile believers' desire to stay under the law¹³⁴. There is no evidence that the Jewish diaspora community helped the Gentiles. Generally, most Jews were indifferent in this matter. In fact, it was the Gentile believers who helped the poor brothers and sisters in Jerusalem and Judea (e.g. Gal. 2:10; Rom. 15:25–28; 1 Cor. 16:1–4; 2 Cor. 8–9; Acts 11:27–30; 24:17). Nanos (2001)'s claim relies largely on speculation.

A more plausible explanation for the eagerness of the Gentile believers to be like Jews can be found from their desire to be the legitimate descendant of Abraham, the complete people of God. Similar to the desire of the periphery to be included in the centre, they wanted to be first class citizens of the kingdom of God. Being stirred by the teaching of the persuaders and the behaviour of Peter, the Gentile believers tried to achieve the full status of God's people, not only by faith in the promised Messiah Jesus, but also by the works of the law. They even started to keep Sabbaths, new moons and festivals.

As Paul sees it, even though they had already been delivered from the old world, the Gentile believers in Galatia became pilgrims to the centre of the old world, the present city of Jerusalem, by performing the works of the law.

5.2.5 Stop pilgrimage to Jerusalem

Paul commands to the Gentile believers in Galatia not to be circumcised (Gal. 5:2), since, in Paul's view, circumcision synecdochically refers to the whole law (Gal. 5:3). Furthermore, the Gentile circumcision was no more than a sign of the subordination to the order of first century Judaism (Gal. 2:3–5; 4:24–25), the old/human world (cf. Ciampa, 2010:159–161), because *in Christ* (Gal. 3:26) and *in the Spirit* (Gal. 4:6) they were already accepted as the children of God. That made Paul adamantly oppose circumcision. Paul regards it as an apostasy from the kingdom of God to which they now belong:

¹³⁴Schnabel (2008) argues that, reversely, this social-economic pressure from the outside world was an important reason for the persecution of Jesus' believers by the Jewish diaspora communities.

5.3 Rereading Galatians in light of pilgrimage to the past

“Look: I, Paul, say to you that if you accept circumcision, Christ will be of no advantage to you [...] You are severed from Christ [...] you have fallen away from grace.” (Gal. 5:2–4)

The expressions “being severed from Christ” and “have fallen away from grace” indicate that those who accept circumcision are ‘strangers outside of the covenant’. Those who want to be under the law of the old world are foreigners outside the kingdom of Christ (Gal. 4:9). In the context of pilgrimage, Paul declares their behaviour as stopping in the pilgrimage to the presence of God, turning away, and walking to a different centre (Gal. 1:6), i.e. to the present city of Jerusalem. Paul is saying “Stop your pilgrimage to Jerusalem”.

5.3 Rereading Galatians in light of pilgrimage to the past

Paul reminds the Galatian believers in crisis, of the fundamental stories underlying pilgrimage, the central ritual of first century Judaism. By telling these stories, Paul links the present life of the Galatian believers to that of the ancestors of Israel (Hays, 2002:228). Narrative intertextuality theorists argue that Paul’s stories cannot be treated as mere stories of the past. By relocating themselves in the stories, the present life of the Galatian believers is redefined, and their identity is re-established. Paul’s hermeneutics (Watson, 2004) is performed by his stories. By telling the stories, Paul persuades his audience that they are now living in a new era (Gal. 3:8–29; 4:4), marching to the new world (Gal. 6:15); and they have a new identity, as children of God (Gal. 3:26; 4:5–7) and the Israel of God (Gal. 6:16).

By means of stories, Paul tries to point out the problem of the existing pilgrimage as a ritual and the way of life in first century Judaism. To be sure, Paul does not try to nullify pilgrimage. Rather, he tries to propose an alternative model of pilgrimage that corresponds to the new world, especially of the Holy Spirit, by enlightening them through the stories.

The praxis of the first century Jewish pilgrimage depends largely on the legal part of (the written) Torah, rather than the narrative section and the other parts of the OT (see Section 4.3.3.3). In fact, the written Torah along with the Jerusalem Temple was used to legitimize the dominion of the Jerusalem authority (Herzog, 2000:144–167). Confronting the existing power, Paul presents two OT stories in Galatians¹³⁵: the Exodus and the Abraham story. And through these stories, the believers are invited to a time-travel to the past.

5.3.1 Exodus

As many scholars indicate, the Exodus is a fundamental event related to the birth of God’s people, Israel (Joslyn-Siemiatkoski, 2009). An enslaved nomad in Egypt, who descended from the twelve sons of Jacob, was born again in the process of the Exodus as Israel, the worshipping community who served the only true God (Smith, 1997:264–265). In the event of the Exodus, they were delivered from Egypt (*Pascha*), received Torah in Sinai (*Shavuot*) and formed a new community in the course of building a Tabernacle and worshipping God (*Sukkot*).

¹³⁵In this letter, Paul depends largely on Isaiah (54:1 [Gal. 4:27]), Psalms (143:1 [Gal. 2:16]), Genesis (12:3 [Gal. 3:8]; 15:6 [Gal. 3:6]; 16, 21 [Gal. 4:22–31]; 22:18 [Gal. 3:16]) and Deuteronomy (11:13, 16 [Gal. 1:6; 4:9–10]; 21:23 [Gal. 3:13]; 27:26 [Gal. 3:10]) along with other stories in the Pentateuch (Ex. 32) and prophetic writings (Hab. 2:4 [Gal. 2:16; 3:11]; Jer. 1:5 [Gal. 1:15]).

5.3 Rereading Galatians in light of pilgrimage to the past

The primal pilgrimage festivals in the first century—*Pascha*, *Shavuot* and *Sukkot*—were all to commemorate the events related to the Exodus. In fact, the Exodus itself was perceived as a pilgrimage in the OT (Cragg, 2004; Smith, 1997:141). The Israelites departed from the land in which they used to live, and were born again as God’s people, in order to worship God (Ex. 3:12; 5:1). In memory of Israel, this fundamental pilgrimage was finalized at Mount Zion (Jerusalem) by the enthronement of God (Ps. 68:17–18).

As reviewed in Section 4.3.3.1, the first century Jews could connect themselves with their ancestors, and ultimately with God, by commemorating and re-enacting the Exodus in their pilgrimage.

5.3.1.1 Exodus in Galatians

As Keesmaat (1999) and Wilson (2004) argue, the letter to the Galatians was written in a language which reminds of the event of the Exodus. For example, Gal. 4:8–9 recalls the slavery in Egypt (Ex. 20:2; Lev. 26:13), Gal. 1:4 the deliverance in *Pascha*, Gal. 1:8 the law-giving at Mount Sinai (*Shavuot*), and Gal. 4:6 and 5:1 remind the new status of Israel as children of God (cf. Hos. 11:1) and freedmen (Ex. 20:2; Lev. 26:13).

“who gave himself for our sins to deliver us from the present evil age, [...]”
(Gal. 1:4)

“But even if we or an angel from heaven should preach to you a gospel contrary to the one we preached to you, let him be accursed.” (Gal. 1:8)

In addition to those echoes of the Exodus motif, Paul’s description of the Christ event in Gal. 3:5 provides a more plausible foundation to read the Galatians through the lens of the Exodus:

“ὁ [...] ἐπιχορηγῶν ὑμῖν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἐνεργῶν δυνάμεις ἐν ὑμῖν”

“[the one] who supplies the Spirit to you and works miracles (mighty works) among you” (Gal. 3:5)

The term δύναις, along with θαῦμα, is one of the typical expressions to describe God’s mighty work at the Exodus in Psalms (e.g. LXX Ps. 77; 105). The psalmists often link themselves with their ancestors through the remembrance of the Exodus. In a similar vein, Paul did not use the Exodus language simply for literary purposes. Rather, the Exodus language in Galatians should be understood as salvation-historical since Paul views the Galatian believers as an extension of the historical Exodus story. Both the ancient Israelites at the Exodus and the present Galatian believers have the same experience of salvation: both were born again as the people of God and are now walking the way to the presence of God. This understanding leads Paul to call the Gentile believers in Galatia “Israel of God” (Gal. 6:16).

It is important here to notice that Paul explains *the Christ event* in terms of *the Exodus* (Gal. 1:4; 5:1). In relating the Galatian believers to the Exodus story, Paul’s hermeneutics is more complex than that of the Psalmists (e.g. Ps. 105, 106) or Isaiah (e.g. Isa. 4:5; 48:20–21; 61:6; 63:11–14) who easily linked themselves (Jews) to the Exodus. The Galatian believers, who were Gentiles, not Jews, could not be linked directly to the Israelite story of the Exodus. Only through Jesus Christ could the Gentile believers be attached to the salvation history (the Exodus). Therefore, in his letter to the Galatians, Paul firstly links the Christ event

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to the Exodus, and then, in Christ, the Gentile believers in Galatia to the “Israel of God” (Gal. 6:16).

5.3.1.2 Crucifixion as a new *Pascha*

In Paul’s argument in Galatians, the crucifixion of Jesus is described as a new *Pascha*. By giving his life as a sacrifice offering (Gal. 1:4), and dying on a tree (Gal. 3:13; Num. 21:4–9), Jesus delivered *the Gentile sinners* (Gal. 3:14) from the present evil empire (Gal. 1:4), just as the ancient Israelites were delivered from Egypt.

As [Oakes \(2015\)](#) indicates, Paul’s description of the crucified Christ is striking: he describes the crucifixion of Christ not as a past event, but a present event. Jesus is now hanging on the cross before their eyes:

“[...] It was before your eyes that Jesus Christ was publicly portrayed as crucified.”
(Gal. 3:1)

Through the memory of the crucified Christ, the Galatian believers are continuously invited to the locale of the crucifixion. More significantly, they are invited to encounter God who clearly reveals Godself in the event of the cross. In other words, God encounters sinners in the crucified Christ. If pilgrimage should be taken to a place where God reveals Godself most clearly, the cross of Jesus is indeed the right pilgrimage site for Jesus’ followers to come to.

5.3.1.3 Pouring of the Spirit as a new *Shavuot*

Like the author of Acts, Paul also sees that the law-giving and being born again as the people of God at Mount Sinai is fulfilled by the pouring of the Holy Spirit (Gal. 3:4). The fact that the Holy Spirit was given at *Shavuot*, which is to celebrate the law-giving at Mount Sinai, indicates that the Holy Spirit is now the new law, promised by many prophets in the OT ([Moon and Punt, 2013](#)).

“And I will give them one heart,
and a new spirit I will put within them. [...]” (Ezek. 11:19)

“[...] I will pour out my Spirit on all flesh; [...]” (Joel 2:28; cf. Acts 2:16–21)

Paul asks the Galatian believers, “Did you receive the Spirit by works of the law or by hearing with faith?” (Gal. 3:2), since the promised Spirit is an undisputed mark of the people of God. Because the Galatian believers received the Holy Spirit and were born again as the people of God (Gal. 3:3), the law they should follow now is the Holy Spirit, that is, the law of Christ:

“[...] walk by the Spirit, [...]” (Gal. 5:16)

“[...] let us also keep in step with the Spirit.” (Gal. 5:25)

“Bear one another’s burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ.” (Gal. 6:2)

Paul urges the Galatian believers to “walk by the Spirit”. They are called to be pilgrims who walk in the way of the new law of Christ, following the Spirit.

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5.3.1.4 A new *Sukkot* in a heavenly Jerusalem

As [Wilson \(2004\)](#) indicates, Galatian believers are still in the desert, on the pilgrimage way to the presence of God. They were already delivered from the present evil empire through the cross of Christ (*Pascha*), and became the people of God sealed not by circumcision but by the Spirit (*Shavuot*). However, they have still “miles to go before [they] sleep” ([Frost, 1923](#)). They had not yet arrived at their pilgrimage goal, that is, the presence of God in the heavenly Jerusalem. As [Kwon \(2004\)](#) indicates, it still remains a future hope.

“For through the Spirit, by faith, we ourselves eagerly wait for the hope of righteousness.” (Gal. 5:5)

However, it does not mean that their salvation is uncertain. As mentioned in Section 5.3.1.2, the Galatian believers encounter God who reveals Godself in the past event of Christ (‘presentization’ of the past), and this encounter with God assures them of their future salvation. They will certainly arrive at the presence of God, with the Spirit and the Christ in them as the assured marks of their identity as the people of God.

5.3.1.5 Golden calf and the apostasy of believers

For most Jewish believers, the crisis in Galatians and the Antioch incident could simply be perceived as a matter of practical application of circumcision and the law, namely a matter of *adiaphora*. In fact, if the problem is limited to the Jewish believers, it truly is a matter of *adiaphora*, as Paul himself admits in Gal. 5:6 and 6:15.

However, viewed from the salvation-historical perspective, especially from the pilgrimage motif in the Exodus, this becomes a totally different matter. They are now turning away from the One who called them and returning to the slavery under the old empire, analogous to the Israelites in the episode of the golden calf (see Section 3.5.6). As reviewed in Section 3.5.6, this was a completely unacceptable apostasy, opposing the truth of the gospel.

5.3.2 Abraham

The story of Abraham is of crucial importance in developing Paul’s logic in Galatians. Paul addresses the crisis in Galatia by introducing the story of Abraham, thereby intertextually linking the Gentile believers to Abraham, beyond the story of the Exodus.

5.3.2.1 Who are the heirs of Abraham?

As mentioned earlier, the Gentile believers were eager to be accepted as complete people of God. The persuaders, as well as Peter, made them misunderstand that they could become the heirs of Abraham by being circumcised and keeping the law of first century Judaism, that is, by becoming Jews.

Paul clarifies that ‘being the heir of Abraham’ is not the same as ‘being a Jew’ ([Neutel, 2010:304](#)): Being the heir of Abraham occurs by *faith* (Gal. 3:7), not by keeping the Mosaic law, which was given 430 years later than the covenant (Gal. 3:17). Therefore the one who succeeds the *faith* of Abraham is his true heir (Gal. 3:7).

Pro-Jewish scholars often claim that Paul’s placing Abraham’s faith against the Mosaic law is extremely anti-Pharisaic and even anti-Jewish ([Sanders, 1983](#)): Isn’t Abraham an

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ancestor of the Jews? Isn't the Mosaic law the embodiment of the Abrahamic covenant? Then, how can Paul separate these two (Ware, 2011)?

