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New Chapters in the Life of Paul

The Relative Chronology of
His Career

BY
Gregory Tatum, O.P.

The Catholic Biblical Quarterly
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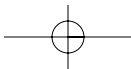
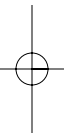
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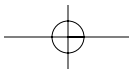
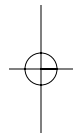
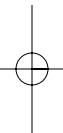
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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The jigsaw puzzle of Paul's life and thought lies in disarray. Discrete pieces of the puzzle—events and letters, money and politics, visits and travel plans, issues and arguments—are scattered across the table of scholarly discussion. Earlier attempts to fit the pieces together have failed because of their faulty methodological assumptions. Older biographies of Paul tailored the information from Paul's letters to fit the narrative sequence of Acts.¹ They hypothesized either a united front of Jerusalem-based Judaizers in Galatia, Corinth, and Philippi or a multiplicity of exotic adversaries.² Older theologies of Paul assumed either that his thought was static and coherent, or that it developed in a linear trajectory.³ The weakness of these assumptions has been demonstrated by three major revisionist critiques.

¹ For example, see T. H. Campbell, "Paul's 'Missionary Journeys' as Reflected in His Letters," *JBL* 74 (1955) 123-33.

² For the united front of Judaizers, see Ferdinand Christian Baur, *Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ: His Life and Work, His Epistles and His Doctrine. A Contribution to the Critical History of Primitive Christianity* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1875-1876); and Gerd Lüdemann, *Opposition to Paul in Jewish Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989). For an extravagant array of opponents, see Walter Schmithals, *Gnosticism at Corinth: An Investigation of the Letters to the Corinthians* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1971); Dieter Georgi, *The Opponents of Paul in Second Corinthians* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984); Robert Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms: A Study of Their Use in Conflict Settings* (Leiden: Brill, 1971); and John J. Gunther, *St. Paul's Opponents and Their Background: A Study of Apocalyptic and Jewish Sectarian Teachings* (Leiden: Brill, 1973).

³ For examples of systematizing, see Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (London: SCM, 1952); Fernand Prat, S.J., *The Theology of Saint Paul* (London:

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First, John Knox pointed out that the primary sources for Pauline biography are Paul's letters, whereas the Book of Acts is only a secondary source.⁴ Responsible historical method reverses the earlier approach; one must tailor the secondary sources to fit the primary. Second, the current trend in reconstructing opponents reacts against the speculative character of the older approaches. Rigorous reconstruction requires giving pride of place to explicit references to opponents and recognizing their polemical character. Victor Paul Furnish and his student, Jerry L. Sumney, are representative of this revisionist critique.⁵ Third, E. P. Sanders, Heikki Räisänen, and J. Christiaan Beker have recognized the historical contingency and radical diversity of Paul's arguments.⁶ This critique has undermined the systematic approach to Paul's own theology.

Burns, Oates, and Washbourne, 1926); and H. Ridderbos, *Paul: An Outline of His Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975). For examples of reconstructions of linear trajectories, see Charles Buck and Greer Taylor, *Saint Paul: A Study of the Development of His Thought* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969); C. H. Dodd, "The Mind of Paul: I," and "The Mind of Paul: II," in *New Testament Studies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1953) 67-129; John W. Drane, *Paul Libertine or Legalist? A Study of the Theology of the Major Pauline Epistles* (London: SPCK, 1975); Hans Hübner, *Law in Paul's Thought* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1984); John Coolidge Hurd, Jr., "Pauline Chronology and Pauline Theology," in *Christian History and Interpretation: FS John Knox* (ed. W. R. Farmer, C. F. D. Moule, R. R. Niebuhr; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967) 225-48; and "The Sequence of Paul's Letters," *CJT* 14 (1968) 189-200; Joseph Barber Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians: A Revised Text with Introduction, Notes and Dissertations* (London: MacMillan, 1868); Udo Schnelle, *Wandlungen im paulinischen Denken* (SBS 137; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1989); and Ulrich Wilckens, "Zur Entwicklung des paulinischen Gesetzesverständnisses: Für Charles Kingsley Barrett zum 65. Geburtstag," *NTS* 28 (1982) 154-90.

⁴ John Knox, *Chapters in the Life of Paul* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1950).

⁵ Victor Paul Furnish, *II Corinthians: Translated with Introduction, Notes and Commentary* (AB 32A; New York: Doubleday, 1984); and Jerry L. Sumney, *Identifying Paul's Opponents: The Question of Method in Second Corinthians* (JSNTSup 40; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990); and 'Servants of Satan', 'False Brothers' and Other Opponents of Paul (JSNTSup 188; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999).

⁶ E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (London: SCM, 1977); *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (London: SCM, 1985); *Paul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Heikki Räisänen, *Paul and the Law* (WUNT 29; Tübingen: Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1987); J. Christiaan Beker, *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980); and "Recasting Pauline Theology: The Coherence-Contingency Scheme as Interpretive Model," in *Pauline Theology, Volume I: Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, Philemon* (ed. Juliette Bassler; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991) 15-24.

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Older syntheses of Pauline biography and theology have been demolished by successful critiques. This state of affairs is reflected clearly in three volumes produced by the Society of Biblical Literature, which reached no agreement on how one might go about writing a “Pauline theology.”⁷ The present monograph builds the foundations for a new synthesis by weaving the letters themselves together and using the very tools that dismantled the earlier syntheses (i.e., the recognition of the priority of the letters over Acts, the circumspect reconstruction of opponents, and the acknowledgement of the historical contingency of Paul’s argumentation). In other words, determining the sequence of Paul’s letters through analysis of the successive contingency of his argumentation can begin a new integration of Paul’s biography and theology.

This project may appear overly ambitious, but the dialectical relation between the sequence of letters and the situations of the letters demands an hypothesis. Interpretive decisions concerning the situations of the letters affect their location in sequence; the sequence of letters affects interpretive decisions concerning their situations. Victor Paul Furnish correctly states the relation between the sequence of the letters and their interpretation:

This matter of the Pauline chronology has importance chiefly because of its direct bearing on the dating and sequence of the letters, and the placement of the letters will in turn affect one’s view of their several occasions. Moreover, it is vital that there be some consensus about chronology and sequence if discussions about possible “development” of Paul’s thought over the course of his ministry are to be more fruitful than they have been so far.⁸

Furnish correctly identifies the hermeneutical implications of the sequence of letters. There is an intimate connection between the situ-

⁷ Jouette M. Bassler, ed., *Pauline Theology, Volume I: Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, Philemon* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991); David M. Hay, ed., *Pauline Theology, Volume II: 1 and 2 Corinthians* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993); and David M. Hay and E. Elizabeth Johnson, ed., *Pauline Theology, Volume III: Romans* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995).

⁸ Victor Paul Furnish, “Pauline Studies,” in *The New Testament and Its Modern Interpreters* (ed. Eldon Jay Epp and George W. MacRae, S.J.; Atlanta: Scholars, 1989) 328-29.

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ations of the individual letters, their sequence and the possible “development” of Paul’s thought. In other words, the attempt to find the sequence of letters is not an arcane and pointless exercise; it has a vital impact on how we read Paul’s letters both individually and collectively.

The present project is not anti-theological. Paul is a contextual theologian, not a systematic one. He appears to have a restrained set of common presuppositions or stronger theological reflexes, rather than a logically organized system of thought. For example, the God of Israel is the one, living, and true God. God mediates salvation through the death, resurrection, and/or return of Jesus. God is at work in Paul’s ministry and the community through Jesus, the Spirit, grace, and/or the Gospel. Sexual misconduct and idolatry are incompatible with Christian status. Although individual arguments often do not fit neatly together, Paul’s bottom-lines are usually consistent.⁹ In other words, although Paul’s theology does not form an organized system of thought, he was not an incoherent thinker. Moreover, the theological utility of this study stems from the doctrine of inspiration. “Pauline theology” is not inspired; the texts of the Pauline letters are. Indeed, the refinement of our historical reading of the texts (traditionally known as the “literal sense”) is a worthy and proper theological pursuit.

This study is limited to Paul’s undisputed letters to communities (Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians 1-9/10-13, Galatians, Philippians, and 1 Thessalonians). I have not included Philemon because evidence for situating it in sequence is lacking. Not only does it lack travel plans or other historical notices, but major themes and unusual language that would aid in situating it in sequence are totally absent. Fortunately, this is not a great loss, since Philemon’s location in sequence has little hermeneutical pay-off. The disputed letters (Ephesians, Colossians, 2 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, and Titus) are excluded precisely because they are disputed. Treating them would needlessly complicate the present project. In this study, I assume the unity of Philippians because it reflects a single situation and a rhetorical

⁹ For example, in 1 Corinthians 8-10, Paul provides apparently contradictory arguments for not dining in idol-shrines. Or, in Romans 5-8, Paul heaps diverse arguments one on top of another to establish Christian moral obligation.

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whole.¹⁰ I presuppose the Two-Letter Hypothesis for 2 Corinthians since some form of partition is necessary and more elaborate partitions are unnecessary.¹¹ Further partition hypotheses are not treated because the letter fragments produced (e.g., 2 Cor 6:14-7:2, Romans 16) cannot be placed in sequence because of lack of evidence. Thus, I shall use Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians 1-9/10-13, Galatians, Philippians, and 1 Thessalonians.

¹⁰ The partition of Philippians creates fragments impossible to locate because chaps. 3 and 4 provide the information necessary to situate the canonical letter in sequence. Taken separately, they do not even locate the fragments themselves. Moreover, the fragments do not actually serve the purposes assigned them in partition theories. Phil 3:2-21 does not argue against the circumcision of Gentile Christians and Phil 4:10-20 is not a convincing thank-you note. Both sections cohere with the rest of the letter, so the speculation involved in hypothesizing other occasions for them is unwarranted. For further discussion see chap. 4.

