

The New Exodus in Paul's Letter to the Galatians

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**This research was undertaken under the auspices of the
Wales Evangelical School of Theology**

Submitted in partial fulfillment for the award of a degree of Ph. D.

University of Wales Trinity Saint David

2016

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Writing a dissertation can be a very lonely experience, especially when done as a distance student. One lacks the camaraderie, intellectual stimulation, and all other benefits of the fellowship of scholars apart from an academic setting; also one cannot simply pop into one's advisor's office to chat. Although I know and am related to numerous people with the Ph. D. degree, there has been virtually no one with whom to speak about my topic in particular, as eyes quickly glaze over when a friend, relative, or acquaintance politely has asked me about the focus of my study.

Yet a dissertation, at least in my experience, is not done truly alone. I have received good advice from many who have gone before me, and only wish I heeded most of what I heard. My team members and former supervisor prompted me to pursue the degree, and all having gone through the task, have been wonderfully sympathetic and supportive. I want to thank Dr. Frank van Dalen, former executive director of World Witness, the Foreign Missions Board of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church with whom I serve, as well as Mr. Alex Pettett, the current director. Thank you both for your encouragement and for allowing me the time to do this. I also thank my teammate Dr. John Carson for his patience and constant encouragement as well. I am also extremely grateful to the board and supporters of World Witness and my teaching ministry abroad in particular, for seeing the value in my studies and funding it.

Far greater than any funding, however, is the constant encouragement that I have received over these years from my many friends and supporters, who have promised to pray for me—and then have done it. My home church, Church of the Atonement, has been family to me. I do not take this love and support for granted. This dissertation is dedicated to you and to all my supporters!

I also want to thank my advisors. Dr. Tom Holland started me off with the idea for the topic, and advised me through the first draft. His patience and kindness were endless. I am also grateful to Dr. Jenny Read-Heimerdinger for her insistence on tight arguments and an eye for detail. This thesis is far better as a result. And to my editor, Rebecca Miller: you made my writing look better and clearer than I ever could have done alone. Thank you!

I must also acknowledge the sacrifice my wife, Annelies, and daughters have made and endured over these numerous years while I have had my head in the books and been unavailable for so much. I love you all—and that’s always good to put in print.

Finally, and above all, I give thanks to my Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, who has loved and sustained me through this. I know and love him more as a result. All

Glory to God!

Silver Spring, Maryland September 2016

ABSTRACT

While various central themes have been suggested for Galatians, including justification by faith alone, the need for Gentiles to follow the Mosaic law (via the New Perspective on Paul), or sonship, none of them truly binds the letter together or is satisfactorily represented in all six chapters.

The search within existent scholarship for a comprehensive thread has led to the discovery of the New Exodus theme. The New Exodus has enjoyed considerable attention in recent years and shows great promise for the construction of a consistent biblical theology. Yet the New Exodus in Galatians has not been explored with any depth.

The premise of this thesis is that the New Exodus undergirds Paul's theology as he writes his letter to the Galatians, and to recognize this will result in a clearer and more coherent reading of the letter. In particular, it highlights the way in which Paul views the salvific work of Jesus as fundamental to the life of the people of God as was the first exodus of Israel.

A threefold approach is adopted. The study identifies New Exodus motifs found in the OT prophets that are also located in Galatians to confirm the presence of the pattern there. It also recognizes apocalyptic antitheses that mark the inauguration of the New Exodus and examines the letter for evidence of these. And finally, the method uses an intertextual hermeneutic, which exposes Paul's reliance on a wider use of the OT than is seen at the surface, and in particular, a reliance on Isaiah.

The analysis presented here focuses on Galatians 1–4, while providing pointers for applying the results to remaining two chapters of the letter.

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
BDAG	A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature – 3rd edition
<i>BBR</i>	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BSac</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>
BST	The Bible Speaks Today
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CEB	Common English Bible
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CTJ</i>	<i>Calvin Theological Journal</i>
<i>CTM</i>	<i>Concordia Theological Monthly</i>
EBC	Expositor's Bible Commentary
ECC	Eerdmans Critical Commentary
ESV	English Standard Version
<i>EuroJTh</i>	<i>European Journal of Theology</i>
<i>EvQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>ExAud</i>	<i>Ex Auditu</i>
GNT	Good News Translation
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IBE	Inner-biblical Exegesis
INE	Isaianic New Exodus
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
ITL	Intertestamental Literature
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
KJV	King James Version
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NBD	New Bible Dictionary
NE	New Exodus
NEB	New English Bible
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
NIBC	New International Biblical Commentary
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NIV	New International Version
NKJV	New King James Version
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NPP	New Perspective on Paul
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NT	New Testament

<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OT	Old Testament
REC	Reformed Expository Commentary
<i>ResQ</i>	<i>Restoration Quarterly</i>
<i>RevExp</i>	<i>Review & Expositor</i>
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLSPS	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
<i>SWJT</i>	<i>Southwestern Journal of Theology</i>
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament
TLB	The Living Bible
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentary
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentary
<i>TrinJ</i>	<i>Trinity Journal</i>
<i>TS</i>	<i>Theological Studies</i>
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION, RESEARCH QUESTIONS, AND METHODOLOGY

1. Introductory Remarks

The purpose of this study is to explore the presence and influence of the New Exodus (NE) in Paul's letter to the Galatians. This pursuit is motivated by a desire to add to the present scholarship the identification of a single unifying theme that makes the most sense out of the entire letter, including its notoriously difficult terms, verses, and pericopes. It is my hope that a recognition of Paul's NE theology in his letter to the Galatians will result in a fresh and comprehensive reading.

As Ben Witherington III remarks, Galatians is not the simple letter it appears to be:

On a superficial inspection of Galatians, it would seem possible to conclude that this is not one of the more difficult NT documents to comprehend ... This impression of lack of problems unfortunately is largely incorrect, for almost everything else about this document, including most of the other questions of introduction about the audience, date, structure, character of this document, and its relation to data in Acts are in dispute.¹

One of the few aspects of Galatians that Witherington omits is the question of authorship, which indeed is not in dispute, but is instead universally attributed to the apostle Paul. Yet the precise identity of the recipients, the Galatians, remains in debate. Paul addresses his letter to the churches of Galatia (ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας; 1:2), and later addresses them as (foolish) Galatians in 3:1 (ὧ ἄνοητοι Γαλάται); Paul could either be referring to the inhabitants of an area called Galatia (as of the first century BCE) in the central-southern part of Asia Minor ("South Galatian" theory), or alternatively, to an ethnic group of people (from Gaul) who had migrated to the north of

¹ Ben Witherington III, *Grace in Galatia: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 1.

Asia Minor (in the third century BCE; “North Galatian” theory).²

The specific merits of each argument will not be debated here, but the relevance of the outcome does concern the dating of the letter, and how it corresponds to the events recorded in Acts. The most critical concern in this debate is the chronological relationship between the writing of this letter and the Jerusalem Council, as recorded in Acts 15 and occurring in 50 CE. It seems too peculiar for Paul not to refer to the events of the meeting—and the subsequent decision that Gentiles need not be circumcised—if in fact this letter is written after the Council. Therefore, it seems best to conclude that Paul, writing somewhat earlier than the Council, is operating out of his own sense of authority in the letter rather than relying on the decision of the Jerusalem apostles.

2. Setting Out the Task

2.1. Scholars’ Differing Interpretations of Galatians

The general interpretation of Galatians—or, more to the point, the detection of a universal and unifying central theme—continues to generate debate. Indeed, the debate over theme has actually increased over the last several decades. Suggestions include but are not necessarily limited to the following: the need to abandon the Mosaic law, justification by faith alone, the question of whether Gentiles must follow the Mosaic law, proper covenant identifiers, and sonship. Yet none of these proposed themes truly binds the letter together or is satisfactorily represented in all six chapters.

John Barclay pursues a “mirror-reading” of Galatians, cautiously gleaning what can be known from reading what Paul writes to the Galatian believers about a third-

² For a comprehensive discussion of the debate, see Douglas J. Moo, *Galatians*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013), 2-18. Moo, Thomas R. Schreiner, and Leon Morris hold to the “South Galatian” view, whereas Hans Dieter Betz and Martinus C. de Boer hold to the “North Galatian” view. Both views are defensible: Schreiner, *Galatians*, Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2010), 22-31; Morris, *Galatians: Paul’s Charter of Christian Freedom* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1996), 15-22; Betz, *Galatians: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), 1-5, 9-12; de Boer, *Galatians* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2011), 3-11.

party group, the agitators within the church.³ All that can be determined with certainty, he surmises, is that these opponents are Christians, they want the Galatians to be circumcised and observe the Mosaic law, they question Paul's apostleship, and their arguments are having some effect among many of the Galatians.⁴ Barclay argues that it is less certain, but "highly probable" that Paul's opponents are Jewish Christians, that they are using Scripture in their arguments (using the Abraham narratives), and that they expect the Galatians to undergo circumcision and to observe the law.⁵

Thomas Aquinas taught that Paul is urging the Galatians to abandon the Jewish law for the Christian faith, with most of the differences couched in sacramental language (for example, circumcision is replaced by baptism).⁶ In the sixteenth century, Martin Luther turned Christendom upside down with his interpretation of the letter as a diatribe against works-righteousness and rather a treatise on justification by faith alone.⁷ Luther's view held almost exclusive sway within Protestantism until the late 1970s, when E. P. Sanders challenged the fundamental premise that first-century Judaism was legalistic in nature.⁸ Sanders's perspective was not novel,⁹ but he managed, based on his

³ John M. G. Barclay, "Mirror-Reading a Polemical Letter: Galatians as a Test Case," *JSNT* 31 (1987): 73-91.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 88.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, trans. F. R. Larcher (Albany, NY: Magi Books, Inc., 1966).

⁷ See particularly, Martin Luther, "Declaration," in *Commentary on Galatians: Modern-English Edition* 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Fleming H. Revell, 1988), 17-21.

⁸ E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1977). N. T. Wright argues that people tend to read their theology of justification by faith into Galatians (specifically 2:16), and therefore misinterpret it, Wright, "The Letter to the Galatians: Exegesis and Theology," in *Between Two Horizons: Spanning New Testament Studies and Systematic Theology*, eds. Joel B. Green and Max Turner (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 210. Although this interpretation is possible, it must be argued that Gal. 2:16 is the key verse for that very teaching, and the classic argument would insist that this is the plain teaching of the verse. It would be difficult to prove or disprove either position due to the circularity of both arguments. Wright also argues against legalism as Paul's main concern, since Galatians 5 and 6 are taken up with concerns of antinomianism. Although one could argue about different factions among the Galatians, a more reasonable counterargument might be that Paul is addressing the possible extreme misunderstanding and misapplication of his teaching against legalism.

⁹ The idea that first-century Palestinian Jews were not legalists was earlier put forth by several scholars: Claude G. Montefiore, *Judaism and St. Paul: Two Essays* (New York: Arno Press, 1973); George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932); Krister Stendahl, "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West" in *Paul Among Jews and Gentiles and Other Essays* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), 78-96.

extensive research into first-century documents, to infiltrate mainstream Protestant thought on the matter.

James D. G. Dunn and N. T. Wright built on Sanders's foundation, and their writings gave birth to the New Perspective on Paul (NPP).¹⁰ To some degree, the NPP has been a moving target, as Dunn and Wright do not express the theology and its specifics identically to Sanders nor even to each other. Both of them understand the issue in Galatians as the wrongly placed zeal of the Jesus-believing Jews who insist that the Gentiles embrace the signs of the Mosaic covenant, namely circumcision. Yet, for Dunn the motivation is mostly an issue of Jewish national pride,¹¹ whereas for Wright it is the Jews' misunderstanding of what identifies one as a covenant member.¹²

The arguments between traditional Protestants and NPP proponents have by no means been settled, but have likely run their course, as many volumes have been published on the matter, with both sides ceding very little.¹³ Many evangelicals, if not the majority, can concur with what Wright asserts regarding covenant markers. The agitators in Galatia wanted the Gentiles to become fully Jewish via circumcision. It is Wright's understanding of justification that is the problem, an understanding that contests what, for many Protestants, remains at the heart of Galatians. While defining

¹⁰ See James D. G. Dunn, *The New Perspective on Paul*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), in which he explains the derivation of the title in the preface and first chapter.

¹¹ James D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 155-57.

¹² N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 144, 155-56; Wright, *Justification: God's Plan and Paul's Vision* (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2009), 116. Wright defines justification as the declaration that one is a member of God's covenant people. For two strong refutations to this definition of justification, see John Piper, *The Future of Justification* (Wheaton: Crossway Books, 2007) and Guy Prentiss Waters, *Justification and the New Perspectives on Paul: A Review and Response* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2004).

¹³ It has been acknowledged, for example, by D. A. Carson and others, that universally characterizing first century Palestinian Judaism as legalistic has been a mistake, and that Sanders had provided a much-needed corrective. See Carson, "Preface," in *The Complexities of Second Temple Judaism*, vol. 1 of *Justification and Variegated Nomism*, eds. D. A. Carson, Peter T. O'Brien, and Mark A. Seifrid, WUNT 2/140 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), v-vii. However, it cannot be denied that Jesus addresses the problem of legalism numerous times as recorded in the Gospel accounts, particularly regarding the Pharisees. The most obvious case is the parable of the Pharisee and the tax collector (Luke 18:9-14). A more realistic assessment would acknowledge that legalism certainly existed, especially among the Pharisees, but may not be a fair universal characterization of first-century Judaism.

justification as the declaration that one is a covenant member,¹⁴ Wright does not speak of righteousness and denies the doctrine of the imputation of righteousness that many Protestants hold as fundamental to the doctrine of atonement.¹⁵

More contentious than the issue of justification by faith alone is its antithesis, works of the law. Although this issue will be taken up in more detail in chapter 5, it must at least be addressed briefly here. NPP proponents interpret the works of the law in most cases as those works that the law of Moses requires. Dunn sometimes narrows the definition to those differentiating requirements, or “badges” of the Jews, namely circumcision and ceremonial, Sabbath, and feast day requirements,¹⁶ whereas at other times he defines it widely enough to incorporate all works prescribed by the law of Moses.¹⁷ So, although the NPP does not deny that works-righteousness is the antithesis of the gospel message, its advocates would merely say that, existentially, it was not a large enough issue for Paul to address, and not Paul’s primary concern in Galatians.

Several scholars since the birth of the NPP have nevertheless continued to hold justification by faith rather than works as the central theme of Galatians, among them, Bruce¹⁸ (although he published relatively early for this discussion), Lea,¹⁹ Westerholm,²⁰ and Schreiner.²¹

Perhaps influenced by the NPP’s conclusions, several scholars have published articles or commentaries in recent decades that do not (entirely) emphasize legalism as

¹⁴ N. T. Wright, “4QMMT and Paul: Justification, ‘Works,’ and Eschatology,” in *History and Exegesis: New Testament Essays in Honor of Dr. E. Earle Ellis for His 80th Birthday*, ed. Aang-Won (Aaron) Son (New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 117.

¹⁵ N. T. Wright, *What Saint Paul Really Said: Was Paul of Tarsus the Real Founder of Christianity?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 98. But see Piper, *The Future of Justification*, 124. Horton argues that Wright has missed the point entirely: Michael S. Horton, “Engaging N. T. Wright and John Piper,” in *Justified: Modern Reformation Essays on the Doctrine of Justification*, eds. Ryan Glomsrud and Michael S. Horton (Escondido, CA: Modern Reformation, 2010), 26-27.

¹⁶ James D. G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), 136-37. See his *Jesus, Paul and the Law* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1990), 223, and *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 355, 358.

¹⁷ Dunn, *Galatians*, 135.

¹⁸ F. F. Bruce, *Commentary on Galatians*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 31-32, 136-140.

¹⁹ Thomas D. Lea, “Unscrambling the Judaizers: Who Were Paul’s Opponents?,” *SWJT* 37 (1994): 23-29.

²⁰ Stephen Westerholm, *Perspectives Old and New on Paul: The “Lutheran” Paul and His Critics* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 367-84.

²¹ Schreiner, *Galatians*, 1-2.

the problem in Galatia, but rather certain agitators' desire to impose the law upon the Gentile believers, believing that only in this way could they be justified. Among them are Witherington,²² Gordon,²³ Longenecker,²⁴ and Moo.²⁵

Beverly Gaventa argues that the central issue in Galatians is Christology,²⁶ and that the major antithesis in the letter is Christ and the new creation versus the cosmos. For her, issues of the law, the cross, and circumcision are all secondary in importance.²⁷

Scott Hafemann, agreeing with Silva,²⁸ sees the apocalyptic-eschatological theme as central, and argues that "at the root of the controversy in Galatians was a failure on the part of the agitators to recognize the eschatological implications of their demands."²⁹ He is referring to Gal. 4:8-9, where Paul asserts that submitting to the law would be the equivalent of returning to a time when they worshiped things that by nature were not gods at all.

2.2. A New Proposal: The New Exodus

This thesis sets out to investigate whether a more accurate central theme, which incorporates those already listed, can be seen in Galatians. The theme to be explored in this respect is the New Exodus, a theme that was introduced into biblical scholarship in

²² Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, 173-79.

²³ T. David Gordon, "The Problem at Galatia," *Int* 41 (1987): 32-43. Gordon's view is essentially the same as Baur's, long preceding the NPP and affirmed by James L. Blevins, "The Problem in Galatia," *RevExp* 69 (1972): 449-58.

²⁴ Richard N. Longenecker, *Galatians*, WBC (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1990), 85-86. Longenecker, however, does not deny that legalism was part of the problem, but rather, the main concern was the entire legal system.

²⁵ Moo, *Galatians*, 2. He attempts to navigate a middle line between the NPP, who emphasize the law as the problem, and the Reformers, who emphasize works, 158-60. It is doubtful that he succeeds, as he seems still to choose legalism as the issue while being open to other views.

²⁶ In contrast to Hays, who insists that Paul's letters are not christocentric, but rather ecclesiocentric: Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 84-86, 162.

²⁷ Beverly Roberts Gaventa, "The Singularity of the Gospel: A Reading of Galatians," in *Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, Philemon*, vol. 1 of *Pauline Theology*, ed. Julette M. Bassler (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991): 147-59.

²⁸ Moisés Silva, *Interpreting Galatians: Explorations in Exegetical Method* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1996), 169.

²⁹ Scott J. Hafemann, "Paul and the Exile of Israel in Galatians 3-4," in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions*, ed. James M. Scott (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 352.

the 1950s³⁰ and has enjoyed increasing attention both in NT generally and Pauline studies specifically in the last couple of decades.³¹ Despite the growing amount of literature supporting the NE theme in the Bible generally and in the NT particularly, a clear definition of the NE has been surprisingly elusive. Indeed I have found no explicit definition in print. In many cases scholars appear tacitly to define the NE merely as the presence of exodus typology in the NT, as will be shown in the literature review of chapter 2 in this thesis. And, as Galatians has numerous references to slavery and redemption, such motifs could well signal the presence of the NE in the letter.

My own definition of the NE includes not only the first exodus typology, but also promises in the Prophets—including, but not limited to, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel—regarding the Babylonian exodus. Some of the prophecies were not fulfilled upon Israel/Judah's return from the exiles to Assyria and Babylon, and therefore continued to await fulfillment, presumably in the messianic age.

Therefore, the definition of the NE for the purposes of this thesis is as follows: The NE refers to the fulfillment of those unfulfilled promises in the Prophets concerning the Babylonian exodus. These prophecies are typologically linked to the original exodus from Egypt and are spiritually fulfilled in the death, resurrection, and return of Jesus the Messiah.

The literature review in chapter 2 will survey the NE scholarship thus far in regards to all of Scripture, the NT, the Pauline letters, and Galatians. No study exists that explores the NE in Galatians in any comprehensive manner, and certainly not as I have defined the theme. In this thesis I will investigate how far the NE theme is represented in Galatians, as well to what extent the NE binds the letter together. I will also explore how recognizing this theme might contribute to a better understanding of

³⁰ See the literature review in chapter 2 of this study. Technically, there is at least one use of the term *new exodus* as early as the nineteenth century, although it appears to be merely a passing reference.

³¹ The development of the NE in biblical scholarship is traced in chapter 2 of this thesis, the literature review.

Paul's message to the Galatians. The outcome of this research will be set out in the concluding chapter of the thesis.

3. Research Process

3.1. Research Questions

Taking due note of existing scholarship in the area of the NE, with increasing attention being paid to individual NT books, it seems reasonable to ask if the NE can be found to be prominent in Galatians as well. In order to approach such a study, it is first necessary to begin the research with some basic questions about the NE. The term has already been defined (see section II.B above) as it will be used.

To explore the thesis means that both the validity of the definition of the NE itself and its clear presence in Paul's letter to the Galatians must be tested. These two facets actually serve as the major research questions: (1) Is the NE, as defined, truly a biblical-theological theme? and (2) Is the NE an important and unifying theme in Galatians?

These major research questions naturally break down into subordinate questions, which tend to overlap into methodology. It must first be asked if the exodus theme is indeed prominent as a major theme throughout the Hebrew Scriptures. Then it must be asked how the exodus theme is so represented. Although this work has been done before, and is surveyed in the literature review, it seems good and necessary to establish it firsthand as well. The questions to be tackled involve such considerations as these: Do the prophets link the original exodus to predictions of the exodus from Babylon? If so, how do they do it? Are there unfulfilled prophecies of the Babylonian exodus? If so, what are they? Did some, or all, of the first-century Jews have the expectation that the Messiah would fulfill these prophecies? Is there evidence of this (messianic and apocalyptic-eschatological expectations) in intertestamental literature? Did some—or

all—of the Jews, consider themselves still in exile during the intertestamental period and in the first century? Is there exodus typology in the NT? Is there evidence of the unfulfilled exodus prophecies referenced in the NT writings being spiritually fulfilled in Christ? Can this be shown in Galatians as well?

3.2. Methodology and Foundational Assumptions

3.2.1. Survey of exodus imagery throughout the OT.

The obvious place to start one's investigation of the NE presence in Galatians is at the foundation of the definition itself: the way the Scriptures use the events and imagery of the original exodus. This will be the topic of chapter 3.

Most of this survey was done by concordance work and cross references, investigating where the exodus event is mentioned or even recapitulated in a later narrative, Psalm, or oracle. Some of the words sought out were: *Egypt, slavery, bondage, desert, and wilderness*. I particularly looked for how the predictions of the liberation from the exile to Babylon are framed in the language and imagery of the original exodus from Egypt.

The purpose of this investigation was not only to find evidence of exodus references themselves, but also to establish that the exodus is seen as the pivotal event in the history of the Jews. As stated above, this idea has already been substantiated by numerous scholars.³² Michael Fishbane summarizes the situation in remarking that the exodus became a paradigm for the Jews as “each generation looked to the first exodus as archetypal expression of its own future hope.”³³ He also notes that in several OT

³² See Robert P. Carroll, “Deportation and Diasporic Discourses in the Prophetic Literature,” in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions*, ed. James M. Scott (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 63-85. Carroll writes that “the Hebrew Bible is a book of exile,” as he traces exile patterns from as early as Adam and Eve in Genesis, 64. See also Jacob Neusner, “Exile and Return as the History of Judaism,” in Scott, *Exile*, 221.

³³ Michael A. Fishbane, *Text and Texture: Close Readings of Selected Biblical Texts* (New York: Schocken Books, 1979), 121.

passages God promises to redeem Israel from Babylon as he had done from Egypt,³⁴ that their return would be a second exodus, and that deliverance would be with similar demonstrations of his might.³⁵

3.2.2. *Gathering evidence that Jews still considered themselves in exile beyond the sixth century BCE.*

N. T. Wright might be the first major Christian scholar to argue that first-century Jews considered themselves continuing to be in a state of exile, never having actually experienced the full exodus from Babylon that was promised.³⁶ Several other scholars now hold this view,³⁷ and the evidence is compelling from Scripture, the Dead Sea Scrolls³⁸ and other intertestamental literature. This concept will also be explored more thoroughly in chapter 3, particularly to investigate if there is evidence of the expectation of an exodus to come, one in which these prophecies would be fulfilled.

³⁴ Ibid., 125. He cites Hos. 2:16-17; Mic. 7:14-15; Isa. 11:11-16.

³⁵ Ibid., 127. Fishbane refers to the wind dividing the sea before them (Ps. 78:13) along with creation imagery overlapping ANE cosmogonies (sea monsters; Pss. 72:12-14; 89:11).

³⁶ Wright, *Climax of the Covenant*, 141. He credits his thinking to Michael Knibb's 1987 work: Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 20-21. Wright states his case more directly than Knibb. See also N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, 2nd ed. (London: S.P.C.K., 1997), 299-301; N. T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), xvii-xviii, 126, 209.

³⁷ James M. Scott, "Exile and the Self-Understanding of Diaspora Jews in the Greco-Roman Period," in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions*, ed. James M. Scott (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 218; Craig A. Evans, "Aspects of Exile and Restoration in the Proclamation of Jesus and the Gospels," in *Exile*, 305-16. Evans provides evidence in the ITL to infer expectations of redemption from exile. See also Rikki E. Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus in Mark* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2000) and David W. Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2002), whose basic theses depend on the concept of the continuing exile. See also Hafemann, "Paul and the Exile," 329-71. Hafemann argues for the representation of the first and second exoduses in Gal. 4:1-7, claiming that Israel is still under exile when Paul writes. Douglas McComiskey, "Exile and Restoration from Exile in the Scriptural Quotations and Allusions of Jesus," *JETS* 53 (2010): 673-96, notes that the exile could not end until the return of the northern tribes along with messianic activity, which has not yet happened. He includes the following Scripture verses as proof: Isa. 11:10-16; 27:2-13; 43:1-7; 49:5-6; Jer. 3:18; 23:1-8; 31:1-40; Ezek. 37:15-28; Zech. 8:1-13; Amos 9:9-15. Also, Jesus' own announcements that the time is at hand (πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρὸς), that he was fulfilling the messianic prophecies in Isaiah (Matt. 11:15; Isa. 35:5-6; Luke 4:18-19; Isa. 61:1-2) are all indicative that he had come to bring the exodus (p. 689). Finally (but not exhaustively), Andrew C. Brunson, *Psalms 118 in the Gospel of John: An Intertextual Study on the New Exodus Pattern in the Theology of John*, WUNT 2/158 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), writes "The real exile—an extended time living under judgment as a punishment for sin—would not end until the inauguration of the eschatological era."

³⁸ This is also noted by Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Concept of Restoration in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Restoration: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Perspectives*, ed. James M. Scott (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 220.

Through an examination of the primary sources, the writings of the prophets predicting the exodus and return from Babylon, and the secondary sources (the Christian scholars who have written about this exodus), I compiled a list of prophecies associated with the Babylonian exodus and return. As I expected, I found that apocalyptic and eschatological prophecies overlap in this category.³⁹

Contemporary scholars Scott Hafemann, Moisés Silva, J. Christiaan Beker, and J. Louis Martyn all contend that apocalyptic-eschatology plays an important role in Paul's theology. This term is hyphenated because they frequently overlap and do so in the discussion of the inauguration of the messianic age, which will be seen to be a major component of the NE. Martyn frames Paul's apocalyptic theology in terms of what he calls antinomies,⁴⁰ although this thesis will use, for clarity purposes, the term *antitheses*.

Working on the premise that Jesus' coming as Messiah—particularly through his death and resurrection—was his act of breaking into salvation history as God's great apocalyptic event (the *Christ-event*), the text of Galatians was scanned for apocalyptic antitheses in which the Christ-event transforms the first element of the pair into the second. In the thesis project that follows, it will be shown that because of what Christ has done for those who believe in him, the first part of each antithesis is no longer the case; instead, the latter part is now true.

³⁹ See, for example, David E. Aune With Eric Stewart, "From the Idealized Past to the Imaginary Future: Eschatological Restoration in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature," in *Restoration: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Perspectives*, ed. James M. Scott (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 147-77. They include a list of Jewish apocalyptic expectations that includes: the restoration of kingship, regathering of the people, Jerusalem and the temple, paradise lost and regained, restoration of the cosmos, 176.

⁴⁰ See J. Louis Martyn, *Galatians*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 570n79, where he himself notes his idiosyncratic use of the word *antinomy*. He believes that for Paul, an antinomy is more than an antithesis, because an antinomy "lies at the foundation of the cosmos, whereas in common usage an antithesis is a form of rhetoric, a produce of human thought." Although I agree that the Christ-event impacts these events in Galatians, I am not certain I would say that they lie at the foundation of the cosmos. For this reason I will use the term antithesis.

3.2.3. *Dealing with difficulties concerning Paul's use of Scripture.*

Once the evidence of apocalyptic-eschatological components of each chapter is uncovered, revealing Jesus' role in bringing in the NE, I will examine how Paul uses Scripture to support the NE theme.

Volumes have been written on the topic of NT writers' use of Scripture, and there is also no shortage of scholarship on the study of how Paul, in particular, uses Scripture. Although time and space hardly allow for an exhaustive discussion of the matter, it is important to address several questions as far as they are relevant to this thesis.

Precisely how many times Paul incorporates the Hebrew Scriptures in some way in his letter to the Galatians is virtually impossible to count, given that some of the scriptural uses or connections might be even more subtle or unconscious than he himself realized.⁴¹ This is to be expected if one is saturated with the Scriptures as Paul was.

The more obvious cases of reference to OT passages are particularly clustered in Gal. 3:6-16 (3:6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 16) and then 4:27; 4:30; and 5:14. Gal. 3:16; 4:27; and 5:14 are verbatim from the LXX, quoting from Gen. 13:15; Isa. 54:1; and Lev. 19:18 respectively. There are essentially three important issues concerning Paul's use of Scripture related to these passages. They are previewed here in order to prepare for the more detailed investigation in the thesis chapters that treat these passages, primarily chapters 5 and 6.

First of all, it cannot be denied that Paul, when quoting from Scripture (introduced by a formulaic phrase such as *γέγραπται*, "it is written", as in Gal. 3:10), occasionally changes some words from the original (Gal. 3:8, 10, 13), which by

⁴¹ See discussion of echoes below.

consensus, is either always or almost always the LXX.⁴² Several explanations for Paul's modifications have been proposed.⁴³

Carelessness is not a likely reason, as Jonathan Norton points out, since, as a Pharisee, Paul's regard for Scripture would be considerably high, with related standards of accuracy and care for detail.⁴⁴ One very common rationale among scholars is that first-century quotation rules were not as rigid as our modern ones, and therefore exercising some license was perfectly normal.⁴⁵ It is possible that Paul took such liberty at times, which would be consistent with the view of many first-century Jews who considered the entire Greek translation of the Scriptures to be just as much interpretation as translation.⁴⁶ There appear to have been different theories of interpretation and translation implemented, meaning that at times the LXX text varies from original sources by purposeful scribal changes.⁴⁷ According to Jennifer Dines, translation styles within the LXX would have varied among the translators, with some exercising more freedom while others attempting to be more literal.⁴⁸

Excavations at Masada and the Judean Desert have uncovered numerous scrolls of Scripture, both in Greek and Hebrew, revealing the fact that there were several variant texts co-existing during the first century.⁴⁹ Among the Hebrew documents, manuscripts have been found that largely agree with the later MT,⁵⁰ indicating a common original copy between them. The implication for the text of the MT is that it is

⁴² J. D. H. Norton, *Contours in the Text: Textual Variations in the Writings of Paul, Josephus and the Yahad* (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 67, 234; Timothy M. Law, *When God Spoke Greek: The Septuagint and the Making of the Christian Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 105. Part of the substantiation for this is the Greek forms evident in the NT (diction, idioms, thought forms, vocabulary).

⁴³ Paul's adaptation of Gen. 21:10 in Gal. 4:30 is obvious and will be treated separately.

⁴⁴ Norton, *Contours in the Text*, 45.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 10-11, 29.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 50; Steve Moyise, *Evoking Scripture: Seeing the Old Testament in the New* (London: T&T Clark, 2008), 1.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 1-2; Emanuel Tov, *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran: Collected Essays* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 181.

⁴⁸ Jennifer M. Dines, *The Septuagint* (London: T&T Clark, 2004) 58.

⁴⁹ Tov, *Hebrew Bible*, 181; Dines, *The Septuagint*, 72; Law, *When God Spoke Greek*, 22-25; Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 10.

⁵⁰ Tov, *Hebrew Bible*, 173; Law, *When God Spoke Greek*, 21; Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 11.

based on ancient texts (which are dated at least to the third century BCE),⁵¹ yet it is unknown how or why the particular texts were chosen while the others also existed.

The discovery of these coexisting variant texts has several other implications. Prior to their finding, it was already obvious that the LXX differs from the MT, at times significantly. Although it cannot be known which source texts were available in which locations, it is obvious that the same manuscripts could potentially have been used as sources for both the MT and the LXX, but were not. Corrections could have been made (missing portions and different order in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and 1 Samuel 16–18 in the LXX), if they were so deemed, but the texts were not reconciled.⁵² Even more interesting, fragments of 4QJer^a are dated at 200 BCE, which agree with the MT, yet the manuscript was apparently not used for the LXX translation.⁵³ One can only conclude that the decision not to correct the LXX means that the MT was not considered absolutely authoritative. If this is true, it also implies that no one text was considered absolutely authoritative at the time.

Similarly, the existence of several variant Greek texts suggests that there was not one official version of the LXX during the first century CE. Codices did not exist until centuries later. The question must then be raised about Paul's own source texts. This could mean that Paul draws from different source texts at different times, even when quoting from the same "book."⁵⁴ Norton is certain that Paul would have been aware of the existence of variants, and probably even chose from among them the one that might best suit his argument.⁵⁵ This assumes, however, that Paul had access to several manuscripts simultaneously.

⁵¹ Law, *When God Spoke Greek*, 22, 32.

⁵² Tov, *Hebrew Bible*, 157-61

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 168.

⁵⁴ Christopher D. Stanley also notes this in *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 51, 161.

⁵⁵ Norton, *Contours in the Text*, 48.

These findings only add to the uncertainty of the precise identification of Paul's source documents. Paul might be drawing from any number of manuscripts over time with numerous variants. It also suggests that Paul could be copying from variants that have not survived. Several scholars have suggested that the expense and unwieldiness of scrolls at that time made it unlikely that Paul had his own copies at all.⁵⁶ Yet this view seems overstated, given that Paul knew and taught Scripture constantly, quoted from it often, and requested Timothy to bring his scrolls to his prison cell. Paul at least owned portions of Scripture.⁵⁷

Other possible, although less substantiated, explanations for “inaccurate” quotations are that Paul is quoting from an Aramaic source, a translation from Philo,⁵⁸ or his own translation from the Hebrew, or that he is relying on his memory.⁵⁹ In the final analysis, it may be necessary to remain somewhat uncertain as to whether Paul is quoting an unknown source or modifying his text.

Yet there are instances where it is obvious that Paul adapts the text to suit his purpose, such as in 4:30, where Paul not only changes several words, but alters the entire reference point, from Sarah speaking in the first person (cf. Gen. 21:10) to Scripture speaking in the third person. This has been observed by scholars as a technique that Paul uses, aside from any question of textual variance.⁶⁰ As Norton

⁵⁶ See discussion below, section 3.2.5.

⁵⁷ Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 257; J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul in Concert in the Letter to the Romans* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 20. Leonard Greenspoon, “By the Letter? Word for Word? Scriptural Citation in Paul,” in *Paul and Scripture: Extending the Conversation*, ed. Christopher D. Stanley (Atlanta: SBL, 2012), 14-15; Stanley Porter, “Paul and His Bible: His Education and Access to the Scriptures of Israel,” in *As It Is Written: Studying Paul's Use of Scripture*, eds. Stanley E. Porter and Christopher D. Stanley (Atlanta: SBL, 2008), 121. Note also that in 2 Tim. 4:13 Paul requests that Timothy bring with him his books (presumably collections of scrolls) and parchments, (τὰ βιβλία, μάλιστα τὰς μεμβράνας), very likely referring to sections of Scripture.

⁵⁸ Gert Steyn, “The Text Form of the Torah Quotations Common to the Corpus Philonicum and Paul's Corinthian Correspondence,” in *The Scriptures of Israel in Jewish and Christian Tradition: Essays in Honour of Maarten J. J. Menken*, eds. Bart Koet, Steve Moyise, and Joseph Verheyden (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 194-96.

⁵⁹ Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 16, although he disputes this possibility (16-17, 69-71) because Paul is inconsistent—sometimes verbatim, other times not; Wagner, *Heralds*, 22; Norton, *Contours in the Text*, 25-29, agrees that memory is a possible explanation at times but remarks that it is a difficult theory to quantify or test.

⁶⁰ Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 17; Norton, *Contours in the Text*, 178.

asserts, Paul's concern is not so much a matter of textual fidelity, but rather the theological point he wants to make.⁶¹ It is also important to remember that Paul obviously believed that he was citing God's word with integrity by using the LXX, despite his likely awareness of the variants and interpretation issues.

Another problem to address regarding Paul's use of Scripture concerns the way he and other NT writers extract a passage from the OT and apply it to their argument, implying that the text means something entirely different from what it appeared to mean in its original context. Morna Hooker identifies and summarizes the problem well when she writes:

Any New Testament scholar who is in any way interested in the problem of hermeneutics is well aware of the dichotomy between the approach of the New Testament authors to "Scripture" and our own. A study of their methods of exegesis must surely make any twentieth-century preacher uncomfortable, for they tear passages out of context, use allegory or typology to give old stories new meanings, contradict the plain meaning of the text, find references to Christ in passages where the original authors certainly never intended any, and adapt or even alter the wording in order to make it yield the meaning they require. Often one is left exclaiming: whatever the passage from the Old Testament originally meant, it certainly was not this!⁶²

Steve Moyise more succinctly comments that Paul sometimes "derives meanings that the original author could not have had in mind."⁶³ The concerns that Hooker and Moyise express are greatest among conservative scholars, who hold to a traditional view of biblical inerrancy, objective and consistent meaning of biblical texts, and the idea that Scripture must be treated reverently to the point of careful citation and systematic

⁶¹ Norton, *Contours in the Text*, 178. Norton also mentions that Paul modifies his text in more than half the cases for rhetorical or stylistic reasons, 137.

⁶² Morna D. Hooker, "Beyond the Things That Are Written? Saint Paul's Use of Scripture," in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts? Essays on the Use of the Old Testament in the New*, ed. G. K. Beale (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1994), 279.

⁶³ Steve Moyise, "Does Paul Respect the Context of His Quotations?," in *Paul and Scripture: Extending the Conversation*, ed. Christopher D. Stanley (Atlanta: SBL, 2012), 100. He uses the example of Paul's citation of Isa. 52:5 in Rom. 2:24, where Paul claims the exact opposite meaning from the original context. Hays, commenting on the same Scripture passages, sees no difficulty: Hays, *Echoes*, 46.

exegesis.⁶⁴ Yet it cannot be denied that the NT writers, including Peter and Paul, interpret and apply OT Scripture according to different rules than modern exegetes.⁶⁵

Perhaps the most obvious solution is simply to assume that hermeneutical principles and practice in the first century allowed for NT writers to use Scripture out of context.⁶⁶ Moyise suggests that the word *context* itself needs to be more clearly defined in this setting,⁶⁷ which will be discussed more specifically in the next chapter.

Another possibility that has been considered is that Paul (and by extension, the other NT writers) is operating under the authority and inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and therefore has been directed to give new meanings to the texts as he did.⁶⁸ Such a view is ultimately impossible to disprove, but neither should it be quickly dismissed. The greatest difficulty with this view is that it potentially allows for any text to mean anything at all.

William Hendriksen has suggested that Paul evokes latent meanings from scriptural texts, of which even the original authors were unaware.⁶⁹ Moyise acknowledges but dismisses this as a possible solution, as he believes it is too clear in most cases that the meaning is not being completed, but rather being entirely changed

⁶⁴ Martin Pickup, "New Testament Interpretation of the Old Testament: The Theological Rationale of Midrashic Exegesis," *JETS* 51 (2008): 354.

⁶⁵ Steve Moyise, "Does the NT Quote the OT Out Of Context?," *Anvil* 11 (1994): 133.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 134; Steve Moyise, "Scripture in the New Testament: Literary and Theological Perspectives," *Neot* 42 (2008): 306. Some scholars claim that this was specifically the method of first-century Jewish rabbis and Pharisees: Richard N. Longenecker, "'Who is the Prophet Talking About?' Some Reflections on the New Testament's Use of the Old," in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?*, 380-84. See also Klyne Snodgrass, "The Use of the Old Testament in the New," in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?*, 43. An exception to this view would be Samuel E. Balentine, who argues against any uniform rabbinical method in first century Judaism, Balentine, "The Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New Testament," *SWJT* 23 (1981), 47. Hays, *Echoes*, 10-14, however, is doubtful that Paul uses rabbinic midrash, arguing that it comes from a later period, and believes contemporary scholars are using the term "midrash" as merely a euphemism for "free license."

⁶⁷ Moyise, "Does Paul Respect the Context?," 97-114.

⁶⁸ George Eldon Ladd, *A Theology of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 430; Roger Nicole, "The New Testament Use of the Old Testament," in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?*, ed. G. K. Beale (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1994), 24-25. R. Longenecker's suggestion is similar: "Who is the Prophet Talking About?," 384. It is not clear if Longenecker supports this possibility or is simply offering a suggestion.

⁶⁹ William Hendriksen, "Galatians," in *Exposition of Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon*, New Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2002), 135, uses this argument to defend Paul's exegesis in Gal. 3:16.

from the original.⁷⁰ Walter C. Kaiser Jr. argues that the OT authors actually knew the full meaning of what they were writing, although they could not have known the specifics of its fulfillment, such as the timing.⁷¹

Philip Barton Payne holds that since God is actually the author of Scripture, God's intention behind the words is what matters, and God alone knows the exhaustive meaning.⁷² Vern Poythress's view is a little more satisfying than Payne's in its comprehensiveness, in that while holding a high view of divine inspiration while admitting Paul's apparent alterations, he also believes one should approach the text grammatically-historically and with a redemptive-historic hermeneutic, consistent with the biblical-theological expectation that God reveals himself in Scripture gradually and progressively.⁷³

Poythress's view comes closest to upholding the integrity of Scripture rather than assuming Paul either had poetic license to use texts as he desired or was divinely guided to evoke meanings that no one else could possibly see. At the same time, his view is not very far from the unsatisfactory suggestion of latent meanings in individual texts, as proposed by Hendriksen. There is, however, a better suggestion, which, I believe, incorporates Poythress's championing of biblical theology.

3.2.4. *Using Richard Hays's intertextuality methodology.*

Richard Hays has strongly influenced the last few decades of Pauline studies with his proposal of the use of intertextuality as a hermeneutical tool, in an attempt to find more subtleties and depth in Paul's thought that have been previously overlooked by other critical methods.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Moyise, "Does the NT Quote the OT Out Of Context?," 135.

⁷¹ Walter C. Kaiser Jr., "The Single Intent of Scripture," in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?*, 57.

⁷² Philip Barton Payne, "The Fallacy of Equating Meaning with the Human Author's Intention," in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?*, 70.

⁷³ Vern Sheridan Poythress, "Divine Meaning of Scripture," in *The Right Doctrine?*, 83-87.

⁷⁴ Hays, *Echoes*, xi-xii.

The term *intertextuality* itself is originally credited to Julia Kristeva,⁷⁵ who coined it as part of literary theory, but was more popularly introduced by John Hollander some fifteen years later.⁷⁶ Richard Schultz claims that intertextuality was introduced into biblical studies in the 1970s, but he gives no reference, and his claim is doubtful.⁷⁷ *Intertextuality* simply refers to the relationship between texts, although as Donald Polasky complains, the term “has accumulated a bewildering variety of definitions and uses.”⁷⁸ Perhaps exaggerating, Peter Miscall claims that intertextuality can cover any relationship between texts including “quotes and direct references to indirect allusions to common words and even letters to dependence on language itself.”⁷⁹

Hays defines the term as “the imbedding of fragments of an earlier text within a later one.”⁸⁰ He admittedly builds his work on Hollander and Fishbane, the latter of whom has done extensive work in inner-biblical exegesis.⁸¹ There is perhaps no distinction between these terms,⁸² but Fishbane’s work has been within the confines of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Arguing for the use of intertextuality in Pauline exegesis, Hays writes:

It would be highly artificial to suppose that Scripture plays an important role in Paul’s thought only in those cases where he quotes a text explicitly. There can be no serious doubt that Scripture shapes his symbolic world in a more pervasive

⁷⁵ Julia Kristeva, “Word, Dialogue and Novel” in *The Julia Kristeva Reader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 40.

⁷⁶ John Hollander, *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981).

⁷⁷ Richard L. Schultz, “Intertextuality, Canon and ‘Undecidability’: Understanding Isaiah’s ‘New Heavens and New Earth’ (Isaiah 65:17-25),” *BBR* 20 (2010): 20.

⁷⁸ Donald Polasky, “Reflections on a Mosaic Covenant: The Eternal Covenant (Isaiah 24:5) and Intertextuality,” *JSOT* 77 (1998): 58.

⁷⁹ Peter Miscall, “Isaiah: New Heavens, New Earth, New Book,” in *Reading Between Texts: Intertextuality and the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Danna N. Fewell (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992), 44.

⁸⁰ Hays, *Echoes*, 14.

⁸¹ Michael A. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); Fishbane, *Text and Texture: Close Readings of Selected Biblical Texts* (New York: Schocken Books, 1979).

⁸² Russell L. Meek, “Intertextuality, Inner-Biblical Exegesis, and Inner-Biblical Allusion: The Ethics of a Methodology,” *Bib* 95 (2014): 280-91. Meek treats these terms essentially as equivalents.

manner. That means that our efforts to interpret his writings must deal also with allusions and echoes of Scripture in his writings.⁸³

In saying this, Hays is not excluding the notion of the use of intertextuality from explicitly quoted or cited texts, but moves beyond them to what he calls allusions and echoes. Before discussing these terms, it is important to state that Hays's work seeks the relationship between the referenced text and the context in which Paul uses it in his letter. This relationship, however, goes well beyond the text itself, investigating links in the text surrounding its source. These connections form part of what Hays calls the echo, in this case, of the quoted text, as it interacts both with its original and its new surrounding.

Hays's vague concept of an echo has been criticized by numerous scholars, which will be addressed below. He uses the term *echo* in the more classic sense, that is, following Hollander and Fishbane, to refer to a connection between one passage and a previous one based on a word or theme. Although at times he appears to differentiate an echo from an allusion, throughout most of *Echoes*, he either conjoins them (allusive echoes) or uses them interchangeably.⁸⁴ Yet Hollander does the same.⁸⁵

An allusion, by most scholars' definition, is a reference to another text or theme. Even Hays has suggested that an allusion is more intentional than an echo.⁸⁶ And yet, Jeannine Brown writes that both allusion and echo can be used unconsciously by an author.⁸⁷ Beale also acknowledges the fine line between an echo and an allusion, only claiming that an echo is perhaps less definite.⁸⁸ Yet he also writes that an allusion can

⁸³ Richard B. Hays, "Who Has Believed Our Message? Paul's Reading of Isaiah," *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers 1998*, Part One, SBLSPS 37 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1998), 208.

⁸⁴ Hays, *Echoes*, 119, writes that in Gal. 4:27, "Paul employs Scripture in an allusive, echo-laden manner." In "Who Has Believed Our Message?," 209, he uses the word *allusion* in his discussion of echoes. See Lyle Eslinger, "Inner-Biblical Exegesis and Inner-Biblical Allusion: The Question of Category," *VT XLII* (1992), 47, who claims that Hays treats echoes and allusions identically.

⁸⁵ Hollander, *The Figure of Echo*, ix, 63.

⁸⁶ Hays, *Echoes*, 23, 29; Hollander, *The Figure of Echo*, 64.

⁸⁷ Jeannine K. Brown, *Scripture as Communication: Introducing Biblical Hermeneutics* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 108-9.

⁸⁸ G. K. Beale, *Handbook on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament: Exegesis and Interpretation* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 31.

be an unconscious reference, exactly the way others have described an echo.⁸⁹ Since it is not always possible to detect an author's intention, and since I will be following Hays's methodology, this thesis will not attempt to draw a distinction between allusion and echo.

As Brown contends, an allusion can evoke an entire story or idea.⁹⁰ Stanley Porter defines an allusion as "a figure of speech that makes indirect extra-textual references."⁹¹ The most obvious way to recognize an allusion is by noting some kind of verbal or conceptual agreement. More specifically, Brown suggests three helpful criteria for recognizing an allusion: availability (likelihood of reader recognition), repetition, and thematic coherence (effect of potential allusion's relationship with text at hand).⁹²

Hays readily acknowledges that the recognition of echoes is not entirely scientific,⁹³ and that precision is not possible.⁹⁴ He offers the following seven criteria with which to identify a scriptural echo: (1) availability [the readers have reasonable familiarity with texts being echoed]; (2) volume [recognition, distinctiveness]; (3) recurrence [frequency within Paul's references] (4) thematic coherence [relationship to argument]; (5) historical plausibility [likelihood of Paul's intent or the reader's understanding]; (6) history of interpretation [previous detection of echo]; (7) satisfaction [makes sense].⁹⁵

In a couple of instances Hays labels the intertextual method as "metalepsis," which he defines as "a rhetorical and poetic device in which one text alludes to an earlier text in a way that evokes resonances of the earlier text beyond those explicitly

⁸⁹ Ibid., 32.

⁹⁰ Brown, *Scripture as Communication*, 110.

⁹¹ Stanley Porter, "Allusions and Echoes," in *As It Is Written: Studying Paul's Use of Scripture*, eds. Stanley E. Porter and Christopher D. Stanley (Atlanta: SBL, 2008), 30.

⁹² Brown, *Scripture as Communication*, 227.

⁹³ Hays, "Who Has Believed Our Message?," 209.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 212.

⁹⁵ Hays, *Echoes*, 29-31. The terms are Hays's. The bracketed explanations are my paraphrases.

cited.”⁹⁶ Stefan Alkier defines it perhaps more concisely, writing that intertextuality “concerns itself with the effects of meaning that emerge from references of a given text to other texts, that neither by itself would produce.”⁹⁷

3.2.5. *Critique of the intertextual method and possible solutions.*

Intertextuality is far different from a rigid historical-critical method of exegesis, in which a text is determined to mean only what it could have meant to its original hearers in its original context. The issue is not with Paul’s letters, but with the OT Scripture from which he quotes or to which he alludes. A strict historical-critical method is left unable to answer satisfactorily the questions raised earlier about how Paul can apply an OT text in a context that is clearly very different from its original one. Steve Moyise believes that the two methods need not be mutually exclusive, and if used correctly, can be complementary.⁹⁸

The two major criticisms raised against the intertextual method are (1) the question of readership recognition and comprehension of echoes/allusions in the text, and (2) the vague hermeneutical guidelines for determining and limiting the scope of echoes.

The area of reader competency is broader than the question of allusion and echo recognition. As precarious as it may be to speculate about the original audience of an epistle, scholars have done so. Christopher Stanley has questioned even whether Paul could reasonably expect his readers to recognize and understand his direct Scripture

⁹⁶ Richard Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination: Paul as Interpreter of Israel’s Scripture* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 2.

⁹⁷ Stefan Alkier, “Intertextuality and the Semiotics of Biblical Texts,” in *Reading the Bible Intertextually*, eds. Richard B. Hays, Stefan Alkier, and Leroy A. Huizenga (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2009), 9.

⁹⁸ Steve Moyise, “Intertextuality and Historical Approaches to the Use of Scripture in the New Testament,” in *Reading the Bible Intertextually*, 24, 32.

quotations.⁹⁹ It is necessary to discuss this briefly before returning to the question of allusion and echo recognition.

Stanley suggests that church members would not have direct access to Scripture due to the costliness of scrolls,¹⁰⁰ low literacy rates,¹⁰¹ and the fact that most of them were Gentiles who would be unfamiliar with the Jewish Scriptures.¹⁰² Stanley contends that Paul does not expect his letters' recipients to understand the texts' meaning or context, and he is often simply quoting for rhetorical purposes, citing an authoritative source for its persuasive weight more than its relevance.¹⁰³ Since Stanley believes that Paul also would not have been wealthy enough to own much Scripture¹⁰⁴ (and all those scrolls would prove unwieldy as well), he contends that even Paul did not always know the context of the verses he used, probably drawing from a notebook he kept of miscellaneous passages.¹⁰⁵

Stanley's arguments, however, weaken under scrutiny. Brian Abasciano, in an article responding to Stanley's claims, refutes most of them convincingly.¹⁰⁶ The expense of personal ownership of scrolls need not have been so prohibitive, and there are examples in the NT that indicate private ownership. Abasciano cites Paul's request for Timothy to bring his own scrolls and parchments (2 Tim. 4:13) and the occasion of the Ethiopian eunuch reading a portion of Isaiah in his chariot (Acts 8:26-34).¹⁰⁷ He might also have added the reference to the Bereans, who examined the Scriptures daily to verify Paul's teaching (Acts 17:11). Paul commended the public reading of Scripture

⁹⁹ Christopher D. Stanley, "'Pearls Before Swine': Did Paul's Audiences Understand His Biblical Quotations?," *NovT* 41 (1999): 124.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 127; Christopher D. Stanley, *Arguing with Scripture: The Rhetoric of Quotations in the Letters of Paul* (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 41.

¹⁰¹ Stanley, "Pearls Before Swine," 128-29; Stanley, *Arguing with Scripture*, 45.

¹⁰² Stanley, "Pearls Before Swine," 129.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 135. See also Stanley's "Biblical Quotations as Rhetorical Devices in Paul's Letter to the Galatians," *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers 1998*, Part One SBLSPS 37 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1998), 702, where he argues that "the question is not how well Paul uses the text theologically, but persuasively."

¹⁰⁴ Stanley, "Pearls Before Swine," 127.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 136-37.

¹⁰⁶ Brian J. Abasciano, "Diamonds in the Rough: A Reply to Christopher Stanley Concerning the Reader Competency of Paul's Original Audiences," *NovT* 49 (2007): 153-83.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 157.

(1 Tim. 4:13),¹⁰⁸ and Stanley himself mentions that Paul and the other NT authors regularly studied Scriptures.¹⁰⁹ In Ephesus the magicians had volumes of books, which they burned upon their conversion (Acts 19:18-19). Clearly people could obtain scrolls if they were a priority. Abasciano suggests that people could have pooled resources or that wealthy patrons could have supplied Scriptures for the church or individuals.¹¹⁰ He also mentions the possibility of copying rather than purchasing.¹¹¹

As for literacy rates, Abasciano points out that Stanley neglects to consider oral literacy, memorization, and the function of intermediaries who would perform reading and writing tasks when needed.¹¹² Stanley also seems to underestimate the population and diligence of the God-fearing Gentiles (who attended synagogues, believed in Israel's God, but did not submit to circumcision) who would have more knowledge of Scripture than he allows.¹¹³ Given these considerations, it seems very reasonable that Paul did indeed expect his audiences to understand or be taught the meaning and relevance of the Scriptures he cited.

Assuming that Paul's audiences (and Paul himself) would have access to Scriptures and recognize references, the possibility of recognizing allusions and echoes can now be addressed, although briefly. Hays does assume that the Jews would be familiar enough with Scriptures to recognize echoes in Paul's writings, as should the Gentile believers who were either God-fearers or who were becoming well educated in Scriptures since their conversion to believers in Jesus Christ.¹¹⁴ Moyses takes a more

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 158.

¹⁰⁹ Stanley, "Pearls Before Swine," 127-28.

¹¹⁰ Abasciano, "Diamonds in the Rough," 159.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 160.

¹¹² Ibid., 165-66.

¹¹³ Ibid., 167-68. See also Greenspoon, "By the Letter?," 19; Bruce N. Fisk, "Synagogue Influence and Scriptural Knowledge Among the Christians of Rome," in *As It Is Written: Studying Paul's Use of Scripture*, eds. Stanley E. Porter and Christopher D. Stanley (Atlanta: SBL, 2008), 177-78. Greenspoon and Fisk claim that the God-fearers would likely have a higher than average literacy rate.

¹¹⁴ Hays, *Echoes*, 28.

moderate view, arguing that it is better to maintain a general view of Paul's readers.¹¹⁵

From this statement he appears to hold a view between Moyise and Abasciano, meaning that we must remain somewhat agnostic, assuming that some were literate and some were not, some were familiar with biblical texts and others were not.

Based on the many conflicting opinions regarding audience competence, it seems quite difficult if not impossible to come to a conclusion at this point as to how capable Paul's audiences were in perceiving the intertextual relationships that Paul invokes via echoes in the text. Their ability might also depend on what Hays calls the volume of the echo. This topic is so important as to be best explored in another thesis. What is more accessible is what Paul appears to be thinking based on his writing, and we have plentiful resources available on this topic. Therefore, with rare exception in this thesis, I will not be addressing the audience's perception or ability to perceive Paul's message, but rather his own message, his nuances, and thought patterns, as well as they can be determined—particularly in Galatians.

Kenneth Litwak expresses concern that although intertextuality seems to have potential to uncover a better understanding of texts, intertextuality itself is poorly defined in biblical studies and tends to be too comprehensive a term covering a wide variety of approaches and methods.¹¹⁶

Moyise is cautiously accepting of Hays's work, agreeing in principle that texts ought not to be treated in isolation.¹¹⁷ Yet he cautions against abuse of intertextuality among those who would find dubious echoes by questionable means, and remarks that intertextuality is more a theory than a method.¹¹⁸ Part of the problem is a vague

¹¹⁵ Steve Moyise, "How Does Paul Read Scripture?," in *Thematic Studies*, vol. 1 of *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality*, eds. Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias, LNTS 391 (London: T&T Clark, 2009), 189.

¹¹⁶ Kenneth D. Litwak, "Echoes of Scripture? A Critical Survey of Recent Works on Paul's Use of the Old Testament," *Currents in Research* 6 (1998): 285.

¹¹⁷ Steve Moyise, "Intertextuality and the Study of the Old Testament in the New Testament," in *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of J. L. North*, ed. Steve Moyise, JSNTSup 189 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 15-16.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

definition of an echo, according to J. Christiaan Beker.¹¹⁹ David Hay's comments parallel Moyise's appreciation of the method, but he also criticizes Hays for discovering allusions (again, this is the same as "echoes" in Hays's method) that are not there.¹²⁰

Similarly, scholars are rightly concerned with the reader-oriented approach of intertextuality, which can easily go beyond the author's intent,¹²¹ and according to Beker, also become anachronistic.¹²² This leads to the question of whether the Scripture can have objective meaning at all under the loose guidelines of an intertextual hermeneutic.¹²³

While many scholars are willing to accept Hays's intertextual biblical hermeneutics in principle, they are concerned about the ambiguous parameters within which intertextuality seems free to operate. What might be acceptable in general literary theory is not necessarily suitable for biblical hermeneutics, at least for those who understand that the meaning of a text ought to be more objective than subjective. Additionally, Hays adopts the reader-centered hermeneutic of literary theory, which allows the meaning of Paul's writing to change over time and circumstance.¹²⁴ Hays is open to a far more free and creative hermeneutic than will be used in this study.¹²⁵ Rather, the assumption of this study is that the meaning of the text is what the author (Paul) originally intended it to mean. This can be done, even while using Hays's method, and to demonstrate this, I offer two brief examples of scholars who have applied Hays's method effectively and responsibly.

¹¹⁹ J. Christiaan Beker, "Echoes and Intertextuality: On the Role of Scripture in Paul's Theology" in *Reading the Bible Intertextually*, 64.

¹²⁰ David M. Hay, review of *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, by Richard B. Hays, *Int* 45 (1991): 89. Beker makes this same point; Hays simply "finds" too many echoes or allusions, Beker, "Echoes and Intertextuality," 65.

¹²¹ E. Earle Ellis, review of *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, by Richard B. Hays, *Theology Today* 47 (1990): 202; Dale B. Martin, review of *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, by Richard B. Hays, *Modern Theology* 7 (1991): 292; Schultz, "Intertextuality, Canon and 'Undecidability,'" 19.

¹²² Beker, "Echoes and Intertextuality," 65.

¹²³ Karl P. Donfried, review of *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, by Richard B. Hays, *TS* 52 (1991): 734. Yet Donfried is not entirely negative on intertextuality as a method, if it can be reined in with clearer guidelines.

¹²⁴ Hays, *Echoes*, 190. He argues for "the responsibility for ongoing interpretation."

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 123-25. On p. 124 he writes, "The Spirit gives exegetical freedom."

Karen Jobes applies Hays's method to Gal. 4:21-31, a key passage in this thesis.¹²⁶ Paul quotes Isa. 54:1 in Gal. 4:27 to support his argument, and yet it is not immediately obvious, at least to modern readers (based on commentators) how the passage does so, nor is it so obvious how Paul can excise the verse from the Isaianic prophecy and claim it applies to the contemporary situation. Jobes demonstrates how the use of intertextuality addresses both of these difficulties, as Gal. 4:27 interacts with Isaiah 54 and its surrounding chapters as well as with Genesis 21 and its surrounding chapters.¹²⁷ Her findings serve as the basis of my work in chapter 6.

Frank Thielman also applies Hays's method to reconcile the apparent paradox between Rom. 9:6-13 and 11:25-31; the former passage stresses God's election apart from ethnic identity, and the latter passage appears to affirm the salvation of the entire nation.¹²⁸ He skillfully follows the echoes of election back into the Genesis narratives. These echoes are based on quotations, such as in Rom. 9:13 ("Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated,"; Mal. 1:2-3), by which Thielman contends the exegete is now methodologically permitted to seek other passages in which the Genesis narrative might inform Paul's argument.¹²⁹ Thielman invokes thematic echoes by referring to numerous other cases in Genesis where God chooses to bless and grant inheritance to a child other than the firstborn.¹³⁰ I call these thematic echoes because they are inferred only by the theme or motif of God's unusual way of choosing, but are not directly alluded to by the Romans text. Thielman, then, also uses Hays's method by following echoes not only in cited or quoted texts, but also by carefully following thematic echoes back into the Genesis texts that first generated them.

¹²⁶ Karen H. Jobes, "Jerusalem, Our Mother: Metalepsis and Intertextuality in Galatians 4:21-31," *WTJ* 55 (1993): 299-320. She builds on the work that Hays does on this same passage in *Echoes*, 111-21.

¹²⁷ Jobes, "Jerusalem, Our Mother," 306.

¹²⁸ Frank Thielman, "Unexpected Mercy: Echoes of a Biblical Motif in Romans 9-11," *SJT* 47 (1994): 169-81.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 176.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 178.

Hays's intertextual method for biblical studies also meshes well with C. H. Dodd's understanding of how Paul uses OT Scripture. Dodd contends that authors implicitly included the context, i.e., the surrounding verses, of the original text as they quoted it.¹³¹ When an echo is based on a quotation, such as Paul's quotation of Isa. 54:1 in Gal. 4:27, intertextuality will examine verses surrounding the Isaiah passage in both directions. The difference is that Dodd implicitly seems to expect the context (he would not have used the word *echo*) to remain fairly contained—in this case, probably only within Isaiah 54.

Thus, Hays's intertextual method has been tested by other peer-reviewed scholars, and it is consistent with Dodd's seminal work on OT use in the NT. My own reliance on Dodd will be seen in chapter 6, as I explore the surrounding verses of Isa. 54:1 (quoted in Gal. 4:27) far more thoroughly than Hays or Jobes do in their treatment of the passage.

For those who are not comfortable with the imprecision and uncertainty implied in the intertextual approach on the grounds of a faith position in relation to the authority of Scripture, the key (though not necessarily a foolproof one) to curbing an intertextual method, is basing it upon a solid biblical theology. As Alkier writes, “a strong biblical theology also serves to guide abuses of intertextuality, as it treats Scripture as a unified message.”¹³²

There is a huge difference in various approaches to biblical exegesis; especially when one utilizes intertextuality, there are differences depending upon whether one regards the Bible as an anthology of writings—or as one unified message guided by divine inspiration, as does a biblical theologian.¹³³ Biblical theology teaches a

¹³¹ C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures: The Sub-Structure of New Testament Theology* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), 126.

¹³² Alkier, “Intertextuality,” 11-13.

¹³³ Graeme Goldsworthy, *Christ-Centered Biblical Theology: Hermeneutical Foundations and Principles* (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2012), 19, 40. The reference to intertextuality is mine. Goldsworthy is

consistency among the books of the Bible, and therefore the echoes perceived in a NT text, for example, could potentially be found simultaneously in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and any number of other prophetic books. As a biblical theologian, this is also my approach.

Graeme Goldsworthy suggests that one of the most important areas for the biblical theologian is the way the NT uses the OT. He also argues that from a biblical-theological standpoint, the New Testament “is an interpretation, or series of interpretations, of the Old Testament in the light of the person and work of Jesus.”¹³⁴ Even though there is no single NT hermeneutic of the OT, biblical theology is bound to interpret in ways that are complementary and not contradictory.¹³⁵

Since biblical theology seeks to demonstrate thematic relationships between texts, a certain amount of creativity is normally expected, as Goldsworthy contends, “as we seek to uncover both the obvious and the more obscure relationships within Scripture.”¹³⁶ At the same time, Goldsworthy rightly cautions that this creativity must be controlled by solid exegesis.¹³⁷ He also reminds the exegete that as key themes are developed, they are done so within the canon, meaning that they are consistent within biblical revelation.

Goldsworthy’s guidelines are somewhat narrower than Hays’s criteria for discerning an echo. The one guideline that comes closest to Goldsworthy’s is Hays’s seventh criterion, “satisfaction,” by which he means that the relationship between two texts makes sense. Unfortunately, such a criterion is rather subjective and vague. Yet, when attempted within the constraints of biblical theology, a far more objective result is possible. The relationship must produce a theme or motif that fits consistently within redemptive history.

stressing the unity and inspirational aspects of Scripture. He acknowledges that perhaps not all biblical theology holds the evangelical view of inspiration, 54.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 150.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid. 216.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

3.2.6. Limiting the scope of the thesis: Galatians 1–4.

The foundation for the study has been laid. It needs now to be stated that, although the title of this thesis suggests that it explores the NE in the entire letter, very little detail will be given to Galatians 5 and 6. In fact, these two chapters will be addressed only in the concluding chapter, in which a few elements indicating the NE presence are identified, but only briefly discussed.

There are several reasons for this decision. Primarily, these two chapters are generally considered to be paraenetic rather than theological,¹³⁸ although there is not universal agreement on the issue.¹³⁹ Many scholars, while acknowledging that Paul is certainly beginning an exhortative section in Gal. 5:1,¹⁴⁰ insist that he is beginning the final section of his larger argument.¹⁴¹ Frank Matera argues that, although these chapters are indeed paraenetic, they are a culmination of Paul's argument,¹⁴² confirming how a believer in Jesus must live in the Spirit apart from the law.¹⁴³ Paul's familiar pattern of the indicative-imperative formula—who you are dictates what you must do—is evident here in these chapters.¹⁴⁴

I am not denying that there is theology within the chapter. Neither do I deny the value of hortatory material as does Martin Dibelius, who argues that all of Paul's hortatory sections are comprised of miscellaneous exhortations, unconnected in any

¹³⁸ Schreiner, *Galatians*, 330; Moo, *Galatians*, 316, 332, 339; R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 221-222. Yet none of these suggest that the material in these chapters is unimportant.

¹³⁹ Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, 359, claims that there is much theology in these chapters.

¹⁴⁰ Some scholars connect 5:1 to the previous pericope (thus 4:21–5:1), while others (such as Dunn, *Galatians*, 285) say that the exhortation does not truly begin until v. 13.

¹⁴¹ Betz, *Galatians*, 254; Dunn, *Galatians*, 260; Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, 359; Gordon D. Fee, "Freedom and the Life of Obedience (Galatians 5:1–6:18)," *RevExp* 91 (1994): 201.

¹⁴² Frank J. Matera, "The Culmination of Paul's Argument to the Galatians: Gal. 5.1–6.17," *JSNT* 32 (1988): 79 (although it is argued *passim*).

¹⁴³ For another view, arguing that Gal. 6:11-18 specifically recapitulates the themes of the entire letter, see Jeffrey A. D. Weima, "Gal. 6:11-18: A Hermeneutical Key to the Galatian Letter," *CTJ* 28 (1993): 90-107.

¹⁴⁴ Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, 28; J. Scott Duvall, "'Identity-Performance-Result': Tracing Paul's Argument in Galatians 5 and 6," *SWJT* 37 (1994): 30-38.

direct way to the body of the letter.¹⁴⁵ As Betz¹⁴⁶ and John Barclay¹⁴⁷ have noted, this view is to be rejected. Indeed Barclay complains that the paraenetic portion of Galatians has been badly neglected because of a skewed emphasis on the doctrine of justification by faith rather than by works.¹⁴⁸

Second, although there are minor disagreements among scholars about the structure of Paul's argument and more major ones regarding the question of a libertine faction among his opponents (highly unlikely) or within the congregation (more probably a potential concern for misunderstood freedom in Christ), none of these concern the NE theme.

And finally, the three NE motifs found in Galatians 5 and 6 can easily be treated in only a few paragraphs. The apocalyptic antitheses (to be explained in chapter 4), which also serve to identify the presence of the NE, will have been found to be duplicates or equivalents of those covered in previous chapters.

4. Plan of Study

Following this introduction, the thesis begins with a literature review (chapter 2), which aims to survey the important literature concerning the exodus theme in Scripture and the NE and concerning Paul's use of Scripture. Also included is a survey of some commentaries on Galatians. The purpose of the survey of commentaries is to demonstrate the approaches various modern scholars have taken to the epistle, in order to contrast the way this thesis will do so.

Chapter 3 once again defines the NE and demonstrates how the theme is developed in Scripture via exodus references and typologies. It is shown how the second exodus (from Babylon) is promised in the Prophets using the language and motifs of the

¹⁴⁵ Martin Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel*, trans. Bertram Lee Woolf (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 1971), 239.

¹⁴⁶ Betz, *Galatians*, 253-54.

¹⁴⁷ John M. G. Barclay, *Obeying the Truth: A Study of Paul's Ethics in Galatians* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988), 10.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

exodus from Egypt. Many of the second exodus promises made in the Prophets, especially in Isaiah, are studied, and shown to be yet unfulfilled upon the Israelites' return from Babylon. It should be noted here that this study uses the word *theme* in reference to the NE, but will refer to the individual components, such as those unfulfilled promises, as *motifs* of the NE.

Chapter 4 begins the exegetical process, analyzing Galatians 1 and 2. I first explain the process I will use, which involves surveying the text for exodus allusions and types, as basic evidence of the presence of the NE in the letter. Following this identification, I then search for apocalyptic antitheses, which are first explained. I show how Paul's use of these antitheses demonstrate his understanding that the coming of Jesus the Messiah brought in a new age and a NE. Finally, I search for the various NE motifs, as listed and expounded upon in chapter 3. The presence of these motifs, and particularly their clustering together with several others tests the strength of the evidence that Paul understands Jesus to be inaugurating a NE, spiritually fulfilling the promises of the second exodus for all of God's people.

Chapters 5 and 6 proceed in the same way for Galatians 3 and 4 respectively. The amount of material in each these chapters of the epistle warrants a separate thesis chapter for each. Chapter 6 tackles Paul's allegory in Gal. 4:21-31 by using the intertextual method, building on the work of Hays and Jobes.

Finally, chapter 7 draws this work to a close, summarizing its findings, briefly exploring some implications for texts not dealt with (such as for Galatians 5 and 6). It also discusses possible implications of my findings for Paul's view of the law, as well as how my conclusions might relate to the New Perspective on Paul. I also make suggestions for possible future study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Introduction

Literature on the NE and on Paul's particular use of Scripture in his writings are most relevant to this research. A third area that will be surveyed briefly is the approach of a few recent commentaries on Galatians in relation to the themes in the letter. This review will begin with a survey of the work that has been done in the area of the exodus theme in Scripture and then move into an examination of the scholarship on the NE in the NT. It will be seen that the approaches to the NE differ, as does the definition of a NE itself. Indeed, a search for a clear, universal definition of the NE in the literature has proved futile, and it was this that led me to create my own definition for the purposes of this thesis (see chapter 1).

Naturally, the attempt to trace such a theme in Scripture must involve the way that Scripture interacts with Scripture, and so a survey of the NT's use of OT Scripture is necessary. Paul uses Scripture in a variety of ways, including quotations, citations,¹ allusions, and echoes.² The literature surveys a sampling of scholarship in these areas, and examines where they have fallen short in their determination of how Paul is using Scripture in Galatians.

¹ The distinction being made between a quotation and citation is that the former is verbatim, whereas the second need not be, but is obviously a very close paraphrase.

² The distinction being made between an allusion and an echo, although not necessarily universally agreed upon, is that of Stanley Porter, who follows Jeannine Brown. They both define an allusion as an intentional reference to another text, whereas an echo might be unconsciously made. Stanley E. Porter, "Allusions and Echoes," in *As It Is Written: Studying Paul's Use of Scripture*, eds. Stanley E. Porter and Christopher D. Stanley (Atlanta: SBL, 2008) 29-40; Jeannine K. Brown, *Scripture as Communication: Introducing Biblical Hermeneutics* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 108. However, as was discussed in chapter 1, the line between them can be fine, as Hays and Hollander use the terms interchangeably. For the purposes of intertextuality, the distinction is apparently not crucial.

It was not expected at the outset of compiling this review that the two focus areas of the exodus/New Exodus and Paul's use of Scripture would overlap, but there are a few works surveyed that could possibly fit in either category. This actually does make sense if one considers that we see the exodus/NE theme through the way Scripture uses Scripture. Therefore, it should be stated that the first two major headings are not nearly so discrete as one might normally expect.

2. The Exodus and New Exodus Theme in Scripture

The prominence of the exodus theme throughout the OT can scarcely be missed (see more detailed discussion in chapter 3 of this study), but its presence in the NT has been more of a recent discussion, most particularly beginning in the latter half of the twentieth century. Scholars have observed various parallels, allusions, and echoes in both the OT and NT; these have been seen in regards to the events surrounding the Israelites' exodus from Egypt, including the plagues, the Passover meal, the grand exit from Egypt, the parting of the Red Sea, and numerous events that took place during their wilderness wanderings. The major differences within the scholarship, as will be noted, can be found in the significance—or perhaps the implications—granted to the exodus theme in the NT.

Another issue, which can be quite confusing, is the use of the term *New Exodus* (NE). While it is tacitly clear that the exodus refers to the deliverance of Israel from Egypt, scholars use the *NE* in many different ways, and in most cases do not ever define the term at all.

This survey of the literature on the NE will be conducted chronologically. The first occurrence of the expression appears to be in a nineteenth-century commentary, in what is only a passing reference to the Babylonian exodus.³ Daniel L. Smith has

³ Joseph Addison Alexander, *The Later Prophecies of Isaiah* (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1847), 244, as noted by Daniel Lynwood Smith, "The Uses of 'New Exodus' in New Testament Scholarship: Preparing a Way Through the Wilderness," *Currents in Biblical Research* 14 (2016): 207.

detected a few other uses of the term in the early twentieth century,⁴ but the bulk of NE study began in the 1950s. The earliest scholars are generally using the term to refer to a reenactment of the exodus in the messianic age, but it is the precise conditions and terms of that reenactment that vary so much among the scholars.

2.1. Harald Sahlin, Otto Piper, and Jindrich Mánek

In an essay published in 1953, Harald Sahlin examines the way the exodus event shaped Israel's (as God's particular people) expectations of future and ongoing deliverance from all their foes, and how the original exodus further shapes their expectations of eschatological salvation through the Messiah according to exodus patterns.⁵ He takes note of exodus patterns and parallels in Matthew's Gospel account,⁶ typological relationships between 1 Corinthians 5 and 10 on the one hand and the Passover and exodus wanderings on the other,⁷ and most of all, connections among Jesus' death and resurrection, the Passover event, and the crossing of the Red Sea.⁸ For Sahlin, Jesus was the second Moses who brought the NE through his death and resurrection. Sahlin appears to be the first to use "New Exodus" in a publication title. Yet for him the term is limited to the deliverance and salvation that Jesus brings to believers, parallel to the deliverance in which Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt.

Four years later, however, Otto Piper claims to be the first scholar to produce a singular study of the exodus in the NT.⁹ He does acknowledge that some work was done previously in exodus typology, although he cites no one by name. After showing how the OT refers back to the exodus and demonstrating the presence of the theme in the intertestamental literature (ITL), much of Piper's essay surveys exodus references,

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Harald Sahlin, "The New Exodus of Salvation According to St. Paul," in *The Root of the Vine: Essays in Biblical Theology* (Westminster: Dacre Press, 1953), 81.

⁶ Ibid. 82.

⁷ Ibid., 83.

⁸ Ibid., 87, 91-95.

⁹ Otto A. Piper, "Unchanging Promises: Exodus in the New Testament," *Int* 11 (1957): 3.

allusions, and types throughout the different NT books and authors. He distinguishes Paul's exegetical style from that of other Jews in the way that Paul uses typology.¹⁰ Piper's particular contribution is found in his treatment of Isaianic types in the NT. Piper does not use the NE term, but essentially builds upon Sahlin's work, linking exodus typology in the Pentateuch and the prophets (especially Isaiah) to Christ.

Apparently unknown to Piper, Jindrich Mánek published an article earlier that same year (1957),¹¹ examining the NE in Luke-Acts. Perhaps the most interesting aspect to note from his study is his treatment of Luke's account of the transfiguration. According to Mánek, the evangelist's word choice of ἔξοδος (9:31) is to be connected to Jesus' resurrection (Jesus goes out from the tomb, escaping death), and the presence of the two men (cf. Luke 24:4; Acts 1:10) proved that Jesus was not to be identified with those two men as had been rumored,¹² and furthermore proved that the two men affirmed Christ. Mánek also shows how Luke purposely presents Jesus as a second Moses, particularly in the passion that echoes the exodus events.¹³ His work could have been improved if he had developed further the significance of the ἔξοδος in the transfiguration as it relates to the exodus Jesus had come to bring.

2.2. George Balentine

In 1962, George Balentine wrote an article interpreting Jesus' death in relation to Israel's salvation in the original exodus.¹⁴ He notes the prominence of the NE theme in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel and remarks that previous scholars had seen the NE as the prototype of the messianic redemption.¹⁵ He appears to be the first to draw the connections between the OT prophecies of the Babylonian exodus and the NE in Jesus

¹⁰ Ibid., 10-11.

¹¹ Jindrich Mánek, "The New Exodus in the Books of Luke," *NovT* 2 (1957): 8-23.

¹² Mánek, "New Exodus," 9-11.

¹³ Ibid., 13.

¹⁴ George L. Balentine, "Death of Jesus as a New Exodus," *RevExp* 59 (1962): 27-41. The article is based on the author's unpublished doctoral dissertation, "The Concept of the New Exodus in the Gospels" (PhD diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1961).

¹⁵ Ibid., 28.

the Messiah. Balentine also explored evidence of the theme in ITL, in rabbinical writings, and in Josephus, which suggests that Jews around the first century were expecting the Messiah to be a second Moses.¹⁶

But the primary emphasis of Balentine's work is to draw attention to the connections between the passion of Christ and the Passover. Using extensive examples, Balentine's goal was simply to show that Jesus' ministry and redemptive death were patterned after Moses, and that through his death, Jesus has made the way for his people to enter into life "in the new eschatological Exodus of salvation."¹⁷ Balentine had broken some new ground in linking the original exodus to the Babylonian exodus and then to the exodus that Jesus had come to bring. His work, however, did not prevent the next group of scholars from reverting back into merely typological discussions.

2.3. David Daube and R. E. Nixon

In 1963, David Daube notes, as did several scholars before him, that the Israelites regarded the original exodus as absolute assurance that God would deliver them from each and every future threat from their enemies.¹⁸ The majority of his work emphasized the character of God as a deliverer of his people, which Daube demonstrates through a survey of lexicographical examples of cries for deliverance, followed by rescue, throughout the OT, all of which, he argues, point back to the original exodus.¹⁹

Daube, therefore, was essentially building a biblical theology of God as deliverer, but not in any way connecting Jesus to the exodus promises in the prophets.

¹⁶ See Ecclesiasticus 36:10 [36:11 LXX]; Babylonian Talmud, *Rosh HaShanah* 11b.5, shows that some of the rabbis believed that the messianic deliverance would occur in the month of Nisan, the month in which the Exodus took place. Balentine cites Josephus to show the expectation that the Messiah would be a second Moses who would liberate Israel from Rome. Apparently during this period many false messiahs rose up promising to lead the people back into the wilderness and repeat the Mosaic miracles. Balentine, "Death of Jesus," 27-28.

¹⁷ Balentine, "Death of Jesus," 41.

¹⁸ David Daube, *The Exodus Pattern in the Bible* (London: Faber & Faber, 1963), 14.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, passim.

Yet for many scholars, as is even the case today, the presence of exodus typology alone is enough to qualify a biblical passage as relevant to the NE theme in the NT.

The same year, R. E. Nixon surveyed the evidence of NE themes in the various NT books, using a largely typological approach.²⁰ He begins with the acknowledgment of the prominence of the exodus theme—even more so than creation—in the OT, stating that the God of Israel was primarily seen as a God of salvation.²¹ Yahweh had saved and established Israel as his people in the exodus event, through which they also became covenantally obligated to him.²² Nixon does not add very much to the work of Piper or Mánek in uncovering NE motifs in the NT, but he does end his essay with some implications for the exodus in NT theology in terms of the life and ministry, titles, and work of Christ.²³

The work of the above scholars during the 1950s and early 1960s showed that the exodus theme permeated the ITL, as well as the NT. Connections were beginning to be made between Jesus and the paschal events. What was missing in the scholarship was a biblical theology to make more sense of the prominence of the theme. Balentine had broken ground, but no one followed up on his work, and the field of NE study continued to be dominated by typological observations. In the last couple of decades, however, numerous contributions have been made to advance NE study.

2.4. N. T. Wright

N. T. Wright's concept and exposition of the NE is somewhat difficult to grasp for a few reasons that will shortly become evident, but he is included here because he is generally considered a major voice in the field of the NE²⁴ and because of the great influence he enjoys within Pauline scholarship. He appears to be alluding to the NE

²⁰ R. E. Nixon, *The New Exodus in the New Testament* (London: The Tyndale Press, 1963).

²¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

²² *Ibid.*, 9.

²³ *Ibid.*, 30.

²⁴ Several of Wright's works, for example, are listed in Smith's article, "The Uses of the 'New Exodus.'"

numerous times in one of his earliest works, *The Climax of the Covenant*,²⁵ yet never actually invokes the term until later writings. The major premise of this book is that Christ, as the representative of Israel, takes the curse of Israel's exile upon himself. Jesus is exiled/cursed (Wright uses both words), as is represented in his execution on a foreign oppressor's cross, and the curse is thereby exhausted upon him.²⁶

Wright contends that Jesus took on the curse and exile of Israel that was due to their failure to keep the Abrahamic covenant; specifically they were cursed for refusing or neglecting to be a light to the Gentiles.²⁷ That Wright charges Israel with breaking the Abrahamic rather than the Mosaic/Sinaitic covenant is unusual. And although Wright does emphasize Israel's corporate sin,²⁸ he appears to minimize transgressions against the law (particularly idolatry), which are actually named as the reason for their exile in Scripture (2 Kings 18:11-12; 2 Chron. 36:15-21).

As Wright argues, Jesus' death not only freed Israel from this curse, but also from the Torah, the instrument through which the curse had come. The reason the Torah led to a curse was that it had become a stumbling block to the fulfillment of God's covenant with Abraham.²⁹ By its nature, it separated Jews from Gentiles and created two systems (works and faith)—or as Wright puts it, two families (two seeds). God's plan for one united family could only be accomplished through the elimination of the

²⁵ N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 146, 151. It remains unclear how crucifixion can be construed as an exile, despite the Roman oppression reference.

²⁷ Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant*, 142; Wright, "Justification, Yesterday, Today, and Forever," *JETS* 54 (2011): 53. He says that the phrase "seeking to establish their own righteousness" in Rom. 10:3 refers to Israel's misguided efforts in exclusive nationalism, 53-54.

²⁸ Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant*, 142. But others insist that the grammar and the context of the cited verse (Deut. 27:26 [LXX]) refer to individuals breaking individual commandments and do not support a corporate application. See Thomas R. Schreiner, *Galatians*, Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2010), 206; J. Ridderbos, *Deuteronomy*, trans. Ed M. van der Maas, BSC (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1984), 253; and Peter C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 334.

²⁹ N. T. Wright, *Justification: God's Plan and Paul's Vision* (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2009), 123, 130. He refers to Rom. 2:17-20, where Paul chastises the Jews for having the oracles of God entrusted to them, knowing the law, and boasting in God, yet not guiding the blind and being a light to the Gentiles.

Torah.³⁰ The Torah also hindered the fulfillment of the Abrahamic promise (Gal. 3:21-22) because rather than act as a channel for life, it only produced death. It locked everything up “in the prison house of sin.”³¹

One of Wright’s more secure contributions is his argument that Israel believed that she remained in exile after the physical return from Babylon and was hopeful of deliverance in the first century. This idea is fundamental to the premise that Israel was anticipating a NE. Furthermore, Israel’s continued oppression under Roman rule was tangible evidence of the curse.³² As they continued to live under foreign domination, this sense of exile, Wright argues, continued among many Jews into the first century. The first-century Jews were waiting for a NE, as evidenced particularly in the ministry of John the Baptist.³³

Unlike the other scholars who have thus far been reviewed, Wright does not scour biblical passages for evidence of the NE, but instead focuses on the narrative of Jesus the Messiah’s atoning death as the NE itself. Israel has experienced exile, Wright contends, for her failure to fulfill the Abrahamic covenant to be a light to the Gentiles.³⁴ Christ’s death must remove Israel’s curse for their disobedience and remove the obligations and burden of Torah that separated them from the Gentiles. Jesus himself,

³⁰ Ibid., 125. See also Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant*, 155, 163-64, 168.

³¹ Ibid., 202, 240.

³² In *The Climax of the Covenant*, 141 Wright says “at least some” Jews believed this way. He also says that few would deny that the real return from exile was yet to be realized, 148. In Wright, *Paul: In Fresh Perspective* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 132, he says that the majority of first-century Jews considered themselves still under exile. He credits Baruch, MMT, and many other Second Temple writers with this view, 92. In *The Climax of the Covenant*, 261, he simply says, “As long as Herod or Pilate ruled over her, Israel was still under the curse of ‘exile.’” See also Wright, *Justification*, 59-60. As for Scripture, he offers Neh. 9:36; Ezra 9:7-9, and Gal. 1:4, the last reference being to this “present evil age” (Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant*, 141; Wright, *Justification*, 124). Bruce Longenecker, however, refutes the idea of an extended exile, due to the paucity of concrete evidence that such a theology had really been established or was in any way prominently held, particularly by Paul (Longenecker, *The Triumph of Abraham’s God: The Transformation of Identity in Galatians* [Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998], 137-39). Schreiner, *Galatians*, 206, also comments on the recent trend among those who are influenced by Wright to see evidence of an exile in these verses (Gal 3:10-14). Scott J. Hafemann, who does not tend to follow Wright, however, also holds to the idea of a continuing exile. See his “Paul and the Exile of Israel in Galatians 3–4,” in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions*, ed. James M. Scott (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 363-65.

³³ N. T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), 160.

³⁴ Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant*, 142; Wright, “Justification, Yesterday, Today, and Forever,” 53. In the latter, he says that the phrase “seeking to establish their own righteousness” in Rom. 10:3 refers to their misguided efforts in exclusive nationalism, 53-54.

therefore, takes on Israel's curse, becomes exiled himself in his death. For Wright, this is the NE, the final removal of the curse. Jesus therefore inaugurates the NE in his death and resurrection. The NE is the final return from exile.³⁵

2.5. Mark Strauss

Although he does not deal directly with Galatians or Paul, Mark Strauss's *The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts: The Promise and Its Fulfillment in Lukan Christology*³⁶ is an excellent addition to the work of uncovering the NE in the New Testament. Strauss first examines OT prophecy,³⁷ ITL,³⁸ early rabbinic thought (synagogue prayers), the Targums, and rabbinic literature to demonstrate the ongoing messianic expectations among Jews into the first century. He then shows how their expectations mesh with Luke's Gospel account, and how they reflect Isaiah more than any other OT book.

Most of Strauss's work is focused on demonstrating Luke's dependence on Isaiah from the Gospel's beginning (John the Baptist's ministry) to Jesus' death and resurrection, and particularly on connecting Jesus' role as the Messiah with the fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecies of the Son of David and the Servant of Yahweh, particularly through the passion.³⁹ Additionally, Strauss draws a parallel between Jesus' goal of reaching Jerusalem and the NE goal of the liberated exiles reaching Zion/Jerusalem where Yahweh's glory will be revealed.⁴⁰ According to Strauss's analysis, Luke methodically presents Jesus as the Davidic-Messiah-Servant-King of Isaiah who leads his people in the NE out of their oppression.⁴¹

³⁵ Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 205.

³⁶ Mark L. Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts: The Promise and Its Fulfillment in Lukan Christology*, JSNTSup 110 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995).

³⁷ Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah*, 36-37.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 40-43. Strauss examines the Psalms of Solomon and several Qumran scrolls. He lists the five most important scrolls as 4QFlor; 4QPBless; 4QPIsa3; 4Q504 and 4Q285. Apocalyptic literature includes 1 Enoch and 4 Ezra.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 317-19.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 298-301.

⁴¹ Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah*, 261-62.

The transfiguration (Luke 9:28-36) naturally plays a key part in announcing these connections, with the presence of Moses and Elijah (linking Jesus to the OT) who discuss the ἔξοδος that Jesus is about to accomplish in Jerusalem. Strauss acknowledges numerous parallels between the transfiguration and the exodus events,⁴² including suggesting that Jesus can be represented as a second Moses, and yet still vigorously insists that the original exodus should not be overemphasized.⁴³ In holding this line, however, he misses the opportunity to draw the connections between the NE in Isaiah and the original exodus.

2.6. Sylvia Keesmaat

As far as the NE in the Pauline letters, Sylvia Keesmaat's work has proved to be seminal, as she analyzes the reasons, method, and authoritative basis for Paul's bold "reinterpretation" of the exodus in Galatians and Romans.⁴⁴ She lays the groundwork to establish that, since all Jews saw the exodus as the major redemptive act in all of salvation history, it had therefore become a deliverance motif throughout the intertestamental period. This is significant in that it grounds the solid expectation of the NE motif in the NT; the expectation of the NE as the act of liberation and restoration promised through the prophets that God will accomplish through Christ.

What Keesmaat infers from the centrality of the exodus in Jewish theology is rather unusual, however. Whether Paul does so consciously or not is unknown, but

⁴² Ibid., 268-71.

⁴³ Ibid., 285. For another case that the strong parallels suggest Jesus is a second Moses type, see David P. Moessner, *Lord of the Banquet: The Literary and Theological Significance of the Lukan Travel Narrative* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989). Some of the parallels seem a little stretched, such as his claim that both Jesus and Moses died for the sins of the people. Although it is true that Moses himself claims that God was angry "on the people's account" (Deut. 1:37; 3:26), his punishment is not seen as vicarious; God makes it clear that Moses sinned against him personally by offending his holiness (Deut. 32:50-51).

⁴⁴ Sylvia C. Keesmaat, *Paul and His Story: (Re)Interpreting the Exodus Tradition* JSNTSup 181 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999). Keesmaat's work is being called seminal because, for example, Wright credits her with stimulating his own thinking about the exodus language of Paul in Romans in his

Wright, "New Exodus, New Inheritance: The Narrative Substructure of Romans 3-8," in *Romans and the People of God: Essays in Honor of Gordon D. Fee on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, eds. Sven K. Soderland and N. T. Wright (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 27n3. Also, virtually all recent scholarly works on the NE cite her.

Keesmaat argues that he uses the exodus story as the backdrop to his letters to the Romans and the Galatians. According to Keesmaat, Paul does this intertextually by using various passages from OT Scripture such as Isaiah, Jeremiah, Deuteronomy, and Exodus. Using the midrashic technique of his peers,⁴⁵ Paul considers his own interpretations of the OT text to be divinely inspired. Keesmaat claims that this is evident as he freely transforms traditions and infuses them with deeper or different meanings not at all evident from a superficial reading.⁴⁶ The OT author's original meaning could be disregarded as Israel's traditions are reinterpreted through the messianic lens to be applied to a church of mixed Jews and Gentiles.⁴⁷

Keesmaat believes that recognizing the exodus story in Galatians assures that one will not narrow the focus of the letter to a treatise on justification by faith or the proper understanding of the law. She remarks that these approaches tend to treat the first two chapters as introduction and the final two as paraenesis. Rather, she proposes that the letter's theme is "Who are the true sons of Abraham?" or "Whose son are you?"⁴⁸ The irony is that she does precisely what she criticizes: focusing on the middle two chapters of the letter.

A large portion of her work, therefore, is devoted to developing Paul's teaching on adoption based on the exodus theme. She consequently dismisses as misguided those, such as James Dunn and Francis Lyall, who see Paul's use of the adoption metaphor in Galatians 4 and Romans 8 as based on Greco-Roman law or Jewish tradition. Instead, citing Michael Fishbane, Carroll Stuhlmueller, and particularly James M. Scott, she sees adoption rooted firmly in the exodus experience.⁴⁹

⁴⁵Keesmaat, *Paul and His Story*, 27.

⁴⁶Ibid., 32.

⁴⁷Ibid., 33.

⁴⁸Ibid., 183.

⁴⁹John Bligh also sees the adoption in Exod. 4:1-7 in the exodus events, Bligh, *Galatians: A Discussion of St. Paul's Epistle* (London: St. Paul Publications, 1969), 349. See James M. Scott, *Adoption as Sons of God: An Exegetical Investigation into the Background of ΥΙΟΘΕΣΙΑ in the Pauline Corpus* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), who believes that Gal. 4:1-2 refers to the first exodus, whereas 4:4-5 references the NE. This topic will be discussed in more detail in chapter 6 of this thesis.

There is much good material in Keesmaat's writings, particularly in the area of intertextuality. As far as intertextuality is concerned, she depends on the work of Richard Hays (see section on Hays below). In doing so she strengthens her argument that Paul is relying on the exodus story in his treatise on adoption in Gal. 4:1-7. Unfortunately, she mostly limits her attention to that section of Galatians and does not explore the more difficult and potentially rich passage later in the chapter, 4:21-31.

Although it would seem that Keesmaat is analyzing Paul's use of the NE in Galatians, her approach (which perhaps defines the NE, although she does not use the term) is entirely different from any other scholar surveyed here. Her intertextual method, however, proves to be helpful and develops a good approach to Galatians.

2.7. Rikki Watts

Rikki Watts investigates the Isaianic New Exodus (INE)⁵⁰ in Mark,⁵¹ noting the prominence of exodus typology in chapters 1–39 of Isaiah, which then “shape[s] the heart of” chapters 40–55 (Book of Consolation), thereby replacing the first exodus with the NE as the foremost saving event.⁵²

Like Wright, Watts believes that first-century Jews remained under exile, as they had not yet fully realized the prophetic promises of their return.⁵³ The most obvious disappointment was that Yahweh had not visibly returned to be enthroned in the restored Jerusalem, and apart from Yahweh's presence there could be no hope for salvation.⁵⁴ Unlike Wright, Watts argues that the reason Israel remained in exile was their sin in rejecting Yahweh's plan for restoration, namely the use of the pagan king Cyrus as his servant. Therefore, they would remain in partial exile until, as the second

⁵⁰ This is a term that some of the scholars use who restrict the NE theme to Isaiah, apparently because they only see it in Isaiah or they see Isaiah's interpretation of the NE as unique in comparison with the other prophets. It is not actually explained, however, and therefore this definition is surmised.

⁵¹ Rikki E. Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus in Mark* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2000).

⁵² *Ibid.*, 79.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 80.

half of the Book of Consolation predicts, Yahweh's own Servant would be sent to deliver his people.⁵⁵ Watts seems to be one of few scholars who stresses the role of Isaiah's Suffering Servant in the NE.

Watts, therefore, develops the concept of the NE further than most other scholars, as he links the original exodus to the Babylonian exodus, while emphasizing the yet unfulfilled promises upon Israel's return from that exile. And he correctly sees Christ as the one who fulfills these promises.

2.8. William Wilder

William Wilder has written a volume on the exodus imagery in Galatians, although his work focuses on only one verse, Gal. 5:18.⁵⁶ He contends that Paul, through the lens of Christ's death and resurrection, sees the law as the antitype to the Egyptian bondage over Israel.⁵⁷ Christ was essentially the new Moses, who has come to lead his people out of the slavery of the law. At the same time, he builds the case that the Spirit leads in freedom, apart from the law. Ironically, he never seems to notice that if the Spirit was leading in the Sinai wilderness, as he demonstrates,⁵⁸ the Spirit did so while the Israelites were simultaneously under the law. He begins his argument with Chrysostom, Augustine, and Luther and uses the work of Wright, Scott, and Keesmaat.

However, as with some of the early scholars, Wilder's understanding of the New Exodus is limited to the realm of typology. There is no discussion of the Babylonian exile (exodus) and the fulfillment of those promises in Christ.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 82.

⁵⁶ William N. Wilder, *Echoes of the Exodus Narrative in the Context and Background of Galatians 5:18* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2001).

⁵⁷ Ibid., 76-77.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 124.

2.9. David Pao

David Pao's thesis is that Luke models the structure of Acts after Isaiah's development and transformation of the original exodus story.⁵⁹ Consequently, the church in Acts closely parallels Israel coming out of Egypt and settling into Canaan, trying to live faithfully as God's people in the midst of conflicting voices and values. Pao also notes the echo of the word ὁδός (Isa. 40:3) in Acts (for example, 9:2), arguing that it substantiates a claim to the church's inheritance of Israel's traditions.⁶⁰ Another obvious but well-applied echo is Jesus' inaugural sermon at Nazareth (Luke 4:16-30; cf. Isa. 61:1, 2), which has implications within the Gospel and within the conclusion of the book of Acts. In this passage, Luke records Israel's rejection of their prophets and the subsequent reception of the good news by the Gentiles. Luke uses Isa. 49:6 to justify preaching to the Gentiles in Luke 24:44-49; Acts 1:8; and Acts 13:46-47, and at the end of Acts the rejection of the whole prophetic movement is marked by the quotation from Isaiah 6. One distinction in Pao's work is that he argues that Luke's use of the INE motif serves the purpose of developing the fledgling church's identity as the people of God, while identifying points of continuity and discontinuity between the church and the ancient community of Israel.⁶¹ Pao's contribution, therefore, is his linking of the original exodus through Isaiah into the NT. Yet he does not make the death and resurrection of Christ central to show that Jesus is the one leading the NE.

2.10. Andrew Brunson

Andrew Brunson looks at the NE pattern in John's Gospel, arguing that the evangelist has incorporated the theme intertextually.⁶² He argues, as most NE scholars

⁵⁹ David W. Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2002), 5.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 109-110.

⁶² Andrew C. Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John: An Intertextual Study on the New Exodus Pattern in the Theology of John*, WUNT 2/158 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003).

do, that within first century, Judaism strongly affirmed that Israel remained in exile.⁶³ They continued to live under judgment for their sin, in an exile they expected would continue until the eschatological era dawned.

He delineates various motifs within the NE theme, similar but not identical to Tom Holland's (see below): reestablishment of the twelve tribes, the rise of the Davidic king, a significant temple event (cleansing, rebuilding, or restoration), a decisive time for the Gentiles, the establishment of Yahweh's reign, and the defeat of all Israel's enemies.⁶⁴ He finds each of these motifs (usually as antitypes) in John's Gospel, based on the exodus narrative (supported by the strong Passover motif in the Gospel) and the second exodus promises in the OT Prophets. Brunson's model of systematically naming the NE motifs is extremely helpful in establishing an approach for a NE study, and a similar process will help substantiate the NE's presence in Galatians.

2.11. Tom Holland

Tom Holland joined the discussion of the NE with his 2004 treatise, *Contours of Pauline Theology*.⁶⁵ His major premise is that Paul's theology did not deviate from Jesus' teachings and that his grounding is solidly Jewish (not Hellenistic), relying heavily on the OT prophets (and most especially upon Isaiah). His work has been sharply criticized for his dismissal of the common reliance upon the Pseudepigrapha and Dead Sea Scrolls in NT studies.⁶⁶ Much of the book draws connections between Christ's ministry and death and the paschal offering as an atoning sacrifice; these parallels are

⁶³ Ibid., 153-54.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 154-55.

⁶⁵ Tom Holland, *Contours of Pauline Theology: A Radical Survey of the Influences on Paul's Biblical Writings* (Ross-shire, Scotland: Mentor, 2004).

⁶⁶ Anthony Bash, review of *Contours of Pauline Theology: A Radical Survey of the Influences on Paul's Biblical Writings* by Tom Holland, *EuroJTh* 14 (2005): 136; Craig A. Evans, review of *Contours of Pauline Theology: A Radical New Survey of the Influence on Paul's Biblical Writings* by Tom Holland, *CBQ* 68 (2006): 146; I. Howard Marshall, review of *Contours of Pauline Theology: A Radical New Survey of the Influence on Paul's Biblical Writings*, by Tom Holland, *EvQ* 77 (2005): 270-72, mentions Holland's stance on this without any critique. As Evans points out, although it may be true that some NT scholars overemphasize the relevance of these documents, it would be folly to underestimate their value in revealing the range of beliefs within the contemporary Judaism: Evans, review of *Contours*, 146-47.

quite helpful. It is this study that best supports his claims that Christ inaugurates the NE. He lists the various motifs of the NE found in the Prophets (the return of Yahweh's presence, the outpouring of the Spirit, etc.), and particularly emphasizes the divine marriage as the culmination of the NE. He does not, however, substantiate the NE motifs evenly, but strongly supports and emphasizes the divine marriage. The paschal study and divine marriage motif are his best contributions. A clear definition of the NE at the outset would have clarified matters, however.

2.12. Rodrigo Morales

Rodrigo Morales explores the NE and new creation motifs (which he appears to equate),⁶⁷ in the OT and Second Temple literature, and then finally in Galatians. His major contribution to the field of NE study is the way he connects the outpouring of the Spirit in the Prophets and ITL with the exodus events, such as when he notes several exodus references in Isa. 63:7-14; Ezek. 11:14-21; 18:30-32; 36:26-27; and Joel 2.

Morales's work in Galatians is based on a typological model. He shows how Paul draws heavily on Isaiah; for example, in 3:1-5, the apostle is borrowing Isaiah's language of restoration eschatology in Isaiah 51 and 53. He believes that Paul's reference to the promise made to Abraham is the promise of the Spirit himself. Gal. 4:1-7 relies on Ezek. 36:26-27 and Isaiah 63. Although Paul relies so heavily on Isaiah for his NE and eschatological teaching in Galatians, Morales parts with Keesmaat, contending that Galatians is *not* a NE story, but instead a letter shaped by "the categories of restoration eschatology."⁶⁸

Morales also emphasizes the role of the Spirit in Galatians more than most other scholars, who vaguely mention that the Spirit is the inheritance or promise, yet never

⁶⁷ Rodrigo J. Morales, *The Spirit and the Restoration of Israel: New Exodus and New Creation Motifs in Galatians* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 13. This thesis has been using *theme* for the larger idea of the NE, and *motif* for those threads and ideas that support the NE. The exception is made here because Morales calls the NE a motif.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 166.

elaborate on what Paul means by these terms. He makes the connection clearer by, once again, relying on passages in Isaiah (specifically Isaiah 44 and 51). He does not seem to draw any clear conclusion about the presence of the NE in Galatians; he simply labors to show that it is there. It would appear that his insistence that Galatians is not a NE story limits him from seeing a purpose in Paul's use of the theme.

2.13. Richard Cozart

A very recent and relevant work is Richard Cozart's *This Present Triumph*,⁶⁹ an exploration of the NE in Ephesians. The closest Cozart comes to defining the NE is in his explanation that its expectations were not so much a fulfillment of prophecy but instead "typological history ultimately completed in the antitype events of the eschaton."⁷⁰ He thoroughly uncovers prophecies of a NE in the OT prophets and ITL, although he concentrates on the prophecies in Isaiah.⁷¹ Cozart sees the main theme of Ephesians as the church's triumph in and with Christ and deftly links exodus motifs, and particularly eschatological ones, to this theme sequentially through the epistle. His efforts result in a cohesive reading of the letter, but one wonders if the identification and development of the theme of eschatological triumph would not have accomplished the same thing apart from a NE theology.

3. Paul's Use of Scripture

Paul's use of OT Scripture in his writings has generated a plethora of scholarship for several reasons, although they can be summarized into three main categories: (1) Paul's renderings at times differ from what is assumed to be the original text, either the LXX or MT, or any variation available in the present time; (2) he seems to sometimes be using the cited text in a way the original author did not intend, given

⁶⁹ Richard M. Cozart, *This Present Triumph: An Investigation into the Significance of the Promise of a New Exodus of Israel in the Letter to the Ephesians* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2013).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 23, 27-70.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

the original context;⁷² (3) it is suggested that Paul is using allusions or echoes,⁷³ some of which can be quite subtle and are not universally acknowledged.

The first category is not of great consequence to this thesis, as most of Paul's scriptural citations fall within Gal. 3:10-14, a passage that is not a focus of this study,⁷⁴ with a few possible ones in verses 6 and 8, and then in 4:30 and 5:14. Within 3:10-14, only two verses specifically use the formula "it is written" (γέγραπται), indicating that Paul is quoting directly. The other instances could well be paraphrased references.⁷⁵

The second and third categories, however, both apply to Paul's allegorical use of the Genesis narrative (chapters 16–21) in 4:21-31 and his quotation of Isa. 54:1 in 4:27. Not only does Paul use the Genesis narrative in a way that seems far different from its original meaning, he also quotes a single verse from Isaiah to further prove his point. Yet this verse is being applied in what seems to be a very different way than Isaiah first intended. Additionally, intertextuality suggests that Paul has a larger context of Isaiah in mind as he quotes the single verse.

Therefore, this section of the literature review surveys literature that considers the practices of the NT writers in citing OT Scripture, and that most particularly considers Paul's method. The review will mostly be chronological, beginning with scholars who have wrestled with the questions of quotations seemingly out of context, as well as some who have discussed textual differences. Finally, a few scholars will be

⁷² Not surprisingly, the chief motivation behind these discussions (first and second categories) among conservative scholars appears to be a defense of inerrancy and orthodoxy in exegetical methods. Yet foremost in *this study* is the question of what Paul (and the other NT authors, as far as the literature covers) believed regarding Scripture, what methods he was using, and how it is reflected in his writings. See Martin Pickup, "New Testament Interpretation of the Old Testament: The Theological Rationale of Midrashic Exegesis," *JETS* 51 (2008): 354.

⁷³ This is best seen in Harmon's work (Matthew Harmon, *She Must and Shall Go Free: Paul's Isaianic Gospel in Galatians* BZNW 168 [Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010]), discussed below. For allusions, all from Isaiah, he includes 1:4 (Isa. 53:10) [G. K. Beale suggests he probably means 53:5, Beale, *Handbook on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament: Exegesis and Interpretation* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 87]; 1:15 (Isa. 49:1); 2:20 (Isaiah 53); 3:2, 5 (Isaiah 53); 3:6-9 (Isa. 51:1-8); 3:13 (Isaiah 53); 3:14, 16 (Isa. 44:3-5); 4:19 (Isa. 45:7-11); 5:22-23 (Isa. 32:15-20); 6:15 (Isa. 40–66); 6:16 (Isa. 54:10). He also lists echoes and thematic parallels.

⁷⁴ Verse 10, however, is discussed in chapter 5.

⁷⁵ Gal. 5:14, although lacking the precise quotation formula, is verbatim from the LXX. Gal. 4:30 is an obvious adaptation, wherein Paul simply changes the first person (Sarai speaking) to third person, in order to apply it to the allegory. Consequently, this verse falls into the first two categories simultaneously.

reviewed who favor the intertextual hermeneutic, which is particularly relevant to the method used in this thesis, and as it also is most useful in uncovering the NE theme in Paul's writings.

3.1. C. H. Dodd

For the latter half of the twentieth century, C. H. Dodd's *According to the Scriptures*⁷⁶ was the standard from which to begin research or discussion regarding how the NT authors use OT Scripture.

In this work, Dodd quickly dismisses the testimony theory, which holds that a collection of common source texts existed for NT authors' citation use, mostly for lack of any solid evidence.⁷⁷ But Dodd's major contribution is his analysis of the methodology the NT writers used. He believes they were systematic in their approach, examining the original context, and comparing passages carefully while considering possible applications.⁷⁸ Dodd concludes that the authors did remain true to the main intention of the original writers, although the meaning would sometimes shift as it moved into a new situation. He also holds that it was possible that the original author might not see a messianic meaning in what he wrote, while the NT author might find one. Dodd bases this possibility on the fact that he believes it was impossible for the OT author to anticipate the new setting.⁷⁹

More important, perhaps, than the original author's intent is the question of context, which Dodd insists the NT authors do honor. He demonstrates that the citation of a sentence or section by a NT author serves as a pointer back to the "whole context."⁸⁰ Dodd does not seem to consider, however, how one is to determine the breadth of the context being referenced. Nevertheless, Dodd's work laid the grounds for

⁷⁶ C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures: The Sub-Structure of New Testament Theology* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953).

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 130.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 126.

the intertextual method, which takes into account the context of the source citation, allusion, or echo. This is particularly relevant in the exegesis of Gal. 4:21-31, yet to be done in chapter 6.

3.2. E. Earle Ellis

As Dodd has been the late twentieth-century standard for general NT writers' use of the OT, so has E. Earle Ellis been for Paul's use of the OT, in his work published shortly after Dodd's.⁸¹ He presents Paul as one whose OT understanding had been totally revolutionized and yet who remained thoroughly Jewish in his view and use of Scripture.⁸²

Ellis's main contention is that Paul's hermeneutical methods were not unlike his contemporaries in rabbinic literature, late Palestinian-Jewish writings (150 BCE–100 CE), and Hellenistic works from Alexandria.⁸³ Furthermore, Ellis argues, Paul would have been familiar with and incorporated midrash (which he does in Romans 9–11 and Galatians 3, for example) and Mishnah.⁸⁴ Although allegory was popular, particularly among the Hellenists, Paul did not resort to it much, and in fact the obvious passage in which Paul says he is allegorizing (Gal. 4:21-31) is, according to Ellis, actually more typology than allegory.⁸⁵ In truth, there are elements of both in the passage.

While earlier in this work, Ellis states that Paul used a similar exegetical style to his rabbinic peers, later in the book he goes on to remark that Paul is also unique in his interpretations of Scripture. This is due, of course, to the new christological lens through which he views Scripture after he acknowledges Jesus as the Messiah.⁸⁶

Ellis appears to be attempting to cover several bases by attributing late Palestinian, rabbinic (including midrash and Mishnah), and Hellenistic influences to

⁸¹ E. Earle Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957).

⁸² *Ibid.*, 38.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 39-40.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 51-54.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 83.

Paul's hermeneutics. Yet Richard Hays comments on the popular claim that Paul is using midrashic method:

If they mean simply that Paul writes as a Jew seeking to interpret Scripture in such a way as to make it applicable to his own time and circumstances, surely everyone would have to assent the claim is true but trivial. In that sense, all readings of Scripture by Jews and Christians always and everywhere are instances of midrash.⁸⁷

Paul does not quote other Jewish authorities in any of his writings and nowhere seems to be writing or citing Mishnah. And if Paul resorted to Hellenistic methods, one should expect to see far more evidence than is present. Even Ellis admits that the one case of supposed allegory (Gal. 4:21-31) is better defined as typology. Paul does not appear to resort specifically to Greek methods, even when trying to appeal to Gentile audiences.

3.3. George E. Ladd

George E. Ladd argues that, along with the other Scripture writers, Paul is confident that the source of his own writing is divine revelation,⁸⁸ which is significant in this discussion, particularly pertaining to the question of the appropriate use of Scripture. This confidence also related to how Paul values the writings of the OT. It is important to realize that whatever scholarship determines regarding the inspiration of Scripture, Paul himself is confident that what he writes has been given to him via "direct illumination by the Holy Spirit."⁸⁹ Ladd shows the further relevance of Paul's sense of his authority by adding that Paul mainly uses OT Scripture to establish the continuity between the OT and Christ's redemption, showing that Jesus was actually the fulfillment of OT revelation.⁹⁰ He uses the OT not to prove individual fulfillments of

⁸⁷ Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 10-11. He comments that Bloch used the term so broadly that he concluded that even OT writers used midrash and that all NT writers' use of the OT involved midrash.

⁸⁸ George Eldon Ladd, *A Theology of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 430.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 431.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 433.

events but instead “to place the new redemptive events squarely in the stream of Old Testament redemptive history.”⁹¹

This is the motivation, Ladd argues, that leads Paul to discover meanings in the OT texts, which do not seem to exist in their original setting. Yet, apparently, Paul never senses the need to justify his methodology of citation of the OT texts. Certainly he does not believe himself immune to criticism, as he frequently defends himself in his letters against various accusations. From this it is reasonable to conclude that his methodology is not held in question among his readers and therefore required no justification.

3.4. Michael Fishbane

Michael Fishbane’s work has proved to be seminal for the intertextual method for biblical studies which is usually attributed to Richard Hays,⁹² showing that the fundamentals of this hermeneutic were practiced within the writing of the OT Scriptures themselves. Fishbane argues extensively for and demonstrates many examples of inner-biblical exegesis (IBE) within the OT Scriptures, an exegetical approach that attempts to reinterpret or reapply the meaning of an earlier text based on its use in a later one, either by virtue of its quotation or retelling. If he is correct that this approach exists within the OT itself, this discovery provides significant substance to the intertextual hermeneutical method. According to Fishbane, IBE can also involve scribal comments or even corrections of earlier texts of an unfulfilled prophecy.

Fishbane’s major works include *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*,⁹³ *The Garments of Torah*,⁹⁴ and *Text and Texture*.⁹⁵ In *Biblical Interpretation*, Fishbane divides his material for IBE evidence into four categories: scribal comments, legal,

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Richard Hays acknowledges Fishbane’s foundational work in his own: Hays, *Echoes*, 14.

⁹³ Michael A. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985).

⁹⁴ Michael A. Fishbane, *The Garments of Torah: Essays in Biblical Hermeneutics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989).

⁹⁵ Michael A. Fishbane, *Text and Texture: Close Readings of Selected Biblical Texts* (New York: Schocken Books, 1979).

haggadic, and oracular exegesis.⁹⁶ Through numerous examples, Fishbane attempts to trace the paths of IBE so as to detect and systematize the exegesis that has been performed within the Hebrew Scriptures;⁹⁷ in each case his understanding of IBE is that the resulting changes would have as much authority as the originally inspired text.⁹⁸

The suggestion that scribes would often attempt to correct earlier questionable texts or an unfulfilled prophecy⁹⁹ is somewhat problematic, as Ellis also points out in his review of *Biblical Interpretation*.¹⁰⁰ Ellis suggests that the scribal concern would be anachronistic, imposing modern biblical criticism on ancient scribes aiming to correct texts. But the larger concern is the question of false prophecy. If a scribe needs to correct oracles to protect the prophet's integrity, he would be attempting to cover up the far more serious charge of false prophecy (see Deut. 18:22).¹⁰¹ Furthermore, Fishbane does not take into account the NT perspective on OT prophecy, which offers greater satisfaction to many as yet unfulfilled eschatological prophecies. Nonetheless, as mentioned above, the idea that IBE is interwoven into the writing of the Scriptures themselves provides a foundation for the use of intertextuality in modern hermeneutics, and shows promise for the analysis of Galatians.

Text and Texture is divided into three parts. The first analyzes several narratives and narrative cycles, paying particular attention to the language and vocabulary use. The second part looks at cycles of speeches and prayers. And the third part discusses motifs and other text transformations, specifically Eden (creation), exile, and exodus. Fishbane sees the constant story of God's redemption through the OT, a series of exiles and deliverances from as early as Eden;¹⁰² the themes are woven throughout all of Scripture.

⁹⁶ Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 22-90, 91-280, 281-442, 443-524.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*; Fishbane, *The Garments of Torah*, 3-4.

⁹⁹ Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 15, 476.

¹⁰⁰ E. Earle Ellis, review of *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, by Michael Fishbane, *SJT* 31 (1989), 55.

¹⁰¹ Ellis also notes this: *ibid.*, 56.

¹⁰² Fishbane, *Text and Texture*, 8-23.

In reading Fishbane, one is immediately struck with the cohesiveness of the Scriptures, as themes, motifs, and cycles repeat themselves.¹⁰³

This latter part is helpful in supporting the pursuit of an integrated biblical theology as well as the intertextual method of hermeneutics. The particular relevance and usefulness of Fishbane's work to this thesis, as has first been drawn upon by Hays, and then by Keesmaat, Jobes, and likely many others, is his where IBE overlaps into intertextuality.¹⁰⁴

3.5. Richard B. Hays

Over the last few decades, Pauline studies have been greatly influenced by the work of Richard B. Hays, who is responsible for introducing the hermeneutic of intertextuality into NT biblical studies, and particularly into Pauline studies.¹⁰⁵ As stated in the previous chapter of this study, he defines intertextuality as "the imbedding of fragments of an earlier text within a later one."¹⁰⁶

Hays believes that Paul may well have been using the midrashic/rabbinical techniques generally practiced in the first century.¹⁰⁷ One of the reasons for this, according to Hays, is that the term or practice of midrash is broad enough to include virtually any attempt to apply the Scripture to the contemporary situation. To be fair, scholars and laypeople do this all the time.¹⁰⁸

The real difference between Paul and rabbinic scholars stems from the theological basis on which he interprets the Scriptures. Most obviously, Paul interprets the Jewish Scriptures with the new understanding that Jesus of Nazareth is the promised Messiah of those Scriptures. Related to that, and equally important, is the difference

¹⁰³ Ibid., 38. He mentions it here specifically, but the phenomenon can be observed passim.

¹⁰⁴ Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 52

¹⁰⁵ Hays, *Echoes*, xi-xii.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 14.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 4, 10-14.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 10-11.

between Paul's view of himself as having revelatory authority and the rabbis' view of themselves, in which they claimed no such thing.¹⁰⁹

The concept of an intertextual echo is not difficult to grasp, even for a layperson, but there are difficulties with Hays's approach, some of which have been discussed above. How much is one to infer from detecting an echo? Are all echoes to be treated the same way, whether conspicuous or not? Is the citation of an OT verse an echo? And, of course, there are the concerns of the reader missing an echo or seeing one that is not really there. The detection of the intertextual hermeneutic is highly dependent upon the reader, since the writer does not customarily announce an allusion or echo, and its presence can often be quite subtle.

Hoping to address these concerns, Hays offers seven tests for the exegete to use to discern a genuine echo: availability of the original/source, volume (degree of explicitness), recurrence, thematic coherence, historical plausibility, history of interpretation, and satisfaction (intelligibility and illumination).¹¹⁰

Hays spends the larger portion of the book illustrating his method to good purpose, including one of the major passages of this thesis, Gal. 4:21-31.¹¹¹ Without these examples, the reader would likely be unable to comprehend his proposed methodology. His treatment of this particular passage, although offering some insights into the use of Isaiah 51 and 52 as part of the echo of Isa. 54:1 (quoted in Gal. 4:27), does not go into great depth. Specifically, he does not explore the chapters of Isaiah following the quotation, which contain relevant material, as will be shown in chapter 6 of this thesis.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 4.

¹¹⁰ Hays, *Echoes*, 29-31. Others have expressed these same concerns. In response to Beker, who raised the question of limits on imaginative freedom—Paul's and the reader's—Hays indicates that he believes his seven criteria for identifying an echo are sufficient: Richard B. Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination: Paul as Interpreter of Israel's Scripture* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 164, 178.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 111-21.

A much more recent work by Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination: Paul as Interpreter of Israel's Scripture*,¹¹² appears to be an attempt to clarify, refine, and address some of the concerns raised in response to his earlier volume.¹¹³ Indeed, in the final chapter he responds specifically to individual critics. The chapters are mostly topical, dealing with issues like eschatology, Abraham and justification, the righteousness of God, and Paul's reading of Isaiah, but also end up being exegetical as they focus on a few—and sometimes mostly one—passage. Therefore, Hays mostly teaches his method of intertextuality by exegetical examples, while presenting his Pauline theology.

One conspicuous point that merits attention is Hays's remark that Paul does not interpret the OT "christocentrically," but rather "ecclesiocentrically."¹¹⁴ This appears to be an effort to ensure that soteriological passages are treated corporately rather than individualistically. Yet there is no reason to insist that Paul needs to or does make a choice between these two interpretive systems. It cannot be denied that Paul interprets the OT through the lens of Jesus Christ, even as he writes in 1 Cor. 2:2, "For I decided to know nothing among you except Jesus Christ and him crucified." Even while Hays seeks to demonstrate Paul's ecclesiological hermeneutic in his use of OT Scripture in Gal. 4:21-31, he footnotes the shadow of the Suffering Servant, whom he suggests is a type of Christ, in Isaiah 53.¹¹⁵

Hays certainly stretches the reader to reconsider personal theological biases, as he argues using very systematic exegesis. This does not mean, of course, that one will always agree with his conclusions. Nevertheless, the exercise is invigorating.

Furthermore, his insights into Paul's thinking are profound. Not only does he recognize

¹¹² Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination*, 164, 178.

¹¹³ On pp. 35-45, for example, Hays lists his seven criteria for recognizing an authentic echo, a greatly expanded version from his earlier *Echoes*.

¹¹⁴ Hays, *Echoes*, 84.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 215n92. Also, he says that Paul "hints and whispers all around Isaiah 53 but never mentions the prophetic typology that would supremely integrate his interpretation of Christ and Israel," 63. It is interesting and ironic that Hays never explores these echoes.

allusions to OT Scripture more quickly than most of us might, he reminds the reader how important it is to do the same. Paul's words and thoughts were bathed in Scripture, and he was likely using allusions and echoes more than he himself knew.¹¹⁶

3.6. Steve Moyise

Steve Moyise has published extensively on the subject of NT writers' use of OT Scripture, and it is therefore best to treat his writings together. What one finds in reading Moyise is that he seems to raise more questions than he answers. He also provocatively insists that presuppositions be identified and examined, which is actually quite helpful. For example, one's approach to Scripture is quite different if one assumes, as does a biblical theologian, that the Bible is an integrated whole, as opposed to a loose anthology of humankind's interactions with God.¹¹⁷

Although other scholars appear to exert more energy into analyzing the procedure, standards and potential sources NT authors (in this case, Paul) employ in their Scripture citations, Moyise does indeed address the issue. Rather than ponder all the possible reasons that Paul's quotations sometimes differ from the original texts we have available, Moyise simply states that Paul alters the text from time to time. He cautions readers not to judge Paul by modern citation standards that are sure to be more restrictive than those in the first century.¹¹⁸ As to whether Paul retains the original context, it is a matter of how one defines the term. If by *context* one means that the original meaning, precise words, surrounding text, and historical situation are all preserved, then it cannot be said that Paul retains the context. If, however, retaining context means that links between passages are drawn between words or that a quoted text's meaning is determined by its relationship to "the contours of Scripture" or a major

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 28.

¹¹⁷ Steve Moyise, *Evoking Scripture: Seeing the Old Testament in the New* (London: T&T Clark, 2008), 1-2.

¹¹⁸ Steve Moyise, "Does Paul Respect the Context of His Quotations?," in *Paul and Scripture: Extending the Conversation*, ed. Christopher D. Stanley (Atlanta: SBL, 2012), 97-98.

scriptural text, then it can be said that Paul retains original context.¹¹⁹ Once again, however, Moyise merely lays out the options but does not take a definitive stance himself.

Given Moyise's cautious approach, it is no surprise that he has concerns about literary theory as applied to biblical hermeneutics. Specifically, he critiques the work of Richard Hays and the intertextual method he espouses (see above section on Hays). Although he commends Hays and those who join him in this endeavor for their acknowledgement that passages cannot be studied in isolation from one another,¹²⁰ it is determining the relationship between texts (or the proposed source of echoes) that is the problem. While readily admitting that each text "belongs to a web of texts which are (partially) present whenever read or studied,"¹²¹ he argues that the entire process of determining that web is far too subjective and without any definitive method to guard from error.

The question of how far these webs, normally phrased as "context," spread (in the language of Hays, how far the echo reverberates) is another concern that Moyise raises. Once again, this can be a very subjective determination. Moyise more than once argues that the word *context* is vague, and consequently, in its widely accepted ambiguity, almost any meaning Paul claims or a reader perceives for a Scripture text, could potentially still be deemed *in context*.¹²²

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 105-6. On the other hand, Mitchell Kim, in the same volume ("Respect for Context and Authorial Intention: Setting the Epistemological Bar," 115-29) argues that Moyise and others set the bar too high by insisting that respecting the context requires an exact agreement between the explicit sense of the source text and how it is used in quotation, 115-16. He believes that there exists in OT texts a latent sense that NT writers bring out, as the OT authors often mean "more than they are fully attending to," 118.

¹²⁰ Moyise, *The Old Testament in the New Testament*, 15.

¹²¹ Ibid., 15-16.

¹²² Steve Moyise, "Quotations," in *As It Is Written: Studying Paul's Use of Scripture*, eds. Stanley E. Porter and Christopher D. Stanley (Atlanta, SBL, 2008), 27.

Moyise's caveats are helpful, particularly regarding intertextuality. His discussion of audience competence and comprehension¹²³ will not be addressed in this thesis, although these are reasonable concerns and issues for possible future exploration.

3.7. Christopher Stanley

As with Moyise, Christopher Stanley has written much (and edited compilations) on Paul's use of the OT Scripture in his writings, and so his material is grouped together as one in this section as well.

Stanley tends to speculate more on why Paul's quotations of OT texts vary from the original, which in most case means from the LXX. As Stanley avers, scholars agree that Paul's *Vorlage* is the LXX,¹²⁴ which is affirmed by the Greek diction, idioms, and thought-forms of his citations.¹²⁵ On the other hand, Stanley does propose that at times Paul could have been citing an Aramaic source¹²⁶ or a text that has not survived,¹²⁷ or possibly calling a source up from memory;¹²⁸ these last two possibilities are virtually impossible to prove or disprove.

There are few Scripture citations in Galatians, and any word differences are minor in any case. The one that is most vital to this thesis is found in Gal. 4:27, which is quoted verbatim from the LXX. The larger issue that Stanley does raise, however, concerns hermeneutics, particularly that of intertextuality. Like Moyise, he is quite critical of the assumptions that Hays makes regarding the audience's ability to perceive and recognize scriptural echoes in Paul's writings for a couple of reasons. He argues

¹²³ Steve Moyise, "Does Paul Respect the Context of His Quotations?" in *Paul and Scripture: Extending the Conversation*, ed. Christopher D. Stanley (Atlanta: SBL, 2012), 99-100.

¹²⁴ Christopher D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistle and Contemporary Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 67.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 234.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 12; Leonard Greenspoon, "By the Letter? Word for Word? Scriptural Citation in Paul" in *Paul and Scripture: Extending the Conversation*, ed. Christopher D. Stanley (Atlanta: SBL, 2012), 16.

¹²⁸ Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 16; Greenspoon, "By the Letter?," 9-10.

that few among the listeners would be literate¹²⁹ and even if they were able to read, they would not be able to bear the cost of owning scrolls of Scripture;¹³⁰ therefore they would not be familiar enough with the OT to recognize said echoes.¹³¹ Overall, Stanley and Moyise seem to be in agreement on the important issues.

3.8. J. Ross Wagner

Another work that bears mention in this context, even if briefly, is J. Ross Wagner's *Heralds of the Good News*.¹³² Wagner approvingly references Stanley among others who point to Paul's reliance on Greek *Vorlagen*, as well as the fact that Paul has certainly modified texts to suit his purposes.¹³³ He mentions that despite the attractiveness of the hypothesis that Paul sometimes cites from memory, it has fallen out of favor.¹³⁴ Again, it seems more constructive to acknowledge that Paul manipulates the text purposefully rather than that he is making mistakes due to memory lapses.¹³⁵ Parting from Stanley, he favors the work of Hays, who shows how Paul engages deeply with the Scriptures of Israel.¹³⁶ Wagner's positive critique of Hays adds more validity to the intertextual method, keeping in mind the cautions presented by Moyise and Stanley.

3.9. G. K. Beale

G. K. Beale has written (or edited) a number of books and several journal articles on the use of the OT in the NT. His four major works, in order from earliest to most recent are *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?*, *Commentary on the New*

¹²⁹ Charles D. Stanley, *Arguing with Scripture* (New York: T&T Clark, 2004), 45. Greenspoon, "By the Letter?," 19, however, argues the contrary, and believes that literacy was not an issue, and that there would be many God-fearers among Paul's hearers who would likely be familiar with Scripture.

¹³⁰ Stanley, *Arguing*, 38-41. He argues that Paul would have the same problem.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 46-47; Charles D. Stanley, "Paul's 'Use' of Scripture: Why the Audience Matters," in *As It Is Written: Studying Paul's Use of Scripture*, eds. Stanley E. Porter and Christopher D. Stanley (Atlanta: SBL, 2008), 130-35.

¹³² J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul in Concert in the Letter to the Romans* (Boston: Brill Academic, 2003).

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

¹³⁴ Stanley, *Paul and the Language*, 16-17, 69-71.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 22, 25.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 9.

Testament Use of the Old Testament, A New Testament Biblical Theology, and his very recent *Handbook on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*.¹³⁷ The last of these actually contains much material from his others but is presented in a format and style targeted for the student or layperson rather than the scholar. It is an excellent overview, however, and a good bibliographical resource as well. For a good sense of the major issues as well as the scholars interacting with them, the first of the four is the most helpful.

His earliest book on the topic, *The Right Doctrine From the Wrong Texts?*, is a collection of essays by numerous scholars on the topic of the use of the OT in the NT. He claims to have gathered some of the best scholarship on the exegetical (rather than theological) issues from the latter half of the twentieth century.¹³⁸

The book is divided into seven parts: introduction (dealing with many questions normally raised),¹³⁹ analysis of the question of the author's intent,¹⁴⁰ three parts on

¹³⁷ G. K. Beale, ed., *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts? Essays on the Use of the Old Testament in the New* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1994). The other books are as follows: G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson, eds., *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007); G. K. Beale, *A New Testament Biblical Theology: The Unfolding of the Old Testament in the New* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011); G. K. Beale, *Handbook on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament: Exegesis and Interpretation* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012).

¹³⁸ Beale, *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?*, 9.

¹³⁹ This includes an article by Roger Nicole that argues that if Paul appears to stray from a quotation, then it might either be an allusion or the Holy Spirit guiding Paul's hand to write a new statement for the NT: Roger Nicole, "The New Testament Use of the Old Testament," in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts? Essays on the Use of the Old Testament in the New*, ed. G. K. Beale (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1994), 13-28. Klyne Snodgrass, on the other hand, proposes that the NT authors are using the typology, eschatological fulfillment, and christological focus of Scripture, Snodgrass, "The Use of the Old Testament in the New," in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?*, 43. See also Pickup, "New Testament Interpretation," 354. Snodgrass also suggests that the NT writers are using the exegetical (midrashic) methods of their time, as found in rabbinical and Qumran writings. He refers to Samuel E. Balentine, "The Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New Testament," *SWJT* 23 (1981): 47. Balentine cautions the reader, however, that there is no evidence of a uniform rabbinical method in first-century Judaism.

¹⁴⁰ Walter C. Kaiser Jr. argues that the OT authors knew the full meaning of their writing, though they could not foresee every specific of fulfillment, such as timing: Kaiser, "The Single Intent of Scripture," in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?*, 57. Philip Barton Payne argues that God's intent is the only one that matters, and he knows the exhaustive meaning, Payne, "The Fallacy of Equating Meaning with the Human Author's Intention," in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?*, 70. Poythress holds a mediating view, maintaining the classic doctrine of inspiration (human written, divinely guided and inspired). Hence, a grammatical-historical approach will reveal the proper meaning, since God reveals himself in Scripture gradually and progressively: Vern Sheridan Poythress, "Divine Meaning of Scripture," in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?*: 83-87, 102-4.

questions regarding NT authors retaining context of OT citations (affirming,¹⁴¹ denying,¹⁴² and redefining context¹⁴³), the use of typology, and finally, the propriety of using similar methods in one's own hermeneutics today.¹⁴⁴ The value of Beale's writings is the thoroughness with which the issues have been explored, allowing readers to draw their own conclusions.

3.10. Matthew Harmon

Matthew Harmon's work, *She Must and Shall Go Free: Paul's Isaianic Gospel in Galatians*,¹⁴⁵ is a recent and welcome addition to the discussion, particularly because he uncovers numerous Isaianic allusions and echoes in Galatians that might otherwise go unnoticed.¹⁴⁶

After discussing his methodology (intertextuality) and providing an extensive literature review of Paul's use of OT Scripture, his use of Isaiah in particular, and scholarly works on Galatians, Harmon adeptly exercises the intertextual hermeneutic to show how Paul brings Isaiah 51–54 into the argument of Gal. 3:1–4:31. Indeed, he says

¹⁴¹ Barnabas Lindars argues that the NT writers were using contemporary Jewish exegetical methodologies (139-41), were identifying typologies extensively (143), but were unconcerned about original settings as they believed they were correctly applying Scriptures to their own situation through the revelation of Christ (145). Lindars, "The Place of the Old Testament in the Formation of New Testament Theology," in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?*, 137-45.

¹⁴² C. H. Dodd, "The Old Testament in the New," in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?*, 176. The reference is to the citation of key words or phrases which point to the larger context in the original passage.

¹⁴³ Morna D. Hooker and Scott J. Hafemann defend opposite views on Paul's respect of the wider context. Hooker believes that Paul takes much liberty, but stays true to the exegetical methods of his day, Hooker, "Beyond the Things That Are Written? Saint Paul's Use of Scripture," in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?*, 279-80. And Hafemann assiduously works to show that Paul did respect the context of Exodus entirely, even as he exegeted the passage in a surprising way, Hafemann, "The Glory and Veil of Moses in 2 Corinthians 3:7-14: An Example of Paul's Contextual Exegesis of the Old Testament—A Proposal," in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?*, 295-309.

¹⁴⁴ Pickup claims that virtually all evangelicals agree that the NT writers are using methods contemporary to their day: Pickup, "New Testament Interpretation," 355. R. Longenecker argues against imitating the exegetical methods of the NT writers altogether, whereas Beale would allow it, provided one is open to correction, R. Longenecker, "'Who is the Prophet Talking About?' Some Reflections on the New Testament's Use of the Old," in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?*, 385; G. K. Beale, "Did Jesus and His Followers Teach the Right Doctrine from the Wrong Tests? An Examination of the Presuppositions of Jesus' and the Apostles' Exegetical Method," in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?*, 399-404.

¹⁴⁵ Matthew Harmon, *She Must and Shall Go Free: Paul's Isaianic Gospel in Galatians*, BZNW 168 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010).

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. See his chart(s) at the end of his book, 261-65. Depending on one's reckoning of verses or passages as individual or combined, he provides at least thirty-three allusions, and often to several Isaianic passages.

that Isa. 51:1-8 and 54:1 serve as bookends for Paul's argument in this Galatians passage.¹⁴⁷ He shows how Paul reads the narrative of Abraham through the lens of a gospel reading of these chapters of Isaiah, and further, how Paul then argues that the inclusion of the Gentiles in the covenant is the fulfillment of God's promise to Abraham.¹⁴⁸

Like Watts before him, Harmon also takes seriously the role of Yahweh's Servant as found in Isaiah in the intertextual space created in the interaction between Galatians and the Genesis narrative. The way that God will comfort and ultimately bless Abraham's children is through the Servant's vicarious death.¹⁴⁹

An important flaw in an otherwise excellent exegetical work is Harmon's somewhat skimpy treatment of Gal. 4:1-7, and it is possible that it simply lacks full development. He correctly identifies NE themes and detects the echoes of the new creation motif intertwined in the latter chapters of Isaiah. The question is whether they are present in Galatians. The only explicit reference to the new creation in Galatians is in 6:15, which Harmon acknowledges, claiming that its presence should affect the interpretation of every verse or passage in the letter that deals with Christ's death. Hence, readers are to see new creation motifs throughout Galatians. In 4:1-7 he sees a connection with the inheritance, which is manifested in the gifts of sonship and the

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 202. In doing so, Harmon exceeds the skill and insights of Karen Jobes, to whom he refers, and whose essay on Gal. 4:21-31 is excellent: Jobes, "Jerusalem, Our Mother: Metalepsis and Intertextuality in Galatians 4:21-31," *WTJ* 55 (1993). He comments that she seems to miss some of the influence of Isaiah 51-54 in her exegesis, 183.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 188-89. This probably explains what Wright is doing with the confusion of the promise(s) and the merging of the covenants into one. It seems that he is reading Galatians back into the Genesis narrative in the original context rather than vice versa. In other words, as explained by Wright, it is as if God is spelling it out to Abraham as the single promise, whereas the other promises (land and descendants) were actually vital in the OT context. Douglas Oss and J. Ross Wagner both also argue that Paul uses Isaiah as extensively as he does, particularly in Romans, to justify his teaching on the unity of Jews and Gentiles in Christ: Oss, "A Note on Paul's Use of Isaiah," *BBR* 2 (1992): 106; Wagner, "Isaiah in Romans and Galatians," in *Isaiah in the New Testament*, eds. Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 118.

¹⁴⁹ Harmon, *She Must and Shall Go Free*, 190.

Spirit. The presence of these gifts are proof that the NE, and hence, the new creation, has come upon believers.¹⁵⁰

His exegesis of Galatians 5 in light of Isaiah 40–55 is well presented, as he sees the chapter outlining and illustrating the choices of living in freedom or in slavery. Believers have been freed from the law by Christ, either as Jews or as Gentiles, both of whom were potentially being enslaved by it. As the Isaianic Servant freed the captives to serve Yahweh in freedom, Christ has freed the Galatians to serve one another through love.¹⁵¹

Harmon sees the likely Isaianic background for the fruit of the Spirit (Gal. 5:22-23; cf. Isa 32:15-18; 57:15-16), which has already been explored by Beale.¹⁵² And along with Wilder,¹⁵³ he recognizes Isa. 63:11-14's influence on Gal. 5:18.¹⁵⁴ Much of his discussion of Galatians 5 and 6 is about the connection to the eschatological Spirit as prophesied in the latter chapters of Isaiah.

Harmon's work is very helpful and yet his understanding of the NE, like Morales's, is incomplete. He too likens the NE to new creation, whereas in this thesis it will be shown that new creation is a motif, or subtheme of the NE. He also does not see the NE as being connected to the Babylonian exodus, and therefore he does not include all those promises made for that exodus as applying to God's people and still awaiting fulfillment.

3.11. Douglas Oss and J. Ross Wagner

Douglas Oss also suggests that Paul follows the lead of Jesus in claiming the fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecies were realized through Christ's ministry.¹⁵⁵ J. Ross Wagner goes a bit further, claiming that Paul allusively applies to himself (Gal. 1:12;

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 193.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 210.

¹⁵² G. K. Beale, "The Old Testament Background of Paul's Reference to the 'Fruit of the Spirit' in Galatians 5:22," *BBR* 15 (2005): 1-38.

¹⁵³ Wilder, *Echoes of the Exodus Narrative*, 124.

¹⁵⁴ Harmon, *She Must and Shall Go Free*, 221.

¹⁵⁵ Oss, "A Note on Paul's Use of Isaiah," 111-12.

2:2) Isaiah's description of Yahweh's Servant (Isa. 49:1-6).¹⁵⁶ The major contribution from Wagner to the discussion at hand, however, concerns Paul's quotation of Isa. 54:1 in Gal. 4:27. He argues that Paul's interpretation of the barren woman is merely a parallel of what Isaiah has already done in Isaiah 51, where he introduces Abraham and Sarah as the parents of the righteous.¹⁵⁷ This link is not generally recognized, but Hays and Karen Jobes have also noted it, and this will be developed in chapter 6 of this thesis.

3.12. Moisés Silva

Moisés Silva has also written an excellent article on the Paul's use of Scripture in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*.¹⁵⁸ He reminds the reader that Paul's reliance on the OT is not always so easy to determine, since sometimes a quote might be used merely for illustrative purpose, the wording may differ (due to translation, source, paraphrase, and possible difference in citation standards), and in many other cases the dependence upon OT themes is intertwined and subtle without any explicit citation.¹⁵⁹ As other scholars have done, he considers Paul's exegetical style to mirror that of his contemporaries, but he also presents cautions against certainty. There are differences within the style of Qumran, and most rabbinical documents available to us are from a later period.

What is certain is that Paul had the highest view of Scripture as God-breathed, and ironically even relied on the OT when viewing an issue in a negative light, such as the law. Silva affirms Dodd's view that Paul implicitly brought in the context of OT passages with only a phrase or verse citation and properly found fuller meaning in passages when applying them through the revelation of Christ. Silva does not actually

¹⁵⁶ Wagner, "Isaiah in Romans and Galatians," 131.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 130.

¹⁵⁸ Moisés Silva, "Old Testament in Paul" in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, eds. Gerald F. Hawthorne, Ralph P. Martin, and Daniel G. Reid (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1993): 630-42.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 630.

add anything new to the conversation at this point, but his succinct essay is a good summary of the issues.

3.13. Karen Jobes

Karen Jobes has written a very insightful essay on the interpretation of Gal. 4:21-31, building on Hays's work in intertextuality.¹⁶⁰ Her principal focus is on solving the problem of the purpose of Paul's quotation of Isa. 54:1 in Gal. 4:27 within the logical flow of Paul's argument.¹⁶¹ After noting that the verse only complicates the Genesis narrative, Jobes explores several interpretations: the traditional interpretation that the many children to be born are the exiles who return from Babylon, Fishbane's typological understanding of Abraham as a type of Israel sojourning to the promised land, and later rabbinical interpretations of the verse as a promise of Israel's restoration after Jerusalem's destruction in 70 CE; she then questions how Paul can possibly apply the verse to suggest that the Gentiles—and not the Jews—were children of Sarah.

Lamenting the fact that commentaries fail to explain the verse well, she commends and then builds on the work of Richard Hays, who treats the passage intertextually. Consequently, the surrounding chapters of Isaiah 54 are brought into play as Paul quotes only the single verse.¹⁶² Yet she goes far beyond Hays's exegesis, as she also includes the interplay of the barrenness theme of Genesis. Additionally, Jobes considers the later eschatological chapters of Isaiah, whereas Hays focuses only on those preceding Isaiah 54. In doing so, she builds a far better case than Hays in supporting Paul's use of Isa. 54:1 to refer to the promise of inheritance. However, she concludes that, instead of a reference to the inclusion of the Gentiles into the people of God, the children of the barren woman refer to the resurrection of Jesus Christ, and subsequently, to all who are born through this resurrection.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ Jobes, "Jerusalem, Our Mother," 299-320.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 301.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 305.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 314-16.

Jobes's use of intertextuality offers a strong foundational approach to this troublesome passage, as it also links Galatians with a large section of the chapters in Isaiah that are full of NE imagery. She does not recognize the NE in her work, however, and ultimately misses the meaning of the very verse she seeks to explain. Nevertheless, her method will prove valuable in chapter 6 of this thesis.

4. Commentaries on Galatians

This section of the literature review surveys a sampling of some of the more recent commentaries that served as building blocks for much of my thinking. There is certainly no shortage of commentaries on Galatians, and until fairly recently, those by F. F. Bruce (1982)¹⁶⁴ and Hans Dieter Betz (1979)¹⁶⁵ have been considered standards, and Bruce's continues to be popular.¹⁶⁶ Both engage with the Greek text thoughtfully and thoroughly, and keep to a traditional Reformed-Lutheran interpretation of the well-known passages regarding justification and the law. Of the two, only Bruce engages at all with the work of E. P. Sanders, and then only to acknowledge his scholarship in the related area. Both Betz and Bruce write too early to engage with the New Perspective on Paul, which does not solidify or even take its name until a few years later.

Richard Longenecker's commentary,¹⁶⁷ published shortly after Betz's, incorporates the work of Sanders (the father of the NPP)¹⁶⁸ and consequently is probably one of the first to challenge the legalistic interpretation of Gal. 2:16, while still allowing that covenantal nomism likely included aspects of legalism.¹⁶⁹ His translation of πίστις Χριστοῦ in the same verse as the "faith" or "faithfulness of Christ" (discussed

¹⁶⁴ F. F. Bruce, *Commentary on Galatians*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982).

¹⁶⁵ Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1979).

¹⁶⁶ Although not guaranteed to be correct, see John Dyer's website, where he ranks commentaries based on input from scholars, journal reviews, and site users: Dyer, "Best Commentaries: Commentaries on Galatians," accessed July 8, 2016, www.bestcommentaries.com/galatians. Dyer ranks Bruce's commentary as the second best. Betz actually ranks twenty-fifth. The majority of the highest ranked commentaries have been published after 1990.

¹⁶⁷ Richard N. Longenecker, *Galatians*, WBC (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1990).

¹⁶⁸ See E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (London: SCM Press, 1977).

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 86.

in chapter 4 of this study) also aligns with most NPP scholars, and yet he simultaneously affirms the need for personal faith in Christ.¹⁷⁰ His treatment of the allegory in 4:21-31, as is discussed in chapter 6 of this thesis, is also more thorough than any other commentary discovered by this writer.

J. Louis Martyn's commentary¹⁷¹ is both insightful and innovative, built around his premises that Paul's theology is apocalyptic and that his letters are full of what Martyn calls apocalyptic antinomies.¹⁷² Because he structures his work around these antinomies, however, the commentary is difficult to follow. He intersperses the exegesis with a variety of difficult-to-navigate excurses (many are apocalyptic antinomies).

Martinus de Boer claims in his preface¹⁷³ to be building his work on the scholarship of Burton, Betz, Longenecker, and Martyn. Not only is he thorough in his exegesis, but he also offers nineteen excurses throughout the commentary on specific aspects for more in-depth treatments. Of particular relevance to this thesis is his excursus 15: "Why Isaiah 54:1?" On the other hand, his excursus on the στοιχεῖα is disappointing, offering nothing more than a reworking of old views.

A more recent and excellent addition to Galatians scholarship is the commentary by Douglas Moo.¹⁷⁴ Moo has clearly engaged with broad scholarship, even if he tends to reject many of the recent trends, particularly in the NPP. Regardless of whether one agrees with him or not, one cannot suggest that Moo is negligent or ignorant of what has been published, as can even be seen by scanning through his bibliography alone. Moo's commentary is easier to follow than de Boer's or Martyn's, although he also includes excurses. His are found as "Additional Notes" at the end of sections. Nevertheless,

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 87.

¹⁷¹ J. Louis Martyn, *Galatians*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1997).

¹⁷² Martyn uses this word throughout the commentary, but in his glossary, he equates it with the word "antithesis," which is probably a more accurate term, 587. His choice of terminology (and my choice to change it) was also briefly discussed in chapter 1 of the thesis.

¹⁷³ Martinus C. de Boer, *Galatians* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2011).

¹⁷⁴ Douglas J. Moo, *Galatians*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013).

although Moo engages well with the scholarship, resulting in a thorough and up-to-date work, there is little in the work that is particularly innovative.

Indeed, not one of these commentaries suggests that there is a NE theme in Galatians, or even says very much about any exodus typology. The new creation motif is, however, acknowledged as important to the entire letter beyond its actual reference in 6:15 (καινή κτίσις). De Boer discusses it several times throughout the commentary as the apocalyptic alternative to the present evil age.¹⁷⁵ Within his commentary on 6:15, Martyn adds “Comment #51: Apocalyptic Antinomies and the New Creation,” within which he also aims to show that the motif underlies the whole Galatian letter.¹⁷⁶

5. Conclusions

The discovery of the NE theme in the NT is no longer novel, but it seems that the earliest scholars were content simply to discover its presence. Quotations, parallels, types, allusions, echoes (including wilderness themes), and gospel structures all led to claims that Jesus was the second Moses who would lead his people through a second exodus.

Yet part of the problem was that it was unclear what precisely all this signified. To a certain extent, biblical theology often seems content merely to have a doxological goal: pointing out the wonderful theological threads which interweave Scripture from beginning to end, manifesting the great wisdom and sovereignty of God. This is the sense that one gets from reading the earliest scholars who were uncovering what they called NE motifs. As was written earlier, part of the issue has been want of a clear definition of the NE. There does not seem to be one in the literature, but rather, an understanding is assumed. A definition of the NE was given in chapter 1 of this thesis and will be provided again at the beginning of the next chapter.

¹⁷⁵ De Boer, *Galatians*, 17, 31, 71, 246, 262, 329, 393, 394, 402-3.

¹⁷⁶ Martyn, *Galatians*, 570-74. See also 381-83.

The confusion becomes evident as one realizes that there are multiple exoduses in the Scriptures, and there is no established agreement on how to designate or number them. There is the exodus from Egypt, the exodus from Babylon, and the exodus referred to in the transfiguration, clearly suggesting that Jesus' death and resurrection is also an exodus. It must be clarified how they relate to one another. This thesis cannot claim to have the only answer, but seeks to propose a reasonable and orderly understanding of how they relate, so that the definition and application of the NE is well established.

The overall goal of this thesis is to build on existing scholarship regarding the use of the NE theme in the NT, seeking to develop and advance the work that has already been done to link the original exodus to the Babylonian exodus as promised in the OT Prophets, and then ultimately to its fulfillment in the work of Jesus Christ. This thesis hopes to contribute to and advance the discussion so that, as the NE theme is revealed as an essential thread of biblical theology, the NE is also understood to be a key to a better and more comprehensive understanding of Paul's letter to the Galatians.

This thesis will use the typologies demonstrated across the scholarship, but pay particular attention to the promises of the Babylonian exodus—those that were not yet fulfilled as Israel returned to their homeland. It will survey these promises, as Brunson has done in the fourth Gospel,¹⁷⁷ to show evidence that Paul was anticipating fulfillment of these same promises in Christ as he wrote Galatians. The study will also incorporate Holland's work, emphasizing the paschal motif, additional NE motifs, and particularly the divine marriage, which has generally been overlooked in NE studies.¹⁷⁸ The overall method, particularly in Galatians 4, will be intertextual, which will rely on the work done by several of the scholars reviewed here, particularly Hays and Jobes. As a result,

¹⁷⁷ See Andrew C. Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John*.

¹⁷⁸ Holland, *Contours*, 120.

this study should offer a challenging new reading of Galatians, connecting it more cogently to the rest of Scripture.

CHAPTER THREE

TRACING THE NEW EXODUS THROUGH SCRIPTURE

1. Introduction

Before examining the letter to the Galatians for evidence of the NE theme (in subsequent chapters of this thesis), it is necessary first to lay the foundation in the OT. Once this is done, the NE theme can be traced briefly through some of the ITL and into the NT, which will demonstrate the centrality and importance of the theme throughout all the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. The first step will be to show that the exodus theme is consistently central to the relationship between the Lord and Israel,¹ and therefore dominates Jewish literature into the NT era. Secondly, as the prophets warn Israel and Judah of their upcoming exile due to their covenant unfaithfulness, it will be shown how they speak of this exile in terms of their ancestors' bondage in Egypt. And similarly, in prophesying of their release from exile, particularly from Babylon, it will be demonstrated that this exodus is spoken of with much of the same language and imagery as the original Egyptian exodus.

A vital point in the discussion will be that the exodus from Babylon did not—by any standard—meet the prophetic promises and expectations, and that it has therefore been believed by many that the Jews remained at least in partial exile even after they had returned to their homeland.

Once it has been established that a NE was expected, it will then be shown how the expectation that the fulfillment of the NE has been accomplished in the Messiah Jesus is well represented throughout the NT. Since Paul writes Galatians with this expectation, the NE is deeply important to a better understanding of the letter.

¹ It will be shown that the exodus is foreshadowed even in Genesis, thereby indicating its centrality throughout all of Israel's history.

2. Definition of Terms

Before beginning the survey of biblical and intertestamental literature, it is necessary to clarify some terms, as the discussion will include the words *exodus*, *second exodus*, and *New Exodus* (NE). As is normally the case, when the term *exodus* is used, it will here refer to a liberation or deliverance, and when used alone it (*the exodus*) will usually refer to the deliverance from Egypt.² The *second exodus* refers to the deliverance of God's people from exile in Babylon and their return to their homeland. Interaction with various scholars will soon show that the terms *second exodus* and *NE* are constantly interchanged or conflated.

The NE, as already defined in chapter one, refers to the fulfillment of every promise made to God's people in exile that was not fulfilled upon their release and return from Babylon/Persia in the sixth century BCE, and is instead to be fulfilled spiritually through the death and resurrection of Jesus the Messiah. As an exodus, it echoes the original exodus from Egypt, both specifically and generally. The specifics refer to the various exodus motifs that surround the first exodus, are promised to be repeated in the second exodus, and are expected to be fulfilled in the NE. In this thesis I am differentiating between *theme* and *motif* as follows: the NE is a theme, as a thread that interweaves throughout the Scriptures, whereas a motif is essentially a subtheme or particular aspect that accompanies or signals the theme. The NE motifs are listed and expanded upon below. The general characteristic common to all three exoduses is the Lord's mighty deliverance of his people from the bondage of slavery to freedom. Once again, in the NE, these motifs are interpreted and applied spiritually.

² It should be obvious when *Exodus* refers to the Bible book, in which case it is naturally capitalized.

3. Importance of the Exodus

3.1. The Exodus as the Defining Event in Israel's History

References to Israel's slavery in Egypt and her epic deliverance by the Lord permeate the Bible, many of which will be discussed below. But the exodus is regarded as "the central act of God"³ in the OT. The exodus story serves as the defining event of Israel's history, indeed even marking their true origin as a nation⁴ (Exod. 19:4; Deut. 4:20, 34; Judg. 19:30; Hos. 2:15; 12:9). The exodus was that landmark event in Israel's history to which Yahweh returned again and again to recall their relationship, and as Mánek contends, it was the filter through which Israel saw her history.⁵ On at least one occasion, the dating of an event is given with reference to the exodus (1 Kings 6:1, "in the four hundred and eightieth year after the people of Israel came out of the land of Egypt," referring to when Solomon began the building of the temple). The narrative of the Lord's act of Israel's liberation defined their relationship with him, as can be seen in the way the Lord identifies himself again and again, even formulaically, as the LORD who delivered them out of Egypt.⁶ The first word of the Decalogue is "I AM the LORD your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of slavery" (Exod. 20:2). The reasonable implication, therefore, is that the commandments that follow this statement are based on who the Lord is and what he has already done for Israel.⁷ Prophets remind the people that the Lord had brought them out of Egypt (Jer. 32:21; 1 Sam. 12:6-8).

The writer of 2 Kings lays the blame for the Assyrian conquest of the north on Israel's unfaithfulness to the Lord who had delivered them out of Egypt (2 Kings 17:7;

³ D. A. Hubbard, "Pentateuch," in *NBD*, 898.

⁴ Steve McKenzie, "Exodus Typology in Hosea," *ResQ* 22 (1979): 100; Yair Hoffman, "A North Israelite Typological Myth and a Judaeian Historical Tradition: The Exodus in Hosea and Amos," *VT* 39 (1989): 170.

⁵ Jindrich Mánek, "The New Exodus in the Books of Luke," *NovT* 2 (1957): 13.

⁶ Hubbard, "Pentateuch," 898. The author writes that God "revealed himself as the redeeming God." Cf. Lev. 11:45; 19:36; 22:33; 23:43; 25:38, 55; 26:13, 45; Judg. 2:1; 1 Sam. 10:18; Ezek. 20:5, 6. Cf. Judg. 6:8, 9; Jer. 7:22; 11:4, 7; 31:32; 34:13; Amos 2:10; 3:1; 9:7; Mic. 6:4.

⁷ Geerhardus Vos, *Biblical Theology: Old and New Testaments* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1948), 129.

21:5). Similarly, Nehemiah (9:9-30) and Daniel (9:15) both acknowledge in prayer their people's covenant unfaithfulness to the Lord, although he had rescued them from slavery in Egypt.

God's response to David's desire to build a temple is this: "I have not lived in a house since the day I brought up the people of Israel from Egypt to this day" (2 Sam. 7:6), once again connecting his relationship with them specifically to the exodus event.

3.2. The Command to Commemorate the Exodus

The exodus (including the Passover event)⁸ was central enough that even as the events are being narrated, the author of Exodus records that the occasion was to be memorialized for all generations to come (Exod. 12:27, 41-42; 13:3-16).⁹ The Israelites were also commanded to recite the story of the exodus (Deut. 26:5-9) when they brought the offering of the firstfruits as a sign of gratitude toward God for what he had done (vv. 9-10). Feasts were to be kept in order to preserve the memory of the Passover (Exod. 10:2; 23:15; Lev. 23:43; Deut. 16:1). A sample of manna was to be preserved for the same purpose (Exod. 16:32), and several times there were general reminders not to forget the exodus (cf. Deut. 6:12).¹⁰

3.3. Foreign Nations' Knowledge of the Exodus

Furthermore, the knowledge of God's deliverance of his people through the exodus had traveled extensively throughout that part of the world. Before Israel's defeat of Jericho (ca. 1400 BCE), the Canaanite Rahab reports to the Israelite spies that her people knew of Israel's exodus, and that the Lord was consequently feared (Josh. 2:8-11). The Gibeonites deceive the Israelites into making a covenant of peace with them

⁸ This could include the meal and all its preparation, but it primarily refers here to the slaying of the firstborn of Egypt, and the passing over of all Israel who were protected by the lamb's blood on the doorposts and lintels.

⁹ See John I. Durham, *Exodus*, WBC (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), 163-64, 179-80.

¹⁰ Jan Ridderbos, *Deuteronomy*, BSC, trans. by Ed M. van der Maas (Grand Rapids: Regency Reference Library [Zondervan], 1984), 177, suggests that it would be gross ingratitude for them to forget.

because the Lord's reputation has reached their people (Josh. 9:9). Similarly, hundreds of years later (ca. 1050 BCE), the Philistines profess awareness of the exodus upon hearing that the ark of the covenant (and presumably, by association, the Lord's presence and favor¹¹) had been brought into the Israelite army's camp (1 Sam. 4:6-8). The Philistines later profess specific knowledge of God's judgment on Egypt and Israel's exodus when they make plans to return the captured ark (1 Sam. 6:6).

4. Exodus Parallels in the OT

The exodus from Egypt arguably remains the most significant act of God's redemption in the OT, so significant that the imagery of other acts of deliverance appear to be modeled after it. This is manifested in parallels and in the various exodus motifs.

Exodus parallels in the Bible have been detected as early as Genesis. Walter Brueggemann has suggested that God's call to Abram to leave Ur and sojourn to Canaan is a type of exodus.¹² Furthermore, the announcement of the Egyptian captivity and subsequent exodus is made in connection with the covenant God makes with Abram in Gen. 15:13-14. Another possible parallel is the one that runs the gamut of salvation history. After Adam and Eve sin and are exiled (with all humankind) from Eden, the righteous are admitted (a kind of exodus from the fallen world) to the new Jerusalem in the closing chapters of Revelation, which now contains the Edenic symbols of precious elements, life-giving water, and the tree of life (Gen. 2:10-14; 3:24; Rev. 22:1-2).

There are several exodus parallels in the person of Joshua, the immediate successor of Moses. The most obvious one is the parting of the Jordan River (Josh. 3:7-17), which reenacts the parting of the Red Sea; in both cases the Israelites pass over the

¹¹ The Philistines believed that a god had come into the camp (1 Sam. 4:7). The Israelites show themselves to be no less idolatrous in their belief that the ark's presence would assure victory, as if they could objectify and manipulate the Lord (1 Sam. 4:3).

¹² Walter Brueggemann, *Theology of the Old Testament: Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), 177.

water's path on dry land. Joshua instructs and leads the Israelites as directed by the Lord and brings them into the promised land.

Peter Leithart has recognized a convincing parallel to the Passover in the historical narrative of Sennacherib's siege on Jerusalem recorded in Isaiah 36–39.¹³ He notes that the chronological marker is provided at the beginning of the section as the “fourteenth year of king Hezekiah” (36:1), which corresponds to the dating of the Passover celebration (fourteenth of the month, cf. Lev. 23:5).¹⁴

Sennacherib parallels Pharaoh in his oppression of Israel. In both cases God humiliates the oppressor and his gods, and sends an angel of death to punish severely all those not under divine protection, even in the king's household (Isa. 36:21-29; cf. Exod. 12:12).¹⁵

Leithart also finds an exodus parallel when he compares Hezekiah's sickness and recovery narrative with Israel's worship of the golden calf shortly after their deliverance from Egypt.¹⁶ This second parallel, although not without interest, is weaker than the first. The display of Hezekiah's riches to the Babylonian well-wishers might indeed relate to idolatry, as Leithart suggests, but the greater purpose seems to be a foreshadowing of Babylon's conquest of Judah.

In addition, because the exodus event both establishes Israel as a nation and serves as the central point of her relationship with the Lord, it also serves to shape Israel's expectations that God would always deliver the nation from trouble (Deut. 1:30;

¹³Peter J. Leithart, “Passover and Exodus in Isaiah,” *Biblical Horizons* 63 (1994): 1-2. He actually argues from the premise that the Isaianic NE requires an Isaianic Passover, which he believes he has found here (p. 1). He also takes issue with the normally rigid division between Isaiah 39 and 40, whereby the Book of Consolation (40–55) alone is generally seen as containing the NE promises. While I agree that he has certainly identified another exodus parallel, the Assyrian siege is unrelated to any other exodus but its own, and the juxtaposition to the NE prophecies offer no compelling relevancy. Furthermore, although it will also be argued later in this thesis, in agreement with Leithart, that evidence of the NE is not and should not be presented as confined to the Book of Consolation, it appears that Leithart desires that the division be eliminated or expanded for the sole convenience of including this particular episode.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1. Isa. 38:1 marks the time more vaguely, saying, “in those days.” Leithart believes this is done purposely to associate Hezekiah's sickness with the events just prior, at least symbolically.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

6:17-19; 20:1). Israel/Judah has every reason to expect Yahweh to deliver them from their exile and oppression. Yahweh is a God who saves.¹⁷

Accordingly, even as the prophets predict the exile into Babylon, they simultaneously promise God's subsequent deliverance with direct references to the original exodus from Egypt (Isa. 10:26; 11:11, 16). Because God had saved them from Egypt, Israel could be confident that he would save them from all enemies who would threaten them. Indeed, the leaders of the people are condemned for not turning to the Lord when threatened by their enemies, even though they knew what he had done for them in the exodus (Jer. 2:6-9).

Egypt is used metaphorically as the threatened place of exile even in the covenant curses spoken by Moses in Deuteronomy ("the Lord will bring you back ... to Egypt," 28:68) and symbolically for Assyria (if not also Babylon) in Hosea (8:13; 9:3; 11:5). Similarly, the Lord promises to bring Israel "home from the land of Egypt" in Zech. 10:10.¹⁸

In Isa. 11:11 the prophet writes that the Lord will rescue his people a second time, performing a second exodus, and implicitly referencing the Egyptian exodus as the first rescue. In Isa. 43:16, within the context of the promise of the future exodus from Babylon, the author uses imagery from the original exodus.¹⁹ He speaks of the Lord making a path through the sea (v. 16) and destroying chariots and horses (v. 17). Furthermore, the Lord will make a way in the wilderness (v. 19) and give them water there (v. 20), as he had done for the Israelites in the Sinai wilderness.

