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Paul, Antioch, and Jerusalem: a study in relationships and authority in earliest Christianity

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Abstract
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PAUL, ANTIOCH, AND JERUSALEM
A Study in Relationships and Authority in Earliest Christianity
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Paul's life and work, including his relationship with the Jerusalem church, were dynamic, rather than having been predetermined in his conversion. The Antiochene church was crucial to Paul's development, to a degree not previously appreciated.

Little is known of the years following Paul's conversion, other than it was unsettled, and included travels and sojourns in Arabia, Damascus, Jerusalem, and Tarsus. The encounter with the Jerusalem church did not result in a stable relationship or social integration.

It was at Antioch that Paul was first fully incorporated into a Christian community, from which he derived his dyadic identity, and later his apostolic commission. His relationship with the Jerusalem church consisted in corporate participation in the κοινωνία between the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch. In this context, Paul joined Barnabas in defending the Antiochene gospel of uncircumcision, and not his own theology or apostleship, at the Jerusalem conference.

The Antioch incident resulted in Paul's separation from the Antiochene church, and exclusion from its κοινωνία with the Jerusalem church. His independent ministry followed, during which he developed his conception of apostleship independent of human authority, in which his self-identity is bound up with the gospel, in response to his isolation, and loss of dyadic identity and apostolic commission.

Paul sought to end his isolation through reconciliation with the Antiochene church, and, through its κοινωνία, with the Jerusalem church. This was the object of the collection, but the crisis in Corinth delayed completion, requiring Paul to convey his offering separately. His implicit claim to κοινωνία accordingly became overt, and the collection became the basis, rather than a correlative obligation, of the relationship. This jeopardized the acceptability of Paul's overtures, and, while his reception is uncertain, the journey occasioned his arrest, and ended his missionary career.

PAUL, ANTIOCH, AND JERUSALEM

A Study in Relationships and Authority

in Earliest Christianity

by

Nicholas Hugh Taylor
MA

**A Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
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in memoriam

Commander

PATRICK HUGH BISSET TAYLOR

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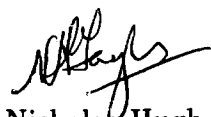19.2.1916 - 30.7.1989

I confirm that no part of the material offered has previously been submitted by me for a degree in this or in any other University.

Nicholas Hugh Taylor

2 October 1990

Contents

Preface

The question of Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church has been of interest to me since, as a child, hearing Gal.2 read in church. The subject, however, was slow to enter my academic work. I recall two or three undergraduate papers upon which the Jerusalem conference and incident at Antioch impinged, but it was not until I came to Durham, and then in an unpremeditated manner, that I began to give the matter a systematic treatment, and it has all but dominated my thoughts for the last three years. The purpose of this thesis, however, is not to bring to fulfillment a childhood interest, but to explore, and hopefully to illuminate, an issue that is crucial not only for New Testament studies as a topic of interest and controversy in its own right, but also for questions regarding ecclesiastical relations today. The scope of this study cannot feasibly include discussion of the latter aspect, much as it is of concern and interest to me, and of pressing relevance in contemporary Christianity. It is necessary in this work to concentrate on the scholarly issues, concerning the historical and sociological issues surrounding Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church. In this I hope to draw attention to the under-appreciated role of the church of Antioch in Paul's life, and to locate Paul's apostolic self-conception in its social and historical context. I shall seek to demonstrate that, if the significance of the Antioch church is more fully acknowledged, our perception of Paul becomes historically more plausible, and sociologically more-comprehensible. The author and object of much-polemic and iconography becomes recognizable as a human being who acquired an awesome sense of vocation, rather than a superhuman being with either a superhuman ego or a superhuman destiny.

I write this Preface four years to the day since commencing studies in Durham, and look back on a period in my life which has been both happy and productive. Many thanks are due to my supervisor, Professor James Dunn, for his critical but sympathetic scrutiny of the successive drafts of papers, some of which have eventually found their way into this thesis. Thanks too to Mrs Meta Dunn, a gracious hostess on numerous occasions. Other members of the Department of Theology have also read drafts of sections of this thesis, and thanks are due particularly to Dr George Dragas, Mr Stephen Barton and Dr Andrew Chester (now of Cambridge University), and also to Professor James Beckford, formerly of the Department of Sociology and now of Loyola University, Chicago, for their interest and encouragement. A special word of appreciation is due also to Mrs Margaret Parkinson,

Finally, I would express the hope that this thesis will justify the confidence that has been placed in me, and that, as well as absorbing my interest and attention for several years, it will contribute both to academic scholarship and to Christian theology.

Nicholas Taylor

Durham

2 October 1990

Introduction

Note on use of the words church *and* Church

In this thesis, I shall be using the word church *to designate any Christian congregation, in the sense of a local Christian community. When I use the word* Church *it will designate the conceptual unity and identity of all Christians. The term will not presuppose or imply any organic or institutionalized universal Church during the New Testament period, but merely recognize that there was a sense of common Christian identity shared by at least some communities, however diverse their traditions or geographical location. That this sense of unity, at the conceptual level, was important in early Christianity, I hope this thesis will make clear. I shall not be arguing that this unity took organizational form, even in the limited assertions of predominance by the Jerusalem and Antioch churches, and by Paul.*

Paul's relationship with the church at Jerusalem, and with Peter and James in particular, became a crucial issue in New Testament scholarship with the work of **F.C. Baur** in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Baur's reconstruction of early Christianity was the product of the thought world exemplified by Hegelian dialectics, and he argued that, whereas Paul was true to the universalist teaching of Jesus (1845, pp59,126f; 1853, pp43,61), Peter, James, and the Jerusalem church reverted to Jewish particularism (1845, pp127f). Paul's work is closely identified with the issue of the continuing relevance of the Mosaic Law in Christianity, which is seen to be directly relevant to his relationship with the Jerusalem church. The Tübingen school's hypothesis of a somewhat hostile coexistence between two fundamentally alien Christian gospels (Baur, 1845, pp125ff) has been widely criticized for its dependence on a dialectic theory, and it has been argued that they "did not reach the true solution because of [their] subjection to the "dialectic" of the philosopher Hegel" (Sandmel, 1958, p146; cf. Munck, 1954,

10

pp69-87; Kyrtatis, 1987, p4; Sumney, 1990, pp15-22). Baur's reconstruction also required the selective use and interpretation of the sources, both in his reliance on the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies* (1845, pp85ff), and in his effective dismissal of the testimony of *Acts* as "intentionally deviating from historical truth in the interest of the special tendency which it represents" (1845, p105), and uncritical acceptance of Paul as an "eye-witness" (1845, p105).

Baur and the Tübingen school have nevertheless had a continuing influence in New Testament scholarship, and the issue of Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church remains contentious. The identification of Paul and the Jerusalem church with particular positions regarding the Mosaic law, an issue of importance in its own right, has led to neglect of other factors in their relationship, however. It is the contention of this thesis that Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church cannot be understood simply in terms of their respective understandings of the Mosaic law, which were neither monolithic in the case of the Jerusalem church nor inflexible in the case of Paul. Furthermore, the notion of a dichotomy between Paul and the leadership of the Jerusalem church has led to too individualistic, and too static, a conception of Paul and the movement within early Christianity which he represented. I shall be arguing that a rigid dichotomy is wholly inappropriate for understanding Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church, and that this conception of Paul is the product of uncritical reading of his statements about himself, particularly in *Galatians*. Rather, Paul's self-conception as reflected in his letters is to be understood as a response to his current circumstances, his isolation within early Christianity following his confrontation with Peter at Antioch, and his consequent need to substantiate his authority without dependence on any Christian community or authority. The greater part of Paul's ministry prior to the period during which his letters were written, was spent as a member and apostle of the church at Antioch. The importance of this association has been seriously underestimated in previous scholarship, and I hope to rectify this, both by demonstrating the significance of the association itself and by illuminating the degree to which Paul's apostolic self-conception was a response to the termination of this association. If the importance of the Antiochene church in Paul's Christian career is appreciated, then the notion of a dichotomy between him on the one hand, and Peter and the Jerusalem church on the other, becomes untenable. The relevant relationship during the earlier period of Paul's ministry was that between

the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch, in which Paul was a participant by virtue of his membership of the Antiochene church, and not as an individual apostle. This relationship, far from being one of hostile coexistence, was one of amicable κοινωνία, in which the diversity of Christian expression was contained within a greater, mutually respecting, unity.

The logical similarity between the neoplatonic dialectics associated with Hegel and Baur, and the lutheran dichotomy between law and faith, a theological presupposition of much modern New Testament scholarship, may account for the tendency to view early Christianity in terms of conflict between two distinct forms of Christianity represented by Paul and his opponents in Jerusalem, and the apparent reluctance of scholarship to take seriously either the full range of diversity within early Christianity, or the conscious unity which embraced that diversity. The introduction of sociological paradigms, which have been developed outside the realms of ecclesiastical polemic, to New Testament studies, would seem to provide an opportunity to reconsider the question of Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church, with the benefit not merely of the fresh insights which can be gained through employment of such methods, but also of greater critical distance from the methodological presuppositions of Baur and his successors, and indeed many of his critics. The work of **B. Holmberg** (1978) in particular, has been a valuable contribution in this direction, and provides a basis for more rigorous scrutiny of the crucial issue of Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church, with which this thesis is concerned.

I

Before proceeding with an account of Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church which takes into account the factors mentioned above, it is necessary to review some of the major contributions of previous scholars to this issue. Firstly, some of Baur's earliest critics and their successors, will be considered. This will reveal a fundamental problem of paradigm, and require some treatment of previous attempts to address this issue. It will then be possible to consider particular contributions to the central issue of this thesis.

Baur's early critics, such as **J.B. Lightfoot** and **A. von Harnack**, while severe in attacking his method and interpretation of the sources, nevertheless reached conclusions not significantly removed from his, in that they identify Paul's opponents as a Judaistic faction in the Jerusalem church, rather than that community and its leadership as a whole (Lightfoot, 1890, pp365ff; Harnack, 1902, pp61f; cf. Baur, 1845, p128). This tendency has continued through the twentieth century, except where the influence of the history of religions school has determined a gnostic background to Paul's opponents (cf. Lütgert, 1908; Bultmann, 1947; Schmithals, 1956, 1965; Georgi, 1964). Even in this tradition, a certain rift between Paul and the Jerusalem church on the issue of the Mosaic law has been postulated (cf. Schmithals, 1961, 1963).

A number of more recent scholars, such as **H.J. Schoeps** (1959, pp66-75) and **G. Bornkamm** (1969, pp28,33), have emphasized the fundamental unity between Peter and James on the one hand, and Paul on the other, while not ignoring the differences between them on the crucial issue of the continuing significance of the Mosaic law, especially for gentile Christians. A position closer to Baur's has been advocated by **E. Käsemann** (1942, pp36f), **C.K. Barrett** (1953, pp1f,17; 1963a; 1970; 1971, pp246,252f), and **M. Hengel** (1979, pp86,97). They affirm the existence of "a planned and concerted anti-Pauline movement" (Barrett, 1985, p22) emanating from the Jerusalem church, and which, to a greater or lesser extent, advocated the imposition of the Jewish law on gentile Christians.

A major challenge to the notion of a dichotomy between Paul and the leadership of the Jerusalem church, is that of **J. Munck**. He argues that Paul differed with Peter and James not in principle but in strategy, and that the Judaizers represent a gentile Christian heresy, against which Paul, Peter, and James were united (1954, pp93,128,131,134,232). Nevertheless, Munck retains a conception of Paul as unique among early Christian missionaries, including those preaching to the gentiles (1954, pp38-58). He retains also the idea of separation between Jewish and gentile Christians, or at least of mission areas (1954, p119). While critical of Baur's use of sources (1954, pp69ff), Munck similarly discounts the evidence of *Acts* when it conflicts with that of Paul (1967, pp86,153f). These theological and methodological presuppositions weaken Munck's otherwise incisive challenge

13

to the legacy of the Tübingen school, and mean that his conclusions are not as consistent or as radical as the evidence requires.

A fundamental problem with Baur, his successors, and some of his critics, would seem to be one of paradigm. The scholars considered above, while critical of Baur and the Tübingen school, nevertheless base their work on many of the same presuppositions. The identification of Paul with non-nomistic Christianity, and of the Jerusalem church with nomistic, while not totally incorrect, focusses too much on the person of Paul and tends to ignore the broader range of Christianity of which he was but one example, and in particular underestimates the importance of the Antioch church in the formation of the theological tendency Paul came to exemplify. These scholars operate within a framework which is too rigid and simplistic to accommodate the range of diversity in early Christianity, and the simultaneous processes of synthesis and diversification which accompany historical and theological developments. A more comprehensive and less rigid paradigm is therefore needed if the historical questions raised by Baur can be successfully pursued. **W. Bauer's** overview of early Christianity (1934), subsequently developed by **H. Koester**, partly in collaboration with **J.M. Robinson**, and also by **J.D.G. Dunn, R.E. Brown**, and, more implicitly, by **H. Conzelmann** (1969b), would seem to provide a more flexible framework for studying early Christianity, and in particular for pursuing questions such as that of Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church, with which this thesis is concerned.

Koester's trajectory model examines the dissemination and development of Christianity in specific places. He associates the judaistic tendency in Jerusalem with James, rather than with Peter (1980, p87), and identifies Paul's opponents in his various churches with diverse strands of Christianity, rather than as a single movement (1965, pp144ff; 1980, p127). Dunn's model is closer to Baur's, in that it divides the broad spectrum of early Christianity into two principal categories, Jewish and Hellenistic Christianity, not as rigid categories, but as general tendencies in a single, though diverse, spectrum (1977). While Peter and James, and the Jerusalem church, broadly represent Jewish Christianity, Paul represents Hellenistic Christianity. Others represent positions between and beyond these (1977, p306). Brown's paradigm is similar to Dunn's, but identifies the diverse tendencies in early Christianity specifically in terms of their position regarding the Mosaic law,

rather than as Jewish or gentile (1983, p2). He places Peter and James in the second of four principal categories, and Paul in the third (1983, pp3f), at the centre rather than the edge of the spectrum. The strength of Brown's paradigm is that it avoids a simplistic and potentially misleading classification of early Christian groups as Jewish or gentile. However, by making attitudes to the Mosaic law the sole criterion for categorizing the various groups, Brown ignores other possible criteria, which Dunn's paradigm is better able to accommodate. While Koester tends to emphasize historical events in his reconstruction of early Christianity, Dunn concentrates more on the development of ideas, and Brown on the specific issue of the Mosaic law. All three emphases are important, and the paradigms all provide potentially useful frameworks for studying early Christianity. Within the broader framework, however, we need to focus more closely on the specific issue of this thesis, Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church.

A treatment of modern literature on the subject of this thesis can most appropriately begin with **K. Holl's** essay "Der Kirchenbegriff des Paulus in seinem Verhältnis zu dem der Urgemeinde". Like Baur, Holl posits a dialectic relationship between Paul and the Jerusalem church, but ecclesiology, and therefore authority, rather than attitudes to the Jewish law, is the basis of conflict (1921, pp61f). Holl sees James as the dominant figure in the Jerusalem church from the beginning (pp50,54), while Peter led the missionary outreach of that community (p56). The Jerusalem church exercised some oversight over other churches, the precise parameters of which are unclear (p58). The tension between Paul and the Jerusalem church did not lead the former to deny the apostolic validity of the "Urapostel" (p62), or the latter actively to undermine Paul, even if they authorised some of the activities of those who were operating against Paul in Galatia and Corinth and furnished them with commendatory letters (p57). This last point seems somewhat ambivalent, but it is an issue which has never really been resolved. Holl's article is important, at least partly because he raises or alludes to issues concerning relationships on which, with the benefit of contemporary sociological method, we may now be in a position to shed further light.

The traditional Catholic position on the structure of the early Church, and of Paul's place within that structure, is represented by **W.L. Knox**. He goes beyond Holl in portraying the early Church as an hierarchical organization ruled

from Jerusalem. Knox argues that, on account of his prolonged absences from Jerusalem on missionary work, Peter delegated the leadership of that church to James (1925, pp81,169). Together with a body of presbyters, James led the Jerusalem church, while the twelve apostles were "the rulers of the whole Christian society" (p180). The apostles, and by extension the Church as a whole, were under the influence of the Jerusalem church, but Knox nevertheless recognizes in Paul a degree of autonomy and authority that could prevail against the combined weight of Peter, James' representatives, and Barnabas at Antioch (p193). However inconsistent with his main argument the last qualification may be, Knox raises a very important issue, that of the influence of the Jerusalem church beyond its own borders, which, with the benefit of sociological paradigms, we shall be able to consider further in the appropriate chapters of this thesis, and hopefully reach insights which can rectify this ambiguity.

O. Cullmann represents a position that is ecclesiologically oriented, but founded somewhat more securely on critical scholarship than that of Knox. He argues that Peter led the church in Jerusalem from its inception (1953, pp33f), and that the local leadership devolved to James on Peter's departure (p37). Peter's missionary work was, more than Paul's, subordinate to the church in Jerusalem (p43), and he was therefore to a far greater degree subject to pressures emanating from Jerusalem (pp45,50,65). Peter's authority was illegitimately cited against Paul in Galatia and Corinth, when they were in reality in fundamental agreement (p54). A curious intrusion, which undermines Cullmann's assertion of Paul's independence, is his suggestion that Paul baptized only a few in Corinth because only the Twelve could confer the Holy Spirit, and Paul accordingly left the task to them (p53). The fundamentals of Cullmann's historical reconstruction represent little development from Harnack, but he is appreciative of the role of relations of dependence and authority in determining the course of events, and this provides a basis for further inquiry into the issue of Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church and its leaders.

A contrast to the ecclesiological emphasis of Holl, Knox, and Cullmann, and the rabbinic formalism of **B. Gerhardsson** (1961; 1964), is the scholarly tradition which emphasises the Holy Spirit rather than ecclesiastical structures as definitive for early Christian life. The work of **R. Sohm** (1892) has been seminal in this

regard, and the same line of thinking is apparent in the writing of **E. Käsemann** (1949; 1962), and, in a less extreme form, **E. Schweizer** (1959). However, the principal exposition of this point of view is that of **H.F. von Campenhausen** (1953). These scholars tend to concentrate on the internal life of individual congregations, but the implications of their research also affect their perception of the broader ecclesiastical community (cf. Campenhausen, pp31ff; Schweizer, 1959, p97). The preoccupation of Campenhausen with such concepts as pneumatic inspiration (p58) and freedom (p47), and his assertion that charismatic powers conveyed no authority on those who manifested them (p60), result in naive and unrealistic conclusions, which require correction through sociological analysis.

J.H. Schütz (1975) and **B. Holmberg** (1978) have provided the most significant work which has sought to apply sociological insights to early Christianity, specifically directed to the issue of authority. The former, however, tends simply to paraphrase Paul's theology using sociological terminology, without making the necessary analysis of the communities and relationships behind the texts, which seriously undermines the usefulness of his work.

Holmberg's work is methodologically more sound, both in his use of sociological analysis, and in integrating it with exegesis and historical criticism, and is accordingly a more substantial contribution to discussion of the issues raised in this thesis. Holmberg is very conscious that Paul's career was not static, and that due account must be taken of developments in his life and thought. This applies very much to his relationship with the Jerusalem church, and Holmberg points to a significant factor in this, Paul's association with the church at Antioch (p18). The Antioch church saw itself as subordinate to that at Jerusalem, and it was after Paul's break with that community in the aftermath of his altercation with Peter, that he claimed equality with Peter (pp18,54f,64f). Nevertheless "the role of the Jerusalem apostolate as the highest doctrinal court of the Church is part and parcel of Paul's salvation-historical conception of his own apostolate" (p28). The Jerusalem church was able to assert a degree of authority over other Christian congregations on account of its proximity to the sacred, in terms of being at the source of the Christian faith (p198). Paul was therefore dependent upon the Jerusalem church for recognition of his apostolic claims (p54f), and unable to break with the Jerusalem church in the same way as he broke with the Antiochene (p204).

His standing with the Jerusalem church affected his standing with other Christian communities, including those he himself had founded (p207). Holmberg's analysis of the development in Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem and Antiochene churches, while pointing to a very important issue, the dynamic nature of relationships, is historically questionable. In the relevant chapters of this thesis, I shall argue that Paul's break with the church of Antioch was temporary. Furthermore, while Holmberg is undoubtedly correct in describing a complete separation of Paul from the Jerusalem church as "theologically and sociologically impossible" (p204) at the theoretical level, I shall seek to demonstrate that Paul had no effective relationship with the Jerusalem church between the Antioch incident and the delivery of the collection. While I concur in a great deal of Holmberg's analysis, I believe these aspects of his historical reconstruction to require substantial revision. This task will be pursued further in this thesis.

J.P. Sampley has portrayed Paul's relationship with Peter, James, John, and Barnabas in terms of a legal, consensual *societas*, formed at the Jerusalem conference, and, by implication, ended by the Antioch incident (1980, pp21-41; cf. Schulz, 1936, p150; Buckland, 1939, p296; Nicholas, 1962, p187). This interpretation, however attractive, is problematic. Sampley recognizes that the conference concerned the churches represented as well as the named participants (p24), but nevertheless reconstructs the decision of the conference as though it was a contract entered by five people. In the relevant chapters of this thesis, I shall argue that the conference concerned the relationship between the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch, to which personal relations between their respective leaders and representatives were subordinate. However well Sampley may interpret Paul's anachronistic depiction of the Jerusalem conference in Gal.2:1-10, this reconstruction does not reflect the historical relationship in terms of which the conference took place. The κοινωνία between the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch cannot simply be equated with a consensual *societas* between the leadership of those communities (cf. Sampley, p29; Jones, 1956, p163; Judge, 1960, p43).

The reconstruction of Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church offered by **J.D.G. Dunn** (1982 & 1983), grapples with the problems inherent in interpreting Paul's account of this relationship. Dunn brings out very clearly the tension within the text of Gal.1-2 between Paul's assertions of his independence of the Jerusalem

18

church, and his need to cite that community as being in unison with him on key issues. "It was this attempt to hold on to Jerusalem's authority and yet at the same time to hold it at arm's length which explains the contortions of syntax in this section of Galatians" (1982, p469). Paul is not simply outlining the course of his relationship with the Jerusalem church, but in doing so he is refuting allegations made by his opponents in Galatia, to the effect that he is, or ought to be, subservient to the Jerusalem apostles, from whom he received his commission (1982, p471). Paul is forced to admit a degree of dependence upon the Jerusalem church, but emphasizes that this does not substantially affect his own apostolic work (1982, pp471f). When based at Antioch, Paul had willingly shared in the subordinate relationship of that community to the Jerusalem church (1983, pp6f). However, when Peter and Barnabas' view prevailed in the Antiochene church in the face of James' delegates, Paul repudiated that authority, and the Judaistic party spread its activities to churches which had been established under Antiochene auspices (1983, p39). Dunn's awareness of the tensions and ambiguities in the narrative of *Galatians*, provides a basis upon which we can consider other tensions revealed in that text, particularly that between Paul's need to relate accurately the events of his past, and his need to portray those events in the light of his situation at the time of writing. This tension will be explored further in this thesis.

The issue of the relevance of the Mosaic law for Christians has been crucial to modern understandings of Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church. The work of F.B. Watson (1986) is significant for its historical reconstruction as well as for its method of interpretation. Watson identifies as a principal issue in the early Church, whether it would remain a Jewish reform movement or become a non-Jewish sect (p49). This analysis is open to criticism as being a restatement of Baur's position using sociological concepts, and arguably using those concepts anachronistically, without avoiding the rigidity which is a major weakness of Baur's thesis (cf. Holmberg, 1990, pp105f). The significance of Watson's thesis, however, lies in his argument that Paul's Christian career began as a missionary to Jews, and he became a missionary to gentiles because he came to believe that Christian mission to Jews was futile (pp28f,53). This was a cause of tension with the Jerusalem church (pp53ff), and Watson opposes Holmberg's view that Paul remained bound to the Jerusalem church despite the events at Antioch (p192). As

argued above, this is a major weakness in Holmberg's reconstruction, and Watson provides a useful corrective to this, as does **P.J. Achtemeier** (1987).

The historical questions posed by Baur, and with which this thesis is concerned, depend largely for their resolution upon the chronological order of the events recorded in Paul's letters and in *Acts*. Especially since the work of **J. Knox** (1950), scholars have sought to bring the records of *Acts* into conformity with a chronology extrapolated from Paul's letters. Principal events, such as the Jerusalem conference, the Antioch incident, and the formulation of the Apostolic Decree, if arranged in an order other than that implied in *Acts*, can affect significantly our understanding of the relationship between Paul and the Jerusalem church. As well as Achtemeier, significant contributions in this direction have been made by **A. Suhl** (1975), **R. Jewett** (1979), **G. Lüdemann** (1980), and **N. Hyldahl** (1986). Their various hypotheses will be treated in a discussion of chronology below.

To sum up, therefore, the nature of Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church, first raised in modern New Testament studies by Baur, remains a matter of scholarly controversy. It is an issue closely related to that of the relevance of the Mosaic law for Christians, and especially for gentile Christians. However, the diversity and complexity of early Christianity as an historical, social, and religious phenomenon, is more fully appreciated today than was the case with Baur. A dialectic model, albeit based on the crucial question of the Law, is inadequate for understanding early Christianity, which cannot be simplified into a struggle between two parties, one particularist and the other universalist. Greater awareness of diversity inevitably relativizes the importance of the parties previously regarded as definitive of early Christianity, but the relationship between Paul and the Jerusalem church, through the successive stages of Paul's ministry, nevertheless remains an important question. Paul may no longer be regarded as typical of early Christianity, and the question of how representative his life and thought were, is therefore more, and not less, crucial. The question of Paul's role in the early Church, and specifically in relation to the Jerusalem church, is one that has not been adequately resolved through the historical critical method, however valuable its contribution. The use of sociological analysis to illuminate the historical information, has been shown to be fruitful in the work of Holmberg and others.

The questions nevertheless remain primarily and essentially historical, and must be addressed as such.

As stated above, it is my contention that previous work on Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church has seriously underestimated the importance of the church of Antioch, although in recent years Holmberg (1978), Dunn (1982 & 1983), Meier (Brown & Meier, 1983), and Achtemeier (1987) have made significant advances in this direction. I shall argue that scholars have been too uncritical in accepting Paul's anachronistic interpretation of events in Gal.1:11-2:14, in particular the notion that Paul was an apostle to the gentiles, independent of any Christian community, from the moment of his conversion (cf. Hahn, 1963, p97; Georgi, 1965, p94). Far from having been the independent apostle to the gentiles, equalling Peter in preeminence, from the moment of his conversion, or even from the Jerusalem conference, Paul's independence was the consequence of his alienation from the Antiochene church in the aftermath of his confrontation with Peter. The theological rationale for this independence, and the reinterpretation of past events in the light thereof, serve to compensate for his severance of his relationship with the Antiochene church. Until then, Paul's dyadic identity and self-understanding (cf. Malina, 1981, pp53-60; Meeks, 1983a, p78; vide discussion below) had been in terms of the Christian community in Antioch, of which he was a member, and in whose apostolate he was engaged.

Paul's break with the Antiochene church therefore required a complete reorientation. He lost not merely the base and structural support of his missionary work, but also the very basis of his human and Christian identity. Both his self-understanding and his missionary work came to be expressed in terms of a personalized notion of apostleship, derived directly from God. In the absence of a community in which he could be embedded dyadically, Paul derived his identity from his apostolic vocation, which he conceived as having come directly from God, and located in, and identified with, his conversion experience. *Galatians* reflects a response to isolation through social, psychological, and theological self-sufficiency, which belongs to a specific period in Paul's life, after the Antioch incident, and can be understood only if his previous identification with the church at Antioch is fully appreciated.

21

Before proceeding with this inquiry into Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church, it is necessary to identify the sources and clarify points of methodology. When this has been accomplished, the crucial issue of chronology can be discussed, which will provide the framework within which the central issues of this thesis can be investigated.

II

A fundamental problem with previous scholarship identified in the discussion above, has been that of method. The rigidity of the paradigm in terms of which Paul was seen as being the dialectic opposite of the Jerusalem church, has strongly influenced successive generations of New Testament scholars towards an understanding of early Christianity which conflicts with the evidence when seen in terms of the more fluid and broader paradigms which have been proposed as alternatives. I have suggested that sociological paradigms can help illuminate the issues further. The influence of methodology in shaping our understanding of the data, therefore requires that particular attention be given to the methods employed in this thesis.

New Testament scholarship has long recognized the need to locate the early Christian writings in their historical context, as a prerequisite to sound exegesis, and all the works cited above are essentially historical in their method. The process of historical research, however, is complicated by unavoidable issues of meaning, method, and interpretation. It is necessary to be aware of the limitations, both to the acquisition of knowledge, and to objectivity in its interpretation, that are inherent in history, as in other sciences.

Bultmann's definition of history as "a closed continuum of effects in which individual events are connected by the succession of cause and effect" (1957, p291), well illustrates the point that methodological presuppositions underlie any academic inquiry. Gager's statement that "meaningful descriptions can never be devoid of assumptions whether explicit or not, that verge on being theories in disguise" (1982, p259), demonstrates the problem that facts cannot be assimilated and analysed without reference to some interpretative framework, which can, if not used with due caution, become prescriptive of the results of the research. A

further problem is that of perspective, and Thiselton points out that "the modern interpreter, no less than the text, stands in a given historical context and tradition" (1980, p11). Even the questions with which we approach the sources constitute presuppositions (cf. Bultmann, 1957, p294). It is therefore impossible to avoid presuppositions, at least not without depriving the academic exercise of any meaning. A disciplined, and self-conscious, methodology is therefore essential to any academic inquiry, whereby the methodological presuppositions are clearly defined (cf. Collingwood, 1930, p14), and the danger of prescriptive rather than analytic reconstruction controlled, and in which meaningful investigation is possible.

The historical critical method is of necessity primary in any study of early Christianity. The reconstruction of past events and their significance, and the interpretation of ancient texts, is complicated by the sparsity of evidence, which seriously reduces the potential for certainty. "The past does not exist and cannot be perceived; our knowledge of it is not derived from observation, and cannot be verified by experiment" (Collingwood, 1930, p13). The conclusions of historical investigation can only be tentative and provisional, so far as the evidence allows. The assertion of Sumney, therefore, that historical reconstruction requires probability and not simply possibility and plausibility (1990, p81), not only assumes that information can be elicited from the sources with greater confidence than is possible, and that there is sufficient data for certainty when there usually is not, but also ignores the relativity of the distinction between probability and possibility. While it is true that possibility does not constitute proof, neither does probability. Probability is determined by calculation on the basis of such evidence as is available, and the likelihood established on the basis of probability is unaffected by whether or not the calculation proves to be true (Popper, 1934, p211; Wittgenstein, 1974, p227). Probability is based upon a category of events, of which the specific case is an example (Popper, 1934, p149), and is "impervious to strict falsification" when projected into a particular situation (Popper, 1934, p146). Sumney seems therefore to employ a notion of probability that is all but prescriptive, and methodologically somewhat bland. He does not recognize the degree of uncertainty with which all scientific scholars, including historians and New Testsament critics, are obliged to work. Furthermore, the historical critical method needs to recognize degrees of probability (Hengel, 1979, p132; cf. Popper, 1934, p112; Harvey, 1966, p81).

23

Sumney also attacks the use of analogy in historical reconstruction, and in the methodologically parallel process of exegesis, which he argues should be undertaken without primary reference to verbal parallels (1990, pp89-93). This curious argument raises the question as to how words can have meanings other than in the context of a particular language at a particular time. This principle is essential to semantics and lexicography, and analogy is likewise fundamental to historical method (Hengel, 1979, p129). The perils of anachronism and prescription in analogy need to be guarded against, but the process of conjecture on the basis of analogy is nonetheless essential to the historical critical method (Collingwood, 1946, p251), even though the results that can be obtained are inherently uncertain and speculative.

Even where the historical facts can be established, their significance cannot be definitively understood (Bultmann, 1957, p295), and knowledge of facts does not constitute understanding (Hengel, 1979, p130). Understanding events and their significance requires arrangement of the facts in a conceptual framework. Chronological ordering of the events, and the extrapolation of hypothetical events and circumstances, and their interpretation, on the basis of analogy, involves the use of controls external to the sources but nevertheless essential to the analytic process (cf. Holmberg, 1978, p3). The use of such conceptual tools is essential. "Perceivers without concepts are blind" (MacIntyre, 1985, p79; cf. Popper, 1972, p186). Care, however, must be taken not to incorporate anachronistic and inappropriate categories, alien to the context, in the interpretation of the sources (Garnsey & Saller, 1987, p109). Care must also be taken not to rationalize events into a simplistic system of cause and effect, which ignores the complexities of reality, inevitable though simplification is in historical analysis (Hengel, 1979, p130).

The historical critical method is essential to New Testament scholarship, however tentative and provisional its results, notwithstanding the attacks of some literary critics (cf. Petersen, 1978, p32). While it needs to be recognized that "the *meaning* of a text is inseparable from the forms in which it is expressed" (Poland, 1985, p2; cf. Morgan, 1988, p240), the historical quest nevertheless remains a legitimate exercise, whose usefulness "only clever but unscientific minds can deny" (Dilthey, 1927, p204). Other methods of analysis, complementary to the historical critical, but equally limited in their scope and potential for certainty, can broaden

24

our understanding of early Christianity. In our review of previous writing pertaining to our subject, particular attention was given to that work which sought to integrate sociological insights with historical analysis, as will be the approach of this thesis.

The results of scholarly research are founded upon definite, if implicit, philosophical and theoretical premises. As will have become clear in the preceding paragraphs, the thinking behind this thesis has been influenced by the work of such philosophers as Wittgenstein and Popper, in terms of which the conclusions to any scientific enterprise are inherently tentative. Absolute certainty is not obtainable. One can aim to achieve as high a degree of certainty as possible, given the limitations of the information available, and the limitations inherent in the analytical methods, but this does not constitute proof or establish absolute truth. The scholar needs to be constantly aware of these limitations, however confident he or she may be in the results of his or her research, and however assertively he or she may choose to express arguments, hypotheses, and even conclusions. I have sought to be consistent with these principles in this thesis. In making use of a range of historical and sociological analytic techniques, I have sought to derive as much data as possible from the available materials, and to eliminate as much scope for error as possible. The conclusions can only be tentative and provisional, even if convention and conciseness require a more assertive form of presentation. My conclusions are offered for consideration, and, irrespective of the confidence with which I argue for them, they remain subject to revision and rejection, as well, I trust, as confirmation, in the subsequent scholarly debate.

Careful attention to method is essential, if the needed elimination of error is to be successful. Our next task is therefore to identify models whereby historical and sociological insights can be used to illuminate the relevant data to maximum advantage.

III

The intention of scholars who apply sociological method to New Testament studies, is not to supersede the current historical critical method, but to extend its scope. Sociology is "a natural and inevitable concomitant of the historical-critical

25

method" (Watson, 1986, pix). "Sociological explanation is necessarily historical" (Abrams, 1982, p2; cf. Holmberg, 1990, pp8ff). The sociologist "does not need to work over the research of historians, but neither can he welcome passively and naively every bit of information that comes to his hand" (Durkheim, 1895, p134). Sociological analysis does not entail the repudiation of all historical critics have accomplished, but at the same time it cannot be uncritical of the conclusions reached through historical criticism without a sociological dimension. Sociological study "complements and improves the prevailing method of biblical interpretation through more rigorous attention to the social dimension of the biblical text and to the sociological dimension of the exegetical task" (Elliott, 1979, p1). This methodological development is not unique to New Testament studies, and we can therefore benefit from the work of other historians who have sought to incorporate a sociological dimension in their research methodology, and also from that of social scientists who have sought to be historically aware.

The need for interdisciplinary approaches to scholarly issues is widely accepted, and does not in itself require argument here. We do need to consider, though, problems relating to the application of such an interdisciplinary approach to the New Testament. A major problem with applying the methods of the social sciences to historical situations, is that the research techniques have been developed for the purpose of data gathering through field work and other forms of direct observation. This is of course not possible with extinct societies, such as the Graeco-Roman world during the first century CE. When extinct societies, and earlier stages in the development of extant societies, are studied by sociologists and anthropologists, the only means of observation available to them are indirect, and inevitably incomplete. This is not, however, an insuperable obstacle to the use of the methods of the social sciences for our purposes. Such pioneers in the social sciences as **M. Weber** did considerable amounts of work on historical rather than contemporary societies, and they continue to provide the basis of their successors' work in a way which is not the case with other sciences. Whereas in other branches of knowledge a cumulative and generally linear development takes place, in the social sciences contemporary scholars, while not unaware of or uninfluenced by each other, tend to build their work directly on the models formulated by **E. Durkheim, K. Marx,** Weber, or **B.K. Malinowski** (Merton, 1967, pp3-5). This is particularly useful for the more systematic application of the sociological methods to historical

situations. Even though the seminal works may be crude and inadequate by contemporary standards, they remain a basis on which a methodology suitable for New Testament studies can be built. Later developments, concerned with methods of observation and analysis of selected data, need not obscure the fundamental principles propounded by the founders of the social sciences, which can continue to be developed and refined for the purpose of application to historical situations.

The incompleteness of the data is a problem shared with the historical critical method, but the social sciences, being concerned with general tendencies rather than specific events, are better able to extrapolate a situation on the basis of incomplete data. "In order to obtain results, a few facts suffice. As soon as one has proved that, in a certain number of cases, two 'analogous' phenomena vary with one another, one is certain of being in the presence of a law" (Durkheim, 1895, p133). Durkheim may give the impression of over-confidence and of willingness to be prescriptive without sufficient evidence (cf. Popper, 1972, pp2ff), and here caution must be exercised, as in the historical critical method. Nevertheless, it remains a fundamental premise of the social sciences, like history, that analogy and comparison are useful in reconstructing lacunae in our knowledge of the situation under discussion (cf. Dunn, 1975, p3; Hengel, 1979, p129). Where the two approaches differ, is that history is concerned with specific events, whereas the social sciences are concerned with general social norms. "A sociological statement seeks to describe and explain interpersonal behavior with reference to those characteristics which transcend the personal" (Theissen, 1975, p176). Such methods of extrapolation as analogy and, to a lesser extent, logical prediction, are more suited to the general reconstructions of the social sciences than they are to the specific reconstructions of history. When historians apply these techniques, they are extrapolating from a general norm to a specific event, with a degree of speculation and prescription corresponding to the lack of concrete evidence. The social sciences can be useful in describing social conditions and norms, but they cannot prescribe the response of any individual or group to those circumstances (cf. Scroggs, 1980, p167; MacIntyre, 1985, pp93ff). Both disciplines encounter the same methodological problems, which increases their complementarity. "The historical and the sociological approaches are both complementary and dependent on one another, and both necessarily involve the comparative method" (Burke, 1980, p33). Therefore we can use sociological insights to assist in our reconstruction of

historical circumstances and events, but sociology is "not a substitute for historical evidence, but a way of interpreting the evidence" (Watson, 1986, px).

More significant and more problematic than the incomplete state of the information, is the dependence of the sociologist and anthropologist on documentary records and archaeological artefacts. While the methods of historical research were developed specifically for the analysis of such data, the latest research methods of the social sciences, as noted above, were developed in and for the study, by direct observation, of living social entities. Anthropology is not unaccustomed to relating to historical situations, however. Social anthropology studies "social behaviour, generally in institutionalised forms, such as the family, kinship systems, political organization, legal procedures, religious cults, and the like, and the relations between such institutions; and it studies them either in contemporaneous societies or in historical societies for which there is adequate information of the kind to make such studies feasible" (Evans-Pritchard, 1951, p5). The social scientist studying historical situations therefore requires historical competence. "Sociologists not thoroughly trained as historians who have ventured outside their own familiar world into earlier periods of history have often made disastrous mistakes and have sometimes produced conclusions of little or no value, simply because of their inability to deal properly with historical evidence" (Ste Croix, 1981, p85). Sociological techniques of analysis cannot be applied to historical situations without reference to historical methods. This is widely recognized, and the methods have been adapted accordingly, and can therefore be of use for our present purpose.

The same principle applies to historians who wish to extend the scope of their studies beyond their traditional parameters to include sociological and anthropological questions. Without training in the social sciences, "all that the historian ... can do ... is to enlarge a specific experience to the dimensions of a more general one, which thereby becomes accessible *as experience* to ... another epoch" (Lévi-Strauss, 1958, p17). Both historical and social sciences need to be applied competently if satisfactory and reliable results are to be attained in social studies of extinct societies. The aim of both disciplinary traditions is "to translate one set of ideas into another, their own, so that they may become intelligible, and they employ similar means to that end" (Evans-Pritchard, 1961, p58). The methods of history and of sociology and anthropology are fundamentally compatible, and

28

there are many situations, such as the subject matter of this thesis, where the one cannot be used without the other.

The historical critical method is largely the product of the German Enlightenment, and has been applied to New Testament studies with a definite Protestant theological agenda, as was clear in the work of Baur and others considered above, and the use of sociological paradigms can help rectify this tendency (cf. Gager, 1975, p4), as is especially clear from the work of Holmberg (1978; 1980). This is not to say that the social sciences are inherently objective and neutral, but they were developed without reference to the theological agenda which has shaped modern critical New Testament scholarship, and have been introduced to New Testament studies at a time when confessional dispositions are less dominant than has been the case in the past. They therefore present an opportunity for greater objectivity, as well as being designed to avoid the imposition of the cultural presuppositions of the scholar. "What we need in order to understand ... the New Testament writings and the behavior of the people portrayed in them ... are some adequate models that would enable us to understand cross-culturally, that would force us to keep our meanings and values out of their behavior, so that we might understand them on their own terms" (Malina, 1981, p18).

The social and historical sciences, therefore, share the same aims, and, to a great degree, methods and limitations. They are not only compatible, but interdependent and complementary. An interdisciplinary approach is essential to satisfactory results from research into areas where both can contribute. The New Testament, and the communities in which the texts were produced, can be more fully understood if the insights of the social sciences, as well as the historical, are used in the analysis of the records.

IV

Relationships involve the exercise of, and assent or resistance to, authority. The questions posed in this thesis largely concern this issue of authority, and it is therefore necessary to clarify the concept of authority, and the related concept of power, before proceeding further. This is particularly important in a religious movement such as early Christianity, where divine power is also involved. Religions

29

"are concerned with the systematic ordering of different kinds of power, particularly those seen as significantly beneficial or dangerous" (Burridge, 1980, p5). It is therefore important to take into account the power perceived and wielded within the framework of a particular set of religious beliefs. Neither historical nor social sciences can verify or quantify the perceived manifestations of divine power which are integral to most religious systems, but must nevertheless take account of the assertions and beliefs of the people concerned. This must include both the divine power attributed to deities in whatever form, and the power wielded by dominant individuals and groups within the religious system.

In this thesis we are not concerned so much with manifestations of divine power, except in so far as such perceived manifestations form the basis of the power wielded and the authority asserted by individuals and groups in the religious system. The concepts of authority and power, and their interaction with each other, are a matter of considerable controversy in the social sciences, and therefore require some consideration before the terms are used in this thesis.

Theories vary considerably as to what constitutes authority and power, and how the two are related. **C.K. Barrett's** treatment of $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ in the Gospels, where he describes the former as kinetic energy and the latter as potential energy, $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ being the authority antecedent to $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma$ (1966, pp78f), however useful in itself, cannot be used to equate the terms with contemporary technical usage. The crucial issue in contemporary social scientific debate appears to be whether authority is a form of power (Lasswell & Kaplan, 1952, p133; Schütz, 1975, pp10-14; Wrong, 1979, p24; Sennett, 1980, p20), or whether the two concepts are independent but overlapping, authority being characterized by legitimacy and excluding coercive force, while power is the capacity to use force to achieve the given objective (Arendt, 1956, p82; Friedrich, 1956, p35; Jouvenal, 1956, p161; Holmberg, 1978, pp131ff) or even whether the two can be distinguished at all (Stowers, 1985, p167).

It is neither possible nor appropriate to attempt to resolve the scholarly questions about authority and power here. As with all social scientific paradigms, those which include the concepts authority and power are question-specific, and not of universal application (cf. Malina, 1982, p237; cf. Popper, 1972, p186). Authority

and power are multi-faceted concepts, exercised in social relationships and phenomena of varying complexity, and therefore elude comprehensive definition and typology (cf. Peabody, 1968, p474). We therefore need to find a paradigm which is appropriate to the questions raised in this thesis, rather than one which seeks to account for all possible situations and eventualities. The thesis concerns relationships, and therefore a paradigm of authority that emphasises the relational aspect would be appropriate for our purpose.

Several scholars have concerned themselves with relationships as the essential context and medium of authority and power. The influence of **M. Weber** on these scholars is clear, but they have all modified his paradigm, or aspects of it, for their own particular needs. **R. Bierstedt** asserts that authority is "always a property of social organization", and exists only within defined parameters, in a status relationship in a formal structure (1954, pp72ff). **C.J. Friedrich** argues that authority exists only in the context of communication, and that it is essential to all human relationships and communities (1956, pp37f). The principal distinction between Bierstedt and Friedrich would seem to be that, whereas the former recognizes that authority can exist in latent form when it is not being exercised, the latter insists that it exists only when asserted. The potential for authority to be exercised does not, in Friedrich's definition, in itself constitute authority. There is clearly truth in both positions, in that authority or latent or potential authority is weakened through disuse, and entrenched and strengthened through successful assertion. However, the potential for authority can often be perceived when it is not actually being exercised, and allowance must therefore be made for some degree of latency. While communication and the exercise of authority are undoubtedly essential to the perpetuation of the authority relationship, we need to take a position somewhat closer to Bierstedt's than to Friedrich's, and see authority as present and latent in the structures which form relationships.

J.M. Bocheński seeks to draw together the insights of those paradigms which consider authority a quality related to the competence and influence of the individual, and those which see authority as a matter of the relationship in society rather than the quality of the individual. He defines authority as "Status in Beziehung", and notes that it is an ambiguous concept, in that it has aspects of quality (*Eigenschaft*) as well as of relationship (*Beziehung*) (1974, pp17-20). This

relationship is three-cornered, including not only the bearer of authority (*Träger*) and the subject, but also the context (*Gebiet*), the ideal sphere in which that relationship of authority is exercised (1974, pp23ff). Bocheński's paradigm is comprehensive in its range, but not in its prescription of details. It therefore provides a helpful framework in which the various aspects of authority can be considered in given situations.

T. Parsons offers a definition of authority as "an institutionalized complex of norms" (1956, p205; cf. Schulz, 1936, p164: "a rule-forming quality"), which provides for social conventions and other intangible forces which influence human behavior, as well as that authority which is perceived to be vested in a specific person or office. This is useful, as social norms can direct individual or group behaviour, in a way that is similar to the prescriptive exercise of authority on the part of an individual in the context of a specific relationship. The relationships which form society are governed by social conventions in much the same way as those which define institutions are governed by specific rules and the exercise of formal authority. Society therefore exercises a degree of authority over its individual members in the form of norms which direct their behavior, and this authority is present in every relationship which exists within that society. This intangible, but ubiquitous, authority needs to be considered as well as formal authority, when considering relationships, as in the case of the early Church.

Authority can be defined, for the purposes of this thesis, as a "social relation of asymmetric power distribution considered legitimate by the participating actors" (Holmberg, 1978, p3), exercised in a defined context, appropriate to the criteria on which that authority is based. On the macrocosmic level, society, as an abstract but nevertheless potent entity, exercises effective authority over its individual and corporate members, shaping every relationship, and pervading every context in which social and cultural norms are believed to be relevant, appropriate, and prescriptive for human behavior. On the microcosmic level, the individual exercises authority within a defined structure, which embraces those aspects of the lives of its members or subjects over which the institution claims jurisdiction.

Power is perhaps more easily quantifiable than authority, even though it takes many forms. The essential ingredient of power would seem to be force, or the

capacity to use force to achieve a desired goal (Etzioni, 1961, p4; Malina, 1986, p82; Lukes, 1974, p13; Wrong, 1979, p2; Sennett, 1980, pp18,170). Another basis of power is control over resources (Weingrod, 1977, p43). The scholarly controversy as to how authority relates to power, would seem attributable not only to problems of definition, and how the two concepts relate in terms of competence, influence, coercion and other similar terms, but also to the variety of situations in which the concepts are applied for the purpose of analysis. For the purposes of this thesis, therefore, power will be used of the capacity to apply force or coercion, and to exercise effective control, as a means to achieve a desired objective or to determine the outcome of a specific process.

In the context of early Christianity, power can be discerned both in the capacity to exercise or to repudiate social constraints, however limited, and in the claim to, and perception of, supernatural inspiration, however quantified. In the case of perceived supernatural inspiration, power cannot be distinguished from authority, except in so far as the assertion of authority on the basis of such inspiration can exceed the capacity for enforcement against the will of the subject; in which case the authority asserted is not matched by the power available where the authority is not recognized, or actively defied. Where authority is based upon traditional criteria, in Weberian terms, it does not in itself constitute power, and can be enforced only through power derived from other sources. Where control over resources takes the form of custodianship over sacred objects or places, this can form the basis of power, but when custodianship is over intangible traditions, this is less monopolistic, although it can form the basis for assertion of authority. Power and authority may or may not coincide, and there appears to be no definitive basis for relating the two. We shall therefore use the terms independently, recognizing that in some situations power and authority coincide, and in others they do not, in which case either authority cannot be enforced or power is not legitimated.

V

Society consists of people, their relationships with one another, and the institutions, formal and informal, created by these relationships, and the relationships

33

which the institutions in their turn make. To understand society, and its component units, therefore, it is necessary to understand relationships. This applies as much to religious movements, and particularly, in the case of this thesis, to early Christianity.

The individual is the smallest, but not necessarily the basic, unit of society. In Graeco-Roman society, such as we are concerned with in this thesis, the individual was not the basic unit of society, but the household or family to which the individual belonged (Garnsey & Saller, 1987, p126). Individuality was restricted for all but heads of households and those few who broke with the fundamental structure of society, and even these were psychologically dependent upon the regard of those about them (Malina, 1981, pp51ff; cf. Pitt-Rivers, 1977, pp1-17). It is therefore necessary not to read anachronistic individualistic notions into the early history of the Church.

Individual identity in the Graeco-Roman world was dyadic, and a person's self-awareness was defined in terms of the group to which he or she belonged. The individual internalized others' perceptions and expectations of him or her (Malina, 1979, pp127f; 1981, p55; cf. Geertz, 1974, pp225-237). The group was therefore the focus of identity, and this is crucial to understanding relationships in such a society. Because relationships were so fundamental to every aspect of being in Graeco-Roman society, it is all the more important that they be understood.

A.R. Radcliffe-Brown defines social relationships as follows: "A social relation exists between two or more individual organisms when there is some adjustment of their respective interests, by convergence of interest, or by a limitation of conflicts that might arise from divergence of interests" (1940, p199). A social relationship therefore exists only when the contact between people is such that the lives of the various parties are affected by that contact. An incidental meeting does not create a relationship, unless it results in some form of bond between the parties. It need not be assumed, however, that the processes necessary to the formation of a relationship must be conscious or deliberate, or even that any two individual parties are directly involved in the formation of a relationship between them.

34

Relationships operate in systems which can appropriately be depicted as networks, where the relations between various people are interconnected in a single, complex whole. "Human beings are connected by a complex network of social relations" (Radcliffe-Brown, 1940, p190). Mitchell defines such networks as "a specific set of linkages among a defined set of persons" (1969, p2). Understanding relationships in terms of such networks is useful, in that the interconnectedness of relationships is at all times clear, while it is nevertheless possible to focus attention on a specific relationship or set of relationships (cf. Wellmann, 1983).

While society ought strictly to be considered as a single network, inclusive of all social relations within it, this is not a feasible analytic method, as it would be far too complex to be capable of reconstruction. Nor would such an approach be useful or relevant for most analytic purposes, including that of this thesis. For our purpose, it is sufficient to reconstruct those relationships relevant to the issues under consideration, and to work with the network that results. One potential problem with network analysis is that its reconstructions have no temporal dimension. As the method was developed in the study of relatively static societies, it needs to be adapted for application in contexts of more rapid development. A network depicts the relationships as they are at one particular point, and each stage in the development of a relationship therefore requires a separate reconstruction of the network.