¹¹ The unity of 2 Corinthians is untenable because of the rhetorical incoherence of the canonical letter. It would make no sense for Paul to send the violent attack of 2 Corinthians 10-13 in the same letter as the pleas for reconciliation and for money of 2 Corinthians 1-9. Further, the situations of the parts differ. Titus has just returned from Corinth with news of the charge of financial impropriety made against Paul by the False Apostles in 2 Corinthians 10-13, whereas in 2 Corinthians 1-9, Titus has just returned from Corinth with news of the success of the Tearful Letter. Nevertheless, 2 Corinthians 10-13 and 1-9 are so closely related to one another thematically that they belong to (two stages of) the same crisis. For discussion of the Two-Letter Hypotheses, see Furnish, *2 Corinthians*, 30-41; and Margaret E. Thrall, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1994) 3-49. For arguments in favor of unity, see R. Bieringer, "Der 2. Korintherbrief als ursprüngliche Einheit. Ein Forschungsüberblick," and "Plädoyer für die Einheitlichkeit des 2. Korintherbriefes. Literarkritische und inhaltliche Argumente," in R. Bieringer and J. Lambrecht, *Studies on Second Corinthians* (BETL 112; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1994) 107-79. Bieringer makes a number of assumptions that undermine his case. First, he assumes agreement on the Interim Events and does not examine the issue of Titus' visits to Corinth or the progress of the collection for Jerusalem (pp. 132-33, 140-41). I shall argue for a different reconstruction of the Interim Events taking all the disparate information into account. Second, Bieringer correctly differentiates the conflict over the False Apostles from the case of the Offender, but he incorrectly holds that the conflict over the False Apostles is on-going and not reconciled in 2 Corinthians 1-9 (because he defends the unity of the letter). We disagree on the reading of two sets of texts. Bieringer holds that 2 Cor 6:11-13 and 7:2-4 show that the conflict over the False Apostles is on-going. Bieringer also holds that 2 Cor 2:5-11 and 7:5-16 refer *only* to the case of the Offender. I shall argue in chap. 3 that 2 Cor 7:5-16 is twofold: both the Opponents and the Offender are treated there. 2 Cor 6:11-13 and 7:2-4 form the conclusion to the apologia of 2 Cor 2:12-7:4. 2 Corinthians 1-9 is not only a letter of reconciliation, but also a long apologia for Paul's change of travel-plans, his apostolic honor, and his Tearful Letter. In a letter of reconciliation and self-defense, his call for the Corinthians to make room for him in their affections is perfectly understandable. 2 Corinthians 10-13, to the contrary, is a polemical call for obedience.

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With respect to the undisputed letters addressed to communities, three sequences are accepted in contemporary Pauline scholarship:

- (1) 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians 1-9, Romans
- (2) 1 Thessalonians, 1 Corinthians
- (3) Galatians, Romans

The first sequence depends on the reference to the progress of the collection for Jerusalem in Corinth (1 Cor 16:1-4, 2 Corinthians 8-9, Rom 15:25-27). The second sequence is accepted because the issues and arguments of 1 Thessalonians differ so markedly from the rest of the letters and because it presupposes a single visit to Macedonia. The third sequence recognizes that Galatian arguments are reused and presupposed in Romans.¹² Although these sequences exhaust scholarly agreement, they nevertheless clearly show the major problems. The sequential locations for Galatians, Philippians, and 2 Corinthians 10-13 are disputed. Galatians must be situated in relation to the Corinthian correspondence and is usually placed immediately before, or after.¹³ 2 Corinthians 10-13 is somehow related to 2 Corinthians 1-9; it is usually put immediately before, or after it. Philippians is usually located before 2 Corinthians 1-9 or after Romans.

The first part of this study (chaps. 2-4) interposes the letters whose locations in sequence are disputed between 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians 1-9, by using intertextual arguments related to authority claims, characterizations of opponents, and the rhetoric of affliction. This produces the following sequence: 1 Thessalonians; 1 Corinthians; 2 Corinthians 10-13; Galatians; Philippians; 2 Corinthians 1-9; and Romans. Chap. 2 locates Galatians between 1 Corinthians and

¹² There are occasional voices which call for Galatians or 1 Corinthians to be located after Romans, but such idiosyncratic opinions do not require detailed response since the standard arguments for the three sequences are cogent and are only strengthened by the following study. For examples, see Carl Clemen, *Die Chronologie der paulinischen Briefe aufs Neue Untersucht* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1893); and J. R. Richards, "Romans and I Corinthians: Their Chronological Relationship and Comparative Dates," *NTS* 13 (1966) 14-30.

¹³ Some locate Galatians before 1 Thessalonians on the basis of Acts. Not only are arguments from Acts bracketed off in this study, but the arguments for locating Galatians after 1 Corinthians also locate it after 1 Thessalonians. For example, see Richard N. Longenecker, *Galatians* (WBC 41; Dallas: Word, 1990) lxi-lxxxviii.

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Romans on the basis of Paul's characterization of his ministry in relation to Jews and Gentiles. Chap. 3 places 2 Corinthians 10-13 before 2 Corinthians 1-9, because the later letter refers back to the conflict with the opponents in the former, and Galatians is interposed between 2 Corinthians 10-13 and 2 Corinthians 1-9, because of the rhetorical shift in Paul's treatment of his opponents and their critique of his ministry. Chap. 4 places Philippians after Galatians, because the opponents of Philippians 3 are best understood as Paul's opponents *in Galatia*, and Philippians is located between Galatians and 2 Corinthians 1-9 on the basis of the context-specific augmentation of the rhetoric of affliction. The second part of this book (chap. 5) is a complementary study of Paul's journeys and financial affairs. (One could accept the arguments of chaps. 2-4 without accepting the arguments of chap. 5.) Chap. 5 corroborates the sequence of letters proposed in the first part by correlating references to visits and travel plans with references to the collection for Jerusalem and personal gifts from Macedonian churches. Chap. 6 concludes the book with discussions of the relation of Acts to the proposed sequence of letters and itineraries and a brief sketch of Paul's biography based solely on the letters.

Relative Sequence, Not Absolute Chronology

A vital distinction must be made between relative sequence and absolute chronology.¹⁴ Assigning dates to the events and letters of Paul's career (absolute chronology) is problematic because the evidence at hand is both insecure and incomplete. The construction of an absolute chronology requires the harmonization of the few references to time in Paul's letters, the indefinite references to time in Acts, and the fragmentary detritus of Roman administration.

¹⁴ For examples of absolute chronologies, see K. P. Donfried, "Chronology: New Testament" in *ABD* 1.1011-1022; Niels Hyldahl, *Die paulinische Chronologie* (Leiden: Brill, 1986); Robert Jewett, *A Chronology of Paul's Life* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979); Gerd Lüdemann, *Paul: Apostle to the Gentiles: Studies in Chronology* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984); Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, O.P., *Paul: A Critical Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996); George Ogg, *The Chronology of the Life of Paul* (London: Epworth, 1968); and Alfred Suhl, *Paulus und seine Briefe: Ein Beitrag zur paulinischen Chronologie* (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1975).

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Chronological data in Paul's letters are too few and far between to construct a complete sequence of events and letters. Paul gives only four definite time spans.

- a) Paul spent three years in Arabia (Gal 1:17-18).
- b) Fourteen years elapsed between Paul's first and second trips to Jerusalem (Gal 2:1).
- c) Fourteen years before writing 2 Corinthians 10-13, Paul was caught up into the third heaven (2 Cor 12:2).
- d) The Corinthians began the collection for Jerusalem in earnest in the calendar year preceding the writing of 2 Corinthians 1-9 (2 Cor 8:10, 9:2).

These references are helpful but in themselves do not provide sufficient data for dating.

The references to time in Acts are also inadequate. They are often vague and indefinite and the narrative sequence and itineraries of Acts are demonstrably incomplete.¹⁵ For example, Paul's letters require three visits to Corinth (2 Cor 12:20-13:3, Rom 15:25-27), whereas Acts has only two (Acts 18:1, 20:2). Acts knows nothing of Paul's three year sojourn in Arabia (Gal 1:17-18). The week (more or less) in Philippi narrated in Acts 16:12-40 is insufficient for the foundation of the community addressed in Philippians. Further, information from Acts conflicts with information from the letters. For example, in Acts Paul makes four/five visits to Jerusalem (Acts 9:26-29, 11:23-30, 12:25, 15:1-12, 18:22b, 21:15-23:30), although the letters only allow three (Gal 1:17-18, 2:1, Rom 15:31). Or again, in 1 Thess 3:1-2, Paul and Silvanus send Timothy to Thessalonica from Athens, whereas in Acts 17:14-15, Silas and Timothy remain in Beroea and Paul sends for them in Athens. Since there are gaps, additions, and imprecision in the temporal sequence of the itineraries of Acts, an absolute chronology based on Acts is inherently unreliable.

Correlating the information of the New Testament to the débris of Roman Empire is also problematic. Paul's flight from the ethnarch of Aretas in Damascus (2 Cor 11:32-33) and Claudius' expulsion of the

¹⁵ For a general discussion, see John Coolidge Hurd, Jr., *The Origin of First Corinthians* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1983) 12-42.

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Jews from Rome (Acts 18:2) are quagmires of scholarly debate.¹⁶ Gallio's term of office in Corinth (Acts 18:12-17) is datable, but the placement of Paul's foundation visit to Corinth in the relative sequence of Paul's career is open to debate.¹⁷ If one follows Acts, it is after the Jerusalem conference; if one favors the letters, it is before it.¹⁸

Thus, one must juggle three sets of insecure, incomplete, and conflicting data to construct an absolute chronology. Moreover, the puzzle of the relative sequence of Galatians, Philippians, and 2 Corinthians 10-13 would still be no nearer to a solution. Proper method begins the work of constructing a sequence of letters and events from the letters themselves. Only then would the issue of absolute chronology arise in relation to datable events in extra-biblical historical data. Discovering sequence precedes assigning dates both in method and in importance. This study therefore seeks to establish relative sequence rather than absolute chronology and brackets off the use of Acts and extra-biblical data (until the conclusion).

Rhetorical Augmentation, Not Doctrinal Development

The primary advantage of the present study over preceding attempts to discern development in Paul's thought is its aim at detecting the augmentation of Paul's rhetorical repertoire in response to contingent crises. Doctrinal development hypotheses have two fundamental problems: they assume a linear trajectory toward Romans and they construct a stage of systematic theology for each letter. In other words, doctrinal development is faulty because it proposes that the letters are doctrinal treatises and that their development is by an undeviating progression of ideas. Presupposing a linear trajectory toward Romans is problematic, because it reads Romans as a comprehensive and systematic treatise and therefore assumes that the arguments shared by Galatians and Romans are somehow the "core" or "center" of Paul's thought. With a growing number of Pauline scholars, I presuppose

¹⁶ For discussion of the difficulties in dating these events (and what they might actually mean), see Jewett, *Chronology*, 30-33, 36-38; Lüdemann, *Paul*, 31, 164-171; and Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul*, 4-15.