However, these claims are not based on the real praxis of first century Judaism, of which the pivotal elements were the Jerusalem Temple sacrifice and the Mosaic law (Charlesworth, 2008:395–396; cf. Fredriksen, 2010:235). They were not the expression of Abraham's faith, but rituals that developed further and could potentially move away from its initial periods of inception, of which the Abraham episode was one. The rituals and the laws were instituted mainly to support the domination of the religious leaders of Jerusalem (see Section 4.3.2), not to worship God. This is why Jesus and John the Baptist did not admit them as descendants of Abraham (Lk. 3:7–9; Jn. 8:39). For them, Abraham was only recognized as the ancestor of ethnic Jews in flesh and blood, not as the ancestor of faith. The rituals of the ethnic Jews themselves—the pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the sacrifice outside the grace of God—cannot make them the heirs of Abraham, as seen in the harsh criticism of the prophet Amos, regarding the pilgrimage festival of the Northern Israelites:

“I hate, I despise your feasts, and I take no delight in your solemn assemblies. Even though you offer me your burnt offerings and grain offerings, I will not accept them; and the peace offerings of your fattened animals, I will not look upon them. Take away from me the noise of your songs; to the melody of your harps I will not listen.” (Amos 5:21–23; cf. Isa.1:11–15)

Paul claims that *faith* makes them the heirs of Abraham (Gal. 3:7) and declares that the Galatian believers have already become the heirs of Abraham in Christ and in Spirit by their faith (Gal. 3:29).

5.3.2.2 Hagar, the mother of the slave

The story of Hagar (Gal. 4:21–31) is an important basis of Paul's argument. He writes:

“[...] for she is in slavery with her children.” (Gal. 4:25)

Though Hagar was a maid slave, there is no basis to argue that her son, Ishmael, was also a slave, because he was acknowledged as the legitimate son of Abraham by Abraham and God (Gen. 16:15; 17:20, 23; 21:11, 13, 18, 20; 25:9, 12). As Islamic scholars argue, Ishmael was the first-born of Abraham and circumcised (Gen. 17:23). In other words, he could be the legitimate heir of Abraham (Noort, 2010:33–34). However, quoting Sarah's words (Gen. 21:10), Paul commands:

“[...] Cast out the slave woman and her son, for the son of the slave woman shall not inherit with the son of the free woman.” (Gal. 4:30)

Paul's argument can be understood properly only within the contrasting framework which runs through the whole of Galatians, that is, the contrast between the worldly human empire and the empire of God (see Sections 3.2.1 and 5.1.1). Paul specifies this contrast as *two covenants* (Gal. 4:24) and *two Jerusalems*, i.e. the present Jerusalem (Gal. 4:25) and the Jerusalem above (Gal. 4:26) (Di Mattei, 2006:113).

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Paul does not perceive the present Jerusalem (Gal. 4:25) and the old covenant, i.e. the law, (*flowing*)¹³⁶ from Mount Sinai (μία μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους Σινᾶ; Gal. 4:24) as the fulfilment of the promise given to Abraham. He understands that the new covenant made by Jesus (Gal. 3:13; cf. 1 Cor. 11:25; Lk. 22:20), and confirmed by the Spirit (Gal. 3:2, 5, 14; cf. 2 Cor. 3:6) is the very fulfilment of the promise given to Abraham (Gal. 3:13–14). And Paul describes that those who follow the new covenant (the law which is now flowing *from Jerusalem*, i.e. the gospel of Christ; cf. Isa. 2:3; Lk. 24:47; Acts 1:8), who make pilgrimage to the Jerusalem above (Gal. 4:26), are the legitimate heirs of Abraham (Gal. 4:28, 31).

Though the son of Hagar might be the legitimate heir of Abraham in terms of flesh and blood, the fact that he was *not born through the promise of God* disqualified him as the rightful heir of Abraham (Gal. 4:23). In similar reasoning, Paul understands that those under first century Judaism boast their bloodline but reject the grace of God revealed in Jesus Christ, who was promised to Abraham. Therefore, they were the children of Hagar, not the heirs of Abraham (Gal. 4:25; cf. Di Mattei, 2006:113).

5.3.2.3 Some are last who will be first, and some are first who will be last

In Galatians, Paul intentionally avoids using the name, Ishmael. He only uses the phrase ‘the children of Hagar’ allegorically, and presents Sarah, i.e. Jerusalem above, as the mother of the empire (Gal. 4:26; cf. Gen. 17:16) to whom pagans and Jews alike are welcomed (Longenecker, 1990:215). The intention seems to be clear: the ethnic children of Ishmael, the once-banished brothers and sisters of the children of Isaac (Jews), are now being adopted as the children of Sarah and Abraham.

Paul consistently argues that the ethnic Jews are not the same as the Israel of God (Gal. 3:7, 28; 4:28; 6:15–16; Neutel, 2010:304). Likewise, the ethnic descendants of Ishmael should not be treated as the same as the children of Hagar. If the ethnic Jews who reject the means of grace can be regarded as the children of Hagar, as discussed in the previous section (Section 5.3.2.2), the ethnic descendants of Ishmael can now become the children of Sarah, the children of promise (Gal. 4:28).

In this regard, the name ‘Arabia’ draws attention. In the story of Abraham, Arabia had been given to Ishmael (Gen. 16:12; 25:18). “And they lived in hostility toward all their brothers” (Gen. 25:18). Noort (2010:33–36) shows that matriarchal nomadic tribes ruled by queens in Arabia were called ‘Hagarites’ (Ps. 83:7; 1 Chr. 5:10, 19, 20; 27:31) or ‘*Sumi’il*’ named after their ancestor, Ishmael. Furthermore, Damascus and the surrounding area in the first century belonged to Arabia—the Nabatean kingdom (Moo, 2013:106)¹³⁷. Considering

¹³⁶In Gal. 4:24, Paul describes that the law (old covenant) is *flowing* from Mount Sinai, using the preposition ‘from’ (ἀπὸ) instead of ‘at/on’ (ἐν/ἐπι), e.g. “on[at] Mount Sinai” (ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινᾶ). In fact, ‘ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινᾶ’ is a formulaic expression in the Jewish writings regarding the law-giving (Num. 3:1; 28:6; Lev. 7:38; 26:46; 27:34; Acts 7:38; cf. Ex. 19:11, 20; 34:2; Neh. 9:13). However, Paul intentionally uses “*from* Mount Sinai” (ἀπὸ ὄρους Σινᾶ) in Gal. 4:24. This seems to link this verse to the expression in Isa. 2:3 “For *out of* Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord *from* Jerusalem” (ἐκ γὰρ Σιών ἐξελεύσεται νόμος καὶ λόγος Κυρίου ἐξ Ἱερουσαλήμ). In Isaiah, which was one of the most important scriptures for Paul and Jesus’ followers, the law is described as *flowing from* the future Jerusalem (or Jerusalem above), not Mount Sinai, and that the Gentiles make pilgrimage to the Jerusalem above in the last days (Isa. 2:2–5). It contrasts well to the picture of the present Jerusalem where the law is flowing from Mount Sinai and the Gentiles (or the peripheries) cannot come to the presence of God due to the law imposed by the Jerusalem authorities (see Section 4.3.4.5).

¹³⁷An interesting proposal regarding the destination of Paul’s mission is given by Scott (1995). Based on his reading of ἔθνη as nations rather than Gentiles (Scott, 1995:217), and the table of nations in Gen. 10, 1

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the name theology¹³⁸, the Gentiles in Damascus and Antioch can be roughly identified as the descendants of Ishmael, that is, the *lost* children of Abraham. Now, when the gospel of Christ is preached, these lost children of Abraham return to the arms of Abraham. In contrast, the ethnic Jews under the law of first century Judaism who used to be called the children of Abraham, are now described to be still in Mount Sinai, in the land of Arabia (Di Mattei, 2006:113). In Gal. 4, this reversal is apparent:

Jews (descendants of Isaac)	Gentiles (descendants of Ishmael)
Ethnic children of Sarah	Ethnic children of Hagar
The present city of Jerusalem	The present region of Arabia
Ethnic children of Abraham	Lost children of Abraham
Rejecting the grace of God	Receiving the grace of God
Virtual children of Hagar	Virtual children of faith of Sarah
Staying in Mount Sinai in Arabia	On the pilgrimage to the heavenly Jerusalem

Paul makes his point clear through this reversal: in the story of Abraham, like the ethnic Jews, Ishmael was certainly the descendant of Abraham by flesh and blood (Gal. 4:23). More importantly, Ishmael was circumcised (Gen. 17:26), namely, he kept the works of the law. However, though he was circumcised, he did not inherit Abraham's faith; though he was a descendant by flesh and blood, he was not the descendant of the promise, therefore he became an outsider to the covenant. Likewise, whoever relies on the works of the law (Gal. 3:10) without faith in God (Gal. 3:28) who calls everyone impartially (Gal. 3:28) in his grace in Christ (Gal. 1:6) is an outsider to the covenant. Those who try to come to the presence of God through other means (works of the law) than Jesus Christ, the only mediator God provided, cannot be considered as the people of God (Gal. 3:26, 29; 5:4).

Paul's description in Gal. 4 calls to mind the Lukan understanding of Gentile mission:

“In that place there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when you see Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the prophets in the kingdom of God but you yourselves cast out. And people will come from east and west, and from north and south, and recline at table in the kingdom of God. And behold, some are last who will be first, and some are first who will be last.” (Lk. 13:28–30)

However, the reversal in Gal. 4 and in the above passages should not be interpreted literally. These kinds of passages do not support the idea of ‘supercessionism’¹³⁹. On the contrary,

Chr. 1:1–2:2 as well as *Ant.* I.122–147, Scott (1995:201–203) argues that Galatia was ‘Gomar’ the first son of Japheth (Gen. 10:2), and Paul aimed to proclaim the gospel in the territory of the nations that belong to the descendants of Japheth. However, in Galatians, the name Arabia and the children of Abraham receive more emphasis.

¹³⁸In name theology, the name of a person or a place is considered an important method to show the identity of the related group (cf. Cragg, 2004:2–3).

¹³⁹According to the supercessionism, Jews lost their status as God's people by rejecting Christ, and the Christian Church has replaced their position. Now the Christian Church (Catholic and Protestant, or Protestant Church) is the people of God (*Barn.* 13–14; *Dial.* 11.5; *Peri Pascha* 39–45 in Dunn (2006:341–342)). However, this idea is not so much based on the biblical, chronological and theological grounds. Notwithstanding strong polemic against certain Jews in Pauline texts, Jews were never pushed aside or cut out. Paul clarifies this point, “I ask, then, has God rejected his people? By no means!” (Rom. 11:1) In fact, similar polemic against the Temple and its priesthood is also found from other Jews in Second Temple Judaism, e.g. *Psalms of Solomon* and Qumran covenanters (Dunn, 2006:73). In addition, as Dunn (2006) and Denova

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they are best understood as the prophetic warning which is given to urge Jews to return to God¹⁴⁰ (cf. Moon and Punt, 2013:211).

Standing in the prophetic tradition of Israel, Paul calls for the repentance of the ethnic Jews (Grindheim, 2007:562). The first century Jewish pilgrimage and the relating sacrifices outside the grace of God cannot give them salvation. Like the Gentiles, the lost children of Abraham, Jews also have to repent and believe in the gospel of Christ (cf. Gal. 6:14–15; Mk. 1:15). The story of Abraham in Galatians is Paul’s provoking prophetic message, by which he tries not only to comfort and encourage the Gentile believers but also to alarm the Jews, his kindred.

Paul’s prophetic strategy in telling the story of Abraham in Galatians corresponds to his confession in Rom. 9–11. There he understands the return of the Gentiles to Christ as a part of God’s plan to make all the other ethnic Jews envious so that they also come to return to the God of Israel who revealed Godself in Jesus Christ.

5.3.2.4 Abraham, the first Gentile convert, the first pilgrim

In the previous sections, we reviewed Paul’s claim that one can be the heir of Abraham by following his faith. Then, how can one follow Abraham’s faith if not by keeping the law? The researcher argues that the right answer to this question is: ‘by following in the footsteps of Abraham as the first Gentile convert and the first pilgrim’.

In New Testament and Jewish writings of the Second Temple period (e.g. *Jubilee*; Philo, *On Abraham*), Abraham is described as a Gentile convert who was called out from an ungodly world (Acts 7:2–3), and also as a pilgrim (cf. Smith, 1997:139–140) who walked to the heavenly Jerusalem (Heb. 11:8; 13–16).

“[...] The God of glory appeared to our father Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia, before he lived in Haran, and said to him, ‘Go out from your land and from your kindred and go into the land that I will show you.’” (Acts 7:2–3)

“By faith Abraham obeyed when he was called to go out to a place [...] not knowing where he was going.” (Heb. 11:8)

“[...] they were strangers and exiles on the earth. [...] If they had been thinking of that land from which they had gone out, they would have had opportunity to return. But as it is, they desire a better country, that is, a heavenly one. [...]” (Heb. 11:13–16)

This portrayal of Abraham sheds light on Paul’s understanding of the Gentile believers in Galatia.

(1997) argue, Christianity did not fully separate itself from Judaism before 135 CE, even after the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple 70 CE. Furthermore, theologically speaking, no human institution in this world can be equated to the people of God. Paul points out, “[...] For not all who are descended from Israel belong to Israel, and not all are children of Abraham because they are his offspring [...]” (Rom. 9:6–7). Paul’s examination can be applied to modern Christian churches. There have always been the people of God as well as the enemies of God in the churches throughout history. That is, there have always been conflicts between the worldly empire and the empire of God inside of the churches as well as outside. In this regard, supersessionism does not differ so much from some exclusive first century Judaism.

¹⁴⁰Paul’s self-awareness as a classical prophet is widely recognized (Grindheim, 2007:556). Therefore, his message should also be understood in relation to the prophetic voices in the OT.

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“Formerly, when you did not know God, you were enslaved to those that by nature are not gods. But now that you have come to know God, or rather to be known by God, [...]” (Gal. 4:8–9)

Paul’s description of the Gentile believers’ salvation in the above passage is very similar to that of Abraham’s in Acts 7:2. When Abraham was a pagan who served idols, those that by nature are not gods (cf. Gal. 4:8), God appeared to him (Acts 7:2). Likewise, when the Galatian believers were enslaved to those that by nature are not gods, they were known by God (Gal. 4:8). Paul once again identifies the Galatian believers with Abraham, the first Gentile convert, and urges them to follow in his footsteps as the first pilgrim.