Relationships take particular forms, and it is therefore necessary to define more closely what we mean when discussing a particular case. The importance of patronage, particularly in local churches, has been shown by Theissen (1974a; 1975b), Meeks (1983a), and Marshall (1987), and in the broader Graeco-Roman context by Saller (1982). While of fundamental importance in understanding the situations of churches such as Corinth and Rome, and possibly also Antioch and Jerusalem were the data adequate, patronage is less important for a study of relations between churches, and the leaders of different churches. While it may be important for understanding the relationship between a missionary church such as Jerusalem or Antioch and the churches established under its auspices, the information is not available, except in so far as Paul's relationship with his churches as reflected in his letters may be analogous to such relationships. As we are not directly concerned with this aspect of the network of early Christian relationships, it is sufficient to

note the possibility. For consideration of the relationships at issue in this thesis, the institution of consensual *societas*, or κοινωνία, requires consideration, as Sampley (1980) has shown.

As argued above, the precise nature of the κοινωνία Sampley posits is open to serious question. Sampley argues a relationship between individuals rather than churches, while in the appropriate sections of this thesis I shall argue the latter. Nevertheless, Sampley has indicated an important model for understanding relationships in early Christianity, which merits serious consideration.

Consensual *societas* in Roman law was an informal contract (Nicholas, 1962, p185), "the union of two or more persons to promote a common purpose by joint means" (Kaser, 1964, p187). The amalgamation of resources for the pursuit of a common interest, does not constitute incorporation, and a consensual *societas* is not a legal person (Sampley, 1980, p16). The consensual nature of the union meant that mutual acceptance between the partners (*socii*) was required (Buckland, 1939, pp294f). *Societas* could involve the total commitment of all partners in all matters (*societas omnium bonum*), or its scope could be narrowed to cooperation in a single venture (Buckland, 1939, p294). The partners could delegate the operation of the *societas* to one of their number or to another person (Buckland, 1939, p295). *Societas* was ended on the completion of its purpose, or the destruction of the means to that common goal, and on the death or withdrawal of one of the partners. The remaining partners could form a new *societas* to continue the purpose of the old (Buckland, 1939, p296).

The κοινωνία of the Greek world, was a rather more broadly defined category of institutions, than the more rigidly defined Roman consensual *societas*, which tended to function for commercial purposes. κοινωνία designates unincorporated voluntary associations (Judge, 1960, p43), which formed for a range of social purposes in the Graeco-Roman world (cf. Meeks, 1983a, p84 for further discussion of early Christian groups as voluntary associations). These groups had elected office bearers (Judge, 1960, p40), and expressed their unity through common cultic observance (Jones, 1956, p161; Judge, 1960, p40).

It is against the background of the conventions reflected in these institutions, and not in terms of them, that the conduct of relationships in early Christianity

must be considered. It was not necessary for the first Christians consciously to model themselves on the legal and social institutions of the world around them before they conducted their own business according to prevailing norms. These institutions reflect normative behaviour in specific categories of situation in the Graeco-Roman world, and can therefore illuminate the conventions which would have influenced early Christian conduct in analogous situations (cf. Sampley, 1980).

It needs to be noted that relationships are not necessarily constantly amicable, and conflict can from time to time erupt within them. Occasions of conflict provide useful insights into the nature of the relationship involved. "The value in studying points of conflict lies in their tendency to bring to the surface otherwise hidden or taken-for-granted values and assumptions" (Barton, 1986, p225). The work of L.A. Coser is particularly informative in this regard. According to Coser, conflict serves to define the boundaries of a group, and some degree of antagonism is therefore essential to the creation of a group (1956, pp35f). Conflict serves therefore to identify, and to focus attention on, those values and objectives which are the basis of coherence of the group. The usefulness of occasions of conflict in reconstructing relationships, will become apparent in Part Two of this thesis, where the records of controversy regarding gentile Christian obligations regarding the Mosaic law will be considered, in order to understand the underlying relationships.

In studying relationships and authority in early Christianity, we need to be constantly aware of the social factors which influence relationships, of the way people in Graeco-Roman society related to each other, and of the interdependence of relationships. The network paradigm pioneered by Radcliffe-Brown, and the legal institutions of the Graeco-Roman world, which Judge, Sampley, and Meeks especially have brought to bear upon New Testament studies, enable us to understand more fully the biblical texts, and to reconstruct more competently the relationships to which our attention is drawn in this thesis. If the norms in terms of which Paul related to the Jerusalem church and *vice versa* can be established, then we are in a position to understand more clearly the relationship between them, and their respective expectations in terms of that relationship.

VI

Religious developments are frequently the work of dissenting parties in an established religious movement, and the role of Paul in early Christianity, and particularly his conflict with the recognized authorities in Jerusalem, can be understood partly in such terms. **M. Weber's** typology of authority, and conception of the charismatic prophet, is sufficiently well-known not to require detailed treatment here. It is the developments in Weber's theory by **K.O.L. Burridge** and **B.R. Wilson** that are particularly helpful for the present purpose.

Wilson identifies the concentration of authority in the hands of an elite as a principal catalyst for religious revolt (1982, p121), and Burridge understands millenarian movements specifically as struggles for religious power (1980, p143). In studying early Christianity, we need to consider the role of custodianship over sacred traditions, rather than cultic objects and office, as the means to monopoly of religious authority. If Paul was excluded from, and alienated by, the concentration of authority in the Jerusalem church and its leaders, understanding this could illuminate the causes and the conduct of conflict between him and the Jerusalem church.

Alienation does not constitute a total explanation of movements of religious protest, as not everybody who is alienated joins such movements when they arise, and not everybody who joins such movements necessarily shares the experience which gives rise to those movements (Zygmunt, 1972, pp457,460). It is important therefore not to be reductionist in our analysis. Factors which may not be significant in giving rise to the religious movement, may cause individuals and groups to join such movements. The phenomenology of the movement as a whole is not necessarily reflected in the experience and motives of the individual participants, who have different, even if analogous, reasons for joining.

Movements of religious dissent, especially millenarian movements, articulate the experience of the alienated group, and at the same time provide a vision of imminent salvation from that condition of alienation, believing the movement to be instrumental in the realization of that vision. Religious alienation is ended through the creation of new channels of communication with the deity, and the rejection, total or partial, of the existing religious institutions.

38

A charismatic prophet is central to most, but not all millenarian movements (Wallis, 1982, p2). He or she is not necessarily the founder of the movement, but gives it coherence through articulation of the grievances of the people, and direction through leadership in the struggle, physical or spiritual, against the old order, and in the establishment of the new. The prophet is perceived to be endowed with supernatural power, and may be in person the new channel for communication with the deity, and the new means for access to divine power. Manifestations of divine power, whether vested in a person or not, are, according to Burridge, essential to the rise of millenarian movements (1980, p143). Such power must be beyond the control of, and in opposition to, the established order. The expression of the existential state of the oppressed and alienated, with its implicit if not explicit rejection of the prevailing order, enables the less articulate to identify their own state, to externalise their emotions, and to participate in their own redemption. If a movement is successfully launched, it may overthrow the prevailing order and establish a new order, or destroy itself through failure.

The millenarian prophet of Burridge is a development of Weber's charismatic prophet. He or she is a rebel outside and against the power structures of the prevailing order, which the movement seeks to replace. "Charisma operates to break the existing authority structure, to lift sanctions on previously proscribed behavior, and to promise men [sic] new freedoms - but it is also the occasion on which new men make new claims to obedience" (Wilson, 1975, p26). The prophetic figure depends on the recognition of his or her divine inspiration by those whose alienation and aspirations he or she expresses, and their consequent loyalty and obedience. Charismatic authority can exist only where it is acknowledged and obeyed, and a prophet without a following is powerless and effectively outcast, estranged from the group against which he or she rebels, and without the basis for forming his or her own group.

The charismatic prophet, while a rebel against the old order, is also the instigator of the new. This involves the establishment of a new bureaucracy, a new tradition of legitimation, in however embryonic a form. As Zygmunt notes, the survival of such movements depends upon their organizational development, both in terms of institutional structure and in terms of symbol systems (1972, p454). Rebel movements need, in Stark's terms, both a founder and a "second" (1969,

39

p77). As well as an instigator, such movements need someone who can give coherence and order, in Weberian terms, someone who effects the routinization of charisma. The two can be combined in one person, and Stark sees both Peter and Paul in such a role (1969, p77).

Not all incipient rebel movements come to fruition. What Etzioni terms "protest absorption" (1975, pp219ff) can take place, whereby the activities and emotions of potential revolutionaries are redirected within the parameters of the prevailing order in such a way that the old order is reinforced, and the threat of open rebellion removed. The appointment of rebel or potential rebel leaders to positions of responsibility within the existing structure, serves to discipline and control their leadership, and possibly also to divert their energy and attention from the issues which could cause rebellion. Such cooption into the system can also satisfy the personal aspirations of the potential rebel leader, and, even if it does not, such appointment would almost always separate the leader from any dissident following, with considerable cost to his or her credibility. It can happen that charismatic groups as a whole are coopted into the prevailing system before they break away altogether. In such circumstances, in return for a degree of recognition, they would normally be expected to restrict their activities within defined limits, and to regularize and formalize their conduct, and management of resources (Etzioni, 1975, p221).

A number of tendencies in emergent movements of religious protest have been identified, which are potentially useful for understanding Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church. Paul's principal act of rebellion against the Jerusalem church took place in his confrontation with Peter at Antioch. This incident will be studied in detail in the appropriate sections of this thesis, but Wilson and Burridge, building on Weber, have provided some useful insights in their study of possibly analogous phenomena, through which we can seek to illuminate that stage in Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church.

VII

The cognitive dissonance theory, pioneered by **L. Festinger** (1956; 1957), has been usefully applied to a number of issues in New Testament studies (cf.

Gager, 1975). For the purposes of this thesis, the specific manifestation of cognitive dissonance as post-decision dissonance (Festinger, 1964) is the most informative model. The recent work of **A.F. Segal** (1990; cf. Gaventa, 1986) has considered in some detail Paul's conversion in the light of cognitive dissonance theory, but the opportunities for fuller consideration of post-conversion dissonance have not yet been fully explored. The cognitive dissonance theory is, however, undoubtedly illuminating of the period immediately following Paul's conversion, and, as will be shown in successive chapters of this thesis, enables a fuller appreciation of the transformation in his life occasioned by joining the Antioch church, which in turn informs our understanding of Paul's departure from Antioch.

We have considered a number of sociological paradigms which could potentially be useful in addressing the issues with which this thesis is concerned. These paradigms, however illuminating, do not supplant the historical critical method, which is, and must remain, the primary framework within which what are essentially historical questions are addressed. Nevertheless, sociological insights can be instructive, and will be employed where relevant in this thesis.

VIII

We have considered the methodological paradigms which will be applied in addressing the questions raised in this thesis. We need now to consider the sources from which the data will be extracted, and to locate them in their appropriate context within Paul's Christian career. The principal primary sources for this thesis are of course the New Testament texts, and in particular the letters of Paul and *Acts*, and it is to these that attention must now be given. Of the pauline letters, those of concern are *I Thessalonians*, *Galatians*, *I Corinthians*, *II Corinthians*, *Romans*, and possibly *Philippians*.

I Thessalonians, though disputed by Baur (1845b, p96), is almost universally recognized as authentically pauline in recent scholarship, and the overwhelming majority of scholars accept its integrity. The letter is dated to c. 50 CE, within months of Paul's mission to Thessalonica, and was almost certainly written from Corinth (Best, 1972, p11; Kümmel, 1973, p257; Robinson, 1976, p53; Jewett, 1986,

41

p60). It is a document of the period immediately subsequent to the incident at Antioch, and Paul's separation from the church there.

Paul's authorship of *Galatians* is undisputed, but the date and destination of the letter are uncertain. Recent scholarship has tended to link these two issues, and base its arguments on the chronology of Acts 16 and 18, and the question as to whether Galatia denotes the Roman province or the region, somewhat inappropriately referred to as south and north Galatia respectively. It would seem methodologically questionable, however, to rely on the undoubtedly incomplete itineraries of *Acts* to argue for date or destination (cf. Betz, 1979, p4). The letter was addressed to a specific group of Christian communities in an area that was not necessarily coterminous with the boundaries of Galatia, by either definition, but whom Paul could address collectively as Galatians (Gal.1:2; 3:1). I do not intend, therefore, to argue for either north or south Galatian hypothesis, but to concern myself only with the date. Accepting the identification of the conferences of Gal.2:1-10 and Acts 15:5-29 (vide discussion below), I would argue for a date not very long after the Antioch incident, and prior to Paul's return to Antioch (Acts 18:22). The years 50-53 CE would therefore seem most likely. An early date is favoured by Burton (1921, plii), Richardson (1969, p71), and Dunn (1990, p259). Other than assumptions about the chronology of *Acts* and the question of province or region, the principal argument against an early date would seem to be the expression "τὸ πρότερον" in Gal.4:13, which most scholars read to imply that Paul had visited the Galatian churches a second time, subsequent to his mission (Lightfoot, 1890, pp22,175; Burton, 1921, pxlv; Lagrange, 1925, p113; Marxsen, 1964, p45; Schlier, 1971, p210; Kümmel, 1973, p303; Oepke, 1973, pp26,142; Mussner, 1974, p307; Beker, 1983, p42; Suhl, 1987, p3079). Barrett asserts that this is not necessarily the case (1985, p109), and Blass-Debrunner-Funk argue that πρότερος does not mean 'the first of two', a meaning taken over by πρῶτος, but 'earlier' (1961, p34). Bauer is more equivocal (1957, p729), but it is none the less clear that the expression "τὸ πρότερον" does not in itself require the implication of two previous visits by Paul to Galatia. The question is one of chronology, and not one of grammar. Betz argues that "τὸ πρότερον" is to be understood to mean 'originally' (1979, p220), and this is clearly the strongest meaning the text can be taken to require. A further consideration is Gal.1:6, where "οὕτως ταχέως" would seem to imply that *Galatians* was written not long after Paul's mission and the

42

foundation of those churches (Burton, 1921, pxlv; Watson, 1979, p59). While Betz is undoubtedly correct in pointing out the rhetorical aspect of Paul's statement (1979, p47), it is most unlikely that this deprives "$οὕτως$ $ταχέως$" of all literal meaning. While a substantial number of scholars prefer a later date for *Galatians* (Kümmel, 1973, p304; Mussner, 1974, p11; Robinson, 1976, p56), the fact that Paul is content to portray the episode at Antioch as unresolved, and with the impression of continuing hostility between himself and Peter, must favour an early date.

Paul's authorship of *I Corinthians* is undisputed in recent scholarship (Barrett, 1968, p12; Kümmel, 1973, p275), but its integrity is a matter of debate (cf. Héring, 1948, pxiv; Schmithals, 1973; Suhl, 1975, pp203-212; Jewett; 1978; Sellin; 1987, p2979). However, I would follow the substantial body within New Testament scholarship who accept the integrity of the letter (Marxsen, 1964, p76; Barrett, 1968, pp15-17; Kümmel, 1973, p278; Lang, 1986, p7), even if allowing for a number of later insertions into the text. Achtemeier places the letter prior to the Jerusalem conference (1987, p90), but the overwhelming majority of scholars place it subsequent to the conference, including Lüdemann, who nonetheless dates the letter early (1980, p263). There can be little doubt that Paul's mission to Corinth took place after the incident at Antioch, as Paul was no longer working with Barnabas (II Cor.1:19). That *I Corinthians* post-dates *Galatians* has been argued plausibly by Watson (1986, p59), Achtemeier (1987, p90), and Wedderburn (1988, p30; cf. Suhl, 1975, p222), all of whom note that the collection had become a matter of practical implementation in I Cor.16:1-4. This would indicate, for reasons that will be argued fully below, that *I Corinthians* was written shortly after Paul's visit to Antioch in Acts 18:22. If the collection was intended for delivery in the sabbatical year 55 CE, then early 54 CE would be the most probable date. This is the date favoured by Barrett (1968, p5) and Hyldahl (1986, p122), while Kümmel suggests 54 or 55 CE (1973, p229), and Robinson 55 (1976, p54).

II Corinthians is the object of rather more varied, and more complex, scholarly dispute than *I Corinthians*. With the possible exception of II Cor.6:14-7:1, Paul's authorship is not disputed, and the question of dating is not seriously affected by the question of composition, as the component letters would all be dated within the period two years subsequent to *I Corinthians*. Here it is possible to discuss

the question only so far as it affects the chronological reconstruction on which this thesis is based. A position close to that of Bornkamm (1961; cf. Koester, 1980, pp53f), which recognizes the tensions in the text, but which also takes into account the arguments for the integrity of II Cor.1-8 (Watson, 1984; Lang, 1986), would seem most appropriate. I would follow Watson and Lang, and a number of earlier scholars (Lake, 1911, pp156-162; Plummer, 1915, ppxxiii-xxxi; Héring, 1958, pxiv; Talbert, 1987, pxix) in arguing the priority of II Cor.10-13. Lang argues further that II Cor.9 was written after II Cor.1-8 (1986, p14). The latter section is the most difficult problem, and certainty as to its integrity or redaction is not possible. If, however, II Cor.1-8 includes two letters, I would suggest, contrary to the consensus among proponents of the four and five letter hypotheses, that both letters follow II Cor.10-13, first II Cor.2:14-7:4, and then II Cor.1:1-2:13; 7:5-16. Whether originally three or four letters, they would date between Paul's second and third visits to Corinth. If *I Corinthians* was written about Passover 54 CE, then II Cor.10-13 would have been written from Ephesus a few months later. II Cor.2:14-7:4, if a separate letter, would have been written, also from Ephesus, about a year after *I Corinthians*, and II Cor.1:1-2:13; 7:5-8:24, or the whole of II Cor.1-8, from Macedonia early in the summer of 55 CE, and II Cor.9 shortly thereafter. This hypothesis will be tested more fully in the chronological reconstruction below, and in our discussion of the crisis in Corinth in chapter eight.

That *Romans* was written by Paul, is not doubted, and the overwhelming majority of scholars accept the integrity of Rom.1-15 (cf. Schmithals, 1975). It is Rom.16 that is disputed. Marxsen (1964, p108) and Koester (1980, p573) argue that Rom.16 was originally addressed to the church at Ephesus, possibly as part of a covering letter for a copy of *Romans*, but the majority of scholars argue at least Rom.16:1-23 were included in the original letter to Rome (cf. (Michel, 1955, p471; Barrett, 1957, p13; Schmidt, 1966, p7; Kümmel, 1973, p316; Käsemann, 1974, p409; Cranfield, 1975, p11; Dunn, 1988, p884). Most scholars accept the traditional view that *Romans* was written during Paul's third visit to Corinth, while Suhl argues that it was written from Thessalonica, just before this visit (1975, p276). Scholars differ as to the precise date of the letter, locating it between the winter of 51-52 CE (Lüdemann, 1980, p263) and 57-58 CE (Wedderburn, 1988, p63). If a year after the edict of Claudius lapsed with his death in 54 CE, and enabled the Jews mentioned in Rom.16 to return to Rome, is the soonest Paul could have

contemplated an imminent visit to Rome (cf. Wedderburn, 1988, pp14f), then the winter of 55-56 CE would seem the earliest possible date for *Romans*. This would coincide with our estimate of the dating of Paul's last letters to Corinth earlier in 55 CE, and his visit to Corinth later that year. This date is favoured by Kümmel (1973, p311), Cranfield (1975, p14), and Koester (1980, p573; cf. Dunn, 1988, pxliii; Robinson, 1976, p55; Jewett, 1979, p165). The crisis over taxation in 58 CE, however attractive in retrospect, is not a necessary explanation for Rom.13:1-7 (cf. Friedrich *& al*, 1976; Wedderburn, 1988, pp62f), and does not require a later date for the letter.

Philippians is of relevance to this thesis only if the hypothesis of Paul's imprisonment at Ephesus is accepted, and the letter dated to that period. If *Philippians* is dated to Paul's Roman (Lightfoot, 1868, pp1-28; Vincent, 1897, pxxii; Plummer, 1919, pxiii; Beare, 1959, p23; cf. Knox, 1950, p87; Wedderburn, 1988, p22) or Caesarean (Robinson, 1976, pp60f; Hawthorne, 1983, pxliii; cf. Kümmel, 1973, p332) imprisonments, then it post-dates the period under consideration. The Ephesian hypothesis, however, is widely supported (Marxsen, 1964, p65; Vielhauer, 1975a, p169; Watson, 1986, p73; 1987, p126; cf. Knox, 1950, p87; Gnilka, 1976, pp24f). It is not feasible to discuss the merits of the various hypotheses here, but, if *Philippians* was written from Ephesus, it would be contemporary with the Corinthian correspondence. In the absence of any explicit reference to the Jerusalem church and its leadership in *Philippians* (cf. Georgi, 1964, p341; Holmberg, 1978, p48; Watson, 1986, p80), the degree of uncertainty inherent in the use of the letter is multiplied. It will therefore be treated in an Excursus at the end of Part Three rather than in chapter eight, and it will be noted that any allusions to Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church may reflect his final years of freedom, or his subsequent period of imprisonment.

The use of *Acts* as an historical source, particularly for the study of Paul, is an issue on which scholars are divided, and the problems cannot be resolved simply on the questions of date and authorship. The traditional ascription of authorship to Luke or another, unnamed, companion of Paul is supported by Dibelius (1947, p104), Williams (1964, p7) and Munck (1967, pxxix), the latter two dating the work to the late and early sixties CE respectively (Williams, 1964, p15; Munck, 1967, pliv), as does Robinson (1976, p91). "Lukan" authorship is rejected

by Marxsen (1964, p151), Kümmel (1973, p181), Vielhauer (1975a, p391), and Schneider (1980, p111). This position does not necessarily imply denial that the author used older traditions including eye-witness accounts (Marxsen, 1964, pp147ff; Haenchen, 1965, pp87,186; Kümmel, 1973, pp178,184; cf. Lüdemann, 1980; 1987), but it does imply a later date, probably between 80 and 90 CE (Kümmel 1973, p186; Vielhauer, 1975a, p407; Schneider, 1980, p121; cf Conzelmann 1963, pxxxiii; Haenchen 1956 *impliciter*), or slightly later (Marxsen, 1964, p151). While the author's relationship with Paul cannot be ascertained (cf. Lüdemann, 1988, p112), a date between 80 and 90 CE seems to enjoy a degree of scholarly consensus, from which there seems no good reason to deviate.

IX

The relative reliability of *Acts* and the historical information contained in Paul's letters, is one of the more contentious issues in contemporary New Testament scholarship. While some scholars such as Hengel (1979) assert the essential reliability of *Acts*, others tend more towards what Gager terms "a hyper-Cartesian decision to doubt everything simultaneously" (1986, p91). The position represented by Lüdemann (1980; 1987) expresses a degree of confidence in the traditions contained in *Acts*, but virtually none in their arrangement, and re-edits the sources accordingly. The majority of scholars assume an intermediate position between these. "We cannot believe that every detail of popular tradition [contained in *Acts*] ... is authentic, but neither should we discredit it as a matter of course" (Dibelius, 1947, p105; cf. Marxsen, 1964, p149). Holmberg has noted an increasing regard for *Acts* as a reliable historical record in recent scholarship (1990, p65), but this does not diminish the need for the utmost critical rigour in analysing its accounts. Such rigour, however, is abused if it becomes licence for wilful reordering of the material, or for uncritical acceptance of Paul's evidence against *Acts* (cf. Knox, 1950, pp30-43; Nickle, 1966, p41).

Betz argues that "Paul's own account in Galatians 2 is that of a first-hand witness and it must have priority in case of doubt, but the circumstance and function of the defence in his letter to the Galatians have coloured his account" (1979, p81). While Betz recognizes the subjective nature of Paul's account, and his polemical

46

purpose, in the specific case of Paul's dealings with the Jerusalem church, he nevertheless assumes that Paul's account is more accurate than *Acts*. This may be a valid conclusion, but it cannot be a premise for critical investigation. Linton has shown that "there exist perhaps certain affinities between an early representation of St. Paul's person and activity, an account contested by the Apostle himself, and the later literary image drawn in Acts" (1949, p80). The traditions preserved in *Acts* incorporate perceptions of and assertions about Paul at least as old as his response to them in *Galatians*. No *a priori* judgement between the discrepant accounts can therefore be presupposed, and each must be critically examined. Hurd suggests that Paul's accounts should be examined first, in order that they should not be, however subconsciously, subsumed into the more comprehensive historical scheme of *Acts* (1967, p233). Such an approach implies no judgement on either source, but enables their independent scrutiny before they are compared. This would seem methodologically more sound than *a priori* exclusion of everything in *Acts* that does not conform to Paul's more limited and sporadic allusions, or the uncritical synthesis and coalescence of divergent traditions.

X

Recent work on the chronology of Paul's life, including the work of **J. Knox** (1950), **A. Suhl** (1975), **R. Jewett** (1979), **G. Lüdemann** (1980), and **P.J. Achtemeier** (1987), has attempted to reconstruct Paul's career on the basis of the evidence contained in his own writings, and evaluating *Acts* on that basis. This approach can realize a relative chronology of Paul's life, particularly for the period up to the writing of *Galatians*, without reference to *Acts*, but it is the latter which provides two principal bases for absolute dating, in its references to the edict of Claudius expelling the Jewish population of Rome (Acts 18:2), and the proconsulship of Gallio in Achaia (Acts 18:12). *Acts* therefore cannot be ignored, but we can conveniently begin by considering the single externally datable episode alluded to by Paul.

In II Cor.11:32f, Paul mentions having fled Damascus during the rule of king Aretas. This can be dated between the years 37 and 40 CE (Ogg, 1968, pp16-22; Murphy-O'Connor, 1983, p129). Paul mentions having been in the vicinity of

Damascus around the time of his conversion, and for up to three years subsequently (Gal.1:17f; cf. Acts 9:19-25), apparently until his visit to Jerusalem to meet Peter (Gal.1:18). There can be little doubt that Acts 9:25 and II Cor.11:32f refer to the same incident (cf. Knox, 1950, p77). Paul's conversion can therefore be dated to c. 35 CE. Precisely how Paul's second visit to Jerusalem relates to this, is problematic. While there is no reason to doubt that Acts 9:26-30 correctly records the first visit following upon the flight from Damascus, in c. 38 CE, the interval between the two visits poses a difficulty. If the fourteen years of Gal.2:1 date from the previous visit, a view towards which the majority of scholars incline (Lightfoot, 1890, p102; Burton, 1921, p68; Knox, 1950, pp78f; Betz, 1979, p83; Lüdemann, 1980, p172), then the visit would not have taken place before c. 51 or 52 CE. A substantial minority of scholars, however, date the fourteen years from Paul's conversion (Georgi, 1965, p13; Suhl, 1975, pp46f; Hyldahl, 1986, pp121f) or his return to Damascus (Fitzmyer, 1968, p219), in which case the conference would have taken place in c. 48 or 49 CE. This is a question to which we must return after considering Paul's mission to Corinth.

Paul's second visit to Jerusalem after his conversion, is recorded in Acts 11:27-30, and Acts 12:25 may represent the termination of the same visit. Very few scholars accept the authenticity of this account, however (Geyser, 1953, pp126ff; Sanders, 1955, p136; Williams, 1964, p30; Bauckham, 1979, p61; Bruce, 1982a, p108). Fitzmyer (1968, p219) and Robinson (1976, p40) accept that this visit took place, but do not regard it as that related in Gal.2:1-10, and Hahn argues that it took place some years after the conference (1963, p82). Koester dismisses Acts 11:27-30 as legendary (1980, p102), while Catchpole regards it as a doublet of Acts 15 (1977, pp434ff). It would seem more likely, however, that this text is a misplaced account of Paul's final visit to Jerusalem for the delivery of the collection (cf. Rom.15:25ff), as Dibelius (1947, p106), Schneider (1980, p113), and Achtemeier (1987, p46) argue. In this case, Luke conflates the delivery of the collection from Antioch with Paul's visit. The difference between this position and that of Hahn may be less than would at first appear, and this is a question to which we shall return below.

The nature of the business conducted according to Gal.2:1-10 is more compatible with the visit of Acts 15, and the overwhelming majority of scholars identify this

visit with that Paul recounts (Lightfoot, 1890, p122; Burton, 1921, p117; Conzelmann, 1963, p121; Haenchen, 1965, p64; Parker, 1967, p181; Mussner, 1974, p131; Holmberg, 1978, p18; Meier, 1983, pp37f). The major problem with identifying the conferences of Gal.2:1-10 and Acts 15, is that the so-called Apostolic Decree is incompatible with Paul's account. It is probable that the association of the Apostolic Decree with the Jerusalem conference is anachronistic, and that it was in fact a later formulation; a view which enjoys wide scholarly support (Dibelius, 1947, pp96-107; Nickle, 1966, p58; Catchpole, 1977, pp434-437; Hengel, 1979, pp115ff; Schneider, 1980, p113; 1982, p191; Dunn, 1983, p38).

Achtemeier identifies the visit of Paul to Jerusalem in Gal.2 neither with that of Acts 11:27ff nor with that of Acts 15, but rather with the meeting of Acts 11:1-18. He argues that Paul is omitted from this account by Luke in order that the beginnings of the gentile mission be associated with Peter, and be regarded as uncontroversial (1987, p48). The meeting of Acts 15 was held subsequently, and Peter, Paul and Barnabas were not present (Achtemeier, 1987, pp14ff). The credibility of this view rests on the assumption that Christian mission to the gentiles was controversial at the time *Acts* was written, and that Peter was erroneously associated with it (cf. Hahn, 1963, pp48-54). We need not doubt that Acts 15 represents as a single meeting a process that was of longer duration, as the authors cited previously also argue, but there seems no justification in Achtemeier's considerable violence to the text of *Acts*.

A number of recent scholars have identified the conference of Gal.2:1-10 with the obscure and doubtful reference in Acts 18:22 (Knox, 1950, pp68f; Jewett, 1979, pp78ff; Lüdemann, 1980, p149; Hyldahl, 1986, p82). Not only is it questionable whether the text alludes to a visit by Paul to Jerusalem at all (Haenchen, 1956, p480; Conzelmann, 1963, p156), but this identification defies the correlations between Acts 15 and Gal.2:1-10, which is an unjustified disregard for the evidence which has led the majority of scholars to identify those two accounts. That Acts 15, as well as representing the conference of Gal.2:1-10, is also correctly positioned chronologically, I shall argue after considering the date of Paul's mission to Corinth. First, however, we must consider the chronological relationship of the conference and the Antioch incident.

49

Munck (1954, pp94-107) and Lüdemann (1980, p75) argue that the incident at Antioch preceded the conference at Jerusalem. Lüdemann's argument is that the circumstances reflected in Gal.2:11-14 could have been conceivable only before the Jerusalem conference had resolved the issues (1980, p75). Dunn, however, has argued that the Apostolic Decree represents a later compromise, subsequent to the incident at Antioch (1983, p38), and this view represents a degree of scholarly consensus (cf. Hahn, 1963, p83). Furthermore, if the incident had taken place before the Jerusalem conference, Paul would surely have retained chronological order in order to demonstrate his vindication at Jerusalem, rather than tacitly admit defeat at Antioch (cf. Munck, 1954, p94), and leave the impression of unresolved conflict between himself and Peter. That Paul relates the conference and Antioch incident in chronological order, is affirmed by Knox (1950, p59), Conzelmann (1963, p115), Fitzmyer (1968, p219), Ogg (1968, p92), Suhl (1975, p18), Jewett (1979, p83), Hyldahl (1986, p53), and others, and there seems no justification in doubting Paul's accuracy on this point.

We turn now to dating Paul's mission to Corinth. Lüdemann argues that the text of Acts 18:1-17 is a conflation of two traditions, concerning two visits by Paul to Corinth. His principal items of evidence are the names of two ἀρχισυνάγωγοι, and the alleged incompatibility of the edict of Claudius with the proconsulship of Gallio. The first ἀρχισυνάγωγος, Crispus, was converted during Paul's mission (Acts 18:8; cf. I Cor.1:14), and would almost certainly have forfeited his office in the synagogue as a consequence; undoubtedly so had the rupture with the synagogue reported in Acts 18:7 taken place. Despite Lüdemann's objection (1980, p159), subsequently moderated (1987, p204), there seems no reason to doubt that this could have accounted for Sosthenes' assuming the office of ἀρχισυνάγωγος (Acts 18:17). Furthermore, as Lüdemann regards the episode in Acts 18:12ff as unhistorical (1980, p160), the methodological legitimacy of his use of it to support his conflation theory, and to date Paul's second visit to Corinth (1980, p172), would seem questionable. Furthermore, even if "Γαλλίωνος δὲ" does imply the beginning of a different source to that for Acts 18:1-11, it does not follow that two sources imply two different visits to Corinth. Murphy-O'Connor calculates that the proconsulship of Gallio occurred between 49 and 52 CE (1983, pp142-146), and probably commenced in July 51 CE (1983, p149). The edict of Claudius presents a more complex problem. Dio Cassius (Hist.6:6) mentions Jewish rioting in Rome

in 41 CE, which resulted in the prohibition of meetings, but not the expulsion of the Jewish population of Rome. Lüdemann identifies this as the edict mentioned in Acts 18:2, and argues that Aquila and Priscilla must have arrived in Corinth shortly thereafter, and that Paul first reached Corinth in 41 CE, or soon thereafter (1980, pp7,250,262; 1988, pp115f). Murphy-O'Connor also identifies this as the edict in question, but points out that Aquila and Priscilla did not necessarily go directly to Corinth from Rome (1983, p136). He argues that the earliest possible date for Paul's arrival in Corinth is 45 CE, and the more likely date 49 CE (1983, pp139f). This is the date that would be suggested by Orosius (Hist.7.6:15f) for the edict of Claudius mentioned by Suetonius (Claudius 25), in terms of which Jews were expelled from Rome. This dating is problematic, in that Tacitus makes no mention of such an edict in his extant *Annales* for that year, and, more significantly, Orosius' citation of Josephus is not from any of his extant writings, and may be spurious. Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that this is the edict mentioned in Acts 18:2, even if the dating is less certain. A substantial body of scholarly opinion accepts the date given by Orosius, 49 CE, and accordingly dates Paul's mission to Corinth shortly thereafter (Suhl, 1975, pp339f; Jewett, 1979, pp38ff; Hyldahl, 1986, p121; Watson, 1986, p92; cf. Wedderburn, 1988, p14). We can therefore estimate that Paul arrived in Corinth in c. 50 CE. We need to consider whether this was before or after the Jerusalem conference.

Paul was accompanied on his mission to Corinth by Silvanus and Timothy (II Cor.1:19; cf. Acts 18:5). This indicates that the mission took place after the incident at Antioch, which ended Paul's association with the church there and with Barnabas, in which case the entire period in Paul's life covered in Gal.1:11-2:14 can be dated prior to the mission to Corinth (Lake, 1937, p250; Caird, 1955, p211; Filson, 1964, p398; Conzelmann, 1969b, p182; Hengel, 1979, p137; Watson, 1986, p57). This is disputed by a number of recent scholars (Knox, 1950, p85; Jewett, 1979, pp78-85; Lüdemann, 1980, pp149,172,262ff; Hyldahl, 1986, pp121f; Achtemeier, 1987, p90). Calculations of dates can reach either conclusion, but such evidence as is supplied by Paul (II Cor.1:19) confirms the testimony of *Acts*, and there is insufficient ground for disputing it. The lack of reference to the Apostolic Decree in Paul's dealing with the question of idol meat (cf. Hurd, 1965) is quite adequately accounted for by Dibelius (1947, pp96-101) and Dunn (1983, p38).

It seems most likely, therefore, that the Jerusalem conference took place before Paul's mission to Corinth, in c. 48 or 49 CE. It was followed, probably within months, by Paul's confrontation with Peter at Antioch, which lost him the support of that community, and his association with Barnabas. He thereupon embarked on his independent missionary career, during the course of which he established the church at Corinth, probably in 51 CE. Meanwhile the crisis in Antioch was resolved through the promulgation of the Apostolic Decree. We turn now to the chronology of Paul's work subsequent to his mission to Corinth.

According to Acts 18:22, Paul, shortly after his mission to Corinth and a brief visit to Ephesus, visited Caesarea and Antioch. It is, however, debated whether "$\tau\grave{\eta}\nu$ $\grave{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$" alludes to a visit to Jerusalem at this point. Haenchen, (1956, p544), Conzelmann (1963, p156), and Roloff (1981, pp276f) argue that this is how Luke understood his source, but that the historicity of such a visit is doubtful. Georgi (1965, p37) and Ogg (1968, pp128f) concur that no such visit took place. Haenchen argues further that Paul's landing at Caesarea was caused by unfavourable seasonal winds, and was unanticipated, and that Antioch was the sole destination of the journey (1956, pp547f). Filson, however, argues that the "immense importance of Jerusalem" argues in favour of a visit, not recorded because of its personal nature and Paul's less than cordial relationship with the church there (1964, p246). It could equally be argued that the importance of Jerusalem required that any visit be recorded in full rather than alluded to ambiguously. Munck too argues that Jerusalem was the destination of Paul's journey (1967, p181), as does Williams (1964, p214), and of course those scholars cited above who locate the Jerusalem conference at this point. Schneider argues that this was only a brief visit to convey Paul's greetings (1982, p254). If this is so, it entailed a very substantial extension to Paul's journey, in which case the importance of the undertaking must have been considerable, so as to require fuller treatment. That Paul visited Jerusalem in c. 52 CE is therefore most unlikely, and it is more likely that his eastward journey was to Antioch only, and this visit we must now consider.

Haenchen argues that Paul returned to Antioch after his mission to Greece in order to strengthen his ties with the church there (1956, p548). Given the circumstances in which Paul had departed from Antioch, Conzelmann is perhaps

somewhat more precise in arguing that it was to re-establish contact with the Antiochene church that Paul made his return (1969b, p90). The visit was therefore possibly of comparable significance to the episode which had resulted in Paul's departure, and it would stand to reason therefore that the details of the visit would not be recorded in *Acts*. Georgi correctly points out that Paul's previous association with the Antiochene church was not restored, as Paul continued his independent work, but at the same time he demonstrated his membership of and commitment to the broader ecclesiastical community (1965, p37). Ogg suggests that Paul retired to Antioch in ill health (1968, pp131f), which need not be incompatible with the ecclesial agenda to which Conzelmann and Georgi have drawn attention. A particular aspect of Paul's business with the Antiochene church may well have been the arrangement of the collection, which occupied Paul's last years of freedom, as Suhl suggests (1975, pp135f; cf. Williams, 1964, p213; Watson, 1986, p175). The delivery would have been scheduled for 55 CE (Suhl, 1975, p135; cf. Jeremias, 1928).

The period after Paul's visit to Antioch has already been discussed in connection with the chronology of *II Corinthians*, and can therefore be dealt with fairly briefly here. In I Cor.16:3-6, Paul indicates his intention to visit the Corinthian church towards the end of the following travelling season, which we have estimated to be that of 54 CE. Paul would possibly travel to Jerusalem that autumn, or winter in Corinth and sail for Jerusalem, or proceed to work elsewhere, at the beginning of the 55 CE travelling season. That Paul's plans for 54 CE were frustrated, is clear from *II Corinthians*. It is not possible or necessary to discuss the various hypotheses here, but it is apparent from II Cor.1:23-2:1 that Paul's plans were altered. It would seem most likely that Paul learned, possibly from Timothy (I Cor.16:10), of the crisis in Corinth precipitated by rivals infiltrating the church, and accordingly visited Corinth at the beginning of the 54 CE travelling season, when he was unexpected by the church. The visit proved disastrous, and Paul withdrew from Corinth, and proceeded with the work he had planned in Macedonia, from where he may have written II Cor.10-13, at which time Paul might still have intended to return to Corinth that autumn (II Cor.13:1). The Corinthian church fully expected Paul to return as originally envisaged, but instead he returned to Ephesus (II Cor.1:23; 2:1) (cf. Barrett, 1973, p85; Bultmann, 1976, p45; Furnish, 1984, p140; Martin, 1986, p30), from where he sent Titus to Corinth with

either II Cor.10-13 or II Cor.2:14-7:4 (vide discussion of composition of *II Cor.* above). It is possible that Paul was imprisoned in Ephesus at this time, and that he wrote *Philippians* or substantial parts of it (vide discussion in previous section) during his incarceration. The crisis in Corinth meant that Paul was unable to take or send the collection to Antioch *en route* for Jerusalem, as planned (I Cor.16:3f). Early in 55 CE, Paul crossed to Macedonia, where he met Titus (II Cor.2:13; 7:5ff), who reported a satisfactory resolution to the crisis in Corinth. Paul accordingly sent Titus back to Corinth to complete the collection there, and despatched either II Cor.1-8 or II Cor.1:1-2;13; 7:5-8:24 with him (vide discussion of composition of *II Cor.* above). Shortly thereafter, when he was ready to leave Macedonia for Achaia, Paul sent II Cor.9 to Corinth, and perhaps to other churches in the region, announcing his own impending arrival. Paul probably spent the winter of 55-56 CE in Corinth, from where he wrote *Romans*, before proceeding to Jerusalem with the collection in the spring of 56 CE (for other reconstructions, cf. Knox, 1950, p86; Bornkamm, 1961; Hahn, 1963, p93; Marxsen, 1964, pp79ff; Georgi, 1964, pp15-17; 1965, p95; Barrett, 1973, pp8-12; Suhl, 1975, pp224-256; Jewett, 1978; 1979, pp100-104; Furnish, 1984, pp26-35; Watson, 1984; Sellin, 1987, pp2994f). This was over a year behind schedule, and Paul was anxious about his reception (Rom.15:31). His arrest in Jerusalem, by our calculations in 56 CE, effectively ended Paul's missionary work, so far as it is recorded. It is with this termination of Paul's freedom that this thesis ends.

It has not been possible to discuss fully all the chronological reconstructions of Paul's life. We have, however, identified a number of nodal events, in terms of which his career, and his relationships with the Jerusalem and Antioch churches, is to be understood. It is within this chronological framework that the development of Paul's relationships with the Jerusalem and Antioch churches, and their leaders, will now be considered.

Part I

PAUL'S CONVERSION AND THE
BEGINNINGS OF HIS CHRISTIAN CAREER

Paul's Christian career can be divided into a number of distinct phases, between certain watershed events, which influenced changes and developments in his relationships. These events cannot be assumed to have been the sole cause or occasion of fluctuations in Paul's relationships, but are nevertheless important indicators of reorientation in Paul's life, which in turn would have influenced, and perhaps even have determined, his relationships. In this thesis, we are concerned with the period in Paul's life between his conversion (c. 35 CE) and his arrest in Jerusalem, which effectively ended his documented missionary career (c. 56 CE). We need to be constantly aware that we are dealing with dynamic relationships involving living people and communities, and not with any static network of relationships. We need therefore to focus our attention separately on the successive phases in Paul's Christian career, and in Part One we shall be paying particular attention to that period in Paul's life between his conversion and his association with the church of Antioch. This is preliminary to the phases in Paul's life with which this thesis is primarily concerned, his period of association with the church at Antioch and afterwards, but it is nevertheless necessary that the first years of Paul's Christian career be considered briefly.

Chapter I

Paul's Conversion, and Association with the Church of Damascus

Of Paul's early Christian work, very little is recorded. We know from Gal.1:18; 2:1 that the period in Paul's life concluding with the Jerusalem Conference lasted for more than a decade, and possibly for substantially longer (vide discussion of chronology in Introduction above). *Galatians*, as argued in the Introduction, was written during a very different, later, phase in Paul's life, and his perceptions of his own past are shaped by subsequent events, and their effect on Paul's vocational consciousness (cf. Mussner, 1974, p131; Gager, 1981, p699), of which previous scholarship has not been sufficiently aware. In particular, Paul's portrayal of the course of his life as predetermined (Gal.1:15f) has led to assumptions about the events surrounding and following his conversion, and meant that a number of factors pertaining to that event have been overlooked, and the diversity of possible responses to his experience available to Paul has not been recognized. In order to appreciate more fully the significance of the church of Antioch in Paul's Christian life, it is necessary that these issues be explored in this chapter.

Other than the very brief allusions in Gal.1:16f, our only information on the beginnings of Paul's Christian career is the account in Acts 9:3-19, and repeated with variations in 22:3-21 and 26:9-23. Such allusions as there may be in I Cor.15:8, II Cor.4:1ff and Phil.3:3-11, while reflecting Paul's "highly retrospective" (Gager, 1981, p699) meditations on his conversion related for particular polemical purposes, contain no historical information that could be of use in our present purpose. *Acts* dates from even later than *Galatians*, and, even if less personalized, the problem of anachronism is somewhat greater. In this chapter, therefore, we are dependent upon accounts which have been reinterpreted to serve later theological purposes. We must nevertheless seek to discern the historical reality behind the theological and legendary elaborations in the texts.

1.1 The Circumstances of Paul's Conversion

Any discussion of Paul's conversion is complicated by considerations determined by the subsequent history of the Christian church. Paul's importance in the theology of the Protestant reformation has served to entrench the historical naïveté of previous generations, and uncritical acceptance of the dramatic accounts of Paul's conversion, and more especially of his assertion that he was uniquely set apart for the mission to the gentiles, and became *the* apostle to the gentiles from the moment of his conversion (Gal.1:15; Rom.1:5), still prevails in New Testament scholarship (cf. Hahn, 1963, p97; Georgi, 1965, p22; Bornkamm, 1969, pp26f; Dunn, 1987, p89). The very notion of conversion has been questioned, most particularly by Stendahl, who has otherwise contributed a great deal to understanding Paul without western Protestant preoccupations. Stendahl argues that Paul's experience was not a conversion, but a vocation to apostleship (1976, p7; cf. Kim, 1981, pp55-66; Dunn, 1987, p90). Conversion implies a change of religion, and therefore is not applicable to Paul (1976, p11; cf. Scroggs & Douglas, 1976, p256). This last assertion is in itself question-begging, in that it raises the question of how and when Christianity separated from Judaism, to which there is no simple answer. It is clear that "Paul did not leave Judaism entirely in becoming a follower of Jesus" (Segal, 1986, p103). Nevertheless, to define conversion simply in terms of a radical change in religion, is to impose narrow, and somewhat anachronistic, constraints upon the concepts both of religion and of conversion, as Straus has demonstrated (1979, p163). Thouless has shown that conversion can take the form of reorientation from a conventional religiosity to a more intense or mystical form of the same religion (1971, p144; cf. Snow & Machalek, 1983; Gaventa, 1986, p40; Segal, 1986, p103), and this may reflect the experience of all Jews who became Christian during this period. There can be no doubt that Paul's experience involved radical reorientation, or transformation (Gaventa, 1986, p40), with profound implications both for his beliefs and his subsequent career, and that it ultimately brought him into a different religious community (cf. Segal, 1990, p300; cf. also Straus, 1979, p163). Sandmel's notion of "conversion within Judaism" (1958, p63) is somewhat more satisfactory than Stendahl's denial that Paul experienced conversion, and it must be acknowledged that "Paul was indeed a convert in the modern sociological definition of the word" (Segal, 1986, p103; cf. James, 1902, pp12ff). It is with Paul's conversion that we are at present concerned. The vocational overtones with

58

which this event is recorded, it will be argued below, reflect Paul and Luke's subsequent perceptions in the light of later Christian experience (cf. Segal, 1990, p8; vide ch.6 especially for discussion of this question).

Both Paul (Gal.1:12,16) and Luke (Acts 9:3ff; 22:6ff; 26:13ff) are unequivocal in according the Jerusalem church, and the apostles associated therewith, no part in Paul's conversion (cf. Sargant, 1957, p106). Paul's conversion, with its vocational overtones, anachronistic or otherwise (cf. Watson, 1986, p30; Dunn, 1987, p90), took place in the context of a revelatory experience (cf. Stuhlmacher, 1968, pp76ff; Bowker, 1971, pp159,167ff; Rowland, 1982, p375; Collins, 1984, p208), and has become "the verbal and imaginative pattern which ever since has typified sudden and complete conversion" (Krailsheimer, 1980, p12). The medical particulars of this experience are incidental to its phenomenological significance for Paul's life, and the course of Christian history (cf. James, 1902, p14; Sargant, 1957, p106), and need not concern us here. According to the *Acts* accounts, Paul's conversion took place when he was on his way to Damascus in the course of his persecuting activities (9:3; 22:6; 26:12). That the event took place in the vicinity of Damascus, would seem to be confirmed by Gal.1:17 (cf. Lüdemann, 1987, p114).

The fundamental distinction between the accounts of Luke and Paul, so far as this thesis is concerned, is not so much the discrepancy between visual (Gal.1:16; I Cor.9:1; 15:8; cf. light in Acts 9:3; 22:6; 26:13) and auditory (Acts 9:4ff; 22:8ff; 26:14ff) aspects of the revelation (cf. Rowland, 1982, p375), as these are stylized (Gaventa, 1986, p90; cf. Beckford, 1978, p260), but that Luke recounts that Paul was directed in his audition to await further instructions once he had reached Damascus (Acts 9:6; 22:10; cf. Dunn, 1970, p75). These directions, the vocational aspect of Paul's conversion experience, came to Paul through the mediation of Ananias (Acts 22:14f; cf. 9:17; cf. Segal, 1990, p8). Paul is unambiguous, even if anachronistically so (cf. Sanders, 1966, pp340ff), that neither his conversion, nor his vocation to apostleship, was the result of human action (Gal.1:2,11f; vide Burton, 1921, pp37f for discussion of the precise meaning of $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$ $\breve{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi o\nu$). Acts 26:15-18 may indicate that Luke saw no contradiction between direct revelation and human mediation (cf. Gaventa, 1986, pp42-92), but the vehemence of Paul's assertion is not to be ignored. Even if he did not receive every aspect of the Christian doctrine he was to preach in his conversion experience (Gerhardsson, 1961,

59

p273; cf. Fuller, 1971, pp28f), Paul's assertion in Gal.1:15f excludes all human communication (Burton, 1921, p55). The meaning of his conversion experience was contained in the revelation itself, and required neither the confirmation nor the interpretation of any human authority (Dunn, 1982, p463; cf. Bowker, 1971, p172).

The question of the role of Ananias is crucial, especially in the light of the vehemence of Paul's assertions that would seem to exclude him from the story. It is most unlikely that Ananias is a Lukan invention. If Luke had found it necessary to create a character for his story, he would not have given him the same name as the villain of the Acts 5:1-11 pericope, and so soon in the narrative after that event, thus inviting unfavourable associations in the minds of his readers. Furthermore, he could have accorded a more prominent person the role of transmitting the Gospel tradition to Paul, had he so wished (Wilson, 1973, p164). We must therefore conclude that Ananias was an historical character, who played a role in Paul's life about the time of his conversion, or shortly thereafter. Paul may be anxious in Gal.1 not to encourage a distorted version of this role currently circulating (Wilson, 1973, p162), and any mention of Ananias in Gal.1:11-2:14 would have undermined Paul's claim to have received both the gospel he preached and his apostolic vocation without human mediation. While Paul's interest is in excluding any person whose authority had been effectively asserted against him (vide discussion in chs.5 & 6 below for discussion), rather than in relating the details of his conversion experience, any subtlety of distinction between Ananias' having been the interpreter of his conversion, and his having been the mediator thereof, would have weakened Paul's argument, even if such a distinction is compatible with $\pi\rho\sigma\alpha\nu\epsilon\theta\dot{\epsilon}\mu\eta\nu$ in Gal.1:16 (cf. Dunn, 1982, p462).