¹⁷ Sylvia C. Keesmaat, *Paul and His Story: (Re)Interpreting the Exodus Tradition* JSNTSup 181 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 35; Otto A. Piper, "Unchanging Promises: Exodus in the New Testament," *Int* 11 (1957): 4. Piper argues that Deutero-Isaiah writes from a typological position. "God's deeds in the past are promises." David Daube, *The Exodus Pattern in the Bible* (London: Faber & Faber, 1963), 13-14; Harald Sahlin, "The New Exodus of Salvation According to St. Paul," in *The Root of the Vine: Essays in Biblical Theology* (Westminster: Dacre Press, 1953), 81; G. Walters and B. A. Milne, "Salvation," *NBD*, 1046-50. For some other citations, see Ps. 80:8; Judg. 6:7-10.

¹⁸ This verse seems to refer to the dispersed northern tribes, since Judah (those who chose to repatriate) had already returned from exile by the time of this prophecy. See Ralph L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, WBC (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1984), 266.

¹⁹ Edward J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), III:154. Young argues that the deliverance that the Lord announces is to be far greater than the exodus from Egypt, 154-55.

It is prophesied in Jer. 16:14-15 and 23:7-8 that the exodus from Babylonian captivity will be even more spectacular than the first exodus, thereby replacing the former as the central redemptive event of the nation's history.²⁰ And as the original event is eclipsed, so will be the people's former view of Yahweh as redeemer.²¹

Yet, clearly, the second exodus did not turn out to be greater than the first, for reasons already given. Consequently, the Jews had concluded either that the exodus had not actually occurred or that it had not been completed. Either way, another exodus was expected to fulfill the prophecies. This means that many of the prophecies that appear to apply to the second (Babylonian) exodus actually apply to the NE brought about by the Messiah Jesus.

5. New Exodus Theme in the OT

Much of the existing scholarship in the field of the NE has concentrated especially on the prophecy of Isaiah, and understandably so. Some scholars have even used the term *Isaianic New Exodus* as if the NE originates in or is unique to Isaiah,²² although the term itself is not explained. Furthermore, while several other prophets invoke the exodus theme,²³ in Isaiah it is "taken up and transformed, in a word, 'eschatologized.'"²⁴ This study affirms that the prophecies of Isaiah contain more NE material than the others, yet will not ignore other OT contributions. Isaiah uses reenactments from the events associated with the exodus event to prophesy the future

²⁰Rikki E. Watts, "Consolation or Confrontation? Isaiah 40-55 and the Delay of the New Exodus," *TynBul* 41 (1990): 32-33; Bernhard W. Anderson, "Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah," in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg*, eds. B. Anderson and W. Harrelson (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962), 182; Young, *The Book of Isaiah*, III:156.

²¹George L. Balentine, "Death of Jesus as a New Exodus," *RevExp* 59 (1962): 28; R. E. Nixon, *The New Exodus in the New Testament* (London: Tyndale Press, 1963), 10.

²²Bryan D. Estelle, "The Exodus Motif in Isaiah," *New Horizons* (2008), http://www.opc.org/nh.html?article_id=534, accessed Sept 12, 2016; David W. Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002); Rikki E. Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus in Mark* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2000).

²³Anderson, "Exodus Typology," 181n7, lists the following: Hos. 2:14-15; 11:1; 12:9, 13; 13:4-5; Amos 2:9-10; 2:1-2; 9:7; Mic. 6:4; Jer. 2:6-7; 7:22, 25; 11:4, 7; 16:14-15; 23:7-8; 31:32; 32:20-22; 34:13-14; Ezek. 20:5-10; 181n7. See also Watts, "Consolation or Confrontation?," 33n7, who has almost the same list.

²⁴Estelle, "The Exodus Motif," 1. See Anderson, "Exodus Typology," 181; Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus*, 55-59; Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus in Mark*.

exodus from Babylon and the glorious restoration of Zion.²⁵ Moreover, among scholars who recognize the NE theme in Isaiah, the work is particularly focused on the Book of Consolation.²⁶ This is again easy to understand, because this section of the prophet's writing is packed with NE material.

Structurally, the Book of Consolation begins and ends with a chiasm, as Anderson has demonstrated:

40:3-5	highway in the wilderness
41:17-20	transformation of the wilderness
42:14-16	Yahweh leads his people in a way they know not
43:1-3	passing through the waters and the fire
43:14-21	a way in the wilderness
48:20-21	the exodus from Babylon
49:8-12	the new entry into the Promised Land
51:9-10	the new victory at the sea
52:11-12	the New Exodus
55:12-13	Israel shall go out in joy and peace ²⁷

This structure indeed lends support to the idea that chapters 40–55 constitute a discrete section within Isaiah that focuses on the NE. Anderson's point is that Isaiah deliberately designs the prophecy of the second exodus to mirror the first and

²⁵ Watts, "Consolation or Confrontation?," 32-33; Anderson, "Exodus Typology," 181. See Anderson, "Exodus Typology," 177-80, for a discussion of the distinction between typology and allegory and the use of typology in Isaiah.

²⁶ Anderson, "Exodus Typology," 181; Estelle, "The Exodus Motif"; Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus*, 55-59; Graham S. Ogden, "Moses and Cyrus: Literary Affinities between the Priestly Presentation of Moses in Exodus vi-viii and the Cyrus Son in Isaiah xlv 24-xlv 13," *VT* 28 (1978): 195; Anthony R. Ceresko, "The Rhetorical Strategy of the Fourth Servant Song (Isaiah 52:13–53:12): Poetry and the Exodus-New Exodus," *CBQ* 56 (1994): 47; Carroll Stuhlmueller, *Creative Redemption in Deutero-Isaiah* (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1970), 59; Watts, "Consolation or Confrontation?," 32. Watts notes the "great quantity of salvation words in this section."

²⁷ Anderson, "Exodus Typology," 181-82.

transforms the themes to support the parallel.²⁸ The NE theme is most easily recognized in passages which describe Judah's yet-to-come second exodus from Babylon and which also reference the original exodus from Egypt. Isaiah develops several motifs that connect and support the NE theme also present in the original exodus. The hopes of restoration to the promised land are couched in exodus terminology, signifying that Israel/Judah has every reason to expect Yahweh to deliver them from their exile and oppression because Yahweh is a God who saves.²⁹

Yet as will be shown, numerous motifs of the NE can be found throughout the entire Isaianic prophecy, and in other prophetic writings as well. In the following section, the major motifs of the NE theme will be listed and explored as necessary. The list may not be exhaustive (Holland's and Brunson's lists even differ from each other), and each motif may or may not be represented in Galatians, as developed in later chapters of this thesis. The purpose is to demonstrate the dominance of the NE theme in the Prophets in order to show that the NT writers, including Paul in the writing of Galatians, were naturally influenced by this theme.

5.1. New Exodus Motifs in the OT

5.1.1. *Yahweh as Israel's Champion.*

Yahweh promises to lead his people out of captivity personally, as their front and rear guard (Isa. 52:12). He will guide them through waters and fire (43:1-2), even drying up the sea before them again (51:10), clearly an exodus image.³⁰ In Isa. 51:9 the prophet references Rahab, whom Yahweh had cut into pieces long ago. Yet, at least in this verse, Rahab likely refers to Egypt rather than the fabled sea monster of creation

²⁸ Ibid., 181.

²⁹ Keesmaat, *Paul and His Story*, 35; Piper, "Unchanging Promises," 4. Piper argues that Deutero-Isaiah writes from a typological position and that "God's deeds in the past are promises"; Daube, *The Exodus Pattern*, 13-14; Sahlin, "The New Exodus of Salvation," 81.

³⁰ Watts, "Consolation or Confrontation?," 34. Obviously this to be read poetically, as there is no great body of water to be crossed in this exodus. Yet the Lord will clear any obstacle with his mighty arm (40:10; 51:9; 52:10).

myths, given the context of the drying of the sea in v. 10 and especially the fact that Rahab (meaning “loud mouth”) is more explicitly used as a name for Egypt elsewhere (cf. Isa. 30:7; Ps. 87:4)³¹

In Isa. 10:20-34 the Lord promises that he himself will bring Israel back from the exile of Assyria (“Behold the Lord God of hosts,” v. 33) and in Isa. 14:1-3 he promises deliverance and return from Babylon, who has imposed hard service on Judah, comparable to the hard service and slavery Israel experienced in Egypt.

5.1.2. *The Servant of Yahweh.*

The four Servant Songs (Isa. 42:1-9; 49:1-6; 50:4-9; 52:13–53:12) are located in the Book of Consolation, although few scholars tend to detect the NE theme within any of them. In a journal article, Ceresko claims to be the first to do so, and argues for a close identification between the fourth Song’s Suffering Servant and Exodus’s suffering Israelites in Egypt.³² He bases the connection on specific words or phrases, such as in 53:8a, “By a perversion of justice he was taken away [*luqqah*].” The same verb, he notes, is used in 52:4-5, of Israel being “taken away” to Egypt.³³ He also notes that the hardship and affliction repeatedly mentioned in the fourth Servant Song (53:4, 7, 11) parallel the cruel labor thrust upon the Israelites in Egypt (Exod. 1:11-12).³⁴ Ceresko goes on to say that the Servant bears the reversal of the exodus in his own person.³⁵ The Servant consequently suffers the threatened sickness, afflictions, and exile. Ceresko concludes, “Like the Egyptian suffering, however, [the Servant’s suffering] serves also as a proximate preparation for a (new) exodus and return to the promised land.”³⁶

³¹ Alec J. Motyer, *Look to the Rock* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1996), 364. However, Motyer actually allows for either interpretation of Rahab—Egypt or the mythological serpent, 365. See also Estelle, “The Exodus Motif,” 2.

³² Ceresko, “The Rhetorical Strategy,” 47-48.

³³ *Ibid.*, 48.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 50.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

Ceresko's observations are helpful in demonstrating the link between exile and transgression in this passage (relevant for the NE in the NT), while at the same time suggesting that the Servant suffers in order to deliver God's people from their exile, which is by definition an exodus. More broadly, Tom Holland recognizes the NE theme in all four Servant Songs, arguing that "[t]he emergence of Israel from her shame in exile was the setting of the servant songs."³⁷

The identity of the Servant(s)³⁸ has been the subject of much speculation and debate over the millennia and is by no means settled. This is particularly the case with the Suffering Servant in the fourth song, and likely for two reasons: the references to the vicarious atonement for the sins of the people (53:5, 6, 8, 11, and 12), and the NT/Christian application of the passage to the Messiah Jesus.³⁹ The clearest messianic interpretation assigned to Jesus is recorded in Acts 8:28-35.⁴⁰ The Servant's identity is relevant to this discussion insofar as it relates to his role in securing the exodus for Israel/Judah in the sixth century BCE.

³⁷ Tom Holland, *Contours of Pauline Theology: A Radical New Survey of the Influences on Paul's Biblical Writings* (Ross-shire, Scotland: Mentor Books, 2004), 173.

³⁸ The role of the Servant in each of the songs is as follows, in order: (1) The Servant, who is gentle, will bring justice to the nations, liberate prisoners, open blind eyes, and be a light to the nations; (2) he is said to be Israel, who will bring the God's people back to him; he will be a light to the Gentiles; (3) he is perfectly obedient, in great contrast to disobedient and unrighteous Israel; (4) he suffers on behalf of Israel, making atonement for their sins.

³⁹ The gospel writers Matthew and John each specifically attribute the fulfillment of a verse from Isaiah 53 (Matt. 8:17 cites Isa. 53:4; John 12:38 cites Isa. 53:1) to Jesus, which, following C. H. Dodd's principle, claims the fulfillment of the entire Servant Song, C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures: The Sub-Structure of New Testament Theology* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), 88-94; F. F. Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 176. Bruce does not mention Matthew's citation of Isa. 53:4 ("He took our illnesses and bore our diseases.") in 8:17, although in that instance the reference is to his physical healing rather than redemption, as it is used elsewhere. See Robert H. Mounce, *Matthew*, NIBC (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991), 76. But Carson argues that the citation invokes the entire Servant Song (following Dodd and Gundry) and should be seen as a messianic claim and connection to the Servant of Yahweh: D. A. Carson, *Matthew*, in vol. 8 of *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*, ed. Frank Gaebelin (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1984), 205-6. Elsewhere in the NT, Rom. 4:25 and 1 Pet. 2:24 cite Isa. 53:5; 1 Pet. 2:22 cites Isa. 53:9.

⁴⁰ In addition to the direct citations, there are the possible allusions in Mark 9:12 (Isa. 53:3), Matt. 26:63, Mark 14:61, John 19:9, 1 Pet. 2:23 (Isa. 53:7), and Rom. 5:18, 19 (Isa. 53:11). F. F. Bruce notes the link between the heavenly words at Jesus' baptism (Mark 1:11) and Isa. 42:1, which also connects to Ps. 2:7, affirming the messiahship of Jesus. He also points to Jesus' own words of servanthood and ransom in Mark 10:45 as a likely allusion to the fourth Servant Song. See F. F. Bruce, *Commentary on Galatians*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing), 176. But, as he also mentions, for an opposing view of this, see Morna D. Hooker, *Jesus and the Servant: The Influence of the Servant Concept of Deutero-Isaiah in the New Testament* (London: S. P. C. K., 1959), 74-79.

Indeed, Isaiah 53 has been interpreted messianically in some Jewish literature, at least as early as Targum Jonathan (first century BCE),⁴¹ the Zohar (second century CE)⁴² and in the Mishnah treatise Sanhedrin 98b (200–400 CE).⁴³ There is further evidence of messianic interpretation of the Servant in Isaiah 53 in later centuries, but with diminishing relevance to first century Jewish thought.⁴⁴ Other individuals have been proposed as well to be the unnamed Servant, such as the prophet himself (or possibly a class of prophets),⁴⁵ Cyrus, Jeremiah, Jehoiachin, Zedekiah, Zerubbabel,⁴⁶ or some other royal figure of the Davidic line.⁴⁷

Messianic or other individual applications have not, however, been the majority Jewish opinion through the millennia, which instead has and continues to view the Servant as the nation of Israel, or possibly a righteous remnant of the nation.⁴⁸ As far

⁴¹ Isa. 53:2, “the righteous shall be great before him”; 53:8, “like a sheep before her shearers is dumb, none shall in his presence open its mouth, or speak a word”; 53:9, “he shall gather our captives from affliction and pain, and who shall be able to narrate the wonderful works which shall be done for us in his days”; 53:10, “he shall deliver the wicked into hell;” C. W. H. Pauli, trans., *The Chaldee Paraphrase of the Prophet Isaiah by Jonathan b. Uzziel* (London: London Society’s House, 1871), 182-84

⁴² “When the Messiah hears of the great suffering of Israel in their dispersion, and of the wicked amongst them who seek not to know their Master, he weeps aloud on account of those wicked ones amongst them, as it is written: “But he was wounded because of our transgression, he was crushed because of our iniquities” (Isa. LIII, 5). The souls then return to their place. The Messiah, on his part, enters a certain Hall in the Garden of Eden, called the Hall of the Afflicted. There he calls for all the diseases and pains and sufferings of Israel, bidding them settle on himself, which they do. And were it not that he thus eases the burden from Israel, taking it on himself, no one could endure the sufferings meted out to Israel in expiation on account of their neglect of the Torah. So Scripture says: “Surely our diseases he did bear” (Isa. LIII, 4).” Soncino Zohar, Shemoth, Section 2, p.212a.

⁴³ In vv. 30-31 the Messiah is identified as the leper scholar, who is “smitten of God and afflicted.”

⁴⁴ See Michael L. Brown, “Jewish Interpretations of Isaiah 53,” in *The Gospel According to Isaiah 53: Encountering the Suffering Servant in Jewish and Christian Theology*, eds. Darrell L. Block and Mitch Glaser (Grand Rapids: Kregel Academic & Professional, 2012), 60-62, who traces Jewish opinions on the identity of the Suffering Servant in Isaiah 53 from the second through the thirteenth century as mostly messianic.

⁴⁵ Roy A. Rosenberg “Jesus, Isaac, and the ‘Suffering Servant’.” *JBL* 84 (1965): 385. See also Ceresko, “The Rhetorical Strategy,” 53-54. He believes that the prophet’s willingness to suffer inspires reform among his fellow Jews to “become the people of a new covenant through a new exodus-covenant through a new exodus-conquest.” Yet this is hopefully optimistic for the Jewish nation, and historically inaccurate.

⁴⁶ C. R. North, *The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah: An Historical and Critical Study*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956) 20-21, 39-42, 49-57, 89 and H. H. Rowley, *The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays on the Old Testament*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), 13-20; Rosenberg, “Jesus, Isaac,” 381.

⁴⁷ Julian Morgenstern, “The Suffering Servant—A New Solution,” *VT* 11 (1961): 307-308, 318.

⁴⁸ Babylonian Talmud (Berakoth 5a), particularly vv. 24-26; the Midrash Rabbah on Isaiah 53:12; the actual reference is Midrash Rabbah on Num. 23, which attests that Isa. 53 refers to the people of Israel. Ibn Ezra (twelfth century CE), *The Commentary of Ibn Ezra on Isaiah*, edited from mss. and translated with notes, introductions, and indexes by M. Friedkinder (London: Trübaer and Co., 1873), 1:241-47; See Brown, “Jewish Interpretations of Isaiah 53,” 59-81, esp. 62. See also H. L. Ginsberg, “The Oldest

back as the third century, Origen also states that the consensus of Jews during his time was that the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53 was a remnant of Israel.⁴⁹

Christian scholarship has varied as well. Through the end of the eighteenth century, Christian scholars almost universally taught that the Servant was Jesus, as do some scholars today.⁵⁰ Such a view, however, problematically denies any immediate historical contextual application of the passage, and consequently much Christian scholarship has now instead interpreted the Servant as referring to Israel or a remnant,⁵¹ as has been strongly espoused by Hooker.⁵²

If the Suffering Servant's central task is concerned with making vicarious atonement for Israel/Judah so that the Lord can forgive their transgressions and bring them back to their homeland, a purely messianic interpretation becomes problematic, not necessarily because the Servant would be suffering, but because the Messiah did not appear in connection with the second exodus. This interpretation stands in contrast to the wider context of Isaiah which depicts Judah as having *already* been exiled and punished, and then according to Isa. 40:1-2, her sins having *already* been paid for, leading to her pardon. The Servant, then, is likely either the entire nation or a righteous remnant who suffered on behalf of the unrighteous.⁵³

Interpretation of the Suffering Servant," *VT* 3 (1953): 402. Ginsberg claims that the "many" are the Antiochan religious persecution and that the "Servant" is the minority, the steadfast anti-Hellenizers.

⁴⁹ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, bk. I, chapter LV.

⁵⁰ Robert R. Ellis, "The Remarkable Suffering Servant of Isaiah 40-55," *SWJT* 34 (1991): 30; Peter Dray, "Isaiah 52:13-53:12: Isaiah on the Suffering Servant," *Evangel* 26 (2008): 36; Motyer, *Look to the Rock*, 377-83; Young, *The Book of Isaiah*, III:340-59; and J. Alec Motyer, *Isaiah*, TOTC (Downers Grove, InterVarsity Press, 1999), 374-83.

⁵¹ Ellis, "The Remarkable Suffering Servant," 27; Dray, "Isaiah," 33-36.

⁵² Morna D. Hooker, *Jesus and the Servant*. See note 54 below regarding a dual interpretation.

⁵³ Regarding Hooker's objections that vicarious atonement was not part of Judaism, the sin sacrifices prove the very opposite. See Gordon J. Wenham, *The Book of Leviticus*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979), 63. Commenting on the fact that the symbolism of these actions is never detailed, he writes, "Yet because they understood the purpose of the burnt offering so well, the men of ancient Israel have left this most common OT sacrifice largely without explanation," 55. See also N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, 2nd ed. (London: S. P. C. K., 1997), 275. Also, Isa. 53:5, 6, 8, 11, and 12 all affirm vicarious atonement. See also Ellis, "The Remarkable Suffering Servant," 24, and see Berel Wein, *The Triumph of Survival: The Story of the Jews in the Modern Era 1650-1990* (Brooklyn, NY: Mesorah Publications, 1990), 14, who writes that Jews had long understood that the righteous can die for the sake of the unrighteous. See also Rosenberg, "Jesus, Isaac, and the 'Suffering Servant,'" 381-83. He traces the idea of vicarious atonement through Assyrian-Babylonian culture and suggests its influence on Jewish thought.

The suffering of the Servant sufficed, apparently, to atone for the sins of Israel and Judah that had driven them into exile. This is evidenced by the fact of their return and from Isa. 40:1-2. It had been prophesied that her exile would be for a discrete period of time, and God had raised up Cyrus to direct Israel and Judah's return. Yet their hearts were not yet circumcised, and the law was not yet written on their hearts. And they remained under the Old Covenant, awaiting the New Covenant that Jeremiah had promised (Jer. 31:31-34). Another Servant would be needed to bear their transgressions and lead them out of their spiritual exile—to lead a NE.⁵⁴

5.1.3. Enthronement of the Son of David/Messiah.

Throughout Isaiah, Yahweh promises to remember his covenant made in 2 Sam. 7:9-17 (cf. also Ps. 89:3-4) and restore the throne of David, which had ended with the Babylonian exile.⁵⁵ The Jews believed that with the return from Babylon, the Messiah would be revealed and would begin his reign in Jerusalem; therefore the messianic prophecies are intertwined with those of the NE.⁵⁶

In Isa. 9:6-7 the prophet foretells of the Messiah/child to be born who will sit on David's throne and reign eternally.⁵⁷ Again in Isa. 11:1-16, the Messiah is identified as coming from the lineage of Jesse, who will bring in an Edenic age;⁵⁸ this emphasis on new creation is one of the motifs of the NE to be discussed below.⁵⁹ These passages fence in⁶⁰ two sequential passages: the first in which the Lord promises to judge Assyria, the rod of his anger, for her arrogance in attacking and exiling Israel (10:5-19),

⁵³ Some evangelical scholars, such as Young, *The Book of Isaiah*, III:340-59, and Motyer, *Isaiah*, 374-83, do not explore the historical application within the exilic context, but merely apply the passage to Jesus Christ.

⁵⁴ What I am suggesting, then, is that the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53 must be read within its own historical context for its immediate application but has a secondary and perfect fulfillment in Jesus' atoning death.

⁵⁵ Mark L. Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts: The Promise and its Fulfillment in Lukan Christology*, JSNTSup 110 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 37.

⁵⁶ Sahlin, "The New Exodus of Salvation," 81; Balentine, "Death of Jesus," 28.

⁵⁷ Motyer, *Isaiah*, 102; cf. Luke 1:32-33.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 116-18.

⁵⁹ Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah*, 37. Strauss argues that this particular passage serves as a framework upon which the hopes of Second Temple Judaism are later built.

⁶⁰ Isa. 9:8-21 breaks the *inclusio* with a judgment oracle against Israel.

and the second in which the Lord promises that a remnant will return from exile (10:20-34).

There are more direct correlations between the expected Messiah and the NE in the wider body of the Prophets, however. In Jer. 23:3-8, the Lord promises to return his people to their land and to “raise up for David a righteous Branch” who will reign as king (v. 5). So great will be this time, the Lord says in vv. 7-8, that the second exodus will surpass the first in glory, and become the new reference for the Lord’s name (“as the Lord lives who brought up . . . out of the north country”). And again in Jer. 33:14-26, the Lord promises to renew the Davidic throne. The passage ends (33:26) with the promise that Yahweh’s servant David will rule over the descendants of Abraham.⁶¹ Similarly, in Ezek. 34:23-24 and 37:24-25 the Lord promises to set his servant David over them as shepherd, prince, and king forever. Hos. 3:4-5 also speaks of Israel’s exile and her eventual return, when they will both seek the Lord and David their king.⁶²

These are all clear references to the Messiah, promising his eternal reign in the age to come, an age that he will inaugurate. When it became clear that the Messiah would not appear upon their return to their homeland, Israel/Judah realized that they must yet await his arrival and the NE.

5.1.4. *Creation and new creation.*

Another very prominent motif of the NE in Isaiah is creation and particularly the new creation.⁶³ Throughout Isaiah, there are numerous references to the original creation event as well as many others which point forward to how Yahweh will renew creation in the future in conjunction with the NE. Isa. 40:12-28 contains a series of rhetorical questions about God’s creative activity in the heavens and the earth,

⁶¹ Cf. also Jer. 30:9, 21.

⁶² See Douglas Stuart, *Hosea–Jonah*, WBC (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), 67-68.

⁶³ Ben C. Ollenburger, “Isaiah’s Creation Theology,” *ExAud* 3 (1987): 54, comments that in no other Bible book is creation so theologically significant as in Isaiah. See also Richard J. Clifford, *Fair Spoken and Persuading: An Interpretation of Second Isaiah* (New York: Paulist Press, 1984), 59, and Stuhlmüller, *Creative Redemption*, passim.

concluding that, since the Lord has created all things, surely he is powerful enough to rescue Israel.⁶⁴ Indeed, he rules all the nations because he has created them and all things.⁶⁵

Isaiah writes of the Creator Lord slaying Leviathan the serpent,⁶⁶ “the dragon that is in the sea” (Isa. 27:1). Verse 2 speaks of a pleasant vineyard (Israel), of which the Lord is the keeper, and in verse 6 there is the promise of blossoms, shoots, and the whole world being filled with fruit. In this passage, several motifs can be seen: Yahweh as champion, new creation, and possibly the inclusion of the Gentiles (filling the world, a NE motif discussed below). In vv. 12-13 the prophet promises that the Lord will gather from Assyria and Egypt (the latter likely referring to Babylon), his people who were lost.

Yet why is the motif of new creation interwoven with the NE? Terrence Fretheim claims that creation motifs have long been noticed in the song of Miriam in Exodus 15.⁶⁷ In addition, as mentioned previously, Isaiah rehearses Yahweh’s activity as creator in order to assure Israel of his ability to save them;⁶⁸ Yahweh will bring order to all things and triumph over evil.⁶⁹ The first exodus was the event in which God *created* the nation of Israel.⁷⁰ Now, with the NE, we see re-creation. Graeme Goldsworthy writes, “Escape from Egypt means new life, a rebirth of the nation of Israel.”⁷¹ Israel’s later exile(s) had been the nation’s death, as the vision of the valley full of dry bones (Ezekiel 37) illustrates,⁷² but now resurrection life was occurring.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 57-61; Watts, “Consolation or Confrontation?,” 34-35, 40; Ph. B. Harner, “Creation Faith in Deutero-Isaiah,” *VT* 17 (1967): 298, 300. Cf. also Isa. 42:18; 45:9; 46:8

⁶⁵ Watts, “Consolation or Confrontation?,” 57-61.

⁶⁶ Motyer, *Isaiah*, 203.

⁶⁷ Terrence E. Fretheim, “The Reclamation of Creation: Redemption and Law in Exodus,” *Int* 45 (1991): 357. The entire article is written to show that the book of Exodus can only be understood in the light of Genesis, “redemption and law in the light of creation,” 354.

⁶⁸ See above discussion, but also Anderson, “Exodus Typology,” 184-85. Cf. Isa 40:21-31; 44:24-28; 45:12-13.

⁶⁹ Ollenburger, “Isaiah’s Creation Theology,” 54-55.

⁷⁰ Keesmaat, *Paul and His Story*, 35. Cf. Deut. 4:34.

⁷¹ Graeme Goldsworthy, *According to Plan: The Unfolding Revelation of God in the Bible* (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 1991), 140. He adds, 141, that the entire theology of redemption and new life can

In Isa. 54:1, Zion is called a barren woman, whose fortune will soon be reversed.

The one who was called barren will bear many children; the sterile womb will be fruitful. It is consistent that the return to Zion, a major act of redemption, would be considered a new creation for Israel. As Anderson writes, “In some places [Second Isaiah] links creation and redemption so closely together that one is involved in the other.”⁷³ He continues to say, “[Yahweh’s] redemptive acts are acts of creation; and his creative acts are acts of history.”⁷⁴

Ollenburger notes the concentration of the creation motif in Isaiah 40–66,⁷⁵ from the Book of Consolation through to the end of the prophecy. Some of the new creation verses within the Book of Consolation include 41:17-20; 43:16-21; 51:3; and 55:12-13. In each of these, Yahweh promises to cause the desert to bloom. In 51:3, the prophet promises that Yahweh will make Zion’s wilderness like Eden. The same is promised in 55:12-13, and nature is also personified so that the mountains and hills will sing and the trees will clap their hands as the captives go out in joy. The new creation themes are repeated in 60:19-20 and 65:17-25.

Scholars have observed the Edenic language, occasionally using paradisiacal terms in passages such as Isa. 11:6-9; 35:1-9; 43:16-21; and 65:19-25.⁷⁶ As observed by NE scholars, in 43:16-21 Yahweh refers to the parting of the Red Sea and the destruction of the Egyptians’ army; it is following this historical context that God is

be summed up in Exod. 19:4-6, in which he declares that if they keep the covenant, they will remain his special possession. See also Jer. 11:4; Ezek. 20:5-6.

⁷² John B. Taylor, *Ezekiel*, TOTC (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1969), 235. See also N. T. Wright, *The New Testament*, 276.

⁷³ Anderson, “Exodus Typology,” 184-85.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Ollenburger, “Isaiah’s Creation Theology,” 54.

⁷⁶ The re-creational language is mixed with that describing the coming messianic kingdom, which is more readily recognized. Edward J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965), I:390-91, only seems to acknowledge any Edenic reference in a brief citation, such as one from Ernst W. Hengstenberg, *Christology of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1896), II:120. He mentions nothing about creation regarding these other passages. Motyer, *Isaiah*, 116-19, however, does recognize the Edenic references in 11:6-9 and in 65:19-25 (451).

declared to now be doing a new thing.⁷⁷ He will now make a way in the wilderness, bringing forth water and life in the desert for the people he calls to himself.⁷⁸ Here, the original exodus and the NE are merged together with the motif of new creation. The new creation language is obviously poetic and mostly hyperbolic in the Prophets, and yet still conveys a sense of great hope. In the final chapters of Revelation, the description of the new heaven and earth uses paradisiacal/Edenic language. The new creation that Jesus would bring in the NE is both spiritual, as Paul promises that those who are in Christ experience a new creation (2 Cor. 5:17; Gal. 6:15), and physical, as referring to the new heaven and earth, as well as resurrected bodies.

5.1.5. *Return of Yahweh's presence to Zion.*

Yahweh's presence had left the first temple before it was destroyed, as depicted in the vision recorded in Ezek. 10:18-22. The actual destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, along with the people's deportation to Babylon, caused many of the Jews to believe that Yahweh had abandoned them altogether (e.g., Ezek. 37:11;⁷⁹ Lam. 2:5-9⁸⁰), as they had been confident that his presence on Mt. Zion protected them from all enemies.⁸¹ Hence, it would be expected that a major motif of the NE would be the return of Yahweh's presence to dwell among his people once again and reign as their king.⁸²

⁷⁷ Estelle, "The Exodus Motif," 2; Stuhlmüller, *Creative Redemption*, 69. These scholars notice the NE theme within Isa. 43, as it falls in the Book of Consolation, but do not appear, by their omission, to regard the other new creation passages as relevant to the NE.

⁷⁸ Watts, "Consolation or Confrontation?," 40. He cites Isa. 51:9-10; 44:27 and 50:2 and contends, "Yahweh announces his intention to use his creative power and wisdom to deliver Jacob-Israel and to restore the land in a New Exodus."

⁷⁹ See Ralph H. Alexander, *Ezekiel*, in *Jeremiah–Ezekiel*, EBC, eds. Tremper Longman III and David E. Garland (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2010), 849.

⁸⁰ See Paul W. Ferris, *Lamentations*, in *Jeremiah–Ezekiel*, 603; R. K. Harrison, *Jeremiah and Lamentations*, TOTC (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1973), 215. Harrison says that Judah saw the Lord as their enemy who was actively opposing them.

⁸¹ Cf. Isa. 14:32; 17:12-14; 37:16, per Ollenburger, "Isaiah's Creation Theology," 57-59, 63. Cf. also Isa. 45:12-13; Pss. 125:1; 69:35; 102:16). Cf. also Jer. 7:4, where the prophet warns them not to place false confidence in the presence of the temple, saying, "This is the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord."

⁸² Wright writes of the Jews' expectation of the age to come in which Yahweh would be declared the king of the whole world, as he already was: N. T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), 127, 301. Cf. Isa. 32:22; Pss. 93; 96; 97; 145:10-13; Isa. 52:7; Zeph. 3:14-20; Daniel; *Test. Mos.* 10:1-10. See also Ollenburger, "Isaiah's Creation Theology," 64.

In Isa. 4:5, the prophet uses the exodus imagery of cloud, smoke, and fire to describe the return of the Lord's presence to Zion.⁸³ The context of the passage is God's judgment of the wicked, in which only the righteous may live in Jerusalem. Other references to the Lord's presence include passages such as the invitation to "behold your God," as in Isa. 35:4⁸⁴ or 52:6-7. The Lord not only delivers his people, but he does so personally⁸⁵ and then remains in their midst, even enthroned on Mt. Zion.⁸⁶

Yet Israel did not experience God's presence among them. This would await fulfillment in the NE, when God would be present among his people by his Spirit, and ultimately dwell among his people in the new heaven and earth (Rev. 21:22-27–22:5).

5.1.6. *Outpouring of the Holy Spirit.*

According to Morales, the most dominant motif adopted by the first-century church is the eschatological outpouring of the Spirit.⁸⁷ Indeed, such a promise is well represented in the OT Prophets, as the Lord promises to pour out his Spirit on his people in the new age. As the Spirit is poured out, God's people are characterized by righteousness.

The relationship between the Spirit and righteousness is well established in the Major Prophets, and in particular, in Isaiah. The Spirit is poured out upon the Servant or Messiah (11:2; 42:1; 48:16; 61:1) and on all of Israel in the last days or in the new age (32:15; 44:3; 59:21; 63:11-14).⁸⁸ And with the presence of the Spirit, the Messiah will rule in righteousness (9:7; 11:3-5; 16:5; 42:1), and Zion and its inhabitants will also be

⁸³ Motyer, *Isaiah*, 68; Young, *The Book of Isaiah*, I:185-86. The passage is also messianic (branch of the Lord, v. 2), which ties it to the NE.

⁸⁴ Watts, "Consolation or Confrontation?," 33. Watts remarks that Isaiah 35 is the most important NE chapter prior to the Book of Consolation, which at least shows his willingness to expand the presence of the NE theme outside the limits of those sixteen chapters.

⁸⁵ Watts, "Consolation or Confrontation?," 33. Cf. also, e.g., Isa. 40:9-31.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 34. Watts claims that the Lord's enthronement and presence is the goal of the NE. This thesis argues that the divine marriage is the culmination and goal, although these two motifs are not very far apart.

⁸⁷ Rodrigo J. Morales, *The Spirit and the Restoration of Israel: New Exodus and New Creation Motifs in Galatians* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 13.

⁸⁸ See discussion of the identity of the Servant as Messiah in "Servant of Yahweh" section.

characterized by righteousness (11:1-6; 32:15-20; 33:5; 60:21; 61:3, 10, 11).

Furthermore, the Spirit brings a new created order, one of peace and of righteousness.⁸⁹

Although the righteousness of the age to come is attributed to the Spirit's presence, he will bestow that righteousness on God's people. Justification has both a present application and an eschatological sense to it, in that those who are justified upon their repentance and response of faith will be declared righteous at the Day of Judgment.⁹⁰

Morales traces the outpouring of the Spirit in several passages in Ezekiel as well, and these are particularly relevant to the role of the Holy Spirit in the NE. In four oracles of Ezekiel, Yahweh promises to restore Israel to her land, and at the same time to give her a new heart and a new spirit (11:14-21; 18:30-32; 36:26-27; 39:21-29).⁹¹ In the first two of these passages from Ezekiel, the Lord says that he will give his people a new spirit, whereas in the last two, using almost the same language, he says that he will put his own Spirit in or upon them. These passages blend the motif of the outpouring of the Spirit and the new creation, as both the people and the land are made new.⁹² The re-creation and restoration motifs describe the imputation of righteousness to God's people.

Ezekiel 37 describes the postexilic restoration of Israel. The resurrection metaphor in the vision of the dry bones (vv. 1-14) powerfully depicts Israel returning to life from the death of exile. Morales merely considers the possibility of a link between this passage to the previous chapter, but surely there is one, as the new creation motif continues virtually seamlessly. And, as Morales does naturally affirm, it is the Spirit

⁸⁹ Morales, *Spirit and Restoration*, 18-19, 25.

⁹⁰ Charles H. Cosgrove, "Justification in Paul: A Linguistic and Theological Reflection," *JBL* 106 (1987): 660; Douglas J. Moo, "Justification in Galatians" in *Understanding the Times: New Testament Studies in the 21st Century: Essays in Honor of D. A. Carson On the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, edited by Andreas J. Köstenberger and Robert W. Yarbrough (Wheaton: Crossway Books, 2011), 172; N. T. Wright, *Justification: God's Plan and Paul's Vision* (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2009), 100-101, 134-35, 204-5, passim. Contra Piper, *The Future of Justification* (Wheaton: Crossway Books, 2007), 22, 100-101, 115-17, 143, 183, where he specifically disagrees with Wright. Some of the differences center on a question of whether believers are judged by works at the eschaton, which is what Piper charges Wright with asserting.

⁹¹ Morales, *Spirit and Restoration*, 29-33, 34. He should also include Ezek. 37:14.

⁹² *Ibid.*

who restores life to the dead bones. The Spirit is both the means and the sign of Israel's restoration.⁹³ And the Spirit's presence among the Gentiles would be confirmation of the dawning of the eschatological age.

Joel also prophesies an outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the eschatological age (2:18–3:5),⁹⁴ and Peter quotes from this oracle in Acts 2:14–21, using it to explain to the crowd the phenomenon of many languages being spoken at the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. Joel links this outpouring to the restoration of Israel, apocalyptic signs, and the preaching of the good news, which Peter claims were then being fulfilled.⁹⁵ And when Peter quotes from Joel on this occasion, he appears to do so with the confidence that his Jewish hearers will recognize the significance of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit and its relationship to the dawning of the eschatological age with all its accompanying promises.

Wilder has noted the connection of the presence of the Holy Spirit to the exodus in Neh. 9:19–20 (“you gave your good Spirit to instruct them”) and the likely allusion to the same in Ps. 143:10b (LXX Ps. 142:10b: “Let your good Spirit lead me on level ground”).⁹⁶

5.1.7. *Ingathering of the Gentiles.*

The ingathering of the Gentiles into God's people is not greatly emphasized by most Christian scholars as a NE motif, particularly among those who limit the NE

⁹³ Ibid., 33–34. Morales has also argued that Jews would be far more apt to identify the outpouring of the Spirit and connect it to the restoration of Israel than they ever would be to recognize the new creation motif, 13–14.

⁹⁴ See also Hans Walter Wolff, *Joel and Amos: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press: 1977), 65–67, and Stuart, *Hosea–Jonah*, 254–58.

⁹⁵ Morales, *Spirit and Restoration*, 39. It is not certain that Peter was claiming an understanding that the restoration of Israel had come. Morales is not specific as to whether or not Peter claims all three fulfillments.

⁹⁶ William N. Wilder, *Echoes of the Exodus Narrative in the Context and Background of Galatians 5:18* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2001), 124. In the same grouping he notes Hag. 2:4–5 and Isa. 63:11–14, which have been noted above. See also N. T. Wright, “New Exodus, New Inheritance: The Narrative Substructure of Romans 3–8,” in *Romans and the People of God: Essays in Honor of Gordon D. Fee on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, eds. Sven K. Soderland and N. T. Wright (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 29. He writes that just as the Spirit led God's people out of Egypt and through the desert, so he leads Christians from their present wilderness of sin.

passages in Isaiah to the Book of Consolation. The reason is obvious: the prophet himself does not stress it very much in this section of Isaiah. There are, however, at least three occurrences. In the first Servant Song, Yahweh promises to put his Spirit upon his Servant, who will “bring forth justice to the nations” (42:1).⁹⁷ In the second song, Yahweh promises to make his Servant “as a light for the nations, that my salvation may reach to the end of the earth” (49:6).⁹⁸ And finally in 55:5, Yahweh tells Israel, “you shall call a nation that you do not know, and a nation that did not know you shall run to you” because of the Lord’s action in glorifying Israel.

Yet when one moves past the Book of Consolation to the later chapters of Isaiah’s prophecy, one finds numerous verses that speak of the Gentile ingathering. Isaiah 56 addresses two categories of outcasts from the Lord’s people—the foreigner and the eunuch, both of whom are now being welcomed into the covenantal relationship with the Lord and his people (56:3-8).⁹⁹ In Isa. 60:3-14,¹⁰⁰ Yahweh promises that Zion will attract nations and their kings by the nation’s glorious light. In 61:11 the Lord promises that righteousness and praise will sprout up before all the nations. Similarly, in 62:2,¹⁰¹ Yahweh says of Jerusalem that the nations will see her righteousness and that all the kings will see her glory. Verse 7 says that Jerusalem will be made an object of praise in the earth. The nations will be made aware of God’s presence in Jerusalem and be attracted to the city. And finally, in 66:18-19, Yahweh speaks of a time that is coming “to gather all nations and tongues. And they shall come and shall see my glory.”

Holland has noted these passages and more, as he, perhaps more than any other scholar, has realized that the prophets had foretold the enfolding of the Gentiles into the

⁹⁷ Holland, *Contours*, 28, 293, considers this verse messianic, and therefore a NE verse.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 194n14.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 28, 293, 207.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 194n14.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 208.

covenant when the NE would take place.¹⁰² Furthermore, he notices that the promise can be found as early in Isaiah as 2:1-5 (v. 2, “and all the nations shall flow to it”).¹⁰³

Outside of Isaiah, there are numerous references to the ingathering of the nations in the context of the eschatological age, which is linked to the NE: Jer. 3:17; 16:19; Ezek. 38:23; Mic. 4:2; Zeph. 2:11; Hag. 2:7; Zech. 2:11; 8:22, 23.¹⁰⁴ Holland also notes that in the NT, the apostles, including Paul, began to experience the phenomenon of the expansion of the covenant to include the Gentiles. Christ had come to bring in the NE. In Acts 9:15 Ananias is told that Paul is a chosen instrument to carry the Lord’s name to the Gentiles. After rejection from the Jews, Paul and Barnabas declare that their mission is now exclusively to the Gentiles (Acts 13:46-47). And Paul tells of this particular commission directly from God in Acts 22:21 and 26:27. Holland mentions the expansion of the Davidic tent to include the Gentiles, pointing to James who cites Amos 9:11 in Acts 15:16-17.¹⁰⁵

This is all in fulfillment of the promises made to Abram (Gen. 12:1-3), that all nations would be blessed through him. When the NE occurs, all nations will see the light of salvation through Israel.¹⁰⁶ Given that this did not occur with the liberation from Babylon, the case for the NE as being fulfilled in the coming of the Messiah is strengthened. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the attraction and inclusion of the Gentiles into the people of Yahweh is a major motif within the NE, but is stressed primarily in the final eschatologically leaning chapters of Isaiah.

¹⁰² Ibid., 194.

¹⁰³ See also Isa. 5:26; 11:10; 12:4; 26:2; 19:23-25; 49:22-23; 51:4; 55:5; 65:1.

¹⁰⁴ References in the Psalms abound: 2:8; 9:11; 22:27, 28; 45:17; 46:10; 47:1, 9; 57:9; 67:2, 4; 72:11, 17; 82:8; 86:9; 96:3, 7, 10; 98:2; 99:1, 2; 102:15; 105:1; 117:1; 108:3; 113:4; 117:1; 148:11.

¹⁰⁵ Holland, *Contours*, 194.

¹⁰⁶ Estelle, “The Exodus Motif,” 3; Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus*, 57.

5.1.8. *Divine marriage.*

5.1.8.1. Establishment of the marriage.

While Watts has stated that the goal of the NE is the return of Yahweh's presence to a restored Zion, Holland has argued that the divine marriage is the "culmination of the NE."¹⁰⁷ Although these two goals are not mutually exclusive, neither are they the same. Both are covenantal, in that they affirm elements of the tripartite ancient covenant: I will be your God, you will be my people, and I will dwell in your midst (cf. Gen. 17:8; Exod. 6–7; 29:45-46; Lev. 26:11-12).¹⁰⁸ It is notable, however, that Holland has been virtually a lone voice drawing attention to the centrality of the divine marriage motif within the NE. But given its recurring presence throughout both the OT and NT, as will be shown, and particularly in the eschatological portions (especially in Isaiah and Revelation), it seems reasonable to conclude that Holland is correct in his emphasis on the divine marriage motif.

Scripture teaches and the Jews believed that Yahweh had married his people at Sinai,¹⁰⁹ as the following evidence aims also to support:¹¹⁰ The first reference to the marriage between Yahweh and his people in the Hebrew Scriptures is found in Hos. 2:2,¹¹¹ which, ironically, is actually an announcement of Yahweh's intention to end the marriage in divorce. Israel has been an unfaithful wife to Yahweh. By interweaving his own real, failed marriage—due to his wife's infidelity, the prophet utilizes the theme of marital sexual love to teach and convict Israel about her relationship with the Lord,

¹⁰⁷ Tom Holland, *Romans: The Divine Marriage* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011), ix; Cf. Holland, *Contours*, 112.

¹⁰⁸ G. J. Wenham, *The Book of Leviticus*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979), 329-30.

¹⁰⁹ Holland, *Contours*, 211. Cf. also Ezek. 36:27-28; 37:24-27; Jer. 31:32. Richard Batey, however, argues that many in Second Temple Jews believed that the marriage had not yet taken place, and were looking toward the marriage in the future: Batey, *New Testament Nuptial Imagery* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 10.

¹¹⁰ McKenzie, "Exodus Typology in Hosea," 101. He refers to Israel's early time in the Sinai wilderness as Israel's honeymoon with the Lord, although such a characterization seems to overlook the numerous occasions of infidelity, particularly the incident of the golden calf (Exod. 32).

¹¹¹ This is based on dating the prophecies at approximately 760 BCE, which precedes the writings of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. See Stuart, *Hosea–Jonah*, 9. See also Irene Kerasote Rallis, "Nuptial Imagery in the Book of Hosea: Israel as the Bride of Yahweh," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 34 (1990): 197.

while stressing the purity of marriage and the abomination of sexual unfaithfulness.¹¹² Once the marriage/adultery metaphor is firmly established, it is well represented in the other prophets.¹¹³

While technically true that the concept of a marriage between Yahweh and his people first appears in Hosea, it would not be correct to claim that the Jews were unfamiliar with comparisons between the opposite extreme of the metaphor—idolatry and whoredom.¹¹⁴ Prior to the Prophets, the Hebrew Scriptures have numerous instances where such language is used to convey that very idea, as Douglas Stuart notes. He refers to Israel's early covenantal metaphorical language in Exod. 34:15, 16 and Deut. 31:16, where prostituting after other gods means breaking the first of the Ten Commandments, and thus violating the national covenant with Yahweh.¹¹⁵ Stuart also claims that the imagery of sexual infidelity was used outside of Israel, in secular treaty documents of the first millennium BCE.¹¹⁶ It is therefore likely that Israel would have been familiar with the metaphoric language of marriage in relation to their covenant with God early in their history.¹¹⁷ Indeed, the foundations for the marital imagery later used in the Prophets had been laid many centuries earlier.

It is clear that the concept of the divine marriage taking place at Sinai between Yahweh and Israel had taken root in Jewish thought, as the theme is also developed in their other prophetic literature. In Ezek. 16:8, for example, Yahweh speaks of having spread the corner of his garment over Israel as an act of betrothal.¹¹⁸

¹¹² David B. Wyrzten, "The Theological Center of the Book of Hosea," *BSac* 141 (1984): 320-21.

¹¹³ Brad E. Kelle, *Hosea 2: Metaphor and Rhetoric in Historical Perspective* (Atlanta: SBL, 2005), 48. He lists the following: Isa. 1:21; 50:1-3; 54:1-10; 57:6-13; 62:4-5; Jer. 2:1-3, 13; 4:1-31; 13:20-27; Ezekiel 16; 23; Hos. 1-3; 9:1; Mic. 1:6-7; Nah. 3:4-7 and Mal. 2:10-16.

¹¹⁴ For an opposing view, however, see Rallis, "Nuptial Imagery," 203-4.

¹¹⁵ Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 27. We can find numerous additional examples where Israel is charged with being a whore for worshipping other gods besides Yahweh: Exod. 34:12-16; Lev. 17:7; Deut. 31:16; Judg. 8:33; 1 Chron. 5:25; 2 Chron. 21:13; Ps. 106:36-39.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ For an alternate view, see Kelle, *Hosea 2*, 48. Rather than seeing the marriage metaphor based on the earlier covenantal idea, he believes it is based on ANE treaties which compare covenant breaking with prostitution.

¹¹⁸ Taylor, *Ezekiel*, 135-36. See also Roland de Vaux, *Social Institutions*, vol. 1 of *Ancient Israel*, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965), 33; Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel, 1-20: A New Translation with*

J. Duncan Derrett recognizes the wedding ceremony reference in Ezekiel 16 and calls Moses a marriage broker.¹¹⁹ Holland claims that this passage is proof that the Jews reckoned the Sinai covenant as a wedding ceremony.¹²⁰ Elsewhere he mentions that Israel became Yahweh's bride through the Passover¹²¹ (presumably being formalized at Sinai), and that it has been the tradition to sing parts of the Song of Songs at the Passover commemoration.¹²²

Jer. 2:2 speaks of Israel as a young bride following Yahweh in the wilderness, presumably at Sinai.¹²³ And this image can be seen particularly in Jer. 31:32, as Yahweh promises to make a new covenant, "not like the covenant that I made with their fathers on the day when I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt, my covenant that they broke, though I was their husband."

Yahweh brought his people out of Egypt, establishing them as the nation of Israel, in order to make an exclusive covenant with them, which is later represented as marrying them. The exclusive, particular, and intimate relationship can be seen in the sealing of the covenant. In Exod. 19:5-6a, after Yahweh, through Moses, recounts to the people how he has just delivered them out of Egypt, he then makes his marital vow, "Now therefore, if you will indeed obey my voice and keep my covenant, you shall be my treasured possession among all peoples, for all the earth is mine; and you shall be to me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation." After Moses reads the Book of the Covenant, the people respond in kind, affirming that they will keep the covenant (Exod.

Introduction and Commentary, AB (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 277-78. See also Holland, *Contours*, 211.

¹¹⁹ J. Duncan M. Derrett, *Law in the New Testament* (London: Dorton, Longman, & Todd, 1970), 398.

¹²⁰ Holland, *Contours*, 211.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 174, 283.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 226.

¹²³ Harrison, *Jeremiah and Lamentations*, 54. See also Karin Hedner Zetterholm, *Jewish Interpretation of the Bible: Ancient and Contemporary* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 18. Her point is not so much biblical-theological, but she notes that the word for sanctified/separated (*qeddushah*) is both used at Sinai and in the words the groom says to his bride in a Jewish wedding ritual. She also says that rabbinic literature often describes the covenant between God and Israel as a marriage; in some cases the Torah is the contract, in others the marriage is to the Torah. This does reinforce McKenzie's reference to the honeymoon period mentioned earlier.

24:7), at which point the covenant is sealed with the sprinkling of blood and a covenant meal on the mountain.

There is further evidence of the prominent view of this marital relationship in the reading of the Song of Songs. Both the Targum¹²⁴ and Midrash of the Song of Songs¹²⁵ interpret the book to be an allegory of Yahweh's love for Israel.¹²⁶ Furthermore, as just stated above, the Song of Songs has traditionally been sung during the celebration of the Passover feast,¹²⁷ connecting it to the original exodus and therefore to Sinai.

It could be said that the marriage relationship is used to describe the covenant because it is the most apt one available to express both the intimacy and exclusivity Yahweh wants to have with his people.¹²⁸ Yahweh calls himself a jealous God numerous times in relation to the exclusivity of the marital relationship with Israel.¹²⁹ When Israel/Judah actively engaged in idolatry, Yahweh likens it to adultery, and therefore to grounds for divorce.

5.1.8.2. The divorce.

There are several passages among the Prophets which mention a divorce taking place as a result of Israel/Judah's infidelity to the marriage covenant. Before examining them, as some have denied that a divorce did take place (to be discussed below), it is necessary to explain the relevance of the issue to the NE. Obviously, if God has divorced his people (cut them off) and yet plans to return to them, rescue them, and even be their husband, a reconciliation must take place. Yet as Jer. 3:1 states, such a remarriage is an abomination and would "pollute the land." The assumed context is the

¹²⁴ Hermann Gollancz, trans., *The Targum to the 'Song of Songs'; The Book of the Apple; The Ten Jewish Martyrs; A Dialogue on Games of Chance* (London: Luzac and Co., 1908), 15-90.

¹²⁵ Jacob Neusner, *A Theological Commentary to the Midrash: Song of Songs Rabbah* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2001). See also Samuel Rapaport, *Tales and Maxims from the Midrash* (London: G. Routledge, 1907).

¹²⁶ Batey, *New Testament Nuptial Imagery*, 10, makes this point.

¹²⁷ Holland, *Contours*, 226.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 111-12.

¹²⁹ Exod. 20:5 (Deut. 5:9); 34:14; Deut. 4:24; 6:15; 32:16, 21; Josh. 24:19; Ezek. 16:38, 42; 23:25, etc.

commandment in Deut. 24:1, which forbids the remarriage of a couple after divorce and remarriage to another. According to Jer. 3:1, Israel/Judah had left the Lord, or been divorced from him, and married other gods.¹³⁰ How could she now return to the Lord?

Some scholars have argued that God's people were not truly divorced,¹³¹ but several Scripture passages indicate otherwise. In Hos. 1:9, Hosea and Gomer's child's name (which is meant to speak prophetically of God's people) indicates that the covenant relationship is broken.¹³² In Hos. 2:2 the Lord declares, "she is not my wife, and I am not her husband," a possible divorce formula.¹³³ In Isa. 50:1 the Lord asks about Judah's certificate of divorce.¹³⁴ In Jer. 3:8 the Lord says explicitly that he has divorced Israel.¹³⁵ The metaphors in Ezekiel 16 (v. 38) and 23 (vv. 28-35, 45, 49) certainly imply a divorce. The scriptural evidence, therefore, seems conclusive that God has divorced Israel.

5.1.8.3. Resolving the dilemma of the divorce.

The Lord makes it clear that he desires to marry his people again and will do so. Israel will respond to his wooing (Hos. 2:14-23).¹³⁶ In Isa. 54:5 the Lord declares that he is Israel/Judah's husband, which is most likely a declaration of future intent, given that it is spoken while God's people are in exile. To explain how remarriage is possible, various solutions have been suggested including the following: (1) God is willing to

¹³⁰ Harrison, *Jeremiah and Lamentations*, 63-64.

¹³¹ Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 45, 47. Stuart is inconsistent, however. He acknowledges that the people's disobedience must lead to divorce, that the covenant is broken, and that the people "are now formally cut adrift" (32-33). Elsewhere (59) he says that the marriage has been annulled; Hans Walter Wolff, *Hosea* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), 33-35; E. W. Heaton, *The Hebrew Kingdoms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 294.

¹³² Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 33; Hans Walter Wolff, *Hosea*, 27.

¹³³ For example David Allan Hubbard, *Hosea*, TOTC (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1989), 79; Wolff, *Hosea*, 33; Mordechai A. Friedman, "Israel's Response in Hosea 2:17b: 'You Are My Husband,'" *JBL* 99 (1980): 199. See, however, Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 47, who denies proof that any such formula exists.

¹³⁴ Motyer, *Isaiah*, 356; Young, *The Book of Isaiah*, III:295-96.

¹³⁵ While it is true that Yahweh is addressing Judah in Isa. 50:1 and Israel in Jer. 3:8, he continues in the latter to excoriate Judah for being worse than Israel. And once again, the exile—being sent away—is the ultimate curse of the covenant and is likened to a divorce throughout Scripture.

¹³⁶ McKenzie, "Exodus Typology in Hosea," 102, suggests that the reference to knowing the Lord in Hos. 13:4 is meant to be intimate, as in marriage.

break his own law because of love,¹³⁷ (2) God is able to do the impossible,¹³⁸ or (3) a true marriage had never actually taken place.¹³⁹

Perhaps a better solution than any of these is to view the exile as death, consistent with the imagery of the vision of the dry bones in Ezek. 37:1-14.¹⁴⁰ Accordingly, her exodus is her rebirth. If Israel has died and been reborn, then she is a new creation,¹⁴¹ a virgin whom the Lord can now marry.¹⁴² New creation is a NE motif. In addition to Hos. 2:19-20, the new marriage is mentioned as well in Jer. 31:3,¹⁴³ 31-34;¹⁴⁴ and Ezek. 36:24-30.¹⁴⁵

The picture of Jerusalem as a city-bride is first found in the NE passages in Isaiah. She is presented as a barren woman in Isa. 54:1, bereft of her children, who have been taken into exile. Yet though she is barren and desolate, she will again be married and fertile, for Yahweh himself is her husband (54:5). And in verses 11-12, the Lord promises to rebuild her from her foundations with precious stones and establish her in righteousness (v. 14). This is paralleled in Rev. 21:2, as the new Jerusalem descends from heaven as a bride adorned for her husband, clothed in fine linen which represents her righteousness. She is described as having radiance like rare sparkling jewels (21:11), as her walls are built of jasper and adorned with every kind of jewel (vv. 18-21). The NE motifs of new creation (formerly barren woman now fertile, new Jerusalem) and

¹³⁷ Nelly Stienstra, *YHWH is the Husband of His People: Analysis of a Biblical Metaphor with Special Reference to Translation* (Kampen, The Netherlands: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1993), 112.

¹³⁸ Rallis, "Nuptial Imagery," 207.

¹³⁹ Holland, *Contours*, 211. He suggests that Sinai was, although unknown to Israel, only a type, or in this case, a wedding rehearsal. He bases this on Paul's statement that Israel was held captive to sin (Gal. 3:23), and therefore she was separated from God. Holland argues this in the context of a discussion of the role of the law for Israel. But his main point appears to be that their status was a temporary one, preparing her for the future eschatological marriage to be celebrated with the a "great cosmic banquet" (Isa. 54:1-8; 61:10; 62:4-5; Hos. 2:16, 19). See his *Romans: The Divine Marriage*, 9.

¹⁴⁰ Taylor, *Ezekiel*, 235-37; Alexander, *Jeremiah-Ezekiel*, 848.

¹⁴¹ Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 58. Stuart notes that Hosea lists the three groups of living creatures in Hos. 2:18 in their precise order from the Genesis 1 creation account (1:30). With the covenant renewal there is a sense of re-creation.

¹⁴² Rallis, *Nuptial Imagery*, 209; Wyrzten, *The Theological Center*, 324; Stienstra, *YHWH*, 121-22. This same idea can be seen in the NT. Jesus, the representative of Israel, has died on Israel's behalf. Holland has contended (*Contours*, 230) that because the church has died in Christ, Yahweh can take the new Israel to himself in righteousness.

¹⁴³ Harrison, *Jeremiah and Lamentations*, 135.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 137.

¹⁴⁵ Taylor, *Ezekiel*, 232.

divine marriage (Israel as wife, Jerusalem as mother and city-bride) are blended in this imagery.

The bridal image is again seen in Isa. 61:10-11, where the prophet speaks in the first person,¹⁴⁶ rejoicing that Yahweh has clothed him in garments of righteousness and salvation, as beautiful as the adornment of a bride and bridegroom. This beauty of righteousness will be an attractive testimony to all nations (attracting the Gentiles). And again, this is echoed in Rev. 21:24-27, where the splendor of the New Jerusalem attracts the kings of the earth who bring their glory and honor into the city.

Similarly in Isaiah 62, the prophet declares that Zion will be famous for her beauty, and that her righteousness and salvation will shine brightly. Both Isaiah and the author of Revelation describe the garments of the bride, even if in general terms. They are beautiful and pure. They radiate righteousness.¹⁴⁷ It is also important to note that the robe (of righteousness) is given by God (Isa. 61:10). The Lord provides the wedding garment rather than Israel/Judah herself. In contrast, the robe of righteousness one provides for oneself is a filthy rag.¹⁴⁸

When Israel/Judah does return to her land, however, the many promises of the second exodus remain unfulfilled. The divine marriage has not taken place. Since only partial restoration has occurred, Israel appears to remain under exile.¹⁴⁹ This was the majority understanding throughout Second Temple Judaism.¹⁵⁰

If Israel was still in exile, then they were still divorced from Yahweh, and were awaiting the divine marriage. They were betrothed but still unmarried. The Jews came to expect the marriage to occur in the messianic age, for which they longed. The church

¹⁴⁶ Motyer, *Isaiah*, 425, assumes the speaker is the Messiah. Claus Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969), 374, and Shalom M. Paul, *Isaiah 40–66: Translation and Commentary*, ECC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 538, believe he is the prophet. The context seems to suggest that it is Israel personified, which could in this instance be the Servant.

¹⁴⁷ Jan Fekkes III, “His Bride Has Prepared Herself”: Revelation 19–21 and Isaian Nuptial Imagery,” *JBL* 109 (1990): 271, notes the parallel with garments, but makes no connection regarding righteousness.

¹⁴⁸ Young, *The Book of Isaiah*, III:496; Motyer, *Isaiah*, 442. Both claim that the reference is to a ritually unclean menstrual cloth.

¹⁴⁹ Wright, *The New Testament*, 299-301; Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, xviii, 126, 209.

¹⁵⁰ Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 209; Batey, *New Testament Nuptial Imagery*, 10.

joined in this expectation that Yahweh would marry the true remnant at the parousia.

They must await the NE.

6. The Continuing Exile

In each of the above NE motifs, the promises relative to them were almost entirely left unfulfilled in the second exodus (the return from Babylon-Persia).¹⁵¹ Not included in these motifs were the prophecies in conjunction with the exodus and repatriation that a united Israel would enjoy great physical (Isa. 60:5-7, 10-16; 65:22-23; Amos 9:11-15)¹⁵² and spiritual prosperity (Isa. 60:21-22; 62:1-2; 65:23-25,¹⁵³ Jer. 31:31-34;¹⁵⁴ Ezek. 36:25-27), which also did not occur. The latter reality is evidenced by the sins addressed in Ezra, Nehemiah, and the postexilic prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, including the lack of enthusiasm in rebuilding the temple.¹⁵⁵ The reasonable conclusion is that the exodus was not completed upon Israel's return to

¹⁵¹ See also Andrew C. Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John: An Intertextual Study on the New Exodus Pattern in the Theology of John*, WUNT 2/158 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 153-54; Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 1st American ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), 483; Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 268-70. Watts, writes in "Consolation or Confrontation?," 31, "Chapters 56-66 [of Isaiah] make it clear that the reality of the return left much to be desired." See also N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 148, who references the promises of Isaiah and Ezekiel.

¹⁵² See Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 400. He remarks that such covenantal restoration language is by nature exaggerative.

¹⁵³ Young identifies this passage as one describing the messianic age, yet with no mention of the restoration of Israel from Babylon to Israel. See Young, *The Book of Isaiah*, III:514-17. Yet the larger context of the prophecy and the juxtaposition of these chapters of Isaiah with the Book of Consolation seem to suggest that they are linked. The messianic age would come with the coming of the Spirit (J. A. Motyer, "Messiah," in *NBD*, 758). J. A. Motyer and F. F. Bruce link the restoration and the messianic age (Isa. 4:2; 41:19; Hos. 2:21-22; Amos 9:13), "Famine" in *NBD*, 364.

¹⁵⁴ See Michael L. Brown, *Jeremiah-Ezekiel*, 399. Brown argues that, given the unimpressive return of the Judeans in the sixth century, another gathering should be expected at the end of this age, and that the promises made in the late sixth century, including this new covenant, have an "already/not yet quality" to them.

¹⁵⁵ Ezra is dismayed, for example, when he hears of the covenant unfaithfulness of the Jews as evidenced in their intermarriage with pagans. He prays in Ezra 9:9-15, saying in v. 9 that they are (still) slaves. The priests pray similarly in Neh. 9:5-38, also claiming to be slaves in their own land (v. 36). See also Dan. 9:4-19. Among the postexilic Minor Prophets, Haggai preaches against the people's sluggishness to rebuild the temple and Malachi preaches against polluted offerings, the corrupt priesthood, and withholding tithes.

See also the prayer in Bar. 1:15-3:8. See also Ralph H. Alexander, *Jeremiah-Ezekiel*, 845. Alexander argues that this restoration cannot refer to Israel's return to their land from Babylon, but instead "to a final and complete restoration under the Messiah in the end times." His reasoning is that the details in this passage do not match with the reality of their return.

their homeland, and therefore there must yet be a future event or series of events at which time these exodus prophecies will be fulfilled.¹⁵⁶

On the other hand, there have been Jews who disagree with this interpretation of the Babylonian exodus, insisting that the return to Israel was indeed full restoration.¹⁵⁷ Following this line of thinking, the exile ended because the Jews returned and the temple was rebuilt. Yet it is hard to account for all the prophecies clearly not fulfilled if restoration has been accomplished.¹⁵⁸

Wright and others argue that the exile continued, the former stating that this was common belief held by Second Temple Jews, which would then have continued into the time of the NT writings.¹⁵⁹ Wright offers convincing documentary support for the continued exile in the Damascus Document (CD 1.3-4), Neh. 9:36-37, Tob. 14:5-7, Bar. 3:6-8, and 2 Macc. 1:27-29.¹⁶⁰ It can only be concluded that the second exodus was only partially realized, and must be completed in the NE later to come.

¹⁵⁶ Young, *The Book of Isaiah*, III:156 argues that the exodus from Babylon and return to the homeland cannot be the promised deliverance because it remains inferior to the one from Egypt. For another view, see Gary E. Yates, "New Exodus and No Exodus in Jeremiah 26–45: Promise and Warning to the Exiles in Babylon," *TynBul* 57 (2006):1-22. Yates, however considers that those Jews who escaped from the sword and were permitted to remain in Jerusalem had experienced a NE, and yet not really an exodus at all because of the disappointments of unfulfilled prophecies. This seems to be a confusion of the idea of the NE, yet he does suggest that some Jews might have expected another exodus to be forthcoming. Holland, *Contours*, 211, suggests that the exodus from Babylon (and from Egypt) were rehearsals for the future eschatological salvation in Christ, in which case, presumably, they were not full exoduses.

¹⁵⁷ See James M. Scott, "Restoration of Israel," in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, eds. Gerald F. Hawthorne, Ralph P. Martin, and Daniel G. Reid (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 797.

¹⁵⁸ N. T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 269. In his *The New Testament and the People of God*, Wright expresses Israel's plight as a story left incomplete upon their return from the Babylonian exile. He writes, "This ending would have to incorporate the full liberation and redemption of Israel, an event which had not happened as long as Israel was being oppressed, a prisoner in her own land," 217. This story was "regularly looking for its proper conclusion," 218. This is the way Wright expresses the hope of the NE. He also argues, 269-71, that proof of the continuation of the exile after Israel's return from Babylon/Persia is that they still needed God's forgiveness, as shown by OT passages such as Jer. 31:31-34; Ezek. 36:24-26, 33; Dan. 9:16-19 vis-à-vis John the Baptist's ministry.

¹⁵⁹ Wright, *The New Testament*, 269-72, 299-301; Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant*, 141, 148; Wright, *Paul: In Fresh Perspective* (Fortress Press: Minneapolis, 2005), 92; Keesmaat, *Paul and His Story*, 191. Scott J. Hafemann, who does not tend to follow Wright, also holds to the idea of a continuing exile. See Scott J. Hafemann, "Paul and the Exile of Israel in Galatians 3–4," in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions*, ed. James M. Scott (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 363-65.

¹⁶⁰ Wright, *The New Testament*, 269-70.

7. New Exodus in Intertestamental, Pseudepigraphal, and Extrabiblical Documents

7.1. Dead Sea Scrolls

Hopes and expectations for the NE redemption through a coming Messiah continued to flourish through the intertestamental period, as is evidenced in the Dead Sea Scrolls. This can be seen in 4Q252, for example, where the descendant of Judah is linked to the messianic Son of David with phrases from Isaiah, such as the “Righteous Messiah” and “Branch of David.”¹⁶¹ Similarly in 4Q522, the son of Jesse is prophesied to deliver Israel and rebuild the temple:

He will not [...abandon Zi]on, to set up there the Tent of Me[eting. . .to the end] of time, for, look, a son is born to Jesse son of Peretz son of Ju[dah. . .he will choose] the rock of Zion and drive out from there all the Amorites from Jeru[salem. . .] to build the temple for the LORD God of Israel...¹⁶²

Another reference to the eschatological temple, an echo of the prophecy in Ezekiel 40–48, is found in 4Q554.¹⁶³ And the convergence of the eschatological themes of the divine marriage and the inclusion of the Gentiles into the covenant is present in 4Q434:

[. . .]that the poor woman might be comforted in her mourning... Like one whose mother comforts him, so He will comfort them in Jerusalem [as a bridegroom] does his bride. His [presence] will rest upon it forever, for His throne will last forever and ever, and His glory [. . .] and all the Gentiles [. . .] to Him and the host [of heaven] will be in it and [. . .] its delight [. . .] for beauty [. . .] I will bless the...¹⁶⁴

7.1.1. *The Outpouring of the Spirit.*

Morales demonstrates that the NE motif of the outpouring of the Spirit, found in the preexilic Prophets, continues into the Second Temple era. In *Jubilees* and the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*, as Morales also notes, Yahweh promises that as he restores

¹⁶¹ For example, 4Q252 Frag. 1 Col. 5 (*Commentary on Genesis 49:10*).

¹⁶² 4Q522 Frag. 1 Col. 2 (*A Tale of Joshua*), 533. Among these documents there is evidence that the Jews expected more than one Messiah—one a king, and one a priest. See Holland, *Contours*, 24, and William H. Brownlee, “Messianic Motifs of Qumran and the New Testament,” *NTS* 3 (1957): 196-201.

¹⁶³ 4Q554 Frag. 2 Col. 2 (*A Vision of the New Jerusalem*).

¹⁶⁴ 4Q434 Frag. 2 (*In Praise of God’s Grace*).

Israel, the people will return to him with converted hearts. He promises them [eschatological] peace and that he will make them righteous.¹⁶⁵ He will give them a pure heart and a holy spirit. According to Morales, the creation of this “holy spirit” in the people apparently refers to purification of the human spirit; the passage never refers to God’s own Spirit.¹⁶⁶ While it is true that the text does say that God will create a holy spirit in them (his people), the close parallel with Ezek. 36:26-27 should be noted, where God says that he will put within his people a new spirit and then that he will put *his* Spirit in them. This suggests that Morales may be incorrectly divorcing the reference from God’s Spirit.¹⁶⁷

There is a more direct reference to the outpouring of the Holy Spirit in *The Words of the Luminaries* (4Q504), as Morales also notes,¹⁶⁸ as the text describes God urging his people to repentance, promising to plant his law in their hearts, while the speaker acknowledges the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon them (4Q504 5.15-16)¹⁶⁹ Other texts link the outpouring of the Spirit with righteousness, such as 4Q521¹⁷⁰ and the *Similitudes of Enoch* (1 Enoch 62:1-3) also contains themes of righteousness connected with the Spirit, the latter referring to the Spirit of righteousness coming upon the Messiah (the elect one).

7.1.2. *Ingathering of the Gentiles.*

And finally, in the *Testament of Levi* (II:5-8), the NE motif of the ingathering of the Gentiles can be seen:

¹⁶⁵ The word “eschatological” is Morales’s addition, Morales, *Spirit and Restoration*, 45. See *Jub.* 1:15, 21, 23; 1QS 4.2-31.

¹⁶⁶ Morales, *Spirit and Restoration*, 47.

¹⁶⁷ See the similar description of regeneration in David Wells, *God the Evangelist: How the Holy Spirit Works to Bring Men and Women to Faith* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 3, and Wayne Grudem, *Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Biblical Doctrine* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994), 699. Also, cf. John 3:5-8.

¹⁶⁸ Morales, *Spirit and Restoration*, 52-54. In Wise, et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 522-26, these documents are referred to as “The Words of the Heavenly Lights.”

¹⁶⁹ Morales cites this passage as well. He suggests, *Spirit and Restoration*, 54-55, that this prayer is dependent upon Isa. 44:3, the only OT verse which links blessing and the Spirit. Most importantly, 4Q504 interprets the outpouring of the Spirit of God as a sign of Israel’s redemption from the law’s curses.

¹⁷⁰ See 4Q521 Frags. 2 + 4 Col. 2:1-12a, which is also reference by Morales, *Spirit and Restoration*, 57

The light of knowledge shalt thou light up in Jacob, and as the sun shalt thou be to all the seed of Israel. And there shall be given to thee a blessing, and to all thy seed, until the Lord shall visit all the Gentiles in His tender mercies for ever. And therefore there have been given to thee counsel and understanding, that thou mightst instruct thy sons concerning this; because they that bless Him shall be blessed, and they that curse Him shall perish.¹⁷¹

Morales identifies numerous themes within the Second Temple literature, many of which are NE motifs, specifically the clear eschatological presence of the Holy Spirit, righteousness, new creation, and the ingathering of the Gentiles.¹⁷² The fact that these motifs are commonly found in the apocryphal literature should not be overstated, nor can any direct dependence upon the literature by Paul be proven, but their presence does show that the NE motifs from Isaiah continued to be part of the eschatological hope of many of the Jews throughout the intertestamental period.

7.2. Apocrypha

E. Lohse comments on the Messianic expectations in Psalm 17 of the *Psalms of Solomon*. The Lord will raise up a king, the Son of David, who will deliver Israel from foreign oppression, be a judge over Israel, and a ruler in righteousness, attracting the ends of the earth to see his glory and the glory of the Lord:¹⁷³

And he will gather together a holy people whom he shall lead in righteousness. (v. 26a)

He will judge peoples and nations in the wisdom of his righteousness. Selah. (v. 29)

So that nations shall come from the ends of the earth to see his glory,
Bringing as gifts her sons who had fainted,
And to see the glory of the Lord, wherewith God hath glorified her.
(v. 31)

¹⁷¹ Morales, *Spirit and Restoration*, 68-69, perhaps mistakenly, cites this passage as vv. 3-6. The usefulness of the *Testament of Levi* is debated for Jewish studies, as the large emphasis on Gentiles and the diminishment of Israel cause many to suspect Christian influence. It is included because it harmonizes with these other documents.

¹⁷² Ibid., 75. He lists others that are relevant to Galatians, such as the sinful heart that leads to God's cursing, and the Spirit's role in adoption.

¹⁷³ E. Lohse, "ὁὐδὸς Δαθδ," TDNT VIII:480.

The psalmist wrote of an eschatological Messiah who would lead Israel through a NE, freeing them from oppression, and bringing the Gentiles in to gaze upon the Lord's glory.

The author of Tobit prophesies the return of all Jews from exile to rebuild Jerusalem and predicts the salvation of all Gentiles.¹⁷⁴ A prayer for the same can be read in Sir. 36:10-11:

Gather all the tribes of Jacob together and inherit thou them, as from the beginning. O Lord, have mercy on the people that is called by thy name, and upon Israel, whom thou hast named thy firstborn.

And Baruch predicts a NE in the way of a restoration of Jerusalem.¹⁷⁵ In 2 Maccabees, the priests pray that Yahweh would deliver the Jews from the heathen nations and gather them to Jerusalem,¹⁷⁶ and the hope that he will do so is expressed again later.¹⁷⁷ In 3 Maccabees, Eleazar prays for deliverance from their enemies, asking God to avenge them as he had done in the cases of Pharaoh, Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar.¹⁷⁸ Therefore, in the Apocrypha, we see evidence of the expectation of future restoration (exodus) of Israel, along with the occasional reference to the ingathering of the Gentiles into the people of God.

7.3. Josephus

Josephus records a couple of instances in which men claiming to be prophets promised to recreate exodus miracles as part of their plan to deliver the people from their Roman oppressors. Both in *Antiquities*, the first tells the story of Theudas, who persuaded many that he would divide the Jordan River, and the second of another unnamed man who promised that he would command the walls of Jerusalem to fall

¹⁷⁴ Tob. 13:5, 11; 14:4-7.

¹⁷⁵ Bar. 5:5-9.

¹⁷⁶ 2 Macc. 1:27-29.

¹⁷⁷ 2 Macc. 2:17-18.

¹⁷⁸ 3 Macc. 6:2-15.

down.¹⁷⁹ Their ability to persuade even some Jews suggests the expectation of a NE in the first century CE.

8. New Exodus in the New Testament

8.1. John the Baptist's Ministry

All four Gospel accounts open with the recording of John the Baptist's ministry, who identifies with and finds the basis for his own calling in Isa. 40:3.¹⁸⁰ And Luke (4:16-21) records Jesus' first public message in the synagogue at Capernaum, in which he cites Isa. 61:1-2 to identify himself and his mission. In doing so, Jesus is declaring himself to be the eschatological Son of David.

Based on the above discussion, there can be no other conclusion than that, as the NT era begins, the Jews are still awaiting the completion of their second exodus, or what this thesis calls a NE, looking to the Messiah who will lead them out of the state of bondage in which they find themselves. Luke's Gospel account bears witness to this in the birth narrative of Jesus, including the angelic announcement to Mary, the Magnificat, Zechariah's words at John's birth, and the words of Simeon and Anna when Jesus is presented at the temple.¹⁸¹

John the Baptist knows that Jesus is the Messiah, which is clear from the way he identifies him.¹⁸² Indeed, when Jesus seems to disappoint John's messianic, NE expectations, John inquires from prison whether he has misunderstood (Luke 7:18-23). Jesus' response, as paraphrased from Isa. 29:18 and 35:5-6 (both NE and messianic passages), affirms that Jesus is doing exactly as prophesied.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁹ Josephus, *Ant.* 20.5.1; 20.8.6.

¹⁸⁰ Holland, *Contours*, 27.

¹⁸¹ I. Howard Marshall, *Commentary on Luke*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 90-124. The angel declares that Jesus will take David's throne, Mary proclaims the fulfilled promises, Zechariah declares the coming redemption, as do Simeon and Anna. All of these are NE motifs.

¹⁸² D. A. Carson, *The Gospel According to John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 149-52.

¹⁸³ Marshall, *Commentary on Luke*, 287-92.

8.2. Jesus' Baptism and Transfiguration

At Jesus' baptism God the Father speaks audibly, identifying Jesus as his Son (Mark 1:11) and his Servant who will bring the NE (Isa. 42:1). These words are repeated at the transfiguration, which has the clear markings of a NE passage in itself, particularly in Luke's account. He alone records that the subject of the conversation Jesus was having with Moses and Elijah, who had both appeared on the mountain, was Jesus' ἔξοδος (Luke 9:31).¹⁸⁴

The choice of the word ἔξοδος is remarkable in its use with such a limited context. As Marshall suggests, the emphasis is surely on Jesus' death and resurrection, and on "the saving significance of the event ... fulfilled by Jesus in Jerusalem."¹⁸⁵ This meaning is affirmed, as one notes that Peter uses the same word (ἔξοδος) to refer to his own future death in 2 Pet. 1:15.¹⁸⁶ The presence of Moses in the context of Jesus' death as an exodus can hardly be missed. The word must indicate that what Jesus was about to complete in Jerusalem, his death, would mirror the exodus that Moses accomplished in leading Yahweh's people out of slavery.¹⁸⁷ Only in this exodus, Jesus would also play the role of the paschal lamb.

8.3. Meaning of the Paschal Motif

When John the Baptist calls the crowd's attention to Jesus for the first time, he identifies him as "the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world" (John 1:29).¹⁸⁸ Although there has been much debate regarding the meaning of the phrase,¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁴ Aside from the theological parallels between the ἔξοδος that Moses led (out of Egypt) and the one that Jesus will lead (out of sin, out from the law), it may be that the word itself refers to Jesus undergoing death outside of the city, as an outcast.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 385.

¹⁸⁶ Philip Graham Ryken, *Luke*, REC (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2009), I:473.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 474.

¹⁸⁸ John identifies Jesus similarly a second time to two of his disciples in 1:36, but omits the phrase "who takes away the sin of the world."

¹⁸⁹ Carson, *The Gospel According to John*, 149-50, is reluctant to attribute a paschal reference to John's words, but instead suggests an apocalyptic meaning (the "apocalyptic lamb"). The suggested references are: 1 Enoch 90:9-12; *T. Jos.* 19:8; *T. Benj.* 3:8. The image is repeated in Rev. 5:6, 12; 7:17. He does, however, believe John may have been referencing Isa. 53:7. J. K. Howard, "Passover and Eucharist in the

particularly in regards to what the Baptist himself understood, the most likely explanation is that John is referring to the paschal sacrifice and possibly to the Suffering Servant (Isa. 53:7).

8.3.1. Was the paschal sacrifice a sin offering?

When one analyzes the qualifying phrase that John uses in 1:29 (“who takes away the sin of the world”) it is difficult to see how the paschal lamb can be understood any other way but as expiatory. Nevertheless, some have specifically denied that the original paschal lamb was a sin sacrifice.¹⁹⁰ However, while it is true that the Passover account does not explicitly indicate that the animal sacrifice was made to atone for the sins of each household, and it is very possible the Israelites did not comprehend this significance, there are ample reasons to acknowledge its atoning function.

Interestingly, while addressing the protecting function of the paschal sacrifice, Motyer¹⁹¹ and Goldsworthy¹⁹² claim it as atonement typology (anticipating the Levitical sacrifices), while avoiding any claim that the sacrifice was an act of expiation.¹⁹³ Vos identifies the sacrifice as expiatory, but not a sin sacrifice since the people partake of the meat, which is forbidden in the Levitical prescriptions.¹⁹⁴ Yet it is difficult to find a distinction between expiation and sin sacrifice.

Other scholars, however, such as Edmund Clowney¹⁹⁵ and Tom Holland,¹⁹⁶ argue that the original paschal sacrifice was indeed a sin sacrifice, although one may have to allow for the likelihood that it was only later realized. There is much evidence

Fourth Gospel,” *SJT* 20 (1967): 331-32. Howard does affirm the paschal reference. See also R. H. Lightfoot, *St. John's Gospel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956), passim, who notes that John's pervasive use of the Passover theme in his Gospel strongly suggests a paschal reference in “Lamb of God.”