¹⁷ For dating Gallio's term of office, see Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul*, 15-22.

¹⁸ For sequence relative to the Jerusalem conference, see Knox, *Chapters*, 68-73.

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that Romans is just as contingent as any other Pauline letter.¹⁹ Indeed, the issues and arguments of Romans range from the unusual to the unique. For example, Romans 1-4 addresses an issue directly addressed elsewhere only in Galatians (and obliquely only in Philippians 3), and Romans 5-8 addresses an issue similar to that of 1 Corinthians (moral obligation for those who are not “under the Law”; cf. Rom 3:1-8) with substantially different arguments. The Spirit plays next to no role at all apart from chap. 8, while Romans 9-11 treats an issue not dealt with elsewhere. Romans is simply not a compendium of Paul’s thought.

For example, Ulrich Wilckens proposes a sequence of letters on the basis of Paul’s developing understanding of the Law (1 Thessalonians, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Philippians 3, Galatians, Romans).²⁰ Galatians is juxtaposed to Romans because they share so many arguments.²¹ 2 Corinthians is located before Galatians, because “justification by faith and not by works” is absent.²² Philippians is located between 2 Corinthians and Galatians because, although it does have the antithesis between faith and works, it lacks *justificatio peccatorum*, and in Wilckens’ estimation, overemphasizes the Resurrection.²³ Wilckens’s criterion is manifestly theological rather than historical. Indeed, his sequence is rigidly teleological; he argues backwards from the “doctrine” of Romans. Such a linear trajectory toward Romans does not take the historical contingency of the letters seriously.

Doctrinal development not only presumes a linear trajectory toward Romans, it also constructs a coherent theology for each letter as a stage of development. This is the fundamental problem with the last book-length treatment of Paul’s doctrinal development in English: *Saint Paul: A Study of the Development of His Thought* by Charles Buck and Greer Taylor.²⁴ Buck and Taylor construct theological systems for each letter around three issues: the treatment of the Law, eschatology, and Christology. In other words, they attempt to salvage Pauline theology by constructing multiple theologies. This is no more

¹⁹ See Karl P. Donfried, ed., *The Romans Debate* (rev. and exp. ed.; Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991).

²⁰ Wilckens, “Entwicklung.”

²¹ Ulrich Wilckens, *Rechtfertigung als Freiheit: Paulusstudien* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1974) 84 n. 16.

²² Wilckens, “Entwicklung,” 163.

²³ Wilckens, “Entwicklung,” 177.

²⁴ Buck and Taylor, *Saint Paul*.

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warranted than constructing a static set of coherent presuppositions. Paul's *ad hoc* arguments do not add up to a system, whether one treats the letters individually or collectively. Furnish cogently criticizes Buck and Taylor's method:

[W]e are presented a Paul who functions very much like a systematic theologian. We are told that 'he never ceased to *re-examine* his understanding of God's purpose . . . ' and that he was quick, "as a result of this *constant critical process*, to *revise* his teaching when new experiences dictated" (p. 11, italics mine). Hence, modifications in his thinking are not "random," his letters are "internally consistent" in that, in each, the various theological points are carefully interrelated; and the resultant theological fabric is without "floating strands" or "loose ends" (p. 16). Indeed, the tightness and logic of the whole Buck-Taylor argument must presuppose the equally tight and logical argumentation of Paul himself. But is such a presupposition valid? Is it possible to describe the Paul we meet in the letters as one who is engaged in a "constant critical process" of "re-examining" and "revising" his thought so that there are no "random" elements and no "loose ends"?²⁵

This critique of Buck and Taylor's method is vitally important. Moreover, stated baldly, with respect to the undisputed letters their conclusions and mine differ on all but one point. They contend that although Philippians and 2 Corinthians 1-9 probably follow the Galatian crisis, these letters precede the writing of Galatians.²⁶ Their sequence tidies up the loose ends and random elements, but is historically implausible. Since in Philippians and 2 Corinthians Paul uses language that presupposes his response to the Galatian crisis, the obvious hypothesis is that Galatians itself is that response. If Paul, the letter writer, is a contextual theologian rather than a systematic one, then one expects literary and conceptual untidiness. Indeed, my locating Galatians before Philippians and 2 Corinthians 1-9 undermines Buck and Taylor's entire theory. The resulting sequence is based on context and so allows for the possibility of random elements and

²⁵ Victor Paul Furnish, "Development in Paul's Thought," *JAAR* 38 (1970) 293.

²⁶ Buck and Taylor, *Saint Paul*, 170.

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loose ends. Although the notion of doctrinal development is too problematic to be useful, some kind of observable growth, change, or augmentation of Paul's stock of images, motifs, and arguments can nevertheless be recognized.

A Model for Discerning Rhetorical Augmentation

What we are seeking is an hypothesis that is economical, comprehensive, and fecund. Ockham's razor, the principle of hypothetical parsimony, is indispensable. Hypotheses are not to be multiplied without reason. A necessary corollary for our work is that we begin with the evidence at hand, namely, the letters of Paul. Granted that the evidence is incomplete, beginning with something other than the evidence at hand (i.e., gaps in information) is a counsel of despair. If one asks about the situation of one letter, one necessarily asks about the situation of them all. Looking at the larger picture can correct our reconstructions of the situation of any given letter. Refusal to do so rejects the hermeneutical circle. Further, an hypothesis needs to be comprehensive. This is especially true of travels and travel plans. Earlier reconstructions fail partly from selective treatment of information about travels by Paul and his co-workers. Moreover, an hypothesis needs to be able to generate new readings. Since this study proposes a definite sequence of letters, novel reconstructions of the situations of the letters, and a new way of looking at Paul's thought, it certainly opens up the possibility of fresh readings of the letters.

Scholars naturally wish to organize Paul's arguments. Although one cannot systematize them theoretically without losing sight of their diversity and contingency, one can arrange them historically, precisely because of their contingency and diversity. As soon as one dispenses with the search for systematic theology, a number of expectations arise. One would expect Paul to generate new language when addressing a new issue or rhetorical situation.²⁷ One would expect him to

²⁷ James D. G. Dunn (*The Theology of Paul's Letter to the Galatians* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993] 13) dates Galatians on the basis of its being a creative and fresh response to a political/theological crisis. He writes concerning the date of Galatians:

However, the issue has some importance in regard to the letter's theology, precisely because it raises the question as to whether its theological argu-

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reuse such language in other situations where it does not fit (i.e., where the issues and situation cannot account for the generation of the unusual language).²⁸ One would expect new language to be juxtaposed and/or combined with older language in later letters (rather than simply replacing the older language).²⁹ These expectations are borne out in relation to the undisputed letters of Paul and provide the means of discovering their sequence. Thus, instead of relating particular arguments to an abstract system of thought, I propose to relate the letters to one another in historical sequence by means of the contingency of their argumentation. In other words, the notion that Paul augmented his repertoire of arguments, expressions, and motifs in response to concrete rhetorical/political situations replaces the notion of the linear development of systematic theology.

Joseph Barber Lightfoot, in his 1868 commentary on Galatians, posed the question of the sequence of Paul's letters in a programmatic way that has provided the point of departure for most subsequent

ment is already mature and long-established, or is being freshly minted within the letter. In Galatians is Paul *citing* theology, drawn from a larger and already well-formed system, or is he *doing* theology, creating, perhaps *de novo*, what later generations have recognized to be primary statements of theological principle? The later the date, the less likely that Galatians is an original or primitive expression of the Pauline gospel. Moreover, the relation of Galatians to the other main Pauline letters comes into question: was it written after the Corinthian correspondence and within a year or two of Romans (as the north Galatian hypothesis is usually thought to imply)? In which case it is a fiery restatement of what was already well established within a wider Pauline mission to the Gentiles, and it would be fully valid to interpret Galatians by reference to the slightly later Romans.

Dunn opts for an early date for Galatians, because he considers the arguments of Galatians to be the creative response to a crisis. Unfortunately, he does not consider the possibility of a later date since that would undermine the notion that Galatians is "quintessential Paulinism" (p. 2), or "the closest thing we have to 'pure Paulinism'" (p. 133). His theology trumps his history.

²⁸ Steven J. Kraftchick ("Seeking a More Fluid Model: A Response to Jouette M. Bassler," in Hay, *Pauline Theology, Volume II*, 18-34, especially p. 24) qualifies Bassler's model of Paul's "doing theology" in precisely these terms.

²⁹ Räisänen rejects doctrinal development among the letters because there are contradictions within letters and not just between them and because there is insufficient time for systematic change of thought. Räisänen, *Paul and the Law*, 7-10. Both of these objections undermine "doctrinal" development, but do not affect the growth of a repertoire of arguments, images, and motifs. One expects *ad hoc* arguments not to fit together neatly and the only span of time required for generating new language is the time it would have taken Paul to dictate a letter.

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developmental proposals for the sequence of Paul's letters.³⁰ Discussion of Lightfoot's arguments is therefore a useful starting point for constructing a model for discerning the growth of Paul's rhetorical repertoire in response to concrete issues and situations. Lightfoot, after pointing out the tenuous connection of Galatians to the itineraries of Acts, locates it between 2 Corinthians and Romans. He argues from a number of unusual expressions shared by these three letters which he correlates with Paul's personal situation (the treatment of affliction) and public situation (the treatment of the "Judaizing opposition").³¹ The great strength of this argument is that it attempts to ground a sequence of letters in features of the texts themselves and recognizes that the letters are indeed both similar and dissimilar. The correlation of unusual language to a specific context does allow a sequential argument to be made.³² Lightfoot argues that Romans presupposes Galatians:

The matter, which in the one epistle is personal and fragmentary, elicited by the special needs of the individual church, is in the other generalized and arranged so as to form a comprehensive and systematic treatise.³³

Romans does not spring Athena-like from the head of Paul, but presupposes the arguments and issues of Galatians as a contingent historical crisis.³⁴ The insight useful here is that in Romans Paul reuses arguments that are at home in Galatians.

At the same time, Lightfoot's insight concerning the relation of

³⁰ Lightfoot, *Galatians*; Hurd, "Pauline Chronology and Pauline Theology"; and "Sequence."

³¹ I too shall use these two sets of issues: affliction and Paul's response to opponents.