It is quite probable that Ananias was instrumental in Paul's being received into the church at Damascus, despite his past record of persecution, as Luke indicates (Acts 22:12-16; cf 9:17ff) (cf. Dunn, 1970, pp73-78; Hengel, 1979, p84). It is notable, however, that Luke does not attribute to Ananias any leadership role in the Damascus church, although he does describe him as enjoying the respect of the Jewish community (Acts 22:12). There can be little doubt that Paul was baptized (Rom.6:3; I Cor.12:13 $\dot{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\pi\tau\dot{\iota}\sigma\theta\eta\mu\epsilon\nu$; cf. Gal.3:27 $\dot{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\pi\tau\dot{\iota}\sigma\theta\eta\tau\epsilon$; cf. Dunn, 1970,

p78). This may seem to contradict Paul's unambiguous and perhaps even some-what grotesque statement "οὐ προσανεθέμην σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι" (Gal.1:16), which at the very least makes a stark contrast to the overtly spiritual nature of Paul's revelatory experience. This raises the question whether Paul's reception into the church at Damascus was the immediate sequel to his conversion. We cannot assume that the extended conversion-initiation-vocation experience which Luke re-counts accurately records a single episode in Paul's life (cf. Dunn, 1970, pp73-78; Gaventa, 1986, p23; cf. also Straus, 1979, p163; Spilka & al, 1985, pp205f). The stylized portrayals of *Acts* (Gaventa, 1986, pp42-92; cf. Beckford, 1978, p260) may reflect accurately what was regarded as the normative conversion-initiation experience in the early Christian communities with which Luke and/or his source were familiar, embellished with distinctive vocational overtones, but Paul's own testimony does not justify the assumption that it applied in his own extraordinary case. If Paul did not know the rite of baptism to be an essential part of the Chris-tian conversion-initiation process (cf. Segal, 1990, p27), then he would not have regarded his conversion experience as incomplete in itself (cf. Dunn, 1970, p78). Furthermore, the conceptual unity of the early Christian conversion-initiation ex-perience (cf. Rom.6:3ff; I Cor.6:11; 12:13; II Cor.4:2-6), does not, and cannot, imply that every such incident followed a uniform pattern. We must therefore con-sider Paul's specific experience in its own right, and according to his own testimony, without presupposing any paradigm regarded as normative in later Christian com-munities. The chronological order which Gal.1:16-17 seems to suggest by "εὐθέως ... ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀραβίαν καὶ πάλιν ὑπέστρεψα εἰς Δαμασκόν" is that Paul went to Arabia before making contact with the church at Damascus (cf. Hengel, 1979, p84). This is a question to which we shall return when we have considered Paul's time in Arabia.

To sum up, therefore, the records of Paul's conversion consistently indicate an apocalyptic vision or audition, and not the evangelistic activity of the primitive Church, as the medium by which he received the gospel. Paul asserts that his apostolic vocation was part of the same revelatory experience, while Luke ascribes to Ananias some part in this. This anomaly I hope to resolve after considering Paul's period in Arabia.

61

1.2 Arabia and Damascus

We are not concerned so much with the geographical location of "Arabia" (for which vide Lightfoot, 1890, pp88f; Burton, 1921, pp57f; Betz, 1979, p74), as with what Paul did there. There are two principal views of this question in contemporary scholarship. The first is that Paul withdrew into the wilderness, for the purpose of contemplative preparation for his subsequent work (to my knowledge, no scholar has suggested that Paul intended a permanent eremitic existence, or separation from society as a means of maintaining purity in anticipation of the eschaton). The second view, a necessary corollary of the vocational understanding of Paul's conversion experience, is that he began his missionary work in Arabia. The two are not necessarily mutually exclusive, as the example of John the Baptist testifies (cf. Scobie, 1964, pp33ff). Paul does not mention what he did in Arabia, or how long he stayed there (Gal.1:17), much as firm evidence would have strengthened his argument in *Galatians* (vide discussion in ch.6 below). Luke makes no mention of this episode at all, and the sequence of events in the Lukan narrative must therefore be considered later.

Burton argues that Paul's time in Arabia was "not a missionary enterprise but a withdrawal from contact with men" (1921, p57). He regards the former possibility as psychologically improbable (1921, p55), an issue to which we shall need to return subsequently. Rather, Paul undertook a period of prolonged contemplation of the implications of his conversion experience (1921, p56; cf. Dunn, 1970, p76). This view is shared by Gerhardsson, who suggests that Paul's purpose was to rid himself of an old body of knowledge, in order to prepare himself for a new task, which would involve taking on a new body of knowledge (1961, p289). While the texts Gerhardsson cites in support of his thesis (bAbZar.19ab; bBabMes.85a) are very late, the practice of solitary retreat into the wilderness is attributed to Elijah (I Kings 19:4-18), and therefore cannot have been unknown in Israel since before the Exile. Furthermore, the synoptic Gospels depict Jesus in the wilderness between receiving baptism from John and the commencement of his public ministry (Mt.4:1-11; Mk.1:12-13; Lk.4:1-13). While we may wish to question the historicity of Matthew and Luke's portrayal of this episode, we have no reason to doubt that such a retreat took place, and still less that such was a known religious practice of the time. John the Baptist is portrayed as living on the fringes of society and

the wilderness (Mt.3:1ff; Mk.1:2-8; Lk.3:2ff; cf. Jos.*Ant.XVIII*.5:2), maintaining contact with society through preaching and baptism (cf. Scobie, 1964, pp41ff). Communities which withdrew, conceptually or geographically or both, from society, such as the Essenes and Therapeutae, are also attested in contemporary Judaism (Philo.*De Vita Contemplativa*; *Quod Omnis*.12:75f; Jos.*Bell.II*.8:2-13). A withdrawal by Paul into the Arabian wilderness after his conversion, would therefore not have been unprecedented in the Jewish tradition, even if the occasion was somewhat extraordinary. However, the possible motives for such a course of action, and the range of activities possible in such circumstances, are wider than appears to be generally recognized. Further consideration will therefore be necessary below.

Stuhlmacher (1968, p84), Bornkamm (1969, p27), Betz (1979, p74), Bruce (1982a, p96), and Lyons (1985, p159) assert that Paul went to Arabia for the purpose of mission (cf. Krailsheimer, 1980, p12). This view is a necessary corollary to that which perceives Paul as the apostle to the gentiles from the moment of his conversion (cf. Stendahl, 1976; Kim, 1981; Dunn, 1987). However much a possible mission in Arabia would conform to Paul's schematic depiction of his ministry in Rom.15:19 (cf. Cranfield, 1975, pp760ff; Watson, 1986, pp29ff), the evidence for or against such a mission is minimal, and defies certainty. The fact that there is no record of any churches founded by Paul anywhere that might be described as "Arabia" cannot be taken as conclusive evidence against a mission there. While Burton's position, noted above, is not lightly to be dismissed, it is at the same time too deterministic simply to be accepted without question. Psychological probability is a hazardous criterion on which to base speculation about historical events (cf. discussion of notion of probability in Introduction above, and refs to Wittgenstein & Popper), as there is seldom if ever only one way in which human beings can respond to any particular experience. While the option of withdrawal, for a variety of purposes and durations, would certainly have been one which Paul could have considered, it would not have been the only one, and Gager has noted the resort to evangelism as a means to resolving cognitive dissonance after religious conversion (1981, p702; cf. Festinger, 1956; 1957; Snow & Machalek, 1983, p276). Withdrawal, furthermore, would not necessarily have been for the purpose of preparation for subsequent evangelistic activity. Withdrawal from society in order to maintain purity in anticipation of an eschatological event is also attested in contemporary Judaism, as in the Qumran community. Perhaps more significantly,

a life of withdrawal from, but engagement with, society is attested, most notably in the career of John the Baptist.

Action subsequent to religious conversion appears to be a neglected area in the psychology of religion, but the findings of Starbuck clearly indicate a variety of responses and reactions to the conversion experience (1914, pp118ff). The immediate aftermath of conversion is variable in length, and is characterised by a sense of relief and spiritual exaltation (Starbuck, 1914, p118). A sense of responsibility, which would presumably include to urge to proselytize, is relatively infrequent immediately after conversion, and is attributed by Starbuck to an incomplete state of the conversion process (1914, p121). The researches of Festinger into cognitive dissonance (1956; 1957; 1964) are undoubtedly relevant to the post-conversion situation, and Gager has connected this with Paul's urge to evangelize (1981, p702; cf. Segal, 1990, pp295ff). The tension between old and new beliefs, and bodies of knowledge, requires resolution, ultimately through the suppression of the old (cf. Gerhardsson, 1961; Festinger, 1964, p64). There are a variety of conscious and unconscious techniques whereby this may be accomplished (cf. Festinger, 1956, pp264f; Jecker, 1964b; Walster, 1964). That of joining a group which shared his convictions (cf. Straus, 1979) may not have been an option available or attractive to Paul, given his recent persecuting activities. Recourse to proselytizing would not have been feasible until Paul had sufficiently re-ordered his mind to his new convictions to attempt converting others (cf. Dunn, 1970, p76; cf. also Allen, 1964; Canon, 1964; Jecker, 1964b; Walster, 1964). However, the pursuit of any evangelistic fervour would not necessarily have been incompatible with life on the fringes of society, and an eremitic life in Arabia could conceivably have been combined with the, however tentative, beginnings to an evangelistic ministry, if that way of life was recognized as religiously significant by at least some members of the adjacent society. A rigid dichotomy between withdrawal and mission is unsupported by the pattern of at least some Jewish movements of the time, including that associated with John the Baptist, and perhaps also the ministry of Jesus (cf. Lk.9:58).

How Paul's time was spent in Arabia must remain largely uncertain. That withdrawal from society for the purposes of contemplation, at least as a prerequisite to beginning an evangelistic ministry, was an important, though not necessarily a protracted or exclusive, aspect of this period in Paul's life, would seem likely.

64

This view may be supported by Gal.1:17, to the extent that Arabia is contrasted to Jerusalem, in which case Paul, instead of consulting authoritative Christian leaders in Jerusalem, sought further divine guidance and inspiration. The nature of Paul's relationships with other Christians during this period, if any, depend largely, it would seem, on the question of chronology, to which we must now return.

According to Acts 9:20, Paul, within a few days of his conversion, "ἐκήρυσσεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ". Paul makes no mention of this, but it is not integral to his argument, which could explain its omission. κηρύσσω can mean "to acknowledge publicly" (Bauer, 1957, p432; 1988, p878; cf. Friedrich, 1939, p703) rather than specifically "to preach", and the text could indicate merely that Paul announced, and perhaps explained, in the synagogues his conversion to Christianity. If this took place before Paul went to Arabia, it would indicate that he had already joined the Damascus church (Dunn, 1970, pp73-78), and would have shared whatever relationship that community may have had with the Jerusalem church. This is not what Paul seems to indicate in Gal.1:17, however, especially if Lightfoot (1890, p83) and Burton (1921, pp53ff) are correct in arguing that "εὐθέως" (Gal.1:16) governs the three succeeding phrases, including "ἀλλὰ ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀραβίαν" (Gal.1:17) (cf. Betz, 1979, p72). According to this interpretation, Paul's immediate response to his conversion was to travel to Arabia, and this view would be strengthened if εὐθέως indicates 'directly' as well as 'immediately' (cf. Liddell & Scott, 1940, p716). If this was the case, then Paul went to Arabia without having formed any relationship, membership or otherwise, with any Christian community. It would have been when he returned from Arabia that Paul first made contact with the church in Damascus, perhaps through the mediation of Ananias, as suggested above (cf. Hengel, 1979, p84). His preaching in the synagogues would have belonged to the stage in his life subsequent to his return to Damascus (Gal.1:17).

Acts 9:19b-26 makes a plausible sequence of events, which is consistent with that of Gal.1:17b-18a. Luke omits Paul's journey to Arabia, and it cannot be inserted into the narrative of Acts 9 as it stands. A journey to Arabia, however defined, after Paul's time in Damascus, is most implausible if the circumstances of his departure in Acts 9:25 were those indicated in II Cor.11:32f. In the Introduction above, I argued that Acts 9:25 and II Cor.11:32f allude to the same event, in

which case it is more likely that Paul would have fled from, and not into, the Arabian kingdom. Paul's departure from Damascus in Acts 9:25/II Cor.11:32f was of course not necessarily his only departure from that city, but rather his final departure. Nevertheless Gal.1:16f would seem to indicate that Paul's initial response to his conversion experience was to avoid human contact, and to travel to Arabia. His subsequent return to the city in whose vicinity his conversion had taken place, would in this case have been the prelude to his involvement in the Christian community there. While the aorist tense of the relevant verbs in Gal.1:16f does not exclude the possibility that Paul engaged in missionary work in Arabia, while based in Damascus, to which place he returned on several occasions, this does not appear to be what Paul is saying. The implication, in the context of Paul's account of his career, would seem to be that Arabia and Damascus represent two consecutive stages in Paul's life. Had the contrary been the case, Paul would surely have expressed himself differently, in terms of working in Damascus and Arabia, with similar phrasing to that with which he refers in Gal.1:21 to his period working in Syria and Cilicia. We are led to suggest, therefore, the possibility that Paul travelled into Arabia immediately after his conversion, and subsequently returned to Damascus, where he made his initial contact with a Christian community.

Some account is needed of Paul's decision, after an overtly individual conversion experience independent of any Christian missionary or community, and which involved the acceptance of no authority other than that which derived from his experience, to seek membership of an established Christian community, and accept the relationships and authority that would have entailed. We have already made reference to Festinger's research into cognitive dissonance, in which he identifies seeking further information which may reduce or relativize dissonance, and the company of people who also hold firmly to the dissonant convictions, as two possible courses of action to diminish post-decision dissonance (1956, pp164f; 1964). Both these motives are quite plausibly applicable in Paul's case. If contemplation had not resolved the tension between Paul's Pharisaic and Christian convictions, he may well have decided that returning to Damascus, and seeking entry into the Christian community, was necessary (cf. Festinger, 1964, p64; Jecker, 1964b, p66). Furthermore, and perhaps more significantly, the need for social integration would have required satisfaction, and here the research of Malina is particularly relevant.

Malina, drawing substantially on the research of Geertz (1974) and Pitt-Rivers (1977), describes human identity in the world of the New Testament as "dyadic" (1979, pp127f; 1981, p53; vide fuller discussion in Introduction above). The individual is dependent on the group to which he or she belongs for his or her self-identity, and Paul, however robust his individuality, would have been no exception (cf. Malina, 1979, p128; 1981, pp53ff). While the spiritual exaltation that followed his conversion experience (cf. Starbuck, 1914, p118; for a different perception of Paul's conversion experience, vide Sargant, 1957, p106) could for a time have compensated for the acute social dislocation which his conversion undoubtedly occasioned, the need for social reorientation and integration would eventually have emerged with post-ecstatic depression (cf. Festinger, 1956, p265; 1964, pp30ff). If the suppression of Christianity was a correlative obligation of Paul's pre-conversion affiliation in Pharisaic Judaism, his conversion would undoubtedly have resulted in the loss of his social base, and group embeddedness, within his particular strand of Judaism. His conversion was not through the agency of any Christian evangelist, and, I have suggested above, did not immediately provide entry to a community which could have been the basis of Paul's new self-identity and social integration. The consequence of Paul's conversion would therefore have been isolation and lack of identity, until such time as he joined a Christian community (cf. Malina, 1979, p128). Berger and Luckmann express this need for social integration as a corollary of Paul's conversion: "Saul may have become Paul in the aloneness of religious ecstasy, but he could *remain* Paul only in the context of the Christian community" (1966, p158). I would suggest that it was for this purpose that Paul returned to Damascus (Gal.1:17).

Ananias would appear from the Lukan accounts to have played a crucial part in Paul's integration into the Christian community in Damascus (Acts 9:10-19; 22:12-16). The details of the two narratives vary regarding the role of Ananias. While this may affirm that he indeed played an important role in Paul's life during this period, it also means that we cannot be certain as to what this role entailed, and questions about both acounts remain unanswered (cf. Dunn, 1970, p75; Gaventa, 1986, pp42-92; cf. also Beckford, 1978). For the present, therefore, I shall omit Acts 9:10-19a and 22:12-16 from our reconstruction, and return to them subsequently. This provides a gap in the narrative into which the journey to Arabia

could plausibly be placed immediately after the conversion experience of Acts 9:3-5(/9). In omitting the journey to Arabia, if he was aware of it, Luke is able to portray Paul's conversion-initiation experience as a single event, in close conformity to what was normative in the Church of his own day. If, however, I am correct in arguing that Paul's journey to Arabia was the immediate sequel to his conversion, then his conversion-initiation experience would have been more protracted, and his return to Damascus from Arabia would have been the occasion of Ananias' role in introducing him to the church by baptism (Acts 22:16; cf. reception of Spirit in 9:17; cf. Dunn, 1970, pp73-78), so enabling his social integration and acquisition of a new dyadic identity. This, and the transmission of Christian traditions (cf. Fuller, 1971, p28; Wilson, 1973, p164; vide discussion of I Cor.15:3 in ch.6 below), would have enabled Paul to reduce his post-conversion dissonance. Ananias' mediating role may well also have included effecting reconciliation between Paul and the community he had persecuted, or intended persecuting (Hengel, 1979, p84).

If this reconstruction is correct, then Paul's initial response to his conversion experience was to withdraw from the area of Damascus for Arabia. We can assume that this would have involved a journey of some distance, however the boundaries of Arabia may be defined. Whether this took the form of a withdrawal from society for the purpose of contemplation, or the beginning of his new career in an area in which he was not previously known as a persecutor of the faith he now proclaimed, or a combination of both, we cannot be certain. It would seem likely, however, that the former was at least a part of Paul's purpose in travelling to Arabia. He explicitly denies any contact with the Jerusalem church and its leadership during this period, and seems at least implicitly to deny any contact with other human authorities, including Christian communities.

I have suggested that, on his return from Arabia, Paul was received into Christian fellowship in Damascus, where he remained for some time, possibly as long as three years (Fitzmyer, 1968, p219). How he occupied himself is not recorded, except in so far as Acts 9:20ff reflects this period in Paul's life. Those scholars who believe that Paul was the apostle to the gentiles from the moment of his conversion would of course maintain that he was engaged in this work in Damascus (cf. Bornkamm, 1969, p27). Others, however, would argue that at this stage in his life Paul preached only to Jews (cf. Watson, 1986, pp29f). Whatever the ethnic

origins of his audience and converts, Paul undoubtedly gained a degree of notoriety in the community at large, to such an extent that this stage in his life was terminated through his flight from the city to escape the agent of the Nabataean king (II Cor.11:32ff; cf. Acts 9:23ff). There is no reason to doubt that it was Paul's activities in promoting the Christian gospel that, directly or indirectly, incurred the wrath of the secular powers. This view would be confirmed, were the role attributed to the Jewish community in Damascus attested independently of Acts 9:23 (cf. Petersen, 1978, pp83ff). However, for the present purpose it is sufficient to note that Paul was actively involved in the life of the church at Damascus, from and in which he derived his dyadic identity. This would have entailed his accepting the authority and discipline that being part of a community involves. This would have included, by extension, whatever relationship the Damascus church had at that time with the church in Jerusalem. Of the nature of this relationship, however, we have no record. While Paul would have shared in this corporate relationship, there is no indication whatever that he sought independent contact with the leaders of the Jerusalem community until his visit to them, to which we shall direct our attention in the following chapter.

Chapter II

Paul's Initial Contact with the Jerusalem Church

Consideration of Paul's first contact with the Jerusalem church, needs to take into account the nature of the sources, and in particular Paul's purpose in writing *Galatians*. Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church at the time he wrote *Galatians* will be considered more fully in chapter six below, and it is sufficient for the present to note that he was anxious both to emphasise his unity with, and his independence of, the Jerusalem church and its leadership (cf. Dunn, 1982, p469). Paul's first visit to Jerusalem, recorded in Gal.1:18f, has been identified with that of Acts 9:26-30 (vide Introduction for discussion), and both accounts must be considered.

We have argued in the previous chapter that Paul's conversion did not immediately bring him into any form of Christian community. He subsequently joined the church at Damascus, and, after some years (Gal.1:18), made his initial contact with the Jerusalem church, which occupied, in whatever way, a central place in Christianity. The fact that Paul moved from the outside towards the centre is potentially significant, especially in the light of the preoccupation of modern scholarship with his much-vaunted independence of the Jerusalem church in later life. Paul was at this stage in his life becoming increasingly, and not decreasingly, drawn into the life of the Christian Church which he had previously persecuted.

Paul's reasons for travelling to Jerusalem at this stage need consideration, especially given the theological significance, bound up with the centrality of Jerusalem in the Jewish religious tradition, as well as the events of the Christian gospel, which this journey could be accorded. The narrative of *Acts* indicates that Paul's flight from Damascus took place immediately before his visit to Jerusalem (9:25f; cf. II Cor.11:32f; Gal.1:17f), and this could indicate that the visit was not entirely premeditated. Paul's intentions at the time are not stated, and cannot be assumed to have been those subsequently given in Gal.1:18. Whether Paul intended a brief visit, to become acquainted with Peter or for whatever reason, or whether, after

fleeing Damascus, he wished to settle in Jerusalem, as Acts 9:26ff may indicate, must remain uncertain. If, however, Acts 9:30 is correct in relating that Paul went to Tarsus from Jerusalem (cf. Lüdemann, 1987, p119), this could indicate that he had intended a longer stay in the latter place. Geographically, a journey from Damascus to Tarsus via Jerusalem does not make sense, unless Paul had particular reasons for going to Jerusalem. Furthermore, if Paul was forced to flee Jerusalem (Acts 9:29f) as he had fled Damascus, the implication would be that he had not envisaged leaving, at least not so soon, and certainly not in that way.

The reasons for Paul's decision to travel to Jerusalem, must therefore remain unknown. If, however, the activities of the Jewish community in Damascus (Acts 9:23ff) were in any way the reason for Paul's being sought by the agent of the Nabataean king (II Cor.11:32), Jerusalem would not have been the obvious place to which to flee. In that case, Paul must have made a deliberate, and quite possibly theologically motivated, decision to travel to Jerusalem and to seek acquaintance with the leadership of the Jerusalem church, and fellowship in that community. While the possibility that Paul was motivated by factors akin to those which motivate religious pilgrimage, is not to be denied, it is also possible that Paul simply moved to a place which he knew, and which was close to, but a safe distance from, that from which he fled.

Through his becoming a member of the Damascus church, Paul's conversion would have been demonstrated in a way that would not previously have been the case, if the reconstruction in the previous chapter is correct. Social integration into a Christian community would have given concrete form to the experience, and have bestowed on Paul an unequivocal Christian identity in the eyes of his fellow Christians and other Jews, as well as himself. The Damascus church could verify Paul's conversion, and a letter from that community, if not the verbal repute of Paul's membership thereof (cf. Gal.1:22f), would have been able to establish some credibility for him with the Jerusalem church. If, as Acts 7:58; 8:1-3 indicates, Paul's persecuting activities had taken place at least partly in Jerusalem (Hengel, 1979, p74; contra Conzelmann, 1969b, p61; Watson, 1986, p27), he may have felt it appropriate that he seek some form of reconciliation with that community. His having demonstrated the veracity of his conversion by joining and participating publicly in the life of the church at Damascus, would have made a visit to the

Jerusalem church feasible, especially if the former community had also been victim to his persecution. Whatever eschatological and salvation-historical significance may have attached to the Jerusalem church, would not therefore necessarily have been Paul's only motive for travelling there.

The only reason Paul gives for visiting Jerusalem is to meet Peter (Gal.1:18), and that this was the only reason is asserted categorically by Hofius: "Der Besuch in Jerusalem war von keiner anderen Absicht bestimmt als der, *Petrus* persönlich kennenzulernen" (1984, p85). His principal argument is that $ἰστορέω$ implies no purpose other than making acquaintance (1984, pp77ff), in which he opposes Dunn's argument that $ἰστορέω$ implies the purpose of gaining information (1982, p465). However, the significance of this encounter is not determined by the connotations of $ἰστορέω$, and a detailed discussion of the views of these two scholars is therefore not necessary. Irrespective of whether Paul was motivated by salvation-historical and related concerns in travelling to Jerusalem, the significance of the place and the church in the Christian tradition was unavoidable, and his meeting with Peter would have been meaningful only in the context of the Christian tradition to which they both adhered, and in which Peter enjoyed a particular preeminence (vide discussion of I Cor.15:5 in ch.6 below on the place of Peter in the primitive Christian tradition). Whether Paul's journey was undertaken in order to visit a place of eschatological significance, or the community which bore witness to the gospel events which had taken place there, or a particular witness to those events, who enjoyed a degree of preeminence in that community, does not substantially alter the significance of the contact. The events, the community, and the person coincided, and not coincidentally, in Jerusalem, and could not have been separated entirely from each other, and in no sense was Peter a person arbitrarily selected by Paul as a potential acquaintance (cf. Campenhausen, 1953, p69; Betz, 1979, p76; Hofius, 1984, p85). Furthermore, as a Diaspora Jew, Paul would have known Jerusalem as the focal place of national and religious life, and accordingly a place of pilgrimage, and the place where he had studied the authoritative texts and traditions of the faith (Hengel, 1979, p82) for him now radically redefined. He could not have been unaware of this, whatever his reasons for going to Jerusalem, or have failed to consider how the significance of Jerusalem for him had been changed by his conversion, when he made this journey (cf. Bowker, 1971, pp159,167).

It is generally accepted that Peter was at the time of Paul's visit the predominant figure in the Jerusalem church (Cullmann, 1953, p39; Schmithals, 1961, p85), and Paul's encounter with him must be viewed in this light. However one chooses to describe Peter's position of leadership in the Jerusalem church, Paul had no reason whatever for visiting Peter other than in connection with the Christian gospel. They had no relationship whatever apart from their common allegiance to Christ. For the purposes of their meeting, therefore, Peter, and, for that matter, Paul, had no capacity other than their respective standing in the Christian Church. Their meeting in Jerusalem must be understood in terms of the basis on which they related to each other.

Gerhardsson's depiction of the first meeting of Peter and Paul, as that of two teachers exchanging ideas and interpretations of the traditions of their faith (1961, p298), with the Torah (and/or the Gospel?) conceptually between them, while undoubtedly somewhat stylized, forms a sound basis on which to build an understanding of this event. Whatever Paul's initial purpose in travelling to Jerusalem, he would certainly have sought to meet Peter and discuss matters relating to the Christian gospel with him. If Paul had not yet developed any distinctive or controversial theological ideas (Watson, 1986, p29; cf. Hengel, 1979, p86), or come to believe himself uniquely called to and endowed for apostleship to the gentiles (cf. Gal.1:16; Rom.1:5; cf. Dunn, 1987, p89; vide discussion in ch.6 below), and did not represent a community with an independent interpretation and expression of the Christian gospel (cf. discussion of Antioch, and Paul's association with that church, in chs.3-5 below, esp. ch.4), he would not have had anything at stake in this encounter with Peter, as he relates was the case in his subsequent visit to Jerusalem (Gal.2:2). It was common allegiance to Christ that brought Peter and Paul together, and it was in terms of the Christian gospel that they could relate to each other.

There can be no doubt that Peter was the senior partner to their discussions (Bruce, 1968, p6). Paul was the one who had undertaken the journey and initiated the contact, and Peter occupied a position of undisputed preeminence in the Christian community. He was the primary, though not the only, custodian of the tradition of the Christian gospel (I Cor.15:3ff). While, at the same time, Paul was undoubtedly the more skilled in *torah* and *halakhah*, it had been precisely on the

basis of his understanding of his ancestral traditions that he had persecuted Christians. We cannot assume that Paul had at this stage the confidence in his Christian application of these skills (cf. Festinger, 1964, p32) which he displays in his letters written well over a decade later (vide Introduction for discussion of chronology), and which he exercised in controversy with Peter at Antioch (Gal.2:11ff). The tradition in terms of which he had defined his opposition to Christianity, and his skill in interpreting it, cannot but have been brought into question as a consequence of his conversion experience. Paul had acquired convictions in terms of which his understanding of the Jewish tradition needed to be redefined (cf. Thouless, 1971, p144). In the previous chapter, reference was made to Paul's need to reduce post-conversion dissonance, in which seeking appropriate information can play a significant role. It would seem, therefore, that Paul's contact with Peter may be understood as a continuation of this process, in which greater familiarity with the Christian traditions, and with the people most closely associated with those traditions, would enable Paul to diminish further the tension between his Pharisaic and his Christian convictions (cf. Davidson, 1964; Jecker, 1964b).

Bornkamm's assertion that it is a "fantastic idea" that Paul sought information he lacked, or anything else in which Peter was the recognized authority (1969, p28), is not supported by more recent scholarship. Dunn has shown that ἱστορέω means more than simply to make acquaintance with another person, and implies the definite purpose of making enquiries and gaining information (1982, pp463f). Whatever lexical grounds Hofius may have for disputing the connotations of the word (1984, pp77ff), there can be no doubt that Dunn's interpretation correctly reflects the historical reality. Peter's acquaintance with Jesus was a source of authority, not in terms of personal status, but in terms of his memory of what Jesus had said and done (Gerhardsson, 1977, p59), and to deny this is effectively to deny that the Christian traditions of which Peter was the primary custodian were relevant to his meeting with Paul. Dunn argues that it was information specifically about the pre-Easter Jesus that Paul sought from Peter (1982, p472). However, Peter was the primary witness to the resurrection (I Cor.15:5), and Fuller argues that Paul received the tradition of Christ's resurrection appearance to Peter and the twelve in these discussions (1971, pp27f). Given the comprehensive nature of Peter's authority and first-hand knowledge concerning Jesus, it is doubtful whether a distinction between the historical Jesus and the risen Christ would have been

apparent either to Peter or to Paul. This is not to deny that it would have been the historical aspects with which Paul was unfamiliar, especially if he had received the doctrinal traditions from Ananias in Damascus, as argued above (cf. Fuller, 1971, pp27ff), but the former were but part of a belief system which both parties would have understood as an integral whole.

Paul states that his visit to Peter lasted fifteen days (Gal.1:18). Whether Paul had intended to remain longer, or perhaps even permanently (cf. Rom.15:19), and his stay in Jerusalem was terminated on account of the hostility of hellenistic Jews, as Luke suggests (Acts 9:29f), we cannot be certain, and Paul does not supply any information on this. However, Paul remained in Jerusalem for long enough to acquaint himself with such traditions as Peter could impart, and form a sound relationship with him (cf. Roloff, 1965, p68). His claim to have met none of the other apostles, except James the brother of Jesus (Gal.1:19), is therefore significant, irrespective of whether Gal.1:19 implies that Paul recognized James as an apostle or not (vide ch.6 below for discussion of this issue). Whether or not Paul's meeting with James was more than a courtesy visit (Dunn, 1982, p465; cf. Fuller, 1971, pp27f who argues that Paul received the tradition of the resurrection appearance to James and all the apostles in this meeting), the fact that he spent two sabbaths and two Sundays in Jerusalem without meeting anyone else whom he recognized as an apostle at the time of writing *Galatians* (vide discussion of Paul's concept of apostleship in *Gal.* in ch.6 below), in the course of worship if on no other occasion, cannot be insignificant. We do not know enough about the worship patterns of the Jerusalem church during this period to know the full significance of the limited scope of Paul's acquaintance with the Christian leadership in Jerusalem. It may be that Paul worshipped with a Greek-speaking congregation (cf. Acts 9:29; cf. Hengel, 1975), and that Peter and James were the only leaders of the Palestinian Christians whose acquaintance he sought. If Paul had intended a longer sojourn in Jerusalem (cf. Acts 9:30), however, his not having met other Christian leaders by the time of his unpremeditated departure, would not be so significant. If, however, he had envisaged only a brief visit, the impression Paul intends to convey in Gal.1:18ff, then his not having acquainted himself with other apostles, whomsoever these might have been, becomes significant, and we must now consider this possibility.

Paul does not state that he chose not to see any other apostles, and that leaves open the very real possibility that they chose not to see him (cf. Acts 9:26). Hengel argues that this was the case, on account of Paul's already controversial theological views and missionary policy (1979, p86). This, however, must surely be anachronistic, especially as there are no indications of controversy before Gal.2:1ff (cf. Watson, 1986, p29). If Paul had travelled to Jerusalem to acquaint himself with the church there, it is more likely that the leadership would have chosen to meet him together, so as to be more able to impose their corporate authority upon him, had his views been regarded as errant. It is more likely, therefore, that Paul's past record as a persecutor had made the Jerusalem church wary of him, and only Peter and James were willing to meet him. The brevity of Paul's account of this visit, even if its details were less relevant to his argument than that recounted more fully in Gal.2:1-10, may indicate that it was not an altogether satisfactory occasion, but of this we cannot be certain.

Our reconstruction of Paul's initial contact with the Jerusalem church is complicated by his statement that he remained "ἀγνοούμενος τῷ προσώπῳ" to the Christian communities in Judaea (Gal.1:22). Paul does not say whether or not Jerusalem is to be included in these churches, but the majority of scholars favour inclusion (cf. Eckert, 1970, p182; Betz, 1979, p80; Bruce, 1982a, p104). This may indicate that Paul was snubbed by the Jerusalem church, but cannot mean that he met no members of the Jerusalem church other than Peter and James (cf. Fuller, 1971, pp27ff who argues that Paul received the tradition of the resurrection appearance to the five hundred from one of their number during this visit to Jerusalem). Rather, the expression implies that Paul did not form a personal relationship with the members of the Judaean churches (Wood, 1955, p277), and this must apply primarily to Jerusalem as the place Paul specifically mentions having visited. However, especially if his visit was terminated prematurely (cf. Acts 9:29f), the significance of the statement may lie in the fact that Paul did not become integrated into the Christian community in Jerusalem. Paul's pre-conversion dealings with the church may have left a legacy of distrust and suspicion (cf. Acts 9:26ff) which could only be overcome gradually. Winning the confidence first of Peter and James may have been a prerequisite to acceptance by the leadership and community as a whole. If this was the case, it would appear from Gal.1:18 that the process had to be aborted after Paul's initial meeting with James. While this

interpretation could raise questions as to why Paul did not return to Jerusalem for over a decade (Gal.2:1), it could explain the Judaean Christians' rejoicing on Paul's account despite lack of personal acquaintance (Gal.1:23f). The fact that Paul expresses no dissatisfaction with his meetings with Peter and James, and that he apparently had no difficulty in contacting the church on his subsequent visits to Jerusalem, despite heightened tension, indicates that at least the foundations for a sound relationship between him and the Jerusalem church were laid. While he may not have achieved full acceptance into the community, Paul was at least no longer hindered in his dealings with the Jerusalem church by the memory of his pre-conversion activities.

To summarize, therefore, Paul's initial contact with the Jerusalem church, while creating a relationship between them on the basis of common allegiance to Christ, would nevertheless seem to have been an incomplete, and therefore not wholly satisfactory, event. If intended merely as a visit, its success was not complete, in that Paul did not become fully integrated into the fellowship of the Christian community. If, however, Paul had intended to settle in Jerusalem, he was, for the second time in a short period, homeless and a fugitive. There is no reason to doubt that the initial contact, through Peter and James, accomplished its purpose. Paul was presumably able to increase his understanding of the Christian gospel through apparently lengthy discussions with Peter, and perhaps to a lesser extent with James. While serving to reduce his post-conversion dissonance, the insights Paul gained through these encounters may have contributed to the further development of his thought in a direction that was, ironically, to bring him into conflict with Peter and James, on quite the opposite grounds to those which had impeded Paul's acceptance into the Christian community in Jerusalem.

To sum up, in Part One we have considered the period in Paul's life between his conversion to Christianity, and his association with the church of Antioch, to which Part Two will be devoted. This is a phase in Paul's life of which very little is known, and probably very little can be known. It has, however, tended to be passed over too briefly in previous treatments of Paul, and this has meant that assumptions both about Paul's conversion and about his later work have not been subjected to sufficient scrutiny. The uncertainties, of which many have been identified in these two chapters, have been overlooked, with the result that Paul's career has tended to be seen as an uninterrupted continuum from the moment of his conversion (cf. Hahn, 1963; Georgi, 1965; Kim, 1981). The evidence scrutinized above, however, strongly indicates a very unsettled period in Paul's life, in which any clearly formulated plans he may have had were liable to frustration. There is no evidence of Paul's having possessed at this stage a concrete self-conception as apostle to the gentiles, but rather the impression of a convert seeking a new identity, new clarity of thought in which the dissonance between old and new convictions could be reduced, and new goals and a new agenda for a life whose direction had changed radically and, despite any uncertainties, irreversibly. If this is not appreciated, then our understanding of the subsequent, and more fully documented, stages in Paul's life will be inadequate. It is the contention of this thesis that Paul's apostolic formation was the product of his association with the church at Antioch, and was radically transformed into the apostolic self-conception reflected in his letters in response to his break with that community in the aftermath of his confrontation with Peter. It is to the period of Paul's association with Barnabas and the church at Antioch that we must now direct our attention.

Part II

PAUL'S WORK IN AND FROM ANTIOCH

In Part One, we considered the period in Paul's life from his conversion to Christianity to his first subsequent sojourn in Jerusalem. I argued that Paul's conversion had taken place without the agency of any Christian missionary or community, and that his religious reorientation was therefore not accompanied by any social reintegration. Paul was therefore in a state of social dislocation until he joined the church in Damascus, which, I suggested, took place after rather than before his sojourn in Arabia. Joining the Damascus church completed Paul's conversion-initiation process, in the latter part of which Ananias appears to have played a significant role. Paul's social integration in Damascus provided him with a new dyadic identity, and enabled a reduction in his post-conversion dissonance.

Paul was forced after a time to flee Damascus, and made his way to Jerusalem. How long a sojourn he intended there is not clear, but this contact was significant in that his discussions with Peter would have enabled further reduction in his post-conversion dissonance, and therefore further development in Paul's theological thinking. Paul did not become fully integrated into the Christian community in Jerusalem, however, before, according to Acts 9:30, he was forced once again to flee.

According to the Lukan account, Paul made his way from Jerusalem to Tarsus, his birthplace (Acts 9:30; cf. Lüdemann, 1987, p119). It would seem, therefore, that after having within a short period to flee two cities with Christian churches, Paul sought refuge in his place of origin, and possibly with his family. Whether this was a time of "retirement" (Lightfoot, 1890, p303), or a "pause" (Conzelmann, 1963, p75), the indications are that it did not last long. Paul's states that he went from Jerusalem to Syria and Cilicia (Gal.1:21), the latter of which included Tarsus. However, Paul's principal base during this period of his life was Antioch, where he worked in association with Barnabas (cf. Acts 11:22-26), and it is to this association, the importance of which is greatly underappreciated in New Testament scholarship, that we must now direct our attention.

Chapter III

Barnabas and Paul, and the Mission from Antioch

According to Acts 11:25f, it was on Barnabas' initiative that Paul left Tarsus to begin his lengthy association with the church at Antioch, during which their partnership evidently met with considerable missionary success (cf. Acts 13-14; Gal.1:21). The evidence of the events to be considered in the next chapters strongly suggests that the Antioch church was firmly bonded to the Jerusalem church, while exercising considerable independence of thought and practice, particularly with regard to association between Jews and gentiles unhindered by the requirements of the Mosaic ritual purity laws, and especially in waiving the requirement of circumcision for gentile converts to Christianity (cf. Lüdemann, 1987, p139). I have already intimated in the Introduction that the Graeco-Roman institution of κοινωνία or *societas* provides a model whereby we can understand this relationship, and I shall argue in the following chapters that the disputes and controversies which ensued, were resolved according to the norms of such informal, but nevertheless contractual, relationships.

The relationship of κοινωνία is most apparent in Gal.2:9, as has previously been recognized by Sampley (1980, pp24ff). I shall argue, though, that Sampley errs in identifying this κοινωνία as a relationship between individuals. Hauck had earlier identified the relationship as one between Paul and all earlier believers (1939, pp808f), which comes somewhat closer to the reality, but nevertheless is also mistaken in identifying the relationship as one between individuals. Haenchen has pointed out that the gathering, and therefore the agreement, concerned not the individuals mentioned but those whom they represented (1956, p466). It is in these terms that the events to be considered in these chapters are to be understood. The κοινωνία was between the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch, and not merely between the five individuals named in Gal.2:9, as I shall argue more fully in the following chapter. The Jerusalem conference resolved the dispute within the framework analogous to, if not constituted by, a κοινωνία. While Paul gives the impression that this relationship was first formed at the Jerusalem conference

(Gal.2:9), this must be seen in terms of his individualistic reinterpretation of the events (vide discussion of Paul's purpose in the Gal.1-2 narrative in ch.6 below). While the κοινωνία was undoubtedly strengthened through the, apparently mutually satisfactory, resolution of the controversy, there would have been no basis for such a procedure had there been no earlier relationship within which the problem could be discussed (cf. Goppelt, 1962, p75). While we have no record of the beginnings of the relationship between the Jerusalem and Antioch churches (cf. Acts 11:22f), we must nevertheless conclude that it existed, in recognizable if embryonic form, well before the dispute which gave rise to the events to be discussed in the succeeding chapters.

From the time that Paul joined the Antioch church, and derived his dyadic identity from his membership of that community, he would have shared corporately in the relationship between that church and the Christians of Jerusalem, even if he was not personally involved in the contact between them. Notwithstanding his personal acquaintance with Peter and James, and others in the Jerusalem church, Paul's relationship with that community would have been participation in the κοινωνία between the Jerusalem and Antioch churches. With the exception of the disputed reference in Acts 11:27-30; 12:25f (cf. Gal.2:1; vide discussion in Introduction), there is no indication of direct contact between Paul and the Jerusalem church from his joining the church of Antioch until the Jerusalem conference.

Barnabas is associated both with the close contact between the Jerusalem and Antioch churches (cf. Acts 11:22ff), and with the independence of thought and practice in the Antioch community, and is described by Bornkamm as "the apostle of Christianity without the Law to Antioch" (1969, p30; cf. Holmberg, 1978, p63). The significance for Paul and his subsequent work of this association with Barnabas therefore cannot be overestimated.

Whether Barnabas chose Paul to participate with him in the work of the Christian community in Antioch (cf. Acts 11:25ff) on the recommendation of the Jerusalem Christian leadership (Lightfoot, 1890, p303), or precisely because these would not have approved the work he was doing in Antioch (Knox, 1925, p159), or on the basis of personal acquaintance (cf. Acts 9:27), or of reputation, we are not told. The suggestion of Knox, however, is most unlikely, as will become

apparent in the discussion in the following chapters. According to Acts 13:1, Barnabas was preeminent among the leaders of the church in Antioch, and, according to Acts 11:26, he formed a particular partnership with Paul (cf. Holmberg, 1978, p63; Lüdemann, 1987, p138). We need to consider the development in this relationship from one within the church at Antioch (Acts 11:26; 13:1) which did not necessarily exclude outreach to the local population, to one committed to mission beyond Antioch itself (Acts 13:2ff).

After the first year of their association spent in Antioch, Barnabas and Paul undertook evangelistic work in Asia Minor (Lüdemann, 1987, pp157). Acts 13-14 depicts this activity, illustrating the nature of their work as Luke saw it rather than recording the precise events (cf. Conzelmann, 1963, p98). This is the first recorded occasion on which Paul functioned as an apostle, and therefore requires particular consideration. With the exception of a text to be considered below, Paul gives no account of when he became an apostle (cf. Gal.1:1,16), and the widespread assumption defended most recently by Kim (1981, pp55-66; cf. Hahn, 1963, p97; Georgi, 1965, p22) and, in a less rigid form by Dunn (1987, p89), that Paul's vocation to apostleship coincided with his conversion experience (cf. Stendahl, 1976, pp7ff) has rightly been questioned by Dupont (1968, p193; cf. Best, 1986, p6; Gaventa, 1986, p11). According to Acts 13:3, the Antiochene church "ἀπέλυσαν" Barnabas and Paul, and, in the following verse they are described as having been "ἐκπεμφθέντες" by the Holy Spirit. While it may be significant that ἀποστέλλω is not used in this pericope, Barnabas and Paul are nevertheless described as ἀπόστολοι in the narrative at Acts 14:4,14, and they are depicted as performing in the course of their travels the work associated with apostleship in Paul's letters (Acts 13:16ff,41; 14:1,3; cf. Rom.1:5; 11:13; I Cor.1:17; Gal.1:16; Acts 14:8ff; cf. II Cor.12:12). I would suggest therefore that Acts 13:4ff represents the commencement of Paul's apostolic ministry, as the delegate of the Christian community in Antioch, accompanying Barnabas on the outreach of that community (cf. Mosbech, 1948, p171; Schmithals, 1961, pp90ff). If the chronological calculations in the Introduction are correct, this would have taken place in c. 40 or 41 CE.

In II Cor.12:2-4, Paul recounts an ecstatic experience in the third person, which the majority of scholars nevertheless attribute to Paul himself rather than a third

party (Bowker, 1971, p167; Dunn, 1975, p214; Lincoln, 1979; Rowland, 1982, p375; Collins, 1984, p208; Lyons, 1985, p69). According to my calculations, II Cor.10-13 was written during 54 CE (vide discussion in Introduction), almost exactly fourteen years after Paul's departure from Antioch (cf. Lincoln, 1979, p211 for dating of vision of II Cor.12:2ff). The evidence is undoubtedly circumstantial, but I would suggest that II Cor.12:2-4 represents Paul's individual recollection of the corporate experience related in Acts 13:2f. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that Paul, for whom ecstatic experiences were apparently frequent (cf. Bowker, 1971, p159; Lincoln, 1979, p211; Gaventa, 1986, p11), chose to cite a particular occasion, however obliquely (cf. Plummer, 1915, p344; Betz, 1972, p91). II Cor.10-13 is largely concerned with Paul's defence of his apostolic authority against rivals, and the vision is alluded to in this specific context (Lincoln, 1979, p207; vide ch.8 below for discussion of the situation in Corinth). One would therefore expect the vision cited to be directly relevant, however subjectively and anachronistically, to Paul's apostolic vocation. Paul had come to see his apostolic vocation as integrally bound up with his conversion (Gal.1:16; cf. Dupont, 1968, p193; Stendahl, 1976, pp7-11; Kim, 1981, pp55-66; Sanders, 1983, p152; Dunn, 1987, pp89f), but refrains in I Cor.9:1; 15:8f and Gal.1:16 from explicitly stating more than that the purpose of his conversion was that he should be the apostle to the gentiles; he does not specifically identify the occasion of his conversion with the occasion of his apostolic vocation (Betz, 1979, p71; Gaventa, 1986, p11; Segal, 1990, p13; cf. Munck, 1954, p18; Brandon, 1957, pp59f; vide discussion in ch.1 above). The close association between Paul's conversion experience and his apostolic vocation was, I shall argue below (vide ch.6 for discussion), the product of his separation from the church of Antioch. The independence of Paul's apostleship from human constraints required that his vocation be associated not with his contacts with the Jerusalem church, but with his conversion. It is in identifying the former as the purpose of the latter, not in identifying the two events, that Paul asserts the independence of his apostleship. There is therefore no contradition between Paul's stressing the unity of purpose between his conversion to Christianity and his vocation to Christian apostleship in such texts as Gal.1:16, and his relating a vision which took place some years after his conversion in defence of his apostleship in II Cor.12:2ff.

If I am correct in identifying Acts 13:1ff as reflecting the commencement of Paul's apostolic ministry, then the importance of the Antioch church in Paul's

Christian career becomes more apparent. It was from the Christian community in Antioch that Barnabas and Paul were sent out on their missionary work, and it was the gospel as lived and taught in Antioch that they would have preached. Most importantly, in contrast to Paul's later apostolic self-understanding (cf. Gal.1:1; vide discussion in ch.6 below), Barnabas and Paul were the apostles of a particular church, and exercised its evangelistic functions. As the delegates of a community engaged in its apostolate, they would have been accountable to the church which sent them (cf. Holmberg, 1978, p64).

In I Cor.9:6, Paul implies that he and Barnabas, alone of the apostles, did not draw economic support from the churches in which they were working (cf. I Thess.2:7-9; II Cor.11:7; 12:13f). We would expect that this common practice originated in a community with which both were associated, and I would accordingly suggest that Barnabas and Paul's practice reflects the missionary policy of the church of Antioch during the period in which they exercised the apostolate of that congregation. Paul does not state in I Cor.9 what form the support Peter and the other apostles derived from the churches in which they worked took. Nor is it unambiguously clear from II Cor.11:20 what Paul's opponents received, though II Cor.12:18 may indicate that they took money. There is widescale wariness in the early Christian writings concerning financial payments to Christian workers (cf. Mt.10:8f; Mk.6:8; Lk.9:3; 10:4; Did.11:6,12). The right of Christian workers to support is widely asserted (Mt.10:10; Lk.10:7; I Cor.9:4; Gal.6:6; Did.13:1f), but this is envisaged in terms of hospitality rather than money (Mt.10:10; Mk.6:10; Lk.9:4; 10:5; Did.13:1ff; cf. I Cor.9:4). It is not feasible here to discuss the origins of the various forms of the synoptic mission discourse and other relevant texts. While the origins of all have been located in or near Antioch at various stages of the scholarly debate (cf. Streeter, 1930, pp500ff; Kilpatrick, 1946, p134; Leaney, 1958, pp3f; Filson, 1960, p15; Fuller, 1966, pp107,115; Hill, 1972, pp51f; Lohse, 1972, p145; Kümmel, 1973, p119; Fitzmyer, 1981, p53; Nickle, 1981, p122; (Brown &) Meier, 1983, p22,53,84; Niederwimmer, 1989, p80), they almost certainly reflect conditions later than the period under discussion, and the policy of the Antiochene church may well have been influenced by Peter (Gal.2:11f; cf. I Cor.9:4f; cf. Brandon, 1957, pp217-243 for a different view). I would suggest, therefore, that the policy Paul reflects in I Cor.9, where the right to support is asserted in principle but not exercised in practice, derived from that of the Antiochene church during

the period of his association there, and indicates the continuing importance of this period in Paul's subsequent career.

There can be little doubt that Barnabas was the senior partner in the Antiochene apostolate, despite the fact that, at least partly on account of Luke's preoccupation with him, Paul is mentioned first on each occasion in the *Acts* narrative after the first episode (13:6-12), and Barnabas is frequently not mentioned at all. It is not inconceivable that Paul's, perhaps not always willing, subordination to Barnabas may have led to tension between the two of them, and germinated the atmosphere in which a clash between them would later end their partnership (Gal.2:11-14; cf. Acts 15:36-41). Nevertheless, Barnabas would have been the leader of the mission in the eyes of the Antiochene community which sponsored them, and which was later to support Barnabas against Paul (Gal.2:11-14; vide discussion in ch.5 below). Barnabas and Paul would both have been accountable to the community from which they had been sent out (Acts 13:1-3; cf. Holmberg, 1978, p64), even if Barnabas himself, and, to a lesser extent Paul, held a position of preeminence in that community.

To sum up, therefore, Paul's life between his conversion to Christianity and his joining the Christian community in Antioch, as reconstructed in Part One, was unsettled and unstable. Membership of the Antiochene church provided him with a dyadic identity, and with it stability and social support. He shared both in the corporate relationship of developing κοινωνία between his community and the church at Jerusalem, and in the freedom of Christian thought and expression exercised by the Antiochene Christians within that broader unity. Paul's apostolic work, I have argued, began during this period, when he was commissioned, along with Barnabas, for the evangelistic outreach of the Antiochene church beyond Antioch itself. The form this apostleship took is immensely important, as will become clearer in the discussion of Paul's later apostolic self-conception, to be discussed in chapter six. Developments independent of the Jerusalem church, which took place in Antioch during this period, cannot but have been formative for Paul's thinking and practice in his later work. It was these developments, and the reaction to them, that led to the crucial Jerusalem conference, the accounts of which provide our most useful insights into the relationships with which this thesis is concerned. It is the question of the continuing significance of the Mosaic law for Christians,

86

and especially gentile Christians, and attempts to resolve it, that must now be considered, insofar as they illuminate the issues with which we are concerned.

