

D. FRANCOIS TOLMIE

Persuading the Galatians

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Persuading the Galatians

A Text-Centred Rhetorical Analysis of a Pauline
Letter

Mohr Siebeck

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Preface

This study is a revised version of a Ph. D.-thesis (Greek) submitted to the University of the Free State in Bloemfontein, South Africa. Since my undergraduate studies in Greek more than twenty years ago, the concept of rhetorical criticism has fascinated me. This was primarily due to one of the Professors in Greek at the University of the Orange Free State, Cobus Cronjé. With his remarkable knowledge of ancient Greek rhetoricians and his unwavering enthusiasm for the academic study of persuasion he aroused and kept alive my interest in this fascinating aspect of human communication. During my Honours and Masters courses in Greek I spent much time investigating this theme further. However, my D. Th. studies in New Testament took me on a different road, that of the narratological analysis of some chapters in the Fourth Gospel. But I always knew that I would one day return to rhetorical criticism, and, in particular, its application to the Letter to the Galatians. It so happened that I could devote my time to this issue since 1995. Now, at the completion of this study, I wish to thank those who were involved in one way or another in this endeavour:

Professor Cobus Cronjé was an excellent promoter during my studies. His knowledge of ancient and modern theories of persuasion enabled me to undertake and complete this study with much satisfaction. He has not only been my academic guide, but also became a friend in the true sense of the word.

I also wish to express my gratitude to the University of the Free State for the study leave granted to me on several occasions and for providing a climate favourable for research. In particular, I wish to express my gratitude to my colleague in the department of New Testament (now Dean of the Faculty of Theology), Professor Hermie van Zyl, for his friendship and words of encouragement. He also made valuable suggestions with regard to Chapter 3.

In 1997 the University of Durham awarded me a Visiting Fellowship for three months. A heartfelt word of thanks to Professor Jimmy Dunn with whom I could discuss my research project, and from whom I received valuable advice.

I also wish to express my gratitude to the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven who accepted me as visiting professor on two occasions, in 2001 and

again in 2003. In particular, I want to thank Professors Joël Delobel and Gilbert van Belle who acted as hosts during my first and second stays, respectively.

I want to express my gratitude to Professor Jörg Frey, the editor of the WUNT 2 series, for his willingness to include this work in this series.

Lastly, but definitely not least, I wish to express my gratitude to my family, in particular, my parents, my wife, Ansa, and my three children, Carmien, Francois and Mialise. Without them this study would not have meant anything to me.

It is my earnest prayer that this study will not only contribute to the academic understanding of the Letter to the Galatians, but will also help us to understand God's Word in a better way. After all, Paul was right about what is really important in life: ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὔτε περιτομή τι ἰσχύει οὔτε ἀκροβυστία ἀλλὰ πίστις δι' ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη (Gal. 5:6), and: οὔτε γὰρ περιτομή τί ἐστίν οὔτε ἀκροβυστία ἀλλὰ καινὴ κτίσις (Gal. 6:15).

South Africa, November 2004.

D. Francois Tolmie.

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Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	Anchor Bible Dictionary
ABR	Australian Biblical Review
ACEBT	Amsterdamse Cahiers voor Exegese en Bijbelse Theologie
AcTh	Acta Theologica
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
AThANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
BBB	Bonner Biblische Beiträge
BCPE	Bulletin du Centre Protestant d'Études
BCSNT	Biblischer Kommentar über sämtliche Schriften des Neuen Testaments
BDAG	W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich & F. W. Danker, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament</i> . Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000. Third edition.
BDR	F. Blass & A. Debrunner, <i>Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch</i> . Bearbeitet von Friedrich Rehkopf. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001. 18. Auflage.
BET	Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie
BETHL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BFChTh	Beiträge zur Forderung Christlicher Theologie
BHTh	Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie
Bib	Biblica
BibSac	Bibliotheca Sacra
BibTod	Bible Today
BIS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BMSBES	Benedictina Monograph Series: Biblical-Ecumenical Section
BN	Biblische Notizen
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BTB	Biblical Theology Bulletin
BThZ	Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft

CB.NT	Coniectanea Biblica, New Testament Series
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CBSC	Cambridge Bible for Scholars and Colleges
CThMi	Currents in Theology and Missions
EHS	Europäische Hochschulschriften
Eloc	(Demetrius) <i>de Elocutione</i>
ESEC	Emory Studies in Early Christianity
ET	Expository Times
ETHL	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
EvQ	Evangelical Quarterly
Exp	Expositor
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FzB	Forschung zur Bibel
GTA	Göttinger Theologische Arbeiten
HisRhet	History of Rhetoric
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HSNT	Die Heilige Schrift des Neuen Testaments
HThR	Harvard Theological Review
HThS	Harvard Theological Studies
HTKNT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HUTh	Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie
IBSt	Irish Biblical Studies
ICC	International Critical Commentary
Interp	Interpretation
IThS	Innsbrucker Theologische Studien
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JBL.MS	Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
JETS	Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society
JR	Journal of Religion
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSNT.S	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament

JThS	Journal of Theological Studies
JTSA	Journal of Theology for Southern Africa
Jud	Judaica
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
KNT	Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
L&N	J. P. Louw & E. A. Nida, <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains</i> . New York: United Bible Societies, 1988.
LEC	Library of Early Christianity
LSCP	London Studies in Classical Philology
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott & H. Jones, <i>Greek-English Lexicon</i> . Oxford: Clarendon, 1968.
MillSt	Milltown Studies
MNTC	Moffat New Testament Commentaries
Neotest	Neotestamentica
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGNT	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NT	Novum Testamentum
NT.S	Novum Testamentum Supplements
NTA	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTA(NF)	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen (Neue Folge)
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTS	New Testament Studies
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
Presb	Presbyterion
PRSt	Perspectives in Religious Studies
RB	Revue Biblique
RestQ	Restoration Quarterly
RExp	Review and Expositor
Rhet	Rhetorica
RNT	Regensburger Neues Testament
RStR	Religious Studies Review
SBL.DS	SBL Dissertation Series

SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
Script	Scriptura
SKGA	Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums
SNTS.MS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SNW	Studies of the New Testament and its World
SR	Studies in Religion
StBL	Studies in Biblical Literature
StTh	Studia Theologica
SWJT	Southwestern Journal of Theology
TB	Theologische Bücherei
TBNT	Theologische Bücherei, Neues Testament
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament (1967, Reprinted 1973)
ThD	Theology Digest
Theol	Theologie
ThHK	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
ThLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
ThR	Theological Review
ThTo	Theology Today
ThViat(S)	Theologia Viatorum (Faculty of Theology, University of the North, Sovenga)
ThZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
TS	Theological Studies
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum
TTh	Tijdschrift voor theologie
TynB	Tyndale Bulletin
UBT	Urban Taschenbücher
UNT	Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WThJ	Westminster Theological Journal
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
YR	Yale Review
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZBK	Zürcher Bibelkommentare
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZThK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

Chapter 1

Introduction

As the title of this study indicates, this is a *rhetorical* analysis. Since ‘rhetorical’ is one of those terms that can be used to indicate almost any form of literary criticism nowadays,¹ it is necessary to clarify what I mean when using it. In this study I shall use it in the narrower sense of the word, that is, as referring to an approach which aims to analyse the ways in which a text is used in order to persuade its audience.² However, before outlining my intention in more detail, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of recent rhetorical studies of Galatians in order to indicate how my study overlaps and differs from other rhetorical studies of the Letter to the Galatians.

1.1 Recent rhetorical studies of Galatians

1.1.1 H. D. Betz

Any rhetorical study of the Letter to the Galatians should begin by referring to the study of H. D. Betz. He is the person that should be credited with reviving³ interest in the rhetorical nature of Galatians. Building on his

¹ When ‘rhetorical’ is used in a broader sense, it can refer to any aspect linked to the production, structure and reception of texts. See F. D’Angelo, “Rhetorical Criticism”, in: T. Enos (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric and Composition. Communication from Ancient Times into the Information Age* (New York: Garland, 1996), pp. 604–608, for a discussion of the way in which literary criticism tends to dissolve into rhetorical criticism nowadays.

