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Jewish Christianity in Galatians: A study of the teachers and their gospel

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Rice University, 1991

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JEWISH CHRISTIANITY IN GALATIANS:
A STUDY OF THE TEACHERS AND THEIR GOSPEL

by

J. Phillip Arnold

A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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1991
ABSTRACT

Jewish Christianity in Galatians: A Study of the Teachers and Their Gospel

J. Phillip Arnold

The subject of this study is the identity of the Jewish Christian teachers in Galatians and their alternative gospel. This investigation concerns their origins, their theology, and their place in Second Temple Judaism and Jewish Christianity. It is discovered that they are not "legalists" or reducible to mere "opponents" of Paul. Instead, the teachers are Jewish Christian charismatic nomists proclaiming their interpretation of the gospel to the Galatians.

In Chapter One, a history of research on the identification of the teachers is presented from the patristic period to the modern period. Programmatic issues are developed which provide direction and parameters for this study.

Chapter Two examines the teachers' historical origins and their own "apostolic" authority as well as their relation to Paul. The chapter also investigates the teachers' understanding of Abraham and the covenant of circumcision, as well as their use of Moses and the Sinai covenant.

In Chapter Three the soteriology and the christology of the teachers' gospel are developed. Their gospel's use of the Law (nomos) as a medium of charismatic revelations (pneuma) is
examined. The function of circumcision and the calendar for accessing heavenly revelations is explored. The teachers' christology is seen to portray Jesus as a Teacher of the Law whose "law of Christ" provides the hermeneutic by which selective obedience to the Law is determined.

Chapter Four attempts to locate the teachers and their tradition in Jewish and Jewish Christian history and sources. Jewish intertestamental literature, including the pseudepigrapha and Qumran sources, is investigated. Also, the teachers' specific relationship to the Jerusalem community—the "pillars" and the pseudadelphoi is examined. Other Jewish Christian law-observant traditions similar to the teachers' tradition are located in Colossians, the Kergymata Petrou, and the Book of Elkesai.

The teachers are shown to be Jewish Christian charismatic nomists with an integral gospel and independent Gentile mission. They are part of a Torah-observant tradition within the Jesus Movement which offered the venerable and wondrous Jewish Torah to the Gentiles as a means for experiencing greater degrees of charismatic life in the Spirit.
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There are many persons who have contributed to the creation and completion of this project--relatives, friends, and academic associates. Their encouragement and inspiration will always be remembered.

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A final word: I must also thank the Jewish Christian teachers for loving the Torah so much to carry it to faraway Galatia--their activity caused Paul to write Galatians. And
I join others who are forever indebted to Paul for his writing the refreshing and liberating letter of Galatians--a letter which calls into question all forms and all structures and all powers belonging to this "present evil age."
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CHAPTER ONE:
INTRODUCTION, HISTORY OF RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

I. INTRODUCTION: BACKGROUND, SITUATION AND FOCUS OF THIS STUDY

A. Background

By 53 C.E. congregations of the Jesus Movement—originating in faraway Palestine—had been established in distant Galatia by Paul, a Hellenized Jew, who had entered the Movement about three years after the crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth. Although he had never seen Jesus while alive, the former Pharisee claimed to have been appointed in a vision by the resurrected Jesus as his representative to the entire Gentile world.

Important background information about the Gentile Galatian believers and their theology can be discovered from Paul's letter written to them soon after the establishment of the congregations.¹ From his letter, now part of the New Testament, we learn that Paul's original proclamation convinced a number of Galatians to forsake their Gentile religion and worship the God of Israel, revealed in Jewish Scripture. They also accepted Jesus as the crucified and risen Lord, through whom forgiveness of sins and charismatic gifts of the Spirit were to be received. The inspired converts were formed into several Paulinist congregations throughout the region.
B. Situation

If nothing had disturbed these zealous Galatian believers after the founder's departure, we today would not have the revolutionary and influential document: the 2,183-word letter to the Galatians. However, a serious controversy developed very soon after Paul left for other mission fields farther west. A cursory overview of the Galatian situation/controversy at the time of the letter's arrival will set the stage for our study.

Using a mirror-reading technique (see Methodology below), and attempting for the moment to avoid the more controversial questions, we may summarize the situation as follows.

1. Apparently within several months of Paul's departure, other teachers—proclaiming a "different gospel" (heteron euaggelion, Gal 1:6) about Jesus—gained powerful influence over the Galatian converts. When Paul received information that another or alternate "gospel" was causing significant changes to transpire in "his" Galatian congregations, he dictated an impassioned letter to the affected churches about 54 C.E. That canonical letter remains our only primary source specifically concerned with that controversy.

2. While agreeing with Paul on the necessity of Gentile repentance from idolatry and the need to worship Yahweh, the newly arrived Jesus-followers taught the Galatians that they were obligated to observe the Jewish Torah which Jesus was said to have taught. Primary among the requirements of the
Law were: a) the rite of circumcision and b) the observance of sacred days.\(^3\) The letter itself specifically and repeatedly refers to these two issues: a) 6:12 tells us: "[they] compel you to be circumcised," and in 5:12 Paul's irritation erupts: "I would that those who oppose you would castrate themselves!" b) Paul seems only slightly less annoyed in 4:9-11: "You observe days, and months, and seasons, and years! I fear that I may have labored in vain over you."

3. Eager to perfect their new-found faith, many of the Galatians began to submit to this nomistic teaching and obey these "works of law" (3:10). The new teachers encouraged the Galatians' infatuation with them, disparaged Paul's position, and indicated that they possessed greater authority, deeper knowledge, and perhaps greater spiritual gifts than he.

4. These new teachings threatened at minimum to split, and possibly at worst to destroy the Galatian churches--at least in Paul's view. H. D. Betz, in a recent magisterial work on the whole Galatian letter, certainly does not overrun the evidence when he avers that the problem is that of the Galatian believers "changing 'denominations'"\(^4\)

In our view, "changing denominations" understates the situation. Here competing gospels clash, the founder fights for his once held leadership, and, most important, the believers--and their salvation?--are threatened with being devoured in the titanic conflict.
C. The Purpose and Focus of This Study

The drama of gospels in conflict which boils to the surface throughout Galatians has long invited scrutiny and comment. However, given the complexity and problematics of this brief but mighty letter, it will not be our purpose to present an interpretation of its entirety, much less to elucidate or systematize Paul and his theology. Rather, in light of recent research and newly published materials from the first century B.C.E this study will attempt 1) to examine and identify the teachers (often called "opponents"), 2) to offer a fresh synthesis of the history and theology of those who taught the Galatians an "alternative gospel," 3) to locate both teachers and "gospel" more precisely than previously possible within a history of religions tradition. In so doing this study examines the possibility that the teachers belong to a Jewish Christian alternative tradition which possessed a fully "authentic" and integral gospel and mission. As a corollary to the above we will also have reason to reevaluate the Reformation's understanding of the polemic in Galatians--an understanding that remains to this day viable in many quarters, but which is coming under increasing criticism.

The above-stated threefold task is admittedly a complex one, as shown in the words of Helmut Koester: "the question of the identification of Paul's opponents is one of the more difficult questions of New Testament scholarship." Cognizant of this and other difficulties, we nevertheless believe that
with a close and concentrated examination of the teachers and their alternate gospel advances can be made. An important note on terminology and a presentation of the structure of this study will take us directly to a history of research.

D. Terminology and Outline

In order to avoid confessional or prejudicial treatment of those who presented a different gospel from that of Paulinist Christianity, this study will refrain from reducing those who are the focus of investigation to "attackers," "errorists," or even merely "opponents" of Paul. Following the lead of W. Kelber and J. L. Martyn in striving for greater objectivity, the newcomers to (or uprisers, if they can be shown to be from within) Galatia will be referred to as "teachers," because—as will be demonstrated—they 1) taught the Galatians to obey part or all of the Torah, 2) preached an alternative gospel, and 3) saw themselves as followers of the Teacher Jesus (see Chapter Three for arguments).

The order of investigation is as follows. The rest of Chapter One includes two primary sections. First, it presents a brief history of research from the patristic period to the advent of critical scholarship in the nineteenth century, and a selective look at major contributions and questions since then. Second, a section on methodological considerations is presented. Chapter Two focuses on the historical origins and authority of the teachers, including their relation to Paul
and other Christian teachers, as well as on their general theology—their message's appeal to the covenant, Abraham, Torah, and Moses. Evidence will be presented to show that their theology is cogent and integral; it will be argued that the term "gospel" is not inappropriate for that message. Chapter Three develops the soteriology and christology of the alternative gospel with regard to 1) the teachers' understanding of the relationship of nomos to pneuma, and 2) the teachings of Jesus. Chapter Four will then attempt to locate the teachers and their gospel within the history of religions, i.e., in the spectrum of Second Temple Judaism and early Christianity. In order to lay the foundation for our synthesis, we must now turn to the history of research relevant to our purpose.

II. HISTORY OF RESEARCH

A. Introduction

Why is such a history, even briefly presented, necessary? It is imperative for several reasons. First, it serves to gain perspective on the letter as a whole although our focus covers less than the entirety of Galatians. Second, a survey will help us understand the diversity of scholarly opinions regarding the specific target of this study, the alternative gospel. That is to say, an endeavor of this nature creates an awareness of the spectrum of interpretations of the alternative gospel proffered by various interpreters, and
their reasons for such opinions. Thirdly, the insights of earlier scholars often provide material on which subsequent scholarship builds. That will be the case here; after surveying and sorting we will be in a position to offer and defend a new synthesis.

As regards procedure, we shall attempt to disclose the gradual unfolding of Galatian research by locating important concepts and ideas contributed by scholars, as well as locating points of departure from which new interpretations arose. The history of Galatians research is not an ever-ascending ladder which moves upward in step-by-step fashion to greater degrees of "truth" about Galatians. Rather, the story of Galatian scholarship unfolds in an helical shape—a shape which advances our understanding through reversal and return. A review of Galatian research is, after all, a review of readers encountering a text and, as such, presupposes the complexity and mystery resident within a great text.

Ancient and modern exegetes agree that the Galatian letter represents Paul's attempt to convince his audience of the validity of his interpretation of the gospel. But a great diversity of opinion exists regarding the question of why it was necessary for Paul to defend and explain his gospel in such a polemical fashion. Although interpreters understand that the letter posits the presence of an alternative gospel from that of Paul's, their interpretations diverge over 1) the content of the alternative gospel and 2) the identity of its
proponents. And there is more disagreement. Some theories consider the teachers of the alternative gospel to have arrived from outside the Galatian congregations. Others insist that they arose from within. Definitions of the content of their gospel range from "legalism," on the one hand, to "gnosticism" on the other.\textsuperscript{10}

Amid the plethora of competing interpretations in Galatian scholarship, two primary issues which repetitively surface are of paramount importance for understanding the Galatian situation and the teachers' place in earliest Christianity. The first issue is an historical one concerning origins and authority, i.e., how the teachers of the alternative message relate to the Jesus Movement in Jerusalem, particularly to the three "pillars," James, Peter, and John. Were the proponents of the alternate gospel legitimate representatives of the Jerusalem community, including the apostles? And what does this mean about the teachers' relation to and opinion of Paul and his teachings? The second issue is a theological one concerning soteriology and the content of the alternative gospel. Does its soteriology teach—in line with the Reformation's identification—that obedience to the Law is the means by which God's favor is merited in contrast with Paul's emphasis on grace and faith? Or does their Torah/law teaching have some other purpose, more in line with first-century concerns? Put another way, are
those who follow and teach this gospel appropriately defined as "legalists?"

Prior to discussing methodology, it is necessary to examine the history of research on the identity and gospel of the Galatian teachers. This investigation will focus on the two important issues of their historical origins including the question of their authority and relationship to the Jerusalem Christian community and Paul, and their theology, including soteriology and the function of the Jewish law and the role of the Spirit. We will first review patristic and pre-critical contributions up through the 1800's as they pertain to these issues. Beginning with the rise of critical scholarship under F.C. Baur (ca. 1831), we present a selective examination of modern research.11 From this history of research will emerge major questions and problems which will be discussed and treated in the following chapters.

B. The Alternative Gospel: From the Patristic Period to 1831

Prior to the rise of modern critical scholarship, the letter to the Galatians received attention from such notable figures (among others) as Jerome, Ambrosiaster, Augustine, Calvin and Luther. In his recent survey J. Hawkins provides a detailed examination of their views.12 The early Greek and Latin patristic authors generally concur that the propagators of the heteron euaggelion (1:6) in Galatia are Jewish Christians from outside Galatia. It is believed that the
alternative gospel is preached by teachers who are "heretics" or "apostates" from the true church under the leadership of the apostles. The "Marcionite Prologue's" reference to falsis apostolis is typical of the nomenclature employed to describe those teaching the alternative gospel.\textsuperscript{13} The early literature proves no exception in this regard, since the value-laden term "opponents" is used to contrast the latter with Paul. As explained above the non-confessional term "teachers" attempts to bestow some objectivity on our discussion of their message.

Many of the early writers do not seem to be aware of the distinction between oral and written Torah, nor do they think that Paul rejects the whole Torah, preferring instead to limit his rejection of the Law to the ceremonial injunctions contained in (the written) Torah. Therefore by and large they interpret the teachers as advocating obedience to the ceremonial laws, such as observance of circumcision and holy days. Ambrosiaster states that Christ did away with such Jewish "works of law" as the rite of circumcision and calendar observances.\textsuperscript{14} Their hesitancy to extend Paul's critique to law in general may be a reaction to Marcionism's radical rejection of Jewish Law.\textsuperscript{15}

Several of the interpreters believe that the teachers falsely appeal to the authority of the Jerusalem apostles for support of their insistence on Gentile obedience to Jewish ceremonial laws. These writers generally agree that the
teachers do not possess the support of the Jerusalem church. A significant exception to this view appears in the writings of Marius Victorinus, who concedes that James instigated the "judaizing" mission to Galatia.¹⁶ This early recognition of diversity and, perhaps, fragmentation in the Jesus Movement represents a keen insight—one which remained dormant until Baur developed his theories of early Christian factions in his 1831 essay "Christuspartei." Subsequently, Baur's recognition of early Christian diversity has attained scholarly acceptance.¹⁷

Although most of these early church fathers agree that the Galatians—under the influence of "judaizing" teachers—are observing Jewish rites and holy days, Ambrosiaster and Augustine nevertheless believe all, or some, of the sacred time periods listed in 4:10 may be pagan celebrations. In view of the fact that 4:9 speaks of a "return" (epistrephete palin) to bondage, Augustine also considers the possibility that the Galatians return to their former superstitious observances.¹⁸ The tension between Jewish or pagan celebrations remained unresolved; there appears to be no greater development or elaboration of the identity of the proponents of the alternative gospel in Galatians until the Reformation.

The commentaries of Luther and Calvin on Galatians do not contradict, but continue the patristic identification of the alternative message as a "judaizing" error propagated by
"heretics" who enjoin Jewish law on Galatian Christians. Calvin repeats the patristic view that the teachers demand obedience to the ceremonial law, but Luther does not limit their "legalism" to observance of ceremonial rites. Both Reformers conclude that the teachers originated in Jerusalem and had known the apostles, to whom they falsely appeal for authentication of their gospel and authority. Of the two commentators, Luther reads Galatians more through his personal experience and theological conflicts. Although this method causes him to distort the first-century conflict between Paul and the teachers by reading Reformation concerns into the letter, it has the advantage of "fleshing out" the real-life situation of the crisis. Until Luther composed his commentaries on Galatians, no one had written so much on the teachers or had personalized them to such an extent. Luther's written and oral debates with his own opponents provided him a dialogical and rhetorical style, which in turn characterized his depiction of the Galatian crisis. A selection from his 1531 commentary conveys his literary and imaginative powers:

These false apostles, adherents of Judaism and of Pharisaism . . . boasted that they belonged to the holy and elect race of the Jews . . . that they were ministers of Christ and pupils of the apostles, whom they had known personally and whose miracles they had witnessed. They may even have performed some signs or miracles themselves. . . . They subvert the Galatians by saying: 'Who is Paul anyway? After all, was he not the very last of those who were converted to Christ? But we are the pupils of the
apostles, and we knew them intimately. We saw Christ perform miracles, and we heard him preach." 20

Aside from his primary identification of the teachers as "Judaizers," Luther also uncovers the presence of a second group in Galatians who are not law-keepers, but are libertines. He deduces their presence from Paul's reference (5:13) to the abuse of freedom. Luther's interpretation of the presence of a group of irresponsible libertines prefigures the "two-front" theory presented by W. Lütgert about four-hundred years later. 21 As we will see, Lütgert developed the identity, and defended the presence of a libertinistic faction in Galatia.

Between the time of these Reformers and the rise of modern scholarship under Baur, Henry Hammond and Edward Burton in England attempted to identify the Galatian teachers. 22 Writing in 1702, Hammond concluded that the teachers were gnostics who taught that obedience to the Jewish law was necessary for Jews and Gentiles. Hammond's use of the term "gnostic" is a broad and general one. He identifies the teachers as circumcised gnostics. 23 In 1829, Burton recognized the possibility that the teachers were gnostics but emphasized their role as teachers of the Jewish law. 24 Both of these exegetes evinced in their interpretations tensions which were to be fully encountered by modern scholarship— tensions arising from textual evidence for both nomistic and "gnosticizing" tendencies.
With the provisional exceptions of Hammond and Burton, the primary understanding of the alternative gospel until the modern period of critical scholarship was that it insisted on earning salvation by careful obedience to Jewish laws. Under the influence of the Reformation's debate with Catholicism over the issue of grace versus works-righteousness, Paul's letter became the example par excellence of the Protestant advocacy of grace and faith in conflict with the Roman concept of "works-righteousness." Luther and Calvin utilized the standard patristic interpretations of the letter which identified the Galatian teachers as "Judaizers." By expanding the patristic interpretation of "law" in Galatians to refer to more than ceremonial laws, Luther and later Protestants included "works" in general. That is, the Pauline reference to "works of law" in Galatians became a convenient phrase for all human efforts to placate God's demand for perfect obedience. As such, it served the polemical needs of the Reformation in its struggle against Catholic emphasis on the necessity for good works. The earlier distinction made by patristic authors between ceremonial and moral law became submerged beneath the "faith versus works" dichotomy. It would remain buried until resurrected in a new form as we shall see by W. Schmithals and J.D.G. Dunn.25

The Reformation's portrayal of Galatians as a polemic against good works in general became a standard interpretation among Protestant scholars. Although most concurred in this
general understanding, some differed on what was included in the phrase "good works." Protestant scholasticism and Pietism interpreted the letter to be Paul's protest against human effort to merit God's favor. R. Bultmann would apply the Pauline argument against "works of law" to any human attempt to obey the Law.\textsuperscript{26} Not only do humans fail to obey God's law, but the very attempt to obey it arises from human hubris and is, in itself, sinful. With some change in degree of emphasis, this reading of Galatians became the standard view. The teachers repeatedly are identified as "legalists" who insist on obedience to the Jewish law in order to acquire enough "works-righteousness" to merit justification. However, as we have already noted, exceptions occurred. Especially in the twentieth century, several scholars have inveighed against the older interpretation. E.P. Sanders' work on the participatory nature of justification (\textit{dikaiosynē}) and K. Stendahl's denial of Paul's "introspective conscience," as well as C. Cosgrove's penetrating and programmatic study of the function of the Law as a medium of revelation support those interpretations which moved beyond the patristic and Reformation's interpretation of the teachers and their gospel.\textsuperscript{27} Much of this began after the advent of modern critical scholarship with Baur and the Tübingen school in ca. 1831.
C. The Alternative Gospel: From 1831 to the Present

The rise of critical scholarship in nineteenth century Germany instigated new questions about traditional presuppositions held by Protestants and Catholics. Many of these assumptions were criticized by the founder of the "Tübingen School," Baur, who formulated and defended a controversial model of early Christian origins, much of which was based on his reading of Corinthians and Galatians. In his 1831 work on Corinthians, Baur maintained the existence of two primary divisions in the early church, a Hellenizing Pauline faction, consisting primarily of Gentiles, and a "judaizing" anti-Pauline faction headquartered in Jerusalem. Although in his early period Baur did not identify the "judaizing party" as consisting of the twelve apostles, he claimed that this party appealed to Peter for support against the Paulinists. In his 1845 work, Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi, Baur became more assertive in defining the "anti-Paulinists" as the Jerusalem apostles. According to F.C. Baur it was the Judaizers from Jerusalem who must be held responsible for the violent controversies in the Pauline mission area of which we learn in the Pauline letters. The verdict of 'false apostles,' 'servants of Satan' (II Cor. 11:13ff), is aimed directly at the original apostles in Jerusalem.

Baur believed that the same anti-Pauline activity is found in each of the authentic Pauline letters. The Galatian
teachers belong to the same Jewish Christianity which also appears in Corinth, but "they sought different ways to oppose the apostle, in accordance with the difference in the situation." Later scholarship would develop Baur's awareness of the importance of "the difference in the situation" and, in turn, correct Baur's belief that only one "party" confronted Paul throughout his letters; later studies demonstrated that Paul faced distinct "fronts" in each of his letters. Of the several scholars who have modified Baur's monolithic view and have built a multifront consensus, one can cite H. Koester and his recent statement: "various competing groups of Christian missionaries ... started their propaganda" within Paul's churches.

The legacy left by Baur was maintained by various scholars in the Tübingen School throughout the nineteenth century. Writing in 1846, A. Schwegler identified the teachers found in Galatians and elsewhere as representatives of the Jerusalem apostles. A. Hilgenfeld wrote voluminously during the last half of the nineteenth century in defense of Baur's basic position that the "anti-Paulinism" present in Galatia, Thessalonica, Antioch, Corinth, and Philippi was authorized by the apostles. The Tübingen position was buttressed by the use of the Pseudo-Clementine literature of the second and third centuries which portrayed James and Peter as Torah-observant Jewish Christians in opposition to Paul.
Breaking from the extreme Tübingen School, A. Ritschl argued in 1857 that the "judaizing Christian opponents" of Paul—in Galatians and elsewhere—did not justly represent the Jerusalem apostles, but falsely appeal to them. Ritschl opined that Paul and the original disciples of Jesus agreed in freeing Gentile believers from obligation to the Jewish Law. In that early period Ritschl distinguished two types of Christianity: a majority "Jewish" Christianity of the apostles, and a minority "judaizing" Christianity which identified Christianity with Judaism. Ritschl wrote that "judaizing" Christianity believed: "The law which God gave through Moses is also the essence of Christianity." Ritschl identified the Galatian teachers as "Judaizers" who preached an alternative gospel—a gospel which identified the essence of Christianity with Torah. He affirmed, contra Baur, Schweigeler, and Hilgenfeld, that the apostles rejected the identification of Law and gospel.

Another critic of the extreme Tübingen position, J.B. Lightfoot, contributed a commentary on Galatians in 1865 which supported Ritchl's understanding. Lightfoot argued that the "Judaic teachers who urged circumcision on the Gentile converts" misappropriated the authority of the pillars. Thus both Lightfoot and Ritschl maintained what is essentially a traditional "two-party" theory of the early church, composed of 1) Paulinists and the apostles, and 2) "Judaizers." But
the "Judaizers" were not sizable or influential; Paul and the apostles repeatedly prevailed over them.

The criticism of the more extreme positions in the Tübingen School by Ritschl on the Continent and Lightfoot in England gained the ascendancy and influenced scholarship for decades. In 1959 this criticism was strengthened by H.J. Schoeps who presented a "tri-party" theory. He argued that Galatians reveals three positions regarding the Law: 1) Paul's, 2) that of James and Peter, and 3) that of the "Judaizers." The "pillar" apostles were not responsible for the incendiary conduct of the "Judaizers" in Galatia. Schoeps rejected the validity of the Tübingen interpretation of Galatians and of the Pseudo-Clementine documents:

The Tübingen conception of a deep gulf between Paul, on the one hand, and James and Peter, on the other, which Baur, Schwegler, Volckmar, Hilgenfeld and their followers conjured up on the basis of the biased Jewish Christian writings of the next generation, does not stand the test of impartial examination, and cannot possibly have reflected the real historical situation. Such a gulf is true only of the Pharisaic group of Judaizing Christians who were probably strongly represented in Jerusalem.

Despite the ascendancy of anti-Tübingen views, some scholars have continued—in one form or another—holding to the Tübingen view of the early church, and have offered modifications of the nineteenth-century thesis. For example, one of these modifications placed James at the center of the anti-Pauline opposition, and basing itself primarily on the
statement in Galatians 2:12 ("certain men came from James") claimed that a delegation of representatives from James to Antioch led to a virulent anti-Pauline movement.44

Quite recently Gerd Luedemann has revived the essence of the Tübingen position by arguing that Paul's letters indicate the presence of an anti-Pauline opposition which points back to common roots in the Jerusalem church. The force of the arguments of Ritschl, Lightfoot, and Schoeps for an earlier "accord" between Paul and the apostles are recognized by Luedemann. But he answers that the relationship of concord disintegrated to the point that the apostles sent "a corrective mission into Paul's territory."45 According to Luedemann, the teachers in Galatians and their alternative gospel are authorized by the Jerusalem apostles. The earlier accord between Paul and the apostles disintegrated because of 1) James' new position of leadership, and 2) the fact that Paul's claim to apostleship continued to offend "the twelve." Simply put, the unique contribution made by Luedemann is this: he answers, or at least circumvents the objections of Ritschl, Lightfoot, and Schoeps, who argue from the text of Galatians 2:6-10 that Paul enjoyed an apostolic agreement sealed with the "right hand of fellowship." By positing a later disruption of this accord, Luedemann deftly returns to Baur while circumventing the criticisms of Ritschl and Lightfoot.46
One must admit that Luedemann's solution to those earlier criticisms carries at least a possibility of correctness. But, as our following chapters will ask, by returning to Tübingen's stark and simple formula, has Luedemann capitalized on the accumulation of the last twenty-five years of scholarship which identifies multiple alternate forms of Christianity throughout Paul's letters? Whatever validation one grants to Luedemann's revival and refinement of the early Tübingen theory, Baur's rather monolithic model has fragmented into numerous competing forms of Christianity.\textsuperscript{47} Also, Luedemann gives little notice to the socio-political concerns of the period (ca. 50 C.E.) which impinged upon the Jerusalem community. These realities have been examined with results applied to the Galatian situation by R. Jewett and Dunn.\textsuperscript{48}

Jewett argues for a Palestinian Zealotic origin for the teachers. He concludes that messianism and revolutionary aspirations contributed to virulent outbreaks of Zealotic terrorism against Roman rule in the 40's and 50's. Often, this violence was directed at those Jews who were not militant against Gentile political and cultural influences. Jewett and Dunn believe that Paul's Gentile mission became suspect due to its anti-law position \textit{vis a vis} Gentiles and Torah obedience. Jewish Christians from Palestine (the teachers) inspected Paul's churches in Galatia and demanded Gentile capitulation to circumcision and Torah in order to avoid reprisals from Zealotic terrorists. These interlopers cleverly couch the
Jewish Torah in terms compatible with the Galatians' former pagan customs and superstitions (4:3, 9, 10) and convince them to obey the Law. Paul recognizes that the teachers want to avoid Zealotic persecution, therefore he repudiates their cowardly hypocrisy in 2:13 and 6:12, 13.

Jewett and Dunn recognize the impact of increasing Jewish nationalism on the early minority Christians. Their studies accomplish two important tasks: 1) they bring the teachers to life by placing them in a concrete historical situation where the teachers struggle to accomplish their specific goals and purposes in the face of sociological and political realities; 2) they uncover the fact that the teachers boast in their successful recruitment of circumcised Gentiles, by which they hope to avoid Jewish persecution of the Jesus Movement. In addition these scholars mitigate the Tübingen dichotomy between the Jerusalem apostles and Paul by de-emphasizing fundamental theological differences and highlighting the geopolitical concerns of Palestinian Christians who stood in danger of terrorism.

In summary, modern scholarship saw the rise of the Tübingen school which dismantled the irenic harmony traditionally presumed to pervade the early church. Following Baur, some scholars maintained or increased the distance between Paul and the Jerusalem apostles by arguing that the "anti-Paulinists"—in Galatians and other letters—are the original apostles of Jesus. Although Ritschl, Lightfoot, and
(later) Schoeps denied the Tübingen view of the relation of the Galatian teachers to the "pillars," they accepted that School's insight: namely, a "judaizing" Christian, anti-Pauline mission from Jerusalem to the Gentiles existed between 50 C.E. and the Roman war. Recent scholarship has emphasized the importance of the socio-political situation for the early Jesus Movement and its relationship with Gentiles.

Two scholars, Johannes Munck and Walter Schmithals, stand out for their complete denial of the entire edifice of such a "judaizing" form of Christianity. For Galatian studies such a denial means that the Galatian teachers are not Jewish Christian members of a law-observant branch of the Jesus Movement. Since these scholars believe that no such faction existed, the teachers cannot be Jewish Christians from Jerusalem embarked on an anti-Pauline mission. These positions can now be discussed in order.

Munck serves as a leading example of this viewpoint. He identifies the Galatian teachers as judaizing Gentile Christians from Galatia. (It can be noted that Munck's thesis was preceded in the nineteenth century by A. Neander, who probably first offered the idea. Although other scholars adopted Neander's theory, Munck's 1954 publication is better known.) He accounts for the Galatian adoption of Jewish laws by arguing that after their conversion under Paul's ministry, the converts continued to study Jewish Scripture and became aware of the rites and commands of the Law. Munck writes that
these Gentiles: "longed for Jerusalem, of which Paul spoke so warmly, where the Christians lived as Jews . . . . Was it not better and safer for a Gentile to become not merely a Christian but also a Jewish Christian?"52

Munck's attempt to deny the presence of Jewish teachers who infiltrate the Galatian congregations must be seen in the context of the history of Galatian research, specifically his antipathy toward the Tübingen thesis. Munck's rejection of Baur and his pupils' vision of the early church necessitated that Munck explain the presence of a law-observant alternative gospel in Galatians. By relegating it to local Gentile activity, he and other scholars who deny the Tübingen thesis can defend their traditional view of the early church as a more homogeneous entity. W.D. Davies writes that Munck has attempted to remove "the gulf fixed by the Tübingen School between Paul and the Urgemeinde. . . . "53 The double question of whether Munck's efforts sufficiently rebut the various expressions of the Tübingen thesis, or adequately respond to the Ritschl-Lightfoot view, or the "tri-party" schema of Schoeps will be discussed later in the study.54

The second recent attempt to deny a Jewish Christian anti-Pauline mission to Galatia (and elsewhere) issued in the provocative 1965 study of Galatian gnosticism by Schmithals.55 In it he argued that Paul does not battle "Judaizers" in Galatia, rather gnostic Jewish Christians who are unrelated to the Jerusalem church! Schmithals followed
his works on gnosticism with a study of the relationship of
Paul to James. In it he states:

Contrary to the prevailing opinion today, it emerges from these studies that F.C.
Baur was right in considering all the
genuine Pauline letters shared a uniform
hostile attitude. At the same time it is
nevertheless clear that these opponents
are not Judaizers, but Jews or Jewish
Christians with a pronounced gnostic
trend who stood in no kind of
relationship to the Jewish Christians in
Palestine. 56

Schmithals interprets Paul's autobiographical account
(the narratio of 1:12-2:14) as attempting two things. First,
Paul insists on having received a "revelation"; this fact
means that he too, like the gnostics, has direct access to
special, divine revelations. 57 Second, Paul strives to deny
the gnostics' accusation that he is in any way dependent on
the Jerusalem apostles for his gospel. From this
interpretation of the autobiographical narratio, Schmithals
proceeds to disclaim any connection between the gnostic
teachers and the Jerusalem apostles. If they were related to
Jerusalem, they would not have accused Paul of such a
connection, for such an accusation would undercut their own
authority. Schmithals emphasizes that "the charge actually
concerns dependence and not a single word concerns
apostasy." 58

This is an important discovery, for it suggests the
possibility that the proponents of the alternative gospel are
independent teachers of Jesus' gospel, unconnected to the Jerusalem "pillars." 59

Despite the comment by Schmithals' teacher, Bultmann, that his student has "erwägenswerte Gründe" for a new understanding, most scholars find his theory of a gnostic opposition unsupported in the Galatian text. 60 His theory has been criticized at various points. The primary problem with his interpretation is his denial that the Galatian teachers practice law-keeping. 61 Schmithals believes that Paul's arguments against the Law in chapters 2-4 of Galatians are misdirected. On this view Paul argues theoretically, as if the teachers were law-keepers, but in reality they are gnostic antinomians. Their interest in circumcision proceeds from its symbolic representation as liberation from sârux, and their observance of the calendar concerns gnostic speculation about the stoicheia tou kosmou in 4:3, 9, 10. 62 Schmithals' evidence for a gnostic presence relies heavily on chapters 5 and 6, where he finds a strong emphasis on freedom, antinomianism, and the Spirit. 63 While Schmithals may be correct to underscore the importance of pneuma for the anti-Pauline teachers, he does not understand their strong commitment to Torah. 64

Although Schmithals, like Munck, is unable to sever the teachers from some association with a law-observant Jewish Christian tradition, he marshals strong arguments that they are pneumatikoi who value the Spirit and its attendant gifts.
The very important observation that the Spirit plays a significant role in the teachers' soteriology had been made by a few earlier scholars, such as W. Lütgert and J. Ropes.  

In 1919 Lütgert published Gesetz und Geist, in which he posited the existence of two different sets of Galatian "opponents": "legalists" and antinomian "pneumatikoi" (6:1). Lütgert argues that Paul battles on two fronts—first, legalists in 2-4, and then people of the Spirit (libertines) in 5 and 6. Although Luther and others had commented on the presence of libertinistic Galatians who enjoy "works of flesh," none had elevated them to as distinct and influential a faction as did Lütgert.

Ten years later, Ropes supported the "two-front" theory with The Singular Problem of the Epistle to the Galatians. In it, he agrees with Lütgert that Paul faces two groups in Galatia. The first is a law-abiding group of Gentiles who overdevelop the Jewish elements in Paul's gospel, believing obedience to Torah is required for salvation. The other group consists of "pneumatics" who react to the legalists and become antinomians. These pneumatics berate Paul for his dependence on the apostles, while they repudiate any loyalty to human authorities for themselves. Ropes writes:

For want of a better name we may call them 'pneumatikoi,' 'spiritual persons,' . . . or 'radicals.' Their activity .. . caused Paul much anxiety. The development in the second century of Gnostic doctrine and Marcion's schism shows that his concern was justified.
The studies of Baur, Schwegler, Hilgenfeld, Ritschl and Lightfoot had not uncovered the prominent role that the Spirit may have played among the teachers—a role which Lütgert developed and Ropes restated. Despite this advance in scholarship, the "two-front theory" seemed to be an artificial hybrid imposed upon the letter. It sought to explain, on the one hand, the new data uncovered by Lütgert, while holding in the other, the older view which posited the presence of legalists seeking "justification" (dikaiosynē) by means of the Law. The unlikelihood of Paul's writing against two groups contributed to the demise of the "two-front theory," but the prominent role the Spirit seems to have played in the teachers' gospel still remains to be explored.

One of the first to attempt a "one-front" interpretation of Galatians which included the older emphasis on Law and the new-found presence of the Spirit was F.R. Crownfield in 1945.69 He correctly perceives that, despite the definite role of the Spirit for the nomists, there is no indication of a two-front schema in the letter. He observes that those who are insisting on the necessity of obedience to the Law are also the ones who are addressed as pneumatikoi.

How can these two seemingly contradictory concepts come together in one group? Applying the far-reaching discoveries of E.R. Goodenough (regarding mystical Hellenistic Judaism) to the particularities of the Galatian situation, Crownfield argues that the "opponents" are syncretists.70 He writes:
"It is a plausible conjecture that they had been adherents of Jewish mystery cults such as Goodenough describes." Their law-keeping is not that of the Reformation's legalists, rather such lawful observances become "the vehicles of a hidden power." Their fascination with enthusiasm of a vertical dimension results in a "laxity in morals" on a horizontal personal level—a slackness condemned by Paul in his attack on "works of the flesh." Crownfield believes that the syncretists accuse Paul of holding back these esoteric truths because of Paul's subservience to the non-syncretistic Jerusalem apostles.

Crownfield offers creative suggestions which account for the presence of both nomos and pneuma in the soteriology of the teachers, but he does not support his solution with sufficient textual analysis. Nor does he explain the origins of such a syncretistic group of Jesus followers. Crownfield leaves the impression that they are Hellenized Jewish Christian syncretists from the diaspora; but from where in the diaspora, and how they connect to other Christian movements is not explained. He does not respond to the evidence (presented ever since the patristic period) that the teachers originate in Jerusalem. But Crownfield manages to apply Goodenough's work on Hellenized Judaism to the particular situation described in a letter to Galatian Christians. As such, his is a worthy example of the application of broad
cultural/intellectual studies in the history of religions to the interpretation of a specific text.

In recent years the significance of a Hellenistic matrix for Paul's "adversaries" has been further developed by Koester and D. Georgi. In his essay "Gnomoi Diaphoroi" and in his Introduction to the New Testament, published in 1980, Koester rejects the traditional view that the "opponents" are legalists. He states:

The opponents should not be confused with people teaching an 'orthodox' Jewish observance of the law, and their message is probably understood in a wrong context if it is explained with reference to rabbinic sources.

Like Schmithals, and Crownfield, Koester recognizes "that something more is at stake than the question of imposing an unnecessary burden like circumcision upon the newly converted Gentile Christians." Koester concludes that the teachers emphasize the spiritual and cosmic significance of Torah rituals. For Koester, "obedience" to Torah/Law is not what exegetes from the early Fathers to the Tübingen school meant by the term. By obedience to the Law, Koester means "participation in this cosmic order" represented by the Law, particularly through circumcision and the calendar rituals of 4:9-10.

Koester believes he finds evidence in Galatians that the teachers contradict Paul's understanding of the covenant. He argues that Paul's understanding of the covenant and Torah is
a historical one, since Paul indicates that those revelations were given by God to a distinct person or people at a specific time in history. For Paul, each revelation has a particular function in history and a specific duration in time. But the teachers present a "mythologization" of the covenant. Koester seems to mean by this that the teachers correlate the covenant and Torah with the cosmic order. By means of the rituals of the Law, initiates return to primordial sacred time and revivify the world and themselves.79

However, Koester does not offer a careful exegesis of the letter, therefore textual support for his interpretation appears ambiguous and insufficient. He cites the debate over the nature of the covenant in chapter three of the letter, and refers to the calendar and stoicheia in 4:3, 9, 10, and the allegory in 4:21ff, but does not offer a detailed explanation.

To his credit Koester is one of the few scholars who specifies that the Galatian teachers possess a "gospel." He states:

It is equally obvious that such spiritual renewal of the law was understood as a gospel which must have assigned a particular role to Jesus.80

This reference to Jesus also represents one of the few attempts by scholars to understand the christology of the alternative gospel penetrating the Galatian congregations. Even though Koester leaves the christology of the teachers for others to develop, he acknowledges their integrity as members
of an "authentic" Jesus tradition. Despite his use of the term "Judaizers," Koester portrays the teachers as thoroughly Hellenized. As Hellenistic "Judaizers" they participate in both worlds of Law and Spirit.

Nevertheless, he postulates that the teachers "had connection" with the "false brethren of Galatians 2:4 who schemed against Paul in Jerusalem." Despite this remark, Koester expresses little interest in the debate with the Tübingen School over the exact relationship of the Galatian teachers to the Jerusalem congregation(s). Koester's hesitation to develop their specific relation to the apostles in Palestine arises, in part, from his identification of the teachers as thoroughly Hellenized Christians. It is still an unresolved question whether the apostles, the "false brethren," or the teachers were thoroughly Hellenized Jews in the sense intended by Koester.

Hellenistic Judaism also plays an important and influential role in Georgi's identification of the teachers. He de-emphasizes their possible Palestinian origins and like Crownfield and Koester, understands the teachers in light of the "synkretistische Mystik." Their use of the Jewish law is seen as part of a Jewish mystery rite into which the Galatians are initiated. The teachers present the Torah as a cosmic principle to which the law of nature corresponds. They divest the Jewish law of its parochialism
and invest it with a cosmological and cosmopolitan significance common to Hellenistic Judaism.\textsuperscript{83}

Georgi defines the teachers as "gnostic forerunners" and relates them to the Galatian situation. He does not define them as proponents of realized eschatology in the way Schmithals' "gnostics" are described, but his particular emphasis on Wisdom speculation and Hellenistic mystery rites portrays the teachers as closely related to gnosticism. Georgi describes them as: "\textit{Vorläufer einer Gnosis, wie sie dann später im Kolosserbrief und in den Ignatianen bekämpft wird.}\textsuperscript{84}

Georgi indicates that the Galatian teachers are \textit{pneumatikoi} who identify themselves as equal with the twelve apostles in the holy city Jerusalem. However, he does not explain how such a close association with the apostles affects our understanding of the gospel preached by the "twelve." Does Georgi mean that the Jerusalem apostles also possess and proclaim a "gnosis" similar to the Hellenistic Jewish alternative gospel of the proto-gnostic teachers? If so, what are we to make of Paul's statement that the "pillars" extended to him the "right hand of fellowship" in 2:9?

Although Georgi reformulates Lütgert's two-front theory into one front of protognostics who reinterpret the Torah for the Hellenistic world, he does not accentuate the importance which obedience to the Jewish law possessed for the teachers. After all, they demand that the Galatians submit to physical
circumcision and scrupulously observe the Jewish Sabbath and holy days. The Galatian teachers must be differentiated from Georgi's "divine-men opponents" which he uncovered in II Corinthians.85 Unlike the Corinthian Hellenistic Jewish apologists, the teachers demand that Gentiles carefully obey the Jewish law—including physical circumcision and the sacred calendar. Thus the question remains whether the teachers are not better situated within the multiplicity and diversity which was characteristic of Palestinian Judaism during this Period. This Judaism contained traditions intensely committed to observance of the written and oral Torah as well as to the enjoyment of pneumatic and charismatic experiences.

Utilizing several of Georgi's insights, his student, B.H. Brinsmead, argues in a programmatic study that the teachers are nomists who interpret the Jewish law as a cosmic mystery rite.86 While the teachers agree with Paul that justification is received by God's grace, they also offer a second justification—a process based on observance of the Law.87 Brinsmead wedgs Georgi's emphasis on apologetic Judaism with his own interest in so-called heterodox Judaism. His constellation of Jewish concepts and traditions offers a credible identification of the teachers. But Brinsmead's model is heavily influenced by history of religions parallels and needs more fully developed arguments from the Galatian text. Some of his conclusions are questionable—such as the role of Wisdom in the teachers' gospel as well as their
supposed use of Jesus' sayings. Brinsmead cites Jewish intertestamental literature for history of religion parallels, but his identification of the teachers does not fully break from the Hellenistic wisdom and Philonic models proposed by Crownfield, Koester, and Georgi. It is to Brinsmead's credit that he presents a creative interpretation which recognizes that the teachers' nomism is not to be reduced to legalism. And he associates the teachers with other Jewish traditions in and outside of Palestine. Our investigation will attempt to develop and extend his programmatic study by means of textual exegesis and through the use of Jewish and Jewish Christian sources.

The matrix of Jewish esotericism and pneumaticism also appears in H. Schlier's commentary on Galatians. However, Schlier seems hesitant to choose finally between a gnostic Hellenistic identity of the teachers and a Jewish apocalyptic identity, reminiscent of Qumran. By the time his commentary reached the twelfth edition in 1962, he wonders if the Spirit-inspired teachers represent a "jüdische Gnosis," and concludes that they represent a "gnostisches Vorstadium." Schlier rejects Lütgert's two-front theory, but does not explain how the teachers understand the relation of nomos to pneuma.

Citing sources from apocalyptic Judaism, such as Jubilees, I Enoch, and IV Esdras, Schlier supports his interpretation of Galatians with history of religions
parallels. It is clear from his research into alternative forms of Judaism that Schlier, the Catholic, has no place for the Reformation's view that the teachers are legalists performing "works of law" for their justification. Schlier contributes significantly to Galatian studies by suggesting a history of religions background in Second Temple Judaism for the teachers--unlike Crownfield, Koester, and Georgi who emphasize their Hellenistic roots. In line with his more Jewish identification, it may be noted also that Schlier connects the phrase stoicheia tou kosmou in Galatians to the Jewish calendar and to the angelic powers often found in apocalyptic Judaism (4:3, 9-10).\textsuperscript{92} In these passages the teachers and their followers are portrayed as beholden to these elemental powers.

D. Excursus: The Stoicheia In Recent Research

Contributing to the identification of the teachers' gospel as born out of the matrix of some type of esoteric Judaism, is the developing consensus concerning stoicheia tou kosmou (Gal 4:3) and stoicheia (4:9). These closely related terms have been understood by recent scholarship as referring to personified powers, malevolent or benevolent, which reside behind the heavenly bodies. Some scholars portray these "elemental powers" as controlling the planetary bodies and influencing earthly affairs. Some exegetes even associate the "powers" with the teachers' alternative gospel, as if it was concerned with controlling or worshipping the powers. Hawkins offers an informative discussion of these interpretations:\textsuperscript{93}

A. Banstra--in his The Law and the Elements of the World (1964)--surveys about one hundred
different interpretations of *stoicheia tou kosmou.* In order to understand the wide range of meanings assigned to this phrase, a brief survey of some of the more important interpretations is necessary. Early interpreters, such as Jerome and other patristics, understand the phrase as a reference to the "fundamental principles," such as principles of the law or of Greek philosophy. Some Church fathers praise these teachings as having positive, though preparatory, value. Scholars from the mid-sixteenth to the nineteenth century, including Lightfoot, continue to appeal to this definition, but often deprecate the value of such human wisdom. M.J. Lagrange states: "Les éléments du monde sont des principes de conduite naturels, fort inférieurs à la vie dans le Christ." A. Opeke considers such an interpretation problematical, because it does not emphasize the discontinuity which Paul implies in his use of the term in Galatians 4:1-10, which posits a radical contrast between the Galatians' bondage to the *stoicheia* and their freedom in Christ.

Other researchers suggest that the phrase refers to the basic building blocks of which matter consists, earth, air, water, and fire. This usage was common prior to, and at the time of, the composition of Galatians. E. Schweizer maintains that Hellenistic Judaism, represented by Philo, sought to harmonize these basic elements through the temple rituals. That is, Philo interpreted the temple cult's use of fire, water, smoke, and earth as the harmonization of the cosmic forces. However, it is unlikely Paul had this in mind in 4:1-10.

Bandstra and others opine that the term *stoicheia* refers to the basic components of whatever subject is under discussion. The "elements of the world," used in a religious sense in Galatians, refers to such powers as flesh, sin, and death which form the essence of the old cosmos. It is difficult to accept this view in light of Paul's statement in 4:1-5, which considers God as the one who established the "guardians" and "trustees" to which the *stoicheia* are compared. If Bandstra's view is correct, God would be the author of sin and death--an unlikely scenario in Pauline thought.
Some interpreters have suggested that the phrase refers to the moon, sun, and planets and, perhaps, the stars. Theodore of Mopsuestia represented this viewpoint in the patristic period. Coupled with this understanding is the identification of the phrase with the signs of the Zodiac, which implies that Galatians 4:3 and 9 protest against Galatian astrological practices. However, according to the detailed research of Bandstra, there are no first-century attestations to such an usage. Yet, Paul's association of the phrase with calendar observances in 4:9 and 10 provides some credence to the view that the stoicheia are related to heavenly bodies, which determine the calendar festivals and seasons. Second and third century attestations are not far removed from his period, and Paul could be our earliest recorded instance of such usage.