Chapter IV

The Question of the Law, and the Jerusalem Conference

It is generally accepted that, during the period prior to the Jerusalem Conference, Paul worked with Barnabas in and from the church at Antioch, and this is the position that was taken in the previous chapter of this thesis (for a different view, vide Lüdemann, 1987, p171). While the conference was undoubtedly a watershed in Paul's career, it would be anachronistic to assume that its consequences were fully apparent to Paul, or to anyone else, at the time. It was only after the subsequent confrontation between Peter and Paul at Antioch (vide Introduction above for discussion of chronology), that Paul's association with Barnabas and the Antiochene church was ended. The Jerusalem conference therefore belongs strictly to the period in Paul's life when he was associated with the church at Antioch, and which continued for some time after the conference. However, the conference and the issues which it discussed are of such significance as to require separate treatment, which is the purpose of this chapter.

In the Introduction, the gathering related by Paul in Gal.2:1-10 was identified with that recounted by Luke in Acts 15:6-29. The prevailing scholarly consensus is that the "Apostolic Decree" of Acts 15:19f and Acts 15:23-29 was not promulgated at this conference, but subsequently, and in Paul's absence. The "Apostolic Decree" will therefore not be discussed in this chapter, but in an Excursus at the end of Part Two.

A problem raised in the Introduction, and which is nowhere more apparent than with regard to this chapter, is that of the relative reliability of the primary sources, *Acts* and *Galatians*. Most scholars tend to prefer the latter text in cases of conflict, and their position, as Betz sums it up, is that "Paul's own account in Galatians 2 is that of a first-hand witness and it must have priority in case of doubt, but the circumstance and function of the defence in his letter to the Galatians have coloured his account" (1979, p81; cf. Segal, 1990, p189). Nickle expresses this view with less balance, describing *Galatians* as "more trustworthy" than Acts,

and citing the oath in Gal.1:20 in support of this (1966, p41; cf. Sampley, 1977). Precisely its being a first hand account is cause for skepticism on a number of points, and the passage has rightly been described by Holmberg as "tendentious" (1978, p14). Similarly, Mussner has recognized the "gegenwärtigen Standpunkt" of Paul's account (1974, p131), and Räisänen has remarked that the "naive trust on a man's testimony about himself is a curious fundamentalistic survival within critical scholarship" (1983, p232). Watson has unambiguously challenged the plausibility of Paul's account (1986, pp53-56), while Holmberg has noted a tendency towards greater recognition of the historical reliability of *Acts* (1990, p95). Notwithstanding the critical problems surrounding Acts 15 (cf. Dibelius, 1947, p96), there is no justification for uncritical acceptance of Gal.2. I hope therefore to reconstruct the events, drawing on the evidence of both tendentious accounts, and subjecting them equally to rigorous critical scrutiny.

Linton has drawn attention to similarities between traditions reflected and opposed by Paul in Gal.1-2, and those recorded in *Acts*. "There exist perhaps certain affinities between an early representation of St Paul's person and activity, an account contested by the Apostle himself, and the later literary image drawn in Acts" (1949, p80). The corollary of this is that Paul's account of the events is not necessarily an older and more authentic tradition than that later incorporated into *Acts*. The parallels Linton identifies may or may not be convincing, but the principle nevertheless stands that the objective historical truth cannot be presumed to be recorded in any particular source, and the evidence of all available material must be critically examined, in order to reconstruct the events as accurately as possible. This will be the approach taken in this chapter, as elsewhere in the thesis.

4.1 Circumstances giving rise to the Conference

Acts 15:1-2 relates that Barnabas and Paul travelled to Jerusalem from Antioch in order to discuss matters of Jewish observance, which Judaean Christians who had come to Antioch wished to impose on gentile Christians. The circumstances mentioned by Luke may well be reflected by Paul in Gal.2:3-5, and allude to events which took place in Antioch before, and not in Jerusalem during, the conference (Watson, 1986, pp50f; cf. Geyser, 1953, p132 for a different interpretation). Paul,

however, indicates further matters, albeit not unrelated, which were discussed (Gal.2:2,6-10), and an apparently very different reason for going to Jerusalem than response to a crisis in Antioch (Gal.2:2). We need therefore to consider further the reasons for the conference.

Baur asserts that the Jerusalem apostles had sent the Judaean teachers to Antioch to impose the Law (1853, p52), and Holl affirms that this was a claim on their part to oversight of the Antioch church (1921, p57). Burton, however, argues that Paul was seeking to avoid potential opposition to his projected work, rather than dealing with a crisis (1921, p72), but subsequent scholarship has tended to follow Baur and Holl. Hengel understands the visitation from Judaea as being symptomatic of the increasing legalism in the Jerusalem church at this time, in response to increased pressure from the Jewish community, not without nationalistic overtones, and accompanied by the ascendancy of James at the expense of Peter and the other disciples of Jesus (1979, p113). Barnabas and Paul were sent to Jerusalem by the Antiochene church in response to this attack on what had been their practice for many years (Hengel, 1979, p114; Koester, 1980, p105; cf. Holtz, 1974, p139 for a different interpretation). Watson argues further that Paul's own position in the Antiochene church was threatened on account of the activities of the Judaean Christians, and that referral of the question to Jerusalem was a gamble aimed at restoring his position (1986, p51; cf. Dibelius, 1947, p93 for an opposite view). While it would be anachronistic to distinguish too radically between Paul's position, and that of Barnabas and other leaders of similar persuasion in the Antiochene church, Watson's reconstruction does account for Paul's regarding his entire work as at stake in his journey to Jerusalem (Gal.2:2). The situation becomes clearer if a relationship of, or analogous to, a κοινωνία, operated between the churches of Antioch and Jerusalem. The primacy of the Jerusalem church, as the more ancient and eschatologically more significant, as well as being led by the principal witnesses to the gospel events, could not be ignored, and was not ignored by the Antiochene Christians. It would therefore have been necessary that Barnabas and Paul reach agreement with the Jerusalem church and its leadership, before the controversy became unmanageable. If the church at Antioch as a body was willing to submit to the demands of the Judaeans, then the authority of Barnabas in that community, at least as much as that of Paul, was threatened.

The immediate cause of Barnabas and Paul's travelling to Jerusalem was the activity in Antioch of Christians from Judaea (Acts 15:1), and probably specifically from Jerusalem, who represented a more legalistic, and particularistic, understanding of the gospel than had been the prevailing view previously both in Jerusalem and in Antioch (cf. Michaelis, 1931, pp87f for a different interpretation). The Antiochene church had previously recognized the authority of the Jerusalem leaders, within their relationship of κοινωνία, and the community evidently was unwilling to ignore the views of teachers from Jerusalem at this time, despite the requirement that they abandon the practices by which they had abided for several years. A great deal more than the customs of one Christian community was seen to be at stake, so much so that Paul could state that he "ἀνεθέμην ... τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ κηρύσσω ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν" (Gal.2:2). It was not so much a case of seeking belated approval (Betz, 1979, p86), still less of discussing innovations in doctrine and discipline (cf. Holtz, 1974, p139), but rather of defending the established customs and practices of the Antioch church, which had been challenged for the first time. The future of the gospel, as preached and lived in and from Antioch depended on the outcome of Barnabas and Paul's negotiations (cf. Schütz, 1975, p139).

We need to consider, before discussing the conference itself, the precise nature of the demands of the Judaean teachers in Antioch, which, according to Acts 15:5, were shared by converted Pharisees in Jerusalem. The demand as recorded in Acts 15:1, was that "ἐὰν μὴ περιτμηθῆτε τῷ ἔθει τῷ Μωϋσέως οὐ δύνασθε σωθῆναι". A similar requirement is reflected in Gal.2:3-5. It would be a mistake, however, to understand the position of the Judaean Christians as simply requiring that gentile Christians be circumcised. περιτομή is metonymous, and connotes the Mosaic law as a whole, and Jewish nationhood, and not merely physical circumcision. Such usage is frequent both in Paul's letters and in *Acts* (Acts 7:8; 10:45; 11:2; Rom.2:25ff; 4:9ff; Rom.15:8; Gal.2:7-9,12; 5:2ff; cf. Dunn, 1988, p120). The demand of the Pharisaic Christians in Jerusalem reflects this too (Acts 15:5). What was at stake in Antioch, therefore, was not simply the initiation procedures into the church, but the whole way of life of the community. Furthermore, circumcision would not have been part of the conversion and initiation process for Jewish Christians, but a rite of passage, a cultural norm which was part of their way of life and national identity (cf. Eckert, 1971, p53). Jewish Christians would therefore not have understood circumcision in terms of initiation, but in terms of the whole

way of life of the covenant community (cf. Borgen, 1980, p88). This is not to deny that physical circumcision had acquired particular significance in Jewish religion and culture. The prohibition of the rite by Antiochus Epiphanes (I Macc.1:48) had elevated circumcision to the status of fundamental principle, worthy of martyrdom (cf. I Macc.1:60f), and it had accordingly become definitive for Jewish identity in a way that had not previously been the case (cf. Dunn, 1988, p119; Cohen, 1989, p27).

However, even if the reference to enforced circumcision in II Macc.2:46 applies to gentiles living in Palestine, it is clear that not all Jews shared the Maccabees' position on circumcision. Jub.15:33-34 indicates that circumcision was no longer a universal Jewish practice. Philo would not have had occasion to assert the continuing obligation of physical circumcision (Migr.Abr:92; Spec.Leg.I:304-306), had the spiritual understanding of circumcision he advocates elsewhere (Spec.Leg.I:1-11) not come to be regarded by some Alexandrian Jews as a substitute for the physical rite. In another context, the Babylonian Talmud records disagreement on the subject of proselyte initiation. R. Joshua argued that immersion alone was adequate, while R. Eliezer argued that circumcision alone was sufficient, but the consensus of the sages was that both rites were required (Yeb:46a). This text is significant in that it documents a diversity of opinion on a fundamental Jewish rite, which would not have been tolerated during the period in which the traditions were codified. Collins, however, argues that the issue was not whether circumcision of proselytes was obligatory or not, but whether it was a requirement of becoming a Jew, or a consequent obligation (1985, p174). It should, furthermore, be noted that the view widely ascribed to Hillel that circumcision of proselytes was not obligatory, in fact applies only to proselytes who were circumcised before conversion, and is ascribed by the tradition to the Beit-Hillel, and not to Hillel himself (T.Shab.15:9; bT.Shab:135a). Sib.Or.IV:163-165 is interpreted by Meyer as advocating immersion in place of circumcision (1959, p79), but this seems most unlikely. The φάσγανα in line 164 are more likely to be the weapons of ἀνδροκτασίας τε καὶ ὕβρεις, mentioned in the same line, than the instruments of circumcision. The lustrations in rivers mentioned in line 165 are akin to the baptism of John, and do not involve incorporation into any community (Collins, 1983, p388; 1985, p169). The question of proselyte initiation therefore does not arise. Epictetus (*Disc.II.*9:19ff) may reflect a situation where baptism was the

only normative form of initiation into Judaism (cf. McEleney, 1974, p332). The fluidity of the question of circumcision in first century Judaism must, however, not be overemphasized. While the patterns of gentile god-fearing varied considerably (cf. Cohen, 1989), and there were exceptions to the normative practice of circumcision of all male Jews, the "irreducibly fundamental importance of circumcision" (Dunn, 1988, p119) for the Jewish nation, cannot be denied (cf. McEleney, 1974, p323; Segal, 1990, p194; cf. also Berger, 1977, and discussion below). Cohen has shown, furthermore, that not even circumcised proselytes could be assured of full recognition as Jews (1989, p29). While perhaps the ultimate expression of conversion to Judaism, proselyte circumcision did not guarentee acceptance as a Jew. This raises questions as to the intentions of those who demanded circumcision of gentile Christians, and the significance they attached to the rite they demanded. While this thesis is not the appropriate occasion to explore these issues fully, we need nevertheless to be aware of the questions.

Paul makes no explicit reference to the circumcision question, except in the section Gal.2:3-5, which Watson argues alludes to controversy in Antioch rather than Jerusalem (1986, p50). The phrase "παρεισάκτους ψευδαδέλφους οἵτινες παρεισῆλθον" (Gal.2:4) clearly implies that the persons concerned were outsiders to the community, which strengthens the case for identifying them with the Judaean teachers in Antioch at Acts 15:1ff, rather than with any group within the Jerusalem church. Even assuming Watson to be correct, however, we need to consider Paul's assertion that he went to Jerusalem "κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν" (Gal.2:2). Whatever the nature of the religious experience which, Paul says, preceded his decision to travel to Jerusalem, there can be no doubt that the historical circumstances which gave rise to the journey were the those in the Antiochene church discussed above. Paul is concerned not with explaining the reasons for his journey, but with denying that he had been summoned by the Jerusalem church, and perhaps also that he was sent to Jerusalem by the Antioch church (vide discussion of Paul's purpose in this text in ch.6 below). Paul is claiming independent authority for his journey, not denying that it was occasioned by the ecclesiastical controversy in Antioch (Betz, 1979, p85).

The fact that Paul found it necessary subsequently to deny having been summoned to Jerusalem, may indicate that it was the suggestion of the Judaean teach-

93

ers that the question of Jewish observance be referred to Jerusalem, as Dibelius argues (1947, p93; cf. Watson, 1986, p51 for a contrary view). Whatever the precise circumstances, however, there can be little doubt that Paul was the junior partner of Barnabas in a delegation from the Antiochene church to Jerusalem (Holmberg, 1978, p18; cf. Hahn, 1963, p77; Georgi, 1965, pp14ff; Schütz, 1975, p140; for a different view vide Lüdemann, 1987, pp118f). This view is reinforced by Paul's statement that he travelled "μετὰ Βαρναβᾶ", which does not explicitly state the nature of their relationship, but can perhaps indicate that Barnabas was the principal actor, and "συμπαραλαβὼν ... Τίτον" (Gal.2:1), which explicitly subordinates Titus to Paul. Any lack of clarity must suggest that Paul was subordinate to Barnabas (pace Burton, 1921, p69).

In travelling to Jerusalem on behalf of the church at Antioch, Paul was actively participating in the relationship between the two churches. This meant that Paul recognized the primacy the Antiochene Christians accorded the Jerusalem church and its apostles (cf. Dunn, 1983, p6). According to Gerhardsson, Jerusalem enjoyed unquestioned doctrinal authority (1961, p276), but Stuhlmacher (1968, p88) and Mussner (1974, p91) understand the primacy of Jerusalem in terms of prestige rather than authority (cf. Schmithals, 1961, p84), a distinction perhaps more subtle in theory than in reality. There can be little doubt that, however the relationship was theoretically conceived, in reality the Jerusalem church was the senior partner in what was at least an incipient κοινωνία, and in a position of power, and could determine the outcome to the issue (Schütz, 1975, p139; cf. Dunn, 1982, p467).

To summarize, therefore, Paul accompanied Barnabas to Jerusalem, representing the church at Antioch, in order to seek resolution to the crisis in their community, which had arisen as a consequence of the activity there of Judaean teachers. These Judaeans had demanded that gentile Christians observe the Mosaic law, to a degree which was contrary to what had been the custom of the Antiochene church for some time (cf. Segal, 1990, pp194-200). There can be no question that the demand was for the circumcision of all male Christians, and their adherence, to whatever extent, to Jewish ritual and dietary, as well as moral, laws. The way of life and the missionary outreach of the Antiochene church were in jeopardy (cf. Gal.2:2). The esteem in which the community held the Jerusalem church, required

that the leadership recognize a degree of authority in that body, as implied in their κοινωνία, and refer the question there for arbitration and adjudication.

4.2 The Conduct of the Conference

The designation "Apostolic Council" frequently applied to the gathering under discussion, is something of a misnomer. Especially in the light of later ecclesiastical developments, the expression has acquired connotations of a legally convened Synod or Ecumenical Council, by implication at least summoned by the highest authority in the Church. Such an interpretation of the event would be both anachronistic and misleading. There is no indication in either record of the gathering that the Jerusalem leadership knew the delegation from Antioch were coming before they arrived, and absolutely no evidence that they summoned them to Jerusalem. The contact was initiated from Antioch, notwithstanding the role of the Judaean teachers in precipitating it. There is no reason to believe that any church, other than those of Jerusalem and Antioch, was involved. The conference was essentially an *ad hoc* gathering, within the context of a κοινωνία between the two churches, at which Barnabas and Paul, and any who accompanied them, raised with the leadership of the Jerusalem church matters pertaining to the crisis in Antioch. This is not to deny the importance of the conference, but its significance rests on that of the two participant churches, and of the issue discussed, and not on any notion of catholicity or magisterium which may be attributed to it anachronistically.

Gerhardsson models his reconstruction of the conference on rabbinic *yšybh*, and compares it also with the Qumran *mvšb hrbym* (1961, p247). While it would be erroneous to formalize the gathering too much, the procedure whereby issues were discussed in contemporary Judaism may be of help in illuminating the records of the deliberations. Gerhardsson argues that the apostles and elders discussed the question, speaking in reverse order of seniority, so that James spoke last (1952, p252). However anachronistic the identification of apostles and elders, the fundamental problem with this hypothesis is that the order of speeches in the *Acts* narrative does not conform to seniority. According to Luke, Peter spoke first (Acts 15:7), then Barnabas and Paul (Acts 15:12), presumably in that order, and James last (Acts 15:13), whereas, if Gerhardsson were correct, then presumably Paul and

95

Barnabas, in that order, would have spoken before Peter and James, in whichever order. The formality Gerhardsson ascribes to the conference is therefore highly questionable.

An alternative model whereby the proceedings of the conference are understood, is that of a business meeting of a voluntary association, proposed by Judge (1960, p46). He argues that the initial proposition was made from the floor of a meeting of all church members [by Barnabas and Paul], and that the management committee and its advisers [the "apostles" and "elders"] thereupon withdrew to consider the proposals in detail. When they had reached their decision, they returned to the assembly, and those who had instigated the discussion [Barnabas and Paul] presented a full report on the circumstances which had given rise to the issue. A member of the management committee [James] other than the one who had proposed the resolution in their closed meeting [Peter] then presented a formal motion, which was approved by the assembly. We do not need to identify this motion with the Apostolic Decree in order to gain from Judge's insights. A major weakness in Judge's reconstruction, for the purpose of this thesis if not his own work, is that it is entirely dependent on Acts 15, and makes no reference to Gal.2:1-10, and leaves open the question whether Luke anachronistically imposed the norms with which he was familiar on the deliberations. This is particularly crucial in that the procedural norms of voluntary associations were evolved in the Graeco-Roman republican milieu, as Judge himself points out (1960, p46), and we therefore require somewhat firmer evidence that they applied in Jerusalem. Furthermore, as will be discussed further in this and the succeeding chapter, it would appear that Luke compresses a rather more protracted debate in the early Church into a single conference for the purpose of conciseness. Nevertheless, Judge does account for the order in which speeches are recorded in Acts 15, and for the fact that Barnabas and Paul's contribution is not recorded. He could also account for the discrepancy between Paul's assertion that the deliberations were conducted privately (Gal.2:2) and the more public gathering alluded to in Acts 15:12. This question requires further attention.

Gerhardsson and Judge's assertion that the deliberations took place in the presence of the community (Gerhardsson, 1961, p252; Judge, 1960, p46) is problematic. This may be indicated by "$\tau\grave{o}$ $\pi\lambda\tilde{\eta}\theta o\varsigma$" (Acts 15:12) (Bauer, 1957, p674;

1988; p1343), but is not a necessary understanding of the word, and Delling seems to question this in the light of the usage of ἐκκλησία in Acts 15:22 (1959, p278). The balance of probability must favour the identification of τὸ πλῆθος in Acts 15:12 with the Jerusalem church as a whole, however, in the light of the connotation of great numbers, and of the notion of the corporate whole as opposed to the ruling group (cf. Liddell & Scott, 1940, p1417; Delling, 1959, pp274-276; Lampe, 1961, p1092). This brings the Lukan account into apparent contradiction to Paul's assertion that he conducted his business "κατ᾽ ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν" (Gal.2:2) (cf. Conzelmann, 1963, p116). The precise numbers involved are not stipulated in either account, but the apparent contradiction remains. A number of scholars, however, argue that Paul alludes, however obliquely, to a gathering of the church, as well as a private meeting, in Gal.2:2 (Schlier, 1971, p66; Mussner, 1974, pp104f; Betz, 1979, p86; Lüdemann, 1987, p171). Any such allusion is as opaque and ambiguous as Paul could possibly have made it, for reasons that will be discussed more fully in chapter six below. There can be little doubt that Barnabas and Paul's first approach was to the leadership, and they may well have hoped to keep the discussions discreet in order to avoid any pressure conservative factions in the church might have brought to bear on the leadership (cf. Bruce, 1982a, p110). It is not improbable, however, that the leadership would have wished to consult a wider body before coming to a decision. It seems most likely, therefore, that the initial contact and discussions were conducted between Barnabas and Paul on the one hand, and James, Peter, John, and whomever else is to be included in the leadership group in Jerusalem, loosely defined by Paul as "τοῖς δοκοῦσιν" (Gal.2:2), and by Luke more rigidly as ἀπόστολοι and πρεσβύτεροι (Acts 15:6). It cannot be assumed that the deliberations were conducted in accordance with the procedures described by Gerhardsson or Judge, but the more general norms in terms of which business was conducted in the ancient world at that time can illuminate our understanding of developments.

Paul's version of the business of the conference is anachronistically egocentric (cf. Schütz, 1975, p140), and apparently inconsistent with the issue of Jewish observance stated in Acts 15:1-5. I argued above, however, that the contradiction is created by Paul's personalization of the gospel in Gal.1-2, for reasons alluded to in chapter three above, and which will be discussed more fully in chapter six below. If we recognize this, and Paul's participation in the Jerusalem conference

97

as a delegate of the Antioch church (cf. Haenchen, 1956, p466; Hahn, 1963, p77; Georgi, 1965, p21; Schütz, 1975, p147; Holmberg, 1978, p18; Betz, 1979, p85; Dunn, 1982; (Brown &) Meier, 1983, p37), then the discrepancy between the two accounts can be understood. When Paul writes "ἀνεθέμην ... τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ κηρύσσω" (Gal.2:2), he is in reality describing the gospel as lived and taught by the church at Antioch, and which he as a member and apostle of that church shared. The gospel of the Antiochene church, and the way of life and missionary outreach of that community, were threatened by the demand that stricter Jewish observances be imposed on gentile Christians. Paul had come to identify the law-free gospel for gentile Christians specifically with himself (Gal.1:16; cf. Rom.1:5), and clearly does not do justice to earlier developments in this direction, particularly in the church at Antioch (cf. Gal.2:12ff; Acts 11:20ff). The applicability of the Jewish law for gentile Christians was the issue under discussion in Jerusalem, although far more was at stake for the church at Antioch, so much so that Paul could write "μή πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον" (Gal.2:2). If Barnabas and Paul did not win the support of the Christian leadership in Jerusalem, then the coherence and unity of the Antiochene church, and the functioning of its apostolate, would be in jeopardy.

The relationship between the Jerusalem and Antioch churches, is illustrated by the use of ἀνατίθημι in Gal.2:2. Behm (1933, p353), Bauer (1957, p123), Stuhlmacher (1968, p87), and Holtz (1974, p121) understand the verb as meaning to present for approval. Dunn, however, prefers a weaker translation, meaning to submit for consideration and opinion, without any connotation of religious authority (1982, p466). There can be no doubt that, irrespective of the degree of authority accorded to the Jerusalem church, their decision, whether opinion, directive, or instruction, would determine the solution to the crisis in Antioch. If the Jerusalem church did not approve the gospel as preached and lived by the church at Antioch, then the work of that church would have been in jeopardy. Barnabas and Paul sought affirmation for their gospel, and reaffirmation of the κοινωνία between the two churches (Goppelt, 1962, p75), as the future of their work depended upon it.

There is no indication that Barnabas and Paul received an unsympathetic hearing from Peter and James (cf. Schoeps, 1959, p66; Eckert, 1971, p226), or

98

that they were not accorded full participation in the deliberations (Conzelmann, 1969b, p85; Betz, 1979, p86; cf. Judge, 1960, p46). Paul does not give the impression in Gal.2:1-10 of having been silent, and Luke, while not writing his and Barnabas' speeches for them, nevertheless confirms that they participated in the discussion, even if at the level of citing evidence in support of their case rather than of expounding the principles involved (Acts 15:12). Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that it was Peter and James, and not Barnabas and Paul, whose role was decisive. While Barnabas and Paul were not mildly supplicant (Betz, 1979, p86), they did not share the prestige or influence of Peter and James with the leadership of the Jerusalem community, even if Barnabas was highly respected there (Acts 9:27; 11:22f; cf. (Brown &) Meier, 1983, p34). Peter was the primary witness to the resurrection of Christ (vide also discussion in ch.6 below), a major source of authority (vide discussion in Introduction; cf. Gerhardsson, 1961). Furthermore the Christian community in Jerusalem was situated in an eschatologically significant position (vide discussion of significance of Jerusalem in ch.2 above), and included other witnesses to the resurrection, as well as to the ministry of Jesus. The potential of the Jerusalem church and its leadership to assert authority over other Christians, particularly those less endowed with traditions and witnesses to the events enshrined in those traditions, and less secure within the broader Jewish community, would therefore have been considerable. Furthermore, Barnabas and Paul were outsiders to the Jerusalem church, and would not have had the capacity to influence the mind of the community in the decision making process to the same degree as the local leadership. While they undoubtedly related to the Jerusalem leadership as the leaders of one church to another, their influence would have been less, both with the leaders and with the community, especially as the Antiochene church which they represented recognized a degree of primacy in the Jerusalem church. The referral of an issue of grave concern through the delegation of Barnabas and Paul was in itself symbolic of the subordination of the Antiochene Christians to the authority of the Jerusalem church, within their relationship of κοινωνία.

The decision of the conference was essentially that sought by the Antiochene delegation. Paul could write "ἐμοὶ ... οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο" (Gal.2:6). If we were to substitute ἐμοὶ with ἡμῖν, we would probably have a substantially accurate understanding of the outcome of the conference (cf. Schütz, 1975, p147). The

Jerusalem leadership, the effective decision-makers at the conference, affirmed the gospel as lived and preached at Antioch, and imposed no further obligations on that community (Stuhlmacher, 1968, p87). Circumcision and other Jewish legal observances would not be imposed on gentile Christians in Antioch. The clear implication that the Jerusalem leadership could have decided otherwise, however, is not to be ignored. The decisive voices were those of Peter, James, and John (Gal.2:6). Barnabas and Paul, and similarly other participants who could have held a very different point of view (cf. Acts 15:5), may have been persuasive, but they were not decisive. The decision was that sought by the Antiochene delegation, quite possibly in the face of opposition from within the Jerusalem church. The decision was not simply assent to the Antiochene practice, and relinquishment of authority on the part of the Jerusalem leadership. Rather, the decision was an assertion on the part of the Jerusalem leadership of authority that was recognized by all parties, both in affirming the Antiochene teaching and practice, and in suppressing the attempted imposition of Jewish legal observances on gentile Christians.

At the conclusion of the discussions, when the agreement had been reached, James, Peter and John gave Barnabas and Paul "δεξιὰς ... κοινωνίας" (Gal.2:9). This fellowship, not between the five people mentioned, but between the two churches they represented (cf. Sampley, 1980, p26), is a relationship of unity, though not necessarily equality (Hauck, 1939, p802). Barnabas and Paul had succeeded not only in obtaining the ruling of the Jerusalem church which they needed, but also in maintaining the unity between the two churches. Within that κοινωνία, the primacy of Jerusalem was recognized, but also the freedom of the Antiochene church to preach and to live its own interpretation of the gospel, albeit with the approval of the Jerusalem leadership.

Sampley has portrayed the deliberations of the conference as evidence of consensual *societas* between Paul, Barnabas, Peter, James, and John (1980, pp26ff). While he may be correct in saying that this is the interpretation put on the conference by Paul (1980, p29; vide ch.6 below for fuller discussion), as an accurate reflection of the historical meeting it seems inadequate. Rather than forming a contract between five individuals, the conference reaffirmed the κοινωνία between the two churches those individuals represented (cf. Haenchen, 1956, p566; Goppelt, 1962, p75). The issues discussed involved the life of the Christian communities,

and not only the work of five missionaries (cf. Sampley, 1980, pp27ff). The collection, which Sampley cites as an obligation in terms of *societas* (1980, p32), clearly involves the members of the church at Antioch, and those which had been established by missionaries from there, as well as Barnabas and Paul (cf. Georgi, 1965, pp21f). That the relationship in terms of which the conference was conducted was one between churches, and not individuals, will become clearer in the discussion which follows, in this and succeeding chapters.

The conference strengthened the authority of the Jerusalem church in its relationship with the Antiochene church (cf. Cullmann, 1953, p46 for a contrary view). It also strengthened the authority of the leadership of the Jerusalem church. The fact that the ruling they gave was the one sought by the Antiochene delegation, does not alter this. As will become clear from discussion of subsequent events in Antioch in the next chapter, far from conceding a point through weakness, the Jerusalem leadership created a precedent for further assertions of authority in their relationship of κοινωνία with the church at Antioch. The assertion of greater authority, however, involved the greater risk of defiance, and the greater danger of successful resistance. Defiance of this authority was a major factor in subsequent developments, as I hope to show in the next chapter. Firstly, however, we need to consider the ruling of the conference in greater detail.

4.3 The Ruling of the Conference

We have seen that the Jerusalem conference reached the decision sought by the Antiochene delegation, led by Barnabas. In reaching this decision, the leadership of the Jerusalem church asserted its authority both within their own community, and in its relationship with the church at Antioch. We need to consider this decision now, not only specifically in terms of the obligations of gentile Christians with regard to the Mosaic law, but also in terms of the missionary work of the two churches, and the obligations accepted by the Antiochene church.

The agreement entered between the Antiochene and Jerusalem churches on the basis of the ruling of the conference, would have applied only to those two churches, and others established under their respective auspices. However, the importance of these two communities in early Christianity was such that the ruling of the conference was a significant precedent, both for the application of the principles of the

ruling elsewhere than in the churches directly or indirectly involved, and also for the assertion of jurisdiction by the Jerusalem church over other Christian communities. This would have been the case particularly if Betz is correct in identifying political language in Gal.2:7-9, which would have involved legal connotations to the agreement for both parties (1979, p86; cf. Sampley, 1980, p28). When the issue of gentile observance of the Jewish law arose elsewhere, as was inevitable, the ruling reached at Jerusalem, and the authority which the leaders of that community exercised in reaching it, could form the basis for universalization both of the principle and of the authority which formulated it. The conference decision was therefore potentially, if not inevitably, more sweeping in its application than originally envisaged.

4.3.1 The Applicability of the Law for Gentile Christians

As the central issue discussed at the Jerusalem conference, the question of the obligations of gentile Christians with regard to the Mosaic law has been discussed in the preceding sections, and there is no need to repeat the discussion here. A number of observations should, however, be made.

In the Introduction, I recorded my acquiescence in the prevailing scholarly consensus that the "Apostolic Decree" was not formulated at the conference under discussion, but subsequently. In recent years, the most significant reconstruction which does not accept this view, is that of Achtemeier, who identifies the conference of Gal.2:1-10 with that of Acts 11:1-18, while the subsequent conference of Acts 15 was that at which the "Apostolic Decree" was promulgated (1987, pp50ff). For our present purpose, Achtemeier's reconstruction does not differ fundamentally, in that the nature of the conference of Gal.2:1-10 is unaltered, and the "Apostolic Decree" was formulated subsequent to it. We can therefore accept, without further argument, that the decision at Jerusalem under consideration, is not to be identified with the "Apostolic Decree" (vide *Excursus* at end of Part II for discussion of Apostolic Decree).

We can, and must, assume that the decision of the Jerusalem conference was less detailed than the subsequent "Apostolic Decree", or else the latter would have been redundant. The question of the applicability of the requirements of the Mosaic law for gentile Christians in Antioch, must therefore have been defined

and decided in fairly simple terms. The gentile Christians were not obliged to be circumcised. So much is clear, but the full implications of this are not. Whether all the observances associated with circumcision were waived, or a specific requirement, circumcision itself, must remain uncertain, and the agreement may have been open to a variety of interpretations from the beginning. Paul's statement in Gal.5:3 that circumcision requires obedience to the entire Law reflects his thinking at a later period, and in a particular polemical context (vide ch.6 below for fuller discussion), and cannot be assumed to be relevant to the detail of the agreement reached at the Jerusalem conference. Clearly, however, no fundamental changes were required in the life of the Christian community at Antioch (cf. Gal.2:6). That the issue was not so straightforward as might appear, and as Paul succeeds eloquently in portraying it, will become apparent in the discussion of subsequent events.

4.3.2 The Missionary Work of the Two Churches

The gospel preached and lived in Antioch was a gospel without at least one of the requirements of Jewish observance for gentile Christians. This made it essentially different to that preached at Jerusalem, in terms of which all Christians were bound to observe the Mosaic law (cf. Segal, 1990, p194). The decision not to impose circumcision on gentile Christians in Antioch therefore involved the recognition by the Jerusalem leadership of a form of the Christian gospel which was distinct from their own.

The Jerusalem leadership had recognized that the Antioch church had been entrusted with "$\tau\grave{o}$ $\epsilon\grave{v}\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota o\nu$ $\tau\hat{\eta}\varsigma$ $\grave{\alpha}\kappa\rho o\beta\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$", while they had been entrusted with [the gospel] "$\tau\hat{\eta}\varsigma$ $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\tau o\mu\hat{\eta}\varsigma$" (Gal.2:7). According to Betz, $\grave{\iota}\delta\acute{o}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ denotes theological insight (1976, p96). The Christian leadership in Jerusalem recognized that Barnabas and Paul's teaching, and the practice of the church at Antioch, were theologically tenable, even if they were not going to adopt either the theory or the practice themselves. The gospel of uncircumcision, which Barnabas and Paul preached, and by which the Antiochene church lived, was a legitimate interpretation of Christianity, as was the gospel of circumcision which Peter preached, and to which the Jerusalem church conformed. The Jewish community of this period was not unaccustomed to differences of opinion, or incapable of accommodating them within a wider whole, and we have no reason to suppose that the early

Christians did not share this capacity for diversity. There would therefore be no inconsistency in the Jerusalem leadership recognizing the validity of the Antiochene gospel, while at the same time themselves adhering to the gospel of circumcision as more appropriate to their own circumstances (cf. Longenecker, 1964, p220).

The rationale for this mutual recognition of diversity, as Paul relates it, is that God was working through Peter "$\epsilon \grave{\iota} \varsigma$ $\mathring{\alpha} \pi o \sigma \tau o \lambda \grave{\eta} \nu$ $\tau \hat{\eta} \varsigma$ $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \tau o \mu \hat{\eta} \varsigma$", and through himself "$\epsilon \grave{\iota} \varsigma$ $\tau \grave{\alpha}$ $\overset{"}{\epsilon} \theta \nu \eta$" (Gal.2:8). Paul does not repeat $\mathring{\alpha} \pi o \sigma \tau o \lambda \acute{\eta}$ with reference to himself, and Betz suggests that this indicates that Paul is here citing the actual words of the agreement, in terms of which he was not recognized as an apostle (1979, p98; cf. Dunn, 1982, p473). We cannot be certain, however, as to how clearly or rigidly defined apostleship was at this time (cf. Schmithals, 1961, pp90ff; vide fuller discussion in ch.6). It is clearly being used in terms of Christian mission, rather than as a personal title or designation. The conference was between churches, and its agreement concerned the life and work of the two churches, to which the personal status of the individuals concerned was secondary. The personalization of the account by Paul into a dichotomy between himself and Peter reduces its historical reliability considerably. There is no reason, other than Paul's polemical purpose in   *Galatians*, to understand the apostolate in terms of anybody's particular status (cf. Holmberg, 1978, p18). This was not at issue at the conference, and should not be read into any conference statement which Paul may be citing. As the question of apostleship was not at issue at the conference, there is no significance in the non-repetition of $\mathring{\alpha} \pi o \sigma \tau o \lambda \acute{\eta}$, other than that it makes more lucid Greek.

Paul briefly paraphrases the practical implication of the agreement: "$\overset{c}{\eta} \mu \epsilon \hat{\iota} \varsigma$ $\epsilon \grave{\iota} \varsigma$ $\tau \grave{\alpha}$ $\overset{"}{\epsilon} \theta \nu \eta$ $\alpha \mathring{\upsilon} \tau o \iota$ $\delta \grave{\epsilon}$ $\epsilon \grave{\iota} \varsigma$ $\tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \tau o \mu \acute{\eta} \nu$" (Gal.2:9). This has been variously interpreted, usually in terms of allocation of missionary spheres to the two parties, either along ethnic or geographical lines. The fundamental problem with these notions of dividing the world between Peter and Paul, is that it assumes that the conference took place on a more grandiose scale than was the case, and that every missionary and every church was party to the deliberations. As seen above, the conference involved only Jerusalem and Antioch, and churches under their auspices. Important though these two churches were, they could not divide all Christian missionary work between them. Not only would neither be in a position

to honour the obligations involved, but such an arrangement would ignore the work of other Christian missionaries. The weight of scholarship behind this view, however, requires that it be examined more closely.

Ethnic division is preferred by Campenhausen (1953, p33), Cullmann (1953, p43), Schmithals (1963, pp48f), Georgi (1965, p21), Stuhlmacher (1968, p97), Conzelmann (1969b, p86), Eckert (1971, p190), Wilson (1973, p185), Betz (1979, p100), Lüdemann (1980, p72; 1983, p62), Kim (1981, p272), and, in a less rigid sense, by Schütz (1975, p147; cf. Segal, 1990, p228). Watson disputes the historicity of the agreement, and asserts that Paul no longer had any intention of preaching to Jews anyway, as the fundamental premise of the gentile mission was that such an exercise would be futile (1986, p53). The interpretation of the agreement in ethnic terms, when the practical implications are considered, does not seem feasible, however. Not only was Antioch a mixed church (cf. Gal.2:11ff), but the dispersion of the Jewish nation throughout the eastern Roman empire, and the gentile settlement of Palestine, would have made such an arrangement unworkable. Furthermore, godfearing gentiles, a principal source of Christian converts, would have been left in a grey area between Jews and gentiles (cf. Collins, 1985, p175; Cohen, 1989, p14), and it is unlikely that either party would have agreed to this. Paul clearly cites the agreement with approval, shortly before relating his criticism of Peter for involvement in racial separation within the church, and in the same letter in which he wrote "οὐκ ἔνι Ἰουδαῖος οὐδὲ Ἕλλην ... ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ" (Gal.3:28). Paul's declared policy in I Cor.9:20, which he would not have stated if it was no longer his practice (cf. Schmithals, 1963, p48; Watson, 1986, p29), implies unambiguously that he preached to both Jews and gentiles. Division of missionary work along racial lines is therefore clearly untenable.

The territorial division of mission areas, the precise parameters of which are uncertain, but in terms of which most or all missionary work outside Palestine would be conducted from Antioch, is favoured by Burton (1921, p98), Munck (1967, p150), Bruce (1968, p11), and Holmberg (1978, p30). The geographical hypothesis, even if the agreement was not as rigid as Paul indicates (Holmberg, 1978, p31), is also not feasible. Like the ethnic hypothesis, it does not take into account other missionaries already operating inside and outside Palestine, and who were not represented at the conference, or party to its agreement. Even if

the agreement was not to be understood as though Paul was the only missionary to gentiles (Holmberg, 1978, p70), as was undoubtedly the case, a division along geographical lines would still have been too rigid to be workable. This is not to deny a possible geographical corollary to the agreement, but the division of territory was not primary.

The meaning of the agreement is to be found not in elaborate or simple delimitation of missionary areas or targets, but in the mutual recognition, the κοινωνία between the Jerusalem and Antioch churches. The Jerusalem church recognized the authenticity of the Antiochene gospel, and maintained its κοινωνία with the community despite the significant differences, and the Antioch church remained the subordinate partner in the κοινωνία that bound the two churches together (cf. Georgi, 1965, p22; Dunn, 1977, p253; Gaston, 1984, p65). The essential content of the agreement was recognition of "the basic character of the missionary preaching of the two groups" (Bornkamm, 1969, pp39f), and of "the main emphasis and purpose of the missionary activity" of the two churches (Hahn, 1963, p81; cf. Schütz, 1975, p147). Barnabas, Paul, and the Antiochene church would continue to preach and practise their form of Christianity, in which gentiles were not obliged to be circumcised, but they would not compel Jewish Christians to desist from observing the Law. The gospel of uncircumcision might apply only to gentiles, but this did not mean that the Antiochene church and those engaged in mission from there, would not preach to Jews. Similarly, the gospel of circumcision would apply only to Jews, and the Jerusalem church would not impose circumcision and legal observance on gentile Christians. Both churches would preach to and welcome all who would listen, but the gospel of circumcision, represented by James, Peter and John, would be obligatory only for Jews, and the gospel of uncircumcision, represented by Barnabas and Paul, would apply only to gentiles.

Rather than delimitation of territory, or racial division, I would argue, therefore, that the Jerusalem conference agreed that the two churches would adhere to the gospel as they understood it, without imposing their views on the other. This would apply both to their lives and to their mission, and their diversity of belief and practice would be maintained within the κοινωνία that had been affirmed at the conference.

4.3.3 The Obligations accepted by the Antiochenes

The only obligation which Paul acknowledges having accepted, was "$\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$ $\pi\tau\omega\chi\overset{\bullet}{\omega}\nu...$ $\mu\nu\eta\mu\text{ov}\epsilon\acute{v}\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$" (Gal.2:10). Betz correctly points out that Paul portrays this as supplementary to the agreement, rather than integral to it (1979, p101; cf. Sampley, 1980, p32). The fact that this is not mentioned in Acts 15 (vide ch.8 for discussion of Acts 11:27-30), may support this, but it must also be observed that Luke ceases to be concerned with the church at Antioch, on whose behalf this undertaking had been given, after Paul ceased to operate from there (Acts 15:40). It is also possible that Luke's silence conceals disaster (vide ch.8 for discussion). However, whatever the cause of Luke's silence, and whether the obligation to remember the poor was integral or supplementary to the agreement between Antioch and Jerusalem, it was something the former could not decline, and Paul is quite clear that, at the time (cf. Wedderburn, 1988, p39), he had no desire to do so.

The obligation to remember the poor is frequently identified with the collection. The connection between the obligations assumed by the Antiochene church through its delegates to the Jerusalem conference, and the collection Paul raised for the Jerusalem church in the final years of his ministry, however, is neither direct nor straightforward, as will become increasingly clear in the subsequent chapters of this thesis. The connection is at least as tenuous as Paul's links with the church of Antioch during the period subsequent to the Antioch incident, to be considered in chapter six below, and direct identification between the Jerusalem agreement and Paul's collection would be erroneous. We therefore need to consider the obligation to remember the $\pi\tau\omega\chi\text{o}\acute{\iota}$ in its own right, and without presupposing a connection with Paul's later activities. This can best be accomplished through a consideration of the implications of $\mu\nu\eta\mu\text{ov}\epsilon\acute{v}\omega$.

$\mu\nu\eta\mu\text{ov}\epsilon\acute{v}\omega$ means to call to mind (Liddell & Scott, 1940, p1139; Michel, 1942, p682; cf. Lampe, 1961, p874). This can imply simply to remember, or to mention, but it is quite clear that the act of remembering envisaged in the Jerusalem agreement entailed rather more this. It can also be assumed that more than intercessory prayer is implied (cf. Lampe, 1961, p874). Elsewhere, Paul uses $\mu\nu\eta\mu\text{ov}\epsilon\acute{v}\omega$ to remind his readers of his own labours (I Thess.2:9), of his sayings (II Thess.2:5), and

of his chains (Col.4:18). The intention is that his readers should remember Paul, the one from whom they had received the gospel, with a sense of obligation which influences their behavior (Michel, 1942, p682), and the same principle of obligation towards those from whom the faith had been received, however indirectly, is involved in Gal.2:10 (cf. Rom.15:27). Similarly, in I Cor.11:2, remembering Paul implies adhering to his teaching. Remembering involves action motivated by a sense of moral obligation (cf. Georgi, 1965, pp27f). Significantly, in I Thess.3:6, "μνείαν" is a matter of attitude, and implies, at least in principle, the maintenance of sound relations (cf. Michel, 1942, p678; vide discussion of Paul's intentions in chs.7 & 8 below). Recollection clearly is intended to evoke a response, but quite what action is implied in the particular case in Gal.2:10 is not stated in the text. The identification of this obligation with the collection, is dependent upon the association of the object "τῶν πτωχῶν" with a later reference to Paul's collection project in Rom.15:26. Therefore, the sense in which πτωχός is used, must be considered briefly before the implications of remembering with obligation can be understood. It cannot simply be assumed that the correlative obligation of recollection is the collection.

πτωχός is used in the *LXX* for a number of Hebrew and Aramaic words, most notably [*'ny*], which designates a victim of unmerited impoverishment, and came to acquire a religious significance. Other words rendered πτωχός include [*rš*], which conveyed only social and economic connotations in the biblical literature, and [*'byvn*], which denotes a beggar. It is in the post-biblical literature that poverty came to acquire a positive religious significance, over and above the Old Testament conception of the poor enjoying a degree of divine protection. In the *Psalms of Solomon*, πτωχός came to be equated with δίκαιος and ὅσιος (Hauck & Bammel, 1959, p896). This understanding of poverty is taken further in the Qumran writings. In 1QH.5:1, the author, possibly the Teacher of Righteousness, call himself "*kpš 'ny vrš 'ny* ". He also calls himself " *'byvn* " (1QH.5:13,16,18). These expressions are also applied, in plural form, to other members of the community (1QH.2:32, 5:21, 18:14,22). The expression " *'nvy rvḥ* " (cf. Mt.5:3) occurs in 1QM.14:7. All these texts refer to the poor as the objects of God's dealings in the world (Hauck & Bammel, 1959, p897). Clearly, the religious connotations of poverty attested at Qumran and in the Matthean version of *Q*, cannot be presupposed in the Pauline writings, or in the usage of the Jerusalem church at the time

108

of the conference. However, if, as Bammel suggests, Paul's use of $\pi\tau\omega\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$ in connection with the collection, is a quotation of the self-designation of the beneficiaries thereof (Hauck & Bammel, 1959, p909), then the question of theological connotations to the expression requires further consideration. While there appears to be no spiritualization of the concept of poverty in the Pauline writings, except in connection with the collection (Rom.15:26f) (Hauck & Bammel, 1959, p910), it is possible that $\pi\tau\omega\chi o\acute{\iota}$ is a translation of *'byvnym* , a self-designation with religious as well as, or rather than, material connotations. Schlier argues that $\pi\tau\omega\chi o\acute{\iota}$ is to be equated with $\H{\alpha}\gamma\iota o\iota$ (1971, p80; cf. Keck, 1965), in which case the material circumstances of the persons concerned are at most of secondary importance.

If Paul quotes the self-designation of the beneficiaries of the collection, it does not necessarily imply that he or Barnabas shared their understanding of the term, or even recognized the spiritual qualities associated with poverty. Paul deplored the sanctification of laziness, and condemned wanton idleness unequivocally (cf. I Thess.4:11f; II Thess.3:6-12), so clearly recognized no virtue in self-inflicted poverty. If raising money, with the single motive of charity, was all that was envisaged, therefore, it is clear that the deprivation to be alleviated was unmerited; a likely if not almost certain state of many in the Jerusalem church. This does not exclude other qualities, however, as $\mu\nu\eta\mu o\nu\epsilon\acute{v}\omega$ implies obligation, and not merely voluntary charity, as has been shown above. Furthermore, it is not the material poverty of the $\pi\tau\omega\chi o\acute{\iota}$ that creates the obligation of the Antiochene Christians, but the position of the Jerusalem church at the fountainhead of the Gospel, and the $\kappa o\iota\nu\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ between the two communities (cf. Rom.15:26f); if the Jerusalem church were to be the sole beneficiaries of the collection. Even if the collection was earmarked for a particular section of the Jerusalem church, who were economically impoverished, and even if not all members of the Antioch church contributed, the project was nevertheless conceived on the basis of a corporate relationship between the two communities, on a basis other than their relative and respective economic circumstances.

That remembering the poor at least partly took the form of financial aid would appear the unanimous view of contemporary scholarship. However, if this financial support was to be directed exclusively to beneficiaries in Jerusalem, which seems an equally widely held view though not supported in the text of Gal.2:10, then

109

qualities other than material poverty, a widespread phenomenon in the world of the time, were criteria of receiving this aid. These qualities need to be identified if the obligation assumed by the Antiochene church is to be understood correctly. Holmberg argues that the Jerusalem church would have felt entitled to the collection by virtue of its eschatological position (1978, p39; cf. Holl, 1921, p60; Stuhlmacher, 1968, p104). Schoeps argues that it was a means of appeasing the Judaists who had been overruled at the conference (1959, p68). Berger argues that almsgiving was looked upon in some Jewish circles as almost a substitute for circumcision for gentile adherents as a means to righteousness (1977, p187), and Betz similarly points to the association of gifts with ritual sacrifice in the thought-world of the time (1985, p42). However, in none of the cases Berger cites does the righteous gentile actually become part of the covenant community of Israel, which Segal identifies as the crucial issue, rather than circumcision (1990, p194; cf. Cohen, 1989). There is therefore no apparent precedent for regarding almsgiving as a complete substitute for circumcision, and, unless gentile Christians were to be regarded as righteous, but not part of the covenant community, Berger's argument seems inapplicable. Furthermore, if the collection was conceived and mutually understood as a substitute for circumcision, to a degree unprecedented in Judaism, it would not have been supplementary to the agreement, but an integral part of it. If, however, remembering the poor was regarded as a lesser obligation on gentile Christians, and which presumably implied even less recognition and acceptance than circumcision (cf. Cohen, 1989, p29), then presumably it represents a concession in respect of Mosaic observance. If the practice of almsgiving was not currently observed by the Antiochene church, but was accepted as a new obligation at the Jerusalem conference (cf. Berger, 1977; Cohen, 1989, pp18f), this would imply a greater degree of Jewish observance in the Antiochene church than hitherto had been the case. If the almsgiving was directed specifically to the Jerusalem church, or those of its members in greatest need, this would involve further recognition of the preeminence of the Jerusalem church, with probable eschatological overtones (cf. Isa.2:2; 60:5ff; cf. Munck, 1954, p303).

Given the tenuous link between Paul's later collection and the obligation accepted at the Jerusalem conference, however, we cannot simply reduce remembering the poor to financial support, and still less to financial support for the Jerusalem church. If something more specific than general almsgiving is implied,

as the overwhelming majority of scholars assume, then the significance of the obligation lies not in the poverty of the beneficiaries but in their politically motivated and theologically legitimated claims on other Christians. A criterion other than poverty for receiving financial support, implies other factors in the relationship between the parties. This can consist either in the exchange of services for money, or in the recognition of the right to some form of tribute on the part of those receiving the money. Financial support for the Jerusalem church for reasons other than poverty would therefore imply recognition on the part of the donors of a legitimate claim to such payment. That the Jerusalem church exercised some degree of authority over the Antiochene church, recognized in terms of their κοινωνία, I have argued above. That this authority extended beyond the right to financial support, and included the right to regulate the conduct of the Antiochene Christians, has been clear from the discussion above. We therefore need to consider the possibility that the obligation to remember the poor was an aspect of the right of the Jerusalem church to regulate Christian life in Antioch.

I would suggest that the obligation to remember the poor accepted by the delegation of the Antiochene church may have included recognition not only of the material poverty of the Jerusalem church, but also its precarious position in Jerusalem, marginalized in society and vulnerable to persecution (vide discussion in chs.5 & 6 below; for a contrary view, vide Brandon, 1957, pp88-100). The Jerusalem Christians could be compromised if people associated with them, such as the Christians of Antioch, exercised liberties in their observance of the Law, such as could not be tolerated in Jerusalem, and would have scandalized non-Christian Jews. If the Jerusalem church had recognized the freedom of the Antiochene church from at least some of the constraints of the Law, one would expect that in return they would ask that this liberty be exercised with consideration, and, when appropriate, caution. Such a request would not only provide the basis for responding to a situation in which the safety of the Jerusalem Christians was compromised through their association with the church at Antioch, but it would also form a concession to those within the Jerusalem church whose activities had precipitated the conference, and who would have opposed the decision reached. The leaders of the Jerusalem church would naturally be concerned that the Antiochene practices, already a cause for considerable apprehension, would, if further liberalized, lead

to further marginalization of the Christian community in Jerusalem, and seriously jeopardize their security.