Then, how did Abraham embark on pilgrimage? Heb. 11:8–16 and other Jewish sources (*Ant.* I.155–157; Philo, *On Virtues* 219; *Apoc.Abr.* 7.1–12) give an illustration: Abraham walked his way faithfully to the heavenly Jerusalem *without turning away* (Thiessen, 2016:28–29). He could have returned but didn’t, because he believed God (Gal. 3:6–9), more specifically, the promise of God (Gal. 3:16). Paul says the promise was that all the nations would be blessed (Gal. 3:8) in the one offspring (Gal. 3:16) of Abraham. And this promise was fulfilled in Jesus Christ (Gal. 3:14, 16). Therefore, Paul argues:

“And if you are Christ’s, then you are Abraham’s offspring, heirs according to promise.” (Gal. 3:29).

If the Galatian believers are Gentile converts like their ancestor Abraham (Gal. 4:8), then they also have to make a pilgrimage to the heavenly Jerusalem (Gal. 4:26; cf. 6:15–16), as the heirs of the same promise (Gal. 4:28; cf. Heb. 11:9).

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As mentioned before, the motif which runs through the whole letter to the Galatians, including the story of the Exodus and Abraham, is the contrast between the worldly empire and the empire of God. Neither the matter of Jews and Gentiles, nor that of circumcision and uncircumcision, nor the observance of the law is Paul’s prime concern. The most important concern of Paul is the empire of God (Gal. 5:21; 6:15) where God rules at its centre (Wright, 2000a)¹⁴¹.

From such a radical monotheistic perspective, Paul examines the crisis in Galatia. Compared to the superlative value of the empire of God, all subservient matters such as human relationships (Jews and Gentiles; Gal. 6:15) and tradition (first century Judaism; Gal. 1:13–14) lose their importance. Paul poses the fundamental question in Galatians, “which is the way to the presence of God, the Lord of all?” and “are you walking that way faithfully?”

¹⁴¹It should be noted that in ancient society, religious life was an interlocking component of the public life. Being a citizen of a certain city or nation meant accepting the god of that city/nation and putting oneself under the dominion of that god (Stuart, 2011:17–53; Winter, 1994:124–127; cf. Nanos, 2001:262, note 107). Pointing out that imperial cult was pervasive throughout the Roman Empire, Wright (2000a) argues that just as the imperial cult of Caesar was not merely political but also religious, for Paul, worshipping the God of Israel, the Lord of the whole world, was not only religious but also political. In this regard, the gospel of the empire of God inevitably stands against worldly human empires.

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5.4.1 The way to Jerusalem above

Gaventa (1986) argues that the issue of the Galatians is *how* they can be saved and become the people of God. This can be rephrased as, *how one can come to the presence of God*. The presence of God is described as “Jerusalem above *our mother*” in Gal. 4:26 (cf. Philo and Josephus in **Pearce, 2004:27–35**). By the term, mother(-city), Paul portrays the Gentile and Jewish believers as pilgrims walking to the homeland and true centre of the world, the heavenly Jerusalem, to worship God, the sovereign Lord of all. The problem is *how* to ascend to the heavenly Jerusalem.

Unlike the claim of first century Judaism (cf. **Leuchter, 2010; Tuval, 2013:6,9**), if the pilgrimage to the earthly Jerusalem is not the gateway to the heavenly Jerusalem; if the earthly Jerusalem Temple is not connected to the heavenly Temple; if one cannot be accepted by God through the intercession of the Jerusalem priests (see Section 4.3.2.3), then what is the legitimate way to the presence of God?

Paul answers in Galatians, “in Christ” (Gal. 2:17; 3:14, 26, 28; cf. Gal. 1:6). Paul understands that God can only be known through revelation (Gal. 4:4, 9; cf. Rom. 10:6–7; Mt. 11:27; Jn. 1:18), that is, through God’s own work of manifesting Godself (**Gorman, 2001:9–18; cf. Cragg, 2004:2–3**). God the Father and God’s will were made known clearly through the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ (Gal. 3:19–20; 4:4, 9). God is the one who willed “to give his Son for our sins to deliver us from the present evil age” (Gal. 1:3). And God is our Father, who inaugurated the new world by “raising Jesus Christ from the dead” (Gal. 1:1).

In short, God reveals Godself in Jesus Christ. In other words, one can come to the presence of God *in Christ*. This expression, “in Christ”, has led to many different interpretations. It can be understood more clearly when read through the lens of pilgrimage.

5.4.2 Christ as the only legitimate high priest

In Gal. 2:17, Paul poses an important question:

“ἄρα Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας διάκονος;”

“Is Christ then a servant of sin?” (Gal. 2:17b)

As mentioned in Section 3.6.5 (cf. Section 3.4.1, note 1), *διάκονος* refers to a priest in a temple. Thus, Paul is asking whether Jesus is the priest in the other temple who seduces people into committing sin. This question is raised from two important facts in Gal. 2:17a:

1. Jesus’ followers endeavoured to be justified in Christ (not by the Jerusalem Temple and its priests); and
2. Jesus’ followers were found to be sinners (in terms of the law, by having table fellowship with the Gentiles sinners (cf. Gal. 2:15) against the prohibition of it by the Jerusalem authority).

Justification/forgiveness of sin and the high priest Concerning the first fact, justification in Christ has been interpreted as God’s forgiveness and acceptance through Jesus Christ in Section 3.6.2.1, based on two grounds: (a) Paul’s paraphrasing of ‘justification’ as

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‘God’s forgiveness for the undeserving sinners’ in Rom. 4:5–8, and (b) Jesus’s declaration “your sins are forgiven, [...] your faith has saved you” (Lk. 7:48, 50) in the Gospels, which share the Jesus tradition in common with Paul. According to the ideology of the Jerusalem priests (Section 4.3.2.3), God’s forgiveness would be declared only by the priest as God’s agent and only in the Jerusalem Temple (Collins, 2004:397–398). Considering these intertexts, the endeavours of Jesus’ followers to be justified/forgiven in Christ (Gal. 2:17, 16b) can be linked with the claim that Jesus is the legitimate high priest, along with the phrase “not by works of the law [of first century Judaism]” (Gal. 2:16) (Section 3.6.2.2).

Sacrifice offering and the high priest This understanding is supported by the passages which recall the atonement sacrifice:

- “[Jesus Christ] gave himself for our sins [...]” (Gal. 1:3–4)
- “[...] the Son of God who loved me and gave himself for me.” (Gal. 2:20)

Most attention has been paid to the metaphorical language which describes Jesus’ crucifixion as a death of the sacrificial victim. This attention, however, sometimes blinds the reader to the fact that Paul is elaborating that *Jesus is the very one who offers his body as a sacrifice* (Gal. 1:4; 2:20). Not only is Jesus the sacrifice victim, but he himself is also the priest who voluntarily offers sacrifice. To be sure, offering sacrifice is the original task of priests, and even kings and prophets could not offer sacrifices to God (cf. Poirier, 2007:354). Paul’s description of Jesus as the one who offers the sacrifice for the sins of his people (Gal. 1:4; 3:13) cannot be explained apart from the concept of Jesus as the high priest. This concept is explicitly embodied in Hebrews (e.g. Heb. 7:27; 9:12–14; 10:10)¹⁴².

The ideal high priest for all believers It should be noted here that, unlike the high priest of the days who offered atoning sacrifice *only for* the people of Israel (Lev. 16:15–16) who were identified with the ethnic Jews in those days (cf. Novenson, 2014:24–39), Paul clarifies that Jesus’ atonement is offered not only for Jews but also for the Gentiles who believe in Christ (“us” in Gal. 1:4; 3:13). This feature corresponds to sacrifice of the ideal high priest in Philo:

“And since, of the sacrifices to be offered, some are on behalf of the whole nation, and indeed, if one should tell the real truth, [o]n behalf of *all mankind* [...]” (Philo, *Law I*. XXXV.168)

As for Paul, Jesus is the ideal high priest for all mankind, and Jesus’ followers in Galatia who once were the Gentile sinners are now forgiven, and invited to be the children of God (Gal. 3:26) and the Israel of God (Gal. 6:16) in Christ¹⁴³. Now they call God their Father (Gal. 4:6) and the Jerusalem above their mother (Gal. 4:26). Therefore, those Jesus’ followers who were called out from the Gentiles cannot and should not be excluded from the feast after the sacrifice (Oakes, 2015:77–78).

¹⁴²On the recent discussion about the Pauline attribution to Hebrews, see Rothschild (2009).

¹⁴³Unlike Novenson (2014:24–39) who identifies “the Israel of God” with “Jewish ethnos”, the researcher argues that Paul redefines “Israel of God” as *the covenantal community of worship* “who march by the rule (law) of the new world”, following Goodblatt (2009:118) and Tomson (1986:278) (Section 3.4.2).

5.4 Rereading Galatians in light of pilgrimage to the presence of God

A superior mediator As discussed in Sections 4.2.3.1 and 4.3.4.3, the high priest was more than a representative of the people whose duty was to offer sacrifice to God. Standing on God's side, the high priest had to mediate the will of God¹⁴⁴. Jews in the Second Temple period sought the ideal model of the high priest as a divine mediator from Moses (Jassen, 2007:331–332) or angels (cf. Gal. 3:19–20; Acts 7:38; Philo, *Laws* I. XII.66) who delivered the law of God (or the law of Moses) to the people on Mount Sinai.

In Galatians, Jesus Christ is presented as the superior mediator. The will of God is clearly revealed in Christ (Gal. 1:12), or rather Christ is God's revelation itself (Gal. 1:16). In addition, Paul echoes in Gal. 5:13–14 and Gal. 6:2 the new commandment of Jesus in the Jesus tradition (Jn. 13:34), posing Jesus as the deliverer of the new commandment. Comparing to 'the law of Moses' which was given to the Israelites through Moses, Paul now calls the new commandment given through Jesus "the law of Christ" (Gal. 6:2), emphasizing the role of Christ as the deliverer of the law. More significantly, Jesus is depicted as the mediator of the Spirit (Gal. 3:5; 4:6), who guides the new way to the presence of God (Gal. 5:18; cf. Rom. 7:6) in replacement of the old way under the law of Moses (Gal. 3:25–26; cf. Rom. 7:6). This clearly demonstrates the superiority of Jesus as the ideal high priest.

5.4.3 Christ as the new Temple

Christ is described not only as a human mediator (Section 4.3.4.3) but also as a spatial mediator, the new Temple (Section 4.3.4.2), in Galatians. Through the exegesis of "if I rebuild what I tore down" in Section 3.7.1, it was manifested that the declaration of the Gospels, "Jesus Christ is the new Temple, replacing the Jerusalem Temple" is still valid in Paul's claim in Galatians: Jesus is the destroyer of the ineffective temple (the present Jerusalem Temple). He tore it down and rebuilt the new Temple with his body (cf. Jn. 2:21). Now the body of Christ is the only place to worship God (Cragg, 2004:5).

The Jewish notion of 'the only place to worship the only true God' (e.g. Philo, *Laws* I. XII. 67–68) supports Paul's claim. The fact that Jesus Christ has replaced the ineffective Jerusalem Temple, is the reason that Paul adamantly opposes the works of the law, which is the Jewish way of life centring around the Jerusalem Temple in the first century. The works of the law without heart, especially the Gentile circumcision not as simple ethnic markers or instructions with limited importance for transgressions (Gal. 3:19) but as the means of salvation (Gal. 5:4), show that the performers are not pilgrims walking to the true Temple of the only true God, but merely professed worshippers heading to the other centre whom the ancient prophets criticized scathingly.

Therefore, Paul argues that one can meet God not by the works of the law which ultimately leads to the worship in Jerusalem Temple, but by pilgrimage into Jesus Christ, the new Temple, in other words, by being united with Christ.

5.4.4 Life-long pilgrimage

Then, how can one be united with Christ, the new high priest and the new Temple? Is the Jewish circumcision simply replaced by the new sacraments like baptism and eucharist? What is the rule of the new world (Gal. 6:15)?

¹⁴⁴God's will could be mediated by the high priest in terms of (1) interpretation of Torah, (2) juridical activities based on Torah and (3) prophecy (cf. Feldman, 2006:238).

5.4 Rereading Galatians in light of pilgrimage to the presence of God

To be sure, Paul is not the advocate or founder of a new religion that replaces the old covenantal faith of Israel. He firmly stands on the tradition of the old monotheistic faith in the God of Israel. In addition, Paul accepts scriptures of Israel as his Torah. He simply tries to reveal the real implication of the written Torah by locating it in the context of the fundamental stories (Gal. 4:21) which had been neglected by the centre of first century Judaism.

Paul relates ‘promise’, ‘faith’ and ‘covenant’—the main theme of the fundamental stories—to Jesus Christ. Through the discussion of Abraham’s seed in Gal. 3:16, Paul argues that Jesus is the Messiah who was promised to Abraham and whom Israel has waited for, and by faith in this Jesus Christ (Gal. 3:26), one can be accepted by God.

Here ‘faith’ is not merely an act of believing separated from doing (cf. [Fredriksen, 2010:235](#)). As seen in Gal. 1:23, faith as a noun indicates the new cosmology (world) or system in contrast to first century Judaism (Gal. 1:13), and ultimately to the present evil age (Gal. 1:4). Then, ‘believe’ as a verb refers to the praxis of the faith, that is, living out the new world. It cannot be accomplished by taking a physical journey to the present city of Jerusalem nor by keeping the regulations imposed by the centre. The believers should walk by the rule of the new world (Gal. 6:16), by the Spirit (Gal. 5:16), by fulfilling the law of Christ (Gal. 6:2). It is not a singular event, but a life-long journey of faith (cf. [Smith, 1997:137](#)). The believers are asked to keep walking (Gal. 6:9) and believing. In this regard, Paul inherits the belief of the ancient Israelites that God is the sovereign king who rules from the centre of the world ([Mays, 1994](#)), and we practice (walk and sing) the centrality of God ([Knowles, 2006](#)) through our life-long pilgrimage.