¹⁹⁰ George Buchanan Gray, *Sacrifice in the Old Testament: Its Theory and Practice* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1971), 397. Also Carson, *The Gospel According to John*, 149-50, as mentioned earlier.

¹⁹¹ Motyer, *Look to the Rock*, 49-50.

¹⁹² Goldsworthy, *According to Plan*, 135.

¹⁹³ See Durham, *Exodus*, 163-64, who merely mentions the protective function of the sacrifice with no clear connection to expiation or foreshadowing of Levitical sacrifices.

¹⁹⁴ Vos, *Biblical Theology*, 119-20. He says that it comes closer to a fellowship offering. He equates expiation with purification, a necessary and consequent feature of the fellowship offering.

¹⁹⁵ Edmund Clowney, *The Unfolding Mystery* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 1988), 98-99. Clowney does not so much present an argument as state it as fact.

¹⁹⁶ Holland, *Romans*, 86; Holland, *Contours*, 258-62.

for interpreting the sacrifice this way. First of all, Yahweh required the death of a lamb (or goat) without blemish, the same as he would later require for the Levitical sin sacrifice. The implication is that the animal's death was substitutionary for the Israelites' firstborn in each household.¹⁹⁷ Indeed, the obvious question is, why else would a death be required?¹⁹⁸

Second, when the grammar is also considered, the argument solidifies. Barrick notes that the dative of advantage or benefit is used in Exod. 12:3 and 21—a lamb is taken and killed *for* each household.¹⁹⁹ Third, the text makes it clear that Yahweh is coming upon Egypt in judgment, but passing over the Israelites whose houses were marked with the animal's blood (cf. Exod. 12:13, 23, 27). Fourth, Yahweh indicates that he is judging Egypt's gods (Exod. 12:12). Yet Israel also worshiped those same gods (Exod. 20:2-10; 32:1-6; Josh. 24:14; Ezek. 20:7-8) and therefore deserved the same judgment. Fifth, the Passover sacrifice, also an act of redemption, is the basis for Yahweh's claim of the firstborn of each animal and family of the Israelites (Exod. 13:15-16). And last, the parallels the NT draws between the Passover and the Lord's Supper with Jesus' death affirm at least that the paschal lamb is to be understood this way through the lens of Christ.²⁰⁰

Furthermore, during Second Temple Judaism a messianic element had developed within the Passover tradition. As the Jews commemorated the exodus, they also asked God to remember the Messiah who would accomplish for them their final redemption.²⁰¹ Moreover, the Midrash of Exod. 12:6 (tenth century CE) says that the

¹⁹⁷ William D. Barrick, "Penal Substitution in the Old Testament," *The Master's Seminary Journal* 20 (2009): 149.

¹⁹⁸ Paul G. Bretscher, "The Covenant of Blood," *CTM* 25 (1954): 201-2.

¹⁹⁹ Barrick, "Penal Substitution," 157.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 158. Bretscher, "The Covenant of Blood," 200, notes the connection of the sacrifice of the Lamb, without blemish, and whose bones were not broken. Howard, "Passover and Eucharist," 330, argues that the dominant strand of NT teaching is the connection between Christ's death and the original Passover. He shows this throughout the entire article.

²⁰¹ Howard, "Passover and Eucharist," 329; Deborah Bleicher Carmichael, "David Daube on the Eucharist and the Passover Seder," *JSNT* 42 (1991): 48. Carmichael states that many believed that the Messiah would redeem Israel on the eve of a future Passover.

blood of the Passover victim was atoning covenant blood.²⁰² Howard has also noted the association of sin/guilt offerings associated with the Passover in Num. 28:22 and Ezek. 45:21-25, with possible references in Exod. 24:8 and Zech. 9:11.²⁰³ Both Exod. 24:8 and Zech. 9:11 use the phrase “blood of the [my] covenant,” which presumably refers to the Sinaitic covenant. The only blood shed in association with that covenant is that of the Passover victim, and the blood thrown against the altar and upon the people (Exod. 24:8) signifies the consecration of the Israelites as Yahweh’s holy people.²⁰⁴

Num. 28:22 makes a more explicit connection, as Yahweh prescribes the sin offering to be made in connection with the commemoration of the Passover feast. Ezek. 45:22-25 is in an eschatological section of prophecy in which, in the rebuilt temple, the messianic prince will offer atoning sacrifices for the sins of the people during the Passover feast.²⁰⁵ Howard claims that this passage in Ezekiel also makes sense of John the Baptist’s identification of Jesus as the Lamb of God with the expectation that those who heard him would recognize the paschal reference,²⁰⁶ as mentioned above.

Paul also presents Jesus’ death as a paschal sacrifice that delivered God’s people from sin’s captivity, as God had delivered his people from the bondage of slavery in Egypt in the first exodus.²⁰⁷ His understanding is far more advanced than John the Baptist’s, of course, given that he wrote after Jesus’ ministry.

The paschal theme has not generally been perceived in Galatians, but it is present implicitly in passages that affirm Christ’s atoning death as a victim, such as Gal. 1:4 (“gave himself ... to deliver us”), 2:20 (“gave himself”), 3:1 (“was publicly

²⁰² *Exodus Rabbah*; Howard, “Passover and Eucharist,” 332, notes that Second Temple Judaism would have commonly understood the paschal sacrifice this way.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 331-32. Dunn has made the same observation on the passage from Ezek. 45: James D. G. Dunn, “Paul’s Understanding of the Death of Jesus,” in *Reconciliation and Hope: New Testament Essays on Atonement and Eschatology Presented to L. L. Morris on his 60th Birthday*, ed. Robert Banks (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1974): 125-41; 132-33.

²⁰⁴ Durham, *Exodus*, 344.

²⁰⁵ Howard, “Passover and Eucharist,” 331-32. Holland, *Contours*, 162, drew my attention to this.

²⁰⁶ Howard, “Passover and Eucharist,” 331-32.

²⁰⁷ Holland, *Romans*, 151-52 (in his introduction to remarks on Romans 5). Presumably he has Rom. 5:8-10 in mind; cf. also 3:25; 1 Cor. 5:7-8; 6:19.

portrayed as crucified”), and 3:13 (“redeemed us from the curse of the law by becoming a curse for us”). Other passages such as 3:23-25 (“we were held captive ... imprisoned until ... Christ came ...”), 4:4 (“to redeem those who were under the law”), and 5:1 (“Christ has set us free”), connect Christ’s atoning death to the NE.

8.3.2. *Jesus’ own words and actions regarding the paschal imagery.*

Paul and all four evangelists follow Jesus’ own portrayal of himself as the paschal victim. As a likely allusion to Isa. 53:4-12, Jesus claimed that he had come to give his life as a ransom for many (Mark 10:45; Matt. 20:28). As Jewish pilgrims were arriving for the Passover feast, he purposefully arranged to enter Jerusalem on a donkey, fulfilling the messianic prophecy from Zech. 9:9 and Ps. 118:25-26a (but also vv. 22-24), and willingly received the accolades of the people who proclaimed him as the Davidic Messiah-King of Israel.²⁰⁸ In Luke 22:14-20, Jesus especially connects his death to the paschal lamb’s death. He tells his disciples of his eagerness to eat the Passover meal with them, and then institutes the Lord’s Supper as a remembrance of him (echoing the purpose of the Passover meal—to remember the Passover/exodus) and of the significance of his death as a sacrifice for sins,²⁰⁹ in which he will shed his blood of the new covenant (22:19-20).

Jesus’ death occurs during the Passover feast, and the timing of his arrest appears to be particularly orchestrated by him, as he has made secret arrangements to eat the Passover meal with his disciples.²¹⁰ At the supper, Jesus makes it clear that he knows his death is imminent.²¹¹ In the institution of the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, Jesus inextricably ties the paschal event to his own atoning blood for sinners, which is

²⁰⁸ Marshall, *Commentary on Luke*, 711.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 805.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 789. Köstenberger demonstrates the way that the fourth Gospel uses the idea of *Jesus’ hour* as having not yet come, and then finally as having come, to show how Jesus was fully aware and even determined the timing of these events: Andreas J. Köstenberger, *Encountering John* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1999), 76. The Gospel accounts are also ordered, as we saw in the literature review, to reflect the motif (Mánek, Watts, and others).

²¹¹ Marshall, *Commentary on Luke*, 795. Cf. Luke 22:16, 18.

seen in Luke 22:14-20, but most especially in Paul's writings (1 Cor. 5:7; 10:16-22; 11:23-26).²¹²

8.4. Bridegroom Motif

There are two explicit references and a few probable allusions to Jesus as a bridegroom in the Gospels, which it is now necessary to explore in order to investigate the presence of the theme of the divine marriage there.

8.4.1. *Fasting or feasting with the bridegroom.*

The earliest identification of Jesus as the bridegroom in the Synoptic Gospels is found in Mark 2:19-20 within the context of a question about fasting. When asked why he and his disciples do not fast as John's disciples and the Pharisees do, Jesus responds that fasting is not appropriate while the bridegroom is present but will be so when he is taken away (vv. 19-20).²¹³

No one seriously doubts that the bridegroom is Jesus, either in this parable, or those of the wedding feast or of the ten virgins.²¹⁴ The question is what Jesus meant by the term. Many scholars interpret it as nothing more than an apt use of a metaphor expressing one of the most joyful events in the culture.²¹⁵ These scholars believe Jesus is not making a self-revelatory statement, but simply drawing upon the image of the joy that characterizes a wedding celebration.

But this is not satisfactory, especially in light of the marital imagery throughout the NT. Surely Jesus was revealing much more about himself by using the term *bridegroom*. Yet if Jesus is identifying himself as the messianic bridegroom, virtually all scholars agree that none of his hearers would have understood it this way, since

²¹² Ibid., 794.

²¹³ The accounts of Mark and Luke do not specify who asks the question, whereas Matthew's indicates that it is John's disciples who ask.

²¹⁴ Joachim Jeremias, "νύμφη, νυμφίος," *TDNT* IV:1101.

²¹⁵ Craig L. Blomberg, *Interpreting the Parables* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1990), 287; Walter W. Wessel, "Mark" in vol. 8 of *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*, Vol. 8, ed. Frank Gaebelin (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1984), 636; William L. Lane, *The Gospel of Mark*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 109-10; *TDNT* IV:1103; Marshall, *Commentary on Luke*, 223.

nowhere in the OT or in later Jewish literature is the Messiah ever identified as a bridegroom. Furthermore, the concept of Jesus as bridegroom to the church was not even understood as such until after his resurrection (2 Cor. 11:2; Eph. 5:23; Rev. 19:7; 21:2).²¹⁶ Indeed, Joachim Jeremias claims that if Jesus is purported as having identified himself this way so early in his ministry, it raises a question of authenticity concerning the verses themselves.²¹⁷ On the other hand, it does not sound unusual for Jesus to use a term even his disciples would not understand until later, in keeping with many of his words (predictions of his death and the parables).

It was not the Messiah who was to be the bridegroom of Israel, but Yahweh, who had already been revealed as her husband in the OT.²¹⁸ Jeremias writes that the divine marriage theme became more prominent in later Judaism, and in the first century CE the Jews understood the Song of Songs allegorically to be about Israel as the bride of God.²¹⁹ Jews expected the actual wedding with Yahweh to take place in the messianic age. Therefore, if Jesus were making claims to be the bridegroom, he would be identifying himself as Yahweh rather than the Messiah. But it certainly appears, by the lack of recorded response, that none of Jesus' hearers understood that he was making any claims to divinity.

Although it is possible that Jesus was merely using wedding imagery to convey a sense of joy,²²⁰ his manifold use of wedding parables indicates otherwise. It is most

²¹⁶ Lane, *The Gospel of Mark*, 110; Marshall, *Commentary on Luke*, 223; *TDNT* IV:1102.

²¹⁷ *TDNT* IV:1101, 1103; Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* (New York: Scribner, 1972), 52.

²¹⁸ *TDNT* IV:1101, mentions Hos. 2 and Jer. 2:2, the latter passage referring to the exodus event as a betrothal. He also lists Isa. 62:5, which presents salvation as marriage. To these he could add numerous others including Isa. 50:1; 54:5; Jer. 31:32; and Ezekiel 16 and 23. See Stauffer, "γαμέω, γάμος," *TDNT* I:653-57; *TDNT* IV:101-4.

²¹⁹ This was also discussed earlier in this chapter, but the references to the Targum and midrash are repeated here: *The Targum to the 'Song of Songs'*, 15-90; Neusner, *A Theological Commentary to the Midrash: Song of Songs Rabbah*.

²²⁰ Lane, *The Gospel of Mark*, 110; D. A. Carson, *Matthew*, 227. See also *TDNT* IV:1103.

likely that Jesus was using a veiled self-reference with an eschatological theme, and at the same time hinting at the divine marriage motif of the NE he was bringing.²²¹

8.4.2. *The Bridegroom being taken away.*

Some scholars have denied the possibility of Jesus identifying himself as the bridegroom because of the mention of his removal (Mark 2:20), apparently a reference to his violent death. The basis of the objection is that Jesus could not have known of his death, or at least not so early in his ministry,²²² but aside from his divine foreknowledge, the fierce opposition to Jesus was indeed obvious at the earliest stages.²²³

Martin,²²⁴ C. E. B. Cranfield,²²⁵ and R. A. Guelich²²⁶ have all identified the phrase ἀπαρθῆ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νυμφίος in Mark 2:20 as an echo of αἴρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ in Isa. 53:8 (LXX). According to this parallel, the bridegroom is taken away (presumably to his death), even as the Suffering Servant is also carried off to a violent death for the sake of the sins of God's people. If this is an intentional allusion (perhaps also by Jesus himself), it indicates a deliberate effort by the evangelist to form his Gospel within the context of the latter portion of Isaiah.

Sebastian Smolarz has suggested that the juxtaposition of the Suffering Servant text in Isaiah 53 with that of the rejoicing barren widow in Isa. 54:1-10 may be echoed

²²¹ David Wenham, *The Parables of Jesus* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1989), 29. He notes that John's Gospel is particularly explicit that Jesus held this view of his own ministry (8:58); See also Mounce, *Matthew*, 85; Ralph P. Martin, *Mark: Evangelist and Theologian* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986), 186. Keesmaat surveys the many OT references to abundant food and feasting in the age of restoration, Sylvia C. Keesmaat, "Strange Neighbors and Risky Care (Matt 18:21-35; Luke 14:7-14; Luke 10:25-37)," in *The Challenge of Jesus' Parables*, ed. Richard N. Longenecker (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 274.

²²² Marshall, *Commentary on Luke*, 223.

²²³ Sebastian Ryszard Smolarz, *Covenant and the Metaphor of Divine Marriage in Biblical Thought: A Study with Special Reference to the Book of Revelation* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock 2011), 143. See also E. Best, *Mark: The Gospel as Story* (London: T&T Clark, 1983), 19-20. Carson, *Matthew*, 227, also has no difficulty believing Jesus knew of his impending death, but credits this knowledge to Jesus' "messianic self-consciousness." Others do not see this verse to be referring to Jesus' death at all, but merely expressing sorrow in the antithesis of his presence. See Lane, *The Gospel of Mark*, 111. He writes that it is only on later reflection that this verse would take on the meaning of Jesus' death. See also C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom* (London: Nisbet & Co., 1935), 116n2.

²²⁴ Martin, *Mark*, 186-87.

²²⁵ C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 110-11.

²²⁶ R. A. Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, WBC (Dallas: Word Books, 1989), 112-15.

here in this passage,²²⁷ although what he does not say is that it is totally reversed. In the Markan pericope, the bridegroom is joyfully present and then whisked away to the guests' sorrow, but in the Isaianic context, the widow mourns in exile, yet is joyfully restored by Yahweh her husband and blessed with innumerable children. Smolarz might better have noticed that the woman is in mournful exile, identifying with the suffering of the Servant but had previously been married and full. Therefore, she actually does parallel the Markan pericope more closely.

The point Smolarz is actually making, however, is that the possible echo of Isaiah 53–54 in Mark brings with it the divine marriage motif:

If Is 53 was really in the mind of the author of Mk 2:19-20 one should not be surprised by the fact that he could easily combine the themes of the joy of [the] bridegroom's companions and the sorrow caused by the bridegroom being taken away.²²⁸

Since Isaiah continues the marital motif in 62:5, in which Yahweh is the bridegroom rejoicing over his virgin bride, it reinforces the idea that the theme is used as a metaphor for God's salvation (in Isaiah 54–63). It also suggests, as Smolarz argues, that Mark may well have had the larger context of the latter chapters of Isaiah in mind as he wrote his Gospel, expressing the "messianic hopes of late Judaism."²²⁹

There may also be Isaianic echoes of the fasting issue in the Markan passage. Although fasting had traditionally been practiced for purposes of piety and repentance, according to Wright, the discipline in first century Judaism had adopted more of an eschatological focus.²³⁰ The imagery is consistent, in that if believers are fasting in anticipation of the messianic age when all will be restored, when the divine marriage takes place, the fasting will be replaced with feasting.²³¹

²²⁷ Smolarz, *Covenant and the Metaphor*, 148.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Ibid., 149.

²³⁰ N. T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 433. Wright believes that that the Jews still considered themselves in exile, and therefore fasted to express their longing for the restoration of their fortunes. Wright, *The Challenge of Jesus*, 49; Guelich, *Mark 1–8:26*, 110-11, 115.

²³¹ Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 434.

In light of this, it is helpful to note the invitation to the messianic feast in Isa. 55:1-2. Wright has noted the prominence of feasting in connection with the messianic banquet in Second Temple Judaism,²³² which is even more significant here, given that the preceding pericope recounts Jesus eating at the house of Levi. Lane suggests that this occasion might foreshadow the messianic banquet,²³³ while Keesmaat has suggested that the purpose of the accounts of all of Jesus' shared meals in the Gospels is to foreshadow the messianic banquet.²³⁴

8.4.3. *Wedding banquet.*²³⁵

It is observed that Matthew's account (22:1-14) is more explicitly a story of a wedding feast, whereas Luke's parallel (14:16-24) is a banquet for which the occasion is not given.²³⁶ However, Jesus tells the banquet parable in Luke in response to a declaration from someone at the meal (at the house of the ruler of the Pharisees; see Luke 14:1): "Blessed is everyone who will eat bread in the kingdom of God!" (verse 15). It can be surmised, then, that both parables are about the eschatological messianic feast.²³⁷

There has been much speculation regarding the identity of the original guests in this parable, versus the alternate ones after the first group refuses to come. There is

²³² Ibid., 532; Marshall, *Commentary on Luke*, 222.

²³³ Lane, *The Gospel of Mark*, 106-7.

²³⁴ Keesmaat, "Strange Neighbors," 274-75.

²³⁵ The parable is also found with slight variation from Luke in the Gospel of Thomas, Logion 64.

²³⁶ It is beyond the purposes and space limitations of this study to seek to determine whether one is original and the other an embellishment or they are one story modified for two different occasions, or to attempt to unearth another possible explanation that has never been given. For a more in-depth treatment, see Jeremias, *Parables of Jesus*, 63-69, and Blomberg, *Interpreting the Parables*, 233-40. Carson, *Matthew*, 455; Wenham, *The Parables of Jesus*, 133-39; Mounce, *Matthew*, 204-7; and Marshall, *Commentary on Luke*, 584, mostly treat them as completely separate parables, likely told on two different occasions and settings.

²³⁷ Blomberg, *Interpreting the Parables*, 233-34, "The imagery of a meal as a symbol for the end-time celebration of God's people was standard in Jewish thought." Swartley notes an inclusio formed by Luke 14:15 and 14:24, emphasizing the messianic feast: Willard M. Swartley "Unexpected Banquet People," in *Jesus and His Parables*, ed. V. George Shillington (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1997), 187. Wenham (*The Parables of Jesus*, 134-35) and Mounce (*Matthew*, 205) both note the connection between this parable and Isa. 25:6 (as well as the guest's exclamation, which prompts the parable) to the words at the wedding supper of the Lamb in Rev. 19:9.

general agreement that the first group represents the Jews,²³⁸ but opinions are divided over whether the second group represents a lowly²³⁹ and perhaps less desirable group (tax collectors and prostitutes) or perhaps the Gentiles.²⁴⁰ The inclusion of the Gentiles seems very possible, given Jesus' parallel statement in Matt. 8:11-12 about outsiders reclining at table with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, while the sons of the kingdom are cast out. Once again, there is a blending of NE motifs.

There has also been much discussion regarding the improperly clothed wedding guest (Matt. 22:11-14). The most likely explanation is that he represents a man who has presumed himself to be part of the feast, but is not truly a child of Abraham.²⁴¹ Gal. 4:30 speaks similarly of such a person, saying he is to be cast out with the slave woman.²⁴²

8.4.4. *Ten virgins.*

This parable (Matt. 25:1-13) has no exact parallel in the other Synoptics, although some have noticed that its beginning is similar to Luke 12:35-38,²⁴³ and its conclusion (verses 10-12) is much like Luke 13:25-27.²⁴⁴ Mark 13:32-37 is also thematically parallel, but this parable itself remains unique to Matthew.

²³⁸ Although Swartley, "Unexpected Banquet People," 179n1, generalizes the group to be God's covenant people.

²³⁹ "Bring in the poor and crippled and blind and lame," (Luke 14:21). For this view, see Robert H. Stein, *An Introduction to the Parables of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1981), 89-90.

²⁴⁰ Blomberg, *Interpreting the Parables*, 234, observes that many would consider the verse inauthentic if it refers to Gentiles. Those who believe the second group refers to the Gentiles include: Jeremias, *Parables of Jesus*, 176-80; Marshall, *Commentary on Luke*, 584-85, 590; Stein, *Parables*, 89-90; E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1985), 118; Wenham, *The Parables of Jesus*, 135, 138, believes the group includes prostitutes, tax collectors, and Gentiles.

²⁴¹ Another possibility is that the man misunderstood the meaning of righteousness and put on his own rather than Christ's. This teaching, although consistent with the wedding garment that God puts on his bride in Isa. 61:10-11, seems more Pauline, and not likely to be understood before Jesus' death and resurrection.

²⁴² G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Jesus and the Kingdom of God* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 121, claims that the man chose to dress as he did. A better solution can be found in Swartley, "Unexpected Banquet People," 182, who believes this man seemed unable to grasp that the time of the wedding feast had come. There is no evidence for the commonly proposed theory that a wedding host customarily provided wedding garments; see Wenham, *The Parables of Jesus*, 136.

²⁴³ Marshall, *Commentary on Luke*, 536, argues that the wedding feast in v. 36 cannot refer to the eschatological messianic banquet, because it follows the parousia. But for the opposite view, see Joel B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 501.

²⁴⁴ Rudolf Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, trans. John Marsh (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 118; Eta Linnemann, *The Parables of Jesus: Introduction and Exposition*, trans. John Sturdy

Exploring the variously debated first-century Jewish wedding traditions behind this parable would not likely contribute anything significant to the discussion of the NE.²⁴⁵ It seems best simply to accept the details as they are given without overanalyzing them²⁴⁶ and to pay greater attention to the more obvious lessons that are generally agreed upon. For example, no matter how precisely one can determine the role of the ten virgins in the story, it will not help to identify whom they represent in the interpretation. Jesus makes it clear that the virgins represent all listeners, and a reasonable assumption is that they refer to all who expect his coming/return.²⁴⁷

8.4.5. *Jesus as bridegroom, revisited, in the context of the Parable of the Ten Virgins.*

It is necessary to return briefly to the question of Jesus' use of the term *bridegroom*. Once again, Jesus is obviously referring to himself, given that this parable follows the teaching in Matt. 24:29-31, which describes the parousia of the Son of Man. Matthew's placing of this parable in the context of the parousia pericopes makes it clear that Jesus is drawing a link between himself as Messiah and bridegroom.²⁴⁸

Beasley-Murray, however, has disputed the oft-repeated statement that the Messiah was never represented as a bridegroom in Jewish literature.²⁴⁹ He cites the

(London, S. P. C. K., 1966), 126-27; Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom*, 172-74; Arland J. Hultgren, *The Parables of Jesus: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 175.

²⁴⁵ This is in reference to questions such as why the bridegroom came at midnight, and whether the virgins were friends of the bride or the bridegroom. See Jeremias, *Parables of Jesus*, 171. Beasley-Murray comments on the complexities of details in the apparently simple storyline: Beasley-Murray, *Jesus and the Kingdom of God*, 212.

²⁴⁶ Blomberg, *Interpreting the Parables*, 194, writes that much damage has been done by those who have tried to find symbols where there are none. Mounce, *Matthew*, 232, writes that we cannot know from extrabiblical sources how well these details agree with actual first-century Palestinian customs. Contra Jeremias, *Parables of Jesus*, 172-75.

²⁴⁷ Blomberg, *Interpreting the Parables*, 195, states that they represent true and false disciples, the latter group being unprepared for Jesus' return. Carson, *Matthew*, 513, indicates that both groups expect to meet the groom, but only the wise ones are truly prepared. Mounce, *Matthew*, 233, sees two applications—an immediate one, teaching judgment against the scribes and Pharisees (the foolish, unprepared virgins), and a later one to the church, warning believers to be prepared for the parousia of Christ.

²⁴⁸ It is generally claimed that the association of the Messiah with the bridegroom is absent in Judaism, and becomes part of the Christian church's tradition in Paul's writings, as was discussed above. Carson, *Matthew*, 511-12, argues that the sense of Messiah as bridegroom actually comes from the OT divine marriage passages, such as Isa. 54:4-6; 62:4-5; Ezek. 16:7-34; Hos. 2:19, where Yahweh is depicted as Israel's husband. Jesus inserts himself in Yahweh's place in the parables (Matt. 13:37-39), through John the Baptist (John 3:27-30), and elsewhere (Matt. 9:15; Mark 2:19-20).

²⁴⁹ Beasley-Murray, *Jesus and the Kingdom of God*, 386n68.

Targum (ca. second century BCE) on the wedding psalm (45:3): “Your beauty, O King Messiah, is greater than any the sons of men; the spirit of prophecy has been placed on your lips; because of this the Lord has blessed you forever,”²⁵⁰ and Isa. 61:10: ‘Like a bridegroom who puts on the priestly mitre.’”²⁵¹

As Brownlee argues, the Gospel writers expand on the messianic bridegroom imagery. This can be seen as Jesus announces his ministry in Luke 4:16-21, quoting from Isaiah 61, thereby interpreting his ministry as that of the messianic and priestly bridegroom.²⁵² Similarly, in his first sign in John’s Gospel, Jesus quietly steps into the role as bridegroom at the wedding in Cana (John 2:1-11) to provide rich wine for the feast, demonstrating both his identity and the joy he had come to bring as the messianic bridegroom.²⁵³

The plot of the parable of the ten virgins turns on the bridegroom’s delay in arriving to collect his bride.²⁵⁴ The virgins are those who await his arrival, but only half of them are prepared for his delay. The vast majority of scholars interpret the parable to signify the delay of Christ’s parousia and the danger in being unprepared for it.²⁵⁵ This parable parallels the one immediately preceding it (24:45-51), which teaches the same principle. Just as the servants do not know when the master will return and must therefore always be ready for him, so must his people (the bridegroom’s attendants) be prepared for whenever the bridegroom should arrive.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁰ Edward M. Cook, trans., *The Psalms Targum: An English Translation*, 2001. www.targum.info/targumic-texts/targum-psalms. Accessed on April 8, 2016.

²⁵¹ Beasley-Murray, *Jesus and the Kingdom of God*, 386n68.

²⁵² Brownlee, “Messianic Motifs,” 206.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁴ Carson, *Matthew*, 512.

²⁵⁵ Jeremias, *Parables of Jesus*, 51; Carson, *Matthew*, 512-14; Blomberg, *Interpreting the Parables*, 195; Wenham, *The Parables of Jesus*, 81-83; Mounce, *Matthew*, 234; Beasley-Murray, *Jesus and the Kingdom*, 214; Craig S. Keener, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 597, 599; Robert H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church Under Persecution* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 501; Bernard Brandon Scott, *Hear Then the Parable: A Commentary on the Parables of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 71; Dan Otto Via, *The Parables: Their Literary and Existential Dimension* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), 123.

²⁵⁶ Wenham, *The Parables of Jesus*, 80.

Jeremias believes that it would be anachronistic to say that the women represent the church but instead must refer to all humankind, with the parable teaching their need to be ready for the final catastrophe.²⁵⁷ The parable depicts all ten women actively anticipating the bridegroom's arrival, however, which cannot be said of the entirety of humankind. The issue is a question of readiness. Donfried interprets the virgins to all be Christians in the interval prior to the marriage that will occur at Christ's return,²⁵⁸ which seems more consistent with the parable.

8.4.6. *Friend of the bridegroom.*

Several scholars consider this brief statement (John 3:29) by John the Baptist a parable,²⁵⁹ his final testimony concerning Jesus. While comparing Jesus' ministry with his own, the Baptist calls Jesus the bridegroom and himself the bridegroom's friend, which signifies his own understanding of the primacy of Jesus' ministry and his own lesser place. Indeed, it has been his purpose to point people to Jesus.

John's choice of the bridegroom metaphor suggests a surprisingly deep understanding of Jesus' role as Messiah who has come for his bride.²⁶⁰ John's own extensive use of Isaiah to self-identify as the Messiah's forerunner supports the notion that he is cognizant of the OT divine marriage motif and is making such a connection to Jesus as Messiah.²⁶¹ After Jesus' death and resurrection, the church more commonly refers to Jesus as a bridegroom (2 Cor. 11:2; Eph. 5:25-27; Rev. 21:2, 9; 22:17).

²⁵⁷ TDNT IV:1104. He seems to be referring to the Final Judgment rather than the destruction of the temple in 70 CE. Smolarz, *Covenant and the Metaphor*, 164, argues that if the parable were an early church creation, it would likely depict the church as the bride. We note that the bride is curiously not even present in any of these parables.

²⁵⁸ K. P. Donfried, "The Allegory of the Ten Virgins (Matt. 25:1-13) as a Summary of Matthean Theology," *JBL* 93 (1974): 426.

²⁵⁹ Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Gospel According to St. John* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), I:416; C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St. John: An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1978), 185; Carson, *The Gospel According to John*, 211.

²⁶⁰ Carson, *The Gospel According to John*, 211.

²⁶¹ Ibid. For an opposing view, suggesting that John was merely speaking of friendship, see Köstenberger, *Encountering John*, 200-201.

9. New Exodus in Revelation

This study has thus far demonstrated the presence of a NE hermeneutic in the Gospels. John the Baptist and Jesus himself identified the latter as the Messiah using NE terms such as *bridegroom* and *Lamb of God*. Jesus further aligned his death with the Passover feast and connected its spiritual significance to the exodus event most clearly in the administration of the first Eucharist (Luke 22).

In addition to the Gospels, the NE theme is strongly represented in Revelation, which could warrant a separate thesis. At the same time, the exodus typologies are quite obvious and several of the NE motifs that I have identified are clearly present. The presence of the NE in Revelation as well as the Gospels serves to support the idea that the theme was a significant part of Jewish theology in the first century CE, as these NT documents were being written.

The first clear exodus reference that can be noted in Revelation is the paschal lamb, which is not actually used until 5:6-14. The Lamb, who appears as though he has been slain, and stands between the throne and the four living creatures, is called the “Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David,” leaving no possible doubt that he is or represents Jesus Christ. He receives worship in 5:8-14, specifically for having been slain and having ransomed God’s people by his blood (5:9). The Lamb, of course, reflects the image of the Passover lamb that was slain on behalf of each Israelite family just before the exodus, when Israel was constituted as a nation.²⁶² The Lamb also echoes back to the Servant of Isaiah 53, who suffers and bears the sins of God’s people, redeeming them in his own death.²⁶³ In fact, this redemption by Jesus’ blood is said about him even in the opening salutation and doxology apart from the visual image of the Lamb: “To him who loves us and has freed us from our sins by his blood.” The vision John records in the fifth chapter only confirms what he already believed about the paschal role of

²⁶² George Ladd, *A Commentary on the Revelation of John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), 86.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*

Jesus.²⁶⁴ Jesus is referred to as the Lamb almost exclusively throughout the remainder of the book.

Just as the paschal lamb served as the representative for each Israelite family at the exodus, and just as the firstborn son belonged to Yahweh and served as a representative of the family, Jesus, as the firstborn, is the representative for those who believe in him.²⁶⁵ Holland specifically identifies this phrase, particularly in this context, as NE material.²⁶⁶ Jesus is the paschal lamb who was slain for the sins of all who believe in him.

Scholars have long observed many exodus references throughout Revelation. The reference to the appointment of kings and priests is a direct citation of Exod. 19:6, as Ladd notices: “And you shall be to me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation.”²⁶⁷ One of the most obvious echoes is the plagues in Revelation 6–8 and 16, consisting of blood, frogs, pestilence, boils or sores, hail and fire, locusts, and darkness.²⁶⁸

Other citations and echoes include the manna (Rev. 2:17; cf. Exodus 16), lightning and thunder around God’s throne (Rev. 4:5; cf. Exod. 19:16), the song of Moses and the song of the Lamb (Rev. 15:2-3; cf. Exod. 15), the Lamb’s book of life (Rev. 3:5; 13:8; 17:8; 20:12, 15; 21:27; cf. Exod. 32:32-33), and the presence of the tabernacle (Rev. 15:5; cf. Exod. 38:21).²⁶⁹

The exhortation to flee from Babylon in Rev. 18:4 parallels the exhortation to leave actual Babylon in Isa. 52:11-12, and also parallels the original exhortation to leave Egypt. Continuing the parallel from the sixth-century BCE Babylonian exodus, the saints are told to depart from Babylon and be restored to a new Jerusalem/Zion (Rev. 21:2a; Isa. 52:1) in a NE where all things are made new (Rev. 21:1, 5; Isa. 43:19;

²⁶⁴ The paschal sacrifice has already been connected with atonement.

²⁶⁵ Holland, *Contours*, 238-41. He argues that πρωτότοκος is used as a representative term.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 273.

²⁶⁷ Ladd, *A Commentary on the Revelation*, 27.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 127-29, 210-12; Benjamin G. Wold, “Revelation’s Plague Septets: New Exodus and Exile,” in *Echoes from the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament*, ed. Florentino Garcia Martinez (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 279-81; George R. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation* (London: Oliphants, 1974), 233-35.

²⁶⁹ Ladd, *A Commentary on the Revelation*, passim.

65:17), and God himself dwells among his people (Rev. 21:3; Ezek. 37:26-27; Exod. 6:7; 15:17; 25:8).²⁷⁰

There is also a reference in Rev. 21:1 to a new creation: “a new heaven and a new earth, for the first earth has passed away and the sea was no more.” Mounce understands the reference to the sea to be part of the new creation, which given the chaotic sense in Revelation 13, probably refers to the final elimination of chaos and establishment of order.²⁷¹ Another view worth considering is that of Mathewson, who has suggested that the disappearing of the sea is an allusion to the drying up of the Red Sea at the exodus,²⁷² a paradigm for God’s acts of deliverance of his people from their enemies.

Another important motif found in Revelation is that of the divine marriage. There are three passages that explicitly invoke eschatological nuptial imagery at the end of Revelation: 19:6-8; 21:2; and 21:9-11. As with all the marriage parables in the Gospels, these passages concern the marriage of the Lamb, who is the Messiah Jesus.

Unlike the Gospel passages, however, the bride is specifically referenced. In the first passage, she has prepared herself with “fine linen, bright and pure,” which appears to refer back to Ezek. 16:10. Rev. 19:8 explains that the linen represents the righteous deeds of the saints, which might be an allusion to the robes of righteousness that cover

²⁷⁰ Dave Mathewson, “New Exodus as a Background for ‘The Sea Was No More’ in Revelation 21:1C,” *TrinJ* 24 (2003): 257.

²⁷¹ Mounce, *Matthew*, 369-70. He remains agnostic about the statement, rejecting the view of G. K. Beale and others who believe it represents a triumph over creation chaos: Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 1041-43; Dennis E. Johnson, *Triumph of the Lamb* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2001), 303; Vern S. Poythress, *The Returning King* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2000), 185; Leon Morris, *Revelation*, TNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 237; M. Eugene Boring, *Revelation*, Interpretation (Louisville: John Knox, 1989), 216; Louis A. Brighton, *Revelation*, Concordia Commentary (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1999), 593-95; Mounce, *Matthew*, 369-70; Ladd, *A Commentary on the Revelation*, 276, refers to the sea as “the realm of the dark, mysterious, and the treacherous,” but does not speak of mythology.

²⁷² Mathewson, “New Exodus,” 249-52. Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 1050-51, suggests this possibility in passing.

the bride in Isa. 61:10.²⁷³ The vision does not explicitly state the identity of the bride in this passage.

In Rev. 21:2, however, the new Jerusalem comes down from heaven prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.²⁷⁴ Although it is possible that in this case the bridal imagery is being used merely as a metaphor, the following verses are covenantal in nature, indicating that an illustration of the divine marriage is intended. In verse 3, the loud voice calls out: “Behold, the dwelling place of God is with man. He will dwell with them, and they will be his people, and God himself will be with them as God.”²⁷⁵ God and the church will live together as husband and wife.

Both Isaiah and the author of Revelation describe the garments of the bride, even if in general terms. They are beautiful, pure, and radiant. They also represent righteousness.²⁷⁶ It is also important to note that the robe is given by God, a possible symbolic bride price:²⁷⁷ “He has covered me with the robe of righteousness” (Isa. 61:10). “It was granted her to clothe herself with fine linen . . . the righteous deeds of the saints” (Rev. 19:8)²⁷⁸

10. New Exodus Themes in Paul

When Paul receives the revelation that Jesus is the Messiah referred to in the OT prophecies (Gal. 1:12, 16), he then begins to read the Scriptures through the lens of the

²⁷³ Brighton, *Revelation*, 497, sees parallels with Isa. 60:1-5, and of course, the bridal passages in Isa. 54:4-8; 60:15-16, 21; cf. 62:1-12.

²⁷⁴ This verse, as also 21:10, is strikingly similar to Isa. 54:5, 61:10, Gal. 4:26, which will be discussed in chapter 6 of this study.

²⁷⁵ Cf. Lev. 26:11-12. See Ladd, *A Commentary on the Revelation*, 277; Mounce, *Matthew*, 271-72; Johnson, *Triumph of the Lamb*, 304-5; Brighton, *Revelation*, 598.

²⁷⁶ Jan Fekkes III, “His Bride Has Prepared Herself,” 271, notes the parallel with garments, but makes no connection regarding righteousness.

²⁷⁷ Brighton, *Revelation*, 496. Holland, *Contours*, 114, also connects Jesus’ purchase price (1 Cor. 6:20) to a bride price.

²⁷⁸ Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 938-40, stresses this. God initiates the relationship, providing the bride her clothes to wear, and bestowing righteousness upon the sinner. This is also seen in Eph. 5:25, where it is Christ’s initiative to wash the bride. This also may connect to Yahweh’s washing of Israel in Ezek. 16:9. As mentioned earlier, this is one possible explanation for the case of the inappropriately dressed wedding guest in Matt. 22:12. He had not been clothed with the righteousness of God. Another possible link is the reference to humankind’s unrighteousness in Isa. 64:6, which compares it to filthy rags, a possible reference to a menstrual cloth, according to Young, *The Book of Isaiah*, III:496, and Motyer, *Isaiah*, 442).

person and work of Jesus. He naturally understands all the direct messianic prophecies to be fulfilled in Jesus, either through his life, death, and resurrection, or in the future at his return. But he also begins to see that the eschatological promises to Israel look very different from what he used to believe. It is reasonable to suggest that Paul's greatest influence in this area comes from reading the latter chapters of Isaiah through the lens of Jesus, even while he is ministering among the Gentiles.

No other NT book cites Isaiah as frequently as Romans. Paul cites Isaiah sixteen times in the epistle. The majority of those citations (eleven of which are in Romans 9–11) have to do with the relationship between Jews and Gentiles in Christ, providing supporting evidence that no other OT book has influenced Paul as much as the writings of this one prophet, at least on this topic.²⁷⁹

The evidence from Romans supports a strong Isaianic influence on Paul, and it is therefore a reasonable expectation to anticipate it in all his theological writings. Oss notes that one sees Paul citing Isaiah in several of his speeches in Acts as well, all of them relating to the debate over the relationship of Jews and Gentiles in Christ.²⁸⁰ One should certainly expect to detect a strong Isaianic influence in Galatians, which addresses much of the same content and themes as Romans.

The Isaianic influence in Galatians, however, appears to be rather minimal at the surface, including only a single citation. Yet it would be unreasonable to judge the prophet's influence by direct citations alone. Clearly influenced by Hays, Harmon has identified more than thirty allusions, echoes, or thematic parallels of Isaiah (40–55) in Galatians, in addition, of course, to the single citation in Gal. 4:27.²⁸¹

Before examining Galatians for Paul's invocation of the NE theme, however, it is first necessary to discuss briefly his use elsewhere of the closely related motifs of the

²⁷⁹ Douglas A. Oss, "A Note on Paul's Use of Isaiah," *BBR* 2 (1992): 113. Tom Holland says that Isaiah's writings formed the basis for Paul's entire worldview: Holland, *Romans*, 14. Holland argues that Paul frames Romans entirely around Isaiah: Holland, *Contours*, 31-34; Holland, *Romans*, 13.

²⁸⁰ Oss, "A Note on Paul's Use of Isaiah," 107n5.

²⁸¹ Matthew S. Harmon, *She Must and Shall Go Free*, BZBW 168 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 261-65.

NE. Specifically the study will now examine the paschal view of Jesus' death, the inclusion of the Gentiles in Israel's eschatological redemption, and the divine marriage.

10.1. Paschal Sacrifice

It has already been established that even OT biblical theology saw the paschal sacrifice as an act of atonement. It was then shown how Jesus, John the Baptist, and the Gospel writers all connected that idea to Jesus' own death. As Paul presents Jesus' death as expiatory, or to use a more literal translation of Rom. 3:25, propitiatory (ὄν προέθετο ὁ θεὸς ἱλαστήριον), he is merely building upon a theological foundation that has been laid before him.

Holland has argued that Paul must have had the Passover particularly in mind as he penned this verse, in contrast to many who have assumed the backdrop is the Day of Atonement. The word ἱλαστήριον is not in itself conclusive as to the feast or event, as Holland believes that it refers not to the place of atonement, but "to the lid of the ark of the covenant as used in Heb. 9:4 and found in different places throughout Ezekiel."²⁸² For Holland, the more telling word is προτίθεμαι, indicating the public display that resembles the Passover blood on the doorposts more than the private nature of the Day of Atonement sacrifice.²⁸³ It needs to be said, however, that the Day of Atonement sacrifices were not entirely private either, given the temple ritual administered by the high priest and the very public scapegoat ceremony.²⁸⁴

The use of the word πάρεσις (passing over) in Rom. 3:25 is a further paschal connection in Paul's theology of the atonement. This is the same word, Holland notes, used in Isa. 41:14; 63:15; and 64:10-12, which all speak of God's restraint of his anger.

²⁸² Holland, *Contours*, 159.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 170.

²⁸⁴ Roland de Vaux, *Religious Institutions*, vol. 2 of *Ancient Israel*, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965), 507-8.

As Yahweh had not counted Israel's sin against them in the Passover, he had patiently withheld judgment while waiting for the right time to deal with it in Christ.²⁸⁵

The clearest and most direct paschal reference to Jesus' death that Paul makes, however, is in 1 Cor. 5:7. Holland also links this verse to another in Paul's second letter to the same church, 2 Cor. 5:21, in which Christ's death is identified clearly as a sin offering. More importantly, he notes, only a few verses earlier Paul has written of the new creation that one becomes a part of if one is in Christ (2 Cor. 5:17).²⁸⁶ New creation is, as has been seen, an important motif within the NE theme (cf. Isa. 65:17).

10.2. Inclusion/Ingathering of the Gentiles

God promised Abram that he would be the father of countless descendants and that through him all nations would be blessed (Gen. 12:1-3). One cannot know what Abraham understood when he first heard those words, or more specifically, how he thought they would be fulfilled.

But in the progress of revelation, and particularly in Isaiah, it becomes clear that Yahweh's plan is to include the Gentiles among his people. At the same time, it seemed to surprise the early church, as was evidenced in the early controversies in Acts 8–10. Learning how to incorporate the Gentiles into the church became the occasion for the Jerusalem Council as recorded in Acts 15. Paul writes of his public confrontation with Peter over the subject of table fellowship with Gentiles in Galatians 2. Somehow, that the Gentiles should be fellow heirs had remained a mystery to the Jews until the coming of Christ (Eph. 2:6). And even after Jesus' words just before his ascension (Acts 1:8) and the Holy Spirit's outpouring at the Pentecost, the Jewish believers in Jesus somehow did not anticipate Gentile conversions.

Paul himself came to understand this only after his conversion, as he then reinterpreted the Jewish Scriptures through a messianic lens. He applies Hos. 2:23 (cf.

²⁸⁵ Holland, *Contours*, 171.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 173.

1:10) to the Gentiles in Rom. 9:25-26, modifying the original context of “not my people” to refer not to Israel, but to the Gentiles. The original context, of course, was God’s rejection of Israel because the nation had broken the covenant by unfaithfulness to him. Hosea had been told to name his child *Lo-Ammi*, for “you are not my people, and I am not your God” (Hos. 1:9). Yahweh was declaring the termination of the covenant. Therefore in 1:10 and 2:23, when Yahweh says that he will call those who were not his people “my people,” he is promising Israel’s restoration. Paul, however, is using the verses in Hosea to refer to the Gentiles. They who were not the covenant people will now be called Yahweh’s people.²⁸⁷ Paul does something similar in Galatians when he cites a passage from Isaiah; this will be discussed in the next chapter.

Paul understood the inclusion of the Gentiles to be a major issue not only as part of the NE, but as a very practical part of his ministry. The Gentiles were embracing the gospel of Jesus Christ. The full inclusion of the Gentiles within God’s people then must be dealt with, causing controversies and a letter (Galatians)—and at the same time a growing understanding of what the prophets were foretelling for the eschatological age.

10.3. Divine Marriage

Paul explicitly invokes marital imagery to illustrate Christ’s relationship with the church in 2 Cor. 11:2 and Eph. 5:22-33,²⁸⁸ with a possible reference in 1 Cor. 6:12-20. None of these is written within a clear eschatological context, but instead each emphasizes the exclusivity of the church’s relationship to Christ. In 2 Cor. 11:2 Paul speaks to the church as if he is the father of the bride, or perhaps a close friend, saying, “I betrothed you to one husband, to present you as a pure virgin to Christ.” This is thematically similar to the message in 1 Corinthians 6, where Paul is reminding the

²⁸⁷ Douglas J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 612-13; Holland, *Romans*, 332.

²⁸⁸ This is assuming Pauline authorship of Ephesians. See E. K. Simpson and F. F. Bruce, *The Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians*, 2nd ed., NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 17-19; R. C. Sproul, *Ephesians* (Ross-Shire, Scotland: Christian Focus Publications, 1994), 17-19; For an alternate view, that is, author as disciple of Paul, see Andrew T. Lincoln, *Ephesians*, WBC (Dallas: Word Books, 1990), lii-lxxiii.

church that they are not their own, for they have been bought with a price. Although marriage is not mentioned, 1 Cor. 6:20 is in the context of exhortation against sexual immorality, which must be forbidden for the one bought and now belonging to Christ. Also, as has been seen, the language of redemption from sin is closely linked with Israel's redemptions from Egypt and Babylon. On both occasions the prophets indicated that the purpose of the redemption/exodus was for the purpose of securing Israel as Yahweh's bride. In Ephesians 5, Paul uses Christ's love for the church as the standard by which husbands are to love their wives. Yet even as he proclaims the "one flesh" mystery, Paul says he is actually talking about Christ and the church. It appears, then, that Christ's love and union with his church are far more than just examples for a blissful marriage, but, rather, an actual reality.

The divine marriage is a theme Paul seems to assume rather than stress. Yet it has been shown to be a dominant OT theme and a NE motif, particularly expressed in Isaiah. The only verse he quotes from Isaiah in the Galatian letter, Isa. 54:1 (Gal. 4:27), is in the context of Yahweh declaring that he is Israel's husband. So, although he never specifically refers to or develops the divine marriage motif, it is just below the surface of his narrative. It is implied in his declaration that believers in Christ are children of the woman who was once barren, the metaphor invoked by Isaiah. This will be developed in chapter 6 of this study.

11. Conclusions

In this chapter the NE theme has been analyzed as it is developed in the OT, particularly in the Major and preexilic Minor Prophets, and then carried through to intertestamental (and other extrabiblical) literature and into the NT. The NE theme has been explored generally, but also in its parts, in what have been referred to as *motifs*. Through this discussion, it has been shown that the thread continues through most of the biblical literature, particularly that which speaks of the eschatological age.

In the NT, this study analyzed the parables of Jesus that centered on the eschatological messianic wedding feast, or referred to Jesus as the bridegroom. These passages provide evidence that Jesus was being intentional in his self-identification, even if he was purposely veiling the messianic reference. Even his disciples seemed not to understand his meaning until after his resurrection. And yet, John the Baptist's identification of Jesus as the bridegroom and himself as the bridegroom's friend seems packed with NE theology.

The Baptist also called Jesus the "Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world." As has been demonstrated, the most reasonable way to interpret this statement is as a paschal reference. This study has argued that the original Passover sacrifice served as an act of atonement/propitiation and that Jesus' death had parallel paschal significance. It is difficult to know exactly how much the Baptist understood of Jesus' mission, but Jesus makes his understanding of these connections clear in several of his sayings (e.g., Mark 10:45), and especially at the institution of the Lord's Supper/Eucharist.

Therefore, this study has built the case that Jesus identifies himself as the fulfillment of Isaianic prophecy, and as the agent who will bring the NE. The NT authors learn this through Jesus' ministry, and in Paul's case, through revelation, and consequently interpret Scripture through the life and death of Jesus as the atoning sacrifice, the bridegroom and the Messiah. Through this exploration of the evidence, it has been shown that the NE thread continues through most of the biblical literature, particularly that which speaks of the eschatological age. It is now appropriate to examine how Paul bases his own theology on the NE in Galatians.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE NEW EXODUS IN GALATIANS 1 AND 2

1. Introduction

1.1. Identifying the Central Theme in Galatians

Having established that the exodus—and more especially the NE theme—is a common thread throughout both the Old and New Testaments, this chapter begins the exploration of the NE theme in Galatians. After explaining the approach and laying a little groundwork, Galatians 1 and 2 will be surveyed for NE content. The same method will be applied to subsequent chapters of Paul’s letter in ensuing chapters of this thesis.

Since the Reformation and up until recent decades, Galatians has been almost undisputedly considered by Protestants to be a letter pleading for the doctrine of justification by faith alone.¹ It has been regarded as a diatribe against legalism in first-century Judaism, and works-righteousness in general. This Lutheran-Reformation theme of justification by faith alone, however, has now been challenged persuasively by the New Perspective on Paul (NPP), which argued against the characterization of first-century Palestinian Judaism as legalistic in orientation.² Consequently, other themes, including sonship/adoption and union with Christ,³ have been alternatively suggested.

¹ While I am admittedly revisiting some of the material from the introduction, I am doing so for the purpose of showing a lack of cohesion among proposed themes, a cohesion that the New Exodus can hopefully provide.

² E. P. Sanders (*Paul and Palestinian Judaism* [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1977]) is generally credited as the father of the New Perspective on Paul, although he had numerous precursors. They will be mentioned in more detail later in this chapter.

³ Sylvia C. Keesmaat, *Paul and His Story: (Re)Interpreting the Exodus Tradition* JSNTSup 181 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 155. She also suggests union with Christ through adoption, 165-66; James M. Scott, *Adoption as Sons of God: An Exegetical Investigation into the Background of YIOTHESIA in the Pauline Corpus* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1992), 147, 186, et passim; Beverly Roberts Gaventa, “The Singularity of the Gospel: A Reading of Galatians,” in *Thessalonians, Philipians*,

The difficulty with all of these proposals (including justification by faith) and others, however, is that only certain sections of the letter can be shown to address these themes, while they are in other places greatly overshadowed.

The law remains the major issue in Galatians both for traditionalists and proponents of the NPP. The NE is also greatly concerned about how the law was understood by the Jews, since Christ came to free God's people from its enslavement, both those presently under the law (Jews), and those who would consider submitting themselves to the law (Gentiles).⁴ And the issue of justification also proves to be inescapably tied to the law. Despite diverging assumptions about how Jews regarded the law in the first century, the conclusions presented from recent NPP scholars have not strayed far from the Reformation question of the precise basis of justification. What can be agreed upon is that Paul's major concern in Galatians is with the desire of the Jewish enthusiasts to subject the Gentiles to circumcision and to the rest of what the law requires. As Moisés Silva comments, NPP proponents have overreacted to what they saw as the Lutheran distortion, and the NPP's attempt to transform the debate from personal justification to that of national boundary markers creates a false dichotomy.⁵ Indeed, as Silva summarizes, these concerns are "two sides of the same coin."⁶ This thesis argues that justification, although an important doctrine, is not the central theme in Galatians. However, the NPP's attempt to correct its overemphasis by highlighting another theme has not resulted in a clearer reading of the letter.

Galatians, Philemon, vol. 1 of *Pauline Theology*, J. M. Bassler, ed. (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress Press, 1991), 148-49.

⁴ The enslaving aspect of the law is touched upon briefly in this chapter (see comments on Gal. 2:3), but will be addressed in greater depth in the next couple of chapters, while interacting with Galatians 3 and 4.

⁵ Moisés Silva, *Interpreting Galatians: Explorations in Exegetical Method*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2001), 148.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 160. Yet, earlier (149), he says that the principal question that Paul is addressing is "who are the true descendants of Abraham?" This seems closer to the view of Keesmaat, *Paul and His Story*, 183.

1.2. Eschatology in Galatians

Meanwhile, even before the NPP stirred up so much debate, Herman Ridderbos, Gerhardus Vos, and Albert Schweitzer had all claimed that at the root of the whole of Paul's theology was eschatology.⁷ Silva apparently agrees, arguing that if one wants to understand Paul's view of the law, one must first understand his eschatology.⁸ Because the NE involves those things that Christ has done in his death and resurrection and that will be completed at the end of the age upon his return, a strong eschatological theme in Galatians is highly relevant to this thesis and must also be explored. In other words, eschatology is a key component of the NE.

Silva is referring to Paul's understanding of salvation history manifested in Galatians, where the epoch of the law comes to an end with the dawn of the messianic age, begun at Christ's appearing (Gal. 3:23). The Christ-event, Jesus' death and resurrection, inaugurated the new age.

As often occurs with the fields of eschatology and apocalyptic, Silva's treatment of eschatology overlaps with some definitions of apocalyptic literature, in which a cosmic event brings an end to one age and inaugurates the next. Because the NE theme can easily be related to both eschatology and apocalyptic, it is necessary first to clarify how these terms are to be understood, before proceeding along that avenue.

In Second Temple Judaism, both apocalyptic and eschatology are reflected in the twofold division of time,⁹ as evidenced, for example, in 4 Ezra 7:50: "The Most High

⁷ Herman N. Ridderbos, *Paul: An Outline of His Theology*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977); Ridderbos has argued that eschatology is the one unifying doctrine of Paul. Gerhardus Vos, *The Pauline Eschatology* (1930; repr. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968); Albert Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1931).

⁸ Silva, *Interpreting Galatians*, 169. But see his entire chapter 10, "Eschatology in Galatians," 169-186. He exegetes 1:1, 4, 12, 16; 2:2, 16, 19-20; 3:2-5, 8, 14, 16, 3:19-4:7, 25-27; 5:1, 5-6, 13-14, 16-26; 6:8, 13-17.

⁹ Richard N. Longenecker, *Galatians*, WBC (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1990), 8; Thomas R. Schreiner, *Galatians*, Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2010), 77; J. Louis Martyn, *Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 98.

has made not one world but two.”¹⁰ Passages from 4 Ezra characterize the present age as “sorrowful and toilsome,” as contrasted with the next age, which will be safe and “yield the fruit of immortality” (4 Ezra 7:12-13).¹¹ The present age is dark due to humankind’s wickedness (4 Ezra 14:20),¹² but is soon coming to an end. The Pharisees believed and taught that the current age would climax in a “messianic travail,” at which time the messianic age would dawn,¹³ and God would rectify the created order.¹⁴ This eschatological language—and in particular the idea that the Messiah brings in a new age—ties in with the NE: In his death, resurrection and ascension, Christ fulfills the eschatological promises recorded in the exilic prophets.

Martinus de Boer identifies two different spheres of the *two-age division* represented in intertestamental Jewish literature—cosmological and forensic. And in both spheres the present age is considered evil. Cosmologically the evil is due to diabolical supernatural forces that enslave humankind, whereas forensically it is the result of humans freely choosing sin against God’s law.¹⁵

Paul reflects both of these spheres in his epistles. The cosmological can be seen in Paul’s crediting Satan as the god of this age (2 Cor. 4:4; Gal. 3:22; 4:8), but claiming that Christ has broken through into the new age (1 Cor. 10:11).¹⁶ The forensic can be seen in Rom. 12:2, where Paul urges a deliberate resistance against the evils of the present age: καὶ μὴ συσχηματίζεσθε τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ.¹⁷ Nevertheless, Paul does not stress the distinction between these spheres (nor does it seem that most scholars do), but

¹⁰ R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913).

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 8-9. See also F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 76. Cf. 4 Ezra 5:55 (indicates that this age had already grown old); 7:12-13; 14:20; 1QpHab 5.7-8 (in which Belial, who opposes the will of God, has free rein).

¹⁴ Martinus C. de Boer, “Paul, Theologian of God’s Apocalypse,” *Int* 56 (2002): 21-33.

¹⁵ Martinus C. de Boer, *Galatians* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2011), 30-36.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*; Schreiner, *Galatians*, 77. See also Bruce, *Galatians*, 76.

¹⁷ De Boer, *Galatians*, 30; Bruce, *Galatians*, 76; Martyn, *Galatians*, 98. Martyn points out Paul’s usage of the phrase “the present age” also in 1 Cor. 1:2; 2:6, 8; 3:18; 2 Cor. 4:4.

certainly invokes the two-age apocalyptic-eschatology numerous times throughout his letters.¹⁸

1.3. Apocalyptic in Galatians

Having stated that the NE theme is eschatological, it should be clear that its elements can be expressed in a two-age paradigm. Because eschatology and apocalyptic often overlap in literature, it is now necessary to explore how a few scholars define and use apocalyptic before establishing how it can be applied to the NE theme.

Christopher Rowland defines the genre of apocalyptic literature in what might be considered the classic sense, namely, “the record of divine mysteries that have been revealed.”¹⁹ Accordingly, apocalyptic need not be limited to eschatology, as is often the case, but might reveal mysteries about the past and present, including “the movement of the stars, the heavenly dwelling of God, angelology, the course of human history, and the mystery of the human plight.”²⁰ When he discusses apocalyptic in Pauline literature, Rowland marks as the principal text 2 Cor. 12:1, where Paul references his “visions and revelations of the Lord.”²¹

What can be observed, then, is that while Rowland is broad on the temporal scope of the definition of apocalyptic, he is quite narrow as to its form, and therefore limits the texts that qualify for the genre. In 2 Cor. 12:1, Paul only speaks of the experience of apocalypse, but deliberately withholds from his readers the content of the revelation he received. Nevertheless, the benefit gained from Rowland’s work is a broadening of the timeframe considered within the apocalyptic genre from the future alone, to include the present as well. Rowland’s work shows that, in apocalyptic

¹⁸ See Col. 1:13; Rom. 8:18; Eph. 1:21; 1 Tim. 4:8. In other passages he refers to this age with the natural implication of the existence of the next, much like Gal. 1:4. Cf. 1 Cor. 1:20; 2:6, 8; 3:18; 2 Cor. 4:4; Rom. 12:2; Col. 1:13; Tit. 2:12-13; cf. 1 Cor. 7:29, 31; 1 Tim. 6:17, 19; 2 Tim. 4:10, 18.

¹⁹ Christopher Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 1-3, 29-37, 70-72. Rowland states his intention to move away from a merely eschatological approach to apocalyptic literature, 2.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 14.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 378.

literature, when there is revelation of the future events, it is often used to explain present circumstances.²²

J. Christiaan Beker, on the other hand, classifies a passage as apocalyptic if it manifests historical dualism, cosmic expectation, and the imminent end of the world.²³ Contrary to Rowland, he is more concerned with the content of the apocalypse than with the medium through which it is given. Yet his definition is also more connected to eschatology, as is more common.

According to Beker, Paul considers himself the eschatological apostle, the one who spans the time between Christ's resurrection and the final resurrection of the dead. Believing that eschatology is central to Paul's theology, Beker has great difficulty reconciling this stance with the letter to the Galatians. Perceiving no apocalyptic theme in the Galatian letter, he writes, "Galatians threatens to undo what I have posited as the coherent core of Pauline thought, the apocalyptic coordinates of the Christ-event that focus on the imminent, cosmic triumph of God."²⁴ He considers Galatians to be an exception to the Pauline corpus due to the magnitude of the crisis in Galatia that prompts the letter.²⁵

Beker's definition of eschatology proves to be too narrow; not seeing any reference to end-time events, he also does not recognize present or realized eschatology, which blocks his ability to recognize the wealth of apocalyptic in Galatians.²⁶ Although Silva attributes Beker's inability to see the apocalyptic in Galatians to an overly strict division between apocalyptic and realized eschatology,²⁷ it seems that the greater issue is the latter's one-dimensional (future) view of eschatology, and consequently, his flat definition of apocalyptic.

²² Ibid., 2.

²³ J. Christiaan Beker, *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 136.

²⁴ Ibid., 58.

²⁵ Ibid., 57.

²⁶ Bruce Longenecker is in agreement; see Longenecker, *The Triumph of Abraham's God: The Transformation of Identity in Galatians* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998), 5, 7.

²⁷ Silva, *Interpreting Galatians*, 184-85.

1.4. Definitions

1.4.1. Definition of eschatology in this thesis.

Galatians is built around Paul's "apocalyptic outlook" (thus linking his view of apocalyptic and eschatology), as Silva argues, writing in direct contrast to Beker, "Precisely because this document grounds the future triumph of God's righteousness in a carefully developed view of realized eschatology, the teaching of Galatians is ideally suited to serve as a norm for understanding the core of Paul's theology."²⁸ Bruce Longenecker would concur, contending that Paul's entire theology is based on an apocalyptic-eschatological perspective, as the apostle applies future realities to present experience.²⁹

It is important that the definition of *eschatology* not only include "the doctrine of last things," but that those last things should include that which the believer gains because of the death and resurrection of Christ, some of which Paul defines here in Galatians. Silva's broader conception of eschatology, provides a framework for the definition of *eschatology* espoused in this thesis and derived from Galatians: Eschatology encompasses what God has done in the past (through Christ's death and resurrection), is doing in the present, and will do in the future, upon his return.

As with eschatology, apocalyptic is not tied exclusively to future events, but instead describes a discrete event which marks the end of one age and the beginning of another. According to J. Louis Martyn, literature is apocalyptic when it contains an act of God or Christ breaking into the cosmos, revealing himself and his message, and inaugurating a new age.³⁰ In virtually every case, the act of Christ is related to his death and resurrection, sometimes generalized to "his coming," or more often simply called the Christ-event. Thus, even in Gal. 3:23 (Πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἐλθεῖν τὴν πίστιν ὑπὸ νόμον ἐφρουρούμεθα συγκλειόμενοι εἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν πίστιν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι), "when faith

²⁸ Ibid., 185.

²⁹ B. Longenecker, *The Triumph*, 6.

³⁰ J. Louis Martyn, "The Apocalyptic Gospel in Galatians," *Int* 54 (2000): 251.

came” (italicized in the Greek) is understood to be the Christ-event, as obviously a new age had been inaugurated.

Martyn sees apocalyptic as incompatible with salvation history. In his view, Paul’s choice to use an apocalyptic structure eliminates any possibility of presenting salvation history in Galatians.³¹ It is unnecessary to view apocalyptic and salvation history as mutually exclusive, however. As Douglas Moo asserts, Galatians is an apocalyptic letter full of salvation history.³²

Bruce Longenecker deliberately chooses to use the word *eschatological* rather than *apocalyptic*, since he believes it will avoid the confusion brought upon the latter word, given the way different scholars use it. He believes eschatology covers all of God’s activity—past (e.g., Christ’s death and resurrection), present (e.g., giving of the Spirit) and future (e.g., annihilation of hostile forces), in all of which God fights his enemies to set things right.³³ He is certainly correct to point out the similarity between the two terms and the confusion surrounding the definition and parameters of apocalyptic activity. It seems that Silva tacitly agrees, as he argues for a strong theme of eschatology in Galatians, but says little about apocalyptic.

Martyn, de Boer, and Moo, on the other hand, use “apocalyptic” (rather than “eschatology”) almost exclusively. Yet because the NE marks the end of one age and the beginning of another, and simultaneously marks the spiritual fulfillment of the eschatological exilic prophecies, the terms need not be so finely distinguished for the purpose of this thesis.

³¹ J. L. Martyn, “Events in Galatia: Modified Covenantal Nomism versus God’s Invasion of the Cosmos in the Singular Gospel: A Response to J. D. G. Dunn and B. R. Gaventa,” in *Thessalonians, Philipians, Galatians, Philemon*, vol. 1 of *Pauline Theology*, ed. J. M. Bassler (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 174.

³² Douglas J. Moo, *Galatians*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013), 30-31, also points out Martyn’s unusual understanding of apocalyptic.

³³ B. Longenecker, *The Triumph*, 22-23.

Schweitzer and Käsemann have also characterized Paul's gospel message as fundamentally apocalyptic³⁴ although they approach it differently. Ernst Käsemann is highly critical of Schweitzer for merely observing apocalyptic elements in Paul without illuminating anything.³⁵ Schweitzer's work is done from a highly historical-critical approach, and according to Käsemann, it seems to leave the reader with no objective facts. Käsemann, on the other hand, is part of the Lutheran tradition (and more conservative) and reads Paul's theology through the two-age apocalyptic system.³⁶

1.4.2. Definition of apocalyptic in this thesis.

The evidence of apocalyptic in Galatians is solid, but there remains some variation among scholars as to how much eschatology is present. Once again, the reason for this is a deficient and one-dimensional view of eschatology as referring only to end-time events rather than also to the immediate realization of the realities of the new age through the Christ-event by means of the believer's faith. From this point on, however, it is best to simplify and therefore restrict the terminology to *apocalyptic*, with the assumption that it includes eschatology as it has just been defined as well. For the purposes of this thesis, therefore, apocalyptic will refer to the genre of literature, but most especially to those particular events which indicate that God has brought about an abrupt change in salvation history through the Christ-event. This event brings the old age to a close and begins the new age (hence, the NE). The definition is necessarily and purposely kept general, in order to be fleshed out through the various apocalyptic antitheses found throughout Galatians.

³⁴ Albert Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1931), 36-40, 113-14; Ernst Käsemann, *New Testament Questions of Today* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), 124-37.

³⁵ Käsemann, *New Testament Questions*, 113.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 108-37.

1.5. Martyn's Apocalyptic Model

Several scholars approvingly point to the work of J. Louis Martyn for recognizing and developing the role that apocalyptic categories play in Galatians.³⁷ Although Martyn uses the word *antinomy* for each set of conflicting realities, the word antithesis is a better choice (since it conveys the idea of complement rather than a contradiction), and will therefore be used in this study.³⁸ Since Galatians is both eschatological and apocalyptic, the NE in Galatians will best be investigated using an eschatological-apocalyptic framework. Martyn's work will now be investigated a little further to determine how it can be built upon for the purposes of this work.

Martyn's definition of apocalyptic is much closer to de Boer's than to Rowland's. He also is not so concerned with the means of the revelation, but rather identifies literature as apocalyptic when it contains an act of God or of Christ breaking through into the cosmos, revealing himself and his message, and inaugurating a new age.³⁹

He understands that the coming of Christ ended one age and inaugurated another, which is represented in different forms repeatedly throughout the letter. Although he uses the word "apocalyptic," the antitheses are also eschatological. When faith (Christ) came (Gal. 3:23), a new age had broken through and the old age had passed away. Martyn is not originating this theological model, nor suggesting that Paul is doing so, but is instead suggesting that Paul is applying his Jewish thought in Galatians.

Martyn notes the same non-eschatological "anomaly" in Galatians, and yet identifies multiple antitheses throughout the letter (notably in 2:16; 3:27-28; 5:16-17;

³⁷ Moo, *Galatians*, 31; B. Longenecker, *The Triumph*, 7; Silva, *Interpreting Galatians*, 170n3, 184; Ben Witherington III, *Grace in Galatia: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2004), 77. And yet, as B. Longenecker points out (*The Triumph*, 7), while Martyn correctly sees the apocalyptic event as Christ's death, he is unable to see it as eschatological. See J. Louis Martyn, "Apocalyptic Antinomies in Paul's Letter to the Galatians," *NTS* 31 (1985): 412, 420. While Martyn is unable to link apocalyptic and eschatology, his work in apocalyptic is still helpful.

³⁸ Martyn notes his anomaly but defends his use of the word *antinomy* in Martyn, *Galatians*, 570n79.

³⁹ Martyn, "The Apocalyptic Gospel," 251.

and 4:21–5:1) that mark opposite and contrasting worlds, a “cosmological dualism” that he characterizes as “clearly apocalyptic.”⁴⁰ It is the appearance of Christ, or specifically his death (rather than his parousia) that marks the end of the old age and the beginning of the new.⁴¹

Yet Martyn clearly blends apocalyptic and eschatology. In the words of another scholar:

What could be more apocalyptic than Christ’s redeeming us from the curse of the law (3:13-14) or his invasion into the world and into us when the fullness of time had come (4:4-6)? ... This combination of narrative substructure and apocalyptic theology provide [sic] the hermeneutical key to unlock Paul’s theology in Galatians. Galatians must be read through the lens of the incarnation and death of Jesus as invasive events instead of our faith in Christ.⁴²

Some of the specific apocalyptic antitheses in Galatians that Martyn has identified include this present evil age vs. the implicit messianic age (1:4), law vs. faith (2:15–4:31), the list of antitheses in 3:27-29 (Jew vs. Greek, male vs. female, etc.), slavery vs. freedom, Spirit vs. flesh (5:16-17), and old creation (implied) vs. new creation (6:15).⁴³ Clearly the first of these is the most explicitly eschatological, and yet scholars believe that each pair is part of Paul’s apocalyptic. Therefore, even though, as Martyn points out, Galatians makes no mention of the parousia—unlike the majority of NT apocalyptic literature—Paul’s constant use of the antithesis of the two ages qualifies the letter as apocalyptic.⁴⁴ Moreover, the antitheses Martyn identifies happen to be the major NE passages in Galatians, which makes sense if the NE is understood to focus on the effects of the Christ-event in salvation history.

In Paul’s apocalyptic-eschatology, the two ages overlap.⁴⁵ Since Christ has come (Gal. 3:23, where Martyn refers to faith as “the apocalypse”⁴⁶), the new age has begun

⁴⁰ Martyn, “Apocalyptic Antinomies,” 412.

⁴¹ Ibid., 412, 420.

⁴² Arthur A. Just, Jr., “The Faith of Christ: A Lutheran Appropriation of Richard Hays’s Proposal,” *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 70 (2006): 12. Martyn, *Galatians*, 99, 101, comments similarly.

⁴³ Martyn, “Apocalyptic Antinomies,” passim.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 411.

⁴⁵ Martyn, *Galatians*, 99.

⁴⁶ Martyn, “Apocalyptic Antinomies,” 417.

even while the old age continues.⁴⁷ Because of this, Paul needs to give many admonitions regarding discernment between the ages, and the choice to live one's life in the new age rather than in the present evil one. In Galatians in particular, the major practical antitheses Paul draws are flesh (present evil age) vs. Spirit (new age in Christ), and circumcision (law observance) vs. uncircumcision (non-law observance).

Paul's opponents had presumably taught, as Paul himself had done at one point, that the law was the antidote to the fleshly impulse.⁴⁸ But now, in Galatians, Paul was instead teaching that in the new age, the Spirit is the antidote. The law belongs to the present (old) age, which is passing away.⁴⁹ Throughout the letter, and especially in the use of the Sarah-Hagar allegory (4:21–5:1), Paul develops the antithesis between the ages of law and freedom (the most obvious NE antithesis).⁵⁰

And finally, in 6:14-15 Paul writes that through Christ's cross, the world has been crucified to him, and he has been crucified to the world. In other words, Paul's (and any believer's) relationship with this temporal world has ended now that Christ has come. He is now experiencing (is part of) a new creation (6:15),⁵¹ which most certainly signifies an apocalyptic antithesis.

2. Procedure for Analysis of Galatians 1 and 2

Having seen that several scholars identify Paul as an apocalyptic theologian and that Galatians reflects this same emphasis in Paul's thinking, it is now possible to proceed in an analysis of apocalyptic events and antitheses throughout the letter. Since the major apocalyptic event is the death and resurrection of Christ, or the Christ-event, there is a discrete connection between apocalyptic and the NE, since it is through the Christ-event that Jesus leads his people out of slavery (former age) into freedom (new

⁴⁷ Ibid., 411-12.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 416. Cf. Ecclesiasticus 15:14-15, CD 2:14-16.

⁴⁹ Schreiner, *Galatians*, 77; R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 9; Bruce, *Galatians*, 76.

⁵⁰ Martyn, "Apocalyptic Antinomies," 419.

⁵¹ Ibid., 412. For an additional discussion of the eschatological frame of Galatians, see also B. Longenecker, *The Triumph*, 36-46.

age). Expanding on the antitheses from Martyn and eschatological events from Silva, different antitheses and events will be examined for their apocalyptic meaning, and for how each connects to the NE theme. This will be done by finding possible parallels, echoes, or allusions from the exodus narratives, identifying a promise of type fulfillment in the major exilic prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, or Ezekiel), and then showing how it is spiritually fulfilled through the Christ-event. These types will correspond to those motifs already identified as being associated with the NE. The combination of the antitypes and the specific NE motifs will serve as evidence of the presence of the NE in Galatians.

3. Events and Antitheses in Galatians 1 and 2

3.1. Jesus' Resurrection (1:1)

While, as has been noted, omission of any mention of the parousia seems very unusual in an epistle categorized as eschatological, it is equally strange for one to lack references to the resurrection—Christ's and/or the believers'.⁵² Such is the case in Galatians, except for what seems like a passing phrase here in the very first verse of the letter. And yet Silva finds particular significance in its mention and placement. He points out that Paul always has a purpose for what he includes in his greetings, and since the resurrection reference is not standard among his openings, it is to be especially noted. Both Silva and Cosgrove suggest that Paul is building on the significance of Christ's resurrection throughout the letter.⁵³ This thesis aims to show that Paul is indeed keeping the Christ-event central throughout Galatians as the basis of the various apocalyptic events that all point to the NE.

⁵² Silva, *Interpreting Galatians*, 170.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 171. Charles H. Cosgrove, *The Cross and the Spirit: A Study in the Argument and Theology of Galatians* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1988), 34.

Paul's purpose, according to Silva, is to show the centrality of Jesus' resurrection in redemptive history.⁵⁴ The theme, Silva argues, is vital to Pauline theology and to this letter. Christ's resurrection is a "mighty act of God" that signifies the in-breaking of God's kingdom into the world and marks the "transition from slavery to freedom that has been made possible through an eschatological event."⁵⁵ Similarly, N. T. Wright contends that apart from Christ's resurrection, nothing in Galatians would make any sense.⁵⁶ Indeed, it was Jesus' death and resurrection that inaugurated the new age.⁵⁷

The personal impact of Jesus' resurrection on Paul is beyond measure, primarily because it was instrumental in his own acknowledgement of Jesus as the Messiah. Although one cannot be certain what Paul knew of Jesus' words and ministry prior to the former's experience on the Damascus Road, there can be no doubt that Jesus' crucifixion alone would have made it impossible for Paul to consider seriously his messiahship. In Jewish thinking, the Messiah could not possibly die a cursed death.⁵⁸

Yet when Paul was confronted with the risen Jesus on the road to Damascus, he had to reconcile the facts with his previous assumptions. As Holland writes of Paul, "He was forced to accept the truth of what had so deeply offended him—that Israel's Messiah had been crucified. Not only had the Messiah been crucified, but he was risen."⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Silva, *Interpreting Galatians*, 171. See also Joel Willits, "Davidic Messiahship in Galatians: Clearing the Deck for a Study of the Theme in Galatians," *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 2 (2012): 155.

⁵⁵ Silva, *Interpreting Galatians*, 171.

⁵⁶ N. T. Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003), 219.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 219-20.

⁵⁸ As an expression of this sentiment, cf. 1 Cor. 1:23. See comments on this verse in Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 75. To summarize, Fee argues that a crucified Messiah is a contradiction in terms and the ultimate scandal for the Jew. He cites Deut. 21:23 (as Paul does in Gal. 3:13) to show that a crucified man would be cursed, which would disqualify him, in the Jewish mind, from being the Messiah.

⁵⁹ Tom Holland, *Contours of Pauline Theology: A Radical New Survey of the Influences on Paul's Biblical Writings* (Ross-shire, Scotland: Mentor Books, 2004), 197.

The reality of Jesus' resurrection confirmed the fact of his messiahship.⁶⁰ For Paul, this did not require developing a brand-new theology, but rather, a reconstruction, now reading the Scriptures with expectations of their fulfillment in the person and work of Jesus the Messiah.⁶¹ Most importantly, the reference to Jesus' resurrection became understood to be inclusive of the entire Christ-event, the foundational apocalyptic event marking each antithesis analyzed sequentially, beginning in the next section.

According to Paul, it is by means of Christ's death and resurrection that believers are led through the NE. Through the Christ-event Jesus spiritually fulfills the promises made to exiled Israel-Judah. Specifically, the resurrection corresponds to the promises of restoration and new creation as seen in the prophecies of their return in Ezekiel 37 (dry bones coming to life, vv. 1-14; Israel and Judah reunited in their homeland, vv. 15-23; and the nation established as faithful, vv. 23-28), and those passages in Isaiah that depict the desert and wilderness blooming upon their return from Babylon (35:1, 6; 41:18-19; 43:19-20; 51:3 [comparison to Eden]; 55:13; 61:4; 62:2, 4), as well as the promises of a new heaven and earth (Isa. 65:17).

3.2. Jesus' Self-Sacrifice and Deliverance (1:3-4)

It is actually v. 4 that is the focus here (containing three apocalyptic references), but upon Paul's greeting of grace and peace "from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ" (v. 3), he says of Christ in the next verse, τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ὅπως ἐξέληται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πονηροῦ. Although there are three apocalyptic phrases, they will be treated in two sections for reasons that should quickly become obvious.

⁶⁰Although this has been assumed, there exists at least one exception in Judaism. L. J. Kreitzer cites P. Lapede, a Jewish scholar, who apparently has affirmed the bodily resurrection of Jesus, while denying his messiahship: L. J. Kreitzer, "Resurrection," in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, eds. Gerald F. Hawthorne, Ralph P. Martin, Daniel G. Reid (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 811.

⁶¹ Holland, *Contours*, 197.

3.2.1. τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν.

R. Longenecker,⁶² Moo,⁶³ and Matthew Harmon⁶⁴ suggest that Paul may have in mind the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53 (particularly vv. 5-6, 12) in the reference to his self-sacrifice and vicarious punishment for the sins of the people.⁶⁵ This seems very likely, since the LXX uses the same verb δίδωμι (gave) in Isa. 53:10 and a closely related one, παραδίδωμι (gave over) in Isa. 53:6 and 12 in reference to the vicarious sacrifice of the Servant. The language in Gal. 1:4 is rooted in the application of Isaiah 53 to Christ, as the Servant who gave himself up for sins. This idea is also found in language Jesus used of himself in Mark 10:45 (καὶ γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθεν διακονηθῆναι ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν) in which he uses the same verb, δίδωμι. Therefore, this phrase in Gal. 1:4 probably serves as an allusion not only to the Servant Song, but also to the earlier image of the paschal victim of the original Passover. Paul repeats the idea in Gal. 2:20, again speaking of Christ: παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.

3.2.2. ὅπως ἐξέλγεται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πονηροῦ.

Paul's verb choice is in itself significant: Jesus Christ gave himself to deliver us, i.e., believers. This is the only time in the Pauline corpus that this verb (ἐξαίρέω) is used.⁶⁶ Schreiner has noticed the allusion to the exodus in Paul's use of ἐξαίρέω (Exod. 3:8; 18:4, 8, 9, 10 LXX), with the promise of a future deliverance (Isa. 31:5; 60:16; Ezek. 34:27).⁶⁷ So although Jesus is the sacrificial victim, like Moses he also acts as the deliverer, bringing God's people out of Egypt. Joel Willits has linked the Davidic messiahship to the redemption of God's people in Ezek. 34:23, while also seeing the NE

⁶² R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 7.

⁶³ Moo, *Galatians*, 72.

⁶⁴ Matthew S. Harmon, *She Must and Shall Go Free*, BZBW 168 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 71-84.

⁶⁵ James D. G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), 34, and Martyn, *Galatians*, 89, both see a martyr motif, as represented in 4 Macc. This is certainly possible, but is likely a secondary theme to the OT paschal/NE themes.

⁶⁶ Silva, *Interpreting Galatians*, 171-72.

⁶⁷ Schreiner, *Galatians*, 77. See also Leon Morris, *Galatians* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1996), 37, who notes that Luke (in Stephen's speech) uses the same verb in reference to the exodus in Acts 7:34.

theme throughout Scripture.⁶⁸ The deliverance is from *this present evil age*, clearly an apocalyptic reference. Implied in the deliverance from (or even mention of) *this present evil age* is the existence of another age,⁶⁹ into which Christ has brought believers.⁷⁰

The notion of deliverance and the self-sacrifice of Jesus as the paschal victim and the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53 both contribute strongly to the presence of the NE theme. Jesus is shown to have given himself as the vicarious sacrificial victim (paschal lamb) who gives himself for believers and also as the one who delivers his people, as did Moses.⁷¹ These exodus events serve as types that are fulfilled in Isaiah 53, where Yahweh's Servant suffers for the sins of Israel, and are ultimately fulfilled in Jesus' own death and resurrection.