I would suggest, therefore, that, in return for recognition of their gospel by the leadership of the Jerusalem church, the Antiochene Christians undertook to exercise their freedom and independence with due consideration for the implications of their conduct for Christian communities in Judaea. More than simply raising money to support the Jerusalem Christians, and expressing whatever was implied in that gesture, the delegation from Antioch, I would suggest, undertook to recognize all that was involved in their κοινωνία with the Jerusalem church, and to exercise their freedom with consideration for the effects of their behaviour on the Christians of Jerusalem, and recognizing the right of the Jerusalem church to call for modifications in the Antiochene Christian customs, should the former deem them appropriate in the light of their own circumstances, as well as of more general considerations of propriety. The authority of the Jerusalem church to regulate conduct in the church of Antioch, was at least implicit in the κοινωνία, and was exercised in the decision of the Jerusalem conference. That this authority was subsequently exercised with these considerations in view, I hope to argue in the following chapter.

To sum up, therefore, the Jerusalem conference was a decisive event in the early history of Christianity. Two of the most significant churches of that period formed an understanding whereby their theological diversity, and its implications for their way of life and missionary outreach, could be accommodated within the κοινωνία that bonded them together. The church at Antioch initiated the contact which resulted in the conference, thereby affirming its subordination to the community in Jerusalem, but at the same time establishing its right to a degree of independence of thought and action. The authority of the Jerusalem church was at the same time entrenched, and its leadership strengthened their position within the community by deciding in favour of the Antiochene delegation. This assertion of authority carried with it the potential for greater defiance, a factor which will be evident in the discussion in the next chapter, which will concern the confrontation between Peter and Paul at Antioch.

Chapter V

Peter and Paul at Antioch

The majority of recent scholars locate the altercation between Peter and Paul at Antioch (Gal.2:11-14) during the period shortly after the conference described immediately before in the pauline narrative (Gal.2:1-10), which is to be identified with that of Acts 15. In the Introduction, I recorded my acceptance of this position. This consensus has been challenged in four principal ways. Munck argues that Paul places the incident after the conference in his narrative in order to demonstrate the independence of his apostleship (1954, pp100,102,106). Bruce places the confrontation before the conference of Acts 15 by identifying Paul's visit to Jerusalem recorded in Gal.2:1-10 with that of Acts 11:27-30 (1982a, p128). Lüdemann argues that the situation giving rise to the episode in Antioch would have been conceivable prior to the conference, but not after (1980, p75). Achtemeier argues that the conference of Gal.2:1-10 is to be equated with that of Acts 11:1-18, and that the conference of Acts 15 was held subsequently, without the participation of Peter, Barnabas, or Paul, and formulated the Apostolic Decree (1987, pp51f). The men from James brought the Apostolic Decree to Antioch, giving rise to the confrontation between Peter and Paul. The decree was therefore the cause of the conflict, not the resolution thereof (Achtemeier, 1987, p58). It will, I hope, be clear from this chapter, that the scholarly consensus represents the most plausible reconstruction.

At the Jerusalem conference, discussed in the previous chapter, the delegation of the church at Antioch won recognition for its distinctive version of the Christian gospel, which did not require circumcision, and possibly other Jewish ritual and dietary requirements, of gentile converts to Christianity. The Jerusalem church would continue to preach its gospel of circumcision, while the Antiochenes preached their gospel of uncircumcision. The Antiochenes undertook, in return, to remember the poor. This, it was argued, involved more than intercessory prayer and the collection of funds, but also the obligation of the Antiochenes to consider the effects

113

of their exercise of freedom from the Law on the circumstances of the Christian community in Jerusalem.

The Jerusalem church had entrenched its jurisdiction over the Antiochene community through the conference, and its exercise of decision-making authority. The decision was not reached without opposition from within the Jerusalem church, and the assertion of jurisdiction by the Jerusalem leadership generated increased potential for resistance to them, both in Jerusalem and in Antioch. While their authority was uncontested, as it was at the conference, to the point of having been actively appealed to by the Antiochene church, it was secure, and could be asserted, and entrenched through precedent. However, when authority cannot be reinforced by means of coercive power, it is vulnerable to defiance. Successful defiance can result in the disintegration of authority. Therefore, in extending their jurisdiction over the Antiochene church, the leadership of the Jerusalem church increased the risk of defiance, and the potential for resistance to undermine their authority. This is important in considering the events which followed in Antioch, and particularly Paul's role in them.

5.1 Circumstances Giving Rise to the Confrontation

How long after the conference the events recorded in Gal.2:11-14 took place is uncertain. Reicke suggests that it was several years (1953, p178), but the majority of scholars prefer a shorter period. An interval of not longer than a few months was accepted as the most likely in the Introduction. Peter evidently visited the church at Antioch shortly after the conference (cf. Gal.2:11), whether as a fugitive (cf. Acts 12:17), or to reciprocate the visit of Barnabas and Paul to Jerusalem, and build up further the κοινωνία between the two churches, is uncertain. It is most improbable that the purpose of Peter's visit to Antioch was to ensure that the agreement was being observed. As argued in the preceding chapter, the conference decision had confirmed the gospel as preached and lived by the Antiochene church, and visitation was therefore not required to enforce the decision. The obligations accepted by the Antiochene delegation were supplementary to the agreement, and not easily quantifiable, and it would probably not have been regarded as helpful by either party for anyone from Jerusalem to have been involved in the implementation of these. Therefore, while a demonstration of authority in some form as the purpose

114

of Peter's presence in Antioch cannot be excluded, it cannot be identified with enforcement of the decision of the Jerusalem conference.

Peter participated fully in the life of the Antiochene church, and conformed to its customs, evidently quite willingly (Gal.2:12). Quite what happened when "τινας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου" (Gal.2:12) arrived in Antioch, is difficult to reconstruct. It is clear that Peter withdrew from table fellowship with the gentile Christians, and that the Jewish Christians, including Barnabas, followed his example (Gal.2:12f). Table fellowship between Jewish and gentile Christians is therefore clearly involved in this episode. This is not to infer that it was necessarily the principal issue in the debacle (cf. Segal, 1990, p194), but it nevertheless requires consideration.

The Jerusalem conference had clearly ruled that gentile Christians need not be circumcised, but the precise implications of this, and the extent to which such details were discussed, is far from certain. Paul certainly claims that no requirements were stipulated (Gal.2:6), which presumably means that no ritual or dietary observances not already practised in the Antiochene church were imposed by the conference. Preoccupation with circumcision, and confusion on account of the metonymous nature of the expression, may have led to oversight of lesser details, or mutual misunderstanding, but nevertheless the Antiochene custom was affirmed, by implication at least, in all its aspects. The conference did not consider the implications of this for table fellowship with gentile Christians for Jewish Christians who did not assent to the Antiochene version of the gospel (Holmberg, 1978, p21; cf. Schoeps, 1959, p68). This was evidently not an issue for the Jewish Christians at Antioch (Gal.2:12f; cf. Acts 11:20f), and Barnabas and Paul would have assumed that this aspect of the life of the Antiochene church, along with the gospel they preached, had been affirmed. Those who had wished to change the Antiochene practice were Judaeans (vide discussion in ch.4 above), and would have had no interest in further contact with the Antiochene church if it did not adhere to the gospel of circumcision. The question of table fellowship in Antioch would therefore have been of no concern to them.

Dunn has shown that Jewish practice regarding table fellowship with gentiles was not uniform, but that the laws were applied with varying degrees of rigour, during the period, and that it was the food consumed, rather than the company,

that was determinative in such matters (1983, p14), and Gaston has shown that there was no legal prohibition of table fellowship (1986, p43; cf. Ber.7:1; for a contrary view, vide Esler, 1987, p77; vide also Dunn's response, 1990, pp180f; cf. Howard, 1990, pxx). The implication of this would seem to be that only the most rigid and rigorous forms of Jewish observance excluded all social intercourse with gentiles. Whatever the nature of Jewish observance, however, the economic factors bearing upon the situation in Antioch require consideration. As the Jewish community in Antioch was substantial (cf. Meeks & Wilken, 1978, pp2ff; (Brown &) Meier, 1983, pp6ff), it can be assumed that it had its own food markets, and that food which conformed to Jewish ritual requirements was therefore obtainable in Antioch, at a price. However, it cannot be assumed that the standards of legal observance in these markets were the same as those which prevailed in Jerusalem. Furthermore, we can be certain that food bought in the Jewish markets in Antioch would have been more expensive than food not subject to the specific requirements of the Law. Not only would tithes have had to have been paid on it to conform with the Law, but it is a universal economic reality that any produce required to meet specifications over and above what is normative in the market will accordingly be more expensive. The economics of legal observance therefore cannot be ignored, and this is a factor which will have to be considered further below.

An observation which needs to be made at this point, is that the refusal of fellowship, or withdrawal therefrom, has definite implications for the relationship between the parties. Deliberate separation is never between parties who consider themselves equal. The act of separation is at least implicitly hostile, and constitutes a claim to privilege (cf. Segal, 1990, p194), and the assertion of superiority over the rejected party. Weber has drawn attention to the role of rituals in demonstrating and maintaining status distinctions (1922c, pp188f; cf. Scroggs, 1975, pp5,18). In the case of Jewish Christians declining table fellowship with gentile Christians who do not observe Jewish dietary laws, the gesture is, at the very least, open to interpretation as an assertion of superiority (cf. Van Gennep, 1908, p29; Sanders, 1977, pp155f; Rowland, 1985, p70). This is important in considering the attitudes of the parties to the confrontation in Antioch.

The Christian community in Antioch appears to have abandoned full conformity with Jewish dietary regulations, at least in the context of meetings of the

church (cf. Dunn, 1983, pp31ff; Watson, 1986, p34). Whatever Jewish Christians did in their own homes, and whatever food they provided for gatherings of the church, their conduct did not conform to the more rigid interpretations of the Jewish dietary laws. Paul describes Peter as having lived "$\dot{\epsilon}\theta\nu\iota\kappa\hat{\omega}\varsigma$" (Gal.2:14), when Peter had been doing nothing other than conform to what was the custom of the Antiochene church (Gal.2:12; cf. Dunn, 1983, p32). While Paul may simply have been wishing to cast a slur on Peter's character, or credentials as an observant Jew (cf. Watson, 1986, p33), in order to undermine his moral authority, the fact that it did not result in Paul's winning the confrontation, as will become clear in the discussion below, would seem to indicate that Paul was referring specifically to Peter's conduct in relation to the issue in Antioch. The implication of this would seem to be that the prevailing practice in the Antiochene church was not lax observance of the Jewish dietary laws, but disregard thereof, behaviour unrecognizable in terms of Jewish law, from the point of view of those opposing the Antiochene custom, at least as Paul depicts it (cf. Dunn, 1983, pp31ff; Watson, 1986, p29). However, Paul's polemical purpose in *Galatians* means that we cannot be certain that this was the case. What we can be certain of, though, is that Jewish and gentile Christians in Antioch had found an accommodation whereby they could eat together. That this did not conform to the more rigorous interpretations of Jewish law is clear from the events which took place, and to which we must now give attention.

5.2   The Position and Conduct of the Parties

What took place at Antioch shortly after the Jerusalem conference, was far more complex than simply a confrontation between Peter and Paul. What happened was triggered by neither of the chief protagonists, but by the visitors from Jerusalem. It was Peter's response to them, and the effects of Peter's conduct on the church as a whole, that brought him into confrontation with Paul. We must therefore consider the roles of the various parties, before reconstructing the event as a whole.

5.2.1   The Delegation from James

Paul identifies the catalysts in the incident only as "$\tau o\hat{v} \ldots \dot{\epsilon}\lambda\theta\epsilon\hat{\iota}\nu \ \tau\iota\nu\alpha\varsigma$

117

ἀπὸ ᾽Ιακώβου" (Gal.2:12). There can be no doubt that the James mentioned is the brother of Jesus, a leading figure in the Jerusalem church. The implication is therefore clearly that the visitors came from Jerusalem, and in some sense represented James. Bornkamm argues that they were not an official delegation from James (1969, p33). The majority of scholars, however, take a different view. Mussner argues that the direct role of James depends on how the grammatical structure of the clause is understood. If ἐλθεῖν is more closely linked with "ἀπὸ ᾽Ιακώβου" than with τινας, then James is to be understood to have been more directly responsible for the conduct of the visitors than would otherwise be the case (1974, p139; cf. Betz, 1979, p108). Nickle argues that the visitors were on a specific mission from James (1966, p64), and Gerhardsson presents a rather more elaborate theory that the visitors represented the corporate authority of the apostolic body in Jerusalem (1961, p318; cf. Holl, 1921, p57). It is unlikely that the visitors were in Antioch for any reason other than having been sent there by James, and the group about him in the Jerusalem church. The purpose of their visit, however, is more difficult to identify. Unless it was not known that Peter was in Antioch, the visitors cannot simply have been reciprocating Barnabas and Paul's visit to Jerusalem. It is unlikely that they were ensuring that the agreement was being observed, as the Jerusalem conference had essentially affirmed the *status quo* in Antioch. They may simply have been passing through Antioch *en route* elsewhere, but it is generally believed that their visit to Antioch had a specific purpose, and that they made demands concerning the life of the community. The probability is therefore that the visit was a deliberate demonstration of authority.

Esler (1987, p88) is alone among recent scholars in arguing that the visitors effectively demanded circumcision of gentile Christians (cf. Dunn, 1983, p35; 1990, pp180f; Howard, 1990, pxx). This would have been a complete breach of the agreement between the Jerusalem and Antiochene churches, in which James had played an important role. It is most unlikely therefore that James sought reversal of the agreement, or that he believed he could enforce such a reversal, especially with Peter's being in Antioch at the time. The authority of the Jerusalem church in Antioch may have been entrenched by the Jerusalem conference, but James would have been jeopardizing this authority had he attempted to reverse the decision of the conference without reference to Peter, and while Peter was in Antioch. Furthermore, there is no evidence that this is what James sought to accomplish.

118

Schmithals argues that the separation between Jewish and gentile Christians, which Peter initiated, was what the visitors sought (1963, p69). It is unlikely, however, that this could have been a premeditated demand, as it would have had no basis in the Jerusalem agreement. I have argued above that the separation of Jews from gentiles in the Church was not part of the agreement, and was in fact quite contrary to it. The Jerusalem conference sought to maintain unity, not to create division. If, however, the visitors did demand separation, it could only have been on the basis of circumstances they discovered in the church at Antioch, presumably to do with dietary observances.

Watson argues that the delegation from James demanded the observance of the Mosaic law (cf. Gal.2:14), and disputes Paul's contention that the Jerusalem leadership had ever waived the requirements (1986, pp53-56). Dunn argues that the demands specifically concerned the dietary laws, and required that they be observed to the standard that had been assumed to prevail in Antioch when the Jerusalem agreement was reached (1983, pp31-34; cf. Segal, 1990, p224). As the response of Peter and the Jewish Christians in Antioch specifically concerned table fellowship, it is likely that the demands of the visitors were so directed. If, however, a higher standard of Jewish dietary observance was assumed by the Jerusalem leadership to prevail in Antioch, then the visitors' demand could not have been premeditated. Dunn also points to the deteriorating political situation in Judaea which may have motivated the action of the visitors, with the accompanying nationalistic overtones to the demand for compliance (1990, p176). Pressure on the church in Jerusalem (cf. Gal.6:12; I Thess.2:14) may therefore have constrained them to curtail the liberty of other Christians with whom they were associated (cf. Jewett, 1971; Suhl, 1975, pp15-25; vide discussion in previous chapter). In this case, the actions of the visitors from Jerusalem are to be understood in terms of the Jerusalem agreement, and the κοινωνία which bound together the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch.

To sum up, therefore, the visitors from Jerusalem appear to have been sent to Antioch by James, quite possibly with a definite intention of asserting further the authority of the Jerusalem church. As agents of James, who was presumably in a position of unrivalled dominance in the Jerusalem church in Peter's absence, they would have been in a position to exercise the authority of the Jerusalem

church in Antioch, either with specific instructions issued by James, or with discretionary powers as agents to act as they saw fit (cf. Ber.5:5). It is most unlikely, however, that they would knowingly have chosen a time when Peter was in Antioch, and could complicate their attempts to exercise authority in that church, if a demonstration of authority through altering the practical corollaries of the Jerusalem agreement was in itself the purpose of the visit. It is more likely that they were responding to changing circumstances facing the church in Jerusalem. If the Jerusalem church was claiming jurisdiction over other Christian communities, it stood to be held accountable by the Temple hierarchy for what happened in those communities. This may have motivated the request to remember the poor, discussed in the previous chapter. Schmithals argues that the delegation from James visited Antioch in the aftermath of the martyrdom of James, the son of Zebedee (Acts 12:2) (1961, p68). There are further indications that the Jerusalem church was facing persecution at this time in I Thess 2:14ff and Gal.6:12, which date from shortly after the incident under discussion (vide discussion of chronology and dates of primary sources in Introduction; cf. Brandon, 1957, pp88-100 for a contrary view). If the community felt itself to be compromised by the conduct of the Antiochene church, James would have felt entirely justified in invoking the agreement, and seeking, in terms of, and not in violation of, the conference decision, to bring a greater degree of conformity to the Jewish law into the life of the Antiochene church, with whatever repercussions for the relations between Jewish and gentile Christians in Antioch. It would seem most likely, therefore, that the visitors' request for conformity to Jewish dietary regulations, to whatever standard, took place fully within the context of κοινωνία between the churches. It is important to recognize, however, that Paul does not actually attribute any demands to the visitors, although he clearly blames them for causing Peter's change of practice. The issue cannot be resolved without attention to Peter's role in what happened.

5.2.2 Peter

According to Paul, Peter withdrew from table fellowship with the gentile Christians in Antioch on account of the visitors from James (Gal.2:12), and his example was emulated by the Jewish Christians (Gal.2:13). We are not told whether it was at the visitors' behest that Peter acted, or whether he merely acted in response

to their presence, and the pressure, direct or indirect, that they exerted on him. We therefore do not know who initiated the sequence of events in the Antiochene church, although it is clear that the visitors from James were at the least a catalyst, and Peter a major protagonist.

Peter changed his behaviour from conformity with the practice of the Antiochene church to eating apart from the gentile Christians, and presumably eating only food which conformed to Jewish ritual requirements (cf. Räisänen, 1983, p259; Howard, 1990, pxx). As noted above, it was the food, and not the racial origins of the people, that determined Jewish dietary observance. The implication of this is that Peter would not have withdrawn from table fellowship with the gentile Christians because they were gentiles, but because the food consumed did not meet the requirements of the Law, presumably as understood by the visitors from Jerusalem. There is no indication of any attempt to impose Jewish dietary laws upon the gentile Christians (Räisänen, 1983, p259). This may indicate that Peter's action was intended as a temporary measure, for the duration of the visit, so that the people from Jerusalem would be able to eat with at least him, if nobody else in the Antiochene church, without compromising their own standards of observance (cf. Bauckham, 1979, p64; Bruce, 1982a, p131). Another possibility is that separation was envisaged as a temporary measure while the Jerusalem church was threatened with persecution. It would probably not have been economically or practically feasible to impose dietary observances on gentile Christians, which would have made them dependent upon the Jewish markets, and the willingness of Jewish traders to deal with gentiles. It would presumably also have been regarded as a breach of trust, and contrary to the Jerusalem agreement, for Peter and the visitors unilaterally to impose dietary laws in Antioch, even if the issue which had arisen had not previously been discussed. Temporary separation may therefore have been seen as the less offensive option (cf. Sanders, 1955, p139). The connotations of inequality between Jewish and gentile Christians in such action would probably not have occurred to people accustomed to such attitudes (cf. Cohen, 1989, p29). The possible implications of separation for future developments could probably not have been foreseen by those not engaged in missionary work among the gentiles, and would probably have been overlooked on account of preoccupation with the more familiar situation in Jerusalem.

It is unclear whether Peter intended his behaviour to be followed by the Jewish Christians in Antioch. If Peter was responding to intimations from the visitors that his credibility as a Christian missionary to the Jewish people was compromised by his behaviour in Antioch (cf. Dunn, 1983, p35), then he may not have intended his behaviour to influence that of anybody else. Gal.2:13 seems to indicate spontaneity rather than obedience to a directive, which could support Holmberg's suggestion that it was the force of Peter's example that led to his emulation by the Antiochene Jewish Christians (1978, p34). This possibility will be considered further below, when the role of Barnabas and the church is discussed.

If Peter's motive was not simply hospitality, it remains unclear whether he was party to any conscious decision that Jewish Christians in Antioch should not eat with gentiles, or simply acquiesced in a decision which had been made in Jerusalem, or in Antioch by the visitors from Jerusalem. The implication of Gal.2:12f would seem to be the latter, particularly as Paul attributes Peter's action to cowardice, "φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς". Whether the objects of Peter's alleged fear are those who preach the gospel of circumcision, the visitors from Jerusalem and those they represented, or non-Christian Jews, those responsible for persecution of the Jerusalem church, is neither clear nor, for the present, relevant. The widescale uncritical acceptance of Paul's ascription of cowardice to Peter (Burton, 1921, p107; Schmithals, 1963, p66; Nickle, 1966, p66; Bruce, 1982a, p131) is in itself highly questionable. Whatever the historicity of the Passion narratives in the Gospels, and Peter's less than heroic role therein, the fact that on one occasion of potentially mortal peril, his survival instinct overcame the sentiments which had previously produced extravagent bravado, is far from sufficient evidence upon which to base an assumption that Peter was an habitual coward (cf. Nickle, 1966, pp65f), and is no basis for an assumption that Peter was motivated by cowardice on this particular occasion. Furthermore, if fear was the motive for what happened, this fear would presumably have been shared by others who followed Peter's example (cf. the singular of φοβούμενος in Gal.2:12); in which case there would probably been good reason for it, such as persecution of the church in Jerusalem (cf. I Thess.2:14; Gal.6:12). Paul's ascription of ὑπόκρισις to Peter (cf. Howard, 1990, pxx) likewise cannot be taken as reliable or objective in reconstructing the event.

Brown and Meier suggest that Peter was a moderating influence rather than Paul's opponent in the confrontation (1983, p41). In this case, Paul's real antagonists would have been the visitors from Jerusalem. This may be an accurate reflection of Peter's theological position in relation to Paul and James, but Paul is unequivocal in Gal.2:11-14 that it was Peter whom he had confronted. It may have been that Peter's attempt to work a compromise led to his being accused by Paul of succumbing to pressure from James, a common method of manipulating would-be mediators, to which those who hold moderating positions are prone. Peter may, moreover, as the more prominent figure, have played a more public role in the debacle, while James' emissaries would presumably have made their overtures discreetly; in which case it would have been Peter who incurred the wrath of those who opposed the developments.

Many unanswered questions regarding Peter's action in Antioch remain, and will require further attention below, when the positions of the other parties have been reconstructed.

5.2.3 Barnabas and the Antiochene Christians

Barnabas appears to have been the most eminent of the leadership in the Antioch church (cf. Acts 13:1). His role in the debacle would therefore have been crucial, even if Paul does appear to suggest that Barnabas merely followed the crowd when the Jewish Christians discontinued table fellowship with the gentile Christians (Gal.2:13). Given Barnabas' position of leadership in the community, however, he would have been expected to play a more active role, and it is unlikely that the Jewish Christians would have acted without consulting him, especially as he had represented them in formulating the agreement with the Jerusalem church. It is more plausible, therefore, that Barnabas exercised leadership in this episode, and was largely responsible for determining what action would be taken by the Christians of Antioch to resolve the dilemma. The role of Barnabas, and of the church as a whole, can therefore appropriately and conveniently be considered together.

Bauckham plausibly attributes Barnabas' decision to withdraw from table fellowship with gentile Christians to consideration for the scruples of the visitors (1979, p64). Bruce argues similarly that this was an exceptional deviation from

123

normal practice, motivated by considerations of courtesy and hospitality rather than change of principle (1982a, p131). It seems clear from Paul's account that Barnabas and the Antiochene Christians took their lead in this matter from Peter (Gal.2:12f), and Schütz argues that this would not have happened had Peter's action been in breach of the Jerusalem agreement (1975, p151; cf. Holmberg, 1978, p32). I argued above that any action James was taking in Antioch through the visitors was in terms of, and not contrary to, the agreement, and this seems to be confirmed by Barnabas and the Antiochene Christians' response to the situation (cf. Schütz, 1975, p151). They were following the directive of an authority which was recognized in terms of the κοινωνία between the churches. (cf. Dunn, 1983, p35). Both Peter and James, and the Jerusalem church, were acknowledged as authoritative by the Antiochene Christians in matters affecting their faith and life. They seem to have been quite willing accordingly to adapt their customs, however temporarily, when prevailed upon by James, supported by Peter, to do so. It is most likely that Barnabas, far from following the crowd as he is depicted by Paul as having done, was instrumental in negotiating with Peter and the visitors how the Antiochene Christians would respond to the situation in Jerusalem (cf. discussion in previous chapter of obligations of Antioch church in terms of Jerusalem agreement). The Antiochenes were willing to consider the effects of their freedom of association, and other customs which deviated from standard Jewish practice, on the Jerusalem church, and to curb their liberty when its exercise imperilled that community.

5.2.4 Paul

Paul was quite clearly isolated in and through his confrontation with Peter, and resistance to the authority of the Jerusalem church. In Gal.2:11-14 he gives no indication at all that anybody supported his position, at the time or subsequently. The gentile Christians are conspicuously silent and passive in Paul's account, while the Jewish Christians, apparently unanimously, follow the lead of Peter in withdrawing from table fellowship with the gentiles. In chapter six below, I shall argue that Silvanus, Paul's subsequent colleague, was an Antiochene Christian who supported Paul, as presumably did Titus, but neither is mentioned in Paul's account of the episode, and the impression that Paul was isolated in the community stands (cf. Achtemeier, 1987, p59).

124

Paul's action was evidently motivated by theological considerations, as he saw the action of Peter and the Antiochene church as conflicting with "$\tau\dot{\eta}\nu$ $\dot{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$ $\tau o\hat{\upsilon}$ $\epsilon\dot{\upsilon}\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}o\upsilon$" (Gal.2:14). Paul took his stand on principle in a matter on which James, Peter, and Barnabas exercised pragmatism rather than dogma (Bornkamm, 1969, p47; cf. Koester, 1965, p121). This would seem to be the fundamental difference between them. All assented to the principle of a Christian gospel in terms of which gentiles were included in the Church without being circumcised, and those who did not preach it were pledged to maintain unity with those who did. This was not at stake, or in question so far as Peter and the visitors were concerned, but Paul saw their withdrawal from table fellowship with gentile Christians as a threat to that principle (cf. Segal, 1990, p194). For Paul, it was a great deal more than concessions to their own freedom by one church on one occasion for the sake of another. Quite apart from the precedent it would set, both in terms of further occasions on which Jewish and gentile Christians could be separated within a single church, and in terms of the extension of the authority of the Jerusalem church in other communities, the criteria for Christian fellowship with Jewish Christians would be made more rigorous than those required for salvation. Furthermore, separation is a form of exclusivism, and the implication of separation of Jewish from gentile Christians could only be that the latter were inferior (cf. Sanders, 1977, pp155f; Cohen, 1989, p29). This would denigrate both the gentile Christians themselves, and the gospel in terms of which they were received into the Church without observance of the Jewish law. Gentile Christians would either accept inferior standing within the Church, which would seem to have happened, at least for a time, in Antioch, or be coerced into observing the Jewish law. Paul therefore saw the feasibility of the Christian mission to gentiles as in peril, and with it the integrity of the gospel he preached.

The fact that Barnabas and the Antiochenes did not share Paul's perception of the situation, and were evidently convinced more by the harsh realities of persecution in Jerusalem than by the theological truths articulated by Paul, or the consequences of their action which he foresaw, does not mean that Paul was single-mindedly absorbed in dogma and theory, or that the others were correspondingly swayed by sentiment. The question of authority also influenced the course of events, through deciding the stand of Barnabas and the Antiochene Christians. The Antiochenes had previously recognized the authority of the Jerusalem church,

and it would have been most unlikely for them to defy that authority when it was reinforced by the presence and example of Peter in their midst. In terms of the relationship of κοινωνία between the two churches, a directive from Jerusalem, or given on the authority of the leadership of that community, was sure to be effective, unless it was so repressive as to become intolerable. Resistance in this case would undoubtedly have been successful, as the Jerusalem church had no coercive power by which to enforce its authority, and could exercise jurisdiction only by consent. The compliance of the Antiochene Christians must therefore have been willing, as the Jerusalem church was able to exercise its authority despite its lack of power, and to maintain, and possibly strengthen, its authority over the church at Antioch.

Paul, however, found the directive from Jerusalem so repressive, so alien to his understanding of the gospel, and endangering to his work, that he rebelled against it. He failed to convince the Antiochene church, still less Peter and the visitors, and Paul's repudiation of the authority of the Jerusalem church therefore applied to his own life and work only. In this respect, Paul could in Weberian terms be compared to a failed charismatic, whose message and leadership were not accepted or recognized by those whom he sought to convince. His action brought him into conflict with the authority structures on which church life in Antioch was based, and his failure to convince the Antiochenes placed him outside those structures.

That Paul failed to convince Peter or anyone else, with one or two possible exceptions, such as Silvanus and Titus, to adopt his position in Antioch, is quite clear. The contrary view has been defended most recently by Bruce (1982a, p132; cf. also Knox, 1925, p193; Munck, 1954, p102; Roloff, 1965, p75; Hainz, 1972, pp125,248; Oepke, 1973, pp88f; Lyons, 1985, pp134f), but it is quite clearly not compatible with the account. Paul would certainly have recorded any victory he had scored over Peter in Antioch in his account in *Galatians*, and the conspicuous absence of any such evidence, together with the absence of any indication of support for Paul from within the Antiochene community, must demonstrate strongly that Paul's confrontation with Peter ended in defeat and isolation for him, as the majority of recent scholars argue (Haenchen, 1956, p476; Georgi, 1965, p31; Nickle, 1966, pp66f; Stuhlmacher, 1968, pp106f; Robinson & Koester, 1971, p122; Eckert, 1971, p227; Holtz, 1974, p124; Mussner, 1974, pp186f; Catchpole, 1977, pp439f;

126

Dunn, 1977, p254; 1983, p39; Holmberg, 1978, p34; Bauckham, 1979, p64; Brown & Meier, 1983, p39).

To sum up, therefore, the spareity and partiality of the evidence makes reconstructing the incident at Antioch very difficult. While the main parties can be readily identified, their actions and motives are a matter of speculation, assisted only by unreliable aspersions by Paul in his account of the episode. It seems clear, though, that the visitors from Jerusalem were acting on behalf of James, and that their action was conceived in terms of the agreement recently reached between the Jerusalem and Antioch churches, and the κοινωνία between those communities. Persecution of the church in Jerusalem, or the threat thereof, may well have given rise to the visit. The Jerusalem church, accountable for and compromised by the conduct of Jewish Christians in Antioch, needed to demonstrate to the Temple hierarchy its capacity to curb any excesses perpetrated by the Antiochene Christians in terms of the Law. The visitors sought therefore to seek the curtailment, temporarily or permanently, of unrestricted table fellowship between Jewish and gentile Christians in Antioch. In this they were evidently supported by Peter and Barnabas, who would almost certainly have been consulted before action was taken. The Antiochene Christians evidently complied quite willingly with the decision, and Paul's resistance led to his own isolation in Antioch and beyond. The consequences of the incident require further consideration.

5.3   The Consequences of the Incident

The immediate consequence of the confrontation between Paul and Peter, and the failure of the former to convince the latter to reverse his decision to withdraw from table fellowship with gentile Christians, was the continued separation between Jewish and gentile Christians in Antioch. Holmberg argues that this includes separate celebrations of the Eucharist (1978, p33). This would certainly have been the case had the bread and wine not all been acquired on the Jewish markets. That this was not the final resolution to the problem, will become clear in the discussion below.

The conflict between Paul and Peter did not affect the agreement between the Jerusalem and Antioch churches (cf. Munck, 1954, pp101f; Schoeps, 1969, p68). Paul had not been a party to the agreement in his personal capacity, but as a

127

representative of the Antiochene church (Schütz, 1975, pp140ff; cf. Sampley, 1980, pp24ff). The church abided by the agreement, as mutually understood by them, Peter, and the visitors. The κοινωνία was strengthened, in that it withstood the pressure applied to it by Paul, and the authority of the Jerusalem church in Antioch was entrenched. The gospel of uncircumcision was undoubtedly compromised, but the agreement stood.

It is generally agreed that the confrontation between Peter and Paul, in which Barnabas supported Peter, brought an end to the partnership between Barnabas and Paul, and the latter's association with the church at Antioch (Holmberg, 1978, p65; Brown & Meier, 1983, p39; cf. Conzelmann, 1963, p123; Bauckham, 1979, p67). It was therefore a crucial turning point in Paul's life, which fundamentally altered the entire basis of his Christian being and activity. Separation from the Antiochene church deprived Paul of his dyadic identity in that community, as well as of his commission as an apostle of that community. In order to compensate for the loss of identity and support, Paul was forced to substitute new structures which would support and legitimate his activities. As will become clear in the following chapter, dependence on the church of Antioch was replaced with dependence entirely on God. Paul came to derive his apostolic vocation directly from God, and to identify his personal being with his vocation to preach the Christian gospel to the gentiles, so that, in a sense, he derived his dyadic identity also from God.

While the incident at Antioch fundamentally transformed Paul's life, the relationship between the Jerusalem and Antioch churches was essentially unaltered. The κοινωνία between the communities was entrenched, and relations could continue to be conducted along essentially the same lines. For the remainder of this thesis, the significance of the Antioch church will consist primarily in the effects of separation from that community on Paul. However, this part of the thesis, which has concerned the vital stage in Paul's life when he was an integral part of the Christian community in Antioch, needs to be concluded through consideration of the Apostolic Decree, which arguably represents a moral victory for him in the Jerusalem and Antioch churches after his exclusion from their κοινωνία.

5.4 Excursus : The Apostolic Decree

It is generally accepted that the Apostolic Decree was formulated in response to the situation which arose in Antioch as a result of separation between Jewish and gentile Christians (Nickle, 1966, p67; Brown & Meier, 1983, p42; Dunn, 1983, p38). Paul was not involved in this, and may not have known about it until informed by James at Acts 21:25 (Sanders, 1955, p140; Nickle, 1966, p55; Hengel, 1979, p117; Brown & Meier, 1983, p42; cf. Bornkamm, 1969, p42; Conzelmann, 1969b, p89; Esler, 1987, p99; cf. discussion of Acts 18:22 in ch.7 below). Achtemeier argues that the Apostolic Decree was formulated at the conference of Acts 15, in the absence of Peter, Barnabas, and Paul, and was brought by the men from James to Antioch, giving rise to the confrontation between Peter and Paul (1987, pp52ff). While Achtemeier is correct in arguing that Paul had no part in formulating the Apostolic Decree, it was, I hope to demonstrate in this Excursus, the consequence, and not the cause, of the incident at Antioch. Paul presumably learnt of it when he returned to Antioch (Acts 18:22), but was not informed of it by James until his final visit to Jerusalem, which effectively ended his missionary career. The Apostolic Decree is therefore not relevant to Paul's ministry (cf. Lüdemann, 1987, p171; cf. also Hurd, 1965, pp246-267,289,294; Geyser, 1953, p138), but nevertheless merits some consideration.

It would seem that it was the recognition that the ending of table fellowship between Jewish and gentile Christians in Antioch was not a satisfactory resolution to the peril facing the Jerusalem church, that led to the formulation of the Apostolic Decree. In this it was to some extent a vindication of Paul's position (cf. Segal, 1990, p194), irrespective of whether or not he approved of the provisions, or would have been willing to abide by them and enforce them in his churches.

The precise provisions of the Apostolic Decree vary in the different accounts, Acts 15:29 and Acts 21:25 agreeing against Acts 15:20; in addition there are textual variants (cf. Achtemeier, 1987, pp83f). For the present purpose it is not necessary to discuss the details of these variations, as it is sufficient to establish that provision was made for table fellowship between Jewish and gentile Christians in the aftermath of its suspension at Antioch, and the rupture between Barnabas and Paul on that account. Borgen has argued, on account of the textual variations,

that there never were specific provisions to the Apostolic Decree (1988, p135). The essential purpose of the Decree was to confirm that circumcision was not integral to Christian teaching (Borgen, 1988, p137; cf. Dibelius, 1947, p97), and this was embellished with various versions of the catalogues of pagan vices which proliferated in the Jewish world at the time. The degree of agreement there is between the various accounts, however, and the relatively narrow range of behaviour covered, indicate something rather more definite, even if the provisions were vague and general rather than specific. Schoeps argues that the Apostolic Decree reflects the Noachic obligations, traditionally regarded as incumbent upon sojourners in Israel as well as Israelites (1959, pp66f; cf. Dunn, 1983, p32). In this case, the Decree would represent the minimal level of observance of the Jewish law needed for gentiles to enter the Church, and enter table fellowship with Jewish Christians. However, as the Decree nowhere mentions foods forbidden to Jews, Wilson argues that it provides for common worship rather than table fellowship (1973, p189; cf. Dunn, 1983, pp31ff). It is questionable whether Wilson's distinction is applicable, at least to the extent that eating formed part of worship. Moreover, all three accounts of the Apostolic Decree prohibit consumption of the meat of strangled animals (Acts 15:20,29; 21:25), which may apply to meals in the context of which the eucharist was celebrated, but not to the eucharistic elements (cf. I Cor.11:20-34). Likewise, the proscribed foods of Lev.11 are all the meat of unclean animals. Meat was normally accessible only to the wealthy, and is therefore unlikely to have featured prominently in the communal meals of early Christian churches. The specific applicability of the Apostolic Decree to common worship must therefore be doubtful, and, furthermore, the Jewish prohibition on eating pork was sufficiently well-known to have been symbolic of the Jewish food laws (Achtemeier, 1987, p84; cf. Jagersma, 1985, p52; cf. also Plutarch Sept.Sap.4:4; 5:3), and for eating pork to be symbolic of apostasy and paganism (cf. Isa.65:4; I Macc.1:47). It would therefore not have required specific mention in a document produced by Jewish Christians, which would have presupposed a prohibition on pork for table fellowship between Jewish and gentile Christians. Other forbidden foods were less symbolic of all that was opposed to Jewish beliefs and values, and would therefore have been less likely to provoke Jewish sensibilities if and when they were served at corporate Christian meals. The Apostolic Decree could therefore have provided a

basis for table fellowship between Jewish and gentile Christians, through prescribing guidelines for gentile dietary observance, without expounding every prohibition in full.

Whether the Apostolic Decree was intended for all churches (Geyser, 1953, p138), or only for those centred on Antioch (Bruce, 1968, p14; Dunn, 1990, p258), it had no bearing on Paul's work, as shown above. I have argued that the Apostolic Decree represents primarily a further development in the relationship of κοινωνία between the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch, rectifying inadequacies in the previous state of mutual recognition which had been revealed through the confrontation between Peter and Paul. The Apostolic Decree, I would suggest, was formulated by James, Peter, and Barnabas in consultation with the leaders of their churches, in order to create a basis for table fellowship between Jewish and gentile Christians in Antioch, which would offend the sensibilities neither of nomistic Jewish Christians, nor of the Jewish hierarchy. The freedom of the Antiochene church to preach and live by their gospel of uncircumcision was undoubtedly curtailed, but no more than was considered necessary to maintain the κοινωνία between the two churches without compromising the safety of the Christian community in Jerusalem. The Jerusalem church therefore entrenched further its jurisdiction over the Antiochene church, while the relationship between the churches was maintained.

There can be little doubt that the precedents set in the relationship between the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch, could influence or even perhaps determine the outcome of analogous situations elsewhere. The Jerusalem church had a basis on which to demand obedience from Christian communities elsewhere, and the specific provisions of the Apostolic Decree, as of previous agreements between the two churches, concerned issues that would unquestionably have arisen elsewhere. The potential for universal applicability of the Apostolic Decree is therefore not to be ignored, even if it was not realised at the time.

131

Part III

PAUL'S INDEPENDENT MISSION

Paul's period of association with the church at Antioch began after he had been forced to flee Damascus and Jerusalem, and brought stability after an unsettled period in his life. It would appear from the records that he worked closely with Barnabas, both in Antioch and in missionary outreach from there in Asia Minor. As well as dyadic identity, membership of the Antiochene church gave Paul a role in the community, both in Antioch and, perhaps more significantly, in the apostolate of that church beyond its own confines. During this period, I have argued, Paul was fully integrated into the life of the Antiochene Christian community, and became one of its leaders, though the junior partner to Barnabas in their missionary activities.

Paul shared in the relationship of κοινωνία between the churches of Antioch and Jerusalem, in which the latter was the dominant partner. It was in the context of this relationship that the Jerusalem conference took place, at which Barnabas and Paul, representing the Antiochene church, sought clarity on the obligations of gentile Christians with regard to the Mosaic law, and specifically the question of circumcision. The gospel as lived and preached in Antioch and the churches its missionaries had established elsewhere was at stake, and the viability both of the communities and of their missionary work would have been jeopardized had circumcision become obligatory for gentile Christians.

At the Jerusalem conference, the Antiochene gospel was affirmed in the context of mutual recognition between two disparate expressions of the one Christian gospel, a gospel of circumcision to which the Mosaic law was integral, and a gospel of uncircumcision to which certain provisions of the Law were axiomatic, while others, most notably circumcision of gentile converts, were waived. While this was the ruling sought by the Antiochene delegation, it nevertheless entrenched the predominance of the Jerusalem church in the κοινωνία, in that it created a precedent whereby controversial questions of doctrine and practice were settled in Jerusalem, effectively by the leadership of the Jerusalem church. Furthermore, the obligations accepted by the Antiochene delegation reinforced the inequality in the relationship between the two churches, and, I have argued, provided the basis for further encroachment upon the liberty of the Antiochene Christian community.

The sequel to the Jerusalem conference was the confrontation between Peter

and Paul at Antioch. I argued that the episode was precipitated by the intervention of a delegation from Jerusalem, sent by James to assert further the authority of the Jerusalem church in the κοινωνία which bound the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch. In response to persecution of the Christian community in Jerusalem, the delegation sought curtailment of table fellowship between Jewish and gentile Christians in Antioch. I argued that the decision that Jewish Christians should withdraw from table fellowship with gentile Christians, was agreed between the delegation from Jerusalem, and Peter and Barnabas. Paul, however, saw this as a threat to the life of the community, and to its missionary outreach. He accordingly confronted Peter, but was not supported by the community in doing so, and the acrimony with which the episode was conducted, was apparently such that Paul could no longer function within the Antiochene church and its missionary outreach.

While the Antiochene Christians resolved the problem of table fellowship between Jewish and gentile Christians through the promulgation of the Apostolic Decree in further consultation with the Jerusalem church, I argued, Paul departed from Antioch and began a career of independent missionary work. Neither the Antioch incident nor the departure of Paul substantially affected the κοινωνία between the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch. Rather, it would seem that resolution of the problem strengthened the bond between the communities, and entrenched the predominance of the Jerusalem church in their relationship. It is to Paul's work subsequent to his separation from the church of Antioch that we must now direct our attention.

I argued in Part Two that Paul's work during the relevant period of his life must be understood within the context of his membership, and later apostleship, of the church of Antioch, and of the κοινωνία which bound the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch, in which corporate relationship Paul shared. I have interpreted the texts of Paul's allusions to this period in this light, and questioned the individualistic account of the events related in *Galatians*. We turn now to the subsequent period in Paul's life, that during which this account, and all Paul's extant correspondence, was written. Paul's departure from Antioch resulted in the transformation both of his self-identity and of the nature of his apostolic ministry. In seeking to demonstrate the degree of this transformation, I shall illustrate further the importance of the church of Antioch in Paul's Christian career, and particularly his

apostolic formation, and shall argue that the self-image Paul projects in his letters is fundamentally a response to the severance of his association with the Antiochene church, and an adaptation to the resultant change in his social and ecclesiastical circumstances.

Chapter VI

The Aftermath of the Antioch Incident

The Cost of Independence

Apostleship of Christ

Paul's confrontation with Peter at Antioch left him isolated in that church, and alienated him also from the Jerusalem church. He accordingly repudiated the authority of these communities, which cost him the support of those structures upon which his missionary work had been founded. He was therefore obliged, if he was to continue his work of Christian mission, to form his own structures, which would provide the support to which he no longer had access. That he did so, and with considerable missionary success during the ensuing period, is abundantly clear from the sources.

We are concerned in this chapter with Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church during his period of independent Christian missionary work between the incident at Antioch and his return there in Acts 18:22. This is the period during which *I Thessalonians*, *Galatians*, and possibly also *II Thessalonians*, were written (vide Introduction for discussion), and is reflected also in Acts 15:40-18:22, the so-called "second missionary journey". However inappropriate that designation, it nevertheless demarcates a distinct phase in Paul's career. We begin our discussion by assessing the evidence for contact between Paul and the Jerusalem church during this period.

6.1 Contact between Paul and the Jerusalem Church

There is no evidence that Paul visited Jerusalem during this period, except for the doubtful allusion in Acts 18:22. Nickle (1966, pp61f) and Munck (1967, p181) argue that Paul did visit Jerusalem at this point, and Knox (1950, pp68f), Jewett (1979, pp78ff), Lüdemann (1987, pp206f; 1980, p149), and Hyldahl (1986, p82) argue that Acts 18:22 alludes to the Jerusalem conference, and is correctly positioned

chronologically for that gathering. Haenchen argues that Paul visited Caesarea, unintentionally on account of the prevailing winds, while intending to travel to Antioch, but did not travel to Jerusalem, even if Luke thought he did (1956, p544). Conzelmann similarly argues that the text refers to a visit to Jerusalem, but states that such a visit is historically improbable (1963, p156). Haenchen and Conzelmann's arguments seem more plausible in the light of consideration of the sources and chronology (vide Introduction for fuller discussion), and a journey by Paul to Jerusalem between the conference and his final visit, must therefore be regarded as most unlikely. Following Haenchen and Conzelmann, therefore, I would maintain that the visit to Antioch recorded in Acts 18:22 is historical, but no visit to Jerusalem took place at this point.

We know of no meetings outside Jerusalem between Paul and the leaders of the Jerusalem church, and these must be regarded as unlikely. Nor have we any evidence that letters were exchanged between these parties, and we must therefore assume that there was no direct contact between them during this period. This view is substantiated by James' telling Paul of the Apostolic Decree, as though for the first time, in Acts 21:25, implying that there had been no direct contact between them since its promulgation (cf. Haenchen, 1956, pp606ff; Georgi, 1965, pp88f; Holmberg, 1978, p42; vide also Conzelmann, 1963, pp180f who disputes the reliability of this account). This is not to say that Paul heard of the Apostolic Decree for the first time on his final visit to Jerusalem, as he could not have failed to have heard about it on his visit to Antioch at Acts 18:22, but Acts 21:18ff represents the first meeting between Paul and the leadership of the Jerusalem church since the promulgation of the Apostolic Decree.

One possible form of contact between Paul and the Jerusalem church during this period, is the role of Silvanus in Paul's missionary work. Recent scholarship is unanimous in identifying the Silvanus (Σιλουανός) who participated in the mission to Corinth (II Cor.1:19; cf. Acts 18:5), and who is a co-author of the Thessalonian letters (I Thess.1:1; II Thess.1:1), with the Silas (Σιλᾶς) introduced in Acts 15:22, a prominent member of the Jerusalem church, despatched to Antioch with the Apostolic Decree, who became Paul's partner after his break with Barnabas, apparently for the duration of the "second missionary journey" (Acts 15:40) (Schmithals, 1961, p66; Filson, 1964, p218; Munck, 1967, p143; Conzelmann, 1969b, p160; Best, 1972,

p61; Barrett, 1973, p77; Holmberg, 1978, p66; Bruce, 1985, p22; Furnish, 1984, p135). Haenchen (1956, pp397,423), Ollrog (1979, pp18f), and Schneider (1982, pp184,187), while accepting this identification, doubt Silvanus' connection with Jerusalem; the last-mentioned suggesting he was an Antiochean. The narrative of Acts 15:32-40 is the sole authority for identifying Silvanus as a member of the Jerusalem church, and this text therefore requires closer examination.

I argued at the close of Part Two that the Apostolic Decree belongs to the period subsequent to the incident at Antioch, and not to the Jerusalem conference. This raises questions about the narrative and chronology of Acts 15:32-40, in which Silas travelled to Antioch, from where, with the exception of some texts of Acts 15:34 (cf. Metzger, 1975, p439), he is recorded as having returned to Jerusalem, before being chosen as Paul's colleague after the latter's split with Barnabas. It is not inconceivable, but there is no indication that any members of the Jerusalem church accompanied Barnabas and Paul on their return to Antioch in Paul's account; Peter's arrival in Antioch occurred some time later (Gal.2:11). Those whom Luke describes as accompanying Barnabas and Paul are, in any event, recorded as having returned to Jerusalem after completing their task, according to the most reliable texts (Metzger, 1975, p439).

By the time the Apostolic Decree was brought to Antioch, Paul would have departed with Silvanus for missionary work in Asia Minor, in the aftermath of his confrontation with Peter, if the chronological outline argued in the Introduction is correct. The only delegation of which we know from Jerusalem to Antioch, between the conference and that incident, was that which occasioned the confrontation between Peter and Paul. It is most unlikely that Paul would have chosen one of James' delegates as his partner after the incident (Ollrog, 1979, p18), as Lietzmann argues (1932, p141). It is also unlikely that one of James' delegates would have been willing to work with Paul after the incident, even if Paul wished it as a gesture of reassurance to the Jerusalem church, as Harnack suggests (1902, p178; cf. Bruce, 1985, p26). The delegation from Jerusalem to Antioch of Acts 15:32ff, cannot therefore readily be identified with any known from Gal.2, if Silvanus was a member of it. How Silvanus came to join Paul cannot therefore be explained on the basis of the records of *Acts*.

If Silvanus' association with the Jerusalem church is historical, he must nevertheless have been in sympathy with the gospel of uncircumcision preached at Antioch (cf. Bruce, 1985, p25), to the extent that he was willing to preach it, and, despite the recent episode, to associate with Paul in doing so. Sanders (1955, p141) argues that Silvanus supported Paul at Antioch, while Ollrog (1979, p18) asserts that, if present, Silvanus did not support Peter. It is inconceivable that Paul would have travelled to Jerusalem in the hope of recruiting Silvanus, or anybody else, to work with him, after the Antioch incident. It is most likely, therefore, that Silvanus was present in Antioch, and supported Paul (Achtemeier, 1987, p59). While, as noted in chapter five, there is no indication in Gal.2:11-14 that anybody supported Paul at Antioch, this silence does not necessarily imply Paul's total isolation, as Titus, who had accompanied Paul to Jerusalem (Gal.2:1ff), continued to work with him after the Antioch incident (II Cor.12:18). It would therefore seem likely that Silvanus too supported Paul at Antioch, in which case he was probably a member of that church, rather than that at Jerusalem. This is not to deny that Silvanus had been connected with the Jerusalem church, as indeed Barnabas had been, but, at the time of the Antioch incident, it would appear most plausible that he was a member of the Antiochene church, and supported Paul against Barnabas, Peter, and the visitors from James.

If Silvanus had in some way represented the Jerusalem church in Paul's missionary work, this would have raised questions about the nature of Paul's relationship with that community during the period in which his independence of any human authority was most aggressively asserted. While this seems unlikely, some questions nevertheless remain, to which attention must be given.