³² Similarity of unusual language alone is too weak a criterion to produce a sequence of letters. Similar arguments could simply be ascribed to treatment of similar issues. For example, Furnish, although he rejects developmental schemes, locates Philippians just prior to 2 Corinthians 1-9 and Galatians just prior to Romans. Furnish, *2 Corinthians*, 54-55. The only apparent reason is similarity of argument.

³³ Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 4.

³⁴ Schnelle (*Wandlungen*, 29) states this principle clearly:

Die Unterschiede ergeben sich vielmehr aus der Situationsgebundenheit des Gal, die sich gerade in der Weiterentwicklung einzelner Gedanken im Röm zeigt.

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Romans to Galatians requires refinement. There are two principal questions concerning instances of similar unusual language in different letters. First, does the unusual language fit the rhetorical situation? That is, can one account for the generation of unusual language by showing how it addresses the principal issues of the letter? Second, does the unusual language fit the flow of argument? That is, does Paul appear creatively to invent the language in one context in a given literary context? One can make a sequential judgment on the basis of similarity and dissimilarity of unusual language in two letters, if one can correlate that language with the issues, situation, and flow of argument of one letter *rather than the other*. For example, Romans presupposes the unusual language of Galatians because the issues, situation, and flow or argument of Galatians can account for the generation of the common language whereas those of Romans cannot.

This model for discerning the augmentation of Paul's rhetorical repertoire needs to be safeguarded by discovering significant contrasts in the treatment of common issues.³⁵ Otherwise, one could justly maintain that *vis-à-vis* the earlier letters, the argument is from silence. The arguments of the letters would differ simply because the issues and situation of the letters differ. Therefore, one must search for significant contrast in the treatment of a common issue in more than two letters. If one finds such a contrast, then one can *triangulate* these letters using the criterion of context-specificity. In other words, if in two letters the same issue is treated using significantly different language and the new language in the second letter can be tied to the principal concrete issue or issues of a third, rather than the second, then one can interpose the third letter between the other two. Triangulation locates letters precisely where they can account for significant growth in Paul's rhetorical repertoire in terms of the contingency and diversity of his arguments, thereby avoiding the pitfall of imposing a linear trajectory.

³⁵ Schnelle (*Wandlungen*, 14) makes a similar point:

Zudem ist von Wandlungen erst dann zu sprechen, wenn über mehrerer Paulusbriefe hinweg innerhalb eines zentralen Themas substantielle Veränderung feststellbar sind. All dies will mitbedacht sein, es macht aber die Frage nach Wandlungen im paulinischen Denken nicht unmöglich, sondern zwingt zu präzisiertem Vorgehen und methodischer Umsicht.

Schnelle makes many fine observations, but does not sufficiently engage the intertextual aspect of the problem, relying instead upon an *a priori* sequence of letters.

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Linear trajectories of doctrinal development are implausible and counter-intuitive; augmentation of a stock of arguments in response to concrete issues and situations is reasonable and intuitive.

The only way to avoid *e silentio* argument is to find significant contrasts in the treatment of common issues; triangulation of three letters using the criterion of context-specificity gives weight to the contrast and accounts for it. Indeed, the sequence of letters proposed here has greater explanatory force precisely because letters are located in sequence where they have interpretive impact. Examining the interplay of situation, issue, and language is the proper intertextual procedure for relating Paul's undisputed letters to one another.

A Model for Rethinking Paul's Itineraries

Prior attempts to reconstruct Paul's itineraries have failed because they have followed the routes of Acts, rather than those of the letters. The "chronology" of Acts hovers in the background even when scholars explicitly value the evidence of the letters as primary. A corollary problem is that prior reconstructions of Paul's collection for Jerusalem have chosen to begin with Paul's assumed itineraries rather than with the primary evidence for the collection itself.³⁶ Untangling the references to travel plans and visits in the correspondence requires beginning with a close reading of references to money. Indeed, tracing the collection from Romans to the Jerusalem Conference solves the problem of Paul's itineraries. Romans tells us that the collections from Macedonia and Achaia were successful. 2 Corinthians 8-9 shows that the Macedonian collection was begun just prior to the writing of 2 Corinthians 1-9 and gives us sufficient information to plot Paul's, *and Titus*', visits and travel plans. Analysis of the references to the collection in 1 Corinthians 16 and Galatians 2 help sort out the original phase

³⁶ For general studies of the collection, see Dieter Georgi, *Remembering the Poor: The History of Paul's Collection for Jerusalem* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1992); Keith F. Nickle, *The Collection: A Study of Paul's Strategy* (SBT 48; Naperville, Ill.: Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1966); and Charles H. Buck, "The Collection for the Saints" *HTR* 43 (1950) 1-29. All three of these studies rely heavily on Acts, notwithstanding the fact that Acts does not even mention Paul's collections for Jerusalem in Galatia, Achaia, and Macedonia. Verbrugge's reconstruction of the collection is vastly superior in bracketing off Acts. Verlyn D. Verbrugge, *Paul's Style of Leadership Illustrated by His Instructions to the Corinthians on the Collection* (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1992).

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of the collections for Jerusalem. Further, the references to personal gifts to Paul from Macedonian churches support the reconstruction established here. The identification of 2 Corinthians 10-13 as the Tearful Letter and the placement of Philippians immediately before 2 Corinthians 1-9 are supported by these arguments.

The so-called “Interim Events” between 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians form a scholarly Gordian knot, in the past cut rather than untied. The ghostly correlation of 1 Cor 16:1-9 to Acts 19:21 continues to haunt us, so that too many events are squeezed into too little time. J. M. Gilchrist enumerates the complex data, with regard to the sequence of letters to the Corinthians and visits to Corinth by Paul and his associates:

- (a) Paul’s travels, proposed and actual
- (b) The travels of Timothy and Titus
- (c) Literary questions. For example,
 - (i) does 2 Corinthians consist of several letters, and if so, what are their boundaries?
 - (ii) is the ‘letter of tears’ to be found, in whole or in part, in the later chapters of 2 Corinthians?
- (d) Events at Corinth
- (e) The progress of Paul’s ‘collection for the saints.’ (Rom 15:25-26, 1 Cor 16:1-4, 2 Corinthians 8-9)³⁷

If a reconstruction is to be convincing, it must take all of these differing forms of information into account. While any number of hypotheses can account for any one of these sets of data, fitting them *all* together clears the field considerably. Refusal to arrange them together *as a whole* simply invalidates one’s reconstruction. The literary questions (c) and the evidence from Acts have so overshadowed reconstruction that the other evidence has received little or no attention.

³⁷ J. M. Gilchrist, “Paul and the Corinthians—The Sequence of Letters and Visits,” *JSNT* 34 (1988) 47-69. Gilchrist proposes two interim visits by Paul between 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians 10-13 because he differentiates the painful visit and the tearful letter (dealing with some kind of insult by one man). He locates 2 Corinthians 10-13 and its hypothetical visit (dealing with the crisis over the false apostles) after 2 Corinthians 1-7. Gilchrist points toward a solution by clearly enunciating the problems and by distinguishing between the two crises: the conflict of the painful visit over sexual misconduct and the conflict over the false apostles. This second crisis, however, does not require a visit by Paul; see chap. 5.

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Moreover, the scholarly trend differentiating the issues of 2 Corinthians from 1 Corinthians needs to be taken further. Margaret Thrall introduces her treatment of the interim events by pointing out the trend toward distinguishing the situations of 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians:

What kind of contact with the Corinthians did Paul have in the period between 1 Corinthians and the first of the letters contained in 2 Corinthians? There are passages in the second canonical letter which can be interpreted as references to events belonging to this period, i.e., to a second visit Paul paid to Corinth and to a letter he had written consequent upon the commission of some offence by one of the Corinthian congregation; what he says about his travel plans is also relevant to the understanding of relationships in the interim. *The older exegesis saw the period of time as a brief one.* The apparent interim events were not critically considered, or were regarded as prior to 1 Corinthians (or, in the case of the letter, as identical with it). In the middle decades of the nineteenth century, however, the older views began to encounter critical challenge.³⁸ (Italics added.)

This study proposes to continue this trend and further lengthen the time period involved and further differentiate the issues of the two canonical letters.

This study is methodologically innovative and its conclusions will most likely be viewed as provocative. The scholarly test is to see if the arguments and conclusions cohere as an intelligible reading of the letters. This study offers an economical and comprehensive hypothesis meant to function as a whole. One could disagree over the interpretation of individual passages to the point of missing the larger picture.

³⁸ Thrall, *2 Corinthians*, 49. R. Bieringer ("Teilungshypothesen zum 2. Korintherbrief. Ein Forschungsüberblick" in R. Bieringer and J. Lambrecht, *Studies on 2 Corinthians* [BETL 112; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1994] 67-105, here p. 70) makes a similar point:

1849 stellte dann H. Ewald zum erstenmal die These von einem Zwischenfall auf. Damit rückte die Interpretation von 2 Kor immer weiter von 1 Kor ab.

CHAPTER 2

1 Corinthians, Galatians, Romans

Galatians is located in sequence between 1 Corinthians and Romans because it accounts for a substantial contrast in the treatment of a common issue: Paul's characterization of his mission. While Romans shares arguments with both 1 Corinthians and Galatians, language specific to the context of Galatians has displaced substantially different language from 1 Corinthians. The arguments, issues, and situation of Galatians can account for the rhetorical shift between 1 Corinthians and Romans; the issues and situation of 1 Corinthians cannot by themselves even account for the distinctive authority claims found in that letter.

The Apostle to the Gentiles?

In 1 Corinthians, Paul characterizes his mission as directed toward both Jews and Gentiles, rather than toward Gentiles alone. He preaches Christ crucified; Jews and Greeks respond negatively (1 Cor 1:21-24). He commands not only Greeks, but also Jews, in all the churches (1 Cor 7:17-20), and he suits his missionary strategy both to those who are "under the Law" and those who are "without the Law" in order that they both be saved (1 Cor 9:19-23).

In 1 Cor 1:17-18, Paul speaks of his commission to preach the word of the Cross. In vv. 21-24, he speaks of his preaching of Christ crucified and the response of Jews and Greeks. Compare 1 Cor 1:22-24 on the one hand and Gal 2:7-8 and Rom 1:5-6, 16 on the other.

