Paul, his apostleship, the collection, and the unity of Jews and gentiles

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Paul, his Apostleship, the Collection, and the Unity of Jews and Gentiles

A Dissertation submitted by
Carsten Burfeind

for the Degree of
Master of Arts

to the
Department of Theology
in the
University of Durham

Durham 1995
ABSTRACT

Carsten Burfeind

Paul, his Apostleship, the Collection, and the Unity of Jews and Gentiles.

Master of Arts

1995

In this dissertation the author questions an assumed consensus in New Testament scholarship. In the history of Pauline research Paul has always been treated as a systematic theologian. Thus e.g. the understanding of Paul’s concept of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles has shaped views of scholars on Paul’s understanding of his apostleship and his collection of money for the Jerusalem church. And the views on his office as apostle and on his task of the collection influenced each other. Investigating these issues the author makes four observations. a) It is Paul’s basic conviction that the eschatological people of God is a unity of Jews and Gentiles with the Jews in the first place. b) This is the underlying concept of first Paul’s apostleship: his role in God’s plan of salvation is to proclaim among the Gentiles their final incorporation into the people of God, and, second, Paul’s collection: it is a means of expressing unity between Paul’s Gentile Christian churches and the mother church in Jerusalem. Thus, it is a sign of the Gentile Christians’ recognition of the prime importance of the Jews and, at the same time, of Jerusalem’s recognition of the incorporation of the Gentiles into the people of God. c) However, Paul does not elaborate this basic conviction when talking about his apostleship or his collection of money. d) Paul does not bring his role as an apostle into specific connection with his role as a collector of money. Thus, the author concludes that in order to establish the points Paul wishes to make he argues not on the basis of one theological system, but on the basis of several considerations and reasons. Paul, therefore, is no perfect systematic thinker, but rather a pragmatic churchman.
Eἰς ὥ θεός

Rm 3:30
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In writing these lines a two-years’ work comes to an end. During that time I became aware of an area of Pauline-research which formerly had been unknown to me. While working through a great number of English writings on Paul of the last twenty or so years and doing my own research, a picture of Paul the apostle and churchman took shape that differed greatly from what I had imagined before. The new perspective on Paul became my own perspective. Looking back my studies have been not only a two-years’ academic work. More and more they became an imaginative task. To me Paul is no longer the leading exponent of Protestant theology; instead he is a vivid person in a fascinating, theological, social and historical setting.

I wish to thank Professor J.D.G. Dunn, who patiently supervised the progress of my work and inspired me with his own fascination of Paul. I also wish to thank Doctor A.J.M. Wedderburn, now Professor at Munich University, for supervising part of my work on the collection, Professor V. Stolle for thinking his way into my thesis and for helping me to find solutions to the conceptual problems that were raised, and Doctor A. Lenox-Conyngham, who spent many hours with proof-reading and correcting the grammar and style of writing of my thesis.

Today is the fifth anniversary of the opening of the German-German borders. But today is also the day of remembrance of the National Socialist pogrom against Jews in November 1938. At the »Synagogenplatz« in Heidelberg there stood a synagogue. It had been built during the years 1877/78. In the first light of day on 9 November 1938 it was desecrated and destroyed. The »Synagogenplatz« is no more than two hundred metres away from where I am writing these lines. I try to think of all the Jews who suffered and died during the time of the National Socialist dictatorship. And I think of the many German Christians, whose faith and belief did not protect them against racism. And I think of Paul, the Jew, the Christian, who struggled all his life for the unity of Jews and Gentiles.

9 November 1994
Heidelberg, Germany

Carsten Burfeind
## ABBREVIATIONS

### OLD TESTAMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen</td>
<td>Genesis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ex</td>
<td>Exodus</td>
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<td>Lev</td>
<td>Leviticus</td>
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<td>Num</td>
<td>Numbers</td>
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<td>Josh</td>
<td>Joshua</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jud</td>
<td>Judges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Sam</td>
<td>1 Samuel (1 Kingdoms in LXX)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Sam</td>
<td>2 Samuel (2 Kingdoms in LXX)</td>
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<td>Job</td>
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<td>Ps</td>
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<td>Hos</td>
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<td>Am</td>
<td>Amos</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nah</td>
<td>Nahum</td>
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<td>Mal</td>
<td>Malachi</td>
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### APOCRYPHA

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<th>Full Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sir</td>
<td>Ecclesiasticus (Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach)</td>
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### NEW TESTAMENT

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Mt</td>
<td>Matthew</td>
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<td>Mk</td>
<td>Mark</td>
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<td>Lk</td>
<td>Luke</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joh</td>
<td>John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act</td>
<td>Acts of the Apostles</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rm</td>
<td>Romans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Cor</td>
<td>1 Corinthians</td>
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<td>Gal</td>
<td>Galatians</td>
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<td>Eph</td>
<td>Ephesians</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviations</td>
<td>English Title</td>
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<td>Phil</td>
<td>Philippians</td>
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<td>Rev</td>
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OLD TESTAMENT PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

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DEAD SEA SCROLLS

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<th>English Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 QS</td>
<td>Serek hayyahad (Community Rule) from Qumran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 QMMT</td>
<td>Miqsat Ma’aseh Ha-Torah (unpublished scroll) from Qumran</td>
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JOSEPHUS, FLAVIUS

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<tr>
<th>Abbreviations</th>
<th>English Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ant.</td>
<td>Jewish Antiquities</td>
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<td>War</td>
<td>The Jewish War</td>
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OROSIUS, PAULUS

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<th>Abbreviations</th>
<th>English Title</th>
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<tr>
<td>Historiarvm</td>
<td>Historiarvm adversvm paganos</td>
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DIO, CASSIUS

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<th>Abbreviations</th>
<th>English Title</th>
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<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>Roman history</td>
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1. INTRODUCTION

During my theological studies I came across and was taught different approaches to the study of the New Testament.

a) There is the "attempt to find a single, once-for-all, unifying kerygma,"¹ the New Testament theology. Many theologians are of the opinion that there is one theological concept underlying all books of the New Testament. b) There is a concept of a variety of theologies within the New Testament. Working historical critical scholars realised that the authors of the books of the New Testament wrote in different situations and have, therefore, different theologies. From this arose such differing theologies of e.g. Paul and John.² c) With the debate about a development of Paul's theology scholars started working on the theologies of the different letters of Paul.³ Parallel to this discussion it was also realised that Paul is no 'perfect systematic thinker.'⁴ There are topics which stand side by side although it would have been possible for Paul to relate them to each other.⁵ He, then, is depicted as a pragmatic churchman rather as a systematic thinker.⁶

I take this last-mentioned approach as the starting-point of my thesis. Looking at the issues of Paul's apostleship, his collection of money and his concept of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles my leading question will be whether these issues are interrelated issues in Paul's thought, or not. Does Paul elaborate his concept of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles when talking about his apostleship and his collection?

The reason for taking these issues as examples for our investigation is twofold. First, mainly since E.P. Sanders' work on Paul and Palestinian Judaism a formerly unquestioned consensus in Pauline studies, namely the opposition of δικαιοσύνη ἐξ ἔργων νόμου and δικαιοσύνη ἐκ πίστεως, has been questioned. It has been recognised

¹ Dunn, Unity, p.32.
² See e.g. Bultmann, Theologie.
³ See most recently Berger, Theologiegeschichte, p.440: "natürlich ist Paulus kein perfekter Systemdenker, sondern oft auch nicht einmal ein Denker, der sich durch Situationen zu seinem Denken provozieren lässt und dabei unterschiedlichste Traditionen jüdischer Herkunft, an die er sich erinnern konnte, christianisiert."
⁴ See e.g. the series edited by J.D.G. Dunn, New Testament Theology, Cambridge University Press.
⁵ See e.g. Berger, Theologiegeschichte, p.485, referring to the fact that "nach wichtigen Aussagen des Paulus... die Durchbrechung der Sündenmacht und ihre Verurteilung auch ganz unabhängig von Tod und Auferstehung Jesu, nämlich durch seine Sendung in den Bereich der Sünde bewirkt worden sein kann; eine strikte Systematik liegt bei Paulus hier wie auch sonst nicht vor."
⁶ See Berger, Theologiegeschichte, p.448: "Paulus ist ein Kirchenpolitiker, wenn man unter Kirchenpolitik versteht: die Kunst, nicht primär an Normen, sondern an der Wirkung orientiert, theologische Mittel einzusetzen, um die Probleme zu regeln, die sich aus dem Miteinander von Menschen im Raum kirchlicher Öffentlichkeit ergeben."
that Judaism is based on *grace* rather than *works of the law* as a means to earn salvation. As a result of this Paul's theology had to be re-considered, and it was now understood in terms of Jewish theology. With this new approach it has also been recognised that the relationship between Gentiles and Jews is one of the major issues in Paul's theology. Since, then, Paul's apostleship is the mission of a Jewish-Christian to the Gentiles, and since his collection is a collection of money from his Gentile-Christian churches to the Jewish-Christians in Jerusalem, both these issues, his understanding of his apostleship and his collection, can serve as test cases for this new approach to Paul.

Secondly, as will be seen in the following chapter on the history of research, the issues of Paul's apostleship, his collection and his concept of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles have always been closely related. Almost always the understanding of Paul's apostleship and his collection of money depended on the view of Paul's concept of the relations between Gentiles and Jews. Hence these issues can serve as a test case by means of which we may examine the views which depict Paul as a systematic thinker on the one hand, and as a pragmatic churchman on the other.

In the same chapter I summarise the history of research since F. C. Baur, concentrating on the issues which concern us: a) Paul's conversion/call; b) his mission ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραῖοι; c) his collection of money, and how (or whether) scholars related them to each other.

Since Paul in Gal 1-2 refers to his revelation experience, his relations with the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem, the discussion about Gentile-Jewish relations at the Jerusalem Council, the incident in Antioch and the collection for Jerusalem, most of my dissertation will concentrate on this text.

In the third chapter of the thesis, in which I investigate Paul's revelation experience and his apostleship, I will, therefore, mainly refer to Gal 1:15-16a. The other texts where Paul talks about his revelation experience I will discuss at the appropriate places. In examining Paul's concept of his apostleship I will investigate also Paul's concept of Jewish-Gentile relations.

In the fourth chapter, I will look at the texts referring to the collection of money in Gal 2:10, 1 Cor 16:1-4, 2 Cor 8, 2 Cor 9, Rm 15:14-33. Here also, however, our main text will be found in Paul's letter to the Galatians: Gal 2:10. This is Paul's shortest reference to his collection. But here he talks about its origin and it stands in the context of Gal 1:15-16a.
1. Introduction

In a final conclusion I summarise the findings concerning Paul's concept of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles and relate them to his concepts of his apostleship and his collection of money. This will show us whether these issues are interrelated. And it will help towards answering our question whether Paul is in the first instance a systematic thinker or a pragmatic churchman.
2. HISTORY OF RESEARCH

The convictions about the relationship between Paul and the Jewish Christians shaped in the first instance New Testament scholars' view of Paul's concept of his apostleship and his collection of money. Since F. C. Baur and the Tübingen school there have basically been three different concepts of the early Christian factions and their relationships: 1) the legalistic Jewish Christians with their centre in Jerusalem which were opposed to Paul and his Gentile churches which were free from the Jewish law; 2) the legalistic Judaizers as opposed to, on the one hand, Paul and his Gentile churches and, on the other hand, those Jewish Christians in Jerusalem, who were in agreement with Paul's law-free gospel; 3) The Judaizers, Jewish Christians in Jerusalem and Paul as one group. According to this concept Israel was in the centre of Paul's theology. The different factions did not agree upon the Gentiles' attitude to the law and their status within the people of God. But they had basically the same convictions about God's continuing covenant with his people.

I shall take these three groups of New Testament scholars as categories for the following history of research. However, the observations on the interrelation of issues in the history of research cannot be demonstrated in each statement of every single author, but only in an approximate pattern. Categorisation can never do full justice to all authors. Nevertheless it seems to be one possible way of systematising the statements and looking at the issues of our concern.

2.1. Paul versus Jerusalem (the Tübingen school)

Proposed by F.C. Baur it became the Tübingen school's view "that primitive Christianity must be seen as composed of two rival factions:" the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem and Paul and his Gentile churches. The thesis lying behind this proposal was that "das Judenthum ist als Gesetz der Gegensatz zu der Gnade des Christenthums." The moment when Paul realised that the gospel means the "Aufhebung des Gesetzes als des Heilsprinzips," his revelation experience was described in terms of a conversion from Judaism to Christianity. The Jerusalem apostles, however, were "noch

---

7 Longenecker, Galatians, p.lxxxix.
9 Lietzmann, Galater, p.15.
10 Holl, Kirchenbegriff, p.44-67, p.52 n.3; Lietzmann, Galater, p.7.
ganz auf einem Standpunkt..., auf welchem sie über das Judenthum noch gar nicht hinausgedacht hatten.” 12 Hence Paul’s conversion meant a “volligen Bruch mit seiner Vergangenheit.” 13 He now stood in sharp contrast to Jerusalem and thus also to the Jewish Christians. 14

Since, therefore, Paul’s gospel of justification by faith is all important, but not his commission ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, it was only later on that according to Lietzmann Paul accepted the “Heidenapostolat als seinen Beruf.” 15

The collection is - according to Baur - “das entgegenkommende Versprechen, das der Apostel aus Liebe zum Frieden noch gab.” 16 But he did not really link his proposed “Auseinandersetzung zwischen Judenchristen und Heidenchristen, Judaisten und Paulus” 17 with the collection. For Holl, however, οἱ πτωχοὶ and οἱ ἁγιοί are “Ehrenname[n] der Urgemeinde.” 18 And since for Paul Jerusalem remains the centre of Christianity, 19 because the Jerusalem Christians are “Augenzeugen des Lebens Jesu,” 20 he accepts with the collection εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἁγίων Jerusalem’s prime importance. “Die ‘heilige Stadt’ der Juden hat... eine rechtliche Bedeutung,” 21 and εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἁγίων is, thus, “a euphemistic mention of a compulsory levy 22 on the Gentile churches from the ‘mother church’ in Jerusalem.” 23 Hence, with this thesis Holl “holt(e)... nach, was die Tübinger versäumt hatten.” 24

2.2. Paul and Jerusalem versus Judaizers

Like the Tübingen school the following group of exegetes marks the contrast between Judaism and Christianity as the opposition of “meritorious works of the Torah” 25 and justification “mediated ‘through... faith’.” 26 Some speak, therefore, also

12 Ibid., vol.I, p.137.
13 Holl, Kirchenbegriff, p.52 n.3.
15 Lietzmann, Galater, p.7. (Emphasis by Lietzmann)
17 Georgi, Kollekte, p.9. See also Munck, Salvation, p.287; Cranfield, Romans, p.778.
18 Lietzmann, Galater, p.13.
19 See Holl, Kirchenbegriff, p.63.
20 Lietzmann, Galater, p.10.
21 Holl, Kirchenbegriff, p.55.
22 “Gewisse Rechtsforderungen.” (Ibid., p.60, emphasis by Holl)
23 Munck, Salvation, p.287.
24 Georgi, Kollekte, p.10. See Munck, Salvation, p.287; Holl, Kirchenbegriff, p.58.
25 Betz, Galatians, p.117.
26 Ibid., p.117. See Lightfoot, Galatians, p.114; Mußner, Galaterbrief, p.146; Nickle, Collection, p.132.
Betz, however, contends that “the doctrine of justification by faith is part of a Jewish-Christian theology.” (Betz, Galatians, p.115) And Burton and Betz hold that Paul would not have denied that
of a 'conversion' of Paul. However, this group of exegetes holds "in direct opposition to Tübingen... that, though their ministries differed, Paul's relationship with the apostles at Jerusalem was one of mutual recognition and acceptance." Mußner even explicitly objects to Baur's construction that "immer nur zwei Gruppen vorausgesetzt werden, während es in Wirklichkeit drei waren: 1. die Jerusalemer Autoritäten..., 2. die 'Judaisten'..., 3. Paulus." With the recognition of this "Einheit des Evangeliums und Apostolates," scholars began to realise that Paul relates his gospel and apostleship to Judaism. This would have been impossible on the basis of the Tübingen school's thesis. Betz, therefore, questions talking about a conversion of Paul from Judaism to Christianity. "The most one could say is that he was converted from one Jewish movement, the Pharisees, to another, the Christians." And others speak of a 'call' or 'commissioning' of Paul.

With this new approach to Paul emphasis was also laid on his commission ἐν τοῖς έθνεσιν. For scholars who stress the opposition of ἐργα τοῦ νόμου and δικαιοσύνη ἐκ πίστεως Paul's "Völkermission" is merely part of the "Gesamtbewegung des Evangeliums." It does not mean the "offiziellen Auftrag zur Heidenmission," but merely that the Gentile mission is the logical consequence of the gospel. 'Εν τοῖς έθνεσιν stresses "nicht die Begrenztheit des Auftrags..., sondern gerade seine Unbegrenztheit." However, Cranfield and Knox put emphasis on the fact that Paul's Gentile mission is the "divine purpose" rather than the result of his revelation. Thus scholars began to see Paul's mission "in den weltweiten

Jewish Christians were "obligated to observe the Jewish Torah and to become circumcised" (ibid., p.82) as long as this was "confined to Jewish communities, concerned the Jews only, and did not affect the Gentiles." (Burton, Galatians, p.112)

27 See e.g. Nickle, Collection, p.132; Oepke, Galater, p.61; Bruce, Galatians, p.95; Schlier, Galater, p.24; Mußner, Galater, p.80.
28 Longenecker, Galatians, p.xc.
29 Mußner, Galater, p.122 n.118. See Schlier, Galater, p.56.
30 Ibid., p.37.
31 See Betz, Galatians, p.70; Bruce, Galatians, p.111; Cranfield, Romans, p.773 n.3.
32 Betz, Galatians, p.69.
33 Bruce, Galatians, p.111; Cranfield, Romans, p.754; Knox, Conception, p.2; Nickle, Collection, p.132.
34 Lightfoot, Galatians, however, does not even refer to the phrase.
35 Wückens, Römer 12-16, p.120.
36 Ibid., p.120. See Schlier, Galater, p.25.
37 Mußner, Galater, p.87.
38 See Nickle, Collection, p.132.
39 Oepke, Galater, p.61. See Mußner, Galater, p.88; Schlier, Galater, p.27.
40 Cranfield, Romans, p.754.
41 Ibid., p.754.
42 See Knox, Conception, p.2; Bruce, Galatians, p.95.
Dimensionen von Gottes heilsgeschichtlichem Plan mit Heiden und Juden." For some it was "a precondition of the eschaton." Paul's call was, thus, also seen "in line with the tradition of the prophetic vocation." Stuhlmacher even holds that "Paulus will... der Erlösung ganz Israels und der Parusie des Christus vom Zion her den Weg zu bereiten." Others do not go that far. They hold that one should "avoid simply interpreting ideas of Second Isaiah into Paul." Paul "did not think of himself as the only preacher to the nations." It was not his aim to bring in the fullness of the Gentiles, and he did not think that he had already completed the preaching of the gospel so far as the East was concerned.

Since Jerusalem and Paul were thought to be in agreement, the collection was not anymore seen as a levy upon the Gentile churches. For Nickle and Stuhlmacher it denoted the "eschatological pilgrimage of the Gentile Christians to Jerusalem" by which the Jews were "moved through jealousy to finally accept the gospel." However, Barrett rejects this view. And for others it was to bring "financial help from Gentile Christians... to Jewish Christians in Jerusalem who were poor." It was "an act of love." And since "the Gentile church owed the Jewish church an unpayable debt - the first Christians were Jews," it was also a means of unity of "the Gentile and Jewish parts of the Church." Interestingly for Lightfoot, in sharp contrast to the Tübingen school's view, the collection signifies "fresh obligations to the heathen converts." The recipients were "practically confessing their dependence."

45 Betz, Galatians, p.70. See Oepke, Galater, p.60.
47 Betz, Galatians, p.70 n.139. See Käsemann, Römer, p.381. See also Bruce, Galatians, p.92.
48 Knox, Conception, p.8. See Bruce, Galatians, p.92; Wilckens, Römer 12-16, p.120.
50 Nickle, Collection, p.142.
51 Ibid., p.142. See Stuhlmacher, Römer, p.213
52 Barrett, Corinthians, p.28.
53 Ibid., p.27.
54 Cranfield, Romans, p.770. See also Schlier, Galater, p.46; Oepke, Galater, p.85; Bruce, Galatians, p.126; Mußner, Galater, p.126; Betz, Galatians, p.103; Nickle, Collection, p.100; Wilckens, Römer 12-16, p.128; Käsemann, Römer, p.385.
55 Barrett, Corinthians, p.27.
56 Cranfield, Romans, p.770. See also Mußner, Galater, p.126; Barrett, Romans, p.278; Burton, Galatians, p.113. Also Nickle, Collection, p.129; Stuhlmacher, Römer, p.214; Käsemann, Römer, p.392; Wilckens, Römer 12-16, p.131.
57 Holl, Kirchenbegriff, p.304.
58 Ibid., p.304.
2. History of Research

2.3. Paul and the Jewish Christians

With the following concepts the assumed opposition concerning the means of justification, which was prevalent in most of the above mentioned works, recedes into the background of the studies, or is even entirely abandoned. The Jewish roots of Paul’s theology, his desire to maintain relationship with Israel and to remain in contact with salvation history as understood by the Jews come to the fore. The differences between Gentile Christianity, Jewish Christianity and Judaism become less significant.

Stendahl was one of the first to stress the fact that the relationship between Jews and Gentiles was “one of the most basic of the questions and concerns that shaped Paul’s thinking in the first place.” 59 It is the theological context of “Paul’s doctrine of justification by faith.” 60 For Paul Judaism is not “the prime example of a timeless legalism.” 61 Also Dunn 62 abandons the view that Paul thought in terms of justification by faith as opposed to earning justification through works of the law. This is not a Jewish-Christian (Jewish-Pauline) opposition. Paul rather developed his own theology in (Jewish) terms of ‘covenantal nomism.’ 63 Dunn, therefore, stresses that Paul “claims to be wholly in continuity and succession with the main line of salvation revelation in the OT, not excluding the law.” 64 Hence, Paul was not converted, 65 but “received a new and special calling in God’s service.” 66

Concerning Paul’s call Holtz in particular argued that Paul relates his “Sendung durch Gott selbst,” 67 “den Inhalt der Botschaft,” 68 and his “Sendung zu allen Völkern” 69 to Deutero-Isaiah. 70 According to Munck Paul even sees his work to be

60 Stendahl, Paul, p.26. (Emphasis by Stendahl)
61 Ibid., p.36f.
62 Building upon Sanders’ study on Paul and Palestinian Judaism (PPJ) See e.g. Dunn, Romans 1-8, p.lxiii ff.
63 See Sanders’ definition of ‘covenantal nomism’: “covenantal nomism is the view that one’s place in God’s plan is established on the basis of the covenant and that the covenant requires as the proper response of man his obedience to its commandments, while providing means of atonement for transgression.” (Sanders, PPJ, p.75)
64 Dunn, Romans 1-8, p.867. (Emphasis by Dunn)
65 See Stendahl, Paul, p.15; Dunn, Galatians, p.3, says that in Gal 1:15-16 “it is evident that Paul saw this encounter with God’s Son (on the ‘road to Damascus,’ according to Acts ix) not so much as a conversion, and much more as a commissioning - a commissioning specifically to preach the good news of this Jesus ‘among the Gentiles’.”
66 Ibid., p.7. (Emphasis by Stendahl)
67 Holtz, Paulus, col.323.
68 Ibid., col.323.
69 Ibid., col.324.
70 Ibid., col.328. See Dunn, Romans 9-16, p.866; Aus, Spain, p.240.
"more important than that of all the figures in Old Testament redemptive history." 71
The salvation of Israel and of the world depends on his own work. 72

In contrast to almost all the scholars mentioned in the sections above Paul's collection was understood in salvation-historical terms. 73 "Paul saw and acknowledged the salvation-history significance of Jerusalem and therefore of the mother church which belonged there." 74 Thus to Berger the collection is neither a "Analogie zur Tempelsteuer," 75 nor "die Erfüllung der Verheißung der Völkerwallfahrt" 76 nor merely a charitable act. Instead it is modelled on the traditional Jewish category of almsgiving. "Die... heidenchristlichen Gemeinden des Paulus verhalten sich zur Gemeinde in Jerusalem (Judenchristen) wie 'Gottesfürchtige' und 'Sympathisanten' zu jüdischen Gemeinden." 77 It is, thus, "die einzig sichtbare Klammer zwischen Juden- und Heidenchristen." 78 With it Paul wanted to maintain "the unity of the eschatological people of God." 79 It is an expression of the "Erwähnung des eschatologischen Gottesvolkes aus Juden und Heiden" 80 and becomes thus a "Modellfall" 81 of Paul's theology. For Georgi, however, Paul wants to make the Jews jealous of the Gentile Christians. This is "die völlige Verkehrung der jüdischen eschatologischen Hoffnung." 82 In this light the collection and the group of representatives of Paul's Gentile churches denote "die eschatologische Völkerwallfahrt nach Jerusalem." 83 Aus even brings this into connection with Paul's travel plans to Spain namely, that it was Paul's conviction that only when he "has brought Christian representatives from Spain to Jerusalem as part of the collection enterprise" 84 "the Messiah would return." 85

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71 Munck, Salvation, p.43.
72 See Dunn, Romans 9-16, p.856; Holtz, Paulus, col.330; Munck, Salvation, e.g. p.41, p.43 and p.55; Aus, Spain, p.262.
73 See, however, Stuhlmacher, Römer, p.213; Nickle, Collection, p.142.
75 Ibid., p.181.
76 Ibid., p.181.
77 Ibid., p.198.
78 Georgi, Kollekte, p.22. See Berger, Almosen, p.199
79 Dunn, Romans 9-16, p.882.
80 Georgi, Kollekte, p.79.
81 Ibid., p.79.
82 Ibid., p.84.
84 Aus, Spain, p.234. (Emphasis by Aus)
85 Ibid., p.242.
2.4. Summary

Much has been written about Paul's apostleship, his collection and about his understanding of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles. In recent years it has been recognised anew that the relationship between Gentile Christians and Jews is one of the major issues in Paul's theology. This has not always been the case. It was the Tübingen school's view that there was a sharp contrast between Judaism and 'Paulinism.'

Stressing the difference between Judaism and Christianity Paul's experience of the Son of God has been described in terms of a 'conversion.' However, when scholars recognised that Paul thought his Gentile mission to be part of God's history of salvation, and that he, therefore, desired to maintain the relationship between his Gentile churches and Israel, his Christophany has been described as a 'call.' Paul's Jewishness is even more emphasised where it is recognised that justification by faith or works of the law is not a Christian-Jewish opposition.

Concerning Paul's apostleship to the Gentiles exegetes stressed either the gospel Paul proclaims or his mission ἐὰν ἡμείς ἐλθοῦμεν. Those exegetes, who were of the opinion that there was a sharp contrast between Judaism and Christianity concerning the means of justification, held that Paul was sent to preach the gospel of justification by faith to the Gentiles merely because it has to be proclaimed to all people. Other exegetes, however, who did not think in terms of a Jewish-Christian opposition, saw Paul as being called to proclaim the inclusion of the Gentiles into the (eschatological) people of God.

Also the understanding of meaning and function of the collection changed with differing opinions concerning Paul's concept of the eschatological people of God. Holding that there was a conflict between Jerusalem and Paul's Gentile churches scholars understood the collection to be a compulsory levy upon the Gentile Christians imposed by the mother church in Jerusalem. Since, however, scholars depicted Paul and the Jewish Christians as being in agreement about the gospel the collection was thought to be a charitable act. And taking Paul's understanding of his apostleship to be part of his understanding of his Jewishness, the collection was also interpreted in Jewish terms of 'almsgiving' from Gentiles to Jews, or even in terms of the pilgrimage of the Gentiles to the Zion at the end of time.
Simplifying in tabular form we can summarise the findings thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Paul vs. Jerusalem</th>
<th>Paul / Jerusalem vs. Judaizers</th>
<th>Paul and Jewish Christians</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conversion / Call / Commissioning</td>
<td>Conversion</td>
<td>Conversion / Call</td>
<td>Call / Commissioning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apostleship ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν</td>
<td>Gospel to all people</td>
<td>Gospel especially to the Gentiles</td>
<td>Inclusion of the Gentiles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Collection</td>
<td>Compulsory levy</td>
<td>Charitable act / Unity</td>
<td>Almsgiving / Unity / Pilgrimage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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With these findings I think the problem to be dealt with in the following is set out clearly. Interrelation of issues is a necessary corollary to systematic theology. And Paul is thought to be one of the great Christian systematic theologians. 

Hence, in the history of research scholars always related their understanding of Paul’s thoughts on his apostleship and collection to the understanding of his concept of the relationship between Gentiles, namely the Gentile Christians, and Jews and Jewish Christians. Thus, most scholars treated Paul as a ‘perfect systematic thinker.’ The question is whether the different issues really are interrelated in Paul’s thought.

To find an answer we must first examine Paul’s understanding of his apostleship and its connection with his concept of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles.

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86 See e.g. Bultmann, *Theologie*, p.188: “die geschichtliche Stellung des Paulus ist dadurch bezeichnet, daß er, im Rahmen des hellenistischen Christentums stehend, die theologischen Motive, die im Kerygma der hellenistischen Gemeinde wirksam waren, zur Klarheit des theologischen Gedankens erhoben, die im hellenistischen Kerygma sich bergenden Fragen bewußt gemacht und zur Entscheidung geführt hat und so - soweit unsere Quellen ein Urteil gestatten - zum Begründer einer christlichen Theologie geworden ist.” (My emphases)
3. PAUL'S APOSTLESHIP

3.1. Introduction

In examining Paul's apostleship we shall give a detailed exegesis of Gal 1:15-16a. It is a highly stylised block of text. Hence it is worth looking at each word and phrase separately. The order of the chapter is therefore given by Paul's own account of his revelation experience. This account can be subdivided into four sections, each of which describes a certain aspect of the revelation. First, there is Paul's reference to the one by whom he was sent: ὁ τε ἐπὶ καὶ ἡμῖν [ὁ θεός]. Secondly, there is - according to my analysis given in the section on 'conversion, call, commissioning' - Paul's being set apart and being called before he was born: οὗ ἀφορίσας μὲ ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς μου καὶ καλέσας διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ. Thirdly, there is Paul's commissioning, the revelation experience itself: ἀποκάλυψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑμοί. Fourthly, there is Paul's commission, the purpose of the revelation: ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐθνεσιν.

In the section on the aspect of Paul's revelation which describes the call I shall enter into the debate concerning the question whether Paul's revelation should be described in terms of a conversion, call or commissioning. Paul's other references to the revelation experience in 1 Cor 9:1, 1 Cor 15:8 and 2 Cor 4:6 I shall discuss in the section on Paul's commissioning. Since I distinguish between call, commissioning and commission, I also separate the discussion on parallel prophetic texts into a discussion of prophetic call experiences, prophetic and Mosaic commissioning and the prophets sent to the nations.

Our main concern in this chapter will be how Paul conceived of his apostleship, how he conceived of Jewish - Gentile relations and how these issues are related to each other.
3.2. The Context of Gal 1:15-16a

In Galatia Paul’s authority was in question and accordingly his gospel was at risk. Already in the salutatio Paul countered accusations against himself by referring to his non-human but divine apostleship (οὐκ ἀν’, οὐδὲ δί’, ἀλλὰ δίδ). This antithesis he takes up again in the thematic statement in verses 11-12. This time however it is linked with the gospel: it is οὐ κατά, οὐδὲ παρά, οὔτε (δίδ), ἀλλὰ δί’. In this statement the ‘not human’ is differentiated into ‘not in human terms’ (οὐ κατά ἀνθρωπὸν) and ‘not from a human being’ (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ παρὰ ἄνθρωπον παρέλαβον αὐτὸ οὔτε ἐδιδάχθην) Jeremias applies this structure on the one hand to 1:13-2:21 (not from human being) and on the other hand to 3:1-6:10 (not in human terms). The structure of the whole letter is therefore a chiasm.

Having shown in Gal 1:13-14 that he was not prepared for the commission, for the message of the gospel and for his apostleship, Paul comes to speak about his call and about his revelation, the incident where he received his commission to preach the gospel among the Gentiles. He refers to this incident in a subordinate clause (οὔτε δί’). The main clause runs: εὐθέως οὐ προκανεθήμην... οὐδὲ ἀνθίλθου... ἀλλὰ ἀπήλθον (16b-17). The action in his curriculum vitae goes from his άναστροφὴ ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ κοσμῷ immediately to his ‘ἀναστροφὴ ἐν τῷ Χριστιανικῷ’. There was no break in between (εὐθέως). Paul aims to show that he received his gospel all at once in a divine act. In his reply to the charges made by his Judaizing opponents in Galatia Paul comes to speak about his relation to Jerusalem (17a, 18, 22, 2:1-10 and also 2:11-14 where we find the same grouping of people). He argues that immediately after the revelation he did not consult

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87 See Sandnes, Paul, p.53 who argues against Betz, that “the vv. 11 and 12 belong together forming the stasis.” Verse 10 is then a transition from exordium (6-9) to the stasis. Furthermore 13-14 is a transition from the stasis to the narratio, the statement of fact. He also treats 15-16a as a unit referring to the revelation.

88 For &δῶκαω with διά see 2 Thess 2:15.

89 See Dunn, Galatians, p.51f, who refers to Jeremias, Chiasmus, p.145-156. See also Mußner, Galater, p.77; Bruce, Galatians, p.89.

90 Jeremias, Chiasmus.

91 See also the discussion on this issue by Longenecker (Longenecker, Galatians, p.21), who does not want to stress this chiasm too much.

92 The contrast between 1:13-14 and 1:15-16a shows that Paul received his gospel unprepared, but it also shows that he himself had no reason to become an apostle. “Nur ein Wunder konnte ihm herumholen.” (Oepke, Galater, p. 59) “As a Jew he has had no reason to leave Judaism. This situation is of course emphasized in order to underscore the miraculous nature of his conversion.” (Betz, Galatians, p.68f)

93 See Longenecker, Galatians, p.35 (Explanation); Fung, Galatians, p.3-9, esp. p.7ff; Niebuhr, Heidenapostel, p.7ff.
any human being (σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα, 1:16b) 94 and not even 95 did he go to Jerusalem to consult the Jerusalem leaders who were apostles before him (1:17a). He “demonstrates that he has remained independent from the highest but human authorities in the church.” 96 Only later he went to Jerusalem “getting to know Cephas,” 97 while he remained unknown to the churches of Judea although he was already preaching the gospel (1:22-23). In 2:1-10 he describes his second visit to Jerusalem 98 and how he stood firm concerning his gospel ὁ κηρύσσω ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν (2:2). He defeated some ψευδάδελφοις (2:4-5) and the authorities in Jerusalem accepted his gospel (2:9). He, therefore, was not influenced by the authorities. Finally he defended his gospel against Cephas and Judaizing influence in Antioch (2:11-14) 99.

Hence although it is not the main clause all emphasis lies upon Gal 1:15-16a. Everything Paul is and does comes from God 100. His radical change from Judaism, a life according to the law, to the law-free gospel, his change from depicting the Jewish Christians as fallen out of the η ἐκκλησία to labelling them ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ, all took place in the revelation, not immediately after it (1:16b-24) nor later on (2:1-14). His understanding of call and commission, of apostleship and gospel, is rooted in this revelation-experience.

94 For ‘σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα’ meaning ‘human beings’ see Betz, Galatians, p.72f; Bruce, Galatians, p.54; Burton, Galatians, p.54.
95 The οὖν is “climactic.” (Betz, Galatians, p. 73 n.171)
96 Betz, Galatians, p.73. Given the total change in Paul’s life by his referring to the sole acting of God in Gal 1:15-16a, σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα can only be read in contrast to the ‘divine revelation.’ Even if προσανεθέμεν “had a technical meaning of consulting with someone who was recognized as a qualified interpreter about the significance of some sign” (Dunn, Galatians, p.67) the contrast between the ‘divine act’ and ‘flesh and blood’ shows how unnecessary and useless it would have been to ask someone about the meaning of the revelation. The revelation is totally different in quality and does not need to be explained or interpreted.
97 See Hofius, ἐρευνήσεις, p.73-85, and Dunn, Reply, p.138-139.
98 He went κατὰ διακόλουθον. “The point is that he went at heaven’s behest, not at Jerusalem’s, nor even Antioch’s.” (Dunn, Galatians, p.91) See also Müther, Galater, p.102 and Fung, Galatians, p.87.
99 With 2:11-14 Paul argues that it was Cephas, who acted κατὰ διάθεσιν in his ἄποροι, and that he himself stood firm against the τίνας διὸ ἱλασθήσον. Furthermore he shows his concern about Judaism even as an apostle by using the term ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ (1:13) and showing that he wanted to keep contact with Jerusalem as the origin of Christianity (μὴ πως εἰς κενὸν τρέξω ἢ ἐδώκω, 2:2). Jerusalem was and remained to Paul the centre of Judaism and Christianity.
100 It comes from God (and neither from a human being nor is it influenced by a human being): 1:13-2:14; and it is according to scripture: 3:1-6:10.
3.3. The Sender

3.3.1. 'Ὅτε δὲ... [ὁ θεὸς]

Defending his apostleship and his gospel Paul "appeals to the facts of his life." 101 This "autobiographische Rechenschaftsbericht" 102 is "vorwiegend durch das autobiographische Ich des Briefautors zusammengehalten" 103. In Gal 1:10-2:14a the first person singular dominates 104. Hence the change to the third person singular in 1:15-16a must have caught the attention of the reader. Suddenly the acting subject is God 105. This change of subject and the fact that 1:15-16a is a subordinate clause underlines that it does not continue Paul’s account of his conduct. 106 Nevertheless it is strongly linked with 1:13-14: Ὄτε δὲ takes up ποτὲ in 1:13. The curriculum vitae is divided into two parts: the one before the revelation and the one that started with the revelation. 107 'Ὅτε δὲ marks the "complete break" 108 in Paul’s life. 109 Hence Ὄτε δὲ and [ὁ θεὸς] indicate 110 that vv.15-16a are, on the one hand, distinctive in the context (subordinate clause, change of subject) and are also, on the other hand, the crucial factor in Paul’s argumentation. This break was decisive for his life (ποτὲ - Ὄτε, human - divine).

