GALATIA (PLACE) [Gk *Galatia* Γαλατια]. GALATIANS. The name applied to a region of central Asia Minor (modern Turkey) which was occupied or controlled by Celtic immigrants of European origin known as Galatians. The geographical definition of this region varied widely at different periods. The Galatians crossed into Asia Minor in 278/77 B.C. and after raiding the prosperous W regions in the 270s were restricted to the arid steppes of central Anatolia stretching about 150 kms E and W of modern Ankara, henceforth known as Galatia. Raids against the cities of the W continued during the 3d century B.C., but Galatian power was much curtailed first by Attalus I of Pergammon between 240 and 230 B.C. They retained their independence and enjoyed a resurgence in the 1st century B.C. when their leaders proved to be stalwart allies of Rome in the wars against Mithridates VI of Pontus (95–63 B.C.). They were rewarded with important territorial grants by Cn. Pompeius and M. Antonius between 63 and 36 B.C. At the time of the Battle of Actium (31 B.C.) and the beginning of the principate of the emperor Augustus, a single Galatian ruler, Amyntas, controlled the whole of central Turkey and his kingdom even reached the Mediterranean. Other Galatians controlled territory in NE Anatolia, the old Pontic kingdom of Mithridates. During this period the Galatians retained much of their traditional Celtic culture: they spoke a Celtic dialect which survived in rural areas at least until the 4th century A.D.; Celtic personal and place names are widely attested; and they had a distinctive Celtic form of religious and political organization. They were renowned warriors and prized mercenaries whose outlandish appearance, great physical stature, and barbarian ways struck terror into their enemies, but they were insufficiently disciplined to prevail over the armies of the Hellenistic kingdoms or Roman legions (Stähelin 1907; Ramsay 1899: 1–102).

Around 25 B.C. the entire kingdom of Amyntas was annexed to the Roman Empire to form the province of Galatia. At this date the province included the original area of Galatian settlement around Ankara; ancient Ancyra, which was henceforward the chief provincial city; the steppic central Anatolian plateau of East Phrygia and Lycaonia; the mixed Pisido-Phrygian area around Pisidian Antioch and Apollonia; the mountainous tribal region of Isauria and Pisidia; and the Pamphylian plain. This vast and diverse area was further enlarged between 6 B.C. and A.D. 64 by the addition of Paphlagonia to the N and the Pontic regions to the NE. Between A.D. 70 and 114 it was joined under a single Roman governor with Cappadocia and Armenia Minor to form a central and E Anatolian province which reached as far as the river Euphrates (Sherk 1980).

During the first 150 years of direct Roman administration autonomous city states with large adjacent territories were created over most of the province except for Cappadocia. For instance in N Galatia the Celtic tribal peoples were constituted into the cities of Pessinus, Ancyra, and Tavium during Augustus' principate. At the same time, 13 Roman colonies, each inhabited by an elite of discharged Roman veterans, were founded mainly in the S of the province, including 3 cities evangelized by St. Paul on his first missionary journey, Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra (Levick 1967; Mitchell 1980). During this period the province was generally governed by a Roman senator of consular rank with experience of important military commands behind him. Garrison legions were stationed in the S of the province around Pisidian Antioch under Augustus, and along the E frontier of the empire, the upper Euphrates, from the 70s A.D. until late antiquity (Mitchell 1976; Mitford 1980). A major Roman highway, the *via Sebaste,* was built before 6 B.C. linking most of the major colonies of the S part of the province and helping to secure Roman domination over the intransigent native tribesmen of the Taurus mountains; the Roman roads of the N part of the province were constructed for the first time in the 70s and 80s A.D., as part of the program to fortify and garrison the Euphrates frontier (Magie 1950, 1: 566–92). As a result, many of the cities of the N, in particular Ancyra, witnessed a spectacular growth in military traffic.

After A.D. 114 the E part of Asia Minor, including Cappadocia, Armenia Minor and most of Pontus, was made into a separate province under a consular governor, while central Anatolia was reserved for separate administration by a junior praetorian senator (Sherk 1954). Although the province of Galatia thereby reverted to relative insignificance in Roman political-military thinking, it enjoyed considerable prosperity. Much of the rural central plateau was divided into great estates owned by the emperor, members of the senatorial aristocracy, or civic dignitaries; it was inhabited by a peasantry which developed a thriving mixed agricultural economy alongside the rearing of livestock, which had hitherto been typical of the area. The cities meanwhile, benefitting from this rural prosperity, were adorned with fine public buildings in the Greco-Roman tradition and displayed many of the characteristics of cultural life which was the hallmark of civilization under the high Roman Empire. While the urban elites acquired the trappings of Hellenic sophistication, the indigenous [Vol. 2, p. 871] population of the countryside retained its native culture. Not only Galatian but other local languages such as Phrygian, Pisidian, and Lycaonian were spoken under the empire (Holl 1908); there was worship of a bewildering diversity of native deities, principally Zeus, the Phrygian Mother of the Gods, and the Anatolian moon god Mên.

