

ROY E. CIAMPA

The Presence and
Function of Scripture
in Galatians 1 and 2

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

102

Mohr Siebeck

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zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

Herausgegeben von
Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

102



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Mohr Siebeck

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*To My Wife and Children
Marcelle, Timothy and Christina*

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Roy E. Ciampa

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References and Abbreviations

Translations from the Septuagint and from Galatians are by the author. Unless otherwise noted, other Scripture citations and citations from the Apocrypha are from the Revised Standard Version. Translations have been provided in the footnotes for sources cited from Italian, Spanish and Portuguese works.

In this work Greek text is italicized for the purpose of highlighting the most relevant part of the text for the point at hand and should not be confused with the use of italics in the Nestle-Aland text where it marks citations from Scripture.

See the Introduction to the Appendix for the abbreviations employed in the charts found there.

The first footnote reference to a work (other than a commentary) provides the name of the author(s), the full title of the work and the pages referred to. Subsequent references to the same work employ the author's last name and an abbreviated form of the title. References to dictionary articles give the dictionary abbreviation and volume (if the dictionary has more than one) and page numbers.

Commentaries are referred to by author's last name and page number. Full bibliographic details may be found in the bibliography. Abbreviations follow the standards provided in the 1994 Society of Biblical Literature Membership Handbook. The following abbreviations, also employed in this study, cannot be found in or deduced from that source:

<i>DPL</i>	Gerald F. Hawthorne, Ralph P. Martin, and Daniel G. Reid (eds.), <i>Dictionary of Paul and His Letters</i> .
<i>EDNT</i>	Horst Balz and Gerhard Schneider (eds.), <i>Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament</i> .
Eng	English
Grk	Greek
Heb	Hebrew
<i>Jos. Asen.</i>	<i>Joseph and Aseneth</i>
<i>Liv. Pro.</i>	<i>Lives of the Prophets</i>
<i>NIDNTT</i>	Colin Brown (ed.), <i>New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology</i> .
SSA	Semantic Structure Analysis

Introduction

I. The Context and Purpose of this Investigation

Galatians 1–2 has never been exposed to a thorough analysis of the possible presence and function of Scripture within it. This is true despite the fact that it is part of one of the most scripturally-oriented books of the New Testament and that it introduces two of the chapters that are “major players” in the discussion of Paul’s use of Scripture. The objective of this study is to provide a thorough investigation into the presence and function of Scripture within those first two chapters of Paul’s letter to the Galatians and to develop the implications of that study for our understanding of the letter as a whole, and for our broader understanding of Paul and of the presence and function of Scripture in his letters.

Although a number of interpreters have discerned or discussed some of the allusions or echoes found in the passage,¹ the totality of these allusions and echoes and their function in the discourse have never been considered as a subject in and of themselves. Those who have discerned such scriptural influences have typically not given careful consideration to the function of those echoes or allusions within the structure and argument of the unit within which they are found or within the structure of the discourse as a whole.

Galatians 3–4, on the other hand, has been the subject of a number of studies related to the issue of Paul’s use of Scripture.² What Richard Hays

¹ Of the commentators, Franz Mußner, Richard Longenecker and James Dunn have been most sensitive in this area. K. O. Sandnes, *Paul – One of the Prophets?*, 48–76, has pointed out much of the material relating to Paul’s prophetic status in the first chapter of the letter. Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr’s study, *Heidenapostel aus Israel*, 4–78, has focused on 1:13 ff. and Paul’s description of his former life in Judaism. James Dunn’s *The Theology of Paul’s Letter to the Galatians*, 36 ff., has highlighted the scriptural/theological background of the “shared convictions” suggested by the opening paragraphs of the letter and his *Jesus, Paul and the Law*, brings out some of the scriptural background relating to the first two chapters, especially as it relates to the Antioch incident.