101 Burton, Galatians, p.43.
102 Niebuhr, Heidenapostel, 4f, concerning Gal 1:10-2:21.
103 Ibid., p.4.
104 The transition from this autobiographical passage to the argumentative text 3:1ff is not sudden. Gal 2:14b-21 marks this transition. The autobiographical part ends with 2:14a. (See Niebuhr, Heidenapostel, p.5)
105 Since 1 Cor 1:21 and 10:5 - with Gal 1:15 the only passages in Paul were εὐδοκεῖν appears - run 'εὐδοκεῖν οὗ θεὸς' it is quite likely that one wanted to add ὁ θεὸς to Gal 1:15. "There is an obvious motive for the (correct) interpretative gloss, but none for its omission." (Burton, Galatians, p.51f) Hence ὁ θεὸς should be regarded as a gloss. It is, however, clear that God is the acting subject. Already the verb εὐδοκεῖν indicates a divine decision (see Betz, Galatians, p.69 n.130 and §3.3.2.). And for participle constructions where the subject is God but ὁ θεὸς is missing see - according to Schlier, Galater, p.25 and Longenecker, Galatians, p.30 - Gal 1:6, 2:8, 3:5, 5:8, Rm 8:11, Phil 1:6, 1 Thess 5:24.
106 The action goes on with εὐδοκεῖς (1:16b). See §§3.2..
107 Given that the εἰ in 1:10 refers to Paul’s conduct in Judaism one can regard Gal 1:13-2:14 as divided into 1:13-14: ‘men pleasing conduct before...’ and 1:15-2:14: ‘God-pleasing conduct after the revelation’.
108 Fung, Galatians, p.63.
109 Lietzmann, Galater, p.7, speaks of a "Blitzstrahl," thus relating Luther’s to Paul’s experience but making the point. See, however, Stendahl, who holds that "we all, in the West, and especially in the tradition of the Reformation, cannot help reading Paul through the experience of persons like Luther or Calvin. And this is the chief reason for most of our misunderstandings of Paul.” (Stendahl, Paul, p.12)
110 With an exclamation mark as it were.
God is the subject of εὐδοκεῖν. In the Old Testament the verb εὐδοκεῖν as well as the corresponding noun εὐδοκία is usually a translation of פָּרֹות / פָּרֹת. In many Psalms and mainly in the Psalms it denotes God’s good pleasure. Particularly it means God’s “good pleasure in his people and land.” It denotes God’s will to help in face of enemies and in grief. And it expresses a gracious care for his people. Additionally God has set a certain time for this good will to be expressed.

In the passages of the New Testament where God is the subject of εὐδοκεῖν Jesus is most of the times the object. God himself expresses his delight in Jesus. Most of the passages where εὐδοκεῖν is connected with Jesus are related to Isa 42:1. Even if the relation between Isa 42:1 and Jesus is a later tradition, there seems to have been an earlier tradition which applied the word εὐδοκεῖν to Jesus’ commission. In Hebrews it appears three times as a quotation from the Old Testament. Once it denotes God’s good will towards and his plan for the ‘little flock’, his people. The noun εὐδοκία appears in a prayer of Jesus, in the hymn of the angels and in another hymnal text.
Paul’s Apostleship 3.3. The Sender

Paul himself uses εὐδοκεῖνv and εὐδοκία mainly with a human being as its subject. Only three times is God the subject. In 1 Cor 1:21 εὐδοκεῖνv denotes a certain plan, a decision of God.

3.3.3. Summary

Εὐδοκεῖνv means God’s good pleasure directed towards his people. In his gracious and loving care for his people God follows a plan. He has set a certain time for his pleasure to come into effect. Εὐδοκεῖνv appears mainly in hymns, psalms, prayers and divine sayings. It indicates biblical and liturgical language.

Introducing Gal 1:15-16a with this word the sentence which followed must have grasped the attention of the listeners (and readers) of the letter. Thus it would have had the weight Paul wanted it to have. He solemnly comes to speak about his call and commissioning. It was a divine decision to make Paul an apostle at a particular time. Thus Paul’s life in Judaism was included in God’s plan for him. Even more in calling Paul to be an apostle God showed his grace towards Paul and his care for his people. God “has fixed a time to bring Paul into” his plan with his people. With his apostleship Paul is bound to Israel. It is a commission ‘within’ Israel.

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126 Εὐδοκεῖνv: Rm 15:26.27, 2 Cor 5:8, 12:10, 1 Thess 2:8, 3:1 and εὐδοκία: Rm 10:1, Phil 1:15.
128 It has the same impact as in Lk 12:32 and Col 1:19 (see Sandnes, Paul, p.59). See also Schrage, Korinther, p.181, on 1 Cor 1:21: “Gott als Subjekt von εὐδοκεῖνv gebraucht Paulus auch Gal 1,15 und auch dort für die freie souveräne Gnadenwahl, den von allem menschlichen Einwirken unabhän­
gigen Heilsratschluß Gottes (vgl. auch Kol 1,19).”
129 On εὐδοκεῖνv in Galatians see also Betz, Galatians; p.69; Burton, Galatians, p.52; Dunn, Galatians, p.62f; Mußner, Galatians, p.81 and Sandnes, Paul, p.59.
130 Sandnes, Paul, p.59.
3.4. The Call

3.4.1. Conversion, Call, Commissioning

In recent years there has been a discussion about describing Paul's revelation experience as a 'call' rather than a 'conversion.' I follow this argumentation. However, concerning the structure of Gal 1:15-16a and the parallel prophetic 'calls' of Jeremiah and Isaiah I argue for describing the revelation experience as Paul's 'commissioning.'

"With Augustine, Western Christianity with its stress on introspective achievement started," 131 and theology turned from the question about the history of salvation to the question about the "innermost individual soul." 132 Justification by faith was understood as the antithesis to justification through works of the law. Paul's revelation experience was depicted as a "change of 'religion'," 133 the "Jew became a Christian," 134 as a 'conversion.' However, "für Juden war 'Erfüllung,' was für Heiden 'Erlösung' war. Juden hatten [with their entry into Christianity] das Ziel einer langen Wanderung erreicht, Heiden hatten sich dagegen nach einem ganz neuen Ziel umorientiert." 135 "Die Annahme der Botschaft setzte bei ihnen eine grundlegendere Wandlung voraus als bei den Juden." 136 Since Paul's audience is mainly a Gentile Christian audience in Gentile territory Paul's use of the term καλεῖν in the sense of God's calling "into the fellowship of his son Jesus Christ" 137 could rightly be described as denoting a 'conversion' - for the Gentiles. But Paul himself did not experience "a conversion from one religion to another, but... a recall to a proper understanding of the grace-character of Israel's calling." 138 He is not 'called' out of the Jewish religion into Christianity but he changed within the Jewish religion from a persecutor to an apostle of Christ. 139 "He took this appointment [to proclaim the gospel of Christ] to be

131 Stendahl, Paul, p.16
132 Ibid., p.17.
133 Ibid., p.7.
134 Ibid., p.11.
135 Theissen, Judentum, p.337.
136 Ibid., p.337.
137 Burton, Galatians, p.20.
138 Dunn, Galatians, p.63.
139 "If we may speak of the event as a conversion, it was not a conversion from the religion of Israel to a new religion, but a conversion from one viewpoint within Judaism, regarding the relation of
part of his Jewishness." 140 He is commissioned 'within' Israel and he "remains a Jew as he fulfils his role as an Apostle to the Gentiles." 141 For Paul Christianity might be a "transvaluation of values" 142 of Judaism but it is not the abrogation of salvation history and God's promises to Israel and thus the antithesis to Judaism. Hence Paul's and other Jews' entrance into Christianity means something different for them as opposed to an understanding of this experience on the part of the Gentiles. 143

Furthermore I prefer 'call' rather than 'conversion' because Paul does not stress that he was called to be a Christian but that he is called to be an apostle. In Gal 1:15-16a it is "primär an die Berufung zum Apostel gedacht." 144 In his reply to the charges Paul defends his gospel and thus also his apostleship. Hence καλέσαι denotes God's call to Paul to be an apostle. "The 'I' in his [Paul's] writings is not 'the Christian' but 'the Apostle to the Gentiles'." 145 "The emphasis in the accounts [of Paul's revelation experience in Act 9, 22, 26 and Gal 1] is always on this assignment [to the Gentiles], not on the conversion." 146 "The mission is the point" 147 "rather than a conversion." 148 Paul's experience of seeing the Lord made him in the first instance an apostle, rather than a Christian. 149

Because of "the allusion to creation, the dualism dark-light, and the knowledge" 150 in 2 Cor 4 Sandnes stresses that "the Damascus event is described as a conversion." 151 But the 'conversion' in 2 Cor 4 has to be seen in the light of the unveiling in 3:12ff. It is an unveiling of something which is already present, and not a conversion to something new. It is a 'conversion' to a new understanding of the old values and

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140 Betz, Galatians, p.70.
141 Stendahl, Paul, p.11.
142 Räisänen, Development, p.416 n.1.
143 The realisation of his being called was of course Paul's entry into Christianity. But this is not the point of Paul's argument. Both Paul and his opponents were Christians. In question was his apostleship and gospel.
144 Schlier, Galater, p.25 n.5.
145 Stendahl, Paul, p.12.
146 Ibid., p.7.
147 Ibid., p.10.
148 Ibid., p.10ff.
149 See §3.5.2.1.
150 Sandnes, Paul, p.143.
151 Ibid., p.143.
beliefs because it is an unveiled understanding. Even more also in Rm 4:17 "God's act of creation" 152 is described in terms of an "effective 'calling'." 153

Gager has a psychological approach to Paul. Paul the persecutor experienced a "'stress experience' which frequently precede[s] and prepare[s] for conversions of various kinds." 154 "Old value systems give way to new ones." 155 Since "the fundamental system of values and commitments is preserved intact in this sort of conversion" 156 Gager takes up the arguments that Paul did not change his religion. This aspect of conversion was not in Paul's mind, but instead the aspect of his commission. But this stressing by Paul of the commission aspect of his revelation can be explained in psychological terms as well. With his turning to the Gentiles Paul sought to reduce his discomfort because of the "postdecision dissonance." 157 Hence Paul was converted. And following the pattern of religious conversion he stressed that the revelation experience actually was a commissioning. But Paul "gives us little evidence of his psychological development." 158 He gives no evidence for a 'stress situation' as a persecutor and a 'postdecision dissonance' as a Christian.

For Segal "Paul is a convert in the modern sense of the word," 159 that "conversion is a decisive and deliberate change in religious community, even when the convert nominally affirms the same religion." 160 Although Segal does not want to "lose track of one connotation of the prophetic commission that Paul clearly intended," 161 he wants "to stress the wrenching and decisive change of Paul's entrance to Christianity." 162 "From the viewpoint of mission Paul is commissioned, but from the viewpoint of religious experience Paul is a convert." 163 With this Segal makes a good point. One can probably look at aspects of Paul's experience in terms of a conversion, "properly speaking." 164 The terminology depends on the viewpoint. But the term 'conversion' shifts the focus from what Paul himself intended and does not adequately explain what the revelation experience meant to him. It was his 'call' to apos-

152 Dunn, Romans 1-8, p.218.
153 Ibid., p.218.
154 Gager, Conversion, p.699.
155 Ibid., p.699.
156 Ibid., p.700.
157 Ibid., p.700. (Emphasis by Gager)
158 Segal, Convert, p.5.
159 Ibid., p.6.
160 Ibid., p.7.
161 Ibid., p.6.
162 Ibid., p.6.
163 Ibid., p.6.
164 Dunn, Galatians, p.66.
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tleship and not to Christianity. And I think it is better to take Paul’s viewpoint. Also because of the understanding of the term ‘conversion’ in the history of Pauline studies I do not think that Paul’s experience is “most conveniently referred to as a ‘conversion’.”

Hence “Paul always speaks of his entry into Christianity as a call or commissioning; he never speaks of it as a ‘conversion’,” and this is what we should do as well. Thus I do not think that Paul thought of a ‘call’ in two stages: 1) ἀφορίσας, 2) καλέσας so that καλέσας is equivalent to ἀποκαλύψαι because both denote the moment when Paul became a follower of Christ.

Given that ὁ θεὸς is a gloss the participles ἀφορίσας and καλέσας constitute the subject. Grammatically they are “associated together.” They both are aorist participles under one personal pronoun, “under one article and joined by καί.” They should, therefore, be taken together as a parallelism.

Furthermore in Gal 1:15-16a Paul uses Old Testament language. The meaning of καλέσας should not be interpreted in the light of its use in most of the Pauline texts but in the light of the Old Testament passages Paul has in mind and is referring to. In his allusion to Isa 49:1 in Gal 1:15 Paul replaces ἐκάλησεν (ἐκ κολλᾶς μητρὸς μου) with ἀφορίσας (με ἐκ κολλᾶς μητρὸς μου). And in Rm 1:1 Paul introduces himself in the form of a parallelism as κηλτός ἀπόστολος, ἀφορισμένος εἰς ἐναγγέλιον θεοῦ. Hence also concerning Paul’s understanding of his apostleship ἀφορίζειν and καλεῖν are interchangeable. They are “gleichzeitig, sachlich gleichbedeutend.” And since ἀφορίσας

165 See §2.
166 Räisänen, Development, p.416 n.1.
167 Dunn, Galatians, p.63.
168 Thus Burton, Galatians, p.49. For καλεῖν denoting God’s call “into the fellowship of his son Jesus Christ” (Burton, Galatians, p.20) see e.g. Rm 8:30, 9:24; 1 Cor 1:9,17f.20-24; Gal 1:6, 5:8. Sandnes asks “whether these participles should be considered as a call in two stages” (Sandnes, Paul, p.60f) before stating (“we must firstly point out”, p.60) without proving that “καλέσας is coincident with ἀποκαλύψαι” (p.60). With this statement, however, he has already answered the question before investigating it! See also Betz, Galatians, p.70.
169 See §3.3.1.
170 “Das Verbum εὐδοκεῖται ist mit dem doppelten Partizipialsubjekt ὁ ἀφορίσας... καὶ καλέσας verbunden.” (Mußner, Galater, p.81)
171 Burton, Galatians, p.49.
172 Ibid., p.49.
173 Thus also Longenecker, Galatians, p.30 talking about a “couplet.”
174 See Sandnes, Paul, p.40 and below.
175 See also Rm 9:10-13, were Jacob is depicted as being chosen (ἡ κατ’ ἐκλογῆν πρόθεσις) ἐκ τοῦ καλοκαίρος (Rm 9:12).
176 Oepke, Galater, p.60.
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is because of the addition εκ καλίας μητρός μου an act prior to ἀποκαλύψαι, καλέσας should also be taken as an act prior to ἀποκαλύψαι. God had his plan for Paul. He set him apart and called him before 177 he was born. Thus all his life in Judaism he was already called to be an apostle. He just did not know it before the revelation and he did not have his commission. “The act of calling was made known to him in the revelation.” 178 There God revealed his Son to Paul and made known to him that he is called and set apart for the commission to preach God’s Son to the Gentiles. And thus the Damascus revelation was also “the moment in which he [Paul] was commissioned to preach the gospel.” 179 “The encounter with the risen Christ focuses on his [Paul’s] commissioning (Gal 1:15-16; 1 Cor 9:1-2), and in 1 Cor 15:10 on the gracious power which made his commissioning effective.” 180 Hence the revelation experience clearly meant Paul’s commissioning.

Even more Stendahl sees rightly that recognising the allusion to prophetic calls in Gal 1:15-16a “we would also have to use it [the term ‘conversion’] of such prophets as Jeremiah and Isaiah. Yet we do not speak of their conversion, but rather of their call.” 181 But then we also have to note that Isaiah as well as Jeremiah are both ‘called’ before ‘commissioned.’ Jeremiah was τεθεικεν before he was born (Jer 1:5) but κατεστήκεν only σύμερον (Jer 1:10) (He was a prophet from within his mother’s womb but he was only ‘getting up’ (ἰστήμι) from ‘sitting’ (τίθημι) when he was commissioned.) And also Isaiah was first called (Isa 6:1-7) and only then commissioned (Isa 6:8-13).

Hence because of these four factors, 1) the grammatical structure of Gal 1:15-16a, 2) Paul’s understanding of his ‘transition’ from Judaism into Christianity, 3) his use of καλέσας and δοριζεῖν and 4) the call and commissioning of Jeremiah and Isaiah, I think that in Gal 1:15-16a Paul describes neither his ‘conversion-experience’ nor his ‘call-experience’ but his ‘commissioning-experience.’ The two acts of call and commissioning by God were different in time (from before his birth - when it pleased God) and quality (Paul’s call - Paul’s commissioning). 182

177 See Dunn, Galatians, p.63, and §3.4.2.2..
178 Sandnes, Paul, p.61. See also Dunn, Galatians, p.64: “The separation and call of God were ‘from my mother’s womb’, but they came to effect when God enacted his good pleasure to reveal his Son in me.” (Emphasis by Dunn)
179 Ibid., p.66.
180 Dunn, Romans 1-8, p.17.
181 Ibid., p.10.
182 With this I also disagree with Lightfoot. For him ἐν ἐμοί in Gal 1:16 means “a revelation made through him [Paul] to others.” (Lightfoot, Galatians, p.85, emphasis by Lightfoot) Thus he distinguishes between καλέσας and ἀποκαλύπτω. Hence ἀποκαλύπτω does not denote Paul’s revelation on the way to Damascus. This is what is described with καλέσας. And since δοριζ επι does not denote Paul’s revelation on the way to Damascus. With this interpretation Lightfoot argues from the back to the front. Decisive for his interpretation
I, therefore, investigate in this §3.4. Paul’s call, ὁ ἀφορίσας μὲ ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς μου καὶ καλέσας διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ and only in the next §3.5. the commissioning: ἀποκαλύφαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑμοί.

3.4.2. ὁ ἀφορίσας μὲ ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς μου

3.4.2.1. ὁ ἀφορίσας μὲ

“The verb ἀφορίζειν is in LXX frequently used for places, times, animals or arrangements which are set apart and consecrated to the Lord.” 183 It denotes the setting apart to the Lord of the firstborn (Ex 13:2), Mount Sinai (Ex 19:23), Jacob (Isa 29:22), David (Sir 47:2), the Levites (Num 8:11) and the land for the Levites (Lev 25:3.4, 27:21; Josh 21), the land for the Lord (Ez 45:1.4.13, 48:9.20) and the distinctiveness of Israel (Lev 20:26). Finally also the offering of things which are set aside from others is called the ἀφορίσμα (Ex 29:24.26.27; Lev 10:15, 14:12). 184 The term can also be used for the setting apart of something from Israel. Thus a diseased person shall be separated from the rest of Israel (Lev 13:4.5.11.21.26.31.33.50.54), and the house of this person shall be closed, set apart (Lev 14:38.46). In Isa 56:3 foreigners in Israel are described as fearing to find themselves separated from Israel, and in a wordplay God threatens to set apart the Levites from him (Mal 2:3). The setting apart from Israel, however, is always intended to keep Israel holy and clean, to keep Israel’s distinctiveness. 185

Ἀφορίζειν thus occurs in the context of holiness (Ex 19:23, 29:27; Lev 20:25f, 27:21; Ez 45:1.4, 48:20) 186 and has a “cultic background.” 187 It “refers to the setting aside as something ‘holy’ in contrast to the ‘profane’.” 188 And it means being set apart “from others” 189 for God. What is set apart belongs to God. 190 Even more “immer...
becomes the Erwählte dadurch eine Sonderstellung oder eine Sonderaufgabe." 191 It is set apart for a special purpose. 192

Since Israel shall be separated and holy for the Lord the people in Qumran separated themselves from others (1 QS VIII, 11.13 and IX, 20, using the word וּסָמָה). 193 And also the name ‘Pharisee’ being a transcription of the Hebrew פֶּרַשְׁתָּה and the Aramaic פֶּרַשָּׁה means the “separated one” 194 or better the “one who separated himself.” 195

In the New Testament ἰδιόπηλος thus denotes the separation of the righteous from the evil in the end of the age (Mt 13:49, 25:32), of the church from the world (2 Cor 6:17) and of the disciples from people who refuse to believe (Act 19:9). Paul and Barnabas are set apart (Act 13:2), Paul is set apart for the gospel (Rm 1:1) and Peter and other Jewish Christians separate themselves from Gentile Christians (Gal 2:12).

Hence using ἰδιόπηλος Paul claims to be set apart from others for God. As a Jew he is set apart from his fellow Jews for a special purpose. Whereas most of the times in LXX God commands someone to set apart, only in a few passages is he the one himself who directly sets apart. 196 The subject of Paul’s being set apart, however, is God. He it was who set Paul apart.

Presumably Paul also had his former life in Judaism in mind when choosing the word ἰδιόπηλος. As a Pharisee Paul was separating himself from the other Jews. 197 But

191 Mußner, Galater, p.83.
192 Ex 13:15 to sacrifice it; Ex 19:11f for the Lord to come to; Lev 20:16 to be the Lord’s; Num 8:11f to serve the Lord.
193 See Qimron, Hebrew, p.103, saying that מָצָא in 4QMMT is used “as a technical term for religious dissent”, referring to Qimron/Strugnell, Letter, p.402, who say that “the sects halakha was more strict and literalistic than that of its opponents” and this is why they separated themselves from the majority of the Jewish people. This fact is stated explicitly in the epilogue [of 4QMMT]: [תְּבִטָה הבו]. “Here we have the earliest evidence for the term הָאֵס being used to designate withdrawal from the general community.”
194 First probably not used by the Pharisees themselves but as a nickname like ‘separatist.’ See Dunn, Galatians, p.63, and Weiss, Foerderer, p.13. The “application [of the term הָאֵס] with regard to the Qumran sect confirms the view of S. Lieberman [S. Lieberman, Tosefta Kifshuta, Berakhoth, pp.53-54, according to Qimron/Strugnell, Letter, p.406] that the term הָאֵס originally designated any sect which withdrew from the rest of the people.” (Qimron/Strugnell, Letter, p.402)
196 Lev 20:26; Isa 29:22 (compare Rm 9:10-13) and without being named also in Isa 56:3; Mal 2:3; Sir 47:2.
197 It is hard to imagine that Paul as a Jew, probably taught in Jerusalem, did not know the meaning of the Hebrew root of the word “Pharisee” (against Betz, Galatians, p.70 n.134). As a zealous Pharisee he fought for the distinctiveness of Israel. And in Gal 2:12 he uses ἰδιόπηλος denoting Peter’s and other Jewish Christians’ separating themselves from Gentile Christians. See also Mußner, Galater, p.83 n.31; Bruce, Galatians, p.92; Schlier, Galater, p.25 n.3; Fung, Galatians, p.63 n.5. Different also Öpke, Galater, p.60. That the reader of the letter could have followed this allusion is not very probable. Nevertheless a “Pharisaic Judaizer would have had no trouble following the implications of either his [Paul’s] language or his insinuation.” (King, D. H., Paul and the Tannaim: A Study in Galatians, Westminster Theological Journal 45 (1983), p.340-370, according to Fung, Galatians, p.63 n.5)
then God revealed to him that he had set him apart for a totally different purpose. Paul’s “attempt at ‘separatism’ within Judaism had been superseded by God’s separating him for the gospel.”

3.4.2.2. Ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς μου

That he was set apart by God and dependent on nobody else Paul underlines even more in saying that he was set apart Ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς μου. “Ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς is a ‘septuagintism’. “ Depending on the context it means “either ‘from my birth’ or ‘from before my birth.’” However, even looking at the context of Gal 1:15 it is hard to decide what Paul had in mind here. Ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς μου is an idiomatic expression and should not be stressed too much. Nevertheless, given that God was following his plan for his people in setting apart and calling Paul, the emphasis in Gal 1:15 lies on the fact that Paul has a fixed role in God’s plan of salvation rather than on the right chronological order of Paul’s call. And since God knew his plan of salvation before Paul’s birth, because of this connotation of predestination in Paul’s call, I would tend to translate this phrase as ‘from before my birth.’ “His time as a Pharisee (i.13-14) had been merely an interlude between the major phases of God’s purpose.”

3.4.2.3. Summary

To sum up: Whatever Paul is he is not that through being instructed and being sent by a human being. God determined Paul’s life and work as an apostle. Paul’s own decision was to live as a Pharisee but this decision was superseded by God. God chose Paul and is thus the only authority for and behind Paul. Furthermore Paul claims to have been set apart by God for a special purpose. He has a special role in God’s plan of salvation.

198 See Rm 1:1 (and note the parallelism: Paul is διὸ λοις Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, κλητὸς απόστολος ἀφωρισμένος eis εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ and in Gal 1:10 he says that he would not be Χριστοῦ διὸ λοις anymore if he would please men. Gal 1:15 he claims to be ἀφωρισμένος and κλητὸς) and Act 13:2: ἀφορίσατε δὴ μοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ζαλίζων eis τὸ ἔργον τὸ προεκκλήσαι αὐτῶν.
199 Dunn, Galatians, p.63.
200 Betz, Galatians, p.70 n.136. See also Longenecker, Galatians, p.30, and Bruce, Galatians, p.92, saying “Septuagintalism”.
201 See Jud 13:5, 16:17; Ps 22:10, 58:3, 71:6; Isa 49:1; Mt 19:12; Lk 1:15; Act 3:2, 14:8.
202 Longenecker, Galatians, p.30.
203 “Πλείως weiß sich zum Heidenapostel prädestiniert,” Lietzmann, Galater, p.8. See also Act 22:14, where Ananias tells Paul that God ἀπεκτέλησα τοίς him.
204 Thus also Dunn, Galatians, p.63; Fung, Galatians, p.63; Bruce, Galatians, p.92.
205 Dunn, Galatians, p.63.
3.4.3. Kai kaléasa διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ

As seen above in this context the words ἀφορίζειν and καλεῖν are interchangeable. Both phrases constitute a parallelism. Given the use of biblical language in Gal 1:15 and that εὐδοκεῖν indicates hymnic language the parallelism is presumably modelled on the typical Semitic parallelismus membrorum as in the psalms. 206 These two phrases interpret each other. Ἀφορίσας and καλέας, and ἐκ καλίας μητρὸς μου and διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ correspond.

3.4.3.1. Kai kaléasa

Given that Paul alludes to Old Testament prophetic calls in 1:15b 207 and that the call is a call to a special “life-work” 208 the use of καλεῖν in Isaiah is striking. 209

Israel/Jacob is chosen and called (Isa 48:12). He is God’s servant (Isa 41:9). He is called and thus is God’s (Isa 43:1). Cyrus the anointed one is called (Isa 45:1ff). The Servant of the Lord is called (Isa 42:6). He is called from (before) his birth (Isa 49:1.6). 210 In the same context the term ἐκλεγεῖν appears (Isa 41:8.9, 42:1.6, 44:1, 45:4, 49:7). 211 Those who are called are chosen out of others. Hence the use of καλεῖν in this context in Isaiah strongly reminds us of the meaning of εὐδοκεῖν and ἀφορίζειν.

Thus Paul’s claim to be called by God is a claim to be chosen as well. He is a servant of God. 212 Like the call of Eliakim (Isa 22:20), Cyrus (Isa 45:1ff) and the Servant of the Lord (Isa 49:1) Paul’s call is an act of God in the history of salvation and the salvation of his people. 213 We have already seen that Paul did not depict himself as being called out of Israel. To be set apart always means to have an outstanding role within Israel. God’s good pleasure is effective within and for Israel.

206 It does not need to be a conscious allusion. Paul was well acquainted with the psalms.
207 See §3.4.4.
208 Bruce, Galatians, p.92.
209 See Betz, Galatians, p.70 n.137.
210 See also Isa 22:20 where Eliakim as God’s servant is going to be called.
211 “Most rewarding [for the origin of the New Testament usage of καλεῖν] is the second part of Is. At Is 41:9 ἐξελεγεῖσθαι καὶ ἐξένεσθαι finds significant exposition in the words which follow at once: καὶ εἰλικρίνεια ἐλεγαίας μου καὶ ἐξελεφόρων σε is thus equivalent to ἐκλέгеωσιν.” (Schmidt, Καὶ Καλέσα, p.490) Schmidt also quotes Isa 42:6, 46:11, 48:12,15, 50:2, 51:2, 41:1, 45:3. See also Isa 42:1.
212 τὰ, παῖς, δοῦλος in Isa 41:9, 42:1, 45:4, 22:20, 49:5f. For δοῦλος see also Rm 1:1; Gal 1:10; Phil 1:1.
213 “For the sake of the servant Jacob and the chosen Israel” (Isa 45:4) and “to bring Jacob back, to gather Israel” (Isa 49:5).
3.4.3.2. Διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ

In calling Paul God is independent, free and sovereign. He set Paul apart for his purpose before Paul was born. Hence it was an act of God’s grace. 214 The emphasis of the parallel formulations ἀφορίσας μὲ ἐκ κολλάσ μητρὸς μου and καλέσας διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ differs a little. Ἐκ κολλάσ μητρὸς μου stresses the predestination, that Paul did not contribute to his call. Whereas διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ stresses the grace character of his call, that he was unworthy of being called. Εὐδοκεῖν implies gracious care as well. 215

In the Pauline writings χάρις has a special connotation when attributed to God. It then means “favour towards men contrary to their desert.” 216 And since God’s grace acts in Christ and through his work (Rm 5:15, 3:24, 5:2) χάρις “is the basis of the whole work of salvation.” 217 In Gal 1:15, however, Paul talks about the grace character of his call and commissioning.

In 1 Cor 15 χάρις appears in the same context as in Gal 1: Paul speaks about his revelation (1 Cor 15:8 - Gal 1:15-16a), his apostleship (1 Cor 15:9 - Gal 1:15-16a) and his conduct in Judaism as a persecutor of the church of God (1 Cor 15:9 - Gal 1:13-14). Just because (δὲ) of the χάρις θεοῦ he is an apostle. It is the basis of his apostleship at the beginning (Gal 1:15) and during (1 Cor 15:10) his work. Thus Paul founded the church in Corinth κατὰ τὴν χάριν (1 Cor 3:10). His παρακλήσεις and his reminding is grounded in the χάρις ἣ δοθεῖσα μοι (Rm 12:3, 15:15). 218 The χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ which manifests itself in Christ works through Paul as well. Χάρις καὶ ἀποστολὴ (Rm 1:5) is “fast ein Hendiadyoin.” 219 Through his apostleship salvation comes to God’s people. 220 And this the Jerusalem leaders recognised (Gal 2:9).

3.4.3.3. Summary

Charged with having no real authority and preaching a false gospel Paul refers to God. Thus the opponents are told that they actually accuse God himself. Paul argues

214 Ἀδ is instrumental and could be translated as ‘in the exercise of’ (see Burton, Galatians, p.52). See also Fung, Galatians, p.63 n.6.
215 See §3.3.2..
217 Ibid., p.424.
218 "Was er [Paul] ist, wurde er durch Gnade, die ihn zugleich als Instrument benutzt und ihm Vollmacht gibt. (Küsemann, Römer, p.12)
220 Including the Gentiles: ἐν πάσιν τῶν ἔθεσιν (Rm 1:15); εἰς τὸ εἶναι με λειτουργόν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ εἰς τὰ ἔθη (Rm 15:6); ἕινα εἰσαγγελίζομαι αὐτῶν ἐν τῶν ἔθεσιν (Gal 1:16).
“daß wirklich Gott hinter Paulus und seinem Werk steht.” 221 No one else except God is the authority behind him. And this came not only with the revelation. God separated Paul before he was born. Already then God decided that he will send Paul to preach the gospel to the Gentiles. Hence in calling Paul God’s grace acted in salvation history.

3.4.4. A prophet-like call?

Since Paul in Gal 1:15b alludes to the call of Old Testament figures, the discussion concerning Gal 1:15b revolves around the meaning and function of this phrase, the function of this phrase as an allusion to Old Testament prophets and the question whether Paul had a single Old Testament figure in mind or not.

Having investigated the meaning and function of this phrase we now look at the fact that Paul uses prophetic vocabulary.

However, each of the phrases in Gal 1:15-16a has particular connotations derived from particular texts and contexts. Hence only after investigating the whole text can we determine whether it all amounts to a consistent picture. At this stage of the investigation we are, therefore, concerned with the models of Paul’s call only.

The texts with which we are concerned are Isa 49:1ff and Jer 1:4ff. 222

Isa 49:1 ἐκ κολλᾶς μητρὸς μου ἐκάλλησεν τὸ δούλον μου.

Isa 49:5 ὁ πλάσας με ἐκ κολλᾶς δούλον ἐαυτῷ τοῦ συναγαγεῖν τοῦ λακωβ καὶ Ισραηλ πρὸς αὐτῶν.

Isa 49:6 ἵδον τέθεικα σε εἰς διαθήκην γένους εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν.

Jer 1:5 πρὸ τοῦ με πλάσαι σε ἐν κολλίᾳ ἐπίσταμαι σε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ σε ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ μῆτρας ἡγίακα σε, προφήτην εἰς ἔθνη τέθεικα σε.

The similarities to Gal 1:15 are striking. The Servant of the Lord is called (Isa 49:1, ἐκάλλησεν, κληθήσαι in 49:6) ἐκ κολλᾶς μητρὸς μου; he is formed ἐκ κολλᾶς to be God’s δούλος (49:5, παῖδα in 49:6) and a light to the Gentiles (49:6). Also Paul is Χριστοῦ δούλος. 223 God knew Jeremiah before he was ἐν κολλίᾳ. And Jeremiah was consecrated (ἡγίακα) before he was born (πρὸ τοῦ σε ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ μῆτρας). With this he was ap-

221 Mußner, Galater, p.118.

222 The delimitation of these texts in the commentaries varies a little. Oepke, Galater, p.60, detects an "Anklang an Jer. 1,5" and refers to Isa 49:1; Burton, Galatians, p.52, has Isa 49:1 and refers to Jer 1:5; Mußner, Galater, p.82-85, refers to Jer 1:4-10 and Isa 49:1-6 (with the vague distinction that Paul refers "vor allem" to Jeremiah and "besonders" to Isaiah, p.82); Fung, Galatians, p.63, lists Isa 49:1ff and Jer 1:4ff; Bruce, Galatians, p.92, and Longenecker, Galatians, p.30, refer to Jer 1:5 and Isa 49:1-6; Dunn, Galatians, p.63, lists Jer 1:5 and Isa 49:1-6; Sandnes, Paul, p.61, refers to Jer 1:5 and Isa 49:1-5; Schlier, Galater, p.25, compares Jer 1:5 and Isa 41:9; Lightfoot, Galatians, p.82, refers to Isa 44:2.24 and 49:1.5.

223 Gal 1:10; Rm 1:1; Phil 1:1.
pointed to be a prophet to the nations (προφήτην εἰς ἐθνην, Jer 1:5). Here the motif of predestination clearly appears, as it is alluded to in Gal 1:15b. 224 Κολάς and μητρός are mentioned, and ἄγαλζειν reminds us of the “cultic background of ἀφορίζειν.” 225

The link, therefore, from the Jeremiah text to ἀφορίζειν in Gal 1:15a is ἄγαλζειν. In Isa 49 this line is drawn with καλείν. It appears in Isa 41:9, 42:6, 43:1, 45:1ff, 48:12, 49:1.6 and 22:20 and refers to God’s Servant (παις, δοῦλος, τῷ). 226 The term to choose (ἐκλεγείν) appears in the context of καλείν (Isa 41:8, 9:1, 44:1, 45:4, 48:1.6, 49:7), ἐκ κολάς (Isa 44:2.24.21) and ἐσδοκείν (Isa 42:1). Thus ἐκλεγείν denotes God’s free and sovereign will. 227 God chooses and calls as he pleases. 228

Hence in these Isaiah passages (Isa 40-49) we find a ‘semantic field.’ 229 It is constituted by καλείν, ἐκλεγείν, 230 ἀφορίζειν, ἄγαλζειν, ἐσδοκείν, κολασσία μητρός, δοῦλος and the idea of grace. 231 And although Jer 1:5 cannot be “excluded as a proof-text for the interpretation” 222 because ἐν κολάς, ἐκ μητρός and ἤγιασα belong to the semantic field as well, nonetheless the similarities between the Isaiah texts and Gal 1:15b are much stronger. 233 In Isaiah the whole semantic field is very dominant, whereas only ἀφορίσας, κολάσας and ἐκ μητρός are related to Jeremiah. In Jeremiah the “Wortgeflecht” 234 is not very strongly represented. Additionally the term καλείν is

224 See §3.4.2.2..
226 Israel/Jacob as the servant and the Servant of the Lord.
227 See Isa 45:4; ἔγος καλεσμός σε, σὺ δὲ σῶς ἐγώς με
228 See also Isa 41:8; Jacob is the one ἐν ἔγγετασα and Isa 44:2; Israel is ἀ ἦγιασμένος, ἐν ἐξελεξέθην. Compare also Rm 9:10-13: Jacob, the loved one, is mentioned as an example of God’s free will, of the κατ’ ἐκλογὴν πρόκειται and the decision to love him ἐκ τοῦ καλολογούς.
229 “Semantische Felder sind mehr oder weniger konventionelle Wortverbindungen.” (Berger, Exegese, p.138)
230 The word is a “sachliche Parallele” to ἀφορίσας. (Holtz, Paulus, col. 325) See also Schlier, Galater, p.25 n.1, quoting Isa 41:9. Against Sandnes, Paul, p.63 n.57, who argues that “it is entirely unproven that Paul recalls Isa 41 as well.”
231 Additionally “bestimmte Formen sind typisch für bestimmte semantische Felder. Sie garantieren Kontinuität.” (Berger, Exegese, p.154) And we find the form for our semantic field in the hymnic character of Gal 1:15-16a, Isa 40-49 and Jer 1:5-10. All these texts are not just mere narrative texts.
232 Sandnes, Paul, p.63.
233 See Dietzfelbinger, Ursprung, p.61 n.76. Also worth mentioning is that Jer 1:5 is formulated in direct speech attributed to God, whereas Isa 49:1 is formulated in the third person singular as the speech of the Servant of the Lord, and Isa 49:5 is a participial construction. This relates the participial construction found in Gal 1:15a even more to Isa 49:1.5. Additionally striking is that Paul does not mention the verb ‘to form,’ πλάτων, although it occurs in both texts. This is probably an indication that Paul was quoting from memory. But it can also be read as proof that Paul had Isaiah, rather than Jeremiah, in mind. Because in Jer 1:5 only πλάτων has God as the subject and πλάτων is, therefore, quite important in the Jeremiah text. See also Sandnes, Paul, p.61f, who says that “these observations ["that the similarities between Gal 1:15b and Isa 49:1.5 are more significant than those with Jer 1:5"] (ibid., p.61) are confirmed by Gal 1:24 καὶ ἐσδοκας ἐν ἐμοι τόν θεόν which is reminiscent of Isa 49:3 καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν δοξοθιεὶσαμι and by Gal 2:2b μή πως εἰς κενον τρέχω ἐπειδῆ ἡ ἐδραμον which is reminiscent of Isa 49:4 κενος ἐκπίστησα καὶ εἰς μάταιον καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν ἐμφατικὰ τὴν ἑαυτὸν μοι.”
234 Berger, Exegese, p.138.
missing in Jer 1:5, and Jeremiah is explicitly called to be a 'prophet' whereas Paul "never calls himself a prophet." 