² I shall use ‘audience’ in order to refer to the first readers/hearers of the Letter to the Galatians.

³ It is important to note that the modern rhetorical approach to the New Testament is not something totally new. See C. J. Classen, *Rhetorical Criticism of the New Testament* (WUNT 128, Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2000), pp. 1–28, who points out that ancient rhetorical criticism was used frequently in the interpretation of the New Testament, for example by Melancthon. (Earlier versions: “St. Paul’s Epistles and Ancient Greek and Roman Rhetoric”, in: S. E. Porter & T. H. Olbricht [eds.], *Rhetoric and the New Testament. Essays from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference* [JSNT.S 90, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993], pp. 264–291; and “Paulus und die antike Rhetorik”, *ZNW* 82:1–2 [1991], pp. 1–33.)

earlier research,⁴ Betz published his well-known commentary on Galatians in 1979.⁵ His main thesis is that Galatians is to be regarded as an example of the ancient ‘apologetic letter genre’ and that it can therefore be analysed by means of Greco-Roman rhetoric and epistolography. One of the important distinctions in ancient rhetoric was the three classes of rhetoric identified by Aristotle: forensic, epideictic and deliberative rhetoric. *Forensic rhetoric* dealt with courtroom oratory, in particular, speeches of accusation and defence, the basic issue being guilt or innocence. *Epideictic rhetoric* focused on ceremonial oratory, in particular, speeches of praise and blame, the basic issue being the honourable and the shameful. *Deliberative rhetoric* dealt with counselling the audience on a future course of action, usually within a political context, the basic issue being the expediency or harmfulness of a future act.⁶ According to Betz, as an apologetic letter, Galatians is an example of forensic rhetoric, as it presupposes the fictitious situation of a court of law: Paul is to be regarded as the defendant, his opponents as the accusers and the Galatians as the jury. Furthermore, Betz argues that the intended function of the letter is not only to persuade the Galatians to accept Paul’s case, but also to serve as a ‘magical letter’, as it contains both a conditional blessing and a curse that would become effective at the reading of the letter.⁷

Based on his view that Galatians can be analysed in terms of the classical rhetorical system, Betz then applies the categories used in forensic defence speeches to the letter and provides a detailed (this should be stressed!) outline of the letter. I indicate only the broadest division:

1:1–5: Epistolary prescript

1:6–11: *Exordium*

1:12–2:14: *Narratio*

2:15–21: *Propositio*

3:1–4:31: *Probatio*

3:1–5: First argument: an argument from indisputable evidence

3:6–14: Second argument: an argument from Scripture

3:15–18: Third argument: an argument from common human practice

3:19–25: Digression on the Torah

⁴ See H. D. Betz, “The Literary Composition and Function of Paul’s Letter to the Galatians”, *NTS* 21:3 (1975), pp. 353–379.

⁵ H. D. Betz, *Galatians. A Commentary on Paul’s Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Hermeneia, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979). The German version was published in 1988 as *Der Galaterbrief. Ein Kommentar zum Brief des Apostels Paulus an die Gemeinden in Galatien* (Hermeneia, München: Kaiser, 1988).

⁶ See S. P. O’Rourke, “Modes of Discourse”, in: T. Enos (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric and Composition. Communication from Ancient Times into the Information Age* (New York: Garland, 1996), pp. 446–447.

⁷ Betz, *Galatians*, pp. 24–25.

3:26–4:11: Fourth argument: an argument from Christian tradition

4:12–20: Fifth argument: an argument from friendship

4:21–31: Sixth argument: an allegorical argument from Scripture

5:1–6:10: *Exhortatio*

6:11–18: Epistolary postscript (serving as *conclusio*).⁸

In his commentary Betz frequently refers to ancient rhetorical theory as well as to other ancient literature in order to explain Paul's argumentation.