Within the boundaries of the Roman province of Galatia there is little reliable evidence for Judaism or Christianity in the 1st and 2d centuries A.D. Except for the passages in Acts which refer to synagogues at Pisidian Antioch (13:14) and Iconium (14:1), Jews are hardly attested in any of the cities before the 4th century. There were, however, important Jewish communities to the W, above all in Phrygia at Apamea and Acmonia (*HJP*^{2} 3/1: 27–32). Moreover, inscriptions of N Galatia from the 3d to the 6th centuries do indicate small Jewish communities in rural districts (*RECAM* 2: 133, 141, 2096, 508–11). There is only one unambiguous reference to Christians in a Galatian city before A.D. 200, to Montanists in Ancyra (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 5.16); the evangelization of the apostolic period, therefore, left few traces. It is likely that Christian communities became larger and more influential in the second half of the 3d century, at least in certain cities (Harnack 1915, 2: 184–226). By the mid-4th century, however, Christianity seems to have become the religion of the majority of the inhabitants, as was more obviously the case in neighboring Cappadocia. The Galatian city of Laodice Catacecaumene was then a noted heretical center (Calder 1923).

The references in the NT to Galatia, Galatians, and to cities in the province have given rise to contentious dispute. The central problem concerns the recipient of Paul's epistle to the Galatians. The letter is addressed "to the churches of Galatia" (Gal 1:2; 1 Cor 16:1) and the recipients are apostrophised as "foolish Galatians" (Gal 3:1). Do the churches belong to the cities of Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, which Paul had visited according to Acts (the so-called South Galatian Theory); to the cities of Celtic N Galatia, Ancyra, Pessinus, and Tavium (the North Galatian Theory); or to the cities of the whole province? The most authoritative champion of the South Galatian Theory was the great explorer of Asia Minor, W. M. Ramsay, and although the North Galatian Theory still finds many supporters, his work should long ago have put the matter beyond dispute (Ramsay *HDB* 2:81–89; 1899).

There is no evidence in Acts or any non-testamentary source that Paul ever evangelized the cities of N Galatia by any means. In so far as the gospel was taken here in the early years of the church, the evangelist was the author of 1 Peter, who addressed the Jews of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Bithynia, and Asia (1 Pet 1:1). Paul did not visit N Galatia. The book of Acts relates that he passed through a region called Phrygia and the Galatic country after leaving Derbe and Lystra, as a stage in a journey that led through Mysia to Troas (Acts 16:6). This cannot have been Galatia, which lay some 200 km NE of any natural route between Lystra and Mysia in NW Asia Minor. The phrase is naturally understood as denoting the country of Phrygia Paroreius which lay on either side of Sultan Dağ, the mountain range that divided Pisidian Antioch from Iconium, an area that was ethnically Phrygian but which was

divided between the Roman provinces of Asia and Galatia.

A later passage in Acts describing Paul's third journey states that he crossed these same regions, the Galatic country and Phrygia, before coming to Ephesus (Acts 18:22–23; 19:1). Again, this route can only have intersected the first one in the region of Phrygia Paroreius, not conceivably in N Galatia, which would have involved a huge detour for any traveller between Syrian Antioch and Ephesus. The Pontic bishop Asterius of Amasea in the later 4th century A.D. rightly understood this passage to refer to Lycaonia and Phrygia, not to Galatia in the ethnic sense. In the mid 1st century A.D. it was normal to refer to the whole province and not just the Celtic region as Galatia (Eutropius 7.10; *Inscriptionos Latinae Selectae* 9499; *IG Rom.* 3.263). It is proper therefore, for Luke to speak of non-Celtic parts of the province as Galatian country, and in the 1st century A.D. it was as natural to refer to the churches of Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe as churches of Galatia as it was to call that of Corinth a church of Achaea (1 Cor 1:1).