3.3. Turning to Another Gospel (1:6)

Without even his customary paragraph of thanksgiving for the letter's recipients,⁷² Paul immediately expresses his astonishment and dismay at the apostasy of the Galatians who are abandoning the Lord who had called them, and turning to another gospel (μετατίθεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ... εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον). Moo,⁷³

⁶⁸ Willits, "Davidic Messiahship in Galatians," 159. But see entire article.

⁶⁹ Martyn, *Galatians*, 98.

⁷⁰ Bruce, *Galatians*, 75, 77, notes that Paul's use of this verb is unique, and suggests that he is quoting from an early Christian formula (perhaps the earliest statement of the atonement) well known to his readers, and one that served as a summary of the gospel from which they were now in danger of departing.

⁷¹ Jesus is often considered a second Moses in NE theology in his function as deliverer. See R. E. Nixon, *The New Exodus in the New Testament* (London: Tyndale Press, 1963), 13; Otto A. Piper, "Unchanging Promises: Exodus in the New Testament," *Int* 11 (1957): 20; George L. Balentine, "Death of Jesus as a New Exodus," *RevExp* 59 (1962): 29, 36; Josephus, *Ant.* 20:5.1; 20:8.6; 20:8.10; Fred L. Fisher, "A New and Greater Exodus: The Exodus Pattern in the New Testament," *SWJT* 20 (1977): 75-77; Harald Sahlin, "The New Exodus of Salvation According to St. Paul," in *The Root of the Vine: Essays in Biblical Theology* (Westminster: Dacre Press, 1953), 81; Bernhard W. Anderson, "Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah," in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg*, eds. B. Anderson and W. Harrelson (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962), 192. Paul is also compared to Moses; see Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant*, 180-81.

⁷² It is often pointed out that the apparent reason for this is Paul's severe agitation over the situation in Galatia, which he immediately addresses. For example, see R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 13; Moo, *Galatians*, 75; Dunn, *Galatians*, 39.

⁷³ Moo, *Galatians*, 76. He notes that although Paul says they turned away quickly, the transpired time might be a year. Therefore Paul's use of the adverb possibly conveys the Exodus allusion, when the Israelites did turn away very quickly.

Schreiner,⁷⁴ and R. Longenecker⁷⁵ notice the probable exodus allusion here to the Israelites' worship of the golden calf at Sinai in Exodus 32. The Galatians have apparently turned away from the Lord and the true gospel just as quickly—and just as surprisingly—as the Israelites had turned away from Yahweh so shortly after entering into a covenant with him.⁷⁶

In the Sinai wilderness the Israelites quickly became dissatisfied with Yahweh, whose physical manifestation they could no longer see, and chose to return to the idolatry they knew in Egypt, which was obviously associated with their own physical enslavement. And on at least one occasion, the people suggested choosing a leader and physically returning to Egypt, even though it certainly meant a return to slavery, rather than living under the Lord's rule (Num. 14:4). In Galatia, a party of Jewish Christians was insistent on following the law and equally insistent that Gentile Christians submit to the same law, (2:4; 5:1, 10).

According to de Boer, Paul's use of *καλέω* indicates more than just God's invitation, but rather a transfer from one sphere to another.⁷⁷ Cousar is more specific, stating that God is calling people “from the present evil age” to the “dominion of grace.”⁷⁸ Both views are correct and emphasize the apocalyptic element, but can be simply described as a response of faith.⁷⁹ This transfer or transformation is just as important to the believing Gentile as it is to the Jesus-believing Jew. The Jew should understand that as a result of the Christ-event, he or she has been moved from the

⁷⁴ Schreiner, *Galatians*, 85.

⁷⁵ R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 14.

⁷⁶ De Boer, *Galatians*, 39, notes that the use of *μετατίθημι* (here in 1:6) is commonly used in the context of the change of allegiance, school of thought, or religion. See also Schreiner, *Galatians*, 84 (He cites the verb's use in reference to apostasy in 2 Macc. 7:24); Martyn, *Galatians*, 116; Dunn, *Galatians*, 59; R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 14; Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, 82. Moo (*Galatians*, 77), however, disagrees based on the verb choice. He argues that if the allusion were intended Paul would probably have used *παραβαίνω*, as in the LXX. Given the weight of the scholarship, Moo's argument, although not without merit, is not convincing. The number of OT allusions in the opening verses suggest that the “turning aside” is likely an allusion as well.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 40

⁷⁸ Cousar, *Galatians*, 23.

⁷⁹ Schreiner (*Galatians*, 85) understands the phrase as a reference to election. Surely election is implied in God's calling, but Paul is speaking to them as already converted.

sphere of law to the sphere of grace/gospel, and all that that implies. The Gentile should understand that he or she has been transferred from the sphere of covenant exclusion and hopelessness to that of God's unmerited acceptance and favor. Although de Boer uses the word *sphere* rather than *age*, he recognizes Paul's apocalyptic antitheses in Galatians.

Christ's death and resurrection had inaugurated a new eschatological age, which some in the Galatian churches were now effectively denying. They were reverting to the previous age, and this naturally led to Paul's severe response. As was written in Isa. 53:6, like sheep, they had gone astray. Yet their iniquity was laid upon the Suffering Servant, whose identity and function is fulfilled in Christ.

Paul's admonition to the Galatians, particularly the Jewish believers among them, echoes promises the Lord had made to his people through the prophet Jeremiah centuries earlier. In Jeremiah 31 God had promised that one day he would establish with them a new covenant that they would be able to keep, unlike the earlier one that they broke, although he was their husband (Jer. 31:31-32). The law would no longer be written on tablets of stone, but upon their hearts. It would be internal rather than external. Although the Israelites had continually and repeatedly broken the covenant, Yahweh may even have been referring specifically to the golden calf incident, where almost immediately after Yahweh became Israel's husband, she broke her marital vows and served an idol. Although the Israelites broke the covenant, Moses broke the stone tablets in his fury over their unfaithfulness. Yet the law would be rewritten, Yahweh promised, in a way that could not be broken. In Jer. 32:40 the Lord says that he will put the fear of himself in the hearts of his people, that they may not turn away from him. In Ezek. 36:25-31, Yahweh promises to give his people a new heart that can keep his commandments, and he further promises to renew his covenant with them. No longer will they be tempted to turn to idols.

To Paul's consternation, however, the Galatians are now being so lured away. In his letter, he responds by explaining the reality of what has happened to them through the apocalyptic Christ-event: they have been given a new status in Christ through believing in him. Several times he testifies to his own experience of this new reality, such as in 2:20. He has been crucified with Christ and now lives his life united with Christ. He says something similar in 6:14, where he claims that by Christ's crucifixion the world has been crucified to him and he has been crucified to the world. In 6:15 he speaks of the new creation that is in Christ.

3.4. Let Anyone Who Speaks a Contrary Gospel Be Accursed (1:8-9)

Paul says—and repeats emphatically—that if a gospel contrary to the one he had preached is delivered by a person or even by an angel, the messenger(s) should be accursed. The point of verse 8, and its emphatic repetition in the verse following, is the danger of following or preaching any distortion of the pure gospel that Paul had taught, despite the possible benevolent appearance or intent of the messenger. This verse ought to be considered apocalyptic simply by the nature of the potential supernatural messenger delivering a purported word from God.⁸⁰ Yet Paul asserts in this context and in the verses following (1:12 and 16) that the revelation he received from God is to be trusted even if an angel should contradict it.

The mention of an angel is a possible allusion to the tradition that angels had in some way administered the giving of the law at Sinai (cf. Gal. 3:19; Deut. 33:2).⁸¹ As Paul makes clear in the verses that follow, he is confident enough to face any authority with the gospel message that he has been given, whether that authority be an apostle (1:17), a so-called pillar of the church (2:6-10), Peter himself (2:9, 11-14), or even an

⁸⁰ De Boer (*Galatians*, 48) notes that claims of angelic revelations were common in antiquity.

⁸¹ Stephen (Acts 7:53) and the author of Heb. (2:2) make the same reference, which is mentioned here to support the idea that it was Jewish tradition, in addition to the reference in Deuteronomy, which is less than explicit on the matter. Martyn (*Galatians*, 113, 357) also makes mention of the possible connection of the angel reference to Gal. 3:19. The idea of angels mediating the law-giving can also be seen in *Jub.* 1:27-28.

angel, as he says in 1:8-9. There is a possible echo here of the meek Moses confronting Pharaoh with the message from God to free his people (cf. Exod. 3:10-11; 4:10, 13) in the face of the magicians' opposition. Several scholars have suggested that Paul either suspects or knows that his opponents in Galatia claim to have received revelations as well.⁸² Although possible, there is no solid evidence for this in the letter.

Even here the mention of one being accursed echoes the fourth Servant Song, where the Servant is said to have been cut off from the land of the living, his grave made with the wicked (Isa. 53:8-9). Gal. 3:13 refers to Christ's crucifixion as a sign of his being cursed, since he is hung on a tree (quoting Deut. 21:23).

Paul's need to assert himself as God's own mouthpiece reflects the ministries of the major exilic Prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel), preaching to an unreceptive Judah who rejected the words of the Lord's prophets as untrue, simply because they did not want them to be true.⁸³

3.5. Paul's Personal Apocalypse(s) (1:12, 16)

Three times in Galatians Paul indicates receiving direct revelations. The third reference (2:2) is more general and therefore less determinative; all that can be certain is that in some way the third revelation compelled Paul to travel up to Jerusalem and present his gospel message to the leaders there, as he himself states.⁸⁴ The other two instances are in 1:12 and 16.

⁸² Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1979), 53 (see also n84); Martyn, *Galatians*, 135.

⁸³ There are myriads of verses where unreceptive audiences can be found among the prophetic writings. As just one example, note Jer. 7:4 where the Lord warns the people not to trust in the deceptive words. "This is the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord." Although they refused to believe God would allow his temple to be destroyed, he did. Then there is Isa. 30:10, where the rebellious people "say to the seers, "Do not see," and to the prophets, "Do not prophesy to us what is right; speak to us smooth things, prophesy illusions, leave the way, turn aside from the path, let us hear no more about the Holy One of Israel."

⁸⁴ Moo, *Galatians*, 123, and Martyn, *Galatians*, 189, for example, make no comment at all on the revelation itself—only that it occurred.

In 1:12 Paul tells the Galatians that he had not received the gospel he preaches from a mere human, but that he had received it δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.⁸⁵ In 1:16, he writes that God revealed his Son in him (ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί).⁸⁶ Elsewhere Paul says that he had seen the Lord (1 Cor. 9:1), and that the risen Christ had appeared to him (1 Cor. 15:8). These may all reference a single revelation, and if so, very likely the experience Paul had on the road to Damascus.⁸⁷ De Boer assumes that verse 16 refers to Paul's conversion and call, which both occurred simultaneously.⁸⁸ Paul's description of the events following the verse appears to be for the purpose of supporting the supernatural source of the gospel message. He received a message from God and then went into isolation before beginning his public ministry.⁸⁹

This revelation (or revelations) is apocalyptic in three ways. The most obvious way is that, as Paul describes it, he received a message from God supernaturally. Second, it is also apocalyptic by virtue of the content of the message. Paul heard about and apparently met the crucified Messiah who had brought in the new age through his death and resurrection.⁹⁰ According to R. Longenecker, God had broken into the final age, which was free of the law and inclusive of the Gentiles.⁹¹ Third, the revelation is apocalyptic because of the inevitable and dramatic effect it had on Paul, in which he

⁸⁵ Martyn, *Galatians*, 113, suggests that 1:8 indicates that the Teachers claimed to receive the false gospel they were preaching from a revelation from angels.

⁸⁶ There are differing opinions among scholars as to the best translation of the preposition. Most English Bible versions have translated it as "in me," although the RSV (and NRSV) and the more recent ESV translate it "to me." Martyn (*Galatians*, 158) favors "to," whereas Ernest de Witt Burton (Burton, *The Epistle to the Galatians* [NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920], 50) suggests "within." De Boer (*Galatians*, 92-93; "Paul, Theologian," 31; Dunn (*Galatians*, 64); and Moo (*Galatians*, 104) favor "in me." Those that favor "in" believe it refers to Paul's conversion. Dunn suggests "in" and "through," referring both to Paul's conversion and his preaching, which may be also what Moo sees when he suggests a locative or spherical sense. Moo thinks the use of the dative emphasizes the transformation. This view seems best in that it incorporates the change in Paul's life based on his new understanding, all by means of a supernatural revelation (which may have been in a dream), hence "in him."

⁸⁷ Dunn, *Galatians*, 53, 64. De Boer, *Galatians*, 92-93, implies this, although never specifically states it.

⁸⁸ De Boer, *Galatians*, 89, 90. See his brief definition of conversion, by which he determines that Paul's experience qualifies as one, 77n120.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁹⁰ As a Jew, Paul would have expected the final resurrection as part of the new age, but had not anticipated a Messiah who would die and rise. See Thomas R. Schreiner, *Paul: Apostle of God's Glory in Christ* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2001), 455.

⁹¹ R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 31. De Boer comments similarly in *Galatians*, 81.

immediately transformed from the zealous Pharisee who was persecuting the church into the apostle preaching the gospel to Jews and even to the Gentiles.⁹²

Wright sums it up well:

The resurrection of Jesus, part of the divine plan to usher in ‘the age to come’ in place of ‘the present age’, is the beginning of the creator’s ‘new creation’, and gives retrospective meaning to Jesus’ death, enabling it to be seen in the divine act of redemption, dealing with the curse of the law, setting the slaves free and exhibiting, indeed, the love of Jesus himself ([Gal.] 2.20).⁹³

3.6. Titus Would Not Be Circumcised (2:3-5)

Paul speaks of false brothers who tried to compel Titus to be circumcised, although he was a Gentile. Yet Paul would not allow it, for to (permit Titus to) undergo circumcision would have contradicted the freedom they had in Christ. He refused to allow Titus, and by extension himself, to be subjected to the slavery of the law.

This is the first specific suggestion in the letter about a distinct change that has taken place through God’s revelation with the coming of Christ. Circumcision is no longer necessary as a covenant sign of one’s relationship to God and to his people, and neither is the corresponding submission to the law, which is to be addressed more fully in subsequent passages.

Paul’s steadfast refusal to have Titus circumcised contrasts directly with God’s command to Abraham (and to all subsequent generations, Gen. 17:12), and with the mass circumcision of males shortly before entering Canaan (Josh. 5:2-9). To have Titus circumcised would be to submit him to slavery, according to Paul, clearly referring to the law as master. And yet the circumcision of all the males recorded in Joshua 5 was said to “roll away the reproach of Egypt” from the Israelites (v. 9), marking them as no longer slaves, but the people of God. Through the exodus, the Israelites had left slavery, but according to what Paul is now saying in Galatians 2, they had become slaves to the

⁹² De Boer describes the dramatic event(s) similarly. See *Galatians*, 78-79, 82 and “Paul, Theologian,” 31.

⁹³ Wright, *The Resurrection*, 224.

law. The apocalypse of Christ had the potential to change this, making circumcision no longer necessary, and in some cases very wrong.⁹⁴ The reasons for this are made clearer in Galatians 3.

In their attempt to have Titus circumcised—and indeed all Gentiles as the rest of Galatians evidences—Paul accuses his opponents of hypocrisy (2:4—false brothers; 5:7-10—false teachers; 6:12-13—attempting to keep up appearances and avoid persecution themselves). It is possible that Paul is over-generalizing the motives of Jewish believers who desired to subject Gentiles to the law. Martyn mentions the possibility that perhaps they, as Jewish believers, esteemed the law as God’s gift, and even though they welcomed the Gentiles as part of the New Exodus expectations, they also expected that God would incorporate them into Israel and the covenant given to Moses (the law).⁹⁵

Even back during the exodus wanderings, Moses instructed the Israelites to circumcise the foreskin of their hearts (Deut. 10:16), in order that they might follow the Lord and keep all his commandments. Shortly before Moses’ death he promised them that the Lord himself would circumcise their hearts and the heart of their offspring so that they might love and follow the Lord (Deut. 30:6). The context of this last promise is restoration from their future exile, which they will experience due to their unfaithfulness to the Lord.

⁹⁴ It is often noted, in contrast, that Paul had Timothy circumcised, according to Acts 16:3. The author of Acts explains that it was because of the Jews in the area, because Timothy’s father was a Greek, yet his mother was a Jew. The difference between the way Paul dealt with Titus and Timothy seems to be based on the fact that Titus was a Gentile, but Timothy, with a Jewish mother, was reckoned a Jew. Paul apparently did not want Timothy’s uncircumcision to be a stumbling block to the Jews, although circumcision would no longer be required of Jew or Gentile, according to the message in Galatians. Bruce sees this circumcision as a practical matter: he cannot appear as an apostate Jew if he is to be useful to Paul’s ministry. F. F. Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 304. To yield to the pressure to have Titus circumcised, however, would have compromised this teaching entirely.

⁹⁵ Martyn, *Galatians*, 221. See also Gaventa, “The Singularity of the Gospel,” 150-52. She suggests that since the Jews understood that justification was by faith and not by the law, following the law could not hurt the Gentiles, and could even be beneficial to them in identifying with Israel and with God. Furthermore, Christ’s death had not nullified the law. Her view is somewhat hypothetical, presuming that all Jews did understand the source of justification and were not legalistic. Additionally, if this were the prevailing attitude, it seems strange that Paul would be so adamantly opposed to imposing the law on the Gentiles.

In Galatians, Paul is teaching that physical circumcision is no longer required of God's people, for that is part of the old age. Now that faith has come in the revelation of Jesus, the physical sign, which separated Jew from Gentile and bound the Jew to the law, is unnecessary and even wrong for Gentiles to undergo. In Gal. 5:2 Paul says that they would have discarded Christ by getting circumcised. In Gal. 5:6 he says that neither circumcision nor uncircumcision count for anything, but only faith working through love matters. In 6:15 he says that neither counts for anything, but a new creation matters most. God has done through Christ what he promised to do in Ezek. 36:22-27. He has given his people a new heart and put his Spirit within them (3:1-6).

Although R. Longenecker believes that part of the enslavement of the law refers to the authority of these false brothers,⁹⁶ it is more likely, given the context, that Paul is only referring to the act of circumcision and what it would represent—namely, submission to the Mosaic law.⁹⁷ Here is the first time in the letter where Paul is clearly associating the law with slavery.⁹⁸ Schreiner claims that here, as in every context in Galatians, freedom refers to freedom from the law.⁹⁹ He also recognizes the NE motif behind Paul's words:

The freedom/slavery contrast points to the fulfillment of God's eschatological promises in Christ, signifying that the new exodus promised in Isaiah has now become a reality. Those who live under the old age of the law are enslaved, whereas those who are in Christ live in the new era in which God's saving promises are being fulfilled.¹⁰⁰

In the NE, believers are circumcised in their hearts in accordance with Deut.10:16; 30:6; and Jer. 4:4.

⁹⁶ R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 52. To clarify, he says that the enslavement refers to *both* the false brothers' authority and the Mosaic law.

⁹⁷ See also Moo, *Galatians*, 129.

⁹⁸ De Boer, *Galatians*, 114.

⁹⁹ Schreiner, *Galatians*, 125.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

3.7. Eating with Gentiles (2:11-14)

Paul continues to defend the authenticity of his gospel and the authority of his apostleship.¹⁰¹ He has just recounted his visit to Jerusalem in order to present his gospel message to the apostles there, while refusing to surrender to the pressure to have Titus circumcised (2:4). Now he recalls an incident in Antioch where he needed to confront Peter for his hypocrisy in surrendering to what he (Peter) seemed to believe the men from James were expecting regarding table fellowship with Gentiles.

Mark Nanos is right to question what is actually known about these men who purportedly came from James. The text does not say that they were sent or came officially in James's name or by his permission. It is possible that they might have been misrepresenting his views.¹⁰² He also questions, then, if the men from James should be assumed to be the same or different from "the circumcision group."¹⁰³ And finally, Nanos questions the substance of the controversy itself. He suggests that it was not that Peter was eating non-kosher foods, nor was the controversy about eating only with the circumcised, but instead it was about the way the Gentiles were regarded within the fellowship. He proposes that they were being treated as outsiders, eating Jewish food as guests or proselytes, when in fact they were neither.¹⁰⁴ Intriguing and possible as it is, Nanos does not really support this suggestion with solid data, but merely proposes it. It does not appear that Peter's perception of the mission of the "men from James" is what ultimately matters to Paul; rather, it is his behavior that Paul criticizes in these verses.

The pressure to have Titus circumcised and Peter's ambivalence in eating with Gentiles both involved a confrontation and decision regarding clinging to the restrictions of the law or exercising the freedom of the gospel. In the latter case, Peter's

¹⁰¹ Moo, *Galatians*, 141; de Boer, *Galatians*, 104.

¹⁰² Mark D. Nanos, "What Was at Stake in Peter's 'Eating with Gentiles' at Antioch?," in *The Galatians Debate*, ed. Mark D. Nanos (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002), 286.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 289-91. This whole discussion might have strong implications about the dating of Galatians with relation to the Jerusalem Council.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 300.

actions threatened to parallel those of the Galatians in turning to another gospel. Peter was living in freedom until he suddenly felt compelled to enslave himself to the law's exclusive restrictions. James Dunn states it succinctly: "Galatians is what [Paul] should have said to Peter at Antioch had time and sufficient reflection allowed it."¹⁰⁵

Before the exodus there had been a sharp division between the Egyptians and the Jews. When Joseph hosted his brothers in Egypt, he did not sit with them because Egyptians could not eat with Hebrews (Gen. 43:32), as it was an offense to them. According to Targums, it is believed that the reason was that Jews slaughtered animals considered sacred to Egyptians.¹⁰⁶ When Jacob (Israel) and his descendants came to Egypt to join Joseph and escape the famine, they settled in Goshen, in a remote place. Because they were shepherds (as were all the original Israelites), they were abominable to the Egyptians (46:34). After the law was given, Jews were set apart from Gentiles and told not to mix with them (Josh. 23:7, 12). In contrast with the Israelites' experience as recorded in Genesis, it was now the Jews who refused to have table fellowship with the Gentiles. Yet the separation had been mandated by the Torah, drawing a sharp line of distinction between the Jews and the other nations.¹⁰⁷ The Jews were marked with circumcision. They had the Sabbath and the feasts. And they had strict food laws in which many common foods were declared unholy to eat.

In the NE, however, the separating "wall" was to be broken down, and the Gentiles would become part of God's people. Abraham had been promised that through him all nations would be blessed (Gen. 12:1-3), and Yahweh's Servant (either Israel or a representative) had been told that he would be a light to the Gentiles (Isa. 42:6). As

¹⁰⁵ James D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 73.

¹⁰⁶ See Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan on Gen. 43:32 and Exod. 8:26.

¹⁰⁷ Deut. 12:30; 18:8, 13-14; 29:18. See also Josh. 23:6-7; 1 Kings 11:2; 2 Chron. 36:14; Ps. 106:35; Jer. 10:2. In ITL see 2 Macc. 14:3, 37-38, which speak of the Jews' defilement while mingling with the Gentiles. Gordon comments several times in his manuscript that the stipulations of the Mosaic covenant were designed to separate Israel from the Gentiles in order to avoid intermarriage and corruption: T. D. Gordon, "Promise, Law, Faith: Covenant-Historical Reasoning in Galatians," (unpublished manuscript, 2007, WORD document, obtained through personal correspondence), 9, 10, 15, 16, 22, 23, 41, 42, et passim.

early as Isa. 2:1-5, the prophet predicts the ingathering of the nations to the mountain of the Lord in the latter days, and there are several passages in the closing prophecies of Isaiah that indicate the same (56:3-8; 61:11; 62:2; 66:18-19). As Paul writes Galatians, the church is now experiencing the flow of the nations coming to the Lord, although its fulfillment looks different from the way the Jews had imagined it. The Gentiles are placing their faith in the Messiah but are not becoming Jews.

3.8. Justification by Works of the Law vs. Faith of/in Christ (2:16)

In Gal. 2:16 Paul presents an antithesis between ἔργα νόμου and πίστις Χριστοῦ, which is key to the entire letter,¹⁰⁸ as the remainder of the epistle builds upon these themes.¹⁰⁹ It is therefore necessary to examine the meanings of these terms in detail before discussing the significance of this apocalyptic antithesis and its relationship to the NE.

3.8.1. ἔργα νόμου.

3.8.1.1 Subjective vs. objective genitive.

It is almost universally accepted that when Paul uses νόμος, he (with few exceptions) means Torah;¹¹⁰ it is the denotation of the phrase when combined with ἔργα in this context that needs to be determined. A small minority of scholars has suggested that the phrase ἔργα νόμου should be read as a subjective genitive, in one case suggesting it be interpreted as the “effects of the law’s activity among humankind,”¹¹¹ apparently referring to the law’s inability to quash sin, or to produce righteousness in

¹⁰⁸ Moo calls it “one of the most important and debated” verses in all of Paul’s letters. Moo, *Galatians*, 157. See also de Boer, *Galatians*, 141.

¹⁰⁹ Moo, *Galatians*, 157.

¹¹⁰ Stephen Westerholm, *Perspectives Old and New on Paul: The “Lutheran” Paul and His Critics* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 300-1. Thomas R. Schreiner does note that, although νόμος mostly refers to Torah, there are times that Paul uses the term metaphorically to mean principle, order, rule, or power, Schreiner, *The Law and Its Fulfillment: A Pauline Theology of Law* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1993), 33-36, esp. 36.

¹¹¹ Paul Owen, “The ‘Works of the Law’ in Romans and Galatians: A New Defense of the Subjective Genitive,” *JBL* 126 (2007): 553-54.

people as required by God. Accordingly, the law is limited in its power, providing only the knowledge of sin.¹¹² Moo also affirms the subjective genitive, but his own interpretation actually aligns with the sense of the objective genitive, as with the majority of scholarship.¹¹³

The objective genitive rendering of ἔργα νόμου is more commonly supported for its better contextual sense and is usually translated as “works done according to or prescribed by the law (Torah).” Lindsay argues for the objective genitive rendering of ἔργα νόμου, largely because of what he sees as parallels between it and the terms πίστις Χριστοῦ and ἀκοή πίστεως (Gal. 3:5), all of which he considers objective genitives.¹¹⁴ This argument is somewhat circular, however, as he neither explains why the other terms are objective genitive nor why the symmetry should be expected. Betz interprets ἔργα νόμου to mean “doing and fulfilling what the Torah requires,”¹¹⁵ as do Charles Cousar¹¹⁶ and Schreiner.¹¹⁷

Implied, obviously, with ἔργα νόμου understood as an objective genitive, is the idea of doing or fulfilling the law. This agrees with the sense of other Pauline passages that reference *doing* the law (Rom. 2:13, 14, 25, 27; Gal. 3:10; 5:3; 6:13).¹¹⁸ As Martyn argues:

Although the precise expression *erga nomou* has not been found in any Greek literature prior to Galatians, Jewish Christians of Paul’s time... would have had little difficulty grasping its meaning. It refers simply to observance of God’s Law. There are numerous parallels in the Septuagint, in Jewish traditions, and in traditions we can trace to Jewish Christians... (referring to its use in 1 QS 5:21). For the expression simply summarizes the grand and complex activity of the

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Moo, *Galatians*, 158. Others also seem to try to take a noncommittal approach, and yet their translation aligns with the objective genitive as well. See Joseph B. Tyson, “‘Works of Law’ in Galatians,” *JBL* 92 (1973): 425 and Bruce, *Galatians*, 136-37.

¹¹⁴ Dennis R. Lindsay, “Works of Law, Hearing of Faith and Πίστις Χριστοῦ in Galatians 2:16–3:5,” *Stone-Campbell Journal* 3 (2000): 79-80. He writes, “The Law cannot possess or perform any works; it can *describe* and *prescribe* what is to be done; but it cannot *do* anything,” 80.

¹¹⁵ Betz, *Galatians*, 116.

¹¹⁶ Charles B. Cousar, *Galatians*, Interpretation (Atlanta: John Knox, 1982), 52.

¹¹⁷ Thomas R. Schreiner, “Works of the Law,” in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters: A Compendium of Contemporary Biblical Scholarship*, eds. Gerald F. Hawthorne, Ralph P. Martin, and Daniel G. Reid (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 975.

¹¹⁸ Moo, *Galatians*, 158.

Jew, who faithfully walks with God along the path God has opened up for him in the Law.¹¹⁹

Given the weight of the evidence, the most natural reading of ἔργα νόμου, is “the works the law requires.” Yet at the same time, the argument that Paul implicitly has in mind “the doing” of those works is persuasive, as it makes no sense for him to connect the law code to justification apart from obedience or fulfillment to that law.

3.8.1.2. Does it mean legalism?

It is understandable how given the belief that one could be justified by (doing through one’s efforts) the works of the law, legalism would be the inevitable result. This correlation has dominated the interpretation of this verse almost universally until recent years. At the extreme, C. E. B. Cranfield and Daniel Fuller argue that the term itself, ἔργα νόμου (and in other instances, the word νόμος alone¹²⁰), ought to be interpreted as referring to legalism. Cranfield reasons that Paul had no other precise Greek term from which to draw for the concept.¹²¹ Fuller contends that Paul used ἔργα νόμου to signify living legalistically, which is essentially attempting to bribe God.¹²²

The lexical argument has long since been successfully refuted,¹²³ and even Cranfield has somewhat modified his view.¹²⁴ That Paul is confronting legalism in Gal. 2:16, however, remains perhaps the most common interpretation. This was Luther’s

¹¹⁹ Martyn, *Galatians*, 261. Cf. also Peter Stuhlmacher, *Revisiting Paul’s Doctrine of Justification: A Challenge to the New Perspective* (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2001), 43-44.

¹²⁰ C. E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, reprint with corrections (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2001), 853.

¹²¹ C. E. B. Cranfield, “St Paul and the Law,” *SJT* 17 (1964): 55 et passim.

¹²² Daniel P. Fuller, “Paul and ‘The Works of the Law,’” *WTJ* 38 (1975): 32-33. He asserted that all exegetes, including Calvin, would agree that the works of the law refer to “living legalistically, that is, seeking by means of what one does to *earn* favor with God” (p. 31).

¹²³ Westerholm, *Perspectives*, 310; 331-35. He points out that Paul expresses the problem of legalism more explicitly in Rom. 9:32 and 10:4. The other reason to reject Cranfield’s early view is that context alone would make it impossible to distinguish when Paul is referring to the law’s requirements vs. legalism.

¹²⁴ In a much later article than his 1964 “St. Paul and the Law,” Cranfield appears to have modified his views slightly, or at least stopped simply equating the term ἔργα νόμου with legalism in his “‘The Works of the Law’ in the Epistle to the Romans,” *JSNT* 43 (1991): 92, defining the works of the law to be “doing what the law requires,” and “obedience to the law,” 92, 97, 100.

view,¹²⁵ and is also the interpretation of Burton,¹²⁶ Bruce,¹²⁷ Schreiner,¹²⁸ Moo,¹²⁹ and many others.

3.8.1.3. The New Perspective on Paul and works of the law.

Proponents of the NPP reject the notion that Paul could possibly be decrying legalism in Galatians or in any of his other letters, since, as they argue, first-century Palestinian Judaism was characterized by grace instead.¹³⁰ Consequently, the error of seeking justification by works of the law was a different error entirely, according to the major New Perspective scholars.

So although ἔργα νόμου can refer to covenantal nomism (NPP term for doing what the law requires),¹³¹ Dunn asserts that whenever Paul either draws a distinction between Jew and Gentile or talks about righteousness before God, he is focusing particularly on the boundary markers, which he defines as those parts of the law that distinctly separate the Jews from the Gentiles, namely circumcision, Sabbath observation, dietary restrictions, and the required feasts.¹³²

¹²⁵ Martin Luther, *Commentary on Galatians: Modern-English Edition*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Fleming H. Revell, 1988), 91-92. He calls the attempt to achieve one's justification by one's own efforts as "wicked."

¹²⁶ Burton, *Galatians*, 458.

¹²⁷ Bruce, *Galatians*, 136-37.

¹²⁸ Schreiner, "Works of the Law," 978. See also Schreiner, *The Law and Its Fulfillment*, 93-121, 243. In *The Law*, 94, Schreiner readily admits that first-century Judaism was not purely legalistic, but neither was it entirely grace oriented. Instead, he believes the soteriology was synergistic, by grace and human works.

¹²⁹ Moo, *Galatians*, 159.

¹³⁰ Although E. P. Sanders is normally recognized as the father of the New Perspective on Paul, reforming the view of a legalistic first-century Judaism, he was actually preceded by other scholars who had argued similarly. See his *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, but also see Claude G. Montefiore, *Judaism and St. Paul: Two Essays* (New York: Arno Press, 1973), 28, 31; George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of Tannaim*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932). Moore agreed with Montefiore on the Jews' gracious view of God and the law, while acknowledging the zeal of the Pharisees, who pushed for conformity to the law (I:66). He also held that no Jew believed that God expected perfect obedience, and that Paul's principal criticism of Judaism was that it did not provide the only means of salvation, which was through Christ (II:94). In doing so, he paved the way for Sanders's "solution to plight" model: Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 6; Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul*, 205-226. Schweitzer's apocalyptic view held that the law would pass away with the coming of the Christ; W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology* (London: S. P. C. K., 1955), 1-16. Davies argued against Montefiore's version of a legalistic, Hellenistic Paul, and against Moore's contention that Paul's polemic against the law was about more than the new provision of Christ.

¹³¹ Dunn, *Galatians*, 135.

¹³² Dunn, *Galatians*, 136-37. See also his *Jesus, Paul, and the Law*, 223. See also Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 355, 358. Dunn complains about being misunderstood, as in his response to Cranfield's

These specific works of the law do not justify, Dunn proposes, because they perpetuate the division between Jews and Gentiles, which is completely contrary to God's plan to include the nations and unite them with the Jews into one new covenant.¹³³ The errant Jews in Galatia, then, are actually attempting to thwart God's plan.¹³⁴ Dunn essentially characterizes the works of the law as Israel's misunderstanding of what the covenant law required of them.

Wright's views are very similar, although he tends to use the word *badges* instead of *boundary markers*.¹³⁵ Both Dunn and Wright see Paul's major concern as Israel's misbegotten desire to cloister themselves, regarding the Torah "as a charter of automatic national privilege."¹³⁶ Yet Wright's views go beyond Dunn in that he regards the Torah itself as the problem, as it cursed Israel for her unfaithfulness and disobedience, thereby preventing her from being the promised blessing to the nations.¹³⁷ In claiming this, Wright essentially presents faith in Christ as "Plan B," since the works of the law had failed to fulfill God's promise to Abraham.¹³⁸ This view must be rejected from a fundamental biblical theological standpoint; the revelation of Christ was always part of the plan of salvation history and not a contingency plan. And faith in Jesus Christ as the means for justification rather than by works of the law enabled the inclusion of the Gentiles, which is a biblically supported motif of the NE.

article mentioned earlier, Dunn, "Yet Once More—'The Works of the Law': A Response," *JSNT* 46 (1992): 99-117. He writes, for example, "I confess to being a little surprised by the difficulty apparently experienced by some respondents in recognizing how ἔργα νόμου can denote what the law requires, but with special reference to such crucial issues," 101, and "I confess to being slightly puzzled by this criticism," 105. Dunn seems a bit surprised that he is misunderstood, and yet his definition is simply not consistent. On the one hand he agrees that "works of the law" refers to doing what the law requires. He seems surprised that Cranfield bases much of his critique on his (Dunn's) narrow application of the term to the so-called boundary markers, 100. Instead, he says, it refers to covenantal nomism. Yet he then immediately starts to qualify these works as focusing on these boundary markers because that is what the context tends to require. For an interesting essay suggesting something very similar to Dunn and yet earlier than the dawn of the New Perspective, see Tyson, "'Works of Law' in Galatians." He suggests that ἔργα νόμου may best be translated as "nomistic service," and probably refers to the food laws, 425.

¹³³ Dunn, *The New Perspective on Paul*, 27-36.

¹³⁴ Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 366.

¹³⁵ Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant*, 240.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 142-47.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 155. This is similar to Sanders's "solution to plight" explanation for the need for faith in Christ. See E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 6.

Indeed, the interpretation of the “works of the law” as boundary markers or badges cannot withstand greater scrutiny, particularly as one examines the term’s use in other Scripture and even within the context of Galatians itself. Although 2:16 is well within the context of Paul’s discussion of circumcision (2:3-5) and food laws (2:11-14), his statements in the verses immediately following (2:17-21) are most certainly referencing the whole law. And Moo notes that as 2:21 appeals to grace, there is indication that the entire paragraph is about grace.¹³⁹ Also, Gal. 3:15–4:7 are obviously about the complete Torah, and not only badges (a subset of the law).¹⁴⁰ Indeed, as Gordon argues, Paul never divides the law between national boundary markers and the rest.¹⁴¹ Westerholm points out that Paul uses ἔργα and ἔργα νόμου interchangeably at times,¹⁴² and that Paul “sees the very essence of the law in its requirement of works.”¹⁴³ Gal. 3:10 makes no sense if Paul is only referencing the boundary markers, as he proclaims that those who are of works of the law are under a curse (ὅσοι γὰρ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου εἰσὶν ὑπὸ κατάραν εἰσὶν).¹⁴⁴

Rom. 3:20 and 28 are parallel passages to Gal. 2:16, expressing that justification is not by works of the law, but rather, that one is justified by faith. Paul continues the discussion into Romans 4, using Abraham as a prime example of one who was clearly justified by faith and not by works (of the law). Schreiner believes the omission of the word *law* in Romans 4 occurs because Paul is discussing Abraham, who was not under the law.¹⁴⁵ Obviously, those works to which Paul refers cannot be the boundary markers

¹³⁹ Moo, *Galatians*, 159. He then adds, “It is widely recognized that in this final clause Paul alludes to Ps. 143:2: ‘Do not bring your servant into judgment, for no one living is righteous before you.’”

¹⁴⁰ Schreiner, “Works of the Law,” 977.

¹⁴¹ T. David Gordon, “Confusion about the Law in Paul,” in *Justified: Modern Reformation Essays on the Doctrine of Justification*, eds. Ryan Glomsrud and Michael S. Horton (Escondido, CA: Modern Reformation, 2010), 35. He further points out that Paul adds the word *all* to the Deut. 27:26 citation (πᾶσιν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτά) in Gal. 3:10. He also notes that in 5:3 Paul writes that to accept circumcision means submitting oneself to the whole law.

¹⁴² Westerholm, *Perspectives*, 319.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 315.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 317. Westerholm continues to argue that the consequences of Dunn’s thinking in light of Gal. 3:10 would be that one is cursed for a misunderstanding. Moreover, Christ’s death becomes more of an object lesson than the curse spoken of in 3:10.

¹⁴⁵ Schreiner, *Paul: Apostle of God’s Glory in Christ*, 112.

of Dunn's definition, as Abraham precedes the law which prescribed them.¹⁴⁶

3.8.1.4. Conclusions about the New Perspective and works of the law.

The NPP interpretation(s) of ἔργα νόμου have been explored. It has been shown that even among some of the NPP writings themselves the definition of the term varies between the national boundaries or badges and all works, the latter usually referring to covenantal nomism. Although the data were not investigated here regarding the extent of legalism present within first-century Judaism, it can be demonstrated by Jesus' many interactions with the Pharisees that legalism was prevalent.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, even the idea of covenantal nomism has an aspect of legalism, since one must perform certain duties to retain covenant status.¹⁴⁸ Yet upon investigation, it turns out that their alternate and restrictive definitions of ἔργα νόμου cannot withstand inconsistencies within the context of Galatians and other Pauline letters, and therefore must be rejected.

3.8.1.5. Conclusions about works of the law.

After examining the phrase ἔργα νόμου from numerous perspectives, it seems that the most reasonable translation, "works of the law," should be rendered as an objective genitive, and understood to mean "those works that the law requires." Several scholars, particularly Luther and his followers (Bruce, Cranfield, Fuller, Schreiner)

¹⁴⁶ Schreiner, "Works of the Law," 977. Schreiner certainly realizes that Abraham was commanded to administer circumcision to the males in his household, and yet the argument in Romans 4 is built on the fact that Abraham was justified prior to his circumcision.

¹⁴⁷ One of the clearest examples is the parable of the Pharisee and tax collector (Luke 18:9-14).

¹⁴⁸ D. A. Carson, "Summaries and Conclusions," in *The Complexities of Second Temple Judaism*, vol. 1 of *Justification and Variegated Nomism*, eds. D. A. Carson, Peter T. O'Brien, and Mark A. Seifrid, WUNT 2/140 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 544-45. See also Peter T. O'Brien, "Was Paul a Covenantal Nomist?," in *The Paradoxes of Paul*, vol. 2 of *Justification and Variegated Nomism*, eds. D. A. Carson, Peter T. O'Brien, and Mark A. Seifrid, WUNT 2/140 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 2004), 254, 264, 266. O'Brien refers to various Tannaitic and intertestamental literature, claiming that they show evidence of works-righteousness (Tannaitic), merit theology (2 Enoch, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch), and an act of atonement in martyrs' deaths (4 Maccabees), 254, 264. See also Vincent M. Smiles, *The Gospel and the Law in Galatia: Paul's Response to Jewish-Christian Separatism and the Threat of Galatian Apostasy* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998). Smiles writes that although one might not call Judaism legalistic in terms of earning salvation (21-23), it would still be correct to claim that Judaism is legalistic due to its strict covenantal requirements and its consequent blessing and curses connected to faithful obedience to those requirements (Deut. 27-29; Lev. 18:5). To say otherwise makes a mockery of Paul as well as Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy, 19. In Judaism, "the law has a necessary soteriological function," 18n46.

assume the phrase refers to the act of doing, although this meaning is not explicit. Paul simply says, in 2:16, that ἔργα νόμου do not justify. Yet it makes no sense for Paul to speak of the justifying of statutes apart from humankind's interaction with them, and therefore this is not unreasonable.

It is the same for those who translate ἔργα νόμου as national boundaries. These boundaries are not passive, although one could debate the point about circumcision. These badges were a source of pride for many Jews, and might well have been seen as the basis of their justification (as Paul seems to be parodying in Phil. 3:4-6). But if so, it was because they performed them. They kept the Sabbath and the feast days and they observed the dietary laws. Whether the works of the law are understood to be national badges or all that the law requires, it still means that the doer of them can seek justification in the doing of them.

So while it may be technically true to state that Paul is actually not addressing legalism in Gal. 2:15-16, it is almost impossible to speak of (doing) the works of the law without any hint of legalism. It is interesting to note that within the debate between the traditional Lutheran-Reformed versus the New Perspective theologians on the correct interpretation of ἔργα νόμου, the former seems to focus on the word ἔργα, whereas the latter group focuses instead on the word νόμος. Yet the term cannot be divided here; both elements must be equally weighed.

3.8.2. *πίστις Χριστοῦ.*

As with ἔργα νόμου it is necessary to determine the precise meaning of *πίστις Χριστοῦ* in this verse to be certain that the antithesis is precisely clear. It will then be possible to treat the verse as a whole, and make the connection to the NE.

3.8.2.1. The heart of the debate: how to translate *πίστις Χριστοῦ*.

The phrases *πίστεως Χριστοῦ* and *πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* in Gal. 2:16 (hereafter referred to simply as *πίστις Χριστοῦ*) traditionally throughout history have

been translated as an objective genitive, i.e., “faith in (Jesus) Christ.”¹⁴⁹ Most English translations reflect this, although the King James,¹⁵⁰ Darby, Douay-Rheims, Geneva, Wycliffe, and Young’s Literal Translation apparently chose to maintain a literal ambiguity, rendering it as “faith of Christ.”

The traditional rendering (“faith in Christ”) prevailed until the last few decades, when it was most significantly challenged by Hays in his 1983 monograph, in which he argued persuasively for the subjective genitive, interpreted as (the) “faith” or “faithfulness of Christ.”¹⁵¹ Since that time, support for the subjective genitive reading has grown rapidly, particularly in North America.¹⁵² Even among those who prefer the objective genitive reading, it is now generally acknowledged that the subjective genitive reading is possible.¹⁵³

Although there is surely a tendency toward those who advocate the NPP to favor the subjective genitive reading,¹⁵⁴ Simon Gathercole calls this a “strange debate,” observing that it does not neatly divide down “conventional ‘party lines.’”¹⁵⁵ A case in point would be Dunn, who departs from other NPP proponents and advocates for the objective genitive.¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁹ Moo, *Galatians*, 158; Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, 179.

¹⁵⁰ The NKJV renders the phrases “faith in (Jesus) Christ,” but the 21st Century KJV returns the translation to “faith of (Jesus) Christ.”

¹⁵¹ Richard B. Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ: An Investigation of the Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3:1–4:11*, SBL 56 (Chico, CA: Scholars, 1983). The remainder of the references to this work will be from the second edition.

¹⁵² Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, 170; Morna D. Hooker, “ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ,” *NTS* 35 (1989): 321.

¹⁵³ For example, although the ESV translates the phrase in Gal. 2:16, “faith in Jesus Christ,” it provides a footnote indicating the alternate “through the faithfulness of Jesus Christ.”

¹⁵⁴ R. Barry Matlock, “‘Even the Demons Believe’: Paul and πίστις Χριστοῦ,” *CBQ* 64 (2002): 300, 312. He writes that New Perspective proponents tend to emphasize participatory over juristic language, reinterpreting terms like *righteousness* and *justification*, and salvation-historical over individualistic approaches to Scripture. He contends that this phrase has particularly attracted such attention, and above all in its controversial subjective genitive rendering, because it channels the debate over Paul and the law, and most especially “the antithesis between πίστις Χριστοῦ and ἔργα νόμου” (300). Silva suggests that the proposed subjective genitive is a deliberate effort to distance the verse from the Protestant doctrine of justification: Moisés Silva, “Faith Versus Works of the Law in Galatians,” in *The Paradoxes of Paul*, vol. 2 of *Justification and Variegated Nomism*. D. A. Carson, Peter T. O’Brien, and Mark A. Seifrid, eds. WUNT 2/140 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 227.

¹⁵⁵ Simon Gathercole, “Does Faith Mean Faithfulness?,” in *Justified: Modern Reformation Essays on the Doctrine of Justification*, eds. Ryan Glomsrud and Michael S. Horton (Escondido, CA: Modern Reformation, 2010), 43.

¹⁵⁶ Dunn, *Galatians*, 139.

Yet the debate has by no means ebbed, and may never be settled.¹⁵⁷ Thus, the possible translations are: (1) “faith in Christ”; (2) “(the) faith of Christ,” i.e., Christ’s own faith; and (3) “(the) faithfulness of Christ.” The first alternative is the traditional objective genitive, whereas the second and third are subjective genitives.¹⁵⁸

Silva points out that the natural ambiguity of the genitive case which can easily lend itself to such a debate as in this instance.¹⁵⁹ And as Hooker comments, the correct interpretation of this phrase will not be determined ultimately by grammar, but rather by exegesis.¹⁶⁰ Although a couple of scholars attempt to skirt the translation problem by rendering it “Christ-Faith,”¹⁶¹ this term remains just as obscure as the Greek construction.

3.8.2.2. Faithfulness of Christ.

In the introduction to his work, Hays writes that “the faithfulness of Jesus Christ refers first of all to his gracious self-sacrificial death on the cross.”¹⁶² He speaks similarly of God’s faithfulness in the cross, as his saving action to his people and that act of fidelity to the promise he had made to Abraham.¹⁶³

Sylvia Keesmaat, apparently following Hays, suggests that because Christ has been faithful, the promise God made to Abraham can be given to those having faith, and all those who have faith are children of God.¹⁶⁴ Since Keesmaat emphasizes the faith of

¹⁵⁷ B. Longenecker, *The Triumph*, 96; Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, 179.

¹⁵⁸ Hooker is the only scholar within this research who made a case for “Christ’s faith,” and she only mentions the possibility, suggesting it could refer to Christ’s obedience to the Father. See her “ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ,” 331, 337. Yet this is virtually the same as faithfulness. An exception might be 1 Pet. 2:23, in which the author writes of Jesus giving himself over to God, or as several English versions translate it, entrusted himself. Yet Peter uses the word παραδίδομι, and not any form of πιστεύω. Even if this verse affirms Christ’s faith in God the Father, it does not prove that Paul means it in Galatians, particularly when the context offers no relevant clue.

¹⁵⁹ Silva, “Faith Versus Works of the Law,” 227.

¹⁶⁰ Hooker, “ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ,” 322.

¹⁶¹ Cosgrove, *The Cross and the Spirit*, 56-57. He actually prefers the subjective genitive: Christ’s faith; Moo (*Galatians*, 157) prefers the same term, although he is certain of the objective genitive rendering.

¹⁶² Richard B. Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ: The Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3:1-4:11*, 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), xxx.

¹⁶³ Ibid., xxxiii.

¹⁶⁴ Keesmaat, *Paul and His Story*, 175.

God's people, however, she is actually blending the objective and subjective sense of the genitive.

Wright advocates the subjective genitive and consequently translates πίστις Χριστοῦ as the "faithfulness of the Messiah." Jesus is the true and *faithful* representative of Israel in whom God was able to fulfill his Abrahamic promises to *unfaithful* Israel and to the Gentiles through them.¹⁶⁵

Witherington also concludes that a subjective reading makes far more sense than the traditional objective one.¹⁶⁶ He believes that the idea of Christ's faithfulness is well represented in the immediate context of 2:16, specifically in 2:19 and 21, and further, can be found outside Galatians in Phil. 2:5-11 and 3:9. Not only does Paul affirm the idea of Christ's faithfulness, he treats it as an important theme.¹⁶⁷ Witherington considers πίστις Χριστοῦ as "a shorthand allusion to the story of the faithful one who was obedient even unto death on the cross, and so wrought human salvation."¹⁶⁸ R. Longenecker concurs, stressing Jesus' faithful response of obedience to God in his life and death. He does so, however, without meaning to diminish the necessary personal subjective response.¹⁶⁹ Cosgrove (who prefers the term *Christ-Faith*) supports the subjective genitive, arguing that Christ's faithfulness is the prototype of believing faith.¹⁷⁰ Yet it is difficult to understand how Christ's exemplary faith in this case is to affect the individual. The fact that such a translation is possible and that it could be biblically consistent is not enough to definitively determine the meaning of a phrase. "The faithfulness of Christ" makes little sense within the context. Paul is not speaking

¹⁶⁵ N. T. Wright, *Paul: In Fresh Perspective* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 47, 112-113, 119. B. Longenecker argues much along the same line, finding further evidence for Christ's faithfulness in the way πίστις is used in Gal. 3:23-24. See B. Longenecker, *The Triumph*, 100-104.

¹⁶⁶ He interacts with Dunn, who argues for an objective genitive reading. Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, 179-82.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 179. Cf. Rom. 10:14; Phil. 1:29.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 182.

¹⁶⁹ R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 87.

¹⁷⁰ Cosgrove, *The Cross and the Spirit*, 56-57.

of what Christ has done but instead is contrasting one's efforts to keep the law with trusting in Christ.

3.8.2.3. Similar passages using subjective genitive.

There are instances of πίστιν plus the genitive that are translated as subjective, and Richard Longenecker points out two: πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ (faithfulness of God) in Rom. 3:3, and πίστις Ἀβραάμ (faith of Abraham) in Rom. 4:16.¹⁷¹ Based on the apparent parallel with the verse at hand, he believes this dictates the subjective genitive rendering for πίστις Χριστοῦ as well. There are two reasons to reject Longenecker's argument, however. The first is that there is no other occurrence of πίστις Χριστοῦ in which the obvious translation would be "the faithfulness of Christ." And the second reason overlaps the first: the lack of supporting context. The context of Romans 3 is the faithfulness of God, and the context of Romans 4 is that faith that Abraham had in God. Yet the context of Gal. 2:16 is obviously about doing the works of the law versus having faith in Christ. The same point continues all the way through to 2:21, and indeed into Galatians 3.

In support of the objective genitive reading, Dunn points out several other cases where this same construction is used and yet the rendering as objective genitive is not disputed. He cites several similar grammatical constructions (πίστις plus genitive) elsewhere in Scripture which are generally translated as objective genitives ("faith in..."): Mark 11:22 (Ἔχετε πίστιν θεοῦ), Acts 3:16 (καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ), and Col. 2:12 (συνηγέρθητε διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ θεοῦ).¹⁷²

Even within Gal. 2:16, it is clear that believing in Christ is being addressed; therefore, the idea of faith in Christ is completely consistent. If Paul is speaking instead of Christ's faith or his faithfulness, there are no clear contextual cues that he is doing

¹⁷¹ R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 87.

¹⁷² Dunn, *Galatians*, 138. He comments, as he lists these examples, that the construction itself is indecisive, but he does not elaborate in any way. The examples seem to support the objective genitive.

so—certainly not within the verse. R. Barry Matlock argues that if Paul meant to refer to Christ’s faithfulness, as has been argued by others, it would be necessary to show what it is that marks the shift. And whether Paul is speaking of Christ’s faithfulness or his faith, it is necessary to show in some way why.¹⁷³ Leon Morris argues similarly, asserting that if Paul had wanted to draw attention to Christ’s faithfulness, he missed many opportunities to do so.¹⁷⁴

3.8.2.4. A question of redundancy.

With three combinations of the word πίστις/πιστεύω with Χριστός in Galatians 2:16—two as genitive constructions and one using εἰς plus accusative—there is definitely reason to question the apparent redundancy: do all three phrases truly refer to faith in Christ, as has been traditionally asserted? R. Longenecker argues that it is unlikely that Paul is merely repeating the same idea, and therefore the subjective genitive is probably in use, thereby balancing “the objective and subjective bases for the Christian life.”¹⁷⁵ Hays argues along the same line.¹⁷⁶

Matlock points out, however, that this argument has little value, in that Paul’s threefold use of ἐξ ἔργων νόμου and δικαιοῦ might rather demand a threefold repetition of “faith in Christ.”¹⁷⁷ And Dunn (the notable exception among the New Perspective proponents, in that he supports the objective genitive rendering) argues that the repetition of the idea of faith in Christ is merely for emphasis, and is very typical of Paul.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷³ Matlock, “Even the Demons Believe,” 316.

¹⁷⁴ Leon Morris, “Faith,” in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, eds. Gerald F. Hawthorne, Ralph P. Martin, and Daniel G. Reid (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 288.

¹⁷⁵ R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 88. Hooker, “ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ,” 329, agrees that the redundancy seems to argue a better case for the subjective genitive reading, although Paul is certainly capable of redundancy.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 122-23.

¹⁷⁷ Matlock, “Even the Demons Believe,” 307.

¹⁷⁸ Dunn, *Galatians*, 139. He says that the word choice proves that Paul knew not only theoretically, but existentially that justification was by faith in Christ.

While it is possible to argue that Paul's three-time repetition of the juxtaposition of "faith" and "Christ" in 2:16 is for the purpose of emphasis, one cannot be certain. On the other hand, it is surely a much weaker stance to conjecture that he could not possibly mean the same thing three times and therefore conclude that one of them ought to be translated differently. The argument for the subjective genitive based on redundancy alone must be rejected.

3.8.2.5. Statistical uniqueness of personal objective genitive.

Matlock also defends the objective genitive reading against the linguistic analysis conducted by G. Howard,¹⁷⁹ who apparently greatly influenced Hays. Howard's analysis was primarily statistical, surveying occurrences of πίστις with the personal genitive and finding no objective genitives in such format in the NT, LXX, Philo, or Josephus. In particular, Howard found no instances of the objective genitive in Paul's twenty-four similar constructions outside of πίστις Χριστοῦ.¹⁸⁰ Matlock's argument, however, is that apart from God or Christ, there is no possibility of an object/person which Paul would use as part of an objective genitive construction. Therefore, it seems best to agree with Matlock that Howard's method fails to disprove the objective genitive use in Paul.¹⁸¹

3.8.2.6. The literal translation question.

A few scholars have observed that one attraction to the subjective genitive is what otherwise appears to be a very awkward translation. Admittedly, it seems very strange to render as "faith *in* Christ" what translates literally into the English as the "faith *of* Christ." Hays uses this as one of his arguments in favor of the subjective genitive reading.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ George Howard, "On the 'Faith of Christ,'" *HTR* 60 (1967): 459-84.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 459.

¹⁸¹ Matlock, "Even the Demons Believe," 303-4.

¹⁸² Hays, *Faith of Jesus Christ*, 148-50.

But the literal translation from Greek into English, meaning the usual insertion of the word *of* between the two words when translating the genitive case, only hinders the understanding in this case. It is very possible that the rejection of an objective genitive reading is based entirely on what is perceived as an awkward direct translation, but a narrow understanding of how the Greek genitive works.¹⁸³ To insist on what is more literal to achieve the best translation, especially in the case of a genitive construction, is folly.

3.8.2.7. Natural reading by church fathers.

It is also well worth noting that Chrysostom, himself a native Greek speaker from the late fourth and early fifth century, read the πίστις Χριστοῦ passages as objective genitives.¹⁸⁴ Silva points out that this would not be as determinative if he had only expressed his opinion on a difficult translation issue. Rather, he apparently perceived no translation question at all and therefore felt no need to comment, merely translating the passages as “faith in Christ.” While it is true that Chrysostom was removed from Paul by several centuries, the fact that he was a native Greek speaker and theologian who, when interpreting this passage, assumed the objective genitive and never mentioned the possibility of the subjective genitive, is compelling evidence. Rather, he defaults to the most natural rendering.¹⁸⁵

Matlock agrees, remarking that obviously early church fathers could not have been influenced by Luther. He cites two other later NT passages which give evidence that the writers have read Paul’s texts using the phrase πίστις Χριστοῦ: Eph. 2:8-9 and

¹⁸³ Silva, *Interpreting Galatians*, 66. See 64-68 for a fuller discussion of the genitive case. See also Matlock, 302. It is odd, though, that Matlock first says that the subjective genitive is closer to the Greek and is a more natural reading than the objective—before he rigorously defends the objective on exegetical and grammatical grounds.

¹⁸⁴ *St. John Chrysostom: On the Incomprehensible Nature of God*, trans. by Paul W. Harkins, vol. 72 of *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1984), 88. Chrysostom quotes Gal. 2:16, and although he does not directly comment on the verse, he does so on 2:15, paraphrasing it to say that Paul and the Jews have ceded their “habitual mode of life, and betaken ourselves to the faith which is in Christ [πίστιν τὴν εἰς Χριστόν].” See also Roy A. Harrisville III, “ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ: Witness of the Fathers,” *NovT* 36 (1994): 233-41.

¹⁸⁵ Silva, *Interpreting Galatians*, 29-30.

Jas. 2:24. They both interact with Paul's works-faith antithesis, and in both cases it is clear that the faith spoken of is personal faith and that the authors have understood πίστις Χριστοῦ as an objective genitive.¹⁸⁶

3.8.2.8. Summary and conclusions on meaning of πίστις Χριστοῦ.

After investigating support for both the subjective and objective genitive renderings of πίστις Χριστοῦ, the traditional objective genitive rendering, "faith in Christ," is by far the most plausible. Admittedly, the genitive case can be ambiguous by nature, and it is therefore necessary to examine context above all for the necessary clues. Those that advocate for the subjective genitive cannot build a compelling case that Paul is discussing Christ's faithfulness in the immediate context. The verses immediately following 2:16 (2:17-21) do indeed speak of Jesus' death, but they do not focus on either Jesus' obedience or his record of faithfulness against that of Israel. And despite the arguments against the likelihood of Paul repeating himself (the above redundancy argument), there is no clear indication that he meant anything different than "faith in Christ" each time. Overall, the strongest argument against the subjective genitive is that the context does not allow it.

3.8.3. *Interpreting Galatians 2:16.*

Although not specifically argued above, an additional point in favor of the objective genitive interpretation is that it creates a more logical parallel, or actually a contrast, to the works of the law. Having already determined that "works of the law" refers to the doing of those things the law requires, the first part of Gal. 2:16 can be characterized by human effort. These are things that were required as covenantal stipulations but did not justify.

¹⁸⁶ Matlock, "Even the Demons Believe," 306-7. It should be obvious that Matlock does not accept Pauline authorship of Ephesians, but the proof of Pauline authorship is unnecessary for the fuller argument.

Faith in Christ is a personal obligation, and yet at the same time, is not based on human effort at all. Believers are to place their faith in Jesus Christ who has accomplished the required work on their behalf—the life of perfect righteousness, the death, and the resurrection.¹⁸⁷ Yet mysteriously, even the faith that is exerted is a gift from God. The exercise or experience of faith, then, is in direct antithesis to the works of the law.

To see the relationship between this antithesis and the NE it is now necessary to examine the fuller thought of Gal. 2:16. The verse is actually the second part of a sentence that begins in the previous verse, which identifies the subject of the participle εἰδότες (knowing) as ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι (we natural/born Jews). Paul, therefore, as he identifies with either Peter specifically or with all the Jewish Christians, says that they know the true source of justification—not by works of the law, but by faith in Jesus Christ. This statement can be interpreted in three different ways: (1) We know that justification used to be by works of the law but that now it is through faith in Christ; (2) We always knew that justification was not by works of the law, but rather, that it was by faith in Christ; (3) Although we wrongly thought that the works of the law justified, we now know that justification is not by works of the law, but by faith in Christ.

The first option can be rejected immediately, although it comes somewhat close to the views of Sanders and Wright, as have been discussed earlier. Sanders asserts that justification is no longer by works of the law *because* it is now διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ¹⁸⁸: things have changed.¹⁸⁹ According to such an understanding, Jesus' coming changed the way of salvation—in Sanders's case without clear rationale, and in Wright's case, because Israel had failed to fulfill the covenant made to Abraham.

¹⁸⁷ Therefore, even if the subjective genitive interpretation, the faith/faithfulness of Christ were adopted, the necessity of placing faith in Christ for justification is still implied.

¹⁸⁸ This is purposely not translated yet, as the next section deals with it in far more detail.

¹⁸⁹ Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 6, 442-47. This is what has been termed Sanders's doctrine of "plight to solution." The reason the law no longer saves is simply because now faith in Christ is what saves.

The second option is possible to the extent that the Jews knew that justification was by faith alone, and yet in the Old Covenant, God was the object of their faith. Clearly OT Jews could not have known that they would be justified by faith in Jesus Christ. This option rests on biblical theology, in that the revelation of Jesus was forthcoming. OT Jews were saved by faith in God's word and his promises, all to be fulfilled in the Messiah who would be revealed in God's time. Paul argues along this line in Gal. 3:7-9, using Abraham as the prime example of the faith that justifies. This is the view held by Gordon.¹⁹⁰ He contends that Paul is not arguing *for* the doctrine of justification by faith but *from* the doctrine.¹⁹¹

The third option is possible if, despite biblical evidence to the contrary, Paul and Peter (and perhaps the other Jews) wrongly believed that they could be justified by doing the works of the law. Although New Perspective proponents would strongly disagree with this possibility, as was discussed earlier, there was certainly a legalistic strain within first-century Judaism, if only among the Pharisees—including Paul himself.¹⁹²

It is difficult to choose between the second and third options, and it may be that the reality is somewhere in between. Knowing in fact that a person is justified by faith (option two) could easily have been trumped by the practical error of attempting to establish one's own merit by keeping the law as perfectly as possible. It is natural to confuse the obligation to do all that the law requires with the idea that one is justified by one's efforts. Through the NE, Christ freed his people from the enslavement of the law, which only makes sense if the law enslaved. Regardless of how the Jews understood the means of their justification, however, the law was most certainly a burden, which Paul is soon to expound upon in Galatians 3. It is through the exodus that Jesus brings about through his death that the people of God are justified. The law does not justify, but faith

¹⁹⁰ Gordon, "Promise, Law Faith," 128.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁹² See also Rom. 10:3-4.

in Christ does.

It must be noted, though, that there is a difference between being justified by the (works of) law and being justified in (or literally, “out of,” ἐκ) the law. A common misunderstanding of salvation history is that the Jews were justified by obeying the commandments (doing the works of the law) but that now the only way of salvation is through faith in Jesus Christ. According to Paul, the means of salvation, however, have not changed. Salvation has always been through faith, which is about to be elaborated below. The confusion for many is the inability to understand that, though the law did not save, the Jews were still required to obey the law. It was not optional. It was not simply a sign of gratitude or belonging, although it was that also. Their obedience to the law was covenantal—it was part and parcel of being a member of the covenant. Regardless of how the Jews may or may not have misconstrued what obedience to the law accomplished in terms of righteousness (in the first century or any century), it was still absolutely required that they obey. The law brought blessings for obedience and curses for disobedience—but it did not justify. Only faith in God justified, as Paul teaches later in the letter. But one who truly had faith in God would naturally have been diligent to do all that the law required.¹⁹³ Faith in God and obedience to the law are related activities but not interchangeable. Christ had come, then, not to change the means of Israel’s justification, but to free them from the obligations of the law. At the same time, the NE Jesus brought allowed the Gentiles to be justified entirely apart from the law.

¹⁹³ This is likely the best explanation for how certain characters in Scripture could be called righteous (e.g., Joseph [Matt. 1:19], Zechariah and Elizabeth [Luke 1:6]; Simeon [Luke 2:25]), despite passages that teach the impossibility of anyone being sinless.

3.9. Dying to the Law, Dying with Christ

For through the law I died to the law, so that I might live to God. (2:19)
and
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 (v.
20)

The final two antitheses in Galatians 2 are found in the closing verses, and are being treated together because it seems that they essentially mean the same thing. Both speak of a virtual death and resurrection, the second one (v. 20) clarifying that it takes place via Paul's (and by extension, all believers') faith in Christ. Through faith, believers are crucified with Christ and die to the law. Martyn refers to this as an apocalyptic event that is "both this-worldly and other-worldly."¹⁹⁴ Jesus was physically crucified by human authorities, and yet he was also crucified by "the rulers of this age" (1 Cor. 2:8).¹⁹⁵ Christ's crucifixion accomplished the death of an old age and the birth of a new creation (cf. Gal. 1:4; 6:14-15). In bringing the old age to an end, the law comes to an end, and Paul can say that he has died to the law. Gal. 2:20 is important in Paul's theology, as it points to the cross as foundational in his apocalyptic theology.¹⁹⁶ The result is a new life in union with Christ, empowered by him (v. 20) and directed toward pleasing God (v. 19). In 2:20 Paul also reiterates the paschal imagery of vicarious sacrifice fulfilled in Jesus' death, as also seen in the Suffering Servant in Isaiah 53, all of which invoke the NE theme.

These two verses are also a recapitulation of verse 16, yet with heightened drama. Paul claims that through faith he, and all believers have been co-crucified with Christ. Therefore they have experienced the apocalyptic Christ-event. They have died and risen again, and therefore the relationship to the NE is identical to the resurrection reference in 1:1.

¹⁹⁴ Martyn, *Galatians*, 277.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 278.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 101.

The echo of liberation from slavery is present in 2:15-21 in a couple of ways. The first is subtler, assuming that Paul is either still speaking to Peter, or at least continuing his same line of thought. Peter needed to know that he was free from the law that had restricted his table fellowship by way of food and purity laws. The Christ-event had liberated him from the law, even as the Israelites had been freed from Egypt's bondage.

4. Conclusions

In this chapter, Galatians has been shown to be a letter that is full of eschatological-apocalyptic imagery, evidenced in its multiple antitheses that divide over the Christ-event, i.e., Jesus' death and resurrection and its consequences for believers. The NE itself is an apocalyptic event, as the Christ-event turns a new chapter in salvation history, ending the era of the law, and bringing the gift of the Holy Spirit (to be introduced in the next chapter). The NE is the anticipated event of the Jews, although different in details from their expectations. Once Christ had come and brought in the new age, the ages began to overlap. The NE is ongoing, then, and will not be complete until Christ's return.

The NE serves as a unifying theme to Galatians, tying Paul's thoughts together better than the conventionally proposed theme of justification by faith, or others such as adoption and union with Christ. Paul is attempting in the letter to explain what has changed as a result of Christ's coming, for both Jews and Gentiles. By recognizing the thread of the NE through Galatians 2 in particular, the meaning of 2:16 was made clear without needing to align specifically with Reformation or NPP theology. Since Christ had brought about a NE in his death and resurrection, Paul is saying in 2:16 that Christ had brought about a new apocalyptic reality. It was now (and always had been) impossible to be justified through the law, which enslaved, but only through faith in what Christ had done.

Because the NE is apocalyptic, in that it marks the liberation that Christ accomplishes for his people, these two schemes mesh quite well. Not every apocalyptic element that was identified in this chapter qualified as an antithesis, but was included if it still fit the criteria. Christ's resurrection (1:1), for example is obviously apocalyptic as it is part of the apocalyptic Christ-event itself. Yet it also implies the antithesis of death and life. Paul's apocalyptic events or direct revelations from God (1:12, 16; 2:2) fit the genre of apocalyptic, but they also served as apocalyptic events for Paul, marking the discrete change from the zealous Pharisee who persecuted the church to the equally zealous apostle to the Gentiles.

This chapter has only treated the first two chapters of Galatians. Galatians 2 is still only the beginning and not nearly the heart of the letter. Paul has so far chided believers for returning (Jews) or turning (Gentiles) to the law because they did not realize the truth of the gospel. Christ had come to free them from the law (1:6-9). Paul has declared that he would not allow Titus to undergo circumcision, which would be the equivalent of enslaving this Gentile believer under the law (2:3-5). And then Paul recounted a confrontation with the apostle Peter over table fellowship, since even he had not understood that he had been freed from the restrictions the law had formerly put upon him (2:11-14). In all of these situations it is the NE that ties them together better than any other theme.

It was shown in this chapter that the majority of these apocalyptic antitheses connected to the NE quite clearly, echoing or alluding to an event in the original exodus narrative and being typified in the Major exilic Prophets, only to be later fulfilled spiritually in Christ. At the same time, various motifs of the NE theme (e.g., inclusion of the Gentiles) have been identified to lend further support to the presence of the NE in Galatians. The same process will be used in the following chapters—the apocalyptic events and antitheses will be identified and then connected to the NE theme.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE NEW EXODUS IN GALATIANS 3

1. Introduction

This chapter continues the approach established in chapter 4 of this thesis, now surveying Galatians 3 for apocalyptic antitheses and events, while exploring allusions and echoes of the original exodus event and identifying NE motifs.

Much of Galatians 3 is taken up with Paul's faith-works antithesis which he introduced generally in the opening verses of his letter (turning to another gospel, i.e., 1:6), and then touched on in Galatians 2, mentioning the apparent confrontation with those he calls false brothers over Titus's circumcision (2:3-5) and his confrontation with Peter over his hypocritical and sudden withdrawal from table fellowship with the Gentile believers in the presence of the Jerusalem brothers (2:11-14). Following that latter incident, Paul begins to address in earnest the antithesis between faith and works of the law, most explicitly in 2:16.

Galatians 3 is a more thorough biblical theological argument about the faith-works antithesis. T. D. Gordon would prefer the term covenant-historical,¹ which is perfectly compatible with the salvation history of biblical theology. In this chapter of the letter, Paul builds his argument for the end of the law on the basis of God's revelation and covenant with Abraham as well as its relationship to the covenant administered through Moses. The Sinai covenant is to be seen as serving a purpose in

¹ T. David Gordon, "Promise, Law, Faith: Covenant-Historical Reasoning in Galatians." (unpublished manuscript, 2007, WORD document, obtained through personal correspondence), 6-9 et passim, and Gordon, "Abraham and Sinai Contrasted in Galatians 3:6-14," in *The Law Is Not of Faith: Essays on Works and Grace in the Mosaic Covenant*, eds. Bryan Estelle, J. V. Fesko, and David Van Drunen (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2009), 242.

salvation history rather than as an interruption or in any way a threat or negation to the Abrahamic covenant.

This section of Paul's letter has only a few apocalyptic antitheses, although several apocalyptic events can and will be identified. In addition, the chapter is rife with NE allusions, as will be seen.

2. The Galatians Are Foolish

2.1. Who Has Bewitched You? (τίς ὑμᾶς ἐβάσκαεν;)

Richard Hays considers Paul's suggestion that the Gentiles have been bewitched to be apocalyptic.² He groups the reference together with two other mentions of opposition, deceit, or misunderstanding of the true gospel—the false brothers (2:4), and those under a curse for teaching another gospel (1:9).³ By juxtaposing these verses, it is apparent that Hays considers all who teach a different gospel than Paul in direct opposition to the apocalypse of God, hence his apparent reasoning for categorizing the Galatians' bewitching as apocalyptic.⁴

There is, however, another possibility. In this verse, a more direct allusion can be detected, to Pharaoh's magicians, who conjured up supernatural events to counteract those that Moses performed by the power of God (Exod. 7:8-13, 20-22; 8:5-7). In doing so, these sorcerers displayed antagonism toward the revealed word of God, and

² Richard B. Hays, "Apocalyptic *Poiēsis* in Galatians: Paternity, Passion, and Participation," in *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul's Letter*, eds. Mark W. Elliott, Scott J. Hafemann, N. T. Wright, and John Frederick (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014), 207.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Susan Eastman has suggested that the bewitching is an intertextual echo to the evil eye inference in Deut. 28:53-57, and more generally to the curses in Deut. 27-28. She bases this on the common verb βάσκαίω in Deut. 28:56 (LXX) and Gal. 3:1, but it seems that she is blending possible definitions to determine a relationship between them. The evil eye is motivated by jealousy, which is not present in Galatians 3. The curse connection between these passages is insufficient to support the echo. Susan Grove Eastman, "The Evil Eye and the Curse of the Law: Galatians 3.1 Revisited," *JSNT* 83 (2001): 69-87. Douglas J. Moo also suggests the evil eye may be at play, also appealing to the range of possible definitions (Douglas J. Moo, *Galatians*. BECNT [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013], 181). More credible is the suggestion that Satan could be behind the deception, as argued by Jerome Neyrey, "Bewitched in Galatia: Paul and Cultural Anthropology," *CBQ* 50 (1988): 72-100. Martinus C. de Boer, *Galatians* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2011), 169 takes it as entirely rhetorical, which fits better with the tone and context of 3:1-5.

attempted to thwart Moses' God-given message of liberation for the Israelites. Indeed, Paul specifically mentions these magicians in another letter within the context of those who oppose the truth (2 Tim. 3:8) and who possibly used deception to do so.⁵ Paul's rhetorical reference to the Galatians' bewitching should not be taken literally, however, but merely emphasizes Paul's astonishment that they could be so easily duped by false teaching. Like the magicians, those who have misled the Galatians into believing a false gospel are attempting to enslave them in the law. The motif of the law's slavery dominates this chapter from the beginning. The echo of the pre-exodus event points forward to the opposition to the NE that Christ has come to fulfill; he will liberate his people from the law's captivity.

Immediately after Paul rhetorically asks the Galatians who has bewitched them, he reminds them of what they had seen and heard, as revealed by God, which obviously should have dispelled any doubts they might have had, and should have proven any efforts to bewitch them as futile. But what had they seen with their own eyes?

2.2. Christ Publicly Portrayed before Their Eyes as Crucified (οἷς κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς προεγράφη ἐσταυρωμένος)

It is virtually the universal view that when Paul writes of Jesus Christ being publicly portrayed as crucified before the eyes of the Galatians, he is making a vivid reference to his own illustrative cross-centered preaching to them. As he writes in 1 Cor. 2:1-2: "And I, when I came to you, brothers, did not come proclaiming to you the testimony of God with lofty speech or wisdom. For I decided to know nothing among you except Jesus Christ crucified."

⁵ Gordon D. Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy, Titus*, NIBC, 2nd ed. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1988), 272.

Rodrigo Morales suggests that what Paul considers the public portrayal of Christ's crucifixion is Paul's allusion to the gruesome death depicted in Isaiah 53.⁶ This is quite plausible, particularly in light of the likely allusion to Isa. 53:1 in the very next verse (see below).⁷ It is doubtful, however, that Morales means that Paul was not also referring to his act of preaching.

2.2.1. *The paschal lamb.*

Holland suggests that the verb choice of προτίθεται (προέθετο) in Rom. 3:25, which also means "to portray for all to see," probably refers to the Jewish ritual practice of applying the lamb's blood to their doorjambs and lintels to commemorate the Passover each year.⁸ If Holland is correct, the same paschal interpretation could be claimed of Gal. 3:2, even though Paul uses a different verb, προγράφω, yet with a nearly identical meaning to προτίθεται. According to this view, the Galatians (and all Gentiles who lived among Jews) would have observed the Jews practicing Passover and seen the crucified Christ being publicly foreshadowed in the lamb's blood on each door. This is an interesting possibility, yet it seems that when Paul refers to the public display of Christ being crucified, he must be referring to something less subtle than visual OT typology. Otherwise, it seems unjustified for Paul to complain that they are abandoning what had they had previously *clearly* understood to be true.

⁶ Rodrigo J. Morales, *The Spirit and the Restoration of Israel: New Exodus and New Creation Motifs in Galatians* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 82.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 81, also sees an allusion to Isa. 49 in Paul's reference to his own calling to preach the gospel in Gal. 1:15 (although numerous others do as well: F. F. Bruce, *Commentary on Galatians*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 92; Richard N. Longenecker, *Galatians WBC* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1990), 30; J. Louis Martyn, *Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 156-7; James D. G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), 63-64. His perception of Paul's immersion and dependence on Isaiah has been helpful to this thesis.

⁸ Tom Holland, *Contours of Pauline Theology: A Radical New Survey of the Influences on Paul's Biblical Writings* (Ross-shire, Scotland: Mentor Books, 2004), 170.

2.2.2. *Miraculous signs.*

There is, however, another option, although not mutually exclusive to the generally accepted interpretation that Paul is referring to the preached word. Perhaps he is not referring to word pictures from his preaching alone, but, rather, also to the signs and wonders that the Galatians witnessed (κατ' ὀφθαλμούς) as performed in the name of the crucified and risen Christ. Paul appeals to these miracles in v. 5, saying that the one who works these miracles (i.e., he who supplies the Spirit, referring either to God or Christ) does so by the Galatians' hearing with faith. These miracles would have been strong confirmation of the gospel Paul preached, as were the miracles performed through the apostles, particularly as recorded in the early chapters of Acts.⁹ After the Sanhedrin arrests, threatens, and releases them, the disciples pray, "And now, Lord, look upon their threats and grant to your servants to continue to speak your word with all boldness, while you stretch out your hand to heal, and signs and wonders are performed through the name of your holy servant Jesus" (Acts 4:29-30).

And according to Acts 14:3, the Lord did bear witness to their word through the signs and wonders they were able to perform. According to F. F. Bruce, the miracles provided "public approbation on their witness."¹⁰ The close connection between the miracles and the gospel message might be what Paul means by the public and visual portrayal. Because this view takes into account the extraordinary miracles the believers had witnessed (coupled with the preaching of the gospel), which strengthens the sense of the verb προγράφω, it is the best explanation of the verse.

These miracles, although unnamed in Galatians, served more than to verify the truth of the gospel message. Assuming that they resembled the healing and deliverance miracles witnessed in Acts, they also announced the dawning of the messianic age, as Christ inaugurates the NE, as prophesied by Isaiah (35:5-6; 61:1). Furthermore, the

⁹ F. F. Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 78-79.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 99.

miracles to which Paul refers may very likely be an intentional parallel to the miracles performed by Moses under God's direction in order to elicit faith in the Israelites. The likelihood of this allusion strengthens the NE presence in this portion of Galatians.

3. The Outpouring of the Spirit

3.1. Works of the Law vs. Hearing of Faith (ἔργα νόμου vs. ἀκοή πίστεως) (3:2)

3.1.1. ἔργα νόμου.

In this verse Paul returns to the faith-works antithesis from 2:16, and yet there are some marked differences between these two verses that demand explanation.¹¹ The term ἔργα νόμου is rare outside of this short section in Galatians. It is found only three times in the whole book—2:16; here in 3:2; and also in verses 5 and 10. Outside of Galatians, Paul uses it in Rom. 3:20 and 28, again in the context of attaining justification.¹² Apart from these instances, the term is not found either in the LXX or in pre-Christian Greek literature.¹³ Given the infrequency of the phrase coupled with Paul's concentrated use of it in Galatians 2 and 3, it can be reasonably assumed that ἔργα νόμου has a consistent meaning within his writings, i.e., "works of the law," or more specifically, "those deeds that the law requires."¹⁴

Yet, instead of contrasting ἔργα νόμου with πίστις Χριστοῦ, as in 2:16, the antithetical phrase Paul uses in 3:2 is ἀκοή πίστεως. He is rhetorically asking the Galatians if they received the Spirit by works of the law or rather by hearing of/by faith. Furthermore, instead of declaring that the Galatians are justified (δικαιόω) as a result of

¹¹ Don Garlington, "Role Reversal and Paul's Use of Scripture in Galatians 3.10-13," *JSNT* 65 (1997): 88. He actually sees 3:10-13 as linking clearly to the Antioch incident, which spurred the diatribe.

¹² Moo, *Galatians*, 158.

¹³ Ibid. See also Thomas R. Schreiner, *Paul: Apostle of God's Glory in Christ* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2001), 111.

¹⁴ This assertion is based on the exegetical work from chapter 4 of this thesis.

this faith, he refers to their reception of the Spirit (τὸ πνεῦμα λαμβάνω). These two elements will be discussed below, but the phrase ἀκοή πίστεως will first be analyzed.

3.1.2. ἀκοή πίστεως.