Thus, we can say so far that Paul deliberately alludes to Old Testament prophetic texts. Even more there is clear evidence that he deliberately alludes to Isaiah and the Servant of the Lord.

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235 I do not think that in Gal 1:15 καλέω is "das eigentlich tragende Element der Aussage" (Holtz, Paulus, col. 325 and Mußner, Galater, p.82 n.27 following Holtz). It is interchangeable with φοράω. However in Jeremiah it is missing whereas it appears in Isaiah in the idiomatic expression ἐκάλησα τὸ δομινὸ μου (see e.g. Gen 3:20, 11:9, 16:11; Hos 1:4, 6, 9; Isa 62:2).


237 It is hard to imagine that someone acquainted with the Old Testament would not have realised these allusions. The question "whether this vocabulary is accidental or intentional" (Ibid., p.48), therefore, has to be answered: intentional. Paul must have been very well acquainted with Isaiah, esp. Isa 40-55 (see Ibid., p.62 and esp. p.62 n.51, Koch, Schrift, p.33, and Holtz, Paulus, col. 327f). And he never quotes from Jeremiah (see Koch, Schrift, p.33; Holtz, Paul, col. 326f).
3.5. The Commissioning

3.5.1. Ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν ὑόν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί

Paul now comes to speak about his commissioning. So far he has argued that it is God himself in his good will towards his people who made him an apostle. God had an eye upon Paul. 238

In Gal 1:15 Paul reminds the Galatians of things they already know (ἡκούσατε, Gal 1:13). As if it were a matter of fact and taken for granted he talks about his prophet-like call. After the introduction with δέ εἰδόκησεν his readers must have been even more astonished at this way of speaking. With this interpretation of his apostleship Paul emphasises his outstanding role and independence from any human being.

In Gal 1:16a he comes to speak about the fact that he received his particular gospel and commission through the revelation which he received. The divine act of revelation was his commissioning. Thus ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν ὑόν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί does not refer to Paul’s missionary activity. 239

The phrase consists of three terms which denote how God commissioned Paul: 240 1) ἀποκαλύψαι; 2) τὸν ὑόν αὐτοῦ, 3) ἐν ἐμοί.

3.5.1.1. Ἀποκαλύψαι

ἀποκαλύπτειν means to unveil, to show what is hidden. 241 It can also be used in the sense of revealing things to the ears of somebody, of telling somebody what he or she did not know. 242 This usage already implies the meaning of making known something to somebody that he or she did not know before. In this sense it involves "perception and understanding by the mind." 243 Thus it occurs especially with God as

238 See Musner, Galater, p.83, saying that it was God “der schon immer sein Auge auf Paulus geworfen hatte.”
239 Against Lightfoot, Galatians, p.82f. See §3.4.1..
240 The emphasis in Gal 1:15-16a lies upon ἐν.
241 Thus e.g. in Ex 20:26; frequently in Lev 18 and 20; Hos 2:10; Mi 1:6; Nah 3:5; Isa 3:17; Jer 13:26; Ez 13:14, 16:36:37.
242 Thus e.g. in Josh 2:20; 1 Sam 20:2.13, 22:8.17.
243 Burton, Galatians, p.434.
the subject. He discloses things to people that only he knows 244 including his own acting in past, present and future and in general what is to come. 245

In the New Testament it thus 246 mainly denotes God’s unveiling of secrets in the final age 247 and in particular his unveiling of things in the last days and on the last day. 248 Thus it also denotes the coming of the Messiah and of the new heaven and new earth. 249 Hence the last day can be called the ἡμέρα ὑπόστασις (Rm 2:5) and the book in the New Testament which talks about the last things to happen is the ἀποκάλυψις of John. Ἀποκάλυψις has thus a striking eschatological dimension. 250 God is always the subject of the revelation. 251 In the New Testament ἀποκάλυψις and ἀποκάλυπτειν is clearly a divine act.

Hence in revealing his Son to Paul God gave Paul an insight into his history of salvation.

It had been God’s plan to bring salvation through Jesus Christ and it had been his plan to reveal this to Paul. Like all witnesses of the resurrection Paul saw the divine Christ. This makes an apostle. 252 It is “die eschatologische Enthüllung Christi (für den Apostel) vorausgenommen.” 253

3.5.1.2. Τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ

In his reply to the point at issue in Galatia Paul refers to God. He it was who set apart and called Paul and revealed his Son to him. Already in Gal 1:1 Paul stressed that he is an apostle through God, who equally was the author of the commission to his Son

244 Job 12:23; Ps 119:18; Sir 1:6(7)30, 42:19, 4:18; Lam 4:22.
245 Num 22:31; 1 Sam 9:15; 2 Sam 7:27; Ps 98:2; Sir 42:19; Am 3:7; Isa 52:10, 53:1, 56:1; Dan 2:19.22.28.29.30.47, 10:1 (except 2:22 in Theodotion).
246 „The NT inherits OT revelation....The NT constantly presupposes the OT.” (Oepke, ἀποκάλυπτος, p.580)
247 Mt 11:25; 11:27, 16:17; Lk 2:35; 10:21 (Mt 11:25), 22 (Mt 11:27); Joh 12:38; Rm 1:17; 1 Cor 2:10; Gal 3:23; Phil 3:15; Eph 3:5; and ἀποκάλυψις in Eph 3:3; Gal 2:2; Eph 1:17; Rm 16:25.
248 Mt 10:26; Lk 12:2 (Mt 10:26); 1 Cor 3:15; 2 Thess 2:3.6.8.
249 Lk 17:30; Rm 8:18; 1 Pet 1:5, 5:1 and with ἀποκάλυψις Rm 8:19; 1 Cor 1:7; 2 Thess 1:7; 1 Pet 1:7.13, 4:13.
250 „In the epistles, too, its true locus is in eschatology.” (Oepke, ἀποκάλυπτος, p.583, emphasis by Oepke)
251 Except Mt 11:27; Lk 10:22 and Rev 1:1, where Jesus is the subject, and 2 Cor 12:1.7; Gal 1:12, where it is not entirely clear whether it is subjective or objective genitive, whether God or Jesus is the subject. On Gal 1:12 see Dunn, Galatians, p.53; “The forward reference to 1:15-16... indicates that ‘Jesus Christ’ is not thought of as the source of the revelation... but as its content.”
252 See §3.5.2.1... “Am Charakter des Damaskusereignisses hängt die Gültigkeit seines Apostolats: Nur wenn es Ostereigent ist, ist er Apostel.” (Dietzfelbinger, Ursprung, p.59)
which he received at his baptism. Since God is the highest possible instance to whom one can refer and the one about whom there is no theological dissent between Paul and his opponents - as there is with Christ regard to and the law - Paul claims the highest authority which his opponents cannot deny.

Since Paul stresses God’s sole acting in the history of salvation, \( 	ext{ἀποκάλυφς 'ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ} \) in Gal 1:12 should be taken as a objective genitive, rather than subjective genitive. Paul received and learned the gospel not through a human being but through a revelation in which God acted. Also in Gal 1:16 Paul does not speak, therefore, of a “Selbstoffenbarung Christi.”

God revealed \( \text{τοῦ ὑδόν αὐτοῦ} \). This is the object to \( 	ext{ἀποκαλύπτειν} \). Sonship is one of the blessings of Israel and closely connected with the question about observance of the law and the boundaries of the people of God. Hence with the motif of sonship Paul is at the heart of Jewish theology and at the heart of the issue in Galatia. This is “why Paul here introduces the christological title ‘Son of God’” although he uses \( 	ext{κύριος} \) as a christological title very often and \( 	ext{υἱὸς} \) only a few times. Already in the salutation Paul three times refers to the fatherhood of God (Gal 1:1.3.4), and “sonship is one of the principal motifs of this letter.” to be \( 	ext{κηρονύμος} \) one has to be a \( 	ext{υἱὸς θεοῦ} \) (4:7); to be a son of God one has to be a son of Abraham (3:29), and to be a son of Abraham one has to be in Christ (2:20). He is the Son of God in whom all believers become the seed of Abraham and thus sons of God as well.

That Paul used \( 	ext{υἱὸς} \) and not \( 	ext{κύριος} \) deliberately in accordance with the issue raised in Gal 3ff is furthermore underlined by the fact that in the letter to the Galatians

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254 Paul is apostle through ‘Jesus Christ and θεοῦ πατρὸς.’ But God acts through Christ. It was God who raised Christ from the dead (τοῦ ἐγερθηκέν αὐτοῦ καὶ νεκρῶν). Also in 1:3 Paul refers to τοῦ πατρὸς and κύριος ‘ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ adding Jesus’ work in a participial construction (1:4), but again referring to the fact that Jesus’ work was κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ημῶν. And the following praise (1:5) refers to God alone.

255 Against e.g. Longenecker, Galatians, p.23f. God is almost always the subject of \( 	ext{ἀποκαλύπτειν} \). In the Pauline writings it is only three times not clear, depending on the translation of the genitive construction.


257 "For Paul the idea [the concept of the ‘Son of God’] contains both the dignity of the Son and His subordination to the Father." (Schweizer, \( 	ext{υἱὸς} \), p.382) However, the title ‘the Son’ “naturally suggests the counterpart ‘Father,’ while ‘Son of God’ stresses supremacy over all ‘sons of men.’” (Ibid., p.371) Hence in Gal 1:16 the emphasis lies on the supremacy of the father.

258 "The accusative τοῦ ὑδόν αὐτοῦ, ‘his Son,’ is the direct object to the verb \( 	ext{ἀποκαλύπτων}, \) and so cannot be taken as anything other than the content of what was revealed to Paul on the Damascus road.” (Longenecker, Galatians, p.51)

259 See Rm 9:4-5.

260 Betz, Galatians, p.70.

261 15 times; Rm 1:3.4.9, 5:10, 8:3.29.32; 1 Cor 1:9, 15:28; 2 Cor 1:19; Gal 1:16, 2:20, 4:4.6; 1 Thess 1:10.

262 Dunn, Galatians, p.64.

263 It is "nirgendwo bei Paulus so stark wie hier in Gal 3 die Rolle Jesu Christi in der Vermittlung dieser Kindschaft betont." (Berger, Abraham, p.58)
he uses the term άλτος as a christological title as many times as κύριος,264 and the word άλτος itself even more often than κύριος.265 And this proportion is strikingly unique in the Pauline writings.266

Thus I do not think that one can argue that Paul uses άλτος θεοῦ in Galatians for the reason that "Son of God" as a Christological title was derived by Paul from his Jewish Christian heritage."267 Its use must be seen as dependent on the context of the letter.268

Before we look at the commission we have to investigate how this revelation came to Paul. We therefore have to examine, first, the phrase εν άλτοι, secondly, other Pauline texts which refer to the revelation experience and, finally the relation between these texts and those texts in the Old Testament which refer to the calling of prophets and their commissioning experiences.

3.5.1.3. Εν άλτοι

'Αποκάλυπτειν appears 26 times in the New Testament (9 times in Paul’s letters):
8 times absolutely;269 twice in connection with a different preposition than εν;270 11 times the mere dative follows, denoting the person to whom the revelation was made.271 Apart from Gal 1:16 the preposition εν follows Αποκάλυπτειν four times.272 In none of these four passages does εν denote the mere dative. Its meaning is either

265 Κύριος altogether 7 times (included is 6:17) and άλτος 13 times.
266 In Rm Κύριος appears 46 times, 18 times obviously related to Christ; άλτος 12 times and 7 times related to Christ (without taking into account text criticism). In 1 Cor the relations are even more striking. According to the problem in Corinth that Paul wants to reunit the Corinthians under the one Lord Jesus Christ Κύριος appears 70 times, άλτος only twice. In 2 Cor Κύριος appears 30 times, άλτος 4 times. In Phil Κύριος appears 16 times, άλτος not at all. He refers to Christ as his Κύριος, who alone has power over him. 1 Thess has 25 times Κύριος and 3 times άλτος. In all their afflictions (1:6, 2:13ff, 3:4) Jesus is the only Lord of the Thessalonians. In Phlm the issue is to accept the former slave Onesimus again. Thus Paul reminds Philemon, the former Κύριος, that Jesus is the only Lord and Onesimus a brother εν Χριστῷ.
267 Longenecker, Galatians, p.31.
268 Against Luck, Evangelium, e.g. p.201f, who explains Paul’s gospel on basis of the revelation of God’s ‘Son.’ Paul’s insight “daß Christus und die Tora zu einem Entweder-Oder geworden sind” (ibid., p.202) can also be seen as a result of a revelation of the one who had died on the cross, was thus cursed by the law and whom the persecuted Christians had proclaimed as the Messiah. Compare Luck’s own statements on p.200f.
269 Mt 10:26; Lk 2:35, 12:2, 17:30; Gal 3:23; 2 Thess 2:3.8; 1 Pet 5:1.
270 Rm 1:18 (dmo), 8:18 (eis).
271 Mt 11:25.27, 16:17; Lk 10:21.22; Joh 12:38; 1 Cor 2:10, 14:30; Eph 3:5; Phil 3:15; 1 Pet 1:12.
272 Gal 1:16; Rm 1:17; 1 Cor 2:10; 2 Thess 2:6; 1 Pet 1:5.
temporal 273, local 274, modal 275 or instrumental. 276 Thus Gal 1:16a would mean either local (within Paul God’s son is unveiled 277), modal (because of Paul’s call and commissioning Jesus is unveiled), or instrumental (‘through me’ as through Paul’s ministry Jesus is revealed to others). 278

The above mentioned mystical and psychological interpretation, both expressing the possibility that εν ἐμοί is to be understood in its local meaning, fails to take into account the other Pauline references to the revelation experience, where Paul clearly speaks of an outward vision. 279 And the idea that this difference between the outward vision in the Damascus road experience and the significance of the phrase εν ἐμοί in Gal 1:15–16a can be taken as evidence for the fact that Gal 1:15–16a cannot be seen as referring to the Damascus road experience of Paul 280 is challenged by the fact that Paul speaks of a return to Damascus. 281

How Christ as the Son of God can be revealed to others through Paul’s being called and commissioned (modal) is hard to imagine. In Paul and in his work the grace of God given to him can be seen (Gal 2:9) but hardly Jesus as the Christ or Jesus as the Son of God.

As argued above 282 εν ἐμοί can hardly mean ‘through me’ (instrumental); at least not only ‘through me.’

Hence the remaining alternatives are the understanding of εν ἐμοί as a mere dative object 283 or as a - in a sense different from the mystical or psychological interpretation - local εν, regarded as an adverbial qualification denoting the inwardness of the change in Paul’s life and thought through the revelation he received. 284

273 2 Thess 2:6; 1 Pet 1:5.
274 Rm 1:17.
275 Rm 1:17 (the εγγίζειν is the way on which the δικαιοσύνη ὥγει “als endzeitliche Offenbarung in die Welt einbricht.” Kissmann, Römer, p.27), 1 Cor 3:13 (see Schrage, Korinther, p.302).
276 1 Cor 3:13 (if εν ὑπό is to be connected with ἐγγίζειν), Rm 1:17 (through the gospel the δικαιοσύνη ὥγει is revealed).
277 In psychological terms or as an ecstatic inward experience (Lietzmann, Galater, p.6). According to Lietzmann ἀποκάλυψις in Gal 1:12 has to be compared with Gal 2:2; 1 Cor 14:6–26; 2 Cor 12:1.7. In this line also stands Gal 1:16 as referring to the Damascus experience.
278 Lightfoot, Galatians, p.83. A temporal understanding can be excluded.
279 ὁδὸν in 1 Cor 9:1 and 1 Cor 15:8. See however Michaelis, ὁδὸν, p.358, who holds that “one can conclude from 1 C. 9:1 merely that Paul saw in it [the revelation event] the basis of his apostleship.”
280 See Münster, Galater, p.84 n.34.
281 Gal 1:17. See Betz, Galatians, p.70 n.141.
282 See §3.4.1.
283 Oepke, Galater, p.60f and εν, p.539; Betz, Galatians, p.71 with reference to ecstatic and visionary character of the experience.
284 Fung, Galatians, p.64, points to the coincidence of the inward and outward revelation, as does Bruce, Galatians, p.92f; Schlier, Galater, p.27, stresses that εν denotes the “Intensität” of the vision.
In connection with ἀποκαλύπτειν the understanding of ἐν ἑμοί as a mere dative has no support in the New Testament. The local understanding has maybe one proof text (Rm 1:17). Thus we cannot argue directly from identical texts and formulations. 285

Oepke argues with reference to Rm 1:19 and 2 Cor 4:3 that “speculations on inwardness of the Damascus experience have no philological basis.” 286 Referring, however, to Rm 1:19 Oepke does not distinguish between ἀποκαλύπτειν and φανεροῦν. And in connection with φανεροῦν, ἐν and the mere dative are interchangeable. 287 It denotes the seeing with the eyes of something that is manifested. “The appearances [of Jesus described with the term ὄραμα] are to be described as manifestations in the sense of revelation rather than, making visible.” 288 Ἀποκαλύπτειν, however, denotes the making visible, including the perception of mind. 289 It denotes the aspect of ‘seeing with the mind’ rather than ‘seeing with the eyes.’ And 2 Cor 4:3 has to be taken together with 2 Cor 4:4. 4:4 takes up ἐν τοῖς ἀπολύμασιν with ἐν αἷς. The gospel is veiled ἐν αἷς because their minds are blinded. Hence it is an inward veiling.

Oepke argues from the use of the preposition ἐν and is probably right that ἐν ἑμοί is in some cases interchangeable with ἑμοί. I prefer, however, to argue from the meaning and grammatical use of ἀποκαλύπτειν. Without making an absolute distinction we can say that ἀποκαλύπτειν stresses the aspect of a “subjective revelation,” 290 totally inward or “accompanied by actual perception” 291 and resulting in knowledge. “Φανεροῦν throws emphasis on the fact that that which is manifested is objectively clear, open to perception.” 292 It “suggest[s] external visions rather than internal experiences.” 293

Mußner, Galater, p.86f does not decide between 2) and 3); Dunn, Galatians, p.64, refers to the radical change in Paul’s life through the outward revelation and refers also to 1). 285

This might be the reason for the confusion in the argumentation for one or the other: Mußner argues that it is possible to regard ἐν as a “Präpositionalausdruck anstelle eines Dativs,” (Mußner, Galater, p.86) for “Paulus verbindet das personale Objekt zu ἀποκαλύπτειν auch sonst mit dem bloßen Dativ.” (Ibid., p.86 n.45. He refers to 1 Cor 2:10; Phil 3:15; Eph 3:5) However, with exactly the same argument that ἐν is missing in other passages Schlier and Dunn draw the opposite conclusion: ἐν ἑμοί does not denote the mere dative “da das ἐν bei ἀποκαλύπτειν sonst fehlt.” (Schlier, Galater, p.27, referring to 1 Cor 2:10, Eph 3:5, 1 Pet 1:12) “When Paul wanted to use a dative with the verb ‘reveal’ he did so.” (Dunn, Galatians, p.64, with reference to 1 Cor 2:10, 14:30, Phil 3:15) 286

Oepke, ὄραμα, p.539.

See Schlier, Galater, p.27 n.1.

Michaelis, ὄραμα, p.539.

See Burton, Galatians, p.434.

Burton, Galatians, p.433.

Ibid., p.433.

Ibid., p.433.

Betz, Galatians, p.71.
Hence God revealed his Son to Paul. In this revelation Paul realised that Jesus is the Son of God. Using ἐν ἐμοί instead of ἐμοί, Paul even more stresses "the personal transformation effected by this revelation from heaven." 294 "In me' underscores the idea of inwardness already implied by the verb 'reveal'." 295 Paul stresses the "intensely personal character of God’s revelation to him." 296 Through the revelation God gave Paul insight into his knowledge, and thus changed Paul’s understanding of Christ and God’s plan of salvation. Contrasting, however, his persecution and his mission Paul emphasises that it is a "transformation not so much of person as of purpose and commitment." 297

This is also against an understanding of Paul’s experience interpreted as an ecstatic experience. 298 Paul did not have a vision "in the course of his ecstasy." 299 The experience was also external.

To support his argument, that Paul experienced an ecstasy, Betz refers to 2 Cor 12:2.3. I do not, however, think that 2 Cor 12:2.3 refers to the same revelation as Gal 1:15-16a. 300 Concerning 2 Cor 12 Michaelis argues that "Paul says nothing about seeing the κύριος in his rapture, and the passages in which he does speak about seeing the Lord always refer to the one experience, i.e., that on the Damascus road." 301 Michaelis thus concludes that "to the degree that the rapture of 2 C. 12:2 ff. was definitely an ecstatic experience, we are forced to conclude, in line with his [Paul’s] own judgement as to the special role of the ecstatic element in the pneumatic life..., that the Damascus experience could not have for him characteristics of ecstatic rapture." 302 Also Rengstorf speaks of a "renunciation of any ecstatic basis for the apostleship." 303

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294 Dunn, Galatians, p.64.
295 Fung, Galatians, p.64.
296 Ibid., p.64.
297 Dunn, Galatians, p.64. Paul is not here thinking primarily of the fact that he is no longer destroying the church and that in his work Christ is being revealed. Such a consideration may have been part of his thought but it does not occupy the first place. Such a consideration would be the result of the ἀποκάλυψις ἐν ἐμοί rather than the ἀποκάλυψις ἐν ἐμοί itself.
298 "Paul’s experience was ecstatic in nature." (Betz, Galatians, p.71)
299 Ibid., p.71.
300 See Luck, Evangelium, p.196.
301 Michaelis, oeda), p.357.
302 Ibid., p.357. The formulation of this argument is however slightly unfortunate. The second half of the argument should run: ‘and the passages where he speaks about the revelation experience always speak of seeing the Lord. Only if references to the revelation are always connected with a reference to seeing the Lord could one conclude that the revelation is not in his mind when the reference to seeing the Lord is missing. It is, however, striking that 1 Cor 9:1 speaks of seeing Προσωπὸν τοῦ κυρίου, 1 Cor 15:3.8 of an appearance of Χριστὸς, Gal 1:16 of unveiling τοῦ ιδίου αὐτοῦ and 2 Cor 4:6 of φωτισμὸν τῆς γνώσεως τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν προσωπῷ [Προσωποῦ] Χριστοῦ, whereas we have no reference to Jesus Christ, neither as God’s Son nor as the Lord in 2 Cor 12. Furthermore πρὸς ἐτῶν
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3.5.2. The parallel revelation-texts

Since I am in this thesis concerned with Paul’s understanding of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles concerning his apostleship and collection, and since Gal 1:15-16a is the only Pauline text about his revelation experience which is directly related to the Gentiles it is not necessary to investigate 1 Cor 9:1, 15:8f and 2 Cor 4:6. All the same, these texts are important for understanding the point Paul makes in Gal 1:15-16a.

The three texts to be examined are: 304

1 Cor 9:1: οὐκ εἰμί ἀπόστολος; οὐχὶ Ἰησοῦν τῶν κόριον ἡμῶν ἔόρακα;
1 Cor 15:8f: εἰσαχοτὸν δὲ πάντων ᾄσπερ τῷ ἐκτρώματι ὁθῇ κάμοι. ἕγι γάρ εἰμὶ ὁ ἐλάχιστος τῶν ἀπόστολων ὃς οὐκ εἰμὶ ἰκανὸς καλεῖσθαι ἀπόστολος.
2 Cor 4:6: ὁ θεός ὁ εἱμῶν, ἐκ σκότους φῶς λάμψει, ὃς ἐλάμψεν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν πρὸς φωτισμὸν τῆς γνώσεως τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν προσώπῳ [Ἰησοῦ] Χριστοῦ

3.5.2.1. 1 Cor 9:1 and 15:8

In 1 Cor 9:1 Paul defends his claim that he has freedom as an apostle ὅσ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι (9:5). Therefore he claims to be an apostle and to stand thus on the same level as the other apostles (and the brother of the Lord and Cephas). He, therefore, refers to the fact that he saw ‘Jesus our Lord’ (9:1). Seeing the Lord makes an apostle. But also being successful as an apostle proves his apostleship (9:2). 305 He founded the Corinthian congregation.

Paul uses the verb ἔόρακα. 306 The perfect tense indicates that Paul’s seeing the Lord has a lasting effect on him: he is consequently an apostle.

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303 Rengstorf, Karl Heinrich, ἀπόστολος, p.440.
304 "Daß 2Kor 4,6 vom Damaskusereignis handelt, ist umstritten." (Dietzfelbinger, Ursprung, p.49) But see e.g. Dietzfelbinger’s argumentation (ibid., p.49-51). 2 Cor 12:1-10
305 See 2 Cor 3:2f and Gal 2:9. “The apostle had a unique ministry within the Pauline church: he had been personally commissioned by the rise Christ in a resurrection appearance (I Cor. 9.1; 15.7; Gal. 1.1,15f.); he was a successful missionary and church founder (I Cor. 3.5f, 10; 9.2; 15.9ff.; II Cor. 10.13-16); his was a distinctively eschatological role (Rom. 11.13-15; I Cor. 4.9).”(Dunn, Unity, p.111) See also Act 5:34-42, esp. Act 5:38f.
306 Ἰησοῦν τῶν κόριον ἡμῶν ἔόρακα (9:1) seems to be a “nicht von ihm [Paul] geschaffene(n), sondern übernommene(n) Osterformel.” (Dietzfelbinger, Ursprung, p.55)
In 1 Cor 15 Paul again refers to an appearance of Christ to him. He gives a short summary of the gospel (γινώσκεις δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ εὐηγεγελάμην ὑμῖν, 15:1): 307 Christ died, was buried and rose on the third day. Then he appeared to Cephas, the Twelve, more than five hundred, James, all the apostles and also Paul. They all witnessed that Christ is risen. Paul uses the aorist form of ὑψωτε because the appearance of Christ is an historical act in the past and can now be referred to in the confession of faith.

In this text as well seeing the Lord and apostleship are closely connected. Paul saw Christ and is - although unfit to be called an apostle and thus ἐσχάτω  ἦν πάντων.308 nonetheless an apostle. 309

Both texts 1 Cor 9:1 and 15:8 use the term ὑψωτε for Paul’s encounter with the risen Christ. Paul saw an objective manifestation of Christ. He did not have an ecstatic vision nor did he have a mere internal revelation of knowledge. Combining 1 Cor 9:1, 15:8 and Gal 1:16a we can thus say that Paul experienced an external vision and an internal revelation in one. 'Ἀποκάλυψαι does not exclude “actual perception.” 310 And “we should not suppose that Paul feels he contradicts himself in Gal 1:16 and 1 Cor 9:1; 15:8.” 311 In all three texts Paul refers to the one experience which started his apostolic career. But the function of the three texts is different. In 1 Cor he stresses his freedom as a true apostle and the reality of Christ’s resurrection. And in Gal 1:15-16a he stresses the change of his purpose and commitment through his encounter with Christ. 312

3.5.2.2. 2 Cor 4:6

The formulation in 2 Cor 4:6 is less direct but more metaphorical. Paul refers primarily to himself. 313 Πρὸς φωτισμός is the “enlightenment which came to Paul, not a description of his commission.”

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307 Compare Gal 1:11.
308 He is not the last one to whom the Lord appeared, but the most unfit of all apostles.
309 In 15:10 Paul refers to the grace-given character of his apostleship. This links 1 Cor 15:5ff with Gal 1:15-16a, and ἀποκάλυψαι with ἀδιάφορα.
310 Burton, Galatians, p.433.
311 Betz, Galatians, p.71. See also Longenecker, Galatians, p.31; Bruce, Galatians, p.92f; Dunn, Galatians, p.64; Mußner, Galater, p.84f and p.84f n.38.
312 In Gal 1:15-16a Paul does not say that Christ appeared to him nor that he saw Christ. He stresses that it was an inward not an external revelation, experienced by him, of the ‘Son of God.’ (Not of ‘Christ’ or the ‘Lord’) Since, however, that fact of apostleship and seeing the Lord are closely related, Paul’s aim in Gal 1:15-16a is not so much directed to establishing his apostolic authority but primarily to defending his gospel to the Gentiles.
313 See Sandnes, Paul, p.137.
Paul defends the apostolic ministry in general and his own apostleship in particular. God shone into his heart giving him knowledge of the glory of God. As Moses saw “God’s glory and his face,” Paul saw Christ, God’s glory. And with this seeing the face of Christ Paul was enlightened with knowledge about the gospel. Thereby he becomes qualified for his apostolic ministry. He himself was unfit in himself (3:4-6) but the encounter with Christ made him qualified.

In Gal 1:16 Paul stresses the inwardness of his experience using ἀποκαλύπτειν and ἐν ἐμοί. This is similar to 2 Cor 3f, where ἀποκαλύπτειν and καλύπτειν are strongly represented. Ἀποκαλύψαι ἐν ἐμοί is then the removing of the κάλυμμα ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας, ἀπὸ τοῦ νοῦματος (see 3:14f) resulting in the possession of knowledge. 315

Hence the argumentation in this text is very much the same as in the other three texts. Having to defend his gospel and his apostleship Paul refers to the ἔρως given to him (2 Cor 3:1-3; 1 Cor 9:2; Gal 2:9, 1:15) and to his encounter with the Lord, the commissioning to the exercising of his apostleship and to the preaching of the gospel. A “revelation of Jesus Christ’ had normative force.” 316

3.5.3. Prophetic- and Mosaic-like commissioning

Following Sandnes I do not think that Paul had especially Isa 42:6f and 49:6 in mind when writing 2 Cor 4:6. 317 Πρὸς φωτισμὸν means the enlightenment within Paul and not the enlightenment of others as in Isa 42 and 49. 2 Cor 4:6a seems to allude to Gen 1:3 rather than to Isa 9:2. And altogether Paul refers to Moses’ encounter with God on Mount Sinai rather than to Isa 6:1-3. The context of 2 Cor 3 demands that we interpret 2 Cor 4:6 in this light. Probably the motif of being ἵκανος reflects Moses’ insufficiency. 318

However, compared with Gal 1:15-16a and the commissioning of prophets in the Old Testament it has to be seen that the motif of insufficiency plays an important role for Paul (διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ Gal 1:15; χάριτι θεοῦ εἰμὶ ὅ εἰμι, 1 Cor 15:10) as it does also for the prophets, especially Isaiah (Isa 6:5-7). Even more, seeing God’s glory

314 Sandnes, Paul, p.139.
315 According to Donaldson, Zealot, p.682, this inwardness can be described in terms of a “paradigm-shift, a transfer of allegiance from one set of world-structuring convictions to another.” The “new conviction that Jesus has indeed been raised functioned as an ‘anomaly,’ precipitating a crisis for the old [Torah]- paradigm. This crisis found its resolution in a new paradigm in which Christ, rather than Torah, is understood as the divinely given means of determining membership in the community destined for salvation.”
316 Dunn, Galatians, p.54.
317 Sandnes, Paul, p.144.
318 See ibid., p.7f and Ex 4:10.
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"frequently refers to God's manifestation in a vision." 319 "It is a relative stable element in prophetic commission-texts that the call took place in the framework of a vision of the glory of God." 320 Thus, although the context of 2 Cor 4 demands comparison with Moses the vocabulary also recalls prophetic commissioning experiences. The fact that the term ἰερανός appears in 1 Cor 15:9 as well, shows that it is not bound to a particular context of a Moses-tradition. In 2 Cor 4:6 Paul does not, therefore, refer to a throne vision. 321

3.5.4. Summary

To sum up: the four Pauline texts about Paul's revelation experience, the point where he started his apostolic career and realised that this was God's plan for him, speak, on the one hand, of an external vision (1 Cor 9:1, 15:8) and, on the other hand, of an internal revelation (2 Cor 4:6; Gal 1:16a). "The outward vision and the inward illumination coincided." 322 His gospel was given by God through revelation. It gave him knowledge about and insight into the gospel and a new understanding of the Jewish religion.

Having seen the Lord Paul ranks together with Cephas, James and the other apostles (1 Cor 15). As they received the gospel from God, so did Paul. Thus he did not need to go to Jerusalem after the revelation.

319 Ibid., p.142.
320 Ibid., p.141f.
321 Against ibid., p.143. Also Mußner, *Galater*, p.85, following Betz, *Vision*, p.118: "Paulus [has] bei seiner Berufung den himmlischen, zur Rechten Gottes inthronisierten Jesus gesehen." I do not, however, think that Isa 6 is the only possible answer to the question: "wie war es möglich, daß Paulus diese Vielfalt von Tatsachen und Aufgaben [the revelation is 1) "Ostergeschichte;" 2) Not "Bekehrung;" 3) "Übergabe des Evangeliums;" 4) Gentile mission] aus dem Erlebnis der Christusvision ableiten konnte?" (Ibid., p.117). Betz argues 1) that Paul's connecting the fact of having seen the Lord and being an apostle in 1 Cor 9:1 is related to Isa 6:1-8 where Isaiah says εἶδος τῶν κυρίων and διότι τελεσί με. The problem that Isaiah saw God whereas Paul saw Christ is solved by the fact that Isaiah - according to the Targum - just saw God's δόξα and not God himself. "So hat auch Paulus bei seiner Berufung den himmlischen, zur Rechten Gottes inthronisierten Jesus gesehen;" (ibid., p.118). 2) Isaiah, as well as Paul, refers to his insufficiency. 3) Isaiah, as well as Paul, received his message and to whom he should announce it in the 'call.' The problem arising from the fact that Isaiah has a "Verstockungswort" (ibid., p.119) to be given to Israel whereas Paul has the gospel to be given to the Gentiles is to be solved by the fact that - according to Acts - Paul only goes to the Gentiles because of their readiness belief and the stubbornness of Israel. But on point 3) it is clearly a Lucan concept to connect Isa 6:9f and Paul in Act 28:25-28. Paul himself never uses Isa 6 to describe his mission. On point 2) the motif of insufficiency is a motif in Paul and it occurs in Isa 6 as well. This has to be noted. But the Pauline text where it occurs is in the first instance referring to Moses' encounter with God (2 Cor 3f). The motif can, therefore, not just be traced back to Isa 6. On the first point the motif of having seen the Lord and thus being an apostle is a constant motif in Paul's descriptions of his Christophasy and can be interpreted as being part of the background of Isa 6. However, the fact that Paul has seen God's δόξα like - according to the Targum - Isaiah, and the fact that this δόξα is Christ has only 2 Cor 4:6 as a proof text. There, however, it denotes an inward enlightenment and not an external vision. Furthermore the motif is connected with Moses' encounter with God in 2 Cor 3 and not so much with Isa 6.

322 Bruce, *Galatians*, p.93.
Paul received eschatological insight into and knowledge of God’s will. Hence, with his revelation, a new stage in the salvation of God’s people begins. Although Gal 1:16a itself does not very strongly recall prophetic language, Paul relates his commissioning to the prophetic commissioning just as he relates his call to the prophetic calls. And when relating himself to Moses the points of comparison are those which made Moses "the greatest of the prophets in Jewish tradition." 323 Paul was given insight into (one of) God’s secrets. He saw Christ in order to proclaim what he had seen among the Gentiles as good news.

323 Sandnes, Paul, p.139.
3.6. The Commission

3.6.1. "Iva εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθεσιν

We now look at the divine purpose of the revelation, the commission. With Paul taking up his apostolic career the plan of salvation enters a new stage. And since Christ is the ultimate and only way of salvation the plan of salvation enters its last stage. God sent his Son when the time was fulfilled (Gal 4:4).

For the investigation we subdivide the commission into ‘delivery’ (εὐαγγελίζωμαι); ‘message’ (αὐτόν); ‘audience’ (ἐν τοῖς ἔθεσιν).

3.6.1.1. "Iva

"Iva either denotes the purpose of the revelation (final: ‘in order that I might preach him among the Gentiles’) or the consequence (consecutive: ‘with the consequence that I now preach him among the Gentiles’).

Taking ἢνα in its consecutive sense leads to problems in Paul’s argumentation: in question was the validity of Paul’s law-free Gentile mission. Just saying: ‘when God revealed his Son in me with the consequence that I now preach him among the Gentiles I immediately did not consult...’ would not have answered the question as to why his gospel has to be considered as a result of the revelation of Christ.