² On the Abraham material alone see C. K. Barrett, “The Allegory of Abraham, Sarah, and Hagar in the argument of Galatians”; Nancy L. Calvert, “Abraham and Idolatry: Paul’s Comparison of Obedience to the Law with Idolatry in Galatians 4.1–10”; Stephen Fowl, “Who Can Read Abraham’s Story? Allegory and Interpretive Power in Galatians”; G. Walter Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians: Epistolary and Rhetorical*

says of Paul's use of Scripture in general applies perfectly well to these chapters: "The Pauline quotations and allusions have been cataloged, their introductory formulas classified, their relation to various Old Testament text-traditions examined, their exegetical methods compared to the methods of other interpreters within ancient Christianity and Judaism."³ He goes on to say that

The achievements of such inquiries are by no means to be disparaged: they have, as it were, unpacked and laid out the pieces of the puzzle. But how are the pieces to be assembled? Most of the "unpacking" of the Pauline citations was complete more than a generation ago, yet we still lack a satisfying account of Paul's letters as "hermeneutical events,"⁴ discourse in which Paul is engaged in the act of reinterpreting Scripture to address the concerns of his communities.⁵

He is surely correct to say that such achievements are not to be disparaged. It may be misleading, however, to suggest that they have "unpackaged and laid out the pieces of the puzzle." In fact Hays' own work has helped to point out some of the pieces of the puzzle that had not been fully recognized earlier. Given the recent attention which has been given to subtler echoes and the intertextual nature of early Jewish literature,⁶ it would seem that a number of significant yet previously unrecognized pieces of the puzzle have yet to be fully integrated into our perception of the presence and function of Scripture within Paul's letters.

Previous work in this area has been almost exclusively focused on scriptural citations and allusions within Paul's letters.⁷ Often Paul's many scattered citations are gathered together from their literary "Diaspora" in order to be examined side-by-side either according to their canonical order of appearance⁸ or according to the particular categories of usage which the

Contexts; Roy A. Harrisville III, *The Figure of Abraham in the Epistles of St. Paul: In the Footsteps of Abraham*; Terence P. McGonigal, "'Abraham Believed God': Genesis 15:6 and its Use in the New Testament"; and Jeffery S. Siker, *Disinheriting the Jews: Abraham in Early Christian Controversy*.

³ Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letter of Paul*, 9. In a footnote Hays lists the "landmark works" as those of Goppelt, Ellis, Michel, Bonsirven, Dodd, Lindars and Koch.

⁴ Hays acknowledges that he has borrowed this description from Leander Keck, "Pauline Studies: Retrospect."

⁵ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 9.

⁶ See, e.g., Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*; Daniel Boyarin, *Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash*; Sylvia C. Keesmaat, "Exodus and the Intertextual Transformation of Tradition in Romans 8.14–30"; and several of the studies in Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, eds., *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*.

⁷ See the review of literature offered below.

⁸ Typically they are examined in terms of the nature of their textual *Vorlagen*, verbal adaptations, varying citation formulae, etc.

investigator is interested in examining.⁹ More recent study has opened the door to a more careful analysis of such passages that considers the possible presence of echoes as well as allusions and citations. Still, these helpful studies have left us with an incomplete grasp of Paul's use of Scripture in at least two different ways.

First, our understanding is incomplete in that most of what is now known about Paul's use of Scripture we could have discovered even if every pericope in which Paul cited Scripture were removed from its present literary context and studied in relative isolation.¹⁰ It would still be possible to evaluate his *Vorlagen*, introductory formulae, verbal modifications, themes treated in the citations, the function of the citation in the paragraph as a whole, etc. It is remarkable that most of the methods usually applied in the study of Paul's use of the Old Testament are not equipped to deal with the question of the significance of any particular usage within its literary context or for the broader understanding of the document in which it was found.¹¹ This neglect is reflected in Hays' assertion that "What we need are studies that will attend not just to exegetical techniques and backgrounds, but also to the meaning-effects produced by Paul's allusions and intertextual juxtapositions."¹²

Our understanding of Paul's use of Scripture in his letters is incomplete not only because it has focused almost exclusively on "exegetical techniques and backgrounds" but also because even that limited attention tends to be given only to a restricted selection of texts that are "rich" in scriptural citations and allusions.¹³ There has been a tendency to give unbalanced attention to those letters in which Paul cites Scripture explicitly and frequently, and within those letters to those few chapters in

⁹ Normally this is done according to the type of hermeneutical understanding or usage which the cited texts are seen to exemplify such as a similar type (or lack) of citation formula, a similar typological understanding, a similar exegetical technique, a similar theological theme, or a similar (usually local) literary function.