Virtually all the reviews of Betz's commentary indicate a mixed reaction. On the one hand, the significance of his contribution is acknowledged — in particular, the way in which he shows his skill in the grammatical, lexical, historical and theological commentary on the text. On the other hand, reviewers are reluctant to accept the rigid way in which Betz applies the forensic rhetorical system to the letter. For example, C. K. Barrett⁹ hails the commentary as an "outstanding achievement in biblical rhetorical scholarship", yet at the same time he points out that Betz makes too much of the Greco-Roman rhetorical model, and that other factors should also be considered. Similarly, D. E. Aune¹⁰ sees the great strength of the commentary in Betz's emphasis on the need of understanding and interpreting Galatians within a larger genetic framework and the meticulous way in which he analyses the argument and content of the letter in terms of Greco-Roman rhetoric. Yet, he considers Betz's attempts to force the letter into the framework of the apologetic letter as a major drawback.¹¹ Nevertheless, all subsequent rhetorical analyses have to situate themselves in relation to Betz's study.

1.1.2 Forensic or deliberative rhetoric?

One of the issues that has been receiving considerable attention is Betz's main proposal, namely that Galatians must be regarded as an apologetic letter¹² and that it can therefore be analysed in terms of the categories de-

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 16–23.

⁹ "Galatians as an 'Apologetic Letter' ", *Interp* 24:4 (1980), pp. 414–417.

¹⁰ D. E. Aune, "Review of Betz, H. D., *Galatians. A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979)", *RStR* 7 (1981), pp. 323–325.

¹¹ For other reviews of Betz's work see W. D. Davies, "Review of Betz, H. D., *Galatians. A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979)", *RStR* 7 (1981), pp. 310–318; P. W. Meyer, "Review of Betz, H. D., *Galatians. A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979)", *RStR* 7 (1981), pp. 318–323; E. A. Russell, "Convincing or Merely Curious? A Look at Some Recent Writings on Galatians", *IBSt* 6:4 (1984), pp. 156–176; and M. Silva, "Betz and Bruce on Galatians", *WThJ* 45:2 (1983), pp. 371–385.

¹² In the foreword of the German version of his commentary Betz confirms that his view in this regard has not changed. See Betz, *Galaterbrief*, p. 2.

veloped in ancient rhetoric for the analysis of forensic speeches. This has been met with mixed reaction:

1.1.2.1 A number of scholars respond favourably to this proposal. Scholars such as Brinsmead, Ruegg, Hübner, Becker, Hester and Martin accept it — although in a qualified way.

*H. Brinsmead*¹³ treats Galatians as a dialogic response to Paul's opponents. In this process he discusses the literary genre of Galatians and accepts Betz's classification of Galatians as an apologetic letter and then follows his outline of the structure of the letter with some minor qualifications.¹⁴

*U. Ruegg*¹⁵ also accepts Betz's proposal with regard to the apologetic nature of Galatians. His argument is similar to that of Betz: Galatians corresponds to the rhetorical structure of a legal plea as outlined by Quintilian, and should thus be classified as forensic. He also indicates how Betz's approach helps to illuminate Paul's strategy in the letter, his cultural background, personality and apostolic authority.

*H. Hübner*¹⁶ also accepts Betz's proposal that Galatians is to be viewed as a forensic speech, yet draws attention to what he considers the most vulnerable part of Betz's reasoning, namely that he does not take into account that Galatians is a letter and not a speech:

Wie kann die Gattung Verteidigungsbrief mit den Begriffen der Rhetorik auf einen Nenner gebracht werden? Noch fundamentaler gefragt: *Wie steht es um das Verhältnis von antiker Epistolographie und Rhetorik?* (Hübner's italics).¹⁷

He then proceeds to answer the question himself. He argues that it is indeed possible to reconcile these two categories as Galatians is the letter of a man for whom preaching was an essential task, and that Paul followed this kind of style when he wrote letters.¹⁸ Hübner then proposes minor qualifications to Betz's rhetorical outline. For example, he classifies Gala-

¹³ B. H. Brinsmead, *Galatians* (SBL.DS 65, Chico: Scholars Press, 1982). Although Brinsmead's study was published in 1982, it was completed in 1979 and, accordingly, he only used Betz, "Composition", and not Betz, *Galatians*.