Hence ἢνα denotes the divine purpose of the revelation. “The force of the syntax is that the revelation of Christ had no other purpose than this preaching.” It was a new perception of Christ which made the transformation (from zealot within Judaism to ‘apostle to the Gentiles’) both possible and necessary. It was the only and logical conclusion to be drawn from the revelation experience. For Paul the Gentile mission lies implicit in the phrases τὸν ζητῶν αὐτοῦ and εὐαγγελίζων αὐτόν.

324 See Mußner, Galata., p.82 n.26.
325 Dunn, Galatians, p.55. Also Segal, Convert, p.13 and Haacker, Berufung, p.11: “Ziel dieses Offenbarungssaktes ist nicht die persönliche Glaubenserkenntnis des Paulus als Individuum, sondern seine Sendung, sein Apostolat.”
326 Dunn, Galatians, p.67. See Haacker, Berufung, p.11: the revelation is a “'Erkenntnis Christi,' das meint die aus der Ostererscheinung gewonnene Botschaft, das christologische Bekenntnis, das Paulus früher leidenschaftlich bekämpft hatte und in das er jetzt einstimmen mußte.”
327 Taking ἢνα in its final sense we must be aware of the fact that Paul did not say: ὅτι εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτόν... nor εὐαγγελίζων με αὐτόν... Tracing his gospel back to the revelation Paul would not have missed out the point that God actually said to him: ‘go, and preach my son among the Gentiles.’ The commission is, however, not introduced as direct nor as indirect speech of God. Hence it seems to be Paul’s interpretation of the revelation experience rather than the literal com-
The verb is subjunctive present tense. In contrary to the aorists ἐθόκησαν, ἀφορίσας, καλέσας and ἀποκαλύψας, ἐγαγγέλζωμαι denotes the current situation, the "continued preaching," 329 as the purpose of the revelation. 330

With ἐγαγγελζωμαι Paul takes up Gal 1:8.9.11 (ἐγαγγέλειν) and Gal 1:6.7.11 (ἐγαγγέλειν). Within Galatians the words occur only in Gal 1-2 (and Gal 4:13). There, however, we find it quite often. 331 This again is an indication of the fact that Paul is interested not so much in defending and establishing his own personal authority, but rather in defending his gospel as the only ἐγαγγέλειν. 332 Paul’s opponents claimed to give good tidings (Gal 1:6.8.9), but there is only the one gospel, that which Paul proclaims.

"Die Septuaginta übersetzt die Wurzel [רומ] nahezu exklusiv mit Wortbildungen des Stammes ἐγαγγελ-." 333 Nevertheless, it is wrong "רומ und Derivate prinzipiell als Ausdruck für Froh- und Freudenbotschaft zu verstehen." 334 In the Old Testament the "Grundsinn ‘Frohbotschaft’ [of the noun רומ] is nicht eindeutig gegeben." 335 The verb רומ is merely "im Sinne von ‘botschaften’ gebraucht;" 336 so is the participle רומ. However, in Deutero-Isaiah the participle is a fixed religious term. And "von

328 According to Gal 1:15-16a it was, therefore, not just ‘embryonically’ included (against Longenecker, Galatians, p.24). Paul stresses that he got his commission all at once. See e.g. Luck, Evangelium, esp. p.203ff.
329 Longenecker, Galatians, p.32 and Burton, Galatians, p.53.
330 It does not merely denote what "zur Zeit, da Paulus schreibt, Wirklichkeit geworden ist," (Oepke, Galater, p.61) but rather Paul’s mission as a whole, from the very beginning to the present situation. Thus it does not necessarily exclude the meaning of the aorist, "daß Paulus sogleich nach der Bekehrung mit der Heidenpredigt beginnen sollte und begann." (Ibid., p.61) "Die Offenbarung des Sohnes wirkt sich... in der gegenwärtigen (conj. praes.) geschehenden apostolischen Darbringung des Evangeliums aus." (Schlier, Galater, p.27) Paul’s whole ministry is a result and the purpose of the revelation.
332 See Sandnes, Paul, p.51.
334 Ibid., p.109.
335 Ibid., p. 113.
336 Ibid., p.115.
Jes. 61,1ff. an gewinnt die jüdische Redeweise vom Heilsboten ihr plastisches Gewicht und ihre Heilsfunktion.\textsuperscript{337} In Judaism, then, the use of the noun רְשָׁפָה "nähert sich... technischer Ausdrucksweise."\textsuperscript{338} The verb becomes almost a technical term for positive and negative "Rede Gottes und der Propheten."\textsuperscript{339} And the texts in Isaiah which speak of the רְשָׁפָה, finally, "werden zu Interpretamenten der endzeitlichen Heilerwartung."\textsuperscript{340} This "Belegstellen [of the participle רְשָׁפָה in post-biblical Jewish writings have] sprachlich positiven Sinn, so daß sich Aussagen für einen Gericht proklamierenden רְשָׁפָה nicht nachweisen lassen."\textsuperscript{341}

Hence "im Blick auf die neutestamentliche Verwendung des Stammes εὐαγγέλιον läßt sich ohne Übertreibung sagen, daß... der neutestamentliche Sprachgebrauch traditionsgeschichtlich befriedigend aus dem sich im semitisch-sprachigen Judentum und Alten Testament abzeichnenden Traditionen heraus erklärt werden kann."\textsuperscript{342}

Since "die Wurzel רְשָׁפָה von der Septuaginta stets mit dem Stamm εὐαγγέλιον und seinen Derivaten übersetzt wird, sofern nicht der negative Sinn des Hebräischen im Griechischen ein Ausweichen auf eine andere Wortgruppe erzwang"\textsuperscript{343} "gehört [the LXX]... zum sprachlichen und sachlichen Fundamentalbestand des urchristlichen Evangeliums."\textsuperscript{344} Even the connotation of a "(prophetischen) Gotteswortes"\textsuperscript{345} is derived from the LXX. In religious context εὐαγγέλιον is thus "not just speaking and preaching; it is proclamation with full authority and power."\textsuperscript{346}

Standing in this tradition and "angespornt von der... (Evangeliums-) Verkündigung der Jerusalemer Urgemeinde, prägt das junge Missionschristentum eine eigenständige Terminologie: τὸ εὐαγγέλιον meint die rettende Heilsbotschaft."\textsuperscript{347} In the New Testament it is thus always used in the religious sense.\textsuperscript{348} And "das Verbum εὐαγγέλιον scheint seine terminologische Fixierung... vom Substantiv τὸ εὐαγγέλιον her erhalten zu haben."\textsuperscript{349}

\textsuperscript{337} Ibid., p.121.  
\textsuperscript{338} Ibid., p.135.  
\textsuperscript{339} Ibid., p.141.  
\textsuperscript{340} Ibid., p.151.  
\textsuperscript{341} Ibid., p.153.  
\textsuperscript{342} Ibid., p.153.  
\textsuperscript{343} Ibid., p.164.  
\textsuperscript{344} Ibid., p.179.  
\textsuperscript{345} Ibid., p.179.  
\textsuperscript{346} Friedrich, εὐαγγελιον, p.720.  
\textsuperscript{347} Stuhlmacher, Evangelium, p.287.  
\textsuperscript{348} Εὐαγγέλιον in the New Testament "is used only in the singular, only in the sense 'good news', and only with reference to the good news of salvation." (Burton, Galatians, p.422)  
\textsuperscript{349} Stuhlmacher, Evangelium, p.63. See ibid., p.59f and Gal 1:8.9 and esp. 1 Thess 3:6.
Paul’s use of the word group has to be seen against this background. 350 With 
\( \epsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\nu \) Paul means “einen relativ geschlossenen, die Offenbarung Gottes und die 
Christologie umfassenden Geschehenskreis.” 351 It is a technical term for the preaching 
of the gospel. 352

On the grounds of such a fixed concept of the word group \( \epsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\varepsilon\eta\nu \) and Paul’s 
use of prophetic tradition in Gal 1:15-16a, esp. Isaiah, the use of the word group in 
Isaiah 40-66 is “most significant.” 353

There \( \epsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\varepsilon\eta\nu \) appears in Isa 40:9 (twice), 52:7 (twice), 60:6, 61:1. 354 In 
Isa 40:9 the herald of good tidings, \( \delta\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\varsigma\omicron\epsilon\nu\sigma\varsigma\), shall go up on a high mountain and 
proclaim the victory and the coming of God. 355 In Isa 52:7 we find the same motif: 
\( \omega\varsigma \ \alpha\acute{\iota} \tau\acute{o} \ \tau\acute{o} \ \omega\rho\acute{e}\varphi\omega\varsigma, \ \omega\varsigma \ \pi\omicron\delta\acute{e} \ \epsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\varsigma\omicron\epsilon\nu\sigma\varsigma\) \( \alpha\kappa\omicron\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon\omicron\sigma\omicron\epsilon\nu\sigma\varsigma \ \epsilon\iota\omicron\eta\omicron\omicr\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \ \delta\gamma\alpha\dot{\theta}\alpha, \) \( \delta\omicron \) \( \alpha\kappa\omicron\omega\upsilon\upsilon\tau\nu \ \pi\omicron\upsilon\omega\nu \ \tau\iota\omicron\upsilon\varpi\mu\omicron\alpha\iota\omicron\eta \) \. The heralds of good tidings proclaims 
the good news of God’s victory to Zion. 356 In Isa 60:6 the nations are included in the 
proclamation of the victory of the God of Israel. And in Isa 61:1 the prophet himself be­
comes the messenger of good tidings, proclaiming the year of the Lord’s favour.

Because of the fact that the verb denotes prophetic and divine speech only Paul 
and other apostles are the subject of \( \epsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\varepsilon\eta\nu \). In Rm 10:15 the apostles are the 
\( \epsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\varsigma\omicron\epsilon\nu\sigma\varsigma \) who proclaim the good tidings. 357 Most of the times, however, the 
subject of verb and noun is Paul himself. 358

Hence as the host of prophets has seen the victory of God and proclaims it to the 
people so also Paul has seen the Lord and proclaims him to the Gentiles. 359

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350 See ibid., p.289.
351 Ibid., p.58.
352 “Paul uses the word... always... with reference to the preaching of his gospel.” (Ibid., p.27) See 
Schlier, Galater, p.27 n.4.
353 Ibid., p.708. (Emphasis by Friedrich) Although the line of tradition does not directly go from the 
Isaiah texts to Paul he could easily have fallen back on the Isaiah texts once the word group has 
taken on a technical meaning.
354 The “prominence [of the term \( \epsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\nu \)] in the second half of Isaiah (40:9; 52:7; 60:6; 61:1) was cer­
tainly influential in Jewish thinking in the period leading up to Jesus.” (Dunn, Romans 1-8, p.10)
355 On the question whether Zion/Jerusalem is subject or dative object of the proclamation see 
Sandnes, Paul, p.167 n.46.
356 Here Zion obviously is the dative object of the proclamation. Hence “it was easy for the tradition to 
connect Isa 40:9 with Isa 41:27, and particularly 52:7” (ibid., p.167 n.46) even if in Isa 40:9 originally 
Zion was meant to be the subject.
357 For the plural reading in Isa 40:9 and Isa 52:7 see ibid., p.166-170, Friedrich, \( \epsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\varepsilon\eta\nu \), p.715f and p.719 and Stuhlmacher, Peter, Das paulinische Evangelium, p.171f.
358 Verb: Rm 1:15, 15:20; 1 Cor 1:17, 9:16:18, 15:1:2; 2 Cor 11:7; Gal 1:11.16.23, 4:13. Paul and his co­
worker in 2 Cor 10:16. Different are 1 Thess 3:6, and Rm 10:15 and Gal 1:8f. Noun: Rm 1:1:9.16, 2:16, 
15:16:19; 1 Cor 4:15, 15:1; 2 Cor 2:12. In 1 Thess Paul always uses the first person plural. So he does 
in 2 Cor 4:3f.
359 Maybe Isa 40:9 and 52:7 is the background for the fact that for Paul having seen the Lord and being 
an apostle are as closely related as for Isaiah seeing God’s victory and proclaiming are related.
3.6.1.3. The Message: Αὐτόν

Concerning Paul’s gospel in Gal 1:16 I would not agree with Betz who says that we would “expect a neuter object to the verb, instead of the personal object Christ.” 360 We need rather some kind of explanation as to how Αὐτός is good news to the Gentiles. 361

The verb εὐαγγελίζειν is used very often intransitively. Only four times in the Pauline writings is it followed by an accusative: εἰρήνη and/or 362 ἀγαθά as a quotation from Isa 52:7 (Rm 10:15), αὐτόν (Gal 1:16), τὴν πίστιν (Gal 1:23) and τὴν θύσιν and τὴν ἀγάπην (1 Thess 3:6). 363

The noun εὐαγγελίον stands absolute as well. God is the subject of it. It is his good news. 364 The content is Christ, 365 God’s Son 366 or the glory of Christ. 367

In Gal 1:16 the accusative of content, 368 αὐτόν, refers to and picks up τὸν ιύὸν αὐτοῦ. Paul proclaims to the Gentiles that Christ is the Son of God. The heralds in Isa proclaim: ‘here is your God’ (Isa 40:9) and: ‘your God reigns’ (Isa 52:7). This is good news, for it means salvation for God’s people, to whom the good tidings are proclaimed. Hence the fact that ‘Jesus, the Son of God’ is ‘proclaimed’ among the Gentiles means that they are being addressed as the people of God. Jesus’ Sonship means salvation for the Gentiles.

Defending his apostolic authority it would have been sufficient for Paul to say that God revealed his Son in him that he might preach him. But Paul defends his apostleship to the Gentiles. Hence he goes on saying that he is commissioned to preach αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

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360 Betz, Galatians, p.72.
361 Like: ‘to preach God’s son as good tidings, that he....’ See Rm 1:2-5 and 1 Cor 15:1-8.
362 Τὸν εὐαγγελίζειν εἰρήνη is probably an addition.
363 In 1 Thess 3:6 it is, however, not used in the sense of proclaiming the gospel of Christ.
364 Rm 15:16; 2 Cor 11:7; 1 Thess 2:2.8.9.
365 Rm 15:19.29; 1 Cor 9:12; 2 Cor 2:12, 9:12, 10:14; Gal 1:7; Phil 1:27; 1 Thess 3:2.
366 Rm 1:9: εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ ιὸν αὐτοῦ
367 2 Cor 4:4: εὐαγγέλιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ.
368 See Burton, Galatians, p.26f.
3.6.1.4. The Audience: Ἑν τοῖς ἑθεσιν

"Εν is local and thus parallel to ἐν ἐμοί. The revelation in Paul was τὸ φωτισμός within Paul (2 Cor 4:6), and the gospel he is preaching is τὸ φωτισμός for the people whose minds are not blinded (2 Cor 4:4). Hence ἀποκαλύπται - εὐαγγελίζομαι, τὸν ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ - αὐτῶν and ἐν ἐμοί - ἐν τοῖς ἑθεσιν in Gal 1:16a correspond.

In the LXX ἑθος is most of the times a translation of πάν, πόλις, as λαὸς is a frequent translation of πόλις. "The plur. πόλις came to be used as a tech. term for the Gentiles, and the sing. πόλις for the holy people." Ἐθνῆ / πόλις in the sense of Gentiles "is often [used] with no sense of a plurality of nations. The word is used non-sociologically to describe all the individuals who do not belong to the chosen people." 372

Except in the quotation in Rm 10:19 (twice) Paul uses the word only in the plural. It occurs 29 times in Romans, 373 four times in 1 Cor, once in 2 Cor, 10 times in Galatians and twice in 1 Thess. These statistics already show the importance of the term ἑθος in Romans and Galatians, the letters where Paul is most of all concerned with the relationship between Jews and non-Jews, between Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians. 374 The frequency of the word becomes even more striking when we look at the fact that it occurs in Romans in chapters 1-4, 9-11 and 15 (16) and in Gal only in Gal 1-3.

That Paul uses ἑθος only in the plural and mainly in Romans and Galatians already refers to the use of ἑθνη / πόλις in the Old Testament as a term denoting the distinctiveness of the nations from the Jews, and thus the distinctiveness of Israel. "Of some 160 instances [where ἑθος appears] in the NT, about 40 are quoted from the OT, and there are many others more or less clear reminiscence or echoes." 375 Ἐθνη here clearly means distinctiveness from the Jews: in Rm 2:14:24, 3:29, 9:24:30, 11:11.12.13.25,
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15:9.10.16.18.27, 376 1 Cor 1:23, 377 2 Cor 11:26 (ἐκ γένους, εἰς ἑθνῶν) and 1 Thess 2:16. 378 In the letter to the Galatians the distinction is made very clearly in Gal 2:8 and 2:9 (περιτομή - ἑθνη), 2:12.14.15 (Ἰουδαίοι καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἑθνῶν ἀμαρτολοί), 3:8.14 and also 2:2 as referring to 2:8f. 379 “The phrase ἐθνικὸς καὶ οὐκ Ἰουδαίκως in Gl. 2:14 makes it clear that the distinction from Judaism is always decisive.” 380 Concerning the law the Gentiles live ἐθνικῶς and not Ἰουδαϊκῶς. Thus they are ἀμαρτωλοί 381 and do not - from a Jewish point of view - belong to God’s people. 382

In Gal 1:16 Paul depicts himself as being sent to the nations different from the Jews.

Paul once persecuted the Jews who were open to Gentiles. Being zealous he forced them to live again ἐν Ἰουδαϊσμῷ. The Gentiles were depicted as standing outside the boundaries of Israel. Then in the revelation God showed Paul that the boundaries are to be redefined. The Gentiles become sons of Abraham through Christ, as well. Thus Paul changed from being a persecutor of the Hellenists to being an apostle to the Gentiles. “All the previous effort to maintain ‘the assembly of God’ as something distinct and separated from the Gentiles by definition had now to be abandoned.” 384

Since, however, in Galatia precisely this apostleship to the Gentiles, the εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας (Gal 2:7) was in question the polemical aspect of this addition is obvious. However, also in other letters - mainly in the letter to the Romans - Paul claims to have been sent to the Gentiles: Paul received grace and apostleship εἰς ὑπακοήν πίστεως ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἑθεσίν (Rm 1:5); he praises his ministry to be ἑθνῶν ἀπόστολος (Rm 11:13); he is a λειτουργὸς Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὰ ἑθνη (Rm 15:16); Christ accomplished what Paul preaches εἰς ὑπακοὴν ἑθνῶν (Rm 15:18). And in 1 Thess 2:14-16 Paul refers to the incident in Thessalonica where the Jews hindered him from preaching τοῖς ἑθεσίν (2:16).

376 Furthermore also 1:13 (see 11:13) and 1:5 (see 11:13, 15:16, 15:18).
377 Also in 5:1, 10:20 and 12:2, where τὰ ἑθνη is opposite to being a Christian. “Christians are considered true Israel and the church as Israel κατὰ πίστιν” (Ibid., p.371).
378 And probably also 4:5.
379 See Longenecker, Galatians, p.32; Schlier, Galater, p.27; Burton, Galatians, p.53.
380 Schmidt, ἑθος, p.369. See also Gal 2:7, ἀκροβυστία - περιτομή.
381 Grammatically it would be possible to read: ‘we, born Jews and not out of the Gentiles, are sinners but we know that...' The context of food-laws, Judaism, Ἰουδαῖος ἡν and Ἰουδαῖζεν demands, however, to take εἰς ἑθνῶν ἀμαρτολοί together. The Gentiles do not know and thus do not observe the law. Thus they are sinners.
382 See Rm 15:10, ἑθνη - λαὸς.
383 See Hengel, Zealots, p.149: “zeal for Yahweh was always directed exclusively against the faithless people of Israel itself.” See also Haacker, Berufung, p.8.
384 Dunn, Galatians, p.66.
It is, however, striking that Paul in Gal 1:16 does not simply say τοῖς ἐθνοῖς but ἐν τοῖς ἐθνοῖς. With this he does not stress that he is sent to the individual people or to the Gentiles as the non-Jewish people but into Gentile territory. Paul’s argumentation in Gal 1:16b-24 is, on the one hand, that “he did not consider it necessary to go to anyone else.” On the other hand, however, Paul’s description of the way he went and the action he took after his revelation shows that he immediately fulfilled his commission and therefore only stayed in Gentile territory, distinct from Jewish Judea. He went only into the area surrounding Judea. First he went to Arabia in the South-East of Judea, then to Damascus in Syria, in the North-East. After this he went for a short visit to Jerusalem, then to Syria and Cilicia in the North-West and far North. In Judea he remained unknown.

This distinction of Gentile territory and Judea corresponds to Paul’s Judaistic commitment before his revelation. Like the zeal of God and the zeal of Phinehas, Elijah and Mattathias, Paul’s zeal had been active only within Israel. And the country determined the borders for the ethnic and religious group. The desire to keep the ethnic Israel ritually clean meant keeping the country Israel clean. Thus the Jews lived in Jewish territory, the Gentiles in Gentile territory.

However, since the Gentile territory denotes the territory of the religious and ethnic group of the non-Jews Paul did not make a difference between being sent to the Gentiles and being sent into Gentile territory. Being sent to the Gentiles for Paul does not mean going and preaching to all the non-Jews living in Judea as well as in Gentile territory. It means preaching in the other areas of the world, despite the fact of the Jews being found in the Diaspora. He is sent by God to the Gentiles, and thus he goes...
into Gentile territory. Hence preaching in Jewish synagogues is no contradiction to Paul’s commission. 391 He is open to preaching to Jews as well. 392

In his conduct in Judaism Paul’s commitment, his zeal, was limited to the Jews only. Salvation, sonship, was limited to the Israel within the covenant, and was bound to the law. Thus proclaiming the inclusion of the Gentiles and the opening up of the borders could not have meant that his commission is limited. 393 His commission is rather “freed from previous limitations.” 394 Hence ἐν τοῖς ἔθεσισιν is, on the one hand, the sphere of Paul’s mission and thus denotes some kind of limitation (Gal 2:9, ἵνα ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθη, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν περιτομὴν). On the other hand, it expresses the opening up of the boundaries, namely that God’s salvation is not limited to the Jews anymore.

391 It can only be taken as a contradiction if one fails to realise that Paul in Gal 1:16a is not merely saying τοῖς ἔθεσις but ἐν τοῖς ἔθεσισις (thus Lietzmann, Galater, p.7). We can only briefly refer to the discussion about Paul’s missionary activity and strategy. Two authors with a different opinion are e.g. Kim, Origin and Sanders, PLJP. Both argue that Paul depicts himself as being sent to the Gentiles (Kim, Origin, p.56-66 (esp.57f) and Sanders, PLJP, p.179-190). Sanders stresses that Paul’s letters do not refer to preaching in synagogues. Holding this position he denies “the evidence of the letters themselves, not just Paul’s self-descriptions, but his characterisations of his converts and the contents.” (p.188) Concerning Paul’s self-descriptions Sanders refers to Rm 11:13; Gal 1:16; 2:7-9; Rm 1:5 15:18; 1:15f; 1 Thess 2:16; Rm 15:16 (p.181). Concerning the converts he refers to Gal 4:8; 1 Cor 12:2, 6-9; 11; 1 Thess 1:19; Phil 3:2 (p.182). Concerning the content Sanders argues that “Paul wrote from a Jewish perspective,” (p.183), and although some arguments “might have puzzled” (p.183) the Gentile audience, he “seems to have been able to get his main point across.” (p.183). “So he styled himself, and so he acted.” (p.190). Sandnes admits, however, that “occasional or opportunistic proclamation to Jews need not be outside the scope of the apostle to the Gentiles.” (p.190 and also p.204 n.71). Kim, on the other hand, argues that “it was only natural for him [Paul] to turn to synagogues which were familiar to him as places where the word of God was proclaimed and where he expected to find many Gentiles, the ‘God-fearers.” (p.61) Referring to Act 13:5-14, 14:1, 17:1f; 10:17, 18:4.19, 19:8 he says that this is not “purely the Lucan heilsgeschichtliche scheme nor Paul’s lack of conviction about his call to the Gentile mission.” (p.61, emphasis by Kim) Paul himself suggests that he also reached Jews (1 Cor 9:20ff; 2 Cor 11:24; 1 Thess 2:15f). He used the “network of the synagogues.” (p.61) “It provided Paul... with a temporary lodging and mediated job.” (p.61) “Der Speisaum [of a Synagogue in the Diaspora] mochte... zur Unterbringung von jüdischen Reisenden dienen.” (Hengel, Synagogeninschrift, p.171f) “Als Paulus in Korinth die dortige Synagoge aufsuchte [Act 18:2-4], erbrachte dies zunächst nicht etwa missionarische Kontakte, sondern solche beruflicher Art, die ihm Arbeit und Auskommen sicherten.” (Ibid., p.171f) Furthermore it provided an “opportunity to preach” (Kim, Origin, p.61, see Act 13:14f) and “a well prepared audience, namely the ‘God-fearers’.” (Ibid., p.62) We may add to Kim’s arguments that the separation of the Christian church from the synagogue was still in process when Paul became an apostle. It is most likely that the development of the Christian church goes from Hebrew synagogues to the Hellenists to the God-fearers, and thus in the Diaspora directly from the synagogues to the God-fearers. This picture is drawn mainly from Acts, nevertheless it provides quite a natural picture of the first Christian communities in Gentile territory. Concerning 1 Thess 2:15f it has to be said that Paul does not speak of preaching to the Jews. Thus is Sanders right. In Acts, however, the same event is reported (Act 17) referring to Paul preaching in the synagogue. This picture corresponds well to the aspects of zeal occurring in 1 Thess 2:14-16. Zeal acted within Israel and the Jewish communities and hardly against Christian missionaries preaching in the market place to Greek people. “Punishment [2 Cor 11:24] implies inclusion.” (Sanders, PLJP, p.192, emphasis by Sanders) Hence I think that Acts gives an accurate picture of the missionary activity of Paul. It has to be noted, though, that Paul depicts himself as being sent to the Gentiles, and that he at the same time never directly refers to preaching in the synagogues and to Jews.

392 Excluded is, however, that Paul thought of his commission as preaching to Jews εἰς ἀνακολούθησιν. Here I disagree with Schlier who argues that it is said, “daß ausschließlich Heiden von ihm [Paul] zum Gehorsam des Glaubens zu bringen sind.” (Schlier, Galater, p.27)

393 Against Betz, Galatians, p.72 and Schlier, Galater, p.27.

394 Dunn, Galatians, p.66. See also Oepke, Galater, p.61.
We saw that Paul’s revelation was his being commissioned to preach to the Gentiles what he has seen. Preaching to Jews in the Diaspora was neither excluded nor was it explicitly included. It was, however, part of Paul’s missionary strategy and the most natural way for him to travel round and to reach the Gentiles. Paul’s message is summed up in the one sentence: ‘Jesus Christ is Son of God.’ The final proclamation of God’s victory and God’s reign reaches and concerns not only Israel but also the Gentiles.

The fact that Paul had to deliver a message from God to a certain audience aligns him with the Old Testament prophets. Both Paul and the Old Testament prophets “experienced, in form of a revelation, being sent and commissioned to deliver a message from God. This formed the basis and starting point of their career. ...The commission to be carried out was in both cases to be communicated to a certain audience.”

That Paul is sent to the Gentiles means that he can be compared only with Isaiah and Jeremiah. They are the only “Völkerpropheten” in the Old Testament tradition.

Paul’s message is the ēvayyeXelou. Paul uses verb and noun 13 times in the two chapters Gal 1 and 2. It is an important term for the issue discussed in Galatia. The question is to be clarified who preaches the true gospel, Paul or his opponents (1:6-9). However, despite the fact that the use of ēvayyeXelliciν can be explained by the context of Gal 1:16, Paul derived the verb from Isaiah since in 1:15 he has alluded to a whole semantic field from Isaiah. ĖvayyeXelliciν is not part of this semantic field. It occurs, however, in the same context of Isa 40-66: the messengers proclaim the ‘ēvayyeXelou’ and in Isa 61:1 the Servant of the Lord, who is called and chosen from his mother’s womb, is sent to proclaim the good news (ēvayyeXelidassatai πτωχοίς ἀπέσταλκέν με). This proclamation reaches the coastlands and the ends of the earth, the people from far away. It is proclaimed to the nations and they come to Zion. In the same way Paul is sent ἵνα ēvayyeXelciωμαι ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. And he went straight into

395 Sandnes, Paul, p.18.
396 Holtz, Paulus, col. 324. Jonah (3:1-10) can be excluded as a model of Paul’s commission.
397 Compare Phil 1:5-27 where the noun appears six times and 1 Cor 9:12-23 where noun and verb appear nine times within only twelve verses.
400 Isa 49:1, 66:19.
Gentile-territory to fulfil this commission and plans to go to Spain (Rm 15:24) which was in New Testament times “regarded as the ‘end(s) of the earth’.” He goes from Israel into the world to proclaim the good news that now faith has become the entry requirement into the people of God.

Most striking, however, is Isa 49:6 (and Isa 42:6). As seen above Isa 49 played already an important part in Paul’s understanding of his call. Isa 49:6 reads: τέθεικά σε εἰς διαθήκην γένους εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν τοῦ εἶναι σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐως ἐσχάτον τῆς γῆς. This reminds us of 2 Cor 4:6. Even if 2 Cor 4:6 has to be read against the background of 4:4 which means that πρὸς φωτισμόν has to be understand as an inward light, Paul brings the light of the gospel of the glory of God, the εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν (4:3), to the ἄνθρωποι (4:4).

Jeremiah 1:5ff (esp. verse 10) speaks of a commission ἐπὶ έθνη καὶ βασιλείας ἐκρίνων καὶ κατασκόττειν καὶ ἀπολλάξειν καὶ ἀνοικοδομεῖν καὶ καταφυτεύειν. Unlike Isaiah he is sent against nations and kingdoms.

However, there was a tendency in early Judaism to “assimilate [the prophets] to the consolations found in Deutero-Isaiah.” Thus in Jewish tradition (e.g. Sir 49:6-7) “Jeremiah is... described as a prophet of the final salvation... in a way which connects him to the message of final restoration in other prophets.” He was not here so much depicted as being sent against nations but rather to preach and predict “restoration and salvation for Israel.” In Jewish tradition Isaiah is “the consolation-prophet par excellence,” but he is not the only consolation prophet. But nevertheless, Jeremiah was depicted as preaching comfort to Israel. To build up and to plant (Jer 1:10) is directed to Israel. Hence proclaiming good tidings to the nations has hardly any basis in Jeremiah’s call and commission.

Only the Servant of the Lord is explicitly sent in order that salvation may reach the nations (Isa 49:6). And like the Servant of the Lord Paul is commissioned “mit der Heilssendung an die Welt.” Additionally both Paul’s and the Servant’s “exclusive

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404 See §3.4.4.
405 Sandnes, Paul, p.38. See on the following Ibid., p.21-43.
406 Ibid., p.35.
407 Ibid., p.37.
408 Ibid., p.43. (Emphasis by Sandnes)
409 Holtz, Paulus, col. 328.
Paul's apostolic self-understanding as an apostle to the nations is influenced by Isa 42 and 49. And I think that the Servant of the Lord is a real parallel to Paul's 'Zuständigkeitsbereich' and self-understanding. Paul's commission is closely related to the commission of the Servant of the Lord.

410 Sandnes, Paul, p.65.
411 Holtz, Paulus, col. 328.
412 See Blank, Paulus, p.227f. Blank, however, argues that Paul depicts himself as "missionarischen Gottesknecht für die Heidenvölker. Er versteht sich dagegen nicht als der leidende Gottesknecht von Is 52/53." (p.227, emphasis by Blank) This distinction can be made because the "Diaspora judentum versteht den Knecht kollektiv von Israel; das palästinensische Judentum dagegen 'durchgangig messianisch'." (p.227, emphasis by Blank). Thus we have a "missionarischen Knecht" in the Diaspora and a "leidenden Knecht" in Palestine (p.227, emphasis by Blank). Paul's self-understanding is derived from the missionary servant and thus from the Hellenistic Jews in the Diaspora. This is the reason why it was easy for Paul to accept the law-free Gentile mission: he knew that "Gesetz und Beschneidung sich bislang als der grösste Hemmschuh jüdischer Heidenmission erwiesen hatten." (p.229).

413 Against Sandnes, Paul, p.65, who holds that "the OT examples of prophetic preaching to the nations... are not real parallels" to Paul.
3.7. Conclusion

With this chapter I hope it has been shown that Paul's concept of the people of God as being a unity of Jews and Gentiles with prime importance of the Jews is the underlying concept of his apostleship.

For Paul his revelation experience had the one and only purpose of commissioning him to go to the Gentiles. This commission meant the complete reversal of his commitment and purpose in life. Having formerly being zealous within Judea and excluding the Gentiles from the people of God, he was now supposed to go into Gentile territory and to proclaim the inclusion of the Gentiles. His commission, therefore, did not mean to him the abrogation of salvation history and the establishment of an entirely new people of God, but rather the opening up of the borders of Israel. Israel remains the centre of the people of God.

With the Gentiles' inclusion and thus with God's delight in calling and commissioning Paul God's good will towards his people came into effect. Moreover, the mere fact that Paul is sent by God to proclaim a message of salvation to the Gentiles means that they are being treated already as the people of God. Using the word ἀποκαλύπτειν Paul says that with his commission he received insight into God's plan of salvation. He is, therefore, not converted away from Israel, but rather set apart for a special purpose within God's people.

However, in Gal 1:15-16a Paul does not systematically argue on the grounds of this conviction about the eschatological people of God. The relationship between Jews and Gentiles and the fact that Paul's apostleship is bound to Israel within God's continuing plan of salvation is not emphasised by Paul. He merely stresses that he is sent by God to the Gentiles without saying anything about their relationship to the Jews. When defending the rights of the Gentiles and his law-free Gentile mission Paul does not say anything about the rights of the Jews as observant Jews. He argues for his commission to the Gentiles and for the freedom of the Gentiles without explicitly referring to the fact that his commission was a commission within the people of God.

His point, however, he brings across quite strongly. For his commission to the Gentiles Paul argues on three different levels: 1) textual; 2) historical; 3) theological.

On the level of the text there are always corresponding pairs of words and phrases: ἀφορίσας and καλέσας, ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς μου and διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ, ἀποκαλύφαι and εἰδαγγελίζωμαι, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ and αὐτῶν, ἐν ἐμοὶ and ἐν τοῖς ἔθεσιν; all terms correspond. Gal 1:15-16a is a highly stylised and structured block of text.
On another level Paul does not argue on a rational basis why he goes to the Gentiles, but rather binds his commission to the historical event of his revelation experience.

On the third level Paul interprets his experience theologically in the light of Old Testament prophetic call and commissioning. He thus argues with traditional images and models which have authority in themselves. He clearly aligns himself with the Servant of the Lord. He is thus a servant of the Lord Jesus Christ continuing the work of the Servant of the Lord. His is a very special role in God’s plan of salvation. With his commission the history of salvation enters its last stage.
4. THE COLLECTION

4.1. Introduction

It is commonly recognised that Gal 2:10 refers to a collection of money. Gal 2:10 is seen by many scholars as proof for the fact that the collection originated in Antioch. According to this view Paul later on developed his own concept of the collection and started raising money in his congregations. Some have, therefore, argued that Gal 2:10 speaks of a collection different from the one mentioned in 1 Cor, 2 Cor and Rm.

However, irrespective of whether we can see a development in Paul's thinking on this matter of a collection of money or whether his understanding remained constant throughout, all scholars appear to agree that the collection is raised for the church in Jerusalem. It is, thus, an indication of the relationship between Jerusalem, Antioch and Paul's churches. Moreover, the fact that it is raised exclusively for Jerusalem shows its theological significance. Understanding the background of the collection in all its stages means understanding the ecclesiology of those who took part in it. This is the reason why one chapter of this dissertation about Paul and the unity of Jews and Gentiles is devoted to Paul's concept of the collection.

In the last chapter I discussed the relationship between Jews and Gentiles and followed the argumentation of the works of e.g. Stuhlmacher, Nickle, Holl, Munch, Georgi, Bartsch and Aus mentioned in §2.3. Concerning Paul's apostleship there are also parallels to some of the works mentioned in §2.2. According to the findings in the history of research that the understanding of Paul's concept of the people of God had

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414 See Taylor, Antioch, p.116; Wedderburn, Reasons, p.30; Betz, Galatians, p.103.
415 See Georgi, Kollekte, p.33; Wedderburn, Reasons, p.39f: pointing out that, on the one hand, Paul mentions the Jerusalem agreement in Gal 2:10 "near in time to the writing of 1 Corinthians," where "preparations for the collection are, as we have seen, in hand, and instructions have been issued to the churches involved," but that, on the other hand, there are "differences between what was envisaged at the Jerusalem meeting and what Paul was now undertaking." Also Taylor, Antioch, p.116: "direct identification between the Jerusalem agreement and Paul’s collection would be erroneous," and p.198: "the collection Paul undertook during his last years of freedom is not identical to that agreed between the Jerusalem and Antioch churches at the Jerusalem conference."
416 See e.g. ibid., p.118f.
417 See ibid., p.116-122, esp. 118f; Berger, Almosen, p.181: the money is, on the one hand, collected for "wirkliche Arme," but, on the other hand, "hat die Kollekte nach Gal. ii. 10 eine bestimmte kirchenpolitische Relevanz, die theologisch begründet sein muß. Nur so wird die Angabe hinter V. 9 verständlich."
418 See Georgi, Kollekte, p.10.
an effect upon the understanding of Paul’s collection, and that Paul’s role as an apostle was transferred to his role in the collection enterprise, it could be assumed that in the following chapter on the collection I shall also consider the eschatological and highly theological interpretations of the collection from such writers as Stuhlmacher, Nickle, Holtz, Munck, Georgi, Bartsch and Aus. By and large I accept their conclusions. However, I think that although the inclusion of the Gentiles into the people of God and their recognition of the Jewish Christians is the main issue concerning the collection, nonetheless I do not think that Paul systematically develops this idea when writing about the collection. Thus he does not bring his special role as apostle to the Gentiles into specific connection with his role in the collection from the Gentiles for Jerusalem.