The fact that Paul does not name Silvanus as co-author of *Galatians* cannot be insignificant. Paul mentions "πάντες ἀδελφοί" in Gal.1:2. While these certainly could include Silvanus (cf. II Cor.1:19; vide discussion of chronological position of *Galatians* in Introduction), the indications are that they do not share with Paul in the authorship of the letter (Lightfoot, 1890, pp72f; Burton, 1921, pp8f; cf. Betz, 1979, p40), but only in the greeting (Gal.1:3-5), as Paul reverts to the first person singular in Gal.1:6, and is concerned in the following verses with asserting his own apostolic authority (vide discussion below). Paul is seeking to demonstrate his unity with, as well as independence from, the Jerusalem church, and, while the

latter aim may have been compromised, the former could have been immeasurably strengthened, had Paul named Silvanus as co-author and the latter been connected with the Jerusalem church. Wainwright suggests that Silvanus was in Galatia at the time Paul wrote the letter (1980, p69), but his thesis ignores Paul's assertion that Silvanus had participated in the mission to Corinth (cf. II Cor.1:19). Wainwright contradicts both the account of *Acts* (18:5) and what evidence can be gleaned from Paul's letters, and is therefore of little help in resolving the current problem. Silvanus' absence from *Galatians*, I would suggest, is most plausibly explained by his not having been involved in the mission to Galatia, which Paul had undertaken with Barnabas, and his therefore not having had any direct relationship with the Galatian churches. He may, furthermore, have been unwilling to involve himself in Paul's dealings with churches which had been established under Antiochene auspices, and which the Jerusalem and Antioch churches would still have regarded as coming under Antiochene oversight. Silvanus' support for Paul in Antioch would not necessarily have extended to participating in the latter's attempts to assert his own authority in place of the oversight of the Antiochene church in Galatia. I would suggest, therefore, that Silvanus was willing to support Paul in new missionary outreach, and he may have joined in sending his greetings to the Galatian Christians, but he was not willing to lend his name and authority to what he considered a subversive project.

Silvanus is named as co-author of the letters to the Thessalonians, the first of which reflects some esteem for the Judaean churches (2:14; for discussion of the textual issues related to I Thess 2:13-16, vide discussion below, and authorities cited there), compared with which *Galatians* is at best equivocal about the Jerusalem church and its leaders (2:6). Even taking into account the very different circumstances reflected in these letters, which date from much the same period (vide the Introduction for discussion), the question arises as to whether Silvanus' role in the composition of the Thessalonian correspondence influenced the more positive attitude to the Jerusalem church reflected in these letters. If Silvanus was able to moderate the tone of Paul's statements about the Jerusalem church, this could indicate that he influenced not merely other parts of the letter, but also the teaching delivered in the Pauline churches during this period. That this was not in the direction of nomism, may be indicated by the contents of *I Corinthians*, unless Silvanus was in some way responsible for the formation of the Peter party

in Corinth (cf. Kaye, 1979, p25). The latter possibility would be most unlikely, if our reconstruction of the events at Antioch is correct. It is also unlikely that the break with the synagogue in Corinth was the cause of Silvanus' leaving Paul's missionary team (cf. Kaye, 1979, p24).

It is not possible to be absolutely certain as to the role of Silvanus in Paul's missionary work. His apparent connection with Jerusalem leads some scholars to see him as the representative of that church, monitoring and moderating Paul's teaching activities (a view to be defended in C.A. Wanamaker's forthcoming commentary on *I & II Thessalonians*; cf. Harnack, 1902, p178; Lietzmann, 1932, p141; Bruce, 1985, p26). It seems more likely, however, that whatever Silvanus' previous connections with Jerusalem, he was active in the Antioch church at the time of Paul's confrontation with Peter there, and supported Paul in that crisis (vide discussion above). Silvanus' previous links with the Jerusalem church do not therefore constitute a link between Paul and that church during the period of their association.

Silvanus is not mentioned in *Acts* after 18:5. This would seem to indicate that he did not accompany Paul on his subsequent work after their return to Antioch in Acts 18:22 (Ollrog, 1979, p20), and functioned independently of Paul thereafter (cf. Holmberg, 1978, p67). In the traditional terminology, Silvanus accompanied Paul on his "second", but not his "third missionary journey". It is possible that the Apostolic Decree, as implemented in Antioch, had rectified the situation sufficiently in Silvanus' eyes for him to resume his association with that church, and perhaps even with Peter (cf. I Pet.5:12).

We have found no reason to believe that there was any direct contact between Paul and the Jerusalem church during the period under consideration. It would seem that Paul did not visit Jerusalem, and there is no record of his having written or sent messengers to the church there. Whatever his past associations with the Jerusalem church, it would appear that Silvanus did not join Paul's missionary work as a representative of that community, but as a supporter of Paul's position on the relationship of Jews and gentiles in the Church.

6.2 The Evidence of I Thessalonians

Discussion of Paul's potentially significant statement in I Thess 2:14ff, requires preliminary discussion of the status of the text in question. It is precisely because Paul writes favourably of the Judaean Christians, and expresses with unusual vehemence his hostility towards Jews opposed to the gospel, that a number of scholars have questioned the authorship of I Thess 2:14-16. This position has no textual support, but must nevertheless be considered, as it could potentially influence the outcome of the present research.

The traditional position that *I Thessalonians* was written by the authors mentioned in the introductory greeting, from Corinth in c. 50 CE, now almost universally affirmed, was questioned by Baur, largely on account of the text under consideration. Baur regarded I Thess 2:14-16 as "thoroughly unpauline", reflecting a period when accommodation was sought with the Jewish Christianity Paul had so vehemently opposed (1845b, p87). Baur proceeded to date the entire letter after Paul's death (1845b, p96), and after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE, to which he saw allusion in I Thess 2:16 (1845b, p340).

A number of scholars, most notably Pearson, have followed Baur in disputing Paul's authorship of I Thess 2:14-16, but have identified these verses as a post-pauline interpolation rather than refuting the pauline authorship of the letter as a whole. Pearson argues that the attack on the Jews for killing Christ and the prophets (I Thess 2:15) is incompatible with Paul's pride in his Jewish achievements (Gal.1:14) (1971, p85; cf. Brandon, 1957, pp92f). The juxtaposition of these texts, however, is fallacious, even if persecution is closely linked to both. In the latter, Paul is not so much expressing pride in his achievements in Pharisaic observance, as confessing how misguided this pride had been before his conversion, especially in that it had led him to persecute the Christians (cf. II Cor.11:21ff; Phil.3:4-7). Pearson asserts that there is no evidence of persecution of Jewish Christianity between 44 CE and the outbreak of the Jewish War in 66 CE (1971, p86; cf. Brandon, 1957, pp88-100). Jewett, however, rightly points out that Gal.6:12, almost contemporary with *I Thessalonians*, indicates the persecution of Jewish Christians (1986, p38), as does Gal.4:29. Pearson's conclusion, therefore,

that I Thess 2:14 is both historically and theologically "incongruous" (1971, p88), is unsupported by the evidence.

Recent scholarship has tended to accept the authenticity of I Thess 2:14-16 (eg. Best, 1972, p123; Lyons, 1985, pp202-207; cf. Collins, 1984, p114). The most significant recent work is that of Jewett, who refutes Baur's claim that I Thess 2:16 necessarily alludes to the destruction of the Temple (1986, p38), and argues that the evidence for interpolation is insubstantial (1986, pp36-41), and affirms the likelihood of pauline authorship of the verses in question (1986, p46). In view of Jewett's demonstration of the weakness of the arguments against the authenticity of I Thess 2:14-16, we can accept their pauline authorship, and their inclusion in the original text of *I Thessalonians*. We are therefore dealing with the words of Paul, albeit co-authored by Silvanus and Timothy, but nevertheless issued on Paul's authority.

Paul describes the Thessalonian Christians as having become "$\mu\iota\mu\eta\tau\alpha\iota$" of the Judaean churches (I Thess 2:14) by virtue of having endured persecution. This is significant, in view of Paul's generally pejorative attitude to the Jerusalem church in *Galatians*. The precise meaning of $\mu\iota\mu\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ must therefore be established. As well as denoting conscious and deliberate imitation of another party, the word can be used in comparison, where no imitation is implied (Michaelis, 1942, pp664f). If Paul is using $\mu\iota\mu\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ in the former sense, he is expressing unequivocal, if implied, praise for the Christian communities in Judaea. However, if Paul is merely expressing comparison between the experience of the Thessalonian Christians and that of the Judaeans, the implied praise of the latter does not infer that the Judaean Christians are a model for the behaviour of the Thessalonians. There is no reason at all to believe that the Thessalonian Christians' endurance of persecution was consciously modelled on that of the Judaeans. It would seem more likely that the Thessalonians' response to persecution was spontaneous, and that Paul is making a comparison between the endurance of the Judaean Christians and that of the Thessalonians, as Michaelis (1942, p666) and Best (1972, p113) argue. Paul's implied praise for the Jerusalem church is therefore confined to the matter on which comparison is made. Paul's regard for their perseverance in the face of persecution, does not imply any approval of the cultic observances, and other specifically Jewish practices to which the Jerusalem church adhered, and which had been partly

responsible for the conflict between them. Still less does it imply approval of attempts to curtail the liberty of other Christians, as had recently taken place in Antioch (vide discussion in ch.5 above; for discussion of situation in Galatia, vide below). A dichotomy therefore cannot be drawn between Paul's attitude to the Jerusalem church in *Galatians*, and that implied in this text. Nevertheless, it is clear that Paul does not regard the Judaean Christians as so reprehensible in other ways that he cannot associate his converts with them. This is especially so if Malherbe is correct in arguing that Paul implies that the Judaean and Thessalonian Christians, on account of their endurance of persecution, belong to a "worldwide fellowship" (1987, p75).

It is nevertheless somewhat curious that Paul should have chosen the Judaean churches, with whom his relationship was at the time under considerable strain, as the group of Christians with whom to compare the Thessalonians. Acts 16:19ff indicates that the Christian gospel encountered hostility in neighbouring Philippi (cf. Phil.1:29), which, if historical in general if not in the particulars of the episode recorded, would have provided another church established by Paul with which the Thessalonians could be compared. However, Paul cites the Judaean churches rather than the church at Philippi as, if not a model, at least a type, of Christian communities which have endured persecution and remained faithful. The status of the most ancient Christian communities, with whom Paul compares the Thessalonians, is a factor Paul could not have ignored, even if the Thessalonians knew no Christian teaching other than his own. Antiquity was a well-known criterion for religious respectability in the Graeco-Roman world (cf. Georgi, 1964, pp158ff), and Paul's comparison of his converts with the oldest Christian communities must be understood in such terms. The comparison does not explicitly equate the Thessalonians with the Judaean Christians, but does imply a degree of parity, "supporting the genuine character of the addressees' Christian experience of the gospel" (Johanson, 1987, p96), and does not establish the Judaeans as exemplary in any respect other than their endurance of persecution. Paul is affirming the Thessalonians who excelled themselves, rather than the Judaeans, the type with which he compares them. It is significant, furthermore, that in I Thess 2:15f, Paul attributes responsibility for opposition to his preaching to gentiles to those who persecute the Judaean Christians, who are clearly non-Christian Jews. In Gal.6:12 Paul infers that those seeking to impose circumcision on the gentile

144

Christians in Galatia (vide discussion of their identity below), were motivated by the desire to avoid persecution. If Paul saw them as the mediators of non-Christian Jewish opposition to his preaching, then presumably he would not include them among those whom the Thessalonian Christians emulate. This may imply a degree of qualification to Paul's approbation of the Judaeans, in that it indicates that the endurance of at least some of them was not as resolute as he would expect. Paul is therefore not unaware of the factors, discussed in chapters four and five above, which led to his estrangement from the Jerusalem church. A dichotomy between Paul's statement in the verses under consideration, and in *Galatians*, to be considered below, should therefore not be overemphasized.

6.3 The Evidence of Galatians

In the Introduction, I argued for an early date for *Galatians*, during Paul's mission to Corinth, or shortly thereafter. It therefore belongs to this period in Paul's life, but is addressed to churches in whose foundation Paul had participated while working from Antioch with Barnabas (cf. Dunn, 1990, pp258f). His relationship with Barnabas and that church had been strained to such an extent that Paul had been obliged to leave Antioch, and to work on his own. In *Galatians*, Paul makes a virtue of this necessity, and elevates his independence of the Jerusalem and Antioch churches to a principle of his vocational self-understanding (cf. Mussner, 1974, p131). At the same time, he is asserting over the Galatian churches his personal authority, and in so doing attempting to supplant that of the Antiochene community which he and Barnabas had previously exercised. This aspect of the letter may account, as suggested above, for Silvanus' not being a co-author.

In asserting his authority in the Galatian churches, Paul describes himself as an "ἀπόστολος ...διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ" (Gal.1:1). He interprets his vocation and authority in terms of this apostleship, which he defines over against that exercised by the leaders of the Jerusalem church (cf. Best, 1986, p11). Paul personalises the office of apostleship, which becomes the whole basis of his identity in this passage, in contrast with the concept of ἀποστολή which, as seen in chapter four above, seems to have been the more general usage in early Christianity. ἀποστολή, unlike the office of ἀπόστολος, defines the work undertaken rather than the status of the people who undertake it. ἀποστολή is not limited to particular people

145

in the way in which ἀπόστολος can be, and subsequently was by Luke, and, at least implicitly, by Paul himself. This text in *Galatians* would seem, however, to be the earliest attempt to articulate a conception of apostleship as an office or vocation limited to particular people (cf. Schmithals, 1961, p86). Whereas Paul had previously participated in the apostolate of the Antiochene church, in which all missionaries could presumably be called ἀπόστολοι (vide discussion in ch.3 above; cf. Acts 14:4,14; cf. also I Thess.2:7), he now defined himself and his work, and effectively the Christian gospel, in terms of his own vocational self-understanding as an apostle. Paul identified his reception of the gospel with his vocation to preach it (Gal.1:16; cf. Dupont, 1968, p273; Stendahl, 1976, pp7ff; Kim, 1981, pp55ff; Gaventa, 1986, p11), and was therefore required to associate his apostolic vocation closely with his conversion experience (vide ch.1 above for discussion of Paul's conversion, and ch.3 for discussion of his apostolic vocation, and the link between the two). This has led scholars to accept uncritically Paul's implicit claim to have been an apostle from the moment of his conversion (cf. Hahn, 1963, p77; Georgi, 1965, p22), and therefore not to appreciate significant developments in his career. I argued in chapter three that Paul's apostolic vocation came some years after his conversion, when he was living in Antioch, and part of the Christian community there. It was only after his break with the church of Antioch that Paul came effectively to equate the gospel with his apostleship (cf. Schütz, 1975, p134), in order to legitimate his authority without reference to any human principal. In defending and asserting his legitimacy as a preacher of the Christian gospel, and therefore his authority as an apostle, Paul is forced to define, at least implicitly, his concept of apostleship. In identifying specific criteria of apostolic legitimacy, where the mere fact of preaching the Christian gospel was insufficient on account of his isolation in the Church, Paul narrows the applicability of the term ἀπόστολος to those who could match the credentials he offers in his own defence. Paul's personalization of the apostolate in Gal.1-2 results also in his assimilating into his own self-conception and apostolic vocation his account of his association with the church at Antioch, and its missionary outreach, which Barnabas had led, and in which he had previously participated (cf. Holmberg, 1978, p14). At the same time, Paul is anxious not to imply any hostility on his part to the Jerusalem church, but rather to stress the unity between them, so as to discount any suggestion that the Jerusalem leadership supported, or were represented by, his opponents in Galatia.

146

The narration and reinterpretation of events in Gal.1-2 is accordingly complex and in many places ambiguous (cf. Dunn, 1982, p469). In previous chapters, we have reconstructed the history which lies behind the narrative, so far as is possible. Now the task is to study the narrative in order to discern Paul's attitude to the Jerusalem church at the time of writing. In doing so, it is necessary to be aware of the problem of distinguishing Paul's attack on his opponents in Galatia from his assertions about the Jerusalem church (Betz, 1979, p92; Smith, 1985, p191).

Paul cites no paradigm of apostleship, other than claiming for apostles pre-eminence in the Church (I Cor.12:28), as it is defined in terms of himself and his work. He cites further criteria of apostleship (I Cor.9:1ff; 15:7; II Cor.12:12; Gal.1:16; 2:7-9), but it would be a mistake to seek any objective definition, or to determine too rigidly who else might qualify in terms of Paul's implicit definition, or to enquire too rigorously into the ambiguities of Gal.1:19 (cf. Schmithals, 1961, pp64f). Paul could recognize someone else as an apostle only as he saw that person in terms of himself. At the same time, if Paul was to assert authority within the Church, as he does in *Galatians*, as well as establishing new churches, he needed to define himself in terms of those whom he saw to be exercising authority effectively in the various Christian communities. It was abundantly clear that the leaders of the Jerusalem church were the most accomplished exponents of such author-ity, as they had recently demonstrated to Paul's disadvantage in Antioch. Paul therefore needed to assert for himself, so far as he could, the credentials on which the authority of the Jerusalem leadership was based, irrespective of whether the Jerusalem leaders called themselves or any other bearers of authority apostles. He had also to modify those credentials in accordance with his own experience and cir-cumstances, so as to make them credible and effective in his own specific context. Paul accordingly could not simply ignore the authority exercised by the leaders of the Jerusalem church, but he needed to define his own somewhat differently, as he had not been a disciple of Jesus, and did not have the support or commission of any community on which to base his authority. Furthermore, he was removed from the eschatological centre of Christianity, and could derive no authority from that centre without affirming the authority of the Jerusalem church in communi-ties over which he exercised authority. Paul was obliged therefore to claim for his apocalyptic conversion experience the significance attributed to other Christians' experiences of the risen Christ, and, over and above that, to derive from it that

authority which he defined as apostleship (cf. Stendahl, 1976, pp7-11; Kim, 1981, pp55-66; Dunn, 1987, p89). There is no evidence that anybody else was concerned at this time with personalizing the Christian apostolate, and *Galatians* was written early in Paul's period of independent mission, and therefore early in the process in which he sought to articulate his conception of his personal apostolic vocation.

Paul opens his letter to the churches of Galatia with a very explicit statement about his apostleship. In this he is refuting the conception of apostleship as a function delegated by a church, in terms of which he himself had previously operated, as well as asserting his own particular apostolic vocation, identity, and authority (cf. Hahn, 1974, p59; Betz, 1979, pp38f). Paul is not an apostle simply in that he participates in the apostolate of a Christian church, its work of mission and evangelism. He regards his own apostleship as "οὐκ ἀπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων" (Gal.1:1). He is not the agent of any human principal (cf. Burton, 1921, pp37f). He has not been sent out by any church to undertake its apostolic task, and therefore does not represent any human institution. This is emphasised further by Paul's assertion that his apostleship is not "δι᾽ ἀνθρώπου" (Gal.1:1). Not only did no human being appoint Paul to apostolic work, but no human being mediated his apostolic commission (cf. Burton, 1921, pp38f). Paul's apostolic vocation and work are independent of any human authority, and come directly "διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ πατρὸς" (Gal.1:1). He is sent by God, and not by any church.

Paul refutes in Gal.1:11-12 very similar contentions about the gospel to those about his apostleship which he refutes in Gal.1:1 (cf. Betz, 1979, p62). It is not possible to draw phrase for phrase parallels between the two sentences, but there is a conspicuous similarity between them. The first conception of his gospel, real or hypothetical, which Paul denies, is that it was "κατὰ ἄνθρωπον" (Gal.1:11), of human origin. Paul is not simply passing on a message he had received from another human being. Just as Paul's apostleship, so does his gospel not derive from any human source. Similarly, Paul states next that he did not receive his gospel "παρὰ ἀνθρώπου" (Gal.1:12). Paul was not converted through the efforts of any Christian evangelist, and human mediation, individual or corporate, had no part in his reception of the gospel. Just as his acquisition of Christian convictions had been without human intervention, so was Paul's apostolic vocation received without human mediation. Paul received the gospel "δι᾽ ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ

148

Χριστοῦ" (Gal.1:12). He was the recipient of an apocalyptic vision, by which there was direct communication between himself and the transcendental reality to which his preaching bears witness. Paul's conversion experience was discussed in chapter one above, and does not require further consideration here, except as part of Paul's argument. What is perhaps distinctive of Paul's conversion, and of significance for the present discussion, is that he claimed to have received by revelation the Christian gospel, to which there was already a community giving allegiance, to which he ascribes no authority, and no part in his conversion or in his subsequent work.

Paul denies that, after his conversion, "προσανεθέμην σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι" (Gal.1:16). Dunn has shown that προσανατίθημι has very specific connotations, to do with consulting authoritative interpreters of signs and portents (1982, p462). While the examples Dunn cites are all Greek rather than Jewish, this does not exclude such an interpretation of the word, especially as Paul was writing to a gentile, Greek-speaking group of churches. Paul did not seek any interpretation of his experience, as it was self-explanatory (Dunn, 1982, p463). He wishes to convey the impression that his preparation for his apostolic work was complete with his vocational experience (cf. Kim, 1981, pp55-59), and that at no time had he required the authority of any Christian leader to confirm or interpret his experience.

Paul follows his denial of having sought an interpretation of his conversion experience from any human authority, with an explicit denial of having travelled to Jerusalem to consult those who were already Christian apostles (Gal.1:17). This period in Paul's life was reconstructed in chapter one above, and, while the fact of Paul's not having travelled to Jerusalem seems correct, the historical reasons for this are fundamentally different to its significance for Paul's purpose in *Galatians*. The mention of "τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους" demonstrates that Paul's apostleship is the key issue. His authority does not depend on his having been recognized as an authentic preacher of the Christian gospel at the earliest opportunity by the leaders of the Jerusalem church. Paul is engaged at the time of writing in work which is independent of the apostolate of any Christian community, and this is legitimated by the inference that he had begun his Christian missionary work

without reference to the Jerusalem church. His participation in the Christian apostolate was not contingent upon his having been commissioned by any church for that work.

The independence of his apostleship which Paul emphasises in this text, is, I would argue, a reflection not so much on how his Christian career began, as on the circumstances in which he found himself at the time of writing *Galatians*. Paul ascribes to his conversion experience vocational connotations, and can accordingly assert that not only his vocation, but his authority, derive directly from God, and are not of human origin or mediation. Paul is consequently not accountable to any human authority for the conduct of his apostolic work. This places his authority beyond dispute anywhere he claims jurisdiction, and neither the Galatian Christians nor any other Christian authority can question it.

After arguing the basis of his independent and absolute apostolic authority, Paul outlines such contact as he is prepared to admit he had with the Jerusalem church. His first visit to Jerusalem was in order to "ἱστορῆσαι Κηφᾶν" (Gal.1:18). Any casual overtones identified in this phrase by Campenhausen (1953, p69), Betz (1979, p76) and Hofius (1984, pp77ff; cf. Dunn, 1982, pp463ff), reflect Paul's anachronistic depiction of the event rather than the historical reality, as argued in chapter two above. These scholars may reflect more accurately the sense Paul wishes to convey in this verse, in which he is anxious to demonstrate a degree of unity of purpose with Peter and James, without acknowledging for his own work the authority recognized in them by other Christians, and particularly by his opponents in Galatia (Betz, 1979, p78), any more than was necessary.

The oath in Gal.1:20 indicates the weakest point in Paul's argument (Sampley, 1977, p479). He needed to indicate that Peter and James, the principal bearers of unquestioned authority in the Church, had recognized his claim to authority comparable to theirs, without implying that his authority in any way derived from theirs. In this, Paul is similar to, but by no means typical of, a charismatic prophet. He is dependent on the acknowledgement of his converts, as is typical of all forms of authority that cannot be imposed by force. However, Paul needs in *Galatians* not only the recognition of the Galatian Christians over whom he asserts authority, but also that of the Jerusalem leadership, whose authority the

150

Galatian Christians would not have questioned. Paul is asserting his personal apostolic authority in communities where he had previously exercised authority as an apostle of the Antiochene church, in which the authority of the Jerusalem church and its leaders was acknowledged as having some preeminence, if not supremacy. Only if his authority was recognized by Peter and James, could Paul assert it successfully in Galatia. Furthermore, only if he could convince the Galatians that he had never been subject to the jurisdiction of the Jerusalem church, could he successfully assert authority in the Galatian churches without reference to, if not in defiance of, Jerusalem. Paul wishes to claim acknowledgement from, while denying jurisdiction to, Peter and James. Paul's anachronistic reinterpretation of events and relationships is a weak point in his argument. His present claim is not based on historical reality (vide discussion in chh.1-3 above), but represents a response to the demands of his new situation of independence, the cost of which is isolation, and denial of his authority by those who have remained within the κοινωνία between Jerusalem and Antioch, which would have included the churches established under Antiochene auspices.

Paul states that he remained "ἀγνοούμενος τῷ προσώπῳ" to the Christian communities in Judaea (Gal.1:22). In chapter two above, I argued that the churches of Judaea include that at Jerusalem. Paul is therefore demonstrating that he could not possibly have received instruction from these communities (Betz, 1979, p80; cf. Wood, 1955). Paul had no relationship with these churches, other than that implied in his acquaintance with Peter and James, and his authority could therefore not derive from those communities.

Paul states that he travelled to Jerusalem "μετὰ Βαρναβᾶ" fourteen years later (Gal.2:1), "κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν" (Gal.2:2). In chapter four above, I argued that Paul travelled to Jerusalem as the junior partner to Barnabas in a delegation of the Antiochene church, aimed at resolving the question of gentile obligations with respect to the Jewish law, and specifically the question of circumcision. While Paul does not deny that the journey was occasioned by the ecclesiastical controversy in Antioch (Betz, 1979, p85), he does reinterpret the event in the light of his situation at the time of writing *Galatians*. Paul's purpose in travelling to Jerusalem is stated in the singular. Not only is Paul distancing himself from Barnabas, on account of subsequent events, but, more significantly, he is personalizing the account (cf.

Schütz, 1975, p140; Betz, 1979, p81), assuming to himself the gospel preached at Antioch, and the missionary work carried out from there.

Paul states that "ἀνεθέμην" the gospel which he preaches to the gentiles (Gal.2:2). The submission of the gospel of uncircumcision of the Antiochene church, discussed in chapter four above, becomes the gospel of Paul. Paul sets up his reinterpretation of the occasion on which the Antiochene gospel was vindicated and affirmed in Jerusalem, as an event on which he had demonstrated the incontrovertibility of his own preaching to, and had his apostolic authority acknowledged by, the leaders of the Jerusalem church. Paul asserts that the meeting was conducted "κατ᾽ ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν" (Gal.2:2), in order to give the impression that only a very few of the most eminent leaders in the Jerusalem church were consulted (cf. Schlier, 1971, p66; Mussner, 1974, pp104f; Betz, 1979, p86). In restricting the encounter to the leadership, Paul seeks to distinguish between them and the Jerusalem church as a whole, in order to repudiate any authority exercised by others from that community, and acknowledged by the Christians in Galatia (vide discussion below of those whom Paul opposes in Galatians). Paul wishes to demonstrate accord with the most eminent leaders in the Jerusalem church without involving the church as a whole, and without conceding authority over himself and his work to anyone.

Paul gives as his purpose in consulting the Jerusalem leadership "μή πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον" (Gal.2:2). This is one of the more revealing statements in Paul's defence of his apostleship, in that he effectively states that the Jerusalem leadership were in a position to determine whether or not his teaching, and therefore his entire apostolic ministry, was valid. Paul is forced to concede to the Jerusalem church authority which impinges on his own. What had been a question of the viability of the gospel as preached in and from Antioch, is here portrayed, and portrayed as totally vulnerable, in terms entirely of Paul's own preaching. This reflects on the circumstances in which Paul wrote, and indicates that he remains vulnerable to the judgement of the Jerusalem church. At the same time, in acknowledging that his gospel had been scrutinized, and approved, by the Jerusalem church, Paul implies that his opponents in Galatia, whose authority must be less than that of Peter and James, are not in a position to question Paul's teaching, and therefore his authority, which had been recognized by those

whom they themselves looked upon as the highest authority in the Church. Despite his recent departure from the structures of Christianity centred on Jerusalem and Antioch, Paul remains dependent upon the recognition of the leaders of the Jerusalem church. He can diminish, but he cannot deny, this dependence. At the same time as claiming for himself the acknowledgement of their gospel that had been accorded the Antiochene church, Paul is forced to concede his need of that acknowledgement. What is at stake in *Galatians* is not what happened at the Jerusalem conference, but Paul's authority in the present, specifically in relation to the churches in Galatia, and this depends on a measure of recognition from Jerusalem, which Paul claims.

Paul returns in Gal.2:6 to the main thrust of his narrative, from which he has been somewhat diverted since Gal.2:3. He refers once again to those of repute, but somewhat equivocally, as "$\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$ $\delta o\kappa o\acute{\nu}\tau\omega\nu$ $\epsilon\hat{\iota}\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\iota$", which, at the very least, is open to interpretations of irony (cf. Barrett, 1953, pp2ff). While not committing himself to declaring the high standing, and therefore the authority, of the Jerusalem leadership to be more apparent than real, Paul allows his readers this conclusion. While allowing that the Jerusalem leadership do exercise authority in the Church, Paul carefully avoids any implication that he himself is subject to that authority (Betz, 1979, p92). So far as he is in accord with the Jerusalem leadership, their authority is useful in reinforcing his own, but Paul at the same time emphasises the irrelevance of the authority of the Jerusalem leadership in respect of his own, which derives directly from God. This is emphasised further by "$\acute{o}\pi o\iota o\acute{\iota}$ $\pi o\tau\epsilon$ $\hat{\eta}\sigma\alpha\nu$" (Gal.2:6). The implication that the preeminence of the Jerusalem leadership rests on events of the past, presumably their participation in the ministry of Jesus and experience of the risen Christ, rather than their current work, qualifies their authority in relation to Paul's apostleship. Their criteria for preeminence "$o\grave{\upsilon}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\mu o\iota$ $\delta\iota\alpha\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota$" (Gal.2:6). The use of $\mu o\iota$ relates the authority of the Jerusalem leadership to Paul's own apostolic authority. Whatever the significance of the authority of the Jerusalem leadership elsewhere in the Church, it did not qualify them to judge Paul's claim to apostleship.

After a lengthy, and somewhat convoluted, qualification of the authority of the Jerusalem leadership, Paul finally states: "$\acute{\epsilon}\mu o\grave{\iota}$ $\gamma\grave{\alpha}\rho$ $o\grave{\iota}$ $\delta o\kappa o\hat{\upsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ $o\grave{\upsilon}\delta\grave{\epsilon}\nu$ $\pi\rho o\sigma\alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\nu\tau o$" (Gal.2:6). The redefining of the issue at stake in Gal.2:2 in terms ×

of Paul's apostolic preaching and authority, is followed here by the vindication of Paul's position. Paul is able to personalize the account because the cause he had represented had been vindicated, and he claims that victory for himself. The Jerusalem church's affirmation of the gospel preached at Antioch becomes Paul's claim that his own teaching and practice, and by implication apostolic authority, were recognized by the Jerusalem leadership. If, however, the Jerusalem church was so completely behind Paul, he would not have found it necessary to qualify their authority at such length. There can be little doubt that, at the time *Galatians* was written, the leaders of the Jerusalem church would have regarded the conference agreement as irrelevant to the claims Paul is making concerning his personal status. Paul nevertheless claims for himself that recognition which had been accorded the Antiochene church, and reinterprets it in terms of his own apostolic self-conception.

Paul proceeds to recount the corollaries to his acknowledgement by the leaders of the Jerusalem church. Far from stipulating requirements further to the gospel Barnabas and Paul preached, the Jerusalem leadership had recognized that they had been entrusted with "$\tau\dot{o}$ $\epsilon\dot{v}\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota o\nu$ $\tau\hat{\eta}\varsigma$ $\dot{\alpha}\kappa\rho o\beta v\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$", just as Peter had been entrusted with [the gospel] "$\tau\hat{\eta}\varsigma$ $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\tau o\mu\hat{\eta}\varsigma$" (Gal.2:7). The parallelism between the gospels preached in and from Jerusalem and Antioch is co-opted by Paul in defence of his own gospel and preaching. He claims for himself the degree of recognition that had been accorded the Antiochene church and its gospel, in the context of mutual recognition in a relationship of $\kappa o\iota\nu\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ between the two churches. The parallelism breaks down when Paul states the practical aspects of the agreement. According to Paul, the Jerusalem leaders recognized that God operates through Peter "$\epsilon\dot{\iota}\varsigma$ $\dot{\alpha}\pi o\sigma\tau o\lambda\hat{\eta}\nu$ $\tau\hat{\eta}\varsigma$ $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\tau o\mu\hat{\eta}\varsigma$", and through Paul "$\epsilon\dot{\iota}\varsigma$ $\tau\dot{\alpha}$ $\ddot{\epsilon}\theta\nu\eta$" (Gal.2:8). Two aspects of these statements are remarkable. Firstly, $\ddot{\epsilon}\theta\nu o\varsigma$ is used of Paul's work, whereas $\dot{\alpha}\kappa\rho o\beta v\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$ had been used in the previous clause (Gal.2:7). This would seem to reinforce the notion of a gospel and a mission specifically to the gentiles, rather than a gospel of uncircumcision as lived and taught by the Antiochene church. I would suggest, therefore, that Paul alters the wording of the original agreement between the two churches, which concerned the Antiochene gospel of uncircumcision, to a phrase which conforms to and emphasises his current apostolic claims (cf. Rom.1:5; 11:13; Gal.1:16). Paul's notion of his own unique and all but exclusive apostleship to the gentiles could, as argued in chapter four above, not have been conceivable as either the intention or the wording

154

of an agreement between the Jerusalem and Antioch churches. It is, secondly, remarkable that Paul, in defence of his personalized notion of his own apostleship, uses the concept in connection with Peter but not himself in Gal.2:8. Betz suggests that Paul is citing the actual words of the agreement, with the implication that Peter was recognized as an apostle, but not Paul (1979, p98). If Betz is correct, however, in arguing that Paul is using the actual wording of the agreement, which is probable, the implication would seem to be somewhat different. In parallel phrases, such as this, ἀποστολή need be used only in the first, and would be assumed in the second, just as "τὸ εὐαγγέλιον" is not repeated in the previous set of parallel phrases (Gal.2:7). What is significant in Gal.2:8, is not so much that ἀποστολή is used explicitly of Peter, but only implicitly of Paul, but that the concept ἀποστολή is used in preference to the personalized form ἀπόστολος. The work of apostleship, in which several members of the two churches were engaged, was at issue in the original agreement, and not the personal status of the various missionaries. The personalized concept of apostolic office has become important for Paul, on account of his having ceased to be engaged in the apostolate of any church, and having become an independent apostle.

James, Peter and John were reputed to be the "στῦλοι", the pillars of an un-named figurative edifice, which Barrett identifies as the Church as the New Temple (1953, p12). Betz, however, regards this as unproven (1979, p99). Paul does not say whether James, Peter and John were the pillars of the Church as a whole, or only of the Jerusalem-church, but there can be no doubt that Paul does not regard this status as impinging on his own apostolic authority. Whatever the case, these three men were known as the most eminent figures in the Church, and certainly in the Jerusalem church. The use of δοκοῦντες may have sarcastic and pejorative connotations (Barrett, 1953, p2), or it may simply emphasize the preeminence of James, Peter and John (cf. Betz, 1979, p99). Paul has demonstrated remarkable dexterity in ambiguity throughout this section of the letter, and this would seem to be yet another instance. As Barrett points out, Paul could not affirm or deny the standing of the στῦλοι without compromising his own position. So equivocation about the authority of the Jerusalem church and its leadership is essential to Paul's maintaining his own apostolic claim. Paul cannot avoid acknowledging the authority of James, Peter, and John, if he is to claim their acknowledgement of his

own, but he is at the same time anxious not to attribute to them any jurisdiction over him or his work.

Paul includes Barnabas in the discussion once again when he records James, Peter, and John as having given the two from Antioch "$\delta\epsilon\xi\iota\grave{\alpha}\varsigma$ ... $\kappa o\iota\nu\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$" (Gal.2:9). This sign of the conclusion of an agreement, emphasizes that Barnabas and Paul had reached accord with the Jerusalem apostles on the matter they came to discuss; the implication being what was agreed was effectively an affirmation of the claims to authority Paul makes in *Galatians*. According to Betz, the handshake implies equality between Barnabas and Paul, or those they represent, on the one hand, and the Jerusalem apostles on the other (1979, p100). While this is clearly the impression Paul would like to convey (cf. Sampley, 1980, p26), $\kappa o\iota\nu\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ does not necessarily imply equality between the two parties (Hauck, 1939, p802; cf. Bauer, 1957, pp439f). $\kappa o\iota\nu\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ refers to unity rather than equality. James, Peter and John had recognized the gospel of the Antiochene church, despite the fact that it differed from their own teaching and the practice of the Jerusalem church, and also that there was fundamental unity between the two churches despite their differences. Paul's presentation shifts the emphasis from unity to equality, and from the Antiochene church to himself, and his claim to apostolic authority equal to Peter's.

Paul briefly paraphrases the practical implication of the agreement: "$\mathring{\eta}\mu\epsilon\hat{\iota}\varsigma$ $\epsilon\grave{\iota}\varsigma \tau\grave{\alpha} \mathring{\epsilon}\theta\nu\eta \alpha\mathring{\upsilon}\tau o\grave{\iota} \delta\grave{\epsilon} \epsilon\grave{\iota}\varsigma \tau\grave{\eta}\nu \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\tau o\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$" (Gal.2:9). In chapter four above, I argued that the agreement originally consisted in the mutual recognition of diverse interpretations of the Christian gospel by the two churches of Jerusalem and Antioch, and not in the division of missionary fields along racial or geographical lines (cf. Georgi, 1965, p22; Bornkamm, 1969, pp39f; Dunn, 1977, p253; Gaston, 1984, p65). This does not exclude the possibility, however, that Paul wishes to impose such an interpretation on the agreement, in order to substantiate his claim to jurisdiction in Galatia, and to exclude rival authorities, including Jerusalem, from involvement in those churches (cf. Holmberg, 1978, p30; vide also Munck, 1967, p150, and other scholars cited in ch.4 above who argue for a division of missionary fields). This point would be strengthened if the discussion of Gal.2:8 above is correct, and the introduction of $\mathring{\epsilon}\theta\nu o\varsigma$ to the agreement by Paul serves to reinforce his own conception of apostleship to the gentiles at the time the letter

156

was written. While the existence of territorially or ethnically defined missionary areas seems historically unlikely, Paul's claim to jurisdiction in Galatia depends on his exclusion of other authorities from those churches, if it is to be effective.

Paul is perhaps less defensive and ambiguous, and possibly less anachronistic, if just as subjective and selective, in recounting his confrontation with Peter at Antioch in Gal.2:11-14. The event has been reconstructed, so far as possible on the basis of the information available, in chapter five above, and our present task is to examine how Paul uses this episode to substantiate his argument in *Galatians*. We must assume that Paul had to include this incident in his account, despite its ignominious consequences for him, as it had become known in Galatia. Alternatively, Paul presents his own account of the episode in order to preempt its being used against him in Galatia by his opponents.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of this episode for Paul's assertion of his apostolic authority is the very clear inference that he did not regard Peter, and still less Barnabas, as beyond his reproach, even if James and the Jerusalem church were behind their action. The implication is that if Paul did not hesitate to confront Peter, at least implicitly taking issue with James and the Jerusalem church in so doing, he would show no restraint in dealing with those whom he opposes in Galatia (cf. Sampley, 1980, p39). However, it is the demonstration by Paul of his independence of the authority of Peter, and by implication of James and the Jerusalem church, and his repudiation of that authority when it contravened the gospel, that is of primary importance in Paul's defence of his own apostolic authority. Paul seeks to demonstrate freedom from their jurisdiction, even if that very episode which resulted in his independence resulted also in his alienation and isolation in the Antiochene church and beyond, and separation from those structures on which the authority he had previously exercised was based.

To summarize, therefore, in Gal.1-2 Paul reinterprets his conversion experience and past dealings with the Jerusalem church, in order to legitimate his claim to authority over the Galatian churches. He asserts a conception of Christian apostleship in which authority derives directly from God, and is accordingly independent of the Jerusalem, and, by implication, Antioch and any other churches. In terms of this self-conception, Paul claims complete independence of all terrestrial author-

ity, particularly that of the Jerusalem church, and its principal leaders, Peter and James. This assertion of independent authority is necessitated by Paul's isolation within early Christianity in the aftermath of the Antioch incident. Paul accordingly portrays himself as independent of, but recognized by, the leadership of the Jerusalem church. The reality would seem, however, to be one of severed relations, in which Paul, estranged from the recognized authorities in the Church, is forced to create not merely his own structures with which to continue his work of Christian mission, but also his own theological rationale, with the personalized conception of apostleship, which forms the basis of his claim to authority.

6.4 Paul's Antagonists in Galatia

We have considered Paul's self-understanding as expressed in *Galatians*, as this reflects in part his relationship with the Jerusalem church at the time of writing. We need now to consider those whose teaching in the Galatian churches Paul opposes, and whose activities occasioned the writing of the letter, in order to establish, so far as possible, whether there was any link between these and the Jerusalem or Antioch churches, and, if there was, on what basis they were operating. We are not concerned to reconstruct the theology of these people, except in so far as it enables us to address more clearly the question of their connection with Jerusalem and Antioch.

It was axiomatic for Baur's scheme of early Christianity that Paul's opponents in Galatia were the emissaries of the Jerusalem church, operating under the auspices of Peter and James (1845, p327f). While most subsequent scholars have followed Baur in locating the origin of Paul's opponents in Jerusalem, they have tended to be rather more reluctant to identify Peter and James as their principals. A fairly typical position is that of Lightfoot, who suggests that Paul's opponents were acting without the authority of Peter and James (1890, p29). Holl, on the contrary, suggests that they were acting on their commission from the leadership of the Jerusalem church (1921, p57). Burton argues that Paul's opponents represented a judaistic faction in the Jerusalem church who were able to bring pressure to bear on the leadership (1921, plvi).

It would perhaps enable us to clarify the issue if we were to consider the situation of the Galatian churches at the time. I argued in the Introduction above

158

that these communities had been established by Barnabas and Paul, during the period in which Paul worked in the apostolate of the Antiochene church. The churches of Galatia would therefore have fallen under the jurisdic tion of that at Antioch, and shared, at least in part and by extension, in the κοινωνία between the Jerusalem and Antioch churches. The Antioch incident, and Paul's subsequent departure from Antioch, would not have changed this. Any activity on the part of representatives of the Jerusalem church in the Galatian churches, must therefore be understood in terms of this κοινωνία. To describe those advocating circumcision as Paul's opponents is therefore something of a misnomer (cf. Martyn, 1983, p312), irrespective of their connection with the Jerusalem church. If they came from Jerusalem, they were operated within a recognized relationship, to which Paul was incidental. From this point of view, Lietzmann's suggestion that Barnabas was opposing Paul in Galatia, on the ultimate authority of James (1923, p38; cf. Dunn, 1983, p39), would be plausible. However, one would expect Paul to attack Barnabas far more explicitly were this the case. Furthermore, the demand for circumcision in Galatia (Gal.5:2f) was contrary to the agreement of the Jerusalem conference, as discussed in chapter four above. This, and not a supposed intrusion into Paul's missionary domain, would have constituted a breach in the Jerusalem agreement. As the question of circumcision of gentile Christians had been the central issue of the conference, the decision could not have been unilaterally reversed by the senior partner in terms of the κοινωνία that bound the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch. There is no evidence that the church at Antioch came to accept compulsory circumcision of gentile Christians (vide Excursus above for discussion of sequel to Antioch incident); nor, it must be noted, was this demanded by the delegation from James whose intervention had precipitated the Antioch incident (vide ch.5 above for detailed discussion).

It would seem, therefore, that we have three alternatives for identifying the judaists in Galatia. Either they were authorised delegates of the Jerusalem church, wilfully violating its κοινωνία with the Antiochene church, or they were representatives of a faction in the Jerusalem or Antioch church, but which did not represent the leadership of either community, or they were unconnected with the Jerusalem or Antioch churches. All three possibilities are supported in recent scholarship.

The first possibility is supported most recently by the work of Barrett (1985, pp6,22) and Watson (1986, pp59-61). While this reconstruction could account for the tension between Paul and the Jerusalem church apparent in *Galatians*, this is also explained adequately by the recent events in Antioch. A direct correlation between these events and the situation in Galatia is a requirement of this position. Neither the evidence of Gal.2:11-14, as discussed in chapter five above, nor the resolution of the Antiochene crisis through the Apostolic Decree (vide Excursus above), support such a reconstruction, however (cf. Howard, 1990, p14). Furthermore, the Jerusalem conference and Apostolic Decree had approved the Antiochene custom of waiving circumcision, but affirmed the universality of the moral, and to a more limited extent, the dietary laws (cf. Borgen, 1988). Those whom Paul opposes in *Galatians*, however, demanded circumcision, apparently to the exclusion of virtually all other legal requirements (Gal.5:3; cf. 4:10), and with no attention to dietary questions or rules of table fellowship, and neglect of the antinomian tendencies among at least some in the Galatian churches (Gal.5:13-26; cf. Barclay, 1988, p71). Barclay is undoubtedly correct in arguing that Paul did not necessarily respond to all his antagonists' arguments (1988, p38), and we should therefore exercise caution in seeking to account for any possible omissions. Nevertheless, there does seem to be a fundamental discrepancy between the position taken by the leadership of the Jerusalem church in the controversies discussed in   Part Two of this thesis, and the position of Paul's antagonists reflected in *Galatians* (cf. Dunn, 1990, p258). Identifying those with whom Paul takes issue in *Galatians* as emissaries of the Jerusalem church, would therefore seem to raise more questions than it answers, and we therefore need to consider seriously the other possibilities.

The second position is argued by Burton (1921, plvi), Schoeps (1959, p66), Koester (1965, pp144f), Richardson (1969, p94), Eckert (1971, p233), Jewett (1971, p204), Gunther (1973, p298), and Betz (1979, p7). That there was a faction in the Jerusalem church which sought the imposition of the Mosaic law on gentile Christians, and that they were active in the Antiochene church as well as Jerusalem, is clear from Acts 15:1f,5 and Gal.2:3-5 (vide discussion in ch.4 above). This group were overruled at the Jerusalem conference, but pressure from them may have been instrumental in James' subsequent despatch of emissaries to Antioch

(Gal.2:12). However, James' delegation did not convey the demands of the judaistic faction, even if agitation from them precipitated the action (vide discussion in ch.5 above). The resolution of this second crisis with the Apostolic Decree (vide Excursus above), would have been a second defeat for the judaists. It is conceivable that they would have taken matters into their own hands, either in response to the Apostolic Decree, or by taking advantage of the crisis and confusion in the Antiochene church which would have resulted from the confrontation between Peter and Paul. Churches established under Antiochene auspices, but remote from Antioch and constant direction from the leadership of that community, would have been a weak point in any authority vacuum. Especially if they had been only recently established (cf. Gal.1:6), they would have been susceptible to outside influence. Paul's emphasis on Jerusalem (Gal.1:13-2:14; 4:25-31), without ever stating that the leadership of that church were behind the (however superficial) judaizing activities in Galatia, may lend weight to this view. If circumcision had been the specific issue on which the judaistic faction had been defeated, this could perhaps account for their emphasis on circumcision in Galatia. Before reaching any conclusions, however, we must consider the third option.

The third position is argued by Munck (1954, pp129ff), Longenecker (1964, p215), Schmithals (1965, pp9f), Brinsmead (1982, p104), Martyn (1983), Gaston (1984, p64), and Howard (1990, ppxiv-xix), who seek to account for the lack of specific evidence of a link between the judaists in Galatia and the Jerusalem church, and for their apparently selective imposition of the Mosaic law in the Galatian churches. The latter problem, however, could possibly be resolved through a less rigid and monolithic notion of Judaism and nomistic Jewish Christianity (cf. Martyn, 1983, pp308ff). Much also depends on arguments as to whether they accused Paul of being unduly dependent upon the Jerusalem church (Munck, Schmithals, Brinsmead), or of defying the authority of that community (those scholars who hold to the positions discussed previously). Only persons unconnected with the Jerusalem church could have accused Paul of being unduly subservient to that community, or have regarded his dealings with its leaders as diminishing his authority, and presumably only emissaries or independent members of the Jerusalem or Antioch churches would have accused Paul of defying the authority of the former community.

Kümmel argues that, while those whom Paul opposes in *Galatians* are clearly judaistic Christians, their connection with Jerusalem and the Christian community there is unclear (1973, p300). The degree of uncertainty inherent in this question is not to be underestimated, especially as it is far from clear that Paul knew precisely whom he was opposing (cf. Gal.1:6-9; 4:20; 5:10; cf. Martyn, 1983, pp313f). However, the convoluted manner in which Paul defines his relationship with the Jerusalem church (cf. Dunn, 1982) indicates that an unequivocal repudiation of the authority of that community would not have served his purpose in *Galatians*. This suggests that there was some connection between Paul's antagonists and the Jerusalem church.

It was not the Apostolic Decree whose imposition in Galatia Paul was opposing. The Jerusalem church would have expected the Antiochene church to enforce the Apostolic Decree in churches established under its auspices, but the position reflected in *Galatians* is contrary to its provisions. It would therefore seem unlikely that Paul was dealing with accredited delegates of the Jerusalem or Antioch churches. The most plausible solution to the question would therefore seem to be that Paul was dealing with a nomistic faction which had made its presence felt in the Jerusalem and Antiochene churches, and which he had previously outmanoeuvred at the Jerusalem conference. Subsequent developments in Antioch had isolated Paul, and provided the opportunity for the nomistic faction to assert itself again. Impressionable new churches would have been more amenable to their teaching than established communities which had already grappled with the issues (cf. Barclay, 1988, pp58f), and success there would have further strengthened their position in the Jerusalem and Antioch churches (cf. discussion of their influence on James in ch.5 above). Paul is therefore careful to claim the acquiescence and support of Peter and James for his teaching and authority, despite the antagonism between them at the time of writing.

I would suggest, therefore, that there was no direct connection between those whose influence in the Galatian churches Paul opposes and the leadership of the Jerusalem and Antioch churches. Rather, it would seem that Paul was confronting a resurgence of the faction which had sought the imposition of circumcision on gentile Christians in Antioch, and so precipitated the Jerusalem conference at which they were overruled. They were able to exploit the absence of Peter from

Jerusalem to increase pressure on James, whose intervention in Antioch may have attempted to appease them. They were further able to exploit the disarray in the Antiochene church which resulted from James' delegation and the confrontation between Peter and Paul. Even though unable to gain dominance in Antioch as a consequence, they would seem to have exploited the lapse in oversight from Antioch to assert their authority in the Galatian, and perhaps other, churches established by the apostolate of the Antioch church.

The Antioch incident did not result in intervention by the Jerusalem church in the lives of communities outside Palestine. Not only is it doubtful whether the beleaguered community (cf. I Thess.2:14ff) were in a position to do so, but any such intervention to undermine Paul would presumably have been concentrated where he was operating after the Antioch incident, rather than in the communities established under Antiochene auspices, where pressure could be, and was, applied effectively in terms of the κοινωνία between the two churches. Those advocating nomism in the churches of Galatia, I have argued, were a faction in the Jerusalem and Antiochene churches exploiting the power vacuum to assert their own position. Paul intervenes, and reaffirms the Antiochene gospel which he had originally preached in Galatia, and, despite the antagonism between them, cites Peter and James as recognizing the validity both of his teaching and of his apostolic authority. Far from identifying those he opposes with the Jerusalem leadership, Paul seeks to drive a wedge between them.

In summary, therefore, while *Galatians* reveals a degree of hostility between Paul and the leadership of the Jerusalem and Antioch churches in the aftermath of the Antioch incident, there is no evidence that Paul's intervention in the Galatian crisis involved the prosecution of that antagonism. On the contrary, Paul claims, however reluctantly, unity with the Jerusalem leadership in opposing the nomists in Galatia, while maintaining his own independence of their jurisdiction.