¹⁴ For example, Brinsmead, *Galatians*, pp. 49–55, identifies Galatians 1:6–10 as *exordium* instead of Betz's 1:6–11 ("Composition", pp. 359–361), and classifies Galatians 5:1–6:10 as *refutatio* and not as *exhortatio* as Betz, "Composition", pp. 375–377, does.

¹⁵ U. Ruegg, "Paul et la Rhétorique Ancienne", *BCPE* 35:7–8 (1983), pp. 5–35.

¹⁶ H. Hübner, "Der Galaterbrief und das Verhältnis von antiker Rhetorik und Epistolographie", *ThLZ* 109:4 (1984), pp. 241–250. See p. 249: "Im Prinzip ist B. zuzustimmen."

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 245: "...daß Paulus Apostel war, und als solcher, sofern er schreibt 'redend schreibt.'"

tians 3:1–5 as introduction to the *probatio*,¹⁹ and adds Galatians 5:1–12 to the *probatio*²⁰ and not to the *exhortatio* as Betz does. In his *Biblische Theologie*²¹ Hübner confirms his view that Galatians is to be regarded as an apologetic letter.

J. Becker²² also follows Betz. However, his outline of the rhetorical structure of Galatians differs slightly from that of Betz: Galatians 1:6–9 (*exordium*; v. 10 is regarded as a brief transition), 1:11–2:14a (*narratio*), 2:14b–21 (*propositio*),²³ 3:1–5:12 (*probatio*) divided into two argumentative complexes (3:1–4:7; 4:8–31) followed by a conclusion (5:1–12), and, finally, 5:13–6:10 (*paraenesis*).

In an article devoted to the rhetorical structure of Galatians, James Hester²⁴ proposes some modifications to Betz's explanation of the rhetorical structure of Galatians: the *exordium* is delineated as 1:6–10 instead of Betz's 1:6–11; 1:11–12 is identified as the *stasis*²⁵ with 1:13–14 functioning as a *transitio*; the *narratio* is delineated as 1:15–2:10 instead of Betz's

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

²¹ H. Hübner, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments. Band 2: Die Theologie des Paulus und ihre neutestamentliche Wirkungsgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), pp. 57–58. Hübner acknowledges that it would be possible to classify Galatians as an example of deliberative rhetoric instead of forensic rhetoric, but, nevertheless, maintains that, in principle, it is *apologetic* and that attack ('Angriff') would be possible in such a speech.

²² J. Becker, *Paulus. Der Apostel der Völker* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1992), pp. 288–294.

²³ According to Becker, *Paulus*, p. 292, Galatians 2:14b–21 can be viewed as a small forensic speech ("eine kleine Gerichtsrede") with 2:14b as *exordium*, 2:15–17 as *narratio*, 2:18–20 as *probatio*, and 2:21 as *peroratio*.

²⁴ J. D. Hester, "The Rhetorical Structure of Galatians 1:11–2:14", *JBL* 103:2 (1984), pp. 223–233. Note that in this article he does not intend to examine Betz's assertion that Galatians is a model of forensic speech.

²⁵ See R. D. Anderson, *Glossary of Greek Rhetorical Terms Connected to Methods of Argumentation, Figures and Tropes from Anaximenes to Quintilian* (CBET 24, Leuven: Peeters, 2000), p. 68 note 111, for a brief description of what was meant by *stasis*. It was used in ancient rhetoric mostly in connection with judicial rhetoric and referred to the nature of the case to be argued. Usually four *staseis* were identified:

1. Concerning the fact of the occurrence, for example, did the accused actually commit the crime?
2. Concerning the definition of the crime, for example, can the deed committed by the accused really be classified as murder?
3. Concerning the quality, for example, were there any mitigating circumstances that justified the deed?
4. Concerning the procedural objections, for example, has the accused been brought before the appropriate court?