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1 Cor 1:22-24

²² ἐπειδὴ καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι σημεῖα
αἰτοῦσιν καὶ Ἕλληνες σοφίαν
ζητοῦσιν,
²³ ἡμεῖς δὲ κηρύσσομεν
Χριστὸν ἐσταυρωμένον,
Ἰουδαίοις μὲν σκάνδαλον,
ἔθνεσιν δὲ μωρίαν,
²⁴ αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς κλητοῖς,
Ἰουδαίοις τε καὶ Ἕλλησιν,
Χριστὸν θεοῦ δύναμιν καὶ θεοῦ
σοφίαν·

Gal 2:7-8

⁷ ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον ἰδόντες ὅτι
πεπίστευμαι
τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας
καθὼς Πέτρος τῆς περιτομῆς,
⁸ ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας
Πέτρῳ εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῆς περι-
τομῆς ἐνήργησεν καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὰ
ἔθνη

Rom 1:5-6, 16

⁵ δι' οὗ ἐλάβομεν χάριν καὶ
ἀποστολὴν εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως
ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν
ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ,
⁶ ἐν οἷς ἐστε καὶ ὑμεῖς
κλητοὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ . . .
¹⁶ Οὐ γὰρ ἐπαισχύνομαι τὸ
εὐαγγέλιον, δύναμις γὰρ θεοῦ
ἐστὶν εἰς σωτηρίαν παντὶ τῷ
πιστεύοντι,
Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἕλληνι.

1 Cor 1:22-24

²² For Jews demand signs
and Greeks look for wisdom,
²³ but *we proclaim* Christ cruci-
fied,
a stumbling block *to Jews*
and foolishness *to Gentiles*,
²⁴ but to those who are called,
Jews and Greeks alike,
Christ the power of God
and the wisdom of God.

Gal 2:7-8

⁷ On the contrary,
when they saw that *I had been*
entrusted with the gospel to the
uncircumcised,
just as *Peter to the circumcised*,
⁸ for the one who worked *in Peter*
for an apostolate to the circum-
cised worked
also *in me for the Gentiles*

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Rom 1:5-6, 16

⁵ Through him *we have received the grace of apostleship*, to bring about the obedience of faith, for the sake of his name, *among all the Gentiles*, ⁶ among whom are you also, who are called to belong to Jesus Christ . . .

¹⁶ For I am not ashamed of *the gospel*. It is the power of God for the salvation of *everyone who believes: for Jew first, and then Greek*.

In 1 Cor 1:22-24, Paul preaches Christ crucified, and both Jews and Greeks respond to this preaching negatively. Only one Gospel is preached to both Jews and Greeks. In Gal 2:7-8, however, there are two Gospels and two missions for two ethnic groups. Paul's mission is exclusively directed toward Gentiles, whereas Peter's is exclusively directed toward Jews. In Romans 1, although there is only one Gospel, there are two sequential missions for the two ethnic groups: Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἑλληνι, "for Jew first, and then Greek" (v. 16). Paul has developed a universal mission to the Gentiles. Paul's characterization of his mission in 1 Corinthians contradicts his self-characterization in Galatians. Romans agrees basically with Galatians, although Rom 1:16 follows and corrects Gal 2:7-8.¹ There is only one Gospel and a certain kind of Jewish privilege is acknowledged.

In 1 Cor 9:19-23, Paul speaks of his missionary strategy in relation to both Jews and Greeks. Although he is not under the Law, he observes the Law in order to save some who are. In 1 Cor 7:17-24, Paul commands both Jews and Gentiles in all the churches not to change their status. In addition to evangelizing both Jews and Gentiles, Paul claims authority over both Jewish and Gentile Christians. Not only does this stand in stark contrast to Gal 2:7-8, it also conflicts with the explicit statement of Rom 11:13-14.

¹ Paul similarly corrects the notion of "another Gospel" (2 Cor 11:4) in Gal 1:6-7.

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1 Cor 9:20-22

²⁰ καὶ ἐγενόμην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὡς Ἰουδαῖος,
 ἵνα Ἰουδαίους κερδήσω·
 τοῖς ὑπὸ νόμον ὡς ὑπὸ νόμον,
 μὴ ὢν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ νόμον,
 ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον κερδήσω·
²¹ τοῖς ἀνόμοις ὡς ἄνομος,
 μὴ ὢν ἄνομος θεοῦ ἀλλ' ἔννομος
 Χριστοῦ, ἵνα κερδάνω τοὺς ἀνό-
 μους·
²² ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν
 ἀσθενής,
 ἵνα τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς κερδήσω·
 τοῖς πᾶσιν γέγονα πάντα,
 ἵνα πάντως τινὰς σώσω.

Rom 11:13-14

¹³ ὑμῖν δὲ λέγω τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.
 ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν οὖν
 εἰμι ἐγὼ ἐθνῶν ἀπόστολος,
 τὴν διακονίαν μου δοξάζω,
¹⁴ εἴ πως παραζηλώσω μου τὴν
 σάρκα καὶ σώσω τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν.

1 Cor 10:32-33

³² ἀπρόσκοποι καὶ Ἰουδαίοις
 γίνεσθε
 καὶ Ἑλλῆσιν καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ
 θεοῦ,
³³ καθὼς καὶ ἐγὼ πάντα πᾶσιν
 ἀρέσκω
 μὴ ζητῶν τὸ ἑμαυτοῦ σύμφορον
 ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν, ἵνα σωθῶσιν.

1 Cor 7:17-19

¹⁷ Εἰ μὴ ἐκάστῳ ὡς ἐμέρισεν ὁ
 κύριος, ἕκαστον ὡς κέκληκεν ὁ
 θεός,
 οὕτως περιπατεῖτω. καὶ οὕτως
 ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις πάσαις διατάσ-
 σομαι.
¹⁸ περιτετιμμένος τις ἐκλήθη;

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μὴ ἐπισπάσθω·
 ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ κέκληταί τις,
 μὴ περιτεμνέσθω.
¹⁹ ἡ περιτομή οὐδέν ἐστιν
 καὶ ἡ ἀκροβυστία οὐδέν ἐστιν,
 ἀλλὰ τήρησις ἐντολῶν θεοῦ.

1 Cor 9:20-22

Rom 11:13-14

²⁰ *To the Jews* I became like a Jew
to win over Jews;
to those under the law I became
 like one under the law—
 though I myself am not under the
 law—
to win over those under the law.

²¹ *To those outside the law*
 I became like one outside the
 law—
 though I am not outside God's
 law but within the law of
 Christ—
to win over those outside the law.

²² *To the weak* I became weak,
to win over the weak.
 I have become all things to all,
to save at least some.

¹³ Now I am speaking *to you*
Gentiles. Inasmuch then as
I am the apostle to the Gentiles,
 I glory in my ministry
¹⁴ *in order to make my race jeal-*
ous
and thus save some of them.

1 Cor 10:32-33

³² Avoid giving offense,
 whether *to Jews*
or Greeks
 or the church of God,
³³ just as I try to please *everyone*
 in every way,
 not seeking my own benefit

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but that of the many,
that they may be saved.

1 Cor 7:17-19

¹⁷ Only, everyone should live as
the Lord has assigned,
just as God called each one.
*I give this order in all the
churches.*

¹⁸ Was someone called after he
had been *circumcised*?
He should not try to undo his cir-
cumcision. Was *an uncircumcised
person* called?

He should not be circumcised.

¹⁹ Circumcision means nothing,
and uncircumcision means noth-
ing;
what matters is
keeping God's commandments.

In 1 Corinthians, Paul speaks of his missionary strategies and com-
mands toward both Jews and Greeks, whereas in Romans he is the
Apostle to the Gentiles whose ministry only indirectly affects Jews.
Thus, the contrast between 1 Cor 1:21-24, 7:17-20, 9:19-23, on the one
hand, and Gal 2:7-8, Rom 1:5-6, 11:13-14, on the other, is striking and
demands explanation.

Parity with Peter?

As we have seen, Paul claims a unique and universal mission to the
Gentiles. His Gentile mission is equal only to Peter's Jewish Mission
(Gal 2:7-8) and he claims to be the apostle to all the Gentiles (Rom 1:5-
6). Does Paul claim such preeminent authority in 1 Corinthians? In
chaps. 1-4, 9, and 15, Paul claims paramount authority in the
Corinthian church only as its founder; otherwise his rights are those of
an apostle among many. The first issue Paul addresses in 1 Corinthians

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is baptismal rivalries. Chloe's people have informed him of quarrels among the Corinthians (1 Cor 1:10). Paul reports and reacts to Corinthian slogans—"I belong to Paul," and "I belong to Apollos."² Apparently some are professing loyalty to the one who baptized them (1 Cor 1:13-17, cf. 3:4, 4:6). The problem centers on Paul and Apollos, since the specific references in chaps. 3 and 4 are to these two (1 Cor 3:4, 4:6). Paul goes out of his way to assert their solidarity in mission; Paul and Apollos are one (1 Cor 3:8). They are servants through whom the Corinthians believe (1 Cor 3:5), and God's co-workers (1 Cor 3:9). God commissions them (1 Cor 3:5), works through their complementary ministries (1 Cor 3:7), and gives them the same reward for the same labor (1 Cor 3:8). Paul also contrasts the two of them with the Corinthians (1 Cor 3:9, 4:6, 9-13). Nevertheless, he stresses his solidarity with Apollos without leaving any doubt that Paul has priority as the founder of the Corinthian church. Paul is the planter; Apollos merely waters. Paul is the wise architect who has laid the foundation of the church (1 Cor 3:10); others are only construction workers he warns to build properly (1 Cor 3:12-17). In the midst of myriad pedagogues, Paul is the sole father of the Corinthians: ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἐγέννησα, "for I became your father in Christ Jesus through the gospel" (i.e., by founding the church, 1 Cor 4:15). Apollos very sensibly refuses to become involved in the dispute when encouraged by Paul to do so (1 Cor 16:12). Paul outranks Apollos only insofar as he is the founder of the Corinthian church.

In the midst of the discussion of idol-food (1 Corinthians 8-10), Paul speaks of his exemplary non-use of his own rights (chap. 9). After grounding his apostolic authority in having seen the Lord and in having founded the Corinthian church (1 Cor 9:1), he specifies the rights under discussion: traveling with a Christian wife and financial support. 1 Cor 9:5-6 is reminiscent of Gal 2:9.