Evidence must now be provided for this statement

In doing so I shall briefly set out the chronological order of the events reported in Gal 1-2. Then I shall investigate Paul’s collection, in four stages. First, I shall set out the wider context of Paul’s reference to the collection in Gal 2:10. To understand the collection we have to understand its origin. Thus I shall investigate the cause and the outcome of the Jerusalem Council and of the Antioch Incident. In addition to an understanding of the agreement reached concerning the collection these sections will directly provide us with material concerning Paul’s understanding of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles. Secondly, I shall look at the collection agreement in the context of the agreement reached at the Jerusalem Council. Thirdly, a discussion of the key words οἱ ποικοί, μημονεύσινεν and σπουδάζειν and of the concept lying behind the collection agreement will be given. On the basis of our findings on Gal 2:10 we shall, fourthly, examine the other collection references in 1 Cor 16:1-4, 2 Cor 8, 2 Cor 9, Rm 15:14-33. They will show us whether there was one concept lying behind the collection from the beginning, or whether (and how) the concept developed.
Before investigating Gal 2:10 we shall set out the framework of a chronology of Paul’s life.

We have two external dates which are referred to in Acts:

Act 18:2 connects the appearance of Aquila and Priscilla in Corinth with the edict of Claudius. Because of a report of Orosius that Claudius expelled the Jews (or some Jews) “in the ninth year of that emperor’s reign (i.e. from 25th Jan. 49 - 24th Jan. 50 C.E.)” this edict is usually dated 49 CE. Some, however, identify the edict with a reference of Cassius Dio where he says that in his first year as emperor Claudius did not expel the Jews but merely forbade them to hold their meetings. They, therefore, date the edict in 41 CE.

However, Cassius Dio explicitly says that Claudius did not drive the Jews out of Rome (οὐκ ἔξηγασε μέν) And I think there is not sufficient evidence to combine Orosius’ and Cassius Dio’s report into one event in 41 CE. Rather, Orosius and Cassius Dio refer to two different events, one in 41 CE when the Jews were not expelled and the other in 49 CE when they were expelled. Hence I would date the edict of Claudius to 49 CE.

419 Wedderburn, Reasons, p.57. See Orosius, Historiarum VII 6,15: Anno eisdem nono expulsos per Claudium Vrbe Iudaeos Iosephus refert. sed me magis Suetoniou mouet, qui ait hoc modo: Claudius Iudaecos impulsoe Christo adside chrismiantes Roma expulit.

420 Taylor, Antioch, p.55; Stuhlmacher, Römer, p.12; Dunn, Romans, p.xlix. See also the discussion in Lüdemann, Heidenapostel, p.183f, Murphy-O’Connor, Corinth, p.131.

421 Dio, History, LX, 6, 6: Τοὺς τε ἰουδαίους πλεονάσαντας αἴτησε, ὅτε οὐκ ἔχθεν ταραχὴς ὑπὸ τοῦ διελθον ἁγίως τῆς πόλεως εἰρηκθῆναι, οὐκ ἔξηγασε μέν, τοῦ δὲ δὴ πατρὸς μω Χριστίνους ἔκλεισε μὴ συνεθροῖζον.

422 Lüdemann, Heidenapostel, p.183f; Murphy-O’Connor, Corinth, p.139; Haenchen, Ernst, Apostelgeschichte, p.60.

423 Dio, History, VI,6.

424 See Dunn, Romans 1-8, p.xlix; Jewett, Dating, p.36ff and p.126 n.116. Since “the Jews had been equally numerous when Tiberius expelled them from Rome in A.D. 19” (Murphy-O’Connor, Corinth, p.134) Cassius’ explanation that Claudius did not expel them because of their number is - according to Murphy-O’Connor - “totally implausible.” (ibid., p.134) However, the high number of Jews might be Cassius’ own interpretation and not the actual reason of the fact that Claudius did not expel them. Additionally to Murphy-O’Connor a passage in Philo’s Legatio ad Gaium, that Augustus did not expel the Jews from Rome and did not prevent them from meeting (ibid., p.136f) shows that Claudius in fact did expel the Jews from Rome. However, Philo would probably have referred to an expulsion had he known about it. Moreover, the assumed expulsion happened in 41 CE when - according to Murphy-O’Connor - Philo completed his Legatio ad Gaium. The fact, then, that this passage appears roughly in the middle of the Legatio ad Gaium and is thus probably written before 41 CE rather suggests that Philo had heard rumours about the fact that Claudius wants to expel the Jews. Hence he referred to Augustus, Claudius’ model as a Roman ruler (see ibid., p.137), in order to prevent - or show his discomfort with - a possible expulsion.

425 See Sellin, Hauptprobleme, p.2987; Taylor, Antioch, p.54f.

426 See e.g. Dunn, Romans 1-8, p.xlix. See also Wedderburn, Reasons, p.57f and Watson, Paul, p.93, saying that “disorders among the Roman Jews because of the preaching of the Christian gospel had...
The second fixed date, the Gallio inscription, refers to Gallio’s proconsulship in Achaia (Act 18:12). This is commonly dated 51-52 CE.

Both, the edict of Claudius and the Gallio inscription, are referred to in Act 18:1-17: Paul came from Athens to Corinth (Act 18:1) where he met Aquila and Priscilla who had only recently come from Rome because of the edict of Claudius. Hence Paul could have met them already in 49 CE. Paul had been in Corinth for about 18 months when the Jews brought him before Gallio. Counting 18 months back from the proconsulship of Gallio in 51/52 CE Paul probably arrived in Corinth in late 49 CE or early 50 CE. He then left Corinth in late 51 CE or more probably in early 52 CE.

In addition to these two external dates we have one more fixed time span which can help us to determine the terminus a quo for another date in Paul’s chronology.

In Gal 1:17f Paul says that he went from Damascus to Jerusalem. In Act 9:23-25f we hear that he soon after his ‘conversion’ fled from Damascus and went to Jerusalem. Finally in 2 Cor 11:32f Paul speaks of his flight from the ethnarch of King Aretas who guarded Damascus. The Nabatean King Aretas VI. ruled over Damascus between 37

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427 See Sellin, *Hauptprobleme*, p.2987 n.243: the Gallio inscription is the “einzige(n) bisher unumstößliche(n) Fixpunkt urchristlicher Chronologie.”


429 Since αἰώνιας δύος (Act 18:12) can be translated as ‘while Gallius was proconsul in Achaia’ the proconsulship of Gallio and the 18 months could be an overlapping time span. However, it is probable that the Jews were opposed to Paul for quite a while, but only with the change of the proconsul were they encouraged to bring Paul before the tribunal.

430 See Vielhauer, *Literatur*, p.73. The distance between Athens and Corinth is so little that we can assume that Paul could have travelled at any time of the year. See also Murphy-O’Connor, *Gallio*, p.317.

431 It is quite possible that Act 18:12 indicates another Lukan source of a stay of Paul in Corinth.

432 A trip like the one reported in Act 18:18-22 can hardly be undertaken in winter (see Suhl, *Galaterbrief*, p.3078-3082). And even a trip from Corinth to Ephesus (when deleting the whole passage Act 18:18-23; see Sellin, *Hauptprobleme*, p.2989) is easier to imagine in early 52 CE than in late 51 CE. Paul stayed the winter 51/52 CE in Corinth rather than taking up the risk of having to spend the winter somewhere on the way because of a delay or an early winter. Furthermore καίνας (Act 18:18) could indicate that Paul after the tribunal stayed till the winter was over. If the trial was in summer/autumn 51 CE Paul could have waited till spring 52 CE before undertaking the journey to Jerusalem mentioned in Act 18:18-22 or he could have gone directly to Ephesus (Act 19:1; see ibid., p.2988f). According to Suhl, *Galaterbrief*, p.3079 the sea was dangerous from 15. September - 10. November and from 10. March - 26. May. Maybe Paul stayed in Corinth even till May 52 CE. See Vielhauer, *Literatur*, p.79: Paul could have started his third missionary trip (Act 18:23ff) “frühestens im Frühling 52... da er den Taurus passieren müßte.” In favour of the dates early 50 CE and late 51 CE see Murphy-O’Connor, *Gallio*, p.317.
and 39/40 CE. This gives us the terminus ante quem for Paul’s flight from the ethnarch of King Aretas. 37 CE, the year when Aretas took over the rule of Damascus is - according to Jewett - the terminus a quo for Paul’s flight.

The main problem for Paul’s chronology is how to relate μετὰ ἑτη τρία (Gal 1:18), διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἑτῶν (Gal 2:1) and ἐπείτα in Gal 1:18.21,2.1. Does μετὰ ἑτη τρία refer to the return to Damascus (Gal 1:17) or to the revelation (Gal 1:15f)? Does διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἑτῶν refer to the beginning of the mission in Syria and Cilicia (Gal 1:21), to the first trip to Jerusalem (Gal 1:18) or to the revelation? Does ἐπείτα always refer to the directly preceding mentioned event? Müßner is probably right in saying that ἐπείτα in Gal 1:21 is “in zeitlich anreihendem Sinn verstanden”. This, however, does not necessarily mean that ἐπείτα in Gal 1:18 refers in the same way to the (probably) second visit to Damascus (Gal 1:17). Concerning Gal 2:1 Müßner himself does not understand ἐπείτα this way. He relates it to Gal 1:18.

Striking is that Paul adds a number of years only when he speaks of his visits to Jerusalem (Gal 1:18, 2:1). If Paul was interested in listing all that he had done independently he probably would have mentioned how long he had stayed in Arabia and Syria and Cilicia. He, however, does not want to show for how long he stayed in which place, but instead how long after the commissioning he went up to Jerusalem. It is not his activity, but his independence which is the centre of his argumentation.

433 See Taylor, Antioch, p.51; Murphy-O’Connor, Corinth, p.129; Jewett, Dating, p.30-33; Lüdemann, Heidenapostel, p.20f n.10; Hyldahl, Chronologie, p.17 n.38 and p.123 and p.123 n.21. Aretas died between 38 CE and 40 CE, according to Jewett, Dating, p.30 most probably in 39 CE.

434 Jewett, Dating, p.30

435 According to Lüdemann, Heidenapostel, p.20f n.10 and Hyldahl, Chronologie, p.123 this is the only information we can get from 2 Cor 11:32f.

436 Jewett, Dating, p.30-33.

437 See also Bruce, Galatians, p.95ff.

438 Wedderburn, chronologies, p.105 is surely right in questioning Jewett’s argumentation saying that we do not “know enough about what control, total or partial, the presence of the ethnarch implies to be certain of these [Jewett’s] arguments” and that we cannot be “sure that Luke is correct in connecting Paul’s escape with the first Jerusalem visit.” I see, however, no reason why not to connect Act 9:23ff with 2 Cor 11:32f and Gal 1:17f. The order ‘from Damascus to Jerusalem’ appears in Act 9:23f as well as in Gal 1:17f. On “Nabataean control of Damascus” (Murphy-O’Connor, Galile, p.317 n.8) see Taylor, Ethnarch, p.724: “There is in fact no direct evidence for Nabataean control of Damascus at any point in the period we are considering outside 2 Cor 11, 32-33.” “We are left, therefore, with Paul.” (p.725) And the context of 2 Cor 11, 32-33 strongly suggests that the ethnarch of king Aretas was indeed the Nabataean governor of Damascus.” (p.727)

439 Müßner, Galater, p.93.

440 As does Jewett, Dating, p.52. Jewett also takes ἐπείτα Gal 1:18 as referring to Gal 1:15f and not to Gal 1:17.

441 See Dunn, Galatians, p.72: “The emphatic denial of verse 17 [Gal 1:17]... the fact that two of the ‘then’ conjunctions refer to visits to Jerusalem... the disclaimer of 1:22..., all make it clear that it was his relationship with Jerusalem and the Jerusalem leadership in particular... which was Paul’s primary concern.”
therefore, that Paul went both three years and 14 years after his commissioning up to Jerusalem. Maybe Paul counted in the “ancient method of reckoning time,” counting each fractional year as a full year. Hence his commissioning happened around 35 CE, his first trip to Jerusalem around 37 CE and his second trip around 47/48 CE.

Since, therefore, it is not necessary to split up Act 18:1-17 into two visits to Corinth, and since I have dated this first visit of Paul in Corinth as lasting from 50 CE till 51/52 CE and the Jerusalem Council to 48 CE, Act 18:22 cannot refer to the Jerusalem Council. The independent mission to Greece and Corinth happened, therefore, after the Jerusalem Council.

This view is supported by the accounts of Act 15-18. In Act 15 Paul and Barnabas go up to Jerusalem (cf. Gal 2:1) to discuss the problem of the circumcision of the Gentiles (cf. Gal 2:3). They come to an agreement (cf. Gal 2:9) and go back to Antioch (cf. Gal 2:11). In Antioch there occurs the Antioch Incident (cf. Gal 2:11-14a) which results in the break between Paul and Barnabas (Act 15:36-41). Afterwards Paul goes on his journey to Greece where he visits Galatia (Act 16:6-8, cf. Gal 4:13) and Corinth (Act 18:1-17). According to this view Paul would have had at least two years to travel from the Jerusalem Council to Corinth (48-50 CE). Furthermore it means that the Antioch Incident happened quite soon after the Jerusalem Council.

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442 Jewett, *Dating*, p.53.
443 See Mußner, *Galater*, p.93 and p.101. Since “history, after all, is the area of the unique rather than the average” (Jewett, *Dating*, p.54) one should maybe reckon with a possible 16 to 17 years span from commissioning to Jerusalem Council. But maybe the unique history lasted in this very case actually only 12/13 years. (Against ibid., p.53)
444 See Taylor, *Antioch*, p.51f. Even if Paul did not count the years in the ancient method (see Jewett, *Dating*, p.52-54) this would - since the year 37 CE is a fixed date - shift the year of Paul’s commissioning back to 34 CE and the trip to Jerusalem forward to 48 CE (maybe late 48 CE).
445 Following Knox, *Paul*, e.g. p.68f and p.72f, Lüdemann, *Heidenapostel*, Murphy-O’Connor, *Corinth*, and Jewett, *Dating*, identify Act 18:22 with Gal 2:1ff and thus date Gal 2:1ff after Paul’s first visit to Corinth (see Sellin, *Hauptprobleme*, p.2987; Wedderburn, *Reasons*, p.37f; Watson, *Paul*, p.56f) They, therefore, have to read a lot into the rather dubious remark in Act 18:22 (see Sellin, *Hauptprobleme*, p.2988f; Taylor, *Antioch*, p.53; Wedderburn, *Reasons*, p.37, speaks of a “cryptic reference.”) and to deny “the correlations between Act 15 and Gal 2.1-10.” (Taylor, *Antioch*, p.53) With this also the chronology of Acts has to be entirely changed, separating Act 18:1-17 into two different visits to Corinth (see e.g. Lüdemann, *Heidenapostel*, p. 174-195, esp. 195) and predating Paul’s (independent) mission in Greece/Corinth before his break with Antioch (Lüdemann) or postponing the Jerusalem Council and the Antioch Incident after Paul’s mission in Greece (Murphy-O’Connor and Jewett). But “it is more difficult to explain then Barnabas’ association with Paul in Gal 2.1,9, since Acts seems to imply that they parted company, as a result of a personal disagreement, in Act 15:39-41, before the second missionary journey.” (Wedderburn, *Reasons*, p.37; see also Watson, *Paul*, p.57)
446 For the second visit see 2 Cor 9:1-5.
447 Sellin, *Hauptprobleme*, p.2990, holds that Paul went directly from Corinth to Ephesus in autumn 51 CE, thus omitting Act 18:22 as unhistorical.
448 See ibid., p.2988 and p.2988 n.251.
449 It is a “triple breach - with Jerusalem..., with Barnabas..., and with Antioch.” (Dunn, *Galatians*, p.130)
450 If we date the Council in late 47 CE and the arrival in Corinth in late 50 CE (counting 18 months back from the end of Gallio’s rule in early 52 CE) Paul would have had even more time. Against
To summarise:

I agree with many scholars that Paul was commissioned around 35 CE, that he went up to Jerusalem for the first time after his commissioning around 37 CE and again to the Jerusalem Council in 48 CE. Soon after the Jerusalem Council there occurred the Antioch Incident before Paul left without Barnabas on his trip to Corinth - including Galatia, Philippi, Thessalonica and Athens - where he arrived around 50 CE. Important for us is the fact that I follow Gal 2 in its relative chronology and without a big time span between the Jerusalem Council and the Antioch Incident, and also that the Antioch Incident marked Paul’s break with Barnabas and with Antioch.

This is the chronological context of the agreement concerning the collection which we find in Gal 2:10.

Suhl, Galaterbrief, p.3097 n.122, who reckons with Paul’s arrival in Corinth in 49 CE which would not give Paul enough time from the Jerusalem Council in 48 CE.

See Hill, Hellenists, p.115-117. Vielhauer, Literatur, p.70-81, argues that “die sog. 1. Missionsreise hat nicht vor sondern nach dem Apostelkonvent stattgefunden.” (ibid., p.76) In Gal 1:21 Paul would have mentioned it because he wanted to show that he had “lange Zeit und in großer Ferne völlig unabhängig von Jerusalem gewirkt” (ibid., p.74; see also Suhl, Galaterbrief, p.3087) According to Wedderburn, chronologies, p.104“this is an important point” and “a convincing one.” It should not, however, be ignored that Paul in Gal 1:17-23 does not stress the fact that he was on missionary trips in Arabia, Damascus and Syria and Cilicia (against Vielhauer, Literatur, p.74: “während dieser Jahre hat Paulus missioniert”). The main point is the independence of Jerusalem. Independence of his mind and not of his mission is what Paul aims at in Gal 1 and 2. Furthermore Paul does not stress “die Länge der Zeit seines unabhängigen Wirkens.” (ibid., p.74) Then he would have connected a number of years with his trips to Arabia and Syria/Cilicia. But instead he connected it with his trips to Jerusalem. Here again Paul stresses the fact that he was for many years distant from Jerusalem, but not that he was for many years an active missionary. Finally Paul did not put emphasis on the fact that he acted in “räumlich weit entfernten Gegenden,” (ibid., p.76) but merely that he was removed from Jerusalem. It does not need to be far. In mentioning Arabia, Syria and Cilicia he mentioned the areas surrounding Judea. His stay in Gentile territory next to Judea has also an symbolic meaning in his claim for being sent to the Gentiles. See Hengel, Mission, p.18. Hence I do not think it was necessary for Paul to mention his mission in Pamphylia and Pisidia in Gal 1:21. His independence was sufficiently proven by the fact that he, only for a short time and only after many years, went up to Jerusalem.
4.3. Agreement in Jerusalem: Eschatology

Between his visits to Jerusalem Paul had associated with the church in Antioch where Barnabas seems to have been one of the leaders. In the delegation he is Paul's senior partner.

According to Act 15:1ff Paul and Barnabas were appointed to go up to Jerusalem. Paul himself speaks of an (Gal 2:2). This has to be read in the context of Gal 1:12.16. Paul is dependent on God alone and in Gal 2:2 is not summoned by Jerusalem to account for his work.

That the revelation in Gal 2:2 has to be related to a prophecy of Agabus (Act 11:27-30) could well be the case, “but Paul’s language suggests rather a revelation received by himself.”

As a third member of the delegation they took Titus with them. That Gal 2:1 is “nicht kurz formuliert kai Τίτου, sondern umständlicher συμπαραλαβών και Τίτου“ probably indicates that he is subordinate to Paul and Barnabas.

According to Paul the purpose of the visit was to lay before the Jerusalem leaders the gospel he preaches among the Gentiles (Gal 2:2). Since in questions about circumcision Jerusalem still was the recognised authority - at least for Jewish Christians in Antioch and for the Judaizers - this visit should end the difference.

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453 For the fact that it actually was a delegation as Act 15:1ff reports see Taylor, Antioch, p.96-103, esp. p. 102f; Hengel, Mission, p.18; Dunn, Incident, p.132; Holtz, Apostelkonzil, p.114 and p.120; Georgi, Kollekte, p.16.
454 See Taylor, Antioch, p.102, Holmberg, Paul, p.18, Bruce, Galatians, p.107. See also Act 9:27, 11:25f. Against Georgi, Kollekte, p.14 n.9; Lüdemann, Heidenapostel, p.94; Burton, Galatians, p.69. Both, however, were sent by and had the confidence of the Antioch church. Maybe only the fact that Barnabas was one of the leaders of the Antioch church and that he had a “Mittelstellung” between the “Urgemeinde und dem werdenden Heidenchristentum” (Oepke, Galater, p.73) made him practically senior partner in the delegation. He had “das besondere Vertrauen der Urgemeinde” (Mußner, Galater, p.101) for they knew him very well. See Act 4:36f, 9:27, 11:22f. See also Dunn, Galatians, p.89. However, “Paul says ‘I went up with Barnabas’, rather than ‘Barnabas and I went up’,” (ibid., p.89) “as though Barnabas played no role in the whole matter.” (Ibid., p.94)
455 See Mußner, Galater, p.102; Suhl, Galaterbrief, p.3096.
456 Ibid., p.3096 n.119; Mußner, Galater, p.102 n.11.
457 Bruce, Galatians, p.108. See also Schlier, Galater, p.35.
459 “Ἀνατέθεσα τινι τι tells us nothing about the relative status of the parties involved.” Dunn, Relationship, p.466. It merely means submitting something for consideration and opinion and not submitting to the authority of Jerusalem. See also Dunn, Galatians, p.91f; Fung, Galatians, p.86; Burton, Galatians, p.71; Mußner, Galater, p.102. Against Holtz, Apostelkonzil, p.121; Schlier, Galater, p.35.
of opinion 460 between Antioch and the "unauthorised but influential visitors from Jerusalem." 461

Paul, therefore, on the one hand, stresses that he was only asking for Jerusalem's opinion without being subordinate to their authority. By adding why he laid the gospel before them (μή πως εἰς κενῶν τρέξω ἢ ἔδραμον, Gal 2:2) he shows, however, on the other hand, that "the judgement of the Jerusalem church mattered" 462 to him.

There are mainly three possibilities in which to translate the phrase μή πως εἰς κενῶν τρέξω ἢ ἔδραμον: final, as an indirect question or as an expression of fear. 463 Because of the past tense indicative ἔδραμον I reject with the majority of scholars a translation in a final sense. 464 I do not think that Paul formulates an indirect question either. 465 Taking it as such the following ἄλλα is irritating: ἄλλα can only mean that the fact that Titus was not compelled to be circumcised runs contrary to the fear that he could have been compelled. 466 I, therefore, favour the third possibility: μή πως introduces an expression of fear. 467 Hence Paul attributes at least some authority to the Jerusalem leaders. He argues for independence as well as recognition of his gospel from the Jerusalem church. 468

"His gospel made claims regarding its continuity with Israel's promise and hope." 469 He preached the gospel of the inclusion of the Gentiles into the people of God. 470 But without the Jewish Christians' approval of this gospel his work - the inclusion of the Gentiles into God's people - would be ineffective because the Gentile church would be separated from the Jewish church. 471 Paul feared for unity. The unity

460 Γενομένης δὲ στάσεως καὶ ζητήσεως οὐκ ἠλίγης, Act 15:2.
461 Hill, Hellenists, p.117. "There is no evidence that the Jerusalem apostles authorised this opposition to the mission to the Gentiles." (ibid., p.117 n.52)
462 Dunn, Relationship, p.467.
463 See Oepke, Galater, p.74; Burton, Galatians, p.72ff.
464 See ibid., p.74; Mußner, Galater, p.102; Oepke, Galater, p.74; Schlier, Galater, p.36; Holtz, Apostelkonzil, p.121f n.5; Dunn, Relationship, p.467.
465 Against Mußner, Galater, p.102f; Oepke, Galater, p.74; Georgi, Kollekte, p.18.
466 "The Jerusalem apostles had tried to persuade Paul to accede to the demand [to circumcise Titus], but did not insist; they were sympathetic to the demand, but... did not press the point." (Dunn, Galatians, p.96)
467 This is the usage in Gal 4:11 (φθορά... μή πως εἰς κεκολαμένα εἰς υἱόν) and 1 Thess 3:5 (ἐπεκείμενον... μή πως ἐπειράσεως), as well. See Schlier, Galater, p.36. And also Dunn, Galatians, p.93: "genuine anxiety is expressed here." Against Oepke, Galater, p.74. See also 2 Cor 12:20: φθορά... μή πως... ὕπατο τοιοῦτον...
468 Holmberg, Paul, p.15, speaks of a "dialectic between being independent of and being acknowledged by Jerusalem" as "the keynote of this important text." See also Dunn, Galatians, p.69.
469 Ibid., p.94
470 See Dunn, Relationship, p.468: Paul "had been preaching that acceptance of the good news of Jesus Christ without circumcision brought Gentiles into the people of God, made them heirs of God's promise to Abraham together with believing Jews."
471 See Dunn, Galatians, p.94.
not of ‘the’ church⁴⁷² but of God’s renewed people, the Jewish believers and Paul’s Gentile converts, was at stake if the Jerusalem leaders disagreed with Antioch’s circumcision-free gospel and thus agreed with the Judaizers.

The Judaizers’ challenge to the circumcision-free gospel of the Antioch church (Act 15:1 ἐὰν μὴ περιτμηθῆτε τῷ ἐβελ ὁ ὕψιστος ὁ θεὸς ὑψηλότερος, οὐ δύνασθε σωθῆναι), the question “ob die Beschneidung aller Glieder der Gemeinde... heilsnotwendig ist”⁴⁷³ is the cause of the dissent in Antioch and it is also the issue at the Jerusalem Council.⁴⁷⁴

The question was: how can Gentiles be included into the people of God,⁴⁷⁵ how can they belong to the covenant? And since - especially during the Maccabean period - circumcision became “the mark of the covenant people for most people of Paul’s time”⁴⁷⁶ and a “fundamental principle”⁴⁷⁷ of Judaism some Jewish Christians like the Judaizers held that Gentiles had to be circumcised to belong to the covenant people.⁴⁷⁸

The Jerusalem leaders, however, recognised Paul’s apostleship and gospel. Concerning his law-free gospel to the Gentiles⁴⁷⁹ they did not lay anything upon Paul and recognised that he worked for the same gospel as Peter and the Jerusalem church.⁴⁸⁰ “They could not question the source of Paul’s success without questioning also Peter’s.”⁴⁸¹ This agreement (κοινωνία, Gal 2:9) included the division of labour: the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem and especially Peter should go to the Jews (ἐν οἷς περιτομή) and Paul and the Antioch church should continue with his work among the Gentiles (τὰ ἔθνη / ἢ ἀκροβυστία).

Since Jerusalem, thus, at the Jerusalem Council agreed with Paul’s concept of the Gentiles and disagreed with the Judaizers’ concept, but vice versa at the Antioch Incident, we will have a closer look at Jewish concepts of the Gentiles.

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⁴⁷² See Dunn, Relationship, p.476 n.32, saying that it is not certain “that Paul at this stage had a concept of ‘the (world-wide) church’ (singular).”
⁴⁷³ Holtz, Apostelkonzil, p.115.
⁴⁷⁴ This shows already the fact that Titus is mentioned in Gal 2:1.3. See ibid., p.118. However, I do not think that the ἐρωτεύεσθαι in Gal 2:4f are the Judaizers from Act 15:1f. The issue of the Judaizers is Gentile observance, the issue of the false brethren is Jewish observance (τὴν ἐλεοθερίαν ἡμῶν). Against e.g. Taylor, Antioch, p.99; Dunn, Relationship, p.471. See §4.4..
⁴⁷⁵ See Dunn, Incident, p.131.
⁴⁷⁶ Dunn, Issue, p.305. (Emphasis by Dunn)
⁴⁷⁷ Taylor, Antioch, p.100.
⁴⁷⁸ “Such a Gentile, though a special sort of Jew (that is, a proselyte), would already ‘count’ as a Jew.” (Frederiksen, Judaism, p.545)
⁴⁷⁹ See Dunn, Relationship, p.469; Oepke, Galater, p.79; Burton, Galatians, p.89-91.
⁴⁸⁰ “We should not underestimate how astonishing a decision was here made: that Jews, leaders of a movement focused on Messiah Jesus, should agree in considered and formal terms that circumcision need no longer be required of Gentiles wishing to be counted full members of what was still a sect of second-Temple Judaism.” (Dunn, Galatians, p.104)
⁴⁸¹ Ibid., p.106.
In the Judaism of Paul’s time there were basically four different categories of Gentiles which defined Gentiles in their relationship to the people of God. 482

a) the idolater,
b) the convert, the proselyte, the Jew,
c) the pagan resident, the ‘alien-resident’ living in Palestine,
d) the ‘God-fearer’ 483, the adherent to the synagogue in the Diaspora.

All four concepts have an eschatological as well as a day to day, quotidian aspect. 484

There is a) the “fornicating idolater.” 485 This Gentile has no positive relation to the Jews at all. “By definition a Gentile was an idolater.” 486 The Gentiles are ἄνομοι because their life is not regulated by the Torah, and thus they are ἀμάρτωλοι. 487 Hence for an observant Jew social intercourse with such Gentiles was impossible. 488

Concerning the eschatological kingdom of God the role of such Gentiles was depicted either “in negative terms: judgement by Yahweh and servitude to Israel” 489 or in positive terms: they will “worship and eat together with Israel” 490 and thus “participate in Israel’s redemption.” 491 However, it will be a moral conversion from the idols to Israel’s God and not a halakhic conversion from Gentile to Jew. They will be saved as Gentiles, and that means not converted. 492

482 For these following see Frederiksen, Judaism, esp. p.534f and p.540ff; and Dunn, Incident, p.143ff; Dunn, Galatians, p.119f. But also Sanders, PPJ, p.206-212; Sanders, Jl, p. 212-221; Segal, Convert, p.187-218. Using these four categories is not to assume “that all... [Jewish] jurisdictions would necessarily have reached identical conclusions in every case.” (Cohen, Boundary, p.14) With Cohen “I freely admit that the paucity of evidence, and the frequent obscurity of the meager evidence that does exist, give a tentative character to my analysis; my... categories are chiefly of heuristic value.” (Ibid.) See also Sanders, Association, p.170-188, who shows that “the real-life situation was more diverse.” (Dunn, Galatians, p.119)

483 I take the definition of “God-fearers as accepting whatever parts of Judaism they like without giving up paganism.” (Sanders, Association, p.188 n.31)

484 See Frederiksen, Judaism, p.534 and p.544. See also Sanders, Jl, p.216 and p.216 n.28.

485 Frederiksen, Judaism, p.540.

486 Dunn, Incident, p.142. See also Strack/Billerbeck, Synagoge, p.354.

487 See Mußter, Galater, p.168; Rengstorff, ἀμάρτωλος, p.325f. See also Gal 2:15 and Frederiksen, Judaism, p.534.

488 See Strack/Billerbeck, Synagoge, p.374-378; Dunn, Incident, p.142.

489 Donaldson, Curse, p.99. See also Frederiksen, Judaism, p.544f.

490 Ibid., p.548. See also Sanders, Jl, p.217.

491 Frederiksen, Judaism, p.544f.

492 See ibid., p.547, saying that this point so far as she can see “has been universally missed.”
The other extreme is b) the proselyte. This Gentile was “no longer a Gentile, but a Jew.” 493 He “had certain disabilities,” 494 but “came within the same limits of table-fellowship that applied to the native born Jew.” 495

As a converted Gentile he entered the kingdom of God like any other Jew. He already is a full member of the community of the people of God. “The covenantal soteriology... covers both native-born Israelites and proselytes.” 496

Somewhere in between we find the two other categories of Gentiles. These Gentiles are concerning the quotidian situation neither fully integrated nor fully excluded, and from the eschatological aspect their status reflects what seems to have been “the common Jewish view: in the last days the Gentiles can be admitted to the kingdom on some condition or other.” 497

On the one hand there are c) the ‘alien-residents’. In the Rabbinic discussion about the question “whether or not... it is possible for Gentiles who do not become proselytes to be righteous” 498 arises “discussion of the Noachian commandments.” 499 To keep at least these Noachide commandments when living among Israel is “what was expected of Gentiles.” 500 When Gentiles keep these commandments they are righteous and “will share in the world to come.” 501 Table-fellowship with such Gentiles, who thus have a halakhic status, seems to have been possible for the observant Jew.
On the other hand there are d) the ‘God-fearers’. 502

In distinction from the typical ‘alien-resident’ who lives in Israel under Jewish legislation the ‘God-fearer’ is to be found mainly in the Jewish Diaspora. 503 “These Gentiles were free to observe as much or little of Jewish custom as they choose.” 504 “Halakhically, they are literally anomalous.” 505

Surely we should not over categorise. There is a wide range of opinions about both the ‘God-fearers’ and the ‘alien-residents’. 506 However, it seems to me that “the attitude of the Palestine Jew was stricter than that of the Diaspora Jew on the question of how far a Gentile had to go to be acceptable.” 507 Hence ‘God-fearer-status’ presumably is a typical status for Gentiles living in Jewish Diaspora, whereas the ‘alien-resident-status’ is mainly applied to the non-Jews living in Israel. 508

In the light of these four categories I understand Gal 2:11ff thus that certain people from Judea came to Antioch saying that the Gentiles must become Jews to enter the kingdom of God. This occasioned the Jerusalem Council. And thus the Jerusalem Council was concerned with the status of the Gentiles in respect to their eschatological salvation. Jerusalem agreed with the Antioch church and Paul that the Gentiles will be saved as Gentiles. They do not have to become Jews to enter the eschatological people of God.

At the Jerusalem Council, therefore, the issues were Judaizing, the Gentiles and eschatology.

502 I mainly follow Frederiksen, Judaism, in her point concerning the ‘God-fearers’.
503 See Dunn, Incident, p.145, and Callan, Decree, p.293: “In the diaspora, where the Jews themselves were the resident aliens, the resident alien with respect to Israel would be the Gentile who was drawn to Judaism, but not strongly enough to convert completely. Such Gentile adherents of the synagogue are often called God-fearers.”
504 Frederiksen, Judaism, p.548. Also Callan, Decree, p.294: These ‘God-fearers’ “may have differed considerably in the extent to which they kept the Jewish law and to which they entered into the life of the Jewish people.”
505 Ibid., p.542.
506 See Dunn, Incident, p.147.
507 Ibid., p.147.
508 See e.g. Josephus, War, 2.463, who refers to Gentiles in Antioch who were ‘mixed up’ with Jews (καὶ μεταβαίνων ὦς βεβαιός ἀλλάξουν ἐκκαθέτοι), “where the verb elsewhere denotes social intercourse including guest friendship.” (Dunn, Galatians, p.121)
4.4. Disagreement in Antioch: Day to day Situation

At the Antioch Incident the other aspect of the question had to be clarified: 'Gentilizing', Jews, the day to day situation. 509

"Paul did not startle the Jewish Christian community by saying that circumcision was unnecessary for gentile salvation." 510 This was agreed upon at the Jerusalem Council. "His claim that the saved Jews and gentiles could form a single new community and freely interact was more innovative." 511 "The issue is not circumcision but purity." 512 "The lack of specifically Jewish customs was appropriate for a group of gentile Christians living alone, but it became a problem for the unified group of faith, made up of both Jews and Gentiles." 513

Antioch was the biggest city in Syria 514 and the "third largest city in the Empire." 515 Quite a lot of Jews were living there. 516 "They grew in numbers... and

509 See Hill, Hellenists, p.109: "The issue in Antioch, unlike that at the Jerusalem conference, was not Gentile but Jewish obedience." (Emphasis by Hill) "The latter [the Jerusalem Council] had to do with gentile entrance, while the former [the Antioch Incident] was concerned with Jewish obedience." "The risk [in Antioch] was that of 'Gentilizing,'" (ibid., p.116) This is one of Hill's main points concerning Gal 2:1-10 and 2:11-14a, and I think it is a good one. The issues of Gentile entrance versus Jewish obedience at the Jerusalem Council and the Antioch Incident "are often confused, but they are very different issues." (ibid., p.116) It is Paul's distinct argument that "by attempting to preserve the integrity of the Jewish Christians as Jews, Cephas destroys the integrity of the Gentile Christians as believers in Christ." (Betz, Galatians, p.112) See also Segal, Convert, p.194; Münzer, Galater, p.134; Dunn, Incident, p.155.

510 Segal, Convert, p.194.
511 Ibid., p.194.
512 Betz, Galatians, p.104. At issue between Peter, Paul, and James was "the general question of association between Jews and Gentiles." (Sanders, Association, p.172)

513 Segal, Convert, p.201. At this point I will refer to the ψευδαπελελοί (Gal 2:4). Paul inserted into his account of the Jerusalem Council Gal 2:1-3 and 2:6-10 a reference to ψευδαπελελοί, and it is not clear whether they are the ones that caused the dissent in Antioch or whether they were brought in at the Jerusalem Council. (See e.g. Watson, Paul, p.50ff; Georgi, Kollekte, p.15f; Münzer, Galater, p.107ff) Striking, now, is the fact that in Gal 2:4 as well as in Gal 2:14 ἡ δικήσεα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου was at stake: Peter's obedience to the law was against the δικήσεα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου. In Gal 2:4 Paul says that it was against the δικήσεα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου that the false brethren spied upon the freedom ἡμῶν. Since Paul refers to the Galatians with ὑμᾶς (2:6), ἡμῶν can only refer to Paul and Barnabas. (Contrast Dunn, Galatians, p.101) Hence the false brethren tried to bring them - as Jews - under the law. Thus the issue in Gal 2:4-5 was the same as the one in Gal 2:11-14a: Jewish observance. And the fact that it is inserted into a context which revolves around a different issue explains sufficiently the awkwardness of the whole sentence. And we must remember also that the issue of Jewish observance was not the official issue at the Jerusalem Council. Only because at the Jerusalem Council nothing was decided in that matter the Antioch Incident could have happened. Hence it can hardly be the case that "Gal. 2:4-5 refers to controversies in the church at Antioch prior to the Jerusalem conference." (Watson, Paul., p.51) This would have anticipated the Antioch Incident, which, then, hardly could have happened.