1:12–2:14; and 2:11–14 is identified as *digressio*. In another article, Hester²⁶ responds favourably to Betz's proposal that a forensic model is present in Galatians (at least through Gal. 2:21),²⁷ and discusses the *topoi* (in particular, quality and order) as well as a number of rhetorical devices used in Galatians 2:1–10. In an article published later, Hester²⁸ develops his interpretation of Galatians 1:11–12 as the *stasis* statement of the letter. He points out that the *stasis* of Galatians is to be classified as one of *qualitas*. This is then linked to the epideictic genre, and he concludes that Galatians 1–2 is a carefully constructed epideictic discourse.²⁹

T. Martin³⁰ also analyses the rhetorical *stasis* of the Galatian controversy. He determines the principal *stasis* as Galatians 4:8–11 and the secondary *stasis* as Galatians 1:6–9. According to Martin, the principal *stasis* is one of quality. He then presents an analysis of Galatians to show how Paul argues his case based on this *stasis*. He concludes by noting that Betz is correct in identifying Galatians as an example of forensic oratory, since the breach of agreement between Paul and the Galatians was an issue that could have been tried in a court of law.

1.1.2.2 Several scholars do not accept Betz's classification of Galatians as an example of forensic rhetoric. Instead, they regard Galatians as a mixture of two rhetorical genres:

D. E. Aune³¹ proposes that Galatians should be viewed as a *mixture* of two types of rhetoric, namely forensic and deliberative. According to this proposal, Galatians 1–2 is an example of forensic rhetoric (as Betz maintains), but Galatians 3–4 is an example of deliberative rhetoric, since, according to Aune, there is a clear change of style (in particular, the introduction of diatribe style) at the beginning of chapter 3.

²⁶ J. D. Hester, "The Use and Influence of Rhetoric in Galatians 2:1–14", *ThZ* 42:5 (1986), pp. 386–408.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 408.

²⁸ J. D. Hester, "Placing the Blame: The Presence of Epideictic in Galatians 1 and 2", in: D. F. Watson (ed.), *Persuasive Artistry. Studies in New Testament Rhetoric in Honor of George A. Kennedy* (JSNT.S 50, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), pp. 281–307.

²⁹ See also his "Epideictic Rhetoric and Persona in Galatians 1 and 2", in: M. D. Nanos (ed.), *The Galatians Debate. Contemporary Issues in Rhetorical and Historical Interpretation* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2002), pp. 180–196, in which he argues that a "constellation of forms" (p. 195) related to the epideictic can be indicated in Galatians 1–2.

³⁰ "Apostasy to Paganism: The Rhetorical Stasis of the Galatian Controversy", *JBL* 114:3 (1995), pp. 437–461.

³¹ "Review", pp. 325–326.

Aune's suggestion is followed by *G. W. Hansen*,³² whose primary aim is to describe the function of Paul's use of the Abraham story in the light of an epistolary and a rhetorical analysis. With regard to the rhetorical genre of Galatians, Hansen points out that Galatians 1:6–4:11 has the typical characteristics of forensic rhetoric, since Paul defends himself against false accusations in these chapters, and, at the same time accuses his opponents of spreading a false gospel. However, according to Hansen, there is a major shift in Galatians 4:12–20: the dominant tone becomes deliberative rather than forensic. Henceforth Paul's primary purpose is no longer to accuse/defend, but to persuade the Galatians to adopt a new kind of action.³³ Thus, Galatians consists of a mixture of forensic and deliberative rhetoric.

In his study of the rhetorical situation of 1 Thessalonians, Galatians and Philippians, *J. Schoon-Janßen*³⁴ devotes attention to the way in which Paul uses the following aspects: epistolography, Greco-Roman rhetoric, diatribe style and Old Testament quotations. In his discussion of the way in which Paul uses Greco-Roman rhetoric he rejects Betz's proposal that Galatians must be viewed as an example of forensic rhetoric only. According to Schoon-Janßen, Galatians consists of a mixture of rhetorical genres: Galatians 1:10–2:14 can be classified as pure forensic oratory;³⁵ Galatians 3:1–5:12 is a mixture of deliberative and forensic oratory, and Galatians 5:13–6:18 is pure deliberative oratory.³⁶

1.1.2.3 There is also a third perspective on the rhetorical genre of Galatians. Some scholars reject Betz's proposal that Galatians must be viewed as an example of forensic rhetoric, arguing that it should be classified as an example of deliberative oratory. Scholars such as Kennedy, Hall, Cosgrove, Vouga and Smit choose this option:

³² G. W. Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians. Epistolary and Rhetorical Contexts* (JSNT.S 29, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989).