No weight should be placed on Paul's reference to the foolish Galatians. Certainly this would not be a natural mode of address to the inhabitants of cities which had few if any Celtic inhabitants, but that is precisely the point. It is part of Paul's reproach to his correspondents that he equates them with the barbarous and unsophisticated people who had given their name to the province and who, throughout antiquity, had a quite independent reputation for simplemindedness. The epistle, therefore, was certainly addressed to the Galatian churches where Paul had preached in the S of the province, and should be interpreted in conjunction with the account of his mission to them in Acts, not treated as a letter addressed to communities in N Galatia, with whom he had no other attested dealings.

The churches of Galatia, therefore, were established in the S part of the province, at Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe in the course of Paul's first missionary journey. Although he was to revisit them twice they appear not to have flourished, and Christianity made no further significant progress in the region before the 3d century A.D.

Bibliography

Calder, W. M. 1923. The Epigraphy of the Anatolian Heresies. Pp. 59–91 in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay,* ed. W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder. Manchester.

Harnack, A. 1915. *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in der ersten drei Jahrhunderten.* Vols. 1–2. 3d ed. Leipzig.

Holl, K. 1908. Das Fortleben der Volkssprachen in Kleinasien in nachchristlicher Zeit. *Hermes* 43: 240–54.

Levick, B. M. 1967. *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor.* Oxford.

Magie, D. 1950. *Roman Rule in Asia Minor.* Vols. 1–2. Princeton.

Mitchell, S. 1976. Legio VII and the Garrison of Augustan Galatia. *Classical Quarterly* 26: 298–308.

———. 1980. Population and the Land in Roman Galatia. Pp. 1053–81 in *ANRW* 2.7.2, ed. H. Temporini. Berlin.

Mitford, T. B. 1980. Cappadocia and Armenia Minor: Historical setting of the *Limes.* Pp. 1169–228 in *ANRW* 2.7.2, ed. H. Temporini. Berlin.

Ramsay, W. M. 1899. *A Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians.* London.

RECAM. S. Mitchell, *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor* II. *The Ankara district: the Inscriptions of North Galatia.* Oxford.

[Vol. 2, p. 872]

Sherk, R. K. 1954. *The Legates of Galatia from Augustus to Diocletian.* Baltimore.

———. 1980. Roman Galatia: The Governors from 25 B.C. to A.D. 114. Pp. 954–1052 in *ANRW* 2.7.2. Ed. H. Temporini. Berlin.

Stähelin, F. 1907. *Geschichte des kleinasiatischen Galater.* 2d ed. Leipzig.

GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO THE A letter to the church at Galatia by the apostle Paul, now found as the ninth book of the NT canon.

A. Text

Among the extant letters of the Apostle Paul, his letter to the churches of Galatia is the fourth in the present CANON (NT), but the first in Marcion's (Harnack 1924: 40*–79*). The canonical lists, however, do not reflect the actual historical chronology. Textually, we do not possess the Gk original, and the early history of transmission is unknown. The reconstruction of the text, presented by the critical editions of NovTG^{27} and *The Greek New Testament* (1983), is as close an approximation to the original as possible, given present knowledge (see TEXTUAL CRITICISM [NT]). J. C. O'Neill's (1972) attempt to follow the example of Marcion by eliminating approximately one third as later glosses and interpolations remains unconvincing.

B. Author

The preface names Paul (1:1) as the author of the letter. This fact is confirmed by the literary form and style, argumentative methods, and theological content, as well as by the tradition, which never doubted it. Pauline authorship was denied by some scholars in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, but their arguments are insufficient. Since in the original the postscript was handwritten by Paul (6:11), the remainder of the letter must have been written by an amanuensis, a fact which complicates authorship technically but not substantially (Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 1).

C. Address

The letter is addressed to "the churches of Galatia" (1:2; cf. 3:1). The location of this area called Galatia has been discussed extensively but without definitive result. Most likely the location is central Anatolia, where wandering Celtic tribes settled after 278/277 B.C.E. (the "North Galatian" or "territory hypothesis"). Less likely is the "South

Galatian" or "province hypothesis," which assumes that Paul meant the Roman *provincia Galatia,* established in 25 B.C.E. This included Galatia as well as some areas to the south (Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Pamphylia) which can be connected with Paul's first missionary campaign, according to Acts 13–14. Yet the information contained in Galatians and Acts cannot be harmonized. Acts 13–14 does not mention Galatia as all. In 16:8 and 18:23, a "Galatian country" is mentioned, but no mission is described. Also, the inhabitants of Pisidia and Lycaonia were not called "Galatians." Whether the itineraries of Acts are historically reliable in that they report all of Paul's campaigns accurately is another unsolved problem. Although no archaeological traces seem to be left, central Anatolia is the most likely location of the churches of Galatia (see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 1–5).