6.5 Paul's Preaching in Corinth

While *I Corinthians* dates from the period subsequent to that presently under discussion, as argued in the Introduction, Paul states that in I Cor.15:1-8 he is recapitulating his original preaching in Corinth, which took place during the period currently under consideration. While the letter as a whole, and the situation it

reflects, will be considered in chapter seven below, it is nevertheless appropriate that the situation reflected in Paul's mission preaching in Corinth be considered at this point.

There are two integrally related, but not identical, issues which require discussion before conclusions can be drawn as to Paul's statements about Peter and James, and those associated with them, in his initial preaching in Corinth. The first is the precise parameters of the kerygmatic tradition which Paul had received, and which he transmitted to the Corinthians, and the source from which he had received it. The second is the degree to which Paul's recapitulation of that tradition in I Cor.15:1-8 is identical to the form in which he had originally transmitted it to the Corinthians. This is important, since, as argued in the Introduction, a significant visit by Paul to the church at Antioch took place between the mission to Corinth and the writing of *I Corinthians*, which could substantially have altered Paul's attitude to Peter and James, if not his relationship with them.

Scholars are divided as to the parameters of the primitive tradition Paul cites in I Cor.15:1-8. This text consists of the kerygma itself (I Cor.15:3b-4), and the list of witnesses to the resurrection (I Cor.15:5-8). It is the latter that is of concern for our present purpose. It is self-evident that Paul could not have received the tradition of his own resurrection christophany from anybody else (cf. Gal.1:16), and the tradition he inherited must therefore end at I Cor.15:7. It is therefore the section of the text I Cor.15:5-7 with which we are concerned.

Talbert (1987, p96) does not discuss the question of the parameters of the tradition Paul inherited, but asserts that the entire passage I Cor.15:3-8 is a repetition of the gospel which Paul had preached in Corinth. Allo and Gaston similarly define the parameters of the tradition Paul transmitted to the Corinthians as I Cor.15:3b-7 (Allo, 1956, p391; Gaston, 1984, p66). If this is correct, then Paul cited not only Peter, but also James, as authoritative witnesses to the resurrection.

Robertson and Plummer argue that, while I Cor.15:3b-5 was definitely part of the tradition Paul had inherited and transmitted to the Corinthians, the following two verses are a matter of probability rather than certainty (1914, p335). Their principal reason, that $\acute{o}\tau\iota$ does not occur after I Cor.15:5, cannot in itself determine

the outcome to the question, as the list of witnesses could conceivably form a single clause in the credal formula.

Schmithals (1961, p74) and Jeremias (1964, p101) identify I Cor.15:3b-5 as the kerygmatic formula Paul inherited, and the latter argues that there was a semitic original behind the Greek version Paul quotes (1964, p102). Conzelmann defines the parameters of the tradition similarly, but denies that there was a semitic original (1969a, p299). He argues that Paul added the supplementary information himself (1969a, p303).

Héring argues that the rhythm of the kerygmatic formula is lost at I Cor.15:5, and that the tradition therefore probably includes only I Cor.15:3b-4; the list of witnesses being Paul's proof of the gospel statements cited in the formula (1948, p158). Barrett, however, points out that I Cor.15:5 is Paul's only use of δώδεκα to designate the immediate disciples of Jesus, which indicates that it is not his own term (1968, pp341f). He argues that the citation of witnesses serves to demonstrate that the resurrection of Jesus is essential to all Christian preaching (1968, p341). There is no indication that the question of the resurrection had previously been controversial in Corinth, which could indicate that Paul had no previous occasion to cite authoritative witnesses to substantiate his teaching. I Cor.1:12 demonstrates that Peter was known in Corinth before the writing of *I Corinthians*. He would, however, not have been known there before Paul's mission (vide chs.7 & 8 below for discussion of any subsequent role by Peter in the Corinthian church). The indications, therefore, would seem to be that Peter became known by reputation to the Corinthians during Paul's mission, and almost certainly in the context of his mission preaching. This view is reinforced by the occurrence of δώδεκα, which indicates the quotation of a tradition, with which the name of Peter (here Κηφᾶς) was undoubtedly associated, and became part of the tradition of the Corinthian church.

Wilckens argues that I Cor.15:3-7 contains not a single tradition, but Paul's conflation of traditions (1963, p73). He separates the kerygmatic formula (I Cor.15:3b-4) from the list of authoritative witnesses to that tradition (I Cor.15:5-7) (1963, pp75,80). Fuller extends Wilckens' thesis, identifying three credal traditions in I Cor.15:3b-4 (1971, p14), which Paul received at Damascus (1971, p28;

cf. discussion in ch.1 above). In I Cor.15:5-8, Fuller identifies four independent resurrection traditions, the last of which is Paul's own, and the first three he received on his visit to Jerusalem recorded in Gal.1:18f, his informants being Peter, James, and one of the five hundred witnesses (1971, pp27f; cf. discussion in ch.2 above). These appearances are not part of the primitive Christian kerygma, and it is Paul who initiates the practice of citing authoritative witnesses as evidence of the resurrection (Fuller, 1971, pp28f).

It seems clear, therefore, that Peter became known in Corinth as a consequence of Paul's mission. A faction in the Corinthian church subsequently professed allegiance of some kind to Peter, before the writing of *I Corinthians* (cf. I Cor.1:12). No faction is mentioned as having pledged its loyalty to James. One would expect such a faction to have emerged, had James been known as an authoritative figure in a community which was formed in a polytheistic environment which attached great importance to antiquity in religious matters (cf. Georgi, 1964, pp158ff), and was given to factionalism. As the brother of the cult deity, as well as being a prominent figure within the Church, James' theological leanings, far apart as they evidently were from the more factionally inclined of the Corinthian Christians, would not have prevented his becoming the acknowledged object of loyalty for a group in the Corinthian church. We must conclude, therefore, that the appearance of Jesus to James, and James' place in the Jerusalem church and beyond, were not integral to Paul's preaching in Corinth. It would seem, however, that the unique standing of Peter in the Church was apparent from, or at least implicit in, Paul's preaching in Corinth. The fact that there was someone of greater eminence than Paul in the broader Christian community, known by name to the Corinthian Christians, came to provide the factionally inclined in that church with an object of loyalty to rival Paul (cf. Gunther, 1973, p301).

It seems therefore that, irrespective of the origins of the traditions included in I Cor.15:3b-8, it was those articles quoted in I Cor.15:3b-5 which were integral to Paul's preaching on his mission to Corinth. The appearance of Jesus to Peter and the twelve seems to have been an essential corollary to the resurrection itself. There can be no doubt that Paul mentioned his own experience of the risen Christ as well as Peter's, and probably more frequently, and certainly more vividly, but nevertheless Peter's vision of the risen Christ seems to have been an integral and

confirmatory corollary to primitive Christian belief in the resurrection of Jesus, and one which Paul could not avoid in his preaching. Even if Paul's inability to exclude Peter from the tradition he transmitted to the Corinthians was on account of the presence of Silvanus (II Cor.1:19; cf. discussion of Silvanus above), and somewhat unwilling, the fact remains that Peter's name was an unavoidable part of Paul's preaching in Corinth.

Paul's citation of Peter's vision of the risen Christ implies affirmation, however unwilling, of Peter's authority in the Church, and, I would suggest, contributed significantly to the emergence of a faction pledging loyalty to Peter in the Corinthian church, or at least provided an object of loyalty for such a group. The implicit acknowledgement of Peter's authority on a cardinal article of Christian faith does not, however, imply that Paul acknowledged Peter's oversight over his work, or over the churches he had established. Nor does it imply that Peter and Paul's relationship at the time of the mission to Corinth was sound. Peter is an almost impersonal factor in Paul's preaching. He is the primary witness to the resurrection, as well as being the principal custodian of Christian traditions generally, but Peter's fundamental significance in all Christian communities is irrespective of his relationship with Paul and other Christian missionaries. There is nevertheless an implicit relationship between Peter and Paul. Paul preaches the Christian gospel, and Peter, as well as preaching the same gospel, is himself integral to that preaching (cf. discussion of Paul's visit to Peter (Gal.1:18) in ch.2 above). Their personal estrangement does not alter the fact that in terms of the gospel Peter and Paul had a relationship, even if it was severed for all practical purposes.

To conclude, therefore, it is clear from Paul's writings of the period subsequent to the Antioch incident, and his account of his preaching during that time, that, for all his professed independence of the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch and their leaders, he was unable to avoid mentioning them, even if with a degree of irony, if not explicit repudiation. In *I Thessalonians*, Paul cites the Judaean churches as a type of Christian perseverance through persecution, but the Thessalonians excel them. In *Galatians*, Paul explicitly repudiates the authority of the Jerusalem leadership over himself and his work, but claims unity with them against the

167

group whom he opposes. Paul nevertheless asserts his independence of all human authority, and his own claim to jurisdiction over the Galatian churches. In his preaching in Corinth, Paul cites Peter and the twelve as the primary witnesses to the resurrection of Christ, and implicitly acknowledges their custodianship over the Christian traditions.

These texts reflect ambiguity in Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church. While operating independently of, and even in isolation from, the Jerusalem and Antioch churches and their leaders, Paul nevertheless is conscious of preaching the same Christian gospel, and therefore of being part of a larger Christian community with them. However strained their personal relationships, Paul remains conscious of a greater Christian unity and identity, and is therefore obliged to acknowledge their part in the gospel, through Peter's primary vision of the resurrection and custodianship over Christian tradition (I Cor.15:5; cf. Gal.1:18), and through experience of persecution (I Thess 2:14f), and to define his own vocational self-understanding in a manner that takes into account the undisputed preeminence of Peter and his associates in the Church (Gal.1:1,11-2:10).

The ambiguity of estrangement and hostility, and of unavoidable acknowledgement of unity and authority, that characterises Paul's statements about the Jerusalem church and its leadership in his writing and preaching of this period, contrasts sharply with what we have been able to establish of his relationships during the period prior to the incident at Antioch. We need to consider now how Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem and Antioch churches developed during the subsequent period, as a consequence of his visit to Antioch.

Chapter VII

The Return to Antioch

Reconciliation and Its Consequences

The Idea of the Collection

In the Introduction above, I argued that Acts 18:22 correctly alludes to a visit by Paul to Antioch shortly after his mission in Corinth, but that there is no allusion in this text to a visit by Paul to Jerusalem. In this chapter, I shall explore the significance of this visit to Antioch. Given the extreme paucity of information available, I cannot attempt to substantiate my position on the basis of records of the visit itself. Rather, I shall seek to demonstrate a distinct shift in Paul's attitude to the Jerusalem church and its leadership, on account of this visit to Antioch, on the basis of his writings after his return to Antioch.

Nothing is recorded of the visit, other than the brief reference in Acts 18:22. It would seem, however, that Silvanus left Paul at this point, and rejoined the church at Antioch. Silvanus is not mentioned in the *Acts* narrative after 18:5, and there is no allusion in Paul's letters to the partnership having continued after this time. I argued above that Silvanus had supported Paul in the conflict with Peter and Barnabas, and subsequently joined his work of independent mission. The issue of table fellowship between Jewish and gentile Christians in Antioch was resolved after their departure through the promulgation of the Apostolic Decree, agreed with the Jerusalem church in the context of the κοινωνία between them (vide ch.5 & Excursus above for discussion). Paul and Silvanus would therefore have returned to find table fellowship restored in Antioch. This would appear to have enabled Silvanus to resume his membership of the church, and Paul to enter a new relationship with that community, which, I shall argue below, he saw as a means to restoration of relations with the Jerusalem church.

The importance of the visit, so far as ecclesiastical relationships were concerned, is difficult to establish. If Peter was still in Antioch, which is possible,

then Paul could conceivably have effected some degree of reconciliation not only with him, but through him also with James and the Jerusalem church. It is more certain that Paul was reconciled with Barnabas and the Antiochene church, even if Barnabas himself was absent from Antioch for all or part of the duration of Paul's visit. The former association and partnership between Paul and Barnabas was not resumed, however. Such a resumption would have been incompatible with Paul's commitments in Greece, and the success of his independent missionary work may well also have militated against resuming a potentially tense working relationship. In addition, Paul's quite possibly effective assertion of his personal apostolic authority over the Galatian churches which had been established under Antiochene auspices (for discussion, vide ch.6 above), may have diminished the potential for trust and confidence between him and the Antiochene church.

The period between Paul's visit to Antioch and his final visit to Jerusalem saw the composition of the entire extant Corinthian correspondence (vide Introduction above on composition of *II Corinthians* and dates of letters) and *Romans*. Some scholars would place other letters, disputed or otherwise, in this period, but, as they do not impinge upon this investigation, we need not consider them here. A possible exception is *Philippians* (vide discussion in Introduction), which will be considered in an Excursus at the end of Part Three.

7.1 The Evidence of I Corinthians

In addition to I Cor.15:5-8, discussed in the previous chapter, Paul mentions Peter in I Cor.1:12, and the apostles and brothers of Jesus, and Peter especially, in I Cor.9:5. It is also sometimes argued that I Cor.3:10ff alludes to the same petrine tradition as Mt.16:18. We need to reconstruct, so far as is possible, the relationship between Paul and the Jerusalem church and its leaders, as reflected in these texts.

Paul alludes in I Cor.1:12 to a faction in the Corinthian church which professed allegiance to Peter. Paul himself and Apollos, both of whom had worked in Corinth, are also mentioned as objects of factional loyalty. This raises the question whether Peter too had been to Corinth, and become known in person to the church there. I argued in chapter six above that Peter first became known to the Corinthian Christians through Paul's missionary preaching, in which the resurrection vision

of Peter was integral to the gospel. It therefore does not require a visit to Corinth by Peter for him to have become known there by reputation, and to have enjoyed considerable prestige on account of his unique position in the Christian tradition. This in itself could account for Peter's having become the object of some degree of allegiance on the part of some in the Corinthian church (cf. Dahl, 1967, p322-325; Gunther, 1973, p301).

Peter's reputation in Corinth, therefore, would not have required his presence there, and we need to consider separately whether there is evidence of Peter's having visited Corinth. The most recent major argument in favour of such a visit, is that of C.K. Barrett (1963a). He suggests that Peter visited Corinth, accompanied by his wife (I Cor.9:5) (1963a, p32). The fact that Peter undertook missionary work, accompanied by his wife, and that Paul mentions it in the particular context of I Cor.9, a text which may not originally have been part of the letter (cf. Conzelmann, 1969a, p179), is insufficient evidence for a visit by Peter to Corinth. Barrett, who elsewhere argues that there was a "concerted anti-Pauline movement" in early Christianity (1985, p22), argues that Peter established a nomistic following in the Corinthian church (1963a, p31). Dahl, however, has asserted that there is no indication of a Judaistic faction in Corinth, and reflects a degree of scholarly consensus in doing so (1967, p314; cf. Watson, 1986, pp81ff). Any factional allegiance to Peter based on personal acquaintance therefore would not have been nomistic, but, as there is little evidence to support the Baur tradition of Peter the Judaizer, the absence of a Judaistic tendency in Corinth does not in itself exclude a following of Peter which resulted from his ministry there.

Barrett argues that I Cor.1:13 indicates a link between baptism and the divisions in the Corinthian congregation (1963a, p29; cf. Conzelmann, 1969a, p33; Dunn, 1970, pp117ff; Wedderburn, 1987, p248), and that it was baptism by Peter which had given rise to the group which professed allegiance to him (1963a, p31). It would seem unlikely, however, that Paul would have used baptism as an illustration of the essential unity of the Church, had the rite itself become the cause of factions. It would seem more plausible that Paul used baptism thus, precisely because it was commonly understood to symbolize a higher loyalty than that to any church leader, and therefore to require a unity that transcended divisions based on lesser loyalties (cf. Taylor, 1985, pp13ff). While Paul clearly saw the danger

171

that a cultic relationship could be construed between baptiser and baptisand (I Cor.1:14f), it is also apparent that such an interpretation had not arisen in Corinth, and Paul is thankful not to have occasioned it. If Peter had initiated cultic relationships in Corinth, Paul would have had to argue his point more forcefully, and to direct more of his subsequent argument against Peter and his followers in Corinth (cf. Conzelmann, 1969a, pp33f). Rather, Paul is illustrating his argument with a hypothetical misinterpretation of Christian baptism. He can use this line of argument precisely because the situation had not yet arisen in Corinth, and Paul could point out an implication of the factionalism which he expected would caution those involved. Peter's presence in Corinth therefore cannot be substantiated on the basis of Paul's use of baptism to argue against factionalism.

Barrett suggests further that I Cor.5:9-13 reflects the incident at Antioch, and Paul's criteria for acceptable company at table (1963a, p33; cf. Manson, 1941, p197; Conzelmann, 1969a, p33). Even if this is so, it does not require that Peter had been to Corinth. Similarly, Barrett argues that Paul's response to the question of eating meat which had been used in pagan worship in I Cor.8:1-11:1, reflects the Antioch incident (1963a, p33). While we need not doubt that Jewish sensitivities may have played a role in this issue in Corinth, the fundamental question was not one of table fellowship or dietary observance, but one of participation, directly or indirectly, in pagan worship (I Cor.8:1,4-8; cf. Hurd, 1965, pp115-149,225f; Theissen, 1975b; Meeks, 1983a, pp69f,97-100; Willis, 1985; Segal, 1990, p237). The influence of Jewish monotheism may be detected in opposition to eating idol meat in the Corinthian church, but this does not require a concerted Judaistic movement, or even a Judaistic tendency, and still less the presence of Peter in Corinth. It is quite clear from I Cor.8:10-13 and 10:14,20-23 that Paul was opposed in principle to the consumption of idol meat, even if in the conditions prevailing in Corinth at the time he was constrained to tolerate it (I Cor.8:9; 10:25-27) (cf. Hurd, 1965, p119; Willis, 1985, p212). It would seem impossible, therefore, to distinguish between the followers of Paul and the followers of Peter on this question.

Barrett's thesis, therefore, is based upon the assumption both that Peter represented a Judaistic stance, and that such a position was represented in the Corinthian church by the time *I Corinthians* was written. There is no evidence in *I Corinthians* of any Judaistic tendency in the Corinthian church, nor that Peter

represented such a position. It is simply not possible in *I Corinthians* to distinguish between Paul's followers and Peter's. The situation reflected in *II Corinthians* was caused by a subsequent intrusion into the life of the Corinthian church, which will be discussed in the following chapter, and Paul's opponents in *II Corinthians* cannot simply be equated with any factional tendency in *I Corinthians* (cf. Barrett, 1963a, p35; Hengel, 1979, p98; Watson, 1986, p82).

While Paul's authority was clearly brought into question in Corinth, this challenge cannot be attributed to a Petrine tendency in the church, and still less identified with any activity by Peter himself in Corinth. It is quite clear that Paul is more concerned with the influence of Apollos, and with asserting his priority, and greater authority, over Apollos, than he is with Peter (I Cor.3:6; Conzelmann, 1969a, pp33ff). Peter's following are indistinguishable in doctrine from Paul's, which is precisely what one would expect if the Corinthians knew of Peter only through Paul's preaching. Partially following Dahl (1967, pp322f; cf. Gunther, 1973, p301), therefore, I would suggest the factional dissent in Corinth was accompanied by the assertion of loyalty to the one perceived to be the highest authority in the Church, whether Paul the founder of the Corinthian church, Apollos the eloquent exponent of Christian wisdom, or Peter the unknown and perhaps mysterious recipient of the first vision of the risen Christ (cf. Brown, 1973, p33; Vielhauer, 1975, p351; Holmberg, 1978, p45; Meeks, 1983a, p118; Smith, 1985, p192).

In summary, therefore, Peter acquired fame and status in Corinth during Paul's mission, through being cited as the primary witness to Christ's resurrection. On this account, I have argued that, when factions emerged in the Corinthian church, Peter, as a Christian leader, unknown to the community except through Paul's preaching, but perceived to possess greater authority than Paul, naturally became the object of professed allegiance on the part of some Corinthian Christians. Paul's reference in I Cor.1:12 is to the faction rather than to Peter himself, and indicates no hostility towards the person, or even the figure, of Peter. The implications of this for Paul's relationship with Peter at the time of writing will be considered more fully below when other relevant texts have been discussed, but for the present it is worth noting that Paul gives no indication of being threatened in any way by Peter.

Another text on the basis of which some scholars argue that that Peter had visited Corinth, is I Cor.3:10f. It is asserted that the word θεμέλιος reflects the same tradition as that in which Peter is described as πέτρα (Mt.16:18) (Manson, 1941, p194; Cullmann, 1953, p147; Barrett, 1963a, p32; Vielhauer, 1975, p348). Manson and Barrett assert further that Peter is the unnamed person building on Paul's foundation in I Cor.3:10. This would seem most unlikely, however. Paul's imagery in I Cor.3:10 is parallel to that in I Cor.3:6 (cf. Conzelmann, 1969a, pp74ff), where it is Apollos who waters the seed which Paul has sown. There is no indication in I Cor.3:10ff that building on Paul's foundation is in itself a "reprehensible practice" (Manson, 1941, p194), provided Apollos builds according to Paul's intentions (cf. Watson, 1986, pp82-84). Paul's statements in II Cor.10:12-18 and Rom.15:15-24, cited by Manson, cannot simply be equated with this text, or justify Manson's interpretation of it. In II Cor.10:12-18 Paul is dealing with opponents who deliberately seek to subvert his work in Corinth. He does not suggest that this is the case in I Cor.3:10ff, but merely cautions that those who follow up his work should conform to his intentions. In the light of the parallelism between I Cor.3:6 and I Cor.3:10, it would seem clear that the latter text alludes primarily to Apollos, but perhaps also, if less pointedly, to Timothy (cf. I Cor.16:10) and other of Paul's colleagues. There is no evidence at all that it alludes to Peter. Rom.15:20 does not imply Paul's condemnation of all who build on the foundations laid by others, but merely expresses Paul's own preference for the initial work. The fact that he took it upon himself to write *Romans* in itself implies that this was not absolute, as is also clear from Rom.1:13 (Watson, 1986, pp103ff; Wedderburn, 1988, p98; cf. Kettunen, 1979, p138; Shaw, 1983, pp138ff). There is therefore no reason to believe that Paul thought following up the work initiated by another was in itself reprehensible, and still less to read any allusion to Peter into I Cor.3:10ff on that basis.

In short, there is no evidence that Peter was in any way involved in the life of the Corinthian church at the time *I Corinthians* was written (cf. Robertson & Plummer, 1914,p12; Allo, 1925, p9; Héring, 1948, p5; Cullmann, 1953, p56), except in that his vision of the risen Christ was integral to Paul's preaching. The image and prestige of Peter seems to have evoked the allegiance of some members of the Corinthian church, but there is no evidence of Peter's personal involvement

in this. We must therefore consider Paul's statements about Peter as of one not involved in the situation in Corinth.

Peter, the apostles, and the brothers of Jesus are mentioned in I Cor.9:5f. The immediate issue under discussion in I Cor.9 is that of financial support for Christian workers, and the related matter of their being accompanied on their journeys by their spouses. Paul and Barnabas accept no pay for their apostolic work, and are not accompanied by wives on their travels (I Cor.9:6), which, I have suggested, was the custom of the church of Antioch and its missionaries (vide discussion in ch.3 above). Peter, the apostles, and the brothers of Jesus, however, do accept payment and are accompanied by their wives on their travels, which was presumably the practice of the Jerusalem church (cf. Theissen, 1975a). The question of apostolic rights is discussed in *I Corinthians* in the context of the issue of consumption of meat which had been offered to pagan deities, and participation in the civic cult. Paul and Barnabas' forgoing their rights as apostles is exemplary to the Corinthians of flexibility, of renunciation of the privileges of their status, and self-sacrifice for the sake of the gospel and the Corinthian Christians. There is no implied criticism of those who do receive financial support from the churches in which they work, and are accompanied in their travels by their wives, as this is an apostolic ἐξουσία (I Cor.9:4,6). Even if there is an implication that Paul and Barnabas display supererogatory virtue in waiving their rights, and are therefore somewhat morally superior, the passage would be meaningless without Paul's un- equivocal acknowledgement of the inalienable rights of Christian apostles, which Peter, the brothers of Jesus, and unspecified other apostles exercise. Schmithals points out that Paul's ability to compare himself with the other apostles, when they differ in the matters of support and being accompanied by wives, implies that in other respects they are similar (1961, p59). This stands to reason, as we have seen in chapter six above that Paul defined apostleship in terms of his own voca- tional self-conception, and could therefore recognize others as Christian apostles only in so far as they conformed to himself. Paul is less self-conscious in his usage of ἀπόστολος in *I Corinthians* than in *Galatians*, but the criteria of apostleship remain those on which Paul's self-identity was founded, as will become clear in the discussion below. Munck and Schmithals' arguments that Peter is excluded from the category of apostle in I Cor.9 (Munck, 1949, p114; Schmithals, 1961, p80),

are therefore unlikely, and Barrett rightly asserts that "οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι" (I Cor.9:5) includes Peter (1968, p204).

A significant aspect of Paul's argument in I Cor.9 is that he cites Barnabas as an ally and colleague, more akin to himself than to Peter in his personal conduct in his apostolic work. I suggested in chapter three above that this was attributable to their both conforming to the custom of the Antiochene church in these matters. Barnabas is accordingly mentioned with unequivocal approval, which, given that, in the matter under discussion, his practice is identical to Paul's, if not the origin of the latter's avowed policy, is not surprising. While the conduct of Peter, the brothers of Jesus, and the other apostles is far from reprehensible, there is a clear implication that Barnabas and Paul excel the requirements of their apostolic vocation, and accordingly enjoy a degree of moral superiority to those apostles who are accompanied by their wives and receive payment for their work. Nevertheless, there is no hint of hostility towards either Peter or Barnabas in this text.

A further reference to Peter, James, and the other apostles, occurs in Paul's treatment of Corinthian distortions or misunderstandings of his doctrine on the resurrection. He prefaces this with a summary of the gospel which he had inherited from the primitive Christian community and passed on to the Corinthians (I Cor.15:3b-4). This is followed by a list of post-resurrection appearances of Christ, including those cited in Paul's original preaching (I Cor.15:5-8). Whatever the precise history of the tradition or traditions contained in this text, discussed in chapter six above, we are concerned here with the text as it stands in *I Corinthians*. Paul is concerned to substantiate his doctrine of the resurrection by demonstrating its universality in Christian teaching (Allo, 1956, p389; Barrett, 1968, p341).

Paul refers to two individuals, Peter and James, and follows their names with reference to "τοῖς δώδεκα" and "τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν" respectively (I Cor.15:5,7). The precise identity of these two groups is difficult to establish, especially as later Church tradition has tended to identify them (Mt.10:2; Lk.6:13; 22:14; Rev.21:14; cf. Acts 1:26). In chapter six above, I argued that the appearance to Peter and the twelve was part of Paul's original preaching in Corinth, and that the expression accordingly was one he had inherited, directly or indirectly, from the primitive community. The appearance to James was not included in

Paul's original preaching in Corinth, even though Paul almost certainly knew the tradition from the time of his first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion (Gal.1:19; cf. Fuller, 1971, p28). Who the apostles are in I Cor.15:7, and how they relate to the twelve and to James, must now be considered.

Brown points out that James and Paul were not followers of Jesus, but were converted through resurrection appearances (cf. Acts 1:12), and accordingly suggests that the sequence Peter, the δώδεκα, the five hundred, represents the disciples of Jesus, while the sequence James, the ἀπόστολοι, Paul, represents those who converted to Christianity after the resurrection of Jesus (1973, p34). The plausibility of this distinction depends largely on how rigidly it is applied, and on a somewhat unlikely supposition that none of the apostles was a follower of Jesus. Whether ἀπόστολος is part of the tradition, and refers to all who are engaged in Christian apostolate, or Paul imposes his own, narrower, definition of apostleship (vide discussion in ch.6 above), the two sequences cannot be regarded as mutually exclusive. Schmithals' attempts to exclude Peter from recognition by Paul as an apostle, both in this text and elsewhere (1961, p79), are somewhat forced and unconvincing. Furthermore, in defining his own self-conception, Paul was forced in part to model himself on those who were recognized as authorities in the Church. That Peter was not merely one such figure, but the prototype of Christian authority, as primary witness to the resurrection (cf. I Cor.9:1), is clear from Paul's comparison of himself with Peter in Gal.1-2, discussed in chapter six above. This is independently attested by the ubiquity of the figure of Peter in the early Christian literature. If apostleship includes Peter, as clearly it must, this raises the probability that the two sequences overlap each other further.

Rengstorf identifies the twelve as "the innermost circle of the disciples of Jesus" (1935, p325; cf. Orr & Walther, 1976, p321). To this position Barrett adds that the twelve were of little significance in the life of the Church after the earliest period (1968, p342). The inclusion of Judas Iscariot in the Synoptic lists (Mt.10:4; Mk.3:19; Lk.6:14), the references to ἐνδεκα during the period subsequent to the crucifixion (Mt.28:16; Mk.16:14; Lk.24:9,33), and the election of Matthias to replace Judas (Acts 1:11-26), indicate strongly that the twelve existed as a recognizable entity in the ministry of Jesus (cf. Conzelmann, 1969a, p303), and that Paul

177

inherited the designation, which he does not use elsewhere in his extant writings, from the primitive community.

The apostles are more difficult to identify, not least because later tradition has identified them with the twelve. They were, however, clearly not coterminous with the twelve in the earliest days of the Church, although Peter at least clearly belonged to both groups. Unlike the twelve, the apostles are defined by function rather than by number (cf. Schmithals, 1961, p68). This raises the question of definition, and of whose criteria are being applied. Paul mentions himself with some awkwardness after "$\tau o\hat{\iota}\varsigma$ $\dot{\alpha}\pi o\sigma\tau\acute{o}\lambda o\iota\varsigma$ $\pi\hat{\alpha}\sigma\iota\nu$", with the phrase "$\dot{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\grave{\epsilon}\grave{\iota}$ $\tau\hat{\omega}$ $\dot{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\iota$" (I Cor.15:8), clearly implying that this appearance was something of an anticlimax after the previous, rather than the climax to the entire sequence. The juxtaposition of the apparition to all the apostles and that to Paul indicates that it is those acknowledged as apostles in terms of Paul's own self-conception, and not all who share in the work of Christian apostolate, to whom Paul refers in I Cor.15:7. Fuller argues that the framework in which the traditions are arranged in I Cor.15:5-7 is of Paul's making, and that he arranged traditions received from different sources (1971, p28). It is not implausible that Paul created the category of appearance "$\tau o\hat{\iota}\varsigma$ $\dot{\alpha}\pi o\sigma\tau\acute{o}\lambda o\iota\varsigma$ $\pi\hat{\alpha}\sigma\iota\nu$", and inserted it in the sequence immediately before the appearance to himself, to conform with his definition of apostleship. The view that Paul is here referring to a category of appearance, axiomatic to his definition of apostleship, rather than to a particular appearance, is strengthened by the fact that $\dot{\epsilon}\phi\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\xi$ is not repeated (cf. I Cor.15:6). Paul regards his own apostolic vocation as having been the last (I Cor.15:8), and accordingly, I would suggest, includes reference to Christ's appearance to all the apostles, not because these were necessarily historically distinct occasions from those previously mentioned, but because they are a criterion of apostleship (cf. I Cor.9:1; Gal.1:16; cf. also II Cor.12:2ff and discussion in ch.3 above). Paul cannot therefore be referring to all Christian missionaries, all who participate in the apostolate of the Christian Church, an ever-increasing number of whom must have been converted after him. The vision of the risen Christ, with its vocational overtones, is a criterion of the apostleship under discussion (Rengstorf, 1933, p431; Conzelmann, 1969a, p305), and one which Paul exploits fully in asserting his authority in Gal.1:16 (cf. I Cor.9:1), as seen in chapter six above. The apostles referred to in I Cor.15:7 are those who conform to the criteria of Paul's personalized notion of apostleship.

This forms an interesting contrast to Acts 1:24, where a criterion for election to the twelve is participation in the earthly ministry of Jesus. This was a criterion of authority which Paul could not assert, and his awkwardness in explaining his own vocation in I Cor.15:8 indicates that this was a problem for him (cf. Rowland, 1982, p376). Paul's inability to claim what clearly was a significant criterion of authority in the early Church means that he has not only to emphasize those criteria he could assert, as he does with the vision of the risen Christ in Gal.1:16, but also to claim the overriding grace of God which negates any shortcomings in his credentials for Christian apostleship (I Cor.15:9; cf. Gal.1:15) (cf. Schütz, 1975, p99).

While Paul is concerned primarily with demonstrating the authority with which the resurrection of Christ is preached, I Cor.15:1-8 nevertheless is important for discerning Paul's relationship with those others whose authority he cites in support of his doctrine of the resurrection. The fact that Paul cites these authority figures, including, by name, two with whom he had previously been involved in controversy, indicates that they pose less of a threat to him in Corinth than does the doctrinal waywardness of some of the Corinthian Christians. This despite the existence of a clique of adherents to Peter in the Corinthian church (I Cor.1:12). This indicates that relations between Paul and Peter, and between Paul and James and the Jerusalem church, such as they were actively pursued, were not hostile, even if Paul's placing James after Peter, the twelve, and the five hundred, is a deliberate measure to relativize James' importance. Paul is sufficiently secure in his own authority in the Corinthian church to be able, without prejudice to his own position, to cite leading Jerusalem Christians as authoritative witnesses to the resurrection, and to acknowledge that his own vision was somewhat different to the other resurrection appearances, despite the fact that the priority of Peter's vision seems to have given rise to a faction in the Corinthian church which pledged allegiance to him, and at least implicitly acknowledged Peter as having greater authority than Paul. That Paul was mistaken in this assurance, may be testified by the subsequent history of his dealings with the Corinthian church, to be discussed in the following chapter, but this was a matter of his relationship with the Corinthian Christians themselves, and not with Peter or James.

179

While it would seem that Paul's relationship with those whose authority he cites was at least sufficiently sound or sufficiently remote for them to pose no perceived threat to his authority in Corinth, there are nevertheless indications that Paul's authority had been brought into question, at least partly through comparison with other Christian leaders. It may be significant that Apollos is not mentioned in I Cor.15, and his authority not cited (but cf. Acts 18:24-26). While this is far from being evidence that Paul is arguing against Apollos' teaching, it does confirm the impression that Apollos, and not Peter, is the one whose following in Corinth threatens to undermine Paul's authority.

In conclusion, therefore, *I Corinthians* reflects a situation where Paul is confident of his own authority in Corinth, despite the difficulties, and does not feel threatened by the admirers of Peter. There is no hint of hostility towards Peter or James, and they are cited to support Paul's doctrine of the resurrection. There are, however, indications that Paul's relationship with Barnabas was sounder than that with Peter or James, in that Paul cites Barnabas as his colleague whose conduct of his apostleship and private life is similar to Paul's own, and, by implication, morally superior to that of Peter, the brothers of Christ, and other apostles who exercise their apostolic ἐξουσία in the churches in which they work.

7.2 The Evidence of Romans

The Roman church was one with which Paul had had no contact prior to writing his letter, other than his acquaintance with some of its members, such as Aquila and Priscilla (Acts 18:2,18; Rom.16:3) (cf. Wedderburn, 1988, pp14f,54ff). His letter to the Christians in Rome was written from Corinth, shortly before Paul's journey to Jerusalem to deliver the collection; after which journey he hoped to visit Rome (Rom.15:23ff) (vide Introduction above for fuller discussion of chronology). Paul's statements about the Jerusalem church and the collection reveal a certain amount of information about his relationship with that community and its leadership, which is worth considering.

When he wrote I Cor.16:2, Paul was uncertain as to whether or not he would make the journey to Jerusalem for the delivery of the collection. When he wrote *Romans*, however, he was committed to undertaking the delivery in person, despite

180

considerable apprehension, whether of the Roman authorities or of the Temple hierarchy (Rom.15:31). The complex issues surrounding the collection will be considered below, and, for the present, it is sufficient to note that it was not necessarily, and certainly not only, the Jerusalem Christians whom Paul feared. Nevertheless, Paul was anxious as to the acceptability of his act of διακονία to "τοῖς ἁγίοις" (Rom.15:31), who are undoubtedly the Jerusalem Christians. Whatever the reasons for this, the fact that Paul did not know, and could merely surmise somewhat pessimistically, how he would be received by the Jerusalem church, indicates a prolonged lack of contact between them. The probability is that there had been no direct communication since the incident at Antioch, and that Paul feared the animosity generated through that episode would overshadow the renewal of contact when he arrived in Jerusalem.

The Jerusalem church had, so far as can be established, no reason to expect the arrival of Paul with the collection, except on the basis of rumour and hearsay. The agreement in terms of which the collection was conceived, belonged to the κοινωνία between the Jerusalem and Antioch churches, to which Paul had been party as a representative of the Antiochene community, as discussed in chapter four above. Paul was no longer a member of the Antiochene church, and therefore no longer party to that κοινωνία. The acceptability of the collection would therefore depend on Paul's own relationship with the Jerusalem church, and the prevailing attitude there to the gospel Paul preached (Dunn, 1988, p879), as well as on factors external to that relationship, such as the political situation in Judaea, which could impinge on it. If, however, ascendant Jewish nationalism meant that the Jerusalem church would compromise its safety by accepting a gift from gentile Christians, it is nevertheless significant that there was neither the confidence in their relationship, nor the contact between them, for the leadership of the Jerusalem church to communicate to Paul that the delivery of the collection would be inopportune at that time.

The indications, therefore, are that such relations as may have existed at the time *Romans* was written, between Paul and the Jerusalem church, were under considerable strain, both on account of lack of communication between them, and on account of the conflict that had ensued at the last contact at Antioch. This is not to say that there was hostility between Paul and the Jerusalem church,

something of which there is no indication in Paul's letters subsequent to *Galatians* (for discussion of *II Corinthians* vide ch.8 below; for *Philippians*, vide Excursus below). Nevertheless there was a history of distrust and conflict in the relationship, and Paul could not determine how the passing of time, and lack of contact, would affect matters.

Despite his apprehension, Paul was nevertheless determined to deliver the collection to Jerusalem in person, before visiting Rome. This raises the question of the significance of Jerusalem and the Jerusalem church for Paul, as reflected in Rom.15, particularly in v. 19: "ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ κύκλῳ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ πεπληρωκέναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ". While a number of scholars interpret this reference to Jerusalem in terms simply of its geographical position at the eastern extremity of Paul's preaching (Käsemann, 1974, pp294f; Cranfield, 1979, pp760f; Ziesler, 1988, p343; cf. Schlier, 1977, p432; Achtemeier, 1987, p61), a view which must raise questions about the reference to Arabia in Gal.1:17 (cf. ch.1 above), the majority ascribe some theological significance to Jerusalem and the church there (Holl, 1921, pp63ff; Schweizer, 1959, p97; Schlier, 1977, p438; Holmberg, 1978, p50; Dunn, 1988, p863; Stuhlmacher, 1989, p148; cf. Michel, 1955, p460; Cranfield, 1979, p761). Jerusalem was located at the historical and geographical centre of Jewish life, and was the focus of the eschatological expectations founded on the Jewish salvation-historical tradition. That this was true of the early Church, is evident from the location there of the predominantly Galilean primitive Christian community, led by the primary witness to the resurrection, Peter. The eschatological, theological, and traditional significance of Jerusalem, and the authority vested in the Christian community there by virtue of this (cf. discussion in ch.2 above), determined the nature of the κοινωνία between the Jerusalem and Antiochene churches, as argued in chapters three to five above. Paul, despite having excluded himself from that κοινωνία, and any active relationship with the Jerusalem church, nevertheless recognized the salvation-historical significance of Jerusalem, and located the start of his work of Christian apostleship there, theologically if not historically or geographically.

In summary, Rom.15 indicates that Paul was not in contact with the Jerusalem church at the time *Romans* was written. However, he intended shortly to renew contact when delivering the collection. The collection was the material repayment

of a spiritual debt, which implies recognition of the primacy of the Jerusalem church, as well as of the salvation-historical significance of Jerusalem. Paul is not constrained to defend his apostleship in *Romans*, and therefore has no need to demonstrate or argue his independence of Jerusalem (cf. Wedderburn, 1988, p27). Paul's material independence is a corollary of the absence of communication, however, but his theological bond with Jerusalem as salvation-historical place, and focus of eschatological expectation, is undiminished thereby.

To conclude, therefore, Paul's writings of the period commonly described as the "third missionary journey" reveal an absence of any effective relationship with the Jerusalem church and its leaders. There is no evidence of any contact between them. Paul is secure in his own position, apart from internal difficulties in Corinth, and perhaps also in Philippi (vide Excursus below), and seems unthreatened by the authority he recognizes in the Jerusalem church and its leaders. This in contrast to the defensiveness evident in *Galatians*. Paul displays no animosity towards the Jerusalem church and its leaders, although he is apprehensive of his reception in Jerusalem when he delivers the collection, at the same time renewing contact with the church there for the first time since the Antioch incident. We need to turn our attention now to the collection, in order to understand more fully its significance for Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church.

7.3 The Collection

The collection for the church at Jerusalem belongs to the final period in Paul's missionary activity, that traditionally described as the "third missionary journey". In this section we are concerned with it primarily for the ways in which the concept of the collection enlightens our understanding of Paul's attitude to, and relationship with, the Jerusalem church.

In chapter four above, we discussed the Jerusalem conference, at which the relationship of κοινωνία between the Jerusalem and Antioch churches was confirmed through an agreement to respect the two communities' diverse interpretations of the gospel, in particular the Antiochenes' waiving requirements for Jewish legal observance by gentile Christians, and specifically the requirement of circumcision. In terms of this κοινωνία, the Antiochenes were asked "τῶν πτωχῶν μνημονεύωμεν" (Gal.2:10). I argued that this cannot simply be reduced to the

183

collection, but had wider implications. μνημονεύω implies obligation, and the financial aspect of it is not merely voluntary charity, as has been shown above. Furthermore, it is not the material poverty of the πτωχοί that creates the obligation of the Antiochene Christians, but the position of the Jerusalem church at the fountainhead of the Gospel, and their relationship of κοινωνία with the primitive community.

The collection Paul undertook during his last years of freedom, however, is not identical to that agreed between the Jerusalem and Antioch churches at the Jerusalem conference. Paul had long severed his ties with the Antioch church, and no longer shared in the κοινωνία between the Jerusalem and Antioch churches. The obligation had not been upon Paul as an individual Christian missionary, but as one of the apostles operating under the auspices of the church at Antioch, and would therefore no longer have involved him after his departure from Antioch. In this light, Wedderburn's interpretation of "ἐσπούδασα" in Gal.2:10 (1988, p39) becomes particularly significant. He argues that the aorist indicates that Paul was no longer as enthusiastic about remembering the poor at the time of writing *Galatians* as he had been at the time of the conference. I would argue further that, not only would Paul no longer have been as enthusiastic about the collection as he was at the time of the conference, and as he came to be by the time he wrote II Cor.8, II Cor.9, and *Romans*, but he might well not have been committed to such a project at all at the time he wrote *Galatians*.

It was after *Galatians* had been written, and after the visit to Antioch recorded in Acts 18:22, that Paul began to organize the collection (cf. Georgi, 1965, p33; Hyldahl, 1986, pp70ff; Watson, 1986, p59; Wedderburn, 1988, p30; for the contrary view vide Suhl, 1975, p222). Whatever the significance of Paul's visit to Antioch, there is no indication whatever that he resumed working under Antiochene auspices, and thereby became subject once again to the agreement between Jerusalem and Antioch. While I have argued above that this visit was significant, its importance does not lie in any resumption of Paul's previous involvement in the life of the Antiochene church. Suhl suggests that the purpose of the visit was the organization of the collection (1975, p136). It would seem more likely, however, that Paul's intention in visiting Antioch was to restore a sound relationship with that church (Haenchen, 1956, p548; cf. Conzelmann, 1963, p156), and that the decision

184

to raise the collection was the consequence rather than the cause of the visit to Antioch. Even if the idea predated the visit, it is unlikely that Paul would have made an irrevocable commitment to the project before assessing the situation, so far as he could, while at Antioch. If Paul sought to establish a relationship of κοινωνία (cf. Rom.15:26) between his churches and the community at Jerusalem, on the same or similar basis to that between Jerusalem and Antioch, the collection may have been conceived in such terms. The willingness of the Jerusalem church to enter such a relationship, however, would have been far from certain. Paul must have become aware of the Apostolic Decree when he visited Antioch, but there is no indication of his applying it in his churches subsequently, which the Jerusalem leadership would almost certainly have expected. They would probably also have required Paul to accept some measure of subordination, an unlikely eventuality after several years' independent work, during which he had developed a very clear concept of independent apostleship accountable only to God, and achieved very considerable missionary success. Willingness on the part of the Jerusalem church to enter a relationship of κοινωνία with Paul and his churches would have been particularly unlikely when Paul evidently initiated his collection without prior reference to them, and expected it to form the basis, rather than the consequence, of κοινωνία (cf. Rom.15:26f; II Cor.8:4; 9:13). While Paul does explain the collection as reciprocation of a spiritual debt (Rom.15:27; cf. II Cor.8:14; 9:12ff), the reality is that there was no direct, pre-existing, relationship between his churches and that at Jerusalem, but only the tenuous and unilateral link through himself. This may account in part for Paul's fears, once the collection had been raised, for its acceptability to the Jerusalem church (Rom.15:31). We shall return to this point below.

Jerusalem is not mentioned as the destination of the funds under discussion in II Cor.8. It is apparent, however, from the involvement of Titus and others, that a particular fund-raising project is at issue, and not Christian giving, or any related concept, in general. The beneficiaries are described as "τοὺς ἁγίους" (II Cor.8:4; cf. Rom.15:25f; I Cor.16:4; II Cor.9:12), a term which applies to all Christians (cf. Rom.1:7; I Cor.1:2; 16:15; Phil.1:1), but which, in his extant writings, Paul applies either to his addressees or the Jerusalem church, but never explicitly to another third party. It is also clear that this is a project which involves churches other than Corinth, and requires some degree of coordination; a function which

Paul delegates to others, but for which he claims the ultimate responsibility (II Cor.8:20). Prior knowledge of this project on the part of the Corinthian church, is presupposed (cf. I Cor.16:1-4; vide Introduction for discussion of chronology), and there can be little doubt that it is the collection for the Jerusalem church that is at issue.

Paul informs the Corinthians he is sending Titus to Corinth, undoubtedly to attend to the full range of issues confronting the Christian community there, as is indicated by the words "$\sigma\pi\sigma\upsilon\delta\grave{\eta}\nu$ $\grave{\upsilon}\pi\grave{\epsilon}\rho$ $\grave{\upsilon}\mu\grave{\omega}\nu$" (II Cor.8:16), but particularly to supervise the completion of the collection. Titus had evidently won the confidence of the Corinthian Christians, and secured their loyalty to Paul (vide ch.8 below for more detailed discussion of the situation in Corinth), and was therefore the obvious person to undertake this somewhat sensitive function. Titus is to be accompanied by two unnamed agents. The first of these is identified only as "$\tau\grave{o}\nu$ $\grave{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\grave{o}\nu$ $o\grave{\upsilon}$ $\grave{o}$ $\ddot{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\iota\nu\sigma\varsigma$ $\grave{\epsilon}\nu$ $\tau\grave{\omega}$ $\epsilon\grave{\upsilon}\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega$ $\delta\iota\grave{\alpha}$ $\pi\alpha\sigma\grave{\omega}\nu$ $\tau\grave{\omega}\nu$ $\grave{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\grave{\omega}\nu$" (II Cor.8:18), and the second mentioned in similarly oblique terms in II Cor.8:22, but is significantly described as "$\tau\grave{o}\nu$ $\grave{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\grave{o}\nu$ $\grave{\eta}\mu\grave{\omega}\nu$" in contrast to the other (cf. Furnish, 1984, p424). Betz argues that the use of $\grave{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{o}\varsigma$ is in deliberate avoidance of $\grave{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}\sigma\tau\sigma\lambda\sigma\varsigma$ (1985, p81), in which case Paul is probably anxious that the authority of these persons should not be misunderstood, or abused. The reason for Paul's not identifying these persons by name is uncertain, but Martin points out that this is not the only such occurrence (1986, p275; cf. Phil.4:2). Paul clearly knew precisely whom he intended to send with Titus, and the fact that they were not his own nominees (II Cor.8:19,23) would presumably have eliminated any uncertainty he could have entertained on the subject. Georgi (1965, p24) and Nickle (1966, p20) suggest that the names were subsequently excised from the text on account of the disfavour into which these persons fell. This is possible, but unsupported by textual evidence (cf. Martin, 1986, p275). It would seem more likely, therefore, that Paul wishes to enhance Titus' standing and authority, and in not naming the other two he does not impart his authority onto them, so that they could not function on their own if they arrived in Corinth without Titus (Betz, 1985, p73). The brothers could function on Paul's authority in Corinth only if Titus was there too.

186

More important than the names of the anonymous brothers, however, are the churches they represent (II Cor.8:23), particularly as this is where Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem and Antioch churches comes into contention. Nickle argues that the two are Judas Barsabbas and Silas (Acts 15:22), and that they represent the Judaean churches (1966, pp18-22). There is no evidence to support this view (Furnish, 1984, p434), and, furthermore, it presupposes a continuity between the Jerusalem council and Paul's collection project which, as argued above, is not merely unattested but implausible on account of the unforeseen change in Paul's standing in the Antiochene church. Furnish suggests that the brothers are the representatives of the Macedonian churches (1984, p435), and this is undoubtedly more plausible. Betz argues that the brothers are ecclesiastical-political allies of Paul (1985, p73), about whom Paul, on Betz's arguments cited above, must have been somewhat wary. The two brothers must be considered separately.

The purpose of the appointment of the first brother, to whom Paul significantly does not apply the possessive ἡμῶν, if not explicitly of the second, was to protect Paul and his colleagues from any suspicion of dishonesty or impropriety in handling the collection money (II Cor.8:20-21). He is well-known among the churches (II Cor.8:18; cf. Hainz, 1972, p149; Martin, 1986, p274), which indicates that he is not simply a leader of a local congregation (Furnish, 1984, p434). Nevertheless he is being introduced to the Corinthians, apparently for the first time. It is not clear in which churches the brother is famous, even if Corinth is not one of them. Presumably it is, or at least includes, those which appointed him to assist in the collection (II Cor.8:19). Paul's unease about the potential activities of this person when not under Titus' supervision would seem to indicate that he comes from outside those churches under Paul's jurisdiction. Paul's visit to Antioch in Acts 18:22 may hold the key to this problem. If Paul's decision to raise the collection was a consequence of this visit, as argued above, then it is possible that the decision was taken in consultation with the leaders of the Antiochene church, who were undertaking the collection agreed to at the Jerusalem conference. If the Antiochene collection was intended for the sabbatical year 54/55 CE (cf. Jeremias, 1928, pp98-103; Suhl, 1975, p135), then it would not have been completed by the time of Paul's visit to Antioch (vide Introduction for discussion of chronology). If Paul's collection was to be raised in conjunction with that of the Antioch church, then it is possible that that community would have seconded a member to assist. It

is probable that any such person would have supported Peter and Barnabas against Paul at the Antioch incident, which could account for Paul's wariness of his activity in his churches. Furthermore, II Cor.8 was written not long after the resolution of the crisis in Corinth (for discussion of which, vide ch.8 below), and Paul would on that account have been especially anxious about outside involvement in the Corinthian church. We can tentatively suggest that this brother, whom Paul does not acknowledge as his own, and whom Paul did not appoint, was prominent in the churches of Syria and Cilicia, and perhaps more widely in Asia Minor, that his work was based at Antioch, and that he was nominated by the Antiochene church to assist in the coordination of Paul's collection project.