Building on the suggestion that the phrase refers to the heavenly bodies, a number of scholars posit living entities or angels as either the heavenly bodies or their animating forces. Schmithals states: "Nowadays it may be acknowledged as proved that in the stoicheia tou kosmou we have to do with personal angelic powers." Philo, for example, regards stars as animate souls, and the "elements" as inanimate. The connection between the elements and living entities, in Jewish thought, is represented in Revelation 16:5 where a "water angel" is identified. This is an attestation to the Jewish practice of granting angels authority over matter. Betz writes: "That . . . an 'angel of the waters' intones the doxology shows a basic agreement with the Jewish doctrine that 'an angel is appointed over everything.' But this doctrine is only the Jewish expression for the view common to later Hellenism that the elements themselves are divine or demonic beings." Apocalyptic Judaism, as evidenced in I Enoch and Qumran, considers angels to govern stars, snow, hail, frost, winds, and the four seasons. I Enoch 79:2 states: "And he [Uriel the angel] showed me all the laws for these [the astral bodies] for every day, and for every season of bearing rule, and for every year, and for its going forth, and for the order prescribed to it every month and every week." Davies writes: "The phrase which appears in Galatians 4:10 recalls exactly 1 QS 1:14," which commands obedience to the revealed laws of the calendar.
Although some scholars have seen a connection between the use of stoicheia (Gal 4:3, 9) and the angels who govern the calendar-controlling astral bodies, a problem exists with the association. The difficulty arises from Paul's comment that "we" Jews have been under the authority of the stoicheia prior to the revelation of faith in Christ. The objection states that pious Jews, like the Pharisee Paul, never served such angels in the manner that—Paul says—the Galatians were serving their former gods.

Despite some disagreement among scholars, Schmithals, Koester, Georgi, Betz, and Schlier offer strong support for understanding stoicheia and stoicheia tou kosmou, as employed in Gal 4:3 and 9, as references to angelic beings who control the astral bodies on which the calendar depends. The particularity of the Galatian polemical context lends support to this view. Chapter Three will attempt to relate this interpretation to the teachers' alternative gospel in support of Schlier's recognition of the importance of a Palestinian Jewish matrix for the teachers.

Another scholar cognizant of the influence of apocalyptic on the Pauline letters and early Jesus Movement is the aforementioned J.L. Martyn. His recent programmatic study of the Galatian letter led him to identify the teachers as law-observant Palestinian followers of Jesus who are on a Gentile mission to Galatia.\(^{109}\) Martyn's essay on Galatians—unlike previous studies—preserves the teachers' self-understanding and integrity as Jesus-followers. To this writer's knowledge, Martyn is the first to refrain from reducing the proponents of the alternative gospel to "opponents" and to avoid polemical terms such as "heretics," "false apostles," "deceivers," "schismatics," "false preachers," "instruments of Satan," etc. Martyn prefers the objective term, "teachers," because it
indicates their function of teaching the Galatians about the Torah. He also avoids reconstructing them as "anti-Paulinists," as if their only motivation or raison d'être was to react against Paul's mission and gospel message. Martyn conveys to his readers a sense of the teachers as they may have seen themselves: fully authentic representatives of Jesus on a universalistic "law-abiding mission," bringing the Torah of Israel to those in Gentile darkness. Their mission is not a "counter mission" limited to congregations founded by Paul but includes pagan Gentiles as well.¹¹⁰

Martyn's use of the methodological technique of "mirror reading" from the Pauline text back to the teachers' claims and beliefs enables him to determine that Abraham plays a major role in the teachers' gospel message. The teachers offer the Gentiles the opportunity to join the covenant by means of circumcision, so that they can become full "sons of Abraham."¹¹¹ Martyn believes that the teachers appeal to the Jerusalem apostles for authentication of their mission, but does not conclude that the dichotomy between Paul and the "pillars" was as great as the Tübingen school believed.

Martyn's careful development of the teachers' self-understanding avoids reducing them to stereotypical legalists who oppose Paul's gospel of grace with their doctrine of "works righteousness." At one point Martyn entertains the notion that the teachers' aver an "impressive connection between the true interpretation of the Law and the miraculous
dispensation of the Spirit." Although he never develops this insight, Martyn's perceptive studies illumine the teachers' gospel in such a way that future work must take into consideration his programmatic discussion.

In their studies of Paul, Davies and A. Segal emphasize the importance and significance of apocalyptic and esoteric Judaism during the Second Temple Period.113 Davies stresses the richness and complexity of "Jewish Christianity" with its so-called "heterodox" movements manifested in sectarian and apocalyptic Judaism.114 He offers this caveat: "But it is erroneous to speak of an 'orthodox Jewish (Pharisaic) doctrine'. . . . There were many 'Judaism's and even many 'Pharisaisms'."115 Writing of apocalyptic Judaism, Davies describes it graphically: "a lush, complicated, esoteric apocalyptic tradition . . . concerned with the secrets of the universe . . . through revelations and visions . . . angels, and demons."116 He concludes that "Schweitzer and, more recently, Käsemann have long taught us to regard that apocalyptic as the matrix of early Christian theology."117

The appearance of Segal's Paul the Convert in 1990 illumines the apocalyptic and "mystical" world of Second Temple Judaism.118 Segal demonstrates that the two religious experiences were not necessarily distinguishable during the period. He concludes:

Rather, mysticism in first-century Judea was apocalyptic. . . . they are not unrelated experiences. Jewish mystical
texts are full of apocalypses; early apocalyptic literature is based on ecstatic visions with profound mystical implications.\textsuperscript{119} He identifies Paul as one of the earliest examples of Jewish mysticism of which we have direct personal testimony.\textsuperscript{120} Other examples include I Enoch, some Qumran material, and Philo.

The relevance of Segal's study for Galatians resides in the fact that he demonstrates the importance of Jewish "mysticism" for the Paulinist churches, including those in Galatia (2:20 and 3:27, 28). Although Schweitzer (in The Mysticism of Paul, written at the turn of the century) recognized this apocalyptic/mystical background, Segal further explores the deeply Jewish roots of this phenomenon.\textsuperscript{121} His analysis of Ezekiel and I Enoch, as well as reference to the newly published Angelic Liturgy from Qumran, reveals the complexity and diversity of this Palestinian ecstatic tradition.

The disclosure of this esoteric world of Jewish pneumatism and magic, described in Segal's work, as well in those of G. Scholem, M. Smith, C. Rowland, and J. Tabor may provide a history of religions background for the Jewish teachers of the alternative gospel.\textsuperscript{122} Most previous interpreters of Galatians who recognized the pneumatic dimension in the teachers' gospel have denied, or not discussed, the significance of their Palestinian origins. The
growing awareness of the Hellenization of Palestine itself, plus the recognition of the existence of Jewish apocalyptic, mystical, and magical circles 1) removes the necessity of locating the teachers outside of Palestine, and 2) establishes the possibility that the teachers could be Palestinian Jewish pneumatics or charismatics.

While neither denying or affirming the teachers' connection with apocalyptic Judaism, Betz has presented an important contribution to Galatian studies. In his 1979 Hermeneia Commentary on Galatians Betz has shown the importance of Hellenistic rhetoric for the Galatian letter. He identifies the letter as an example of the apologia--the "apologetic" or defense letter--which follows formal structures expressed in the handbooks of Greek and Roman rhetoricians such as, for example, Quintilian. This apologetic genre implies that the writer offers a "self-apology" for his beliefs or actions, and it bears the imprint of the court-room, from which it arose as judicial oratory. Betz's rhetorical analysis of the letter's formal structure looks like this:

I. 1:1-5 Epistolary PRESCRIPT
    1:1-2a SUPERSCRIPTIO
    1:2b ADSCRIPTIO
    1:3-4 SALUTATIO
    1:5 DOXOLOGY
II. 1:6-11 EXORDIUM (prooemium or principium)
    1:6-7 CAUSA
    1:8-9 CURSE
    1:10-11 TRANSITUS or TRANSGRESSIO
III. 1:12-2:14 NARRATIO
IV. 2:15-21 PROPOSITIO
V. 3:1-4:31 PROBATIO or CONFIRMATIO
VI. 5:1-6:10 EXHORTATIO or PARENESIS
VII. 6:11-18 Epistolary POSTSCRIPTUM (peroratio)

This genre analysis has been highly praised and directly criticized. It will not be the purpose of this study to enter into that debate, although it may be noted that subsequent to Betz's publication, more and more scholars are adopting his analysis as a whole or with varying degrees of modification. For our search into the background and theology of the teachers, Betz's *apologia* structure may be accepted as a working basis, which may assist in distilling from the letter distinct references to the teachers.

Apart from his contributions to genre and rhetoric of Galatians, Betz allots some discussion to the teachers and their gospel. In spite of some modifications to the Reformation's interpretation of the teachers, Betz and his student, D. Lull, remain beholden to Reformation principles. For Betz and Lull, the alternative gospel enforces obedience to the Jewish law in order to achieve "right-standing" before God.

Betz avers that the teachers use the Law as a legal code determining moral behavior. Obedience to the Law prevents sinful conduct and fosters righteousness. Betz believes that the imposition of the Law is necessary because Paul gave the Galatians no ethical guidelines when he founded the congregations. After the Galatians' "initial enthusiasm" waned they fell into "works of the flesh." Urged by the
teachers 1) to control decadent behavior, and 2) to accept the "new" program, the Galatians adopt Torah as a legal barrier against lawless conduct. Consequently Paul has to write the letter as a courtroom-style apology for the role of the Spirit in producing ethical behavior. Betz's view is in line with the older interpretation which argues that the teachers, and Judaism in general, insist that righteousness before God is secured by performance of the Law.

Although Lull seeks to correct Betz, he remains heir to the view that the teachers obey the Law in order to establish "right-standing" before God. Lull argues, contra Betz, on the strength of 5:21 that Paul had left the Galatians with ethical mandates when he founded the congregations. The text states: "I warn you, as I warned you before, that those who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God." Without Betz's solution to the perplexing question of why the Galatians turn to Torah observances, Lull imagines that they adopt the Jewish "ceremonial law" of Moses in order to have rites for absolution and forgiveness of sins of the flesh.

But Lull's innovative solution founders on the hard rocks of history and the silence of the text. Judaism did not separate Torah into "ceremonial law" and "moral law;" moreover the letter never suggests that the Galatians perform sacrifices of sin offerings or other rites of expiation. Lull wrongly assumes that in the Torah, circumcision and holy-day observance provide "forgiveness and atonement" for sins.
Neither Betz nor Lull recognizes the importance of pneuma in the soteriology of the teachers' alternative gospel. These scholars are to be acknowledged for their awareness of the importance and function of pneuma for Paul and the Paulinists. But, their works do not build upon the contributions made by Lütgert, Ropes, Crownfield and others who recognize the crucial importance of the Spirit for the teachers.

Despite Betz's innovative use of genre criticism, his portrayal of the teachers as advocates of moral laws and norms for the purpose of curbing carnal conduct and establishing righteousness does not represent a step forward from Koester, Georgi, and Schlier. Davies writes of Betz's "abandonment of the quest for a more precise setting (he allows only four brief half-pages to the historical situation of the epistle and three very brief half pages to its dating)." Davies also criticizes Betz's underestimation of the Jewish background of the letter, particularly the "essentially messianic situation within which Paul was writing." This point is particularly telling in regards to our quest for the Jewish origins of the teachers, especially if they possess Palestinian roots in apocalyptic and esoteric Judaism. Nevertheless, Betz offers certain specific observations obtained through his formal analysis of the letter's rhetorical form and structure which we will develop and apply to our identification of the teachers and their gospel. These insights will be discussed under methodological considerations
and integrated into our investigation throughout subsequent chapters.

III. METHODOLOGY: THE APPROACH TAKEN IN THIS STUDY

Our history of research has shown that many conflicting interpretations of the teachers and their alternative gospel have appeared since the patristic period; why then should another attempt to identify the teachers in Galatia be made? There are at least five reasons for embarking anew upon the task of identifying the teachers and their gospel.

1. As a result of new publications, new data are available which affect Galatian studies. This is true of Qumran material and Jewish Christianity.\(^{133}\)

2. Recent research into early Christian origins is producing a growing awareness of a) the complexity of Hellenistic Judaism within and without Palestine, and b) "non-conformist" Judaism in Palestine, both of which provide opportunity for new insights in Galatian studies.\(^{134}\)

3. The growing realization by scholars that Judaism during the Second Temple Period was not "legalistic" religion narrowly focused on "works-righteousness" necessitates a new appraisal of the type of Judaism rebutted by Paul and Galatians. The recent studies of S. Sandmel, Stendahl, Sanders, and Segal have illumined the profoundly "spiritual" depths of Judaism.\(^{135}\) Sander's explication of convenantal nomism and his understanding of dikaiosynē as "participatory"
righteousness suggest the need for a revision of earlier views of Paul's polemic. These new insights must be applied to the type of Judaism represented by the Galatian teachers.

4. Although many schemas have been suggested, no study has yet offered a thoroughgoing explanation of the evidence presented in the letter for the identity and definition of the teachers and their gospel. Interpreters have tended to emphasize one aspect of the teachers' gospel at the expense of others.

5. In view of the appearance (1983) of Luedemann's modified revival of the Tübingen hypothesis, which restates the thesis of a dichotomy between Hellenized Paulinism and the Palestinian "apostolic" Jesus Movement (represented by the Galatian teachers), it is imperative that an analysis of the Galatian letter once again be performed.

The above goes to say that the letter to the Galatians needs to be re-examined critically in order that the alternative gospel can be defined and its proponents identified from the standpoint of new information.

The still classical interpretation identifies the teachers as legalistic law-keepers, while certain modern views define the teachers as "gnostics" or "libertines." The few scholars who identify one front, composed of those who observe the Law and "live in the Spirit," do not clarify the nature of this "nomistic pneumaticism," or explain how its proponents relate to the Jerusalem church and to Palestinian Judaism.
What is needed is a methodology which derives its assertions about the identification of the teachers and the content of their gospel from our only primary source, the Galatian letter. This method must not impose on the text preconceptions of the teachers' identity and gospel received from our reading of extra-Galatian material, whether confessional statements, scholarly studies, or, even, other Pauline letters. J.W. Drane advises: "since the epistle is our only evidence for the Galatian heresy [sic], any valid impressions of its character must in the nature of the case be based on an exegetical understanding of the epistle itself."\textsuperscript{138} For this reason our study will not give equal weight to extra-Galatian sources, but will base its conclusions on an investigation of the primary source, the letter of Paul to the Galatians. Outside sources will provide supplementary evidence, particularly in regards to the teachers' place in Jewish and Jewish Christian history.

Although presuppositions are inevitable, critical methodology insists that the interpreter remain aware of preconceptions and biases which may distort interpretation.\textsuperscript{139} A related task, confronting the exegete, is the necessity of suspending one's disbelief and entering into the thought-world of the text. This may be the most difficult task for the modern scholar, removed in time, space, and "modality" of thinking from the Hellenized Paul, the Jewish Christian teachers, and the predominantly Gentile
peoples of Galatia. The very educational process that provides our scholarly encounter with the text severely retards our entering into the world of the text, because the linear logic of the rational modalities of modern scholarship are foreign to the oral-aura arena of the first-century preachers and their hearers in Galatia.140 Although a written text, the Galatian letter is an extension of the spoken words of Paul—as Betz confirms in his study of Galatians as rhetoric.141

Since the oral-aura, religious and esoteric world of Second Temple Judaism is not our world, it is imperative that the reader adopt an approach in which "disbelief" is suspended. For in the religious text of the Galatian letter, the modern reader will confront heavenly beings with supernatural powers, angels, spirits, miracles, curses, blessings, mysterious rites and rituals, esoteric code-words, and charismatic wonder-workers. The exegete's consciousness must be raised to the level where it is aware of its presuppositions, after which, the inherited socially constructed sense of reality, must, in part, be suspended. After these rites are performed we may enter into the sacred world of the ancient text. Nevertheless, scholarly critical faculties must be rigorously maintained in order to arrive at a critical appraisal of the text.

Historical-critical method entails what is sometimes called "mirror reading." J.B. Tyson has defended the
utilization of "mirror reading" as an effective tool for Galatian research. In his 1968 essay, "Paul's Opponents in Galatia," Tyson presents primary methodological principles for interpreting Galatians. He suggests that only the letter's internal evidence be used. He defines the letter as a "defensive" response to particular assertions made by the teachers. In order to "mirror read" the alternative gospel, the interpreter must identify the assertions, Paul's answers, and his counter-charges. By reasoning from the defensive statements made by Paul, one may be able to infer the original accusations made by the teachers which, in turn, will provide evidence of the content of their gospel.

Significant assistance in achieving the goals of mirror reading is offered by Koester in his 1968 essay, "Paul and Hellenism." He suggests that the teachers' gospel can be refined from the text by means of distilling Paulinisms from the concepts and terms found within the letter. Once the Pauline elements have been recognized, the remaining material represents non-Pauline material--including traces of the alternative tradition. In turn, this information can be examined to reconstruct the content of the teachers' gospel. This method implies that the letter's polemic, in part, derives from the Pauline "tendency" or "spin" imparted to terms, concepts, and traditions "borrowed" from the alternative gospel. These expressions may originate from the
alternative tradition, but are re-defined and re-directed by Paul's polemic.

In order to identify the teachers and their alternate gospel, this study examines the Galatian letter using the techniques recommended by Tyson and Koester for gaining information about the teachers. Thus an attempt will be made to identify (from the letter) and to aggregate (for a portrait) four kinds of data: 1) direct and indirect descriptions of what the author polemizes against i.e., of what the teachers in fact teach; 2) citations of pre-Pauline traditional material; 3) reformulated words or phrases which the author seems to take up from the teachers or Galatians and resignify in his own idiosyncratic way; 4) reconstructions of what the author must have been countering in his longer or more detailed expositions. It will be observed that the first three categories come from smaller units of material, while the fourth involves longer, connected passages. Following are brief explanations and examples of the four categories listed above.

1. Indications of the teachers' doctrine may take the form of direct statements by Paul about them, such as in 6:12:

   It is those who want to make a good showing in the flesh that would compel (anagkazousin) you to be circumcised (peritemnesthai), and only in order that they may not be persecuted for the cross of Christ.
The verb "compel" and its infinitive complement leave little doubt about one aspect of the "new," post-Pauline teaching—submission to the Jewish rite of circumcision. Aside from clear descriptions of the teachers' ministry, we also possess indirect descriptions, such as in 1:8:

But even if we, or an angel from heaven, should preach to you a gospel contrary to that which we preached to you, let him be accursed.

From this emphatic statement it can be inferred (correctly so in our view) that some person(s) in Galatia preached an alternative gospel which Paul seriously opposed.

2. Also helpful in reconstructing the content of the alternative gospel is the presence in the letter of citations of pre-Pauline traditional material. As Koester writes, some of this material represents doctrines and concepts acceptable to Paul, the Galatians, and the teachers. Often Paul cites this traditional material as if the Galatians and the teachers also believe it. In these instances, it is probable that the teachers have not contradicted it. For example, in 4:4, Paul cites the "sending of the Son" tradition as if he presumes all parties agree on the validity and importance of the tradition. In verse five he recasts the tradition in a direction which is at once compatible with his theological position, and at the same time antithetic to the alternative position against which he polemicizes.
3. In other instances Paul appears to reformulate words or phrases used by the teachers and reported to him. As a skilled rhetorician Paul rearticulates their message in such a way that they carry Paulinist theology. The addressees "hear" their own words, but with Pauline significations. Betz has identified several instances of Paul's borrowing from the teachers' vocabulary, for example 6:2 and 6:16, where the (non-Pauline) phrases "nomon tou Christou" and "Israēl tou theou" appear. These and others will be discussed at the appropriate place.

4. A composite picture of the alternative gospel emerges when data gained from slogans and smaller units (one-three above) are combined with a fourth category: information garnered from major passages written in response to the teachers' gospel as in 3:1-29, and the "allegory" in 4:21-31.

The Tyson-Koester mirror reading technique which will be employed here, in conjunction with the four criteria just mentioned, provides the researcher with a method which, if carefully utilized, can move the reader from the Pauline text into the alternative gospel of the teachers. Careful utilization involves two notes of caution, one general and one specific, which now must be registered.

W. Ong has emphasized the importance of the "implied audience" in any text, and this study does in fact recognize the significance of Ong's discussion. Ong avers that an author writes with a particular audience in mind. In this
sense, the "implied audience" is always a fiction. Paul writes Galatians with a specific audience in mind—including a particular understanding of the teachers. In view of this insight any historical reconstruction of the "real audience" possesses a provisional quality.146

Another caveat: Essential to the successful implementation of mirror reading is the realization that not every Pauline denial counters an assertion of the teachers. Specifically in Galatians, a researcher must be aware that the role of rhetoric—brilliantly explained and developed by Betz in his study of the "apologetic letter" genre—may account for much of Paul's language. Therefore, as also pointed out by Betz, it is sometimes inappropriate to "mirror-read" a statement by Paul in hopes that it will provide information about the alternative gospel. A particular Galatian statement may be simply the author's use of common parlance or speech forms current at the time of his writing. Or, the passage may represent a traditional rhetorical category, such as a vice-list, popular among Cynic or Stoic rhetoricians.147 But Betz's magisterial grasp of Hellenistic rhetoric provides both cautions and criteria which assist the interpreter in 1) distinguishing actual references to the teachers and their gospel from the language of Galatians, and 2) avoiding the pitfall of achieving anomalous results.

So much for cautions. Although these difficulties must be reckoned with, as with any method used to obtain
information about the teachers, mirror-reading has been employed with success both in Galatians and in other studies of Paul's letters. Martyn advises that the exegete must strive to hear the letter as the audience would have heard it. For Martyn the key question is how would the Galatians have understood these words?\textsuperscript{148} And Betz's judicious use of the mirror reading methodology has uncovered several slogans and phrases which were introduced by the teachers. However, since he only identifies but does not exploit them with regard to the teachers' message,\textsuperscript{149} it will be our purpose to explore the ramifications of relating these phrases to the alternative gospel. Once an identification of the teachers and their gospel has been made, other sources will provide additional material which will assist our locating the teachers in Judaism and Jewish Christianity. Georgi's study of the "opponents" of Paul in II Corinthians serves as an example of the use of secondary sources in constructing a rich cultural context for the "divine-man" apostles who infiltrated Paul's Corinthian community.\textsuperscript{150} Evidence from Jewish intertestamental literature and Jewish Christian sources will contribute to our locating the teachers' tradition in Judaism and Jewish Christianity.

\textbf{IV. CONCLUSION}

Our history of the research of the alternative gospel in Galatians has uncovered different interpretations of that
gospel and of the identity of its proponents. One of the oldest and most common interpretations argues that Paul battles teachers who believe that "works of law" merit salvation for the obedient. From the time of the patristic commentators this has been understood as either obedience to the ceremonial law including circumcision or to the entire Torah. The view consistently has maintained that the teachers' rationale for obedience is to placate the demands of the Law and, consequently, God. The Reformation confirmed and heightened this identification of the teachers as "legalists"—interpreting the letter in juridical categories of "acquittal," "imputation," "status," and "right-standing." Even the radical Tübingen school echoed this understanding of the teachers—defining them as Torah/Law observers preoccupied with "right-standing" before God's bar of justice. In fact the Tübingen thesis of Baur and Schwegler profited from this view, because it supported their clear-cut division between Pauline Hellenized Christianity and the supposed legalistic Jewish form of apostolic Christianity in Jerusalem. Baur and his pupils in the nineteenth century concluded that the so-called judaizing wing of the Jesus Movement, under the apostles, was a continuation of legalism—understood pejoratively—supposedly characteristic of Judaism in general.

Lütgert represents a watershed in the history of research because in 1919 he demonstrated the importance of pneumaticism in the Galatian letter. However, as we have seen, Lütgert did
not argue that the "nomists" are the pneumatikoi. Instead he offered a "two-front" theory which posited two distinct fronts—nomists and pneumatics—against whom Paul wrote. Only after the research of Crownfield and Schmithals did it become possible to seriously consider the possibility that Galatians does not oppose legalists. Schmithals' overstatement of the presence of full-grown gnosticism in each of Paul's authentic letters had the virtue of forcing the older interpretation of legalists into the arena of critical scholarship. However, most scholars faulted his interpretation because it did not account for the presence of the issue of law-obedience.

The scholarship of Koester and Georgi set aside many presuppositions inherited from Tübingen, the Reformation, and the patristic period, positing a thoroughly Hellenistic matrix for the teachers. This new understanding enabled them to reinterpret so-called Galatian legalists as representatives of a form of apologetic Jewish Christianity heavily influenced by Hellenistic ideas and concepts. The discovery of such a milieu provided new history of religions categories and parallels for comparison with the Galatian teachers. Valuable also in this regard was the recognition that Hellenistic Judaism's concept of a cosmic law appears as a close counterpart to the Jewish Torah. Given these concepts, Koester and Georgi described the Galatian teachers as Hellenized custodians of the cosmic Law.
Despite these studies not all scholars accept the thoroughly Hellenistic background of the teachers. Some scholars still present definitions inherited from the older interpretations, while others criticize Koester's and Georgi's recourse to Hellenistic influences and their lack of appreciation of apocalyptic and esoteric forms of Palestinian Judaism.

Helpful in this regard are the discoveries of such scholars as Davies, Schlier, Sanders, Segal, and others who have reapplied Schweitzer's discovery of the Jewish apocalyptic matrix to the Jerusalem community and Paul. These scholars express dissatisfaction with an imposition of Hellenistic categories on primitive Christianity, even if these categories are qualified as Hellenistic Jewish. They maintain that Jewish elements essential to early Christian origins are negated by those who impose parallels and influences from Hellenistic sources, such as the mystery religions. For such reasons, these scholars designate Jewish apocalyptic as the matrix for some of the factions belonging to the early Jesus Movement. Importantly, they include within apocalyptic Judaism not only eschatological concerns, but also esoteric speculations regarding angels, demons, the calendar, astrology, medicine, meteorology, secret lore, gematria, and visionary ascents.

In view of 1) the Hellenization of Palestine itself, and 2) the growing awareness of the presence in Palestine of such
esoteric circles, perhaps the teachers' interest in both Torah and pneuma can be explained without recourse to any type of Hellenistic diaspora Judaism. If it is possible to argue from the Galatian text that the teachers represent a Jesus tradition from Palestine with roots in apocalyptic and esoteric circles, two significant results obtain. First, the older view--inherited primarily from the Reformation--of the teachers as "mere legalists" is challenged. The teachers' devotion to the Jewish law may not represent "works-righteousness" performed to merit God's favor, but may evince an understanding of and use of the Torah-revelation as a means of acquiring and enriching their life in the Spirit.

The second result which may obtain from situating the teachers in a Palestinian matrix is the demise of Munck's and Schmithals' anti-Tübingen theory of a diaspora origin for the teachers. But this negation does not necessitate a return to the Tübingen thesis in which the teachers join the Palestinian Christians--including the Jewish "pillars"--in opposition to Paul. It may be that the teachers belong to another party in the Jerusalem community "more" Torah-observant than either the "pillars" or Paul! Further evidence from the Galatian letter will assist in determining which of these, if any, best describes the historical relationship between these earliest expressions of Christian diversity.

The programmatic studies of Brinsmead, Martyn, and Cosgrove provide directions for this new attempt to identify
the teachers and their gospel. Brinsmead insists on the presence of "one front" of law-observant teachers who interpret the Jewish law as a cosmic mystery rite. Martyn vividly portrays the teachers as "authentic" representatives of the Jesus-Movement on a law-abiding gospel mission to Galatia. And Cosgrove argues that the teachers use the Law as a medium for accessing the divine pneuma. Our investigation attempts to combine important insights developed from these recent programmatic studies with new data which, in turn, will form a clearly defined constellation representing the teachers and their gospel.

The following three chapters will attempt to explore crucial issues raised in the history of research regarding the teachers' identity and the content of their gospel. Primary among these pivotal issues are the following interrogatives:

1) From where do the teachers originate and how do they relate to the Jerusalem Christian community, the "pillars," and Paul? And what is the content of their gospel and how do they understand such topics as Abraham, the covenant, the Law, and Moses?

2) How does their understanding of the divine Spirit and its charismatic gifts relate to their Torah-obedience? Do the teachers form a single front of legalists or pneumatikoi or some other configuration? And what is their view of Jesus Christ?
3) Where are the teachers to be situated in the history and sources of Second-Temple-Period Judaism and in Jewish Christianity?

These and other unresolved questions and issues arising from the history of research provide direction for our study. In pursuit of answers and solutions to these problems an examination of the teachers and their alternate gospel according to our stated methodology appears in the following three chapters. The next chapter focuses on the teachers' historical origins and their relation to Paul and the issue of authority, as well as their gospel's appeal to Abraham, the covenant, Moses, and the Torah. Chapter Three develops the soteriology of their gospel, especially their understanding of the relationship of nomos to pneuma, as well as their view of Jesus and his teachings. The final chapter attempts to locate the teachers and their gospel in Jewish and Jewish Christian history and sources. Jewish intertestamental literature, including I Enoch, Jubilees, and the recently published Angelic Liturgy will be examined for similarities to the teachers. Also, the teachers' relationship to the Jerusalem community and to Jewish Christianity in the diaspora will be investigated. Helpful in this regard are Colossians, the Kerygmatia Petrou, and the Book of Elkesai.156

Cognizant of Alan Segal's evaluation of the difficulty of the task at hand, we embark upon our study of Paul's letter of Galatians. Segal states in his recent work on Paul: "Paul's
letters, though widely read thus turn out to be among the most
difficult and complicated writings in Western literature."\textsuperscript{157}
CHAPTER TWO:
THE TEACHERS' ORIGINS AND GOSPEL MISSION

I. INTRODUCTION

Apprised of both questions and gains in recent scholarship, and applying the mirror-reading approach to our primary source—the canonical Galatian letter—we can now attempt to examine and identify those who taught the Galatians a "different gospel." During our search we will remain mindful of the thorny nature of the task undertaken here. Moreover, aware that the polyvalency of meaning found in any text places limits on the certainty of interpretation, we nevertheless suggest that numerous facts and probabilities will emerge which will help to assure that 1) our choice of answers both reflects recent scholarly gains and also contributes to them, and 2) these data in turn form a composite picture of the historical origin and basic theology of the teachers, and 3) the above will provide essential data for investigating the soteriology (in Chapter Three) of those Jesus people who taught the Galatian Paulinists an alternative gospel.

In order to construct the desired composite portrait, various interpretations of the text must be evaluated and considered as to their possible merit and value, and the progress should be from the clearest texts toward the less
certain. We thus intend to build a cumulative case following the procedure outlined below.

II. PROCEDURE

In order to achieve our purpose, we will proceed in a topical way, taking four major steps. First, seven basic situational questions must be addressed and clarified before more complex issues are treated: 1) Does the Galatian problem stem from one teacher, or several? 2) If several, do they operate as a group/committee or do they have a "ringleader"? 3) To what extent has the leader or the group influenced the believers, i.e., does the teaching affect a minority, a majority or the totality of the congregations? 4) At the time of writing are the affected Galatians already taking action--submitting to the demands of the alternative message? 5) In what way has the achieved influence affected the believers attitude toward Paul? 6) How serious is the problem from the writer's perspective? 7) What evidence is there from the text that the Galatians are taught an integral, alternative message, and should it be styled as "gospel"?

The second step also involves background, but will be treated as a separate issue, due to its length and importance. This segment comprises four major, interrelated questions: 1) Do the messengers/teachers originate from outside or from within the congregations? 2) Are they Gentile, Jewish, or Jewish Christian? 3) Can they be connected with a historical
or geographical matrix? Finally, 4) does the letter's content have any connection with, or point to a specific locus?

Third, after answering these questions, clarification of the vital issue of the teachers' relation to Paul and the issue of authority (apostleship) will be attempted. Under several headings questions such as these will be answered. What is the new teachers' opinion of Paul and his "apostolic authority"? How do they understand their own authority and mission?

Fourth, and finally, what can be gleaned from a careful reading of the text regarding the teachers' doctrine—their basic theology and hermeneutical method? Relying on the topical approach, we will treat various terms and passages from the letter, for example, Abraham, covenant, seeds, Moses and Sinai, but aiming all along at these larger questions. Are the teachers of the alternative gospel "Judaizers," and, does their demand for circumcision include the Jewish law of Moses? If so, why do they insist on Gentile obedience to Israel's Law? And finally, what benefit do the teachers offer to the Gentile believers who accept their alternative message?

Once insights are gained and conclusions drawn regarding the teachers' origins and basic theology, this study will have a foundation from which to launch an investigation into the fascinating area of the teachers' soteriology and christology in Chapter Three.
III. BASIC CLARIFICATIONS ABOUT THE TEACHERS AND THEIR MESSAGE: GOSPELS IN CONFLICT

Although there are few passages in the letter which "unambiguously" represent the teachers' alternate gospel, there are some specific answers to the basic questions listed above which can be established by means of textual observations.

1. Is there only one teacher or several? From the statement in 5:12 we learn that a plurality of persons are influencing the Galatians. The text states: "I wish those who unsettle you would mutilate themselves (apokopsontai)!" See the following point for an assessment of their number.

2. Does the group have a leader? A related statement in 5:10 indicates that this group has a leader whose name is not given, but who may nonetheless be known by an unimpressed Paul. He writes: "I have confidence in the Lord that you take no other view than mine; and he who is troubling you will bear his judgment, whoever he is." Yet it would appear that the group is not very numerous since Paul writes in 5:9 that a "little leaven leavens the whole lump."

3. What deduction can be made relative to inroads made by the teachers? Although the size of the group is apparently not large, its influence is quite telling and pervasive. The text confirms this judgment in 3:1 where we read: "O foolish Galatians! Who has bewitched you, before whose eyes Jesus Christ was publicly portrayed as crucified?" Further textual
evidence indicates that a majority of the Galatian converts have accepted the teachings of those who are now "evangelizing" them. The statement in 1:6 cited above includes the congregation as a whole: "I am astonished that you [plural] are so quickly deserting him who called you in the grace of Christ and turning to a different gospel." Other passages demonstrate that the "deserting" of the founder's gospel affects all the Galatian congregations and many of their members (1:3, 3:1, 5:7).

4. At the time of writing have the Galatians already submitted to the demands of the alternative gospel? Some members no doubt have taken action. Yet, notwithstanding 3) above, it seems certain that not all of the Galatians have already submitted to circumcision and "works" of Torah observance. The verb tenses and provisional wording convey the sense that the letter was composed at an early stage in the history of this Christian crisis. Certainly some Galatians are already observing Jewish sacred festivals, whereas others are in the process of submitting to circumcision. The text states in 4:10: "You observe days, and months, and seasons, and years!" In 6:13, (hol peritemnomeno) and (peritemnesthai) suggest that some are at least on the verge of being circumcised.

5. Thus the state of affairs has undergone rapid and radical change since the period of the congregations' founding. So the question of the congregations' current view
of Paul naturally arises. At the time of their conversion, the Galatian converts fully supported Paul's gospel. But now under the "bewitching" preaching of the new teachers, Paulinist theology has come to be regarded as deficient and, even, inimical to the "true" gospel. Textual support for this assertion rests on 4:15 and 16:

What has become of the satisfaction you felt? For I bear you witness that, if possible, you would have plucked out your eyes and given them to me. Have I then become your enemy by telling you the truth?

6. How serious is this disruptive situation? Perhaps the term **aphörizen heauton**, "separate one's self," in 2:12--identified by Betz as a "Jewish technical term"--indicates that the new teachers divide the Galatians into those who have submitted to circumcision and those who have yet to do so (see 4 above).

Even if the divisiveness has not gone that far, we argue for the following reasons that Betz's clever term "changing denominations" actually understates the crisis. From Paul's point of view, the Galatians do "not obey the truth" of his gospel (3:1) and some have "fallen from grace" (5:4). But there is more. The founder (i.e., Paul) excoriates the new teachers as "trouble makers" or "agitators" who pervert the true gospel given to him by the crucified and risen Jesus. In 1:7 he states: "there are some who trouble (hoi tarassontes) you and want to pervert (metastrepsai) the gospel of Christ."
This critical remark indicates that Paul has drawn the line between his understanding of the gospel and theirs—he relegates the teachers to perdition (5:10)!. By any standard the situation has reached crisis proportions indeed.

7. Continuing to argue that the Galatian crisis surpasses the concept of "changing denominations," we look at the question of whether the teachers' message can be styled as "gospel/ evangel." First, some necessary background. The very form and existence of the Galatian apologia of course implies that Paul is holding out hope that his Galatian converts will return a verdict favorable to the gospel he taught them (6:1: "brothers" are exhorted to restore any who have "erred"). But his converts have fallen under the bewitching enchantment (3:1) of demonic powers (1:8, 4:20)—a spell the teachers themselves have purposely and knowingly cast through their proselytizing message.

Now for the terminology itself. In 1:6-7 Paul first discredits this new message as "a different gospel, (heteron euaggelion) not that there [really] is another gospel." From his viewpoint (in the phrase of 1:6) the new teachers present a message different in kind from the unique one he received from the risen Jesus. The second part of the argument (1:7) attempts to disparage the new message by another argument altogether: the other one is a "perversion." His argument thus insists that his gospel is the only orthodox one, since,
he asserts, there is only one true gospel—the Paulinist one.\textsuperscript{161}

But the argument over two messages continues, and suddenly the word gospel appears again. The new teachers' honesty, logic, or good intentions do not prevent Paul from casting a double curse on them and their message in 1:8 and 9: "But even if we, or an angel from heaven, should preach to you a gospel contrary to that which we preached to you, let him be accursed." Once again the argument is formulated around two gospels.

Why does Paul here seem unable to extricate himself from, or better, to isolate the teachers from the laudatory, or at least complimentary term "gospel"? This inability would also appear to harm his argument by granting too much to the other side.

Would Paul credit the "intruders" with a "gospel" if he could avoid it? Surely Paul would not. It is not in his apologetic interest to dignify the cursed message with the term "gospel." Neither is there a sufficient reason to believe that Paul gratuitously or tolerantly labels their teaching on circumcision and Torah as a "gospel." Yet in 1:6-8 it seems Paul is compelled to discuss the issue in terms of that very word. Therefore one concludes that the word "gospel" in all likelihood arose from the mouths of those who proclaimed it,\textsuperscript{162} and that Paul was compelled to take up the teachers' self-appropriated term: gospel/evangel.
Thus the Galatian letter deals with a founding or initiatory gospel (Paul's), and with an intrusive one (Paul's view) or an additive, alternative one (teachers'). How the teachers' evangel functions as an alternative gospel will become clear as this study progresses. The term "alternative" has been chosen as more expressive, and without intent to prejudice the question.

Moreover, if one can step outside the letter's perspective, it can now be seen, from the new teachers' point of view, that they present a gospel which Paul refuses to accept. Those who bring the alternative gospel regard their teaching as authentic and as being integral—the gospel of Jesus Christ. For the purpose of this study we will regard them as having theological integrity. So the letter's apologetic interests should not prejudice the critical reader from considering F. Filson's observation that the new teachers "must be given credit for honest and intelligent thinking."¹⁶³ From the viewpoint of the proponents of the alternative gospel, Paul's gospel must be, in Betz's words: "deficient, premature or illegitimate."¹⁶⁴

IV. THE ORIGINS OF THE TEACHERS

Prior to any further examination of the theology of the teachers, the text must be analyzed for any information concerning the ethnic and geographical origins of the teachers.¹⁶⁵ As shown in the history of research, the
question of whether the purveyors of the alternate gospel are indigenous Galatian Gentiles or Jews external to the congregations has been answered in various ways. As shown above Munck argued that the alternative gospel spontaneously arose from within the Galatian congregations through their study of Scripture. However, our judgment must be that there is little textual evidence to support his theory of an indigenous origin of the teachers.

The primary evidence on which Munck's view stands is found in 6:12 and 13:

"It is those who want to make a good showing in the flesh that would compel you to be circumcised, and only in order that they may not be persecuted for the cross of Christ. For even those who receive circumcision (hoi peritemnomenoi) do not themselves keep the law, but they desire to have you circumcised that they may glory in your flesh."

The use of the present participle (hoi peritemnomenoi) in 6:13, ("those who are being/would be circumcised") serves as the crux of the theory, which argues that the teachers could not have been Jews by birth, since any Jew would have been circumcised eight days after birth, not as an adult. This interpretation further assumes that those who "compel" circumcisions in 6:12, are the same individuals who "receive circumcision" in 6:13. In this way, the teachers are identified as Galatian Gentiles, who are in the process of submitting to circumcision, while compelling their fellow Galatian believers to join them.
Although it may be expected that Paul would have used a different term in 6:13 had he referred to circumcised Jews, it is nevertheless possible that the present participle written by Paul is referring to them. On grammatical grounds, it is possible for a present participle to refer to an action antedating the primary verb, as in 1:23. If the present participle used by Paul is referring to a past act of circumcision, there remains no reason to identify the teachers of 6:12 and 13 as Gentiles. Another answer to Munck's argument from 6:12 and 13 occurs when different subjects are postulated for the two verses. It may be that 6:12 refers to the teachers who "compel" the Galatians to be circumcised, while 6:13 specifies the Galatians who are being circumcised. Those who do the compelling are not the Gentiles who are submitting. Once the Galatians of 6:13 are circumcised they, too, join the teachers in "desiring" their fellow Gentiles to be circumcised.

However, the most likely explanation is that both verses 12 and 13 refer to the teachers who insist on Gentile circumcision. Luedemann says the present participle "intends merely to express the fact that the opponents advocate the requirement of circumcision." Jewett agrees that 6:13 does not express Paul's concern about persons being circumcised, but about "those who now demand circumcision for Gentile Christians. Thus the present tense of the participle is demanded by the argumentative situation." If one of
these three solutions is correct, it follows that the indigenous Gentile theory fails for lack of textual evidence. With the preponderance of evidence against their Gentile origin, the teachers are to be identified as law-abiding Jewish Christians.

In contrast to poor textual support for locating the origins of the new teachers within the Galatian congregations, the external and Jewish origin of the teachers rests on relatively firmer textual ground. There are several passages in the letter which, in language or content, indicate that the teachers did not arise from within but from outside the congregations. For example, in 1:7 we read: "There are some who trouble you". The unqualified third person "some" tends to support the conclusion that the teachers comprise a group external to the original Galatian congregations. If the "troublers" arose from inside, it would be more natural for Paul to say "some of your own number" or the like. But the bald contrast of "some" versus "you" implies outside influence upon his Galatian converts. Another example: the rapidity with which the Galatians have been "bewitched" argues for an outside element which has overwhelmed them. In 1:6, Paul expresses shock that they have "so quickly" (houtōs tacheōs) fallen from his gospel. Yet another: Paul's readiness to believe that an angelic, or better, a demonic force has deceived them indicates that he considers the problem to have origins alien and external to the community (1:8, 3:1).
Support of an external origin also is found in the fact that Paul's language offers no possibility of forgiveness or mercy to these "agitators" (5:12) who compel the Galatians to be circumcised. The double curse condemns them in 1:8, 9, and in 5:10 certain judgment awaits: "he who is troubling you will bear his judgment." Such uncompromising severity seems out of place for Paul who, though often demanding on his converts, permits reconciliation and encourages restoration, as 6:1 instructs: "Brethren, if a man is overtaken in any trespass, you who are spiritual should restore him in a spirit of gentleness. Look to yourself, lest you too be tempted." The fact that Paul anathematizes the teachers may also suggest that he does not regard them as part of his original community.

Further support for the external origin and Jewish-Christian identity of the teachers arises in 6:12 where Paul accuses them of teaching circumcision in order to escape persecution: "It is those who want to make a good showing in the flesh that would compel you to be circumcised, and only in order that they may not be persecuted for the cross of Christ." This statement supports an external origin of the teachers because the letter does not indicate that the new Galatian converts are in danger of persecution. It is unlikely that non-Christian Jews from Palestine would be persecuting Gentile followers of Jesus in Galatia. Nor is it likely that local Jews, if any existed, would be interested in
persecuting Gentiles who had forsaken paganism, but had not been circumcised. There is no hint whatsoever that Gentile authorities were persecuting the Galatians.

It is therefore most likely that the persecution avoided by the teachers in 6:12 stems from Jewish persecution of Jewish Christians who fail to enforce the Jewish law on Gentile converts. Paul's sarcasm in 6:12 reduces the teachers' insistence on the Law for Gentiles to a cowardly attempt to placate non-Christian Jews, who threaten the teachers with persecution if they fail to teach the Law. His accusation in 6:12 makes sense when we understand it as directed against Jewish followers of Jesus who, as outsiders, compel the Galatians to "judaize." He considers them cowards for insisting on circumcision of the Galatians in order to avoid persecution from zealotic Jews.

Finally any theory of an internal origin for the teachers would require an explanation of the sense of Paul's statement in 6:12 that circumcision alleviates the possibility of persecution. And a Jewish identity would best account for their familiarity with Scripture and commitment to circumcision. Therefore, from these textual observations it appears more reasonable to identify the teachers of the alternative gospel as Jewish Christian believers from outside the Galatian congregations.

If the teachers are both outsiders and Jewish, where do they originate? The teachers' exact origin outside Galatia
cannot be known with certainty, but there are a few clues which offer some assistance in locating their base of operations. Some areas may be ruled out, such as Arabia, Cilicia, and Syria. These areas are identified by Paul in 1:17 and 21 as locations in which he spent many years (2:1). Paul made these statements in his autobiographical section which explains that the source of his gospel was not human. It is necessary for Paul to sever himself from human sources due to accusations made by the teachers in Galatia that Paul had received his gospel from superiors in the Jesus Movement to whom he was no longer subservient. He writes in 1:16 and 17 that God:

    was pleased to reveal his Son to me, in order that I might preach him among the Gentiles, I did not confer with flesh and blood, nor did I go up to Jerusalem to those who were apostles before me, but I went away into Arabia; and again I returned to Damascus.

Since Paul's tactic is to de-emphasize his presence in areas where other Christian leaders were located, it is unlikely he would have documented his stay in Arabia, Syria, and Cilicia if the teachers were from these regions. Such an admission could lend support to the teachers' charge that Paul was indebted to human authorities. It would have been in his best interest to avoid any misconception that he had operated or intruded into the teachers' territory in Arabia, Syria, or Cilicia. Since Paul boasts in the fact that he avoided the territory or influence of those who were Jesus-believers
before him by removing himself to Arabia, Syria, and Cilicia, these areas are not the most likely candidates for the headquarters from which the new teachers in Galatia arose.