² The slogan, "I belong to Cephas," does not presuppose a Petrine party in Corinth because Paul only argues about Apollos and himself. Indeed, Paul's usual usage of Cephas, rather than Peter, points to its being a Pauline construction. The references to Cephas in 1 Corinthians not only do not require Cephas' activity or Petrine partisanship in Corinth, but are also more plausibly explained as occasioned by the recent Jerusalem conference and Antioch Incident. 1 Cor 3:22 is part of a generic summary. 1 Cor 9:5 falls within a discussion of Paul's (and Barnabas') apostolic rights and praxis (cf. Gal 2:1-14). And 1 Cor 15:5 is Paul's summary of witnesses to the resurrection of Jesus. Likewise, "I belong to Christ" is no partisan slogan, but a Pauline formulation.

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1 Cor 9:4-6

⁴ μὴ οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν
φαγεῖν καὶ πεῖν;
⁵ μὴ οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν
ἀδελφὴν γυναικα περιάγειν
ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι
καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ
Κηφᾶς;
⁶ ἢ μόνος ἐγὼ καὶ Βαρναβᾶς
οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν μὴ
ἐργάζεσθαι;

1 Cor 9:4-6

⁴ Do we not have *the right* to eat
and drink?
⁵ Do we not have *the right* to take
along a Christian wife,
*as do the rest of the apostles,
and the brothers of the Lord,
and Kephas?*
⁶ Or is it only myself *and Barn-*
abas
who do not have the right not to
work?

Gal 2:9

⁹ καὶ γνόντες τὴν χάριν
τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι,
Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης,
οἱ δοκοῦντες στῦλοι εἶναι,
δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν ἐμοὶ καὶ Βαρναβᾶ
κοινωνίας,
ἵνα ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη,
αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν περιτομήν·

Gal 2:9

⁹ *and when they recognized the
grace bestowed upon me,
James and Kephas and John,
who were reputed to be pillars,
gave me and Barnabas
their right hands in partnership,
that we should go to the Gentiles
and they to the circumcised.*

Indeed, Paul claims the rights of any apostle with no special rights, authority, or privileges vis-à-vis other apostles (1 Cor 9:1-6). Both passages presuppose that the pillars in Jerusalem gave Paul *and Barnabas* the “right hand of fellowship.” In 1 Cor 9:4-6, Paul and Barnabas have the same missionary strategy of not accepting remuneration and in 1 Cor 16:1-4, Paul undertakes his collection in fulfillment of Gal 2:10. In Gal 2:9-10, they are both acknowledged by the pillars and both undertake collections for the Jerusalem poor (Gal 2:9-10). Paul has no unique and universal mission to Gentiles; Barnabas and Paul customarily evangelize Gentiles.

A conundrum arises: Gal 2:7-8 contradicts both Gal 2:9-10 and 1 Cor

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9:4-6. Gerd Lüdemann persuasively argues that Gal 2:7-8 is a non-Pauline slogan:³

⁷ ἀλλὰ τοὺναντίον ἰδόντες ὅτι
 πεπίστευμαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας
 καθὼς Πέτρος τῆς περιτομῆς,
⁸ ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας Πέτρῳ εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς
 ἐνήργησεν καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη,

⁷ On the contrary, when they saw that
I had been entrusted with the gospel to the uncircumcised,
just as Peter to the circumcised,

⁸ for the one who worked in Peter for an apostolate to the cir-
 cumcised
 worked also in me for the Gentiles

Paul following his consistent practice would have used Κηφᾶς, “Cephas” rather than Πέτρος, “Peter” (1 Cor 1:12, 3:22, 9:5, 15:5, Gal 2:9, 11, 14). Cephas would not have understood, much less agreed to, the idea of dividing universal missionary authority between Paul and himself.⁴ In the rest of the pericope, James, Cephas, and John form a group and Barnabas is paired with Paul.⁵ Since Titus does not receive the “right hand of fellowship” and is not encouraged to send money (vv. 9-10), he is of lower status than Paul and Barnabas. Paul and Barnabas do not appear to differ in status. Moreover, Gal 2:7-8 fits the Antioch incident, related in the very next pericope (Gal 2:11-14), far better than it does the Jerusalem conference.⁶ There Paul opposes Cephas one on

³ Lüdemann, *Paul*, 64-75.

⁴ Although Cephas’ preeminence and authority are evident from the Gospels, Acts, and 1 Corinthians and Galatians, it is anachronistic to suppose that Cephas conceived of his authority in terms of universal jurisdiction (rather than as, say, chief of the Twelve, or premier witness to Jesus’ life and resurrection). Moreover, if he had conceived of his authority in such terms, it is unlikely that he have halved it with Paul at their private *ad hoc* meeting. Indeed, Barnabas and James are an obvious stumbling-block to understanding Peter’s (and Paul’s) authority in such a way.

⁵ James and Cephas and John form a group in v. 6: οἱ δοκοῦντες, “those who were reputed to be important,” *bis*, and in v. 9: Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ δοκοῦντες στῦλοι εἶναι, “James and Cephas and John, who were reputed to be pillars”. Paul and Barnabas are paired in vv. 2, 3, 9-10.

⁶ Lüdemann (*Paul*, 70) holds that Gal 2:7-8 reflect the first meeting of Peter and Paul:

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one (v. 11). Oddly enough, the slogan of vv. 7-8 reflects the position of those who follow Cephas' example (v. 13):

καὶ συνυπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ [καὶ] οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖοι,
ὥστε καὶ Βαρναβᾶς συναπήχθη αὐτῶν τῇ ὑποκρίσει.

And the rest of the Jews (also) acted hypocritically along with him,
with the result that even Barnabas was carried away by their hypocrisy.

They accept an ethnic division of the Church, follow Peter in separating the circumcision from the uncircumcision, and see Paul as acting as the chief spokesman for the Gentile Christians. Of course, Paul rejects their position, both at Antioch and in writing 1 Corinthians. In other words, Gal 2:7-8 not only does not fit the context of Gal 2:1-10, it fits the position Paul violently opposes in the very next pericope. Paul's quotation of an Antiochene slogan he had earlier opposed (vv. 7-8) fits the situation of writing Galatians (cf. vv. 4, 14), where Paul defends his authority to evangelize Gentiles without demanding circumcision. In the first two chapters of Galatians Paul emphatically argues he is

We may cautiously conclude that the historical root of this piece of personal tradition about Paul, which was current among the *Greek-speaking* Pauline congregations (this view alone explains the Greek form of the name *Petros*), was Paul's first visit to Jerusalem to become acquainted with Cephas. Even at that time, Peter and Paul may have made an agreement that is directly related to the personal tradition about Paul reflected in Gal. 2:7 and that was current among Paul's congregations. It should be clear that the parity of Peter and Paul expressed in this tradition is not historical in nature but should rather be attributed to the followers of Paul or to Paul himself.

This argument is based on a number of observations. First, Lüdemann takes the use of the aorist in Gal 2:7-8 (ἰδόντες, ἐνεργήσας, ἐνήργησεν) to refer to the "present" of the Jerusalem conference rather than the "present" of the letter to the Galatians. However, he does not consider the Antioch Incident as an option, so that the Paul's first visit to Jerusalem to get to know Cephas (Gal 1:18) is the only one on one encounter left (albeit without opposition). Second, Cephas and his followers would not devise a slogan giving Paul parity. On the other hand, the church in Antioch actually did divide between Peter/Paul and Jew/Gentile after the conference; Paul explicitly rejects the ethnic division of the church à la Gal 2:7-8 (Gal 2:11-14). Finally, Lüdemann assumes that the Greek-speakers would be followers of Paul, whereas I rather suppose that the church in Antioch includes both Jewish and Gentile Greek-speakers.

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neither dependent upon nor subordinate to the leaders of the church in Jerusalem (apparently countering the position that he is, or should be, their delegate). The primary issue of the letter is the status of Gentile Christians in a group of Paul's own churches which clearly implicates Paul's authority *vis-à-vis* Gentiles.

Lüdemann holds that the slogan precedes the Jerusalem conference (as does the Antioch Incident in his reconstruction).⁷ He then makes a distinction without a difference because he reads vv. 7-8 into v. 9.⁸ Without vv. 7-8, v. 9 does not divide the church locally or otherwise, but simply reflects common practice. Paul and Barnabas usually evangelize Gentiles and found churches among them; the pillars of Jerusalem usually evangelize Jews and found churches among them. The problem is that Lüdemann reads Galatians 2 in the light of Acts 15. As a result, he conflates the Antioch Incident (Gal 2:11-14) with Luke's stage-setting for the Jerusalem conference (Acts 15:1-3). The Conference therefore is setting policy for the whole Church.⁹ (Lüdemann also

⁷ Lüdemann, *Paul*, 71-7.

⁸ Lüdemann at first correctly contrasts Gal 2:9 with the two preceding verses:

In v. 9, (1) nothing more is said of the juxtaposition "Peter—Paul"; (2) Paul again uses the name "Cephas"; (3) Paul and Barnabas are mentioned together; and (4) James stands at the head of the list. This comparison of vv. 7-8 with v. 9 demonstrates the tension between the two statements and leads to the conclusion that vv. 7-8 cannot derive from the agreements drawn up at the Jerusalem Conference.

Lüdemann, *Paul*, 69. Unfortunately, he subsequently (p. 72) argues for the division of the church's worldwide mission in two:

In the agreement preserved in Gal. 2:9, the worldwide mission is divided into two parts, the mission to the Jews and the mission to the Gentiles.

Lüdemann correctly attacks the groundless assumption that vv. 7-8 reflect the agreement of the Jerusalem conference. Reading v. 9 as a conciliar decree rather than a personal arrangement (and therefore as a division of the "worldwide mission") is likewise an unwarranted assumption.

⁹ Martyn in his recent commentary on Galatians is representative of those who assume that churches and policies are at stake in Galatians 2, rather than persons and personalities. J. Louis Martyn, *Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 33A; New York: Doubleday, 1997). Martyn poses the question clearly (p. 208):

Was the meeting actually convened under the auspices of two churches, for the sake of discussions between those corporate bodies? Paul's repeated use of verbs in the first person singular suggests no such thing. But his portraits of the actors in the drama show that the meeting was in fact a formal conference involving the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch as negotiating parties:

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reads the so-called Apostolic Degree into Gal 2:6.)¹⁰ However, Acts is best bracketed off as a secondary source. Gal 2:2 alone provides sufficient reason for Paul's journey to Jerusalem:

ἀνέβην δὲ κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν.
καὶ ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον
ὃ κηρύσσω ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν,

In 2:5 Paul says that the False Brothers tried to enslave "us," and he emphasizes that "we" did not give them so much as an inch. Who are the "we"? In spite of the fact that he has not mentioned Barnabas since v 1, Paul surely intends to refer to himself and Barnabas. But the possibility must be at least entertained that the plural reaches also to the wider circle, the Antioch church made present at the meeting by its representatives, Paul and Barnabas.