514 See Josephus, Ant., 16.148: Ἀντιοχεία δὲ τοῦ Ἐν Συρίᾳ μεγίστην πόλιν ὁλοκληρώθη,.... See Dunn, Galatians, p.79.
515 Dunn, Incident, p.135.
516 See Josephus, War, 7.43: Τὸ γὰρ ἱουδαϊκόν... ἕξωριθμον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἦν πόλι. See also Bauer, Wörterbuch, col.149; Dunn, Incident, p.135 and p.165 n.34.
were constantly attracting to their religious ceremonies multitudes of the Greeks, and these they had in some measure incorporated with themselves." 517 Hence we can reckon with "a broad range of social intercourse between faithful Jew and God-fearing Gentile." 518 And since "in the violence which marked relations between Jews and non-Jews in Syria in AD 66, Antioch was one of only three cities which spared their Jewish inhabitants," 519 we may assume that the broad majority of the Jews living in Antioch did not very strongly hold to their national identity so that the Greek community did not perceive them as a threat. Hence I think that there was a considerable freedom concerning the Jewish law among the Jews 520 in Antioch, and also for the Gentiles, who adhered to the synagogue.

Since, however, "reflection tended to follow experience" 521 the Antioch Incident happened at a stage when the Gentiles’ acceptance of the Messiah had already been experienced to a high degree, whereas reflection on what this new experience meant for the ‘old’ customs of Judaism had not yet started. Eschatological expectation conflicted with day to day situation.

Against this background we can describe the situation in Antioch thus that the Jewish Christians including Peter and the Gentile Christians who observed the Jewish customs in all sorts of varying degrees ate together in Antioch (2:12). The people from James, however, could not accept this behaviour and demanded instead the separation of the Jews from the Gentiles within the community. In Jerusalem they were used to a well defined degree of law-observance of the Gentiles which allowed the Jews to have social intercourse with them. For the people from James “the Jerusalem agreement required a Jewish believer to continue practising as a Jew.” 522 But this attitude Paul could not accept. The unity of Jews and Gentiles, the unity of the people of God, was at stake. For Paul the integrity of Jewish Christians as observant Jews was opposed to the integrity of Gentile Christians as believers in Christ within a mixed community. 523 He wanted to include the ‘God-fearers’ in the community as full members. For him the ‘God-fearers’ had the same status as the Gentiles living like the ‘alien-residents’.

517 Dunn, Incident, p.146. See Josephus, War, 7.45: the Jews of Antioch εἷς τε πλῆθος ἔπεδωκαν... ὅτι τε προσαγόμενοι ταῖς ἤθοις πολὺ πλῆθος Ἐλλήνων, κακείνους τρόπω τινὶ μᾶραν αὐτῶν περιόρισαν.
518 Dunn, Incident, p.147, and Callan, Decree, p.294.
519 Dunn, Incident, p.169 n.83.
520 Κατασκοπήσας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν, Gal 2:4.
521 Hill, Hellenists, p.138.
522 Dunn, Galatians, p.125.
523 See Hill, Hellenists, p.142.
Jerusalem, however, could accept social intercourse and thus inclusion only under the precondition of something like the Noachian commandments.

To summarise: concerning the eschatological inclusion of the Gentiles it was agreed that they would be saved as believing Gentiles without circumcision. This applied to Gentiles living as 'alien-residents' in Israel as well as to Gentiles living as 'God-fearers' in the Jewish Diaspora.

Concerning the day to day situation in a mixed congregation, however, Jerusalem expected 'alien-resident-status' of the Gentiles, 524 whereas Paul accepted 'God-fearer-status' as a sufficient precondition for social intercourse between Jews and Gentiles. 525 "Where Paul saw the agreement safeguarding the rights of Gentile believers, James may have seen it equally as safeguarding the rights of Jewish believers to continue living as Jews." 526 There were "a number of misunderstandings among the parties to the agreement, or differences in interpretation." 527

524 See Wedderburn, Reasons, p.38.
525 Paul "was breaking down a ritual boundary in Christianity, not a boundary between saved and unsaved." (Segal, Convert, p.202) See also Berger, Almosen, p.203, saying that for Paul the Gentile Christians had "ohne jeden Zweifel volle Mitgliedschaft."
526 Dunn, Galatians, p.122.
527 Ibid.. Hence, I do not think that the collection arrangement was a 'unavoidable compromise' for Paul "if agreement on his primary objective was to be achieved." (Ibid., p.113)
4.5. Gal 2:10

Since at the Jerusalem Council Paul and the Jerusalem leaders seem to have had different understandings of the status of the Gentiles within Jewish Christianity, for our investigation we have to take into consideration that they could have had a different understanding also of the collection agreement (Gal 2:10).

When Paul wrote the letter to the Galatians he had already broken with Jerusalem, Antioch and Barnabas, with whom he had agreed upon the collection. Hence we cannot take it for granted that Paul’s understanding of the collection has not developed since that time. However, on the third missionary trip Paul was concerned with the collection as indicated in 2 Cor 8 and 2 Cor 9. Gal 2:10, therefore, is more than just a reference to an agreement between Antioch and Jerusalem. But also a reference to Paul’s collection among his churches. Hence being aware of the fact that the connections between the collection mentioned in Gal 2:10 and the collection mentioned in the other Pauline letters are probably “as tenuous as Paul’s past links with the church of Antioch during the period subsequent to the Antioch incident” we have “to consider the obligation to remember the πωχοί in its own right.”

In Gal 2:9b-10a Paul reports the outcome of the Jerusalem Council: the Jerusalem leaders gave the right hand of fellowship to Paul and Barnabas (δεξιάς ἐδωκαν ἐμοὶ καὶ Βαρναβᾶ κοινωνίας, Gal 2:9). Since Paul argues two different points in Gal 1-2 - that he is independent from but recognised by Jerusalem - it is not clear whether δεξιάς διδόναι κοινωνίας implies superiority of Jerusalem or equality of Jerusalem and Antioch. This ambiguity probably reflects Paul’s relationship to Jerusalem at the time when writing the letter to the Galatians. The insertion in Gal 2:6b: ὅτι οποῖοι ποτὲ ἠσαν οὐδὲν μιᾷ διάφερεν πρόσωπον [ὁ] θεὸς ἀνθρώπων οὐ λαμβάνει shows that Paul at the time of the Jerusalem Council acknowledged the authority of James, Cephas and

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528 See §4.3. and §4.4..
529 See Wedderburn, Reasons, p.39.
530 If the Galatians were already instructed about the collection - when dating 1 Cor 16:1-4 before the letter to the Galatians - they would have read Gal 2:10 in this wider context as well. See §4.5.1..
531 Taylor, Antioch, p.116.
532 Ibid., p.116. One presupposition is, however, evident and shared by most scholars: Gal 2:10 refers to a collection of money. This is not explicitly stated in Gal 2:10. But the writing of the letter near to 2 Cor 8 and 2 Cor 9 and, thus, also in the context of Rm 15 suggests that the ‘poor’ in Gal 2:10 and the ‘poor among the saints’ in Rm 15:26 are the same group of people. See Ibid., p.117; Hurtado, Collection, p.50.
533 That it is a “Zeichen der Unterwerfung” of Jerusalem can be excluded. (See Schlier, Galater, p.45)
534 See Taylor, Antioch, p.22, referring to Dunn, Relationship, and Dunn, Incident.
John more than he does when writing the letter to the Galatians. Only at the Antioch Incident, then, did Paul change his attitude towards Jerusalem’s authority - and they probably changed their attitude towards Paul. However, the Antioch Incident shows that a recognition of the Jerusalem authorities at the time of the Jerusalem Council does not necessarily mean that Paul was subject to their decision. The agreement (δεξιαὶ κοινωνίας) was one between churches and not individuals.

Δεξιαὶ διδόναι is “Zeichen eines friedlichen Vertrages.” However, it is not clear whether ἵνα in Gal 9b introduces the content of the agreement or perhaps simply the result of the Jerusalem Council, whether both Gal 2:9b and Gal 2:10a are the content of the agreement or only verse 9b, and whether the text is a literal rendering of the contract, a summary including key words, or Paul’s own free formulation.

The issue at the Jerusalem Council was the theological - ‘theoretical’ - question whether Gentile Christians who have experienced God’s spirit need also to be circumcised and the ‘practical’ question whether Antioch can continue with its practice of admitting uncircumcised Gentile Christians to their community. Since Jerusalem recognised Antioch’s ‘Gentile-gospel,’ the division of the mission into ἐθνικός and περιτομη is to be regarded as a direct outcome of this recognition and, therefore, as part of the agreement. What was already practised was officially agreed upon: the work for the same gospel, on the one hand, and the division into εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας and εὐαγγέλιον τῆς περιτομῆς, on the other hand.

It is, therefore, likely that Antioch acknowledged a special status of Jerusalem as the authority in matters of circumcision, which is the reason for sending a delegation to Jerusalem. But at the time of the Jerusalem Council Jerusalem did not exercise its authority. This would happen later at the Antioch Incident, where Jerusalem’s authority

535 See the change from past tense: ποιεῖ ἔδωκεν to present tense: διάφερε. See also Dunn, Relationship, p.470 and p.477 n.48; Dunn, Theology, p.126.
536 See Taylor, Antioch, p.88 and p.109; Georgi, Kollekte, p.21; Mußner, Galater, p.121.
537 Schlier, Galater, p.45. See also Dunn, Galatians, p.110.
538 “‘ἵνα επεξετευκία.” (Mußner, Galater, p.122)
539 “‘ἵνα finale.” (Ibid., p.122)
540 “Wortlaut des Vertrages.” (Georgi, Kollekte, p.21)
541 “Wiedergabe seines wesentlichen Inhalts.” (Ibid., p.21)
542 “Aktualisierende Anspielung.” (Ibid., p.21)
543 See Act 15:5.8f.
544 See Dunn, Galatians, p.110. There is, however, no indication that Jerusalem already before the Jerusalem Council acted as the authority which issued instructions to Antioch. Against Taylor, Antioch, p.109, saying that “the conference reaffirmed the κοινωνία between two churches.” The κοινωνία was established at the Jerusalem Council.
concerned the conduct of Jews. But this was not in view at the Jerusalem Council. The κοινωνία was a mutual agreement "ohne den Nebengedanken der Überlegenheit dessen, der die Hand reicht." 545 Jerusalem and Antioch were partners.

But what does the division of the mission into εθνη and περιτομή mean? Is it a ethnic, or a geographic division? Or does it reflect attitudes towards the law? 546

I think to pose the question as an either-or of these three aspects is misleading. 547 From a Jewish point of view all three aspects are closely connected. Going to the Gentiles (ethnic) means to go into Gentile territory (geographical) and to preach their inclusion apart from the works of the law (attitude towards the law). 548 Since the issue at the Jerusalem Council was circumcision of the Gentiles, and not circumcision of Jews and Gentiles, being sent to the Gentiles means to go to the people whom the law-free gospel in the first instance concerns. 549 Only at the Antioch Incident did Jerusalem realise that this eschatological idealistic view has to be adjusted to the day to day situation of mixed congregations.

With this division into two idealistically distinct areas Jerusalem did not exercise its authority, but merely recognised the gospel for the Gentiles as true gospel and set the seal on this fellowship in Christ by giving the right hand of fellowship. 550

This means that it is unlikely that Gal 2:10, μόνον τῶν πτώχων ἵνα μημονεύσωμεν, should be seen as an obligation imposed upon Antioch. 551

Hence already at this stage of the investigation we can exclude the possibility of understanding the collection in terms of the Temple tax. Nickle 552 enumerates eight points in support of this view. 553 He also enumerates six points where Paul’s concept

545 Schlier, Galater, p.45.
546 For the following see Dunn, Galatians, p.110ff; Taylor, Antioch, p.115; Berger, Almosen, p.197 n.71 and p.198 n.73; Mußner, Galater, p.123; Munck, Salvation, p.119; Schlier, Galater, p.46; Georgi, Kollekte, p.21f.
547 Against e.g. Berger, Almosen, p.197 n.71 and p.198 n.73; Taylor, Antioch, p.115.
548 See Burton, Galatians, p.97ff. Burton, however, rejects that Paul could have accepted a gospel for the circumcision (p.91f), and concludes that it is mainly a geographical division (p.98). See also Munck, Salvation, p.119.
549 Dunn, Galatians, p.110, speaks of a “division of responsibility” in contrast to a division of missionary responsibility. However, although this understanding makes good sense of James’ role in the Antioch Incident, I think that the main point is the division of mission. In Jerusalem the eschatological status of the Gentiles was debated. And this issue primarily the missionary praxis.
550 "Die Gemeinschaft (κοινωνία) könnte nach Art eines Freundschaftsverhältnisses gedacht sein." (Berger, Almosen, p.198)
551 See also Dunn, Relationship, p.470.
552 Nickle, Collection, p.74-93, esp. p.87-93.
553 "The parallels between the half-shekel Temple tax and the collection gathered by Paul for the Jerusalem community are too numerous to have been coincidental." (Ibid., p.87)
differed from the Temple tax: the collection is not for sacrifices at the Temple, but for the poor in the church; Paul does not explicitly refer to the institution of the Temple tax, but has different explanations; the collection did not follow the highly organised procedure of the Temple tax collection; the Temple tax was annual; Paul accepted any amount of money; the tax was compulsory and not voluntary. 555

I think that these ‘variations’ on the Temple tax mean that it can hardly be called a Temple tax anymore. 556 Moreover, the Temple tax is not the only matter to which one can relate Nickle’s parallels to the Temple tax. Unity is established by the institution of almsgiving as well; the men appointed to accompany the fund fit into the concept of the offering of the Gentiles in the context of the pilgrimage of the Gentiles as well; “central reception areas” are merely the easiest way of collecting money (if Paul had such points at all); Jerusalem was not just the centre and recipient of the Temple tax, but also the recipient and centre of almsgiving and the pilgrimage of the Gentiles to Zion. 561

Hence the collection is not a Temple tax, nor an obligation.

 proposé (Gal 2:10) refers back to oδην προσανεθυντο (Gal 2:6). The Jerusalem leaders only asked that the poor should be remembered. They initiated the idea of the collection and Paul accepted it. And since it was not imposed it seems to be “supplementary rather than integral to the agreement.” However, Keck is probably right in saying that in any case decisive “is the fact that Paul does not in any way

554 See Ibid., p.90-93.
555 Additionally to these six points point two of his supporting arguments should be subsumed under this category. “Paul should have chosen the Feast of the Tabernacles as the date of the delivery of his collection” instead of Pentecost (see Act 20:16) (Ibid., p.87f). And that Paul used “the protection provided under special concessions granted to Judaism by the Roman Government” is a mere hypothesis.
556 Thus also Barrett, Corinthians, p.26.
557 See Nickle, Collection, p.89.
558 Ibid., p.88.
559 Ibid., p.88.
560 See Ibid., p.87.
561 See also Oepke, Galater, p.85; Munck, Salvation, p.287ff; Schlier, Galater, p.46; Mußner, Galater, p.126 and p.126 n.129. The fact that all had to pay the Temple tax and thus not just the Gentile Christians (see Ibid., p.126 n.129) is, however, not an argument against an understanding of the collection as Temple tax because it is nowhere said that the Jewish Christians did not pay any money; Keck, Poor 1, p.123f; Berger, Almosen, p.181, p.181 n.6 and p.199; Betz, Galatians, p.103. Against Georgi, Kollekte, p.29f; Holl, Kirchenbegriff, p.62. Against Betz I do not, however, think that the collection “was felt to be a new venture without analogies.” (Betz, Galatians, p.103) See Berger, Exegese, p.237: “Sollte man nicht häufiger mit Anlehnung an bestehende Institutionen und Modelle rechnen?” (Emphasis by Berger)
562 "Das an der Spitze stehende υдвиν schränkt nicht nachträglich das οδην προσανεθυντο V 6 wieder ein.“ (Mußner, Galater, p.124) Against Lietzmann, Galater, p.13.
564 Keck, The Poor 1, p.123f.
regard it as undermining the statement in v.6." Paul himself did not regard it as an obligation.\(^{565}\) And the Jerusalem leaders did not seem to have regarded it as an obligation, a condition without which the contract is invalid, either.\(^{566}\)

Hence Gal 2:9b gives the content of the agreement with 2:10a as a supplementary - though official - arrangement.

The formulation in Gal 2:9b-10a probably uses key words of this agreement and arrangement.\(^{567}\) Because of ἡμεῖς and αὐτός (2:9) and μεμονωθέωμεν (2:10) it can hardly be a quotation.\(^{568}\) Also the fact that the formulation is "kurz und unpräzis"\(^{569}\) is an argument against a full quotation. The fact that a verb is missing is also an argument for the fact that Paul did not freely formulate this phrase. If so he could have used a verb in the first person plural, saying that 'we,' ‘Jerusalem and I’ mutually agreed upon the collection. But instead he adds that he was eager to collect the money.

Hence Paul seems to be free enough not to have to quote exactly, but sufficiently bound to some key words or phrases to have been prevented from formulating totally new phrases. These key words probably include ἔθη (ἀκροβυστία) / περιτομή, οἱ πτωχοὶ and maybe μεμονωθέωμεν.

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\(^{565}\) See Dunn, *Galatians*, p.113.

\(^{566}\) See §4.5.3.

\(^{567}\) See Georgi, *Kollekte*, p.21, who, however, takes Gal 2:10a as part of the “Abkommen” as well.

\(^{568}\) See Mußner, *Galater*, p.123 n.120.

\(^{569}\) Georgi, *Kollekte*, p.21.
Before we finally ask for the historical, institutional and theological background of ‘remembering the poor,’ we shall ask how the Galatians perceived this passage. For this purpose we have to consider the chronological order of 1 Cor 16:1 and Gal 2:10.

Since the instruction of the Galatians (1 Cor 16:1) has probably happened during a visit we have to put the elements visit/instruction, 1 Cor 16:1 and Gal 2:10 into a chronological order. And since the visit must have taken place before 1 Cor 16:1 was written there are three possibilities to arrange these elements: a) Gal – visit/instruction – 1 Cor 16, implying that in 1 Cor 16 Paul does not refer to problems in Galatia because the problems had been solved in the meantime;\(^\text{570}\) b) visit/instruction – 1 Cor 16 – Gal, implying that the problems had not yet arisen;\(^\text{571}\) c) visit/instruction – Gal – 1 Cor 16, indicating that Paul never speaks about troubles with other churches.\(^\text{572}\)

Decisive is the question whether we have in Gal 2:10 an explicit reference to a present collection or not.\(^\text{573}\) The vague formulation of Gal 2:10, then, shows either that the Galatians could not yet have been instructed, or that the Galatians knew precisely about the collection so that an allusion to it was sufficient.\(^\text{574}\) Hence it can be argued both ways: the letter to the Galatians was written before or after instructions were given and 1 Cor was written. Nevertheless model b) sounds more plausible to me: Gal 2:10 is an allusion to the collection. The Galatians were already informed about it. Paul, then, avoids the possible charge that the collection shows his dependence on Jerusalem\(^\text{575}\) by adding that he was eager to collect the money. However, he “does not seem too concerned to deny such impressions.”\(^\text{576}\)

\(^\text{570}\) See Watson, \textit{Paul}, p.56ff and p.174: Gal was written in Corinth (Act 18:1), the visit is that from Act 18:23, and 1 Cor was written in Ephesus; Georgi, \textit{Kollekte}, p.30ff and p.37 n.119: Gal was written in Ephesus, then instructions were given; Wedderburn, \textit{Reasons}, p.30 and p.37.

\(^\text{571}\) See Mußner, \textit{Galater}, p.9ff and p.124f n.125: the instructions are given through letters or delegates, 1Cor is written in Ephesus and Gal probably in Macedonia; Suhl, \textit{Galaterbrief}, p.3073-3080: the visit is that of Act 18:23 and Gal 5:7, 1 Cor is written in Ephesus as is Gal; Lüdemann, \textit{Heidenapostel}, p.149: the instructions are given from Ephesus.

\(^\text{572}\) See Wedderburn, \textit{Reasons}, p.146 n.21.


\(^\text{574}\) Hurtado, \textit{Collection}, p.52, even speaks of a “carefully-worded reference to the Jerusalem collection in Gal 2:10.”


\(^\text{576}\) Dunn, \textit{Relationship}, p.470.
Since Paul probably did not give first instructions about the collection through delegates or letters, the most plausible date for the instruction of the Galatians is Paul's second visit to Galatia (Act 18:23). Subsequently to this visit Paul went to Ephesus where he wrote 1 Cor 16:1. In 1 Cor 16:1 no problems with the Galatians are reflected because at that time Paul did not know of any troubles in Galatia.

The letter to the Galatians is, then, written in Ephesus, or already in Macedonia. Thus the collection might have been “in vollem Gange” until, one year after Paul's visit, the opponents came to Galatia. Paul could, then, have heard of their agitation one and a half years after his arrival in Ephesus. That the opponents changed the Galatians' opinion within only one year is, then, reflected in οὔτος ταχέως (Gal 1:6). Probably the collection was an issue in Galatia between Paul and the Galatians, without, however, being a major one.

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577 Against Lüdemann, *Heidenapostel*, p.149, and indirectly also Georgi, *Kollekte*, p.32, saying that the instruction was after the second - and last - visit to Galatia. This does not apply to 1 Cor 16:1-4, for it “enthält keine Bitte an die Korinther um Beteiligung am Kollektwerk, sondern setzt die Beteiligung der Korinther bereits voraus.” (Lüdemann, *Heidenapostel*, p.114 n.134) See also Nickle, *Collection*, p.15 and p.15 n.10 and Betz, *Corinthians*, p.142.


579 Maybe there were some troubles during his second visit which caused him to warn the Galatians (Gal 1:9). These troubles, however, did not prevent Paul from instructing the Galatians.


581 Mußner, *Galater*, p.9f. The argument that “the fact that Paul is content to portray the episode at Antioch as unresolved, and to give impression of continuing hostility between himself and Peter must favour an early date,” (Taylor, *Antioch*, p.46) and that Galatians is, therefore, written “not very long after the Antioch incident and prior to Paul’s return to Antioch (Act 18:22))” (ibid., p.46) is a strong argument for dating the letter already at Paul’s stay in Corinth (Act 18:1-4). (See Watson, *Paul*, p.58; Dunn, *Incident*, p.161; Dunn, *Galatians*, p.179) The similarities, however, between the issue in Galatia and that at the Jerusalem Council and the Antioch Incident - circumcision of the Gentiles and Paul’s recognition as an apostle - serve as explanation for Paul’s portrayal of the Antioch Incident as well. How much Paul sees the two issues as identical is clear from the fact that the speech to Peter at the Antioch Incident in Gal 2:14ff marks the transition to the argumentation in the letter. If Paul wrote the letter to the Galatians already in Corinth it is surprising that the themes righteousness and justification are no central issues in Paul’s correspondence with the Corinthians. However, most important for us is the fact that Gal 2:10 is an obvious allusion to the collection.

582 Lüdemann, *Heidenapostel*, p.115.


584 Ibid., p.3080.

585 This phrase does not, however, necessarily have a chronological meaning. See ibid., p.3078; Mußner, *Galater*, p.9 and p.53f.

586 Since it can be argued both ways: Galatians could be written before or after 1 Cor in Corinth, Ephesus or Macedonia the chronological reconstruction should not be the key argument for any particular understanding of the collection.
4.5.2. Key Words

Let us now finally turn to Gal 2:10 itself by looking at the key-words οἱ πρωχοί, μιμομεθείσειν and σπουδάζειν.

4.5.2.1. οἱ πρωχοί

Since Karl Holl’s essay Der Kirchenbegriff des Paulus in seinem Verhältnis zu dem der Urgemeinde it has been debated whether οἱ πρωχοί denotes “einen Teil der jfwgemischten Gemeinde,” or whether οἱ πρωχοί like οἱ ἀγιοί was a “feststehender, geltungser Name” for “die Christengemeinde in Jerusalem.” Applied to Rm 15:26: is οἱ πρωχοί τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ a genitivus partitivus (the poor among the saints), or a genitivus epexegeticus (the poor, that is the saints)?

For Holl οἱ ἀγιοί in 1 Cor 16:1; 2 Cor 8:4, 9:1.12; Rm 15:25.31 is a fixed title denoting the Christians in Jerusalem “als im Besitz eines Vorzugs, der sie dauernd auszeichnet.” Rm 15:26 itself suggests a genitivus partitivus. However, since in Rm 15:27 Paul explains the collection as a duty towards the whole “Urgemeinde” Rm 15:26 is an epexegetical genitive, as well. It is “eine verhüllende Redeweise,” though. This Holl relates to οἱ πρωχοί in Gal 2:10. “Der absolute Gebrauch des Begriffs und die Tatsache, daß er keiner Erklärung bedarf” indicate to Holl “daß es sich hier um einen bekannten Titel der jfwgemischen Christen handelt.” Inasmuch as Paul is referring only to the poor he is, therefore, “downplaying any sense of it being a tax upon” his churches. Hence the “Kirchenbegriff, von dem die Urgemeinde ausgehend” saw the Christian church as “eine einzige große Gemeinde” with Jerusalem as the continuing centre. And this is the reason for the fact that “diese Gemeinde ist befugt und verpflichtet, ein

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588 Ibid., p.58.
589 Ibid., p.60. (Emphasis by Holl)
590 Ibid., p.59.
591 Ibid., p.59.
592 Ibid., p.59.
593 Ibid., p.59. I think, however, it is rather difficult to see in Rm 15:26 a “verhüllende Redeweise.” How can it be a “verhüllende Redeweise” if οἱ πρωχοί and οἱ ἀγιοί are fixed and well known titles of the Jerusalem church? If the addition of οἱ πρωχοί is veiling the meaning of ἀγιοί it cannot have had a strong connotation of a title.
594 Georgi, Kollekte, p.23. Georgi follows Holl concerning Gal 2:10. He disagrees, however, with Holl in respect to an epexegetic understanding of Rm 15:26. “Der zeitliche Abstand gegenüber dem in Gal 2.10 Berichteten hat sich hier auch sachlich bekundet.” (Ibid., p.23 n.51)
595 Hurtado, Collection, p.52. See Holl, Kirchenbegriff, p.60.
596 Ibid., p.61. (Emphasis by Holl)
Aufsichts- und selbst ein gewisses Besteuerungsrecht über die ganze Kirche auszuüben.”

Holl is taken up mainly in four different ways:

a) οἱ πτωχοὶ is a self-designation in Rm 15:26, as well as in Gal 2:10;

b) οἱ πτωχοὶ has this meaning just in Gal 2:10;

c) οἱ πτωχοὶ as a title is the understanding just of the Jerusalem leaders;

d) οἱ πτωχοὶ is not a title at all.

In 2 Cor 8:4, 9:1.2 Paul talks about economic poverty in Jerusalem among the αὐτοί. As part of the Corinthian correspondence this applies also to 1 Cor 16:1. Hence even if οἱ ἀγιοί in 1 Cor 16:1; 2 Cor 8:4, 9:1.12; Rm 15:25.31 is a title of the Jerusalem Christians, this does not mean that the collection in 1 Cor 16; 2 Cor 8; 2 Cor 9 and Rm 15 is for the Jerusalem church as a whole. Paul can say that the collection is for the Jerusalem church as a whole. “However, that adds nothing to the case for seeing ‘the poor’ and ‘the saints’ as synonymous (v 26), since Paul would naturally regard a gift for the benefit of the poor members of the Jerusalem church as a gift to the church,” because it means helping them to support their poor members. That on average the Jerusalem church is “nicht die bedürftigste” is not very probable, either. Paul, then, could hardly have used the term διακονία (Rm 15:25) since it has the connotation of being a charitable act. Hence I disagree with Schlier, Lietzmann, Nickle and Holl. The most natural reading of Rm 15:26 is that of an genitivus partitivus.

597 Ibid., p.62. (Emphasis by Holl)
598 Ibid., esp. p.58-63; Schlier, Galater, p.46; Lietzmann, Galater, p.13; Nickle, Collection, p.138f and p.138f n.290.
600 Wilkens, Römer 12-16, p.126; Dunn, Romans 9-16, p.875f; Bruce, Galatians, p.126; Taylor, Antioch, p.117ff.
601 Keck, Poor 1, p.100-129, and Keck, Poor 2, p.54-78; Oepke, Galater, p.85; Mußner, Galater, p.125 n.126; Berger, Almosen, p.181 and p.196; Munck, Salvation, p.287ff; Martin, Corinthians, p.256ff; Lüdemann, Heidenapostel, esp. p.107f; Bammel, πτωχός, p.909.
602 See 2 Cor 8:14a, ἄνευς and περιοσείμα. See also Munck, Salvation, p.288.
604 This is, however, Holl’s argument. Rm 15:26 has to be interpreted in the light of the passages where αὐτοί is used absolutely rather than vice versa.
605 Dunn, Romans 9-16, p.876. See also Berger, Almosen, p.196.
606 Holl, Kirchenbegriff, p.59.
607 See e.g. 2 Cor 8:4,9,12. Also Bauer, Wörterbuch, c.368f; Keck, Poor 1, p.118 n.63.
609 See Wilkens, Römer 12-16, p.126; Dunn, Romans 9-16, p.875; Keck, Poor 1, p.119; Käsemann, Römer, p.386f. See also Georgi, Kollekte, p.81 n.315.
I also do not think that \textit{oī \(\pi\tau\omega\chi\omega\iota\)} at least in Gal 2:10 is a self-designation of the Jerusalem church. If \textit{oī \(\pi\tau\omega\chi\omega\iota\)} is a title it is an honorary title. \textsuperscript{610} Together with \textit{oī \(\delta\sigma\kappa\omega\nu\tau\varepsilon\varsigma\)} in Gal 2:6 it would denote Jerusalem’s priority and superiority. In Gal 2:6b, however, Paul plays this aspect down concerning \textit{oī \(\delta\sigma\kappa\omega\nu\tau\varepsilon\varsigma\)}. And there seems to be no need for him to play down any connotation of superiority of \textit{oī \(\pi\tau\omega\chi\omega\iota\)}. It does not seem to have provoked an impression of Paul’s subordination to Jerusalem. Maybe Paul just does not want to stress the fact that Jerusalem is the recipient of the collection. Thus he just says ‘the poor’ and not ‘the poor among the saints.’ \textsuperscript{611} I think that neither Paul nor the Galatians read \textit{oī \(\pi\tau\omega\chi\omega\iota\)} in Gal 2:10 as such a title. Hence it does not seem to have been a well known title of the Jerusalem Christians, neither at the time of the letter to the Galatians, nor at the time of the Jerusalem Council.

Even the fact that it denotes merely the self-understanding of the Jerusalem Christians is hard to imagine. I do not think that the Jerusalem church “erhob mitten in der heiligen Stadt der Juden Anspruch, das eschatologische Gottesvolk zu sein.” \textsuperscript{612} This would show that they had “ein recht aggressives Selbsbewußtsein.” \textsuperscript{613} But they had to be careful not to provoke the zeal of their fellow Jews. And the fact that the people in Qumran called themselves ‘the poor’ \textsuperscript{614} - if they did at all \textsuperscript{615} - cannot be taken as proof for the fact that Jewish Christians claimed the same exclusiveness within the Holy City, since they did not live distinct from their fellow Jews as did the people in Qumran, who separated themselves from the other Jews. \textsuperscript{616}

“‘Die Armen’ ist... als feststehendes Würdeprädikat der Gemeinde nicht zu erweisen.” \textsuperscript{617}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{610} Schlier, \textit{Galater}, p.46: \(\pi\tau\omega\chi\omega\iota\ τῶν ἁγίων\) is “der messianische Ehrenname;” Käsemann, \textit{Römer}, p.386: “Ehrentitel;” Munch, \textit{Salvation.}, p.287: “honourable epithet.”
\item \textsuperscript{611} Against Holl, \textit{Kirchenbegriff.}, p.60.
\item \textsuperscript{612} Georgi, \textit{Kollekte.}, p.24.
\item \textsuperscript{613} Ibid., p.24 n.61.
\item \textsuperscript{614} See Dunn, \textit{Romans 9-16.}, p.875f; Wilkens, \textit{Römer 12-16.}, p.125.
\item \textsuperscript{615} See Keck, \textit{Poor 2.}, p.54-78, esp. p.66ff and p.76f.
\item \textsuperscript{616} See also Kuhn, \textit{Qumranente.}, esp. p.193f: “der Befund in den Qumran texten kann zwar dafür sprechen, daß sich auch die Jerusalemer Urgemeinde von der gleichen atl.-frühjüdischen Tradition her so bezeichnet hat, aber Sicherheit ist nicht zu gewinnen.”
\item \textsuperscript{617} Berger, \textit{Almosen.}, p.196. See also Lüdemann, \textit{Heidenapostel.}, p.108. Also the fact that a later Jewish-Christian sect called itself ‘Ebionites’ does not show that it was a self-designation of the Christians earlier on. “Every church calls itself apostolic in some sense.” (Keck, \textit{Poor 2.}, p.55) And this is what the Ebionites do when “referring to the communal tradition reported in Acts.” (Ibid., p.55) Against Nickle, \textit{Collection.}, p.138f n.290; Holl, \textit{Kirchenbegriff.}, p.60 and p.60 n.2; Schlier, \textit{Galater.}, p.46.
\end{itemize}


4.5.2.2. Μνημονεύωμεν and σπουδάζειν

Μνημονεύωμεν appears 21 times in the New Testament\(^{618}\), three of which are in Paul’s writings\(^{619}\). It means ‘to recall,’\(^{620}\) to keep or to have something past in mind,\(^{621}\) and to be aware of its impact.\(^{623}\) It causes a certain action.\(^{624}\) The remembrance influences one’s behaviour and is followed by a reaction (to consider, recognise, imitate, repent). Μνημονεύωμεν itself does not denote this reaction.\(^{625}\) Hence in Gal 2:10 Μνημονεύωμεν does not denote a “tätige Unterstützung”\(^{626}\) or mean “fürsorgend gedenken.”\(^{627}\) Only in the context of remembering ‘the poor’ does it take on this connotation. And since mere remembrance cannot be imposed, the Jerusalem leaders merely intended a moral obligation.\(^{628}\)

“If this financial support was to be directed exclusively to beneficiaries in Jerusalem... then qualities other than material poverty... were criteria of receiving this aid.”\(^{629}\) I do not, however, think that this criterion was the “obligation towards those from whom the faith had been received.”\(^{630}\) This is Paul’s later interpretation to his churches (Rm 15:27). It is hard to imagine the Jerusalem church saying: ‘we gave you the gospel and you now give us some money instead.’ The issue at the Jerusalem Council was the relation of the Gentiles to the people of God. And the additional arrangement has most likely something to do with this issue. Hence the collection has something to do with the inclusion of the Gentiles into the people of God.

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618 Mt 16:9; Mk 8:18; Lk 17:32; Joh 15:20, 16:4; 21; Act 20:31.35; Gal 2:10; Eph 2:11; Col 4:18; 1 Thess 1:3, 2:9; 2 Thess 2:5.8; Heb 11:15.22, 13:7; Rev 2:5, 3, 18.5.
619 1 Thess 1:3, 2:9; Gal 2:10.
621 Act 20:31; 1 Thess 2:9; Rev 18.5.
622 Lk 17:32; Joh 15:20; 2 Thess 2:8.
623 1 Thess 1:3. (Col 4:18) It can also mean to remember in prayer: Mt 16:9; Mk 8:18; Eph 2:11.
625 The fact that some kind of reaction is demanded when remembering something is also seen by the fact that Μνημονεύωμεν quite often appears as an imperative (Lk 17:32; John 15:20; Act 20:31; Eph 2:11; Col 4:18; 1 Thess 2:9; 2 Thess 2:8; Heb 13:7; Rev 2:5, 3, 3).
626 Berger, Αλμοσέν, p.196.
627 Ibid., p.196 n.69.
628 See Taylor, Antioch, p.116ff. With his concept of the κοινωνία as denoting Jerusalem’s superiority he does not, however, give enough weight to the fact that it is a moral obligation. See also Dunn, Galatians, p.113.
629 Taylor, Antioch, p.119.
630 Ibid., p.117
Some scholars conclude from the fact that \( \mu \nu \mu \mu \nu \varepsilon \omega \varepsilon \mu \varepsilon \nu \) is present subjunctive that the Jerusalem church asked them to continue remembering the poor. 631 This could imply that they had already at least once received money from Antioch before (see Act 11:30) or at the Jerusalem Council. However, Act 11:26ff would have been a "Blitzbesuch," 632 or Luke is wrong in talking of two events in Act 11 and Act 15 which were actually the one event in Gal 2:1-10. 633 More probable, therefore, is the meaning of a practice in the future. 634 That this is implied is made clear by Gal 2:10b. "Durch \( \delta \, \kappa \alpha i \) [Gal 2:10b] versteht sich der Aorist \( \varepsilon \sigma \pi \omega \delta \alpha \sigma \alpha \) klar als nachfolgende Ausführung des Exhortativs." 635 In other words \( \varepsilon \sigma \pi \omega \delta \alpha \sigma \alpha \) is not a pluperfect, but a past tense in relation to the time of the writing of the letter to the Galatians. 636

Because of the change from the first person plural to the first person singular the action described by \( \varepsilon \sigma \pi \omega \delta \alpha \sigma \alpha \) is in contrast to the subject of \( \mu \nu \mu \mu \nu \varepsilon \omega \varepsilon \mu \varepsilon \nu \) 637 "a reference to Paul’s subsequent diligence in fulfilling the stipulation then made." 638 It means "‘to make diligent effort’ to do a thing." 639 "Apparently, therefore, it can not refer simply to the apostle’s state of mind, but either to a previous or subsequent activity on his part." 640 Since there is no evidence that Paul brought money to Jerusalem between the Jerusalem Council and the time when he wrote the letter to the Galatians the aorist cannot denote a completed previous action: ‘which effort I finished eagerly’ (egressive), but only the beginning of an subsequent action (ingressive). And since the ingressive meaning excludes the egressive meaning the aorist does not indicate that Paul had stopped long ago with this eagerness. The aorist suggests some discontinu-


638 Burton, *Galatians*, p.100. It cannot mean "an effort on behalf of the poor at the very time in progress.... This would have required an imperfect tense, and in all probability... the plural number." (Ibid., p.100)

639 Ibid., p.99.

ity, 641 but it does not mean that Paul has not taken the collection up again. 642 To relate the discontinuity with Paul’s break with Antioch, then, is very plausible. 643

641 Against Lüdemann, p.110, who holds that Gal 2:10 and “sämtliche in den Paulusbriefen enthaltene Kollektivenotizen a) auf die Regelung in Jerusalem zurückgehen und b) auf ein- und dieselbe Aktion zu beziehen sind.” If so Paul would have used the imperfect since this would have shown even more his commitment to this agreement.