In support of the above indication that the Jewish Christian teachers did not come from Cilicia, Syria, or Arabia, the letter offers evidence pointing to a different geographical origin. In 1:22 the text states: "And I was still not known by sight to the churches of Christ in Judea." After showing that he spent most of his time away from Jerusalem and in the regions of Syria and Cilicia, Paul states in the autobiographical section (1:12ff) that he had no contact at all with the "churches of Judea which were in Christ" (1:22). Why would Paul want to write that he had no relationship with the Judean churches? Betz has shown that the phrase (tais ekklēsias tēs Ioudaias tais en Christō) in 1:22 reflects a pre-Pauline tradition belonging to the milieu of Jewish Christianity. Since this is the only occasion the phrase appears in extant Pauline literature, perhaps it is a phrase taken over by Paul from the teachers' usage. If so, the phrase connects the Jewish Christian teachers with the Judean area. Since the literary function of the autobiographical section serves Paul's apologetic interests by repudiating contacts with other humans, it is reasonable to interpret 1:22 as supporting this same function. If so, 1:22 represents Paul's denial of the teachers' claim that he received his commission and instructions from superiors in the
Christian congregations in Judea. If this reconstruction of the reason Paul wrote 1:22 is correct, then the teachers may have claimed to be connected with Judea as the seat of Christian authority. If the teachers regard the source of Christian authority to reside in Judea, it is reasonable to conclude that they see themselves closely related to it. The central authority for the "churches of Christ in Judea" would be the Jerusalem mother-church.

Indications of the teachers' Judean origins appear from Paul's reserved and, at times, hostile attitude toward the holy city of Jerusalem. When he refers to Jerusalem he criticizes her for being in slavery with her adherents and implies that he avoids the place. Thus the text states in 1:18: "Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to visit Cephas, and remained with him fifteen days." And we read in 4:25: "Now Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia; she corresponds to the present Jerusalem, for she is in slavery with her children" (4:25). In this "allegory" (4:21-31), Paul's anti-Jerusalem polemic focuses on the city as the primary symbol of the Sinai covenant with its laws and rituals. He extends his disapproval of Jerusalem to include all teachers of the Sinai covenant. In 4:25 he describes these law-keeping teachers as enslaved (douleuei) children, and vividly contrasts them in 4:26 with his Galatian converts, who are children of the heavenly city of freedom. Continuing his comparison in 4:30, he instructs the Galatians to throw out (ekbale) the offspring
of the enslaved city: "But what does the Scripture say? 'Cast out the slave and her son; for the son of the slave shall not inherit with the son of the free woman' ."

If the teachers are to be sent away from the Galatians in 4:30, as Hagar was sent away from Sarah and Isaac, where are they to go? In Genesis, Hagar was exiled into the wilderness which Paul calls Sinai and equates with the city of Jerusalem in 4:25. Is Paul suggesting that the Galatians must send the teachers where they belong, back to Jerusalem, an enslaved city fit for slaves of the Law? Although it may be possible to understand 4:25 and 30 as metaphorical expressions, it is likely that Paul selects his concepts and words carefully in an effort to relate the teachers to their place of origin, the mother-city of Jerusalem. As the heavenly Jerusalem is the "mother" of the Paulinists in 4:26, so the earthly Jerusalem is the mother of the teachers.

Final support for Jerusalem as the teachers' primary center, can be gleaned from 2:4ff where the text describes a group of law-observant Christians who are located in Jerusalem. Their presence in the Jesus Movement provoked an earlier crisis situation similar to that produced by the teachers' presence in Galatia. The letter states that "false brethren" stole into the Jesus Movement and attempted to enforce circumcision as a requirement for Gentile participation. We read:
But because of false brethren (pseudadelphous) secretly brought in, who slipped in to spy out our freedom which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage (2:4).

Paul's structures his account of this episode to resemble the appearance of the teachers in Galatia, and surely intended his audience to respond with a similar realization. Just as Jewish Christian outsiders, devoted to the Law, sought to impose circumcision during the Jerusalem meeting (2:4-10), so Jewish Christian outsiders are imposing circumcision on the Galatians. It may be that Paul believes there is a direct "genetic" connection between the two groups of Jewish Christians. Luedemann argues that the teachers "are identical with the so-called false brethren."\(^{172}\) The "false brethren" may not be the same persons as the teachers, but they probably are their predecessors. Support for this connection comes from the apparent fact that the teachers in Galatia seem to know details about Paul's activities in Jerusalem and Antioch, which, according to Paul, they misconstrue (2:11ff). We conclude that the teachers are Jewish Christians who originate from outside the Galatian congregations in Judea (Palestine) and are probably connected to the Jerusalem Jewish Christian community.

This much completes the discussion of historical and geographic background. The topical search may now continue with the overall relationship of the teachers to Paul and the issue of authority.
V. THE TEACHERS' RELATION TO PAUL AND THE ISSUE OF AUTHORITY

What is the precise relation of the teachers to Paul and his gospel? How do they characterize his Gentile mission and "apostolic authority"? Answers to these important questions will precede our determining how the teachers understand their own authority and Gentile mission.

A. Relation to Paul

The Jewish Christian teachers trace their origins back to Jerusalem and arrive in Galatia with their alternative message—a gospel they insist is superior to Paul's. The teachers also criticize Paul's character and question his right to be called an apostle. Paul distances himself from Jerusalem not only because of the Jewish Christian teachers' associations there, but also because they claim he has received his gospel from human authorities located in Jerusalem. Textual support for this conclusion appears in the autobiographical section of the letter, especially in 1:1, 17:

Paul an apostle—not from men nor through man, but through Jesus Christ and God the Father, who raised him from the dead (1:1).

nor did I go up to Jerusalem to those who were apostles before me, but I went away into Arabia; and again I returned to Damascus (1:17).

It seems certain that the teachers accuse Paul of being dependent on men for his gospel and for his commission to proclaim it. Moreover, the teachers claim that Paul was
dependent on Jerusalem because they want to refute his claim to be an independent apostle. That is why Paul introduces his letter with the extraordinary: "Paul, an apostle--not from men. . . ."

By informing the Galatians that Paul is dependent and subservient to James, Peter and John, they hope to demean the importance of Paul and gain Galatian allegiance for themselves. In order to refute their charge of dependency on Jerusalem and the implication that he received his commission from that community, Paul writes in 1:18: "Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to visit Cephas [Peter], and remained with him fifteen days." Paul must admit that he met with Peter early in his ministry, but insists that this was a very brief visit in contrast to his absence of three years (1:18) and later of fourteen years (2:1). He adds, as an afterthought, that he also saw James, the brother of Jesus. These past connections with Jerusalem are down-played by Paul.

Thus Paul's stress on the informality of his first visit would reflect the teachers' charge that he was dependent upon officials among the Jerusalem Jesus Movement for a formal commission. Although he is able to defuse this claim in 1:18, he is forced to explain why his next visit was a formal one (2:1ff). In 1:2 and 1:6 he downplays the significance of this formal conference by explaining that his gospel was not affected by those who seemed to be in charge. In 2:1 he clarifies that he went to the conference by revelation, not
because he had been summoned by superiors. He writes in great
detail, compared to the preceding sections. This could
suggest the teachers have made much of this formal meeting
between Paul and his "superiors."

Paul seems forced to respond carefully to the teachers'
charges in an effort to show that the meeting did not imply
his full dependence on Jerusalem authorities. In 2:9, he
claims that his independence and equality were recognized by
the "pillars" (styloi), James, Peter, and John, who extended
to him the "hand of fellowship," while agreeing that he would
evangelize the Gentiles and they the Jews. Luedemann and Betz
conclude that the conference of 2:1-10 was a formal one which
resulted in an official agreement between the "pillars" and
the Paulinists. Specific areas of responsibility were
defined and criteria for membership agreed upon. The prospect
of financial support from the Gentile converts for the
Jerusalem "poor" (2:10) contributed to the successful
conclusion of the Jerusalem accord. The teachers' rendition
of the "Jerusalem connection" is rebutted by Paul.

It is important to note that there is no textual
indication that the "false brothers" agreed with or acquiesced
to this important accord. This insight has several
corollaries whether or not one grants some genetic relation
between the teachers and the "false brothers," or merely one
by association. One, the fact that Paul limits the accord to
the pillars in 2:9 indicates he is claiming that the "false
brothers" did not participate in it. Had they compromised their insistence on Gentile circumcision enough to participate in the accord, it is doubtful that Paul would refer to them in 2:4 as false Jesus-followers. Two, since the teachers are traceable to Jerusalem, it is most likely that they interpreted both the conference and the Antioch incident in their favor. Obviously Paul is at pains to counter that interpretation. Three, in support of their position the teachers probably claim that they are, or represent, the true Christian authorities of Jerusalem who reject Paul's lawless gospel, a position Paul seeks to correct.177

Therefore, we conclude that Paul must recount his past associations and agreements in Jerusalem to the Galatians because a response to the teachers' rendition was necessary in order to defend himself against the teachers' charges that he is subordinate to Jerusalem. The teachers claim 1) that Paul was no independent apostle. Instead, he was dependent on the Jerusalem "pillars" for his authorization to evangelize Gentiles, and 2) that these credentials were granted to him by the "pillars" in an official meeting in Jerusalem. The teachers maintain that the conference resulted in a formal appointment conferred upon Paul which licensed him to offer his gospel as approved by the Jerusalem "pillars." Not so, responds Paul, who insists on grounding his authority in a personal revelation from none other than the risen Lord himself (1:1,15,16).
Evidence from the text suggests that the teachers also slander Paul by saying that he acquired the official commission as a result of flattery and insincerity, since he is a noted hypocrite who compromises and wavers in the face of controversy. Paul responds to this insult in 1:10: "Am I now seeking the favor of men, or of God? Or am I trying to please men? If I were still pleasing men, I should not be a servant of Christ." The teachers charge that Paul is a "man-pleaser" who shapes his message according to the audience and situation. Does this charge imply that the teachers say Paul hid from the "pillars" his antinomian beliefs in order to receive approval? The teachers accuse Paul of preaching circumcision when in the company of Jewish Christians and Jewish non-Christians, while disallowing it when with Gentiles (in order to gain more converts). 5:11 indicates that such was the exact accusation directed at Paul: "But if I, brethren, still preach circumcision, why am I still persecuted? In that case the stumbling block of the cross has been removed." Paul disavows the charge that he compromises his gospel by preaching circumcision long after his Christian call. In 1:8, he responds that if he preaches a gospel of Law he himself should be cursed.

In 2:11ff he deflects the teachers' accusation of his inconsistency by re-directing the charge toward Peter and the other Jewish believers in Antioch. He accuses them of being the ones who compromised and yielded to "insincerity"
(see hypokrisei, 2:13) when inspected by a visitation from Jerusalem.

The fact that Paul felt it necessary to include such a damaging story as the Antioch debacle, where he was rejected by Peter and even fellow Paulinist Barnabas, strongly suggests that the teachers have already introduced the Antioch story to the Galatians. Paul must explain what "really" occurred in Antioch! The counter-charge by Paul indicates that the teachers probably had recounted their version of the Antioch episode in order to convince the Galatians that Paul and his followers wavered and were inconsistent on the issue of Gentile obedience to the Law.

The teachers' report to the Galatians of the Antioch episode may have charged that Paul modified his lawless practice in Antioch when the visitation from Jerusalem arrived. To escape exposure Paul, Barnabas, and Peter quickly reconstructed the barriers between Jews and Gentiles. The teachers may imply that once outside the watchful eye of Jerusalem, his true antinomian intentions appear; he disallows circumcision for Gentile converts. Paul counters that he stood his ground in Antioch and did not betray his principles.

The teachers present a different version of the Jerusalem meeting and Antioch episode than Paul's. The teachers' account of the meeting probably did not support Paul's contention that he had a clear mandate to omit obedience to the Jewish law in his preaching. Their report of the Antioch
episode indicates that they believe that others—Peter and Barnabas—agreed with them that the Jerusalem meeting had not negated the Law en toto.

If the teachers are, as we believe, traceable to Jerusalem, they will have argued that Paul misconstrued the results of the Jerusalem "council" and his relationship to the "pillars." Betz argues that Paul's account of the Jerusalem accord indicates that even the "pillars" did not regard him as an apostle. The teachers inform the Galatians that Paul is not an independent apostle who receives special revelations from Jesus. Instead, he is an envoy of a branch of the Jerusalem Christian community, which he manipulated through flattery and subterfuge into granting him a commission to deliver the gospel to the Gentiles. He captured this commission deceitfully by playing down his antinomianism and agreeing that the Law had positive value for Christians. The teachers may interpret Paul's plea for money for the Jerusalem "poor" as evidence that he is dependent on the Jerusalem apostles and is required to raise funds for them in exchange for his commission.

B. Authority and Mission

The teachers' criticism of Paul's mission and apostleship has as its corollary the teachers' self-assured confidence and commitment to their own apostolic mission. They consider themselves to be the authentic representatives of Jesus'
gospel who have been appointed by God to extend the law-abiding gospel to the Gentiles. Schmithals concurs that the teachers disparage Paul's apostleship because they want to establish themselves as apostles of Jesus.180 Paul's claim to direct revelations from Jesus seems to be his response to the teachers' claim that their commission can be traced to Jesus and his law-keeping disciples (not necessarily the "pillars" or the "twelve apostles!"). The teachers probably reserve for themselves the apostolic authority which they deny for Paul.

As Jewish Christian leaders and representatives of Jesus, the teachers demand that the Galatians recognize their authority and importance. The text indicates in 4:17 that the teachers are "courting" the congregation, and--according to the letter--consider themselves of such importance that in turn they should be "courted" by the Galatians: "They make much (ζηλοῦσιν) of you, but for no good purpose; they want to shut you out, that you may make much (ζηλοῦτε) of them." Betz states that the key verb here (ζηλοῦ) can "describe the relationship between the teacher and his students."181 Plutarch is cited as an example of this usage when he writes that students find impressive teachers whom they follow and admire.182

The reference to the teachers' desire for adulation appears in a context in which Paul protects his role as an apostle to the Galatians by reminding them, among other
things, that at the time of his first preaching they accepted him as an "angel from God, as Christ Jesus" (4:14). If they once accepted him as an angel or Christ, surely they do not now reject him as an apostle. In this context the teachers are accused of wanting 1) to "exclude" (ekkleisai, 4:17) the Galatians from loyalty to their founding apostle and 2) to redirect that loyalty to themselves. In other words, the teachers want to take the place of Paul as apostolic leader.

The teachers validate their authority by proving their worth in missionary competition. In 6:12-18 Paul indicates that the teachers are very much concerned 1) with their status as missionaries, and 2) with the way their role is validated. He states that the teachers "boast in your flesh." He remarks—perhaps unfairly—that the teachers urge the Galatian Paulinists to submit to the Jewish rite of circumcision because the teachers hope to exult in the large numbers of Gentiles they convince to be circumcised. Although a note of authorial bitterness and cynicism may be apparent here, the accusation probably reflects the fact that the teachers' prestige and importance increase in direct proportion to the number of circumcised converts they win.

The passage does not specify from whom the teachers would receive praise. Certainly not from pagan Gentiles, and not from the "pillars" who had agreed that Paul's Gentile converts would not have to be circumcised (2:6). The praise sought by the teachers probably would come from either non-Christian
Jews or from Jerusalem Jewish Christians who support a law-abiding Gentile mission. It is less likely that non-Christian Jews would offer accolades to Jesus-followers, even if the latter were Torah-observant. The best the teachers could hope to receive from non-Christian Jews would be a suppression of persecution, which also seems to be part of the teachers' plan (6:12). The teachers, who boast in Gentile circumcision, probably receive praise from their law-observant Christian supporters, especially at their center in Jerusalem. Large numbers of circumcised Gentiles would not only keep them on better terms with Jews zealous for the Law, but also would verify their effectiveness in producing converts. If Paul could attempt to impress the "pillars" of his apostolate to the Gentiles by parading the uncircumcised Titus before them and by reporting the conversion of uncircumcised Gentiles (2:1-9), then by the same token the teachers might believe that impressive numbers of circumcised Gentiles would build their reputation and substantiate their apostleship and missionary work in the eyes of other Jewish Christians.

C. Exкурс: The Teacher's Leader and His Authority

It has been suggested above that the teachers did have a leader. Does that leader have some claim to authority? A close examination of the statement in 5:10 concerning the leader of the teachers, plus Paul's approach in the narratio to the recognized Jerusalem leaders will give us, if not a concrete answer, at least a possible and suggestive one which has not found its way into the literature.
The text states: "I have confidence in the Lord that you will take no other view than mine; and he who is troubling you will bear his judgment, whoever he is." This can be read to imply that impressive claims were being made about the leader, otherwise the author would not raise this unnamed leader to a position of parity with himself, and might not speak in terms of such weight as "troubling" and "judgment." That possibility can be strengthened by this observation: the letter's use of similarly ambiguous descriptions regarding the recognized "pillars" in 2:6 and 9 may indicate that the chief teacher, like the "pillars," also possesses an important reputation (hoi dokountēs).

Although the anonymous teacher's role is not specified, Paul probably knows the person(s), but as Betz remarks, does not want to provide publicity. Perhaps Paul is aware of the specific basis for the ring-leader's claim to authority, for in 2:6 and 9 he also omits the specific reasons behind the reputation of the three "pillars," even though he must have known those reasons.

It has already been argued above that the teachers do have a connection with Jerusalem, hence they could, and likely did claim special authority in that connection. Hence also, it is suggested here, Paul is forced to mention the leader as almost on a par with himself (5:10), but he tries to hold the leader's authority/reputation at arm's length. That is, he intentionally chooses an ambiguous phrase in 5:10 as he did in the narrative, thus avoiding giving the teacher any unnecessary credit.

Might there even be a common reason for the special reputations of both the "pillars" and the chief teacher of 5:10? The apostolic authority of the three "pillars" rests, in large part, on their personal contact with or filial relation to Jesus (James was Jesus' brother). It may be that the chief teacher can also make such a claim—an authoritative credential which Paul cannot match and will not put in writing.
Even if one does not grant the suggestion of the Excursus regarding the origins of the chief leader's reputation, this conclusion can be safely accepted: the teachers consider themselves authorized and empowered by God to carry their gospel to the Gentiles, probably as apostles.

Although they are not members of the "pillars," the teachers consider themselves members of a special group within the Jesus Movement, probably apostles, sent to evangelize the Gentiles. Devoted to the Torah, they repudiate Paul as outside the tradition received from Jesus and reject his "lawless" gospel. In the teachers' opinion, the accord between Paul and the pillars did not negate the necessity of obedience to God's Torah.

The teachers aggressively evangelize the Gentiles, particularly those congregations founded by Paul. Once infiltrated into the congregations, they expose the Paulinists' "errors" and criticize Paul's inconsistency in an earnest effort to redirect the converts' loyalties from him to themselves, the "authentic" representatives of the Jesus Movement.

We learn from Paul's letter that the Jewish Christian teachers' mission to Galatia met with success. They arrived shortly after Paul left and quickly won the Galatian converts' confidence and respect. Their Jerusalem credentials and reputation impressed the Galatians and Paul's influence began to wane. This was furthered by the teachers' denial of Paul's
apostleship and their accusations about Paul's past inconsistencies in doctrine and life-style. The teachers' law-abiding mission to the Galatians was inspired by their genuine belief in their gospel and by the opportunity to impress Jerusalem Jews with their success. The teachers persuasively argue from Scripture, tradition, and revelation that the Galatians must submit to the Abrahamic covenant of circumcision and the law of Moses in order to participate fully as true converts to the God of Israel. The significance and meaning of these Jewish figures for the alternative gospel of the teachers will be examined by analyzing textual references to them in the following sections of the study.

Our analysis of the letter so far has developed a basic description of the teachers, their origins, self-understanding and resultant "anti-Paulinism," along with their apostolic mission to the Gentiles. Put succinctly, the teachers consider themselves Jewish Christian apostles of Jesus on a Gentile mission representing Jerusalem. We may now turn to topics of the teachers' teaching, their basic doctrines.

VI. THE TEACHERS' BASIC THEOLOGY AND DOCTRINE

Since the teachers bring "another gospel," what does it proclaim? Does their message insist that Galatian converts advance beyond Paulinism and complete their new-found faith through circumcision and Torah obedience?. From the letter's discussion of the Abrahamic and the Sinai covenants more
information about the teachers' gospel can be ascertained. An examination of this material yields relevant data for broadening and deepening our understanding of the theological basis for the teachers' law-abiding mission to the Gentiles.

A. Abraham and the Covenant of Circumcision

Our investigation of the use of Abraham in Galatians begins with 3:6 where he is introduced suddenly into the letter—in what constitutes an important argument in the long probation section, 3:1-4:31. The text states: "Thus Abraham 'believed God, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness.'" Until this point in the text there has been no reference to Abraham, the Patriarchs, or other heroes of Israel.

A study of word frequency in earlier Pauline letters to the congregation in Thessalonica yields no reference to Abraham. In II Corinthians 11:22, written after Galatians, Paul refers to Abraham in order to match the boast made by the "divine men apostles" that their pedigree includes descent from the patriarch. This Corinthian reference to Abraham represents Paul's response to an alternative Christian tradition's first use of Abraham. Only in Romans does Paul ever again mention Abraham in his extant letters.

But in his letter to the Galatians, reference is made to Abraham eight times. The significance of this frequent use of Abrahamic material in Galatians becomes clearer when it is noted to whom Paul writes about Abraham, the hero of Israel.
The Galatian readers are Gentiles, many of whom had converted from pagan worship (4:8). Yet, it is to these very Gentiles that Paul insists on writing about the father of the nation of Israel, Abraham. His first reference in 3:6 to Abraham appears to be a casual one in the sense that it assumes audience familiarity with the patriarch, but a deliberate one in that it serves "as proof text for the entire argument in 3:6-14." There is no specific reference to where the story of Abraham may be found, no mention of the Scripture, Law, or Moses. The author assumes that the Galatians have heard of this Abraham.

The immediate context in which the reference to Abraham appears in the probatio contrasts faith which comes from hearing with "works of the law" (3:5). The text states: "Does he who supplies the Spirit to you and works miracles among you do so by works of the law, or by hearing with faith?" Paul attempts to enlist Abraham in his cause. For Paul, Abraham plays the role of a person of faith.

Since Paul's polemic is directed against circumcision of Gentiles, why would he introduce the figure of Abraham into the argument? According to Genesis 17, Abraham was the first and primary human being who received circumcision! It would seem that Abraham would be the very last person in Scripture whom Paul would want to introduce in a polemic against circumcision. By invoking the heroic figure Abraham, it seems Paul runs a major risk: will not the Galatians' already know,
or now focus on the Genesis story of Abraham which contains a clear command to be circumcised? And the risk is greater yet: the covenant of circumcision was to be an eternal covenant throughout all generations:

And I will establish my covenant between me and you and your descendants after you throughout their generations for an everlasting covenant, to be God to you and to your descendants after you (Gen 17:7).

A danger for Paul clearly inheres in this line of argument. No wonder Paul passes over Genesis 17—where Yahweh makes his principal covenant with Abraham—selecting instead verse 6 of Genesis 15, a prolepsis which seems to prefigure the primary Abrahamic covenant of Genesis 17. Genesis 15:6 says of Abraham: "And he believed in Yahweh; and he [Yahweh] counted it to him for righteousness." It is this specific passage in Genesis 15:6 which is cleverly cited in Galatians 3:6, the letter's first references to Abraham. The cleverness consists in a twofold way: 1) all references to Abraham's own circumcision or the covenant of circumcision are omitted; 2) any argument based on Genesis 17 has now been upstaged by Genesis 15.

But why does the author introduce Abraham at all? Our answer—delayed for a moment—will be best understood in light of yet another Galatian connection with the great hero. In 3:7, the reader encounters another Abraham related phrase not found in Paul's previous collected letters. He writes: "So
you see that it is men of faith who are the sons of Abraham" (eisin hyioi Abraam). Paul's argument from Genesis 15:6 runs like this: Abraham experienced "righteousness" through faith, therefore, you Galatians who possess faith are the true "sons of Abraham." At issue is how hearers of the gospel, here the Galatians, become "sons of Abraham."

This argument leads naturally to a discussion of blessing, human contracts, etc., even a digression on Torah/law throughout Galatians 3 and 4 where in spite of the multiplicity of subjects, Paul never loses sight of the question of how one becomes a "son of Abraham." The controversy focuses on whether or not Abrahamic sonship is achieved by means of circumcision or faith. Paul finally goes beyond the phrase in Galatians as insufficient to portray those who are in Christ, since they are, in his own terms, "sons of God" (4:6,7): "And because you are sons, God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, "Abba! Father!" So through God you are no longer a slave but a son, and if a son then an heir."

How then does one account for the introduction of Abraham, according to Genesis 17 a paragon of circumcision, into a polemic against that very practice? In order to explain the use of Abraham, the father of circumcision, in a letter written in part against circumcision, either of two possibilities may be offered. One possibility is that the author is so confident of victory, so convinced of the
superiority of his exegesis and its ensuing acceptance by the Galatians that he boldly (or somewhat recklessly?) introduces the seeming antithesis of his case and brilliantly proceeds to turn it to his advantage. Or, as seems most likely, Paul is again compelled to take up a topic the teachers have introduced; that is, he skillfully reinterprets an alternative teaching about Abraham which has had an impact on the Galatians.

The second answer in our view offers much the greater probability: the teachers have introduced Abraham as the father of circumcision. The author undercuts the teachers' case by locating a different text which presents Abraham as the father of faith. Thus the author's references to Abraham and "sons of Abraham" should be read as a response to what he considers to be a crucial misunderstanding about how one becomes a "son of Abraham." His antidote to the misunderstanding about Abrahamic sonship may be simplified in three basic steps. He first connects the teachers' doctrine with negative concepts: bewitchment and the Galatians' resultant failing to grasp the significance (Byzantine MSS: "obey the truth") of the crucified Christ. This challenging argument and negative association opens the entire probatio: "O foolish Galatians! Who has bewitched you, before whose eyes Jesus Christ was publicly portrayed as crucified?" (3:1).
Second, he reinterprets the circumcision tradition, circumscribing it entirely with the compass of faith—according to Paul the only true circle of Abraham's sons.

Third, after establishing faith as the real ground of Abrahamic sonship, he leaps to the higher ground of divine sonship: "in order that we might receive the adoption of sons" (4:5-7).

Moving beyond that much simplified presentation of the author's complicated argument, we must emphasize the following point. The very fact that Paul 1) changes the traditional method (circumcision) of becoming a son of Abraham, insisting in 3:7 on faith instead, and then 2) suspends the entire "son of Abraham" concept in 4:5-7 indicates that Paul is presenting an alternative to the teachers' gospel. Therefore, we concur with Martyn and Brinsmead that it is the teachers—not Paul—who introduce the Abrahamic tradition to the Galatians, informing them that they can be included as sons of Abraham, if (and only if) they follow Abraham in obedient circumcision as commanded in the eternal covenant of Genesis 17.\textsuperscript{186}

By basing the necessity of Gentile circumcision on the Abrahamic story, the teachers are able to avoid possible Gentile objection to a Jewish rite. (Jacob, the father of the Jewish nation had not yet been born at the time of Abraham.) God originally made the covenant with Abraham "the Chaldean" from Ur. The teachers expound the significance of Abraham and insist on submission to circumcision in order for the
Galatians to participate in the covenant blessings as "sons of Abraham."

B. The Teachers and the "Allegory"

A close analysis of Paul's "allegory" in Galatians 4:21-31—long known as a crux, and recently characterized by Michael Goulder as "outrageous logic."—will yield further evidence of the teachers' adoption and use of Abrahamic material in their basic theology. The text states:

Tell me, you who desire to be under law, do you not hear the law? For it is written that Abraham had two sons, one by a slave and one by a free woman. But the son of the slave was born according to the flesh, the son of the free woman through promise. Now this is an allegory: these women are two covenants. One is from Mount Sinai, bearing children for slavery; she is Hagar. Now Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia; she corresponds to the present Jerusalem, for she is in slavery with her children. But the Jerusalem above is free, and she is our mother. For it is written, "Rejoice, O barren one who does not bear; break forth and shout, you who are not in travail; for the children of the desolate one are many more than the children of her that is married." Now we, brethren, like Isaac, are children of promise. But as at that time he who was born according to the flesh persecuted him who was born according to the Spirit, so it is now. But what does the scripture say? "Cast out the slave and her son; for the son of the slave shall not inherit with the son of the free woman." So brethren, we are not children of the slave but of the free woman.
Paul's unexpected departure from a "natural-reading" and traditional interpretation of the Sarah-Hagar story in Genesis indicates that he struggles to ward off unwanted theological teachings introduced by the teachers.

The story of Abraham and his sons in Genesis possessed etiological significance. Jewish tradition often portrayed Abraham as the "father of many nations," as his semitic name implies, from whom both Jews and Gentiles had descended. In the sacred Torah Isaac was depicted as the father of Esau and Jacob, to whom the birthright was given, and Jacob the father of twelve tribes of Israel. Ishmael, Abraham's son by his slave Hagar, also became progenitor of twelve tribes, and tradition considered him to be the father of the Gentile nations. Each of these two sons were promised important blessings—if they obeyed the covenant of circumcision. Extraordinary blessings and promises were made to Isaac and were confirmed with Jacob and his twelve sons from whom originated the nation of Israel.

As the concluding proof from Scripture for the probatio, Paul creates his rendition of the Abraham-Sarah-Hagar story to serve his polemical needs. This unique Pauline shaping of the Genesis account is evinced at the very outset (4:21) where Paul's use of "hear" implies his special interpretation and application of the Genesis passage. He crafts a dichotomous structure which runs throughout the account polarizing the traditional material. The polarity of grace versus that of
law is expressed in opposing couplets: Sarah/Hagar, Isaac/Ishmael, heavenly Jerusalem/Sinai and earthly Jerusalem, and freedom/slavery. Paul fashions this "allegory" in order to convince his congregations that Scripture allegorizes about the Galatians in a unique way, namely, that they are the freeborn sons of Abraham, the model of faith, hence not subject to circumcision.

To accomplish this purpose Paul identifies and defines two covenants and applies them to the contemporary Galatian situation. This interpretive feat is performed in 4:25-26 where he identifies the original Abrahamic covenant (Sarah) with the gospel of grace, but the Sinai covenant (Hagar) with "the present Jerusalem," which latter--we argue--includes the teacher's gospel of Torah/Law. But in order to reach this creative conclusion, the "allegory" stretches to identify Israel and Sinai with the non-Jewish descendants of Hagar. The "allegory" concludes and surprises by identifying the Paulinist Jews and Gentiles with the descendants of Sarah (4:29-31)!

One is forced to ask what has happened here. Since the Genesis text and Jewish tradition do not confirm the existence of two covenants from Abraham's wives, the story has been reshaped at this point. We must ask whether the teachers are responsible for the interjection of this story of Abraham's family.
There are at least four reasons for concluding with C.K. Barrett and Martyn that the teachers—not Paul—have introduced the story of Abraham and his two sons, Isaac and Ishmael.\textsuperscript{189}

1) We have already determined that the teachers have introduced the concept of Abrahamic sonship—presenting Abraham as a model of Gentile conversion and obedience. Our mirror-reading of Galatians 3:6-18 reflected the teachers' first use of Scriptural arguments from the Pentateuch in support of Gentile obedience to the seal of the Abrahamic covenant, circumcision, as well as portions of the law of Moses. It should not be surprising that Paul's "allegory" also is his response to the teachers' interpretation of the story of Abraham. Barrett concurs that the teachers "followed up their quotation of the passages . . . on the seed of Abraham by an argument based upon the two women, Sarah and Hagar, by whom Abraham had children."\textsuperscript{190}

2) The introduction of the "allegory" by Paul suggests that he is responding to the teachers' argument. The passage commences in 4:22 with \textit{gegraptai} ("it is written") which usually precedes a citation from Scripture. But in this case it serves to summarize material from several chapters in Genesis.\textsuperscript{191} The use of the term may signify that Paul responds to the teachers' interpretation of the Abrahamic material. Barrett concludes: \textit{gegraptai} allows the genuine Old Testament foundation of the Judaizers' argument, the
question is whether they have rightly interpreted the evidence."

3) The wording used by Paul implies that the Galatians have been confronted with the story prior to receiving the letter. He writes that of Abraham's two sons, one was "of the slave woman" (ek tēs paidiskēs) and the other "of the free woman" (ek tēs eleutheras). Paul seems to presuppose that his audience already knows who is the slave and who is the free woman. His use of the articles is anaphoric, referring to the teachers' introduction of Hagar and Sarah to the Galatians.

4) Finally, the teachers have introduced the argument because it is unlikely that Paul would have brought up the story of Abraham and his wives to support his case for a law-free mission. The sensus literalis of the text supports the teachers' law-abiding view, not Paul's. His "infamous" allegorical exegesis stretches to the breaking point. The allegorical form itself supports the view that Paul responds to the teachers' first use of the Genesis story.

If the teachers first introduced the story, to which Paul responds, how are we to understand their interpretation? The crucial issue at debate is how Gentiles become "sons of Abraham" and receive the blessings of the covenant. The teachers will have used the Genesis story of Abraham and his sons through Hagar and Sarah to support their solution to this crucial issue—a solution based on obedience to the Law.
The teachers' interpretation of the story argues for inclusion of obedient Gentiles as "sons of Abraham." The teachers understand that Abraham had two sons, Isaac and Ishmael, by two women, Sarah and Hagar. Although Paul concurs with this belief, he surprisingly refuses to recognize law-observant Jews as the true heirs of Abrahamic sonship. In view of this unexpected refusal, it is probable that the teachers have taught that the promise of sonship was given to those descendants of Abraham who are obedient to the rite of circumcision.

Eager to facilitate Gentile conversion, the teachers will have informed the Galatians that they, too, can be counted as "sons of Abraham" if they submit to the covenant made with Abraham and his seed. After all, the Gentiles are descendants of Ishmael, one of Abraham's sons to whom special promises were covenanted. The teachers will have concluded that the Genesis story of Abraham and his family signifies that true Abrahamic sonship is available to Gentiles obedient to the covenant.

What are we to make of the reference to "two covenants" in 4:24? The texts states: "Now this is an allegory: these women are two covenants. One is from Mount Sinai, bearing children for slavery: she is Hagar." To this point in the letter Paul has referred to only one covenant--the covenant God made with Abraham (3:16, 17). In his allegorical response to the teachers' story of Abraham's family, Paul explains that
the wives represent "two covenants." He specifies that Sarah represents the Abrahamic covenant of promise and that Hagar represents the Sinai covenant of law. It is clear that Paul, not the teachers, posits a dichotomy between the "two covenants"—juxtaposing "promise" to the Law. The teachers consider the "two covenants" to be complementary and supportive of one another.

The teachers believe that God's covenantal blessings and promises extend to both lines of descent through Ishmael and Isaac—to both Gentiles and Jews. In support of this belief, the teachers may have introduced the concept of "two covenants"—one made with Ishmael and the other with Isaac. Kelber has suggested that the teachers' introduction of the "two covenants" may account for Paul's use of the phrase. 194 In Genesis 17 each son is granted special covenantal blessings and both are commanded to practice circumcision. The teachers extend these covenantal blessings to Jews and Gentiles—descendants of these two sons of Abraham. Confronted by the teachers' use of the "two covenants," Paul develops his own allegorical interpretation which re-defines and polarizes two opposing covenants—law versus promise. He polemicizes against the teachers' positive evaluation of the "two covenants."

Whether or not the teachers maintain the existence of two separate, but complementary, covenants, or one primary covenant, they understand the story of Abraham and his wives
as supportive of their definition of Abrahamic sonship. They argue that Gentiles are admitted as "sons of Abraham" if they submit to the covenant(s) God made with Abraham and his sons--Isaac and Ishmael. Obedience to the rite of circumcision enables Jews and Gentiles to inherit the blessings promised to his many seeds.

C. The Teachers and the "Seeds"

The teachers' inclusion of Gentiles in the Abraham covenant of circumcision is also seen in the letter's statement in 3:16. Paul writes: "Now the promises were made to Abraham and to his offspring. It does not say, 'And to your offspring,' which is Christ." He insists--apparently with special pleading--that the covenant promises were made to Abraham and his seed, singular, (spermati), not to seeds, plural, (spermasin).

What is the underlying reason which accounts for his reduction of the implied plurality of "seed" to an absolute singular in Galatians 3:16? It is difficult to believe that Paul introduces this rather weak argument into the Galatian debate over the identity of the "sons of Abraham." The Galatian situational polemic has influenced Paul's exegesis because in Romans 4:18 Paul, himself, understands "seed" to imply plurality when he equates the "seed" or "offspring" of Genesis 15:5 with the "many nations" of Genesis 17:5! In Galatians Paul responds--precisely as he did in 3:6 and 8--to
an argument made by the teachers, viz, that the Galatians must be circumcised because they, too, are "seeds" of Abraham through Ishmael. The teachers' message has broadened the original collective noun, "seed," to the extent that now it encompasses all Gentiles who respond to the gracious covenant given by God. They proclaim that all nations may participate in the covenant promises given to Abraham, the "father of nations," if they will adopt the sign of the special covenant—circumcision.

The theology of the teachers, in line with a widespread and traditional understanding of seed = descendants, stresses that the covenant and the promises were not made to Abraham alone, but were extended to his many "seeds." Thus the teachers' tradition understands (along with Ps 105 and the Targums) the Hebrew zera, used in Genesis 15:5, as a collective noun meaning "offspring."

And I will fulfill my covenant which is between me and you and your seed (sperma) after you, for their generations, for an eternal covenant, to be your God and the God of your seed (sperma) after you (Gen 17:7, LXX).

The above underlined phrase with its plural shows that the LXX text understands seed/sperma as a collective noun. This line of generational descent and multiplication leads directly to God's chosen people Israel into whom Gentiles are invited to receive the blessings of the promise made to
Abraham (Gal 3:14). The teachers emphasize the plurality of the Genesis "seed" in their invitation to the Galatians.

In an effort to rebut the teachers' use of the physical seed of Abraham as the door for Gentile salvation, Paul adopts a tenuous position which redefines the term "seed" in the opposite direction. He builds his case for the singularity of "seed" on the Septuagint translation of "sperma" (for the Genesis zera!). He then proceeds to define this one singular seed to be the promised Christ (3:16). Yet, he returns to the collective noun usage in 3:29, where he concludes that those in Christ are the eschatological seed. Paul's point is that the teachers have no scriptural authority to command circumcision of the Gentiles, because Scripture promises the covenant blessings only to the one seed, Jesus Christ—not to "seeds," meaning physical descendants of Isaac and Ishmael.

The preceding analysis of the Pauline "allegory" and the term "seed" has demonstrated that the teachers extend the benefit of membership in the Abrahamic covenant to the many sons of Abraham--those descended from Ishmael as well as from Isaac. The teachers interpret Abrahamic sonship in a trans-ethnic sense which opens the boarders of Israel to include Gentiles who are willing to follow Abraham in obedient circumcision. It now remains to explore what the implications of being compelled to adopt the Genesis covenant means in
relation to the Sinai covenant which was given to Israel in Exodus.

D. The Sinai Covenant and the Law of Moses

Our contention would be that, just as the believers were being compelled to submit to circumcision, so they were being expected to conform to other legal requirements which were not specifically part of the Abrahamic covenant. As intimated above in the discussion of the "allegory," other obligations must have derived from "mount Sinai" (4:24). A view which links the covenant of Abraham with the law of Moses given at Sinai bears on our interpretation of the teachers' gospel, for it means that the Gentiles are required to obey not only the rite of circumcision but also other laws—given at Sinai, Ex 19-24—which Israel covenanted to obey.

Evidence from the letter confirms that the teachers require Galatian submission to the Sinai covenant. In the third argument of the probatio, Paul says that the Abrahamic covenant cannot be invalidated by the Law which was given later. He writes:

To give a human example, brethren: no one annuls even a man's will, or adds to it, once it has been ratified. . . . This is what I mean: the law, which came four hundred and thirty years afterward, does not annul a covenant previously ratified by God, so as to make the promise void (3:15, 17).
Paul objects to any linkage between the Abrahamic covenant and the law of Moses given at Sinai. He maintains that the Abrahamic covenant was founded on God's promise to Abraham. Since it was based on God's promise, it is illegal and impossible to attach an amendment to that promise. Since the Sinai covenant contains laws and rules, its addition would alter the nature of the Abrahamic covenant, changing it from one of "promise" to one of "law." Paul protests that the Abrahamic covenant understood as "promise" remains valid and in effect.

Why would Paul make such statements if no one in the congregation believed otherwise? His objection represents a polemical response to the teachers' assertion that obedience to the law of Moses is required of Gentiles. From this reading we infer that the teachers append obedience to the law of Moses to the covenant of Abraham—which, we have seen, they insist the Galatians join by the rite of circumcision. In this way membership in the Abrahamic covenant is dependent upon obedience to the law of Moses given at Sinai. They do not agree that God's covenant with Abraham is reducible to "promise," since Genesis 17 most definitely makes it contingent upon circumcision. The teachers can not accept the argument that their addition of the law of Moses changes the covenant's basic nature from "promise" to "law." Such a distinction is Paul's, not the teachers. They do not consider
the two covenants antithetical as does Paul, but they regard them as complementary to one another.

The teachers' belief that the Torah (the five books of Moses) enjoins the Sinai covenant upon Israel and hence upon believers means of course that more is demanded of the Galatians than the one act of circumcision. The written law of Moses contains many regulations and ordinances, not to mention the numerous applications of each of these through oral tradition. Once it is determined that the teachers do not limit Galatian responsibility to the rite of circumcision, but consider it a first step in the way of life provided in Torah/Scripture, the actual magnitude of the crisis for Paul becomes apparent. At the time of writing, Paul knows that some Galatians already have been circumcised, other converts are considering it, and many are carefully observing (paratēreisthe) the Jewish Sabbath and annual festivals of Leviticus 23 (4:9, 6:12,13). The sacred festivals are not part of the Abrahamic covenant in Genesis and do not appear in Scripture until after the Exodus as a part of the Sinai covenant, therefore it is certain the teachers enforce obedience to a part of the Sinai covenant. As we will see later in this study, the teachers seem to emphasize certain requirement of the law of Moses for Gentiles more than others. For now, it is important to realize that they append Moses' law to the Abrahamic covenant.
Further evidence that the teachers compel the Galatians to submit to the law of Moses, as well as circumcision, is found in 3:10. It states: "For all who rely on works of the law (ex ergōn nomou) are under a curse; for it is written, 'Cursed be every one who does not abide by all things written in the book of the law, and do them'." Paul writes that those who are of "works of the law" are under a "curse," because he seeks to refute the teachers' claim that "works of the law" produce "the blessing of Abraham" (3:14). He defines which "works of law" by the phrase "book of the Law." Paul refers to Deuteronomy 27:26, where we read: "Cursed be he who does not conform to the words of this law by doing them." The "works of the law" demanded of the Galatians by the teachers relate somehow to those laws given to Israel at Sinai through Moses. On that there has been general agreement since the letter was first commented on. And it is probable that the phrase "works of the law" originates with the teachers. Exactly what is meant, however, has been variously explained through the ages, and has recently come into debate again.

A principal reason "works of law" continues to be variously interpreted is that the phrase as such is not specifically defined in NT writings, nor has it ever been located in Rabbinic writings. The Reformation's interpretation, meritorious works, must differ from that of the first century, especially if one accepts Sanders' concept of covenantal nomism. However, the idea of meritorious works
no doubt led to a general application of the term to human effort understood in a broad sense, i.e., Bultmann's idea that any effort to obey God's law is itself sinful. \textsuperscript{197} Not so well known is the recent attempt by Dunn to fix a narrow, contextual sense in Galatians: "works" meaning especially (but not exclusively) adherence to four factors that distinguished Jews from neighboring Gentiles: avoidance of worship (idolatry) in local temples/cults; food and table fellowship restrictions; Sabbath (and we would add annual "high sabbath" festivals) and other calendric distinctives; and last but not least, circumcision. \textsuperscript{198} This more restrictive, contextual definition has both been argued for and also criticized by more than one exegete. From this debate we are convinced that in the Galatian letter the phrase "works of law" refers to those specific laws which the teachers require the Gentiles to obey. Principal among these are the law of circumcision and the observance of the sacred calendar. \textsuperscript{199}

However one understands the much debated phrase "works of law," our argument is that the teachers are striving to have the Galatians enter the covenant of Abraham to which has been appended important portions of the Sinai covenant. Thus the teachers' mission is universalistic, offering the covenant and the Torah of Israel to all people. In addition we contend that this very covenant membership entails specific rites, obligations and observances which the teachers indoctrinate.
Thus it may be that in 3:10 we have phrases used by the teachers in their gospel proclamation. From the context it appears that Paul's use of the quotation in 3:10 from Deuteronomy 27:26 is unnatural. The passage says precisely the opposite of what it seems Paul would want it to say. The Deuteronomy passage places a curse on those who do not keep the law of Moses! Although explanations of how Paul utilizes the passage—in spite of its intended meaning—abound, and although it is clear that Paul is at least trying to oppose the teachers with it, a question remains: why would he purposely select that specific passage for his argument against the law of Moses? It is a passage which seems to represent the teachers' argument, and probably found its original setting in the mission efforts of the law-observant teachers. Thus, whatever way one opts to exegete the phrase, we must choose to explain the apparent awkwardness of the verse and the ambiguity of the author's argument as a product of the teachers' preaching.

The teachers employ the phrase "works of law" (ergōn nomou) in a positive sense—as a description, of the divinely inspired laws observance of which brings blessings from God. It is Paul who then must turn the phrase into a negative one by contrasting it to "faith" throughout the letter—all in the interest of portraying Abraham as model of faith, fulfilled in Christ. But from the point of view of those who teach the alternate gospel, Paul has rejected or nullified the gracious
gift of Torah revealed at Sinai. Contra this charge Gal 2:21 states: "I do not nullify the grace of God." Betz is probably correct in understanding this statement as a defense against those who accuse him of nullifying the gracious gift of Torah.201

Another insight into the alternate gospel appears in 3:12 where again Paul cites a Scriptural passage--this time from Leviticus 18:5--which characterizes, and prima facie would support the teachers' position. He writes: "but the law does not rest on faith, for 'He who does them shall live by them'." The citation proclaims that life comes from doing the works of the Law and not from disobeying them. Along with the previous use of Deuteronomy 27:26, Paul again quotes what appears to be strong scriptural evidence supporting the alternative gospel! Why would an author on the defense introduce to the "troubled" Galatians this passage from Scripture which requires observance of the Torah? It seems inappropriate that an author, especially Paul, in a debate situation would provide evidence to his audience substantiating the very "perversion" (1:7) he opposes. However, a cogent explanation lies at hand. In a dialogical response situation similar to the debate which Galatians presents, such evidence might well be discussed, especially if it already had been introduced by the other side as central to their argument.202 As in 3:10, so in 3:12 we confront a forceful argument of the teachers from Scripture for law-keeping. They inform the Galatians that in
order for them to "live," they must perform the "works of the law" of Moses, beginning with circumcision and continuing with other rites of Judaism. In support of this requirement the teachers quote Leviticus 18:5: "You shall therefore keep my statutes and my ordinances, by doing which a man shall live: I am the Lord." Their scriptural evidence would need to be cited and refuted in order to convince the Galatian "jury" of the "deception."