Such a possibility can be entertained, but one must hold that Paul is "suppressing . . . the fact that he and Barnabas went to Jerusalem as representatives of the Antioch church" (p. 209), since Paul and Barnabas are nowhere in the letters identified with the church in Antioch. Further, reading the account of the conference in Galatians 2 as a "two level drama" (Martyn's own proposal), the first person plurals of Gal 2:4-5 seem to point to Paul and Barnabas on one level and Paul and *the Galatians* (rather than the Antiochenes) on the other. In other words, I would interpret these verses the way Martyn does v. 14 (pp. 229-30):

In fact, Paul's failure formally to close the quotation begun in v 14 is no accident. It reflects his determination to connect his account of the Antioch incident to the situation in Galatia.

Moreover, Martyn argues that the pronouns "we" and "they" in Gal 2:9 clearly indicate that Paul and Barnabas are representatives of the church in Antioch just as "James, Cephas, and John" are representatives of the church in Jerusalem. (Martyn follows Georgi in basing his chronology on Acts so that the Jerusalem conference precedes Paul's independent missionary activity.) Although Gal 2:9-10 can be read in this way, it nevertheless assumes that policies and communities are at issue and must assume that Paul is "suppressing" information. I would argue in response that although Paul does downplay Barnabas' role in his account of the conference, there is no evidence for supposing they are representatives of the church in Antioch (except for a desire for symmetry) and v. 2 clearly states that the meeting was private and concerned Paul's authority as an apostle among many "according to a revelation." This is a perfectly reasonable public relations move on Paul's part. Barnabas could easily have seen the benefits for his own missionary activity and joined the party as Paul's equal. In vv. 9-10, they (i.e., Paul and Barnabas, not the church in Antioch) receive the right hand of fellowship and are encouraged to raise money for the poor in Jerusalem. In other words, they got what they came for, namely, they could claim that the pillars in Jerusalem recognized their missionary activities.

¹⁰ Lüdemann, *Paul*, 71-75. He correctly does not see circumcision as the cause of the conference (note that the issue of Titus' circumcision arises spontaneously), yet he holds that the Antioch incident gave rise to the conference since he reads Gal 2:9 as a policy statement dividing the churches' worldwide mission.

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κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν,
μή πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον.

² I went up in accord with a revelation,
and *I presented to them the gospel* that I preach to the Gentiles—
but privately *to those of repute*—
so that I might not be running, or have run, in vain.

In other words, the Jerusalem Conference can be read as a public relations move on Paul's part, rather than a policy setting Church Council. The meeting after all was a private affair (κατ' ἰδίαν, "privately"). The outcome of the conference (v. 9) confirms this reading; the pillars gave Paul and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship. There is no reason to invert the Jerusalem Conference and the Antioch Incident, nor to read v. 9 as some kind of Conciliar Decree. Thus, 1 Cor 9:4-6 presupposes the meeting reflected in Gal 2:9-10, but contradicts the non-Pauline slogan of Gal 2:7-8 (as do Gal 2:1-10, 11-14). In particular, we have seen that although Paul originally opposed the slogan found in Gal 2:7-8, when writing Galatians, he uses it to bolster his claim of independent authority.

Paul introduces his discussion of the resurrection in chap. 15 with an account of the common preaching of Christ's death, burial, and resurrection. He enumerates the Risen Lord's witnesses in order: first Cephas, then the Twelve, then five hundred brethren all at once, then James, then all the apostles, and last of all himself (1 Cor 15:5-8). In v. 9, Paul asserts that he is not only last but even unworthy to be called an apostle, because he had persecuted the church of God. Needless to say, he does not leave the matter there, but claims that God has made him what he is—a successful apostle (v. 10a). Indeed, he works harder than all the others combined (v. 11); Paul is hardly claiming supreme authority shared only with Cephas here. When Paul qualifies his lowly status, he points to his hard work and God's grace at work in him—two extremely common Pauline ways of speaking of his ministry. Paul does not compare himself to Peter or Moses, nor does he call himself the Apostle to the Gentiles. What he says is that he is the last of the apostles, unworthy to be called an apostle, although he happens to be the most successful one, thanks to hard work and God's grace.

One last text calls for discussion—Rom 15:15-21. In vv. 15-21, Paul hes-

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itantly advances his claim to be the priestly minister to the Gentiles (cf. Rom 1:5-6, 17, 11:13-14) and then substantially qualifies the claim:

- ¹⁵ *τολμηρότερον δὲ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν ἀπὸ μέρους*
ὥς ἐπαναμνησκῶν ὑμᾶς διὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι ὑπὸ τοῦ
θεοῦ
- ¹⁶ *εἰς τὸ εἶναι με λειτουργὸν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη,*
ἱερουργοῦντα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ,
ἵνα γένηται ἡ προσφορὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν εὐπρόσδεκτος, ἡγιασμένη ἐν
πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.
- ¹⁷ *ἔχω οὖν [τὴν] καύχησιν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν.*
- ¹⁸ *οὐ γὰρ τολμήσω τι λαλεῖν ὧν*
οὐ κατειργάσατο Χριστὸς δι' ἐμοῦ εἰς ὑπακοὴν ἐθνῶν,
λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ,
- ¹⁹ *ἐν δυνάμει σημείων καὶ τεράτων,*
ἐν δυνάμει πνεύματος [θεοῦ].
ὥστε με ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ κύκλῳ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ
πεπληρωκέναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ,
- ²⁰ *οὕτως δὲ φιλοτιμούμενον εὐαγγελίζεσθαι οὐχ ὅπου ὠνομάσθη*
Χριστός,
ἵνα μὴ ἐπ' ἀλλότριον θεμέλιον οἰκοδομῶ,
- ²¹ *ἀλλὰ καθὼς γέγραπται,*
Οἷς οὐκ ἀνηγγέλη περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅψονται, καὶ οἱ οὐκ ἀκηκόασιν συν-
ήσουσιν.

- ¹⁵ But I have written to you *rather boldly in some respects* to
remind you,
because of the grace given me by God
- ¹⁶ to be a minister of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles
in performing the priestly service of the gospel of God,
so that the offering up of the Gentiles may be acceptable,
sanctified by the holy Spirit.
- ¹⁷ In Christ Jesus, then, I have reason to boast in what pertains to
God.
- ¹⁸ *For I will not dare to speak of anything*
except what Christ has accomplished through me
to lead the Gentiles to obedience by word and deed,
- ¹⁹ by the power of signs and wonders, by the power of the Spirit
(of God),

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so that from Jerusalem all the way around to Illyricum
I have finished preaching the gospel of Christ.

²⁰ *Thus I aspire to proclaim the gospel
not where Christ has already been named,
so that I do not build on another's foundation,*

²¹ but as it is written:

“Those who have never been told of him shall see,
and those who have never heard of him shall understand.”

Paul's hesitation is shown by the *τολμηρότερον δὲ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν ἀπὸ μέρους* (“I have written to you rather boldly in some respects”) in v. 15 (cf. *οὐ γὰρ τολμήσω τι λαλεῖν ὧν*, “for I will not dare to speak of anything” in v. 18) and the awkward double negative in v. 18 (*οὐ γὰρ τολμήσω τι λαλεῖν ὧν οὐ κατειργάσατο Χριστὸς δι' ἐμου*, “for I will not dare to speak of anything except what Christ has accomplished through me”).¹¹ Paul is not only hesitant in making his claim (evoking the imagery of 2 Corinthians 3), but substantially qualifies the claim by pointing out that he does not trespass the territory of other missionaries to the Gentiles (v. 20, cf. 2 Cor 10:12-18). Thus, Paul reuses arguments from his rhetorical repertoire without tidily systematizing them. He claims a universal ministry to Gentiles and then claims that he acknowledges and respects the territories of other apostles among the Gentiles.

Is the claim to be an apostle to both Jews and Gentiles specific to the context of 1 Corinthians? The repeated claim to authority over Jews as well as Gentiles does not fit the situation since Paul addresses the Corinthians as Gentiles (1 Cor 12:2, cf. 6:9, 8:7). Further, none of the issues of 1 Corinthians requires a significant Jewish presence in Corinth, nor are the obvious and immediate problems of a mixed community (e.g., table-fellowship and ethnic power-sharing) present in the entire Corinthian correspondence. Thus, no reason suggests that ministry to Jews in 1 Corinthians is context-specific. On the contrary, it appears in 1 Corinthians precisely because of the Jerusalem conference (cf. Gal 2:9). Paul, in claiming the authority of an apostle among many, claims authority over both Jews and Gentiles.

The simplest solution to the riddle of the sequence of 1 Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans lies in emphasizing and elucidating the contin-

¹¹ C. E. B. Cranfield (*The Epistle to the Romans* [ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1979] 758) refers to “Paul's decidedly clumsy sentence.”

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gency and diversity of Paul's arguments. The language, issues, and situation of Galatians explain the significant contrast in Paul's characterization of his mission in 1 Corinthians and Romans. One can easily see how and why Paul generates new language to characterize his mission in response to the Galatian crisis. On the other hand, the issues and situation of 1 Corinthians do not account for the distinctive claim to ministry to Jews as well as Gentiles made in that latter. As a result, 1 Corinthians cannot plausibly be triangulated between Galatians and Romans. It is unclear why Paul would generate the odd language concerning his mission as a response to the Corinthian situation. Thus, Galatians falls between 1 Corinthians and Romans.

Motifs Common to 1 Corinthians and Romans

We now turn to a number of motifs common to 1 Corinthians and Romans (Strong/Weak, Adam/Christ, Body of Christ) to see whether their reuse in Romans points to the interposition of Galatians. In the abstract, the combination of particular Corinthian and Galatian motifs in Romans does not require a particular sequence for 1 Corinthians and Galatians. However, as soon as one attempts to triangulate the letters, it becomes evident that the language, issues, and situation of Galatians account for the rhetorical diversity between 1 Corinthians and Romans. On the other hand, locating 1 Corinthians between Galatians and Romans creates problems of interpretation. Indeed, if Galatians preceded 1 Corinthians, one wonders why the arguments of 1 Corinthians differ so markedly from those of Romans, precisely where they give warrants for right conduct to those who are not under the Law. Examination of the reuse of Corinthian motifs in Romans points to the interposition of Galatians.