¹⁰ Or even if they were then reinserted into some other quite different literary context.

¹¹ It must be said that the works of Richard Hays and A. T. Hanson *are* more interested in those broader issues of meaning, and Hays' work in particular is a great step forward in this area.

¹² Richard B. Hays, "Crucified with Christ," 335 note 53.

¹³ Even the recent attention given to echoes in Paul's letters tends to concern itself almost exclusively with echoes found in the context of more obvious citations and allusions.

which he does engage in explicit scriptural interpretation.¹⁴ Most contemporary answers to the question, “How does Paul use Scripture in his letters?” are more precisely answers to the question, “How does Paul use Scripture in Romans 3–4, 9–11; Galatians 3–4; 1 Corinthians 10; and 2 Corinthians 3?” In this way not only are several of Paul’s letters left out of the discussion altogether, but even those letters which are central to the discussion are treated in piecemeal fashion.

The combined limitations of a preoccupation with citations at the expense of more subtle uses of Scripture, and a similarly limited focus on selected passages within selected letters and a failure to give due attention to the questions of why this type of usage and not that, why here and not there,¹⁵ have left us with an extremely emaciated understanding of the presence and function of Scripture in Paul’s letters. As a consequence of this hermeneutical myopia, we are not presently qualified to describe how Scripture functions within the totality of any of Paul’s letters. We are merely qualified to make some statements about the use and meaning of certain citations (and perhaps some related allusions) within certain parts of his letters (where they are found in high density), or to make some very broad generalizations about Paul’s citation technique which are of limited value for grasping his broader comprehension and use of Scripture.

In order to arrive at a more balanced and comprehensive understanding of Paul’s use of Scripture in his letters it will be necessary to take into account all of Paul’s letters and to look at each of them as organic, integrated, coherent and comprehensive wholes.¹⁶ Within this larger corpus Scripture may be expected to play both major and minor roles depending on the circumstances and rhetorical contexts of each individual case. Jacob Neusner offers the following preview of his findings in the

¹⁴ The weakness of such a methodological approach was pointed out by Adolf von Harnack as early as 1928 in his influential article, “Das Alte Testament in den paulinischen Briefen und in den paulinischen Gemeinden.” See now the convenient translation in Brian S. Rosner (ed.), *Understanding Paul’s Ethics: Twentieth-Century Approaches*, chap. 1: “The Old Testament in the Pauline Letters and in the Pauline Churches.” While this study contests Harnack’s central presuppositions and conclusions, it argues that Harnack has correctly discerned a flaw in almost all preceding and subsequent studies of Paul’s use of Scripture. Harnack is absolutely correct in his insistence that we consider the data from all of Paul’s letters and not just those that make several references to Scripture. Also the four *Hauptbriefe* need to be examined as *whole documents* rather than with an unbalanced focus on those parts that do refer explicitly to Scripture. See the discussion of Harnack’s article in the review of literature below.

¹⁵ Or rather, why this type of usage here and that type of usage there?

¹⁶ See again Harnack’s complaint as mentioned in note 14 above.

first volume of his study of *The Torah in the Talmud: A Taxonomy of the Uses of Scripture in the Talmud*:

We shall see that Scripture plays an active and a passive role; it dictates the shape of the inquiry and its logic, and it merely contributes inert facts to an inquiry framed in other terms altogether. Consider furthermore: Scripture forms the principal locus of discourse and takes up a merely tangential position. Verses of Scripture are accorded probative value and may be manipulated in an essentially formal manner. Make sense, if you can, of the fact that disputes may take shape on the principles by which a verse is to be read and its evidence as to fact to be uncovered, and verses may be read as if we all know precisely how to read them and what, of course, everyone knows they mean. Scripture determines the structure and program of a composition and even of large composites, and Scripture plays scarcely any more than an illustrative, formal role in a great many others.¹⁷

Much the same could also be said for the role of Scripture in the letters of Paul. The unbalanced focus on a limited selection of passages within the Pauline corpus seems to reflect an unrecognized and unexamined presupposition to the effect that a lack of scriptural citations or clear allusions obviously indicates that Scripture is not present or functioning at all. It is as though an extended section of discourse with no significant relation to Scripture would be irrelevant to a discussion of the presence and function of Scripture in Paul's letters.