Douglas Moo remarks that the phrase ἀκοή πίστεως is harder to interpret even than ἔργα νόμου, because the meanings of both words in the former term are disputed, and the genitive construction is typically ambiguous.¹⁵ The broader scholarship testifies accordingly. It seems that commentators tend to interpret the meaning and referent of πίστις in this verse in a manner consistent with the way that they translate it in 2:16.¹⁶ Those that translate πίστις Χριστοῦ (2:16) as the “faith” or “faithfulness of Christ” (subjective genitive) tend to translate ἀκοή πίστεως in 3:2 as “the hearing of faith,” or more commonly, “the faith message,” the “message about Christ’s faithfulness,” or “the proclamation of the gospel.” Contrarily, those that render πίστις Χριστοῦ as an objective genitive, meaning that the believer places one’s faith in Christ, also understand the πίστις in 3:2 to be the faith of the believer.¹⁷

J. Louis Martyn poses the question as to whether Paul is referring, by the noun ἀκοή, “to the act of hearing, or [rather] to that which is heard.”¹⁸ Distinguishing between the two options as active and passive respectively, Martyn argues for the latter.¹⁹ His reasoning is that the passive sense is the antithesis (which is obviously being established) of the active nature of *doing* the works of the law. According to Martyn, the Galatians contributed nothing to the hearing of the message; their faith, which was exercised, was elicited from the message that they heard. This, he argues, is consistent with Rom. 10:17 (πίστις ἐξ ἀκοῆς) and Isa. 53:1 (τίς ἐπίστευσε τῇ ἀκοῇ

¹⁵ Moo, *Galatians*, 182.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 182-83.

¹⁷ See, for example, de Boer, *Galatians*, 174-76.

¹⁸ Martyn, *Galatians*, 287.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Hays argues likewise: Richard B. Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ: The Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3:1–4:11*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 130-31.

ἡμῶν; [LXX]), the latter to which this passage likely alludes.²⁰ Martyn also notes that by the time of Isaiah’s prophecy, the Hebrew word *הַמְּוָעָה* (Isa. 53:1, MT) had become a technical term for the “message of Yahweh.”²¹

Although Martyn’s exegesis of this verse is certainly strong, there does not seem to be a clear reason for identifying the point of the antithesis as the question of active versus passive participation in one’s reception of the Spirit. One can just as validly understand faith to be an active work, even if the ability to exercise it is a gift from God. In 2:16 Paul states that one is not justified by works of the law, but rather by faith in Christ. Exegeted in chapter 4 of this study, the verse can be translated, “One is not justified by doing what the law requires, but by placing one’s faith in Christ.” Both alternatives involve doing something. The same applies in 3:2.

Thomas Schreiner lists the possible translations of *ἀκοή πίστεως* as follows: “hearing with trust,”²² “message heard that demands faith,”²³ “message that enables faith,”²⁴ “message of the faith” (Christian message), and “hearing of the faith” ((Christian message)).²⁵ He immediately rejects the last two choices, since, as he asserts, *faith* in Galatians usually indicates trust in God rather than the Christian message.²⁶

Leaving the reader to choose between the *act of hearing* or *the message itself*, Schreiner translates *ἀκοή* as “hearing,” while purposefully retaining the ambiguity. Ultimately, it is not vital to choose between the two interpretations. Schreiner points out that in Rom. 10:16 and 17, Paul himself appears to alternate meanings of the word. In

²⁰ See also Morales, *Spirit and Restoration*, 81-82. Morales suggests that Paul is drawing in themes from the wider context of this Isaianic passage, which will become more relevant in Galatians 4.

²¹ Martyn, *Galatians*, 288.

²² So also J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul’s Epistle to the Galatians* (New York: McMillan, 1891), 135, translates it “hearing which comes of faith”; Ronald Y. K. Fung, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 132.

²³ See Kittel, “ἀκούω, ἀκοή, etc.,” *TDNT* I:221; R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 103.

²⁴ Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 133. See, too, Hays, *Faith of Jesus Christ*, 143-149. But Hays also believes that it could be “the message that is the Christian faith.”

²⁵ John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Epistles of Paul to the Galatians and the Ephesians*, trans. from the original Latin by William Pringle (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1854), 81.

²⁶ Thomas R. Schreiner, *Galatians*, Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2010), 183.

verse 16, Paul seems to be referring to the message proclaimed, whereas in verse 17 it is the act of hearing; and the meaning of the verses is not particularly affected by the alteration at all. In either case, the Galatians received the Spirit by hearing the message and responding with faith.²⁷

Martinus de Boer believes that the *faith* in 3:2 refers back to the *faith of Christ* in 2:16, which he understands to be “Christ’s faithful death on the cross.”²⁸ Therefore, he interprets the reference to be the hearing or reception of the gospel message.²⁹ And yet, de Boer still speaks of the necessity of individuals placing their faith/trust in the message that they hear.³⁰

Although Schreiner and de Boer interpret ἀκοή πίστεως very differently, the actual meanings ultimately converge, and the result is virtually the same as what Martyn concludes. The Galatians did not receive the Spirit by [doing] the works of the law, but rather by believing the message (of the gospel, of Christ’s faithfulness) that they heard. There really is no disagreement of consequence. As in 2:16, the revelation of Christ prompted a response of faith in those who became believers. According to 3:2 and 3:5, the believers received the Spirit when they believed freely by faith, rather than by any effort of their own. This gift of the Holy Spirit on both the Jews and Gentiles is a NE motif (as demonstrated in chapter 3).

3.2. The Spirit vs. the Flesh

In the next verse Paul shifts to a metaphor of a journey in which the Spirit leads the Galatians. William Wilder has identified references in the OT where God promises to put his Spirit in the midst of his people in the NE, even as he did in the desert when Moses led his people: (1) In Isa. 63:11-14 the Spirit was with them, led them, and gave

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ De Boer, *Galatians*, 176. One might expect him, then, to use the word *faithfulness* rather than *faith* in 3:2.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid., 177.

them rest; (2) in Hag. 2:4-5, the Lord reminds his people of his presence among them by his Spirit, as he covenanted with them at Sinai; and (3) in Neh. 9:19-20 the author writes that the Lord gave his Spirit to his people in the desert to instruct them.³¹

God's people were called to exercise faith throughout the exodus wandering, trusting God for direction, provision, protection from enemies, and ultimately entry into the promised land. They were led by God's presence, exhibited by the physical manifestations of a pillar of cloud by day and pillar of fire by night. Indeed, in a couple of places in the exodus narratives the text is emphatic about the people's absolute dependence upon the leadership of the cloud in their movements (Exod. 40:36-38; Num. 9:15-22). The passages noted by Wilder would suggest that the references to the Spirit's presence and leadership correspond to the physical manifestation of the pillars of cloud and fire.

It is obvious that the Lord was encouraging and even challenging Israel to be dependent upon him to meet all their needs in the desert, particularly for food and water. He specifically tested them, as well as Moses himself, when there was no water (Exod. 15:22-26; 17:1-7; Num. 20:2-13), and when spies are sent to scout out the land of Canaan that the Lord had promised to give to them (Num. 13:1-33). In each case the Israelites fail to trust the Lord, and in the last instance, they consequently are refused entrance into the promised land as punishment. They respond, in each case, to what they are able to see physically before them—lack of food, lack of water, and intimidating inhabitants of Canaan that they must conquer. What they lack in each occasion is a response of faith, believing that God will do for them what he has promised to do, which is to deliver them safely into Canaan.

³¹ William N. Wilder, *Echoes of the Exodus Narrative in the Context and Background of Galatians 5:18* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2001), 122-23. Throughout he also sees an echo in Gal. 5:18 of the Spirit's leading presence in the Sinai desert (the very thesis of the book), which if correct, adds weight to the possibility that Paul is doing so in 3:3 as well.

Although Paul does not explicitly connect the Galatians' experience to that of the Israelites in the desert wanderings, there is an intertextual echo of the exodus events. The Galatians have begun their journey by the Spirit (3:3), but are in danger of attempting to complete it by their own actions or resources (the flesh: ἐναρξάμενοι πνεύματι νῦν σαρκὶ ἐπιτελεῖσθε;). They are not trusting in the Lord to perfect them. The Lord has worked miracles among the Galatians (v. 5), although Paul gives no details of them, which parallel to an extent the miracles he had worked among the Israelites in the desert. There the Israelites had seen God part the Red Sea, restore the sea to destroy the Egyptian army, give them water from a rock on more than one occasion, give them manna to eat each day, and more. Not only do the miracles among the Galatians act as an allusion back to the miracles the Israelites experienced in the exodus, but they also serve to mark the presence of the Holy Spirit among them, which is a NE motif.³²

All of these miracles had come about entirely through God, not through the people's adherence to works of the law, not by any work of flesh, but instead were performed by God to increase the Israelites' faith in him. It is just as foolish for the Galatians to think they can contribute anything to God's work to bring them to completion as it would have been for the Israelites to expect that they could contribute anything at all toward their own deliverance to the promised land. In fact, rather than bringing up their own deliverance, the Israelites had actually appeared to be working *against* the Lord's plans by their many complaints and rebellions during the desert wanderings.

3.2.1. *Result of works of the law or hearing with faith?*

The outcome of this hearing with faith, Paul writes in 3:2, is the reception of the Spirit. Yet in 2:16 the result of faith in Christ is justification; likewise, 3:6 affirms that Abraham believed God and was counted righteous (cf. Gen. 15:6). The question of the

³² Moo, *Galatians*, 187, sees the correlation between the Spirit's presence in Galatians and the miracles, although he does not connect it to the exodus or to the NE.

relationship between justification and the reception of the Spirit, two apparently different fruits of one's response of faith, declared within only a few verses of each other, must be explored. The issue is particularly important because the outpouring of the Holy Spirit is a NE motif.

In 3:6 Paul uses the noun δικαιοσύνη (righteousness) and in 3:7 the verb δικαίωω (justify), clearly from the same root in Greek. According to BDAG, when a person is justified, he or she is acquitted, treated as righteous, becomes righteous, or receives the divine gift of righteousness.³³ Yet the relationship between justification or righteousness and the gift of the Holy Spirit is not immediately obvious within the context of Galatians.

Elsewhere, Paul establishes a connection between believers' justification and their reception of the Holy Spirit, perhaps most clearly in Rom. 5:1-5 (but cf. also Eph. 1:13-14; 4:30). Indirectly, the relationship can be seen in the manifestation of the gift of the Spirit upon converts throughout the book of Acts (2:38; 8:17; 10:44-47; 19:6), where, particularly in the case of the Gentiles it served as confirmation to the Jewish church that God had accepted—and therefore justified—they as well (cf. Acts 11:18; 15:8-9). Here in Galatians 3, however, the relationship between justification and the reception of the Spirit is implied but not developed. De Boer suggests that Paul is intentionally relating justification and reception of the Spirit in these opening verses of Galatians 3, but concedes that Paul leaves the connection in rudimentary form.³⁴

Williams argues similarly, commenting that the two are closely tied in Paul's mind, although not clearly stated.³⁵ He contends that justification and the Spirit's presence are closely bound together in Galatians, particularly in light of 3:14.³⁶

Williams understands the two ἵνα clauses in the verse to be parallel rather than

³³ BDAG, “δικαίωω.”

³⁴ De Boer, *Galatians*, 168.

³⁵ Sam K. Williams, “Justification and the Spirit in Galatians,” *JSNT* 29 (1987): 91.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

dependent upon each other. This would mean that the blessing of Abraham that comes to the Gentiles and the promise of the Spirit are two results of Jesus' redemption. He concludes that the blessing, when considering 3:8, is justification. Believers are justified *and* receive the Spirit.³⁷ This is probably correct, given that the link between justification and reception of the Spirit is already inherent by virtue of the parallel between 2:16 and 3:2.

The relationship between righteousness (the same root as justification) and the Spirit's presence was discussed in chapter 3 of this thesis, in the section on the NE motif *outpouring of the Holy Spirit*. It was shown that the prophets declare righteousness upon the Servant, the Messiah, and on Israel and its inhabitants in the new age. It was also shown that in the many prophecies of the outpouring of the Spirit, such as in Ezekiel and Jeremiah, God promised to give his people a new heart and spirit as well. The language of the new heart (Ezek. 11:19; 18:31; 36:26; cf. Jer. 24:7; 32:39) is the language of belief and justification, and therefore, of righteousness. When God puts a new spirit in his people or pours his Spirit out upon them, they are counted righteous.

Morales has argued that before they would ever recognize NE (and new creation) motifs, Jews would be far more apt to identify and connect the outpouring of the Spirit with their expectations of the prophetic fulfillment of the restoration of Israel.³⁸ It may be, however, that the Jews would not separate these ideas at all, nor is it clear that they should. The NE is characterized by the spiritual fulfillment of Israel's restoration (see chapter 3). And the Spirit's presence among the Galatians would be confirmation of the dawning of the eschatological age.

3.2.2. *The Spirit in the ITL.*

The NE motifs of the outpouring of God's Spirit among his people and the ingathering of the Gentiles in the eschatological age (both NE motifs, as explained in

³⁷ Ibid., 91-100. The argument is developed throughout the article.

³⁸ Morales, *Spirit and Restoration*, 13-14.

chapter 3) are present in some of the ITL as well, which indicates the prominence of the ideas, as they continue to be represented in Jewish literature into the time of the NT documents. Although Paul does not appear to rely on the ITL for these teachings, it is reasonable to assume that he and probably many of his Jewish readers were familiar with these writings.

As seen in chapter 3 of this study, Morales identifies numerous themes within the Second Temple literature, many of which are NE motifs, specifically the clear eschatological presence of the Holy Spirit, righteousness, new creation, and the ingathering of the Gentiles.³⁹ The fact that these motifs are commonly found in the ITL should not be overstated, nor can any direct dependence upon the literature by Paul be proven, but their presence does show that the NE motifs from Isaiah continued to be part of the eschatological hope of many of the Jews throughout the intertestamental period.

Joel also prophesies an outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the eschatological age (2:18–3:5),⁴⁰ and Peter quotes from this oracle at the Pentecost event in Acts 2:14–21 in order to explain to the crowd the phenomenon of many languages being spoken in the Upper Room when the Holy Spirit comes with power upon the disciples at Pentecost. Joel links this outpouring to the restoration of Israel, apocalyptic signs, and the preaching of the good news, all of which Peter claims were then being fulfilled.⁴¹ And when Peter quotes from Joel on this occasion, he appears to do so with the confidence that his Jewish hearers will recognize the significance of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit and its relationship to the dawning of the eschatological age.

³⁹ Ibid., 75. He lists others that are relevant to Galatians, such as the sinful heart that leads to God's cursing, and the Spirit's role in adoption.

⁴⁰ See also Hans Walter Wolff, *Joel and Amos: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible Hermeneia* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press: 1977), 65–67 and Stuart, *Hosea–Jonah*, WBC (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), 254–58.

⁴¹ Morales, *Spirit and Restoration*, 39.

The presence of the Spirit, as promised in the prophets (also in Ezek. 36:27; 37:14), is a sign of God's constant presence among his people, even as the cloud and pillar represented his presence in the desert wanderings after the exodus. The outpouring of the Spirit, a NE motif, is closely related to the NE motif of Yahweh's presence among his people. The fact, then, that the Galatian believers had evidently received the Holy Spirit definitively marks them as justified members of the covenant family, for they had received what was promised to Israel in the coming age,⁴² and therefore the giving of the Holy Spirit marks the dawn of the NE.

3.2.3. *The Spirit's presence among the Galatians.*

Paul repeats his charge of foolishness (from v. 1) in connection with a slightly different antithesis, posed once again as a rhetorical question: ἐναρξάμενοι πνεύματι νῦν σαρκὶ ἐπιτελεῖσθε; As Martyn notes, the Spirit and flesh antithesis is introduced here in 3:3 and not taken up again until 5:16.⁴³

Most commentators appear to pay much closer attention to Paul's meaning of the word σὰρξ than πνεῦμα, both of which Paul uses in the dative case, and most likely as instrumental.⁴⁴ Indeed, the majority of the discussion of the entire verse tends to center on the meaning of σὰρξ, whereas the remainder of the text seems to be considered either straightforward or simply a restatement of the verses on either side of it.

Realizing that σὰρξ (commonly translated as "flesh") can have several meanings, even within Paul's writings⁴⁵ it is imperative that the meaning be determined within the immediate context of the letter—and especially so in these verses. Martyn

⁴² Ben Witherington III, *Grace in Galatia: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2004), 211.

⁴³ J. Louis Martyn, "Apocalyptic Antinomies in Paul's Letter to the Galatians" *NTS* 31 (1985): 417.

⁴⁴ Moo, *Galatians*, 184-85; de Boer, *Galatians*, 177-80; Martyn, *Galatians*, 284-85; Schreiner, *Galatians*, 184; Dunn, *Galatians*, 155-56; and Charles B. Cousar, *Galatians*, Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1982), 65-70 are exceptions.

⁴⁵ See BDAG, σὰρξ, for the range of meanings, including Pauline usage: body material, the body itself, a person or people, human nature, physical limitations, external or outward side of life, the willing instrument of sin, and source of sexual urge (apart from any suggestion of sinfulness).

believes Paul is referring not only to the act of circumcision, but even to the piece of flesh (foreskin) that is removed in the procedure.⁴⁶ To be sure, he detects severe sarcasm in Paul's question, as if he were actually saying, "Are you Galatians really so foolish as to think that, having begun your life in Christ by the power of his Spirit, you can now move on to perfection by means of a severed piece of flesh?"⁴⁷

De Boer has shown that there existed a perceived connection between Abraham's circumcision and perfection as seen in *Jub.* 15.3 ("Walk before me and be perfect") and 23.10 ("Abraham was perfect in all of his actions with the Lord"). He points to the later Mishnah text (Ned. 3:11) which reads: "Great is circumcision, for [despite] all the commandments which Avraham fulfilled, he was not called 'perfect' until he circumcised himself, as it is said, 'Walk before me, and be perfect' (Gen. 17:1)."⁴⁸ De Boer suggests, then, that the Teachers were likely telling the Galatian believers that the path to resisting sin and attaining perfection was to be circumcised and submit to the law (like Abraham).⁴⁹

Moo suggests that σάρξ refers in some way to obedience to the works of the law, although he does not entirely dismiss the allusion to the act (or product) of circumcision. But he also considers the possibility that Paul might be using the word in the sense of physical human existence in opposition to the spiritual realm. He argues that this meaning aligns with every occurrence of σάρξ in Galatians. He concludes, therefore, that the word in this context refers to human effort or doing.⁵⁰ If Moo is correct, it would seem that Paul is using σάρξ and ἔργα νόμου as virtual equivalents.

⁴⁶ Martyn, *Galatians*, 290-91.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 294. See also de Boer, *Galatians*, 177-78. Schreiner, *Galatians*, 184, agrees that the reference may well be to circumcision.

⁴⁸ Rabbeinu Ovadiah M'Bartenurah, original ed. *The Mishnah: A New Integrated Translation and Commentary: Kodashim I: Zevachim, Menachos, Chullin, Bechoros* (Jerusalem: Machon Yisrael Trust, 2012). De Boer, *Galatians*, 179, translates the verse very similarly. The only significant difference is that de Boer's rendering makes Abraham's circumcision seem passive (he is circumcised) rather than active (he circumcises himself).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Moo, *Galatians*, 184-85.

R. Longenecker follows James Dunn in affirming that Paul is teaching in this verse that believers were given the Spirit immediately upon believing, which is affirmed elsewhere in Scripture (Eph. 1:13-14).⁵¹ Dunn maintains that in Gal. 3:3, Paul is contrasting faith and works of the law, the latter of which he defines as those boundary markers separating Jews from Gentiles.⁵² The performance of circumcision, the keeping of the Sabbath, the feasts, and the dietary restrictions all contributed nothing toward the believing Jews' reception of the Holy Spirit. Neither would they add anything to the experience of the Gentiles. Even with a very different definition of the works of the law, there is full agreement that it is through a response of faith alone that God gives the Holy Spirit.

Dunn suggests that this antithesis has additional significance, if the wider definition of *σάρξ* is considered. The reference to the Spirit indicates living by divine power, whereas living by the flesh indicates "weak, self-centered, and self-indulgent humanity."⁵³ This is quite reasonable, as the emphasis on the works of the law is in human effort or *doing*, which must fall short of the antithesis—righteousness associated with the Spirit.

Martyn, Don Garlington, and Schreiner all note the import of Paul's use of the Spirit-flesh antithesis in 3:3 in terms of its apocalyptic-eschatological function. Martyn observes that the presence of the Spirit is proof enough that the eschatological age had come.⁵⁴ Garlington contends that the fact that the Galatians had begun *in the Spirit* (*πνεύματι*, 3:3) refers to the age of the Spirit, indicating that a new age had dawned. The

⁵¹ R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 103.

⁵² Dunn, *Galatians*, 155.

⁵³ Ibid. But see Pamela Eisenbaum, "Jewish Perspectives: A Jewish Apostle to the Gentiles," in *Studying Paul's Letters: Contemporary Perspectives and Methods*, ed. Joseph A. Marchal (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 139. She claims that such a sharp division between faith and works would be just as inconceivable to the ancient Jew as to the modern one.

⁵⁴ Martyn, "Apocalyptic Antinomies," 417. See also Vincent P. Branick, "Apocalyptic Paul?," *CBQ* 47 (1985): 665. Branick, 666, also includes the idea of the Spirit being a deposit guaranteeing the eschatological blessings to come.

Spirit had come, which “meant liberation from the era of the Torah (2 Cor. 3).”⁵⁵ And Schreiner, who also recognizes the apocalyptic antithesis, comments on 3:3 that the flesh belonged to the evil age, which was now passing away, but the Spirit belonged to the age to come.⁵⁶ Dunn, also commenting on Paul’s use of the Spirit-flesh antithesis in 3:3, writes that Paul could not understand how those who had experienced Israel’s eschatological hope—the Spirit—could possibly want to revert to that early time of unfulfilled waiting.⁵⁷

The former age is one to which the Gentiles never belonged, however. The Jews, who were given the law, were obligated to comply. But the Gentiles were becoming members of God’s people as part of the new age, to whom the law did not belong. It was not appropriate for the Jews to return to the old age of law, but it was especially inappropriate for Gentiles to submit themselves to a law that did not belong to them. The NE that Christ had come to lead meant freedom for both Jews and Gentiles.

4. Abraham and His True Children

Paul then turns to Abraham to support the point he has been making about faith and works. Moo sees the *καθώς* at the beginning of verse 6 to be pointing back to the previous five verses, rather than forward to the following section.⁵⁸ Williams is certainly correct in remarking that verses 5 and 6 should not be discretely divided.⁵⁹ The Galatian Gentiles have responded in faith to the *ἀκοή* just as Abraham did to the promise God gave to him.

Abraham is a very aptly chosen example for a couple of reasons. First, he is the exalted father of the Jews and therefore would unreservedly have the approval of those of the circumcision group—those who oppose Paul; but second, he was also reckoned as

⁵⁵ Garlington, “Role Reversal,” 93.

⁵⁶ Schreiner, *Galatians*, 184.

⁵⁷ Dunn, *Galatians*, 156.

⁵⁸ Moo, *Galatians*, 187.

⁵⁹ Williams, “Justification,” 92.

righteous for his faith while yet an uncircumcised man (Rom. 4:9-12). Garlington observes that in Genesis 15, Abraham is in a very similar position to the Gentiles, “of whom righteousness can be predicated in spite of their own uncircumcision and non-observance of the Torah.”⁶⁰ He is righteous by virtue of his faith alone.

This is radical. Paul is claiming that the Gentiles can be true sons and daughters of Abraham, the father of the Jewish race, not through works of the law, but rather by faith. In verse 8, he indicates that this is exactly as it had been promised. The rest of chapter 3 expounds the place and function of the law in God’s plan for blessing the Gentiles.

Hays argues for a very different view of Paul’s citation of Abraham in verse 6. Instead of being the example for Gentiles and presumably Jewish believers as well, Hays believes that Paul is invoking Abraham as a “typological foreshadowing of Christ himself, a representative figure whose faithfulness secures blessing and salvation vicariously for others.”⁶¹ According to Hays, then, Abraham is not the example of the believers’ faith, but a type of the faithfulness of Christ. Yet Abraham’s faith as a type does not fit the context, which stresses the believers’ faith. Should Abraham be a type of Christ, whose faithfulness is the basis for the believer’s justification, then it must follow that Abraham’s faithfulness was also meritorious. This is not the teaching of Paul (Rom. 4:10), nor what appears to be in the contexts of Galatians 3 or Gen. 15:6.⁶²

⁶⁰ Garlington, “Role Reversal,” 94.

⁶¹ Hays, *Faith of Jesus Christ*, 196. It seems that part of the appeal of such an interpretation stems from the objection that establishing Abraham as the father of the Gentiles and the model of NT faith ignores or twists salvation history. For a fuller discussion, see H. Wayne Johnson, “The Paradigm of Abraham in Galatians 3:6-9,” *TrinJ* 8 (1987): 179-199. Hays goes so far as to say that the Gentiles are blessed not because of their own faith but because of Abraham’s (203). Johnson (194), though he agrees with Hays on much of his thesis, does not support this.

⁶² Johnson, “The Paradigm of Abraham,” 192-93. Johnson’s main point, however, is that Abraham is more of a unique figure than “traditionalists” have considered him when they point to him simply as the first believer or as a good example. He argues for more of a spiritual connection.

In-Gyu Hong suggests that Paul cites Abraham as a corrective measure against his opponents.⁶³ External biblical evidence (*Jub.* 17:17-18;⁶⁴ 18:1-16;⁶⁵ 1 Macc. 2:52) shows that some Jewish belief (B. Longenecker calls it the norm⁶⁶) held that Abraham was considered faithful (Gen. 15:6) because of his proven willingness to sacrifice Isaac in Genesis 22. Because of Abraham's exemplary obedience to God's command, many Jews believed that Abraham kept the (eternal) law before it had been formally given through Moses.⁶⁷ But this is not how Paul reads Gen. 15:6. And Abraham's faithfulness to God is based on his faith in God's promises (Heb. 11:17-19; Jas. 2:21-24). Instead, Paul notes that in the context of Genesis 15, Abraham placed his trust in God's words of promise. He performed no meritorious work at all, which is vital to Paul's argument.⁶⁸

Paul's use of Abraham as an example serves well, because if the Gentile Galatians have received the Spirit and hence, the fulfillment of the promises to Abraham, obviously the promises are based on faith alone rather than the law which came centuries after the patriarch. This is a strong case against forcing the Galatians to undergo circumcision and submit to the law in order to receive the promises they already have received. It is by faith, then, that salvation comes and has always come. The law contributes nothing toward salvation at all.⁶⁹

Paul once again links the Spirit with justification,⁷⁰ and for the next several verses will use δικαιοσύνη/δικαίω language instead of any reference to the Spirit until 3:14. The link between the two has been established, and he will return to it once again in Gal. 5:16-26, when he writes about life in the Spirit vs. life in the flesh.

⁶³ In-Gyu Hong, "Does Paul Misrepresent the Jewish Law? Law and Covenant in Gal. 3:1-14," *NovT* 36 (1994): 164-82.

⁶⁴ R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Bruce W. Longenecker, *The Triumph of Abraham's God: The Transformation of Identity in Galatians* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998), 130.

⁶⁷ Hong, "Does Paul Misrepresent?," 166. Cf. also *Jub.* 16:28; *Sir.* 44:20.

⁶⁸ Hong, "Does Paul Misrepresent?," 169.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 173.

⁷⁰ Moo, *Galatians*, 188.

G. Walter Hansen believes that the righteousness bestowed upon believers includes the transforming work of God's Spirit.⁷¹ Moo rejects this, arguing that the Spirit is presented in these verses only as confirmation of genuine inclusion in the covenant.⁷² Yet verse 3 seems to indicate both conversion and sanctification, as Paul asks about being perfected, and so Hansen seems to be correct.⁷³ Moo is perhaps drawing too rigid a line between justification and sanctification.

Now that Paul has introduced Abraham as the prime example of one who was justified not by obedience to the law but by believing the message, he begins to explain that those who are ἐκ πίστεως (of faith) are the true children of Abraham.

The antithesis in question is not found in any single verse, nor within the usual paragraph divisions of the first half of the chapter (3:1-6, 7-9, 10-14), but rather in sequential paragraphs. The two phrases are being identified as an antithesis because of their parallel grammatical construction as well as their theological dichotomy (faith vs. works) as seen in 2:16⁷⁴ and in 3:1-5. As is often the case with genitive constructions, the two phrases that comprise this antithesis in vv. 7 and 10 are both ambiguous.

4.1. Those of Faith (οἱ ἐκ πίστεως) (3:7)

Most English Bible versions retain the ambiguity in v. 7 by translating οἱ ἐκ πίστεως as "those of faith," although the NIV and NRSV, as well as numerous contemporary paraphrased versions (such as CEB, GNT, TLB, Phillips, et al.) render the phrase as "those who believe."⁷⁵

Although this latter translation is attractive in its simplicity and clarity, it is not to be preferred. While it is true that Paul is referring to believers in this verse, the context suggests that, by use of the genitive construction, he is indicating more than

⁷¹ G. Walter Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 115.

⁷² Moo, *Galatians*, 188.

⁷³ Dunn's transformational understanding of justification was mentioned earlier (*Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 344) and BDAG includes making one righteous as part of the definition of δικαιώω.

⁷⁴ Christopher D. Stanley, "Under A Curse: A Fresh Reading of Galatians 3.10-14," *NTS* 36 (1990): 497.

⁷⁵ Schreiner, *Galatians*, 193, concurs with this translation.

merely the possession or exercise of faith, as he appears to do in a very different grammatical syntax in 3:22 (οἱ πιστεύουσιν).

Martyn translates οἱ ἐκ πίστεως as “those whose identity is derived from faith.”⁷⁶

De Boer concurs with Martyn, but then slightly modifies the term to say it refers to those who live from faith or on the basis of faith, whether their own or Christ’s.⁷⁷ Yet de Boer also allows for the simple translation: those who believe [in Jesus Christ].⁷⁸

Martyn’s definition is unclear, while de Boer’s is too broad.

Moo suggests that the phrase be translated as those who are “marked by” or “characterized by faith,” but suggests the intent might be strong enough to indicate “those who depend on faith” or those “whose identity is derived from faith,” or even “those whose relationship to God is determined by faith.”⁷⁹ Moo also, then, entertains a spectrum of meanings, but consequently does not add clarity to the discussion.

Moo, who holds that “those of the works of the law” are legalists, points out a similar Pauline term that appears to mean the same thing. In 2:12 Paul recounts his confrontation with Peter, who withdrew from table fellowship with the Gentile believers because he feared “those of the circumcision” (τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς). In the context of that passage it is obvious that Paul is referring to that segment of the church that believed circumcision was necessary for believers in Christ, both Jew and Gentile. The same expression (and same sense) is used in Acts 10:45; 11:2; Col. 4:11; and Titus 1:10, which indicates that the term was being used in the early church not only by Paul (the latter two references) but also by the author of Acts. Paul certainly cannot be including himself in the category of “those of the circumcision,” even though he himself is circumcised.⁸⁰ Therefore “those of the circumcision” cannot mean all Jews (Jewish

⁷⁶ Martyn, *Galatians*, 294, 299.

⁷⁷ De Boer, *Galatians*, 191. See also Betz, *Galatians*, 141 and Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, 226.

⁷⁸ De Boer, 192. Schreiner, allows the same, *Galatians*, 193.

⁷⁹ Moo, *Galatians*, 197.

⁸⁰ Although de Boer (*Galatians*, 133) believes it refers to all Jewish Christians. R. Longenecker (*Galatians*, 73-74) suggests the opposite, that they are non-Christian Jews.

men), but only those who hold the view that circumcision (and, by extension, the whole law) is mandatory.

Given the parallel constructions (not generally identified), the literal translation “those of faith” is certainly to be preferred if ὅσοι . . . ἐξ ἔργων νόμου in v. 10 is also translated as “those of the works of the law,” and vice versa. Although he does not do so in a single verse, Paul is presenting the antithesis between “those of faith” and “those of the works of the law.” The literal translation of both manifests the antithesis, even if it does not immediately clarify what Paul means by either phrase. Paul says in v. 7 that “those of faith” are sons and daughters of Abraham, which further links this expression in question to the believers Paul is addressing who received the Spirit by hearing with faith.

4.2. Those of the Works of the Law (ὅσοι . . . ἐξ ἔργων νόμου) (3:10)

Moo remarks on the pivotal nature of this verse in Galatians 3, in that “its interpretation determines—and perhaps is determined by—the nature of the larger argument that Paul is making in these verses.”⁸¹

Yet the expression “those of the works of the law” has proved to be even more difficult to interpret than “those of faith.” All of the above problems and more apply to this parallel phrase. To say it signifies “those who are characterized by the works of the law” does not yield a very precise meaning. Ardel Caneday is not any more specific as he, for example, suggests that this group is “associated with the works of the law.”⁸²

Both Christopher Stanley⁸³ and Norman Young⁸⁴ believe that the term can refer either to Jews or Gentiles who in some way identify with the works prescribed at Sinai.

⁸¹ Moo, *Galatians*, 201-2.

⁸² Ardel Caneday, “‘Redeemed from the Curse of the Law’: The Use of Deut 21:22-23 in Gal 3:13,” *TrinJ* 10 (1989): 194.

⁸³ Stanley, “Under a Curse,” 501.

⁸⁴ Norman H. Young, “Who’s Cursed—And Why? (Galatians 3:10-14),” *JBL* 117 (1998): 81. Although Young does not believe that the law required perfection (83), he does admit that the law cursed anyone who abandoned any of its requirements. According to him, this refers to obligations such as circumcision and feast days (86-87, 91).

Stanley specifically suggests that it refers to any who might consider submitting themselves to the law through circumcision; the corresponding curse, therefore, is more potential than established.⁸⁵ To be more precise, then, Stanley sees Paul addressing the Gentiles in particular. Ben Witherington argues similarly, contending that Paul is urging the Galatian Gentiles not to accept the yoke of the Jewish law that will only subject them to a curse.⁸⁶

Although it may not be possible to be certain of Paul's exact meaning, as is evident by the differences among modern scholars, Silva points out that Paul apparently expected his first readers to understand his meaning without any additional explanation. In his words, "that alone is something of a clue."⁸⁷

The most common and traditional interpretation is that the phrase refers to those who attempt to be justified by works of the law, or legalists. Hence, the English translation (including in popular contemporary Bible versions such as CEB, ESV, GNT, TLB, NIV, RSV, et al.) commonly is rendered as those who "rely on the works of the law." This was Luther's view,⁸⁸ and one that is held by numerous scholars today as well, including Moo,⁸⁹ Silva,⁹⁰ Schreiner,⁹¹ R. Longenecker,⁹² B. Longenecker,⁹³ and Guy Prentiss Waters.⁹⁴

The implied assumption in this view is that it is humanly impossible to keep the law perfectly, and that those who attempt to do so will fail.⁹⁵ Consequently, legalism is

⁸⁵ Stanley, "Under a Curse," 501.

⁸⁶ Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, 232-33.

⁸⁷ Silva, *Interpreting Galatians*, 226.

⁸⁸ Luther, *Galatians*, 161-67.

⁸⁹ Moo, *Galatians*, 203-4.

⁹⁰ Silva, *Interpreting Galatians*, 229, 232.

⁹¹ Schreiner, *Galatians*, 203-307; Schreiner, *Paul, Apostle of God's Glory*, 23, 110, 114; Thomas R. Schreiner, *The Law and Its Fulfillment: A Pauline Theology of Law* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1993), 44-63.

⁹² R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 117-18.

⁹³ B. Longenecker, *The Triumph*, 134-42.

⁹⁴ Guy Prentiss Waters, *Justification and the New Perspectives on Paul: A Review and Response* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2004), 168-70.

⁹⁵ Moo, *Galatians*, 202; Waters, *Justification and the New Perspectives*, 168; Morales, *Spirit and Restoration*, 88. This is also the view expressed by Daniel P. Fuller, "Paul and 'The Works of the Law,'" *WTJ* 38 (1975): 31. He seemed to assume that was the view of all exegetes at the time. On the basis of

a faulty pursuit not only because of the deceptive view of one's potential for goodness because those who rely on the law for justification are doomed; the only possible outcome is a curse.

Yet there is good reason to challenge the long-held view that Paul is talking about legalism in Gal. 3:10. As the paragraph concludes, Paul writes of Christ becoming the curse and redeeming "us" from the curse "so that we might receive the promised Spirit through faith." The traditional rendering within this context would have Christ dying only to redeem the legalists. It makes more sense to understand Paul to be saying that Christ had taken on the curse of the entire Jewish race and redeemed them, that they might receive the promised Holy Spirit. Additionally, Paul's use of the first person plural, as applied throughout Galatians, strongly suggests that he is speaking of the Jews and including himself.

Frank Thielman,⁹⁶ James M. Scott,⁹⁷ Caneday,⁹⁸ and Gordon have all suggested that "those of the works of the law" is a reference to all Jews under the Sinai covenant.⁹⁹ Gordon vehemently objects to the common addition of "rely on" in the many English translations of 3:10, which he considers uncalled for and grossly misleading. He proposes instead that the phrase be translated simply, "those of the works of the Law,"

Gal. 3:10, G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932), III:150-51, determined that Paul ignored any Jewish doctrine of repentance. See also Stephen Westerholm, *Perspectives Old and New on Paul: The "Lutheran" Paul and His Critics* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 377. See Thomas R. Schreiner, "Is Perfect Obedience to the Law Possible? A Re-Examination of Galatians 3:10," *JETS* 27 (1984): 151-60, esp. 155-57. He particularly attacks Fuller's case for legalism, insisting that it is not the sin of bribing God that is the issue, but the to obey perfectly. For the opposite view, which is critical of Schreiner, see Michael Cranford, "The Possibility of Perfect Obedience: Paul and an Implied Premise in Galatians 3:10 and 5:3," *NovT* 36 (1994): 242-58. He seems to be advocating for "partial obedience," 249.

⁹⁶ Frank Thielman, *From Plight to Solution: A Jewish Framework for Understanding Paul's View of the Law in Galatians and Romans* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 66-69.

⁹⁷ James M. Scott, "For As Many As Are of the Works of the Law Are Under a Curse (Galatians 3:10)." In *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*, Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, eds. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 187-221.

⁹⁸ Caneday, "Redeemed From the Curse," 192-95.

⁹⁹ Gordon, "Abraham and Sinai," 245.

meaning “those who are characterized by” the works of the law.¹⁰⁰ Yet, he does not consider the term ambiguous.

Since the law was given specifically to the Jews, Gordon asserts that Paul is obviously referring to them specifically in 3:10.¹⁰¹ He notes that other scholars have claimed that the Torah is the “distinguishing symbol” of the Jews.¹⁰² Paul is arguing, according to Gordon, that while under the Sinai covenant, Jews have already been under a curse for not keeping the law.¹⁰³ They experienced the curses of Deuteronomy 28, including the exile.¹⁰⁴ But now that Christ has come, the law has served its purpose. Indeed, this is Paul’s major argument in the letter.¹⁰⁵

Gordon’s view is the most consistent with the grammar within the passage, the larger context of Galatians, and salvation history. Paul is discussing the dilemma of the Jews, most especially in 3:10-12: they were placed under the covenant of a law that they could not keep. It demanded perfection or consequently delivered a curse. Therefore all Israel was cursed. At the same time Paul reveals that the just do not actually live by the works of the law but by faith. The Jews are to place their faith in Christ, who became their curse for them and subsequently redeemed them (v. 13). He came to deliver them, to bring them out of their captivity of the law, which only cursed and could not bring life, and bring them into a NE through faith in him, characterized by life in the Spirit. And through faith, as Paul writes in v. 14, the blessing of Abraham, the promised Spirit, is extended to the Gentiles—once again a motif of the NE.

Gordon’s argument makes good sense in the larger context of Galatians 3, in which Paul compares the covenant made with Abraham to the Sinai covenant. Gordon

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 244-45. He calls the phrase *rely on* “utterly gratuitous,” and blames it on “theological prejudice.”

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 245.

¹⁰² Cousar, *Galatians*, 71, 78. Jacob Neusner also writes, “To be a Jew may similarly be reduced to a single, pervasive symbol of Judaism: Torah. To be a Jew means to live the life of Torah, in one of the many ways in which the masters of the Torah taught,” Neusner, *Judaism in the Beginnings of Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 13.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ See also Thielman, *From Plight to Solution*, 68-70.

¹⁰⁵ T. David Gordon, “The Problem at Galatia,” *Int* 41 (1987): 43.

suggests that the covenant with Abraham is closely related to the New Covenant in Christ, in which faith operates to justify. Therefore, he argues that Paul is discussing two biblical covenants in this passage—Sinai/law and the Abrahamic/New Covenant of faith. “Those of faith” are all those who profess faith in Christ, whereas “those of the works of the law” are Jews who remain under the Sinai covenant, observing what the law commands.

Gordon believes that Galatians can be better understood if one recognizes that Paul is employing a covenant-historical approach,¹⁰⁶ meaning that the error of those who oppose Paul is that they do not understand the function of the law in Israel’s salvation history: the Sinai covenant was a temporary covenant that was to last from the time of Moses until the Messiah was revealed.¹⁰⁷

5. Law vs. Promise (3:15-29)

Although the antithesis between law and promise is not explicitly treated until vv. 15 and following, Paul has actually been addressing both elements from the beginning of the chapter. He has only used the actual word ἐπαγγελία once prior to 3:15 (v. 14), but has spoken generally of God’s promises to Abraham in v. 8. In the first fourteen verses of Galatians 3, the major antithesis has been the works of the law vs. faith (in two different forms), with Abraham’s faith serving as a paradigm.

In 3:15-29, Paul now speaks of promise and law as two distinct covenants, which are different enough to appear to be at odds with one other. Yet he immediately asserts that the law, given 430 years after the promise, did not annul the promise, but was instead instrumental in assuring the fulfillment of the promise (vv. 17, 22-24). The passage speaks of imprisonment and liberation, which are crucial NE concepts.

¹⁰⁶ Gordon, “Promise, Law, Faith,” 6-9 et passim.

¹⁰⁷ Frank Thielman, *Paul and the Law: A Contextual Approach* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1994), 122.

Before exploring the antithesis of law and promise and its relation to the NE theme, it is first necessary to discuss and clarify two terms that Paul uses. The first is the way that he interprets the word σπέρμα in 3:16 and 18.

5.1. Abraham's Seed (σπέρμα)

As Paul discusses the Abrahamic promises, he appears to take great hermeneutical liberty with the word σπέρμα in v. 16, both in interpreting it as singular rather than the normal collective sense,¹⁰⁸ and in applying it particularly to Christ. Moo notes four helpful things about Paul's hermeneutics regarding the passage.¹⁰⁹ First, care must be taken not to insist on imposing contemporary interpretive rules upon Paul, as his method is quite in line with varieties of rabbinic interpretation of his time.¹¹⁰ Second, Paul understands the normal collective sense of σπέρμα, as he uses the same word collectively in 3:29.¹¹¹ Yet, the unanswered question remains: is he reinterpreting the source verse(s) from Genesis (specifics to be argued below) or informing the readers what the author originally meant? Third, the larger Genesis context does in fact use σπέρμα in a singular sense at different times, such as when referring to Isaac as Abraham's seed or descendant.¹¹² And finally, Paul's application of σπέρμα to Christ may have its roots in the interpretation of LXX passages regarding the "seed" of David, such as 2 Sam 7:12-13.

Regarding a messianic interpretation of the σπέρμα in 2 Sam. 7, Max Wilcox has noted that in Jer. 33:21-22, the promises of descendants as numberless as the stars of the heavens or the grains of sand on the seashore—given to Abraham in Gen. 22:17, e.g.—are now applied to David, thus creating a linkage between the two men and their

¹⁰⁸ BDAG.

¹⁰⁹ Moo, *Galatians*, 229-30.

¹¹⁰ Dunn, *Galatians*, 184, and Bruce, *Galatians*, 172-73 also both affirm Moo's comments.

¹¹¹ See also Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, 244, and de Boer, *Galatians*, 222.

¹¹² Moo does not specify any passages he has in mind. One instance in which σπέρμα appears to be singular is in Gen. 21:13, a reference to Abraham's son Ishmael.

seed.¹¹³ Wilcox also notes that the Targum to Psa. 89:4 inserts Abraham's name for the chosen one, reading:

I made a covenant with *Abraham* my chosen;
I *confirmed* it with my servant David.¹¹⁴

In the following verse God promises to establish his (presumably David's) seed forever, which in the Aramaic is translated as "sons."

Dunn claims that a messianic interpretation of the psalm would have had great appeal to many devout Jewish interpreters, as the Messiah was understood to be the ultimate fulfillment of the promises to Abraham, and was to be of David's lineage.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, as Hays has noted, 4QFlor 1:10-11 interprets the 2 Sam. 7:12-14 passage messianically:

"Moreover the Lord decl[ares] to you that He will make you a house," and that "I will raise up your offspring after you, and establish the throne of his kingdom [fore]ver. I will be a father to him, and he will be My son" (2 Sam. 7:11c, 112b, 13b-14a). This passage refers to the Shoot of David, who is to arise.¹¹⁶

5.1.1. Σπέρμα in Genesis.

C. John Collins has convincingly shown that σπέρμα is used in both the singular and plural (collective) sense in Genesis, consistently depending on the gender of the corresponding pronouns.¹¹⁷ When the masculine pronoun is used, for example, as in Gen. 22:17-18 and 24:60, σπέρμα is to be read as singular. Appealing to the additional strength of Alexander's contribution to Collins's thesis,¹¹⁸ it is very probable that the

¹¹³ Max Wilcox, "The Promise of the 'Seed' in the New Testament and the Targumim," *JSNT* 5 (1979): 7.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 5; Edward M. Cook, trans. *The Psalms Targum: An English Translation*, 2001.

www.targum.info/targumic-texts/targum-psalms. In Wilcox's translation, the verb in 4b is rendered "swore," whereas in Cook's, it is "confirmed," suggesting a stronger link.

¹¹⁵ Dunn, *Galatians*, 184. See also Moo, *Galatians*, 230, who comments vaguely that later interpretations interpreted the "seed" of 2 Sam. 7:12 to refer to the Messiah.

¹¹⁶ Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 85; De Boer, *Galatians*, 223, cites the same. See also Moo, *Galatians*, 229-30.

¹¹⁷ C. John Collins, "A Syntactical Note (Genesis 3:15): Is the Woman's Seed Singular or Plural?," *TynBul* 48 (1997): 139-48. See, for example, 144-45, where he shows that σπέρμα in Gen. 3:15 ought to be read as singular.

¹¹⁸ T. D. Alexander, "Further Observations on the Term 'Seed' in Genesis," *TynBul* 4 (1997): 363-67.

Gen. 22 reference is the source text for Gal. 3:16.¹¹⁹ If Collins is correct, Paul is using Isaac as a type of Christ, for Abraham's son is certainly in mind in the immediate context. After examining Collins's method and conclusions, the evidence is convincing.¹²⁰

Schreiner understands the seed in v. 16 to refer back to Gen. 3:15.¹²¹ He appears to be following James Hamilton, who has argued persuasively that the promises to Abraham in Gen. 12:1-3 were part of the reversal of the curse from Genesis 3, particularly building on the promise of Gen. 3:15. This was to be fulfilled in the Davidic line and is affirmed in both Mary's and Zechariah's words in the birth narratives in Luke's Gospel (Luke 1:46-55; 68-79).¹²² Although these promises are likely related (perhaps typologically), Schreiner does not mention the specific covenant promises made to Abraham himself.

5.1.2. *Christ as corporate figure.*

Another consideration for Paul's application of σπέρμα to Abraham's singular descendant, namely Christ, is that Christ should be understood in a corporate sense, representing all believers.¹²³ This solution has the benefit of tying together the remainder of Galatians 3, which begins by Abraham's true sons and daughters (those of faith) receiving the Spirit and being counted righteous, and ends with the affirmation in verse 29 that "if you are Christ's, then you are Abraham's offspring, heirs according to

¹¹⁹ C. John Collins, "Galatians 3:16: What Kind of Exegete Was Paul?," *TynBul* 54 (2003): 75-86.

Although Collins admits the connection between the two verses is not perfect, he writes, "The best criterion for whether this is Paul's source is whether it allows us to make sense of his argument."

¹²⁰ See, however, Schreiner's rebuttal surrounding the lack of the word και in Gen. 22:17-18: Schreiner, *Galatians*, 230.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² James M. Hamilton, Jr., "The Seed of the Woman and the Blessing of Abraham," *TynBul* 58 (2007): 253-73; esp. 258, 260-61, 269-71.

¹²³ De Boer, *Galatians*, 223; Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, 244-45; B. Longenecker, *The Triumph*, 133; N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology*, 2nd ed.

(Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 164-65; Hays, *Echoes*, 121; Schreiner, *Galatians*, 230; J. Christiaan Beker, *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 96.

promise.” Following this interpretation, Paul would be claiming that the promises were made to Abraham and to all his offspring through Christ.

Moo’s view is only slightly different. He suggests that Paul means that the promises all become concentrated in Jesus Christ, “through whom those promises become applicable to a worldwide people.”¹²⁴ Therefore, Christ is the means of the blessing rather than the recipient. Moo’s expression emphasizes the believers’ union with Christ as well and is equally correct. It is interesting to see that Paul consistently has Christ in mind as the σπέρμα until 3:29, in which case it now refers to believers who are heirs according to the promise made to Abraham.

In trying to determine the meaning of 3:16, most of the difficulty in understanding how Christ can be the recipient of the promise, when one might instead expect believers to be, is the question of the interpretation of the word ἐπαγγελία.

5.2. Nature of the Promise (ἐπαγγελία)

5.2.1. Use of ἐπαγγελία in Galatians 3.

Commentators do not agree on the content or substance of the promise or promises (singular in 3:14, 17, 18, 19, 22, 29 and plural in 3:16, 21) throughout Galatians 3, and some hardly address the question at all, never explaining what precisely is being promised. Sam Williams remarks on the same, commenting, “By the time they get to 3:16 and 18, many scholars seem to have forgotten that earlier they had interpreted *hē epangelia tou pneumatos* as the promise of the Spirit.”¹²⁵ Witherington, for example, speaks of God’s gracious gift to the Gentiles “in the form of the Spirit in 3.1-5,” but then he continues talking about a status and a promise to Abraham as a source of that later “‘Spiritual’ blessing to the Gentiles,” without explaining what he

¹²⁴ Moo, *Galatians*, 230.

¹²⁵ Sam K. Williams, “Promise in Galatians: A Reading of Paul’s Reading of Scripture,” *JBL* 107 (1988): 709n3.

means.¹²⁶ He then contends that through Abraham, the Galatians already have promise, Christ, and the Spirit.¹²⁷ Though he speaks of these spiritual benefits, the definition of “promise” remains elusive.

The first occurrence of ἐπαγγελία in Galatians is in 3:14, where it is used in the phrase τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος. Grammatically speaking, this can be interpreted as (1) the Spirit’s promise (what the Spirit has promised or promises); (2) the promise that the Spirit would be given; (3) the Spirit who is the promise of that which is to come (deposit guaranteed); or the most common, (4) the promised Spirit, who was promised to come and has now been poured out on those who believe.¹²⁸ For contextual reasons, Williams’s rejection of the first three options is surely correct. It is clear that the Spirit has come, from reading 3:1-5, and the fourth option is the only one that makes good sense.

Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that in 3:14, the first explicit use of the word ἐπαγγελία, Paul is saying that the promise is the Spirit himself who has been given. As a result of Christ becoming a curse and redeeming those who were under the curse of the law, believers receive the blessing of Abraham (justification) and the promise of the Spirit through faith. Paul is declaring the NE motif of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

When, however, Paul mentions the ἐπαγγελίαι (plural) made to Abraham in 3:16, one would naturally think of the promises of land, countless descendants, and blessings to other nations through him (Gen. 12:1-3; 15:1-5; 17:1-8; 22:15-18).¹²⁹ And although Paul does not use the word ἐπαγγελία in 3:8, there is the implicit but unmistakable reference to a promise in his reference to God preaching the gospel beforehand to Abraham, saying, “In you shall all the nations be blessed.” It is therefore

¹²⁶ Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, 246.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ Williams, “Promise in Galatians,” 711-12.

¹²⁹ Moo, *Galatians*, 228. See also Jeffrey J. Niehaus, “God’s Covenant with Abraham,” *JETS* 56 (2013): 251. Niehaus also includes Gen. 13:15-16; 15:18; 26:3-4.

likely that the promises in 3:16 refer to at least a portion of the tripartite covenantal promise God made to Abraham as recorded in Genesis.

If this is correct, then it cannot be assumed that every time Paul uses the word *ἐπαγγελία* in Galatians 3, he is talking about the gift of the Spirit. It also raises the immediate question in 3:16 as to what precisely is promised to Abraham's *σπέρμα*, whom Paul explains is Christ. This question ought to be answered, but is generally neglected; it will be answered shortly in this chapter.

Several scholars insist that what is meant by the promise to Abraham's *σπέρμα* is consistently the gift of the Spirit; they attempt to show that Abraham was in some way promised the Spirit. De Boer, for example, suggests that in Paul's theology, the Spirit has replaced the promise of the land (based on 3:6-9, 18).¹³⁰ Acknowledging that the land plays no role in Paul's argument, de Boer argues instead that the Spirit incorporates the other two promises (descendants, blessing to the nations) and that the land is a type of the Spirit. Therefore, God was promising the Spirit when he promised the land. Yet the only basis for the typology suggestion appears to be Paul's silence about the land. De Boer makes no case for an organic connection between the land and the Spirit.

Williams also believes that God promised Abraham the Spirit—yet not when he promised him the land, but rather when he promised him countless descendants. His reasoning is that it is through the Spirit that believers become true sons and daughters of Abraham.¹³¹ Although this suggestion is more satisfactory than de Boer's typological solution, it would seem odd for Paul to omit the connection.

Williams mentions but rejects the possibility that Paul might have in mind the promise of the Spirit spoken through the prophets, such as Joel (3:1-2, LXX), Ezekiel (11:19; 36:26; 37:14; 39:29), or Isaiah (32:15; 44:3 59:21). His reasoning is that Paul

¹³⁰ De Boer, *Galatians*, 224. His use of 3:18 for support seems unfounded.

¹³¹ Williams, "Promise in Galatians," 714-15.

cites no prophets except for the Habakkuk and Isaiah citations at Gal. 3:11 and 4:27, respectively.¹³² Yet Paul's lack of specific citation should not be so much the issue as the lack of scriptural record that God had specifically promised Abraham the Spirit.

5.2.2. Promises in 3:15-29.

Since 3:15-29 is mostly a self-contained unit of thought on the relationship between the promise and the law (as still will be shown), it is probable that Paul would be using the word *ἐπαγγελία* consistently throughout the argument. This consistent usage will therefore be assumed in the following discussion and tested to verify if the argument holds together. The baseline assumption will be that the promise is the tripartite covenantal promise made to Abraham several times in Genesis, yet will be modified as the context seems to require. While this is done, the relationship to the NE will be expounded upon.

Martyn and de Boer both argue that Paul is citing Gen. 17:8 in Gal. 3:16.¹³³ Schreiner suggests that Paul is alluding to either Gen. 13:15 or 17:8 on the basis of the inclusion of the word *καί* in the phrase *καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου*, which is a simpler argument than that of Martyn and de Boer, and more logical as well.¹³⁴ Both of these verses feature the promise of the land to Abraham.

It was mentioned above that Collins rejects the possibility that Paul has the promise of land in mind anywhere in Galatians. He is following Bruce who writes, "The reference to the land . . . plays no part in the argument of Galatians."¹³⁵ Collins and Bruce are probably correct in that the land is not relevant to Paul's argument. Of the three promises made to Abraham, his descendants did realize this particular one after

¹³² Ibid., 713-14.

¹³³ De Boer, *Galatians*, 222; Martyn, *Galatians*, 339. Gen. 15:18 and 26:3-4 also contain the same phrase "to your offspring"; 22:17-18 refers to offspring several times. De Boer, *Galatians*, 222n319, believes it is 17:8, because the word *covenant* occurs in the immediate context (17:2, 4, 7), and not so in Gen. 13:5 or 24:7. Gen. 15:8, however, does refer to a covenant with Abraham, yet not to his seed.

¹³⁴ Schreiner, *Galatians*, 228, 230.

¹³⁵ Bruce, *Galatians*, 172. Collins cites Bruce in Collins, "Galatians 3:16," 83.

the exodus under Joshua's leadership, although the complete conquest and retention of the land were conditional on faithfulness to the Sinaitic covenant. Furthermore, the physical land is never alluded to in Galatians. There is no compelling reason, therefore, to transpose this promise into the New Covenant, at least in the Galatians context.

The promise of numberless descendants continues to be fulfilled in the New Covenant as believers are reckoned as Abraham's children through faith, Jews as well as Gentiles. And the promise of being a blessing to the nations is closely related to the second, as the gospel crosses over national and ethnic boundaries. Once again, the Gentile inclusion is a strong motif within the NE theme, as presented in chapter 3.

In 3:17, 18, and possibly 21, the promise(s) refers to or at least includes these promises made to Abraham. In v. 17 Paul writes that the Sinaitic covenant did not void the Abrahamic covenant. In v. 18 he adds that God gave Abraham an inheritance (κληρονομία) by promise rather than the law. This use of the word κληρονομία, which is used in other forms in 3:29; 4:1, 7 ("heir"), 30; and 5:21 ("inherit"), appears to be a synonym here to ἐπαγγελία: Abraham is promised to inherit, and he will inherit the promise(s).

In 3:19 and possibly 21, the recipient of the promise, as in the latter half of 3:16, is Abraham. Verse 19 speaks of the reason the law was given (see below) and the temporal nature of the law—until the offspring should come to whom the promise had been made (ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ τὸ σπέρμα ᾧ ἐπήγγελται). This parallels 3:16, and the recipient can refer to none other than Abraham. Once again, the σπέρμα must be Christ, to be consistent with 3:16. The mention of Christ's coming suggests the instrumentality and timing of the event in the fulfillment of the promise to Abraham. And in v. 22. Paul says that all who trust in Christ will also receive the promise.

Moo suggests that the promise in this verse is *righteousness*, since the immediate context (v. 21) is justification.¹³⁶ De Boer suggests that it is the *Spirit*, as it has been earlier in the letter (3:14; see earlier discussion). And Schreiner contends that the promise is the same as the *inheritance*, presumably since the word is used in v. 18 (κληρονομία) and in another form in v. 29 (heir(s)/κληρονόμος), therefore fitting the context. Of these three possibilities, the likelihood of the promise referring to the Spirit is the lowest, for reasons stated earlier. Primarily, the issue is that the promise as the Spirit does not fit the immediate context. Schreiner's use of the word *inheritance* (κληρονομία) is certainly acceptable, yet it only serves as a synonym. It would seem that Schreiner did not intend to elaborate on the content of the inheritance. Moo's suggestion of righteousness has the most merit, given that in the immediately preceding verse (v. 21), Paul states that law was unable to produce life, and therefore righteousness must be obtained another way. In v. 24 Paul writes that the law imprisoned "us" until Christ came in order that "we" might be justified by faith. Paul then concludes the section emphasizing believers' unity with Christ through faith, according to the promise. Righteousness (justification) through faith is indeed emphasized throughout this section.

The final mention of a promise in chapter 3 is in v. 29, which echoes v. 22. Those who are in Christ, who are also Abraham's offspring, are heirs and also recipients of the promise by virtue of both their union with Christ and their relationship as sons or daughters of Abraham.

Having shown that Paul is referring to the covenantal promises God made to Abraham through Gal. 3:15-29, it is now necessary to return to the question: how can Paul say that these promises were made to Christ, the offspring of Abraham (3:16)? It

¹³⁶ Moo, *Galatians*, 240.

has been suggested that the promises to Christ to which Paul refers in these verses parallel the very promises to Abraham: land, offspring, and being a blessing.¹³⁷

5.2.2.1. Land.

The promise of the land made to Abraham, although already deemed to be irrelevant in Galatians, could prove to be relevant in the case of Christ. The inheritance of land can correspond to the promises of the very heavens and the earth (Col. 1:15-20; Rev. 11:15).¹³⁸ These promises can be found in Ps. 110:1-2, a psalm readily identifiable as messianic:¹³⁹

The LORD says to my Lord:
 “Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies your footstool.”
 The LORD send forth from Zion your mighty scepter.
 Rule in the midst of your enemies!

This psalm clearly alludes to the motif of possessing the gates of one’s enemies, as was also promised to Abraham’s offspring in Gen. 22:17. These passages suggest the conquest of land and expansion of territory and inheritance. And in Ps. 2:7-8, also messianic,¹⁴⁰ the psalmist writes:

I will tell of the decree:
 The LORD said to me, “You are my Son;
 Today I have begotten you.
 Ask of me and I will make the nations your heritage,
 And the ends of the earth your possession.”

In this psalm, Yahweh promises to give the nations to the Davidic Son, that he may rule over them in the messianic age of peace and prosperity as prophesied in Isaiah.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ Williams, “Promise in Galatians,” 716-17, suggests a link between the promises made to Abraham and to Christ based on 3:16. The actual interpretation and conclusions are slightly different and therefore somewhat original.

¹³⁸ Williams, “Promise in Galatians,” 717, argues that God promised to give Abraham the whole world through his offspring. He compares this to Christ in terms of the exercise of authority (Phil. 2:9-11).

¹³⁹ Derek Kidner, *Psalms 73–150: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1975), 391-94.

¹⁴⁰ Derek Kidner, *Psalms 1–72: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1973), 51.

¹⁴¹ This also explains the genuine lure of Satan’s temptation (Matt. 4:8-9; Luke 4:5-7) that if Jesus were to worship him, Satan would give him all the kingdoms of the world. They would someday be given over to Jesus, but only after the cross. See Mounce, *Matthew*, 31; Carson, *Matthew*, 114; Walter L. Liefeld, *Luke* in vol. 8 of *The Expositor’s Bible Commentary*, 864.

5.2.2.2. Offspring and being a blessing to the nations.

These two promises are combined because they overlap in the New Covenant, just as they do with Abraham, where the dividing wall between the Jews and Gentiles has been removed. Obviously, the many offspring are coming from many nations and this very act is a blessing to them and a sign of the NE.

Following Collins, if the source for Gal. 3:16 is indeed Gen. 22:17-18, there the Lord says to Abraham, “I will surely bless you, and I will surely multiply your offspring as the stars of heaven and as the sand that is on the seashore. And your offspring shall possess the gate of his enemies, and in your offspring shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because you obeyed my voice.”

Also, one discovers in the Psalms very similar promises made to Christ as the recipient. Commenting on Gal. 3:16, Dunn notes the link between Abraham’s seed and the seed of David, as suggested in Ps. 89:3-4:¹⁴²

You have said, “I have made a covenant with my chosen one;
I have sworn to David my servant:
‘I will establish your offspring forever,
and build your throne for all generations.’”

The parallel between these verses and Gen. 22:17 is striking. It can then be concluded that the Lord promised, as he promised to Abraham, to give to his Christ descendants too many to count and to bless all nations through him. These promises to Christ were made as early as Gen. 3:15 but were also made through the same promises to Abraham in passages such as in Gen. 22:17-18.

Returning to Galatians 3, Paul shows how this promise to Christ is being fulfilled. It would appear that the law would be an obstacle to the promises, but Paul explains in the next several verses how the law functioned positively to serve God’s purpose, to fulfill this promise not only to Abraham, but also to Christ. The Lord has

¹⁴² Dunn, *Galatians*, 184.

promised to give to his Son myriads of descendants, a special offspring. The ingathering of the Gentiles, a motif of the NE, is obviously present in this section of Galatians 3.

It is now necessary, however, to examine the role of the law as Paul explains it in Gal. 3:19-29.

6. Purpose of the Law (3:19–4:7)

Paul then anticipates the logical question or objection: if the law does not justify and does not actually bring about the promises of God, why was the law given? Consequently, the law's purpose becomes the focus of 3:19–4:7. The following discussion seeks to clarify what is necessary to show the relevance of these verses to the NE theme.

6.1. Because/For the Sake of Transgressions (τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν) (3:19)

Paul's answer to his own question is, unfortunately, not entirely lucid in its brevity. As Sanders notes, the question is clear enough, yet Paul's answer is not. The reason for his enigmatic response, according to Sanders, is that, as a Jew, Paul certainly cannot reject God's plan for giving the law, even though he knows that it does not bring salvation.¹⁴³ Although Paul supplies his own answer, a temporal modifier ("until the offspring should come"), his basic answer is that the law was added τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν, which is usually translated "because of" or "for the sake of" transgressions. Scholars generally identify four possible meanings of this phrase. The law was added for the purpose of (1) identifying sins as transgressions (cf. Rom. 5:20b);¹⁴⁴ (2)

¹⁴³ E. P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1983), 66.

¹⁴⁴ Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, 255-56; Moo, *Galatians*, 234; and Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant*, 172, prefer this view.

restraining sin;¹⁴⁵ (3) dealing with sin in punishment¹⁴⁶ and sacrifice for atonement,¹⁴⁷ and (4) provoking or causing more sin.¹⁴⁸

Moo highlights Paul's use of παράβασις rather than ἁμαρτία, thereby stressing the transgression of a law.¹⁴⁹ Paul does indeed seem to use that word very definitively (cf. Rom. 2:23; 4:15; 5:14; 1 Tim. 2:14), which seems to support the idea that the law was given for the sake of transgressions—or the first option above. In this understanding, the law was put in place to help identify and classify sins as transgressions.

Some scholars prefer not to choose, believing that Paul might not intend to be specific. R. Longenecker, for example, supports both the idea of identifying sins as transgressions (as Moo does) and the idea of provoking/increasing the number of sins.¹⁵⁰

It is difficult to be sure of Paul's meaning, and it may be unnecessary to choose only one option over another; a final determination likely does not affect what else Paul is saying about the law. Whatever the phrase means, the law served a temporary purpose—for the sake of transgressions—only until the promised offspring should come, as v. 19 continues.

The remainder of vv. 19 and 20, particularly the reference to angels, could potentially sidetrack this discussion.¹⁵¹ In the interest of limited space and time, the only point of concern here will be the reference to the intermediary, who is generally understood to be Moses. It was through Moses that God instituted the covenant at Sinai.

¹⁴⁵ David L. Lull, "'The Law Was Our Pedagogue': A Study in Galatians 3:19-25," *JBL* 105 (1986): 482-83.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 483 also considers this as a viable option.

¹⁴⁷ Dunn, *Galatians*, 189-90, favors this view.

¹⁴⁸ Betz, *Galatians*, 164-65 and Schreiner, *Galatians*, 240, prefer this view.

¹⁴⁹ Moo, *Galatians*, 234.

¹⁵⁰ R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 138-39.

¹⁵¹ See, for example, Hans Hübner, *Law in Paul's Thought: A Contribution to the Development of Pauline Theology*, trans. James C. G. Greig (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1984), 24-36. He argues that "demonic" angels are the intermediaries who instituted the law, which therefore dissociated it from God himself. Hübner believes that the evil nature of the angels also helped support Paul's apparent negativity toward the law. Martyn, *Galatians*, 365, also believes that God was not present at the giving of the law.

J. Duncan Derrett has observed what was stated earlier, that later Scripture and Jewish thought regarded the Sinai covenant as a marriage ceremony between Yahweh and his people. Perhaps with Gal. 3:19-20 in mind, Derrett says that since Moses negotiated the covenant between Yahweh and the people, the OT patriarch was essentially a *marriage broker*.¹⁵² Thus, there is the hint of the divine marriage in the NE, renewing or recapitulating that initial marriage of God with his people at Sinai.

6.2. Scripture Locked Up All Under Sin (συνέκλεισεν ἡ γραφή τὰ πάντα ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν) (3:22)

Paul usually has a particular verse or passage in mind when he uses the word *γραφή*,¹⁵³ and therefore several scholars have suggested that Paul is alluding to Deut. 27:26.¹⁵⁴ This is possible. Most scholars, however, have concluded that in this case, particularly since he cites no verse in the immediate context, Paul actually means the larger context of the law,¹⁵⁵ whereas others interpret Paul to mean the Scripture generally,¹⁵⁶ or even to be using the term interchangeably with *God*.¹⁵⁷

If Paul does mean the law, as most commentators believe, what can Paul mean by his assertion that the Scripture (law) has constrained everything under sin? Again, there are a few viable choices.

Moo's view is that Paul is portraying sin as a power exerting itself over everything and bringing with it condemnation.¹⁵⁸ It is a broad statement, and *πάντα* is a vague term that might include humans only,¹⁵⁹ or possibly the whole cosmos.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵² J. Duncan M. Derrett, *Law in the New Testament* (London: Darton, Longman, & Todd, 1970), 401.

¹⁵³ Moo, *Galatians*, 239.

¹⁵⁴ R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 144; Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 146; Ernest de Witt Burton, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), 195.

¹⁵⁵ Martyn, *Galatians*, 360; Moo, *Galatians*, 239; Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, 173; Bruce, *Galatians*, 180.

¹⁵⁶ Dunn, *Galatians*, 194; Leon Morris, *Galatians: Paul's Charter of Christian Freedom* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1996), 116; Schreiner, *Galatians*, 244; Linda Belleville, "Under Law: Structural Analysis and the Pauline Concept of Law in Galatians 3.21-4.11," *JSNT* 26 (1986): 56.

¹⁵⁷ De Boer, *Galatians*, 234-35

¹⁵⁸ Moo, *Galatians*, 240. See also Dunn, *Galatians*, 194; Belleville, "Under Law," 56.

¹⁵⁹ R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 144.

¹⁶⁰ Martyn, *Galatians*, 360; Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, 260.

N. T. Wright sees the law as the obstacle to God's plan to establish his one family of Jews-Gentiles; after all, the law was given specifically to the Jews. He agrees that Paul is using γραφή interchangeably with law, and says that it has the effect of placing the whole world under sin (cf. Rom. 11:32)¹⁶¹ and in need of deliverance ("membership," to use his word) through faith in Jesus Christ.¹⁶²

Witherington suggests that the statement might be taken apocalyptically: the entire created order was under the power of sin after the fall of Adam and Eve.¹⁶³ One of the things that makes this view attractive is that it takes seriously the term τὰ πάντα in the verse; it applies to both Jews and Gentiles. In order for this verse to make sense in the context, the law must be referring to God's judgment upon creation in Genesis 3. This also helps to explain why Paul uses the word γραφή instead of νόμος. If the passage has the curse of Genesis 3 in mind, then it also has the promise of the Savior in Gen. 3:15 in mind, to which our passage also alludes.

The weakness of Witherington's view is that it has Paul talking about the law, inexplicably jumping back to Eden for one verse, and then returning to Sinai once more without making it explicitly clear that he has done so. Nevertheless, it answers more important questions (such as the meaning of "imprisoning all under sin") than the less troubling ones it raises.

Even when God gives Abraham the original promise, there is the announcing of upcoming captivity. When God performs the solemn covenant ceremony to assure Abraham that he will indeed possess the land as promised in Gen. 15:8-27, the Lord also foretells the four-hundred-year bondage in Egypt and the exodus. In so doing, he is telling Abraham that nothing will prevent the promise, not even captivity.

¹⁶¹ This verse, at first glance, appears to be saying almost the same as Gal. 3:22. Witherington, 260, notes a couple of helpful differences. One is that in Romans it is God who does the confining, but that is not so convincing. The second difference is that in Galatians the reference is to all things, rather than to people, giving the idea of a cosmic constraint, which is addressed in further discussion. Nevertheless, Wright may be correct.

¹⁶² Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant*, 172.

¹⁶³ Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, 260-61.

And so, in v. 23, Paul returns to his discussion of what the law accomplished. For reasons that hopefully will be made clear below, this verse will be skipped and returned to shortly.

6.3. Παιδαγωγός

In 3:24 Paul introduces a new metaphor to explain the purpose for the law. It is necessary to discuss this because of the great amount of attention and speculation this term—*παιδαγωγός*—has received over the centuries, but especially because of its relevance for the question of Paul's use of the term in relation to the NE.

6.3.1. Preliminary definition.

Much has been written in the attempt to explain Paul's ostensible borrowing of this word with its accompanying practice from the Greco-Roman world, although its apparent adoption among some wealthier Jews means that the term was likely universally familiar to the original readers.¹⁶⁴ In short, a *παιδαγωγός* was a slave assigned to the care of a minor child, almost always a boy, from the time he was old enough to be separated from his mother and begin his schooling until he entered adulthood.¹⁶⁵ Although the specific tasks might have varied from family to family, the *παιδαγωγός* generally had the responsibility to escort the boy to and from school,¹⁶⁶ to supervise his assignments, and to oversee his adherence to basic ethical¹⁶⁷ and social norms.¹⁶⁸ He did not teach¹⁶⁹ (hence, the English transliterated word *pedagogue* is misleading, and the translation *tutor* or *schoolmaster* is surely off the mark, and therefore the KJV and NASB renderings ought to be rejected), but he may have

¹⁶⁴ Norman H. Young, "Paidagogos: The Social Setting of a Pauline Metaphor," *NovT* 34 (1987): 150. Hence, the word became a loan word in Jewish literature. See also Michael J. Smith, "The Role of the Pedagogue in Galatians," *BSac* 163 (2006): 198-99.

¹⁶⁵ Smith, "The Role of the Pedagogue," 200; N. Young, "Paidagogos," 156-57, 169.

¹⁶⁶ Smith, "The Role of the Pedagogue," 197.

¹⁶⁷ Lull, "The Law Was Our Pedagogue," 495, 497, stresses the pedagogue's role in restraining his charge's lusts of the flesh.

¹⁶⁸ Smith, "The Role of the Pedagogue," 201.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 197-98.

disciplined¹⁷⁰ and likely had custodial responsibilities,¹⁷¹ including protecting his charge from harm such as from sexual predators.¹⁷²

Some scholars have made a point of the lowly status of the παιδαγωγός,¹⁷³ whose role was even mocked and caricatured in Greek plays,¹⁷⁴ but there is nothing in the Galatians context that indicates Paul has these characteristics in mind. Indeed, it would be foolish to import such peripheral depictions into Paul's statements.¹⁷⁵

6.3.2. Jewish term?

A. T. Hanson has suggested that Paul is not borrowing the term παιδαγωγός from Greco-Roman culture but actually from Judaism.¹⁷⁶ He suggests that Paul bases his imagery and word choice on Num. 11:11-12, in which Moses reacts to God's anger over the Israelites' misbehavior and complaining spirit in the desert:

Moses said to the Lord, "Why have you dealt ill with your servant? And why have I not found favor in your sight, that you lay the burden of all this people on me? Did I conceive all this people? Did I give them birth that you should say to me, 'Carry them at your bosom, as a nurse carries a nursing child,' to the land that you swore to give their fathers?"

Hanson points out that the Hebrew for nurse is נִזְנֵה, rendered by the LXX as τιθηνός.¹⁷⁷ In the Targumim, however, the word becomes *guardian* (Targumim Pseudo-Jonathan and Neofiti both use an Aramaic transliteration of παιδαγωγός).¹⁷⁸ Hanson also writes that in Jewish exegetical tradition, Moses was often depicted as a παιδαγωγός to Israel.¹⁷⁹ He concludes that by having Num. 11:11-12 in mind when

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 201; Richard N. Longenecker, "The Pedagogical Nature of the Law in Galatians," in *JETS* 25 (1982): 53.

¹⁷¹ R. Longenecker, "Pedagogical Nature," 53, 54.

¹⁷² N. Young, "Paidagogos," 158-59. Young describes the role of the παιδαγωγός as a fierce guard at times, even beating off sexual advances, which presumably would be homosexual. See also Lull, "The Law Was Our Pedagogue," 489.

¹⁷³ Smith, "The Role of the Pedagogue," 200.

¹⁷⁴ N. Young, "Paidagogos," 161. He suggests a portrayal as a "strict kill-joy." Betz, *Galatians*, 177, says that he was portrayed as a comic type or an ugly character, such as Fate.

¹⁷⁵ R. Longenecker, "Pedagogical Nature," 55.

¹⁷⁶ A. T. Hanson, "The Origin of Paul's Use of ΠΑΙΔΑΓΩΓΟΣ for the Law," *JSNT* 34 (1988): 71-76.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 71.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 71-72.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 72. Hanson writes, 73, as does R. Longenecker, "Pedagogical Nature," 55, that in *Numbers Rabbah* 1 (135a) it is recorded that God has given three pedagogues to Israel: Moses, Aaron, and Miriam. R. Longenecker, "Pedagogical Nature," 55, lists several citations in the Talmud where Moses is so

choosing the word παιδαγωγός, Paul hopes “to emphasize the temporary, restrictive, and now obsolete function of the law.”¹⁸⁰ Based on the data that Hanson offers, however, it is not clear how he derives any characteristics of the παιδαγωγός beyond the custodial leadership of Moses, a point which is not in dispute.

6.3.3. *Protective and isolationist role?*

Dunn prefers to emphasize the protective aspect of the παιδαγωγός, claiming that the Jews saw the law as Israel’s guardian angel.¹⁸¹ Although he understands v. 24 as reinforcing v. 23, Dunn argues that Paul uses the metaphor of the παιδαγωγός to stress the positive role of the law in its function to protect Israel from the idolatry of the Gentiles and other evils of the world. The law was designed to shield Israel until the nation came to maturity at the coming of Christ.¹⁸² Smith follows Dunn, with his understanding that the works of the law are those national badges and boundaries that separate Jews from Gentiles,¹⁸³ as do also N. Young¹⁸⁴ and T. D. Gordon.¹⁸⁵

The most compelling case for the protective or custodial role of the παιδαγωγός is put forth by Gordon, who is clearly influenced by Dunn. Since, in Galatians, Paul is primarily concerned about the aspects of the law which distinguish between Jews and Gentiles, Gordon argues, the law “protected Israel from Gentile intermarriage and the corruption of faith,”¹⁸⁶ preserving the seed to ensure David’s line until Christ should be born. Since these distinctions became obsolete once Christ had come, the protective services of the law were no longer necessary.

portrayed (*Exod. Rab.* 21:8; 42:9). These texts can be seen in *The Midrash Rabbah*, eds. Harry Freedman and Maurice Simon, 2nd ed. (London:Soncino Press, 1951). Vol. 4, trans. by S. M. Lehrman; vol. 5, trans. by J. J. Slotki.

¹⁸⁰ Hanson, “The Origin of Paul’s Use,” 75.

¹⁸¹ Dunn, *Galatians*, 197.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 198-99.

¹⁸³ Smith, “The Role of the Pedagogue,” 209-10.

¹⁸⁴ N. Young, “*Paidagogos*,” 171-73.

¹⁸⁵ T. David Gordon, A Note on ΠΑΙΔΑΓΩΓΟΣ in Galatians 3.24-25,” *NTS* 35 (1989): 152-53.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 153.

Gordon's view can be commended to the point that the law did indeed serve to separate the Jews from the Gentiles for both purposes mentioned above. Additionally, although Gordon curiously omits this datum, in the verses following, 3:26-29, Paul speaks of the newly enabled union with Christ among Jewish and Greek believers.

There are several difficulties with Gordon's proposal, however. The first is with the unnecessary narrowing of Paul's concern with the law in Galatians to those ceremonial aspects that specifically separate Jew from Gentile, otherwise known as the national badges. This has already been discussed in chapter 4 of this thesis, but it bears repeating in this context. Although it is clear that at times Paul is specifically addressing circumcision, he does so in relation to the whole law. Furthermore, when Paul uses the expression ἔργα νόμου, as has already been established, he is referring to all that the Torah requires.

Second, to say that the law was used to separate and preserve Israel as a pure nation emphasizes a social and racial role rather than any theological role. While it is true that the Galatian letter is greatly concerned with the mixture of Gentiles and Jews in the New Covenant, it is equally a theological issue. Also, it would be difficult to maintain that the law was actually effective in keeping Israel pure from idolatry and separate from the Gentiles throughout their history.

Third, a protective and custodial role rather than a more oppressive and strict role is too abrupt a shift from the previous verse in which Paul says that the law imprisoned Israel. The idea of the imprisoning law giving way to freedom in Christ fits salvation history perfectly, which Paul addresses later in the letter. It also fits the immediate context. Verse 23 says that before faith came, "we" (the Jews) were held captive under the law, imprisoned until the coming faith would be revealed. It is generally understood that Paul is using faith as a metonymy for Christ, as he is the

object of believers' faith.¹⁸⁷ It is in the very next verse that Paul uses the term παιδαγωγός. Certainly he is still speaking of restriction and imprisonment rather than benign protection. Christ comes to release God's people from the captivity of the law. He has come to inaugurate the NE, freeing all who were enslaved to the law and protecting Gentiles from potential slavery.

Outside of Gal. 3:24-25 Paul uses the word παιδαγωγός in only one other verse in all his letters. In 1 Cor. 4:15 Paul writes ἐὰν γὰρ μυρίους παιδαγωγοῦς ἔχητε ἐν Χριστῷ, ἀλλ' οὐ πολλοὺς πατέρας. In this context, Paul is speaking of other shepherds and elders who have overseen the church in the past, and he contrasts their harsh and apparently arrogant style with his own meek and gentle style, as a father loves his children. The Corinthian reference reinforces the restrictive image of the παιδαγωγός as Paul is using it.

6.3.4. *Friend of the bridegroom?*

In an unpublished manuscript, Tom Holland has proposed another understanding of the role of the παιδαγωγός,¹⁸⁸ one which opens up some interesting possibilities, though it is not without problems. Taking seriously the two metaphors that Paul uses in 4:2, Holland sees the ἐπίτροπος and οἰκονόμος as extensions of the παιδαγωγός imagery in 3:24-25, a relationship which is often overlooked. Their meanings are very similar, referring to some kind of guardian, custodian, or trustee. In these opening verses of Galatians 4, the minor child under the care of the custodian is understood to be orphaned and in need of full guidance until he or she reaches legal age.

Holland then points out that one of the duties of the custodian (ἐπίτροπος), according to Plato, would have been to choose a spouse and oversee the giving away of

¹⁸⁷ Gordon, "The Problem at Galatia," 37.

¹⁸⁸ Tom Holland, unpublished notes communicated to me in personal correspondence, 2006. It will be referred to as "Paidagogos."

the young adult in marriage.¹⁸⁹ Yet he imposes the role of the ἐπίτροπος upon the παιδαγωγός without accounting for any differences between the two.