The teachers consider those Gentiles who submit to circumcision and who conform to the law of Moses as full members of Israel, the chosen people of God. In 6:16 the text says: "Peace and mercy be upon all who walk by this rule, upon the Israel of God" (6:16). The phrase (τον Ἰσραήλ του θεου) does not appear in Paul's other known letters and has received multiple interpretations from scholars. The phrase has a positive meaning and refers to those Paulinists who follow the "rule" of 6:16.²⁰³

Why would Paul select this obviously Jewish phrase to depict the Galatian Gentile Christians? We submit that the "Israel of God" constitutes yet another case of the author's redefinition of traditional terms and concepts in polemical discourse, exemplified in his re-working of the "seed" tradition in chapter 3 and the "allegory" in 4. The most probable explanation is that the teachers have first used the phrase "Israel of God" to refer to those Jews and Gentile Christians who submit to the covenant and Torah. This phrase
effectively represents their understanding of the covenant and the promises made to the "sons of Abraham." So in 6:16, as a counter to that understanding, the author redefines a phrase used by the teachers to refer to the chosen people of God. He proceeds to use it in reference to the chosen people in Christ.

The contrast between the two positions struggling for dominance thus shines through the phrase "the Israel of God." For Paul, the true "Israel of God" proceeds from Christ and the heavenly Jerusalem above, for she is the mother of both Jew and Gentile. The sons of this free woman are not under the "bondage" of circumcision (4:31 - 5:2.) But for the teachers the only road to Abraham's blessed inheritance leads through the obedient and circumcised "Israel of God" to which the Gentiles have been graciously permitted to join.

The gospel and theology represented by the teachers possesses both integrity and scriptural support, beginning with the declaration in Genesis 17:9-14 of the perpetuity of the rite of circumcision, proceeding through Exodus 19-24 with its "added" covenant (see Gal 3:17-20) and Leviticus 18:5 which offers life to the obedient, and culminating with Deuteronomy 27:26, which threatens curses to those who disobey the Torah/ law of Moses. The Galatian letter therefore presents the teachers as directly citing and connecting four of the five books of Moses (also called Torah/nomos in the first century C.E.)²⁰⁴—an integral and consistent position.
Hence also for the teachers the Abrahamic covenant—understood in terms of circumcision—necessitates obligation to the Sinai covenant on the part of Gentile converts. These two covenants constitute the pillars on which the "Israel of God" rests.

E. Teachers, Moses, and Angels

Since the teachers insist on obedience to the law of Moses, what is their attitude toward Moses and what role does he have in their gospel? The question is difficult due to the fact that Moses is not named anywhere in the letter. Despite the absence of his name, Moses' presence can be detected from indirect references in Galatian passages. From these indirect, mirror references in the text we will attempt to reconstruct the role, if any, of Moses in the gospel of the teachers.

It is understandable that Paul would not, and does not refer to Moses in those letters where the Law or the Sinai covenant are not issues. But where the Law or the Sinai covenant are important issues, as in Romans and II Corinthians, he does refer to Moses by name and most of these references to Moses are negative in nature. A comparison of references to Abraham and Moses in Paul's letters demonstrates that he assigns the protagonist role to Abraham and the antagonist role to Moses.²⁰⁵ Paul does not openly repudiate Moses or condemn him as a deceiver, but discredits his role and significance for the true "Israel of God." In Galatians
Moses remains nameless. The presence in Galatians of subjects almost synonymous with Moses, such as the Law, covenants, Sinai, circumcision, holy days, curses and blessings demonstrate that what Moses said and taught are crucial issues for Paul and the teachers alike. Yet Paul chooses to omit the name of Israel's greatest law-giver.

The omission of Moses' name may represent Paul's attempt to mitigate Moses' importance for the teachers. The important role assigned to Moses is indicated in oblique and anonymous references to him. Such an anonymous, but definite reference to Moses occurs in 3:19, 20 where we read:

> Why then the law? It was added because of transgressions, till the seed should come to whom the promise had been made; and it was ordained by angels through an intermediary. Now an intermediary implies more than one; but God is one.

This passage associates the giving of the Law with angels and an unnamed Moses. The function of "intermediary" (mesitēs) accurately describes Moses' role in receiving the Law on Sinai and delivering it to the people, who were unable to draw near the divine presence. Nevertheless, it is unusual that angels are said in 3:19 to play a major role in the revelation of the Law, and that Moses is placed so near the angelic revealers. The Pentateuchal accounts of the giving of the Law do not mention the presence of angels; instead Moses receives the decalogue from Yahweh.
The association of angels and the Torah/law of Sinai is by no means an invention of our author or the teachers. A post-Pentateuchal tradition in Psalms 68:17, Jubilees 1:29ff, Josephus' Antiquities 15.136, Acts 7:53, and elsewhere refers to the presence and activity of angels at the giving of the Law.206

The fact that Paul assumes the Galatians would understand what he writes about this mysterious mediating Moses-figure indicates they had been familiarized with such a tradition. Since they had recently converted from paganism, it would appear that their knowledge of this particular Moses tradition is a recent one. It is doubtful Paul introduces the concept, since nowhere else does he express interest in Moses as a mediator between angels and humans. The entire concept of angels and a mediator simply seems foreign to Paul, especially given 1) his generally negative view of angels and 2) his coolness toward Moses.

Paul seizes upon this extra-Torah understanding of the transmission of the Law through angels because it contrasts well with the oral "promise" given to Abraham directly from God. So the passage in 3:19 means that the "promise" is better than the Law because it is not mediated by numerous angelic beings as was the Law. Mediatorship involves plurality, whereas the Abrahamic covenant proceeds directly from the one God to the one Seed of Abraham, the Christ.207
The teachers exult in the heavenly origins of the Law because such origins demonstrate the authority and sacrality of Israel's greatest revelation. They believe that the heavenly angels passed down the Torah to Moses who, in turn, brought it to Israel. For the teachers, the revelation of the Torah from God through the angels to Moses and Israel, and from them to the Gentiles seems wondrous, but to Paul it diffuses the power and unity of the revelation of the God of the Shema into a fragmented series of intermediary steps.

The letter indicates that Moses is closely associated with the angels. In 3:19 the text states that the Law came from the angels "through an intermediary." This remarkable and close connection of Moses with the angels indicates that the alternative gospel glorified Moses by elevating him to a special role as mediator between the invisible angels and humankind. That is, Moses is exalted by the teachers as a semi-divine figure or a mystagogue who mediates between this world and the heavenly realm. A similar tradition was espoused by Philo who wrote that Moses' nature was made "higher than the merely human and to approximate to the Divine . . . that men may have a mediator." Other sources indicate that a "divine" Moses tradition circulated in Second Temple Judaism.

The notable absence of Moses' name in Galatians could be understood to reflect a certain hesitancy on Paul's part. Elsewhere in the letter, Paul hesitates to specify by name
those whom he assigns negative roles. He omits the names of several enemies of his gospel. For example, in 1:7 and 5:10 he does not publicize the names of any of the "agitators." In 2:4, he does not give the names of any of the "false brothers." Nor, in 2:12, does he name those who created the disturbance in Antioch. Conversely, he writes the names of those whom he grants positive roles such as fellow apostles, friends, brethren, and famous figures. For example, he names Barnabas, Titus, Peter, John, Abraham, and Sarah, and Jesus Christ. The absence of Moses' name indicates that he belongs to the group which Paul demeans by rendering its members nameless.

The teachers' positive evaluation of Moses explains Paul's hesitancy to acknowledge Moses. The teachers regard Moses as the mediator whose contact with angels secured the Torah for both Jew and Gentile. Paul's refusal to inscribe the name of Moses in his readers' minds by writing it out supports the view that the teachers proclaim Moses to the Galatians as a great revelator and Law-giver.

In responding to another argument of the teachers, Paul omits Moses' name. In 4:24 and 25 we read:

Now this is an allegory: these women are two covenants. One is from Mount Sinai, bearing children for slavery; she is Hagar. Now Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia, she corresponds to the present Jerusalem, for she is in slavery with her children.
Paul specifies two items associated closely with Moses, the covenant and Mount Sinai. Yet, in his sharp attack upon the Sinai covenant in 4:21-31 he again omits any specific mention of Moses. He lists by name Abraham, Sarah, Hagar, Isaac, the two Jerusalem, and Arabia, but not Moses. In 4:27, Paul cites Scripture which offers praise for the "desolate one" (Sarah and the heavenly Jerusalem), who births many Jewish and Gentile Christians. She is praised in 4:27, instead of the woman who "has an husband" (Hagar, Sinai, and the "present" Jerusalem). This "husband" cannot be Abraham because he was never married to Hagar.

Who is this "husband" of Hagar-Sinai-Jerusalem in the allegory? Moses is a possible candidate for "the husband" of the Sinai covenant represented by Hagar. Otherwise one has to allow an imprecise use of "husband" for Abraham. What is certain, however, is that Paul omits any reference to Moses by name in the very passage which deals with Moses' covenant at Sinai in 4:21-31.

The two omissions in 3:19 and 4:24 probably reflect a deliberate attempt by Paul to deflate a Moses tradition introduced by the teachers, who enthrone Moses in their pantheon of Israel's heroes. It is necessary for Paul to denigrate Moses because the teachers attach the law of Moses to the covenant made with Abraham to which Jews and Gentiles subscribe by circumcision. They elevate Moses to an exalted position, as the one who received the angelic revelation of
the holy Torah. The teachers boast in the charismatic and
glorious heroes of Israel, Abraham and Moses, and probably
emulate these wondrous figures, offering them as examples to
the Galatians of the power and blessings which can be theirs,
if they become "sons of Abraham" and join the "Israel of God."

VII. CONCLUSION

This chapter examined the teacher's origins and basic
theology. It was determined that the teachers are Jewish
Christians on a law-abiding Gentile mission to Galatia. They
enter the Galatian congregation from the outside, bringing
with them what they understand to be the gospel of Jesus. The
teachers associate themselves closely with Jerusalem and
probably have connections with other law-abiding Christians
there. They are critical of Paul and deny his apostolic
authority. Through their persuasive preaching the teachers
convince many of the Galatians to forsake Paul and to
recognize their authority and the validity of their gospel.

The theology of the teachers centers on the history and
traditions of Israel. The teachers present Abraham as the
proto-typical proselyte who turns from idolatry to serve God
and obey his covenant of circumcision. The teachers insist
that the Galatians submit to this covenant in order to become
true "sons of Abraham." Obedience to the rite of circumcision
enables the Galatians to participate in the Abrahamic covenant
with its important promises and blessings. The teachers also
explain that the law of Moses given at Sinai was appended to the Abrahamic covenant. Included in these laws are the Jewish Sabbath and other holy days. Gentile obedience to these laws is a prerequisite for membership in the "Israel of God."

The teachers represent a Jewish Christian tradition whose self-understanding was not derived from Paul's negative evaluation of it. The teachers' gospel tradition is an integral one, possessing a coherent and comprehensive theology. The center-piece of the teachers' gospel is Israel's greatest revelation: the Torah. Believing the Torah to have been revealed by God's glorious angels, the teachers deliver this revelation to the Gentiles. Pointing to the greatest of Israel's heroes--Abraham, Moses, and Jesus--the teachers persuade the Galatian Gentiles to conform to the ancient and wondrous traditions of Israel.

The teachers believe that they have been commissioned by God to bring the true gospel of Jesus to the Gentiles. The appearance of these Jewish Christians in Galatia in ca. 53 C.E. represents, in part, their faithful obedience to the divine mandate to undertake a law-abiding Gentile mission. As such, the teachers' mission is one example in the first century of Judaism's openness toward and active pursuit of Gentile membership in the "Israel of God." In this particular instance Israel triumphed over the Gentile world. The Galatians were overwhelmed and enraptured by the ancient traditions and laws of Israel. Eager to shed their Gentile
identity many of the Galatians repudiated their traditional lifestyle and customs and willingly submitted to Jewish circumcision and obedience to Jewish laws.
CHAPTER THREE:
THE SOTERIOLOGY AND CHRISTOLOGY OF THE ALTERNATIVE GOSPEL

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter will examine the soteriology and christology of the teachers' 'alternate gospel. Since that gospel relates to "promise," "inheritance," and "blessing," these three terms must be investigated to determine their soteriological content in the Galatian letter. The teachers' association of the promise of the Spirit with the Jewish law will also be examined. In addition, their understanding of Jesus as an interpreter of the Law will be analyzed. Such a study will permit conclusions to be drawn regarding the soteriology of the teachers' alternative gospel and its understanding of the role and function of Jesus.

Presented in this chapter is an interpretation of the teachers' gospel which incorporates the traditional recognition of the presence of nomism and the more recent awareness of the presence of the Spirit. The importance of the Law for the teachers, emphasized in patristic and Reformation interpretations, will be examined as it relates to the role of the Spirit and its charismatic manifestations. The important significance of pneuma and its heavenly revelations will be investigated in view of the discoveries of modern scholars, such as Lütgert and Schmithals, who in varying degrees recognize its presence in Galatians.210 We
will inquire into the relative importance of both nomos and pneuma in the gospel of the teachers.

II. SOTERIOLOGY OF PROMISE, BLESSING, AND INHERITANCE

The soteriological content of the teachers' gospel centers around three important terms appearing in the letter. These terms are "promise" (epaggelia), "inheritance" (klēronomia), and "blessing" (eulogia). The discussion in which these terms appear concerns the salvific promises and blessings made to Abraham and his heirs. An examination of these references to the soteriological blessings promised to the "sons of Abraham" is imperative.

The second chapter of this study demonstrated that the teachers presented to the Galatians an Abraham who is the example, par excellence, of a proselyte from paganism. Their Abraham entered into covenant with God, from whom he received promises of salvation and special blessings (from barak, Genesis 12:3, 18:18, 22:18). But the question has rarely been asked: What is the nature of this salvation? The meaning of this salvation becomes more understandable when the meaning of the three terms "promise," "inheritance," and "blessing" is understood.

The soteriology of the alternate gospel is illumined by several references to the "promise"(s) (epaggelia) given to Abraham and to his seed. Epaggelia appears in the nominal form, 3:14, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 29; 4:23, 28, and as a verb
(epēggeltai) in 3:19. The eight direct references to Abraham in chapter three indicate that the promises made to him are relevant to Christian soteriology specifically to the salvation of Gentile Galatians. This same relevance can be seen in yet another verse (even though "promise" does not occur); here the text states that the gospel and its salvific blessings were proclaimed to Abraham: "And the Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the Gentiles by faith, preached the gospel beforehand to Abraham, saying, 'In you shall all the nations be blessed'" (3:8). Moreover, it is evident from 3:16 and 29 that Christians are considered to be the recipients of the promises made to Abraham: "Now the promises were made to Abraham and to his offspring. . . . And if you are Christ's, then you are Abraham's offspring, heirs according to promise."

The references to epaggelia in the letter indicate that the Galatians understand the concept and its soteriological relation to Abraham. It would appear that epaggelia is not a new topic for the Galatians, since Paul presupposes their familiarity with epaggelia. Evidently the teachers have not taught the Galatians otherwise. Our analysis in Chapter Two indicated that the teachers first introduced the figure of Abraham as an example of Gentile salvation, along with the concept "sons of Abraham." It is plausible therefore that they spoke also of the epaggelia made to Abraham and to his descendants. This is reasonable because the teachers insist
on the Galatians submitting to the covenant of Abraham in Genesis 17, which demands obedience to circumcision, but also offers the promises of special blessings. Thus the teachers offer both requirement and reward: Gentiles must be circumcised, but they also inherit the promises made to Abraham and his heirs.

The meaning attached to the *epaggelia* of Abraham by the teachers is further clarified by the terms "inheritance" (*kleronomia*) and "blessing" (*eulogia*). We first examine the concept of inheritance. The teachers consider the Galatians to be "sons of Abraham" and, as such, his heirs. Obedience to the law of circumcision confirms the Galatians as "sons of Abraham" and validates their role as his inheritors. The text states in 3:18: "For if the inheritance is by the law, it is no longer by promise; but God gave it to Abraham by a promise." This passage confirms that *epaggelia* is to be understood as the "inheritance" promised to Abraham. The teachers inform the obedient Galatians that they are Abraham's sons and are heirs to the *kleronomia* of Abraham.

The term *eulogia* further clarifies the promised inheritance. In 3:14 the promise which the teachers offer to circumcised Galatians is correlated with the "blessing of Abraham." The passage states: "that in Christ Jesus the blessing of Abraham might come upon the Gentiles, that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith." In other words, this special *eulogia tou Abraam* will come to
those who receive the promise. Moreover, in 3:8-9 the promise for the Galatian hearers derives directly from the *eulogia* promised Abraham in Genesis. Therefore we conclude: the content of the *epaggelgia* made to Abraham *consists of the inheritance and the blessing bestowed upon Abraham and his true heirs.*

**The Promise of the Spirit**

We may now ask the important question of specific content. What are the soteriological meanings attributed to the "promise," "inheritance," and "blessings" by the teachers? The answer to this significant question must be obtained by our investigation of the immediate context in which the terms *epaggelgia, klēronomia,* and *eulogia* appear, as well as other passages in the letter which reflect the soteriology of the alternative gospel.

The prominent position assigned to the discussion of these terms in 3:7-14, and related themes elsewhere in the letter, indicates their importance and relevance for the polemical situation in Galatia. Cosgrove maintains that these terms complement one another in meaning and refer to what the teachers and Paul call the "Spirit." That is, the specific content of the "promise" made to Abraham's heirs consists of the salvific blessings of the divine Spirit. Corroborating evidence that this complex of soteriological terms is associated with the divine *pneuma* occurs in 3:14:
"That the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ; that we might receive the promise of the Spirit (epaggelion tou pneumatos) through faith." The text does not interpret the "blessing of Abraham" and "the promise" as the literal inheritance of land and physical descendants promised in Genesis. Instead, the text specifically designates the "blessing" and "promise" to be "the Spirit." Betz recognizes this fact, but does not develop it: "The expression does not mean receive a (mere) promise of the Spirit, but receive the Spirit which has been promised."  

Since 3:14 defines the content of epaggelia to be the Spirit, an interpretation of related passages must take the above definition into consideration. Thus, this explicit connection in the text of promise and Spirit requires that our understanding of the "blessing" and the "inheritance," (as well as the "promise" elsewhere in Galatians) should include the notion of pneuma. In this context, the soteriological references in chapter three concern the blessings of the Spirit promised to Abraham and his heirs.

The teachers and Paul possess points of agreement and areas of disagreement over Christian soteriology. Both concur on the importance of the epaggelia, the kleronomia, and the eulogia given to Abraham and his offspring in Genesis. There is no indication that they differ over the soteriological meaning of the "promise," the "inheritance," or the "blessing." We suggest that there is no reason to believe
that the teachers and Paul conflict over the soteriological content of the epaggeliamade to Abraham. Both concur that it is the Spirit. Had they differed over the content of the terms "promise," "blessing," or inheritance" chapter three would reflect it. When Paul differs from the teachers on important issues he expresses that difference. As we have seen, he differentiates his interpretation of the singular "seed" from the teachers' interpretation in 3:16.\textsuperscript{214} However, Paul does not express any disagreement with the teachers when he discusses the soteriological content of epaggeliam, klēronomiam, or eulogiam. The statement in 3:14 presupposes a shared understanding that epaggeliam includes the Spirit.

Following this line of interpretation, both gospels— Paul's and the teachers'—accept that the Galatians are, and should be, people of the Spirit. The importance of pneuma for the Galatians, the teachers, and Paul is presumed and reflected throughout the letter. For example, in 6:1 the Galatians are addressed directly as "pneumatikoi" and are encouraged in their pursuit of the Spirit (6:1, 8, 9). The text states:

Brethren, if a man is overtaken in any trespass, you who are spiritual (hoi pneumatikoi) should restore him in a spirit of gentleness. Look to yourself, lest you too be tempted. . . . For he who sows to his own flesh will from the flesh reap corruption; but he who sows to the Spirit will from the Spirit reap eternal life.
Schmithals understands this passage to reflect Paul's ironic use of the term pneumatikoi in reference to Galatians who, under the influence of the teachers, nominate themselves people of the Spirit despite their libertine lifestyle. Although we find no evidence of gnostic libertinism in Galatians, Schmithals is correct to believe that the Galatians' self-understanding is that they are pneumatikoi. The Galatians enjoy experiences of the Spirit and consider it to be, in Lull's phrase, "a primary datum for . . . their experience as Christians."

Further textual support for the Galatians' self-definition as people of the Spirit is found in 5:25. Paul argues from a shared premise to his conclusion: "If we live by the Spirit, let us also walk by the Spirit." The letter urges the Galatians to properly utilize the resources available to them by the presence of the Spirit in them: "But I say, walk by the Spirit, and do not gratify the desires of the flesh" (5:16). "But if you are led by the Spirit you are not under the law." (5:18). These statements would be meaningless to the Galatians if they did not consider themselves to be pneumatikoi imbued with the Spirit. Neither is there any reason to conclude that the teachers oppose such a definition.

Our analysis of the appearance of epaggelia, klēronomia, eulogia, and pneuma in chapter three of Galatians clarifies the soteriological content of the teachers' gospel. The presence of these terms reflects interests and concerns held
by the teachers and their Galatian followers, as well as Paul. We have argued that the teachers and their followers consider themselves Abraham's heirs and recipients of the soteriological promises made to his "seeds." The teachers encourage Gentiles to become Abraham's heirs through circumcision and to receive the promised inheritance. Both the teachers and Paul concur that the primary content of this kleronomia consists of the pneuma and the charismatic blessings derived from its presence.

The teachers and Paul share similar soteriological terms—epaggelia, kleronomia, and eulogia—in their controversy over whether or not it is necessary for Gentile converts to adopt circumcision and follow Torah. The teachers present their Christian gospel in traditional Jewish language which, they believe, is expansive and rich enough to carry the significations they intend. Neither Paul nor the teachers are literalists rooted in the "original" meaning of the Genesis text, nor are they on a quest for the "historical Abraham." They participate in a continuum of developing interpretations to which they contribute by creatively engaging Genesis and tradition in an effort to read into Scripture justification for their own theological interest. Neither the teachers or Paul interpret the "promise" or the "inheritance" or the "blessing" as literal children born to Abraham, nor as the land of Canaan pointed out to Abraham in Genesis 13:15. These
canonical terms are developed and interpreted soteriologically far beyond the *sensus literalis* of the text.

**III. THE TEACHERS, THE SPIRIT, AND THE LAW**

Despite their agreement that the soteriological content of the promise made to Abraham includes the divine Spirit, the teachers and Paul radically disagree over the *means* by which the *pneuma* is to be received and maintained. An examination of 3:1-5 not only supports our thesis that the teachers insist on the importance of the Spirit and its charismatic gifts, but also delineates the specific disagreement between the teachers and Paul. That disagreement concerns the relationship of *nomos* to *pneuma*.

**A. Galatians 3:1-5**

Cosgrove has argued convincingly that this passage is a crucial section of the letter because it specifically further defines the soteriology of the teachers' alternate gospel. The passage states:

> O foolish Galatians! Who has bewitched you, before whose eyes Jesus Christ was publicly portrayed as crucified? Let me ask you only this: Did you receive the Spirit by works of the law, or by hearing with faith? Are you so foolish? Having begun with the Spirit, are you now ending with the flesh? Did you experience so many things in vain?—if it really is in vain. Does he who supplies the Spirit to you and works miracles among you do so by works
of the law, or by hearing with faith (3:1-5)?

In 3:1 the teachers are said to have "bewitched" (ebaskanen) the foolish Galatians, causing them to disobey the "truth" of Paul's gospel.218 The next verse contrasts the teachers' gospel--received by the Galatians from the teachers--with Paul's gospel of faith. The Galatians are asked whether they obtain the Spirit by means of the Law or by faith. This contrast implies that the teachers' alternate gospel has "bewitched" the Galatians into believing that the Spirit comes as a result of obedience to the Law.

Again, 3:5 contrasts the teachers' gospel with Paul's: "Does he who supplies the Spirit to you and works miracles among you do so by works of the Law, or by hearing with faith?" The teachers preach that God "supplies" it (ho epichorēgōn) through the Law. Understood this way, the challenging question is not theoretical: both the teachers and Paul affirm the importance of receiving the divine Spirit. Where then do they differ? The alternative gospel of the teachers offers the Galatians the Law as a medium of access to the Spirit and its miraculous power.

From this same passage we learn that the teachers have convinced the Galatians that the power to perform miracles also comes to those who obey the Law. Again we read: "Does he who supplies the Spirit to you and works miracles (ho
energēn dunameis) among you do so by works of the law, or by hearing with faith?"

Surely "miracles" would evince the power of the Spirit no matter who performed them, be it Paul, the teachers or the Galatians themselves. What kind of miracles are these? Unfortunately, the letter does not specify all of them. The wondrous works performed among the Galatians probably include such charismatic phenomena described in I Corinthians 12, where similar terms are employed. If so, the Galatians experience such manifestations of the Spirit as glossolalia, healing, prophecy, and the attested ecstatic "Abba-cry" of 4:6. Betz agrees, saying that 3:4 confirms that the Galatians perform a large number of miracles. Lull correctly concludes: "ecstatic phenomena continued to accompany the outpouring of the Spirit on the occasion of proclamation in the churches of Galatia after Paul's departure." Although Paul complains to the Galatians (3:1-5) that their new-found interest in the Torah will inhibit the influx of miraculous deeds of the Spirit began under his ministry, we must not conclude that the teachers believe this, or that the Galatians readily receive the admonishment. Rather, the teachers and their followers assume that the Torah vitalizes their life in the Spirit—not quenches it.

In 3:1-5 the teachers' understanding of the cause and effect relationship between nomos and pneuma is stated and replaced by Paul's view. It is indicative of the importance
of the issue that Paul twice repeats the doctrine which he intends to refute:

Let me ask you only this: Did you receive the Spirit by works of the law, or by hearing with faith (3:2)?

Does he who supplies the Spirit to you and works miracles among you do so by works of the law, or by hearing with faith (3:5)?

Cosgrove has emphasized that these passages state that a primary issue needs to be clarified (tou'to monon), and defines that issue as specifically the correct method to "receive the Spirit."\(^{221}\) Is it generated by means of the Law? Or, is it generated by means of faith? The text uses the phrase "by works of law" (ex ergōn nomou) to define the teachers' method of obtaining the Spirit. However, Paul does not believe that the teachers' method of using the Law to evoke the Spirit produces results. Accordingly, Jewett states: "Paul stressed in Galatians 3:2-3 that the Spirit did not come from works of the law."\(^{222}\)

Paul also cites the teachers' formulaic "ek nomou" in 3:18: "For if the inheritance is by the law, it is no longer by promise; but God gave it to Abraham by promise." The alternative gospel understands that the "inheritance" (the promised Spirit) received by the "sons of Abraham" comes "by the law." In 3:18 Paul rejects the teachers' claim that the promised "inheritance" is received "ek nomou." The teachers must argue therefore that the promise made to Abraham and his
sons is dependent on obedience to the Law, particularly the law of circumcision (Genesis 17:10-14). As Abraham received special blessings after he obeyed the Law, so will Torah-obedient Galatians. These citations support our understanding of the causal relationship between the Law and the Spirit in the teachers' gospel.

The use of ἐκ in 3:2, 5 and 18 suggests an instrumental or causal sense. Lull and Dunn concur that ἐκ carries this meaning in Galatians 3. Lull states: "Christians in the churches of Galatia received the Spirit as a result of his proclamation." Dunn concludes that ἐκ is used in these passages as the "originating or moving cause." Jewett concludes: "There is a necessary opposition between spirit and law or flesh just as there is a causal connection between spirit and 'hearing of faith'." As Paul believes that the Spirit is received by means of the "hearing of faith," so the teachers believe that the Spirit is received by means of the "works of law."

The teachers acknowledge a close connection between the reception of the Spirit with its attendant charismatic gifts and Torah observance. For the teachers, the relationship of the Law to the Spirit is one of procurement. That is, performing the works of the Law procures or conjures the Spirit for the participant. The teachers maintain that without being "under" the conduit of the Law, access to the Spirit and its heavenly gifts is impossible. For the
teachers, it would be absurd to believe that heavenly revelations or gifts of the Spirit could be conjured outside of the gracious (2:21) gift of Torah.

The passage in 3:1-5 is joined by others which indicate that the teachers and Paul disagree over "redemptive media."\textsuperscript{226} Is the Spirit accessed by means of faith or by means of nomos? In 3:14 Paul rejects the Law as the medium of access to the Spirit by positing faith as the correct means: "that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith" (dia tēs pisteōs). Conversely, the soteriology of the teachers urges the Galatians to participate fully in the Abrahamic promise of the Spirit by means of nomos, not faith. In 3:7 the point of the debate with the teachers is confirmed to be over the correct medium through which a person becomes a "son of Abraham" and heir to the Spirit: "So you see that it is men of faith who are the sons of Abraham." In 3:9 and 10a the teachers' medium of salvation is contrasted with that of Paul. The texts state:

So then, those who are men of faith are blessed with Abraham who had faith.

For all who rely on works of the law are under a curse; for it is written, 'Cursed be every one who does not abide by all things written in the book of the law, and do them.'

Although the teachers' argue that those who are "of the works of the Law" inherit the blessing, Paul sarcastically rejoins that they are "under the curse."
As the medium or vehicle which conveys--according to the teachers--the blessing of the Spirit, the Law possesses the power to produce eschatological life. In 3:11b, 12 salvific life is said to be procured by means of faith, not by means of the Law:

'He who through faith is righteous shall live'; but the law does not rest on faith, for 'He who does them shall live by them.'

As we have seen in Chapter Two, 3:12 contains the teachers' important scriptural argument from Leviticus 18:5: "he who does them [the laws of the Torah] shall live by them." In these verses Paul denies the teachers' assertion based on Scripture that the Torah procures life for those who obey it.

Further support for our conclusion that the teachers insist that the Law gives life is found in 3:21. We read: "Is the law then against the promises of God? Certainly not; for if a law had been given which could make alive, then righteousness would indeed be by the law." A mirror-reading of this passage reflects the teachers' claim that the Law is the medium which produces life (ζωόποιεσαι). Ζωόποιεσαι refers to the new eschatological state of "righteousness" (dikaiosynē) in which the people of God participate in the blessings of the Spirit (2:19, 20; 5:25; 6:8, 15). Both ζωόποιεσαι and dikaiosynē refer to the many blessings which the heirs of Abraham experience: epaggelia, eulogia, klēronomia, and pneuma.  

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The "participatory" meaning of dikaiosynē is suggested by the context of 3:7-21. Since we have determined that epaggelēia signifies the promise of the Spirit, its use in 3:21a—"the promises of God"—must also refer to the Spirit and its charismatic blessings. The close association of the promise of the Spirit in 3:21 with dikaiosynē and zōopoiēsai (also in 3:21) definitely supports Sanders' understanding of the use of dikaiosynē in Galatians as "the equivalent of 'life'."²²⁸ He argues that the term and its cognates in Galatians do not express a strictly forensic or juridical sense of "right-standing," but rather a participatory sense—referring to life in the Spirit.²²⁹ Sanders writes: "In fact, the forensic sense (acquittal) seems almost totally missing in Galatians. . . ."²³⁰ We concur with him that "righteousness" in Galatians is best understood as a "participatory righteousness"—a state in which the eschatological blessings are experienced by the Christian.

Although Sanders understands the participatory significance of dikaiosynē for Paul, he does not apply this new understanding to the teachers or their gospel. Our study mirror-reads the use of dikaiosynē in 3:21 to reflect the teachers' assertion that participatory righteousness was "by the law." In fact, the teachers believe that the Law "had been given" to "make alive" (3:21). Zōopoiēsai and dikaiosynē refer to participation in the life of the Spirit promised to the sons of Abraham.
The teachers recognize a compatibility between obedience to Law and reception of the promise of the Spirit. It is Paul who separates the two by contrasting nomos and epaggelia. The teachers preserve the complementary relationship of the two categories. They understand the Law to be the medium by which the blessings of the inheritance promised to Abraham are extended to Galatian Gentiles. For the teachers the Law serves as the divinely revealed pathway leading the obedient to greater and greater degrees of participation in the promise of the Spirit and its heavenly gifts.

In order to perfect the process of salvation initiated by Paul, the teachers urge the Galatians to complete what they have begun by obeying the alternate gospel. We read in 3:3: "Are you so foolish? Having begun with the Spirit, are you now ending with the flesh?" Elsewhere in the writings of Paul, these two expressions--enarchomai and epiteleō--appear together as if they are technical terms. Brinsmead argues that these special verbs are used during this period as formulaic expressions to denote an advancement from a lower level to a higher level within Hellenistic mystery religions. Enarchomai can signify an initiatory act, such as a sacrifice. Epiteleō can refer to the maturation or conclusion resulting from a special act or rite. Thus the appearance of these expressions may represent Paul's use of the teachers' vocabulary. If not, the terms nevertheless signify that the teachers have convinced some Galatians that
1) their first religious experience through Paul's gospel was only an initiation, and 2) they now stand under need of being perfected through the redemptive agency of the Jewish Law—including physical circumcision and observance of the sacred calendar.

To this point our chapter has established two primary facts about the teachers and the soteriological content of their alternative gospel. We have determined that the teachers and their Galatian followers:

1) Are not "legalists" concerned with meriting God's grace by means of "works-righteousness," as stereotypically portrayed by some scholarship.

2) Have a soteriology which closely connects both nomos and pneuma. They teach that obedience to specific rites of the Torah is the means by which greater participation in the promises and blessings of the Spirit are to be obtained—in line with Cosgrove's view, but unlike Schmithal's interpretation which holds that the teachers are "gnostic" pneumatikoi who do not obey the Law, or Lütgert's two-front theory which posits the presence of legalists in 1-4 and libertines in 5 and 6.

B. The Teachers' Selective Use of Torah

The various forms of Judaism which existed during the Second Temple Period revered and honored the Torah, but often disagreed over hermeneutical issues. In fact, the plethora of
conflicting and rival Jewish groups arose, in large part, as a result of opposing interpretations of the Torah. These differences not only concerned specific passages, but often included fundamental hermeneutical presuppositions. Such hermeneutical differences contributed to the formation of a wide-range of types of Judaism---Sadducees, Pharisees, Essenes, Samaritans, Therapeutae, and various other apocalyptic and esoteric groups.²³⁴

Such diversity produced variations and differences regarding the specific content and definition of Torah-obedience. Often these diverse Jewish groups disagreed over such fundamental issues as the content of the "canon" and whether the solar or lunar calendar should be used. Such hermeneutical differences produced diversity and sharp conflict within Second Temple Judaism. Consequently, the theology and rites of a particular Jewish or Jewish Christian group depended in large part upon the specific hermeneutic principle by which the Torah was interpreted.²³⁵

As one example of such diversity in Second Temple Judaism, the Jewish Christian teachers possess their own hermeneutic by which they emphasize the importance of certain select portions of the Torah over others. They obey the Torah---but their obedience is selective and particular.²³⁶ Their unwillingness to enforce obedience to some parts of the Law is indicated in 5:3: "I testify again to every man who receives circumcision that he is bound to keep the whole law
(holon ton nomon)." This statement implies that the Galatians have not been instructed by the teachers to practice assiduously every command of the Torah. This inference is supported in 6:13 where the text states that the teachers "do not themselves keep the law."

In view of the teachers' insistence on the importance of the Torah, how are we to account for their not observing some portions of the Law? It is implied in 5:3 that the teachers have not instructed the Galatians about the necessity of obedience to the entire Torah (holon ton nomon). We conclude that this lack of instruction does not result from the teachers' concealment--or tardiness--because 6:13 states that the teachers themselves "do not keep the Law." It is unlikely Paul would accuse the teachers of failing to keep the Law simply because they had not yet explained to the Galatians the necessity of obedience. It is more reasonable to conclude that the teachers do not instruct the Galatians of the need to obey all of the Law because the teachers do not believe such obedience is required. This interpretation of 6:13 has the advantage of effectively explaining the otherwise perplexing statement in 5:3, while, at the same time, respecting the integrity of the teachers' intentions.

The teachers' selective observance of the Torah represents a consistent application of their understanding of Christian soteriology. This does not contradict our earlier analysis which concluded that the teachers insist on obedience
to the Abrahamic covenant of circumcision and the Sinai covenant of Moses (3:17). But it means that Paul suspects or knows that the teachers are not traditional law-keepers according to the Pharisaic tradition to which he once belonged. From Paul's viewpoint, the Jewish Christian teachers are inconsistent in their law-keeping since they value obedience to select portions of the Law over others. But Paul is unable to appreciate the teachers' association of the Jewish law and the gospel of Jesus. From his vantage point, the teachers are disingenuous and desire to "escape persecution" by circumcising Gentile converts (6:12). For this reason Paul judges their law-keeping tradition by the Pharisaic standard to which he once held. But there is a significant difference between the teachers' Jewish Christian tradition and the Pharisaic pre-Christian tradition to which Paul once belonged. The teachers' understanding of the Law is conditioned by their gospel. They are not non-Christian Pharisees, as Paul once was, but are Jewish Christians who afford Jesus a significant and influential place in their theology. Their understanding of Jesus and his teachings influences both their soteriology and the role and function of the Law in their gospel.

IV. THE TEACHERS AND JESUS

As Jewish Christians the teachers afford Jesus Christ a significant and determinative role in their theology and
gospel. An examination of the teachers' view of Jesus will clarify their christology and illumine the hermeneutic by which they selectively obey the Law.

We have seen that the Jewish Christian teachers utilize important personages from the history of Israel as soteriological models for the Galatians. They point to Abraham as a primary example, as well as Ishmael and Isaac. Moses and, perhaps, other traditional heroes of Israel also are included as examples of those who served Yahweh through obedience to the Torah. In addition, the teachers' gospel focuses on Jesus Christ as the primary teacher whom they follow.

Evidence from Galatians indicates that the teachers possess a christology which elevates Jesus to a central and exemplary role. The fact that the teachers advocate a positive role for Jesus can be seen from 1:7 where the teachers are said to "pervert" (metastrepsai) the gospel message about Jesus. They are not accused of rejecting Jesus, nor of denying him as are, for example, unbelievers in I Thessalonians 2:15. The letter nowhere denounces the teachers or the Galatians for rejecting Jesus. Its admonitions refer to many problems, but never does the letter imply that the teachers have persuaded the Galatians to repudiate or forsake Jesus Christ. The letter argues that the teachers preach a "different gospel" about Jesus, but a Jesus and a gospel nevertheless. Accordingly, the teachers present the gospel of
Jesus Christ as they wish to understand it, and consider themselves to be his representative on a Gentile mission. In this sense, the teachers are Jewish followers of Jesus whose understanding of him is compatible with their alternative gospel of *nomos* and *pneuma*.

A. "Born Under the Law"

Indications of the type of christology propagated by the teachers are found in 4:4 and 5. The passage states: "But when the time had fully come, God sent forth his son, born of woman (genomenon ek gynaikos), born under the law: (genomenon hypo nomon), to redeem those who were under the law. . . . "

The passage in 4:4-5 has long been regarded as a repository of pre-Pauline traditional material about the role and function of Jesus. E. Schweizer and others have analyzed the Pauline redaction and use of the tradition. Based on the evidence presented in these studies, it is highly probable that 4:4 represents pre-Pauline material, whereas most of 4:5 contains Pauline redaction and interpretation. *Tendenzkritik* analysis of the traditional material indicates that it possessed an ideological direction not conducive to Pauline thought--especially in the argument here. This direction begins with a Jewish woman giving birth to a Jewish son who is 1) subject to circumcision and the law of Moses, and 2) sent by the God of Israel to free those in bondage (4:4,5). Such
an understanding of Jesus is compatible with the teachers' advocacy of Torah-obedience.

But why would Paul introduce a tradition that undercuts his thrust? Seemingly such an admission would be the very last thing Paul would want to attribute to the Christ who frees believers (5:1,2; 6:15) from the Law. Yet, we find interjected into Paul's polemic against the Law the statement that Christ was subservient to the Law from the moment of his birth "under the law." The close association of Jesus' birth and his obedience to the Law suggests that Jesus was circumcised at birth in conformity with the Law which required the rite be performed on the correct calendar date after birth. Paul's apparent confirmation that Jesus was obedient to the Law—including circumcision—creates the difficult quandary that he forbids for the Galatians exactly what Jesus practiced!

It is difficult to believe that Paul is the first to supply this information to the Galatians since it tends to subvert his own position. One is driven to the conclusion that the teachers already have informed the Galatians of the fact that Jesus obeyed and taught his followers to keep the Law.

The tradition encountered and re-worked in 4:4 and 5 considered *hypo nomon* to be a positive statement. Paul is at pains to reinterpret the tradition in a way that is compatible with his law-free gospel. His rhetorical strategy carefully
conditions the audience earlier in the letter to respond to the phrase, hypo nomou, with a negative assessment. The letter's previous pejorative use of similar phrases such as (ex ergōn nomou, hypo kataran) (3:10), (ek tēs kataras tou nomou) (3:13), (hypo hamartian) (3:22), (hypo nomon) (3:23), (hypo paidagōgon) (3:25) prepares the reader for the pejorative use in 4:4 and 5. The teachers' positive phrase, hypo nomon, is repetitively tainted by Paul with the negative significations of burden, curse, prison, and finally slavery. Upon hearing in 4:4 that Jesus was "born under the law," the audience regrets it. Paul does not deny this tradition, but argues in 4:5 that Jesus' life and death "under the law" redeems Jews and Gentiles from the Law. In a concerted effort to reinterpret the teachers' positive assessment of Jesus' obedience to the Law, Paul refashions hypo nomon into a polemic against the Law by reprogramming his Galatian audience to hear the phrase negatively. The language in 4:4, 5 effectuates a correction of the role Jesus enjoyed among the teachers as a Jew subject in all matters to the Law.

The teachers profit from the presence of a Jesus tradition which portrays him as an exalted teacher of the Law. It is probable that they utilize or introduce the phrase "under the Law" and the remaining elements of the tradition in 4:4 as support for their understanding of Jesus. The tradition serves their purpose by describing Jesus as a chosen figure who lived in Torah-obedience throughout his life.
B. "Born of a Woman"

The phrase "born of a woman" (genomenon ek gynaikos, 4:4) draws attention to the particularity of his human birth from a Jewish woman and the lawful necessity of circumcision eight days after his birth. It identifies him as a recipient of the covenant and places him alongside Abraham and Moses as Torah-obedient. The rite of circumcision becomes the common denominator between the Abrahamic covenant, Sinai, and Jesus' gospel.

The gospel of Jesus is a ratification of the original covenant. Consequently, there is no severance of the "old" covenant from the "new" gospel of Jesus in the teachers' alternative gospel. Their gospel preserves the seamless continuity of Heilsgeschichte.\(^241\)

C. "The Law of Christ"

Since Jesus was subject to the Law it is plausible to assume that for the teachers of the Law he himself, played the role of Teacher of the Law. Supportive of this interpretation, i.e., that the alternative gospel celebrates Jesus as Teacher of the Law, is the phrase "the law of Christ" (ton nomon tou Christou) in 6:2.\(^242\) This most un-Pauline phrase appears only once and seems contradictory in a polemic against the Law. Throughout the letter Paul has reiterated that those in Christ do not need to be circumcised, obey the Law, or be "under the law." Yet in 6:2, he commands his
readers to fulfill "the law of Christ!" Since Paul does not portray Jesus as a teacher of the Law, the phrase strikes a discordant note.

There are several reasons why the concept "law of Christ" should be considered an adaptation by Paul from the teachers' theology: 1) the singularity of the notion in Paul, especially in Galatians, 2) the fact that some non-Pauline Christian traditions considered Jesus Christ to be a teacher of the Law—for example, the second-century Jewish Christian Kergymata Petrov, 3) the teachers combine law-keeping with obedience to Christ, 4) the teachers contrast their model of Jesus Christ, "born under the law," with Paul's lawless Christ, the "agent of sin" (2:17; 4:4). As Betz says, had the concept of the "law of Christ" been part of Paul's gospel proclamation and teaching, he would have introduced it earlier in the letter, and it would appear in other letters. Additionally, it is also probable that he would have argued in 1:7 and 8 against a "different law of Christ," not against a "different gospel." We concur with Betz that ton nomon tou Christou echoes the teachers' terminology.

Even if the phrase (ton nomon tou Christou) has not been taken over by Paul from the teachers' actual vocabulary, it nevertheless expresses the teachers' understanding of Christ as a Teacher of the Law. Its effective utilization by Paul presupposes that the Galatian nomists regard Jesus as one who teaches obedience. In Galatians Paul's gospel does not
portray Jesus as one who must be obeyed, but as the crucified and resurrected Lord in whom one believes. Yet, the passage in 6:2 conveys the image of Christ as a law-giver. Paul uses such an image because he believes it will be understood by his readers. This implies that his audience is favorably predisposed to a model of Jesus as a Teacher of the Law. Paul's rhetoric speaks to his audiences' understanding of Jesus as a Teacher of the Law. Paul recognizes this familiarity and constructs or borrows a phrase which resonates with his audiences' understanding. Betz concludes: "The unique position of the notion of law of Christ makes it most likely that it is used here polemically."

The teachers consider Jesus' teachings in the "law of Christ" as part of their alternative gospel which they bring to the Galatians as Christ's apostolic representatives. As the Sinai covenant of Moses affirms the Abrahamic covenant of circumcision, the "law of Christ" complements previous revelations. For the teachers, Jesus is a circumcised, Torah-observant Teacher who ratified the covenant. The "law of Christ" affirms Torah-obedience, as is evidenced in the Galatian observance of the rite of circumcision and the Jewish festivals (4:10).

Although the letter does not specify which portions of the Torah were excluded by Jesus' teachings, we indubitably know that the teachers require Gentile submission to the rite of circumcision and scrupulous observance of the many Jewish
sacred time periods. As the principle of selectivity, the "law of Christ" includes at a minimum the scriptural injunctions regarding the rite of circumcision and calendar observances for Jews and Gentiles. Since the Law serves as the medium of access to the divine pneuma, obedience to the laws of circumcision and the calendar procures the soteriological blessings promised to Abraham and his sons.

D. Jesus as Messiah

An examination of the term "Christ" in the letter offers further support that the teachers regard Jesus as a messianic Teacher of the Law. The letter uses the terms "Jesus Christ" and "Christ" interchangeably with no absolute distinction in concept or meaning. Paul employs the full name "Jesus Christ" and also reverses it into the more august "Christ Jesus." He often uses "the Lord Jesus" and the "Lord Jesus Christ." The term "Christ" appears many times and the name "Jesus" once.

Betz has identified three instances of the teachers' use of the term "Christ:" the "law of Christ" in 6:2, "Christ died to no purpose" in 2:21, and "Christ the agent of sin" in 2:17. To these three examples may be added the pre-Pauline reference in 1:22: "the churches of Christ in Judea." The textual evidence suggests that the teachers employ the term "Christ," a messianic term common to Jewish Christianity, in a way consistent with their alternative gospel. Their Christ has a "law." He is executed in defense of the "Law," and he is the
"agent" of righteous obedience to that Law. The teachers' association of "Christ" with the Law in these three instances indicates that they portray Jesus as a messianic Teacher of the Law, perhaps as a second Moses who arrived "when the time was fully come" (4:4).

Betz posits that the phrase in 2:17, "Christ the agent of sin," represents the teachers' accusation that Paul's law-free gospel makes Christ into an agent of lawlessness. For the teachers, Jesus Christ is an agent of the Law, not of sin! It may be that they portray Jesus as a righteous martyr for the Law. The phrase in 2:21, "Christ died to no purpose," may reflect the teachers' charge that Paul's lawless gospel renders useless Jesus Christ's death as a messianic martyr for the Law.