In order to make significant progress in our understanding of the presence and function of Scripture in Paul's letters it will be necessary to broaden the project beyond the pursuit of new insights from the same Scripture-rich texts which have traditionally monopolized the attention of those investigating Paul's use of Scripture. It will also be necessary to begin a comprehensive investigation of those sections of Paul's letters which have typically been neglected in order to discern whether or not Scripture might be present and functioning in a more subtle or sophisticated manner than those which have normally caught the attention of investigators. Afterwards the results of this more comprehensive investigation, whether positive or negative, must be integrated with what has already been learned of Paul's use of Scripture. At that point it will be possible to begin asking and answering broader questions regarding the relationship or difference between Paul's use of citations and his use of allusions or echoes, and regarding the relationship between allusions or echoes which occur in the context of explicit citations and those which occur in a context free from explicit citations. We will be able to ask questions about the type of discourse or the type of issues where Paul

¹⁷ Jacob Neusner, *The Torah in the Talmud: A Taxonomy of the Uses of Scripture in the Talmud*, 1:2.

develops his thought by the use of citations and allusions, by the use of allusions and echoes alone, or without any perceptible role attributable to Scripture whatsoever.

Before these types of questions can be addressed we must first arrive at a comprehensive understanding of the variety of ways Paul develops his discourse both with and without the presence and function of Scripture in each of his letters. This type of study would, for the first time, put us in a position where it would be possible to obtain a global picture of such fundamental subjects as “the presence and function of Scripture in Galatians,” “the presence and function of Scripture in Romans,” “the presence and function of Scripture in 1 Corinthians,” and the presence and function of Scripture in each of Paul’s letters as organic systems, discerning the relationships between sections of various types of explicit usage, more subtle and implicit uses, and where Scripture seems to play no discernible role at all. Only when the different ways in which Scripture is present and functioning in each of Paul’s individual letters are fully respected will it be possible to begin discussing the broader issue of “Paul’s use of Scripture” in a much more nuanced and sensitive way than has been possible up to this day.

The present study is intended to make a contribution to both our present knowledge with respect to the presence and function of Scripture in Paul’s letter to the Galatians (especially with respect to the first two chapters), and to the establishment of a methodological approach which will provide a fuller and more comprehensive grasp of Paul’s use of Scripture in his letters. This study will provide a systematic study of Galatians 1–2, a section of a letter which precedes an extended unit of scriptural argumentation (Galatians 3–4) which has been a focus of attention in the discussion of Paul’s use of Scripture, but which, in and of itself, has been neglected as a possible source of information regarding the presence and function of Scripture in Paul’s writing. It will focus not on “exegetical techniques” but on the “meaning-effects,” of such implicit use of Scripture and its rhetorical significance within its own section and for the understanding and effectiveness of the discourse as a whole. In this way the study will both reveal aspects of the presence and function of Scripture in Paul’s letters which have been heretofore neglected while at the same time showing the significance of the potential hermeneutical and rhetorical effects of this use of Scripture on one of those very sections of more dense or explicit use of Scripture in Paul’s letters that have previously been investigated in relative isolation.

Thus beyond the central focus of demonstrating the presence and function of Scripture in a previously neglected unit of Paul's letters (Galatians 1–2) this study aims to show not only that our present understanding of the use of Scripture in his letters is incomplete due to its extremely limited focus, but also that even the understanding we have of that limited material is incomplete due to a failure to take into account the hermeneutical and rhetorical effects of a more subtle, intuitive or even unconscious use of Scripture in the units of discourse which prepare the reader for that more explicit usage later in the letter.

In several ways this study hopes to show that we have only begun to understand how Scripture is used in Paul's letters, having been captivated by glittering citations that were not only more obvious but which were also taken to be determinative for the understanding of the place of Scripture in Paul's discourse.