The second anonymous brother, whom Paul describes as $\dot{\eta}\mu\tilde{\omega}\nu$, and in whose praise he is lavish where he had merely mentioned as fact the fame of the other, is, like the first, an $\dot{\alpha}\pi\dot{o}\sigma\tau o\lambda o\varsigma$ $\dot{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\tilde{\omega}\nu$ (II Cor.8:23), but it appears that he enjoys Paul's personal confidence to a greater extent than does the first, even if Paul does not want him acting in Corinth without Titus. He appears from II Cor.8:22 to have been known to Paul for some time, and to be familiar, however indirectly, with the situation in Corinth. This, and the lower status indicated by his being mentioned after the other brother (Furnish, 1984, p436), suggests that he was a more local figure, and probably came from one of the churches Paul had established in Greece or western Asia Minor (cf. Furnish, 1984, p436), who had been chosen to assist in the coordination of the collection project, but in a capacity broader than representing his own community in the delivery to Jerusalem (cf. Acts 20:4).

Whatever the standing of the anonymous brethren, Paul emphasises that it is Titus who is his $\kappa o\iota\nu\omega\nu\dot{o}\varsigma$ and $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\rho\gamma\dot{o}\varsigma$ (II Cor.8:23). Titus is closer to Paul (Martin, 1986, p277), and also to the Corinthians, and is the one from whom the Corinthian Christians are to take directions, rather from the others, and the possibility cannot be excluded that they are deliberately unnamed in order to undermine their capacity to assert authority in the Corinthian church, and to intervene in its life in matters other than the collection. If the senior of the two anonymous brethren came from Antioch, Paul would have been particularly anxious to ensure that he acted only within his terms of reference.

There is no evidence to suggest, and a good reason to doubt, that either or

both of the anonymous brothers came from Jerusalem, or was associated with that community in any way. There is no indication therefore that the Jerusalem church was in any way involved in Paul's collection project, and Paul's relationship with that church and its leaders remained effectively in abeyance, and would not be re-activated until Paul actually arrived in Jerusalem and offered the collection to the church.

In his final extant correspondence with the Corinthian church, and any other Achaian Christians (vide Introduction above for discussion), Paul elaborates on the theological significance he attributes to the collection, as it impinges on his and the Corinthian and other pauline Christians' relationship with the Jerusalem church. The collection is not merely provision for the needs of the ἄγιοι, but is also the cause of thanksgiving to God (II Cor.9:12). The actions of the Corinthian Christians will cause the Jerusalem Christians to thank God, and to pray for the Corinthian Christians "διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐφ' ὑμῖν" (II Cor.9:14). This is a more confident expectation than Paul later expressed in writing to the Roman Christians, and implies that he expects that the collection will cause the Jerusalem church to accept the gentile Christians and their gift without hesitation or inhibition. The implication of this is that a relationship would be formed between the Christians of Jerusalem and the pauline churches. As Paul's own relationship with the Jerusalem church had been strained and all but severed, he could not himself provide the basis for any relationship, κοινωνία or otherwise, between the communities he had established and that at Jerusalem. However, if Paul was rejoining the collection project of the Antiochene church, in whose inception he had played a role, he could claim for his churches a relationship on the same basis as that in terms of which the collection had originally been agreed (vide discussion in ch.4 above). I would suggest that it is the consummation of such a κοινωνία with the Jerusalem church which Paul seeks through the collection, and this he anticipates in II Cor.9.

In this chapter, we have sought to establish the nature of Paul's relationships with the Jerusalem and Antioch churches and their leaders during the period after his visit to Antioch recorded in Acts 18:22. The significance of this event can be reconstructed only on the basis of the shift in Paul's attitude to these churches, as reflected in his writings of the subsequent period.

189

Nothing is recorded of the visit to Antioch, other than that it took place. It appears, however, to have been of considerable significance. Not only does it seem to have effected a degree of reconciliation between Paul and Barnabas and the Antiochene church, but possibly also between Paul and Peter, and by extension perhaps the Jerusalem church, though this is less certain, and, in either event, it did not result in an active relationship between Paul and the church in Jerusalem. This reconciliation did not lead to the resumption of Paul's partnership with Barnabas, and involvement in the life   of the Antiochene church. This would have been unlikely in view of Paul's commitments in Greece and western Asia Minor, and the success of his independent work. Paul's partnership with Silvanus seems to have ended with this visit to Antioch, but there is no reason to suppose that this was due to conflict between them.

An important aspect of Paul's visit to Antioch seems to have been his rejoining the collection project which had been agreed between the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch at the time of the Jerusalem conference. It seems likely that the Antioch church seconded one of its members to assist Paul in the collection among his churches. By resuming the commitment he had made on behalf of the Antiochene church, Paul hoped to claim for his own churches the relationship of κοινωνία that the Antiochene church enjoyed with the Jerusalem church.

There is little evidence of tension between Paul and the Jerusalem and Antioch churches, and such leaders in those communities as Peter, James, and Barnabas, in his writings subsequent to his visit to Antioch. This supports the view that this visit effected a degree of reconciliation. While there is no indication of direct contact between Paul and the Jerusalem church, there is a clearly discernible diminution in animosity on Paul's part, to the extent that he is not defensive of his apostolic claims, and does not perceive himself to be threatened by professions of loyalty to Peter in Corinth. There are clearer signs of reconciliation between Paul and the Antiochene church, and indications of collaboration in the collection project.

Chapter VIII

The Final Years

The Crisis in Corinth, and the Collection for the Saints

In this chapter, we are concerned with the concluding years of Paul's missionary career. In the previous chapter, I argued that Paul's return to Antioch some time after his altercation there with Peter, resulted in his resumption of his commitment to the collection for the Jerusalem church, which had been agreed between the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch at the Jerusalem conference. In joining what was essentially a project of the Antiochene church, Paul intended to claim for his churches the same relationship of κοινωνία with the Jerusalem church, as that in terms of which the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch had reached the agreement which included the latter community's undertaking the collection project.

The crisis in Corinth is significant for two reasons. Firstly, the widely held view that Paul's opponents in Corinth were judaistic delegates of the Jerusalem church, raises the possibility of a new dimension to Paul's relationship with that community during his final missionary years. Secondly, the crisis delayed the completion of the collection project in Greece, so that Paul was unable to join in the delivery of the collection from Antioch to Jerusalem. To clarify this point, it is worth recapitulating the chronological reconstruction I argued in the Introduction.

The collection for the Jerusalem church, which had been undertaken by the Antiochene church as a corollary to the agreement of the Jerusalem conference, was scheduled for delivery in 55 CE (vide discussion of chronology in Introduction). At the time of writing *I Corinthians*, Paul had not committed himself to participation in this. If the delegates from the churches of the pauline mission accompanied those of the Antiochene, the implicit claim to κοινωνία with the Jerusalem church on the same basis as the Antiochene would have been sufficient for Paul's purpose. However, during 54 CE Paul became aware of the activities of external agents in the Corinthian church, and much of that and the following year was accordingly

spent in seeking resolution to the crisis. It was only by the end of the sailing season of 55 CE that Titus could complete the collection in Corinth. When the collection was taken to Jerusalem in 56 CE, therefore, Paul's presence with the delegates of the churches was essential if any claim to a continuing relationship between the church of Jerusalem and those established by Paul was to be pursued. The outcome of this project is unknown, and would in any event be rendered irrelevant by the outbreak of the Jewish War within a decade. What is certain is that the delivery of the collection resulted, directly or indirectly, in Paul's arrest in Jerusalem, and the effective termination of his missionary career.

8.1 Paul's Opponents in Corinth

The identity of Paul's opponents is a contentious issue, and one which has enjoyed considerable attention in scholarship, most notably from Baur (1845), Käsemann (1942), Schmithals (1954; 1965), and Georgi (1964), and most recently from Sumney (1990), who includes a comprehensive review of earlier work. Our concern here is not so much the theology of Paul's opponents, as their links, if any, with the Jerusalem and Antioch churches. If they were the authorised delegates of either community, their presence in Corinth represents an intrusion in Paul's churches unattested during any earlier period (vide ch.6 above for discussion of the situation in Galatia, and chs.6 & 7 for discussion of earlier developments in Corinth). The situation in Corinth may have been paralleled in Philippi (vide discussion in Excursus), and could therefore be representative of a wider phenomenon.

It is not possible here to discuss in full the complexities surrounding the early history of the church in Corinth. The factious atmosphere in the community at the time *I Corinthians* was written, was noted in the previous chapter, and it is not unlikely that this correlated in some way with the personalities, inclinations, and ambitions of the leaders of the various house churches (cf. Theissen, 1974a; 1975b; Meeks, 1983a, pp56-63; Marshall, 1987, p345). That these activities were another aspect of the same phenomenon which occasioned Paul's anxiety at the influence of Apollos in the Corinthian church (I Cor.1:12f; 3:4ff,22; 4:6; cf. Robertson & Plummer, 1914, p16; Holmberg, 1978, pp67ff; Watson, 1986, pp81ff; for contrary views, vide Munck, 1954, p167; Schmithals, 1963, p105; Barrett, 1963a; 1963b; Hurd, 1965, p214; Conzelmann, 1969a, p34), must be regarded as probable. Whether

or not opposition to Paul during the period in which the component letters of *II Corinthians* were written stemmed directly from the factional tendencies reflected in *I Corinthians*, there is no evidence of the involvement of the Jerusalem church, or other external Christian influences, in the life of the Corinthian church during the earlier period.

Attempts to identify the opponents of Paul in II Cor.10-13, can be divided into three groups. The first are those who follow Baur (1845; 1853) in identifying Paul's antagonists as the delegates, however subordinate or otherwise, of the Jerusalem church, and, to a greater or lesser extent judaistic. These include Käsemann (1942), Schoeps (1959, pp78ff), Barrett (1963a; 1963b; 1971; 1973), Oostendorp (1967), Gunther (1973), Dunn (1977, p255), Holmberg (1978, pp45f), Thrall (1980), Lüdemann (1983), and Barnett (1984). The second group are those who identify Paul's opponents as gnostics, and include Lütgert (1908), Bultmann (1933; 1947; 1976), Schmithals (1954; 1963; 1965), Marxsen (1964, p83), Kümmel (1973, p209), and Wilson (1982). Thirdly are those scholars who identify Paul's opponents as non-nomistic, Palestinian or Diaspora Jewish Christians, independent of the Jerusalem church. These include Lake (1911, pp219-235), Bornkamm (1961, pp169ff), Georgi (1964), Theissen (1975a), Black (1984), Furnish (1984, pp52ff), Watson (1986, pp81ff), and Sumney (1990).

The more radical gnostic hypotheses are now widely discredited, but those which refer rather to a proto-gnostic tendency within a broader hellenistic Jewish tradition, as do Kümmel and Wilson, still merit consideration, and can for the present purpose be included with the third group of scholars. It is widely recognized that the Mosaic law was not an issue in II Cor.10-13 (Lake, 1911, p222; Käsemann, 1942, p20; Georgi, 1964, p248; Black, 1984, p86; Furnish, 1984, pp52f; Watson, 1986, pp81-87). While this excludes the group identified in chapter six above as those whose influence in the Galatian churches Paul is opposing, it does not in itself exclude the possibility that Paul's opponents in Corinth were delegates of the Jerusalem church (vide chh.4 & 5 above for discussion of the Jerusalem church).

Paul's opponents came from within the Jewish tradition, as verses such as II Cor.11:22 make abundantly clear (cf. Von Rad, & al, 1939; Georgi, 1964, pp41-60; Schultz & Quell, 1964, p545). Their precise location within the diversity of that

tradition, however, is more difficult to establish, especially as a radical dichotomy between Palestinian and hellenistic Judaism is no longer tenable. We need therefore to concentrate upon such evidence as may indicate a connection with Jerusalem and the Jerusalem church, bearing in mind that an eschatological orientation towards Jerusalem does not imply any connection with the Jerusalem church, nor does membership of that community in itself constitute authority from the Jerusalem church to intervene in the Corinthian church.

The expression ὑπερλίαν ἀπόστολοι in II Cor.11:5 and II Cor.12:11, is a potentially significant indicator, if it can be established whether Paul applies it to his opponents in Corinth, or to the leadership of the Jerusalem church, and, in the latter case, whether or not it has sarcastic overtones. Much therefore depends on whether the ὑπερλίαν ἀπόστολοι are to be identified with the ψευδαπόστολοι of II Cor.11:13. Käsemann argues that the ὑπερλίαν ἀπόστολοι are the Jerusalem apostles, while the ψευδαπόστολοι are Paul's opponents in Corinth (1942, pp20ff). This view is opposed by Bultmann (1947, pp25-30) and Georgi (1964, p32), but supported by Barrett (1971, p246). Thrall argues that Paul did not know whether any of the Jerusalem apostles were among his rivals in Corinth, and accordingly allowed for the possibility in his argument (1980, p48). Given that, on whatever historical reconstruction, Paul had already encountered his opponents, with humiliating consequences (II Cor.2:1; vide chronological reconstruction and discussion of composition of *II Corinthians* in Introduction) by the time II Cor.10-13 was written, he could have been in no doubt as to who they were, and on what basis they legitimated their intervention in the Corinthian church. McClelland argues that ὑπερλίαν ἀπόστολοι was a self-designation of pneumatic Christians in Corinth, against whom Paul is writing, and does not refer to intruders at all (1982, p84f). It is, however, most unlikely that any member of the Christian community in Corinth would have used his Jewish pedigree as a basis on which to attack Paul's authority (cf. II Cor.11:22), and more unlikely that Paul, elsewhere so defensive of his own apostleship (cf. Gal.1-2; I Cor.9; 15:7ff), should give even the most tacit assent to such self-attribution among the Corinthian Christians. If his opponents did not have a reasonable claim to Christian apostleship, in terms of Paul's particular conception thereof (vide discussion in chs.6 & 7 above), he would certainly have refuted their claim altogether in II Cor.11:5 and II Cor.12:11, rather than merely asserting his own equality with them.

It seems certain, therefore, that Paul's rivals came from outside Corinth, and that their claim to Christian apostleship was to at least some degree incontrovertible, even though Paul does state his determination to undermine their claim to equality with himself (II Cor.11:12). Furthermore, the close association of the ὑπερλίαν ἀπόστολοι with another Jesus, a different Spirit, and a different gospel (II Cor.11:4), clearly indicates that they are the same as the ψευδαπόστολοι of II Cor.11:13, whom Paul describes as deceitful workers (II Cor.11:13), and, by implication, servants of Satan (II Cor.11:14f). Therefore, despite being unable to refute entirely their claims to Christian apostleship, Paul nevertheless repudiates unequivocally the authenticity of the gospel they preach (cf. Thrall, 1980, p52).

While Paul associates his opponents with "ἄλλον Ἰησοῦν", "ἢ πνεῦμα ἕτερον", and "ἢ εὐαγγέλιον ἕτερον" (II Cor.11:4), there is no evidence of any doctrinal basis to his allegations (cf. Barrett, 1971, p242; Murphy-O'Connor, 1990). Whereas in *Galatians* Paul's arguments are reasoned and theological, if at times rash, in II Cor.10-13 they have little or no theological grounding. This, and the emphasis on Paul's person and apostleship, strongly suggests that the conflict was one of authority rather than theology (cf. Lincoln, 1979, p207). It was a question not so much of the content of the Christian gospel as of the relationship of the preacher of that Gospel to the community created through his preaching (cf. II Cor.12:12).

This lack of doctrinal differences between Paul and his opponents does not prove that they had no direct connection with the Jerusalem church, but it may point in that direction. It was noted in previous chapters that, while the Jerusalem church cannot be considered judaistic in the rigid and absolute sense first articulated by the Tübingen school, there nevertheless were differences between the gospels of the Jerusalem and Antiochene churches. Paul had been for many years involved in the life and apostolate of the Antiochene church, and it is therefore probable that he would have had closer theological affinities with Christians with roots in the Jewish Diaspora than with Christians of Palestinian Jewish origin; the dichotomy, however, must not be overemphasised. There is little if any information available about relationships between churches outside Palestine and the Jerusalem church, other than that between Jerusalem and Antioch. There is no evidence of a κοινωνία other than that between Jerusalem and Antioch. It is

195

quite probable that other churches, unconstrained by such a relationship, would have exercised greater freedom from the Jerusalem church than did the Antioch church, as Paul himself came to do after the Antioch incident. Theories which locate the origins of Paul's opponents in the Diaspora therefore merit particular consideration. Georgi has described the writer of *Luke-Acts* as a "kindred author" to Paul's opponents (1964, p319). Friedrich has suggested a link with the group associated with Stephen in the early days of the Jerusalem church (1963; cf. Hengel, 1975). Hyldahl (1977) and Watson (1986, pp81-84) have argued that Apollos and his associates could plausibly be identified with Paul's opponents in Corinth. It is notable that at least the first two of these three hypotheses involve an eschatological orientation towards Jerusalem without any apparent subordination to the Jerusalem church, and certainly no nomistic inclinations.

Paul's rivals, therefore, would seem to have represented, very broadly, the same spectrum of early Christianity as himself. They may nevertheless have been as forthright in their condemnation of Paul as he was of them (cf. Green, 1985, p58), or they may have held a less narrow and individualistic conception of apostleship than Paul, in which case they may have been more accommodating than he was. This is not to deny the clear evidence that Paul's opponents seriously and wilfully undermined his authority in Corinth, but they may not have shared Paul's exclusive and territorial notion of apostleship, in terms of which he asserted his jurisdiction (cf. Rom.1:5; 11:13; I Cor.3:6,12; 9:2; Gal.1:6ff; vide discussion of II Cor.10:13-16 below), and therefore have regarded their activities in Corinth as entirely valid, and consistent with their own apostolic self-conception.

The practical question of language may give some indication as to the origins of Paul's rivals. Allusions to their rhetorical competence (II Cor.10:1,10; 11:16) indicate that they were fluent in Greek, and suggests a Diaspora rather than Palestinian origin. Thrall's suggestion that they used interpreters (1980, p47) is unconvincing, as, if this were the case, Paul could have exploited his fluency in Greek, however crude by the standards of rhetorical performance, against the need of his opponents to use interpreters. Therefore, not only is there no evidence of any connection between Paul's opponents and the Jerusalem church, but their fluency in Greek, and familiarity with hellenistic rhetorical conventions, indicates that their origins were in the Jewish Diaspora rather than Palestine.

Käsemann argues that only persons emanating from Jerusalem could have exerted such authority in Corinth to undermine Paul's position there (1942, p26; cf. Holmberg, 1978, pp45f). This assumption defies the evidence of *I Corinthians*, which indicates that the influence of Apollos was at least a potential threat to Paul's authority (cf. especially I Cor.3:10ff; vide discussion above and in previous chapters). Furthermore, any disaffection with Paul would have facilitated the intrusion of rival authority figures in the church. If Paul's authority was further discredited through his demonstration of weakness against the intruders (cf. II Cor.10:1f; 13:2f; 2:1; cf. Oostendorp, 1967, p18), their ascendancy in Corinth would have been facilitated. In Weberian terms, we are dealing with a charismatic movement against Paul in the Corinthian church, in which the demonstration of power was the crucial factor (cf. II Cor.10:4f,9ff; 11:6f,16ff,29f; 12:10ff; 13:2f,10; cf. Theissen, 1975a). The fact that Paul's authority in Corinth was successfully challenged, at least for a time, therefore does not require that his opponents emanated from Jerusalem, or that their activities were authorised by that community, but only that they should have presented themselves to the community as more convincing bearers of divine power.

Barrett argues that Paul alludes in II Cor.10:13ff to the agreement he and Barnabas had entered into with Peter and James in Jerusalem (1971, p238), with the implication that his rivals were violating it by their presence in Corinth. This interpretation is disputed by Furnish (1984, pp480f), who argues that Paul accuses his opponents of exceeding their own commission, and failing to recognize their limitations. I argued in chapter four above that the agreement between the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch did not include the demarcation of missionary territories along geographical or ethnic lines, but the mutual recognition of the validity of the Gospel as preached by the two parties. Paul was, furthermore, a party to this agreement not in his own right, but as a delegate of the Antiochene church. Paul's subsequent appropriation of the Jerusalem conference, in order to legitimate his own apostolic claims, as discussed in chapter six above, modified the wording of the agreement to reflect Paul's conception of his apostolic vocation, with its specific orientation towards mission to the gentiles (cf. Rom.1:5; 11:13; Gal.1:16), and consequent geographical aspect. If this claim is reflected in II Cor.10:13-16 it nevertheless represents a unilateral reinterpretation of the original agreement, and would be meaningful only where Paul's authority was unquestioned. The

Jerusalem agreement does not impinge upon the situation in Corinth, and we should therefore prefer Furnish's interpretation of II Cor.10:13-16, and see Paul's claim to jurisdiction in Corinth in terms of his having planted the church there (cf. I Cor.3:6,12; 9:2). Paul "does not appeal to an exclusive right to come to Corinth as a missionary, but to the historical fact that it was granted to him to do this" (Beyer, 1939, p599).

The use of commendatory letters by Paul's rivals, is sometimes understood as evidence of their having been commissioned by the Jerusalem church (Barrett, 1973, pp40f; cf. Holmberg, 1978, pp45f). This, however, is refuted by Georgi (1964, p244f) and Furnish (1984, p193), and Watson has argued that Apollos could have been the recipient of a commendatory letter from the Ephesian church (1986, pp83f; cf. Acts 18:27). Furthermore, II Cor.3:1ff implies that the Corinthian Christians themselves could have issued letters. The Jerusalem church were not the only possible authors of such letters, and, furthermore, a letter of introduction does not necessarily imply the authorization of specific activities in the community to which the letter is addressed.

The nature of the rival apostles' relationship with the Jerusalem church, is crucial to understanding the nature of their apostleship. There is no evidence that they were ἀπόστολοι/šlḥym in the sense of being emissaries of the church in Jerusalem, or of any other church, such as Paul had been when working from Antioch (vide discussion in chs.3-5 above). Rather, as Paul himself had become since the Antioch incident (vide discussion in ch.6 above), they were independent, charismatic figures, who derived their apostolic authority directly from God, and whose relationship with the Jerusalem church may well have been as tenuous, ambivalent, ambiguous, and fraught as Paul's own. Their activity in Corinth towards the end of Paul's missionary career, therefore, does not constitute intervention by the Jerusalem church in Paul's work, and does not impinge at all upon Paul's relationship with that community. The impression of a relationship in abeyance between Paul and the Jerusalem church (vide discussion in ch.7 above) is unaffected by the crisis in Corinth.

8.2 The Delivery of the Collection

When he wrote I Cor.16:2, Paul was not committed to participating in the

delivery of the collection to Jerusalem. When he wrote Rom.15:30ff, however, the journey to Jerusalem was a definite, and apparently imminent, intention. A number of reasons for Paul's final decision to go to Jerusalem are possible, but confidence that his reception there would be favourable is not one of them.

Paul's apprehension was not caused entirely by uncertainty as to his and the collection's reception by the Christian church in Jerusalem (Schmithals, 1963, p80). His undertaking had wider social and political implications, and accordingly a broader range of perils than intra-Christian concerns. If the collection was perceived by the Temple hierarchy to have diverted funds that would otherwise have reached the Temple, in the form of Temple Tax (for comparison between the collection and Temple Tax, vide Nickle, 1966, pp87-98) or voluntary contributions, or by the Roman authorities to have misused their protection of funds being conveyed to Jerusalem for the purposes of the Temple (Knox, 1925, p298; Nickle, 1966, p88), then Paul's grounds for anxiety would have had nothing to do with his reception by the church in Jerusalem, except in so far as they reacted in accordance with the external pressures resulting from such perceptions. The Christian community in Jerusalem would have risked implicating itself in infringements of both Jewish and Roman law, had it accepted the collection money in such circumstances. In the deteriorating political situation in Judaea at the time (cf. Stern, 1974, pp359-372; Jagersma, 1985, pp131-135), the risks to a marginalized group which had previously incurred the wrath of the religio-political authorities (I Thess.2:14ff; cf. Acts 6:8ff; 8:1ff; 12:1ff), would have been considerable, and may have constrained the Jerusalem church from responding favourably to Paul's overtures.

A further possible cause of anxiety for Paul would have been that the collection could have been perceived as a demonstration of his success in the gentile mission. This would have offended Jewish particularism, and the Jerusalem church may have been constrained by militant public sentiment not to associate with gentile Christians (cf. Holmberg, 1978, p42; Urbach, 1981, p292).

I have argued in chapters six and seven above that Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church had effectively been in abeyance since the Antioch incident, and he could therefore not be certain of his own standing with that community, or of his reception, and that of the collection, when he arrived. Had Paul been able

to complete the collection in time to join the delivery from Antioch, as, I argued above, was his original intention, his personal standing would not have been so important. Not only would it not have been necessary for Paul to make the journey himself (cf. I Cor.16:2), but his personal identity, and any negative connotations associated therewith in the Jerusalem church, would have been subsumed in the collective identity of the Antiochene church, with which the Jerusalem church had a relationship of κοινωνία.

The crisis in Corinth, however, delayed delivery of the collection from Paul's churches for at least a year. The Antiochene church would therefore already have conveyed their collection to Jerusalem (vide discussion of chronology in the Introduction, and summary above). Paul and the representatives of his churches could not therefore simply join in the Antiochene collection, and claim for themselves the κοινωνία which existed between the Jerusalem and Antioch churches. There would be no implicit recognition of κοινωνία, and therefore an implicit assertion of κοινωνία would not suffice. The delegates of Paul's churches would have to deliver their collection on their own, and an explicit claim to κοινωνία between Paul's churches and the Jerusalem church would therefore have to be made. The collection, envisaged as an expression of, and an act within, a κοινωνία that already existed, became instead the basis for a claim to a distinct κοινωνία. Paul could not be certain that such a claim would be accepted, as it would require of the Jerusalem church an expression of solidarity with gentile Christians at a time of heightening Jewish nationalism. Furthermore, the collection was, in effect if not in intention, a demonstration of Paul's missionary success, and therefore of the validity of his apostleship, and independence of the jurisdiction of the Jerusalem church. Whatever primacy he recognized in the Jerusalem church (Rom.15:27), Paul was travelling to Jerusalem not in submission but in self-vindication.

Paul's arrival in Jerusalem is recorded in Acts 21:17. The collection is not mentioned in the subsequent contact with the Jerusalem church. This is in itself no evidence that the collection was rejected, as its questionable legality and contemporary irrelevance could both have led Luke to pass it over in silence. In the Introduction, however, I argued that Acts 11:27-30 relates the delivery of the collection from Antioch, earlier in the *Acts* narrative so as to be included with other Antioch-related material. Luke, however, includes Paul in this delivery, which may

represent a conflation of what became two separate deliveries, and serve to conceal the reasons for Paul's arrest. Acts 21:24, however, may indicate that part of the collection money was purposely spent on Temple rituals, and Holmberg suggests that this implied Paul's acquiescence in, or at least submission to, the interpretation the Jerusalem church placed on the collection, as an act of subordination by the churches Paul had established, and by Paul himself, to the jurisdiction of the Jerusalem church and its leaders (1978, p43). In the circumstances prevailing in Judaea at the time, the Jerusalem church may have felt too vulnerable to enter a relationship of κοινωνία with Paul and his churches (cf. Rom.15:31). The consequences of the delivery of the collection, as envisaged by either side, are unrecorded, and, even if realized temporarily, would almost certainly have been brought to an end by the outbreak of the Jewish War in 66 CE. That Paul was arrested in Jerusalem (Acts 21:33), cannot be doubted, whatever the precise circumstances, but he may well not have been the only one (cf. Schmithals, 1963, p83). That the collection project ended tragically, can scarcely be doubted, but the magnitude of the tragedy remains unknown, concealed not only by the silence of Luke, but also by the subsequent demise of the Jerusalem church.

8.3 Excursus : The Evidence of Philippians

In the Introduction, I noted that the date of *Philippians* is a matter of considerable dispute in contemporary scholarship, with three principal theories as to its provenance. If *Philippians* was written from Caesarea or Rome during the late 50's or early 60's CE, then it post-dates the period with which we are concerned in this thesis, even if it conveys information relevant to an earlier period. If, however, *Philippians* was written from Ephesus in c. 55 CE, then it would be contemporary with the component letters of *II Corinthians*, and directly relevant to the period under consideration.

An assessment of the information contained in *Philippians* is further complicated by the question of its integrity. There is a significant margin of scholarly opinion in favour of the integrity of the letter, represented by Vincent (1897, pxxxii), Plummer (1919, pxii), Bonnard (1950, p9), Furnish (1963, p88), Kümmel (1973, p333), Houlden (1970, p40), Jewett (1970, pp51ff), Hawthorne (1983, pxxxii), Alexander (1989), and, implicitly, by Lightfoot (1868, p67). Gnilka, however, divides canonical *Philippians* into two components (1976, pp5-10), and Beare (1959, p4), Bornkamm (1962), Marxsen (1964, p62), and Vielhauer (1975a, p162) into three. It is not necessary for the present purpose to discuss the arguments for and against these hypotheses in detail. Those scholars who assert the integrity of the letter recognize a division at Phil.3:1-2, and those who postulate a redactional canonical letter, identify a component including the section Phil.3:1b/2-4:1/3. While Beare observes that, if this section does represent a separate letter, its original destination is uncertain (1959, p24), the majority of scholars who favour a redactional hypothesis do not date this component significantly later than the other sections of the canonical letter (cf. Vielhauer, 1975a, p170; Gnilka, 1976, pp24f). We can therefore assume a date for the hypothetical fragment within a year of any of the other components of the canonical letter.

The date of *Philippians* depends largely on the place of origin. While Martin points out that Paul was not necessarily literally a prisoner at the time of writing (1976, p21; cf. Phil.1:7), the majority of scholars date the letter to Paul's known incarcerations, either in Rome (cf. Acts 28:16,30) or in Caesarea (cf. Acts 23:33-27:1), or to a hypothetical imprisonment in Ephesus. Paul's imprisonment

in Rome, favoured by Lightfoot (1868, pp1-28), Vincent (1897, pxxii), Plummer (1919, pxiii), Beare (1959, p23), and Houlden (1970, p42), would have commenced, at the earliest, in 58 or 59 CE (vide discussion of chronology in Introduction), after his arrest in Jerusalem, which concludes the period under consideration in this thesis. Paul's Caesarean captivity, to which Robinson (1976, pp60f) and Hawthorne (1983, pxxxix; cf. Kümmel, 1973, p332) date *Philippians*, likewise dates from after Paul's arrest in Jerusalem, and would, according to the calculations in the Introduction, cover the years 56-58 CE.

Paul's hypothetical imprisonment at Ephesus at sometime during the period c. 53-55 CE (cf. I Cor.15:32; II Cor.1:8-10), is advanced as the date and occasion of *Philippians* by Duncan (1929), Bonnard (1950, p10), Knox (1950, p87; though he dates this period substantially earlier, before the collection project), Bornkamm (1962, p199), Marxsen (1964, p65), Fuller (1966, p34), Vielhauer (1975a, pp168f), and Watson (1986, p73; cf. Kümmel, 1973, p332). Gnilka suggests that the component letter including Phil.3:1b-4:1 was written from Corinth (1976, pp24f), in which case it would be contemporary with *Romans*. There is substantially less evidence to support such an hypothesis, however, and questions could be raised about the compatibility between the circumstances reflected in *Philippians* and *Romans*. As this particular question does not concern the issue of the relevance of the former letter to this thesis, we need consider it no further.

Two major objections to the Ephesian hypothesis are raised by Hawthorne, which merit brief consideration. Hawthorne regards it as a "fatal flaw" in the hypothesis that Paul's Ephesian imprisonment is reconstructed entirely by conjecture (1983, pxxxix). That such a conjecture is sound, and a strong case can be presented in its favour, is evidenced by the strength of scholarly opinion which supports the hypothesis (cf. Watson, 1986, p73). Hawthorne objects further that the absence of any mention of the collection project excludes the possibility that *Philippians* was written from Ephesus during that period (1983, pxxxix). This is a more serious problem. While Knox's dating of Paul's imprisonment in Ephesus to before the collection (1950, p87) is not compatible with the chronological calculations in the Introduction, and raises further problems, Martin has pointed out that Timothy's projected visit to Philippi (Phil.2:19) may have been in connection with the collection (1976, p87). While Paul's despatch of emissaries to Corinth evidently did

not obviate the need for letters (cf. II Cor.8; II Cor.9), the particular problems in Corinth (vide discussion in ch.8 above), not reflected in Philippi (cf. Phil.4:15), may have necessitated written communication. Furthermore, Timothy may have conveyed to Philippi a letter from Paul concerning the collection. I would tentatively raise a further possibility, that, if Sampley has correctly understood the nature of Paul's relationship with the Philippian church (1980, pp51-72), which partly financed his missionary activities (Phil.4:15ff; cf. II Cor.11:9), then this may have affected their involvement in the collection project (but cf. II Cor.8:1ff; 9:1ff). The absence of reference to the collection in *Philippians* is therefore no obstacle to dating the letter to the years 54-55 CE.

While the question of the date and place of writing of *Philippians* is far from resolved, it has been shown that the plausibility of Paul's hypothetical imprisonment in Ephesus, and the dating of the letter to that incarceration, is sufficiently strong to merit considering the information relevant to this thesis contained therein. This concerns principally the identity of those against whom Paul is writing in Phil.3.

Paul makes no mention of Jerusalem or the Jerusalem church in *Philippians*, either as the explicit objects of his wrath, or in support of his position against that he is opposing (cf. Holmberg, 1978, p48). While a number of scholars have identified those against whom Paul is writing in Phil.3:2-16 as non-Christian Jews (Lightfoot, 1868, p71; Klijn, 1964; Houlden, 1970, pp103ff; Hawthorne, 1983, pxlvii), a clear majority regard them as Christians. The majority of scholars identify Paul's opponents as judaistic Christians, while a number allude also to antinomian tendencies which Paul opposes in Philippi (Vincent, 1897, pxxxiii; Plummer, 1919, pxv; Beare, 1959, p132; Martin, 1976, p33). Phil.3:19 is explicable within the context of an attack on Judaizing Christianity (cf. Dunn, 1988, pp903ff), however, as will become apparent in the discussion below, and the antinomian interpretation is not necessary, and certainly cannot point towards the Jerusalem church as the origin of those whom Paul opposes. That Paul is opposing Judaizing Christians, is argued by Duncan (1929, pp275ff), Georgi (1964, p341), Gnilka (1976, pp212ff), and Watson (1986, pp74ff). Schmithals (1957, pp313f), Koester (1962, pp321ff), and Marxsen (1964, p63) point to gnosticising tendencies in Paul's Jewish Christian opponents, but, as argued in chapter eight above in connection with Paul's opponents in Corinth, these features are better understood within the broader

diversity of thought in hellenistic Judaism, a direction in which Koester himself points.

Identifying Paul's opponents is complicated by the fact that they are a potential rather than an active threat to the Philippian church (Phil.1:2; cf. Plummer, 1919, pxv; Watson, 1986, p77). Paul may be referring to a specific group of judaistic Christian missionaries, about whom he had heard from prison, or he may be referring to the general danger of the tendency within early Christianity most likely to mislead the Philippians. In either case, Paul's information cannot have been complete or, necessarily, accurate.

It is quite clear that those whom Paul is opposing are Judaists, who might seek to persuade the Philippian Christians to undergo circumcision (Phil.3:2ff). Paul describes them as "$\tau o\grave{v}\varsigma\ \grave{\epsilon}\chi\theta\rho o\grave{v}\varsigma\ \tau o\tilde{v}\ \sigma\tau\alpha\nu\rho o\tilde{v}\ \tau o\tilde{v}\ X\rho\iota\sigma\tau o\tilde{v}$" (Phil.3:18). This does not necessarily mean that they oppose Christian teaching (cf. Houlden, 1970, pp103ff), but rather that they oppose Paul's particular theology of the cross of Christ, and its implications for the Mosaic law (cf. Gal.2:15-21; 5:2-7; cf. Koester, 1962, p325; cf. also Murphy-O'Connor, 1990). This position, as I have argued in chapters four and five above, was represented in the Jerusalem church not by the leadership, but by a faction which had sought to impose Mosaic obligations on the gentile Christians in Antioch, and so precipitated the Jerusalem conference, at which they were overruled. I argued in chapter six that this group subsequently exploited the crisis in the Antiochene church following Paul's confrontation with Peter, and exerted influence in the Galatian, and perhaps other, churches, which led to Paul's intervention in Galatia. Georgi (1964, p341) and Watson (1986, p80) have pointed to the similarities between the positions opposed in Galatia and Philippi, and the latter has identified Paul's opponents in Philippi as the men from James.

Paul's opponents in Phil.3 are clearly judaistic Christians, and therefore cannot be identified with the group against whose intrusion in Corinth Paul was struggling at the same time, if the Ephesian hypothesis is accepted. Rather, I would suggest, Paul, in prison and uncertain that he will be freed, writes to a church with which he had a particularly close relationship (cf. Phil.4:1,15), and expresses his fears about those whom he sees as the gravest threat to his teaching. The vigour and stridency

of Paul's expression is to be attributed to the candidness with which he writes to the Philippian community, and perhaps the frustration of being incarcerated (but cf. Phil.1:12), and not to the likelihood that the Philippians would succumb to the influence of those against whom Paul writes. The threat is hypothetical (cf. Phil.3:2), but provides Paul with an opportunity to express his frustration and anger to a sympathetic readership. Whereas Paul's opponents in Corinth threaten his authority in the community, but not his doctrine, those whom he had opposed in Galatia, and who might seek to exploit Paul's imprisonment and even his possible death, threatened the gospel to whose apostleship Paul had dedicated his life. The Judaistic faction in the Jerusalem church, and others who adhered to similar views, are therefore, I would suggest, the most likely targets of Paul's abuse in Phil.3. They are not to be identified with the leadership of the Jerusalem church, or the community as a whole, and do not alter our reconstruction of Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church during the period subsequent to his departure from Antioch.

In further substantiation of this position, I would argue that, if elements representing the Jerusalem church, and carrying the authority of its leadership, were threatening to undermine Paul's authority in churches he had founded, then Paul would have regarded the collection as a futile project, and have abandoned it. Certainly he would not have risked his life in Jerusalem if he saw his work in Greece to be threatened by the Jerusalem church, and his presence in those churches all the more essential. Paul could not hope to buy off the hostility of the Jerusalem church with the collection, and, moreover, if there was such hostility towards Paul among the leadership of the Jerusalem church, the Antiochene church would not have jeopardized its κοινωνία with Jerusalem by allowing Paul to rejoin the collection project. Therefore, while there is good reason to believe that *Philippians* was written from Ephesus in c. 54 CE, and it is clear that Paul is attacking judaistic Christians in the letter, there is no evidence that these represented the Jerusalem church, even if they came from there. Our reading of *Philippians* therefore does not alter our reconstruction of Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church.

Conclusions

I

We have been concerned in this thesis with the question of Paul's relationship with the church of Jerusalem. The issue was first brought sharply into focus by F.C. Baur during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Baur's conclusions, and those of his successors, however, require modification in the light both of the broadening of our knowledge of first century Judaism and Christianity, and of subsequent methodological refinements. Both these developments mean that the rigid dialectic of Baur's thesis, which has been continued with modifications by many of his successors, is no longer tenable. I have sought a more flexible approach to the central question, in which both historical and sociological paradigms are accommodated, and which is more appreciative of the diversity of first century Judaism and Christianity.

I have argued that previous scholarship has been hampered by too static an understanding of Paul and his ministry, and accordingly of his relationship with the Jerusalem church. This can be attributed substantially to a scholarly tradition which has not been sufficiently critical in its reading of Paul's letters, most particularly his account of his dealings with the Jerusalem church in Gal.1-2. Not only have Paul's anachronistic assertions been accepted without adequate scrutiny, but statements made late in his career have been read back anachronistically and uncritically into the earlier stages, so that the evolution of Paul's apostolic self-conception has not been fully appreciated, and nor have the historical circumstances which gave rise to its development.

207

A major weakness with previous treatments of Paul, and in particular his relationship with the church of Jerusalem, I have argued, has been its lack of appreciation for the importance of the church of Antioch in Paul's career. I have therefore paid particular attention to the role of the Antiochene church through the successive stages of Paul's ministry, and have argued that, against this background, the development of his apostolic self-conception can be more fully understood. The Antioch church was a community which Paul joined some years after his conversion, and was his base for the most settled period in his Christian life. He derived his dyadic identity from this community, and began his apostolic work as an emissary of the Antiochene church. The significance of the Antiochene Christian community in Paul's life is therefore crucial to understanding not only the period of his association with that church, but also the subsequent period, when Paul operated independently, and developed an apostolic self-conception which compensated for his separation from the Antiochene church, and the loss of dyadic identity and apostolic commission which this entailed.

The period in Paul's life between his conversion and his joining the church of Antioch was, I have argued, an unsettled time during which he was unable to become fully integrated into any Christian community, and was twice a fugitive. His conversion had not involved, and nor did it bring him immediately into the fellowship of, a Christian congregation. His subsequent journeying, and sojourning, in Arabia, Damascus, Jerusalem, and Tarsus, appear to have provided no stability, whatever the nature of his relationships with other Christians during this period. The unsettled nature of Paul's life during the years following his conversion indicates strongly that the subsequent period, his association with the church of Antioch, was of crucial and formative importance for him and his work.

Paul's prolonged association with the church of Antioch forms a distinct contrast to the unsettled period which preceded it. The relative stability which this represents, even if a substantial part of Paul's time and energy were devoted to the outreach of the Antiochene church in Syria and Asia Minor, is significant to a degree which has hitherto not been recognized in New Testament scholarship. Paul's integration into the life of the church in Antioch meant that his dyadic identity, the basis of his social orientation and self-perception, was derived from that community. Paul's work of Christian mission was an aspect and extension

of his membership of the Antioch church, and I have argued that his vocation to apostleship originated in his commission from this community. The reconstruction I have proposed brings a significantly different perspective to bear upon the events of this period, to that which has enjoyed a degree of consensus in modern New Testament scholarship.

Not only was the apostolic work in which Paul was involved a commission delegated by the Antiochene church, but it was as a delegate of that community that Paul participated in the Jerusalem conference. The conference was occasioned by controversy in the Christian community at Antioch, concerning matters of Jewish observance in a church composed largely of gentiles. The Christian community in Antioch sought resolution to the crisis through conferring with the leaders of the church of Jerusalem. I have argued that this conference is to be understood as having taken place in the context of the particular relationship between the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch, and have suggested that this was a κοινωνία. The deliberations of the conference are to be understood in terms of the κοινωνία between the churches, and the decision reached concerned the life and work of those churches. Paul was involved, not in his personal capacity, but as a delegate of the Antiochene church, and his personal status as an apostle, and his own theological opinions, were not at issue. It was the life and mission of the church of Antioch, which depended on coexistence between Jewish and gentile Christians in a single community, which was at stake.

The Jerusalem conference approved the gospel of uncircumcision preached by the Antiochene church, and affirmed the way of life of the community, while the Jerusalem church maintained its gospel of circumcision. This accommodation strengthened the κοινωνία between the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch, and the predominance of the former in that relationship. Paul's participation in this κοινωνία ended, however, as an indirect consequence of the conference, when the tension between the independence of the Antiochene church and the predominance of the Jerusalem church brought Paul into conflict with Peter and Barnabas in Antioch. While the κοινωνία between the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch endured the strain, and was arguably strengthened thereby and through the Apostolic Decree, Paul was as a consequence excluded from the fellowship of the Antiochene church, and its κοινωνία with the Jerusalem church.

209

Membership of the Antioch church had brought stability through social integration and orientation, and dyadic embeddedness and identity, to Paul, as well as providing his commission as an apostle. The comprehensive significance of this community during their period of association, indicates the degree of significance of their separation. Previous scholars, not having appreciated fully the importance of Paul's association with the church of Antioch, have accordingly not appreciated the significance of his separation from that church. As all Paul's extant writings date from the period subsequent to his departure from Antioch, it is particularly important that the cataclysmic transformation in his circumstances be recognized.

Paul's independence was, I have argued, occasioned by his position having become untenable in the Antiochene church. Far from being the ideal circumstances in which to operate as a Christian apostle, Paul's independence, or rather, isolation, was an unforeseen and unsought result of his unsuccessful confrontation with Peter and Barnabas. This independence entailed the loss of Paul's dyadic identity in and apostolic commission from the church of Antioch. His response to this, I have argued, was to develop a theocentric self-identity which would compensate for his loss of dyadic identity and apostolic role. Paul's assertion of a personalized conception of apostleship and apostolic authority, derived directly from, and accountable only to, God, and of a self-identity which was integrally bound up with the gospel he preached and his vocation to preach it, is to be understood not as the direct and immediate consequence of his conversion experience, but as his response to isolation and social dislocation in the aftermath of the Antioch incident.

Paul's separation from the church at Antioch effectively separated him from the church at Jerusalem also. His membership of the Antiochene church had included him in the κοινωνία between the two churches, but he, and therefore the churches he founded during his period of independent apostleship, had no personal or direct relationship with the Jerusalem church. Paul sought, however, to create a relationship between his churches and that at Jerusalem, analogous to that between the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch. In order to accomplish this, Paul sought reconciliation with the church of Antioch, and, so as to claim for himself and his churches a part in the κοινωνία between the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch, joined the latter in raising a collection for the former. The crisis in the Corinthian church, however, delayed the completion of Paul's part in this project,

and required that the collection from his churches be delivered independently. This fundamentally altered the basis on which the offering was made.

Instead of being a transaction within a κοινωνία which already existed between the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch, and in which Paul tacitly claimed a part, the collection became the basis of a claim to κοινωνία between Paul and his churches on the one hand, and the church of Jerusalem on the other. The estrangement between Paul and the leaders of the Jerusalem church, I have argued, made such an overt, direct, and unilateral, claim to κοινωνία hazardous. This, I have argued, accounts in part for Paul's pessimism as to the acceptability of the collection to the Jerusalem church, reflected in *Romans*. While the response of the Jerusalem church to Paul's overtures is not recorded, there can be little doubt that the delivery of the collection was the occasion of Paul's arrest in Jerusalem, which effectively terminated his missionary career.

I have argued that Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church was not static, but passed through successive stages, and the direction of its development was not uniform. Paul's Christian career began without contact with the Jerusalem church, and his subsequent sojourn in Jerusalem established no lasting relationship with that community. It was participation in the κοινωνία between the Antioch church and that of Jerusalem that realized Paul's only stable relationship with the Jerusalem church, and this ended in his confrontation with Peter at Antioch after the Jerusalem conference. Paul's independent missionary career was conducted without contact with the Jerusalem church and its leadership, and ended when he sought to forge a relationship between his churches and that at Jerusalem.

II

In the course of this thesis, I have alluded to a number of issues which, though secondary to the thesis itself, have impinged upon it. My approach to these issues has not always been in conformity with such scholarly consensus as there may be, and it is necessary here to give some account of this, and to indicate where I believe further research is needed, to which this thesis may have given some direction.

I have intimated that our reconstruction and understanding of the period immediately following Paul's conversion would be enhanced if New Testament scholars had available to them more work in the area of psychology of religion, dealing with such situations. Post-conversion dissonance, however, appears to be a promising model for further work in this area, as has been demonstrated recently by Segal (1990). While specific information on Paul's particular case is lacking, such research may nevertheless prove illuminating. A reconstruction of this period in Paul's life would, however, need to take into account the overtly individual nature of Paul's conversion experience, in a world in which dyadism was normative for human identity.

Another area impinging on this early period in Paul's Christian career, and in which our knowledge is severely limited, is that of the place of the wilderness and withdrawal from society in Jewish eschatology and spirituality. Citing the example of John the Baptist, I have argued that the dichotomy between withdrawal and an active ministry is a false one. We need nevertheless to know far more about Jewish individuals and groups, particularly groups other than the Essenes, which withdrew to the fringes of society or beyond, and the patterns of their relationships with the society from which they had at least partially withdrawn. Some understanding of their spirituality and methods of biblical interpretation may, furthermore, help us understand how Paul the Pharisee acquired his Christian appropriations and interpretations of scripture.

I identified as particularly important for understanding Paul's career the question of apostleship. Too often and too uncritically earlier scholarship has identified Paul as the uniquely endowed and commissioned apostle to the gentiles from the moment of his conversion. The theological agenda of critical scholarship, with its dichotomy between Paul and the Judaizing Christianity commonly associated with Peter, and emphasis on the pauline doctrine of justification by faith, has exaccerbated rather than rectified this view, and I have argued that it needs radical revision. We need to see Paul's statements about his apostleship in *Galatians* and elsewhere as reflecting his self-conception at the time that letter was written, and not as recording accurately the historical reality of the previous decades, or of his Christian career as a whole.

212

Once the erroneous presuppositions concerning Paul's apostleship are removed, a critical reading of his letters and such other evidence as there is, reveals a very different, and more plausible, picture of the historical Paul, and of the early Christian Church in which he played an important part. Paul's egocentric and individualistic portrayal of his own apostleship, stems not from his Damascus road experience, but from the isolation which resulted from the Antioch incident. The self-sufficient and independent concept of apostleship provides compensation at the theological level for Paul's loss of dyadic identity and apostolic commission, previously derived from the church at Antioch. Paul defined himself in terms of those who exercised effective authority in the Church, so far as he was able to conform to their credentials, and was accordingly able to recognize others as apostles only in so far as they conformed to his own criteria.

Paul's apostolic conception replaced a more fluid and less personal notion of apostleship, which was defined in terms of function rather than status and authority, and was an activity of the Christian communities, carried out by delegated members. The primitive notion of apostolic work, in which the status of the individual was not important, was replaced by Paul with a concept of apostolic office in which the status of the individual was all important. We are concerned not with two types or levels of apostleship, but with two fundamentally different notions of apostleship.

Since the time of Lightfoot, it has been recognized that the equation of the apostles and the twelve in the synoptic Gospels, *Acts*, and *Revelation*, is not historically tenable (cf. 1890, p97). Subsequent scholarship has generally recognized the apostles as a wider group than the twelve, but, largely on account of presupposing Paul's implicit definition of apostleship in *Galatians* and elsewhere as universally applicable, has understood neither the circumstances which gave rise to Paul's articulation of his distinctive conception of apostleship, nor the essentially straightforward nature of primitive Christian apostleship, clear in function but fluid in membership (cf. Linton, 1932, pp81f; Rengstorf, 1933; Manson, 1948; Mosbech, 1948; Ehrhardt, 1958, pp1f; Hanson, 1961; Klein, 1961; Schmithals, 1961; Roloff, 1965; Barrett, 1968, p343; 1970; 1983; Schnackenburg, 1970, pp300f; Kirk, 1975, p260).

Munck has recognized the cause of the confusion in scholarship, and notes that "the apostolic idea has been mainly taken from Paul, and ... been transferred to the earlier apostles before Paul, and ... Paul has then been allowed to embrace this and take it over from the others" (1949, pp100f; cf. Mosbech, 1948, p198; Schmithals, 1961, pp81,264). If the concept of apostleship derived from Paul is recognized as applying only to him, and only during a limited period of his life, then the task of reconstructing the nature of primitive Christian apostleship, which Paul exercised as an emissary of the Antiochene church, but later fundamentally remodelled on himself, becomes feasible. I would argue, therefore, that scholarship needs to identify the concept of apostleship articulated by Paul, locate it in its specific historical context, and to consider other primitive notions of Christian apostleship reflected in the New Testament, including Paul's earlier apostolic work, without presupposing Paul's specific conception in other forms of apostleship. This would enable a broader understanding of early Christian apostleship, which takes into account the specific circumstances in which apostleship was exercised.

In this thesis I have re-examined Paul's Christian career, identifying its successive stages and analysing them using historical and sociological methods. I have come to the conclusion that the crucial role of the church of Antioch, and its relationship of κοινωνία with the Jerusalem church, has been underestimated in previous treatments of Paul. When the importance of Antioch is fully appreciated, then the historical developments reflected in the New Testament become more intelligible, and Paul's apostolic self-conception, once located in its historical context, can be understood as one manifestation of Christian apostleship in the early Church, rather than as paradigmatic for all. Paul needs to be understood within his historical and social context if his importance is to be fully appreciated, and it is hoped that this thesis has been a contribution in this direction.

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