Paul’s idea of a believer’s life (united with Christ) described in Galatians as a life-long pilgrimage is similar to that of the ancient pilgrims described in Ps. 84:

- As the old pilgrims had the Jerusalem Temple in mind (Ps. 84:1–4); now the believers have Christ, the new Temple, in mind (Gal. 2:20).
- As the old pilgrims proved their identity as pilgrims by keeping the way to Zion in mind and walking in the way of the Lord (Ps. 84:5); now the believers remain their life-long pilgrimage by walking by the Spirit (Gal. 5:16) and fulfilling the law of Christ (Gal. 6:2).
- As the old pilgrims passed through the valley of Baca (Ps. 84:6); the believers should now take the cross of Christ, submitting to persecution (Gal. 2:19; 4:29; 5:11; 6:12, 14, 17).

An important aspect of a believer’s life-long pilgrimage is persecution, that is, a life crucified with Christ (Gal. 6:14; 2:19; [Cummins, 2001:100–109](#)). This corresponds to Paul’s theology which can also be identified in his other letters:

“and if children, then heirs—heirs of God and fellow heirs with Christ, provided we suffer with him in order that we may also be glorified with him.” (Rom. 8:17)

The crucified life is the model of life of Jesus’ followers. As in the Gospels (e.g. Lk. 9:23; [Bonhoeffer, 2015](#)), in Galatians the believers are also invited to take the cross and follow Christ (Gal. 3:1, 4; 4:29; 5:7, 16). Bearing the cross on their pilgrimage, the believers

5.5 Chapter summary

encounter the crucified Christ and are united with Christ, and eventually the believers reach the presence of God.

Therefore, following the behaviour of the persuaders, i.e. not walking straight according to the truth of the gospel to avoid persecution is no different to turning away from the way of Jesus, and the act of apostasy. Like Luke-Acts, ‘glory through suffering’ is the heart of Paul’s gospel, though glory remains a future hope in Galatians (Gal. 5:5). Like the other letters, Paul urges the believers to follow Christ, taking the cross.

5.5 Chapter summary

In this chapter, Galatians was (partially) reread through the lens of pilgrimage.

In light of the contrasting structure between the worldly empire and the empire of God, the issue of circumcision and the works of the law is simply symptom of a deeper matter, that is, whether to return to the old worldly empire or not. Upon this crisis of apostasy, Paul tells the stories of the Exodus and of Abraham, to clarify that first century Judaism is not the empire of God, and that the Jerusalem Temple is not the final destination of their pilgrimage. The Galatian believers are pilgrims on the same road to the presence of God in the heavenly Jerusalem as were the pilgrims of old, who preceded them: the Israelites in the Exodus, and more significantly, Abraham, the first Gentile convert and the first pilgrim. Paul argues that the way to the presence of God is in Christ, that is, by walking by the Spirit and fulfilling the law of Christ, and in this life-long pilgrimage, taking the cross is inevitable. He invites the Galatian believers to this ‘glory through suffering’ by presenting his own life as a paradigm, which will be reviewed in the next chapter.

Chapter 6

Pilgrimage as the way of life

The letter under perusal was written to the Galatian believers who were deviating from the way to the presence of God in the heavenly Jerusalem, in favour of what would have been for Jews the centre of this world, the earthly Jerusalem. In this letter, Paul wanted to persuade the Galatian believers to persevere in their pilgrimage, fulfilling the law of Christ. Paul's autobiographical section (Gal. 1:10–2:21), which includes Gal. 2:19–20, was also written for this purpose. In this chapter, Gal. 2:19–20, the core verses of the controversy over the law and faith will be re-interpreted from the perspective of pilgrimage. Also its implication for the ethical life of Jesus' followers in this world will receive attention.

6.1 Died to the law

Gal. 2:19–20 begins with Paul's declaration, "I died to the law".

"For [after I passed] through the law
I died to the law, [...]" (Gal. 2:19)

In first century Judaism which was centring around the Temple and the law, his declaration was extremely blasphemous and even considered as a crime carrying the maximum sentence of death (Charlesworth, 2008; Regev, 2010:82–87). This corresponds to the witness of the Gospels and Acts (Bock, 1998; Collins, 2004; Gibson, 2006). As discussed in Section 3.7.1, Jesus, Stephen and Paul were all accused of "speaking against the law of Moses and the Jerusalem Temple" (Mt. 26:61; Acts 6:13–14, 21:28) and persecuted (Gal. 5:11); and the first two were eventually killed (Mk. 14:58–64; Acts 7:59–60). According to Acts, Paul's bold confession has sometimes misled his contemporary Jews (as well as modern Christians) to believe that Paul insisted on anomism:

"and they have been told about you that you teach all the Jews who are among the Gentiles to *forsake Moses*, telling them *not to circumcise* their children or *walk according to our customs*." (Acts 21:21)

However, as discussed in Section 3.8.1.1, the declaration "I died to the law" should be interpreted as Paul's radical and complete separation from the law of first century Judaism, and is closely connected to his longing *to live for God*. In other words, Paul died to the law in order to live for God, and this is a new way of life, which is different from the life under the

6.1 Died to the law

law in first century Judaism (Gal. 1:13–14). This new way of life is described in Galatians as *walking by the Spirit* (Gal. 5:16) and eventually *fulfilling the law of Christ* (Gal. 6:2).

6.1.1 In order to live for God

Paul says

“[...] I died to the law
in order to live for God¹⁴⁵.” (Gal. 2:19)

This is an unexpected expression, because Jews in those days were so loyal to the law that they were prepared to die in order to keep the law. For example, in the Maccabean war, pious Jews died in order to come to the presence of God by maintaining their purity (Haber, 2006; *2 Macc.* 6–7) and worship God in the Jerusalem Temple (cf. *1 Macc.* 2:6–13).

The zeal for the law was, in fact, the embodiment of their monotheistic faith in God who rules over the world on his throne in Jerusalem, and the loyalty toward God was best expressed by their loyalty to Jerusalem and the law, especially in pilgrimage (see Sections 4.1.1.1 and 4.1.1.2). The phrase “in order to live for God” was a typical expression which demonstrates such zeal. In this sense, Paul clarifies through the phrase “I died to the law in order to live for God” that he is not loyal to first century Judaism centring around the Temple and the law, and yet he is still standing on the heritage of Israel because he is loyal to God (cf. Garlington, 2003:103–104). In other words, Paul is saying that he is no longer a Jewish pilgrim to the Jerusalem Temple, since he no longer expects to find God in the temple in Jerusalem, but he is still on a pilgrimage towards a different destination, i.e. to the presence of God. Paul’s zeal (Gal. 1:14) has not changed, neither has his commitment to God; but it is no longer directed to the tradition of fathers, but to God, along a different way.

6.1.2 Walk by the Spirit

Paul’s declaration “I died to the law in order to live for God” comes from his conviction that living by the Spirit (Gal. 3:3; 5:16, 25), not by the law, is the authentic way of living life for God.

Concerning Paul’s conviction, the phrase, “through the law” draws attention. Considering that Gal. 2:19–20 is Paul’s condensed restatement of his life, as discussed in Section 3.8.1.2, this phrase means that Paul has already passed his “former” life under the law, and “now” he has started living a new life by faith (Oakes, 2015:93; cf. Gilthvedt, 2015:49–50). At the same time, it also means that Paul has been delivered from the slavery of the law of “*this empire*” (Gal. 1:4, 4:3, 6:14) and has been transferred to the freedom under the law of “*the new empire*” (Gal. 6:15–16) (Garlington, 2003:101). This new life is defined as “walking by the Spirit” (Gal. 5:16, 25) and “led by the Spirit” (Gal. 5:18).

Paul does not recognize this transition from the former life under this empire to the present spiritual life in the new empire, as a personal experience. It is much more fundamental and holistic. He explains it in two ways, that is, in terms of *time* and *space*. In terms of time, the old age under the law has been passed, and now the new age characterized by the life in the

¹⁴⁵This verse has been changed from the ESV translation, “so that I might live to God” to “in order to live for God”, in order to highlight the dative of advantage (Gilthvedt, 2015:36). Thereby Paul’s zeal for God can be properly emphasized (see Section 3.8.1.1).

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Spirit has come (Martyn, 1997:259). In a spatial sense, the transition can be understood as ‘the new empire’, the kingdom of God, that is invading the midst of ‘the present evil empire’ (Matera, 2007:95–96). Paul’s personal experience as well as those of the Galatian believers are all located in this cosmic transition. The life of God’s Israel (Gal. 6:16) is now redefined in accordance with this transition, “*all who walk by this rule* (of the new world)” (Gal. 6:16). And the life in this new world is characterized as “*walking by the Spirit*” (Gal. 5:16, 18, 25).

6.1.2.1 Walking by the Spirit as living in the new era

Paul clearly recognizes that now is the eschatological new era. This recognition is manifested by his statements containing the following terms: “foreseeing” (προϊδοῦσα) (Gal. 3:8), “promise” (ἐπαγγελία) (Gal. 3:14, 16, 18), “until” (ἄχρις) (Gal. 3:19), “before” (πρό) (Gal. 3:23), and “no longer” (οὐκέτι) (Gal. 3:25). Paul declares:

“But *now that faith has come*, we are no longer under a guardian (law)!” (Gal. 3:25)

“But *when the fullness of time had come*, God sent forth his Son, born of woman, born under the law, to redeem those who were under the law, so that we might receive adoption as sons!” (Gal 4:4–5)

This new era was initiated with the coming of Christ (Gal. 3:24), who fulfilled the promise to Abraham (Gal. 3:16), which was given 430 years before the law (Gal. 3:17). Abraham was considered as righteous—that is, acceptable to come to the presence of God—by *faith* in God who promised Christ (Gal. 3:6). The way of faith is different from the way of the law. Unlike the conventional understanding of first century Jews, the law was not given as a way to the presence of God in the first place (Gal. 3:21). Paul understands it as having been given as a guardian to regulate transgressions until Christ comes (Gal. 3:19, 24). The only way to the presence of God is through faith in Jesus Christ, as it was to Abraham. Now, Christ came “when the fullness of time had come” (Gal. 4:4) on “the date set by his father” (Gal. 4:2), in order to fulfil the promise and to realize the faith.

In this new eschatological era, God calls *everyone* in Christ Jesus to become children of Abraham (Gal. 3:7, 29) and children of God (Gal. 4:6–7), including the Gentile sinners who used to be considered outside the covenant (Gal. 3:28). The inclusion of Gentiles in the family of God was foreseen (Gal. 3:8) and promised (Gal. 3:16) from the beginning when God called Abraham. The Spirit is the indisputable evidence of this eschatological new era. The Spirit whom the Galatian believers received (Gal. 3:2), is “*the promised Spirit*” (Gal. 3:13) to be poured out “on all flesh” (Joel 2:28, cf. Acts 2:33), especially on the Gentile believers, in the last days (Isa. 32:15, 44:3).

The Galatian believers have begun to live a new life in the Spirit (Gal. 3:3). Reminding his “(passing) through the law” (Gal. 2:19), Paul urges them not to walk by the law which consists of the elementary principles of the old age they have already gone through (Gal. 4:3), but to “walk by the Spirit” in this eschatological new era (Gal. 5:16, 25; Winger, 2000:538).

6.1.2.2 Walking by the Spirit as living by the law of the new empire

In Galatians, Paul repeatedly urges the Gentile believers to “walk by the Spirit” (Gal. 5:16, 18, 25; cf. 3:3), reminding them that they have received the Spirit (Gal. 3:2–3). According to Paul, a life walking by the Spirit is a life bearing “the fruit of the Spirit” (Gal. 5:22–23)

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which contrasts to “the works of the flesh” (Gal. 5:19–21). These two types of lists are often obtained from the writings of the Greek and Roman philosophers, that is, the list of virtues and the list of vices (Betz, 1979:292). The purpose of such lists is ‘community building’ by promoting virtues and abolishing vices.

Paul’s list of vices is as follows:

“Now the works of the flesh are evident: sexual immorality, impurity, sensuality, idolatry, sorcery, enmity, strife, jealousy, fits of anger, rivalries, dissensions, divisions, envy, drunkenness, orgies, and things like these. I warn you, as I warned you before, that those who do such things will not inherit the kingdom of God.” (Gal. 5:19–21)

Stegman and Stegman (2009:p.283) identify the content of the list of vices (Gal. 5:19–21) as ‘social vices’ and ‘sexual immorality’ which can destroy the community. However, Paul’s list of vices cannot simply be understood to sustain the community as Stegman and Stegman (2009) argue. Rather, it is a description of the *agonistic existing world*, where enmity, strife, rivalries, etc. are rampant, and it is considered a virtue to boast during orgies of sexual immorality and drunkenness. Furthermore, this list reflects the picture of the Greco-Roman world viewed by the Israelites, i.e. as the pagan society where “idolatry”¹⁴⁶ and “sorcery” are taken for granted (Hayes, 2002; Klawans, 2000; Punt, 2010)¹⁴⁷.

Therefore, it can be understood that Paul’s list of vices illustrates the portrayal of one who belongs to ‘this world’. Paul calls this kind of life “works of the flesh.” in contrast to the life of walking by the Spirit.

It becomes clearer by the list of virtues (the fruit of the Spirit):

“But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, self-control; against such things there is no law.” (Gal. 5:22–23)

Besides the common virtues which Greco-Roman Stoic philosophers emphasized, “prudence, courage, temperance and justice” (Malina and Neyrey, 2006:191), Paul lists other virtues such as “love”, “joy” and “peace”, which would never be included in the list of virtues in the agonistic society. Harrington and Keenan (2010:111) understand them as “God’s character”. As argued above, this list also provides a picture of the world for which Paul is aiming, “the kingdom of God” (Gal. 5:21), rather than a mere collection of regulations¹⁴⁸: e.g. “do love”, “be joyful”, “be peaceful”, etc.

In short, Paul does not simply follow the existing Greco-Roman writing style in Gal. 5:19–23 (Furnish, 2009:81–90). He describes two modes of life: the way of life led by the Spirit and the way of life in this world. This is why “patience (long-suffering), kindness, faithfulness”, which are the virtues usually attributed to *slaves* are included in Paul’s list of virtues, in

¹⁴⁶Referring to Hayes (2002), Zetterholm (2005:6) writes, “Gentiles could indeed be considered morally impure—for instance, by committing immoral deeds or performing what would be considered idolatry from a Jewish perspective”.