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 58–60. It should be pointed out that Hansen also includes an epistolary analysis, as well as a discussion of the rhetorical techniques in Galatians in terms of the outline provided by Ch. Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric. A Treatise on Argumentation* (London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969).

³⁴ J. Schoon-Janßen, *Umstrittene 'Apologien' in den Paulusbriefen. Studien zur rhetorischen Situation des 1. Thessalonicherbriefes, des Galaterbriefes und des Philipperbriefes* (GTA 45, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991).

³⁵ Schoon-Janßen, *ibid.*, p. 112, distinguishes three arguments ('Beweisgänge') in this section (Galatians 1:12–24; 2:1–10 and 2:11–14), and views the dialogical use of diatribe elements as important for delineating this section.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 70–82, 112–113.

G. A. Kennedy³⁷ draws attention to the fact that Betz is unable to provide any example of forensic rhetoric that includes exhortation (as is found in Galatians 5–6). According to Kennedy, this is not the case with deliberative rhetoric, since Quintilian states that exhortation and discussion are two forms of deliberative rhetoric. Thus, it is better to classify Galatians as an example of deliberative rhetoric. According to Kennedy, this is confirmed by the fact that the basic argument in Galatians is that the action, which the audience has to take, is in their self-interest — the type of argument typical of deliberative rhetoric.³⁸

R. G. Hall³⁹ argues that the aim of Paul's argument in Galatians is not primarily to defend himself (as Betz assumes), but rather to urge the Galatians to cleave to him and his version of the gospel. Therefore Hall classifies Galatians as deliberative. He also provides a different outline of the rhetorical structure of Galatians:

1. Salutation (1:1–5)
2. *Propositio* (1:6–9)
3. Proof (1:10–6:10)
 - A. Narration (1:10–2:21)
 - B. Further Headings (3:1–6:10)
4. Epilogue (6:11–18).⁴⁰

In his study of the relation between cross and Spirit in Galatians, C. H. Cosgrove⁴¹ points out that Paul's aim is to change the Galatians' present course of thinking and action with reference to the gospel, and argues that the letter should be classified as a deliberative speech. In his own outline of the letter, Cosgrove pays more attention to its epistolary nature and divides it as follows:

- Opening (1:1–5)
 Thanksgiving parody (1:6–10)
 Body (1:11–6:10)
- | | |
|-----------|-------------------------------------|
| Part One: | Apostolic Autobiography (1:11–2:21) |
| Part Two: | Central Argument (3:1–4:30) |

³⁷ G. A. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), pp. 145–147.

³⁸ See Section 1.1.3.1 below for the methodology developed by Kennedy for rhetorical analysis.

³⁹ R. G. Hall, "The Rhetorical Outline for Galatians: A Reconsideration", *JBL* 106:2 (1987), pp. 277–287.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

⁴¹ C. H. Cosgrove, *The Cross and the Spirit. A Study in the Argument and Theology of Galatians* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1988), pp. 25–27. On p. 26 (note 49) Cosgrove draws attention to an unpublished paper of N. Dahl in which he stresses the affinities between Galatians and deliberative rhetoric, too.

Part Three: Apostolic Exhortation (4:31–6:10)
 Opening (4:31–5:12)
 Paraenesis (5:13–6:10)

Postscript (6:11–17)

Closing Benediction (6:18).⁴²

In a short article on the rhetorical genre of Galatians, F. Vouga⁴³ points out that one of the arguments that can be lodged against attempts to classify Galatians as an example of deliberative rhetoric is the exceptional length of the *narratio*. Therefore he draws attention to an ancient deliberative text that does contain a relatively long *narratio*, namely Demosthenes' *On the Peace*. Vouga argues that the *dispositio* of this speech corresponds exactly to that of Galatians,⁴⁴ and that this may serve as confirmation that Galatians is indeed a deliberative speech.