The tradition cited in 4:4ff presumes that the Galatians understand that Jesus was "sent" by God with an authoritative message. This "sending" mission implies that Jesus' message possessed significant content for those to whom he is "sent." The teachers' close association of Jesus with the Law (4:4) implies that his mission was illustrative of lawful obedience. At the precise eschatological moment in time, the Law was given its definitive interpretation by the Christ who exemplified and taught the meaning and significance of the law of Moses. His authoritative example and teaching serve as the criteria by which the Torah is interpreted and obeyed.
It is highly improbable that the teachers regard Jesus Christ as a docetic figure who remains aloof from the ambiguities of finitude in contrast to an earthly Jesus who partakes of human life. The statements that Christ was "born of a woman" and "born under the law" found in the teachers' tradition (4:4, 5) indicates they do not have a docetic Christology. There is no textual evidence which indicates that the teachers contrast a heavenly "Christ" with an earthly "Jesus" as do those of the "Christ party" in I Corinthians who apparently curse the "earthly Jesus." Such is not the case with the Jewish Christian teachers in Galatia who insist on obedience to the Jewish Law given by the God of Israel, and who teach the importance of lawful conduct. Although the teachers cite the "law of Christ," his words do not spontaneously create an experience of realized eschatology for the hearer as do his sayings in the Gospel of Thomas.

The teachers' understanding of Jesus should be interpreted as consistent with their gospel which compels submission to the covenant and Torah. The teachers use the term "Christ" to refer to Jesus because, for them, the "Christ" is the anointed Teacher of the Law who arrives at the prophesied time with the messianic Law (4:4). The teachers' gospel proclaims a Jesus whose human birth, life, and teachings elucidate and exemplify the meaning of the Torah. As the Abrahamic covenant of circumcision was confirmed and
enriched by the Sinai covenant of Moses, the messianic "law of Christ" complements the previous revelations.

E. The Teachers' Hermeneutic

It is plausible that Jesus' teachings about the law represent the primary hermeneutic for the alternate gospel. Since the teachers are Jewish Christians who proclaim a gospel about Jesus Christ, his Torah-observant life and his messianic law condition the specific content of their gospel. As the messianic Teacher, Jesus' interpretation of the Law would determine the applicability and significance of the Torah for his followers. Davies writes:

"It is fundamental to recognize that a messianic movement inevitably had to come to terms with the law. . . . despite the firmly entrenched doctrine that the law was perfect, unchangeable, and eternal, some expected that Elijah would be a messianic forerunner who would explain obscurities in the law, that in the Messianic Age or in the Age to Come difficulties in the law would be explained, that certain enactments would cease to be applicable, and that there would be changes in the commandments. . . ."

We have seen that the teachers believe Jesus to have been "sent" by God at the prophesied time with the new messianic "law of Christ." Consequently, their interpretation of the Torah and its applicability is affected by their messianic belief in Jesus and his gospel. Although the teachers insist on obedience to the venerable Jewish law, they do not require
obedience to all 613 commands of the Torah, nor to all of its many oral interpretations. Under the influence of Jesus' teaching, the teachers distill from the Torah two primary pillars: 1) From the Abrahamic covenant they extract the ancient rite of circumcision by which the obedient become "huioi tou Abraam;" 2) From the Sinai covenant of Moses the teachers extract the sacred calendar, through which celebrants participate in the "Iseraēl tou theou." These laws establish a realm of holiness and purity delineating the sacred from the profane.

Regarding these two rites as sacred revelations from God—confirmed by Jesus' teachings—the teachers bring them to the Gentiles. They inform the Galatians that obedience to these venerable laws incorporates them into the sacred realm of the people of God and effectuates the reception and manifestation of the heavenly gifts of the Spirit. For the teachers, Jesus' teachings in the "law of Christ" contain all that is necessary to "complete" or "perfect" (epiteleō, 3:3) the soteriological quest. His teachings establish the hermeneutic by which the Torah is understood and obeyed.

V. THE ALTERNATIVE GOSPEL, CIRCUMCISION AND THE CALENDAR

A close study of the rites of circumcision and the sacred time periods as observed by the teachers and their Galatian followers will elucidate the intimate relationship which they posit between obedience to the Law and participation in the
manifold blessings of the Spirit. In so doing, we can better understand how Cosgrove's insight into the relation of nomos to pneuma may have actually "worked" in the teachers' gospel. Our investigation has documented that many Galatians are submitting to the rite of circumcision and are observing the Jewish calendar (4:9, 10; 6:12, 13). The Galatians are convinced by the teachers' persuasive preaching (1:9; 3:1) that their Christian experience of salvation can be perfected, or brought to completion, by obedience to these ancient Jewish rites, as defined and delineated in the alternative gospel.

A. Circumcision and the Spirit

The ancient rite of circumcision was regarded in the Second Temple Period as an external physical act with symbolic significance. Accordingly, Goodenough identifies Jewish circumcision as a sacrament, referring to it as a "visible sign of an invisible grace."\(^{251}\) It is compared to circumcision of the rebellious heart in the second century B.C.E. Book of Jubilees, which contains a heavenly revelation from the "Angel of the Presence." True sons of Abraham must be circumcised as "all the angels of sanctification have been so created from the day of their creation."\(^{252}\) Similarly, from Qumran we read that the heart must be circumcised, as well as the body.\(^{253}\) Both the physical rite and its symbolism were important in these Jewish traditions.
Philo also confirms that some Jews combined the practice of physical circumcision with deeper interpretations of its meaning. While not denying the need for the physical incision, he writes in *De Migratione Abrahamae*: "circumcision portrays the excision of pleasure and all passions." Elsewhere he states that the Biblical injunction: "Circumcise the hardness of your hearts" (Leviticus 26:41 and Deuteronomy 10:16) refers to the "superfluous overgrowths of the mind, which the immoderate appetites of the passions have sown and raised." Philo criticizes those who recognize the symbolic significance of circumcision, but reject the outward physical practice. He expects potential Gentile proselytes to recognize the internalized ethical significance of circumcision and that they submit to the actual rite.

These examples evince that many Jews during the Second Temple Period considered physical circumcision to be a necessary external requirement of the Law and also symbolic of an internal change of heart. In view of this understanding of the rite, it would be atypical for the teachers to reduce obedience to the rite to only a "legalistic" act. It is more likely that they appreciate its symbolic interpretation as an external physical rite which signifies an internalization of the Law.

Evidence which indicates that the teachers do not relegate circumcision to a mere physical rite is found by comparing Paul's treatment of the rite in Galatians to his
treatment of it in other letters. In Galatians Paul repudiates the rite and condemns those who practice it as fallen from grace (5:4). "You are severed from Christ, you who would be justified by the law; you have fallen away from grace." In this letter the rite has no value whatsoever, and it severs the practitioner from Christ. Paul's rejection of circumcision in Galatians contrasts vividly with his positive assessment of the rite's symbolic meaning in Romans 2:25ff, Philippians 3:3, and perhaps, Colossians 2:11-13.

The unusual absence of any positive symbolic significance for circumcision in Galatians indicates that Paul purposely omits attributing any value to circumcision. What accounts for this conspicuous absence? It is probable that Paul refuses to acknowledge any value to the rite because the teachers attach deeper significations to circumcision, as well as insist on its literal practice. Brinsmead concludes that the particular polemical crisis with the teachers of circumcision accounts for the absence of Paul's usual positive appraisal of the rite's symbolism.258

The teachers understand circumcision not as an entrance requirement into Christianity, but as a rite of perfection which completes what the Galatians began under Paul's ministry. This understanding of circumcision contrasts remarkably with Paul's opinion of it. In 5:3 Paul writes that submission to the rite of circumcision obligates the circumcised to perform the entire Law, which includes the 613
requirements of the written Torah: "I testify again to every man who receives circumcision that he is bound to keep the whole law" (holon ton nomon). But the teachers do not agree. This passage implies that the teachers do not regard circumcision as a preliminary requirement leading to subsequent obligations. For the teachers, circumcision is not a first step toward the "whole law."

In order to "perfect" their Christian experience, the Galatians are instructed by the teachers to submit to the ancient and mysterious rite of Jewish circumcision originally revealed to the patriarch Abraham and practiced by Moses and Jesus. Obedience to this rite would "perfect" (3:3) the Galatians as true "sons of Abraham," providing greater degrees of participation in the epaggelia (the promised Spirit) granted to Abraham and his sons. As a primary constituent of the "works of the law," the physical rite of circumcision enables obedient Gentiles to participate more fully in the promised pneuma with its charismatic blessings.259

Further evidence that the teachers consider obedience to the Law, including circumcision, to represent a maturer stage of Christian life than that enjoyed under Paul's gospel occurs in his rejoinders in 4:1-3. Against the teachers' assertion that Torah-obeidience, including circumcision, conveys a mature stage of Christian experience Paul responds that submission to such Jewish rites represents a return to infancy:
I mean that the heir, as long as he is a child, is no better than a slave, though he is the owner of all the estate; but he is under guardians and trustees until the date set by the father. So with us; when we were children, we were slaves to the elemental spirits of the universe (4:1-3).

The reference to being "under guardians (epitropous) and trustees" (oikonomous) confirms that Paul discusses the Jewish law in 4:1-3. His usage of these terms is similar to his reference to the Jewish law in 3:24 where obedience to the Law is characterized as being "under" the guardianship of a "custodian" (paidagōgos).

For the teachers, Abrahamic sonship is a mature, advanced soteriological stage. At this elevated level of spirituality, the adept manifests greater displays of the Spirit's power than possible for those remaining at the incomplete level "begun" under Paul's ministry (3:3, 5). But 4:1-3 characterizes these "heirs" of Abraham as "slaves" in bondage to "guardians" and "trustees." Obedience to such lawful authorities is described as slavery. Paul's point is that Christian life under these powers in not an advanced state of spirituality but is a return to childhood subservience. The association of the term "child" (nēpios) in 4:1-3 with the Jewish Law, including circumcision, is a fitting term because circumcision is a rite performed on infant children—not on adults.
Paul supports his claim that his non-law-abiding gospel conveys a mature state of Christian spirituality on believers by reinterpreting the ecstatic "Abba-cry" in 4:6. The passage states: "And because you are sons, God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, 'Abba! Father!'") He argues that the cry is addressed to God as Father and that it evinces the Galatians are actually sons of God—not of Abraham.

What did the Spirit's "Abba-cry" mean to the Galatians before Paul interprets it in 4:6? Lull correctly states: "Before Paul's letter, the Spirit's Abba-cry meant something else to them." Lull concludes that the ecstatic cry of "Abba, Father" was understood prior to the letter as an "involuntary response" to the overwhelming good news of God's love heard during preaching. Lull presents Paul's and the Galatians' understanding of the cry, but he omits discussion of the teachers' understanding of the cry. Such a demonstration of the presence of the Spirit could not be easily overlooked by the teachers. Although they would not interpret the Abba-cry in the same way as Paul, neither would they ignore its remarkable presence. They would likely interpret it as compatible with their alternative gospel which defines the Law, particularly circumcision, as the means by which entrance into the Abrahamic covenant is obtained and by which the Spirit of Abrahamic sonship is bestowed. Since the teachers consider themselves and their followers adult "sons of Abraham" entitled to call Abraham their father, they may
interpret the Abba-cry of 4:6 to be directed to Abraham, the "father of a multitude of nations" (Genesis 17:5), by those Galatians submitting to circumcision. Paul would be redirecting the cry to God as Father.

While Lull is not wrong to emphasize preaching as the situation which generates the Abba-cry, he unnecessarily excludes other situations where the cry might be uttered, such as in prayer or at the time of baptism, as Betz suggests.262 The ecstatic cry may also be associated with the performance of the rite of circumcision. Submission to this Jewish rite of perfection enables the Galatians to participate more fully in the Spirit and enjoy greater ecstatic experiences such as the Abba-cry.

The giving of the Spirit to the law-observant Galatians and the manifestation of its presence through ecstatic states represent for the teachers liberation from the bondage of sin death, and the flesh. The teachers associate obedience to the Law with blessings, life, the Spirit, and freedom from sin and death (3:21). On the other hand, disobedience to the Law brings the curse, slavery, and death (3:12). When Paul associates the Jewish law, including circumcision, with slavery in 4:1ff he reverses the teachers' belief that the Law brings freedom from slavery.

Paul separates Jewish laws and the rite of circumcision from the Spirit by relegating the Law to the realm of bondage. By breaking the connection between pneuma and nomos Paul hopes
to convince his audience that the Spirit comes by means of faith, not Jewish rites. His severing of the Abba-cry from the Abrahamic sonship motif and his association of the cry with the sons of God concept should be read in view of the teachers' understanding of the compatibility of Abrahamic sonship, circumcision, and the Spirit. What they have joined together, Paul puts asunder. The teachers' union of nomos and pneuma is incompatible with Paul's view of freedom and mature sonship.

It is now understandable why the teachers' gospel is caricatured earlier in the letter as sark (3:3). The teachers' insistence on the need for fleshly circumcision in order to "perfect" the Galatians' spirituality is condemned and ridiculed by Paul as sark. In 3:3 the text states: "Are you so foolish? Having begun with the Spirit, are you now ending with the flesh?" The term sark is used to oppose the teachers' association of "fleshly" circumcision and the divine Spirit. This rhetorical device also is used in 6:12 and 13 where the teachers' lawful demands are relegated to boasting in sark. The teachers seem to regard circumcision as a rite which symbolizes the removal of sark and the reception of the pneuma. But Paul attempts to sever any connection between the rite of circumcision and the procuring of the Spirit. By reducing the venerable Jewish rite to a merely fleshly incision with no profound symbolism or spiritual meaning, he hopes to break the teachers' association of nomos and pneuma.
Our mirror reading of 3:1-5 and other passages reflects the teachers claim that obedience to Jewish law—including circumcision—procurers the benefits of the Spirit. Jewett confirms that the polemic in chapter 3 "shows that what they [the teachers] had claimed as a benefit of circumcision was in fact already present among the Galatians." Although Jewett does not develop this provocative insight, he is correct to imply that the teachers believe that submission to circumcision provides the benefit of the Spirit.

B. The Calendar and The Stoicheia

Included in the teachers' obedience to selective portions of Torah is the observance of the Jewish calendar. They teach the Galatians to observe the Sabbath and the annual holy days, as well as other sacred time periods. Textual evidence confirming that the Galatians, influenced by the teachers, are scrupulously observing the calendar occurs in 4:9, 10. The text states:

but now that you have come to know God, or rather to be known by God, how can you turn back again to the weak and beggarly elemental spirits, whose slaves you want to be once more? **You observe [paratēreisthe] days, and months, and seasons, and years!**

1. The Jewish Calendar

The "days" (hēmeras), "months" (mēnas), "seasons" (kairous), and "years" (eniautous) carefully observed
(paratēreisthe) by the Galatians include the Jewish holy days of Leviticus 23, as well as other sacred time periods in Jewish tradition. These calendar observances consisted of the weekly sabbath, the annual holy days of Passover, Pentecost, Trumpets, Atonement, and Tabernacles, as well as Hanukkah, Purim and monthly new moon observances. The sacred calendar days were celebrated by the performance of religious duties and cessation of secular labor. Great importance was attributed to the calendar festivals and violation of their sacrality was considered sacrilege. As with the rite of circumcision, one who did not conform to the festival law "shall be cut off from his people" (Lev. 23:29; Gen. 17:14).

Also, as in the case of circumcision, the Sabbath day was to be a "perpetual covenant" (berit ʿolām, Exod. 31:16; Gen. 17:13); a "sign" (ʿot, Exod. 31:12; Gen. 17:11); "throughout their generations" (ledoratam, Exod. 31:16; Gen. 17:9). The Torah pronounced the festivals to be "holy convocations" (migraʾe godes). In order to enjoy full fellowship with the people of Yahweh the convert needed to observe these rites of holiness. We have seen that the teachers inform the Galatians that they can participate in the "Israel of God" and enjoy the charismatic gifts and blessings of the holy Spirit by conforming to the covenant and laws God gave to his people.

The sacred periods of the Jewish calendar were imbued with important religious meaning. As an important part of the Law the observance of the sacred calendar, especially the
Sabbath, functioned in the Pentateuch as a sacred "sign" of the Sinai covenant—much like circumcision served as the sign of the Abrahamic covenant. The Sabbath is portrayed as a special covenant given by God to identify his people (Exod. 31). The calendar demarcates sacred time from profane time. Special revelations from angels are delivered to seers on sacred calendar days and accurate calculation of calendar years affords them knowledge of future events. And the revelation of heavenly mysteries is associated with knowledge of the Jewish calendar. Without these sacred signs of sanctification, purity, and holiness the Gentiles are not recognized by the teachers as "sons of Abraham" or members of God's Israel. As outward signs of God's presence these rites are necessary for Galatians who want to enjoy the spiritual blessings promised to Abraham.

For the teachers the observance of the Jewish calendar enables their Galatian followers to perfect their Christian experience began under Paul's ministry. As we have seen, 3:1-5 states that the teachers have "bewitched" the Galatians into believing that obedience to the Torah "completes" or "perfects" their spiritual experience began under Paul. Since the Jewish calendar is part of the Law referred to in 3:1-5, it plays a role in the "perfecting" of the Galatians' salvation. Just as the rite of circumcision perfects the Galatians' salvific experiences, so the observance of the festival law also contributes to their progress.
Despite the value placed upon these observances by Judaism as celebrations of God's victories over cosmic chaos and Israel's enemies, Paul disapproves of the teachers' and the Galatians' scrupulous observance (paratēreisthe) of the calendar. The teachers' calendar observances are pejoratively described as a return to the stoicheia and stoicheia tou kosmou:

So with us; when we were children, we were slaves to the elemental spirits of the universe (stoicheia tou kosmou) . . . but now that you have come to know God, or rather to be known by God, how can you turn back again to the weak and beggarly elemental spirits (stoicheia), whose slaves you want to be once more? You observe days, and months, and seasons, and years (4:3, 9, 10)!

2. **Stoicheia**

In order to understand why the Jewish calendar is associated with the stoicheia, it is necessary to examine the term. Such an analysis provides further evidence that the Galatians adopt an alternative gospel which offers charismatic blessings and heavenly revelations to those who conform to the Torah.

Many scholarly investigations of the term stoicheia have appeared and opinions vary over the meaning of the phrase in the Galatian context. The lexicographical meaning of the word defines it as the fundamental component from which others in a series arise. The term stoicheia signifies the basic ABCs in a grammatical sense upon which later learning is
based. Since the letters of the alphabet are the elements of which words and sentences consist, the term came to be used to refer to the basic components of the world: earth, water, air and fire.  

In order to explain the basic components which order the entire cosmos, the term stoicheia was used to refer to the fundamental ruling powers of nature which maintain harmony in the face of chaos. Often these powers were personalized and divinized. Philo refers to Greeks who divinized the elements granting them names of the gods. Wisdom 13:2 implies that the four elements are worshipped by those who do not know the true God. In Pseudo-Callisthenes it is said that a magician "subjected to himself all the cosmic stoicheia, including the Spirits of the air and the demons cf. the underworld" (aeria pneumata kai hoi katachthōnioi diamōnes). It is said that he observed the "heavenly courses of the cosmic elements." Outside of the Pauline letters, New Testament usage of stoicheia may refer to the material substance of the world (2 Pt. 3:10, 12) or to the basic rudiments of revealed religion (Heb. 5:12).

Since multiple meanings are possible for the expression, the Galatian context as it pertains to the crisis situation must determine the precise meaning and use of stoicheia and stoicheia tou kosmou. The context in which the references to stoicheia and stoicheia tou kosmou are found concerns Paul's comparison of the Galatians' former idolatry to their new
obedience to the Jewish law. He describes both their idolatry and observance of the Jewish calendar as states of bondage and servitude. Paul uses stoicheia tou kosmou to represent the common denominator between idolatry and the Jewish Law!

How can Paul compare the law of Israel to service rendered to false gods? How can he compare his devotion to the Law as a Jewish Pharisee to pagan devotion to idols in 4:3? In 4:9, Paul confirms that the Galatians have "come to know God"--converting from paganism to Christ. For Paul, "to turn back" (epistrephete) means to return to idolatry. The two-fold use of palin in 4:9 confirms that Paul accuses the Galatians of returning to their former condition of slavery. By connecting the stoicheia with "days," "months," "seasons," and "years" in 4:10, Paul insinuates that these Jewish observances practiced by the Galatians in effect relegate them to their pre-Christian pagan status as slaves. He characterizes both service to the Torah and to false gods as systems of slavery and both are relegated to stoicheia tou kosmou (4:3, 8).

The term kosmou is important because it shows that Paul relegates the Law and the pagan deities to the realm of the "present evil aeon" (1:4) and excludes both from his "new creation" in Christ (6:15). Paul recasts stoicheia tou kosmou as a negative phrase--interpreting it as slavish obedience to the old creation to which both pagan idolatry and Torah obedience belong.
The teachers would not find this extraordinary argument acceptable. They believe that obedience to the Torah produces life and freedom not death and bondage. For them, obedience to the calendar law given to Moses by heavenly angels was anything but a return to paganism!

It is difficult to determine if Paul introduces the phrase *stoicheia tou kosmou*, or if the teachers and their followers designate their religious practices as *stoicheia tou kosmou*. No doubt it is Paul who gives the phrase its negative cast in 4:3 and 9, but the term may be employed by the teachers and the Galatians in a positive sense to refer to their use of the Law. Evidence supporting the teachers' use of the term *stoicheia* to describe calendar observances appears in its history of religions usage and the alternate gospel's interest in angels. We have noticed the association of *stoicheia* in ancient sources with the governing powers which maintain regularity and order in the cosmos. These sources evince that the elemental powers sometimes were regarded as intelligent beings, or the agents of intelligent beings. Betz and other scholars concur that second-century C.E., and probably first-century, usage of *stoicheia* included reference to demonic and angelic beings--the "powers"--who governed the heavenly bodies. The association of angelic powers, astral bodies, and the calendar is commonplace in Jewish apocalyptic, as I Enoch and Jubilees exemplify. But history of religions parallels do not prove that the
phrase as used in Galatians refers to angels. They confirm that such a meaning was in use at the time and may form the background out of which the Galatian usage arose.

Only the situational polemic in Galatians can determine whether *stoicheia tou kosmou* pertains in any way to angels. There are reasons to believe that angels are referred to in the phrase. In 4:8 the Galatians are said to have been at one time enslaved to "beings that by nature are no gods." They are asked in 4:9 why they return as slaves "to the weak and beggarly elemental spirits" (*stoicheia*). The reference to bondage in both instances indicates that the *stoicheia* of 4:9 are equivalent to the "beings" of 4:8. Further, in 4:2, 3 Paul speaks of slavery to the *stoicheia tou kosmou* and of living "under" oppressive "guardians" and "trustees." These references to captivity are echoed in 4:8 where bondage to false gods is specified. Again, the reference to bondage in 4:2, 3 and in 4:8 evinces that the *stoicheia* include the "beings" of 4:8. Thus, the textual evidence indicates that *stoicheia tou kosmou* in 4:3 and *stoicheia* in 4:9 refer to the oppressive "beings that by nature are no gods."

How does this observation assist us in our attempt to determine whether *stoicheia* pertains to angelic beings? It is helpful because in 4:3 Paul includes himself and other Jews as serving the *stoicheia* prior to liberation in Christ. Since the *stoicheia* are the equivalent of the "beings which by nature are no gods," Paul implies that he and other Torah-
observant Jews served—prior to believing in Christ—these non-divine beings!

It is understandable that the Galatians (formerly pagan idolaters) would be accused of serving "beings which by nature are not gods," but how can Paul claim that non-pagan Jews, like himself, once served these powers? What powers or beings are associated with both the Jewish law and pagan religion?

The Jews are said to have received their Law from angelic beings in 3:19. In 3:20 these intermediaries are contrasted to the one God and are shown to be non-divine beings: "God is one." In 4:8 non-divine "beings" are said to have ruled over the pagan Gentiles. Paul's inclusion of himself and other Jews in 4:3 as serving these "powers" prior to liberation in Christ is based on the association in 3:19 of angels with the giving of the Law. The implication is that the Galatian slavish devotion to the angelic Law is nothing more than a return to superstitious service rendered to the "beings" whom they once worshipped as pagan deities!

A common factor pervades the Galatians' previous idolatry and their present devotion to the Torah, as well as Paul's prior law-keeping. From Paul's point of view these different situations share a common feature: each is in bondage to "beings which by nature are no gods." The religious worship and practice of each of these situations involve the devotees in service to beings less than fully divine. From Paul's viewpoint, service to any of these beings—whether angelic
beings who revealed the Jewish law or beings responsible for pagan idolatry—is mere slavery to the impotent stoicheia (4:8, 9).

The teachers have taught the Galatians to believe otherwise. For them the angelic revelation at Sinai provided the life-giving Torah which offers magnificent experiences of salvation. Included in the angelic Law is the sacred calendar which permits those who observe it to enjoy fellowship with the heavenly hosts. In this way, observance of the calendar placed one in harmony and in accord with the elemental powers which govern the cosmos—the stoicheia tou kosmou.

3. Angels and the Calendar

Second Temple Judaism contained several Jewish groups which expressed an acute interest in angels who controlled the heavenly bodies and determined the sacred seasons. For many Jews, comprehending the secrets of calendar lore implied an understanding of angelic knowledge and demonstrated one's charismatic gifts. While observance of the calendar created communion and fellowship with the heavenly angels, disobedience to Torah upset cosmological harmony and destroyed fellowship with the heavenly beings responsible for the movement of the heavenly bodies. For example, J. Strugnell has shown from the Angelic Liturgy that the Qumran community believed that it enjoyed fellowship with angels who
convened with them on the Jewish holy days. Those Jews who did not possess Qumran's esoteric knowledge of the correct calendar calculations would assemble on the wrong days and would fail to participate in the angelic liturgy and worship.

Since the teachers' gospel promises to "perfect" the Galatians' experience of the Spirit and to provide greater revelations, how does observance of the sacred calendar fulfill this promise? The precise technique by which observance of the Jewish calendar procures revelatory experiences is not indicated in Galatians. However the unusual association of the calendar with angelic stoicheia suggests a connection.

The teachers' scrupulous observance of the calendar necessitates an interest in the motions of the astral bodies which determine the "days, months, seasons, and years." The verb paratēreisthe in 4:10 may refer to the "fixing of the calendar, obtained by observation of the sky." Such calendar computation suggests a familiarity with the heavenly bodies, thought by many Jews to be given for the express purpose of serving as "signs and seasons and days and years," as Genesis 1:14 instructs. Since observance of the sacred calendar presupposes the use and crucial importance of mathematics and numerology, careful observance and calculation of the calendar would provide the obedient knowledge of and, perhaps, access to the angelic powers governing the cosmos. The mysterious and esoteric properties associated with numbers
is seen in many ways in the ancient world. Jewish apocalyptic sources abound with references to the quasi-magical and symbolic significance of numbers.\textsuperscript{281} Calendar calculations contain such power, and their study—in obedience to the Law—permits the adept to enjoy fellowship with and, perhaps, service to the angelic powers (\textit{stoicheia}) ordering the cosmos. Understood in this way, we can see how that obedience to the "works of law" grants to Torah-obedient and calendar-observant Christians the knowledge of cosmological secrets and communion with the angelic and spirit forces (\textit{stoicheia}) behind the astral bodies. But, for Paul, preoccupation with angelic powers through the calculation and observance of the calendar does not represent true spirituality, but servitude and bondage (4:3).

\textbf{VI. AN "OPEN HEAVEN"}

In view of the teachers' apparent interest in angelic revelations, it is appropriate to enquire as to the nature of these manifestations. Certain apocalyptic and esoteric forms of Second Temple Judaism are described by Rowland as fascinated by and preoccupied with the prospect of an "open heaven."\textsuperscript{282} This term describes a view of the heavenly world which understands it to be open to concourse with the earthly realm. From the heavenly realm angels and spirits are said to bring special revelations for those obedient to the Law.
Righteous humans are enabled to acquire esoteric knowledge of God and his divine plan through these revelations.

The teachers also evince an interest in such an "open heaven." We have seen that they expect to receive miraculous power and gifts of the Spirit. They assiduously observe the angelic calendar and are cognizant of the stoicheia. In order to clarify their understanding of the nature of heavenly revelations, we must interrogate the text for any indications or suggestions of such experiences. There are two instances which bear investigation because each confirms an awareness of and interest in the angelic and heavenly realm—Rowland's "open heaven."

A. Moses' "Ascent"

Our first instance which suggests the possibility of an open heaven from which heavenly revelations are given to the people of God occurs in 3:19. This text reads:

> Why then the law? It was added because of transgressions, till the offspring should come to whom the promise had been made; and it was ordained by angels through an intermediary.

We have seen that this passage reflects the teachers' association of angels with the giving of the Law to Moses.\(^{283}\) Does this text signify that Moses—the "intermediary"—ascended to the angelic realm to receive the Law from the angels? Or, does it mean the angels descended to Sinai, bringing the Law to the earth? If we determine that the
passage suggests that Moses ascended through an open heaven to receive the Law, we have a Galatian reference to an "heavenly ascent." From such a reference we may suppose that his example is paradigmatic for the teachers and their followers. If, on the other hand, we determine that the angels descend from an open heaven to Moses, we may assume that the teachers and their followers experience angelic revelations on the earth. Stone, Smith, and Segal agree that Jewish heroes, "divine men," and "mystagogues" often serve as models for what is to be desired and practiced by the contemporary community.284

What is the evidence that the passage describes an heavenly ascent by Moses? It could be argued that 3:19 concerns an ascent, not up the geographical Mount Sinai, but into the very heaven where the angels dwell. This perplexing passage not only omits the name of Moses, it also does not mention Sinai as the place where the angels revealed the Law to the mediator Moses. Why should the reader presume that 3:19 locates the angelic revelation on Sinai? There is no angelic revelation on Sinai in Exodus 20 or Deuteronomy 5, where the Torah is given to Moses by Yahweh. Yet, 3:19 specifies that Moses encountered angels in an unnamed location. The alternative gospel tradition identified in Corinth by Georgi views Moses as a "divine man" who radiates mystical "glory" after receiving the Law.285 As in Galatians, there is no reference in this Corinthian passage to
Mount Sinai, despite the clear references to Moses' receiving the Law. Philo's exegesis of the giving of the Law to Moses portrays Moses' ascent into the heavens. This could lend support to the argument that the teachers' share such a tradition which envisions an ascent by Moses into the heavens—where the angels dwell—to receive their revelations. The absence of any reference to Sinai and the contradiction of the Pentateuch accounts offers some support for such an interpretation.

Are we then to conclude that 3:19 describes an heavenly ascent and that the teachers in Galatia and their followers seek after or experience heavenly ascents? Although Segal has shown that heavenly ascents were experienced by Paul and others prior to the writing of Galatians, we must not infer from the absence of a reference to Mount Sinai in 3:19 that the teachers presume that Moses enjoyed an heavenly ascent. In turn, we cannot conclude that the teachers or their followers experience such heavenly journeys. Instead, the notable omission of Sinai probably represents a de-emphasis of the narrative details of the Pentateuch in favor of a heightened sense of the revelatory nature of Moses' angelophany. The passage is not a first century example of an heavenly ascent.

The presence of angels at the giving of the Law to Moses is probably best understood as an angelic descent from an open heaven to earth. Their appearance does not require Moses'
ascent to heaven—the letter represents angels as being capable of delivering their revelations on earth. There are two direct references to angelic apparitions occurring on earth, in addition to the passage in 3:19. In 1:8, Paul curses any angel who dares to descend from heaven with the teachers' gospel. This angelic preaching is located on earth—in Galatia. In 4:14, the Galatians received Paul as an angelic messenger. Once again, the location is on earth—in Galatia. From these textual observations we aver that the Galatians possess a significant interest in angels as heavenly beings who are able to deliver their revelations (angelic laws?) to God's people on earth. Unlike Paul, the Galatians seem to value such angelic revelations.

We cannot ascertain from the text whether or not the Galatians believe they have yet experienced angelic revelations. Their experience of the Spirit displayed in the performance of miracles and ecstatic states probably convinces them that heaven has "opened" and angelic revelations are occurring—now that they are living in harmony with the Torah delivered by angels.

B. The Heavenly Jerusalem

The reference to "Jerusalem above" (4:26) suggests that the Galatians are interested in the prospect of an "open heaven." With no preamble Paul writes: "But the Jerusalem above is free, and she is our mother." What has gone
 unnoticed by commentators is that Paul presupposes that the Galatians will understand his remarkable reference to another Jerusalem, not on earth, but located in heaven above. The Galatians must possess prior knowledge of this heavenly city for Paul's words to be fully meaningful. Yet, the concept of a "Jerusalem above" does not appear in other extant letters of Paul. We have seen that Paul writes disparagingly of Jerusalem in 1:17ff. But in 4:26 he portrays a heavenly Jerusalem as the matrix of salvation.

What is the significance of the "Jerusalem above" for the Galatian community? Does the reference to a heavenly Jerusalem suggest that the Galatians, the teachers, or Paul experience ascents to that heavenly realm—especially in view of the intimacy expressed by the maternal image? Sources from the Second Temple Period aver the existence of a heavenly Jerusalem and temple to which the holy seer ascends. Enoch is taken into the heavenly palace where he learns esoteric secrets from the angels and Yahweh. In reference to the heavenly temple, I Enoch states: "After this, the Righteous and Elect One will reveal the house of his congregation." II Enoch refers to his ascension "into the highest heaven, the highest Jerusalem." In the Apocalypse, John is taken into heaven where he sees the heavenly Jerusalem. The absence of a direct reference to an heavenly ascent in Galatians does not mean that such experiences were unknown to Paul, the Galatians, or the teachers. We know that the opposite is true
in the case of Paul because years prior to writing Galatians he had experienced an ascent into the "third heaven." Thus when Paul writes of the "Jerusalem above" he may possess first-hand knowledge.

Despite Segal's tantalizing thesis that heavenly ascents are experienced by members of other Pauline congregations, the reference to "Jerusalem above" in 4:26 does not demonstrate that ascent experiences occur in the Galatian churches. Since there is no mention in the letter of a journey to the heavenly Jerusalem for Paul, the Galatians, or the teachers, we must not conclude that the teachers ascend or teach their followers to ascend to the heavenly Jerusalem. Instead, we aver that they experience their angelic revelations and charismatic manifestations of the Spirit while remaining on earth. Without stronger evidence that they "ascend" to the "Jerusalem above," we must choose to believe that their participation in the heavenly realm occurs while they are rooted in the earthly sphere.

If the reference to the heavenly Jerusalem in 4:26 does not attest the presence of a heavenly ascent tradition, what does it signify? And what does it tell us about the teachers' gospel? A contextual reading of the passage indicates that the reference subtly serves the Pauline polemic against the alternative gospel.

An examination of the polemic will provide reflections of the teachers' understanding of "Jerusalem." The teachers'
gospel, represented by Sinai and the earthly Jerusalem, is contrasted with the heavenly Jerusalem in 4:25 and 26. The passage states: "Now Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia; she corresponds to the present Jerusalem, for she is in slavery with her children. But the Jerusalem above is free, and she is our mother." According to the teachers' gospel ancient Israel--with its sacred city of Jerusalem--became the earthly custodian of the heavenly revelation of the Law. In order to participate in the heavenly blessings which the Law provides, the initiate must join the "Israel of God," symbolized by Jerusalem, the earthly locus of God's revelation.

The mention of "Jerusalem above" represents Paul's rejoinder to the teachers' high evaluation of the ancient cultic center of Judaism, the earthy Jerusalem. The teachers' high opinion of earthly Jerusalem is countered and demeaned in 4:25 where she is compared to Hagar the slave. Jerusalem is said to be "in slavery with her children" (the teachers and their followers). From the teachers' viewpoint, earthly Jerusalem, the womb of God's revelation, is the epitome of the City of God. It is Paul who denies her rights and her power to provide liberation. In an effort to sever the Galatians from "bondage" to her ancient traditions, he separates the earthly city of Jerusalem from her heavenly archetype by contrasting the "present Jerusalem" with the "Jerusalem above" (4:24, 26).
This conscious effort by Paul to deny any metaphorical or typological association of the ancient city with the heavenly archetype represents his refutation of the teachers' probable association of the two cities. It is tenable that the teachers presume an analogous relationship between the earthly Jerusalem and the heavenly Jerusalem—as did other Jewish traditions during the Period. But Paul "corrects" this notion and reverses the comparison in 4:25 and 26: "Now Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia; she corresponds to the present Jerusalem, for she is in slavery with her children. But the Jerusalem above is free, and she is our mother." Instead of accepting the teachers' correlation of the two cities, Paul denies it, substituting his own contrast. His comparison reduces the "present Jerusalem" to Hagar the slave. The teachers and their Galatian followers are relegated to an earth-bound status, unable to participate in the heavenly Jerusalem.

Both the teachers and Paul believe in the existence of a "Jerusalem above" and both claim it as representative of their gospel. But they disagree over how one participates in its salvific blessings. The teachers believe that the heavenly city cannot be reached without first sojourning through the earthly city. The teachers insist that the Galatians must first join themselves to the earthly Jerusalem which houses the sacred traditions and Torah of Israel before they can receive the heavenly gifts of the Spirit. Only after
performing the sacred rites and rituals of the Torah, as interpreted by the Jerusalem teachers, are the Galatians empowered to participate in the heavenly blessings of the "Jerusalem above." The Jewish Law—symbolized by the earthly Jerusalem—is the necessary conduit by which Christians receive the blessings from the "Jerusalem above."

Our examination of both the angelic revelation of the Law to Moses in 3:19 and the reference to the heavenly Jerusalem in 4:26 evinces an interest in an open heaven from which descend heavenly gifts and revelations. Angelic beings bring the Law from heaven above to the Jerusalem below. Unlike the ascent experiences of some other Jewish groups in the Second Temple Period, the teachers and their followers experience their revelations on earth. Obedience to the Jewish law, particularly circumcision and the sacred calendar, serves as the means by which the pneuma and angels are evoked—the heavenly powers descend to the Torah-observant.

C. The Teachers as Charismatic Nomists

The Jewish law provides the key which opens the heavens and procures charismatic revelations for the teachers and obedient Galatians. It is difficult to impose any of our modern classifications such as sorcerers, magicians, mystics or sacramentalists upon the teachers. The evidence indicates that they were concerned with such charismatic phenomena as miracles, revelations, angelic apparitions, stoicheia tou
kosmou, pneuma, astrological entities, ecstatic utterances of the Spirit, and perhaps a Jewish form of "sorcery" (pharmakeia, 5:20). Whatever nomenclature we utilize to describe them the term "nomist" must be included because they insist that the Jewish Torah be observed. But there is more. This study has concluded that 1) the teachers' soteriological concern with the Spirit and its gifts, and 2) their use of the medium of the Law to access those gifts indicate that the teachers are Jewish Christian charismatic nomists.

The precise relationship between obedience to Torah and participation in the Spirit is of course not easy to assay, but the nexus includes a sacramental, or perhaps magical, use of selected portions of the Law as the media through which the pneuma is channelled and revelations evoked. Segal writes that the first-century "valued ecstasy or trance as a medium for revelation and developed techniques for achieving the ecstasy or trance in which these visions occurred." The ancient Jewish rites of circumcision and the sacred calendar were effective "redemptive media" carrying pneumatic power. Under the auspices of the teachers these rites were capable of conjuring or evoking the pneuma and its gifts, permitting the devotee to experience communion with the heavenly realm.

Schlier, Segal, and Tabor have demonstrated the presence of various types of Jewish pneumaticism and esotericism, as well as quasi-magical or "mystical" practices during the first century in some of the Paulinist congregations. The
interest of the teachers and their Galatian followers in the Spirit, miracles, ecstasy, and other charismatic experiences is reminiscent of similar preoccupations in Jewish apocalyptic and esoteric circles such as those represented in I Enoch, Jubilees, and at Qumran. Although we can not conclude that the teachers or their Galatian followers are first-century exemplars of a later Jewish "mysticism," we have confirmed their devotion to a nomistic life accompanied by charismatic experiences received from an open heaven.

VII. CONCLUSION

We have determined that the alternative gospel in Galatians is preached by charismatic Jewish Christian teachers who proclaim that in order for Gentiles to experience salvation in the fullest sense they need to follow the Jewish law. Performance of the rite of circumcision and observance of the sacred calendar would enable the Galatians to become "sons of Abraham" and full members of the "Israel of God."

We have seen that the central issue for the teachers concerns the function of the Law as a means for experiencing dynamic life in the Spirit for the "sons of Abraham." Our study of Galatians has uncovered concepts and language appropriate for enthusiasm and pneumatic religion. The terms baskainō, epitēleō, enarchomai, as well as anoetos, sarx, and pneuma are well suited for a discussion or debate on the correct pathway for "pneumaticists" or "charismatics" to
follow. The Galatian followers of the teachers consider themselves pneumatikoi (6:1) who receive the "promise" (epaggelia), "inheritance" (klēronomia), and "blessing" (eulogia) of the Spirit (3:14, 18) made to the charismatic Abraham (3:6). They honor Moses as the "mediator" who received the angelic revelation of Torah, later exemplified and expounded by Jesus in the messianic "law of Christ" (3:19, 4:4, 6:2). Living in the Spirit (5:25), they experience miracles, utter the ecstatic "Abba-cry", and enjoy angelic revelations (3:5, 4:6, 1:8).

We have also seen that the teachers' insistence on the observance of the Torah is conditioned by Jesus' teaching in the "law of Christ." Although we do not know specifically what was excluded from the Torah by Jesus' "law," we know that it included the performance of circumcision and sacred time periods for Gentiles. The "law of Christ" represents the teachers' principle of selectivity—a hermeneutic by which the specific requirements and interpretations of the Law are evaluated. The fact that the teachers' Torah observance is conditioned and determined by Jesus' teachings should not produce surprise, because the teachers are, after all, Jesus-followers. They are Jewish Christian charismatic nomist apostles on a Gentile mission, teaching the Torah as interpreted by Jesus, the Teacher of the Law.

Although we have determined that they proclaim the importance of the Torah for the Gentiles, we must not regard
the teachers as "textualists" in the modern sense of the term. Not only are they oralists who preach their message to the Galatians (1:8), they are the apostles of an oral itinerant Teacher, Jesus. The teachers read and obey the text of Torah, but their experience of the sacred is not restricted or confined by the letters of the text, because they read the text through the spoken words of Jesus' "law of Christ." Inspired by Jesus' proclamation of the deeper, spiritual, soteriological significance of the written words of Torah ("promise," "blessing," "inheritance," "works of law," "circumcision," "days"), the teachers continue to echo his voice to the Galatians. Through the power of the spoken "law of Christ" the text of Torah generates eschatological life in the Spirit for those observe it.\textsuperscript{295}

Our investigation has concluded that, contrary to the "two front" theories of Lütgert and Ropes, Paul faces only one front of teachers who have a dual interest in both Law and Spirit. This group of teachers consists of charismatic nomists who not only have a soteriological interest in the Torah, but also are enraptured with the salvific role of the Spirit in their lives. The teachers and their Galatian followers represent a single "front" of first-century Torah-observant devotees of the Spirit. They are not to be reduced to stereotypes, which portray them as "legalists"--yoked to a "sterile Judaism" bereft of the Spirit. The accumulation of evidence confirms that the teachers offer the "promise of the
Spirit" made to Abraham as the soteriological goal of Christian faith. Nevertheless, the teachers are not "gnostics," "libertines," or "antinomians" as Schmithals and others have implied. As Cosgrove has argued, 3:1-5 evinces the teachers' use of the Law for accessing the Spirit. Their alternative gospel offers the conduit of the inspired Jewish law as the medium by which the Spirit is conveyed and greater participation in pneumatic life is experienced.

This is the gospel that Paul cannot and will not hear, and it is the message on which he casts the double-curse. Against the teachers' use of the inspired Torah, Paul unleashes his gospel of faith alone.

From the teachers' point of view, Paul's gospel appears uprooted and disembodied from Israel's history and the earthly Jesus. But their gospel message is embedded in the text of Israel's Torah. And it is embodied in the Teacher Jesus, born under the Jewish Law in Palestine of a Jewish mother. As the text of Torah is interpreted through the oral "law of Christ" and the ancient rites are performed, observant Galatians experience the Spirit and its charismatic gifts.

Once again, the teachers of the alternative gospel are itinerant Jewish Christian charismatic nomists aligned with Jerusalem on a Gentile mission in Galatia and possibly beyond. As charismatic nomists, the teachers and their followers represent an important Jewish tradition and an influential expression of the early Jesus Movement—emphasizing the
importance of Torah for generating, maintaining, and enjoying life in the Spirit.
CHAPTER FOUR:

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE TEACHERS TO OTHER TRADITIONS IN
JUDAISM AND JEWISH CHRISTIANITY

I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to locate, if possible, the teachers' religious tradition in Jewish and Jewish Christian history and sources. In order to situate the teachers' tradition in the Second Temple Period—and more precisely within formative Judaism and early Christianity—it is necessary to survey various expressions of both Judaism and Christianity present at that time. Thus this final chapter falls into two major sections: one, an investigation of the teachers' relationship to traditions in Second Temple Judaism; two, the teachers' relation to Jewish Christianity. Final statements will draw conclusions from this chapter and from the dissertation overall.

If the existence of similar or parallel traditions prior to and contemporaneous with the teachers in non-Christian Judaism can be discovered, we will then search for like streams of tradition within early Jewish Christianity. Such a study will provide a history of religions context within which the teachers can be located. Although the establishing of parallel traditions will not necessarily demonstrate linear or, in Luedemann's term, "genetic" connection with the teachers' tradition, it will at least accomplish three things:
1) it will illumine the religious topography of the period in which the teachers operated; 2) it will indicate the availability of religious ideas akin to the alternative gospel; and 3) it will enrich our understanding of the teachers and their teaching from several sides, identifying their commonalities with available ideas and their distinctives from those ideas. Thus also by inference one can expect enriched comprehension of the situation to which Galatians spoke.\(^{297}\)

In addition to direct results from the above two principal lines of investigation, corollaries also appear which will: 1) elucidate the significance of such issues as Torah obedience and its relation to charismatic experiences and salvation for both Jews and Gentiles; 2) generate a heightened understanding of one wing of early Christianity, and 3) effectuate a more critical assessment of the Reformation's understanding of Galatians; and 4) substantiate the growing view that formative Judaism--with its many variants--indeed comprised a religion with strong spiritual elements.\(^{298}\)

As members of the Jesus Movement the teachers participate in one of the many manifestations of Second Temple Judaism. Recent scholarship has established that Judaism during this period was variegated and diverse. There was no monolithic, uniform, "normative" Judaism.\(^{299}\) Instead, Judaism during the Second Temple Period presented a large number of competing and
rival groups such as Sadducees, Pharisees, Essenes, Zealots, and others, including Samaritans and the Therapeutae (attested by Philo).\textsuperscript{300} These rich and diverse religious expressions can be studied through literary remains in such sources as the Jewish pseudepigrapha, the "Qumran library" and other intertestamental literature.