D. Date and Place of Origin

The Galatian letter can be dated only approximately, since no unambiguous evidence exists. Scholars have argued in favor of both early and late dates in relation to the other Pauline letters (see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 9–12). Theologically Galatians reflects positions closer to 1 Thessalonians, while Romans, Paul's last extant letter, shows development and revision at important points. Hence, an earlier date is more probable (Vielhauer 1975: 79–81, 110–11: 52–54/55 C.E.; Jewett 1979: 103: 53 C.E.).

The letter provides no clues as to its place of origin. The Marcionite Prologues (for the text see Harnack 1924: 127*–28*) state that it was sent from Ephesus, but the *subscriptio* contained in some manuscripts of Galatians names Rome as the place from which it was sent. Scholars have argued in favor of Ephesus, Macedonia, and Corinth; but these are no more than possibilities (see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 12).

E. Galatians and the *Corpus Paulinum*

Among the authentic Pauline letters, Galatians holds a peculiar position. While all the others are addressed to churches in Macedonia, Greece, and Rome, only Galatians has survived from what must have been at one time a larger correspondence with churches in Asia Minor (unless Romans 16 was originally addressed to Ephesus). The reasons for its survival, however, are unknown, as is the early history of transmission and edition of the Pauline corpus (see Gamble 1975: 403–18; Aland 1979: 302–50). Galatians shows no awareness of or links with the churches of Macedonia and Greece, or with any of the other letters. The literary genre and composition of Galatians have much in common with Romans. Both are apologies; but while Galatians is short and confrontational, representing the beginning of a controversy, Romans is conciliatory and greatly expanded, showing an advanced stage of debate in which Paul defends his theology as a whole by elaborate arguments reformulating and even revising positions taken in Galatians. While Galatians is unaware of the Corinthian crisis, Romans acknowledges it. Because of the theology of the Spirit, Galatians is closer theologically to the early letter of 1 Thessalonians which, however, is not concerned with Jewish-Christian adversaries; in this regard, Galatians has parallels in Phil 3:2–21; 2 Cor 10:1–13:10; Rom 16:17–20.

[Vol. 2, p. 873]

F. Literary Analysis

The literary analysis proposed by Betz (*Galatians* Hermeneia, 14–25) assumes Galatians to be of the "apologetic" letter type including other epistolary and rhetorical features. The letter frame consists of an epistolary prescript (1:1–5) naming the sender and co-senders (*superscriptio,* 1:1–2a) and the addressees (*adscriptio,* 1:2b) and a conclusion with an expanded salutation (*salutatio,* 1:3–4) and doxology (1:5). The epistolary postscript (6:11–18), handwritten in the original (6:11), sharpens the points Paul wishes to make in the letter and concludes with a blessing (6:18).

The body of the letter (1:6–6:10) is a compositional unit containing the typical features of a defense speech. The *exordium* ("introduction," 1:6–10) confronts the readers with the statement of the cause for the letter—their impending shift from Paul to his opponents (1:6–7)—along with a conditional curse (1:8–9). The *narratio* ("statement of facts," 1:11–2:14) defines the nature of Paul's apostleship (1:12) and narrates the history of his previous apostolic work (1:13–2:14) in three sections. The first section deals with the beginnings of his life as a Jew (1:13–14), his vocation (1:15–16a), and his early mission (1:16b–24). The main point here is to underscore his independence from the authorities of the church at Jerusalem. The second section (2:1–10) treats the conference in Jerusalem, where the mission of Paul and Barnabas was recognized. The third section (2:11–14) recounts the conflict between Paul and Cephas at Antioch and the subsequent separation from Barnabas. As Paul formulates it, Cephas' dilemma (2:14) is precisely that which the Galatians must face. The *propositio* ("proposition," 2:15–21) sets forth the points of agreement (2:15–16) and disagreement (2:17–18), an exposition 2:19–20), and a refutation (2:21). The *probatio* ("proofs," 3:1–4:31) presents the major arguments justifying Paul's theological position. The first proof (3:1–5) is one of undeniable evidence: the Galatians have received the Spirit on the basis of their faith, not of their observance of the Torah. The second proof (3:6–14) uses the example of Abraham (Gen 15:6; 12:3; 18:18) and other testimonies from Scripture (Deut 27:26, Hab 2:4, Lev 18:5, Deut 21:23) to demonstrate that those who are believers are the "sons of Abraham" and the heirs of the promise. The third argument (3:15–18) introduces an analogous example from the secular law of inheritance. Chapter 3:19–25 is a disgression on the Jewish Torah. The fourth proof (3:26–4:11) is an argument from Christian tradition, using baptismal (3:26–28) and christological (4:4–6) formulae. The fifth proof (4:12–20) uses topics from friendship and speaks about Paul's relations with the Galatians, both past and present. The sixth proof (4:21–31) consists of an allegory of Sarah and Hagar. The *exhortatio* ("exhortation," 5:1–6:10; differently Merk 1969: 83–104; Hübner 1984a: 67, n. 65; Hübner *TRE* 14:6) is made up of three sections: a warning against the acceptance of the Jewish Torah (5:1–12), a warning against the corruption of the "flesh" (5:13–24), and recommendations in the form of ethical maxims (5:25–6:10).