Galatians 1–2 lends itself to the concern of this study to show that Scripture may be functioning in many passages in ways that are much more subtle or sophisticated than those that are usually recognized and analyzed by interpreters and writers who focus on "Paul's use of Scripture." Galatians 1–2 has also been chosen because our study of the semantic and rhetorical structure of the letter has shown it to be a well developed unit of the discourse, with chapters 3–6 functioning in a distinctively different manner from what has gone before.¹⁸

II. Review of Relevant Literature

In order to show the distinctiveness of this study this section will review the most significant works which have focused on Paul's letter to the Galatians or on his use of Scripture. It will focus on the potential significance of monographs on Galatians and studies of Paul's use of Scripture for the understanding of the presence and function of Scripture within Galatians 1–2 and for the understanding of Paul's use of Scripture outside those texts that are typically treated in studies on the subject.

1. Monographs on Galatians

In the last decade or so there have been a great number of important monographs that deal exclusively with Paul's letter to the Galatians or that deal with topics that require giving a great deal of attention to that letter.

¹⁸ See the analysis of the semantic and rhetorical structure of the letter in the Appendix.

We shall see that some of these studies give attention to the issue of Scripture in Galatians, and some give attention to the first two chapters. Only one of them gives significant attention to the issue of Scripture in the first two chapters, and that only as it relates to its own specific topic of concern.

Those monographs dealing exclusively with Galatians usually focus on later chapters of the letter and contribute relatively little to our understanding of the first two. This is the case with Richard Hays' *The Faith of Jesus Christ*,¹⁹ G. Walter Hansen's *Abraham in Galatians*,²⁰ John M. G. Barclay's *Obedying the Truth: A Study of Paul's Ethics in Galatians*,²¹ Charles H. Cosgrove's *The Cross and the Spirit: A Study in the Argument and Theology of Galatians*,²² and David J. Lull's *The Spirit in Galatia: Paul's Interpretation of PNEUMA as Divine Power*.²³ This is not a criticism of these works, of course. It merely reflects the fact that most recent studies have found their focus in the later material of the letter, especially the middle two chapters. Barclay's study is especially noteworthy in that it has succeeded in putting Galatians 5–6 back on the theological map after having been neglected by most exegetes. It would be a great satisfaction if this study could accomplish something similar for the first two chapters of the letter, which tend to be equally neglected.

Antonio Pitta's valuable study, *Disposizione e messaggio della lettera ai Galati: Analisi retorico-letteraria*, is a careful rhetorical analysis of the entire letter. Pitta deals with Scripture at a number of points in his study and has a careful discussion of the law in Galatians. Many of his insights

¹⁹ The subtitle of Hays' book, "An Investigation of the Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3:1–4:11" reveals the focus of his work. Still, given the place of πίστεις [Ἰησοῦ] Χριστοῦ in 2:16 and Hays' observation that such language derives from Hab 2:4, he does have some helpful comments for this study.

²⁰ Despite Hansen's focus on the Abraham material of Galatians 3–4, he does provide an interesting and helpful discussion of the structure of the letter and he gives a brief overview of the material prior to chapter 3.

²¹ Barclay's study focuses on the role and relevance of the paraenetic material in 5:13–6:10. He does have a brief discussion of the Antioch episode, and he provides a helpful discussion mirror-reading the arguments of Paul's opponents.

²² Cosgrove has a chapter dedicated to "The Apostolic Autobiography" which is very sensitive to the rhetorical function of the material, but he is convinced that 3:1–5 is the place to get one's bearings with respect to the "occasion" of Paul's letter, and the issue of heightening the experience of the Spirit is seen to be the key. As such the first part of the letter is treated last, and the focus is on issues that never arise in the section of the letter with which this study is concerned.

²³ Lull is concerned with Paul's understanding and use of "Spirit" language in Galatians, but that language does not appear until the third chapter.

have been incorporated into this study, but given the larger purpose Pitta is seeking to achieve he cannot maintain a focus on Scripture and the various ways it functions in the letter, and his work does not accomplish the goals set out for this study.

Like this present study, In-Gyu Hong's analysis of *The Law in Galatians* is based upon a discourse analysis of the entire letter. Hong touches on Paul's clear citations and allusions as they relate to his position on the law, but the focus is primarily on the later chapters of the letter and he has his eye on a specific topic which is different from the one under investigation here.