¹⁴⁷As Punt (2010:213) points out, outsiders were often labelled as “ungodly” (Jude 4, 15, 18) or “ungodly sinners (1 Tim. 1:9 and 1 Pt. 4:18).

¹⁴⁸Freyne (2010:67) clarifies that New Testament ethics is ‘teleological’ rather than ‘deontological’.

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contrast to *the virtues of victors*, which his contemporary philosophers advocated (e.g. [Aurelius, 2013:X](#))¹⁴⁹. The world that Paul aims for is *the other world*, characterized by “serving one another” (Gal. 5:13), which contrasts with *the agonistic existing world* characterized by “bite and devour one another” (Gal. 5:15) and “conceiting, provoking one another, envying one another” (Gal. 5:26) (cf. [Barclay, 2014:306](#)). Through this striking contrast, Paul calls for the Galatian believers to acknowledge that they have been transferred from the old to the new world in a spatial sense. In his ethical instruction in Gal. 5:19–23, Paul is urging the Galatians believers to live according to the virtues of the Spirit, turning away from the agonistic Mediterranean way of life.

It is noteworthy that, in Paul’s view, though Jews in first century Judaism scorned the paganism and immorality of the Greco-Roman society described in the works of flesh¹⁵⁰, they also failed to manifest the virtues of the kingdom of God, which are exemplified in the fruit of the Spirit. They were not walking by the Spirit, thereby still living under the law, in the old world (cf. [Garlington, 2003:199](#)).

6.1.3 Fulfil the law of Christ

After describing the two modes of life, Paul commands the Gentile believers in Galatia to live by the Spirit ([Winger, 2000](#)), providing more practical instructions:

“if anyone is caught in any transgression, [...] restore him in a spirit of gentleness.” (Gal. 6:1)

“Let the one who is taught the word share all good things with the one who teaches.” (Gal. 6:6)

“[...] let us do good to everyone, and especially to those who are of the household of faith.” (Gal. 6:10)

And all these commands are summarized by Paul himself in a sentence, that is, “love your neighbour” (Gal. 5:14; Lev. 19:18; cf. Rom. 13:9; Mk. 12:31). Paul’s exhortation to the Galatian believers comes to its climax in Gal. 6:2.

“Bear one another’s burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ.” (Gal. 6:2)

The term, “the law of Christ” is a *hapax legomenon*, a word that occurs only once within the whole NT. Therefore, it deserves more attention.

6.1.3.1 The law of Christ as “bearing one another’s burdens”

Paul articulates “walking by the Spirit” (Gal. 5:16, 18, 25) as “fulfilment of (obeying) the law of Christ” (Gal. 6:2). It should not be ignored that Paul reserves the expression “fulfilling the law of Christ” only for “bearing one another’s burdens” ([Hays, 1987:286–287](#)). In fact, Paul’s various calls for brotherly love in Gal. 5–6 makes a kind of gradation, in terms of intensity.

¹⁴⁹For example, the virtues in Marcus [Aurelius \(2013:X\)](#) (167 CE) are the characteristics that an independent, noble and naturally rational Roman citizen should assume, and their loss might well commend suicide (cf. [Furnish, 2009:88–89](#)). They contrast well to “long-suffering (μακροθυμία)”, the fourth virtue of believers in Gal. 5:22.

¹⁵⁰To be sure, the mode of life in first century Judaism was far from the immoral life described in the list of vices (Gal. 5:19–21). Jews in Judaism were famous for their ascetic lifestyle ([Thiessen, 2016:20–21](#)), and they were sometimes boastful of their purity.

6.1 Died to the law

- (1) “Let us not become conceited, provoking one another, envying one another.” (Gal. 5:26)
- (2) “For each will have to bear his own load.” (Gal. 6:5; cf. 2 Thess. 2:7)
- (3) “Bear one another’s burdens, [...]” (Gal. 6:2)

In this calling, three ways of life are implied:

- (1) separation from the agonistic Mediterranean way of life (Gal. 5:26),
- (2) the responsible self-sufficient way of life (Gal. 6:5), and ultimately
- (3) the self-sacrificial way of life (Gal. 6:2).

The same gradation of calling can be traced in other Pauline letters:

- (1) “Do nothing from selfish ambition or conceit, but in humility count others more significant than yourselves.
- (2) Let each of you look not only to his own interests,
- (3) but [indeed] to the interests of others.” (Phil. 2:3–4)

In this gradation, “bearing one another’s burdens” (Gal. 6:2) is presented as the superlative degree of love for the neighbour. Then, why is this kind of love called “the law of Christ”? And why is “bearing one another’s burdens” understood as “the fulfilment of the law of Christ”? The answer is found in the portrayal of Christ in Galatians.

6.1.3.2 The law of Christ as self-giving love manifested in Jesus’ life

In Galatians, Christ is presented as follows:

- “[...] the Lord Jesus Christ, who gave himself for our sins to deliver us from the present evil age, according to the will of our God and Father,” (Gal. 1:4)
- “[...] the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me.” (Gal. 2:20)
- “[...] Jesus Christ was publicly portrayed as crucified.” (Gal. 3:1)
- “Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law by becoming a curse for us [...]” (Gal. 3:13)
- “[God’s] Son, born of woman, born under the law, to redeem those who were under the law, so that we might receive adoption as sons.” (Gal. 4:4–5)

Unlike Freyne (2010:68)’s proposal, “Yet it is clear from his paraenetic instructions that he has in mind the death/resurrection paradigm of the Easter faith, rather than drawing on the Jesus-biography in any substantial way”¹⁵¹, these images clearly draw a life of Jesus (Hays, 1987): the Son of God who loved sinners and gave himself for them by becoming a curse, that is, by being crucified.

In the Gospels, especially in Luke, Jesus’ entire life is depicted as a journey to Jerusalem¹⁵², a pilgrimage, in the sense that it was a journey to offer his body as a sacrifice to God in

¹⁵¹ Freyne (2010:68–69) understands this as a characteristic feature of the Gospels rather than of Pauline letters.

¹⁵² Luke’s consistent references to Jesus as walking to Jerusalem (e.g. Lk. 9:51, 53; 13:22, 33–34; 18:31–33; 19:11, 28) show his understanding of Jesus’ life as a journey to Jerusalem. For the same view of Jesus’ life in the Gospel of John, see Moore (2006).

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Jerusalem, in order to deliver his people. Notably in Lk. 9:31, the crucifixion of Jesus is articulated as “his [*exodus*], which he was about to accomplish at Jerusalem” (τὴν ἑξοδὸν αὐτοῦ ἣν ἤμελλεν πληροῦν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ) (Lk. 9:31; cf. Lk. 22:19–20; 24:46–47).

Jesus’ life, his journey to Jerusalem itself, thus, can be called the embodiment of self-giving love. A similar understanding is found in Galatians (Gal. 1:4; 2:20; 3:13; 4:4–5). Jesus’ love was manifested throughout his whole life (Gal. 4:4) and crucifixion (Gal. 3:1, 13), i.e. his pilgrimage which ended with his sacrificial death. Jesus “gave himself for our sins” (Gal. 1:4; cf. 2:20), and he was offered to God in order “to deliver [the sinners who now became his people] from the present evil age” (Gal. 1:4; cf. 3:13; 4:5; see Section 3.2.2).

This is the ultimate praxis of love for neighbours. The Son of God (a common and popular title for the emperor in the Roman Empire) willingly emptied himself to the place of crucifixion (Berényi, 1984), and became a curse for the benefit of sinners (Gal. 3:13). This self-giving love is the way that Christ walked through his life, that is, *the way of Christ*.

And this love is the way of life in the new world, which is totally different from this worldly way of life, i.e. the boasting way of life. This self-giving love is also expressed as a freeman’s forsaking his/her freedom for the benefit of neighbours:

“For you were called to freedom, brothers. Only do not use your freedom as an opportunity for the flesh, but through love serve one another. For the whole law is fulfilled in one word: ‘You shall love your neighbour as yourself.’” (Gal. 5:13–14)

The law of the Lord, “You shall love your neighbour as yourself” is completely fulfilled in Christ by his self-giving love for sinners. There is no better fulfilment of the law, and no greater love than this (cf. Jn. 15:13; 1 Jn. 3:16). Christ is the end of the law (Rom. 10:4).

6.1.3.3 The law of Christ as leading sinners to the presence of God

Christ’s self-giving love for sinners is to justify them (Gal. 3:8) and adopt them as children of God (Gal. 4:5). In Section 3.6.2.1, ‘justify’ has been redefined as ‘to forgive people and restore them as the true people of God who can come to the presence of God’. It is also the case for ‘adoption’. The adopted children of God can come to the presence of God and cry out in the Spirit, “Abba, Father!” (Gal 4:6). Therefore Jesus’ self-giving love is to *lead sinners to the presence of God*. This understanding of Jesus’ self-giving love provides a key for understanding the law of Christ.

In Gal. 6:2, fulfilling of the law of Christ is presented with a depiction of *carrying the burden for one another* (cf. LN, § 15.188). The specific meaning of “bearing one another’s burdens” (Gal. 6:2) is delineated in the previous verse:

“Brothers, if anyone is caught in any transgression, you who are spiritual should restore him in a spirit of gentleness.” (Gal. 6:1)

In this phrase, Paul commands the believers who are spiritual to restore sinners. Considering the terms “spiritual” and “transgressions”, this law of Christ cannot be understood as a law which regulates the relationship between humans. Instead, this law enforces self-giving love towards neighbours in terms of the relationship to God. Bonhoeffer (2015) writes,

“My brother’s burden which I must bear is [...] literally his sin. And the only way to bear that sin is by forgiving it in the power of the cross of Christ in which

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I now share. Thus the call to follow Christ always means a call to share the work of forgiving men their sins. Forgiveness is the Christlike suffering which it is the Christian's duty to bear." (Bonhoeffer, 2015:45; cf. Mouton, 2007)

In short, Paul urges the believers to *carry the burden of the sinners, so that they might be restored and come to the presence of God*.

This is in stark contrast to the works of the law in first century Judaism. As discussed in Sections 4.3.2.5 and 4.3.4.5, in first century Judaism, the law was applied fallaciously as a barrier which hindered the Gentiles and peripheries from coming to the presence of God by marginalizing them as sinners.

In other words, the law of the priestly aristocrats in Jerusalem, which persuaded and regulated the periphery to make pilgrimage to the Jerusalem Temple as the centre of their symbolic empire, in fact hindered the Gentiles from coming to the presence of God. Paul declares that he died to this law of first century Judaism. However, he never abandoned the heritage of Israel nor pilgrimage as coming to the presence of God (Section 6.1.1). Paul found a new way of pilgrimage, 'walking by the Spirit' in the new eschatological era, conforming to the ethos of the new empire, i.e. the kingdom of God (Section 6.1.2). Paul found a perfect model of this true pilgrimage in Jesus Christ who loved the sinners, forgave them by offering himself and enabled them to make a pilgrimage to the presence of God. Presenting 'carrying one another's burdens' as 'the fulfilment of the law of Christ', Paul argues that forgiving and restoring sinners is the fulfilment of the law of Christ, i.e. following the way of Christ, the true way of pilgrimage which Christ followers should make (Section 6.1.3).

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As discussed in Section 6.1.3.2, Jesus' life as a whole can be identified as a pilgrimage, but one that differed significantly from that in first century Judaism. Jesus did not head to the Jerusalem Temple, i.e. seemingly the most sacred place in first century Judaism, according to the law, but to the cross, i.e. the most cursed place (Gal. 3:13), in order to be executed by the law of first century Judaism (cf. Gal. 3:13; 4:4–5). This story of Jesus is cited in Paul's short Christological statement in Gal. 2:20 (cf. Hays, 2002:xxiv).

The short verses of Gal. 2:19–20 describe Christ's journey from the highest place, the presence of God, to the lowest place, the cross:

the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me,
has been crucified. (Gal. 2:19–20, modified.)

Paul also says that this journey was in accordance with the will of God:

“ [...] the Lord Jesus Christ, who gave himself [...] according to the will of our God and Father,” (Gal. 1:3–4).

6.2.1 The downward journey of Christ according to the will of God

According to Gal. 1:3–4, Christ's voluntary self-giving for sinners was *to follow the will of God*. In other words, Christ's crucifixion corresponds to the will of God. Gorman (2001:11–18) offers an important insight in this regard: God and God's love is known anew in Jesus. Gorman (2001:18) writes,

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“God’s will and person are known through the cross of Jesus the Messiah and Lord. In other words, cruciformity is the character of God”.

Gorman (2001:88–94) locates Paul’s foundational master story of Jesus and God in Phil. 2:6–11, and argues that this story is the basis for the entire story of Jesus. Gorman (2001)’s argument depends largely on a rather different interpretation of Phil. 2:5–11 (Gorman, 2001; Hawthorne and Martin, 2004) from the conventional readings as described in Table 6.1. While the conventional reading translates that “*though* he was in the form of God” (Phil. 2:6), Hawthorne and Martin (2004) read the same verse as “*precisely because* he was in the image of God”.

Conventional reading (ESV)	Reading of Hawthorne and Martin (2004:98–99)
Paul’s exhortation for <i>Imitatio Christi</i> (Phil. 2:5; cf. Gal. 6:2, 16)	
(2:5) Have this mind among yourselves, which is yours in Christ Jesus,	Act in this way, as [it befits those who are] in Christ Jesus.
Jesus as God (Phil. 2:6; cf. Gal. 4:4)	
(2:6) who, though he was in the form of God, did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped,	<i>Precisely because he was in the image of God</i> , (ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ) he did not consider being equal with God grounds for grasping.
Jesus humbled himself I: <i>incarnation</i> (Phil. 2:7; cf. Gal. 4:4)	
(2:7) but emptied himself, by taking the form of a servant, being born in the likeness of men.	On the contrary, <i>he poured himself out</i> by taking the form of a slave, by being born in the likeness of human beings
(2:8) And being found in human form,	and by being recognized as a human.
Jesus humbled himself II: <i>crucifixion</i> (Phil. 2:8; cf. Gal. 1:4; 2:20)	
he humbled himself by becoming obedient to the point of death, even death on a cross.	He humbled himself by becoming obedient <i>even to the point of accepting death</i> [even death on a cross].
God exalted Jesus: <i>Lord and Messiah</i> (Phil. 2:9–11; cf. Gal. 1:4; 6:14, 18)	
(2:9) Therefore God has highly exalted him and bestowed on him the name that is above every name,	<i>As a consequence</i> , therefore, God exalted him <i>to the highest place</i> , and conferred on him in an act of grace the name that is above every name,
(2:10) so that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth,	in order that <i>before the name that Jesus bears</i> every knee might bow [of heavenly beings,] [and of earthly beings,] [and of beings under the earth,]
(2:11) and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.	and in order that every tongue might openly acknowledge that “Jesus Christ is Lord”, [to the glory of God the Father].