The *peroratio* ("peroration," 6:11–18) is identical with the epistolary postscript and sums up the main concerns of the letter. A sharp polemic against the opponents (6:12–13) is followed by a restatement of Paul's own position (6:14) and his "canon" (6:15). The conclusion consists of a conditional blessing (6:16) juxtaposed with a conditional curse (1:8–9), an appeal (6:17), and a benediction (6:18). The rhetoric of the letter is, on the whole, of the judicial type *(genus iudiciale),* but the element of dissuasion is also present *(genus deliberativum).* The two genres co-relate here as they do in other texts. In addition, Galatians contains features of a "magical" letter, in that the reaction of the readers to the letter will activate either the conditional curse (1:8–9) or the blessing (6:16; see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 25, 32–33).

G. Galatians as a Historical Document

Galatians is an historical document of the first order, without which the earliest history of the Church

would be even more obscure than it unfortunately is. To be sure, Paul's accounts are to a certain extent biased in that Paul does not provide a full account of the history but only certain data and episodes that are important for his self-defense. Information is recoverable in mainly three areas.

1. Paul's Own Early History. It was Paul's conviction that he was set aside from birth (1:15) and then called when God had decided that the time had come to proclaim the gospel to the gentiles (1:16). Speaking of his time before conversion, he names his strict Jewish orthodoxy and zeal in persecuting the Church (1:13–14, 23–24). His early mission work was done in Arabia and Damascus, independently from the Jerusalem authorities (1:16–17). His first visit to Jerusalem occurred three years later (1:8), when he first visited with Cephas (Peter) and James, the brother of Jesus. Then there was more mission work in Syria and Cilicia (1:21). The apostle remained unknown to the churches of Judea (1:22–24; but cf. Acts 9:26–30) until his second visit to Jerusalem "after fourteen years."

2. The History of the Early Church. Information related to the history of the early Church is comparatively rich although it is extremely brief. When the mission spread to Palestine and Syria at a very early date, there was apparently no regulation concerning areas or ethnic identities. Opposition arose over the practice of making converts from gentiles without subjecting them to either the Torah covenant or circumcision. This dispute led to the conference at Jerusalem (2:1–10), where three parties came together: Paul, Barnabas, and Titus as delegates of the gentile mission; James, Cephas, and John as the "pillars" of the Jerusalem church (2:9); and the anti-Pauline opposition, called "the false brothers" (2:4). The last group demanded circumcision and observance of the Torah for gentile as well as for Jewish Christians. Agreement was reached by two parties at the expense of the third. The gentile Titus took part in the conference and returned uncircumcised (2:3). Paul cites from what may be the formal agreement (2:7–9). The stipulation recognizes one God and one church, but the mission was divided into two thrusts. Cephas was put in charge of the "apostolate of the circumcision," while Paul was appointed as the leader of the gentile mission. As a token of gratitude (2 Cor 9:6–15, Rom 15:27), Paul pledged a financial collection for the poor of the Jerusalem church (2:10; see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 103; *2 Corinthians 8 and 9* Hermeneia, 169). The final episode concerns the conflict at Antioch between Paul and Cephas (2:11–14; see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, [Vol. 2, p. 874] 103–12; Kieffer 1982; Dunn 1983: 3–57; Hübner *TRE* 14:9–11). At issue was whether Jewish Christians could have table fellowship with gentile Christians without the former violating their Jewish purity laws (*koinophagia,* "consumption of unclean food"). The question was, what must take precedence, Christian fellowship or Jewish purity laws? Paul took the side of the gentile Christians, defending their religious standing in faith and salvation; but Cephas, Barnabas, and others were persuaded by "the men from James" to withdraw. The dispute was not resolved but resulted in the separation of Paul from the other Jewish Christians present; a further result was the current crisis in Galatia which precipitated Paul's letter.