The first chapter of Hans-Joachim Eckstein's Tübingen Habilitationsschrift, *Verheißung und Gesetz: Eine exegetische Untersuchung zu Galater 2,15–4,7*, is dedicated to 2:15–21. His thorough study shows that in Galatians the Mosaic law is not understood in some abstract or independent manner but in relation to the promise given in the pre-proclamation of the gospel to the patriarchs.²⁴ Eckstein is generally quite attentive to the use and understanding of Scripture in Paul's argument. In this respect he concludes that Paul's interpretation of Scripture passages was consistently sensitive to their literary and theological contexts.²⁵

Like Hong's and Eckstein's books, the mass of literature on Paul's view of the law tends to touch on Galatians 2:16 ff., but only as it relates to the theme of the law, and usually even that passage is eclipsed by the argumentation in Galatians 3–5 and the letter to the Romans.²⁶

George E. Howard's *Paul: Crisis in Galatia: A Study in Early Christian Theology* deals with several important issues of Paul's theology, focusing on his apostleship, teaching of justification by faith and view of the law. In his section on justification by faith he deals with Paul's citations of the Old Testament in the third chapter of Galatians.²⁷ But

²⁴ H.-J. Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz: Eine exegetische Untersuchung zu Galater 2,15–4,7*, 2.

²⁵ H.-J. Eckstein, *Verheißung und Gesetz*, 253.

²⁶ See E. P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law and the Jewish People*; Hans Hübner, *Law in Paul's Thought*; Heikki Räisänen, *Paul and the Law*; Frank Thielman, *From Plight to Solution: A Jewish Framework for Understanding Paul's View of the Law in Galatians and Romans*; Peter J. Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law: Halakha in the Letters of the Apostle to the Gentiles*; Stephen Westerholm, *Israel's Law and the Church's Faith: Paul and His Recent Interpreters*; N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology*.

²⁷ George E. Howard, *Paul: Crisis in Galatia: A Study in Early Christian Theology*, 54 ff.

Howard does not comment on Scripture in Galatians anywhere before that third chapter.

In the first half of Hendrikus Boers' recent book, *The Justification of the Gentiles: Paul's Letters to the Galatians and Romans*, he provides macro-structures for Galatians and Romans and a synthesized macro-structure for the argumentation of the two letters. The second half of the book is dedicated to a discussion of the "Semantic Deep Structure of Paul's Thought." He considers Galatians 1:10–2:21 to be "dominated by the issue of circumcision"²⁸ but does not spend much time dealing with the presence or function of Scripture in Galatians.

Francis Watson's *Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles: A Sociological Approach* deals with the relationship between Paul's churches and Judaism, including a chapter dedicated to the "Galatian crisis". In that chapter he deals briefly with issues arising in the first two chapters of the letter, but Scripture is not one of them.²⁹ His discussion of "reinterpretation" in Galatians is dedicated to the letter's third and fourth chapters.³⁰

There have been a few very detailed studies completely dedicated to the Antioch incident, one of the longest passages of the first two chapters and one of the most promising in terms of finding scriptural material. René Kieffer's *Foi et Justification à Antioche: Interprétation d'un Conflit (Ga 2, 14–21)*, Michael Bachmann's *Sünder oder Übertreter: Studien zur Argumentation in Gal 2, 15 ff.*, and Ezra Hon-Seng Kok's Durham thesis, "The Truth of the Gospel: A Study in Galatians 2:15–21" are all very careful and helpful investigations of the structure and thought of this important passage. But while each of these studies tends to be fairly sensitive to the scriptural background to the themes developed in Paul's discourse, these issues are only touched on in passing and none of them maintains a focus on the presence and function of Scripture within this passage.

Kok's *Doktorvater*, James D. G. Dunn, has written two monographs dealing with Galatians which are relevant to this study. First is his *Jesus, Paul and the Law: Studies in Mark and Galatians*. Several of the studies in this volume provide valuable discussions of the scriptural and Jewish

²⁸ Hendrikus Boers, *The Justification of the Gentiles: Paul's Letters to the Galatians and Romans*, 64.

²⁹ Francis Watson, *Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles: A Sociological Approach*, 50–61, 67.

³⁰ Watson, *Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles*, 69–72.

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