Table 6.1: Readings of Phil. 2:5–11: Conventional and New.

According to Gorman (2001), Christ’s journey to the locus of crucifixion as the praxis of self-giving love is not disparate with God’s nature. Rather, self-giving itself is one of the most essential characteristics of God. Christ emptied himself, became a slave, and humbled himself even to the place of the cross *because* he is God. This self-giving and self-sacrificing

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character is demonstrated most clearly in Jesus' life and crucifixion.

This can be understood as a *downward* journey of Christ. It is a part of Christ's pilgrimage to *glory through suffering* (cf. Phil. 2:6–11) although the glory is not mentioned in Galatians¹⁵³. Jesus' pilgrimage is paradoxical because pilgrimage is a journey to the centre, to the presence of God, and Jesus came from the very presence of God to the periphery, to the outcast. When the pious Jews in the first century were immersed in going up, Jesus headed in the opposite direction: He came down in order to go up to the presence of God together with the sinners (see Section 6.1.3.3).

6.2.2 Intersection of two pilgrimages

Saul was an equally pious Jew in the first century. He was a typical diaspora Jew from Tarsus who was eager to obey the Jerusalem authority as seen in Acts 9:

“[Saul] went to the high priest and asked him for letters to the synagogues at Damascus, so that if he found any belonging to the Way, men or women, he might bring them bound to Jerusalem.” (Acts 9:1–2)

Accordingly, he can be described as a pilgrim going up to the earthly Jerusalem. Ironically, his ascending pilgrimage in first century Judaism was embodied by going down to the periphery to make them subordinate to the centre (Niang, 2009), as manifested in Saul's journey to Damascus.

This ascending pilgrimage of Saul's to the centre of the world intersected with the pilgrimage of Christ heading down to the periphery. At his encounter with Christ, Paul was enlightened to see the will of God, which was revealed clearly in the crucified Christ:

God is the one who is pleased to deliver the sinners, (Gal. 1:4)
to reveal himself to those who do not know God, (Gal. 4:9)
and to adopt those who were not his children as his children, (Gal. 3:26, 4:6)
at the cost of the death of his Son. (Gal. 1:4)

This is not incompatible with the faith of ancient Israel. In fact, it is the fulfilment of the prophecy of Hosea about the last day of restoration.

“Yet the number of the children of Israel shall be like the sand of the sea, which cannot be measured or numbered. And in the place where it was said to them, ‘You are not my people’, it shall be said to them, ‘Children of the living God’. And the children of Judah and the children of Israel shall be gathered together, and they shall appoint for themselves one head. And they shall go up from the land, for great shall be the day of Jezreel. Say to your brothers, ‘You are my people’, and to your sisters, ‘You have received mercy’.” (Hos. 1:10–2:1)

Paul sees that this prophecy about the restoration of the lost ten tribes (the Northern Kingdom of Israel) in the last day is now fulfilled in Christ (Staples, 2011:380–382). What is noticeable here is that Paul applies this prophecy not only to the lost children of Jacob

¹⁵³‘Glory through suffering’ is often an essential theme in Pauline letters. However, in Galatians, Paul intentionally omits mentioning glory (resurrection) in order to emphasize suffering (persecution), which the followers of Christ ought to bear (Gal. 6:12).

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(Samaritans and Galileans), but also to the lost children of Abraham (children of Ishmael) (Gal. 4:5–6; cf. 4:25), and ultimately to the lost children of Adam (Gentiles) (cf. Rom. 5:12–21)¹⁵⁴.

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After his encounter with Jesus on the way to Damascus, Paul joined Christ's pilgrimage, leaving the route of his old pilgrimage behind. This is why he confesses in Gal. 2:20 that his pilgrimage is not led by himself any longer, but it is Christ's pilgrimage in which he participates now. Paul's new pilgrimage with Christ is described in three ways in Gal. 2:20: "Christ lives in me", "living by faith" and "being crucified with Christ".

6.3.1 Christ lives in me

In Gal. 2:20, Paul claims that his life is not his own (led by his own will), but Christ's (led by Christ):

“ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ζῆ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός”

“[...] It is no longer I who live, but [it is] Christ who lives in me. [...]” (Gal. 2:20)

Considered together with Gal. 4:19 “until (the nature of) Christ is formed in you” (*LN*, § 58.4), Paul's statement in Gal. 2:20, “Christ lives in me”, can be identified as the confession of the one in whom the nature of Christ is formed: Christ formed his character in Paul and this Christ lives Christ's life in Paul. Just as Christ made his pilgrimage in his earthly-physical body conforming to God's character (Sections 6.1.3.2 and 6.2.1), now Christ walks the same way of (crucified) life in the body of Paul¹⁵⁵. If Paul's life is Christ's life, his life manifests the nature of Christ.

In Gal. 4:19, Paul argues that this nature of Christ must be formed in every believer's life:

“My little children, for whom I am again in the anguish of childbirth until Christ is formed in you (οὗ μορφωθῆ Χριστός ἐν ὑμῖν)!” (Gal. 4:19)

In short, Paul declares that forming the nature of Christ is the new way of life for all believers. Here he is not simply arguing that the believers must follow the ethical instructions or the law newly given by Jesus, i.e. Christian *halakah* (Furnish, 2009:62–65). Paul's calling is much more fundamental: The very nature (or image) of Christ (cf. “the form of God” (μορφῆ θεοῦ) in Phil. 2:6; cf. “the image of God” (εἰκόνα θεοῦ) in Gen. 1:27) should be formed in them (μορφωθῆ Χριστός)!

In this regard, Dunn (1998a:75–78)'s comparison of the way of Adam and that of Christ in Phil. 2:6–11 (cf. Rom. 5:12–21; 1 Cor. 15:21–22) is noteworthy. Adam and his followers (human beings) failed to come to the presence of God by their pursuit of becoming God,

¹⁵⁴Staples (2011) proposes an interesting argument, “Paul's connection of elect Gentiles with the motif of ‘my people’/‘not my people’ stems from much reflection on the Hosea tradition itself [...] [since] the northern kingdom [...] has [already] ‘been mixed among the peoples’ (Hos. 7:8), the chosen people of YHWH no longer” (Staples, 2011:381).

¹⁵⁵Freyne (2010) calls this “a quasi-mystical transformation of the self” that one's own ἐγώ is replaced by that of Christ.

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i.e. through the ascending pilgrimage. However, Jesus (God's means of grace) was exalted to the presence of God along with everyone who sided with him, through his downward journey even to the place of the cross, submitting to the will of God (Hawthorne and Martin, 2004:105). Paul is now arguing that Jesus' followers should follow this pilgrimage of Christ. It is a call for *becoming Christ*, and ultimately *becoming God* in a different way (Lim, 2015).

Then, what is the practical implication of 'becoming Christ'? In the latter part of Gal. 2:20, Paul explains the life lived by Christ as living by faith.

6.3.2 Living by faith

In Gal. 2:20, Paul defines his life in the present evil world as follows:

“ὁ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί, ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῆ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντός με καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ.”

“[...] [T]he life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me.” (Gal. 2:20)

The phrase “the Son of God who loved me and gave himself for me”, shows God's self-giving love, which is most clearly expressed in the pilgrimage of Christ, in a condensed form (see Section 6.2.1). This love of God is, in fact, the content of Paul's faith. By the phrase, “the life I now live in the flesh” (ὁ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί), Paul links this *faith* directly to the *life in this world*¹⁵⁶. As he confesses in Gal. 5:6 (“only faith working through love”), Paul lives embodying faith through his works of love. Then, his statement “living by faith” becomes a confession that he is walking the pilgrimage of Christ.

As mentioned earlier in Section 6.2.2, Paul joined the pilgrimage of Christ when God revealed God's Son to Paul (Gal. 1:15–16). After that, he did not go up to Jerusalem, but instead went down to Damascus, to Arabia, to the land of the lost children of Abraham (Gal. 1:17; see Section 5.3.2.3). This means that Paul is not a pilgrim *going up* to the centre of this world, earthly Jerusalem, any longer. Paul's living by faith is embodied by his *going down* to the periphery, to the lost and sinners, following the pilgrimage of Christ. By doing so, Paul realizes himself as one who is walking in the way of the law of Christ, which will ultimately lead him to the presence of God in the heavenly Jerusalem.

6.3.3 I have been crucified with Christ

Following the descending pilgrimage route of Christ, one inevitably comes to the cross, because the will of God for Christ was the cursed death on the cross. As discussed in Section 6.2.1, Christ's voluntary death on the cross is the clearest manifestation of the nature of God: God in search of the lost and sinners, the undeserving and underprivileged. The God revealed on the cross is God who gives his life for the sinners; the God revealed in Jesus is God who is restless until he finds all his children. At the core of his steadfast love (*hesed*), which is the most important feature of the nature of God, exists self-giving, self-emptiness and humility (incarnation) (cf. Phil. 2:4). In other words, God's way entails stretching to the lowest place, that is, the place of the cross. In Christ, it is revealed that the steps in search

¹⁵⁶Lambrecht (1996:61–62) explains that this life is qualified not only by “now” (over against the eschatological future) but also by “in the flesh” (over against a life which will be spiritual, heavenly, immortal and incorruptible).

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of God should be directed toward the lowest place and periphery, instead of the highest place and the centre, because God is there at the lowest place hanging on the cross.

Reflecting on this will of God and the nature of God as revealed in the crucified Christ, Paul went down to the periphery, i.e. to the Gentile sinners, who were considered excluded from the kingdom of God in first century Judaism. Paul proclaimed the gospel among the Gentile sinners, that one is accepted by God through faith in Jesus Christ. And he shared the eschatological feast with the Gentile sinners, declaring that they were also the children of God in Christ.

Paul's new life, conforming to the law of Christ, caused persecution by the world to which he used to belong, first century Judaism. He was condemned as a transgressor who speaks against the Mosaic law and the Jerusalem Temple (Gal. 2:18), and even as a sinner, an outcast of the kingdom of God (Gal. 2:17). This social death was accompanied by physical suffering such as beating, stoning, imprisonment, etc. which sometimes threatened his life (2 Cor. 11:23–27).

Paul perceives this persecution as taking a cross:

“But if I, brothers, still preach circumcision, why am I still being persecuted? In that case the offence of the *cross* has been removed.” (Gal. 5:11)

“[...] in order that they may not be persecuted for *the cross of Christ*.” (Gal. 6:12)

And he declares:

“I have been crucified with Christ. [...]” (Gal. 2:20)

Paul's new life following the pilgrimage of Christ is best manifested in taking a cross. The actual meaning of “Christ lives in me” and “living by faith” is revealed clearly in his crucifixion. As the way of Christ led to the lowest place of cross, so does Paul's new pilgrimage, if it follows the pilgrimage of Christ. In fact, the cross is the law of the new world which should be obeyed by anyone who follows Jesus (Gal. 6:16). As **Gorman (2001)** argues, cruciformity—life bearing cross—signifies conforming to the law of Christ.

Christ's pilgrimage is characterized by a descent from the highest to the lowest, from the centre to periphery, in order to rise to the presence of God together with the lowest and peripheral sinners. In Gal. 4:4–5, it is articulated by the phrase, “[God's] Son, [came to be] born of woman, born *under the law*, to redeem *those who were under the law*, so that we might receive adoption as sons”. In Gal. 4:7, “those who [are] under the law” (Gal. 4:4–5) are identified as “slave” (cf. Phil. 2:7). Then, it can be said that Jesus, who was born under the law, was rendered a slave.

6.3.4 Freedom to slavery: a reversed pilgrimage

Keesmaat (1999) argues that the whole letter to the Galatians shows an upward-movement from slavery to freedom. Invoking the story of the Exodus, the fundamental story behind the first century Jewish pilgrimage, **Wilson (2004)** describes Galatian believers as pilgrims who are now passing through the desert. According to **Keesmaat (1999)** and **Wilson (2004)**, Paul encourages the Gentile believers to persevere in their pilgrimage to the heavenly Jerusalem, remembering their upward movement from slaves to freemen, from slaves to children and heirs.

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However, what Paul claims in Galatians is more than an upward movement. There is a significant difference between the pilgrimage of the Exodus and the pilgrimage of Jesus' followers in this world. Whereas the former is a mere ascent, namely from slavery to freedom, paradoxically the latter is a *reversed pilgrimage*, from freedom to slavery. In fact, Paul asks the believers to forsake their freedom and to become slaves, since the law, 'love your neighbour' is ultimately fulfilled in such self-giving love:

“For you were called to freedom, brothers. Only do not use your freedom as an opportunity for the flesh, but through love serve one another.” (Gal. 5:13)

The followers of Jesus are not called to ascend but to descend in this world. They are not called to go up to the centre of the world, the earthly Jerusalem, but called to go down even to the cross, the most remote periphery of this world. And there the believers eventually meet God who has been crucified on a tree.

6.4 Singing and walking in the law of Christ

As discussed in Section 3.8.1, Gal. 2:19–20 can be identified as Paul's restatement of his life. Through this short passage, Paul not only presents his previous life but also redefines his present life, in order to persuade the Galatian believers to keep walking their pilgrimage to the presence of God, following Christ as well as Paul.

6.4.1 A song of Paul

Gal. 2:19–20 is poetic, since it brings about a new and fresh understanding of life through first person singular pronouns (ἐγὼ, ἐγὼ, ἐμοί, με, ἐμοῦ) as well as rich metaphorical languages:

“[...] I died to the law, so that I might live to God.” (Gal. 2:19)

“[...] I have been crucified with Christ. [...]” (Gal. 2:19)

“[...] It is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me. [...]” (Gal. 2:20)

In this regard, it will not be an exaggeration to call this prose a song of Paul.

This song is primarily a personal song of Paul about his life (Dunn, 1993). In the literary context, his life is contrasted to that of Peter (Gal. 2:11–14) in this song. While Peter was not walking straight to the truth of the gospel (Gal. 2:14), Paul was living by faith (Gal 2:20)! For this reason, Gal. 2:19–20 has often been misunderstood as Paul's boasting against others (cf. Section 3.8.2.2).