3. The Anti-Pauline Opponents. Also of great importance is what the apostle has to say about the anti-Pauline opponents, whose agitation he traces back to the Jerusalem conference (2:4). As he sees it, the present crisis was caused by intruders who had almost persuaded the Galatians that their salvation depended upon their acceptance of Torah and circumcision (1:6–7; 5:1–12; 6:12–13). The question of who the intruders were is still a matter of controversy. The traditional view stated by the Marcionite Prologues identifies the opponents as "false apostles" who had reverted to Torah and circumcision (Harnack 1924: 127*–28*; 37–38). Called Judaists or Judaizers (Gal 2:14; Ignatius, *Mag.* 10.3). they were seen as Jewish Christians who erroneously prescribed Torah and circumcision for all Christians. Rediscovery and reconstruction of Jewish Christianity by 19th- and 20th-century historians, however, brought to light a far more complicated picture (see Lüdemann 1983b for the history of research

and bibliography). This picture is reflected by a number of hypotheses. Lütgert (1919) assumed that Paul fought on two fronts, against law-observant Judaists and against libertine enthusiasts ("pneumatics"); the evidence for the latter, however, came largely from 1 Corinthians. Schmithals (for bibliography, see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia 7, n. 46; Schmithals 1983a: 27–58; 1983b: 111–13) took the opponents to be Jewish-Christian gnostics who for magical reasons were interested in Jewish rituals but not in the Torah as a whole. Other scholars opted for other syncretistic combinations of Christian, Jewish, gentile, and gnostic elements. Galatians, however, shows no evidence of gnosticism, and one must not supply it from other Pauline letters or later sources. At present, there is a growing consensus that Paul's opponents were rival Jewish-Christian missionaries opposed to the Pauline mission. For them, the Christian Church was an extension of the Jewish religion, so that joining the Church required conversion to Judaism with mandatory observance of the Torah and submission to circumcision. Jewett (1970–71: 198–212) pointed out their connection with Palestinian Judaism, both Christian and non-Christian. A further question is whether James (2:12) was in fact behind the agitators (see Lüdemann 1983a: 64–66). Betz (*Galatians* Hermeneia, 5–9) sees them in connection with the early history of the Galatian churches: following an initial phase of spiritual enthusiasm, the Galatians had increasing problems with the "flesh," at which point the anti-Paulinists impressed them with the cultic and moral security provided by the Torah covenant.

H. Galatians as a Theological Document

Galatians testifies to the first radical questioning of Paul's gospel and theological views by his own churches, a challenge the apostle met by his first systematic apology. This apology involved not only his message but also his apostolic office and mission work as a whole. The apostle was not defending himself for the first time. His report on the conference at Jerusalem (2:1–10) implies that he had had to justify his preaching and mission to the gentiles before, and especially at the conference. Similarly the account of the Antioch incident (2:11–14) suggests fierce debates in which Paul had to defend his position. One should not, however, assume that the arguments on these earlier occasions were quite the same as those he presents in Galatians. This particular apology was worked out to meet the Galatian crisis; other apologies employing different arguments were sent to Corinth (CORINTHIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO THE). Compared with Galatians, Romans shows more similarity but also considerable expansion and reworking. However, Galatians does not represent a transition theology rendered obsolete by Romans (so Hübner *TRE* 14: 9–8, 11). Paul's theology and its relation to the letters has yet to be described by scholarship. Galatians, in this respect, is important for several reasons.

First, it contains Paul's line of argument as he justifies his preaching of the gospel to the gentiles and their acceptance into the church without Torah and circumcision. The theological legitimacy of this message and mission was questioned first by his Jewish-Christian adversaries and then by the Galatians themselves. In the section of the "proofs" (*probatio,* 3:1–4:31), Paul argues from experience, history, and theology. He reminds the Galatians that they have received the gift of the Holy Spirit not on the basis of "works of the law" but by faith (3:1–5). He then demonstrates by exegesis of scripture (3:6–4:31) what he calls "the truth of the gospel" (2:5, 14), specifically "the gospel of the uncircumcision" (2:7). In the "statement of facts" (*narratio,* 1:11–2:14), Paul demonstrates that his preaching has always been consistent and in correspondence with the history of the Church, while his opponents have been acting disruptively and inconsistently. In the "exhortation" (*exhortatio,* 1:1–6:10), the apostle recommends that continued reliance on the Spirit (5:25; 6:8–9) will enable the churches to deal effectively with the problems of ethical conduct that have arisen in their midst (6:1). Such reliance on the Spirit is declared sufficient even to the

extent that it enables them to fulfill the demands of the law of God apart from the Jewish Torah (5:14; 6:2).