Seeking Jewish support for the practice, Holland cites some possible biblical examples, although they are not quite identical. He mentions the account of King Ahasuerus seeking a new queen in the book of Esther, aided by his servants.¹⁹⁰ A closer parallel is the quest of Abraham's servant to find a wife (Rebekah) for his son Isaac.¹⁹¹ The servant, however, is not Isaac's custodian. Holland then suggests that John the Baptist is a παιδαγωγός, who declares of himself,

A person cannot receive even one thing unless it is given him from heaven. You yourselves bear me witness, that I said, 'I am not the Christ, but I have been sent before him.' The one who has the bride is the bridegroom. The friend of the bridegroom, who stands and hears him, rejoices greatly at the bridegroom's voice. Therefore this joy of mine is now complete. He must increase, but I must decrease.¹⁹²

Holland may have a point about John personifying the law, but he does not explain how he transitions, or actually merges, the ideas of a παιδαγωγός (which, in Holland's scheme, is the custodian of an orphaned girl—an ἐπίτροπος, but not necessarily a παιδαγωγός) and friend of the bridegroom.

There is a sense, however, in which John does prepare Israel for Christ, even as the law gives way to Christ. However, it would be better to claim that John represents a strict guardian (calling people to deep repentance, and addressing the Pharisees and Sadducees as "broods of vipers": Matt. 3:4-10; Luke 3:7-14), who then, upon the appearance of Christ, transitions to the friend of the bridegroom (his own claim). This would better satisfy the conventional meaning of the word παιδαγωγός (rather than confuse it with ἐπίτροπος), remain consistent with the context of the imprisoning role of

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 3, referencing Plato, *Laws*, in *The Works of Plato: Four Volumes Complete in One*, trans. Benjamin Jowett (New York, Tudor Publishing, 1940), 11.925B, Belleville, "Under Law," 62, cites the same.

¹⁹⁰ Esth. 2:2-4. Holland, "Paidagogos," 3, readily admits that the king himself chooses from among the many candidates.

¹⁹¹ Gen. 24:1-61. Ibid.

¹⁹² John 3:27-30. Ibid.

the law, and rightly introduce the motif of the divine marriage that supports the NE theme present in this passage.

The best piece of evidence Holland presents for the παιδαγωγός in the role of a marital agent of any type is the comparison of 1 Cor. 4:15, the only other verse in which Paul uses παιδαγωγός, with 2 Cor. 11:2. Holland interprets this differently than in the earlier analysis. Instead of understanding Paul to be distinguishing himself from the role of a παιδαγωγός, Holland believes that Paul is characterizing himself as a fatherly one.

Then in 2 Cor. 11:2, Paul writes, “I feel a divine jealousy for you, for I betrothed you to one husband, to present you as a pure virgin to Christ.” His words correspond to the custom and responsibility of a Jewish father (or possibly of a duty-bound legal guardian protecting the virtue of a fatherless daughter who has also grown fond of his charge¹⁹³) whose duty it is to present his daughter as a virgin to her espoused husband on their wedding day. He must do so vigilantly, particularly between her betrothal and when he escorts her to the bridegroom’s home, as underscored by another scholar, Victor Furnish.¹⁹⁴ Furnish further suggests that Paul sees himself as the intermediary, the one who brings the bride to the bridegroom as Moses did at Sinai.¹⁹⁵ Paul, then, is acting as a second Moses, serving as the marriage broker who brings God’s people as the bride to the Lord, who is the bridegroom.

Holland could be correct about Paul’s self-identification as a παιδαγωγός in 1 Cor. 4:15, although it seems more likely that Paul is distinguishing himself as a father instead. Yet the only known extrabiblical evidence of a παιδαγωγός is of a hired slave with custodial duties. The biggest problem with Holland’s thesis is that the documentary base is a Hellenistic document that does not even use the same word. The evidence for considering παιδαγωγός as a friend of the bridegroom is not very strong. At the same

¹⁹³ Ibid., 4.

¹⁹⁴ Victor Paul Furnish, *II Corinthians*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1975), 499.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

time, it cannot be denied that the law, as a παιδαγωγός, did serve its restrictive purpose, until the bridegroom (Christ) appeared.

6.3.5. *Baptism and marriage.*

Whether or not there is a connection, then, between Paul's use of the word παιδαγωγός in 3:24-25 and the upcoming divine marriage, Holland does notice that in the next verses Paul mentions believers' union with Christ following their baptism into Christ: Πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ... γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστόν.

He suggests that this baptism is in preparation for the eschatological divine marriage.¹⁹⁶ The idea of a baptism preceding the divine marriage comes from a couple of different sources. In Eph. 5:25-27, Paul instructs husbands to love their wives, "as Christ loved the church and gave himself up for her, that he might sanctify her, having cleansed her by the washing of water with the word, so that he might present the church to himself in splendor, without spot or wrinkle or any such thing, that she might be holy and without blemish." Some scholars have suggested that the washing alludes to the prenuptial bridal bath, a ritual that was part of both Jewish and Greek tradition,¹⁹⁷ but the evidence is lacking.¹⁹⁸ It is, however, a clear reference to the water of baptism.¹⁹⁹ And as Markus Barth comments on the passage, it "bristles with allusions to the prophetic concepts of Yahweh's covenant with Israel that includes bridal and marital

¹⁹⁶ Holland, "Paidagogos," 4.

¹⁹⁷ R. C. Sproul, *Ephesians* (Ross-Shire, Scotland: Christian Focus Publications, 1994), 141-42; Andrew T. Lincoln, *Ephesians*, WBC (Dallas: Word Books, 1990), 375.

¹⁹⁸ See "Jewish Practices and Rituals: Mikveh," Jewish Virtual Library, accessed September 16, 2016. <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsourc/Judaism/mikveh.html>. The article acknowledges the existence of pools of water for ritual cleansing and bodily immersion for purification or conversion, but without any connection to marriage. Contemporary Jewish immersion prenuptial rituals have no basis in history, according to this article. See also John Muddiman, "The So-Called Bridal Bath at Ezekiel 16:9 and Ephesians 5:26," in *The Book of Ezekiel and its Influence*, eds. Henk Jan de Jonge and Johannes Tromp (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), 139-41. Muddiman writes a scathing critique of those commentators who claim a connection to a prenuptial bath based on no evidence at all.

¹⁹⁹ Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 375. Contra E. K. Simpson, who sees no sacramental reference whatsoever, implying that only those who believe in regenerational baptism would read it this way. E. K. Simpson and F. F. Bruce, *The Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians*, 2nd ed., NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 131-32.

imagery.”²⁰⁰ This washing with water seems also to allude to the image of the washing of Israel in Ezek. 16:9 at the time of her betrothal to Yahweh.²⁰¹

While it would be misguided to associate every mention of baptism with a wedding, there is reason to do so in Galatians 3. First of all, the baptism is a corporate reference,²⁰² as is the washing in Eph. 5:25-27.²⁰³ There should be no question that Paul is discussing the divine marriage in the Ephesians passage. Second, baptism signifies and facilitates union with Christ, which is also indicated by Paul’s use of the phrase ἐν Χριστῷ,²⁰⁴ used in verses 26 and 28. The washing of baptism, which signifies union with Christ, is the preparation for the union with Christ in the divine marriage to come.

Holland makes much of the marriage theme in this section of Galatians. The law is acting as a marital agent of some sort, bringing God’s people to her bridegroom, namely Christ. He would say that this is why Paul invokes the παιδαγωγός metaphor in the first place. On the other hand, Paul has portrayed himself as a father (of the bride), who desires to present the pure bride to the bridegroom. Then there is the image of Moses acting as marriage broker and the accompanying tradition that Israel married Yahweh at Sinai. In this recent discussion it has been discovered that Moses has been, at various times, referred to as the παιδαγωγός of Israel. This suggests an occasional link between these ideas.

6.3.6. *The παιδαγωγός and the NE.*

It should be clear that in the latter half of Galatians 3 Paul is declaring that the law is no longer binding upon believers, now that Christ has come. The main issue in the entire letter is whether or not Gentiles should be subjected to circumcision, and accordingly, to the law, but Paul is arguing that the law’s relevance for Jews has also

²⁰⁰ Markus Barth, *Ephesians 4-6*, AB (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1974), 669.

²⁰¹ Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 375; Holland, *Contours*, 147.

²⁰² Holland, *Contours*, 152, 174.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 147, 213.

²⁰⁴ B. Longenecker, *The Triumph*, 64-65.

ended with the coming of faith/Christ. Although there remains disagreement about the precise meaning of Paul's statements in 3:19 (the law was added for the sake of transgressions) and 22 (that Scripture locked everything under sin), it is clear that Paul means to suggest that the law had a temporal purpose.

The introduction of the *παιδαγωγός* metaphor in 3:24 is not a shift in direction, but instead another means of demonstrating the constraints under which Israel lived while the law was in place. Verse 25 proclaims the exodus from that bondage, as Christ releases his people from the constraining guardianship of the law. The role of a *παιδαγωγός* is meant to be temporal, overseeing his charge until the child is ready to be free from his oversight. All are called to place their faith in Christ for salvation. Jews are able to do so apart from the burden of the law, and Gentiles do so without the requirement of submission to the law. The relevance of the *παιδαγωγός* to the NE is primarily its need to be removed, or—to follow the metaphor—to be relieved of his responsibility. Christ has come to liberate those who were under the law's bondage and to remove the barrier of the law that excluded the Gentiles from the blessing of Abraham.

7. Conclusions

The goal of this chapter was to investigate the presence of the NE theme in Galatians 3, following the procedure laid out in the previous chapter of the thesis. Paul's use of apocalyptic antitheses and events has served as a helpful structure for this analysis. In most cases the central apocalyptic event is the Christ-event, that is, the coming of Christ, but most particularly his death and resurrection.

The first time Paul refers to this event in Galatians 3 is in the opening verse (3:1), where he refers to the public portrayal of Christ's crucifixion before the Galatians' eyes. It was shown how Paul may have had more in mind than his preaching when he referred to the public portrayal; he could have been referring to the paschal

lamb's blood on the doorposts or, more likely, to the powerful miracles which accompanied and substantiated his preaching. These miracles are a NE motif because they point back to the miracles God performed through Moses during the original exodus and they are predicted to accompany the messianic age, and therefore, the NE.

The NE motif of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit pervades the beginning of Galatians 3 (3:1-6 and also v. 14), and it was found that Paul's implicit linking of justification and righteousness with the presence of the Spirit had precedence in Isaiah and the ITL. It is obvious that Paul is synthesizing these motifs as he further developed the faith and works of the law antithesis he began in Galatians 2.

It was also seen throughout Galatians 3 that the inclusion of the Gentiles was a new phenomenon with the coming of Christ, or particularly, with the Christ-event. The Gentiles were also receiving the Spirit as they professed faith. As explained in chapter 3 of this thesis, the ingathering of the nations is a prominent motif in the NE.

Related to the Gentile inclusion, of course, is the abrogation of the law, which Paul actually addresses throughout most of Galatians 2 and 3. The issue climaxes in 3:19-26, where he discusses the temporal role of the law. Paul argues that Christ has come to bring an end to the law and to free Israel from its bondage, while making it unnecessary for Gentiles ever to submit to it. This is the most obvious element of the NE: Christ comes to liberate his people.

Paul teaches that Christ, through his death and resurrection, makes it possible for God's promises to Abraham to be fulfilled. The two promises emphasized in Galatians are the countless descendants and the blessing to the Gentiles through Abraham.

Near the end of Galatians 3, Paul's mention of baptism and union with Christ has suggested the motif of the divine marriage, a motif that Holland refers to as the culmination of the NE. This motif will be further developed at the end of Galatians 4, the chapter to which this study now turns.

CHAPTER SIX

THE NEW EXODUS IN GALATIANS 4

1. Introduction

Several scholars have claimed that the heart of the theology within the Galatian letter can be found in the fourth chapter, and in particular, in the first seven verses.¹ However, I believe this claim to be an overstatement for two reasons. First, these verses only address the Jews and their relation to the law, with no explicit mention of the Gentiles; yet the Gentiles' relation to the law is certainly a major if not the principal concern of the letter. And second, Paul adds nothing especially new in these seven verses but rather continues from the previous chapter the motif of the enslaving characteristic of the law on those under its dominion.

There is, however, a significant amount of material in these opening verses, and interpretations of the passage have varied tremendously.² Paul introduces three terms in vv. 1-7, all that relate to the enslavement of the law: ἐπίτροπος and οἰκονόμος in v. 2, and, as I conclude (amidst a historically difficult translation issue), τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου in v. 3 (and v. 9). Since Paul also introduces the idea of adoption (υἰοθεσία) in v. 5 as an antithesis to being under the law, it will also be important to discuss how Paul uses this concept.

These terms are relevant to this study because they relate to the NE; in each case, Paul states that some individuals are enslaved to these entities. Another issue to be considered is precisely whom Paul is addressing in this section (even verse by verse, at times), given that he abruptly changes his pronoun usage between verses 5 and 6.

¹ Martinus C. de Boer, *Galatians* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2011), 166, 204. J. Louis Martyn, *Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 388, more specifically claims that the theological heart is found in 4:3-5.

² John K. Goodrich, "Guardians, not Taskmasters: The Cultural Resonances of Paul's Metaphor in Galatians 4.1-2," *JSNT* 32 (2010): 251; Douglas J. Moo, *Galatians*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013), 259.

Although the NE is offered to all believers in Jesus, both Jew and Gentile, Paul is discussing the relevance of their religious origins. It is therefore necessary to sort these questions out as well, to the degree that certainty allows.

The major antithesis in Galatians 4 is that of slavery versus freedom, where slavery is linked to subjection to the law. Paul treats this dichotomy in the first eleven verses, using the metaphor of an orphaned child under custodial care who is subsequently adopted and later (beginning in v. 21) using an allegory (of Sarah and Hagar's childbearing) from the Genesis narrative.³ Both treatments of the antithesis are apocalyptic as well. The redemption and adoption of the orphaned son occurs via the coming of Christ (4:4), and Sarah's motherhood is likened to the eschatological Jerusalem above (4:26). It will be shown how these apocalyptic antitheses point to the NE.

2. Heirs of God the Father (4:1-7)

As Galatians 4 begins, it is obvious that Paul is continuing his argument from the previous chapter. At the end of Galatians 3, he declares that Jesus came to bring those who were under the law out from under bondage, that they might be justified by faith (3:24) and become heirs (3:22, 29). Jesus had led those who placed their faith in him through a NE. This idea continues into Galatians 4. Indeed, James Dunn has called 4:1-7 a recapitulation of the previous pericope.⁴ T. D. Gordon remarks that the chapter break is more for convenience than anything else.⁵

In 3:29 Paul declared, "If you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham's seed, κληρονόμοι (heirs) according to the promise." In 4:1 he describes the situation of the

³ Verses 12 through 20 will not be discussed, as they do not directly relate to the thesis.

⁴ James D. G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), 210. See also Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 202.

⁵ T. David Gordon, "Promise, Law, Faith: Covenant-Historical Reasoning in Galatians," (unpublished manuscript, 2007, WORD document, obtained through personal correspondence), 312. One does wonder, however, why a thought interruption is convenient.

κληρονόμος while he remains a young child as a slave, and reaffirms the believer's status as an heir of God in v. 7. The other parallel between 4:1-7 and 3:23-29 is Paul's likening of the Jews' status under the law to a child under strict supervision, although in 4:2 he introduces two new metaphors, ἐπίτροπος and οικονόμος, terms which are related to, although not identical to the παιδαγωγός in 3:24-25.⁶ The terms Paul uses in verse 2 assume that the son, who is an heir, is an orphaned minor, who has the estate managed for him until he comes of age. The word ἐπίτροπος is generally used of a manager or steward (see Matt. 20:8; Luke 8:3), but can also be used of a guardian (2 Macc. 11:1; 23:2; 14:2). On the other hand, οικονόμος, according to Douglas Moo, is not found anywhere else in literature in the context of a guardian of a minor, but only as a household manager.⁷ What is clear is that the (orphaned) heir is not at all autonomous, but has his freedom restricted to the point that Paul likens it to slavery.

2.1. Paul's Pronoun Use

To whom is Paul referring in each of the verses in 4-7—Jews or Gentiles? He ended the previous chapter speaking mostly to and about Jews, who were under the law until Christ came, but then concluded with a verse affirming unity between Jew and Gentile in Christ, all heirs together. Moreover, Paul switches pronoun person a couple of times in these seven verses, using the first-person plural in verses 3 and 5, the second-person plural in verse 7, and both in verse 6. Following the pattern that Paul seems to be using in Galatians, “we” refers to Jewish believers in Jesus, and “you” refers to Gentile believers.⁸

⁶ Frank Thielman, “Law” in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, eds. Gerald F. Hawthorne, Ralph P. Martin, Daniel G. Reid (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1993): 539; Frank Thielman, *From Plight to Solution: A Jewish Framework for Understanding Paul's View of the Law in Galatians and Romans* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 77. R. Longenecker, “The Pedagogical Nature of the Law in Galatians” *JETS* 25 (1982): 56, says that the terms are synonymous.

⁷ Moo, *Galatians*, 259.

⁸ Gordon, “Promise, Law, Faith,” 316.

Although this passage (4:1-7) is often treated as a self-contained pericope, it should be properly linked to verses 8-11 as well, particularly due to the mention of enslavement to τὰ στοιχεῖα in verses 3 and 9. This obscure term needs to be defined, especially since Paul's claims that "we" and "you" were enslaved to them strongly suggests the term's relevance to the NE.

Despite the aforementioned fairly consistent pronoun pattern, numerous commentators render the "we" in verse 3 to be inclusive of all believing Jews and Gentiles.⁹ However, most seem to make this assumption without substantiating it with evidence from the text. Hans Betz, for example, simply declares that the "we" includes Jews and Gentiles, while noting that others limit the "we" to Jewish believers, since Paul is clearly limiting his remarks to the Gentiles in verses 8-10.¹⁰ This inclusive "we" also seems internally inconsistent, somewhat arbitrary, and consequently confuses the interpretation of this passage.

In contrast, Gordon,¹¹ F. F. Bruce,¹² and R. Longenecker¹³ support the consistent pronoun pattern, which also fits the context best. Following this interpretation, Paul first addresses Jewish believers in Jesus, including himself, in 4:1-5. In the discussion of adoption, he then includes Gentile believers in the discussion of adoption (4:6-7), although he does use "our" in verse 6, which, if his pronoun use is consistent, includes both Jew and Gentile. Finally, as Betz concurs, verses 8-11 are specifically addressing Gentile believers.

⁹ J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (New York: McMillan, 1891), 166-67; Ernest de Witt Burton, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), 215; Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1979), 204. Dunn, *Galatians*, 212, tends to see the "we" as referring to the Jews, but seems open to the possibility of inclusion of the Gentiles as well. Moo, *Galatians*, 260, also believes Paul is entirely inconsistent in his use of pronouns.

¹⁰ Betz, *Galatians*, 204.

¹¹ This was already cited above in note 8. Gordon, "Promise, Law, Faith," 316.

¹² F. F. Bruce, *Commentary on Galatians*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 193.

¹³ Richard Longenecker, *Galatians*, WBC (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1990), 164. Leon Morris, *Galatians: Paul's Charter of Christian Freedom* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1996), 127, seems indecisive on the point.

2.2. Meaning of τὰ στοιχεῖα

Immediately after 4:1-2 where Paul invokes the image of slavery for the Jew under the law he says that “when we were children” (ὅτε ἡμεν νήπιοι), we were slaves to τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (4:3). The precise meaning of the term τὰ στοιχεῖα, however, has proved notoriously difficult to interpret.¹⁴ Gordon admits, “I remain completely flummoxed . . . at the precise identity of the στοιχεῖα in 4:3 or 4:9.”¹⁵ Bo Reicke points out the obvious, however, stating that the term *must* have been comprehensible to the original readers.¹⁶ If Paul sees it necessary to mention that Jesus has freed both Jews and Gentiles from τὰ στοιχεῖα (cf. vv. 3 and 9 and their respective pronouns) through his death and resurrection, it should help this study to understand the nature of this imprisonment.

Besides the two occurrences here in Galatians within just a few verses of each other, the term is only found five other times in the NT: once in Hebrews (5:12), twice in 2 Peter (3:10 and 12), and twice more in Paul’s letters, occurring in the letter to the Colossians (2:8, 20). It seems highly unlikely that the meaning is the same in each of these contexts.

The term’s usage in extrabiblical literature concurrent with the NT era, shows that they can refer to the basic elements that comprise the material world—earth, air, water, and fire.¹⁷ This certainly appears to be the meaning in 2 Peter 3:10 and 12, as Peter describes the earth being broken down into its elements. It was believed in the pagan world that these elements had control over the lives of humankind. In other cases they can refer to heavenly bodies or demonic forces that have control over the world

¹⁴ Morris, *Galatians*, 127; David R. Bundrick, “Ta Stoicheia Tou Kosmou (Gal. 4:3),” *JETS* 34 (1991): 353, remarks that at least two doctoral dissertations have been written on this topic in recent years, both with “copious bibliographies of relevant articles and books published in this century.” Dunn, *Galatians*, 212, refers to the problem of its interpretation as a long-running dispute.

¹⁵ Gordon, “Promise, Law, Faith,” 20n22.

¹⁶ Bo Reicke, “The Law and This World According to Paul: Some Thoughts Concerning Gal 4:1-11,” *JBL* 70 (1951): 261.

¹⁷ Bruce, *Galatians*, 193.

and are hostile to humankind.¹⁸ They can also refer to elementary or fundamental principles (of religion), as in Heb. 5:12.¹⁹ Dunn insists that it is unnecessary to choose any single meaning, and that Paul likely had all of these understandings in mind when he chose the word.²⁰ Dunn's proposal seems highly unlikely, however, given that the definitions differ so greatly.

In Galatians and Colossians στοιχεῖα is most often translated as “elementary (elemental, basic) principles or spirits,” which, for good or ill, retains the original ambiguity. And the phrase τοῦ κόσμου, which modifies each occurrence except for that in Gal. 4:9, is either translated “of the world” or “of the universe.” The basic definition of the word στοιχεῖα conveys a sense of order, as things arranged side by side in rows.²¹

Betz suggests that both Jews and Gentiles were enslaved to demonic forces which were not gods (v. 8). He somehow connects these forces to the slave masters, tutors, and administrators of 4:2.²² Charles Cousar conflates the Jewish enslavement (v. 3) to the στοιχεῖα with Gentile/pagan idolatry (vv. 8-9).²³ Cousar then remarks that it is unusual for Paul to equate life under the law with “bondage ‘to the elemental spirits of the universe,’”²⁴ which would be the case if indeed στοιχεῖα refer to idols. Since Yahweh was the giver of the law, it is difficult to see the Jews' time under it as enslavement to the elements of earth, water, air, and fire, or somehow to heavenly

¹⁸ Betz, *Galatians*, 204-5; Clinton E. Arnold, “Returning to the Domain of the Powers: Stoicheia as Evil Spirits in Galatians 4:3, 9,” *NovT* 38 (1996): 57. He writes, “They are evil demonic powers of the same category as the hostile ‘principalities and powers,’” 63.

¹⁹ R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 165. Longenecker points to the evidence in Delling, “στοιχέω, σθστοιχέω, στοιχεῖον,” *TDNT* VII:670-83 to narrow down the possibilities of Paul's meaning to four via extrabiblical usage of the word during the NT time period. Of the four, the only two reasonable candidates are the basic elements of the cosmos (earth, water, air, and fire), and the fundamental principles of a subject, in this case, of religion. Longenecker favors the latter. BDAG, which lists the same range of meaning, also favors the idea of elementary forms of religion for Paul's usage.

²⁰ Dunn, *Galatians*, 212-13.

²¹ Bruce, *Galatians*, 193; R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 165; Morris, *Galatians*, 127.

²² Betz, *Galatians*, 205.

²³ Charles B. Cousar, *Galatians*. Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1982), 92-93.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 93.

bodies and demonic forces or pagan beliefs and practices.²⁵ This type of enslavement is likely more applicable to Gentiles than Jews and cannot be what Paul means in verse 3.

Martinus de Boer has noted Paul's pattern, adding that since Paul immediately follows v. 3 with a reference to Christ redeeming those who were under the law (vv. 4-5), στοιχεῖα seems to demand a reference to the OT law in this verse.²⁶ Paul, then, appears to be using the term to illustrate the ritualistic practices required by the law, including dietary restrictions, sacrifices, Sabbath observation, and feasts. This understanding is confirmed by Col. 2:8 and 20, where the στοιχεῖα are described as legalistic *do's and don'ts*.²⁷ The law's heavy and intricate demands essentially enslaved the Jews.

Interestingly, although Betz still insists on incorporating the idea of demonic forces, he does state that Paul is referring to the basic cultic requirements of a religion as slavery, noting the consistency with the way that he uses the term in Col. 2:8 and 20 as well.²⁸ Morris believes that Paul uses στοιχεῖα to illustrate the ritualistic adherence to religious rules, possibly without any engagement of the heart or mind.²⁹ And R.

²⁵ Bundrick, "Ta Stoicheia," 361. He holds the view that Paul is addressing both Jewish and Gentile Christians in this verse, but nevertheless, cannot be referring to these cosmic elements in a Jewish context.

²⁶ Ibid., 260-61. See also James M. Scott, *Adoption as Sons of God: An Exegetical Investigation into the Background of ΥΙΟΘΕΣΙΑ in the Pauline Corpus* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 158. Bruce (*Galatians*, 203) states cautiously that "[w]hatever else may be said of these στοιχεῖα, they plainly include the law," as Paul wrote of being under the law in 3:23. Reicke, "The Law and this World," 259, writes that the phrase "under the Law" is synonymous with the expression "to the elements of the universe." Scott, *Adoption as Sons of God*, 158, says that στοιχεῖα refers to the Torah.

²⁷ E. K. Simpson and F. F. Bruce. *The Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians*, 2nd ed., NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 231, sees these principles or powers as the "rulers of the planetary spheres" in Col. 2:8, but also sees them in the context of obeying basic ordinances, 253-54. Peter T. O'Brien, *Colossians-Philemon*, WBC (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1982), 133, writes that στοιχεῖα in Col. 2:8 refers to demonic forces, whereas v. 20 refers to a kind of legalism, 149. Martyn suggests that these στοιχεῖα refer to "religious pairs of opposites," such as circumcision and uncircumcision, or more generally, Jew and Gentile, or law and not-law, or any one of the antitheses that have been mentioned in the previous chapters, that correspond to two distinct time periods separated by the coming of Christ. He sees commitments to any of these "antinomies" as enslaving (Martyn, *Galatians*, 389). Loosely speaking, he could be correct, in that the issue relates to fundamentals of the law. However, it appears he is forcing the word through his antinomy paradigm.

²⁸ Betz, *Galatians*, 205.

²⁹ Morris, *Galatians*, 135.

Longenecker interprets the term to connote the supervisory or condemnatory role of the law.³⁰

Although it is possible for Paul to use the word in a different way just six verses later, there is no clear indication that he does so. Indeed, a significant key to understanding Paul's meaning of στοιχεῖα is his reference to *both* the Jews and the Gentiles (the latter referred to by the second-person plural pronoun) as were equally enslaved to these principles (4:3 and 9 respectively). Furthermore, as David Bundrick argues, the phrase τοῦ κόσμου likely refers to all of humanity rather than the universe in the cosmological sense.³¹ The meaning, then, is more human centered than spiritual.

What, then, does Paul mean when he warns the Gentiles about seeking to turn back again and be enslaved once more by those στοιχεῖα (v. 9)? It might appear that he means that they are seeking to return to their pagan worship of false gods.³² Yet, it is clear from v. 10 that what the Gentiles are doing is adopting the Jewish law, represented here by the calendar observation of days, months, seasons, and years.³³ Although it is possible that Paul is equating adopting the law with pagan idolatry, it is not necessary to conclude this. Instead, considering the way that Paul used στοιχεῖα in v. 3, it can be understood to mean that the Gentiles are considering adopting a system of rules and rituals or “elementary principles” that they now believe (indeed, are being so instructed) are necessary for salvation. Cousar, who also treats vv. 3 and 9 together, observes that Paul purposefully compares basic pagan ritual observance (4:3) to Jewish observance of the law (4:9), equally ignorant behavior in light of what Christ has now accomplished.³⁴

Taking all the data into account, Paul is most likely using a term intentionally that may well have had pagan connotations but in this case has in mind slavish obedience to ordinances. The most reasonable meaning of the phrase in 4:3 is the

³⁰ R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 166.

³¹ Bundrick, “Ta Stoicheia,” 362.

³² This is the view of Betz, *Galatians*, 216.

³³ Gordon, “Promise, Law, Faith,” 317.

³⁴ Cousar, *Galatians*, 93.

elementary principles of religion,³⁵ in that it is most consistent with the way the totality of the way that Paul uses the word elsewhere. Bundrick sums up this meaning best when he writes, “It denotes merely an irreducible component.”³⁶ J. Louis Martyn sums up Paul’s message in these verses, that these elements of the cosmos (whatever they are), which enslaved the Gentiles and which in some way are related to the law have enslaved “us” (the Jews) until the coming of Christ.³⁷

When Christ came (v. 4), he did so to redeem the Jews from the slavery of these elementary principles (the law). As in Galatians 3, Paul is stating that the law was a temporary restrainer for the Jews, a *παιδαγωγός* for a young child, and an *ἐπίτροπος* or *οικονόμος* for an orphaned child. His use of the term *στοιχεῖα* simply transformed the idea into something more general and abstract. While the Jews were yet children, they needed to follow fundamental ordinances, often without understanding any other significance than pure obedience. For the Gentiles to adopt the law would be to adopt these fundamental ordinances which would have been foreign to them, and meaningless as well. Yet these empty rituals would resemble those *στοιχεῖα* which their pagan idols had required of them.

Paul could hardly be more emphatic than he is in this letter that the Gentiles must not subject themselves to the slavery that the Jews have known, while the Jews would be foolish to continue under the slavery from which Christ has now freed them. This all points to the NE that the Christ has brought about in his death and resurrection, and continues to accomplish through his Spirit. Paul desperately wants the Galatians to realize the freedom that Christ has brought to them, and to not become slaves to the law.

³⁵ In addition to R. Longenecker, cited above, see Morris, *Galatians*, 128. Bruce, *Galatians*, 193-94, seems unwilling to make a commitment to Paul’s meaning in v. 3, although he clearly leans toward the idea of the fundamental truths of religious beliefs. This is essentially Betz’s view as well, in *Galatians*, 217: whatever these elementary principles are, the law is [like] one of them. Arnold’s objection to this meaning is that the reversion to the state of not knowing God is far more serious than the reversion to elementary principles of religion. He therefore believes it must be a reversion to a former inappropriate loyalty to spirits, Arnold, “Returning to the Domain,” 61.

³⁶ Bundrick, “Ta Stoicheia,” 362.

³⁷ Martyn, *Galatians*, 393.

2.3. From Slaves to Sons: Experiencing the NE

Verses 1 through 3 refer to Israel's relationship to the law. Already an heir to the promises made to Abraham, Israel was yet essentially a child, under the strict supervision of the law, which guarded and managed the people's lives. The requirements of the law were so austere that they could even be equated to slavery.

Then in vv. 4 and 5 Paul writes that this heir has become an adopted son. The exact phrasing of these verses appears as if designed purposely to echo the first exodus event. Jesus is born of a woman under the law (compared to slavery) to redeem his people from the law, much like Moses is born of a woman in slavery, to redeem God's people from slavery. And both events occur when God remembers his people—in the fullness of time (cf. Exod. 2:24-25; Gen. 15:13).

It appears to be almost universally assumed that the adoption of which Paul speaks has been modeled after the Greco-Roman system with which he would have been familiar. Bruce,³⁸ Francis Lyall,³⁹ Betz,⁴⁰ Dunn,⁴¹ and R. Longenecker⁴² believe that Paul is appealing to Roman law, while Ernest de Witt Burton⁴³ and Ben Witherington⁴⁴ believe it is Greek. Yet there does not seem to be a substantial difference between the Greek and Roman traditions in this area, at least for the purposes of this study.

Whether the source of the adoption setting was Greek or Roman, Paul's mention (v. 2) that the father set the time (προθεσμία) is rather unusual, given that the legal age was in fact set by civil law.⁴⁵ However, according to Bruce, sources indicate that the

³⁸ Bruce, *Galatians*, 192.

³⁹ Francis Lyall, "Roman Law in the Writings of Paul—Adoption," *JBL* 88 (1969): 464.

⁴⁰ Betz, *Galatians*, 202.

⁴¹ Dunn, *Galatians*, 210.

⁴² R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 164.

⁴³ Burton, *Galatians*, 213-15.

⁴⁴ Ben Witherington III, *Grace in Galatia: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2004), 282.

⁴⁵ Moo, *Galatians*, 259.

father was given some discretion in this area.⁴⁶ It is also likely that Paul includes this detail in order to establish the parallel with the act of God sending his Son in the fullness of time (4:4).

Dissatisfaction that the adoption details of 4:1-7 fit neatly into either Greek or Roman law (e.g., Paul's vocabulary choice) and other textual clues have led James Scott to conclude that Paul is not drawing from an external culture, but instead from within Judaism.⁴⁷ Scott immediately concedes that the word υιοθεσία never appears in OT Scripture (LXX) nor does any related Hebrew word occur in any other ancient Jewish sources; he also concedes that adoption was not a common practice in Hebrew society.⁴⁸ Indeed, there are no guidelines prescribing it in the Torah or Talmud.⁴⁹ Other customs or institutions existed to cover the issues surrounding childlessness (polygamy and the bearing of children through servants, per Gen. 16:2; 30:3) and the logistics of land inheritance in the case of death without heirs (Levirate marriages, per Deut. 25:5-6).⁵⁰ On the other hand, adoption did sometimes occur, and Scott cites a few cases of adoption in the Hebrew Scriptures: Gen. 48:5-6; Exod. 2:10; Esth. 2:7, 15.⁵¹ He therefore concludes that the concept was certainly present in Judaism.

Notable are Scott's remarks on the way Paul uses the terms κληρονόμος in 4:1 and υιοθεσία in v. 5, both with the definite article, which, according to Scott, signifies a particular event. In the former instance, Scott argues that it links back to τοῦ Ἀβραάμ σπέρμα in 3:29,⁵² and in the latter case, to the event of God's adoption of Israel in salvation history through the adoption of the messianic Son of David (2 Sam. 7:14; Pss.

⁴⁶ Bruce, *Galatians*, 192.

⁴⁷ Scott, *Adoption as Sons of God*, 126-29.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 61. For Goodrich, "Guardians, not Taskmasters," 255-56, however, the lack of specific lexical data is a good argument against this typological interpretation.

⁴⁹ Isidore Singer and Cyrus Adler, eds. *The Jewish Encyclopedia: A Descriptive Record of the History, Religion, Literature, and Customs of the Jewish People from the Earliest Times*. New York: Ktav Publishing, 1906; Roland de Vaux, *Social Institutions, vol. 1 of Ancient Israel*, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965), 51.

⁵⁰ Lyall, "Roman Law," 459-60.

⁵¹ Scott, *Adoption as Sons of God*, 74.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 127.

89:27-28; 2:7) as the nation's representative.⁵³ However, Scott says nothing about how God's declaration that Israel is his son (Ex. 4:22-23; Hos. 11:1) comes prior to what Paul describes as God's adoption of Israel.

Scott also does not refer to Paul's other uses of the word υιοθεσία in Rom. 8:15, 23; 9:4 and Eph. 1:5. Of particular note is Rom. 9:4 in which Paul sums up Yahweh's relationship to the people of Israel with τὴν υιοθεσίαν (note again the definite article). As Jews, it was uniquely their privilege to claim this relationship with the Lord, and they could appeal to the OT and salvation history for support.⁵⁴ Furthermore, there is Paul's inclusion of the cry, "Abba! Father!" in Rom. 8:15 and Gal. 4:6. As Rossell contends, the phrase is blatantly Semitic, and may well resemble an adoption formula.⁵⁵

Scott does recognize Israel's sonship, linking Hos. 11:1 to Gal. 4:1-2 (νήπιος is used in both verses).⁵⁶ He believes that these first two verses allude to Israel's period of captivity as a child in Egypt, when the people were enslaved under their taskmasters, just as the child heir is ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπου καὶ οἰκονόμου; when these words are paired together, he argues they indicate state officials.⁵⁷ He then contends that vv. 3-7 allude to the second exodus that occurs in Christ,⁵⁸ or what this thesis calls the NE.

Scott's work has gained notice, although, as Goodrich observes, apparently not enough to have influenced any major commentator, even though several volumes have been published since then.⁵⁹ Scott has, however, been cited with approval by several scholars who have been doing some New Exodus work in Galatians, such as Sylvia

⁵³ Ibid., 100-104. R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 172, notes that υιοθεσία is uniquely Pauline in Scripture (Rom. 8:15, 23; 9:4; Gal. 4:5; Eph. 1:5). Scott does mention Paul's other uses of the word. Scott also does not comment on the way Paul uses υιοθεσία in Rom. 9:4 as belonging to the Jews. William Rossell comments that this is a failing of many OT scholars who fail to see the Jewish sense of the word. William H. Rossell, "New Testament Adoption: Graeco-Roman or Semitic?," *JBL* 71 (1952): 233.

⁵⁴ Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 561-62.

⁵⁵ Rossell, "New Testament Adoption," 233. He cites OT passages in which Yahweh declares the relationship, essentially saying, "You shall call me 'father.' And I will call you 'son.'" Cf. Jer. 3:19; 1 Chron. 28:6.

⁵⁶ Scott, *Adoption as Sons of God*, 129-30. He also notes Exod. 4:22; Deut. 1:31; 14:1; and Isa. 63:16.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 129, 147. Goodrich, however, questions the validity of this statement: Goodrich, "Guardians, not Taskmasters," 262-69.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 149.

⁵⁹ Goodrich, "Guardians, not Taskmasters," 255.

Keesmaat,⁶⁰ William Wilder,⁶¹ and Rodrigo Morales.⁶² The idea that Paul has God's adoption of Israel (indeed, even from slavery) within salvation history in mind is quite appealing, but as has been suggested, Scott could strengthen his case with other adoption references based on the Hebrew Scriptures.

Scott Hafemann has sought to construct a friendly criticism of James Scott's work, commending the latter's foundation while refining his application to the Galatian passage. Like Scott, he also sees a curiously unexplained inconsistency between a presumably deceased father in verses 1-2 and the one in verses 3-7 who actively sends his son and adopts others. The guardianship in the first couple of verses suddenly becomes an adoptive story. And finally, he views the likening of the role of the heir with that of a slave as unrealistic and confusing.⁶³

Hafemann has cautiously embraced Scott's typological exodus model of this pericope, but with some correctives. The major one is that he believes that 4:1-2 does not refer to the exodus from Egypt, but instead to the exodus from Babylon. Hafemann understands the adoption to have taken place after the first exodus, and not before, in which case the child could not already be the heir in vv. 1 and 2. Furthermore, the taskmasters of v. 2 have a disciplinary role, which, according to Hafemann, only makes sense if Israel is in a state of rebellion, as they were upon their exile.⁶⁴

Following Hafemann's model, Israel's adoption took place after the first exodus and the Gentiles were then adopted at Christ's coming. But because of Israel's constant unfaithfulness during her childhood, at which time she was regarded as a slave, Jews and Gentiles are now receiving their inheritance together, simultaneously. Those Jews

⁶⁰ Sylvia C. Keesmaat, *Paul and His Story: (Re)Interpreting the Exodus Tradition* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 156-67.

⁶¹ William N. Wilder, *Echoes of the Exodus Narrative in the Context and Background of Galatians 5:18* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2001), 75-77, 83-85.

⁶² Rodrigo J. Morales, *The Spirit and the Restoration of Israel: New Exodus and New Creation Motifs in Galatians* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 48, 115-23.

⁶³ Scott J. Hafemann, "Paul and the Exile of Israel in Galatians 3-4," in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions*, ed. James M. Scott (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 334.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 338-39.

who will not receive Christ remain in exile. Although both Scott and Hafemann propose intriguing interpretations of this passage, and Scott's biblical theology of adoption is surely correct,⁶⁵ after closer examination, their exegesis must be rejected.⁶⁶ Both of them fail to realize that Paul is describing their situation of captivity to the law in 4:1-2, and not captivity to either Egypt or Babylon. Christ came to redeem Israel from the law, to which they were enslaved, which is made clearer in vv. 4 and 5. The idea of enslavement to the law is a continuation from the train of thought in 3:23-29. The law enslaved the Jews until Christ came to free them from it. Both Scott and Hafemann are right to see the exodus parallels, yet they do not see that it is the law that is the yoke of slavery.

3. Slave Woman and Free Woman (4:21-31)

Paul returns to his argument against submission to the law in v. 21, using a narrative from the Torah as his foundation. To make an important point about the law, however, he invokes a passage from Genesis that *precedes* the giving of the law by centuries (cf. 3:17). Yet in his transitional verse (4:21), he challenges those who want to be ὑπὸ νόμον, asking them to listen to or hear (or perhaps even obey, ἀκούω)⁶⁷ τὸν νόμον. Clearly, he is using the word νόμος in two different ways: the first in the sense of the covenant, but the second in the sense of the Pentateuch,⁶⁸ or the written covenantal document.⁶⁹

By returning his focus to Abraham, Paul connects this argument back to the third chapter of Galatians. C. K. Barrett suggests that Paul did not choose Genesis 16–21 as a

⁶⁵ Herman Ridderbos, *Paul: An Outline of His Theology* 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 197-99. He notes that the term comes from Hellenism, but the theology is Jewish. Cf. Exod. 4:22; Jer. 31:20 (38:20 LXX).

⁶⁶ Thomas R. Schreiner, *Galatians*, Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2010), 265, commends Scott for recognizing the exodus themes while criticizing his rigidity in interpretation. The same could be applied to Hafemann.

⁶⁷ R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 207, and Dunn, *Galatians*, 245, suggest that this might be the better sense of the word.

⁶⁸ R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 207; Bruce, *Galatians*, 215; Dunn, *Galatians*, 245; Betz, *Galatians*, 241.

⁶⁹ Gordon, "Promise, Law, Faith," 325; Bruce, *Galatians*, 173-74 notes that Paul's use of νόμος in 3:17 is a reference to the covenant, as does Gordon, "Promise, Law, Faith," 250.

proof text, but that he is rather responding to an interpretation of it being taught by his opponents, who would have the Gentiles submit to circumcision and the law.⁷⁰

Accordingly, the Judaizers would have been arguing that Sarah and Isaac represented the true Jews, whereas Hagar and Ishmael represented the outcasts, i.e., the Gentiles. Paul's opponents would have claimed that in order to identify themselves as true descendants of Abraham, Sarah, and Isaac, the Gentiles needed to be circumcised and follow the law as Abraham and Isaac's descendants would also do.

Martyn adds credence to Barrett's theory by noting the vocabulary Paul uses in Galatians: "It is the Teachers who have emphasized the term 'covenant,' using it in the singular to refer to the nomistic covenant of Sinai and inviting the Galatian Gentiles to enter it."⁷¹ He further observes Paul's use of the terms *Sinai*, *seed of Abraham*, and *our mother in Jerusalem*, none of which appear to be Pauline, but are more likely taken from and used in response to the "Teachers" who oppose him.⁷² De Boer agrees with Barrett's suggestion that this passage was being used by the "Teachers," as evidenced by Paul's assumption that the Galatians would be familiar with it.⁷³

Barrett's suggestion has probably been as widely accepted as it has been because it helps scholars explain why Paul chooses such an unlikely (to the contemporary reader) narrative to prove his point—particularly when the passage's details continue to baffle so many. Martyn's point about Paul's vocabulary (use of the word "covenant") seems to assume that the Teachers had used the passage in a similar allegorical fashion as Paul, but this remains a hypothesis.

⁷⁰ C. K. Barrett, *Freedom and Obligation: A Study of the Epistle of the Galatians* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1985), 22. Richard Longenecker, "Graphic Illustrations of a Believer's New Life in Christ," *RevExp* 91 (1994): 193. Karen H. Jobes assumes Barrett's view without citing him, Jobes, "Jerusalem, Our Mother: Metalepsis and Intertextuality in Galatians 4:21-31," *WTJ* 55 (1993): 300. Bruce, *Galatians*, 218, finds Barrett's view highly probable, as do R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 207 and Dunn, *Galatians*, 243.

⁷¹ Martyn, *Galatians*, 436.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 437.

⁷³ De Boer, *Galatians*, 286.

Andrew Perriman argues against the likelihood of the Judaizers using this passage to defend their point for several reasons, including the following two: First of all, a distinction cannot be claimed between Ishmael and Isaac on the basis of circumcision. Both were circumcised (Gen. 17:25-27; 21:4); in fact, Ishmael was circumcised before Isaac was.⁷⁴ This raises the question, of course, as to why Paul does not use this argument himself. Since Ishmael was also circumcised and yet not in the covenant, of what value is circumcision itself? It may be that Paul does not want to provide any support for the potential argument that all should be circumcised simply because all Abraham's sons were circumcised. He will argue twice in the letter (5:6 and 6:15) that neither circumcision nor uncircumcision makes a difference at all, but only faith working through love (5:6) or a new creation (6:15). The other reason Perriman gives is that there is no connection between the context of Genesis 21 and the giving of the law that takes place centuries later. Any connection with the covenant at Sinai is through Isaac's physical descendants, in which case the Gentiles are excluded, whether or not they keep the law.⁷⁵ Perriman's arguments are more logical, although in the final analysis, it does not greatly matter why Paul chose the narrative.

3.1. Paul's Hermeneutic

Regardless of why Paul chose this narrative from Genesis as the basis of this portion of his argument—and chose to interpret it allegorically—4:21-31 has proved to be a troublesome passage for interpreters. Perriman has remarked that Paul's treatment of this passage causes many biblical students to question the apostle's status as a "responsible and authoritative interpreter of Scripture."⁷⁶ Charles Cosgrove suggests that if Barrett is correct about Paul merely reinterpreting the Genesis 21 passage to turn the argument back against the Judaizers, one might actually wonder all the more how

⁷⁴ Andrew C. Perriman, "The Rhetorical Strategy of Galatians 4:21–5:1," *EvQ* 65 (1993): 32-33. Charles H. Cosgrove, "The Law Has Given Sarah No Children," *NovT* 29 (1987): 223, notes the same.

⁷⁵ Perriman, "The Rhetorical Strategy," 33.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 27.

Paul can expect to argue successfully through allegory.⁷⁷ Richard Hays remarks that it would be strange for Paul to choose this passage as the basis for his argument, since it would appear to be “the very text that might threaten to undo his mission to the Gentiles.”⁷⁸ And although Hays also admits that Barrett’s theory may be correct, he still criticizes Paul for “practicing hermeneutical jujitsu” in his interpretation of the passage.⁷⁹

This is the only instance in Paul’s letters in which he claims to use allegory, and scholars have even questioned whether the identification of Paul’s method is indeed allegory at all, or instead typology.⁸⁰ But as Silva points out, the discrete precision in terms here is really needless, as Paul is probably using the term loosely to refer to a “nonhistorical type of interpretation similar to that used by Philo and by the Stoics before him.”⁸¹ Karen Jobes solves the problem by using the broader term *trope*, rather than choose between *allegory* and *typology*.⁸² The word *allegory* will continue to be used in this discussion for the sake of simplicity and consistency. Paul’s intent is not to reinterpret the passage, but instead to apply it.⁸³ The allegory is meant to stay at the abstract level, which is obvious by the use of the present tense and the omission of names, particularly that of the second woman, who clearly is Sarah.

Paul’s use of the Genesis narrative in allegory form and his quotation of Isa. 54:1 in v. 27 raise numerous questions about Paul’s method and meaning—questions which have generated copious scholarship. The balance sought in this thesis is a

⁷⁷ Cosgrove, “The Law Has Given Sarah,” 221.

⁷⁸ Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 111.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 112.

⁸⁰ Perriman, “The Rhetorical Strategy,” 27. See also Anne Davis, “Allegorically Speaking in Galatians 4:21–5:1,” *BBR* 14 (2004): 161-74, and Cosgrove, “The Law Has Given Sarah,” 221. Cosgrove finally resorts to hyphenating the two terms: allegorical-typological, 221.

⁸¹ Moisés Silva, “Galatians” in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, eds. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 808. It should be noted that his term *nonhistorical* is not intended to mean that Paul doubts the actual historicity of these biblical characters, but simply that he feels free to use them in this literary device.

⁸² Jobes, “Jerusalem, Our Mother,” 299.

⁸³ Perriman, “The Rhetorical Strategy,” 33.

reasonable degree of clarity on the most troublesome details of this section of the letter while also revealing Paul's constant undergirding of the NE theme in his teaching. It is hoped that these two goals will converge, resulting in a better understanding of both.

3.2. Two Women, Two Covenants

Jobes observes, "Paul seems to accomplish his end by making arbitrary assignments of the women to two covenants and to two Jerusalems."⁸⁴ If by "arbitrary," Jobes means that Paul's allegory is unexpected or unconventional, virtually no one would disagree. But Hays asserts that viewing the women as two covenants would easily be accepted by a Jewish audience, provided that the antithesis is between Jew and Gentile.⁸⁵ This is exactly what Paul does, and yet he defies the normal and expected delineation as he proceeds. And by no means is his assignment arbitrary.

3.2.1. *Hagar*.

Although Paul first names Sarah's maidservant in v. 24, those familiar with the Genesis narrative (chaps. 16–21) have already surmised her identity from the previous two verses. She is Hagar, the slave woman who bore Abraham his son Ishmael, as recorded in Genesis 16.

Hagar's son, Ishmael, was "born according to the flesh," whereas the son of the free woman (Sarah), Isaac, was "born through promise" (Gal. 4:23). Paul has most recently used the term *σάρξ* (flesh) in 3:3 as part of an antithesis of flesh versus the Spirit, which closely paralleled the antithesis of works versus faith. The common thread, as here in this passage, is the idea of doing versus relying upon God's actions. The ordinary conception of Ishmael through Hagar manifested a momentary lapse in

⁸⁴ Jobes, "Jerusalem, Our Mother," 300.

⁸⁵ Hays, *Echoes*, 114. Hays does not elaborate, but to give him the benefit of the doubt, perhaps he is referring to the covenant with Abraham and Isaac vs. the covenant that God makes with Ishmael (Gen. 17:20; 21:13), although we do not normally think of God making a covenant with the Gentiles.

Abraham and Sarah's trust in the Lord to give them a son and ultimately many descendants, beyond their own ability to conceive—through Sarah's barren womb.

Ishmael would be cast aside once Isaac, the miraculously born child of promise, was born.⁸⁶ Like the law, Ishmael's role (as an heir) was short-lived, relatively speaking, and he had to yield to the fulfillment of the promise, whose corresponding covenant actually preceded his. So the Abrahamic covenant took precedence over the Mosaic covenant, and the argument parallels the one found in 3:15-4:7.

Ishmael was conceived apart from God's miraculous intervention; he was conceived by ordinary means, and was born of works and of the flesh. But Isaac was conceived by God's intervention and fulfillment of his promise, given that Sarah had been barren and was at this point well beyond childbearing years. The identification of the two women as two distinctive covenants conveys the covenant significance of the sons they bear.

After associating the words *slave* and *flesh* with Hagar, Paul proceeds to his allegory. Declaring that these two women can each figuratively represent a covenant, he begins with Hagar. There can be no question which covenant she represents in Paul's allegory, because he immediately says that Hagar is from and "is" Mount Sinai (vv. 24-25). Hagar bears children for slavery.

Gordon observes that although Paul is emphasizing the slavery of Hagar, she is never actually referred to as a slave in the Genesis narrative. Rather, she is called the more dignified title of a servant (παιδίσκη in 16:1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8; 21:10, 12, 13) or an Egyptian (Αἴγυπτία in 16:1, 3; 21:9).⁸⁷ Gordon's point seems to be that Paul is demeaning her position for his purposes, which may be true. What is more notable is the historical twist: the Jews who followed the law are now being considered children of an

⁸⁶ De Boer, *Galatians*, 292-93, writes that the way Paul uses promise indicates that Isaac's birth was miraculous by human standards and attributable to God's direct intervention.

⁸⁷ Gordon, "Promise, Law, Faith," 326. He merely makes the observation, but has no explanation for Paul's word choices and what might be considered missed opportunities.

Egyptian slave, and therefore are slaves themselves once again.⁸⁸ And if they are slaves, they are certainly in need of a NE.

Since Sinai is without a doubt a metonymy for the law, by associating Hagar with Sinai, Paul is explicitly—yet again—linking law observance with slavery. Since he has associated law with slavery, it makes sense for Paul to associate Hagar the slave with the law, and by extension the children born of her—and even by association, the means by which Ishmael was conceived. As Leon Morris states, “The old covenant involved obedience to a multiplicity of regulations both in the way its adherents worshipped and in the way they lived out their daily lives.”⁸⁹ And as Burton comments on v. 24, “As applied to the Sinai covenant, it refers to the fact that they who came under this covenant were in the position of slaves as being in bondage to the law.”⁹⁰ This is the same as Paul has been claiming in Galatians 3 and 4: Israel was in slavery to the law until Christ brought the NE.

Such a connection between the law and slavery would no doubt be highly shocking and offensive to most Jews. If it were not already clear that Paul was categorizing those who follow the law as slaves, meaning all devout Jews, he dispels any doubt by further associating Hagar with present Jerusalem. Indeed, as Perriman suggests, the affront is intentional, and is essentially “a poke in the eye to the Judaizers.”⁹¹ This is likely an understatement. Yet this is not the first time in the Galatian letter that Paul has expressed the idea that being under the law is akin to slavery. Any offense aroused by Paul’s view of the law⁹² would already be taken.⁹³ Paul

⁸⁸ *The Jewish Study Bible*, in notes on Gen. 16:7-9, notes the foreshadowing of the Sinaitic exodus in Hagar and Ishmael’s exodus from the presence of Abram and Sarai, as well as the ironic twist of the Egyptian slave going out from the Hebrew woman’s bitter oppression, only then to be instructed by an angel to return to Sarai’s harsh treatment. Adele Berlin and Marc Zvi Brettler, eds., *The Jewish Study Bible*, Jewish Publication Society Tanakh Translation (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 37.

⁸⁹ Morris, *Galatians*, 146.

⁹⁰ Burton, *Galatians*, 258.

⁹¹ Perriman, “The Rhetorical Strategy,” 36.

⁹² As Hays, *Echoes*, 115, comments, “Paul’s association of the Law with slavery is offensive and heretical.” But this is precisely what Paul was teaching in 3:10–4:11. He was now teaching that it must be expelled like an unwanted slave.

has written that the law brings a curse (3:10), confinement (3:23-24), and slavery (4:1-11).⁹⁴

Hagar is associated with what Paul calls the present Jerusalem (τὸν Ἱερουσαλήμ), which presumably refers to the physical city of Jerusalem contemporary with the date of the letter. Jerusalem, as the ancient capital and continuing spiritual center of Israel, serves as a synecdoche for the whole legal system of Israel,⁹⁵ or even the Jewish people.⁹⁶ Out of context, this metaphor makes no sense at all, yet it is clear that Paul is claiming that all who are under the law—the Jews—are enslaved along with Hagar, their allegorical mother. The irony is that the Teachers (the opponents of Paul) would have been referring to the church in Jerusalem as “our mother,” as she was the sponsor of the law-abiding mission churches like Galatia.⁹⁷ Instead, she had become Hagar.⁹⁸ Paul is saying that all who identify with the present Jerusalem, those who seek to observe the law, are slaves. Therefore, these Judaizers in Galatia, themselves enslaved, seek to enslave their Gentile brothers and sisters (2:4-5, 14; 6:12-13),⁹⁹ thus attempting to reverse the NE that Christ has brought about.

Verse 25 has historically been a troublesome verse. It has generally been translated: “Now Hagar is Mt. Sinai in Arabia,” which seems somewhat of a restatement of the previous verse except for the additional mention of Arabia. Bruce mentions and dismisses the possibility of this being mere geographical data,¹⁰⁰ as well as the possibility that this is a word play: Hagar (ἡγάρ) is similar (but not identical) to the

⁹³ Ibid. Hays says the groundwork has been laid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Perriman, “The Rhetorical Strategy,” 32-33.

⁹⁶ E. Lohse, “Σιών, Ἱεροθσαλήμ, etc.,” *TDNT*, VII:308.

⁹⁷ Martyn, *Galatians*, 439.

⁹⁸ De Boer, *Galatians*, 287.

⁹⁹ Martinus C. de Boer, “Paul’s Quotation of Isaiah 54.1 in Galatians 4.27,” *NTS* 50 (2004): 381; Betz, *Galatians*, 246; R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 213; Bruce, *Galatians*, 220.

¹⁰⁰ Bruce, *Galatians*, 219. See also de Boer, *Galatians*, 299, who mentions that, according to Josephus, the descendants of Ishmael occupied the land from the Euphrates to the Red Sea, which included Mt. Sinai. See Josephus, *Ant.* 1.12.4.

Aramaic word (*hagra*) or the Arabic (*haghar*) word meaning rock or crag.¹⁰¹ If a word play were intended, Paul would be associating Hagar linguistically with Sinai as well. Bruce simply concludes that she and her descendants represent the law, which holds people in bondage.¹⁰²

Perriman suggests instead that the verse be translated: “Hagar-Mt. Sinai is in Arabia.” He proposes that this explains the strange word order:

Σινᾶ is not now simply the name of the mountain but part of a rhetorically more complex qualification emerging out of the allegory. A further benefit that arises with this reading is that we do not now feel the absence of a corresponding mountain on the other side of the antithesis since Paul is concerned with Mount Sinai only as a metonymy for the Mosaic covenant, not as a mountain in Arabia with which Hagar is allegorically identified.¹⁰³

Hays suggests this statement is “nothing other than a puff of rhetorical smoke that distracts the audience from noticing the naked assertion (Galatians 4:25b)” that Hagar corresponds to present Jerusalem and slavery.¹⁰⁴

Yet Paul hardly appears to be attempting to conceal his “naked assertions,” as he has been connecting the law (although not Jerusalem) and slavery quite blatantly throughout Galatians. The best explanation for what otherwise seems to be a superfluous statement of geographical reference is that Paul is drawing attention to the fact that Arabia, where Mount Sinai is located, is outside of the physical boundaries of Israel. Its physical remoteness, therefore, symbolizes its spiritual setting outside of Israel’s salvation—now that Christ has come. Hence, even the law is now to be foreign to the people of God. But more than that, according to Josephus, Arabia was where Ishmael had settled.¹⁰⁵ Sinai was therefore physically located where the slave’s son had gone out from Abraham’s presence to live. The slave and his mother had been cast out, and Ishmael was no longer reckoned a true descendant of Abraham. Hence, all those

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 219-20.

¹⁰² Ibid, 220.

¹⁰³ Perriman, “The Rhetorical Strategy,” 38.

¹⁰⁴ Hays, *Echoes*, 115.

¹⁰⁵ Josephus, *Ant.* 1.12.4.

who continue to identify with Sinai are identifying with slavery and denying that they have experienced an exodus.

3.2.2. *The second woman.*

One of the most unusual things about Paul's allegory is that he neglects, presumably by intent, ever to name the second woman, although he has numerous opportunities—and even expectations—to do so. Paul seems to assume that her identity is obvious: she is Abraham's wife, Sarah.

Paul does not say which covenant Sarah represents, and indeed, does not even state definitively that he has begun to speak of the second woman or the second covenant. Moreover, he never uses the word *covenant* within the allegory after v. 24. Yet the parallel associations that he makes, in somewhat reverse order, manifest that he is referring to them. In v. 26 Paul contrasts the Jerusalem above with the present Jerusalem previously mentioned, the latter of which corresponded to slavery, and in turn corresponded to Mount Sinai, and finally, to Hagar, the symbol of the other covenant. The Jerusalem above (Sarah) is free rather than enslaved, and she is "our mother," Paul writes. Sarah is free, as are all believers, who are her children.

Silva refers to the two covenants in Paul's allegory as the Old and New Covenants,¹⁰⁶ which can only be the true delineation insofar as the promise to Abraham is fulfilled in Christ (hence, calling the Abrahamic covenant new), as Paul argues in 3:16 and 22.

Gordon stresses the importance of understanding the sharp distinction between these two covenants, rather than seeing one as a perversion of the other.¹⁰⁷ In other words, he seeks to clarify that Paul is not merely talking about legalism versus the proper view of the law, but instead, the antithesis of law-works versus promise-faith. He further differentiates the covenants in verse 23 by referring to the way the women's sons

¹⁰⁶ Silva, "Galatians," 808.

¹⁰⁷ Gordon, "Promise, Law, Faith," 327.

were born: one according to the *flesh*, and the other through *promise*. Although these two terms do not in themselves identify any covenants, it is clear that he is about to associate the terms *flesh* and *promise* with the two he has in mind.

Richard Hays cautions:

The ‘two covenants’ of Gal. 4:24 are *not* the old covenant at Sinai and the new covenant in Christ. Rather, the contrast is drawn between the old covenant at Sinai and the older covenant with Abraham, which turns out in Paul’s rereading to find its true meaning in Christ. In Paul’s scheme, the freedom and inheritance right of the Gentile Christian communities are not novelties but other older truths that were always implicit in Isaac, in the promise to Abraham.¹⁰⁸

Gordon essentially agrees, although he argues that the Abrahamic covenant is very similar to the New Covenant in Christ. Both covenants include the Gentiles (a NE motif); both are characterized by faith in the God who keeps his promises; both are free of curse threats and sanctions.¹⁰⁹ “Our mother” of 4:26 refers both to those who are of the Abrahamic covenant and of the New Covenant. Children of both covenants are Abraham’s sons and daughters.¹¹⁰ Gordon’s comments are helpful to clarify matters, for surely Paul is linking the promises made to Abraham with the promises made to believers in Christ.

Assuming that Paul is continuing with his same line of argument from Galatians 3, then, Hagar represents the covenant of law (administered through Moses), whereas Sarah represents the covenant of promise (administered through Abraham). The latter covenant is ultimately fulfilled in Christ, as Paul has been arguing in Galatians 3, and it is therefore not incorrect to link it to the New Covenant, even if it is not specifically the New Covenant Paul has in mind. Therefore, Silva’s Old and New Covenant delineation is quite acceptable. The Old Covenant is then associated with the law and with slavery, while the New Covenant is associated with freedom through Christ, who brings the NE.

¹⁰⁸ Hays, *Echoes*, 114-15.

¹⁰⁹ Gordon, “Promise, Law, Faith,” 329.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Paul relates both women, and therefore both covenants, to two different Jerusalems, one present and one above. It is a curious antithesis, with apocalyptic-eschatological overtones. The *present Jerusalem* has already been discussed.

Yet the meaning of Paul's reference to *the Jerusalem above* (ἄνω Ἰερουσαλήμ) is far more elusive. First of all, Paul does not draw out the parallel as succinctly as one might expect: he does not explicitly associate it with Sarah.¹¹¹ He mentions that the *city*, rather than a specific woman, is "our mother." The tacit parallel is to Sarah, but Paul's decision not to explicitly name the woman might be in order to disassociate her from an actual historical individual.

Mary Callaway has noted that it was common during the time Isaiah prophesied to refer to the capital city of a nation in feminine and even in maternal terms, often as a goddess in a pagan culture, which is verified in Ugaritic literature. The husband would have been the local deity, and the population of the city would be referred to as their children.¹¹² Given that Paul is about to quote from Isaiah in the following verse (4:27), it is not so strange that he would invoke this imagery. Jobes also points out that in the LXX, Isa. 1:26 refers to Zion as the πόλις δικαιοσύνης μητρόπολις πιστῆ σιων, the "city of righteousness, the faithful *mother-city* Zion."¹¹³

It should be underscored, then, that Paul associates the two women with two covenants, two Jerusalems, and also with two mountains. Hagar is Mt. Sinai, outside of Israel, and Sarah is Mt. Zion, the name often used for Jerusalem itself (2 Sam. 5:7; 1 Kings 8:1; Ps. 48:2). The antithesis continues to be stressed throughout the passage: The Jews are associated with Hagar the slave and the present Jerusalem; they are all in

¹¹¹ Bruce, *Galatians*, 220.

¹¹² Mary Callaway, *Sing, O Barren One: A Study in Comparative Midrash*, SBL Dissertation Series 91 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1986), 65. See sample text in Richard E. Whitaker, *A Concordance of the Ugaritic Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 154. In the Ugaritic, the cities are referred to as *btwlt* "virgin" and *bt* "daughter," just as Anath is called *btwlt'nt*. Ugarit itself is called *bt ugrt*, "daughter Ugarit."

¹¹³ Jobes, "Jerusalem, Our Mother," 310. The emphasis is Jobes's. Ps. 86:5a (LXX) reads: μήτηρ Σιών, ἐρεῖ ἄνθρωπος (A man shall say, "Zion is my mother").

bondage. The believers in Jesus are associated with Sarah the free woman and with Mt. Zion, the Jerusalem above; they have experienced the NE and live in freedom.

De Boer suggests that perhaps the Jerusalem Christians, presumably to promote allegiance to the law, used the slogan “Jerusalem is our mother.”¹¹⁴ This could explain why Paul invokes the maternal imagery in the first place, using the Judaizers’ own slogan against them, by insisting that if they claim the present Jerusalem (Hagar) as their mother, they are admitting to their own slavery. Instead, Paul now says, our true mother is *the Jerusalem above*, who is free. Nevertheless, it is important to underscore that neither the Judaizers nor Paul originated the maternal imagery in relation to Jerusalem and Zion; it is found in both the Psalms and Isaiah.¹¹⁵

That she is free has already been established as early as v. 22; Sarah is the wife of Abraham and is a free woman. What can be seen thus far is that Paul has repeated his law-and-faith antithesis, essentially repackaged as two different Jerusalems. Nothing has yet been said of Sarah’s children, but only of the one child of promise, who is obviously Isaac.

It is now necessary to direct attention to Paul’s specific phrase, “the Jerusalem above.” Jobes has suggested that Paul is basing his two-city paradigm on Isaiah, who writes about Jerusalem with two very different characterizations—one cursed, and the other blessed.¹¹⁶ The term is commonly recognized as eschatological, and presumably as a familiar idea to his readers, given that he offers no explanation.¹¹⁷ Although the

¹¹⁴ De Boer, “Paul’s Quotation,” 386. Betz, *Galatians*, 246, however, points out that there is no evidence for such a claim.

¹¹⁵ Ps. 87:5; Isa. 1:2; 50:1, etc.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 311.

¹¹⁷ As much as the eschatological reference is obvious, Betz, *Galatians*, 246 makes this observation. Actually, this passage is not the first eschatological allusion in Galatians, although we virtually ignored the earlier reference. In 1:4, Paul wrote that Christ had given himself for our sins to deliver us from “the present evil age” (τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστώτος πονηροῦ). In the Jewish apocalyptic schema, history was divided into two ages, the present one and the one which is to come. As Dunn, *Galatians*, 36, notes, this can be seen in the post-70 CE writings of 4 Ezra 6:9; 7:12-15, 50, 113; 8:1; 2 Bar. 14:13; 15:8; 44:11-15; 2 Enoch 46:6. But as Dunn argues, the basis for the two-age model can be seen much earlier, as in the visions in Daniel 2 and 7. It is implied in Qumran’s language of the “time of wickedness” (CD 6:20, 14; 12:23; 15:7; 1QpHab. 5:7), and represented in the Gospels: Matt. 12:32; Mark 10:30; Luke 20:34-35. See also Betz, *Galatians*, 42n58 and Sasse, “αἰών, αἰγνιός,” *TDNT* I:207 (which connects the inauguration of

term ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ here is unique within the Pauline corpus, the concept is well represented in both New and Old Testament Scriptures.

The writer of Hebrews refers to the heavenly Jerusalem (12:22)—the city that is to come—which is contrasted with a city that does not last (13:14).¹¹⁸ And John makes several references to the new Jerusalem coming down from heaven in the age to come (Rev. 3:12; 21:2, 21:9–22:5). The concept of an eschatological (according to *2 Apoc. Baruch* 4:2-6, built at the beginning of creation) Jerusalem is grounded in the Major Prophets of the OT (Isa. 54:10-17; 60–66; Ezek. 40–48), as well as in the apocryphal writings (Tob. 13:8-18; 14:5; *Jub.* 4:26).¹¹⁹ The explicit promise of the earthly Jerusalem being replaced by a new one is also seen, a city which now descends from heaven (4 *Ezr.* 7:26; 10:40-59; 1 *Enoch* 90:28-42). The consistent understanding of the heavenly Jerusalem is that it refers to the Jewish new age. But Paul has now transformed the Jewish eschatological concept into a Christian one, inclusive of the Gentiles, and already in effect.¹²⁰ Richard Hays argues that Paul is being consistent with Jewish eschatology, speaking of the new Jerusalem already existing in heaven.¹²¹ In chapter 3 of this thesis, it was shown that the Prophets' expression of eschatological hope involving the restoration of Israel also included the revelation and enthronement of the Messiah, who would rule forever. It was shown in chapters 3 and 4 that the inauguration of the NE is also the inauguration of the eschatological age, even the messianic age. This is the age in which the church of Jesus Christ lives, within the tension of “the now and the not yet.”

the new age to the resurrection). Elsewhere, (again, as pointed out by Dunn, *Galatians*, 36), Paul characterizes the present age as corrupt, foolish, and blind (1 Cor. 1:20; 2:6, 8; 2 Cor. 4:4; Eph. 5:16) and declares that “humankind as heirs of Adam were caught under the reign of sin and death (Rom. v.12-21; 1 Cor. xv.20-2).”

¹¹⁸ While true that Jerusalem is never mentioned in Hebrews 13, the context is offering sacrifices, holy places, and the high priest. Cf. also Heb. 9:11, 23-24 in which we read that the earthly temple is a copy of the heavenly one. See also Wis. 9:8 in which Solomon acknowledges the same in his prayer.

¹¹⁹ As Martyn, *Galatians*, 440, also points out.

¹²⁰ Dunn, *Galatians*, 254, decries those who confuse the new age directly with the church, as does Donald Guthrie, *Galatians*, 2nd ed. (London: Oliphants, 1974), 125.

¹²¹ Hays, *Echoes*, 118.

3.3. Gal. 4:27 and Isa. 54:1

In what appears to be a grounding statement for the previous assertion (note the γάρ), Paul then quotes Isa. 54:1 (verbatim from the LXX). It is evident by his use of the γάρ that Paul believes he is building on or even solidifying his argument. What is not immediately clear, however, is precisely how v. 27 functions or contributes to the preceding argument. In fact, Jobes remarks that, based on the cursory treatment of this verse from most commentators, their interpretation of the larger passage would be unchanged had Paul omitted it entirely.¹²² Yet, as Paul merely quotes the passage without elaboration, he appears to do so with the assumption that “the reference is self-explanatory.”¹²³

The γάρ must refer back either to the statement in v. 26 that “the Jerusalem above is free” or that “she is our mother” (or both) (v. 26). Logically speaking, it makes more sense that the referent would be the identification of the Jerusalem above as “our mother.” Paul says she is our mother, with the apparent proof being that it has been written that the barren one will bear abundant children. As Jobes asserts, “the quotation does in fact contribute logically to Paul’s argument if it can be shown that the barren one of Isa. 54:1 has in fact given birth.”¹²⁴ As will be detailed later, Jobes’s construal of this birth is unique among the interpreters.

3.3.1. *The mother of a multitude: The NE ingathering of the Gentiles.*

At its most basic level, Isa. 54:1 speaks of a woman whose barrenness is joyfully being replaced by fertility. It would be within reason to consider that Paul uses this verse simply to confirm the birth and rapid ongoing growth of the Gentile church. Following Paul’s allegory, the woman in the verse is Sarah—“our” mother, Jerusalem

¹²² Jobes, “Jerusalem, Our Mother,” 303. Gordon, “Promise, Law, Faith,” 326, for example, simply quotes the verse in his exposition, and continues on without expounding it in any way whatsoever.

¹²³ Alicia D. Myers, “‘For It Has Been Written’: Paul’s Use of Isa 54:1 in Gal 4:27 in Light of Gal 3:1–5:1,” *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 37 (2010): 296.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 313.

above—who, though once barren, is now bearing countless children. Bruce contends that Paul presents the barren woman not as Sarah but as the Gentile church, which although once “spiritually sterile,” is now fruitful and in fact producing even more fruit than the old Jerusalem ever did.¹²⁵ R. Longenecker affirms the interpretation that Sarah is the mother of those who believe in Jesus from among both Jews and Gentiles, and that she is free because of God’s promise to Abraham. Because the Gentile believers are included among her children, she will obviously bear far more children than Hagar.¹²⁶ According to Betz, Paul is invoking the image of Sarah as signifying Christianity, which has now become the mother of the myriad Gentile Christians.¹²⁷

This inclusion and ingathering of the Gentiles into the people of God was listed among the motifs of the NE in chapter 3 of this thesis. The primary support for this motif is found in Isaiah, but as noted in chapter 3, the understanding that these passages referred to the Gentiles varied.¹²⁸ Here, Paul is invoking Isa. 54:1 to declare that the motif of the ingathering of the Gentiles is taking place as a sign that Christ has brought in the NE.

3.3.2. *The eschatological new age.*

The eschatological reference has already been noted in 4:26 (Jerusalem above). Scholars have also noted, for a couple of reasons, the apocalyptic-eschatological motif in the Isaiah passage, as used in Gal. 4:27. Apart from examining the larger context of the Isaiah passage, which will be done shortly, the passage is apocalyptic-eschatological because Paul relates the woman in question to the Jerusalem above, already shown to point to God’s radical intervention and revelation in history.

¹²⁵ Bruce, *Galatians*, 222. Note that Bruce also equates the Church with the Jerusalem above, contrary to Dunn, as noted earlier (Dunn, *Galatians*, 254).

¹²⁶ R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 215.

¹²⁷ Betz, *Galatians*, 249.

¹²⁸ Opposition to preaching to the Gentiles came from both Jews who did not believe in Jesus (Acts 22:21-22) and those who did, the latter at least initially so. Peter himself was surprised to find himself preaching to Gentiles (or, even being in their home, Acts 10:28) and had to defend his actions to the church (Acts 11:1-18).

Bruce suggests that Paul understands the promises of Isaiah 54 to be addressed to the church of the new age, which is Jerusalem above.¹²⁹ In other words, he seems to believe that the application and fulfillment of this verse is entirely in the future. Yet Paul is already making reference to the city as the believers' ("our") mother, not the mother of believers in a time yet to come. It may be that Bruce is closely linking the references to the Jerusalem above to the vision in Rev. 21:10-27 in which the new Jerusalem descends from heaven.¹³⁰ Nevertheless, there is certainly an eschatological sense to Paul's use of the quotation, as Dunn also suggests. The NE has already come; Jesus has freed Jews from the bondage of the law and saved Gentiles from its potential yoke. And with the NE has come the new eschatological age. Sarah is presented as the mother of all nations, as had been promised to Abraham, and the nations are being blessed through her offspring.¹³¹ The gospel, as preached to and received by the Gentiles, is all part of the NE that Christ came to bring.

3.3.3. *Relation of 4:27 to the Genesis narrative.*

Although Paul's quotation of the Isaiah passage can be seen to support his argument that all true believers are spiritual children of Sarah, it is reasonable to question Paul's choice of that particular passage to link to—or to ground—his Sarah-Hagar allegory. Some might say that the quotation only complicates matters further.

At first glance, one might identify three apparent problems with Paul's application of Isa. 54:1 in this context.¹³² First, the passage addresses a barren woman. Yet, by the logical connection to the previous verses, the natural conclusion is that Paul is applying this verse to Sarah. But Sarah is neither barren nor desolate, for the allegory

¹²⁹ Bruce, *Galatians*, 222.

¹³⁰ See de Boer, *Galatians*, 301-2. In addition to the commonly known apocalyptic reference of the term "Jerusalem above" in Rev. 3:12; 21:2, 10, he drew my attention to its use in 4 Ezra [2 Esd.] 7:26. He remarks, in the context of this Galatian verse, that the "mother" of Jesus-believing Jews and Gentiles, the church, is now free from the law.

¹³¹ Dunn, *Galatians*, 255. This is the same view as expressed by R. Longenecker above (*Galatians*, 215).

¹³² Jobes, "Jerusalem, Our Mother," 302, identifies the same issues and seems to chide commentators for not dealing with the discrepancies. Hays, *Echoes*, 118, notes the same problems with identifying Sarah as barren and unmarried when, in fact, she is neither.

has just referred to her as having borne Isaac. Second, she is favorably compared to the one who has a husband, apparently Hagar. But Hagar does not have a husband, whereas Sarah does.¹³³ And third, why does Paul believe that he can identify, which he certainly does by inference, the woman in Isa. 54:1 as Sarah?

3.3.4. *Two problems.*

R. Longenecker observes the first two problems, with only slightly more attention to the larger context. He underscores Paul's application of the passage to his Sarah-Hagar allegory, explicitly denoting that Sarah is the barren one, and Hagar is the one who has a husband.¹³⁴ But as noted above, since Sarah bore Isaac, she cannot really be called barren, and Hagar did not have a husband. R. Longenecker offers no explanation for these disconnections, particularly the latter.

However, these problems need not be insurmountable. Isa. 54:1 echoes the promise that God gave to Abraham in Gen. 17:15-17:

And God said to Abraham, "As for Sarai your wife, you shall not call her name Sarai, but Sarah shall be her name. I will bless her, and moreover, I will give you a son by her. I will bless her, and she shall become nations; kings of peoples shall come from her." Then Abraham fell on his face and laughed and said to himself, "Shall a child be born to a man who is a hundred years old? Shall Sarah, who is ninety years old, bear a child?"

Sarah,¹³⁵ who was barren (Gen. 11:30) and is now well beyond childbearing years, is promised not only a son, but that "she shall become nations." The promise is almost identical to Isa. 54:1 and is made while she is still barren.

Yet, the difficulty of the husband remains. Why does Paul apply this passage to Sarah and Hagar when it says that the barren one does not have a husband but will have more children than the one who has a husband (presumably Hagar)?

¹³³ Hays, *Echoes*, 118, notes the problems there, but apparently believes those details become irrelevant once Paul has moved from his Genesis allegory to Isaiah.

¹³⁴ R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 215. He does not explain how it can be said that Hagar has a husband.

¹³⁵ For simplicity, she will be referred to as Sarah throughout the thesis unless this study is using a quotation from a Genesis passage prior to her name being changed from Sarai to Sarah.

Martin Luther seems to bypass the allegory and instead filters the passage through the grid of his works vs. faith and law vs. grace antitheses, interpreting the husband referenced to be the husband of Romans 7, namely, the law. While under this husband's dominion, he contends, it is impossible to bring forth children who are anything but slaves.¹³⁶ The woman, then, is the church who was barren, since neither the law nor works could beget children.¹³⁷ Now that she knows the source of her righteousness, which is Jesus Christ, she is called to rejoice¹³⁸ It is clear that Luther is reading back into the text his view of the law derived from his interpretation of Romans 7. Nothing in either the context of Isa. 54:1 or Gal. 4:27 suggests that the husband is the law.

John Bligh's approach is similarly inconsistent. He interprets Paul to be saying that the Sinai covenant bore children but that there would come a time when the heavenly Jerusalem would bear more children, namely, when the gospel would be preached to the Gentiles.¹³⁹ He then follows Luther on the husband-and-law paradigm, saying that the old Jerusalem had a husband, i.e., the law (Rom. 7:2). The new Jerusalem, however, which was desolate, i.e., without a husband (the law), was actually free and would bear more children than the old.¹⁴⁰ Naturally, by mixing his metaphors, he also confuses the theology.

One simple solution might be that when Sarah gave Hagar to her husband in order to conceive children through her, she was essentially giving her husband away:

And Sarai said to Abram, 'Behold now, the Lord has prevented me from bearing children. Go in to my servant; it may be that I shall obtain children by her.' And Abram listened to the voice of Sarai. So, after Abram had lived ten years in the land of Canaan, Sarai, Abram's wife, took Hagar the Egyptian, her servant, and gave her to Abram her husband

¹³⁶ Martin Luther, *Commentary on Galatians: Modern-English Edition*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Fleming H. Revell, 1988), 300.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 302.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 301.

¹³⁹ John Bligh, *Galatians: A Discussion of St. Paul's Epistle* (London: St. Paul Publications, 1969), 392.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 404.

as a wife. And he went in to Hagar, and she conceived. And when she saw that she had conceived, she looked with contempt on her mistress.¹⁴¹

Sarah became the outsider in the relationship—barren and alone. Her scheme backfired, and she never ended up acknowledging the child (Ishmael) as her own. And therefore it could be said, if only for a time, that in Sarah's barrenness, Hagar had a husband while Sarah had none. This is a detail most commentators seem to ignore.¹⁴²

Another consideration, which G. K. Beale points out, is that although Israel (Sarah) believes that she is married to Yahweh, she behaves like a whore (cf. Isa. 57:3).¹⁴³ The Lord has rejected her, although he will take her back, essentially in remarriage. So although she has been married and has had children, she has subsequently been judged and made desolate for her sins. But her status will be returned to her, and with even greater glory than before.

In the final analysis, however, it may not be necessary to reconcile all details between Paul's allegory, the use of the Isaiah quote, and the Genesis narrative. As Martyn points out regarding this issue, allegories do not require absolute consistencies.¹⁴⁴ This will become more clear below as the passage is revisited using the intertextual hermeneutic.

3.3.5. *Paul's connection of Sarah to Isa. 54:1.*

Tom Holland has argued for the influence of and dependence upon Isaiah in Paul's theology and, therefore, in his letters, particularly in the book of Romans.¹⁴⁵ Given the similarity of theological content between Romans and Galatians,¹⁴⁶ one would naturally expect to see a similar influence of Isaiah in the latter. And Harmon has

¹⁴¹ Gen. 16:2-4.

¹⁴² Bligh and Moo are exceptions. Bligh, *Galatians: A Discussion*, 403; Moo, *Galatians*, 307. See also Matthew S. Harmon, *She Must and Shall Go Free: Paul's Isaianic Gospel in Galatians*, BZNW 168 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 180-81.

¹⁴³ G. K. Beale, *A New Testament Biblical Theology: The Unfolding of the Old Testament in the New* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), 720.

¹⁴⁴ Martyn, *Galatians*, 443.