Jacob Neusner has used the plural term "Judaisms" to express the extent of diversity during this period.\textsuperscript{301} In confirmation of this fact, recent scholarship has concluded that the presumed distinction between Hellenistic diaspora Judaism and Palestinian Judaism is misleading. Hengel, Sandmel, Davies, and others concur that Palestine itself was thoroughly Hellenized since—or even before—the second century B.C.E.\textsuperscript{302} Hellenistic cultural influence fostered diversity and pervaded the language, politics, architecture, literature, and religion. Those Jews who most opposed "encroaching Hellenization" were themselves recipients of Hellenization in differing degrees. Such cross-fertilization of cultures fed by Gentiles and visiting diaspora Jews exposed Palestine to a wide variety of ideas and concepts: Greek, Roman, Egyptian, Iranian, to name only the most obvious.

The teachers are participants in this rich and diverse panorama which was Second Temple Judaism. We have seen that as followers of the Torah and adherents to the Abrahamic and Mosaic covenants, they present their gospel as complementary of and continuous with the Heilsgeschichte of Israel. Their
gospel regards Jesus as a messianic Teacher of the Jewish Torah--born of a Jewish mother and under the Law. His gospel represents a ratification of the covenants made with Israel's ancient patriarchs. Accordingly, the Jewish teachers and their Gentile followers regard themselves as comprising, not a new Christian religion, but the "Israël tou theou." This "Israel" invites participation from Jews and Gentiles throughout the Hellenized world of the Second Temple Period (hereafter Period).

II. THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE TEACHERS TO EARLIER JEWISH TRADITIONS

To locate other Jewish traditions of the Period with concepts and beliefs similar to those of the teachers, it is first necessary to specify the distinctive tenets of the teachers' gospel for which parallels can be sought. From the above study of the alternative gospel three characteristic elements of the teachers' gospel have been adduced: 1) charismatic nomism, 2) the Gentile mission, and 3) the Teacher Jesus. These characteristics will be explained seriatim. First, according to the teachers the Galatians must obey the Law in order to enjoy the charismatic "blessing" of the Spirit. Such obedience to the Torah, particularly observance of the Jewish calendar, procured heavenly revelations--experiences of nothing less than the angels and the Spirit. Second, the teachers employ Abraham as a model of Gentile
salvation. He serves as the ideal proselyte from pagan idolatry to whom Yahweh granted special revelations and blessings. The Galatians are urged to become "sons of Abraham" by emulating his example. Thirdly, it was concluded that the teachers believe in Jesus Christ and propound an integral gospel. Since the investigation in this first section will be confined to non-Christian Second Temple Judaism(s), the teachers' belief in Jesus will naturally not be a factor in our investigation of these Jewish traditions.

Our task will be to locate other Jewish traditions reflected in literature from the Second Temple Period which manifest these two-fold characteristics. First, we search for traditions which associate the Torah, particularly circumcision and the calendar, with heavenly revelations. Secondly, we search for evidence of Jewish traditions which proffer Abraham as a model proselyte to whom God granted special blessings and revelations. In this way the Galatian teachers, as identified in this study, can be situated within the field of Second Temple Judaism.

The important sources for our investigation include Jewish pseudepigrapha, Qumran material, and Hellenistic Jewish apologists. Schlier and Brinsmead have both directed our attention to these valuable documents. Of primary interest for our purposes are I Enoch, the Book of Jubilees, the recently published Angelic Liturgy, and works of Philo.
A. Charismatic Nomism

We begin with the first of the identified primary tenets characteristic of the tradition represented by the teachers: the association of the Law with charismatic revelations. In Chapter Three we established that the teachers use the Law as the means by which the Spirit and its charismatic gifts are procured. They teach that the Law, particularly the rite of circumcision and observance of the Jewish calendar, generates eschatological life in the Spirit and heavenly revelations for the Torah-observant. Such salvific life is characterized by charismatic gifts such as ecstatic utterances, miracles and angelophanies.

Therefore in this section we will specifically examine non-Christian Jewish literature of the Second Temple Period for evidence of other Jewish traditions which associated Torah-observance with heavenly revelations and charismatic experiences such as miracles and angelophanies. Although our study includes various sources from the Period, our primary emphasis is directed toward I Enoch, the Book of Jubilees, and the Angelic Liturgy as well as selections from Philo. Although no direct literary or historical connection between the teachers and these sources has yet been demonstrated, it will be shown that the sources share similar assumptions about charismatic powers associated with the Torah—power for generating access to the supernatural heavenly realm.
Sources written during the Second Temple Period evince that the Torah was regarded in some Jewish circles as the universal principle which bridges the chasm between God and humans, thus establishing cosmic harmony. To maintain some relation with the transcendent, the Hellenistic world of late antiquity used mediatorial beings and powers to provide some point of contact with the receding divinity. This attempt was manifest in Hellenistic Judaism—in Palestine and the diaspora—by the role of such mediating functionaries as: angels, the logos, wisdom, divine-men figures, the Spirit, and the Torah. Obedience to the Torah, conceived as universal principle, creates communion and harmony between the various orders of creation—nature, persons, angels, and God. In this way, the Torah serves as the connective between the transcendent heavenly world and that of humanity. It serves as the path leading the Torah-observant Jew or Gentile into a harmonious relationship with the visible and invisible worlds. As such, the Torah is the medium of revelation by which finite humans participate in the heavenly world.

Not only do the teachers of the alternative gospel understand the Torah in this way, but other Jewish traditions of the Second Temple Period illustrate similar beliefs. We shall examine examples of the Torah understood as a medium of revelation and vehicle of charismatic power as evidenced in the literature of certain Jewish groups which used to be contrasted with G.F. Moore's "normative" Judaism. A
growing recognition of the presence and extent of these traditions, as well as an appreciation for the importance and significance of their theology, cautions against relegating these forms of Judaism to such categories as "sectarian" or "heterodox." It is more appropriate to treat these Torah-observant groups as authentic expressions of Second Temple Judaism. These Jewish circles produced literature of various forms and genres—including apocalypses, pseudepigrapha, as well as thanksgiving hymns and pesharim (commentaries).

1. Pseudepigrapha and Qumran Sources

The study of I Enoch, the Book of Jubilees, and the Angelic Liturgy offer promising parallels and similarities to the teachers' tradition. These sources were produced in the first or second century B.C.E. and were found at Qumran. 307 Although I Enoch and Jubilees probably were not written by the Qumran community, their content and the quantity in which they were found indicate that the community of Qumran highly regarded them. Similarities to other works closely connected to the Qumran community identify the Angelic Liturgy as originating from within the Qumran circle. Taken together these three documents provide evidence of a Jewish tradition(s) which parallels the Jewish teachers' connection between observance of the Law and participation in the charismatic blessings of the heavenly realm.
a. I Enoch

(1) Tradition and Content

In the pseudopigraphic I Enoch a Jewish tradition emerges which highly regards the role and function of angels as the revealers of the Law. Similar to the teachers' belief that the angels reveal the Law to Moses on Sinai, I Enoch represents the angels restoring the correct interpretation of the Law to Enoch and the obedient remnant in Israel. Further, similar to the teachers' insistence on the importance of the Jewish calendar, I Enoch considers the Law to be primarily an angelic revelation of the correct Jewish calendar. In place of the "erroneous" Pharisaic lunar calendar the angels validate a solar calendar whose year consists of 364 days. As a result of observing the solar calendar (the Law) the obedient are considered righteous and enjoy angelic revelations from God.\(^308\) (It is to be noted that this righteousness is not forensic; it is participatory.)

Angels play a primary role as revelatory figures in I Enoch. In the first chapter Enoch states: "This is a holy vision from the heavens which the angels showed me: and I heard from them everything and I understood."\(^309\) Later the angels accompany him on a heavenly journey in which he learns esoteric truths about heaven and earth.

It is apparent that the author(s) of the tradition behind I Enoch considered its interpretation of the Law to be a mystery known only to those who are willing to obey it.
Throughout the work reference is made repeatedly to the "mystery" and to the "heavenly tablets" known only to those whom God selects. Enoch says: "For I know this mystery; I have read the tablets of heaven and have seen the holy writings, and I have understood the writing in them. . . ."310

(2) The Law of the Calendar

The central content of this heavenly revelation concerns the sacred calendar. Enoch discovers that the calendar law was corrupted prior to the flood by fallen angels—the "Watchers"—who intermarried with human women producing a mutant race of giants who corrupted the people. A major factor in this corruption was the loss of the true solar calendar and the introduction of the false lunar calendar based on "the course of the moon."311 The use of the corrupt calendar caused the people to fail to observe the correct sacred time periods. It also upset the natural order because the lunar calendar failed to track well with the agricultural seasons—falling behind the natural cycle of planting and harvesting. However, righteous angels correct this failure by revealing to Enoch the heavenly astronomical secrets and laws of the sacred calendar.312

A revelation from the angel Uriel concerning the heavenly calendar provides the primary standard which separates the "righteous" from the "sinners." Enoch writes that Uriel has
"revealed to me and breathed over me concerning the luminaries, the months, the festivals, the years, and the days."313 This angelic revelation enables Enoch--like the teachers--to differentiate between the "righteous ones" and the "sinners." He concludes that the basis for this judgment depends on whether or not the authentic calendar is observed:

Blessed are the righteous ones; blessed are those who walk in the street of righteousness and have no sin like the sinners in the computation of the days in which the sun goes its course in the sky. . . . On this account there are people who err. . . . for the people make error and do not recognize them accurately. . . . The year is completed in three hundred and sixty-four days [emphasis added throughout].314

(3) Heavenly Revelations

The tradition which produced I Enoch was concerned with heavenly revelations and the blessings of the Spirit. The revelations granted to Enoch are referred to as the "mysteries of righteousness" and are associated with the "spirit of wisdom," the "spirit which gives thoughtfulness," and the "spirit of knowledge and strength."315 Those righteous ones who observe the correct calendar law are able to "hear the voice of the Holy One" and "to ponder his deep thoughts."316 They alone are able "to understand the activities of heaven" and are able "to see a soul, or even perhaps a spirit."317 To those who would "walk in the way of righteousness" Enoch grants a prophecy of future events using imagery drawn from
the sacred calendar. He prefaces his prophecy of future history with a description of his charismatic gift of the Spirit. Enoch says, "for a voice calls me, and the Spirit is poured over me so that I may show you everything that shall happen to you forever." Similar to the teachers, I Enoch evinces a pronounced interest both in the Law and in charismatic powers.

These and other examples confirm that the Jewish tradition represented by I Enoch was characterized by a concern with the sacred calendar and revelations resulting from observance of it. Those who observe the sacred days of the solar calendar enjoy communion with angelic beings and are blessed with gifts of the Spirit. Although there is no evidence that the teachers in Galatia experience an heavenly journey as did Enoch, they share Enoch's interest in angelic apparitions and revelations, as well as careful observance of the Jewish calendar. As the teachers of Galatia understand the Law to be the divine path leading to greater displays of charismatic power, so the tradition which produced I Enoch understands the Law to guide the obedient toward an "open heaven."

b. The Book of Jubilees

(1) Tradition and Content

This Jewish work was written by a member of the Hasidic "proto-Essene" wing of Second Temple Judaism about 161 - 140
B.C.E.\textsuperscript{319} It was in use by the Qumran community and bears a close relationship to I Enoch, and perhaps to Samaritan circles.\textsuperscript{320} Cross writes:

concrete contacts in theology, terminology, calendrical peculiarities, and priestly interests between the selections of Enoch, Jubilees . . . and the demonstrably sectarian works of Qumran are so systematic and detailed that we must place the composition of these works within a single line of tradition.\textsuperscript{321}

This tradition is related to the Hasidic or early Essene movement which was active in mid-second century Palestine.\textsuperscript{322}

The tradition represented in Jubilees bears striking similarities to that of the Galatian teachers. These similarities are expressly evident in regards to the revelatory function of angelic beings and the importance of the law of circumcision and the sacred calendar. An examination of these and other common features suggests that both Jubilees and the teachers share a similar line of tradition.

The Book of Jubilees purports to be the revelation of a second Torah delivered to Moses on Sinai by an "angel of the presence."\textsuperscript{323} As such, it represents a narrative Midrash on Genesis and the first chapters of Exodus, re-telling and reinterpreting the original text in a way that is compatible with the theological tradition of its second-century author. Throughout this narrative the great heroes of ancient Israel--
Abraham, Jacob, Moses—play leading roles as recipients of theophanies and angelophanies.\textsuperscript{324}

(2) The Law of the Calendar

As in I Enoch, Jubilees is preoccupied with the crucial importance of the solar calendar of 364 days. This calendar alone contains the correct calculations enabling people to observe the sacred days, months, and special Jubilee years which God demands. The angel informs Moses:

And you, command the children of Israel so that they shall guard the years in this number, three-hundred and sixty-four days, and it will be a complete year. And no one shall corrupt its [appointed] time from its days or from its feasts . . . and they will not corrupt a feast . . . . and there will be those who will examine the moon diligently because it will corrupt the [appointed] times and it will advance from year to year ten days. . . . and they will mix up everything, a holy day [as] profaned and a profane [one] for a holy day, because they will set awry the months and sabbaths and feasts and Jubilees.\textsuperscript{325}

(3) Heavenly Revelations

The Book of Jubilees teaches that the people of God can participate with the angels in worship by observing the correct calendar dates because these are the precise times which are observed by God and the angels in heaven. Observance of these sacred dates enables the obedient to join the heavenly community in worship at the proper time.
Ignorance of the correct calendar dates results in disharmony and prevents people from enjoying communion with the heavenly realm. For example, the feast of Shebuot (or Pentecost) was observed in heaven long before the Law was given:

Therefore, it is ordained and written in the heavenly tablets that they should observe the feast of Shebuot in this month, once per year, in order to renew the Covenant in all [respects], year by year. And in all of these the feast was celebrated in heaven from the day of creation until the day of Noah. . . . 326

The angel of the divine presence reveals to Moses that the weekly sabbath is also observed in heaven. The angels says: "On this day we kept the sabbath in heaven before it was made known to any human to keep the sabbath thereon upon the earth." 327 Again, the angel says:

and he told us--all of the angels of the presence and all of the angels of the sanctification, these two great kinds--that we might keep the sabbath with him in heaven and on earth. 328

The angel promises: "And every man who guards it and keeps therein a sabbath from all his work will be holy and blessed always like us." 329

From these examples we infer that the tradition which produced Jubilees--like that of the teachers--taught that scrupulous observance of the sacred calendar was not only a requirement, but would convey holiness and blessings similar to those enjoyed by heavenly angels. Obedience to the revealed law of the calendar places the obedient in proper
relationship with the heavenly hosts who also observe the exact periods in heaven. Through the observance of the calendar, the community on earth participates in the rest and worship enjoyed by the angelic beings. Such cooperation produces universal harmony and fellowship.

(4) The Law of Circumcision

In Jubilees the understanding of the rite of circumcision also bears a distinct similarity to that of the teachers. The text says that God reveals that circumcision is "an eternal ordinance ordained and written in heavenly tablets." All those who belong to "the sons of the covenant" must be circumcised "because of the nature of all of the angels of the presence and all of the angels of sanctification was [sic] thus [circumcised] from the day of their creation." This means that the angels were created circumcised! Both the teachers and Jubilees require submission to circumcision for those who want to participate as "sons" of the Abrahamic covenant.

(5) Heavenly Revelations

Through the ancient rite of circumcision the people of God may enjoy communion with the heavenly angels. The text indicates that God sanctified his people with the sign of the covenant—circumcision—"so that they might be with him and with his holy angels." Evidently, the rite contributes to
an inward purification which sanctifies the obedient, enabling him to commune with angels. Obedience to the rite of circumcision and the other commands of Torah provides impressive salvific blessings. God states:

And they will do my commandments. . . . and every angel and spirit will know and acknowledge that they are my sons and I am their father in uprightness and righteousness. And I shall love them.\(^{333}\)

The rite of circumcision is associated with the purifying presence of a holy spirit in Jubilees 1:23-25. In this passage the excision of the "foreskin of the heart" prepares the obedient for the creation of a spirit of holiness. The passage states:

And I shall cut off the foreskin of their heart and the foreskin of the heart of their descendants. And I shall create for them a holy spirit, and I shall purify them so that they will not turn away from following me from that day and forever. And their souls will cleave to me and to all my commandments.\(^{334}\)

This passage describes an internal pruning of the "heart" --and its consequent purification--in terms associated with the Jewish rite of circumcision. Since Jubilees also demands obedience to physical circumcision, it is plausible that literal circumcision is understood in Jubilees as a rite with profound salvific significations--as this passage suggests.

These examples illustrate that Jubilees presents a close connection between circumcision and angelic fellowship and the creation of "a holy spirit." These associations are
compatible with the Galatian teachers' linkage of circumcision with the Spirit and its charismatic gifts. Like the teachers in Galatia, the tradition in Jubilees posits a dichotomy between the Spirit and the flesh. The ancient rite of circumcision represents the pruning away of the flesh and the manifestation of "a holy spirit."

The references in Jubilees to the law of circumcision, the calendar observances, the angelic revelations, and the "spirit" do not exhaust the similarities which it shares with the Jewish Christian teachers. Other examples are available in Jubilees, including references to visions, demons, signs and wonders, as well as the need for Gentile repentance. These themes coalesce to form a constellation of ideas and concepts similar in several respects to the theology of the charismatic nomists in Galatians.

c. The Angelic Liturgy

(1) Tradition and Content

The Angelic Liturgy was found among the Dead Sea Scrolls in Cave 4 and at Masada. Prior to this discovery the document was unknown to scholars. It remained unpublished in full until 1985. Its availability provides new material for the study of Second Temple Judaism—including the investigation of early Christian origins. For the first time, the Angelic Liturgy will be interrogated here with regard to the Galatian letter.
The provenance of the Angelic Liturgy is indicated by a comparison with other literature found at Qumran. Such a study suggests that the document originates within the Qumran circle in the early part of the first century B.C.E. Known also as the Sabbath Shirot and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, the document belongs to a tradition similar to that represented by Jubilees. In part, this similarity appears in the Angelic Liturgy's portrayal of angels as heavenly priests who observe the sacred calendar.

The Angelic Liturgy is concerned with observance of the Jewish calendar and other Jewish laws, as well as the importance of praise and worship in the angelic realm. The Angelic Liturgy consists of thirteen Sabbath songs—Shirot—to be offered as praise to God during the weekly sabbath sacrifice in the first quarter of the sacred calendar year. Each song begins with a call to the human community to worship God. Following this summons is a description of the worship of the various classes of angels who praise God around the heavenly throne. The text states:

Song of the sacrifice of the seventh sabbath on the sixteenth of the month. Praise the God of the lofty heights... Sing with joy, you who rejoice [in his knowledge with] rejoicing among the wondrous godlike beings. And chant his glory with the tongue of all who chant with knowledge; and (chant) His wonderful songs of joy.
(2) Heavenly Revelations

The work focuses on a depiction of the angels who worship God, rather than the God who is worshipped. The angels and other heavenly creatures sing their majestic praises of God in greater and greater degrees of intensity and complexity. But the specific lyrics of their songs of praise are never given and God is rarely addressed in the second person. Describing the highest angels who praise God, the text states:

They are honored among all the camps of godlike beings and reverenced by mortal councils, a wonder beyond godlike beings and mortals alike. And they declare His royal splendor according to their knowledge and exalt his glory in all the heavens of his realm. And in all the lofty heights wondrous psalms according to all their insight do they sing, and all the glory of the King of godlike beings do they declare. . . .341

The songs express a sense of development in content as the reader—or singer—moves through the series. The early songs are "informational" and didactic, conveying a rather less ecstatic tone than the later songs. The second half of the collection soars into a vivid and exhilarating description of the heavenly realm including the temple and the throne of God.

These songs possess a mesmerizing quality entrancing the hearer and creating an "almost involuntary participation by the audience" in the heavenly angelic worship.342 Stylistic devices enhance this oral/aural effect by the use of numbered lists, repetition, and the striking use of the sacred number
Moreover, the inanimate structures of the heavenly temple become animate and offer praise before the throne of God. Newsom's study of the document, under the direction of Strugnell, concludes: "there is little doubt that the author of the Shirot was striving to create a 'numinous' style in which to communicate an experience of the celestial temple and its worship." As such, the document serves to illustrate how obedience to the Law--in this case the law of the calendar (Sabbath)--functions for the author (and, perhaps, the teachers) as a device by which participation in the heavenly blessings of the Spirit is generated.

The rhetorical and literary features of the Angelic Liturgy illumine its function for the religious tradition which produced it. Newsom says:

[the] highly descriptive content and the carefully crafted rhetoric direct the worshipper who hears the songs recited toward a particular kind of religious experience, a sense of being in the heavenly sanctuary and in the presence of the angelic priests and worshippers.

The communal nature of this heavenly revelation is indicated by the appearance of the first person plural in the second song. The text refers to the "offering of our mortal tongue," "our priesthood," "let us exalt," and "How shall we be considered among them." Again the second song illustrates that the songs serve as the vehicle of communal participation in the angelic realm: "How shall we be considered among them?
And how shall our priesthood be considered in their habitations?" (emphasis added throughout). 348

There are passages which indicate that the human community's fellowship with the heavenly beings is not limited to angels, but includes various kinds of "spirits." The third song sings of "the mingled colors of a most holy spiritual substance," "the realm of spirit," the "spirits of holiest holiness," and "divine spirits." 349 The fifth song speaks of "spirits of knowledge and understanding." 350 The tradition which produced the songs believed that such revealed "knowledge" and "understanding" are available to those persons who observe the sacred calendar like the Sabbath-observant "angels" and "spirits." 351

The Angelic Liturgy's concern with participation in the heavenly fellowship may be unique in its emphasis, but is far from aberrant or unique in concept. Concern with angels finds support in the three major documents from Qumran: the War Scroll; the Rule of the Community, and the Thanksgiving Hymns. 352 The War Rule (7:6) forbids participation in the eschatological battle for those who are impure from a seminal emission "For holy angels are together with their armies." 353

Speaking of reasons for exclusion from the sanctity of the Qumran community council for reasons of impurity, the Rule of the Congregation says: "These may not en[ter] to take (their) stand [among] the congregation of the [me]n of renown, for holy angels [are in their coun]cil." 354
The Qumran "convenanters" believe that they are the living temple of God whose prayers and service substitute for the impure sacrifices and priestly service in the Temple in Jerusalem. They understand their priestly service in terms of a priestly angelic service: "The covenant of the everlasting priesthood may He renew for you and set your place in the holy Abode."\textsuperscript{355} We read:

May you be as an angel of the Presence in the holy abode for the glory of the God of hosts... May you attend upon the service in the temple of the kingdom and decree destiny with the angels of the Presence, and may you be in common council with the holy ones for eternal time and for all the everlasting ages.\textsuperscript{356}

The Hymns or Hodayot sing of the "inheritance" enjoyed by those who are purified. The Hymns say:

You have purified a perverse spirit of great sin so that it may stand in assembly with the host of the holy ones, and enter into community with the congregation of heavenly beings.\textsuperscript{357}

We read that those who obey God have

an inheritance in the lot of the holy ones. He has joined their assembly with the heavenly beings to be a council of the community.\textsuperscript{358}

Purity is clearly an issue in all the above texts, and the reason appears to be in each case the holy presence of angels.
The Angelic Liturgy also serves as the liturgical device which generates—procures, evokes—such an experience. We concur with Newsom's statement:

the other Qumran documents merely allude to the experience of communion with the angels, the Sabbath Shirot [Angellic Liturgy] provides a primary vehicle for the experience of 'standing before You with the everlasting hosts. . . . in common rejoicing with those who have knowledge' (IQH xi 13-14).\textsuperscript{399}

Recitation of the Angelic Liturgy at the proper time is an essential part of obedience to the Sabbath law for the Qumran tradition. As part of the Law, it serves as an important esoteric "vehicle" for procuring heavenly revelations. In this way, the performance of the Angelic Liturgy at the proper time with the resultant heavenly communion evince the presence of a tradition similar to the teachers. Both believe that observance of the Law evokes the blessings of heavenly revelations. As we have seen in Chapter Three, the teachers believe that angels deliver special revelations to those who are obedient to the Law—including observance of the sacred calendar.\textsuperscript{360}

Evidently angelic obedience to the heavenly laws enables them to further sanctify and purify themselves. The Angelic Liturgy states: "statutes of holiness He inscribed for them. By these all the eternally holy ones sanctify themselves. And He purifies the pure ones. . . . "\textsuperscript{361} As in the teachers'
tradition, the angels deliver these laws to the people of God. The text states: "And from their [angels'] mouths come the teachings concerning all matters of holiness together with his glorious commandments." If this does not refer to the Sinai revelation alone, it may signify that angels descend to the worshipping community with revelations of the Law.

Since the songs of the Angelic Liturgy were recited at the time of the Sabbath whole offering, Newsom believes that the precise moment was propitious for heavenly revelations. She explains that the specific moment of the offering of sacrifice was considered to be "a time when heaven was peculiarly 'permeable', and so a particularly efficacious time for prayer." This fact leads Newsom to posit that the Sabbath sacrifice probably represents an opportune time for communing with the angelic realm—especially on the Sabbath when a special closeness was thought to obtain between heaven and earth.

The performance of the Angelic Liturgy in obedience to the law of the Sabbath illustrates how the Law was used in this tradition as a means for procuring heavenly revelations. To facilitate charismatic experiences, the angelic Liturgy serves as a vehicle inducing greater revelatory experiences. Such an example parallels in many respects the teachers' claim that the Jewish law procures the Spirit and heavenly revelations. Both traditions evince similar tendencies which associate heavenly and spiritual experiences with the
performance of the Jewish law. The teachers believe that the Torah was delivered by heavenly angels and they value—unlike Paul—angelic revelations. Like the tradition which produced the Angelic Liturgy, the teachers carefully observe the Sabbath and other sacred calendar periods. Unlike Paul, but similar to the Angelic Liturgy, the teachers believe that observance of the law of the calendar procures heavenly revelations and charismatic experiences. The calendar serves as a vehicle for connecting earth to an "open heaven."

d. Conclusion of Pseudepigrapha and Qumran Sources on the Law

Our investigation of such intertestamental sources as I Enoch, Jubilees, the Angelic Liturgy, and other Qumran material demonstrates the existence of Second Temple traditions preoccupied with an interest in the close connection between heavenly revelations and the Jewish law. Obedience to these esoteric laws—circumcision and especially the "correct" sacred calendar—enables one to enjoy further revelations from God and the angels.

Each of these sources understands the Jewish law to possess a cosmic dimension which establishes harmony on earth and in heaven. Conformity to the correct understanding of the Torah puts the obedient in proper relationship to the community, nature, the planets, the stars, angels, and God. Disobedience or ignorance of the Law results in disorder, confusion and chaos. This principle is nowhere more evident
than in the necessity of observing the authentic solar calendar. The traditions responsible for I Enoch, Jubilees, and the Angelic Liturgy agree that failure to observe their specific calendar tradition results in cataclysmic changes in the seasons and in the heavens.

Hengel and Brinsmead have shown that the repeated association of the Jewish law with the principle of harmony in the world, the universe, and heaven indicates that the Torah is considered to be the ordering principle of reality.\textsuperscript{365} That is, these traditions convey the notion that the Jewish law is more than a list of injunctions or proscriptions. Instead, the Law corresponds to the fundamental principle(s) governing the fabric of the universe itself. Conformity to the Law produces a harmonious relationship with the whole.

Unlike the Stoic concept of the "logos," this Jewish understanding of Torah is not limited to nature, but applies to the heavenly realm of angels and God.\textsuperscript{366} Knowledge of and obedience to the Law creates a harmonious relationship with all beings—in heaven and on earth. However, in the sources surveyed knowledge of the Law is not obtained by human reason, but is received as a gift from God by angelic revelation. As we have seen, certain angels are commissioned to deliver knowledge of the Torah to those elected by God. After receiving the Law—especially circumcision and the calendar—the recipients undergo a purification process enabling them to enjoy further revelations. At the precise moment that the
heavenly hosts celebrate, the congregation on earth joins them in fellowship. In this way the Jewish Law enables the obedient to participate in the heavenly community. The Torah produces a heavenly harmony and cosmic order as both earthly and heavenly beings enjoy and celebrate together a life of righteousness before Yahweh.

These sources evince the presence of Jewish tradition(s) in the Second Temple Period which understand and use the Torah in a way similar in many respects to the teachers' understanding. Neither the teachers or these traditions view the Torah as primarily a legal code obedience to which merits God's favor. Instead, for these law-observant Jewish traditions, the Torah is a profoundly spiritual revelation offering profuse charismatic and esoteric experiences and blessings for those who follow its glorious path. Although these correspondences do not demonstrate a direct historical connection, they indicate the existence of a type of Judaism and a milieu of ideas, concepts, and practices akin to the teachers' theology.

2. Philo
   a. Tradition and Content

We now consider the apologetic works of Philo of Alexandria who represents a first-century C.E. Jewish tradition which presents and interprets the Torah to the Hellenistic Jewish and Gentile world.\textsuperscript{367} Although the
philosopher Philo is no "missionary" to the Gentiles, he shares with the teachers the belief that the Torah is not a narrowly "Jewish" law, but is a revelation with universal applicability and spiritual meaning.

Philo considers the Jewish Torah to be the pathway by which the obedient initiate is directed into deeper and more profound "spiritual" experiences. Goodenough has demonstrated in his classic studies of Hellenistic Judaism that Philo represents a circle of Jews who conform to the literal observance of the Torah, but believe that it is "a mystic ladder of Law." As a "Royal Road" the Torah illumines the path leading observant initiates to greater degrees of participation in the "Mystery" of God.

b. The Law, Allegory, and Symbolism

Philo's detailed allegorical exegesis of the Pentateuch uncovers the esoteric, symbolic meaning behind the literal reading of the text. In this way, what might appear to be a "mere" legality or ceremony is transformed into a highly symbolic mystery rite. For example, Philo interprets the Genesis stories allegorically in accordance with his Pythagorean and Platonic world-view. He comments that the appearance of the "Lord God" in Genesis 17 means that two emanations appeared to Abraham and changed his name. According to Philo, such a name change represents a spiritual
metamorphosis, enabling the Patriarch to become a knower of the "Essences."\textsuperscript{370}

The Alexandrian offers his allegorical interpretation of the blessings promised Abraham and the sign of the covenant—circumcision. The covenantal blessing includes:

the possession of perpetual rulership of all terrestrial things, with the result that he will never be dominated by the body, but always be its prince and ruler, and will keep it as his slave and attendant.\textsuperscript{371}

Philosophically, circumcision is treated as the esoteric symbol of the "redemption of the body."\textsuperscript{372} Goodenough explains that for Philo circumcision represents "the stage where not only the spirit but the body is under the regulation of the Divine Logos so that every excrescence of sense is pruned away."\textsuperscript{373}

Although Philo interprets the Torah—including haggadah and halakah—as possessing esoteric symbolism, he adamantly insists on obedience to its literal injunctions. Philo repudiates those mistaken "allegorists who acknowledge the symbolic significance of the Law, but reject its actual practice."\textsuperscript{374} He writes:

There are some who, regarding laws in their literal sense in the light of symbols of spiritual matters, are over-punctilious about the latter, while treating the former with easy-going neglect. Such men I for my part should blame for handling the matter in too easy and off-hand a manner: they ought to have given careful attention to both aims...
Philo explains the importance of the Law's symbolism while decrying its neglect by Jewish "allegorists." He specifies that their "spiritual" understanding of the Torah extends to the calendar—including the Sabbath and the annual festivals—and the rite of circumcision. He agrees that "the Seventh Day is meant to teach the power of the Unoriginate and the non-action of created beings." But this esoteric meaning of the Law does not imply the abrogation of "the laws laid down for its observance." Again, he argues:

It is true that receiving circumcision does indeed portray the excision of pleasure and all passions, and the putting away of the impious conceit, under which the mind supposed that it was capable of begetting by its own power: but let us not on this account repeal the law laid down for circumcision. If we keep and observe these, we shall gain a clearer conception of those things of which these are the symbols.

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c. Conclusion on Philo and the Law

These works of Philo evince the existence of a Hellenistic Jewish tradition which understands the Torah as possessing symbolic importance for the obedient. In this tradition, obedience to the Law involves much more than conforming to a narrow legal tradition of proscriptions and obligations. Torah obedience is not to be reduced to legalistic conformity to a law-code in order to acquire the required amount of good works meriting God's acceptance. In
this Jewish tradition, the hearing, reading, and obeying of the Torah points beyond the literal text to "the spiritual matters" and "the knowledge of Essences."\textsuperscript{379}

Although Philo's understanding of the Law shares some common features with the teachers' tradition, there are differences. The teachers are not Philonists nor, evidently, acquainted with his Alexandrian tradition. They also do not appear to possess Philo's Hellenistic philosophical orientation or education. The teachers do not adhere to the Pythagorean or Platonist philosophy with which Philo is absorbed. Unlike Philo the teachers are part of the Palestinian Jesus Movement about which Philo apparently has no knowledge.

What then do they have in common? Both Philo and the teachers understand the Torah to possess profoundly spiritual revelations. They both share a common belief that the Torah is the path which leads the obedient to a transforming experience of God and an entrance into the spiritual realm. Through the observance of the rites of circumcision and the calendar, initiates perfect their spiritual experience and participate more fully in the salvific blessings of God. Although they may not agree on the exact nature of that salvation, both Philo and the teachers believe that the Torah serves as the medium of access to the promised blessings of God.
B. Abraham as a Model of Salvation

We turn to the second primary distinctive tenet of the tradition represented by the teachers: the figure of Abraham as a model of Gentile salvation. Is the teachers' portrayal of Abraham as the example, par excellence, of Gentile conversion found in other sources of the Second Temple Period? Do these sources also describe him as a recipient of charismatic powers and heavenly revelations? And do these traditions portray Abraham in such a way that he would be appealing to Gentiles?

During the Second Temple period, different Jewish traditions developed the figure of Abraham by selectively emphasizing or de-emphasizing certain elements in the Abrahamic material available to them in canonical and extracanonical sources. Brinsmead has found that new episodes and revelations pertaining to Abraham not found in Genesis were created by Jewish authors and apologists. Before we examine non-canonical sources, it is important to review the canonical basis for a model of Abraham which combines his role as proselyte with his function as a charismatic figure of power.

1. Abraham in Genesis

A review of the Genesis story of Abraham from his call in chapter 12 to his death in chapter 25 underscores the polyvalency of the text for multiple interpretations and
Midrashic embellishments by the Galatian teachers and other readers. The Genesis material can be read to portray the Patriarch as the first Gentile proselyte who turns from the idols of his homeland in Ur of the Chaldeans. As such he is the paragon of Gentile conversion and submission, willing to follow God in unquestioned obedience represented by his circumcision in Genesis 17 and his willingness to sacrifice his son Isaac in the Akedah story in Genesis 22. The model of an obedient Abraham can be further developed from his scrupulous observance of all the rules and laws of Torah prior to their revelation to Moses. Accordingly, Genesis 26:5 states: "Abraham obeyed my voice, and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws."

What has not received proper emphasis is that the understanding of Abraham as a law-observant and obedient convert is complemented and enriched by passages in Genesis which portray him as a charismatic nomist. It is helpful to review these passages to gain a fuller portrait of the canonical Abraham.

There are many stories and statements in Genesis which describe Abraham as a charismatic figure whose faithful obedience enables him to commune directly with angels and with God. In Genesis 12, Abraham receives a special divine call and is promised unspecified blessings. He knows God by his special name Yahweh, and appears to prefigure Moses in causing plagues to fall upon Pharaoh (12:17). Abraham appears as a
wise, generous, and successful man of power in chapter 13. In 14:18 he communes privately with Melchizedek, a mysterious king and priest (kôhên) of "the most high God." Abraham's prescience is evidenced in his advanced knowledge of tithing—not revealed to others until after the exodus of Israel from Egypt (14:20).

The account portrays Abraham as a visionary who enjoys the gift of prophecy. The text states in 15:1 that Abraham has a vision (machi'azeh), and in verses 12-16 utters prophecies after having revelatory dreams and hearing special voices. Abraham is said to have been "perfect" (tamiym) in 17:1. God himself talks directly to Abraham, granting him a new prophetic name, "Father of nations" (17:3)! In 17:20 the greatness of Abraham is seen in that, when he talks, God listens. Yahweh appears to Abraham in a special and mysterious three-person revelation and speaks directly to Abraham, sharing his plans with him (18:13, 17). It is said that Yahweh "communes" (dabar) with Abraham (18:33). In chapter 20 Abraham is portrayed not only as a prophet, but also as a healer (vss. 7-17). In 21:22 it is stated, "God is with you Abraham." The Angel of Yahweh communicates with Abraham and calls to him from heaven, not once but twice (22:11, 15). In 24:7, it appears that Abraham has authority to direct angels to assist him in his plans.

The accumulation of revelations from Yahweh and angels and the possession of esoteric knowledge and power become so
great that 24:1 declares that Yahweh has blessed Abraham "in all things." There may remain future blessings of land and numerous offspring for Abraham, but the text states that Abraham already has realized God's blessing.

From an examination of the Abrahamic material in Genesis it is apparent that a model of Abraham emerges which would support the teachers' portrayal of him as a circumcised convert and charismatic figure who enjoys heavenly revelations. From his divine call in Genesis 12 and his circumcision in chapter 17 through his death in chapter 25, Abraham enjoys repeated theophanies and angelophanies, granting him the power to perform supernatural feats. Against the backdrop of this particular type of Abraham, the teachers' association of Abraham with the law of circumcision and miraculous charismatic gifts is more understandable: "He therefore that ministers to you the Spirit, and works miracles among you, does he do it by works of the law, or by the hearing of faith? Even as Abraham believed God. . . ."

2. Abraham in Non-Canonical Sources

But do non-canonical sources of the Second Temple Period portray Abraham in the way that the teachers in Galatia describe him? We have seen that the teachers regard him as a model of obedience to the Law of God—especially to the rite of circumcision. He is portrayed as the proto-typical convert who receives from God a special covenant which promises him
and his "sons" the blessings of the Spirit and its charismatic gifts.\textsuperscript{381}

Brinsmead states that several Jewish sources portray Abraham as a Gentile proselyte who receives heavenly revelations and performs miraculous deeds. For example, the Book of Jubilees describes Abraham as a convert from paganism. It is written that Abraham "separated from his father so that he might not worship the idols with him. And he began to pray to the Creator of all so that He might save him. . . ."\textsuperscript{382} In Jubilees Abraham denounces the idols of his father's land: "Do not worship them. Worship the God of heaven. . . . Why do you worship those who have no Spirit in them?"\textsuperscript{383} Abraham prays for deliverance from "evil spirits" (12:20) and is granted authority over nature, man, and angels.\textsuperscript{384}

As a result of his obedience to God, the "angel of the presence" teaches Abraham to read mysterious Hebrew books and reveals the "heavenly tablets."\textsuperscript{385} Through these revelatory sources the angel "caused him to know everything which he was unable (to understand)."\textsuperscript{386} Abraham acquires esoteric knowledge about astrology and meteorology and proleptic knowledge of the laws of God—-not generally revealed until the time of Moses. As a result, Abraham observes the Festival of Trumpets, the Festival of Tabernacles, and the Jubilee years. The book of Jubilees accounts for Abraham's awareness of the laws given later at Sinai by declaring that Abraham had knowledge of the "heavenly tablets."\textsuperscript{387} According to
Jubilees these "heavenly tablets" have resided in heaven from the creation and they are revealed only to those whom God grants special favor.\textsuperscript{388} The figure of Abraham which emerges from Jubilees is similar to that of the teachers' Abraham: a charismatic proselyte who possesses special knowledge and power received from God and his angels.\textsuperscript{389}

Despite this important similarity, there is a significant difference. Jubilees does not encourage Gentiles to emulate Abraham and participate in the covenant promises. Instead, Gentiles play a negative role in Jubilees. The people of God are warned to eschew Gentiles who are condemned as vile sinners.\textsuperscript{390} Therefore we conclude that the function of Abraham in Jubilees is not to attract Gentile converts to Judaism, but is to encourage Jews to forsake Gentile customs, foods, and idols—infusing Palestine at the time Jubilees was written. In this instance, the figure of Abraham found in Jubilees differs from that of the teachers.

The pseudepigrapha offer more evidence demonstrating the presence of an Abraham tradition during the Period which regards him as a charismatic proselyte who communes with the spiritual world of God and the angels. Here, too, Abraham is portrayed as a healer, wonder-worker, astrologer, inventor and visionary.\textsuperscript{391} Even pre-existence is ascribed to him in the Prayer of Joseph: "I Jacob, who is [sic] speaking to you, am also Israel, an angel of God and a ruling spirit: Abraham and Isaac were created before any work" (1:1, 2).\textsuperscript{392} Elsewhere
we read that Abraham, from Ur "of the Chaldeans," experiences an heavenly journey where he sees "the ruler of mortal men"--God. Of this experience it is written:

And no one has seen the ruler of mortal men, except a certain unique man, an offshoot from far back of the race of the Chaldeans. . . . He rides in spirit through the air and through the water of the stream. A comet makes manifest these events--he had a mighty birth. 393

The portrait of Abraham as a proselyte possessing charismatic power and knowledge also appears in diaspora Hellenistic Judaism through the works of various apologists, including Josephus and Philo. Pseudo-Eupolemus and Artapanus, writing before the common era, present a model of Abraham which characterizes him as an astrologer who carefully observes the astral bodies which determine the calendar seasons. 394 Josephus depicts Abraham as a model convert for Gentiles to follow. He is portrayed as a divinely guided man who teaches the Egyptians and Greeks astrology. 395

A more fully developed portrait of the charismatic Abraham appears in Philo where the emphasis falls on Abraham's sapience and his mystical communion with the Divine. Writing of Abraham, Philo says: "... the Wise Man is the savior of the race, the intercessor before god, the one who seeks pardon for the sins of those akin to him." 396 Commenting on Genesis 28:3, where Abraham implores Yahweh to remain with him, Philo states that Abraham saw the "oneness" of God:
he [Abraham] saw his oneness directly before him, as he had known it earlier in the likeness of a triad. But it is something great that he asks, that God shall not pass by or remove to a distance and leave his soul desolate and empty. For the limit of happiness is the presence of God, which completely fills the whole soul with his whole incorporeal and eternal light. 397

For Philo Abraham is a "prophet" who enjoys ecstatic revelations from God. The Alexandrian comments on Genesis 15:12:

there fell upon Abraham an ecstasy, that is what the inspired and God-possessed experience is. . . . For a prophet has no utterance of his own . . . therefore the setting of reason and the darkness which surrounds it produce ecstasy and inspired frenzy. 398

Describing Abraham's ecstatic and frenzied state more fully, as well as his rhetorical (missionary?) abilities, Philo writes:

Thus whenever he was possessed, everything in him changed to something better, eyes, color, stature, carriage, movements, voice. For the divine spirit whenever it was breathed upon him from on high made its lodging in his soul, and invested his body with singular beauty, his words with persuasiveness, and his hearers with understanding. 399

Such charismatic power permits Abraham to be portrayed by Philo as the Torah incarnate. 400
3. **Conclusions on Abraham**

These citations from the literature of Second Temple Judaism in Palestine and the diaspora confirm the presence of an Abrahamic tradition which portrays him as a law-observant proselyte blessed with heavenly gifts and powers. This observation recognizes that the cited documents emphasize different manifestations of Abraham's charismatic power. For example, Philo describes Abraham's ecstatic gifts in accordance with Philo's mystical interest. The Book of Jubilees depicts Abraham's experience of theophanies and angelophanies. Together these various emphases witness to the existence of a constellation of Abraham traditions which aver that his obedience enables him to participate in the heavenly realm of angels, esoteric knowledge, and divine power. As such, the teachers' model of Abraham as a charismatic and circumcised convert—prototypical of Gentile salvation—does not stand alone, but is joined by similar portrayals of the Patriarch in the literature of the Second Temple Period.

We may inquire as to the attractiveness of such an Abrahamic figure to the Gentiles. Would this portrayal of the Patriarch be appealing to non-Jews? If so, what are the reasons for its attractiveness?

It is indubitably certain that the teachers' figure of Abraham appeals to the Galatian Christians. The text indicates that large numbers of the Galatians have accepted the teachers' gospel with its summons to Abrahamic sonship.
The teachers' utilization of their model of Abraham is best understood in the context of the Hellenistic Jewish apologetic tradition. This tradition was similar to the Greek apologetic tradition which divinized heroes in order to verify and buttress the superiority of Greek culture. As in the instances of Artapanus, Josephus, Philo, and other apologists for Judaism, the teachers elevate Torah-obedient Abraham to the status of a charismatic figure of divine power. In doing so, they validate the Jewish Torah as the required medium of access to such power.

Much of the appeal which this apologetic Abraham tradition possessed for Gentiles arises from the Patriarch's non-Jewish origins in Ur of the Chaldeans. Since the Jewish nation descended from Abraham's grandson Israel (Jacob), the teachers' strategic use of Abraham—a non-Jew—appeals to the sensibilities of the Galatian Gentiles. Like the Galatians, Abraham once lived in uncircumcision. As they had turned from idols, so had Abraham. In this way, the teachers' utilization of Abraham as the model of Gentile salvation supports their universal mission to include non-Jews as God's people.

The type of Judaism—and the portion of the Jesus-Movement represented by the teachers—is not a narrow, exclusivistic expression of Israel's religion. But it is a form of Second Temple Judaism which openly invites non-Jews into full membership in the "Israel of God." The teachers promulgate their understanding of the meaning and purpose of
salvation to the world in an effort to include Gentiles as "sons of Abraham." Driven by their understanding of Jesus' gospel, the teachers share the venerable rites of Israel with the Gentile world.

The teachers' mission to Gentiles in Galatia is an example of apologetic Judaism's encounter with the Hellenistic world of the first century.402 In this particular encounter in Galatia, the teachers' form of Judaism proved so inviting and vitalizing to the Galatian Christians that most of them forfeited their Gentile lifestyles and adopted Jewish laws. The Galatians were inspired to accept the teachers' gospel by the opportunity to participate in the venerable rites of Judaism, which antedated Athens and Rome by over a thousand years. Obedience to such ancient and esoteric traditions promised to enrich their soteriological experience as it had their predecessor, the circumcised and charismatic proselyte Abraham.

C. Conclusion: Relationship to Jewish Traditions

Our analysis of Jewish sources during the Second Temple Period demonstrates that traditions existed which were similar 1) to the teachers' traditions of charismatic nomism and 2) to their apologetic use of Abraham. Except for the absence of a Gentile "mission," the Book of Jubilees and the Angelic Liturgy closely parallel the teachers' tradition. The teachers' commitment to the Gentile mission has some
similarities to the Jewish apologetic tradition expressed in Hellenistic diaspora Judaism. Using Abraham as a model of Gentile salvation both the apologists and the teachers share the Torah of Israel with Gentiles.

Although no one tradition exactly replicates the teachers' tradition and no direct historical connection can be proven to exist, similar concepts, ideas, and tendencies have been discovered. This is especially true in regards to the practice of the law of circumcision and the observance of the sacred calendar. The teachers and these earlier traditions associate these laws with angelic revelations and the Spirit. Observance of these laws liberates the people of God from bondage to error, sin, and the flesh. These ancient and glorious laws enable the obedient to enjoy revelations from an "open heaven."

III. THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE TEACHERS TO JEWISH CHRISTIANITY

A. Introduction

This section of our investigation attempts to locate Jewish Christian traditions which are similar to the teachers' tradition and seeks to determine the teachers' relationship to them. First the diversity extant in the early Jerusalem Christian community will be examined. An attempt will then be made to relate the teachers to this multifaceted community. Finally we will attempt to locate other Jewish
Christian traditions in the diaspora which evince important similarities to the teachers' gospel tradition.

This part of the study commences with the Jerusalem meeting in ca. 50 C.E. and extends through the first four centuries. Beginning with the Jerusalem community we examine the teachers' relationship to the "false brothers" (pseudadelphoi, 2:4) and the Jerusalem "pillars" (styloi, 2:9) --James, Peter, and John. After determining the teachers' relationship to this community, we investigate canonical and non-canonical sources for information about similar Jewish Christian traditions in the diaspora. To accomplish this task, we examine the New Testament letter of Colossians for evidence of the presence of charismatic nomists who, like the teachers, expressed an interest in the stoicheia tou kosmou and angels. We then survey Jewish Christianity outside the canon as described in the Kerygmata Petrou, the Book of Elkesai, and in the works of early church fathers. These sources will assist in our analysis of the Jewish Christian Ebionites and Elkesaites active in Syria and Jordan until, at least, the fourth century. Helpful in this regard are the Jewish Christian studies of Schoeps and Luedemann.404 From this study conclusions will be drawn regarding the relationship of the teachers to these Jewish Christian traditions.

Prior to our investigation, it is necessary to review the distinctive tenets which characterize the teachers'
alternative gospel tradition in Galatians. 1) As charismatic nomists, the teachers observe the Jewish Law, regarding it to be the means by which heavenly revelations and the Spirit are procured. 2) The teachers are Jesus-followers, who understand Jesus to be a great Teacher of the Law. We have seen that their christology is not the "high" christology of Paul which elevates Jesus to a preexistent status as the "son" of God. Their view of Jesus emphasizes his human birth under the Jewish Law—"born of a woman," "born under the law" (Gal. 4:4). 3) The teachers are on a Gentile mission which invites non-Jews to become "sons of Abraham."

The primary task in this section of our study is to locate other Jewish Christian traditions which possess these or similar characteristics—particularly observance of the law of circumcision and the sacred calendar. When possible we will determine if such traditions associate obedience to the Law with charismatic gifts and heavenly revelations. Our analysis will also examine the role Jesus plays in these traditions. We will also attempt to determine whether these groups possess a Gentile mission. Although the discovery of similar or parallel traditions does not necessarily imply a direct historical connection with the teachers, it confirms the existence of other Jewish Christian traditions with theological interests and tendencies like those of the teachers. Such confirmation will assist in locating the
teachers' gospel tradition in the history and literature of Jewish Christianity.\textsuperscript{406}

B. The Jerusalem Community

Indications of the nature of the relation of the teachers to the Jerusalem Christian community are found in Galatians 2:1-10. In this section from the narratio Paul singles out both law-keeping "false brothers" and the pillar apostles in the Jerusalem community. To determine the relation of the teachers to the Jerusalem Christian tradition this passage must be examined. In 2:1-10 we read:

Then after fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus along with me. I went up by revelation; and I laid before them (but privately before those who were of repute) the gospel which I preach among the Gentiles, lest somehow I should be running or had run in vain. But even Titus, who was with me, was not compelled to be circumcised, though he was a Greek. But because of false brethren (pseudadelphous) secretly brought in, who slipped in to spy out our freedom which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage---to them we did not yield submission even for a moment, that the truth of the gospel might be preserved for you. And from those who were reputed to be something (what they were makes no difference to me; God shows no partiality)---those, I say, who were of repute added nothing to me; but on the contrary, when they saw that I had been entrusted with the gospel to the uncircumcised, just as Peter had been entrusted with the gospel to the circumcised (for he who worked through Peter for the mission to the circumcised worked through me also for the Gentiles),
and when they perceived the grace that was given to me, James and Cephas [Peter] and John, who were reputed to be pillars, gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, that we should go to the Gentiles and they to the circumcised; only they would have us remember the poor, which very thing I was eager to do.

What is the relationship between the teachers and the so-called "false brothers"? And how do the "false brothers" relate to the "pillars"? What does this tell us about the teachers' relationship to the "pillars"? Answers to these and other questions will effectuate our locating the teachers' gospel tradition within the Jerusalem Christian community.

1. The Teachers and the Pseudadelphoi

Since the teachers and the pseudadelphoi are both associated with Jerusalem and insist on Gentile obedience to the Jewish law—specifically circumcision—it is plausible that they belong to the same Jewish Christian law-abiding tradition. In the second chapter of our study, we concluded that the teachers associate themselves with Jerusalem, probably as their place of origin, and that Paul associates them with the "false brothers." Although the teachers may or may not be the specific persons described as the "pseudadelphoi," (who, only three years earlier, attended the Jerusalem meeting described in 2:1ff), they are to be identified with the same law-observant Jewish Christianity. This identification is supported further by the fact that both
the teachers and the "false brothers" inveigh against Paul's Gentile mission. In both instances Paul struggles to thwart their teachings and scotch their influence.

Paul understands that the teachers and the pseudadelphoi belong to the same or similar Jewish Christian tradition. That is why he informs the Galatians that the law-observant theology of the pseudadelphoi was not approved by him or the "pillars" at the meeting in Jerusalem. By citing the rejection of the "false brothers," he hopes to convince the Galatians to repudiate the teachers, who may have appealed to the authority of the "false brothers" of Jerusalem. The association of the teachers' with the pseudadelphoi indicates that the teachers' gospel tradition is not an isolated phenomenon confined to Galatians, but was represented in a portion of the Jerusalem community at least three years prior to the Galatian mission.

Not only were the "false brothers" present at the Jerusalem meeting, but there is evidence that their law-observant Gentile mission was active in the diaspora years prior to that meeting. The early origins of this alternative tradition is evidenced by an examination of 2:2-4. This passage suggests the presence of an effective law-observant Gentile mission which endangered Paul's work from an early period.

Paul states in 2:2 that he spoke privately with the Jerusalem Christian authorities lest he had preached "in
vain" (eis kenon). He does not mean that he doubted the authenticity of the gospel preached by him for over fourteen years—since that would contradict his specific statements verifying his independent revelation in 1:6–9, 12. Paul would not have introduced such an admission in the context of proving that his gospel was revealed directly from God. An admission of utter dependence on Jerusalem for his gospel's authenticity would rupture his entire line of reasoning from 1:6 onwards and would probably cost him his Galatian congregations.

What then does he mean by saying that he consulted with others "least somehow I should be running or had run in vain?" Paul means that he went to Jerusalem ca. 50 C.E. in order to correct a major problem threatening the successful implementation of his Gentile mission (1:16). Some outside factor must have been threatening Paul's missionary efforts to such an extent that he worried that his entire work could be "in vain." He met privately with the Jerusalem leaders in order to discuss this imminent danger to his Gentile mission.

It is probable that the serious problem threatening his entire mission at that time was the same problem he treats throughout the letter: the law-abiding Gentile mission of Jewish Christians with the alternative gospel. Paul's concern evinces that this wing of the Jesus Movement posed such a problem for him and his Gentile congregations that he was forced to discuss it with the Jerusalem leaders to prevent
the loss of these congregations to the pseudadelphoi. He sought from "the pillars" an official ban on the pseudadelphoi, who up to this time enjoyed free reign to raid his Gentile congregations. Paul complains that they steal into his congregations pretending to be "brothers," but soon afterwards expose their true intention to impose the Law on Gentiles.

This view does not deny that the pseudadelphoi were also present during the Jerusalem visit in 2:1ff, but Paul speaks specifically of their missionary work among his own congregations prior to the Jerusalem visit. Such a widespread and effective work suggests that this law-abiding tradition extends back several years, perhaps ante-dating Paul's mission. Betz suggests that Judea was the place of origin of the law-abiding tradition (1:22). Understood in this way, the presence of the teachers in Galatia can be understood as one episode in a large-scale and long-term Jewish Christian charismatic law-abiding mission from Jerusalem which enjoyed success at Paul's expense.

2. The Jewish Christian "Right-Wing" Tradition

Contrary to the position of Baur and the Tübingen School neither the teachers nor the "false brothers" are to be identified with the pillars--James, Peter, and John. Such an identification is not found in the Galatian text. On the basis of the textual evidence, we aver that the pseudadelphoi
represent a position to the theological right of the pillars. We may use the term "right-wing" if we exclude modern connotations such as "conservative" or "reactionary." This wing of the Jesus movement was committed to the Torah because it served as the vehicle for charismatic life in the Spirit. As a third-force in the early Jesus Movement, this Jewish Christian tradition insisted on Gentile obedience to the Jewish Torah—the repository of power and revelation.

If this line of interpretation is correct, it follows that at least three circles of influence existed in the early Jesus Movement ca. 50 C.E. On the right are the pseudodelphoi who demand that Titus (2:3) and other Gentile converts be circumcised and take on the "yoke of Torah" (understood positively), or (as Paul would say) come "into bondage" under the Law (2:4). On the left are the Paulinists (1:1) who insist that Gentile converts and, probably, Jewish believers are free from the Law and are "not compelled to be circumcised" (2:3). Occupying a middle ground are the pillars, James, Peter, and John who acknowledge that Gentiles are free from the Law (2:6, 9).

The Jerusalem meeting resulted in an accord between the pillars and Paul in which the pillars agree not to "add" anything to Paul's law-free gospel. We read that they acknowledge Paul's right to preach his gospel to the Gentiles, giving Paul and Barnabas "the right hand of fellowship" (2:9). By averring that the pillars supported his mission, Paul
implies that the pseudadelphoi failed to convince the pillars of the need for Gentiles to observe the Jewish law.

Even if Paul prejudices the account in his favor, without further evidence we cannot believe that the pillars sided with the "false brothers" who demand Gentile obedience to the Law. If we allow for the possibility of Paul's overstatement, it nevertheless is certain that an accord was reached between the Paulinists and the pillars regarding the Gentile mission. The text affirms that this accord recognized Paul's right to continue his law-free gospel to the Gentiles--requiring him only to "remember" the Jerusalem poor. The existence of the accord evinces that the left-wing and the center of the Jesus Movement had by 50 C.E. evolved through debate and discussion a cooperative fellowship (koinōnias, 2:9).

Paul does not report how the pseudadelphoi reacted to the agreement between the pillars and the Paulinists. But it must not be assumed that the pseudadelphoi changed their theological opinions and agreed to the accord. The text does not include them in the agreement between the pillars and the Paulinists. From 2:5 we infer that the pseudadelphoi and Paul reached no agreement whatsoever. For him, they were not true Christians. They are relegated to pseudo-Christians who in his opinion do not belong in the Jesus Movement. Their Galatian allies--the teachers--are said to preach a false gospel. Had the "false brothers" compromised their law-abiding position, dropping their demand for circumcision, Paul
would surely have informed the Galatian audience! The absence of such information strongly argues that the pseudadelphoi rejected the accord. Believing that their interpretation of the Christian gospel was correct, the charismatic nomist members of the early Jesus Movement continued their advocacy of a law-abiding mission to the Gentiles.

3. James and the "Right-Wing" Tradition

Despite the apparent implausibility of considering the pillars part of the law-abiding "right-wing" pseudadelphoi in 50 C.E., Luedemann believes that James later joined this anti-Pauline law-abiding wing represented by the "false brothers" and the teachers. For support of his neo-Tübingen theory, Luedemann argues that James' ascendancy to power increased during Peter's absence. With Peter away from Jerusalem after the conference, James' conservative tendency toward a Torah-observant theology converged with the "right-wing" circle of the pseudadelphoi to form a strong law-abiding Jerusalem community. Luedemann believes that if it is this "right-wing" tradition, under James' leadership, which instigates the Antioch episode discussed in Galatians 2:11ff. The text states:

But when Cephas [Peter] came to Antioch I opposed him to his face, because he stood condemned. For before certain men came from James [tinas apo Iakōbou], he ate with the Gentiles; but when they came he drew back and separated himself, fearing the circumcision party [hoi ek peritomēs].
Luedemann argues that the Jerusalem visitors demand Gentile obedience to circumcision and other Jewish laws. They persuade Peter and certain Paulinists to repudiate Paul's gospel and conform to the circumcision party of James and the nomists. In this way, Luedemann attempts to explain how the apparent agreement between the pillars and Paul in 2:9 breaks down. This permits Luedemann to reconstruct in a modified form the thesis defended by Baur and the Tübingen School: Jewish Christians against the maverick Paul and his Gentile congregations.

What are the implications of this theory for our investigation of the teachers? If Luedemann is correct, it means James supports the "right-wing" portion of the Jesus Movement represented by the teachers and the pseudadelphoi! In other words, the teachers belong to the law-abiding tradition represented by the pillars--particularly James--as well as the "false brothers." This would imply that Paul's rejection of the teachers' gospel also includes a rejection of the gospel of James, and, probably, Peter and John! Such a provocative interpretation aligns the earliest followers of Jesus against Paul, who turns out to be an interloper with little or no historical or theological connection to the original followers or family members of Jesus--James, John, Peter, and "the twelve." The teachers become the "insiders;" whereas Paul is the "outsider."
If Luedemann's interpretation stands, there would be reason to suspect that the teachers' gospel tradition is more similar to that of the earliest Jesus tradition than Paul. Since the teachers protest against Paul's gospel, perhaps they, not Paul, represent a tradition more closely related to that of Jesus. After all, if the pillars, the pseudadelphoi, the "men from James," and the teachers all agree that Jesus' gospel is a law-abiding teaching, why should Paul be believed? Paul freely admits that he was not one of the original followers of Jesus. If James and the other Jerusalem Christians insist on obedience to the Jewish Law and are "anti-Paulinists"--as Luedemann believes--the reader might be led to agree with the teachers that their gospel is more compatible with the "original" gospel than Paul's gospel.

Does Luedemann's theory satisfactorily account for the Galatian data? Does his claim that James breaks his earlier accord with the Paulinists have a strong basis in the letter? And does Peters' absence from Jerusalem account for James' disavowal of the accord made with Paul and Barnabas? If so, the teachers' gospel tradition should be considered a continuation of the tradition of the Jerusalem community led by James and the "false brothers?" Only the text can provide answers to these questions.

There are important reasons to doubt, and ultimately reject, Luedemann's explanation of James' theological position. First, we must remember that the Galatian
passage does not state that James disagreed with the Paulinists, nor that James changed his opinion. In 2:4 the text says that James, Peter, and John agreed with the Paulinists and sealed the accord with the "right hand of fellowship." Second, Luedemann's only evidence from Galatians of a change in James' position is his connection with those who "came from James" to Antioch. Is this connection sufficient reason to believe that James reneged on his agreement with Paul and sided with the Jewish Christian "false brothers?"

Is it necessary to assume that τινας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου were authorized by James or represented his understanding of the Law? Since Paul implies that James did not side with the pseudadelphoi at the time of the Jerusalem accord, it is unlikely without further evidence, that the persons who came to Antioch in 2:12 implement James' official orders to impose the Law on the Paulinist congregation in Antioch. It seems very unlikely that Paul would implicate James in the Antioch episode in 2:12 after citing him for support in 2:9. Not only does such an interpretation contradict the significance of the accord in 2:9, but the passage in 2:12 does not support such a view.

There are several alternative interpretations of the passage in 2:12 which more effectively explain the presence of the Jerusalem visitors. It may be argued that the text does not specify that the people "from James" represent his
theological viewpoint or had his official authorization to impose the Law.⁴¹⁵ This view argues that the visitors are law-abiding associates of James, but are not an official delegation sent by him. Thus, their insistence on law observance is unrepresentative of James and the moderate leadership reflected in 2:9.

Perhaps the interpretation which most accurately explains the Antioch episode—contra Luedemann—focuses attention on the reason that the people from James urge the Antioch congregation to observe the Law. This explanation takes into account the agreement between James and Paul in 2:9 as well as the visitation from Jerusalem.

From 2:12 may be inferred why the Jerusalem visitors advocate obedience to the Jewish Law. This passage states that Peter refused to eat with the Gentile Christians and "separated himself" from them—"fearing the circumcision." The reason given for withdrawing from uncircumcised Gentiles is Peter's fear of the Jews—"the circumcision."

This signifies that the visitors from Jerusalem, as well as Peter, Barnabas, and others discontinued table-fellowship with the Gentiles because they feared further persecution from non-Christian Jews who zealously protected their Jewish customs and identity. We must not assume that "circumcision" (hoi ek peritomēs) refers to Christians who are Jews.⁴¹⁶ Three times in 2:7–9 the same term specifically refers to non-Christian Jews. Contextual usage of the term argues for its
reference in 2:12 to non-believing Jews. In addition, Paul never uses the term to denote Jewish Christians. He only employs it to specify non-Christian Jews. Evidence that such fears were solidly based occurs in 6:12 where Paul accuses the teachers—as he does Peter—of obeying the Law in order to appease non-Christian Jews and avoid persecution. These findings support the interpretation of 2:12 which understands that Peter withdraws because he fears non-Christian Jews—not James, or the visitors, or the Jewish Christian circumcision party!

Jewett, Schmithals, and Dunn argue that the Antioch episode must be understood in view of the socio-political situation at the time.417 Zealotic unrest and Jewish nationalism were rising to fever pitch during this period. In order to maintain cordial relationships with the Jewish community in Jerusalem—necessary for Christian survival—James permitted associates from Jerusalem ("the men came from James") to travel to Antioch to ensure the cooperation of the Antioch Jewish and Gentile Christians in avoiding any pretext for persecution. The fact that Peter and even certain Paulinists quickly cooperated indicates that, for them, the issue was not theological nor did it signify a rejection of the accord. It was a matter of expediency—an impromptu action expressing Antiochene flexibility and cooperation with Jerusalem in the face of the threat of renewed persecution
from some non-Christian Jews zealous for the Law and Jewish nationalism.

Even Paul does not attack Peter and his sympathizers for theological errors or for preaching a "false gospel". He accuses them of hypocrisy (hypokrisis, 2:13) in the face of persecution.418 What was hypocrisy to Paul was a spirit of cooperation and compromise to Peter and certain Paulinists. They cooperated with the Jerusalem community in an effort to alleviate possible persecution. There is no evidence of theological disagreement over the Law between Paul and Peter in Antioch.

Neither must we conclude that fundamental differences existed between Paul and James on the issue of Gentile obedience to the Jewish law. The accord made by James, Peter, John and Paul was not rejected in principle in Antioch. The socio-political situation illumines James' actions. In order to relieve the threat of persecution, James requested that Antioch suspend table-fellowship between Jewish and Gentile Christians. Several of the Paulinists agreed with this pragmatic program. For Paul this compromise was hypocritical and originated from cowardliness. Paul's fearlessness and bravado resulted in his "defeat" at Antioch and, according to tradition, later contributed to his capture and death.419

We are now able to answer the questions raised by Luedemann's interpretation. We conclude that there is no necessity to concur with the Tübingen school ranging from Baur
to Luedemann that James underwent a transformation of theology—or began to enforce his "latent" Torah-observant policies on Gentiles—once he gained more power in the absence of Peter. The Antioch episode is better understood as a cooperative effort on the part of the Jerusalem community under James and the Antioch congregation to be less offensive to non-Christian Judaism. Paul's protest does not reflect a fundamental opposition between Paul's gospel and James's gospel as the Tübingen School often implies. Within a few years Paul writes positively of Peter and Barnabas as well as of James. And Paul continues to honor his part of the original accord to provide a collection for the "poor" in Jerusalem.

What is the significance of this interpretation for our discussion of the teachers' relationship to Jerusalem Christian traditions? Since James is not to be identified with the "false brothers," nor with a Gentile law-observant gospel tradition, we must not believe that the teachers authentically represent James or his circle. The teachers' alternative gospel is not the same gospel preached by James, Peter, John, or Paul. Nevertheless, the teachers and the pseudadelphoi belong to the same, or a similar, tradition of the Jesus Movement. This charismatic nomist tradition insists on the necessity of Torah-obedience for Jews and Gentiles and believes that it represents the true gospel of Jesus.
4. The Independent Tradition of the Teachers

How independent is the "right-wing" tradition to which the teachers belong? Does it possess its own separate and integral identity within the Jesus Movement? In answer to these questions we should not conclude that the teachers and the pseudadelphoi repudiate Paul, but exalt the pillars, submitting to their "apostolic" authority. Since the pillars struck an accord with Paul which repudiated the alternative gospel tradition of the "right-wing" Jewish Christians, it is certain that the "right-wing" disagreed with the pillars. Unable to agree with the accord, members of the "right-wing" must have questioned the pillars' authority. It is clear that an implicit criticism of the pillars is contained in the Galatian teachers' "anti-Paulinism," since the pillars have permitted Paul to evade censure for too long. Even though Paul is evasive and hypocritical, if the pillars were perceptive they would see through his ruse, as do the teachers and their Jerusalem associates (2:4, 5)!

From Paul's account of the Jerusalem confrontation with the pseudadelphoi (2:4) and of the accord established between the pillars and Paul, it is clear that the teachers represent a position that is in "discord" with the pillars as well as Paul. Given this fact, it follows that without further textual evidence we should not presuppose that the teachers approve, support, represent, or claim to represent the Jerusalem pillars with whom the teachers are apparently in
"discord." It is likely that the teachers' criticism extends to those pillars who compromised God's Law and made an accord with the despised Paul.422

Since the teachers accuse Paul of preferring an antinomian gospel, it is doubtful that they exalt his associates, the Jerusalem pillars, as their apostolic superiors. We should not believe that rejection of Paul automatically signifies exaltation or obeisance to the pillars. The teachers' charge against Paul's wavering and vacillating probably should be understood as also reflecting on the pillars who compromised the Law. Since the teachers associate Paul with the Jerusalem pillars (the source for Paul's distorted gospel), it would appear that the "right-wing" teachers hold the pillars in low esteem also.

This interpretation implies that the teachers believe that the pillars were too "soft" on the Law, particularly for Gentiles. From the teachers' point of view, the pillars previously ignored the advice of the law-abiding Jesus followers in Jerusalem, the so-called pseudadelphoi, and concocted an accord with Paul. This unfortunate compromise granted Paul license to spread his lawless gospel throughout the world, while calling it the gospel of Jesus. However the "right-wing" stood firm for the Torah and the "law of Christ." After intensive debate with the left-wing Paulinists and the moderate pillars, the "right-wing" refused to deny the Law of
God (2:5). Instead, they repudiated the accord as contrary to the gospel of Jesus.

Excursus: A Defense of the Pillars—2:6

The teachers' criticism of the pillars may also be indicated in the difficult passage 2:6. The text states in reference to the pillars: "And from those who were reputed to be something (what they were makes no difference to me; God shows no partiality)—those, I say, who were of repute [hoi dokountes] added nothing to me." This passage often is taken to reflect Paul's arrogance or cavalier attitude. But W. Foerster argues otherwise.423

In view of the above analysis and in the context of Galatians, Foerster's position must be heard. He maintains that Paul wards off accusations against the pillars, James, Peter, and John. Paul defends them from charges about who they were or who they had been. The statement in 2:6 contrasts their importance in conference to the accusation regarding who they had been or what they had done. The charge seems to have concerned their qualifications for such a high position of authority ("pillars") in the Jerusalem church, because Paul argues that God selects on the basis of his own criteria, not human criteria.

It is immaterial for Paul what they were or were not, what they had done or not done. He immediately discarded his superior position in Judaism when he received his revelation from Christ (1:13,14,19). Paul believes that as his previous successes count for nothing in the view of God's plan in Christ, neither do previous categories of race, sex, class distinction or failures (3:28, 4:8). Regardless of the pillars' former status, God chose them for reasons of his own. Yet Paul never denies that there were reasons to discount the "pillars," and there is a sense of hesitancy to fully embrace them (2:4-14). He accepts their endorsement of him, but does not boast in the fact that the pillars were followers of the historical Jesus.
This would suggest that the teachers accuse James, Peter and John of severe deficiencies in their past life prior to following Jesus. It seems that the charge would relate to the context of the Jerusalem meeting of 2:4ff and that of the Galatian crisis, the issue of law-keeping. Foerster believes that the pillars are criticized by the teachers, or the "false brothers," of having been non-law-abiding Jews, the (Am ha'aretz).424 Their suspected Galilee origins may have tainted them with a type of Judaism not in conformity to the particular law-keeping form of Judaism represented by the teachers and "false brothers" in Jerusalem. The point seems to be that, unlike other leaders in the Jesus movement, the pillars lacked the proper credentials which would verify their rigorous commitment to a stringent enforcement of Torah on Jews and Gentiles. The Antioch episode exemplified this problem, in that one of the pillars, Peter, refused to "judaize" and for a time made a habit of eating with the Gentiles (2:11ff).

5. Ascendancy of the Jewish Christian Nomists

Although Luedemann's "neo-Tübingen" interpretation does not satisfactorily clarify the role of the pillars in the early Jesus Movement, he is correct to recognize the increasing power and influence of the "right-wing" law-abiding Jewish Christian tradition, particularly in Jerusalem after ca. 50 C.E.425 We have seen that their activity prior to the meeting described in Galatians 2:1-10 forced Paul to request support from the pillars. And we know that after much disputation the nomists' demand for Gentile obedience to the Torah was not accepted. Instead an accord was forged between the left-wing Paulinists and the moderate pillars. But the "right-wing" Jewish Christians did not falter after this momentary set-back ca. 50 C.E. Refusing to compromise their
commitment to the Torah, these law-abiding teachers maintained their Gentile mission and within three years convinced the Galatian congregations to forsake Paulinism and obey selected portions of the Jewish law. They made bold to defame Paul, citing the Antioch episode as evidence for their theological position.

Culling historical tradition from Lucan redaction in Acts, Luedemann finds evidence for the presence after 50 C.E. of a dominant "right-wing" majority which insists on obedience to the Jewish law and are virulently "anti-Paulinists." Condemning Paul's law-free gospel, these Jewish Christians refuse to accept the financial contribution Paul received from his Gentile congregations for the "poor" Christians in Jerusalem. What remained of the "moderate" party possessed no power or authority to prevent the following catastrophic (for the Paulinists) events. The Jewish Christian nomists, now empowered, conspire with the Jewish and Roman political and military infrastructure leading to Paul's arrest, imprisonment, and ultimate execution. The moderate and left-wing leadership which had forged the peace accord ca. 50 C.E., is decimated by the deaths of James (ca. 62 C.E.) and Peter and Paul (ca. 64 C.E.). The Jewish Christian "right-wing" solidifies its position—continuing to proclaim its gospel about Jesus and the Law.

After the destruction of the left and center positions in Jerusalem, the law-observant nomists generally co-existed
peacefully with Jewish authorities in Jerusalem who tolerated their messianism. After partial success in the diaspora (Galatia, Philippi, Colossae), the "right-wing" Jewish Christian tradition dominated in Jerusalem and, probably, Palestine after 62 C.E. 427

The discovery of the influential presence of the charismatic law-observant tradition to which the teachers belong may mean that our conception of the formative period of the Jesus Movement needs serious revision. Is it possible—in view of the presence of this "third force"—to continue to acknowledge the "pillars" as representing the primary and most influential portion of the Jerusalem church? Serious opposition to the leadership of the "apostles" (Peter and John) and the family of Jesus (James) surfaced very soon after Jesus' death and grew in influence. Indeed, is it any longer possible to write of the Jerusalem Christian "church"? Is it not more accurate to write of the Jerusalem Christian "community" or "communities?" We conclude that the teachers' tradition belongs to one of these communities—the powerful "right-wing" Jewish Christian community.

6. Jerusalem Community—Conclusion

Our study of the Jerusalem Christian community has concluded that both the teachers and the pseudadelphoi belong to the "right-wing" tradition of the Jesus Movement originating from Jerusalem. This Jewish Christian law-abiding
wing was active prior to 50 C.E., but suffered a temporary set-back at the meeting in Jerusalem ca 50 C.E. when the moderate pillars (James, Peter, and John) made an accord with the left-wing Paulinists. However, members of the independent right-wing refused to compromise their allegiance to the Torah and continued their law-abiding Gentile mission in Galatia and elsewhere in the diaspora. Inspired by a growing Jewish nationalism after 50 C.E. this wing grew in influence and power. After the deaths of James, Peter, and Paul in the 60's, the Jewish Christian law-abiding wing became the dominant force. By the mid-60's the tri-party division of the early Jesus Movement had given way to a strong law-abiding tradition which by then characterized the Jesus Movement in Palestine.

This model of diversity in the early church reformulates insights from Ritschl, Lightfoot, Schoeps and Luedemann.\textsuperscript{428} It posits a "tri-party" division in the Jerusalem community, but shares Luedemann's recognition of the power and importance of the law-observant wing. Unlike Luedemann, this model excludes any of the "pillars" from the "right-wing" to which the teachers belong. Nor does this view limit early Christian diversity to two polarities as Luedemann's neo-Tübingen model tends. Our model allows for the presence of a wide spectrum of competing gospels.\textsuperscript{429} And it identifies the "right-wing" as Jewish Christian charismatic nomists.
C. Jewish Christian Traditions in the Diaspora

The influence and activity of representatives of charismatic law-observant Jewish Christianity in the diaspora is evidenced in other Pauline letters in addition to Galatians, as well as in non-canonical literature such as the Kerygmata Petrou and the Book of Elkesai. Some Pauline congregations composed of large numbers of Gentiles provided the law-observant Jewish Christians fresh fields of potential converts to their alternative gospel. After 70 C.E. Jewish Christianity flourished in such areas as Syria and the trans-Jordan region.

Among the numerous Christian alternative gospels and traditions which Paul encountered in his various communities—"proto-gnostics," "divine-men," "apocalypticists"—the law-abiding Jewish Christian "right-wing" was a major and tenacious one. Traces of their presence appear in several of Paul's letters and in those of the Pauline school—especially the letter to Colossae in Asia Minor.

1. Colossians

The alternative Christian tradition polemicized against in Colossians merits close scrutiny because it evinces several of the specific characteristics distinctive of the teachers in Galatia. If so, the Colossian tradition represents a first-century example, outside of Galatians, of a tradition similar
in several important respects to the teachers' alternative gospel.

The date and authorship of Colossians are debated, but scholars generally agree that it was written to Gentile Christians after 60 C.E. by either Paul or a member of the Paulinist "school." The letter addresses problems raised by the presence and influence of an alternative Christian tradition—the "philosophy" of 2:8. The text reads: "See to it that no one makes a prey of you by philosophy (philosophias) and empty deceit, according to human tradition, according to the elemental spirits of the universe, and not according to Christ." The letter repudiates the specific teachings of this alternative tradition.

Despite the attempts of M. Dibelius and E. Lohse to identify the "philosophy" as a syncretistic pagan mystery rite, the presence of Jewish rites and concepts in the letter has led many scholars to insist on the Jewish roots of this philosophy. Some interpreters trace these roots to Philonic or Jewish gnostic sources, but F. Francis and S. Lyonnet connect the philosophy to a Jewish nomistic tradition concerned with angelic revelations and esoteric experiences. Such a tradition would not be unlike those we have seen in our analysis of I Enoch, Jubilees, and Qumran's Angelic Liturgy, as well as the teachers' gospel.

The Colossian philosophy evinces three primary characteristics which are similar to the Jewish Christian
tradition represented by the teachers in Galatia. These three similarities are:

1. its belief that Jewish and Gentile observance of the Law--specifically the Jewish calendar, food laws, and possibly circumcision--is necessary.
2. its interest in heavenly revelations, angelic worship, and the stoicheia tou kosmou.
3. its non-Pauline "low" Christology

a. The Law

Evidence confirming that the alternative tradition--the so-called "philosophy"--in Colossians taught the importance of Gentile observance of the Jewish Law--the calendar, dietary laws, and circumcision--occurs in chapter two of the letter. In 2:16 the philosophy insists on the necessity of following the Jewish calendar--the holy days, sabbaths, and the new moons. The passage states: "Therefore let no one pass judgment on you in questions of food and drink or with regard to a festival or a new moon or a sabbath." From this statement it is apparent that the author resists a tradition which enjoins the observance of these Jewish rites on the Colossian Christians.

Jewish dietary laws are also part of the philosophy's demands. The reference in 2:16 to "food" (brōsei) and "drink" (posei) implies that the philosophy also enforces dietary restrictions. The close association of these prohibitions
with the Jewish calendar suggests that the dietary restrictions are also based on the Jewish law. The Torah forbids consuming certain foods. These dietary restrictions are described again in 2:21-22: "'Do not handle, Do not taste, Do not touch' (referring to things which all perish as they are used), according to human precepts and doctrines. . . ."

Although there is no direct charge that the philosophy insists on the practice of circumcision, the discussion of the rite in a polemic against the observance of Jewish laws indicates that circumcision is also an issue. The three-fold reference to circumcision in 2:11 evinces that the Gentile audience is familiar with the rite. The text reads: "In him also you were circumcised with a circumcision made without hands, by putting off the body of flesh in the circumcision of Christ." The author insists that the Colossians have been "circumcised"—figuratively—by the "circumcision of Christ." Through Christ, the Colossians are "complete." The author appears to argue—contra the philosophy—that the Colossians do not need physical circumcision because they are already "complete" in Christ.

Since the philosophy's followers actually, not figuratively, observe the holy days, sabbath, and new moons, it is likely they, too, practice literal circumcision. It is the author who argues that the calendar observances are only a figurative "shadow" (skia, 2:17). The philosophy insists on the actual performance of these Jewish rites. In his
Hermeneia Commentary on Colossians, Lohse writes: "'Circumcision' is . . . understood as a sacramental rite by which a person entered the community and gained access to salvation."\(^{434}\)

b. Heavenly Revelations

The author of Colossians objects to the use of the Law as a means of acquiring access to higher revelations. Lohse, Francis, Bornkamm, and Lyonnet agree that the author writes against the philosophy's insistence on following laws which demand self-denial, asceticism, and abstinence as propaedeutic for acquiring special revelations.\(^{435}\) The author of Colossian writes:

Let no one disqualify you, insisting on self-abasement and worship of angels (thrēśkeia tōn aggelōn), taking his stand (embateuōn) on visions, puffed up without reason by his sensuous mind. . . . If with Christ you died to the elemental spirits of the universe, (stoicheion tou kosmou) why do you live as if you still belonged to the world? Why do you submit to regulations (2:18, 20)?

Indications of the nature and content of these revelations are present throughout the letter, particularly in chapter two where visions and angelic apparitions are discussed. In their studies of Colossians, both Morton Smith and Francis agree on the importance of the passage in 2:18 which warns against those who are "taking their stand on visions."\(^{436}\) They argue that the term embateuōn refers to
the philosophy's practice of "entering" into ecstatic visionary experiences involving angels and esoteric revelations.

The reference to "worship of angels" (thrēskeia tôn aggelōn) in 2:18 represents the author's warning against the philosophy's teaching that angelic worship is a worthy and desirable practice. What does thrēskeia tôn aggelōn mean? And how was it performed? Scholars debate whether the phrase refers to the worship of angels (an objective genitive), or the worship which angels perform (a subjective genitive). Lohse believes that it is used as an objective genitive; whereas Francis argues extensively for its use as a subjective genitive.437 Because it is rare that Jews worship angelic beings, Francis' position appears more likely. His view is reinforced by the newly published Angelic Liturgy-- unavailable to Francis--which portrays the earthly community participating in angelic worship directed toward God. Whether the philosophy taught the Colossians to worship the angels or to join with the angels in the heavenly worship, this particular Jewish Christian law-observant tradition expresses a very serious interest in angelic beings.

Also supportive of our view that the philosophy values angelic revelations is the appearance in the text of the phrase stoicheia tou kosmou. This phrase appears twice in Colossians and is associated with Jewish rites (2:8, 20). The same phrase appears in Galatians where it, too, is associated
with the Jewish law and with angels. Its similar usage in Colossians by a law-keeping tradition which enjoys participation in angelic worship suggests that the philosophy, like the teachers, belong to a nomist tradition. Both groups share the belief that the Jewish law prepares the initiates for greater experiences of salvation.

c. Christology

The third feature of the philosophy which expresses some similarity to the alternative gospel in Galatians concerns christology. Despite differences in their understanding of Jesus, both the teachers and the philosophy agree that Pauline christology exalts Jesus too highly.\(^{438}\)

They both delimit the tendency of Pauline christology to elevate Jesus to the position of a "son" (Gal. 4:4) of God in whom the "fullness" (plerōma) of deity dwells (Col. 2:9). Neither the philosophy nor the teachers consider Jesus to be an eschatological figure whose coming demarcates between the old aeon and the "new creation"—rescuing humankind from the Law. The teachers understand Jesus to be another of Israel's great, perhaps the greatest, Teacher of the Law, who was "sent" by God to exemplify Torah-obedience and to explicate its true meaning for Jews and Gentiles. The philosophy recognizes Jesus' heavenly origins, but reduces him to one of a series of heavenly powers. Obedience to the Jewish law equips the Christian to gain mastery over the angelic
stoicheia and to be like Jesus, who through obedience to the Law and self-mastery ascended to a heavenly position among the angelic hosts. Both traditions reject the Pauline "high" Christology which proclaims Jesus to be the very "image of God" (eikōn tou theou, Col. 1:15).

d. Conclusion on Colossians

The appearance in Colossians of an alternative tradition concerned with the Jewish calendar, circumcision, the stoicheia tou kosmou, and angelic worship, as well as with a "low" christology indicates that this tradition shares common themes with the Galatian teachers. The adherents of the philosophy and the teachers' gospel are representatives of a similar Jewish Christian tradition. This does not mean that they are identical or part of the same specific Gentile mission. There are distinct differences. Unlike the philosophy, the Galatian teachers emphasize the figure of Abraham and the covenant made with him and his "seed." Also the teachers express a severe anti-Paul polemic, whereas the Colossian philosophy is more restrained. However, both groups belong to a law-abiding and charismatic tradition. Combining Hellenistic and Hebrew concepts, both missions attract numerous Gentiles in Asia Minor as the letters to Galatia and Colossae attest. Both are led by charismatic nomists who believe that Gentiles could and must participate in the
salvific blessings made possible by conformity to the Jewish law.

2. Non-Canonical Jewish Christianity

The Jewish Christian law-observant tradition did not end with the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. Sources such as the Kerygmata Petrou, the Book of Elkesai, and the works of later church fathers evince the presence of similar Jewish Christians in Syria and the trans-Jordan area throughout succeeding centuries. These groups considered themselves to be the authentic continuation of the Jerusalem community. They refused to join the emerging Church. Heresiologists of the "orthodox" Church refer to them as "Ebionites," "Nazarenes," and "Elkesaites" and rebuke them as "heretics" and "Judaizers." Nevertheless, they prospered and flourished in this region for several centuries, rejected by both Jewish and Christian "orthodoxy."

The investigations of such scholars as Schoeps, Simon, Danielou, Pines, Manns, and Mancini have increased our knowledge and understanding of these Jewish Christians. Their studies illumine the origins and theology of these groups and their relationship to Jewish and Christian "orthodoxy," as well as to early Islam.

While the terms "Ebionites" and "Nazareans" may refer to the same group, it is certain that the term "Elkesaites" describes a distinct movement. Some scholars, particularly in
the nineteenth century, believed that the Nazareans represented an expression of Jewish Christianity less strict in regards to observance of the Law than the Ebionites.\textsuperscript{442} However, since the terms Nazarenes and Ebionites appear late in the sources and since their beliefs are hardly distinguishable, it is probable that the two terms refer to the same, or very closely, related tradition of law-observant Jewish Christians in Syria or trans-Jordan. Writing of the Ebionites and Nazarenes, Schoeps says:

Both terms are encountered in the Church Fathers, but they nevertheless refer to the same group. . . . The Elkesaites, with whom the Nazareans probably merged at a later period, have a wholly different origin.\textsuperscript{443}

a. \textit{Kerygmata Petrou} and the Ebionites

We first examine the Ebionites/Nazareans who probably arrived in Syria and trans-Jordan from Jewish Christian law-observant congregations in Galilee and Jerusalem prior to 70 C.E. Schoeps and Luedemann posit that the Ebionites of the second century are directly related to the law-abiding Jewish Christians in Palestine prior to 70 C.E.\textsuperscript{444} Schoeps effectively argues that the original Jesus Movement in Palestine did not wait for Paul before it engaged in mission work, particularly among diaspora Jews in Syria and the trans-Jordan Decapolis region near Pella.\textsuperscript{445}
If the tradition which posits a flight from Jerusalem to Pella by Jewish Christians immediately prior to the Roman conquest in 70 C.E. is historical, it would provide support for the theory that the Ebionites of Pella have their origin in the "right-wing" law-abiding party in the Jerusalem community. However, if the Pella tradition is not historically accurate, as some scholars argue, this fact would not negate other evidence that law-observant Jewish Christians were active from a very early period in Syria and trans-Jordan.446

The theology of the Ebionites is illumined by the Kerygmata Petrou (KP), a Jewish Christian source embedded in the Pseudo-Clementines, a fourth century "romance" about Clement. The fruitful investigations of Strecker, Schoeps, and others provide a literary and historical basis for the determination that the KP source was produced by an earlier (ca. mid-second century) Jewish Christian tradition, identified as the Ebionites of Syria and the trans-Jordan region. The theology and general outlook of the KP evinces its Jewish Christian character.447

We will examine the KP and related materials for data which will enable us to compare and contrast Ebionite theology to the teachers' theology. In this way an attempt will be made to locate the teachers' traditions and that of "right-wing" Jewish Christianity in the history and sources of the period after the close of the first century.
The Jewish Christianity represented by the Ebionites is described in the KP and in the writings of early church fathers such as the "heresiologists" Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Epiphanius. These sources enable us to compare Ebionite theology to the teachers' gospel in three major areas: 1) the Jewish law 2) Jesus 3) the Gentile mission.

(1) The Jewish Law

The KP portrays Peter as an apostle who proclaims the crucial importance of obedience to the Jewish law. He preaches "one God, one law, one hope." Peter describes his Jewish Christian tradition: "We worship one God, who made the world, and we keep His law. . . ." Obedience to this law is a necessary part of the true worship of God.

In the KP Peter addresses a letter to James in Jerusalem which insists on the eternal validity of the Jewish law. Writing to James, "the bishop of the holy Church," Peter says that the "law of God which was spoken by Moses and was borne witness to by our Lord" has an "eternal continuance." Quoting Jesus, Peter says, "The heavens and earth shall pass away, but one jot or title shall in no wise pass from the law."

Peter indicates that Christians must obey laws similar to those commandments taught by the teachers. An interest is shown in the Jewish calendar and observance of the Sabbath and festivals. Apparently, circumcision is a requirement for
full inclusion in the community.⁴⁵⁴ Various Jewish purity laws are observed—abstinence from blood and certain meats, and avoidance of sexual union during prohibited times.⁴⁵⁵

Early church fathers document both the Ebionite practice of circumcision and their observance of the Jewish calendar. Epiphanius (4th century), who resided in Palestine, possessed first-hand knowledge of their theology.⁴⁵⁶ In his Panarion Epiphanius writes that Jewish Christians—Ebionites and the Nazarenes—"boast of circumcision" and observe the Sabbath, as well as the annual festivals of "Unleavened Bread, Tabernacles, and Pentecost."⁴⁵⁷

Earlier "orthodox" apologists, Hippolytus (3rd century) and Irenaeus (2nd century), confirm Ebionite observance of the Jewish law. Hippolytus writes: "They live conformably [sic] to the customs of the Jews, alleging that they are justified according to the law, and saying that Jesus was justified by fulfilling the law."⁴⁵⁸ Irenaeus avers that the Ebionites "practice circumcision and those customs which are enjoined by the law."⁴⁵⁹ He considers them to be "so Judaic in their style of life, that they even adore Jerusalem as if it were the house of God."⁴⁶⁰

Betz and Luedemann have shown that the KP portrays Paul as an "enemy" who teaches against God's law.⁴⁶¹ The Ebionites—like the teachers—repudiate Paul as a lawless deceiver. Peter says: "For some from among the Gentiles have rejected my legal preaching, attaching themselves to certain
lawless and trifling preaching of the man who is my enemy." Betz and Strecker concur that the KP contains a response to Paul's rendition of the Antioch episode (Gal. 2:11ff) where Paul "condemns" Peter. In the KP response Peter chastens Paul for daring to revile the rock on whom the church is founded. In this way, the KP represents a Jewish Christian Petrine tradition which understood itself as continuing a law-abiding and "anti-Pauline" tradition.

The Jewish Christian tradition represented by the KP not only obeyed the Law, but considered obedience to it to procure special blessings. Obedience to certain portions of the Law purifies the obedient from pollution, enabling them to enjoy physical and spiritual blessings. Peter says:

To them, therefore, by obedience to the law, all things were in abundance,—the fairest of fruits, fullness of years, freedom from grief and from disease. . . .

Disobedience to the Law disrupts "a certain arranged harmony, removing from them good things." Peter amplifies this statement by explaining that obedience to the Law establishes the person in a harmonious relationship with the natural order. This relationship wards off evil and suffering. As an example of this principle of cosmic harmony Peter discusses the significance of obeying the Jewish calendar in regards to sexuality. He says:

Because men . . . cohabit without observing the proper times; and thus the deposition of seed, taking place
unseasonably, naturally produces a multitude of evils. For they ought to reflect, that as a season has been fixed suitable for planting, and sowing, so days have been appointed as appropriate for cohabitation, which are to be carefully observed.⁴⁶⁷

Peter responds to what may be Paul's criticism of the teachers' practice of scrupulously observing the Jewish calendar (Gal. 4:10). Peter says:

Accordingly, some one [Paul?] well instructed in the doctrines taught by Moses, finding fault with the people for their sins, called them sons of the new moons and the sabbaths. Yet in the beginning of the world men lived long, and had no diseases. But when through carelessness they neglected the observation of the proper times, then the sons in succession cohabiting through ignorance at times when they ought not, place their children under innumerable affliction.⁴⁶⁸

Those who obey the Law do not suffer such diseases and they are enabled to manifest charismatic gifts of divine power. Peter says that the person who refrains from sinning against the Law not only is free from suffering, but "he is able to heal others."⁴⁶⁹

From these selections we gain a sense of how the Ebionites understood the power inherent within the Law to bless or curse those who obey or disobey. The point being made in these selections is not that disobedience causes God to curse the people. The point is that disobedience to the Law automatically produces curses because there exists a sympathetic, sacramental or perhaps, magical relationship
between the Law and human life. Disobedience to the Law engenders suffering and death. But obedience generates the blessing of health and procures the power to heal.