642 Against Georgi, Kollekte, p.32f, who stresses too much that Paul’s eagerness to fulfil the agreement lay so long in the past that even at the time when writing to the Galatians Paul had not taken up the collection again; Taylor, Antioch, p.198.

643 Thus ibid., e.g. p.198 n.1; Georgi, Kollekte, p.33. Against Betz, Galatians, p.102.
4.5.3. The Collection as Almsgiving

Now we will try to answer the question which concept or idea was lying behind the collection arrangement. How does it fit into the context of the issues at the Jerusalem Council and the Antioch Incident?

As I have argued above an understanding of the collection as a *Temple tax* can be excluded.

The motif of the *pilgrimage* of the Gentiles to Zion, together with "the widely held Jewish expectation that the wealth of the nations would flow into Jerusalem in the end time," is probably in Paul's mind in Romans (esp. Rm 15:25ff). However, in Jewish expectation it follows the restoration of Israel. Hence it can hardly have been Jerusalem's understanding at the time of the Jerusalem Council. In Rm 9-11 Paul turned this eschatological expectation upside down. He wanted to make the Jews jealous instead. But he hardly has "diese 'heilsgeschichtlich-eschatologische' Deutung seiner Mission schon den drei 'Säulen' in Jerusalem vorgetragen." Hence it does not serve as a concept at the time of the Jerusalem Council.

To Georgi mounting problems in Paul's congregations precede the resumption of the collection. It is "pädagogisches Mittel für verwirrte Gemüter." However, this concept is too much based on a discontinuity of the collection even up to the letter to the Galatians, which I do not agree with. Hence it does not serve as an idea behind the collection.

Watson, on the basis of his chronological decision that "the crisis in Galatia preceded the institution of the collection there," argues that the collection enterprise was meant "to secure Jerusalem's recognition of their [Paul's congregations] legiti-
macy" 651 "so that they would stop trying to undermine them." 652 To Watson this is the only possible reason for instituting the collection in Galatia, so shortly after the Galatian crisis.

Watson does not, however, give any reason for the fact that Paul in the first instance accepted the "request of the ‘pillars’ in Jerusalem." 653 And his concept reckons with "infiltration by the emissaries of Jerusalem." 654 With this, however, Watson shows that he does not distinguish between the issue at the Jerusalem Council and the Antioch Incident. According to the agreement at the Jerusalem Council James and the Jerusalem leaders had no interest at all in undermining Paul’s law-free gospel to the Gentiles. What they were opposed to was Jewish disobedience only. If they demanded law observance they did it not for the salvation of the Gentiles, but for the observance of the Jews. 655 Hence recognition on the part of Jerusalem does not seem to have been the point of the collection.

More likely a reason for the agreement in Gal 2:10 and Paul’s acceptance of it is recognition on Antioch’s and the Gentiles’ part of the church in Jerusalem as the mother-church of the renewed Israel. 656 “Paul’s recognition of Jerusalem was essentially an acknowledgement that there was one gospel and that this gospel originated in Jerusalem and still was, in a sense, a Jerusalem gospel. Thus he acknowledged... that to be valid, his own preaching must be one with theirs.” 657 This is one of the reasons for the fact that Paul in Gal 1-2 refers to the collection at all: he shows his independence, but he also shows that he recognised Jerusalem.

Hand in hand with this motif goes the recognition of unity between Jews and Gentiles. Since the agreement divided the mission into two - idealistically - distinct areas the collection served as a symbol of recognition of the Jerusalem church. “Paul agreed to help... to present a token of the unity of the whole church.” 658 Maybe the

651 Ibid., p.175. (My emphasis)
652 Ibid., p.175.
653 Ibid., p.174.
654 Ibid., p.175.
655 "I do not think that the circumcision-free gospel of Paul was at stake, at least on the part of James and what appears to be the mainstream of Jerusalem Christian opinion.” (Hill, Hellenists, p.176) That Paul feared the éthnikoi as his opponents is not “the most likely possibility... since acceptance by James would probably have been the significant indicator of the success of the collection to Paul (compare Gal. 2:4-6, in which it is the acceptance of the ‘pillars,’ James included, which was decisive).” (Ibid.)
656 See Fung, Galatians, p.102f; Oepke, Galater, p.85; Schlier, Galater, p.47; Georgi, Kollekte, p.29; Mußner, Galater, p.126.
657 Hill, Hellenists, p.174. For Paul “the continuity of covenant and salvation-history which Jerusalem symbolized remained fundamental.” (Dunn, Galatians, p.114)
658 Keck, Poor 1, p.126. See also Mußner, Galater, p.126.
collection was “die einzig sichtbare Klammer zwischen Juden- und Heidenchristen,” 659 showing the “unity of purpose with the church in Jerusalem.” 660

Hence the theological motives of the collection are these motives of recognition of and unity with Jerusalem.

The practical motif then would be the fact that the collection was an act of charity for the economically poor members of the Jerusalem church. The Jerusalem congregations seem to have been more than “other Hellenistic cities of Greece and Asia Minor” 661 “in real economic distress,” 662 and “Verfolgungen mußten die wirtschaftliche Notlage verschärfen.” 663 These economic difficulties might have increased in the Sabbath year in 47/48 CE, 664 the date of the Jerusalem Council. Hence a request of the pillars for support from the Gentile churches outside Israel is even more plausible. That Paul was eager to fulfil this part of the agreement might suggest a certain urgency of the financial support as well.

Hence the collection had the practical cause of real and maybe increasing poverty in the Jerusalem church. The theological motives of the collection could be described as recognising Jerusalem as the origin of the gospel and being a symbol for the unity of Jews and Gentiles. 665

These motives, now, are an integral part of the institution of almsgiving. 666

In Paul’s time Gentiles were - by some Jews - thought to be righteous “nicht nur durch Zugehörigkeit zur Gruppe sondern auch durch ‘sympathisierendes’ Verhalten zu ihr.” 667 Conversion to the God of Israel and not circumcision - as the entrance requirement for the Gentiles to belong to Israel - made a righteous Gentile. Almsgiving,
now, is "Ausweis der Gerechtigkeit ganz allgemein und Ausdruck der Ernsthaftigkeit, mit der die Bekehrung aufgefaßt wurde." 668 It is "das Kennzeichen für Bekehrung." 669

Being an expression of the conversion to the God of Israel the institution of almsgiving expresses the "Beziehung des Außenstehenden, des Sympathisanten oder des Neubekehrten zum jüdischen Volk." 670 It is the "Kriterium des Gemeinschaftswillens sowohl für 'Gottesfürchtige' als auch für Proselyten." 671 Hence Paul's acceptance of the request of the 'pillars' showed "daß Paulus sehr an der Einheit mit Jerusalem lag:" 672 the collection of money regulates "das Verhältnis der paulinischen Gemeinden zur Jerusalemer Gemeinde im Sinne einer Gemeinschaft." 673

When understood in this light the collection is an answer to the question of the Jerusalem Council: how can the Gentiles be saved, how can they be righteous? In Jerusalem was debated whether Gentiles Christians needed to be circumcised, whether they had to become Jews, to be counted among the people of God. And it was agreed that they belong to the eschatological people of God without becoming Jews. 674 But although almsgiving "was widely understood within Judaism as a central and crucial expression of covenant righteousness," 675 nevertheless, I do not think that the Jerusalem leaders thought of it as being almost a substitute for circumcision. The Gentiles belong to the children of Abraham through faith in Jesus Christ. And only then, as a "Kennzeichen" 676 and "Ausdruck der Ernsthaftigkeit" 677 of their conversion to the God of Israel, were they expected to give alms. 678

Hence with the supplementary arrangement of almsgiving to the agreement upon a circumcision-free and law-free gospel to the Gentiles Paul's churches had "den

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668 Ibid., p.190.
669 Ibid., p.194fn.60.
670 Ibid., p.192.
671 Ibid., p.190.
672 Ibid., p.196.
673 Ibid., p.197.
674 Gentile believers, Paul and the Jerusalem leaders understood that "by conversion and baptism they [the Gentile Christians] had entered into the blessings of the promise to Abraham." (Dunn, Galatians, p.129, who attribute this opinion to Gentile believers only) See also Cohen, Boundary, p.27, who says that "as far as is known no (non-Christians) Jewish community in antiquity accepted male proselytes who were not circumcised. Perhaps the god of the Jews would be pleased with gentiles who venerate him and practiced some of his laws, and perhaps in the day of the eschaton gentiles would not need to be circumcised to be part of god's holy people: but if those gentiles wanted to join the Jewish community in the here and now, they had to accept circumcision."
675 Dunn, Galatians, p.112.
676 Berger, Almsosen, p.194fn.60.
677 Ibid., p.194fn.60.
678 Hence, I do not think that with the collection the Jerusalem leaders "sought to win what they regarded as an important concession from Paul and Barnabas." (Dunn, Galatians, p.113) If they decided on "an obligation characteristically understood as a primary expression of Jewish covenant piety" (ibid.) and, thus, on the day to day life of Gentile Christians it is surprising that "the issue of the food laws had not been raised explicitly and was not explicitly part of the agreement." (Ibid., p.122)

As we have argued above Paul and the Jerusalem leaders had different concepts of the status of the Gentiles in a mixed congregation. These different concepts can be described in Jerusalem's terms as concentric circles: "Den inneren Kreis bildeten die beschnittenen Judenchristen [born Jews and proselytes], den dann folgenden Heiden, die nach dem Aposteldekret mit diesen zusammenleben konnten [Gentiles living according to the alien-resident-status].” 682 "Den äußersten Kreis bilden die christlichen gottesfürchtigen Heiden des paulinischen Typs [the 'God-fearers' who constitute distinct communities without social intercourse with the Jewish Christian communities].” 683 Nevertheless, since almsgiving was an institution valid for proselytes, ‘alien-residents’ and ‘God-fearers’, Paul and Jerusalem could agree upon the collection on the basis of this institution although they had actually different views of the Gentiles. “Nun besteht freilich diese ‘Zuordnung’ [of Paul's Gentile churches to the Jewish Christian community] für die Jerusalemer unter dem Gesichtspunkt der (abgestuften) Toraerfüllung, während sie für Paulus unter dem der Erwahlung besteht.” 684 Thus according to the Jerusalem concept Paul’s churches were Christians “zweiten Ranges.” 685 But for Paul they had “ohne jeden Zweifel volle Mitgliedschaft.” 686

For both parties almsgiving was a means of unity and recognition of the fact that the Gentiles had converted to the God of Israel. That the collection was based upon a different understanding of the Gentiles' status in the day to day situation, then, became clear at the Antioch Incident. Suddenly the Gentiles who did not observe at least something like the Noachian commandments 687 were ‘unsociable’ for the Jewish

680 Ibid., p.198.
681 Ibid., p.199.
682 Ibid., p.200.
683 Ibid., p.200.
685 Ibid., p.203.
686 Ibid., p.203.
687 This does not mean that the people from James demanded a well defined degree of law-observance from the Gentiles. They were worried about "too much association" (Sanders, Association, p.186) of Jews with Gentiles, "since close association might lead to contact with idolatry or transgression of one of the biblical food laws." (Ibid.) However, the most versions of the Noachian commandments "include the prohibition of idolatry." (Cohen, Boundary, p.22)
Christians and, thus, in Paul's view marked as Christians of secondary status. After the break with Antioch and Jerusalem Paul stopped the collection for a while because the issue at the heart of both the Antioch Incident and the collection was the status of the Gentiles within the people of God.

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4.6. Other Collection-Texts

4.6.1. Chronology of Paul’s letters

Before we look at Paul’s other references to his collection we will briefly set out the chronology of 1 Cor, 2 Cor, 2 Cor 8, 2 Cor 9 and Rm.

1 Cor was probably written from Ephesus. Since Timothy is in 1 Cor 1:1 not named as co-author he still was on his journey to Corinth (1 Cor 4:17) and Philippi (Phil 2:19f).

The literary unity of 2 Cor is strongly disputed. We cannot go into the details of the literary criticism of 2 Cor. However, I think that all (the Pauline) parts of 2 Cor can be dated “subsequent to 1 Corinthians,” between Timothy’s arrival in Ephesus and Paul’s final arrival in Corinth.

With ἀπὸ πέρασον (2 Cor 8:10) Paul refers back to the time near to 1 Cor 16:1-4. Since 2 Cor 8 reflects positive relations with Corinth, it is, thus, written after the resolution of the crisis in Corinth. It is also written shortly after 2 Cor 7:5-16. Maybe it is a letter of recommendation for Titus who went to Corinth to complete the collection. For Dautzenberg 2 Cor 9 is “das früheste Stück der im 2 Kor gesammelten Korrespondenz...: ein Empfehlungsschreiben... [geschrieben] noch vor dem ‘Zwischenfall.’” However, 2 Cor 9:3ff is too vague about the ‘brothers’ to be an independent letter of recommendation. It was therefore probably written shortly after 2 Cor 8:16ff.

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689 See §4.5.1..  
690 See 1 Cor 16:10: εἶναι δὲ ἐξοντος Ἐλονος.  
691 For an overview of the literary-criticism see e.g. Betz, Corinthians, p.3-36; Dautzenberg, Briefsammlung, p.3046-3052; Hyldahl, Chronologie, p.88-102; Barrett, Corinthians, p.11-25; Plummer, Corinthians, p.xiii-xxxvi; Windisch, Korinther, p.11-23.  
692 Taylor, Antioch, p.47.  
693 See Betz, Corinthians, p.65.  
694 Compare 2 Cor 8:1f with 2 Cor 7:5ff.  
695 See Georgi, Kollekte., p.58; Nickle, Collection, p.20.  
696 Dautzenberg, Briefsammlung, p.3050.  
697 When could Paul have praised to the Macedonians the zeal of the Corinthians (9:2) if 2 Cor 9 was written from Ephesus? And how could Paul have anticipated that he will come with a delegation from Macedonia to Corinth (9:4)? Also ἀπὸ πέρασον in 2 Cor 8:10 and 9:2 indicates that 2 Cor 9 is written near in time to 2 Cor 8.
Hence both letters are written from Macedonia. Maybe 2 Cor 8 is sent to Corinth and 2 Cor 9 to Achaia. 698

The letter to the Romans is written after the correspondence with the Corinthians, probably from Corinth itself. 699 In 2 Cor 8 and 2 Cor 9 the collection is still unfinished whereas Rm 15:25ff indicates that the collection is finished and Paul is about to deliver it. 700

To sum up: "At the beginning of the collection activity in Corinth stood... Paul’s First Epistle to the Corinthians." 701 It was followed by Gal. 702 Then “the crisis interrupted the progress of the collection.” 703 Only after it was resolved and after the Macedonians were so keen on taking part in the collection-enterprise did Paul ventured to ask the Corinthians to resume the collection. Thus Titus was - with 2 Cor 8 as a letter of recommendation - sent to complete what he had begun a year before. Probably shortly after he and the two brothers had left Macedonia Paul had another opportunity to sent a letter to Corinth. 704 This letter - 2 Cor 9 - might have been sent in the first instance to Achaia. Finally, in Rm 15, we hear about the latest stage of the collection.

698 See 2 Cor 9:2 and Lang, Korinther, p.12ff; Betz, Corinthians, p.139f; Taylor, Antioch, p.58; Martin, Corinthians, p.249f; Georgi, Kollekte, p.57f; Windisch, Korintherbrief, p.288.
699 Thus most scholars. See Taylor, Antioch, p.48; Dunn, Romans 1-8, p.xliv; Käsemann, Römer, p.384.
700 See Betz, Corinthians, p.141.
701 Ibid., p.142.
702 See §4.5.1...
703 Ibid., p.142.
704 See also Windisch, Korinther, p.286ff.
1 Cor 16:1 (περὶ δὲ ὥν ἐγράφατε), 7:25, 8:1, 12:1 and also 16:12: Paul answers questions the Corinthians had asked him. Hence the Corinthians were already instructed about the collection before they received Paul’s letter (1 Cor). Hence again οἱ ἄγιοι is not a title of the Jerusalem church, but it is obvious whom Paul is talking about.

Only in 1 Cor 16:1-4 does Paul use the term λογεῖα for the collection. If it was a tax the plural λογεῖα in connection with the verb γίνομεν in 16:2 would be incomprehensible. Hence it means a collection. Organising the collection of the money Paul uses official language (λογεῖα). Maybe he takes up the wording of the letter he had received from the Corinthians. The opponents’ interpretation of the collection in official terms as a financial liability on behalf of Paul could well have fuelled the charges against Paul.

However, “Paulus [gebraucht] als Synonyma für λογεῖα nicht steuertechnische, sondern erbauliche Wörter.” Xάρις first of all denotes the act of charity. It is “das von der göttlichen Gnade gezeugte, christliche Gnaden- oder Liebeswerk.” Paul had talked about the χαρίσματα in 1 Cor 12 (and 13-14), 1 Cor 7:7 and 1 Cor 1:7. Hence a reference to God’s grace in 1 Cor 16:3 cannot have been missed by the Corinthians. The term χάρις could furthermore indicate that Paul has the institution of almsgiving in mind. His order to nominate delegates (οὐς ἐὰν δοκιμάσητε, 16:3) who would deliver the collection to Jerusalem would then mean that he wanted Gentiles to deliver the money. Additionally it might have been a “Vorsichtsmaßnahme” preventing

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707 For this meaning see Georgi, Kollekte, p.40; Conzelmann, Korinther, p.353.
708 See Georgi, Kollekte, p.40; Conzelmann, Korinther, p.353; Bauer, Wörterbuch, c.965.
709 Thus Murphy-O’Connor, Corinthians, p.76.
710 See 2 Cor 12:16-18 and 1 Cor 9:16-18.
711 Thus also Martin, Corinthians, p.254, concerning 2 Cor 8:4 and 8:1.
712 Compare §4.5.3.
713 Conzelmann, Korinther, p.355. See also Lang, Korinther, p.246.
charges of misusing the money. Presumably Paul also wants to emphasize “die selbständige Verantwortung der Gemeinde.” 716 This does not, however, mean that he used the collection in the first instance as a “pädagogisches Mittel.” 717

Paul himself had not yet decided whether he would accompany the delegation or not. He wants to send the delegation on its way with letters of recommendation (16:3). 718 This could indicate that after his break with Antioch and Jerusalem Paul had interest in showing that it was he and his Gentile-churches who collected the money as agreed upon at the Jerusalem Council. 719 That these letters are important for the purpose of the collection is furthermore underlined by the fact that if it is διώκων for Paul to travel to Jerusalem as well they shall accompany him (16:4). The emphasis lies upon the fact that they shall travel with him and not upon the question whether it is διώκων or not. 720 His letters of recommendation are a substitute for his presence.

"Δίωκων might refer to the amount of money given. 721 It is more probable, however, that Paul has in mind the “inneren Einsatz der Gemeinde.” 722 Maybe Paul would feel obliged to accompany the delegation if the Corinthians are very much involved in the collection.

Hence important for Paul was the delegation of the church of Corinth travelling to Jerusalem. His presence was only important under certain circumstances. Nevertheless he would have explained the collection through letters of recommendation, 723 and it would have been clear to Jerusalem that the money comes from his Gentile-churches.

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716 Georgi, Kollekte, p.41.
718 Διώκων does not refer to δοκίμασε but to πέμψω. Thus rightly ibid., p.41; Wolff, Korinther, p.220; Lang, Korinther, p.246 and also the punctuation mark in Nestle-Aland, p.470. Against Nickle, Collection, p.15 and p.15f n.12.
719 Thus also Wolff, Korinther, p.220.
720 Most commentators embark on a discussion about the fact that Paul has the amount of money in mind. This is not, however, Paul’s main concern here.
721 Thus ibid., p.220.
722 Georgi, Kollekte, p.41.
723 See ibid., p.41 n.145.
4.6.3. 2 Cor 8

2 Cor 8 is divided into the “advisory section” (8:1-15) which consists of a “commendation of the Macedonians” (8:1-6) and “the appeal to the Corinthians” (8:7-15) and the “legal section” (8:16-24). 728

Χάρις “is a key term.” 729 “It embraces a whole range of meanings,” 730 and it almost seems as if Paul plays with all these different meanings. 731

God’s grace given to the Macedonians in all their afflictions (see 7:5 732) provided the basis for their joy and the riches of their generosity, 733 namely the collection (8:4). The Macedonians gave money παρὰ δύναμιν (8:2f). 734 They in fact gave themselves first 735 to the Lord and also to Paul and his co-workers (8:5). Saying this Paul indicates that the “innere(n) Beteiligung der Mazedonier” 737 is “first in importance.” 738

That it is a “Selbstthingabe” 739 to God refers back to the xάρις τοῦ θεοῦ (8:1). “Having received the gift of divine grace... they had given themselves to God in return as a living sacrifice.” 740

The collection is called ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τῆς τῆς διακονίας τῆς εἰς τῶν ἁγίων (8:4) and again in 8:6 ἡ χάρις ταύτῃ.

724 Betz, Corinthians, p.41.
725 Martin, Corinthians, p.248.
726 Ibid., p.259.
727 Betz, Corinthians, p.70.
728 Ibid., p.82, separates 8:24 as the peroration.
729 Martin, Corinthians, p.252. See also Windisch, Korinther, p.243; Lang, Korinther, p.318.
730 Betz, Corinthians, p.42. See Windisch, Korinther, p.243; Barrett, Corinthians, p.218.
731 See Betz, Corinthians, p.42.
732 Windisch, Korinther, p.244; Betz, Corinthians, p.43.
733 “Der erste δέλτι - Satz (V.2) ist also Erläuterung zu τὴν χάριν und damit zugleich Objekt zu γνωτιζομεν.” (Windisch, Korinther, p.244)
734 8:3f is an anakoluthon. (Georgi, Kollekte, p.59, Windisch, Korinther, p.245). The verb ‘to give’ is taken from 8:5. See Martin, Corinthians, p.255; Lang, Korinther, p.318; Lietzmann, Korinther, p.221.
735 πρῶτον goes with θεος and not with ἐθικαν. See Windisch, Korinther, p.247; Lang, Korinther, p.317f. Against Plummer, Corinthians, p.236.
736 To Windisch, Korinther, p.247, ἡμῶν is “pluralis humiliatis für ἐμοι.”
737 Georgi, Kollekte, p.59.
738 Plummer, Corinthians, p.236. See also Murphy-O’Connor, Corinthians, p.80.
739 Windisch, Korinther, p.247.
740 Betz, Corinthians, p.47. Similar Murphy-O’Connor, Corinthians, p.79. I would not, however, speak of a ‘sacrifice.’
Xάρις in 8:4 has to be taken as “a human privilege, a gracious act.” 741 In 8:6 it is used absolutely and is thus almost a technical term for the collection. It has, however, “a theological underpinning” 742 and is thus closely related to 1 Cor 16:3. 743 Xάρις and κοινωνία in 8:4 should not be taken as synonyms. 744 Since Paul before the writing of 2 Cor 8 boasted about the willingness of the Corinthians for the collection 745, which resulted in the enthusiasm of the Macedonians it is likely that κοινωνία here means the “fellowship in a work.” 746 This, then, is a new aspect of the collection: additionally to the destination εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους it became a means of κοινωνία between the Gentile-churches. 747

Taking χάρις and κοινωνία as such ἡ διακονία ἢ εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους (8:4) has to be taken “als technischer Ausdruck.” 748 Διακονία has primarily the meaning of being a “Dienstleistung” 749 and seems to be “one of Paul’s distinctive words for the collection.” 750

With 8:7ff Paul appeals to the Corinthians to take up the collection again. He begins with a captatio benevolentiae, 751 which seems, however, to be a real compliment 752 since Paul is relieved (7:9) that the crisis in Corinth is over. Paul’s reference to the richness of the Corinthians in spiritual gifts reminds us of 1 Cor 1:5 753 and 1 Cor 12-14. Here χάρις has again primarily the connotation of God’s grace and gift. 754

Paul emphasises that the collection is a voluntary gift and not an obligation (οἳ κατ’ ἐπιταγή). As in 1 Cor 16:1-4 he stresses the independence of the Corinthians in matters of the collection. 755 The symbolic value is important for Paul.

741 Martin, Corinthians, p.254. See also Barrett, Corinthians, p.220.
742 Martin, Corinthians, p.254. I think Betz, Corinthians, p.46, is totally mistaken in taking χάρις “in the secular sense, as is common in administrative documents.”
743 See §4.6.2..
744 See Martin, Corinthians, p.254. Against Lietzmann, Korinther, p.133.
745 2 Cor 9:2.
746 Martin, Corinthians, p.254. See Windisch, Korinther, p.246.
747 Against Taylor, Antioch, p.197ff. In 2 Cor 8:24 Paul talks about the collection as ἔνδοξα τῆς ἐγκαταστάσεως... εἰς πρόσωπον τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. And also in 2 Cor 9:13 he talks of a κοινωνία with the Jerusalem Christians and with ἐκκλησίας. As with the term χάρις I do not think that κοινωνία has a strong connotation of administrative language.
748 Windisch, Korinther, p.246.
749 Georgi, Kollekte, p.60.
751 See Murphy-O’Connor, Corinthians, p.81.
752 Against ibid., p.81.
753 See Lang, Korinther, p.319; Plummer, Corinthians, p.238; Betz, Corinthians, p.56.
754 See Barrett, Corinthians, p.222; Windisch, Korinther, p.250. Against Martin, Corinthians, p.262.
755 See Barrett, Corinthians, p.222.
However, Paul uses some sort of moral imperative. He talks about God’s grace (8:1), the example of the Macedonians (8:5), and now he uses Christ’s grace as an example (8:9): he emphasises “the contrast rich/poor,” and that Christ as well gave something for the sake of others. The reminder that the Corinthians themselves had already shown their willingness to collect money (8:10) fulfils the function of another moral imperative. Now they shall do what they had promised to do. But they shall do it ek tou echei (8:11) and kathè ean echi euprassiektos, oû kathò ouk echei (8:12). As it was in Macedonia Paul wants the collection to be a voluntary gift. Verse 12 is introduced with γάρ: 8:11 is explained by 8:12ff. “The idea is not that the Corinthians and the poor saints in Jerusalem shall change places” as indeed would be the case if the Corinthians followed Christ’s example, but ἴσοτης, “the Greek virtue,” is the “regulierende(s) Prinzip für die gegenseitige Hilfe.” Although the following quotation from Ex 16:18 tells of an equality in gathering Paul applies it to a situation where there ought to be equality of supply. As with the example of Christ this ‘illustration’ is not directly applicable to the present situation. “Was Paulus hervorhebt, ist allein die Analogie zwischen dem damals eingetretenen und dem jetzt erstrebten Zustand.” The collection is thus a divine means (χάρις) of adding the περίσσευμα of the Corinthians to the ἰστέρημα of the Jerusalem Christians.

This principle ἴσοτης will work vice versa as well. However, “Paul does not here develop the argument of Rom. xv. 27.” He does not have the giving of the spiritual gifts of the Jerusalem Christians in mind, nor does he refer to an eschatological event. Important is the fact that ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῶ the Corinthians have περίσσευμα compared to the Jerusalem Christians.

756 See Murphy-O’Connor, Corinthians, p.82.
757 Martin, Corinthians, p.263.
758 Thus also Barrett, Corinthians, p.224f.
759 He is not commanding, but just giving his advice (γνωμην, 8:10).
760 Thus ibid., p.226; Martin, Corinthians, p.266; Windisch, Korinther, p.257. Against Georgi, Kollekte, p.62ff, who seems to take 8:13 totally separated from 8:12.
761 Barrett, Corinthians, p.226.
762 Betz, Corinthians, p.67f. Against Georgi, Kollekte, p.63f.
763 Lietzmann, Korinther, p.135.
764 Barrett, Corinthians, p.227; Martin, Corinthians, p.267.
765 Thus Barrett, Corinthians, p.227; Martin, Corinthians, p.267; Murphy-O’Connor, Corinthians, p.85; Koch, Schrift, p.258ff.
766 Koch, Schrift, p.258.
767 Barrett, Corinthians, p.226. Thus also Lietzmann, Korinther, p.135; Windisch, Korinther, p.261f.
768 Against Martin, Corinthians, p.267. I do not see how Martin can argue with Rm 9-11 that Israel’s reconciliation “will presage the final homecoming of the nations (Rm 11:25,26,30-32).” In Romans Paul argues exactly the other way round: πώς ἐπὶ μέρος τῷ Ἰσραήλ γέγονεν ἄχρι οὗ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἑθῶν εἰςελθηκαὶ καὶ οὕτως πᾶς Ἰσραήλ ὑπεθέται. See e.g. Hengel, Mission, p.19ff.
In 2 Cor 8:16-24 Paul commends Titus and the two brothers he sent to Corinth. He only names Titus. In contrast to 1 Cor 16:3 here even other churches have appointed men to see that everything goes "καλά οὖ μόνον ἐνώπιον κυρίου ἄλλα καὶ ἐνώπιον ἀνθρώπων" (8:21). The first one is elected by the churches for the "χάρις ταύτῃ ἡ διακονουμένη ὑπ' ἡμῶν" (8:19). Hence he might be "der offizielle Begleiter des PIs auf der Kollektenreise." The second brother (8:22) is chosen by Paul.

We can only speculate about the churches which elected the first one and where the brothers came from. Since Paul in 2 Cor 9:4 says that he himself will come from Macedonia with delegates different from the brothers (9:3) they are "from other churches than those in Macedonia and Achaia." Important is that they are sent in matters of the collection to Corinth. Hence their job is different from that of the delegation mentioned in 1 Cor 16:3.

In 8:19 the collection is again called "χάρις." Also the term "διακονία" appears. This time, however, as a verb "διακονείν," denoting that the collection is Paul's service for the glory of God. "It was Paul who took final responsibility for the delegation" and thus for the collection. Referring to the glory of God (πρὸς τὴν [αὐτοῦ] τοῦ κυρίου δόξαν, 8:19) Paul shows that the collection meant more to him than a mere relief fund. His collection-enterprise serves and promotes the glory of God.

To sum up:

The interpretation of the collection shifted in relation to the institution of almsgiving from:

a) expressing the willingness of the Gentiles to belong to the community of God's people to showing that one is already a true member. The Corinthians already have all the other "χαρίσματα." Now they shall also strive for the "χάρις" of the collection.

b) being one sided in principle: the Gentiles Christians give and the Jerusalem Christians receive, to mutual in principle: in introducing the principle of "ἰσότης" Paul says that in the future the Corinthians might benefit and become recipients as well.

c) establishing fellowship between Jerusalem and Paul's churches to establishing fellowship between Paul's churches themselves.

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769 On "χειροτοπεῖς" see Martin, Corinthians, p.275; Betz, Corinthians, p.74f; Plummer, Corinthians, p.249.
770 Lietzmann, Korinther, p.137.
771 See the discussion by Windisch, Korinther, p.263f; Plummer, Corinthians, p.249f; Martin, Corinthians, p.274f; Munck, Salvation, p.296f; Nickle, Collection, p.18ff.
772 Munck, Salvation, p.297.
773 Betz, Corinthians, p.78.
774 Thus Plummer, Corinthians, p.248f.
It is, however, still an act of charity for actual poor people with a highly theological meaning, showing God’s grace and promoting God’s glory.

Concerning himself Paul made clear that he is the initiator of the collection. It is his work. Nevertheless it serves God’s glory. Hence its symbolic character is valuable rather than the amount of money given.
Δέ in 9:3 refers back to μέν in 9:1. Paul does not in the first instance want to talk about the collection, but rather about the delegation he has sent to Corinth. This delegation (9:3) consists of the brothers from 8:16ff.

2 Cor 8 was written after the reconciliation when Paul was in an euphoric state of mind. He was happy that the Macedonians had started a collection and that the Corinthians were on his side again. Thus he had ventured to ask them to take up the collection again. Now the delegation was on its way and Paul seems to have had a second thought about the collection. He seem to have feared that he had boasted too much.

Compared to 2 Cor 8, 2 Cor 9 shows that Paul had extended the authority of Titus and the brothers. He empowers them to collect the money and to have it ready when he himself comes.

From 1 Cor 16:3 we know that Paul had planned to come to Corinth before the money was sent to Jerusalem. Now we hear that he is going to come with a delegation from Macedonia. This could indicate that the Macedonians were very much involved in the collection. Maybe they decided to send their own delegates only after Titus and the brothers had left for Corinth. This would explain why it was that only after writing 2 Cor 8 Paul started to be afraid that he might be in an awkward situation vis-à-vis the Macedonians. Προέλθωσιν and προκαταρτίσωσιν in 9:5 indicate that the first delegation has now become a mere advance guard in contrast to 8:6, preparing everything for the delegation which is going to come with Paul.

Since Paul does not indicate that he organised the delegation - he could have said that he is going to take a delegation with him - the Macedonians themselves seem to have decided on it. Maybe this was the point when it became appropriate (ἄξιον, 1 Cor 16:4) for Paul to travel to Jerusalem as well.

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775 Thus also Plummer, Corinthians, p.253; Martin, Corinthians, p.283. Windisch, Korinther, p.271 and Barrett, Corinthians, p.233, say that it is a limitation of 9:1 because 9:3ff contains information about the collection. The information about the collection, however, begins only in 9:6 as an explication of 9:5. In 9:3-5a Paul talks about the delegation.

776 See Windisch, Korinther, p.271; Barrett, Corinthians, p.234; Martin, Corinthians, p.284; Lang, Korinther, p.323; Plummer, Corinthians, p.254.

777 See Murphy-O'Connor, Corinthians, p.88.

778 Thus Windisch, Korinther, p.272; Plummer, Corinthians, p.253f.

779 See Windisch, Korinther, p.271.

780 This is a parallel to 1 Cor 16:2. See ibid., p.273.

781 See ibid., p.272.
Using εὐλογία for the collection Paul might have had a word play with λογία in mind. 782 Εὐλογία is, however, taken up in a different context in 9:6, and in 9:7 (Prov 22:8) Paul even deliberately substitutes εὐλογεῖ with ἀγαπᾷ. 783 Εὐλογία denotes the collection as a “gift of blessing.” 784 In contrast to διακονία (9:1, 8:4) “bezeichnet εὐλογεῖ die Wirkung auf den Empfänger.” 785 It, therefore, stresses the fact that the collection is a means of fellowship between donor and beneficiary. 786 Since a “gift of blessing is given in response to blessings received” 787 from God Paul combines λογεῖα and χάρις in εὐλογία. 788 Hence in contrast to 2 Cor 8 Paul again focuses on the beneficiary. However, εὐλογία has also the connotation of being a generous gift. This is made clear by the contrast εὐλογία / πλεονεξία (9:5). Πλεονεξία means a grudging gift, stinginess. 789 In 9:5 Paul refers to “two attitudes of giving.” 790

In 2 Cor 8 Paul had explained why there should be a collection of money. Χάρις was a key word. Here he enumerates “Motive für die Aufbringung einer reichen Beisteuer.” 791 The key word is εὐλογία. This quest for a rich collection Paul elaborates in 9:6-10 with agrarian motifs. Taking up the contrast εὐλογία / πλεονεξία from verse 5 Paul uses a “Bauernregel” 792 to show that generosity will pay. However, although Paul uses the image of sowing and reaping in an eschatological sense in Gal 6:7ff, there is no connotation of “Vergeltung” 793 or “Lohn” 794 in Paul’s mind here. 795 The emphasis is totally on the second part of the proverb, which can be paraphrased “the more blessings you give, the more you will receive.” 796 “The attitude of the giver is all-
important,” 797 because God loves a cheerful giver. 798 In 2 Cor 8 Paul has said that nobody shall give above his or her means. Here he says everyone shall only give as much as he or she wants. Thus the motif of giving voluntarily “wird in 2. Kor 9. noch gesteigert.” 799

With verse 8 another dimension comes in. Appealing to the reason of the Corinthians 800 Paul introduces with δὲ another argument in favour of generosity. 801 The Corinthians shall consider the fact that “God will always make it possible for them to give.” 802 Paul, therefore, “moves on from 8:12 which limits the amount to what a person has to this level where it is God who inspires and provides the ability to give.” 803 Paul uses χάρις to illustrate that “aus dem Reichtum Gottes fließt der Strom des Gebens.” 804

The quotation from verse 9 is an explanation of the ἐργον ἀγαθὸν verse 8. 805 The subject of the quotation is the one who gives alms. 806 The quotation is from Ps 111:9 LXX. There it denotes the works of a just man. Paul exhorts the Corinthians to give a generous gift so that it can be said of them what is said of the just man. Σκοπῆς is thus parallel to σπειρῶ in verse 6.

It is, however, “possible to carry on ὁ Ὁσιὸς from v. 8 as the subject of the quotation.” 807 Paul must have been aware of this ambiguity - even more so since the subject of verse 10 is God, as well. Probably Paul wanted to evoke “den Gedanken an Gott als den eigentlichen Autor der menschlichen Barmherzigkeit.” 808 This would underline what he has said in 9:8.