¹⁴⁵ Holland, *Contours*, 31-49, esp. 31-34; Holland, *Romans*, 13-15.

¹⁴⁶ Bruce, *Galatians*, 45; Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 49; Martyn, *Galatians*, 30.

demonstrated Paul's heavy dependence upon Isaiah in writing Galatians, based on allusions and echoes throughout the letter.¹⁴⁷

It is therefore reasonable to say that Paul's citation of Isaiah in Galatians 4 is not gratuitous. With the prophecy of Isaiah, he finds the basis for his claims of salvation history for both Jews and Gentiles. Furthermore, there is no reason to assume that Paul is randomly choosing a verse for the sake of convenience, or is neglecting its wider context. He is taking into account the meaning of the verse in its original context as he applies it through his allegory and in the contemporary Galatian church. Moreover, the association Paul makes between Sarah and Jerusalem has been established first by the prophet himself.¹⁴⁸

R. Longenecker contends that Paul is interpreting Scripture according to the rabbinic tradition of his time, which allows him to connect the barrenness of Sarah to the barrenness of Jerusalem in her exile.¹⁴⁹ As the city sits desolate and in ruins, it resembles a barren woman, alone and childless, virtually without a future.¹⁵⁰ But it is promised that her sorrow will be turned to joy, for the Lord will return his people, her children, to their home. Once again Jerusalem will be full of life, and the number of her children will exceed the number from even her former days.¹⁵¹

Morris also considers the Isaiah passage within its immediate context. He notes that Isaiah is personifying Jerusalem, characterized as barren because of her exile to Babylon due to infidelity to the Lord. She is childless because her inhabitants are all taken away.¹⁵² De Boer has suggested that Sarah, the free woman, represents Jerusalem, while the married woman is Babylon.¹⁵³ Bruce,¹⁵⁴ Moo,¹⁵⁵ and Martyn¹⁵⁶ interpret the

¹⁴⁷ Harmon, *She Must and Shall Go Free*, passim.

¹⁴⁸ See section on Hays's interpretation below, in which he argues persuasively that Isaiah does in fact have Sarah in mind.

¹⁴⁹ R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 215.

¹⁵⁰ Martyn, *Galatians*, 442.

¹⁵¹ See also Burton, *Galatians*, 264 and Ronald Y. K. Fung, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 211.

¹⁵² Morris, *Galatians*, 147.

¹⁵³ De Boer, *Galatians*, 302.

verse to be speaking of one woman, Jerusalem, at different times in Israel's history, which seems more likely, given that both are associated with Abraham. The fulfillment of the promise is twofold: first, after the nation's return, eventually the population of Jerusalem will exceed that at the time of the exile; and second, the number of believers in Jesus will multiply beyond measure.¹⁵⁷

Various commentators recognize the eschatological context surrounding the Isaiah passage, but make little of it. As Jobes notes, though Betz's remarks remain brief,¹⁵⁸ he offers more insight than most commentators do on the verse. Betz comments that the Isaiah passage plays a large role in Jewish eschatology, and suggests that Paul "received the tradition from Judaism."¹⁵⁹ By this he seems to mean that Paul adapted the prophecy to Christian eschatology, i.e., the eschatology of the church within the New Covenant. According to Betz, Paul is invoking the image of Sarah as the woman who, though once was barren, has now become the mother of the myriad Gentile Christians.¹⁶⁰

R. Longenecker affirms the interpretation that Sarah is the mother of those who believe in Christ from among both Jews and Gentiles, free because of God's promise to Abraham. Because the Gentile believers are included among her children, she will obviously bear far more children than Hagar.¹⁶¹ Going a little deeper than Jobes credits him as doing, R. Longenecker also acknowledges that Isa. 54:1 was prominent in Jewish eschatological expectation. He notes its immediate context, where Yahweh claims to be the husband of this barren woman (Isa. 54:5). R. Longenecker says that Paul

¹⁵⁴ Bruce, *Galatians*, 222.

¹⁵⁵ Moo, *Galatians*, 306.

¹⁵⁶ Martyn, *Galatians*, 442.

¹⁵⁷ Morris, *Galatians*, 148. Morris claims that, even at the time of Paul's writing, the number of believing Gentiles exceeded the number of believing Jews. Although this may be correct, it does not seem verifiable.

¹⁵⁸ Jobes, "Jerusalem, Our Mother," 303. Jobes mentions Burton among others who recognize the eschatological/christological significance of the Isaiah quotation, but keep the discussion very general. Fung, *Galatians*, 151, also keeps his comments fairly general.

¹⁵⁹ Betz, *Galatians*, 249.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 248-49.

¹⁶¹ R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 215.

understands that the eschatological promises from Isaiah 54–66, together with the promises to Abraham, are being fulfilled in the gospel being received by the Gentiles.¹⁶²

Dunn considers the larger context of the passage surrounding Paul's quotation, as well as its application:

The quotation is highly appropriate, for it comes at the beginning of a passage where, in the words of second Isaiah, Yahweh comforts the exiled Judeans, by reassuring Israel that Yahweh would take her again to wife (liv.4-8), and that a new beginning was in prospect like that following the flood (liv.9-10) – a powerful image of the hoped-for new age.¹⁶³

He goes on to note how Isaiah includes the covenant promise (54:2, 10) and the “idealized description of Jerusalem,” built and adorned with precious stones, and connects it with the images of the new Jerusalem descending from heaven in Rev. 21:10-11, 18-21. Dunn says that Paul links the themes of the promised fertility of the barren woman to Sarah, the mother of the nations and of all the offspring who would be blessed through her. As Dunn contends, in Galatians 4, Paul is showing that the fulfillment of all of this, according to Dunn, is “the amazing fruitfulness” of the church among believing Jews and Gentiles.¹⁶⁴

Although Jobes takes no account of Dunn's work¹⁶⁵ and is perhaps less than generous in her regard for R. Longenecker's contribution,¹⁶⁶ she is surely correct that the majority of commentators have little insight to offer concerning the interpretation of 4:27. Few of them pay enough attention to the immediate or larger context of Paul's Isaianic quotation.

¹⁶² R. Longenecker, *Galatians*, 215-16. Also Gordon, “Promise, Law, Faith,” 329.

¹⁶³ Dunn, *Galatians*, 255.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ This claim is based on lack of citations and the fact that he does treat 4:27 with significant depth (which Jobes claims no one does), as evidenced (briefly) above.

¹⁶⁶ Jobes, “Jerusalem, Our Mother,” 303.

3.3.6. *Barrenness theme in Genesis.*

As de Boer asserts, the entire story of Genesis proceeds from Sarah's barrenness.¹⁶⁷ This is not an overstatement. Sarah is introduced as Abraham's (Abram's) wife in a brief genealogy in Gen. 11:29 (the beginning of the patriarchal narratives), and in the very next verse, her status is described and her plight summarized: "Now Sarai was barren; she had no child" (11:30).

As the narrative of Abraham's life begins in Genesis 12, Sarah's barrenness is prominent, because it stands as an obstacle against the promises within the covenant Yahweh makes with Abraham from the very beginning: "I will make you a great nation..." (Gen. 12:2). Several times Yahweh repeats his promise to produce many descendants through Abraham (Gen. 12:7; 13:16; 15:4-6; 17:4-19; 18:10-14, 17-19). Yet not only had Sarah been barren as a younger woman, but by the time the promise is given, she is also well beyond childbearing years. Conception would require direct divine intervention, which is exactly the point.

The theme of barrenness continues to dominate the narratives of the Genesis matriarchs. Isaac is born to Sarah, who had been barren. He marries Rebekah, who was also barren for a time (25:21). But Yahweh hears Isaac's prayers and opens his wife's womb to conceive twins—Esau and Jacob.

Jacob marries Leah and Rachel, and yet Rachel is barren for years, until finally she conceives and bears Joseph (30:22-24) and then Benjamin (35:16-18). Even Leah, who had been quite fertile, later becomes unable to conceive (30:9-17) until God reopens her womb. Each woman's barrenness would have stood as an obstacle to God's promise to build a large nation—to keep his covenant—apart from his direct intervention.

¹⁶⁷ Martinus C. de Boer, "Paul's Quotation," 387. He is influenced by Jobes.

Jobes surveys these examples as well as two other scriptural cases of barren women bearing children only after God intervenes: Samuel's mother, Hannah (1 Sam. 1:2, 6), and the Shunammite woman (2 Kings 4:14).¹⁶⁸ She does not include Samson's mother (Judges 13), and following her approach, she might also include Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist, the last of the OT prophets (Luke 1:5-25, 57-66; 16:16). The pattern, according to Jobes, is that in each case the one born by God's direct favor (with the exception of the Shunammite) becomes a hero to Israel.¹⁶⁹

This pattern teaches Israel the same lessons, as Callaway points out. Yahweh is the one who opens and closes the womb. He alone is the giver of all life, and therefore life depends upon him. He grants conception because he hears the desperate prayers of the barren one. And God fulfills his promises.¹⁷⁰

Jobes suggests that it is Isaiah who transforms the meaning of the barrenness theme, laying the groundwork for Paul's later hermeneutics.¹⁷¹ This possibility plays out in the work of Hays and his intertextual hermeneutic.

3.3.7. *Hays and the intertextual hermeneutic.*

One of the most rigorous and "satisfying treatments"¹⁷² of Paul's citation of Isa. 54:1 in Galatians 4 comes from Richard Hays in his seminal book, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*.¹⁷³ His intertextual hermeneutic takes seriously not only the immediate context of the Isaiah passage, but the larger context as well, and in doing so, creates what he calls an intertextual space between the Old and New Testament texts as they interact.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁸ Jobes, "Jerusalem, Our Mother," 306-7.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 307.

¹⁷⁰ Callaway, *Sing, O Barren One*, 32.

¹⁷¹ Jobes, "Jerusalem, Our Mother," 307. See also Callaway's entire work, but particularly on this point, *Sing, O Barren One*, 59.

¹⁷² Jobes, "Jerusalem, Our Mother," 305. Jobes herself gives the compliment.

¹⁷³ Hays, *Echoes*, 105-21.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 20-25.

Although Isa. 54:1 refers to a woman, it is obvious to anyone familiar with this section of the prophecy, with 54:11-14 being especially clear, that the woman is a metaphor for Jerusalem.¹⁷⁵ The prophet has been addressing Jerusalem as one to be comforted because of her affliction at least as far back as 51:17, with particular emphasis in 52:1-10.¹⁷⁶ It is in 51:2 that Sarah is mentioned by name as the mother of those who pursue righteousness, but is not explicitly connected to Jerusalem. However, as Hays asserts, she is the mother of Jerusalem, as she, along with Abraham, is the true parent of all the righteous, i.e., the people of God. Hays says that referring to Jerusalem in 54:1 as a barren one

creates an internal echo hinting at the correspondence between the city in its exilic desolation and the condition of Sarah before Isaac's birth, a correspondence that also implies the promise of subsequent blessing. Consequently, Paul's link between Sarah and a redeemed Jerusalem surely presupposes Isa. 51:2, even though the text is not quoted in Galatians 4. It is Isaiah's metaphorical linkage of Abraham and Sarah with an eschatologically restored Jerusalem that warrants Paul's use of Isa. 54:1. The effect of Paul's allusive use of the quotation, however, can be better described the other way around: the citation of Isa. 54:1 metaleptically evokes the whole rippling pool of promise found in the latter chapters of that prophetic book.¹⁷⁷

Isaiah's use of the Genesis narrative of the barren woman allows him to transform the narrative to prophecy. One might well be skeptical that either Isaiah or Paul has Sarah in mind when referring to the barren woman in Isa. 54:1/Gal. 4:27, but Jobes convincingly shows that Isaiah did in the original verse. Note the echo of the Genesis narrative in the Isaiah passage:

καὶ ἦν Σαρα στεῖρα καὶ οὐκ ἔτεκνοποίει [Gen. 11:30]

Εὐφράνθητι, στεῖρα ἢ οὐ τίκτουσα [Isa. 54:1]¹⁷⁸

And when Paul puts the Genesis narrative side by side with Isaiah in Galatians 4, the theme of barrenness overlaps between Sarah and the city, creating the intertextual space.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 119.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 120.

¹⁷⁸ Jobes, "Jerusalem, Our Mother," 307.

As Hays comments on Gal. 4:27, Paul “employs Scripture in an allusive, echo-laden manner.”¹⁸⁰ At the same time, he freely admits that Paul leaves much of the burden on the reader to discern those echoes and to make the necessary connections, in order to grasp the full meaning of what he is writing:

The mode of discourse is not merely elliptical (requiring the reader to fill in some obvious missing steps) but metaleptic: the figurative effect of the quotation is to establish a resonant interplay of significations between Scripture and the text that Paul is creating, in such a way that crucial elements of the precursor text are hushed rather than voiced.¹⁸¹

Hays’s exegesis gives voice to these elements. At the superficial level, he agrees with the commentators who interpret Gal. 4:27 to mean that the Gentile church will outnumber the Jewish faithful. This is one of those cases where Scripture must be interpreted retrospectively.¹⁸²

Hays sees far more in Paul’s invocation of Isa. 54:1 than just a coincidental focus on Jerusalem’s desolation and Sarah’s earlier state of barrenness. It is well known that the woman in the prophecy is symbolic of the exiled nation.¹⁸³ But Hays directs the reader back to 51:17,¹⁸⁴ which is somewhat of a parallel to 54:1. Also in the form of a song, it addresses Jerusalem in the second person, recounting her desolate state, and then delivers the hope of restoration in 52:1-10.¹⁸⁵

Jerusalem/Zion, the mother of God’s people, has been made desolate because of her sin, but she will be restored. But then Isaiah reminds the children of Zion that Sarah is their mother (51:2), thereby establishing a connection between Jerusalem and Sarah.

¹⁷⁹ De Boer, *Galatians*, 303, also believes that Isaiah had Sarah in mind in 54:1. Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, 335, sees the echo as well.

¹⁸⁰ Hays, *Echoes*, 119. This might explain the lack of need to resolve the issue of which woman had a husband, when the reader attempts to apply Isa. 54:1 strictly to the Genesis narrative (and it is interesting that commentaries seem unconcerned about this detail). When the texts are juxtaposed it may be that certain elements are to be ignored, and instead, one should follow the echoes wherever they lead. In short, Gal. 4:27 is no longer about Sarah and Hagar as individuals when Paul quotes Isa. 54:1.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 87-88.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 107-9.

¹⁸³ Jobes, “Jerusalem, Our Mother,” 302; Hays, *Echoes*, 118-19; J. Alec Motyer, *Isaiah: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1999), 383.

¹⁸⁴ Hays, *Echoes*, 119. Hays says it extends *at least* to Isa. 51:17.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* Callaway, *Sing, O Barren One*, 63-64, says something similar about Isaiah’s use of the poetry genre, moving from past and individual (narrative and prose) to future promise to the nation (poetry).

As Hays puts it, “Isaiah assures them of deliverance by reminding them of their true parents.”¹⁸⁶ And shortly afterward, in 54:1, Isaiah creates what Hays calls an “internal echo” between desolate, exiled Jerusalem and Sarah before Isaac’s birth.¹⁸⁷

Beale notices some of these same connections, linking Sarah in Isa. 51:2-3 with 54:1, and says that Paul is claiming in Gal. 4:27 that Jerusalem has now been freed from exile (the premise of the NE) with her eschatological children that she will bear.¹⁸⁸

Therefore, Paul is perfectly justified in intertwining Sarah and Jerusalem as maternal images for true believers, as he is simply following Isaiah’s own connections. Furthermore, Paul’s antithesis of the present Jerusalem and the Jerusalem above tie in well with Isaiah’s eschatological prophecies of a restored glorious city (Isaiah 60–66). And after Paul names believers in Jesus (both Jews and Gentiles) as children of the eschatological Jerusalem in 4:21-26, he can now effortlessly link them to the prophecy of Isa. 54:1.¹⁸⁹ As Hays argues, in citing Isa. 54:1, Paul is metaleptically evoking promises from the latter chapters of Isaiah. According to Paul, therefore, the eschatological blessings of Israel extend to the Gentiles.¹⁹⁰

Furthermore, Paul has done far more than simply make a case for admitting Gentiles into church membership; what he has effectively argued is that the Genesis narrative actually prefigures the historical development of what has happened to bring about the Gentile church.¹⁹¹ As God promised, the nations are being blessed through Abraham (Gen. 12:1-3); it was now coming true. According to Hays, the events are only read correctly in retrospect, “through the filter of . . . gospel fulfillment.”¹⁹² This is a surprising statement, given the numerous explicit references to Gentile inclusion into

¹⁸⁶ Hays, *Echoes*, 119.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 119-20.

¹⁸⁸ Beale, *A New Testament Biblical Theology*, 721.

¹⁸⁹ Hays, *Echoes*, 119. See Callaway’s discussion of the history of the interpretation of the passage, *Sing, O Barren One*, 59-90.

¹⁹⁰ Hays, *Echoes*, 120.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 115-16.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 107.

the New Covenant within Isaiah, such as in Isa. 19:14-25 and in the latter part of the prophecy, 55:5; 56:6-8; 60:3; and 65:1.

Jobes greatly appreciates Hays's work in developing the use of the intertextual hermeneutic in Scripture, but believes that Hays does not go far enough with this passage. She explores a wider setting of Isa. 54:1 than does Hays, who mostly limits himself to consideration of the Sarah reference in 51:2, related verses in 51:17-23, and the closing explicitly eschatological chapters (60–66), the latter of which he only treats generally.¹⁹³ Indeed, Hays might have extended his context back as far as Isaiah 49, as Mary Callaway observes.¹⁹⁴ In 49:13, the prophet exhorts the heavens and the earth to rejoice, for Yahweh is about to show his compassion once again. But the more striking parallel to 54:1-4 is found in 49:19-21, which addresses a desolate and devastated Zion, bereaved of her children; in this context, the Lord promises blessings in the form of children too numerous for her small borders.¹⁹⁵

Jobes argues that Isaiah's transformation of the story of Sarah's barrenness enables Paul to (1) interpret her motherhood more widely than only to Israel; (2) merge the concepts of matriarchal infertility with a feminine personification of Israel's capital city to create female images of two different Jerusalems—one which is barren and cursed versus one which is rejoicing and fertile; and (3) introduce the concept of God's granting birth to the barren as a manifestation of his miraculous power to deliver his nation from "death."¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ For a critique of Jobes's work, see David I. Starling, "The Children of the Barren Woman: Galatians 4:27 and the Hermeneutics of Justification," *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 3 (2013): 93-109, esp. 97-98. He judges the intertextual method as being an unlikely hermeneutic, since it requires too much insight on the part of the reader. This raises an excellent point, making it clear that the modern exegete often needs to choose between the attempt to read the thoughts of the author *or* the state of the various readers (and that there would be various readers suggests other concerns). It is more likely that the author's thoughts can be determined, since his writings are available, than to attempt to guess at the readers' competence and literacy issues. This thesis is focusing on Paul's thinking and perspective rather than that of his readers'.

¹⁹⁴ Callaway, *Sing, O Barren One*, 59.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ Jobes, "Jerusalem, Our Mother," 309.

Jobes interprets the birth from the barren woman in Gal. 4:27 in a unique way. She suggests that Paul is citing the Isaiah text to link believers to their new life in Jesus' resurrection. The miraculous birth through the barren woman, according to Jobes, corresponds to life from death as Jesus experienced in the body, and believers in their new birth.¹⁹⁷ This is an interesting possibility, but need not be exclusive of the more conventional interpretation of the myriads of free children now born from the liberated woman, Jews and Gentiles who are not under the law.

3.3.8. *The barren woman and the Suffering Servant.*

It is surprising to discover how little has been explored of the possible connection between the barren woman of Isaiah 54 and the Suffering Servant in the preceding chapter. Jobes states the obvious when she writes, "Notice that the verse immediately following Isa. 53:2-12 is Isa. 54:1."¹⁹⁸ She does, however, probe more deeply than Hays, who simply suggests such a relationship in a brief footnote.¹⁹⁹

Just prior to her understated observation of the juxtaposition of the two passages, Jobes notes an interesting parallel between Isa. 53:1–54:1 and Gal. 3:1–4:27, which is reproduced below:

Isa. 53:1: τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν;	Gal. 3:2: ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως;
Isa. 53:2-12: the suffering servant who "was led as a lamb to the slaughter," "wounded on account of our sins," and "bruised for our iniquities."	Gal. 3:1: "Before your very eyes Jesus Christ was clearly portrayed as crucified."
Isa. 54:1 "Rejoice, O barren one!"	Gal. 4:27: "Rejoice, O barren one!" ²⁰⁰

However, she makes little of the parallel. Paul does indeed appear to be echoing Isaiah's question (53:1) in Gal. 3:2; although the wording is not identical, both involve hearing the speaker's message with belief or faith. And even though Jobes does not explicitly

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 313-15. Jobes is building on Hays's work, *Echoes*, 120.

¹⁹⁸ Jobes, "Jerusalem, Our Mother," 313.

¹⁹⁹ Hays, *Echoes*, 215n92. He simply rhetorically asks, referring to 54:1, if the servant figure is "to be seen standing silently behind the text."

²⁰⁰ Jobes, "Jerusalem, Our Mother," 312.

state this, one assumes by her parallel that she identifies the Suffering Servant in Isaiah 53 as Jesus.²⁰¹ What she derives is that in both passages the hearers are challenged to believe the proclamation that the Suffering One has borne the complete punishment and therefore endured and exhausted the curse on God's people, and that God may now bless them as he promised.

Jobes might have strengthened her parallel between the Suffering Servant and the barren woman by noticing how they share a desolate status. The Servant is described as a root out of dry ground, having no beauty or attractiveness (Isa. 53:2). He was despised and rejected, and no one esteemed him (53:3). Each of these could as well describe a barren woman in Isaiah's culture, who was desolate (54:1), ashamed (54:3), disgraced, and bearing reproach (54:4), deserted and grieved in spirit, like a wife of youth when she is cast out (54:6).

Yet the most striking parallel of all is found in Isa. 53:8:

By oppression and judgment he was taken away;
and as for his generation, who considered
that he was cut off out of the land of the living,
stricken for the transgression of my people?

The Servant was cursed and cut off; he will have no descendants. The parallel between his plight and that of the barren woman is identical in this regard. He bears the same curse as she does, for to be childless was perceived to be equivalent to having never lived.²⁰²

This is not to suggest that the Servant and the barren woman are the same figure, but rather that their characters are intertwined in these sequential chapters of Isaiah. So, whether the Servant is an individual or a righteous remnant of Israel, and whether his

²⁰¹ It is possible that she leaves the actual identity open but sees the fulfillment in Christ. However, she does not say this explicitly.

²⁰² John N. Oswalt, "Isaiah 52:13–53:12: Servant of All," *CTJ* 40 (2005): 93.

identity can ever be determined,²⁰³ “he” is punished for the sins of Israel to the degree that Yahweh is satisfied. Once again, the context must guide any determination of the Servant’s identity. Having underscored that whoever he is, the Servant must atone for Israel’s sins, it is now necessary to reexamine the larger context.

In chapter 3 of this thesis it was determined that the most likely identity of the Servant within the historical context is a faithful remnant of Judah that is exiled with the rest of the covenant-breaking nation. Judah serves her time in exile, but then God announces that her time is complete, and that “her iniquity is pardoned, that she has received from the Lord’s hand double for all her sins” (Isa. 40:2b). The Lord’s wrath is satisfied, and he allows his people to return from Babylon. The suffering of the Servant has been sufficient to pay for Israel’s sins.

Identifying the Servant as the faithful remnant of Israel/Judah fits the biblical context as well. Immediately prior to this fourth Servant Song, Isaiah 52 vividly promises the exiles’ return to Zion (52:1-12). And, as has just been shown, immediately after this Servant Song, the barren woman (Zion) is told to rejoice because she will be barren no longer: her children will be returning. Isa. 52:13–53:12, then, serves as the center of an *inclusio* and is therefore surely related to these outside passages.

The suffering and humiliation described in the passage illustrates the plight of Yahweh’s exiled nation—despised and rejected. The entire nation is exiled and called to suffer under the oppression of a foreign empire until the punishment is completed and God is satisfied (cf. Isa. 40:2). The Suffering Servant is either an innocent individual who suffers vicariously for the nation or the righteous remnant that suffers for the sins of the unfaithful. Either way, the Servant represents Israel, who is exiled, cursed and cut off—just as the barren woman of Isaiah 54 is barren (her children exiled) and cut off. Ceresko observes, in fact, that the author of this fourth song uses the Deuteronomic

²⁰³ W. M. W. Roth, “The Anonymity of the Suffering Servant,” *JBL* 83 (1964): 179, proposes that the figure is anonymous so as to present him as ideal and not actual at all. He concludes that Second Isaiah’s purpose was to exalt the role of the prophet.

language of covenant curse to depict the Servant's suffering (sickness, disease, affliction).²⁰⁴ And now that Judah and Israel's sins are atoned for, the Lord can bless the barren woman, reversing the curse of her infertility.

It is reasonable to conclude at this point, then, that the connection between the Servant and the woman is simple. They are not the same figure, although clearly made to be parallel. Instead, the parallel is likely made in order to show that the Servant suffers on behalf of the woman, taking her full punishment upon himself, so that she can now be blessed by Yahweh. The Servant suffers vicariously for the sins of the woman who was made desolate for her unfaithfulness. Now Yahweh can bless her.²⁰⁵

Still, as has already been observed, the prophecies surrounding Israel/Judah's return home are met with a disappointing reality. The promised rejoicing is restrained. Although they return, Israel remains under foreign oppression, and rebuilding their city and temple is a slow process, met with opposition and even internal sluggishness. They neither enjoy the physical prosperity that was prophesied nor the spiritual vitality that was promised. Their enemies are not conquered, they do not enthrone a king, and the Messiah is not revealed. The people consequently remain in waiting for either the completion of this exodus or a new one altogether—the NE that the Messiah would bring.

3.3.9. *The allegory and God's redemptive plan.*

As has just been explored above, the understanding and exact purpose of 4:27 is not entirely agreed upon by scholars. At its most basic level, the verse promises abundant descendants for the unnamed woman referenced in Isa. 54:1. It soon becomes clear that she represents Israel, or Jerusalem in particular. In its original context, it was a

²⁰⁴ Anthony R. Ceresko, "The Rhetorical Strategy of the Fourth Servant Song (Isaiah 52:13–53:12): Poetry and the Exodus-New Exodus," *CBQ* 56 (1994): 49-50.

²⁰⁵ Moo, *Galatians*, 308, comments that Paul has in mind the celebration of what Christ has accomplished in his death and resurrection.

prophecy of the exiles' return from Babylon.²⁰⁶ But as Paul cites the verse, he obviously is applying it to Gentiles as well. The church is expanding and will continue to expand beyond countable numbers and will be comprised of Jews and Gentiles, now that the law has been abrogated.²⁰⁷

Several scholars, however, have recognized the eschatological elements in the passage, particularly signaled by the context of the Isaiah passage that Paul cites. Yet Paul had already introduced an eschatological theme in verses 25 and 26 by speaking of two Jerusalems, the present one (νῦν Ἱερουσαλήμ) and the one above (ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ), respectively. Silva notes that the contrast between the two Jerusalems is not spatial (below and above) as they are usually rendered, but temporal. They, like the women, point to two ages.²⁰⁸

Despite the many hermeneutical difficulties of this passage, it should be obvious that Paul encourages identification with the child born of the free woman—Isaac, the child of promise (esp. 4:28). Paul is teaching that freedom is available by identifying with the child of promise and the free woman who gives him birth, rather than with the slave woman and her offspring. As he has been doing since 3:22, Paul identifies the law with slavery.

Jobes also makes the connection between the barrenness and desolation theme from Isaiah and the curse of living under the law as developed by Paul: Jerusalem is barren and cursed because of her sin and inability to keep the law.²⁰⁹ Her barrenness is her own doing. Overall, Jobes convincingly shows that Paul's thoughts are saturated with the larger theological streams of Isaiah, rather than merely borrowing a verse out of context.

²⁰⁶ Starling, "The Children of the Barren Woman," 94.

²⁰⁷ De Boer, *Galatians*, 305; Witherington, *Grace in Galatia*, 337. These are two scholars among many who seem to see this as the major point of Paul's citation.

²⁰⁸ Silva, *Interpreting Galatians*, 180. He also mentions that one might be tempted (wrongly) to think Paul is speaking in Platonic terms of the idealistic city above versus the inferior one below on earth.

²⁰⁹ Jobes, "Jerusalem, Our Mother," 313.

As Beale writes, Paul concludes Galatians 4 defining the true Israel as the spiritual descendants of Abraham. They are descendants of Abraham through Isaac and through the free, end-time, restored Jerusalemite woman (4:31).²¹⁰ Beale also points out that Paul has called Christ “Abraham’s seed” and believers his seed as well, which means that Paul sees Christ as the firstborn through whom others can become the woman’s children.²¹¹

J. Duncan Derrett suggests something similar. He writes that the marriage has been barren, according to Gal. 4:24-27. But now the barren wife is finally producing a legitimate heir, which is the church, who inherits the promises made through Abraham.²¹²

Cosgrove declares in an article by the same name, “The law has given Sarah no children,”²¹³ arguing that Sarah had no more children after Isaac until Christ. This issue was raised in the previous chapter of this thesis. If Cosgrove and others are correct on this—and the context would seem to so indicate—the implication is that there was no legitimate offspring of Abraham during the period of the law. The implication would then be that there was no salvation either during the Old Covenant, which is rather problematic even from a perusal of biblical history and biblical theology. Therefore, the best way to interpret the idea that Abraham or the new Jerusalem/woman had no children in all that time is that all children who were born under the law were born into slavery. They were Hagar’s children. Abraham and Sarah’s children must be free, yet that was not possible until Christ (faith) came.²¹⁴ All those under the law were awaiting the NE, whether or not they realized it.

In the final verses of Galatians 4, Paul reaffirms the need for all believers in Jesus to align themselves on the side of freedom, with Isaac, the child of promise. His

²¹⁰ Beale, *A New Testament Biblical Theology*, 721-22.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 722.

²¹² J. Duncan M. Derrett, *Law in the New Testament* (London: Dorton, Longman, & Todd, 1970), 465.

²¹³ Cosgrove, “The Law Has Given Sarah,” 231, 234.

²¹⁴ Moo, *Galatians*, 305, proposes that the language of the free woman refers to her freedom from the law.

directive to cast out the slave woman and her children (v. 30) may or may not be taken literally as a mandate to excommunicate any who would seek to follow the law, but it is an uncompromising statement that all those who do so are not genuine believers.²¹⁵

Now that Christ has come, there is a choice to be made. The Jews can remain slaves under the law, and thereby be cast off like Hagar and Ishmael, or they can be freed from the law in the NE and be counted as true sons and daughters of Abraham.

4. Galatians 4 and the Divine Marriage

The OT background surrounding NE marriage imagery has already been discussed in chapter 3 of this study. Paul's choice of Isa. 54:1 and its interaction both with Galatians 4 and the larger context of Isaiah is profound. The desolate woman who was rejected would be loved again. This is a fulfillment of what the Lord had promised in Hosea (2:14-15) as well. The woman in Isa. 54:1 is Yahweh's wife (v. 5), whom he rejected and banished because of her persistent infidelity. Only a few verses later, Yahweh claims her, identifying himself as her husband. For Paul to bring that passage into Galatians, he is surely announcing that the contemporary church is the fulfillment of the barren woman's marriage. As Paul has already clarified, the woman is no longer representative of Israel alone. She is not the present Jerusalem. She has been made new, and is seen coming down from heaven; she is the new Jerusalem consisting of Jews and Gentiles. And she is Yahweh's bride.

Israel is also portrayed as a bride in Isa. 62:4, which is a clear parallel to Isaiah 54:1:

You shall no more be termed Forsaken,
 And your land shall no longer be called Desolate
 But you shall be called **הִפְצִי-בָהּ** (My Delight is in Her),
 and your land **בְּעֵל** (Married);
 for the LORD delights in you,

²¹⁵ Ibid., 312; Dunn, *Galatians*, 258, argues that it should not be read dogmatically.

and your land shall be בְּעֵל (married).²¹⁶

In Isaiah 62:5 Yahweh tells Zion that her sons shall marry her and that “as the bridegroom rejoices over the bride, so shall your God rejoice over you.”²¹⁷ It is reasonable to believe that Paul had these passages from Isaiah in mind as he quoted Isa. 54:1.

Following Hays’s methodology, the echoes sounding between Gal. 4:27 and Isa. 54:1 can be explored in both directions. Yet Jobes does not examine the latter chapters of Isaiah; her interest is more with the barrenness theme. In chapter 3 of this thesis the marital theme in Isaiah was surveyed, revealing several passages which portray Israel or Jerusalem as Yahweh’s bride. The author of Revelation picks up on these themes in describing his visions as well, and several passages depict the eschatological marriage of the Lamb (19:6-8; 21:2, 9-11), one of them referring to the new Jerusalem (depicted as the bride of the Lamb) descending from heaven (21:2). Obviously, John, the author of Revelation, and Paul, the author of Galatians, have the same eschatological understanding. This serves to confirm the present reading of Galatians.

It is reasonable to conclude that the allegory in Gal. 4:21-31 is a story of the divine marriage. As happens with allegories, the details do not all align. But the main details are as follows: There are two categories of people in this story—the slave versus the free, those born of the flesh versus those born of the promise. Those who are free and born of the promise have a rejoicing mother, the one who once was abandoned and barren, but now is loved and fertile. Having remarried, she will bear many children for the Lord. The Galatian believers are encouraged to identify with this woman.

²¹⁶ This verse is taken from the BHS, which differs from the LXX. The Hebrew words shown above have different Greek translations entirely. Instead of בְּעֵל , the LXX has $\xi\rho\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (desolate place), and בְּעֵל has $\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\theta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$ (inhabited) and $\sigma\upsilon\nu\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\delta\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ (built/inhabited together). It is not possible to be certain whether Paul would have referenced the MT or the LXX here, assuming he had this verse in mind at all. However, it does seem more likely that he would have been referencing the LXX, since his quotation in Gal. 4:27 is verbatim from the LXX. In any case, the definitions of these words are not necessarily so divergent. In Josephus, *Ant.*, 4.244, uses the word $\sigma\upsilon\nu\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, with the meaning “to live together as husband and wife.”

²¹⁷ The same applies to this as to the previous note. The LXX uses $\sigma\upsilon\nu\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ rather than בְּעֵל .

Within this allegory, believers appear to be the children of the woman, and yet, if she is Israel or the church, believers are also to identify with her as the bride of the Lord. Nelly Stienstra has noted this same pattern in the OT, in which Yahweh addresses Israel sometimes as children and sometimes as his bride or wife. In Hosea, the land appears to be Yahweh's wife, whereas in Ezekiel his wife is Jerusalem.²¹⁸ Either way, the reference is ultimately to God's people. But it should be noted that whenever the children are mentioned, Yahweh seems to be addressing Israel as individuals.²¹⁹ The metaphors of children of Yahweh and bride/wife of Yahweh are both used for Yahweh's people throughout Scripture. So, in Galatians 4, believers in Jesus are the individual children of the woman, but the church collectively is the bride of Yahweh.

In chapter 3 of this thesis, the marriage motif in the NT, and particularly in the Gospels, was also discussed. In the NT, the husband figure in the divine marriage has shifted completely from Yahweh to the Messiah without any specific explanation of why this has happened.²²⁰ As Raymond Ortlund has written, "The Old Testament expectation of the marriage of Yahweh with his people, to be restored and enjoyed forever, comes into the framework of New Testament theology through the teaching of Jesus himself."²²¹ As discussed in this project's third chapter, Jesus' self-identification as the bridegroom is certainly veiled when he first speaks it, especially early in his ministry. John the Baptist's reference to Jesus as the bridegroom and to himself as the

²¹⁸ Nelly Stienstra, *YHWH is the Husband of His People: Analysis of a Biblical Metaphor with Special Reference to Translation* (Kampden, The Netherlands: Kok Pharos Publishing, 1993), 110.

²¹⁹ In Hos. 2:1, Yahweh instructs Israel to remind their (the second-person plural is used) brothers and sisters that they have received mercy, but in 2:2, to plead with their mother to turn from her adultery.

²²⁰ Derrett, *Law in the New Testament*, 471, has suggested that Jesus is the Levirate brother who willingly takes the fruitless widow as his bride. This has some interesting possibilities, but ultimately it does not seem to be correct. For one thing, Derrett says that Jesus replaces Torah as the woman's husband, but the Torah does not seem to be represented this way biblically. God is the husband. Certainly, the woman has left her husband and it could be argued that she married sin or even Satan (see Holland, *Contours*, 85-100), but this is not what Derrett is saying. Holland, *Contours*, 240, would probably agree with Derrett about Jesus being the Levirate husband, although he does not cite this passage. This study concludes that Paul's illustration of marriage in Romans 7, in discussing the law is not an indication that Israel has been married to the law (see Holland, *Romans*, 228 and Moo, *Romans*, 413). Rather, Paul is speaking of the solemnity of covenants, James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8* WBC (Dallas: Word Books, 1988), 369-70.

²²¹ Raymond C. Ortlund, Jr. *Whoredom: God's Unfaithful Wife in Biblical Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 139.

bridegroom's friend is fascinating, as he appears to have surprising insight not only to Jesus' messiahship, but perhaps to his divinity (the birth narrative in Luke suggests that Elizabeth knew this). As Jesus persists in using the bridegroom metaphor in his eschatological parables, the seeds are certainly planted for his disciples to make the theological connections after they are given the illumination by the Spirit.

Paul understands that Jesus will be the bridegroom of his people, and speaks of himself as a friend of the bridegroom or even a marriage broker in 2 Cor. 11:2. He also compares human marriage with the marriage of Christ to his church in Eph. 5:22-33. Additionally, in 1 Cor. 6:14, Paul compares being "unequally yoked with unbelievers" to committing adultery against Christ and against God, which is similar to his argument about idolatry and the Lord's table in 1 Cor. 10:14. Finally, note Paul's comment in 1 Cor. 6:20 in the context of fleeing sexual immorality, "You were bought with a price," which suggests a bride price.

God's people were indeed bought with a great price. Jesus freed those who were under the curse of the law, those who were under its shackles, by becoming a curse, and releasing the bonds of all who put their faith in him. Now that faith had come, the law had served its purpose. The Gentiles, who were no longer shut out, were also freed from their bondage of darkness by having the gospel preached to them; they did not have to bear the burden of the law in order to be accepted by God. All who believe in Jesus are the true children of Abraham and of Sarah. They are children of the union of Yahweh and the new Jerusalem, and they are free because of the NE that the Messiah has brought about in his own death and resurrection.

5. Conclusions

In Galatians 4 Paul has brought his argument about the status of the law to a climax. Throughout Galatians 3 he increasingly demonstrates the harshness of the law's supervision over the Jews, first speaking of its inevitable curse upon all who cannot

obey perfectly (3:10-14), then its imprisoning role (3:22-23) and then its custodial role (3:24-25), which soon gives way to the more shocking language of slavery in Galatians 4. Slavery versus freedom or law versus non-law turned out to be the primary antithesis of Galatians 4. The flesh-versus-promise antithesis within the allegory of 4:21-31 served as a restatement of the primary antithesis of slave/law versus free/non-law.

In 4:1-7, Paul reminds his Jewish readers that they became adopted sons and daughters through faith in Jesus the Messiah. Although they formerly were under the law's supervision, which resembled slavery, they have been freed from that relationship into a new one with God the Father and into a new inheritance. He goes on to warn his Gentile readers not to enter into the old relationship of slavery now that the Messiah has come and has enabled their adoption as sons and daughters of God.

Similarly, in 4:21-31, Paul tells the Galatians that all true sons (and daughters) of Abraham are descendants of the free woman and not of the slave woman. Hagar was a slave and Mt. Sinai represents slavery to the law. The intertextual hermeneutic of Hays was helpful in establishing that Isaiah himself linked Sarah to Jerusalem, who would be barren no more. The multiplication of the Gentile churches in Paul's day was evidence that Sarah/Jerusalem was no longer barren. Upon Israel's return from Babylon, the Jewish hope in such prophecies as Isa. 54:1 was greatly disappointed. The second exodus was anticlimactic: where were the countless descendants? When would Jerusalem exist in the splendor described in vv. 11-12, and when would the other promises of the messianic age come to be? Unbeknownst to the returned exiles, these would all be fulfilled spiritually in the NE, through Christ. He is the fulfillment of the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53—the one who takes the punishment and exile his people deserve for their sins. All who believe in him become children of the woman who was once barren—or, as the imagery changes, become part of the corporate bride to the Messiah Jesus. Believers in Jesus live in the now and not yet, awaiting the Messiah's

return, when he will establish his kingdom. And in the culmination of the NE, Paul declares (Gal. 4:27) that the Lord will marry his people, as God promised in Isa. 54:5.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

1. Summary

The purpose of this thesis has been to explore the presence of the New Exodus (NE) in Paul's letter to the Galatians with the aim of determining to what extent, if any, Paul was operating within a NE theological framework when he wrote the letter. Furthermore, I have proposed that recognizing the NE theme in Galatians results in a clearer and more comprehensive reading of the book.

My efforts were directed toward the theological material of the first four chapters of Galatians, with the expectation that this would supply ample material to test for the NE theme, and that the presence in the last two hortatory chapters could then be explored by extrapolating from features detected in the earlier part of the letter.

2. Defining the NE

In order to begin to unpack the NE theme in Galatians, it was first necessary to clarify an understanding of the NE itself. What quickly became apparent was that there has been no clearly agreed upon, comprehensive, and fully articulated definition of the term *New Exodus* in the academic discussion of the topic. This is despite the widespread, growing interest in the importance of the theme in understanding the NT writings, particularly the letters of Paul. Generally, scholars engage with the exodus theme in one of two ways. First, some simply identify NT typological fulfillment of the original exodus as the NE (for example, identifying Jesus as a second Moses who leads his people out of the slavery of sin). Second, others vaguely refer to a second exodus (or specifically an Isaianic NE), identifying thematic parallels of the Prophets' promises of

another exodus (for example, John the Baptist's ministry as prophesied in Isaiah, or the creation and new creation motifs from Isaiah as found in various NT passages).

In defining the NE as the fulfillment of promises in the Prophets concerning the Babylonian exodus, an understanding drawn from my research, I hope I have added a valuable contribution to the existing scholarship. These prophecies are typologically linked to the original exodus from Egypt and are spiritually fulfilled in the death, resurrection, and return of Jesus the Messiah. Understanding the NE in this way helps the reader identify first-century expectations and assumptions and opens the way to better understanding Paul's theological thinking in Galatians.

3. The Area for Research

In this project, I linked the NE to biblical theology, seeing it as part of the redemptive-historic plan progressively unfolding throughout the whole of Christian Scripture. It had already been observed and demonstrated many times that the exodus from Egypt was central to Jewish salvation history and the OT (through repeated exodus references and expectations of a future exodus in intertestamental literature¹), and yet the full significance of this fact for NT studies was mostly overlooked until the last couple of decades. The idea of exploring the NE in Paul's writings was not novel in itself, as this general work was already being done in NT studies. However, almost no scholarship had been devoted to the NE in Galatians specifically.

The methodology to be used, a principal topic of chapter 1, was a significant issue in this study, as discerning the presence of the NE in Galatians involved the investigation of how Paul uses the Jewish Scriptures. Such a question has been the focus of countless volumes of study. It was necessary to take into account the issue of variant source texts, which has become a larger question since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Paul's quotations do not always match the LXX, which is itself now known to

¹ See chapter 3 of this thesis, and especially the works of Harald Sahlin, Otto Piper, and Jindrich Mánek.

have had variants during the first century CE. Therefore, it was necessary to discuss what could be known or surmised concerning Paul's intentional or unintentional modifications as he inserts (OT) Scripture in his letters. As it turned out, however, the existence of variant OT texts was not a major issue in this thesis, as Paul's quotations and citations are mostly clustered (3:6-14 and 4:27, 30), and any differences are quite minor.

Far more pertinent than the question of explicit quotations and nonverbatim citations was the issue of allusions and echoes, those subtler and possibly unconscious scriptural references within Paul's writings. *Allusions* and *echoes*, terms borrowed from literary theory, can raise numerous questions in biblical studies, depending on whether one believes that the meaning of Scripture should be based on the human author's intent or on the reader's response at a given time and situation. The concern of this thesis is what Paul meant as he wrote.

The issue of allusions and echoes came to the forefront initially because of Paul's curious use of Isa. 54:1 in Gal. 4:27. As I discuss in chapter 6, most commentaries simply sidestep the verse, as it does not at face value seem to add anything to the argument. Yet as Paul quotes it, he seems to be—in his own mind—using the verse as conclusive proof for his argument that those under the law are slaves (children of Hagar) and those under the promise are free (children of Sarah). Paul is obviously invoking the passage in a way that demands more than superficial attention.

Richard Hays brings intertextual theory into the discussion as well as the practice of biblical hermeneutics (building on the work of Michael Fishbane in particular) and indeed even provides some sample applications, including the very passage in question (Gal. 4:21-31). That said, it was necessary when introducing and later implementing Hays's hermeneutical method of biblical intertextuality, to proceed with great caution. Hays has understandably received much criticism regarding his

vague criteria for identifying echoes (which for him are interchangeable with allusions) and his openness to reader subjectivity and creativity can lead to a meaning quite far from the original author's intent.

I am grateful to previous scholars who have utilized intertextuality in ways that have clarified rather than invented meanings in texts. I featured their work throughout this study and learned from them, as they worked within the confines of the echoes invoked by the passage being examined. Hays's seven criteria for identifying an echo are mostly helpful but have needed refinement. The most valuable of them appears to be the question of what he calls "volume", which was demonstrated in the exegetical work of Galatians 4, first by Hays, then Jobes, and then my own work. This research made clear that the formerly barren woman who became the mother of multitudes in Isa. 54:1 is linked to the Sarah of the Genesis narratives, to the Sarah reference in Isa. 51:2, and to the mother of all God's people—Jews and Gentiles—in the latter chapters of Isaiah. The echo, a consistent motif, resonated from within Isaiah and then outward.

Biblical theology is also a helpful constraint to the whole process of exegesis; one is not discovering meanings that are novel or in some way contradictory to the unfolding revelation of salvation history. Paul is teaching what is revealed by Isaiah and is now coming true as he writes. My aim has been to take full advantage of the depths of intertextuality within the guidelines of a biblical theological framework.

3.1. Literature Review

In chapter 2, I surveyed the scholarly literature within the relevant categories for this study: the exodus theme in Scripture and the NE, Paul's use of Scripture, and a few noted commentaries on Galatians. It emerged that there is a difference between simply manifesting the ubiquity of the exodus theme throughout the Old and New Testaments and manifesting the NE in Scripture. The bulk of what was referred to as the NE up to the latter part of the twentieth century (George Balentine, David Daube, R. E. Nixon)

was relying entirely on typology, such as identifying Jesus as the paschal Lamb. That being said, such efforts did indeed pave the way for later work in the area (beginning in the 1990s). Identifying exodus types in the NT was necessary work, showing that the theme was present and that, therefore, the other NT writers shared with Paul, to some degree, a NE theology.

The literature review showed how scholars then began in the 1990s, to modify, albeit subtly, what was meant by the NE. Scholars such as Mark Strauss, Sylvia Keesmaat, Rikki Watts, David Pao, William Wilder, Andrew Brunson, Tom Holland and others found significance in the exodus language the prophets used in predicting the return from Babylon. N. T. Wright, in particular, noticed that much of the ITL and even some of the postexilic biblical literature expressed the sense that Israel and Judah remained in exile despite their physical return (or opportunity for such) to their homeland. Too many of the great prophecies that were to accompany the Babylonian exodus were not fulfilled, many of them connected to the messianic age. In a sense, one might say that Christian scholarship was finally reckoning with the Jewish sense of heightened messianic expectations of final deliverance that were current as the NT documents were being written. It should come as no surprise, then, that the NT is full of NE theology: the expectations being revisited and their fulfillments being accomplished spiritually in the death and resurrection of Jesus the Messiah.

3.2. Exodus in the OT

In chapter 3, I discussed the centrality of the exodus from Egypt in the history and theology of the Jews. Scholars have noted the importance of the exodus in Jewish thought, but it can also be seen by the sheer number of references to the event in the Jewish Scriptures, including the ITL. The exodus from Egypt caused the Israelites to see Yahweh as the God who delivers, and they came to believe that he would do so again

and again, whenever their nation was in trouble. It was in the context of the exodus that God covenanted with his people at Sinai and gave them the law.

Even as the Jews faced exile because of their covenant unfaithfulness, Isaiah and other prophets promised that God would bring them back to Zion in another exodus that would be even greater than the Egyptian exodus. At the same time, the prophets made a point of using some of the same imagery of the original exodus, such as the crossing of the parted sea. Jeremiah wrote that this second exodus would become the new standard event for the people (Jer. 16:14-15 and 23:7-8). And the promises associated with the return from Babylon (in Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, etc.) were of cosmic proportions. A detailed compilation of these promises was gleaned from the work of Andrew Brunson and Tom Holland, as well as from my own study of Isaiah. Brunson and Holland, who do not seem to be aware of each other's work, both identify a list of NE-related individual promises the prophets make. They each propose confirming that a promise is indeed related to the NE by finding a NT announcement of its fulfillment in Christ. My own version of the list is as follows:

- Yahweh as Israel's champion,
- The Servant of Yahweh,
- The enthronement of the Son of David/Messiah,
- Creation/new creation,
- The return of Yahweh's presence,
- The outpouring of the Holy Spirit,
- The ingathering of the Gentiles into God's people,
- The divine marriage of God to his people.

The idea of being released from captivity is not listed as a motif because it is absolutely fundamental to the idea of an exodus. These promises, which are then motifs of the NE, can all be found throughout Isaiah, among the passages that promise Israel's return from

Babylon. Several of them can also be found in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and among the Minor Prophets.² These promises are also motifs of the messianic and eschatological age, which then all became associated together.

Yet when the edict came from Cyrus that all who desired should return to their homeland, the exodus from Babylon did not resemble the prophetic descriptions. In the first century CE, then, the hope for a NE continued among the Jews, and intermixed with these desires were the hopes for the Messiah to bring in the eschatological age. Such was the setting for the NT writers, including Paul. Because they had been waiting for a NE and the messianic age, the NT writers knew that Jesus the Messiah had now come to inaugurate the messianic age and to bring a NE.

3.3. NE in the NT

Chapter 3 included a survey of passages and pericopes in the NT that reflect NE motifs, even if only via exodus typology. I argued, as had others before me (Edmund Clowney and Holland explicitly, while others suggest it), that the slaying of the paschal lambs at the original Passover had been an atoning sacrifice, and that the NT authors present Jesus as the antitype of the lambs referred to in the Gospels and in Revelation. The author of Revelation uses numerous exodus allusions (especially in Revelation 6–8) throughout the book. The new creation motif is introduced in Rev. 21:1, as is the divine marriage in Revelation 19 and 21, both features of the NE. I also surveyed the numerous references to Jesus as the bridegroom and the wedding parables in the Gospels, which also point to the divine marriage motif.

I surveyed Paul's letters separately, after establishing that NE theology influenced the other NT authors. Paul in particular was clearly influenced by the prophecies of Isaiah, as can easily be seen by his numerous citations in Romans, and as

² It could certainly be argued that there are omissions to my list (Holland includes circumcision of the heart; Brunson mentions temple building/cleansing; we all exclude the physical prosperity promises of Amos 9:13, e.g., tacitly assuming them to be spiritually fulfilled).

Matthew Harmon has argued, by his frequent usage in Galatians as well.³ And since Isaiah's writings (especially chapters 40–66) are full of the hopes and promises of the NE, it was to be expected that Paul's writings might reflect the same.

3.4. NE in Galatians

In light of the above discussion, the two main criteria for the NE presence in Galatians are as follows: (1) There should be allusions to the original exodus, and (2) NE motifs should be found throughout the letter. Furthermore, the more of the eight motifs that can be identified in Galatians, and the more they are repeated and clustered together, the stronger is the indication of the NE theme therein.

Several scholars, most notably Moisés Silva and J. Louis Martyn, have noticed the apocalyptic-eschatological emphasis in Galatians, and I found that theme to mesh well with the NE. Martyn suggests that Paul builds the letter around a series of apocalyptic antitheses, and so I used his structure to build a case for the NE in Galatians, examining one antithesis (or in some cases, one apocalyptic-eschatological event) at a time to try to detect the NE. As mentioned above, the Jewish apocalyptic-eschatological expectations centered on the appearance of the Messiah and his long-awaited deliverance of Israel.

After explaining this procedure in chapter 4, I began the analysis of Galatians 1 and 2. In the opening verses of Galatians 1, some possible exodus allusions were identified. Two are found in 1:4, where Jesus gives himself up to die for "our" sins (paschal atoning sacrifice, Suffering Servant) to deliver "us" from the present evil age (as Moses delivered his people from the evils of slavery). Other possible allusions include the Israelites' idolatrous worship of the golden calf in 1:6 (they "so quickly turn away"), the angels accompanying the giving of the law in 1:8, and the question of the

³ Matthew S. Harmon, *She Must and Shall Go Free: Paul's Isaianic Gospel in Galatians*. BZNW 168 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 4.

separation of Jews from Gentiles when eating (2:11-14) (Egyptians could not eat with the Jews; Gen. 43:32; 46:34).

Since Gal. 2:16 contains a major antithesis, one which some scholars claim is central to the entire letter, a great deal of discussion was devoted to the proper understanding of the meaning of ἔργα νόμου and πίστις Χριστοῦ,⁴ but it was concluded that much of the controversy has been a distraction. It is not so much a question of whether Jews had a problem with legalism (traditional Lutheran-Reformed view) or with nationalistic pride (NPP view), but rather, that Jesus the Messiah had liberated God's people from the confines of the law. Justification was not to be sought from the law or within the framework of the law, but only through faith in Jesus. Galatians compares this to being released from slavery, a NE.

Of particular relevance to the NE is that the means of justification are the same for Jews and Gentiles: faith. Through the NE, both are free now to be justified entirely outside the confinements of the law. The Gentiles are now being included, gathered in to God's people, and the way of justification is being clarified. Paul is arguing that the law never justified, but that it was within the confines of the law that one was justified prior to Christ; now that Christ has come, he has freed humankind from all obligations to the law.

Chapter 5 explored the NE presence in Galatians 3. There is a probable exodus allusion in Paul's question in 3:1, "Who has bewitched you?" (cf. the magicians in Pharaoh's court who tried to interfere with Moses's message of liberation). In the same verse, the reference to Jesus' public crucifixion may tie in with the NE in one or more ways: the somewhat public nature of the paschal lamb's sacrifice each Passover (and perhaps the original visible posting of blood on the doorposts and lintels); the public ordeal of the Suffering Servant of the Lord (a NE motif) in Isa. 52:13–53:12; or the

⁴ This term is being simplified from its fuller form in the verse: πίστει Χριστοῦ.

display of miracles in the Sinai desert (paralleling the miracles occurring at the preaching of the gospel), proving that God was indeed present among them—which is also a NE motif.

In the first major antithesis in Galatians 3—receiving the Spirit by works of the flesh versus hearing by faith—the hearing by faith is a likely echo to Isa. 53:1, again announcing the motif of the Suffering Servant of the Lord. At the same time, the first part of Galatians 3 speaks of the outpouring of the Spirit (an outpouring that will lead to the inclusion of the Gentiles—another NE motif—although this expansion of God’s people is addressed later.) Paul’s reference in 3:3 to beginning by the Spirit and (wrongly) ending by the flesh, echoes Israel’s journey in the wilderness, where they were led by the Spirit (cf. Gal. 5:18; Isa. 63:11-14; Hag. 2:4-5; Neh. 9:19-20).

The juxtaposition of the reception of the Spirit and righteousness in 3:1-6, ties in with the many passages in Isaiah in which, as an aspect of the NE, the Spirit is poured out on the Messiah (11:2; 42:1; 48:16; 61:1), who rules in righteousness (9:7; 11:3-5; 16:5; 42:1), and the Spirit is poured out on all the people, and Zion and the people themselves are then characterized by righteousness (11:1-6; 32:15-20; 33:5; 60:21; 61:3, 10, 11).

In 3:7-14, the contrast between *those of the works of the law* versus *those of faith* allows Paul to make his case for the inclusion of the Gentiles into God’s people, as promised in the eschatological age, and an important NE motif. It is accompanied by another NE promise in these verses, namely, the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

In the last section of Galatians 3 (vv. 15-29), Paul discusses the purpose of the law. The relevance for the NE theme is that Paul makes it clear that the law was meant to have an end; to convey this, he uses the language of imprisonment (3:22-23) and the metaphor of a young boy’s protector/supervisor (παιδαγωγός) to make his point: Christ came to set God’s people free from these restraints, to bring them out, as through a NE.

At the end of Galatians 3 (vv. 25-29), Paul writes of the unity that all believers have in Christ through baptism. The significance of the divine marriage as a salient feature of the NE is discussed in chapter 3 of this thesis. Although this motif is frequently overlooked in Pauline scholarship, it becomes more apparent in Galatians 4, its presence reinforcing the use made of the NE in this letter.

As Paul begins Galatians 4 (explored in chapter 6 of this thesis), he continues comparing the law to enslavement, even while writing of adoption. The adoption he refers to in this passage is the sonship believers receive through the Spirit upon believing in Jesus. Just as in the Egyptian exodus, the NE is seen as an act of transformation from slave to free—and, even better, to sons⁵ and heirs. Understanding Paul's emphasis on Jesus freeing captives from slavery through the NE helps to elucidate the notoriously difficult meaning of the word στοιχειῶν; just as the Gentiles follow what cannot benefit them in any way in their idolatry, so do the Jews in their slavish obedience to the law.

The larger portion of chapter 6 was spent unraveling the allegorical passage regarding Sarah and Hagar in Gal. 4:21-31. At the most obvious level, Paul is claiming that all those who insist on remaining under or submitting themselves to the law are essentially slaves like Hagar, whereas those who choose to respond to the promise (the Messiah) of God are free like Sarah and her offspring. Once again, the language of slavery emphasizes the NE that Jesus came to bring, for he came to release the Jews from the law's bondage and free the Gentiles not only from their idols, but from ever needing to submit to the law.

Paul uses apocalyptic language as well in this section, referring to the Jerusalems present and above in vv. 25 and 26. I noted that, as Karen Jobes pointed out, Isaiah features two Jerusalems throughout his prophecy, one cursed and one blessed.

⁵ The gender is not translated inclusively so as to reflect the practice of inheritance at the time.

But I also noted that the idea of a Jerusalem above is not only represented in Heb. 12:22 and Rev. 3:12; 21:2; and 21:9–22:5, but is also found or suggested in the OT (Isa. 54:10-17; 60–66; Ezek. 40–48) and in extrabiblical writings (*2 Apoc. Baruch* 4:2-6; Tob. 13:8-18; 14:5; *Jub.* 4:26; 4 *Ezr.* 7:26; 10:40-59; 1 *Enoch* 90:28-42). The surprising element is Paul's claim that the new Jerusalem (above) is inhabited by Jews *and* Gentiles who are justified by faith in Jesus, reflecting both the NE motif of the new creation, as God prepares a new place into which he brings his people, and the motif of the ingathering/inclusion of the Gentiles among God's people.

Paul's quotation of Isa. 54:1 in v. 27 serves as an intertextual echo, which reverberates outwardly in both directions in Isaiah. The formerly barren woman is Israel in her exile, but her restored fertility will exceed anyone's expectations. Her borders will need to be redrawn to accommodate the incoming Gentiles as well. This element of the NE is strengthened by a connection between the restoration of the formerly barren woman and the plight of the Suffering Servant, the latter of which is described in the passage that immediately precedes Isa. 54:1. Israel's sins are forgiven and she is blessed abundantly—with countless children—because of the Servant's vicarious atoning death. The featuring of the Servant is also a NE motif, as his ministry occurs amidst the NE passages in Isaiah.

In the context of the echoes that are invoked within Isaiah, the Lord declares that he is the husband of this formerly barren and desolate woman (Isa. 54:5), an assertive statement of the divine marriage motif of the NE, as it is found not only in the immediate context, but indeed through to the end of Isaiah's prophecies (Isa. 62:4, 5). God announces his remarriage to his wayward wife, whom he had sent away but is now taking back to love forever, and who will also love him in return (see Hos. 2:14-15). Paul announces this fulfillment through Gal. 4:27. The woman also reflects the new creation motif of the NE; she is created as something new, a new Israel of God, made up

of Jews and Gentiles. She is also newly created so that the Lord may marry her as a virgin. While Israel had returned to the land and had returned to the Lord outwardly, the marriage prophesied to occur after the exodus from Babylon had not taken place. Paul is now announcing this marriage by invoking Isaiah 54 and the surrounding chapters, which speak of the marriage between God and his people. At the same time, it is a now and not yet reality; Christ is husband to the church, yet he waits to meet his bride at his return. The divine marriage, then, is the ultimate motif of the NE, the final one to be fully realized.

4. Summary of Findings

4.1. Strong Presence of the NE in Galatians 1–4

Certain motifs were found repeatedly in Galatians, such as the outpouring of the Holy Spirit and the ingathering of the Gentiles. The motifs of the Servant of the Lord, creation/new creation and divine marriage were found a couple of times, and the (return of the) presence of the Lord was mentioned once, although it is implicit in the outpouring of the Spirit, as the Lord is present with his people through the Spirit. The motifs that were not specifically demonstrated were Yahweh as Israel's champion, and the enthronement of the Son of David. And although it might have been possible to find some kind of support for these motifs within Galatians, it is not vital to this thesis that all possible NE motifs be represented.

Nevertheless, the strong representation of some NE motifs throughout the letter, especially their clustering and repetition, is a significant factor in demonstrating that Paul wrote Galatians based on a NE theology. When this is taken into consideration along with the numerous explicit allusions to the exodus, the case is strengthened. Finally, even the notoriously difficult to explain quotation of Isa. 54:1 in Gal. 4:27 makes sense when seen in light of the NE context (with its accompanying motifs) that it

brings into the Galatians passage. The declaration of the divine marriage was a fitting climax to the end of Paul's major argument about the end of the law, as it is the ultimate indication that God is among his people again as he always promised. Furthermore, although the divine marriage has been identified as a NE motif (by Tom Holland), this thesis has further developed and substantiated its importance as such by demonstrating its presence in the climax of Paul's argument in Gal. 4:21-31.

4.2. The Effect of the NE on the Reading of Galatians

Recognizing the prominence of the NE in Galatians helps the letter make more sense as a comprehensive whole than do many other readings. First of all, the theme brings clarity to the letter with regard to the place of the law. It is not necessary to question whether Paul sees the law as a good thing or as something Jews should continue while not imposing anything upon the Gentiles. Recognizing the NE in Galatians makes it clear that Paul is saying that Jesus came to free everyone from the need to submit to the law. As Jews embrace Jesus as Messiah, they must no longer follow the law, and Gentiles need not and must not begin to do so.

Furthermore, the meanings of difficult passages become clearer. Although in the study I considered different viewpoints, I suggested that the most reasonable meanings for the *παιδαγωγός* (3:24-25) and *στοιχεῖα* (4:3, 9) were those that indicate an enslaving entity over people, as the law enslaves all those who submit to it. And the NE also offers a satisfyingly appropriate explanation for the meaning of 4:21-31; Paul is teaching that Jesus has come to deliver all God's people out of slavery into freedom and ultimately into a marriage relationship with him.

If the NE theme is the major underlying theme, which this thesis claims, then one cannot maintain that Galatians is merely a letter about adoption, even though Paul discusses it. The letter is also about far more than whether or not Gentiles should be circumcised or with whom Jews may eat, although those issues are contained within the

letter. Paul is indicating that the NE has ended the time and purpose of the law, and therefore these issues are no longer a concern. With the NE as the major theme of Galatians, then, legalism is also not a principal concern of Paul.

The NE theme in Galatians also unites the letter in a way that most other purported themes do not. It runs as a thread through every chapter. From the very opening verses, as Paul wishes grace to the congregation, he warns them that turning to any other way than the freedom Jesus has brought them is the way to bring curse upon themselves. As the chapter continues, it is clear that the truth of this NE was radical to Paul himself initially and required revelation and solitary time for him to realize its truth and implications. In Galatians 2, Paul boasts that he would let no one enslave him or Titus by attempting to circumcise Titus. Paul is willing to risk all his relationships with the apostles for the truth he knows about this freedom from the law. In Galatians 3, he scolds the church for apparently forgetting that all they learned and experienced was in the context of freedom apart from the law. They received the Spirit as well. Why would they go back or submit to that which leads only to curses? The law was temporary and restrictive until Christ came. In Galatians 4, Paul reminds the church that Jesus came to free them from slavery to make them sons and heirs. They are no longer slaves to the elementary things, either the law (Jews) or gods (Gentiles). To desire the law is to desire slavery, but the true people of God are free and are, collectively, his bride. In Galatians 5 and 6 Paul tells the church that they must live like they are free, filled with the Spirit rather than leaning upon the law for their actions. Every part of this letter rests on the same premise: *Jesus has come to bring the captives out of the bondage of the law into the freedom of the Spirit, in a reenactment of the exodus from Egypt.*

5. Other Applications of the NE in Galatians

5.1. The NE in Galatians 5 and 6

As indicated in chapter 1 (Introduction), the discussion of these two final chapters of the letter will be kept to a minimum. My assumption has been that Paul's main argument is contained in Galatians 1–4, and that if I can establish that the NE is prominent in these chapters, I will have accomplished the task.

In Galatians 5:1-15, Paul is contrasting slavery with freedom, which has already been demonstrated to be an apocalyptic-eschatological antithesis that signals the NE presence in the letter. Paul specifically admonishes the Galatians not to receive circumcision, because by doing so, they essentially take on the full obligations of the entire law. They would be alienated from Christ and grace. Paul has already established in Galatians 3 and 4 that those under the law are in slavery, reiterating this in 5:1, but that those who have faith in Christ are free.

Paul contrasts living in the Spirit with living in the flesh in 5:16-25, revisiting an antithesis he uses in 3:3. In both cases, the flesh is linked to the law (focused on one's performance), indicating that one's own efforts in obedience to the law will fail. But Paul reminds the Galatians that they are free from the burden of the law's obligations (5:3), which could not justify them anyway. In this chapter, Paul is essentially saying that Jesus has led God's people in a NE, out from life under the law into life in the Spirit.

There are also three NE allusions or echoes in these two chapters. G. K. Beale has noticed two, although he does not use NE terminology. Beale suggests that Paul bases the fruit of the Spirit (5:22-23) on eschatological promises made to Israel in the OT, marking the characteristics God's people will possess in the eschatological age (which I suggest is as a result of the NE). Although mostly drawing from Isaiah, he

finds support in 1 Chronicles, Haggai, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zechariah.⁶ This is a very possible conclusion, particularly since this would refer to the outpouring of the Spirit, a NE motif already seen numerous times in Galatians.

Near the letter's conclusion, Beale sees an echo (my word, not his) of Isaiah 54 in Gal. 6:16, as he suggests that the promise of "peace upon Israel" (an ancient benediction) alludes to the promise of restoration from exile.⁷ His argument is persuasive in light of Paul's quotation of Isa. 54:1 in 4:27 and the mention of the covenant of peace in Isa. 54:10. In the original context, then, the words convey a blessing upon Israel at her return from exile. In the Galatian context, the passage suggests a blessing on the Israel that now comprises all of God's people, Jews and Gentiles, once again manifesting the NE motif of the ingathering of the Gentiles into God's people.

As has been mentioned earlier (in the literature review), Wilder sees an echo of the exodus in Gal. 5:18 and suggests that the people of God are being led out of the captivity of the law into the life of the Spirit.⁸

Finally, there is a statement about new creation in Gal. 6:15, where Paul states "neither circumcision counts for anything nor uncircumcision, but a new creation." This verse parallels 5:6, where Paul says the same thing about circumcision and uncircumcision. Neither of them counts for anything, but only faith working through love. As discussed in chapter 3, the new creation is a prominent theme in the latter chapters of Isaiah. Douglas Moo notes that the phrase *new creation* (καινή κτίσις) is found only here in Gal. 6:15 and in 2 Cor. 5:17.⁹ He argues for a broader meaning of the term, including an allusion to an apocalyptic "universal restoration" as found in the

⁶ G. K. Beale, "The Old Testament Background of Paul's Reference to 'Fruit of the Spirit' in Galatians 5:22," *BBR* 15 (2005).

⁷ G. K. Beale, "Peace and Mercy Upon the Israel of God: The Old Testament Background of Galatians 6,16b," *Bib* 80 (1999): 204-23.

⁸ William N. Wilder, *Echoes of the Exodus Narrative in the Context and Background of Galatians 5:18* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2001).

⁹ Douglas J. Moo, "Creation and New Creation," *BBR* 20 (2010), 41.

latter chapters of Isaiah and other Jewish apocalyptic texts, in Paul's inaugurated eschatology referring to conversion of individuals and a renewed universe, and in the implications it has for stewardship of God's created world. Putting the application element aside,¹⁰ the first two components of Moo's definition are not particularly distinguishable, given that Paul relies so heavily on Isaiah as a background to his theology. Frank Thielman suggests that the new creation refers to a new Israel of God, comprised of Gentiles and Jews.¹¹ If so—and it is possible—then just as in 6:16, this verse also suggests the NE motif of the ingathering of the Gentiles into God's people.

This discussion of Galatians 5 and 6 is superficial, as it was only intended to suggest some implications that the NE theme, as established from my work in Galatians 1–4, should have for these final two chapters of the letter. My omission of detailed interaction with the material is not meant to imply that there is nothing in these chapters worthy of effort. For example, I treated Paul's use of the word *flesh* (σάρξ) very superficially in this section, since he contrasts it with *Spirit* exactly as he had done at the beginning of Galatians 3. A more in-depth study of how Paul might be using that word might lead to a better overall understanding of his message in Galatians 5.

In addition, since the flesh is being contrasted with the Spirit, it might be of some help to explore what the Jewish first-century understanding of the Spirit was. Paul has been speaking of receiving the Spirit in Galatians 3, as was promised as part of the NE. But suddenly in Galatians 5, Paul is talking about walking by the Spirit, certain desires being against the Spirit's desires, being led by the Spirit, having the fruit of the Spirit, living and walking/acting by the Spirit, and in chapter 6 he mentions sowing to the Spirit as opposed to the flesh. It would be a good idea to explore the origins and Jewish context of Paul's teachings, leading to a better grasp of how he would expect the

¹⁰ This is not to dismiss the proper role of stewardship of the earth, but it does not logically seem to fit within the definition.

¹¹ Frank Thielman, *Paul and the Law: A Contextual Approach* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1994), 138.

Galatians to understand what he means by all these things. The whole question of what it means to live by the Spirit, in the freedom of the NE, while remaining in the world remains a challenge, and it may be that NE theology could contribute to the discussion.

5.2. Implications of the NE for Paul's Understanding of the Law

The topic of Paul's understanding of the law has generated a plethora of scholarship, and continues to do so. Naturally any discussion of Galatians must interact with the topic to some extent,¹² and this thesis did so too because at the heart of the NE is the act of Jesus liberating God's people from the bondage of the law. The NE theme confronts the law in the two major ways Paul presents it in Galatians: its enslavement and its temporal nature. When I recognized the NE, it became easier to elucidate the notoriously difficult meanings of the terms παιδαγωγός (Gal. 3:24-25) and στοιχεῖα (Gal. 4:3, 9), and to avoid extended consideration of the many divergent possible definitions discussed within the scholarship. Within the context of the NE, these terms' meanings became simple. Both represent the strict enslavement of the law—παιδαγωγός by referring to the restrictions and στοιχεῖα by referring to the almost mindless obedience the law required.

There are other implications for Paul's treatment of the law, given a NE reading of Galatians. For example, some scholars have suggested that Paul exaggerates his attack on the law because of the confusion in Galatia, but a NE reading means that it becomes less important to consider whether or not Paul is speaking negatively about the law *only* because of its abuse in the Galatian church.¹³ Reading Galatians through the eyes of the NE simplifies the discussion, since it could not be clearer that the law, which enslaved, is now obsolete.

¹² Thielman argues that Galatians is "almost entirely about the law," Thielman, *Paul and the Law*, 119. He poses the question later on the same page, "Why should [Galatians] not be read as Paul's own statement on his view of the law?"

¹³ Moo suggests that Paul emphasizes the negative because of the occasion but is more balanced in Romans, Moo, *Galatians*, 36. Thielman contends that if Paul has positive views of the law, he would be unlikely to include them in this letter, Thielman, *Paul and the Law*, 120.

Similarly, it hardly becomes necessary to attempt to salvage and categorize the law into its moral and ceremonial portions, arguing that we are obligated to the former but no longer to the latter. It subsequently becomes unnecessary to speak of Calvin's third use of the law (moral guidance for the Christian), although the principles behind the desire for holy living certainly do not contradict what Paul teaches in Galatians. But Galatians removes the law as the believer's guide and standard, and replaces it with the Holy Spirit, who gives a new heart to conform to God's will in fulfillment of Jer. 31:31-34.

5.3. Implications of NE for the New Perspective on Paul (NPP)

This study also inevitably crossed paths with the NPP a few times, particularly in the discussion of the meaning of the phrase ἔργα νόμου in Gal. 2:16. The theology of the NPP is complex, and I am not attempting to address every aspect of it here, but only the aspect in which this aforementioned intersection takes place. The NPP has challenged the common Lutheran-Reformed interpretation of the verse: that Paul was decrying legalism. E. P. Sanders, whose work may be said to have spawned the NPP, insists that legalism did not fairly characterize first-century Judaism. Instead, he argues, the Jews held to covenantal nomism, in which they saw God as gracious and forgiving, and believed they were to keep his law as part of their gratitude, with provisions for atonement whenever they sinned. A major problem for Sanders, though, is that he really has no explanation for why God's people must place their faith in Christ, other than that the rules had changed.¹⁴ There is no bondage from which Jesus must free people. There is no need for a NE, as I define it, in Sanders's theology.

J. D. G. Dunn developed the NPP further than Sanders, and although he also teaches that the term ἔργα νόμου refers to covenantal nomism, those works required by

¹⁴ Thus, he himself coins the term "from solution to plight." Because faith in Jesus is now the way of salvation, to be saved all must now place their faith in Jesus. See E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1977), 443. This is in contrast to the traditional Lutheran view of humankind's plight as sinners before a holy and righteous God.

the Torah, he in other places narrows them to those specific works that set the Jews apart from Gentiles: circumcision, Sabbath keeping, dietary laws, and the feasts. The issue for him is one of national pride, and what specifically marks one as a member of the covenant.

N. T. Wright's theology is far more complicated than either Sanders's or Dunn's, though agreeing in most places with Dunn; Wright claims the biggest sin for Israel was their failure to be a light to the Gentiles (per God's covenant with Abraham). Because the Torah excluded the Gentiles from God's covenant, it must be discarded so that the Gentiles may come into God's covenant family. Wright uses NE language, although he focuses on the exile of Israel and Judah, an exile brought about because of failed outreach and witness to the Gentiles (rather than due to their sins of idolatry and unfaithfulness to the Lord). Jesus himself is exiled (crucified on a foreign cross, as he defines it) and suffers the curse that he might free his people from this exile. Yet in Wright's NE, the entire issue is about Jesus being exiled and cursed so that God can expand the covenant family to include the Gentiles as he had promised to Abraham.

The NE has significant implications for the NPP, in that it appears to challenge the latter's soteriology. It has been observed by me and others that covenantal nomism is merely another form of legalism ("staying in" the covenant).¹⁵ Sanders and Dunn do not have a good reason that Jesus the Messiah is needed for salvation since the old system worked well without him. And Wright, only varying slightly from the same premise, focuses on the role of Jesus as mostly a gateway for the Gentiles, so that God's covenant with Abraham may be fulfilled. The NE is not particularly concerned with the question of legalism either but rather with the liberation of God's people from the enslaving law. I did not interact heavily with Wright's concept of the NE, since his

¹⁵ Several scholars have also noted this, such as Scott J. Hafemann, "Yaein: Yes and No to Luther's Reading of Galatians 3:6-14," in *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul's Letter*, eds. Mark W. Elliott, Scott J. Hafemann, N. T. Wright, and John Frederick (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014), 129. As this idea was also noted in chapter 4, there are other references there.

concept of the term *NE* is vastly different from that of the general scholarship and from mine: He does not connect the NE to the original exodus, he overemphasizes Israel's failure to be a light to the Gentiles while underemphasizing their general sinfulness, and he does not stress the bondage of the law from which Jesus frees God's people. Neither does he mention any of the unfulfilled promises of the Babylonian exodus being fulfilled in Christ.

Within the broad framework of the NPP, it could be argued that the most significant impact that Paul's understanding of NE theology could have on the NPP would be on its soteriology. This would include the whole idea of the bondage to the law and humankind's inability to achieve righteousness. But even then, one must specify how the soteriology is affected, depending on whether one is discussing Sanders, Dunn, or Wright, as their theologies are not identical.

I would propose the following questions that could be pursued for further discussion between a NE theme, as I define it and the NPP: (1) Is there a sense in which sinners are in exile today before they become believers in Jesus? (2) Does the NPP emphasize corporate sin to the detriment of a sense of personal sin?¹⁶ (3) Does the NPP present the law as enough of a burden to the Jews that they even needed liberation? (4) Does the NPP truly teach that the believer in Jesus is entirely free from the law, or are there covenant obligations ("staying in") that remain a burden for the believer? In other words, does covenantal nomism apply to the believer in Jesus, both Jew and Gentile? (5) What does the NPP say about final judgment/justification with regard to works, and

¹⁶ Individual sin has not been a major point within the discussion of the NE of this thesis, as I have been following the text of Galatians. However, it was raised in Gal. 3:10-14 which is mostly about individual sin. Wright stresses that Israel has broken the Abrahamic covenant by failing to be a light to the Gentiles, and for this reason, is cursed. He specifically argues in the contexts of this same Galatians passage that the concern is corporate and not individual: N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 142.

how does this relate to salvation by grace?¹⁷ In other words, has there truly been a NE for believers, or are they still under the weight of obligation?

These questions are based on the sense the NPP either lacks clarity on some of these issues or may be incorrect. Since the NE stresses the burden of sin and the law's bondage on the one hand and the absolute freedom from the law's obligations and curse on the other, it could be helpful to interact more with these questions.

6. Areas for Further Study

As I mentioned previously, the exploration of the NE in Galatians 5 and 6 is an obvious possible subject for future study. There may be more in these chapters to uncover than I have explored in this thesis.

It would also be very helpful to continue to explore the NE in Paul's other letters, now that it is clear, in the light of the evidence put forward in this thesis, that it is a significant part of Paul's theology. This has been done recently in Ephesians¹⁸ and Romans,¹⁹ but other letters are yet to be systematically investigated. And although Holland explores the NE in Romans, he works primarily to prove that the motif of the divine marriage is present. It would also be helpful to explore the NE more generally, not within the rigid confines of a commentary, but as this study has done in its focus on one major theological theme in Galatians. More than that, it might be helpful to treat Romans side by side with Galatians, especially where they are similar and where Paul treats the law. It could be very insightful to see how the NE interacts with these statements.

There is ample reason to believe that the other NT writers also worked from a NE theology, such as the authors who have already been referenced in scholarly works

¹⁷ This final question hints at the sense of legalism found in the NPP, which appears to teach a final judgment by works. If this is the case, it appears to negate grace and freedom, and the conclusion logically develops that there has been no NE.

¹⁸ Richard M. Cozart, *This Present Triumph: An Investigation into the Significance of the Promise of a New Exodus of Israel in the Letter to the Ephesians* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2013).

¹⁹ Tom Holland, *Romans: The Divine Marriage* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011).

exploring the NE in the fourth Gospel²⁰ and Revelation.²¹ Other NT books are yet to be explored at all for the presence of the NE.

In this study, I deliberately chose to focus on an exploration of Paul's thinking and possible connections in his own mind between the ministry of Jesus and the final fulfillment of the promises with regard to the Babylonian (second) exodus. The issue of how much or in what way Paul could have expected his recipients of his letter to identify and make sense of his many references, frequently implicit, to scriptural passages of Jewish thinking on the Messiah and his role in the NE is a complex one which would have clouded the investigation at an early stage. Now that the NE theme has been established as a plausible context for Paul's thinking, the matter of audience understanding could be approached in further study.

7. Final Remarks

It is my hope, as this work draws to a close, that my findings on the NE theme, as put forth in this thesis, will contribute to Pauline scholarship. This scholarship is meant to serve as a biblical-theological platform to provide a fresh, clear, and unifying reading of Paul's letter to the Galatians. As much as the letter is about justification by faith, adoption, identifying covenant markers, and more, when seen through the NE lens it is primarily (and properly, according to this thesis) about what Jesus has accomplished in his death and resurrection for his people as they place their faith in him. He has liberated the Jews from the bondage of the law, which had enslaved them. He has saved the Gentile believers from a system that would have done the same to them. Jesus has united Jews and Gentiles as the new people of God, and in doing so, has spiritually fulfilled and will fulfill the promises of the exodus out of the Babylonian exile that had remained unfulfilled for so long.

²⁰ Andrew C. Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John: An Intertextual Study in the New Exodus Pattern in the Theology of John*, WUNT 2/158 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003).

²¹ Sebastian Ryszard Smolarz, *Covenant and the Metaphor of Divine Marriage in Biblical Thought: A Study with Special Reference to the Book of Revelation* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011).

Through the NE, Jesus becomes the champion of God's people, leading them in triumph into the spiritual promised land. He is the Servant of the Lord, who died the vicarious death to atone for their sins. He sits enthroned at the right hand of God the Father as the Messiah who reigns. Through faith in Jesus, his people are made into a new creation, pure and spotless. God dwells with his people through the outpouring of his Spirit whom all receive when they believe in Jesus. The Gentiles are gathered in as the people of God, where there is neither Jew nor Gentile, but all sons and daughters through Christ. And when Jesus the bridegroom returns, he will marry his people at last.

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