There are other indications in the KP that the Law is not reduced to merely a legal code, but is understood as a repository of esoteric knowledge and secret revelations. For example, obedience to the Torah prohibitions against eating strangled animals and drinking blood is called "the first step to you of three; which step brings forth thirty commands, and the second sixty, and the third a hundred, as we shall expound more fully to you at another time."^470 This mysterious interpretation of Jesus' words in Matt. 13:23 and Mark 4:8, 20 is "a fanciful one, indicating not only Judaistic legalism, but the notion of esoteric teachings."^471

The KP also contains esoteric speculations regarding the doctrine of the "syzygies." Schoeps believes it is "an ancient rabbinic conception" which postulates that "every thing or event since the creation was provided an opposite, in accordance with the model of man and woman."^472 After the Fall the proper order of creation was reversed resulting in the negative female polarity preceding the male. Consequently, we find that the evil Cain precedes the innocent Abel, Ishmael precedes Isaac, John the Baptist precedes Jesus, and the lawless Pauline mission precedes the law-keeping Petrine mission.^473
The doctrine of the syzygies provides a hermeneutical principle which permits the Ebionites to value and obey certain selected portions of the Torah over others. The female principle manifests itself in the female portions of the Torah which are either incomplete, corrupt or false statements. This principle of selectivity plays a major role in the Ebionite interpretation of the Torah. According to the KP certain portions are to be obeyed by followers of Jesus--many other sections are not relevant.\(^{474}\)

Those portions of the Jewish Torah which are to be disregarded are referred to in the KP as "false pericopes." The KP states: "The prophet Moses having by the order of God delivered the law . . . after a little the written law had added to it certain falsehoods."\(^{475}\) The KP recognizes that Moses did not write all of the Torah; therefore certain passages were added by others. Many of these additional passages are uninspired interpolations which have no authority over the Ebionites. Those sections which contradict fundamental teachings of the Torah are to be rejected. Some of the laws--such as sacrifices--were given after Sinai and therefore were never a part of the original will of God for the people. Such laws were given in order to accommodate the people's weaknesses.\(^{476}\) The Ebionites' selective use of certain portions of the Torah is reminiscent of the teachers' selective obedience to the Law.
(2) Christology

The Ebionite view of Jesus is similar to that of the teachers in several respects. As the interpreter of the Torah Jesus is a prophet "like" Moses and an inspired Teacher. For both groups Jesus' words are determinative of which portions of the Torah are applicable for Christians. Peter says that by "believing his [Jesus'] teaching" people "will know what of the Scriptures are true and what are false."477 The teachings of Jesus provide the primary criterion which distinguishes between the truths of Scripture and "false pericopes."

For the Ebionites Jesus is both prophet and a new Moses. The KP presents Jesus saying:

I am he concerning whom Moses prophesied, saying, 'A Prophet shall the Lord our God raise unto you of your brethren, like unto me: Him hear in all things; and whosoever will not hear that Prophet shall die'.478

In Schoeps' words: "Just as Moses was the teacher of the Jews, so Jesus was the teacher of the Gentiles."479 Jesus is a new Moses.

Jesus' role as "the true Prophet" indicates that the Ebionites do not possess a "highly" developed christology, but have a view of Jesus similar to that of the teachers--Jesus as an expositor of the Law. Jesus is described as a "teacher of the truth" and as "the Lord and Teacher Jesus Christ."480
Peter says that "having ascertained Him to be the Prophet, we must undoubtedly follow the other words of His teaching."\footnote{481}

The KP excludes the possibility that Jesus is God. Peter rejects such an identification. He states: "Our Lord neither asserted that there were gods except the creator of all, nor did He proclaim Himself to be God. . . .\footnote{482} The "low" Ebionite christology is confirmed by Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Epiphanius who state that the Ebionites denied the virgin birth--believing Jesus to be the son of Joseph.\footnote{483} Epiphanius says that they possess a Gospel of Matthew--but without the miraculous birth stories.\footnote{484}

Despite the rejection of a "high" christological view of Jesus, the Ebionites consider Jesus to be more than a great prophet or teacher. They taught that from time to time in history the heavenly Christ manifested itself in the world by descending from heaven and falling upon a chosen person. Originally the Christ had settled upon Adam--as the image of God. After Adam's fall the Christ returned to heaven from where he descends upon humans at propitious times. At his baptism Jesus became the latest and greatest of these Christ manifestations.\footnote{485} Peter says of this metamorphosis of the Christ: "the True Prophet, from the beginning of the world hastening through the age."\footnote{486} Epiphanius writes that some Ebionites believe that "in the last days the same Christ who had come to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, came and put on Adam's body, and he appeared to men. . . .\footnote{487}
Hippolytus directly relates Ebionite christology to Jesus' obedience to the Jewish law. He says that Ebionites believe that Jesus' perfect obedience to the Law generated his transformation into the Christ. He writes of the Ebionite Jewish Christians:

They live conformably to the customs of the Jews, alleging that they are justified by the law, and saying that Jesus was justified by fulfilling the law and therefore . . . (the Savior) was named (the) Christ of God and Jesus, since not one of the rest (of mankind) had observed completely the law. . . . For if even any other had fulfilled the commandments (contained) in the law, he would have been that Christ.488

This "christologizing" process not only transformed Jesus into the Christ, but also transforms any law-obedient Christian into the Christ. Hippolytus says:

And the (Ebionaeans allege) that they themselves also, when in like manner they fulfil (the law), are able to become Christs; for they assert that our Lord Himself was a man in a like sense with all (the rest of the human family).489

Ebionite soteriology is related to christology in a distinctly "un-Pauline" way. For them, Jesus' lawful obedience is a pattern for Christians to follow. Conformity to his law-abiding life enables obedient Jewish Christians to be transformed into "Christs." The KP expresses no interest in the soteriological significance of the crucified Jesus.

The teachers' christology is similar to the Ebionites' in that neither possesses a "high" christology which elevates
Jesus to the "Son of God." Neither group values the eschatological significance of the death of Christ. They are also similar to one another in that both portray Jesus as obedient to the Jewish law and as a Teacher of that law. They agree that his words determine which portions of the Torah are relevant. However, the later Ebionites have developed a more complex christology which posits a heavenly Christ who descends to earth from time to time. Although the teachers may ascribe pre-existence to Jesus—as Gal 4:4 perhaps allows—there is no evidence that they hold the Ebionite belief in a heavenly Christ figure who is "hastening through the age."490

(3) Gentile Mission

The Ebionites, as evidenced in the KP, actively pursue a mission to Gentiles. The peregrinations of Peter outside Palestine offer him the opportunity in the KP to preach to multitudes of Gentiles. These journeys extend throughout Syria and Asia Minor. Peter specifies Galatia as a region which needs his law-abiding preaching.491

The KP portrays Gentiles as the descendants of Abraham who is exalted as a great man to whom God granted special promises and wondrous revelations.492 However, the figure of Abraham is superseded in importance and emphasis in the KP by Moses and Jesus.493 The descendants of Abraham—Jews and Gentiles—are taught to follow the examples of these heroes of Israel by obeying the Law of God.
The Ebionites not only have a Gentile mission, but also believe this mission is necessary to provide an antidote to Paul's Gentile mission. Peter says: "the true gospel must be secretly sent abroad for the reunification of the heresies that shall be."⁴⁹⁴ As the apostle of that law-abiding gospel, Peter will "come in upon him [Paul] as light upon darkness, as knowledge upon ignorance, as healing upon disease."⁴⁹⁵ There are similarities between this law-abiding mission and that of the pseudadelphoi who also have "come in upon" Paul's churches.

(4) Conclusion

We have determined that the Ebionites and the teachers possess a similar understanding of the Jewish law. Selected portions of it must be obeyed by both Jews and Gentiles. Obedience to the Law provides access to salvific blessings—including charismatic gifts and special revelations. We have also seen that for both traditions Jesus is understood to be an authoritative Teacher of the Law. The teachers and Ebionites advocate a law-abiding Gentile mission which advances their Jewish Christian gospel. In the process of fulfilling this mission they attempt to rectify the mistakes and errors preached by their "enemy" Paul.

The close similarities have caused A. Salles and Luedemann to suspect that a direct "genetic connection exists between the anti-Pauline sections of the Pseudo-Clementines
and Paul's opponents. Although our study stops short of averring a direct historical connection, we recognize similarities which demonstrate that both traditions are to be situated in a similar Jewish Christian milieu.

b. The Book of Elkesai

The Book of Elkesai was produced in the second century and conveys the teachings of Elkesai, a Jewish Christian charismatic prophet who insisted on the necessity of obedience to the Jewish law. Elkesai taught between 100 C.E. - 117 C.E. in the region of eastern Syria and Western Iraq. After his death, the movement spread westward and was brought to Rome by Alciabides in the third century. Excerpts from the Book of Elkesai and information about the movement are preserved by Origen, Hippolytus, and Epiphanius. In view of G. Bornkamm's recognition of "agreements between the Ebionites or Elkesaite doctrine and the Colossian heresy" we now examine the Elkesaite tradition. To determine whether the Elkesaite tradition is also similar to that of the teachers, we examine three important areas: 1) the Jewish Law and charismatic revelations 2) the role and function of Jesus 3) the Gentile mission.

(1) The Jewish Law

The Elkesaites taught the necessity of obedience to portions of the Jewish law by Jewish and Gentile Christians.
Included in this obedience are "the requirements of circumcision, of sabbath observance, and of prayer in the direction of Jerusalem." 502

Similar to the teachers and the Ebionites, the Elkesaites selectively obey certain portions of the Torah. For example, they did not believe that the Jewish sacrificial law was necessary for the people of God to obey because these laws were alien to God's will. Epiphanius states:

And mark the fraud's insanity! He **bans** burnt offerings and sacrifices, as something **foreign** to God and **never** offered to him on the authority of the fathers and Law, and yet he says we must pray toward Jerusalem, precisely where the altar and sacrifices were--though (he) **rejects** the Jewish custom of eating meat and the rest, and the altar, and fire as being **foreign** to God! 503

The law-abiding tradition of the Elkesaites is also characterized by an intense interest in esoteric knowledge and a scrupulous observance of the calendar and astrology. Origen states that they believe the Book of Elkesai "has fallen from heaven." 504 Hippolytus accuses them of an interest in astrology, magic, and mathematics. He says that the Elkesaites believe they have the "power of foretelling futurity" using "measures and numbers of the . . . Pythagorean art." 505 The necessary relationship of astral observation and mathematics with the calculation and observance of the
Jewish calendar probably contributed to Hippolytus' description.

The Book of Elkesai places the lawful observance of Jewish sacred days in a context suggestive of astrological or magical influences. Elkesai says:

There exist wicked stars of impiety. . . . O ye pious ones and disciples: beware of the power of the days of the sovereignty of these stars, and engage not in the commencement of any undertaking during the ruling days of these. And baptize not man or woman during the days of the power of these stars, when the moon, (emerging) from among them, courses the sky, and travels along with them. Beware of the very day up to that on which the moon passes but from these stars, and then baptize and enter on every beginning of your works. But, moreover, honor the day of the Sabbath, since that day is one of those during which prevails (the power) of these stars. 306

This law-observant tradition does not limit Jewish calendar and purity laws to the status of ceremonial or statutory injunctions, but understands them to convey special knowledge and power. Correct interpretation of and obedience to the divine and ancient Law procures special insights and revelations. For example the Book of Elkesai considers the Jewish Sabbath to be a benchmark from which certain esoteric prophecies are to be dated. Elkesai says:

Take care, however, not to commence your works the third day from a Sabbath, since when three years of the reign of the emperor Trajan are again completed from the time that he subjected the Parthians to his own sway,—when, I say, three
years have been completed, war rages between the impious angels of the northern constellations; and on this account all kingdoms of impiety are in a state of confusion.\textsuperscript{507}

Obedience to Jewish purity laws also conveys divine power--miraculous healing--to the obedient Elkesaite. Healing and exorcism follows obedience to these laws. The Book of Elkesai prescribes Jewish ritual baths for those in need of healing or exorcising a "spirit of destruction," such as rabies.\textsuperscript{508} While being "dipped with all their wearing apparel" the Elkesaite must swear by "the heaven and the water, and the holy spirits, and the angels of prayer, and the oil, and the salt, and the earth" to obey the commandments of God.\textsuperscript{509}

The Elkesaites also possess a striking interest in angelophanies and Christophanies. Elkesai calls upon "holy spirits" and "angels of prayer" and seems to understand the "stars" to be directed by malevolent angelic powers.\textsuperscript{510} The contents of the Book of Elkesai "had been revealed by an angel whose height was 24 schoenoi, which makes 96 miles, and whose breadth is 4 schoenoi. . . ."\textsuperscript{511} Accompanying this revelatory being was a female figure of the same dimensions "called Holy Spirit."\textsuperscript{512} The Book reveals that the male angel is the "Son of God."\textsuperscript{513}

The Elkesaites observe portions of the Jewish law and they understand the divine Law to be a vehicle which provides esoteric knowledge and special revelations and powers to the
obedient. The Elkesaites are part of a Jewish Christian tradition represented by charismatic nomists.

(2) Christology

Although the Elkesaite understanding of christology apparently is more speculative than that of the teachers, they both emphasize the humanity of Jesus. Elkesai asserts that Christ was born a man in the same way as common to all..." (ton Christon ... anthrōpon koinōs pasi gegonenai).\textsuperscript{514}

Neither the teachers or the Elkesaites consider Jesus Christ to be an eschatological figure whose death and resurrection have soteriological importance. Similar to the Jewish Christian tradition represented by the Ebionites, the Elkesaites also believe that the "Christ" is born repetitively as a human on earth. Hippolytus says: "He had been born and would be born. Christ would thus appear and exist among us from time to time, undergoing alterations of birth, and having his soul transferred from body to body."\textsuperscript{515}

(3) The Gentile Mission

Our sources indicate that the Elkesaites pursued a Gentile mission. Despite the paucity of information it is apparent that the Elkesaites were not limited to eastern Syria and western Iraq. Luedemann offers evidence from the "newly opened Cologne Mani codes" that the Elkesaites established congregation(s) in what is now southern Iraq.\textsuperscript{516} Origen
remarks on their influence in Caesarea.\textsuperscript{517} And in the third century Hippolytus substantiates their missionary activity as far west as Rome.\textsuperscript{518} By the fourth century the Elkesaites appear to be confined to the trans-Jordan region of Nabataea in "Perarea near Moabitis."\textsuperscript{519} Such evidence indicates that Elkesaites preached their particular law-abiding and esoteric tradition over a wide-spread region.

(4) Conclusion on the Elkesaites

Our analysis of the Elkesaites has found some important points of contact with the tradition represented by the earlier teachers. Both traditions observe select portions of the Jewish law, specifically circumcision and Jewish holy days. Both traditions enjoy miraculous gifts and heavenly revelations. Angelic beings play a role in both traditions. Neither tradition preaches the Pauline christology, preferring instead a "lower" christology which emphasizes the humanity of Jesus. Both traditions repudiate Paul and engage in their own Gentile missionary enterprise. Although the Elkesaites have developed a speculative christology which may be lacking in the teachers' gospel, both groups belong to a Jewish Christian tradition which is characterized by charismatic nomism.

D. Jewish Christianity, Judaism, Catholicism, and Islam

Jewish Christianity became progressively isolated from both Judaism and the emerging Church. Its rejection of select
portions of the Torah as uninspired and its confession of Jesus Christ as the Teacher whose words are the criterion for differentiating between true and false portions of Scripture alienated them from post-Jamnia (ca. 90 C.E. onward) Judaism. Its insistence on Jewish and Gentile obedience to major portions of the Torah and its advocacy of a "low" christology distanced Jewish Christianity from "orthodox" Christianity. Schoeeps documents Rabbinic and Gentile Christian criticism of Jewish Christian groups in Palestine, Syria, and the trans-Jordan region. Jerome sums up the prevailing opinion in the fourth century: "But as long as they desire to be both Jews and Christians, they are neither Jews nor Christians."

Such a confessional evaluation did not deter Jewish Christianity from its self-understanding as the authentic heir of the Jesus Movement. Jewish Christianity maintained its existence in the east, especially in the trans-Jordan region, for several centuries. In so doing, it influenced and was influenced by various other Palestinian religious groups which had fled there after the catastrophes of 70 C.E. and 135 C.E. These groups included Essenes, Samaritans, Mandaens, and others. Together with Jewish Christianity these groups contributed to the rich and lush religious topography of the trans-Jordan region which greeted the arrival of Islam in the seventh century.
The influence of Jewish Christianity on Mohammed and early Islam is obscure, but Schoeps and Pines have discovered specific connections. The type of Christianity which most influenced the pagan Mohammed through caravan trade in the trans-Jordan region was, most likely, a form of Jewish Christianity.\textsuperscript{523} It seems that many Ebionite and Elkesaite concepts and customs were preserved for centuries in Syria and Mesopotamia. Traditional Jewish Christian teachings resurface in Islamic Shi'ah groups--Druses, Nusairis, and Yezidis. These traditional elements include "circumcision, baptismal customs, illustrations, depreciation of the female element, and the pork-taboo."\textsuperscript{524}

Another similarity which the Jewish Christianity of the Ebionites and Elkesaites holds with Islam is the tradition of the True Prophet. These traditions concur that from time to time God sends to earth the True Prophet who reforms existing religions and directs the people to true worship. The Pseudo-Clementines state: "This is religion, to fear him alone and to believe only the Prophet of Truth."\textsuperscript{525} Islam recognizes Jesus to be one of the special messengers sent by God to the people.

As in the tradition of the Jewish Christian teachers, Islam considers Abraham to be the example, \textit{par excellence}, of Gentile conversion. Also, Abraham is neither Jewish nor Christian. He serves as a mediating figure between Islam and Jewish Christianity. The covenant made with Abraham unites
the obedient at a point in time prior to Judaism and Christendom. Schoeps concludes:

And thus we have a paradox of world-historical proportions, viz., the fact that Jewish Christianity indeed disappeared with the Christian church, but was preserved in Islam and thereby extended some of its basic ideas even to our own day. . . . Moses and Jesus . . . were in Hegelian terms, 'taken up' in Islam.

E. Conclusion to Chapter Four

Our search for Jewish and Jewish Christian traditions similar to the teachers' tradition has located several examples which bear some important similarities. We have examined Jewish sources predating Jesus which evince the presence of themes, concepts, and tendencies appearing later in the teachers' tradition. We have also located Jewish Christian groups with gospel traditions akin to the teachers' alternative gospel.

The first section of this chapter located Jewish traditions which were similar to the teachers in at least two ways: 1) charismatic nomism, and 2) Abraham as a model of salvation. The Jewish works of I Enoch, Jubilees, and Qumran evince the existence of traditions which understood that obedience to the Jewish law would procure heavenly revelations for the righteous. Like the teachers, these sources emphasized the importance of the rite of circumcision and the sacred calendar. Similar to the teachers, these traditions
associated angelic revelations and charismatic gifts of the Spirit with obedience to these laws. As with the teachers, several traditions during the Second Temple Period portrayed Abraham as a proto-typical proselyte who received circumcision and enjoyed charismatic revelations, including angelic visitations. The central place and function which these traditions assigned to the Jewish law, traditions, and heroes suggest that they are part of the same, or similar, Jewish milieu to which the charismatic nomists in Galatia belong. Each represents a type of Judaism which understands the Torah to be God's revelation which, if observed, will convey supernatural and charismatic power to the obedient.

The second section of this chapter uncovered examples of Jewish Christian religious traditions similar to the teachers' gospel tradition. Beginning with the Jerusalem Jewish Christian community we identified the presence of a "right-wing" law-observant tradition to which the Galatian teachers belong. We saw that the "right-wing" tradition was active prior to 50 C.E. and that its power and influence increased in the period between 50 C.E. and 70 C.E. Zealous for the Law and critical of Paul this wing gained control of the Jerusalem Christian community.

We recognized the presence and influence of the Jewish Christian law-abiding tradition in other canonical sources, specifically Colossians. In Colossians we determined that the "philosophy" was similar to the teachers in several remarkable
respects. The philosophy observed the Jewish calendar, food laws and probably the rite of circumcision. Like the teachers this Jewish Christian teaching related obedience to the Law to the stoicheia tou kosmou and was interested in angelic revelations. Similar to the teachers, the philosophy did not express a "high" christology. Despite certain differences, the philosophy was, like the teachers' tradition, a law-abiding Jewish Christian tradition interested in Gentile converts.

In our investigation of non-canonical sources we located Jewish Christian traditions in Syria and the trans-Jordan region which bore significant similarities to the Jewish Christian "right-wing" tradition described in the canonical literature. Our study compared the teachers' theology to two specific law-observant groups: the Ebionites and the Elkesaites.

We saw that the Ebionites' critical use of the Jewish law and interest in charismatic revelations were similar to the teachers' selective use of the Law and concern for charismatic gifts and revelations. Both groups were found to advocate a "low" christology which placed an emphasis upon the humanity of Jesus. Each possessed a Gentile mission and inveighed against Paul.

We determined that the Elkesaites also belonged to a Jewish Christian law-observant tradition. Although the Elkesaites possessed a speculative and esoteric Christology
and were preoccupied with the importance of their prophet, Elkesai, the group had important similarities to the teachers. They held in common with the teachers obedience to the rite of circumcision and observance of the Jewish calendar. They also presupposed that obedience to the Jewish law procured special blessings and charismatic gifts. Angelic revelations were important to each group. Both movements had a law-abiding Gentile mission and both disparaged Paul.

We closed our search for traditions similar to that of the teachers with an acknowledgement of the existence of Jewish Christianity in the Syrian and trans-Jordan region during the following centuries. Unacceptable to Judaism and Christendom, these groups faded from history. Despite their eventual departure, our quest for Jewish Christian traditions concluded with a recognition of their enduring influence in the religion of Islam.

IV. CONCLUSION

As stated in Chapter One of this study, the primary purpose of this investigation was to identify the Galatian teachers and their alternative gospel. From our history of research crucial issues emerged which were formulated into three important interrogatives. These and related questions became the primary focus of the remaining three chapters. As each question was addressed and answered the identification of
the teachers and their gospel message was sharpened and clarified.

Chapter Two focused on the question of the historical origins of the teachers, their relation to Paul, and the issue of authority. Their gospel's interest in Abraham and circumcision as well as Moses and the Law was addressed. We determined that the teachers were connected with Jerusalem—perhaps their headquarters—and were on a law-abiding Gentile mission to Galatia. They demeaned Paul and were successful at winning the Galatians' loyalty from the founder to themselves. Believing that they were authentic representatives, perhaps apostles, of Jesus' gospel, the teachers preached that the Galatians must become sons of Abraham by submitting to the Jewish rite of circumcision. The teachers also enforced obedience to portions of the law of Moses, including observance of the Jewish calendar. Such compliance would permit the Galatian Gentiles to become full members of the Israel of God.

Chapter Three examined the question of the teachers' soteriology and christology. We determined that the teachers offered the Galatians the promise, blessing, and inheritance made to Abraham as soteriological benefits of obedience to the Torah. The primary content of these blessings consisted of the Spirit and its charismatic gifts. We concluded—with Cosgrove—that the teachers presented the Jewish law as the means by which these salvific blessings were procured. As a
vehicle or medium of salvation, the Jewish law served as the conduit which enabled the obedient to enjoy the promises of heavenly revelations and spiritual gifts made to the sons of Abraham.

We saw that the teachers revered Jesus as a messianic Teacher of the Law who was firmly rooted in the history and traditions of Israel. His teachings expressed in the "law of Christ" were determinative of the meaning and applicability of the Torah for Christians. As followers of the "law of Christ," the teachers did not observe every detail of the Torah, but they selectively obeyed its laws. Primary among these commands were circumcision and the sacred calendar. We determined that these laws possessed symbolic meaning and procured spiritual power for the observant. Such charismatic power included angelic revelations, miracles, and ecstatic utterances--flowing from an open heaven to obedient Galatians.

Our final chapter located the teachers in Jewish and Jewish Christian history and sources. We saw that there were other religious traditions before Jesus and after him which taught that the Jewish law, as exemplified in the lives of such heroes of Israel as Abraham, was the medium of access to heavenly and charismatic blessings.

These traditions were part of a variegated and diverse religious landscape. The intertestamental sources document a diversity of beliefs, practices, and groups within Judaism. Similarly, the Christian sources evince multiplicity within
the Jesus Movement. The teachers belonged to an important law-observant charismatic tradition situated within a wide spectrum of competing and rival Jewish and Christian faiths.

By locating this tradition in Jewish history prior to the teachers and in Jewish Christian history after the teachers, a line of tradition emerges which indicates that the teachers participated in a significant and long-standing Jewish and Jewish Christian law-abiding charismatic tradition. Seen in this light, the situational polemic of the Galatian letter is one in which a specific manifestation of this venerable tradition was encountered by a non-law-abiding Christian (Paulinist) tradition. The teachers' tradition was not the stereotypical Jewish "legalism" portrayed by some interpreters. Nor was their tradition composed of antinomian "gnostics" as Lütgert and Schmithals believed. Instead, this tradition understood the Jewish Torah to be a life-giving revelation which would provide profound spiritual and salvific blessings to those who would follow its wondrous path.

From our examination of the issues set forth in the history of research a portrait of the teachers and their gospel emerged which identified them as Jewish Christian charismatic nomists on a law-observant mission to Galatia. The teachers enjoyed considerable success in convincing many Gentiles to submit to circumcision and observe Jewish laws. From the teachers' point of view they were proclaiming Jesus' gospel and Israel's glorious Torah to the recently pagan
Gentiles. As such their gospel mission was evidence of God's gracious inclusion of the Gentiles in the salvific promises and blessings of Israel. In this way the teachers belong to a venerable Jewish tradition which considered the Jewish Torah to be the means for participating in heavenly and charismatic blessings. Since they interpreted the Torah through the teachings of Jesus' "law of Christ," the teachers also are part of the Jewish Christian nomist tradition—a tradition which in certain regions retained its independence from other Jewish and Christian traditions for centuries.

If Paul was to thwart the teachers' overwhelming success in Galatia, he would need to produce a worthy response. Confronted by the power, authority, and success of the teachers' gospel, Paul wrote the letter of Galatians. Although many of the Galatians may have been influenced by Paul's arguments against the teachers' gospel, some probably were not. Those charismatic nomists who resisted Paul's rhetoric and remained obedient to the ancient Jewish Torah believed that God's Law was a sacred revelation which all Jews and Gentiles must observe. Salvific life and its charismatic gifts were received by Torah-observance.
1. Chronological issues are discussed in Robert Jewett's *Paul's Anthropological Terms: A study of their Use in Conflict Settings* (Leiden, 1971) 1ff; Gerd Luedemann *Paul, Apostle to the Gentiles, Studies in Chronology* (Philadelphia, 1984), 46-75, 762. The north versus south conflict over the geographic area represented by Galatia is not over. See Heinrich Schlier, *Der Brief an Die Galater* (Göttingen, 1962), 17, n.1; William Ramsey, *The Cities of St. Paul* (Grand Rapids, 1949), 17ff. Frederic F. Bruce, *Commentary on Galatians* (Grand Rapids, 1982), 3-18; Joseph B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (London, 1865), 14ff argues for the northern theory. If the northern theory is correct, it is likely that the Galatians in that region were of Celtic origins, migrating from the Danube basin and about 277 B.C.E., crossing the Hellespont into Asia Minor, where they occupied former Phrygian territory. By the time of Paul's letter they were Hellenized. See Arnold H. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford, 1971). The repetitive use of the metaphor of slavery in the letter may suggest that some Galatian Christians are or were slaves (3:28, et. al.).

2. This is the number of Greek words in the *Greek New Testament*, third edition (New York: United Bible Societies, 1978).


5. See note 133 of this study.


7. Presentation by Dr. Werner Kelber in seminar in Pauline studies, Rice University, 1990.

9. The period of Second Temple Judaism refers to "the age extending from the beginning of the Restoration, the return of the Jews from the Babylonian Exile (536 B.C.E.), down to the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem by the Romans under Titus in the year 70 C.E.," Michael E. Stone, Scriptures, Sects, and Visions (Philadelphia, 1980), 11.


15. Harnack said that Marcion was "the only man of his age who understood Paul, and even in his understanding of him he misunderstood him," Adolf V. Harnack, Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott. Eine Monographie zur Geschichte der Grundlegung der katholischen Kirche. Neue Studien zu Marcion. (Leipzig, 1921), 230.


35. Adolf Hilgenfeld, *Der Galaterbrief* (Leipzig, 1852), 58, 65ff.


38. Ritschl, *Entstehung*, 106. Ritschl, Luedemann, and M. Simon correctly define Jewish Christianity as the type of Christianity in which obedience to the Jewish Torah is essential. Thus, non-Jews who are Torah-observant are to be classified as Jewish Christians--but not, of course, Christian Jews. See Luedemann, *Jewish Christianity*, 26.


40. Lightfoot, *Galatians*.

44. Those scholars holding to a form of the Tübingen thesis include such names as E. Meyer, H. Lietzmann, W.M.L. de Wette, C. Holsten, A. Loisy, A Jülicher, E. Stauffer, S.G.F. Brandon.
47. See note 17 of this study.
54. In Chapter Two of this study.
59. This view will be developed in Chapter Two.
62. Ibid., 44-45.

63. Ibid., 46-51.

64. Ibid., 33-34. He justifies his position by pointing to Paul's remarks in 5:3 and 6:13, which imply that the teachers are not traditional law-keepers. But it is questionable whether these passages mean that the teachers are not nomists. In fact, it is probable that these texts demonstrate that the teachers assume that they are obeying the Law.


66. Lütgert, Gesetz, 9-58, 89-93.

67. Ropes, Problem.

68. Ropes, Problem, 10.


72. Ibid., 495.

73. Ibid.


77. Ibid.

78. Ibid.


89. Schlier, *Galater*.
93. *Ibid.*, 191, n.3; Betz, *Galatians*, 204, n.31 remarks: "But insofar as the term "personal" can be attributed to demons, they certainly were;" Schmithals, *Gnosticism*, 45 and n. 91; Koester, "GNOMAI," 147; Günther Bornkamm, *Paul* (New York, 1971), 82; Gerhard Delling, "stoicheion," *TDNT* 7.670-87; Hawkins, *Paul*, 181-250, for an excellent survey of this material on which the following is based.


110. Ibid.

111. Ibid.

112. Ibid., 228.


115. Ibid., 187.

116. Ibid., 165-167.

117. Ibid., 170.


119. Ibid., 34, 38.

120. Ibid., 52, 60. Segal's provocative work identifies Paul's ascent in II Corinthians 12 as an example of *merchabah* mysticism in which the visionary ascends to the heavenly throne of God, where esoteric knowledge is received from angels and the *kavod* ("glory") of God is revealed. Segal
argues that Paul offers this "glory" to Jesus-followers in II Corinthians 3 where Paul remarks that they are being changed into the "glory" of Christ, the image of God.


123. Betz, Galatians.

124. Ibid., 14–25; Quintilian, The Institutio Oratoria. Translated by H.E. Butler, LCL, 4 vols.


126. Betz, Galatians, David John Lull, The Spirit in Galatia Paul's Interpretation of PNEUMA as Divine Power (Chico, CA, 1980). For Betz and Lull, the alternative gospel enforces obedience to Jewish Law in order to achieve "right-standing" before God.

127. Betz, Galatians, 28; Lull, Spirit, 6, 38.


129. Ibid., 9, 11, 38, 42, 87. Lull fails to specify what he means by the "ceremonial" law or the "rites of Moses," nor does he defend such an ambiguous statement. Page 42 illustrates his indebtedness to the traditional Reformation view.
130. Ibid., 11. There is no evidence in Galatians for the sacrificial system of Torah.

131. Davies, Studies, 182.

132. Ibid., 178.


134. See notes 17 and 70 of this study. Also Martin Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine During the Early Hellenistic Period, (Philadelphia, 1981), 2 vols.


136. Sanders, Paul, 479-523, and his notes, esp. 57.

137. Luedemann, Jewish Christianity.


140. See the studies of Walter Ong. For example, "The Writer's Audience is Always a Fiction," in Interfaces of the Word: Studies in the Evolution of Consciousness and Culture (Ithaca, 1977); Orality and Literacy (New York, 1982). Also,


146. Ong, "Audience."


150. Georgi, *Opponents*.


156. See note 36 of this study.

157. Segal, Paul, xiii.


159. Betz, Galatians, 108.

160. Ibid., 261.

161. Paul includes other traditions, such as the Jerusalem "pillars," under his "gospel," but excludes the teachers because the content of their gospel violated his criteria of authenticity.

162. See II Corinthians 11:4 for an example of another alternative "gospel."


164. Betz, Galatians, 136.

165. Calvin, Epistles, 4-7, 115-116; Luther, Galatians, 9-12; Longenecker, Paul, 212-17. Bruce, Galatians, 19-32.

166. Munck, Paul, argues as do Ernst Hirsch and Wilhelm Michaelis, for a Gentile origin of the "teachers."

167. Ibid., 89.


169. Luedemann, Jewish Christianity, 102.


171. The collapse of Munck's theory means that the teachers must be placed in relationship to the various other Christian traditions and groups, especially in the Jerusalem community. We attempt this task in the second section of our Chapter Four.


174. Luedemann, *Jewish Christianity*, 101. See our Chapter Four for a discussion of the various groups within the Jerusalem Christian community.


177. This idea was suggested to me by Dr. W. Kelber in September, 1990. I add that these "true authorities" probably include other disciples of Jesus than the "pillars" — perhaps some of the remaining "non-pillar" apostles.


179. Betz, *Galatians*, 98, 99 note 395. Paul's defense of his apostleship omits the fact that he was not one of the original followers of Jesus. And his emphasis on a direct revelation and call from the resurrected Jesus evinces his awareness that his apostolic credentials are different from those of the original apostles.


191. Ibid.

192. Ibid.

193. Ibid.

194. Paper presented in Pauline seminar, Rice University, 1990. Supportive of this view of the "two covenants" is the direct reference in 4:24 to the two mothers of the two sons: "these women are two covenants." Paul appears to write in response to the belief that each mother and son represents a particular covenant.

195. Later Scripture itself takes this line: see Ps 105:8ff; other references in Betz, 157, n. 35.


199. Dunn, Chaps 7 and 8; his response to critics, 206-13, esp.210. Contra Dunn, the Antioch episode concerned the Gentiles' lack of circumcision, not necessarily clean and unclean food. Dunn would include food laws as a part of the teachers' demands. This is possible, but the text does not say so.

200. Schlier probably has the best explanation of what Paul meant by citing the passage from Deut. 27:26 -- Paul contrasts the act of "believing" with the act of "doing" (Galater, 131ff). We add that the act of doing the Law is an act of doing a written code, or, better, doing a prescribed formula. Paul contrasts believing in the oral proclamation of his gospel to doing the prescribed written formula. See W. Kelber, *Gospel*, 151-159.
201. Betz, Galatians, 126.

202. Ibid., 14-25, on the letter as an "apology" in the rhetorical tradition.

203. Paul's use of "rule" (kanon) refers to his criterion in 6:15 -- the "new creation."


205. Outside of Galatians, Abraham appears in Rms. 4:1, 2, 12, 12, 16, 9:7, 11:1; 2 Cor. 11:22. Moses appears in Rms. 5:14, 10:5, I Cor. 9:9, 10:2, 2 Cor. 3:7, 13, 15.

206. Betz, Galatians, 169 and n. 62, 63.

207. Paul's statement in vs. 20 that God is one contrasts with the fact that the angels and the Israelites for whom Moses is a mediator are more than one. The presupposition is that God as one is better than multiplicity, therefore his one promise to the one Abraham is better than the many laws from the many angels to the many people. Also, the angels may pass the Law down through various hierarchies—seriatim.

208. Spec. 1.116, quoted in Betz, Galatians, 170, n. 75.

209. Georgi, Opponents, 254-258.

210. Lütgert, Gesetz; Schmithals, Gnostics, 13-64.


212. Ibid., especially note 2 which refutes other interpretations of the content of the "promise" in Galatians. Richard B. Hays says "promise" refers to blessing, life; righteousness, and Spirit, The Faith of Jesus Christ. An Investigation of the Narrative Substructure of Galatians (Chico, CA, 1983), 153. J.C. Beeker regards the "promise" as a reference to "Christ." Williams effectively defends his view that the "promise" specifically denotes the "Spirit" Christians receive from God at baptism and/or through preaching and in ecstatic experiences; Cosgrove, Cross, 90ff.

213. Betz, Galatians, 153, n. 140; 156-157, 159.

214. See Chapter Two above.


224. Ibid., 77, n. 26.


226. Isenberg, "Torah," 24-52. Isenberg identifies several sources in the period which served as repositories or media of religious power, such as the Temple and the Law. Association with such "redemptive media" could produce salvific experiences.


229. Ibid., 479-523, esp. 492-497.

230. Ibid., 494.

231. II Cor. 8:6; Phil. 1:6.


236. Schmithals recognizes this peculiarity, *Gnostics*, 33, but draws unhelpful inferences; Brinsmead agrees that the teachers' nomism is selective, *Galatians*, 119.

237. See Chapter Two above.


241. There is no need to adopt Koester's view of a mythologization of the covenant.


244. Betz can not provide a specific reference from the *KP* of the phrase "law of Christ," but our Chapter Four cites the *KP* for references to Jesus as a law-abiding "Teacher of the truth." Chapter Four, nts. 176-179. The "truth" in the *KP* is the rightly interpreted Torah. Also, the Christian tradition represented by the Gospel of Matthew portrays Jesus as a teacher of the Law in Mt. 5:2, 17-20.


248. I Cor. 12:3; Schmithals, *Gnosticism*.


253. *IOP* Hab. 11.13
259. A close reading of Schmithals' citations in *Gnostics*, 36-39 reveals no clear evidence for literal circumcision among gnostics. It appears that Cerinthus and the Elkesaites practiced the literal rite, but they were not gnostics -- nor are the teachers. For Jewett's critique see "Agitators," 199. See also, R. McL. Wilson, "Gnostics--in Galatia?" *Studia Evangelica*, vol. 4, ed. F.L. Cross (Tu 102, Berlin, 1968), 358-367.
265. Lev. 23:2.
266. I Enoch 80:1-8; 82:1-20; Jubilees 6:17, 18, 32-37; Dan. 9:2, 24.
267. See history of research in Chapter One.
270. De *Vita Contem.*, 3-4.
271. Quoted in Bruce *Galatians*, 193-194. But this account of the life of Alexander dates from the second century C.E.
273. See Chapter One, Excursus and notes.

274. Betz, Galatians, 204-5 and n. 30.


276. See Chapter Four below.

277. Schlier, Galater, 23.

278. See I Enoch 72-82.


280. A. Strobel, "Die Passag-Erwartung als urchristliches Problem," ZNW 49 (1958), 163f, quoted in Bruce, Galatians, 205.

281. Blumenthal, Mysticism, 5-8; Rowland, Open Heaven, 120-123; Gunther, Opponents, 89-94; Aristobulus cited in Hengel, Hellenism, I, 166-169.

282. Rowland, Open Heaven.

283. See Chapter Two above.

284. Stone, Sects, 31-45; Smith, Jesus, 142ff; Segal, Paul, 34ff.


287. Segal, Paul, 38, 58.

288. See Chapter Two above.


290. II Enoch 55:2. II Enoch may be a late first or second-century Christian adaptation of an earlier Jewish work.


292. II Cor. 12:2.

293. Segal, Paul, 53-54.
294. Schlier, Galater, 21-24; 203-207; Segal, Paul, 34-71; Tabor, Unutterable, 80ff.

295. Kelber, Gospel, 151-155: "Apart from creating complexification and distanciation, the Law is beset with yet another problem: it produces alienation. . . . For Paul the Law as written authority locks Abraham's heirs behind its verbal walls, and instead of opening up to God, alienates and creates a sphere of sin." But, for the teachers "the Law as written authority" frees "Abraham's heirs" through its laws, and "opening up to" the Spirit "creates" participation in pneumatistic life.


302. Hengel, Judaism; 58-254; Sandmel, First, 15-21, 58-142; Davies, Studies, 164-171.

303. See notes 304, 307, and 367 below.

304. Hengel, Hellenism, 171-175.

305. Ibid.

306. See note 299 of this study.


308. I Enoch 84:4-20; 93:10 - 94:1.

309. 1:2.
310. 103:2.
311. 41:1-9; 72ff.
313. 82:8.
314. 82:4-6.
316. 93:11.
317. 93:12.
318. 91:1, 17, 19.
319. O.S. Wintemute in Charlesworth, Pseudepigrapha, II, 44, 45.
320. Ibid., 46.
321. F.M. Cross quoted in Ibid.
322. Wintemute in Charlesworth, Pseudepigrapha, 46.
324. 5-10; 11-23:8; 24-15; 46-50.
326. 6:17, 18.
327. 2:30. Emphasis added.
328. 2:18.
329. 2:28.
330. 15:11-34.
332. 15:27.
333. 15:25.
334. 1:23-25.
335. Chapter Three above.
337. Newsom, Sabbath, 1-3; 467.
338. Ibid., 474, 475.
339. Ibid., 1-2.
340. Ibid., 5-21.
341. 4Q400 2:3-5.
343. Ibid.
344. Ibid.; 4Q403 1 i 41-46.
345. Newsom, Sabbath, 16.
346. Ibid., 17.
347. 4Q400 2:6-8.
348. Ibid.
349. 4Q403 1 i 30-36.
350. 4Q403 1 ii 7-9.
351. 4Q405 17:1-8.


353. War 7:6. Also 12:7 and Deut. 23:15. from which this purity requirement probably derives.


355. IQSb iii 25, 26.
356. Ibid., iv 25, 26.
357. IQH iii 21, 22.
358. IQS xi 7-8.

359. Newsom, Sabbath, 64.

360. Chapter Three above.

361. 4Q400 1:15.

362. 4Q400 1:17.

363. Newsom, Sabbath, 20. A soon-to-be-published text known as MMT for Miqsat Ma'aseh ha-Torah -- literally, "Some Rulings Pertaining to the Torah" -- begins with a calendar. This document, also called the Halakhic Letter, is extremely important because it appears to be "essentially a foundation document of the Qumran Sect" and consists of a polemic against other Jewish understandings of some twenty-two laws. [L. H. Schiffman in Bible Review 5, 1990:23; cf. Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, "An Unpublished Halakhic Letter from Qumran," in Biblical Archaeology Today, ed. Janet Amitai, (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1985), pp. 400-07.] If Schiffman is correct about the foundational importance of this unique (no other such polemic has come from Qumran) work, the calendar once again looms large in this area of Judaism. Schiffman and the second generation of Qumran scholars are saying that the term "Essene" may have designated a variety of sectarian groups that had common characteristics. Accordingly most scholars now refer to the 'Qumran sect,' no longer assuming that it is limited to the "Essenes."

364. Chapter Three above.

365. Hengel, Judaism, 171-175; Brinsmead, Galatians, 120.

366. Even the angels obey the law of circumcision and observe the sacred calendar.


369. Ibid.

370. Ibid., 146.

371. Philo, Quaes. Gen., iii, 45.

372. Ibid.

373. Ibid. iii, 51; Goodenough, Light, 147.


381. Chapter Three above.

382. 11:17; Brinsmead, *Galatians*, 107ff.

383. 12:3-5.

384. 12:20ff.


386. 12:25-27.

387. 15:25; 16:9, 18:19.


389. Chapter Two above.

390. 15:26-34; 30:11.


405. Luedemann, *Opposition*, discusses several definitions, including the one of Simon, p. 27-32. Simon regards Jewish Christianity as those Christians who observe the Jewish Law as if it was important or essential for salvation. This definition includes both Jews and Gentiles who observe significant portions of the Torah. See also Simon, *Versus Israel: A Study of the Relations between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire*, (Oxford, 1986). Danielou, *Theology*, offers a broader definition.


407. G. Luedemann's study provides the most recent thorough analysis of anti-Paulinism in the early church.


410. See our history of research in Chapter One.

412. *Ibid.*, 38, 39. "The incident at Antioch must therefore be classified as an anti-Pauline action on the part of James the Lord's brother."


414. Luedemann reconstructs the much criticized Tübingen thesis. See Ritschl and Lightfoot for effective criticisms of Tübingen.


420. I Cor. 3:22; 9:5, 6; 15:5-7; Col. 4:10.

421. I Cor. 16:1-4; II Cor. 8:2-4; 9:3ff; Rms. 15:25-28.


428. See history of research, Chapter One.

429. "Pneumaticists" in I Corinthians; "divine-men apostles" in II Corinthians; "apocalypticists" in I and II Thessalonians.

430. This gospel tradition (or expressions of it) is found in Philippians, Colossians, and elsewhere.

432. Martin Dibelius "The Isis Initiation in Apuleius and Related Initiatory Rites" in *Conflict at Colossae*, ed. Fred O. Francis and Wayne A. Meeks (Missoula, 1975), 61-122. See the review of research in *Conflict at Colossae*, 209-218.


437. Lohse, *Colossians*, 121; Francis, "Humility," 176-181;

438. Lohse, *Colossians*, 41-61, 111-113, 133-144. "There is universal agreement that the Colossian error fundamentally consists of a limitation of Christology," in Francis, "Humility," 183. Francis proceeds to shift the emphasis to soteriology.


446. See the recent discussion of the Pella tradition in Luedemann, *Opposition*, 200–213.

447. See note 36 of this study, esp. the discussion of the KP by Strecke. Luedemann also, *Opposition*, 177–194.


450. KP in *Recognitions of Clement*, VII, 29 in *ANF*, VIII, 163.


452. Ibid., II:5.


457. Ibid., II, 29, 8:1–9:2; 30, 2:1, 2; 30, 17:5.


460. Ibid.


466. Ibid., VIII, 11.

467. Ibid., XIX, 22, ANF, 337.

468. Ibid.

469. Ibid.

470. Recognitions, IV, 36 in ANF, 143.

471. Ibid., n. 2.

472. Schoeps, Jewish, 89-91.

473. Ibid.; Homilies II, 16 in ANF, 231.


476. Ibid., II, 38-52 in ANF, VIII, 236-238.

477. Ibid., III, 47, 49 in ANF, VIII, 247.


479. Schoeps, Jewish, 67.

480. "Epistle of Clement to James" in Homilies in ANF, VIII, 218; Recognitions IV, 5 in ANF, 135.


482. Ibid, XVI, 15 in ANF, VIII, 316.


484. Ibid.

485. See Schoeps analysis Jewish, 64, 70.

486. Ibid., 70 and Recognitions II, 22 in ANF, 103.


489. *Ibid*.

490. See note 480 and 486 of this study.


495. *Ibid*.

496. Luedemann, *Opposition*, 303, 304, nts. 82 and 104.


498. *Ibid*.

499. *Ibid*.


507. *Ibid*.


509. *Ibid*.
510. Ibid., IC 8-11, in ANF, V, 132, 133.
511. Ibid., IX, 8 in ANF, V, 132.
512. Ibid.
513. Ibid.
514. Ibid.
515. Ibid.
516. Luedemann, Opposition, 138 and n. 52
517. Ibid., 129, 137.
518. Hippolytus, Refutations, IX, 8, in ANF, V, 131.
520. Schoeps, Jewish, 130-136.
521. Quoted in Ibid., 133.
522. Ibid., 136-140; Simon, Sects, 105.
524. Ibid., 137.
525. Homilies VII, 8 in ANF, VIII, 269.
527. Ibid., 140.
528. See history of research, Chapter One.
529. I Cor. 16:1 implies some Galatians remained faithful Paulinists. But there are indications that the law-observant gospel gained the ascendancy in the diaspora by the time of Paul's death (Phil. 1:15-18, 28; 3:2-11, 18, 19; Col. 2:8-23;
I Tim. 1:7; 6:4; II Tim. 1:15; 3:1-17; 4:3-18; Titus 1:10-16; 3:9-11.)
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