Second, the arguments reveal that Paul can draw on a wide variety of conceptual, scriptural, and doctrinal resources. As in 1 Thessalonians, the doctrine of the Holy Spirit is fundamental. New in Galatians is the doctrine of justification by faith juxtaposed to justification "by works of the law" (2:15–16, 18–21; 3:6–25; 5:4–5). Two questions arise in connection with the doctrine of justification by faith. Did Paul work out the doctrine of justification by faith in response to his Galatian opponents (so Strecker 1976: 481)? Or did he argue the doctrine before, at Jerusalem or Antioch (see Hübner *TRE* 14: 8)? Certainly the doctrine was shared by Jewish Christianity apart from Paul, but it was the apostle who fully realized the doctrinal implication (see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 115–19). Accordingly, all Christians, including those of Jewish origin, are granted justification before God by faith in Jesus Christ (2:15–16). Therefore, christology and soteriology are of [Vol. 2, p. 875] principal importance, while the Jewish Torah is devaluated (3:19–20). Christ's death on the cross as a voluntary sacrifice has redemptive efficacy (1:4; 2:19–21; 3:1; 4:4–6; 5:11; 6:12, 14, 17). It is the source of Christian freedom (2:4; 5:1, 13; cf. 3:28; 4:21–31).

The preaching of the kerygma of "Christ crucified" (3:1), accompanied by the gift of the Spirit (3:2–5, 14; 4:6, 29; 5:5, 16, 17, 18, 22, 25; 6:1, 8), leads to baptism (3:27). In this ritual, the Christian is made partaker and beneficiary of redemption; together with other Christians the baptized is henceforth "in Christ" (3:26–28; 1:22; 2:4, 17; 3:14; 5:6) and a member of the Christian church (1:2, 13, 22). The gift of the Spirit continues to serve in enabling the Christian "to walk in the Spirit" (5:16, 25) and to bring the "fruit of the Spirit," the Christian virtues (5:22–23). Living a life thus endowed and assisted by the Spirit, the Christian community awaits the eschatological judgment (5:5; 6:7–9).

I. Literary Influence of Galatians

The literary influence of Galatians must be distinguished from that of Paul's theology or later Pauline controversies (see on the whole Lindemann 1979; Lüdemann 1983a). In the NT, only Romans shows clear literary and theological relations with the Galatian letter (see Hübner *TRE* 14: 11). Acts refers to events told of also in Galatians but without knowledge of the letter. The epistle of James has polemics against Paul's theology, but whether it alludes to the letter of Galatians remains unclear. In the 2d century, Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 46–47) could describe Jewish Christianity without reference to Paul's letters. The *Grundschrift* (or "basic writing") of the Pseudo-Clementines, however, seems to aim at Galatians in its anti-Pauline polemics (see Lüdemann 1983a: 248–52). Marcion appears to be the first to appropriate Galatians and its theology. Removing from it what he regarded as judaizing interpolations (see Harnack 1924: 67*–79*), he "reconstituted" the "original" letter and placed it at the beginning of his *Apostolikon.* Marcion seems to have influenced Mani (216–276/274 C.E.) and some of his disciples who valued Galatians highly (see Betz 1986). In the 4th century, the unknown author of the so-called Ambrosiaster commentary shows an astonishing understanding of the letter, an understanding matched only by the commentaries of Martin Luther, especially that of 1535 (for bibliography see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 36–37).

Bibliography

Aland, K. 1979. Die Entstehung des Corpus Paulinum. Pp. 302–50 in *Neutestamentliche Entwürfe.* Munich.

Barrett, C. K. 1982. *Essays on Paul.* Philadelphia.

Beker, J. C. 1980. *Paul the Apostle.* Philadelphia.

Betz, H. D. 1986. The Apostle Paul in the Mani Biography (Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis). Pp. 215–34 in *Codex Manichaicus*

Coloniensis. Atti del Simposio Internazionale (Rende-Amantea 3–7 settembre 1984). ed. L. Cirillo. Cosenza.

Borgen, P. 1983. *Paul Preaches Circumcision and Pleases Men, and Other Essays on Christian Origins.* Trondheim, Norway.