The Greco-Roman autobiographies often contain criticism of opponents and aggrandisement of the authors. After describing their philosophy and conviction, the authors often describe their life as that of an ideal person who conforms to one's own philosophy, unlike the opponents. Paying attention to this feature, Malina and Neyrey (2006:p.200–201) insist that Paul is praising himself in Gal. 2:19–20. While Peter and his rival missionaries (his opponents) are described as cowards, Paul is portrayed as living bravely according to the truth of the gospel. Is this true? Is Paul's confession in Gal. 2:19–20 indeed a case of boasting about himself and degrading others?

6.4 Singing and walking in the law of Christ

6.4.1.1 Singing the way of Christ

What differentiates Paul's song from the self-praising of his contemporaries is that Paul thoroughly praises *Christ*, not himself, in his confession. As discussed above in Section 6.2, Gal. 2:19–20 shows the downward journey of Christ even to the place of the cross, the lowest place in the world. By doing so, Christ has invited Paul to the process of authentic pilgrimage to the presence of God. In order to lead sinners to be accepted by God and be adopted as the children of God, Christ the Son of God offered his body as a sacrifice. Paul is singing and praising the walking of Christ and the law of Christ in Gal. 2:19–20. It is the way of the cross.

The term “the Son of God” that Paul uses to refer to Jesus in Gal. 2:20 is worth mentioning. By using this title, ascribed to or claimed by the Roman emperor (Berényi, 1984), Paul emphasizes the fact that the Son of God (the true emperor and the centre of the world) sacrificed himself for Paul himself, who is nothing compared to him. In Gal. 2:19–20, Paul sings the way of Christ in a loud voice.

6.4.1.2 Walking in the law of Christ

Paul's singing of the way of Christ, in other words Paul's confession of his faith, did not remain just a song and confession. Paul lived by faith.

The pilgrimage of Christ which Paul sang, the emptiness of Christ which he confessed, guided Paul's present life in the flesh. He was convinced that the life of Christ is the law that the pilgrims should follow in order to come to the presence of God. Therefore, Paul walked in the pilgrimage of Christ, keeping the law of Christ and fulfilling the steps of Christ.

Paul's life in this world cannot be explained separately from Christ and his cross. The one who leads Paul's life in Paul's body is not Paul himself but Christ (Gal. 2:20). Christ is walking his steps in Paul's body conforming to the will of God. In this life lived by Christ, the nature of Christ, more fundamentally the nature of God, is being formed in Paul (cf. Gal. 4:19). For Paul, the life of Christ who gave himself for sinners is the law he has to follow. And the faith in this Christ is inevitably embodied as the life following the law of Christ.

In order to live by the law of Christ, Paul died to the law. In order to follow Christ who leads sinners to the presence of God, Paul proclaimed the gospel to the Gentile sinners. And in order to embody the gospel he proclaims, Paul became one of them, that is, he became dead in relation to the law and as a result he was condemned as a sinner by his fellow Jews. Paul was persecuted and now is hanging on the cross with Christ.

Paul's ‘Gentile mission’ was his footstep walking in the law of Christ (Kok, 2011). The significance of his mission is not that he proclaimed the gospel to the people in foreign lands. For Jews, the notion ‘Gentile’ involved social, cultural and religious implications more than an ethnic one. ‘Gentiles’ were those outside of ‘us’. The significance of Paul's mission was in the fact that he proclaimed the gospel *to the marginalized beyond the boundary, to the sinners who did not belong to ‘us’*. Paul embodied the gospel by becoming their friend, kissing them and eating with them, following the law of Christ (Green, 2014). His life was a life of fulfilling the love of Christ.

6.4 Singing and walking in the law of Christ

6.4.2 Sing in order to sing together, walk in order to walk together

Gal. 2:19–20 is not limited as a song and confession of Paul himself. This thoroughly personal song is, in fact, sung in order to sing together with all believers. His walking expressed by ‘dying to the law’ is also walked in order to walk straight together with his fellow pilgrims.

6.4.2.1 Becoming pilgrims through singing

In the recitation of the song of Paul, the Galatian believers are invited to sing this song together, not as Paul’s confession, but as their own confession. They are being immersed in the new world through their singing (Brock, 2007)¹⁵⁷. As they read,

“[...] the Son of God, who loved *me* and gave himself for *me*,” (Gal. 2:20)

they come to realize and make the same confession that the Son of God loved *them* and gave himself for *them*. In their hearing and singing Paul’s song,

“I have been crucified with Christ. It is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me. And the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me,” (Gal. 2:19–20)

they come to sing the law of Christ in their own voices together with all the other pilgrims, and resolve to live corresponding to their faith and walk in the law of Christ. In their walking in the law of Christ, they come to love their neighbours with Christ’s self-giving love as the nature of Christ is formed in them.

This is not without precedent. As they recited the stories in the Torah (*haggadah*, see Section 4.3.3.3), the Israelites learned how to walk in the law of the Lord (Chun, 2014:1–2). Singing the Psalms of their ancestors, later pilgrims could come to the sanctuary, though absent in body, through their singing and walking in the way of the Lord, that is, through their life conforming to the law of the Lord. Psalmists were fully aware that their pilgrimage was not merely a personal journey to the presence of God: they acknowledged *the Israel of God* (Gal. 6:16) as a *worshipping community of pilgrims*, and located themselves among the pilgrimage procession of the Israel of God¹⁵⁸. The psalmists sang their songs of pilgrimage in order for the Israel of God to come together to the presence of God:

“Therefore I will praise you among the Gentiles, and sing to your name.” (Ps. 18:49; 2 Sam. 22:50; Rom. 15:9)

In a similar way, Paul cherishes in his song (Gal. 2:19–20) the purpose of singing together. This hope is clearly delineated in Rom. 15:5–6:

“May the God of endurance and encouragement grant you *to live in such harmony with one another, in accord with Christ Jesus, that together you may with one voice glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.*” (Rom. 15:5–6)

¹⁵⁷Brock (2007) calls it the ethos of God.

¹⁵⁸The biblical notion of ‘corporate personality’ (Theissen, 1992) sheds light on the relationship between a person and a community in New Testament ethics (Freyne, 2010:70; cf. Dunson, 2012).

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In this passage, Paul dreams of an eschatological worship in which all the pilgrims sing together with one voice in the presence of God.

Paul does not even exclude Peter and the Jewish believers who were not walking straight to the truth of the gospel (Gal. 2:14) from this communal singing. Evidence is found in the ‘we section’ (Gal. 2:15–16). As many scholars point out, Paul’s autobiographical section (Gal. 1:10–2:21), which is related using in the first person singular pronoun (ἐγὼ), is interrupted by the ‘we section’ (Gal. 2:15–16), where the first person *plural* pronoun (ἡμεῖς) is used. In this ‘we section’, Paul emphasizes that we all share the common faith in Christ. Considering that the ‘we section’ is centred between sections describing Peter’s betrayal (Gal. 2:11–14) and Paul’s song (Gal. 2:19–20), Paul is inviting Peter and the Jewish believers to participate in his song.

6.4.2.2 Dying as the believer’s way of life in this world

Paul is strongly convinced that faith must be manifested by ‘living by faith’ in this world:

“[...] but only faith working through love.” (Gal. 5:6)

Paul clarifies that the believers have not yet come to the presence of God. While one day, they will be fully accepted in the presence of God (Gal. 5:5), it still remains a future hope (Kwon, 2004). In their life in this world, believers have to walk their pilgrimage, living their faith through the works of love.

In the letter to the Galatians, Paul does not describe Christ as the risen Lord nor as the glorious One who sits on the right hand of God (cf. Freyne, 2010:67–68). Instead, Christ is portrayed as the one who willingly came down to the lowest place of the cross for sinners. Likewise, Paul does not introduce the life of believers in this world as participation in the resurrection or glory. On the contrary, the followers of Christ participate in the suffering of Christ. As Wilson (2004) argues, the Galatian believers are still in the desert, on the road to the heavenly Jerusalem. Therefore, they confess,

“For through the Spirit, by faith, we ourselves eagerly wait for the hope of righteousness.” (Gal. 5:5)

The purpose of this description is obvious. Paul reminds them that they have to walk through suffering in this world. According to Paul, the Israel of God includes “all who walk” (Gal. 6:16) in the law of Christ. The term, “walking” cannot be overemphasized. The Israel of God are pilgrims, “sojourners and exiles” in this world. Their pilgrimage following the law of Christ is always manifested by “dying to the law” in this world, that is, taking the cross and following Christ. According to Bonhoeffer (2015:45), Christ commands his disciples *to be crucified with Christ*.

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It is revealed in Christ that the steps in search of God should be directed toward the lowest place and the periphery, instead of the highest place and the centre, because God is there at the lowest place, hanging on the cross. Considering this fact, “bearing one another’s burdens” as “fulfilling the law of Christ” (Gal. 6:2) is the heart of Paul’s claim for the believers’ ethical

6.5 Chapter summary

life in this world. Bearing one another's burdens is walking the way that Christ has walked. The people of God have to demonstrate the character of God, that is, the love of God for the lost.

If "bear[ing] one another's burdens" is the superlative degree of love for the neighbour and the way to "fulfil[ling] the law of Christ", then by doing this one comes again to the presence of God who reveals Godself in Christ who gave himself for the sinners.

Gal. 2:19–20 can be identified as a song of Paul which is sung on the way of pilgrimage. Since he found a new way to the presence of God in Christ, Paul died to the law. Leaving his ascending pilgrimage, Paul joined the pilgrimage of Christ. Now Christ is walking his downward pilgrimage in Paul's body. In order to embody his faith, in order to follow the law of Christ, Paul proclaimed the gospel to the lost and outcast and became a friend of sinners. In order to lead the Gentile believers to the presence of God and sing together with them, Paul sang the song of his life in Gal. 2:19–20 and walked the way of the cross in this world, thereby manifesting the law of Christ that all believers should follow in this world. Paul's exhortation in Galatians is reminiscent of the calling of Jesus in the Gospels: "take a cross and follow me" (Mt. 16:24; Mk. 8:34; Lk. 9:23).

Chapter 7

Conclusion

This chapter concludes the research. Firstly it summarizes the work done in this study, and then the research problems presented in Chapter 1 are revisited to ensure they were resolved through the research.

7.1 Summary

Crisis in Galatia as apostasy Paul understands that the crisis in Galatia is not merely about a matter of Gentile circumcision nor a matter of purity law. Those issues reflect the matter of keeping the whole law (Gal. 5:3) and becoming a Jew (Gal. 2:14) in order to be accepted by God and become the children of Abraham, going against the will of God as revealed in Christ.

Paul's deep concern for this crisis is reflected in the expressions he uses to describe the persuaders' mission activity (compulsion and enslavement) and the Gentile believers' following the law (returning to the status of slavery from which they have already departed). This understanding reaches its climax in Paul's depiction of Jesus followers' observance of the law as apostasy, i.e. turning away from God (Gal. 1:6), recalling the apostasy story of Israel in the desert in the Exodus.

Paul's monotheistic perspective Paul's perception of the crisis is only intelligible from the monotheistic perspective of Israel. Paul confesses Israel's faith that grace and peace comes only from God the Father (Gal. 1:3) who is eternally to be worshipped and glorified (Gal. 1:5). Furthermore, he elaborates on how he followed the revelation of God faithfully (Gal. 1:16), wanting to please and live for God (Gal. 1:10; 2:19). Rooted in the heritage of Israel, Paul consistently contrasts human beings with God, and the present evil human empire (Gal. 1:4) with the empire of God (Gal. 5:21; 6:15–16). Paul's argument in Galatians can be understood properly within this antithetical structure, which forms the basis of Paul's important notions which this study re-examined.

- **Paul's specific notion of Judaism** Unlike the conventional understanding of Judaism as the antithesis of Hellenism (*2 Macc.* 4:13), Paul presents the term Ἰουδαϊσμός (Gal. 1:13, 14) as the antithesis of “the church of God” (Gal. 1:13) and “the faith” (Gal. 1:23) within the immediate literary context; and ultimately to “the Israel of

God” (Gal. 6:16), i.e. the liturgical community walking to the presence of God. Thus, Paul’s Ἰουδαϊσμός in Gal. 1:13–14 should be understood as certain privileged first century Jews’ cosmology centring around the Temple of “the present Jerusalem” (Gal. 4:25; Section 3.4.2) and the customary behaviour based on their cosmology.

- **The law as the enslaving tradition of Jerusalem authority** Likewise, following the Jesus tradition which differentiates the law as “the tradition of elders/humans” from “the commandment of God” (Mk. 7:5–9), Paul identifies the law as “the tradition of [his] fathers” (Gal. 1:14) as distinct from the commandment of God (Gal. 5:14), the Spirit (Gal. 5:16, 25) and the law of Christ (Gal. 6:2). Contrasting the [old] covenant (the law) from Mount Sinai, i.e. “the present Jerusalem” as the enslaving mother-city (Gal. 4:24–25), to the law (the gospel) flowing from Mount Zion in the last days (cf. Isa. 2:3), i.e. “the Jerusalem above” as the mother-city of the believers (Gal. 4:26), Paul clarifies that the law is now being abused to enslave the Gentile believers and hinder them from coming to the presence of God.

Paul’s new awakening, the gospel of God about Jesus Christ This understanding of Paul was derived from the gospel of God revealed in Christ. Paul was enlightened that God the Father willed to forgive sinners and deliver them from the present evil empire (Gal. 1:4) through the mediation of *Jesus Christ*, who was executed by the law on the cross. This new awakening of Paul is reflected in important concepts in Paul’s argument: justification and the works of the law.

- **Justification** In the light of Rom. 4:7–8 where Paul rephrases ‘justify’ as ‘God’s forgiveness of sins [of the undeserving sinners]’ and Jesus’ divine declaration to the sinners in the Gospels, “your sins are forgiven, [...] your faith has saved you; go in peace” (Lk. 7:48, 50), ‘*justification*’ in Gal. 2:16 can be understood as God’s forgiveness and acceptance of sinners, revealed in/mediated by Jesus Christ (Gal. 1:4), *apart from the Jerusalem Temple and its priests* who claimed the exclusive right to declaring God’s forgiveness of sins.