797 Ibid., p.90.
798 On this quotation from Prov 22:8 LXX see Martin, Corinthians, p.290; Barrett, Corinthians, p.236; Betz, Corinthians, p.105f; Georgi, Kollekte, p.69f.
799 Ibid., p.69.
800 See ibid., p.69f.
801 Against Windisch, Korinther, p.277.
802 Barrett, Corinthians, p.237. See also Windisch, Korinther, p.278; Georgi, Kollekte, p.71.
803 Martin, Corinthians, p.290.
804 Lang, Korinther, p.324f.
805 See Martin, Corinthians, p.291. Against Murphy-O’Connor, Corinthians, p.92.
806 See Martin, Corinthians, p.291; Lang, Korinther ,p.325; Barrett, Corinthians, p.238; Lietzmann, Korinther, p.138; Windisch, Korinther, p.278; Plummer, Corinthians, p.261; Georgi, Kollekte, p.71f. Against Murphy-O’Connor, Corinthians, p.92; Betz, Corinthians, p.111.
807 Plummer, Corinthians, p.261. See also Georgi, Kollekte, p.71.
808 Ibid., p.71f.
Lietzmann 809 and Windisch 810 hold that δικαιοσύνη (9:9b) merely means almsgiving and "kaum die paulinische 'Gerechtigkeit vor Gott'." 811 But presumably it refers to the fact that almsgiving is a means of showing one's righteousness. 812 Paul, therefore, refers to what was the underlying motif of the institution of almsgiving of Gentile-converts. 813 The collection in 2 Cor 9 is thus a means of establishing the unity of Jews and Gentiles.

Before talking about the effect of the collection in verse 10 Paul mentions a quotation from Isa 55:10 and an allusion to Hos 10:12 LXX. With these citations Paul refers back to verse 8. 814 As in 9:8 Paul says in 9:10 that God will give seed so that they can give to the poor 815 (χορηγεῖν) and that he will multiply (πληθύνει) it. Since he speaks of πᾶσα χάρις (9:8) and ἐν παντὶ πλούτῳ ζωήν (9:11) Paul also seems to have "die göttliche Belohnung mit neuem Segen" 816 in mind.

Understanding 9:10 in the context of Isa 55:10 and Hos 10:12 Georgi 817 holds that Paul understood the collection "als Zeichen der Endzeit." 818 The context is "das Wunder der Heimkehr Israels" 819 and that "Israel wird auch die Völker rufen, und diese werden kommen" 820 Thus the collection demonstrates to the Jews that "nicht die Juden zogen den Heiden voraus, wie es Deuterojesaja verheißen hatte, sondern die Heiden den Juden." 821 However, nowhere in 2 Cor 9 is this imagery is made explicit. 822 More probable is that Paul used Isa 55:10 because of a "Stichwortassoziation" 823 of agrarian motives. Hence Paul does not speak at all about the unbelief of Israel 824 and the reversal of the eschatological events.

809 Lietzmann, Korinther, p.138.
810 Windisch, Korinther, p.278f.
811 Ibid., p.279.
812 See Martin, Corinthians, p.291; Barrett, Corinthians, p.237f.
813 See Berger, Almosen, p.190.
814 The ambiguity of the subject of the sentence from verse 9 is also seen in verse 10: ἐκχορηγεῖν / χορηγεῖν as well as σπόρον / σπειροῦ can be taken as a parallel to σκορπίζω and δίδωμι in 9:9. Only σπειροῦ, however, refers to humans. The other words refer to God.
815 "Σπόρος is here used of the gifts." (Plummer, Corinthians, p.263) See also Windisch, Korinther, p.280.
816 Ibid., p.280.
817 Georgi, Kollekte, p.72ff.
818 Ibid., p.72
819 Ibid., p.72.
820 Ibid., p.72.
821 Ibid., p.72.
822 See Berger, Almosen, p.200.
823 Georgi, Kollekte, p.72, but against Georgi.
824 He is not saying that the Gentile-Christians received "was die Juden von sich gewiesen hatten," and that the promises "galt jetzt ihnen [the Gentiles] - nicht den Juden." (Thus ibid., p.72f)
In verse 11 the "Dankbarkeit und Liebe der Beschenkten" 825 comes in. The generosity of the Corinthians will yield thanksgiving on the part of the poor in Jerusalem 826 to God. This will happen through Paul (δι' ἵματος) because he organises the collection. In contrast to 8:19f Paul not only organises the collection, but himself will deliver it and thus evoke thanksgiving.

"Die Verse 12-15 begründen V. 11b." 827 Διακονία in verse 12 means execution 828 rather than ministration. 829 It includes the collecting of the money and its delivery. This execution will provide for the needs of the saints (see 8:14) on the one hand. But it will also overflow διὰ πολλῶν εὑρισκομένων τῷ θεῷ. "Πολλὰ may be 'of many people,' but 'many thanksgivings' is simpler." 830 A "bei Gott entstehender Überfluss" 831 will thus be achieved through the collection. Λειτουργία is the public service. 832 But it has also religious and sacral overtones. 833 Paul evokes the image of a "weltweiten Gottesdienst." 834

Thus also "the Christians at Jerusalem" 835 will glorify God because of the evidence 836 of the execution of the collection. They will glorify God for the "Bekehrung der Heiden zum Evang.." 837 The collection will be a sign of the Gentiles' conversion to Christ and of their will to belong to the people of God. It means fellowship with Jerusalem and with all Christians (καὶ εἰς πάντας). 838 Since the basis of the collection is God's gift and the effect is the praise of God it is a "von Gott in Gang gesetzter und

825 Windisch, Korinther, p.280.
826 Thus Lietzmann, Korinther, p.138; Murphy-O'Connor, Corinthians, p.94; Windisch, Korinther, p.280; Plummer, Corinthians, p.264; Barrett, Corinthians, p.239; Lang, Korinther, 325; Georgi, Kollekte, p.74.
827 Ibid., p.74.
828 Barrett, Corinthians, p.239; Georgi, Kollekte, p.74.
829 Plummer, Corinthians, p.264; Murphy-O'Connor, Corinthians, p.94.
830 Plummer, Corinthians, p.265. Thus also Windisch, Korinther, p.282; Georgi, Kollekte, p.74. Against Lang, Korinther, p.324; Martin, Corinthians, p.293. The construction of the sentence is not quite clear. See Georgi, Kollekte, p.74.
831 Ibid., p.75.
832 Windisch, Korinther, p.281f; Georgi, Kollekte, p.75f n.298; Plummer, Corinthians, p.265; Barrett, Corinthians, p.239; Lang, Korinther, p.325.
833 Windisch, Korinther, p.281f; Barrett, Corinthians, p.240; Lietzmann, Korinther, p.139; Martin, Corinthians, p.293.
834 Georgi, Kollekte, p.75.
835 Plummer, Corinthians, p.266.
836 See Betz, Corinthians, p.120.
837 Windisch, Korinther, p.284. See also Lietzmann, Korinther, p.139.
838 As in 8:4 it is not entirely clear whether κοινωνία means the collection or the fellowship. "Die Verbindung mit ἀνακάτωσα spricht sehr für die konkrete Fassung." (Windisch, Korinther, p.284f) But because of καὶ εἰς πάντας I prefer the meaning of fellowship. Thus also ibid., p.285; Martin, Corinthians, p.293; Georgi, Kollekte, p.77; Barrett, Corinthians, p.241; Lietzmann, Korinther, p.139.
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4.6.4. 2 Cor 9

ständig zu ihm zurückkehrender Prozeß." 839 But it will also have an effect on the Jerusalem Christians which goes directly back to the Gentiles: they will pray and long for them.

"It is a glorious picture which he [Paul] has before his eyes." 840 The collection will establish unity between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians. Maybe Paul also hopes in the light of the break with Jerusalem that the collection will convince Jerusalem "of the divine legitimacy of the mission to the gentiles." 841

To sum up.

With 2 Cor 9 Paul goes beyond what he has said about the collection - the amount of money given and its effect - in 2 Cor 8.

Now he is going to come with a delegation from Macedonia. This delegation probably has the same function as the one organised in 1 Cor 16:3. In contrast to 1 Cor 16, however, the Macedonian delegation is going to accompany him on his way to Jerusalem.

In 2 Cor 8 Paul has pledged a new start for the collection in Corinth. In 2 Cor 9, however, he asks the Corinthians for a generous gift, presumably in spite of the collection in Macedonia.

In both chapters the gift is voluntary. However, in the one chapter the limit is that the gift shall not be beyond the means of the Corinthians (2 Cor 8) and in the other chapter the limit is determined by their will and God’s χάρις (2 Cor 9).

Also concerning the recipients Paul introduces a new argument for a generous gift. In 2 Cor 8 he has said that if there should be a ὑπερτερμα one day in Corinth Jerusalem would help them. In 2 Cor 9 he says that Jerusalem will react immediately. They will praise God, increase the δοξα θεου, and pray for the Corinthian Christians.

The collection is more than just meeting the needs of the poor in Jerusalem. It is a liturgical service, causing thanksgiving and praise to God and prayer for the fellow-Christians. Through the collection-enterprise Jerusalem will recognise and praise God for the belief of the Gentiles. Unity will be established.

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839 Georgi, Kollekte, p.75.
840 Plummer, Corinthians, p.267.
841 Murphy-O’Connor, Corinthians, p.82.
Paul’s travel plans to Spain and his request to the Romans to pray for him on his way to Jerusalem in Rm 15:14-33 is judged by many to be one of his reasons for writing the letter to the Romans. 842

Paul introduces verse 14 with a captatio benevolentiae. 843 "Der ganze Vers ist ein pädagogisch höfliches Zurücklenken von der Ermahnung." 844 Paul wrote to remind them. The authority for his rather bold 845 letter 846 is the grace given to him by God. Since χάρις is "hier der Heidenapostolat" 847 Paul wrote to the Romans on the basis of his mission to the Gentiles. This mission he describes as a priestly service 848 so that the offering of the Gentiles might be acceptable and sanctified in the Holy Spirit. Since Paul uses the image of a cultic offering it might be appropriate to translate ἡγαμενή with "set apart." 849

Since "προσφορά can denote either the act of offering or the thing offered" 850 it is debated whether the Gentiles are the offering or whether they perform it. 851 It is too far-fetched, however, to connect 15:16 with the collection and its delegation by saying that Paul presents "Vertreter der Heidenvölker als Opfergabe." 852 Also Aus 853 holds

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842 Dunn, Romans 9-16, p.856, 880f and p.884; Stuhlmacher, Römer, p.211; Käsemann, Römer, p.376, 383; Zeller, Römer, p.15. See also Wedderburn, Purpose, p.137-141.
843 Käsemann, Römer, p.376f. Compare Rm 1:8 and ibid., p.15.
844 Lietzmann, Römer, p.120.
845 See e.g. Dunn, Romans, p.858f; Cranfield, Romans, p.753; Barrett, Romans, p.275; Wilckens, Römer 12-16, p.116; Käsemann, Römer, p.377.
846 ἀπὸ μέρους probably refers to the exhortation of the letter. Thus Wilckens, Römer 12-16, p.117, relating it to 14:1-15:13; Cranfield, Romans, p.753; Zeller, Römer, p.237, referring to 12:1-15:13. But see also Dunn, Romans 9-16, p.858f, who argues that since 15:14ff refers back to 1:8-15 "it may be better to take the ἀπὸ μέρους as a polite self-deprecatory reference to the whole of the letter." Probably "stretching the syntax too far" (ibid., p.859) is to take ἀπὸ μέρους as relating to τολμήσατε. Against Stuhlmacher, Römer, p.209. The addition of ἀδέλφοι in ἡ, N2, D, F, G, W, Ψ, lat and sy (see Nestle-Aland on Rm 15:15) might indicate that these texts related ἀπὸ μέρους neither to τολμήσατε, nor to ἔγραψα, but to ἡ ἐπαναλημμέρως. ἀπὸ μέρους ὡς ἐπαναλημμέρως ἢ ἕτος would then be an insertion into the statement that Paul wrote rather boldly because of the grace given to him by God.
847 Lietzmann, Römer, p.120. See 1:5 and also 12:3 and Gal 1:15.
848 Thus most commentators. See e.g. ibid., p.120; Barrett, Romans, p.275; Zeller, Römer, p.238; Käsemann, Römer, p.378; Stuhlmacher, Römer, p.209f; Hengel, Mission, p.20; Dunn, Romans 9-16, p.859. For criticism on Cranfield’s assumption that Paul has the ministry of the Levites in mind (Cranfield, Romans, p.755) see especially Dunn, Romans 9-16, p.859.
849 Thus Dunn, Romans 9-16, p.860f. Against Wilckens, Römer 12-16, p.118.
850 Cranfield, Romans, p.756 n.3. See also Dunn, Romans 9-16, p.860.
851 Most scholars prefer the former. See Cranfield, Romans, p.756; Stuhlmacher, Römer, p.210; Käsemann, Römer, p.379; Lietzmann, Römer, p.120; Zeller, Römer, p.238; Barrett, Romans, p.275; Wilckens, Römer 12-16, p.118; Hengel, Mission, p.20; Aus, Spain, p.236.
852 Georgi, Kollekte, p.85.
853 Aus, Spain.
that "Paul is thinking here in terms of OT eschatology." And since Paul reads Isa 66 "through Christian eyes" he modifies the motif in such a way that he primarily sees himself as bringing Gentile Christians from his congregations in all the nations as an offering to Jerusalem. But Paul hasn’t said anything about the collection up to this point, and only with Rm 15:25 does he introduce this second concern of his to the Romans. With most scholars, therefore, I think that the Gentiles are the object of the offering, but that they are not represented in the delegation.

"Damit es nicht als Selbstruhm des Apostels klingt" Paul says that his boasting in respect to his work is grounded in Christ Jesus. He would not dare talk about anything which is not brought about for the obedience of the Gentiles. Using the phrase ἐθνῶν Paul refers back to 1:5. He is an apostle for the gospel (1:1), ministering in the service of the gospel (15:16).

Since Christ is the moving spirit behind Paul’s work Paul has completed the gospel of Christ from Jerusalem to Illyricum. This reference to Jerusalem and Illyricum is probably to be taken in an exclusive sense rather than in an inclusive sense. As apostle to the Gentiles his missionary field is the Gentile territory. And “a preaching in Jerusalem would not naturally be thought of as forming part of the Gentile mission.” Since Paul continued depicting Jerusalem as the starting point of the gospel and the centre of salvation history he here thinks in terms of salvation history. This is made clear by the fact that he has completed (πεπληρωκέναι) the gospel in this area. He could not have done this on his own, nor even with the help of his fellow workers. therefore, seems to tie in with the fullness of the Gentiles in Rm 11:25, which anticipates Israel’s salvation. Paul has done “pioneer preach-

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854 Ibid., p.236f.
855 Ibid., p.237.
856 See Hengel, Mission, p.20 n.21.
857 For criticism on Aus see Zeller, Römer, p.238. Hengel, Mission, p.20, denies any connection of Rm 15:16 with the collection.
858 Wilckens, Römer 12-16, p.118. See also Lietzmann, Römer, p.120.
859 ἔττε v.19b refers back to the explanation of v.17 in v.18 and 19a. See Dunn, Romans 9-16, p.863; Cranfield, Romans, p.760; Wilckens, Römer 12-16, p.120. I do not, however, follow Wilckens in saying that “das logische Subjekt in V19b eigentlich das Evangelium selbst ist,” (ibid., p.120) and that Paul’s “Völkermision” therefore belongs “eben doch zur Gesamtbewegung des Evangeliums hinzu.” (ibid., p.120) The moving spirit was Christ.
860 Thus Käsemann, Römer, p.380; Cranfield, Romans, p.760.
861 See §3.6.1.4..
862 Ibid., p.760.
863 Thus Dunn, Romans 9-16, p.864.
864 Thus also ibid., p.864; Stuhlmacher, Römer, p.210; Muck, Salvation, p.48. See also Barrett, Romans, p.276.; Käsemann, Römer, p.380f. Zeller denies any "heilsgeschichtliche Hintergedanken." (Zeller, Römer, p.239)
ing” 865 in a “representative way.” 866 But also his fellow workers have laid foundation (ἀλλότριον θεμέλιον, v.20). Hence it is exaggerated to say that Paul thinks of his own mission to be the only one to bring God’s plan of salvation to an end. 867 What Paul is saying is that he has - in respect to his strategy not to preach where Christ has already been proclaimed - no room left in the eastern part of the world. Paul, therefore, prepares his visit to Rome in “a sweeping vision of missionary strategy.” 868 All this work has so far hindered him from coming to Rome. 869 Now he wants to see the Romans and needs their help on his way to Spain.

“The reason why Paul was so set on reaching Spain is regrettably much less clear than we might have hoped.” 870 It was certainly much more likely for Paul to reach out for Spain rather than more northern regions. 871 And probably also the fact that Spain was depicted in Jewish tradition to be the end of the world playing an important part in the work of the Servant of the Lord in Isa 66 could have inspired Paul to aim for missionary work in Spain. 872 However, Paul does not say that his trip to Spain is part of God’s plan of salvation. His mission in the eastern part of the world is fulfilled. And why not go to Spain, then?

In Rm 15:25-33, then, Paul comes to speak about his collection enterprise. For the last time his visit to Rome will be delayed because he is on his way to Jerusalem serving (διακονών) the saints. The use of διακ- refers to 15:31; 2 Cor 8:4, 19-20; 9:1, 12-13. It is “most frequently used with reference to the collection.” 873 The present tense of the participle διακονών is usually taken as expressing purpose. 874 And the present tense of the verb πορεύομαι probably indicates that Paul is about to leave for Jerusalem. 875

865 Cranfield, Romans, p.762.
866 Barrett, Romans, p.276.
867 Thus the thesis of Aus, Spain, p.234. See also Munck, Salvation, e.g. p.43, 55.
868 Dunn, Romans 9-16, p.869.
869 διά refers to v.19b and not to v.20f. See ibid., p.871; Cranfield, Romans, p.765f; Wilckens, Römer, p.123f; Lietzmann, Römer, p.121; Zeller, Römer, p.239. Against Käsemann, Römer, p.382.
870 Dunn, Romans 9-16, p.872.
871 See ibid., p.872.
872 Thus Aus, Spain.
873 Dunn, Romans 9-16, p.873. See also Barrett, Romans, p.278.
874 Dunn, Romans 9-16, p.873; Käsemann, Römer, p.384; Cranfield, Romans, p.770f; Wilckens, Römer, p.124 n.601; O’Rourke, Participle, p.116-118.
875 Thus Dunn, Romans 9-16, p.873; Cranfield, Romans, p.770.
Since the Romans have not heard anything about the collection from Paul he has
to explain this ministry in v.26ff: the Macedonians and Achaians have decided to make
a collection. Ἐνδόκησαν indicates that it was their free will gift. Since Paul does not
explain the 'fellowship' it must have been clear that the term κοινωνία τίς εἰς τοὺς
πτωχοὺς τῶν ἀγίων τῶν ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ denotes a financial aid.

In verse 27 Paul adds to the fact that they deliberately organised the collection
that they are the debtors to Jerusalem. In 2 Cor 8 Paul has argued with the principle of
ἰσότης. The reciprocity will come to effect in the future. In 2 Cor 9 Paul said that the
collection will immediately cause thanksgiving to God and prayer for the Corinthians.
"Jetzt [in Rm 15:27] dreht Paulus den Stamm κοινων- anders herum." The collection
is a means of fellowship in "material things" in return for the fellowship in spiritual
blessings already received from the Jerusalem Christians.

The πνευματικά probably is "all which believers have received from the
Spirit," in the first instance the gospel as such, which first came to Israel and only
later to the Gentiles, but also the "geistgewirkten himmlischen Gaben." Since, how-
ever, in the whole letter Paul does not explicitly refer to any tradition received from
Jerusalem I do not think that it also refers to traditions received.

The giving of the collection Paul describes in terms of λειτουργεῖν. This refers
back to 15:16. Through Paul's service the gospel has reached the Macedonians and
Achaians, and they share in the πνευματικά of the Jerusalem Christians (v.27). And the
Gentiles' collection is in return their service to the Jerusalem Christians. That the
Gentiles can minister at all shows that "both cultic and ethnic boundaries have been
removed and completely transformed." And since the collection is this service it is a
means of this unity.

In verse 28 Paul calls the collection τῶν καρπῶν τοῦτον. This takes up
2 Cor 9:8ff. The collection is a "irdische Frucht der empfangenen geistlichen Güter."
Since Paul with the collection ministers to the saints (15:25) the fruit is a sign for the fact “daß das von ihnen [the Jerusalem Christians] begonnene Werk der Evangeliumsverkündigung in der Heidenwelt Frucht getragen hat.” 886 It does not in the first instance refer to the “Fruchtbarkeit der paulinischen Mission.” 887 The fruit is an outcome of the gospel and returns thus to Jerusalem, where the gospel started. 888

Σφραγιζομαι would usually denote the handing over of the gift to Paul by his churches. 889 However, since Paul only seals the fruit when he has delivered it to Jerusalem, 890 most commentators relate αυτῶς to the Jerusalem church and translate the verb ‘sealing over to.’ 891 This view is supported by the fact that αυτῶς in v. 27 refers to the Jerusalem church 892 and that Paul in v. 25 talks about his service for the Jerusalem saints. However, in v. 26f the Gentiles are the subject. 893 It is, therefore, most likely that αυτῶς refers to them. 894 Since the collection only achieves its purpose of helping the poor in Jerusalem and establishing unity among Gentiles and Jews when it is delivered to and accepted in Jerusalem φραγμένος means the sealing of the fruit to the Gentile churches by the successful handing over of the collection. Paul’s role is that of an ‘advocate’ of his churches.

When he has completed this task he will go to Spain by way of Rome. 895 And after he has delivered the collection, after he has himself been delivered from the disobedient in Judea and after his service has been accepted by the saints Paul will be freed “innerlich und äußerlich von einer offensichtlich drückenden Last.” 896

In Rm 15:31 Paul expresses his fear concerning his journey to Jerusalem. We have to distinguish between the fear in respect to the Jewish Christians concerning the collection (ίνα... ἡ διακονία μου ἢ εἶσ 'ἐρουσαλήμ εὐπρόσδεκτος τοῖς άγίοις γένηται) and the fear for his life in respect to the Jews in Judea (ίνα ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπείθουστων ἐν

886 Georgi, Kollekte, p.86. See also Wilckens, Römer 12-16, p.128; Cranfield, Romans, p.775.
888 See Stuhlmacher, Römer, p.214f.
889 See e.g. Bartsch, Frucht, p.95.
890 The καί in v.28 is explicative. See Käsemann, Römer, p.387.
891 Thus Georgi, Kollekte, p.86; Wilckens, Römer, p.128; Lietzmann, Römer, p.123; Bartsch, Frucht, p.96; Cranfield, Romans, p.774 n.3; Stuhlmacher, Römer, p.214; Käsemann, Römer, p.387; Dunn, Romans 9-16, p.876f.
892 See Cranfield, Romans, p.774 n.3.
893 Wilckens, Römer 12-16, p.127.
894 I think the understanding of the sealing over as a pars pro toto for sealing and delivering (thus Radermacher, ἐνθαρρυντικά, p.87f; Barrett, Romans, p.279; Bauer, Wörterbuch, c.1589) is difficult. Αὐτῶς would, then, refer to the collectors (sealing) as well as to the recipients (delivering).
895 See Dunn, Romans 9-16, p.877; Cranfield, Romans, p.774.
896 Käsemann, Römer, p.387. Also Dunn, Romans 9-16, p.877.
The Collection

τῆς ἱουδαϊκῆς. Paul did not fear that he as a person and as an apostle could be rejected by the Jerusalem Christians. He nowhere indicates that the Jerusalem Christians have rescinded their acceptance of him as a missionary among the Gentiles (Gal 2:1-10) and that they were hostile towards him since the Antioch Incident. On the other hand the fear of the Jews he relates only to himself and not to the acceptance of the collection or the appearance of the delegation. The two issues “were no doubt as closely linked in Paul’s mind as his syntax makes them.” However, that they are two distinct aspects is supported by Acts. According to Act 21:17ff Paul was well received by the Jerusalem church. The reason for Paul being accused by the Jews was his gospel and his attitude towards the law and the temple (Act 21:28f, 24:5f, 24:21, 25:19). It is striking that according to Acts “die Gemeinde im ganzen Prozeßbericht keine Rolle spielt.” “Dies gilt ebenso für die paulinischen Gemeinden, deren Vertreter Paulus auf seiner Jerusalemreise begleitet hatten.” Not the collection and the delegation were provocative to the Jews, but Paul’s presence. Hence I do not think that the collection was meant to be “eine Provokation gegen die Judaisten.”

We now turn to the delegation and its function asking who took part in the collection and the delegation.

In 1 Cor 16:1 we heard that Paul had instructed the Galatians about the collection. And from 2 Cor 8 and 9 we know that the Macedonians and Achaians took part in it. Presumably also Corinth was included. In Rm 15 Paul might only mention “the regions in closest proximity to Rome,” which additionally were most of all engaged in the collection. But nevertheless the only thing we can be sure of is that Paul is on his way to Jerusalem with a collection from Macedonia and Achaia. Only by way of conjecture and in comparison with the list in Act 20:4 can we say more about the partaking churches.

897 Ibid., p.883.
898 Stolle, Zeuge, p.274.
899 Ibid., p.274f.
900 It is of course in Luke’s interest to show that Paul is “primär Zeuge ‘des sich durch seine Boten selbst verkündigenden Christus’.” (ibid., p.275, quoting from Käsemann, Fragen, p.30) Maybe Luke’s concentration on this one aspect in the portrayal of Paul’s trial is another reason for his silence about the collection. One reason could be the “failure of the collection” (Wedderburn, Reasons, p.24) because of the Jews’ zeal against Paul. The other reason would, then, be the fact that he did not want to stress the point that there were any troubles in Jerusalem regarding the Gentile Christians, the collection and the delegation, but only regarding Paul.
901 Wilckens, Römer 12-16, p.130. Against Aus, Spain, p.256, who connects 11:13f with 15:16 and 15:25ff; Georgi, Kollekte, p.84f.
902 See especially the discussion in Munck, Salvation, p.292ff; Nickle, Collection, p.68f; Georgi, Kollekte, p.87.
903 Dunn, Romans 9-16, p.875.
Moreover we have to be clear about the fact that Paul does not mention any delegation at all in Rm 15. He merely says that the Macedonians and Achaians organised a collection and that he is going to deliver it to Jerusalem. It seems to have been of no importance for Paul to explain the delegation to the Romans. Its significance should, therefore, not be stressed too much. From Paul's own references to the collection we can hardly say that "the Apostle to the Gentiles made it his practice to gather representatives or delegates from each of the areas he missionized for the task of bringing the collected gifts to Jerusalem." 904

There is, however, no need to assume that Paul changed his plans to take a delegation with him. In 1 Cor 16:1-4 he organised a Corinthian delegation, and in 2 Cor 9 we heard of a delegation from Macedonian Christians following him to Corinth, from where he started to Rome.

For a reconstruction of this delegation we have to refer to Act 20:4. The list includes Sopater of Beroea (Σώπατρος Πύρρου Βεροιαῖος), Aristarchus and Secundus of Thessalonica (Θεσσαλονικέων δὲ Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ Σεκοῦνδος) and Tychicus and Trophimus from Asia ('Ασιανοῦ δὲ Τύχικος καὶ Τρόφιμος). In Act 21:29 Trophimus is described as being from Ephesus. Hence we have three men from Macedonia and two from Asia. "That means a numerically strong representation of the Macedonian churches." 905 About the participation of the Ephesian church we do not hear anything from Paul, not even in 2 Cor 9, which was written after he had departed from Ephesus for Corinth. 906 We might find a reference to them in 2 Cor 8:18-24. 907 But if so it remains unresolved why Paul does not mention Ephesus to stir up the Corinthians' zeal for the collection.

Puzzling is the reference to Gaius and Timothy in Act 20:4: Γάιος Δερβαῖος καὶ Τιμόθεος. It would conform with Act 19:29 if Gaius was from Thessalonica as are Aristarchus and Sekundus. 908 Derbe would then refer to Timothy, which would conform with Act 16:1. 909 But then the καὶ between Δερβαῖος and Τιμόθεος does not fit. Hence the most natural reading is that Gaius comes from Derbe in south Galatia. 910

904 Aus, Spain, p.257. His thesis depends entirely on this assumption and is based on Munck's, Georgi's and Nickle's discussion of the participating churches. (See ibid., p.235 n.12)
905 Munck, Salvation, p.294.
906 See §4.6.1.. See also ibid., p.295f.
907 Ibid., p.296f.
908 See ibid., p.294.
909 Ibid., p.294
910 For the variant reading Δούβ(ε)ρος see Georgi, Kollekte, p.87 n.333; Nickle, Collection, p.68 n.79.
Timothy, then, might be from Galatia as well, but not from Derbe. 911 This could indicate that Galatia took part in the collection.

Acts does not say anything about representatives from Troas, Philippi, Tyre, Ptolemais, Caesarea 912 and Cyprus. To say, therefore, that “additional representatives were picked up along the trip” 913 and that “apparently the list is not complete” 914 is based on the presupposition that “the collection was Paul’s all-consuming interest from the Jerusalem conference onwards.” 915 But we just know of delegates from Asia and Macedonia. And we can only presume that there were delegates from Corinth, Achaia 916 and Galatia as well. Any reconstruction of a complete list of delegates from all Pauline churches or from all areas around the eastern part of the Mediterranean sea “goes beyond the evidence of the text itself.” 917 So does the assumption that Paul was accompanied by a “large body of church representatives.” 918

We cannot say that the delegation represented all Pauline churches. Paul nowhere assigns to the collection the function of bringing in the full number of the Gentiles (Rm 11:25). 919 He could hardly have thought that the Messiah would come “primarily through his own efforts” 920 of the collection. And we also cannot combine Rm 11:13f, Rm 11:25f, Rm 15:16 and Rm 15:25ff. The πιστός ἐξ αὐτῶν (Rm 11:14) is not identical with πᾶς Ἰσραήλ (Rm 11:26), 921 the πληρωμα τῶν ἑθνῶν (Rm 11:25) is not represented in the delegation, and the collection is presumably not the offering of the Gentiles (Rm 15:16).

To sum up:

In Rm 15:14-33 Paul stresses that the collection is a free-will gift. If there is any obligation it is merely moral. It is a charitable sign of fellowship and intended to establish unity. Paul himself is the advocate of his churches guaranteeing that the collection

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911 Maybe from Lystra. See Act 16:1 and ibid., p.68 and p.68 n.80.
912 But see Act 21:16.
913 Ibid., p.69.
914 Ibid., p.68. See Georgi, Kolichte, p.87.
915 Dunn, Romans 9-16, p.875, rejecting the opinion quoted.
916 See, however, Wedderburn, Reason, p.42f.
917 Dunn, Romans 9-16, p.874.
918 Munck, Salvation, p.302. See also Georgi, Kolichte, p.87f. Wedderburn, Reasons, p.23, speaks of “a small party.”
919 Against Aus, Spain, p.234.
920 Ibid., p.261.
921 See Dunn, Romans 9-16, p.874.
is well received and is serving this purpose. Since the collection was made for Jewish Christians it was not intended to make the Jews jealous. Also "der Gedanke an eine repräsentative Vorwegnahme der prophetisch angekündigten Völkerwallfahrt nach Zion... entfällt in unserem Text völlig." 922 Paul's "Mission ist von der apokalyptischen Hoffnung getragen, einer der missionarischen Wegbereiter der Erlösung für Heiden und Juden sein zu dürfen." 923 But with the collection he did not want to achieve anything more - nor anything less - than establishing unity and fellowship between his Gentile Christian congregations and the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem.

923 Stuhlmacher, Römer, p.212.
5. Conclusion

In my dissertation I have attempted to find an answer to the question whether Paul is in the first instance a systematic thinker or a pragmatic churchman. In doing so I have looked at Paul's concepts of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles, his apostleship to the Gentiles and the collection of money for Jerusalem. We have seen that in the history of research these issues have always been closely related to each other. Scholars' views on how Paul conceived of Gentile - Jewish relations have shaped their views on his apostleship and collection. Thus I have looked at Paul's references to his revelation experience and collection mainly in Gal 1-2, but also in Paul's other letters, developing his view on Gentile - Jewish relations, his apostleship and his collection and how these issues are connected in Paul's thought.

Concerning Gal 1:15-16a we saw that it is Paul's basic conviction that the people of God is a unity of Jews and Gentiles with the Jews in a position of prime importance. Paul saw himself commissioned to proclaim the final inclusion of the Gentiles into the eschatological people of God. Relating his commission to the commission of the Servant of the Lord he conceived of his own role as playing an important part in God's plan of salvation. However, we also saw that Paul in Gal 1:15-16a does not really argue for his Gentile mission on grounds of his 'people-of-God-ecclesiology.' He argues on a textual (rhetorical), historical and theological (based on models of revelation experiences found in the Old Testament) level, but not ecclesiologically.

With this it has already been shown that Paul is no 'perfect systematic thinker.' His 'people-of-God-ecclesiology' is the underlying concept of his apostleship. But, nevertheless, there seems to be no need for Paul to argue on the basis of this basic conviction. He is not interested in arguing for the fact that his apostleship is part of his Jewishness. He mainly stresses his commission to the Gentiles. Thus he is not compelled by one theological system to argue for a certain point in one particular way.

However, Gal 1:15-16a is a highly stylised and systematised block of text. And Paul's allusions to Old Testament redemptive history quite obviously suggest that Paul's ecclesiology is one of a unity of Jews and Gentiles, and that he is interested in maintaining relationship with Israel. Thus I will now summarise the findings of the chapter on Paul's collection because they support my thesis - and bring the point even more strongly across - that Paul is no 'perfect systematic thinker.'
I have argued that the Jerusalem Council and the Antioch Incident were concerned with quite different issues. At the Jerusalem Council the apostles agreed with Paul on the eschatological inclusion of the Gentiles into the people of God without being circumcised. Only at the Antioch Incident was there a debate about the day to day situation in mixed congregations. Here Jerusalem insisted on the necessity of Jewish obedience to the law, whereas Paul defended the rights of the Gentiles as Gentiles. For him Jews and Gentiles were to form a single community without any divisions concerning social intercourse. However, for both parties it was unquestioned that the Gentiles were to be included into the people of God. Paul's ecclesiology was one of the people of God being a unity of Jews and Gentiles.

In this light, then, we made good sense of the collection agreement at the Jerusalem Council. Almsgiving from Gentiles to the Jews was to show the Gentiles' will to convert to the God of Israel and the Jews' recognition of this will. Thus it was a means of unity between Jews and Gentiles with the Jews in the place of prime importance. With the collection agreement it was thus recognised that the Gentiles were already part of the people of God. However, later on, when after the break with Antioch Paul took up the collection again, he did not argue on the grounds of this concept of Jewish - Gentile relations. He rather used a variety of images and arguments for taking up the collection and for a rich collection. It is a sign of fellowship and intended to establish unity between Jerusalem and Paul's churches, and the institution of almsgiving might be in the background of Paul's concept all the time. But the fact that Jerusalem is the centre of Jewish Christianity and thus of Israel is not the main point of Paul's argument. Hence, although the eschatological inclusion of the Gentiles into the people of God is the main issue of the collection Paul does not systematically elaborate this thought when talking about the collection.

Concerning his own role Paul conceived of himself merely as the advocate of the Gentiles. In 1 Cor 16 he did not plan to deliver the collection at all. And according to 2 Cor 8 and 2 Cor 9 it seems that it was the commitment of his churches which forced him to accompany their delegates to Jerusalem.

Therefore, concerning the collection we have made the same observation as we made concerning Paul's apostleship. Both issues are related to the relationship between Jews and Gentiles. But Paul does not systematically integrate his apostleship to the Gentiles and the collection among his Gentile churches for Jerusalem into this 'people-of-God-ecclesiology.'
And he does not even transfer his special role as apostle to the Gentiles to his role in the collection from the Gentiles to Jerusalem. He does not develop one system of his role as an apostle which he then applies to all aspects of his work among his Gentile Christian churches. Hence, concerning Paul’s apostleship I argued in one direction with the highly eschatological and theological interpretations of the works mentioned in §3.3. and with some of the works mentioned in §3.2.. But concerning his role in the collection enterprise I do not agree with these interpretations, which regard Paul as the one by whose collection the fullness of the Gentiles will come in and the one by whose collection the Gentiles will make the prophesied pilgrimage to Zion.

Hence, I think that the issues of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles, of Paul’s apostleship and of his collection are interrelated issues. Both Paul’s apostleship and his collection are based on his ‘people-of-God-ecclesiology.’ But arguing for the one or the other Paul does not systematically elaborate his concept of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles. And although both issues are related issues on the basis of the unity of Jews and Gentiles Paul does not transfer his role as an apostle to his role as the bearer of the collection. Contrary to the way many scholars deal with Paul I think that he is no ‘perfect systematic thinker.’ He has basic convictions, but he is a pragmatic churchman and not a systematic thinker. He does not elaborate on the grounds of some basic convictions a complete and coherent systematic theology, which he then applies to the problems and situations in his congregations he is dealing with in his letters. As a pragmatic churchman he rather works the other way round. First there are the problems and situations to deal with. Only then does Paul develop his arguments for his point.

Therefore, the most basic result of my thesis is a methodological one. Dealing with Paul we should not assume that he was taught systematic theology as we are. For Paul what is given is the method of biblical argumentation, but not the results of this exegesis. Paul does not apply a theological system to the situation; the argumentation is determined by the situation. Hence, we should be much more concerned with the situation in Paul’s congregations and with the point he wants to make before we refer to related issues in other Pauline letters or even within the same letter.

This methodological reservation against systematising the pragmatic churchman Paul is the lesson which we might learn from the fact that Paul’s apostleship and collection are - musically speaking - neither a counterpoint to, nor an homophonic accompaniment of, but rather a polyphonic variation on the unity of Jews and Gentiles.
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