Davies, W. D. 1984. *Jewish and Pauline Studies.* Philadelphia.

Drane, J. W. 1975. *Paul, Libertine or Legalist?* London.

Dunn, J. D. G. 1983. The Incident at Antioch (Gal. 2:11–18). *JSNT* 18: 3–57.

Gamble, H. 1975. The Redaction of the Pauline Letters and the Formation of the Pauline Corpus. *JBL* 94: 403–18.

Grässer, E. 1985. *Der Alte Bund im Neuen.* WUNT 35. Tübingen.

Harnack, A. von. 1924. *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott.* Leipzig. Repr. 2d ed. Darmstadt: 1960.

Harnisch, W. 1987. Einübung des neuen Seins. *ZTK* 84: 279–96.

Hays, R. B. 1983. *The Faith of Jesus of Christ.* SBLDS 56. Chico, CA.

Holmberg, B. 1978. *Paul and Power.* Lund.

Hooker, M. D., and Wilson, S. G., eds. 1982. *Paul and Paulinism.* London.

Howard, G. 1979. *Crisis in Galatia.* SNTSMS 35. Cambridge.

Hübner, H. 1984a. Der Galaterbrief und das Verhältnis von antiker Rhetorik und Epistolographie. *TLZ* 109: 241–50.

———. 1984b. *Law in Paul's Thought.* Trans. J. C. G. Greig. Ed. J. Riches. Edinburgh.

Jewett, R. 1970–71. The Agitators and the Galatian Congregation. *NTS* 17: 198–212.

———. 1979. *A Chronology of Paul's Life.* Philadelphia.

Kieffer, R. 1982. *Foi et justification à Antioche. Interpretation d'un conflit (Ga. 2,14–21).* LD 111. Paris.

Koch, D.-A. 1986. *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums.* BHT 69. Tübingen.

Lindemann, A. 1979. *Paulus im ältesten Christentum.* BHT 58. Tübingen.

Lüdemann, G. 1980. *Paulus der Heidenapostel.* Vol. 1, *Studien zur Chronologie.* FRLANT 123. Göttingen.

———. 1983a. *Paulus und das Judentum.* ThEH 215. Munich.

———. 1983b. *Paulus der Heidenapostel.* Vol. 2, *Antipaulinismus im frühen Christentum.* FRLANT 130. Göttingen.

———. 1984. *Paul, Apostle to the Gentiles: Studies in Chronology.* Philadelphia.

Lull, J. D. 1980. *The Spirit in Galatia.* SBLDS 49. Chico, CA.

Lütgert, W. 1919. *Gesetz und Geist: Eine Untersuchung zur Vorgeschichte des Galaterbriefs.* BFCT 22: 6. Gütersloh.

Merk, O. 1969. Der Beginn der Paränese im Galaterbrief. *ZNW* 60: 83–104.

O'Neill, J. C. 1972. *The Recovery of Paul's Letter to the Galatians.* London.

Pedersen, S., ed. 1980. *Die Paulinische Literatur und Theologie.* Göttingen.

Räisänen, H. 1983. *Paul and the Law.* WUNT 29. Tübingen.

Sanders, E. P. 1977. *Paul and Palestinian Judaism.* Philadelphia.

———. 1983. *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People.* Philadelphia.

Schmithals, W. 1983a. Judaisten in Galatien? *ZNW* 74: 27–58.

———. 1983b. The *Corpus Paulinum* and Gnosis. Pp. 107–24 in *The New Testament and Gnosis.* Ed. A. H. B. Logan and A. J. M. Wedderburn. Edinburgh.

Schnelle, U. 1983. *Gerechtigkeit und Christusgegenwart. Vorpaulinische und paulinische Tauftheologie.* GTA 24. Göttingen.

Strecker, G. 1976. Befreiung und Rechtfertigung. Pp. 479–508 in *Rechtfertigung.* Ed. J. Friedrich, W. Pöhlmann, and P. Stuhlmacher. Tübingen; Göttingen.

Suhl, A. 1975. *Paulus und seine Briefe.* Beitrag zur paulinischen Chronologie 11. Gütersloh.

Vanhoye, A., ed. 1986. *L'Apôtre Paul: personaliteé, style et conception du ministeère.* BETL 73. Louvain.

Vielhauer, P. 1975. *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur.* Berlin.

Weder, H. 1981. *Das Kreuz Jesu bei Paulus.* FRLANT 125. Göttingen.

HANS DIETER BETZ