Paul does not elaborate on the definition of justification here in Galatians. For Paul it is only *a fait accompli*, i.e. what both Peter and Paul experienced (Section 3.6.3) and heard (Section 3.6.4) commonly, therefore what they both knew (Section 3.6.2). However, Peter acted contrary to the faith in the Antioch incident.

- **The works of the law** In the immediate literary context (Gal. 2:11–12), the phrase, “works of the law” is used to describe this unfaithful behaviour of Peter, i.e. hypocrisy. Considering the intertextual linkage with the Jesus tradition, ‘hypocrisy’ can be defined as an external act of worship and behaviour without heart. Fearing the Jews in first century Judaism, Peter gave up living according to the truth of the gospel, and followed the law of first century Judaism. Along with him, the Jewish believers and eventually the Gentile believers started to live according to the law as if they would be justified through their worship and life without heart. Paul understands that this hypocritical behaviour came from the social pressure to submit to the authority of the Jerusalem Temple.

7.1 Summary

Social pressure and persecution Gal. 2:15–21 reflects the social pressure to which Jesus’ followers were subjected. According to the ideology of first century Judaism, only the Jerusalem Temple and its priests had the authority to declare God’s forgiveness, therefore they were the only mediators between people and God. Based on this authority, they formed a hierarchical world order in terms of purity, where the Gentiles were defined as sinners by nature and therefore could not be accepted as being included as the chosen people of God, i.e. Jews by nature (Gal. 2:15).

However, Paul and the Jesus’ followers believed that symbolically the Jerusalem Temple had been torn down and had lost its status as the mediator (Gal. 2:18). Jesus Christ is the new mediator who offered himself for the sinners (Gal. 2:21). They were convinced that both Jews and the Gentiles can be forgiven and come to the presence of God through the mediator who was promised to Abraham (Gal. 3:16) and now has come “when the fullness of time had come” (Gal. 4:4). This faith in Christ as the new Temple and life conforming to the faith (e.g. eschatological feast with the Gentiles) aroused the fury of first century Judaism. As a result, Jesus’ followers were subjected to social pressure, which sometimes led to persecution, to submit to the Jerusalem authority centring around the Temple.

The first century Jewish pilgrimage The crisis of the Galatian believers resulted from this social pressure of first century Judaism. Paul’s exhortation in response to this crisis was reread in this study from the perspective of pilgrimage, one of the most significant rituals in first century Judaism. It was argued that the first century Jewish pilgrimage was not a mere religious customary practice, but a peculiar social phenomenon in which political, cultural and religious voices of the society were heard (Section 4.2). In this study, pilgrimage was redefined according to three aspects: ‘journey to the centre’, ‘journey to the past’ and ‘journey to the presence of God’; and the first century Jewish pilgrimage was examined from each perspective.

- **First century Jewish pilgrimage as a journey to the centre** Inviting postcolonial notions of ‘centre and periphery’ and ‘internalization (assimilation)’, it was shown that the first century Jewish pilgrimage was closely linked to tribute and taxation, and that the Jerusalem Temple was a political centre of society. Its rulers laboured to establish their authority over the Judean region, even by military campaigns and colonization of the peripheral Jews who already served the same God. It was justified by the ahistorical and illusionary ideology of the centre which sanctified the Jerusalem Temple, its priests and its law. This ideology was internalized by the retainers (notably the Pharisees) and synagogues. The peripheral Jews were eager to keep the law, but their circumstances hindered them from obeying the law perfectly. As a result they were sentenced as sinners away from the grace of God.
- **First century Jewish pilgrimage as a journey to the past** Based on the memory of the ancestors, the first century Jews re-enacted the past in their pilgrimage. They could link themselves to ancient Israel in the Exodus by keeping the ancient Jewish calendar which embodied the memory of the event. In fact, every process of pilgrimage was performed according to the ancestral customs. In this regard, controversy arose over which memory was to be followed. Though the pilgrimage was largely a repetitive ritual based on the written Torah, a different notion of pilgrimage was also being developed

based on the narratives of the Torah, the Prophets and the Psalms, i.e. the notion of life-long pilgrimage as following the lives of patriarchs and prophets, notably that of Abraham. Furthermore, the Prophets enabled some strands of the first century Jews to develop a peculiar time concept, i.e. the apocalyptic Day of the Lord. The implications of this vision were imposed on the pilgrimages: the apocalyptic expectation of the revelation of God in the last days and the Messianic expectation. Jesus was linked to this expectation.

- **First century Jewish pilgrimage as a journey to the presence of God** Concerning the transcendental aspect of pilgrimage, it was argued that the first century religious leaders abused the concept of pilgrimage as the ascending way to God. In order to establish their legitimacy and secure their authority, the Hasmoneans invented a cosmology centring around the Jerusalem Temple and its priests, i.e. Judaism consisting of a series of strata in terms of purity; and this cosmology was consolidated by the Sadducean high priests in the first century (first century Judaism) who were appointed by Herod and the Roman Empire. Their hierarchical order drew the attention of people from God to humans, and led them to boast about their privileged status over the under-privileged. As a result, the more people learned from the first century Jewish religious leaders, the more they became estranged from God. The ascending way to heaven became a barrier blocking the way to the presence of God.

Rereading Galatians with a pilgrimage motif Through the lens of pilgrimage, Galatians is reread as a conflicting story of two pilgrimage centres (the present Jerusalem vs. the Jerusalem above), two mediators (Jerusalem priests vs. Jesus Christ), and two modes of life (life conforming to the law of this world vs. life conforming to the law of the new world of God, led by the Spirit and Christ).

- **Persuasion as colonization** In this context, the seemingly religious and sound demands of the persuaders, i.e. circumcision and keeping the law, are revealed as enslaving activities. Through the contrast between the present city of Jerusalem and the heavenly Jerusalem in Gal. 4:24–26, Paul clarifies that the Jerusalem Temple is not the final destination of the believers' pilgrimage, and urges the Galatian believers to stop making pilgrimages to the Jerusalem Temple and not to submit to being circumcised.
- **The Exodus and the Abraham stories** Paul uses stories in order to exhort the Galatians in crisis of apostasy. Recalling the story of the apostatical Israel in the golden calf incident in the Exodus, Paul reveals that the real crisis of the Galatian believers is in returning to first century Judaism, abandoning the grace of God revealed in Christ. Invoking the story of Abraham, Paul depicts the Galatian believers as pilgrims on the same road to the presence of God in the heavenly Jerusalem as those who preceded them: the Israelites in the Exodus, and more significantly, Abraham, the first Gentile convert and the first pilgrim.
- **The way to the Jerusalem above** Paul's new awareness that God the Father reveals Godself in Christ, proclaims the forgiveness through Christ, and delivers the sinner through the sacrifice of Christ, led to the new understanding that Jesus is the new high priest and the new Temple. Based on this understanding, Paul refused the ideology of

7.1 Summary

first century Judaism that the present earthly Jerusalem Temple was the only gateway to the presence of God enthroned in the heavenly Jerusalem, and that people could be accepted by God only through the intercession of the Jerusalem priests. Therefore, Jesus' followers were not obligated to keep the law of first century Judaism nor to make the pilgrimage to the Jerusalem Temple. However, it does not imply anomism. Jesus' followers now live by the law of Christ, walking to the presence of God through their life-long pilgrimage.

Gal. 2:19–20 as Paul's autobiography Paul's autobiographical narrative is given as an important story to exhort the Galatian believers in crisis. In this narrative, Paul's own life is presented as a paradigmatic model for the believers. His immediate and faithful conversion from Judaism to faith in order to follow the revelation of God, and his present life walking straight to the truth of the gospel are given as a moral example for the junior pilgrims. As part of Paul's autobiographical narrative, Gal. 2:19–20 is also given for moral exhortation.

Paul's song In this study, Gal. 2:19–20 was understood as Paul's confession, given in poetic and abbreviated language. Considering the fact that Paul at times uses doxology, i.e. songs at the climax of his theological argument summarizing the previous argument poetically, Gal. 2:19–20 could also be understood as Paul's song at the end of his autobiographical narrative.

This confession starts with the reflection on his previous life. Through the expression delivered in the past tense, "I died to the law", Paul clarifies that he has completely departed from the law. As the phrase "through the law" is nuanced, Paul had passed through the life under the law. Considering the fact that the pilgrimage to Jerusalem stood at the centre of Jewish faith in the first century, his declaration of 'dying to the law' means that he has found the way to the presence of God, apart from the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Paul clarifies that he is no longer a pilgrim to Jerusalem. He even claims that he has been crucified with Christ who was executed by the law, and is still hanging on the cross.

This dying to the law leads to Paul's new life. And that life cannot be explained apart from Christ. His new life is the life crucified with Christ, the life lived by Christ and the life lived by faith.

The pilgrimage of Christ At the heart of Paul's confession of his life lies his confession of Christ. Christ is described here as the Son of God who loved Paul and offered himself for Paul. Beneath this confession lies the story of Christ, which can be rephrased as the pilgrimage of Christ. The life of Christ as a whole is depicted as a journey toward redeeming the sinners who are enslaved under the law (Gal. 4:4–5), and Christ's salvific event is described as a sacrifice to forgive sinners and deliver them from the present enslaving world (Gal. 1:4); this recalls the Exodus, and the story of Christ in Gal. 2:19–20 can be reread as the pilgrimage of Christ. In this case we see a reversed pilgrimage, in the sense that the Son of God, departing from the most holy place, made a journey to the lowest place, i.e. to the most cursed place of the cross. The purpose of the pilgrimage of Christ is, in fact, to forgive the sinners and restore them, i.e. 'carrying the burdens of the sinners' (Gal. 6:2). Paul conceptualizes this pilgrimage of Christ as the law of Christ.

7.2 Research problems revisited

Paul's new pilgrimage Paul's present life can be redefined as participation in the pilgrimage of Christ: being crucified with Christ, living a Christ-led and the Spirit-led life. Singing the way of Christ and following the law of Christ, Paul walks his life-long pilgrimage faithfully: He proclaims God's forgiveness of the Gentile sinners revealed in Christ, has eschatological feasts and worships together with them, in spite of persecution.

Paul invites the Galatian believers, and ultimately all believers in Christ, to participate in Christ's pilgrimage with him, singing the way of Christ together, walking in the law of Christ together. His song in Gal. 2:19–20 is a call of a senior pilgrim to join the worshipping community, i.e. the Israel of God, marching to the presence of the one true God who sits at the heavenly Jerusalem, following one Lord Jesus Christ.

7.2 Research problems revisited

The objective of this study was to resolve the following three research problems using the pilgrimage motif:

- how to interpret Gal. 2:19–20, considering its literary and socio-historical context, in the light of the controversy over the law and faith;
- how to relate *Paul, the law* and *the ethical life* of Jesus' followers, based on Gal. 2:19–20; and ultimately
- how to resolve the apparent contradiction between piety expressed in obeying the law and justification by faith, based on Gal. 2:19–20.

This section will show the way in which these problems were resolved in this study.

Re-interpreting Gal. 2:19–20 Considering the literary context, it was shown that Gal. 2:19–20 was part of Paul's autobiographical narrative, given as exhortation to the Galatian believers in crisis. It was understood as a song of Paul, a pilgrim who was walking faithfully on his way to the presence of God. In this song, Paul declares that he died to the law, which means he departed completely from the old way of life under the law; and now he lives by faith, i.e. he is walking the pilgrimage of Christ, to the lowest place of the cross. By presenting his life as a pilgrim who sings the way of Christ and walks in the law of Christ, Paul exhorts the Galatian believers continuously to walk straight to the presence of God once again, following Christ, following Paul, in spite of social pressure and persecution.

Paul, the law and the ethical life Having re-examined Paul's declaration of 'dying to the law' in Gal. 2:19 considering the context, it was argued that Paul was far removed from anomism but he distinguished the law of first century Judaism from the law of God, following the Jesus tradition. From this perspective, 'dying to the law' refers to abandoning the external worship and life without heart in first century Judaism. Instead, Paul urges Jesus' followers to walk straight according to the truth of the gospel, fulfilling the law of Christ, participating in the pilgrimage of Christ. This is described as (1) abandoning the agonistic Mediterranean way of life, (2) living the responsible, self-sufficient way of life, and ultimately (3) living the self-sacrificial way of life represented as "bearing one another's burdens" (Gal. 6:2). This is the ethical life for all believers to follow.

7.3 Conclusion

Obeying the law and justification by faith It was argued that in first century Judaism the law was severely abused as a tool of enslavement and worked to block the way of the sinners to the presence of God. Paul strongly opposed adherence to this law of first century Judaism. However, Paul appealed for a life conforming to the commandment of God, urging the Galatian believers to live faithfully by the law of Christ. In this regard, piety expressed in obeying the law and justification by faith do not contradict each other at all. God's forgiveness of sins and deliverance from this present evil world are given to us so that we can participate in the pilgrimage of Christ, until we come to the glorious presence of God. If we sing our justification by faith in Christ, we also should obey the law of Christ.

The doctrine of justification by faith should not be used to compensate for our moral defilement, since justification contains the divine declaration of Jesus, "your sins are forgiven, your faith saves you" (Lk. 7:48, 50; cf. Gal. 2:16). As [Bonhoeffer \(2015\)](#) reminds us, our salvation is not a cheap one. Our faith in God's justification given by the blood of Christ must be embodied by a life conforming to our faith.

7.3 Conclusion

In Gal. 2:19–20 Paul boldly declares that he died to the law and is now living by faith. This poetic declaration has been interpreted either spiritually or ecclesiastically (union with Christ) rather than ethically. In this study, Gal. 2:19–20 was re-interpreted within the literary context (Paul's autobiographical narrative) and the social-historical context (the first century Jewish pilgrimage as the subordination to the symbolic empire, i.e. first century Judaism, centring around the Jerusalem Temple, its priestly aristocrats and its law). Thus the researcher tried to recover the ethical voice of Paul in Gal. 2:19–20, i.e. the call for a life conforming to the faith in Christ. In this study, the ethical life of Jesus' followers was conceptualized as the life of pilgrims to the lowest place of the cross, following the pilgrimage of Christ. It inevitably entails suffering, but the pilgrims follow Paul and Jesus (*imitatio Christi, imitatio Pauli*), singing the way of Christ and walking in the law of Christ, because they know they will eventually come into the presence of God.

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