J. Smit⁴⁵ raises several objections against Betz's rhetorical analysis and then presents his own analysis of the letter in terms of the rules designed for rhetoric:⁴⁶

Exordium (1:6–12)

Narratio (1:13–2:21)

Confirmatio (3:1–4:11)

Conclusio: Part 1: *Conquestio* (4:12–20)

Conclusio: Part 2: *Enumeratio* (4:21–5:6)

Conclusio: Part 3: *Indignatio* (5:7–12)

Amplificatio (6:11–18).

Smit concludes that Galatians corresponds entirely to the norms set for deliberative rhetoric in the ancient handbooks on rhetoric.⁴⁷

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁴³ F. Vouga, "Zur rhetorischen Gattung des Galaterbriefes", *ZNW* 79:3–4 (1988), pp. 291–292.

⁴⁴ For criticism of this argument, see R. D. Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul* (CBET 18, Leuven: Peeters, 1999, Revised Edition), p. 148 (note 60).

⁴⁵ J. Smit, "The Letter of Paul to the Galatians: A Deliberative Speech", *NTS* 35:1 (1989), pp. 1–26.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 9–22. Note that Galatians 5:13–6:10 is omitted, because Smit views it as a (Pauline) fragment added to the letter at a later stage.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 22–23. R. T. H. Dolamo, "Rhetorical Speech in Galatians", *ThViat(S)* 17 (1989), pp. 30–37, also regards Galatians as a deliberative speech. See also the comments by H. Boers, *The Justification of the Gentiles. Paul's Letter to the Galatians and Romans* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1994), p. 45:

Neither Betz nor his critics have shown conclusively that Galatians was actually structured by Paul as a rhetorical speech with an epistolary prescript and conclusion. What they have shown, with varying degrees of success, is that Galatians can be analyzed rhetorically in terms of the structure of either an apologetic or a deliberative speech. They have shown convincingly that Paul's letters were influenced by rhetoric, either

W. B. Russell⁴⁸ also regards Galatians as a deliberative speech. He basically uses the procedures outlined by G. A. Kennedy⁴⁹ and outlines the rhetorical structure of the letter as follows:

Prescript/Salutation (1:1–5)

Prologue/*Proem*/*Exordium* (1:6–10)

Proof/*Probatio*/*Confirmatio* (1:11–6:10)

A historical argument proving the superiority of Paul's gospel *via narratio* (1:11–2:21)

An experimental argument proving the superiority of their sonship-through-faith *via* Scripture fulfilment in six external proofs (3:1–4:31)

A causal argument proving the superiority of their present deliverance in Christ *via* community observation (5:1–6:10)

Postscript/Epilogue/*Conclusio* (6:11–18).

1.1.3 Alternatives

Not all scholars share the enthusiasm for the way in which Betz applies rhetorical criticism to Galatians. Most of them are not against the notion of rhetorical criticism as such, but feel uneasy about the rigid way in which Betz applies categories from ancient rhetorical criticism to Galatians. Accordingly, a number of alternative approaches are suggested:

1.1.3.1 One alternative is that ancient rhetoric may be used to analyse Galatians, although not in the way Betz does it. Several scholars can be mentioned:

G. A. Kennedy⁵⁰ views rhetoric as a universal phenomenon. In particular, he regards ancient rhetoric as a universal system that can be applied to all texts.⁵¹ Yet he does not follow the same approach as Betz. Instead, he develops his own methodology comprising of the following steps:⁵²

Determination of the rhetorical unit: It must have a beginning, a middle and an end. It should not be too large and, accordingly, it is better to analyse a large rhetorical unit in terms of its smaller constituent units.

formally or as a part of Paul's involvement in the general culture of his time... Furthermore, these studies have shown that if the letter was structured rhetorically, the evidence clearly favors a deliberative speech.

⁴⁸ W. B. Russell, "Rhetorical Analysis of the Book of Galatians", *BiblSac* 150:599 (1993), pp. 341–358, and *BiblSac* 150:600 (1993), pp. 416–439.

⁴⁹ See Section 1.1.3.1.

⁵⁰ *New Testament Interpretation*. Kennedy's views on the rhetorical genre of Galatians is discussed in 1.1.2.3 above.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 10–11.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 33–38. See Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, pp. 28–29, on the difficulty in outlining the various steps distinguished by Kennedy.

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