Strong/Weak

E. P. Sanders, comparing two passages, points out a significant difference between 1 Corinthians and Romans:

In Romans 14 and 1 Cor 7:17f. Paul recognizes that Jews will probably carry on observing the traditional Jewish commandments;

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1 Cor 7:17 *expects* them to do so; Rom 14 *allows* the commandments to be kept.¹²

The observance of the whole Law by Jewish Christians is unproblematic in 1 Corinthians, whereas in Romans it has become a problem. This shift is made even more apparent when one notices that Paul reuses arguments in Romans 14 to permit Jewish Christians to observe the Law that in 1 Corinthians 8 he used to require Gentile Christians to keep (part of) the Law. In 1 Corinthians 8-10, Paul prohibits eating meat and drinking wine offered to idols—observance of (part of) the Law. He addresses the strong in conscience (those who dine in temples) using their own slogans.¹³ In Romans 14, Paul permits the observance of food-laws. He principally addresses the strong in faith (those who eat unclean food) by applying the language of 1 Corinthians 8 to a new issue. An example of reuse is Rom 14:15 (cf. 1 Cor 8:10-11).

1 Cor 8:10-11

¹⁰ ἐὰν γὰρ τις ἴδῃ σὲ
τὸν ἔχοντα γινῶσιν
ἐν εἰδωλείῳ κατακείμενον,
οὐχὶ ἡ συνείδησις αὐτοῦ
ἀσθενοῦς ὄντος
οἰκοδομηθήσεται
εἰς τὸ τὰ εἰδωλόθυτα ἐσθίειν;
¹¹ ἀπόλλυται γὰρ ὁ ἀσθενῶν
ἐν τῇ σῇ γνώσει,
ὁ ἀδελφὸς δι' ὃν Χριστὸς
ἀπέθανεν.

1 Cor 8:10-11

¹⁰ If someone sees you,
with your knowledge,
reclining at table in the temple of

Rom 14:15

¹⁵ εἰ γὰρ διὰ βρῶμα
ὁ ἀδελφός σου λυπεῖται,
οὐκέτι κατὰ ἀγάπην περιπατεῖς·
μὴ τῷ βρώματί σου
ἐκείνον ἀπόλλυε
ὕπὲρ οὗ Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν.

Rom 14:15

¹⁵ If your brother *is being hurt*
by what you eat,
your conduct is no longer

¹² Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, 101.

¹³ Gordon D. Fee (*The First Epistle to the Corinthians* [NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmanns, 1987] 357-63) cogently argues that the main issue is dining in temples.

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an idol, may not his conscience too, weak as it is, be “built up” <i>to eat the meat sacrificed to idols?</i> ¹¹ <i>Thus through your knowledge,</i> <i>the weak person is brought to</i> <i>destruction, the brother for whom</i> <i>Christ died.</i>	in accord with love. Do not because of your food <i>destroy</i> him for whom Christ died.
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Grieving fits the situation in Rom 14:15 where “the Strong” ostentatiously eat unclean food at table with a fellow Christian who avoids unclean food (cf. Rom 14:1-2), since eating unclean food is a peccadillo. In contrast, perishing suits the situation of 1 Cor 8:10-11 where “the Weak” commit the sin of idolatry on account of the example of “the Strong.” Moreover, observance of the Jewish calendar has become problematic between the two letters. In 1 Corinthians, the observance of the Jewish calendar poses no difficulty. 1 Cor 16:8 at the very least suggests the possibility that Paul wishes to celebrate Pentecost with the Ephesians. Be this as it may, the references to Pentecost (1 Cor 16:8), Passover (1 Cor 5:7-8), and Sabbath (1 Cor 16:2) in 1 Corinthians are unproblematic. Rom 14:5-6, however, permits keeping the Sabbath in response to a disputed question. Thus, Romans 14 allows Christians to observe food laws and the Jewish calendar by applying arguments from 1 Corinthians 8 requiring Gentile Christians to observe the Law (in part): the prohibition of dining in an idol-shrine.

One might argue that, although the prohibition of idolatry is indeed found in the Law, the prohibition is not a legal observance because it is not described as such in the text. Or is it? In 1 Cor 9:20-21, Paul describes his own conduct and qualifies his stance toward both the observance and non-observance of the Law. Although he is not required to obey the dietary prohibitions of Leviticus 11-12, he must flee idolatry. The reference to the Weak in v. 22 directly connects v. 21 to the overarching issue of chaps. 8-10, the prohibition of εἰδωλόθυτον, “meat sacrificed to idols” (cf. 1 Cor 8:7, 10:22). Furthermore, Paul’s first arguments against eating idol-food are theological: love of God (1 Cor 8:1-3) and exclusive loyalty to God and Christ (1 Cor 8:4-5). 1 Cor 7:19 also

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uses Law language in an unproblematic way. Circumcision is indifferent; τήρησις ἐντολῶν θεοῦ, “keeping God’s commandments” is not. From the context of chap. 7, the commandments at least include the prohibition of sexual misconduct.¹⁴ In the next chapter, Paul uses the language of the Law to characterize this love and loyalty (μὴ ὦν ἄνομος θεοῦ ἀλλ’ ἔννομος Χριστοῦ, “though I am not outside God’s law but within the law of Christ”).

In 1 Corinthians, the observance of the Law by Christians is not a problem; the non-observance of the Law (the prohibitions of idolatry and sexual misconduct) is. In Galatians and Romans, Christians also keep the Law, although the passages differ in two respects from the passages in 1 Corinthians, one minor and one major. First, in Gal 5:14, 6:2 and Rom 8:3-4, 13:8-10, the Law is “fulfilled” by a mediating principle (e.g., loving one’s neighbor, carrying one another’s burdens). In contrast, 1 Corinthians uses neither “fulfillment,” nor a mediating principle. Second, in 1 Corinthians, the Law language is tied to the concrete prohibitions of idolatry and sexual misconduct. However, in Galatians and Romans, the “fulfillment” of the Law is embedded in general discussions of the need for right conduct where the keeping of the commandments of the Law by Christians *has become a problem*.

1 Cor 9:21

²¹ τοῖς ἀνόμοις ὡς ἄνομος,
μὴ ὦν ἄνομος θεοῦ ἀλλ’ ἔννομος
Χριστοῦ,
ἵνα κερδάνω τοὺς ἀνόμου

Gal 5:14

¹⁴ ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος
ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ πεπλήρωται,
ἐν τῷ Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου
ὡς σεαυτόν.

Gal 6:2

² Ἀλλήλων τὰ βάρη βαστάζετε
καὶ οὕτως
ἀναπληρώσετε τὸν νόμον τοῦ
Χριστοῦ.

¹⁴ In Galatians, τήρησις ἐντολῶν θεοῦ, “keeping God’s commandments” (1 Cor 7:19) becomes πίστις δι’ ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη, “faith working through love,” and καινὴ κτίσις, “a new creation” (Gal 5:6, 6:15).

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1 Cor 7:19

¹⁹ ἡ περιτομή οὐδέν ἐστιν
καὶ ἡ ἀκροβυστία οὐδέν ἐστιν,
ἀλλὰ τήρησις ἐντολῶν θεοῦ.

Gal 5:6, 6:15

^{5:6} ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ
οὔτε περιτομή τι ἰσχύει οὔτε
ἀκροβυστία ἀλλὰ πίστις δι' ἀγάπης
ἐνεργουμένη.
^{6:15} οὔτε γὰρ περιτομή τί ἐστιν
οὔτε ἀκροβυστία
ἀλλὰ καινὴ κτίσις.

Rom 8:3-4

³ τὸ γὰρ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου
ἐν ᾧ ἡσθένει διὰ τῆς σαρκός,
ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν πέμψας
ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας
καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας κατέκρινεν
τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐν τῇ σαρκί,
⁴ ἵνα τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου
πληρωθῇ ἐν ἡμῖν
τοῖς μὴ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦσιν
ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα.

Rom 13:8-10

⁸ Μηδενὶ μηδὲν ὀφείλετε
εἰ μὴ τὸ ἀλλήλους ἀγαπᾶν·
ὁ γὰρ ἀγαπῶν τὸν ἕτερον
νόμον πεπλήρωκεν.
⁹ τὸ γὰρ Οὐ μοιχεύσεις, Οὐ φονεύ-
σεις, Οὐ κλέψεις, Οὐκ ἐπιθυμή-
σεις,
καὶ εἴ τις ἑτέρα ἐντολή,
ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ
ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται
[ἐν τῷ] Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον
σου
ὥς σεαυτόν.
¹⁰ ἡ ἀγάπη τῷ πλησίον

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κακὸν οὐκ ἐργάζεται·
πλήρωμα οὖν νόμου ἡ ἀγάπη.

1 Cor 9:21

²¹ To those outside the law
I became like one outside the
law—
*though I am not outside God's
law
but within the law of Christ—*
to win over those outside the law.

Gal 5:14

¹⁴ For *the* whole law is fulfilled
in one statement, namely,
“*You shall love your neighbor as
yourself.*”

Gal 6:2

² Bear one another's burdens,
and so you will fulfill the law of
Christ.

1 Cor 7:19

¹⁹ Circumcision means nothing,
and uncircumcision means nothing;
what matters is
keeping God's commandments.

Gal 5:6, 6:15

^{5:6} For in Christ Jesus,
neither circumcision
nor uncircumcision counts for
anything,
but only *faith working through
love.*
^{6:15} For neither
does circumcision mean anything,
nor does uncircumcision,
but only *a new creation.*

Rom 8:3-4

³ For what the law, weakened by
the flesh, was powerless to do,
this God has done:
by sending his own Son

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*in the likeness of sinful flesh
and for the sake of sin,
he condemned sin in the flesh,
4 so that the righteous decree of
the law might be fulfilled in us,
who live not according to the
flesh
but according to the spirit.*

Rom 13:8-10

⁸ Owe nothing to anyone,
except to love one another;
*for the one who loves another
has fulfilled the law.*
⁹ *The commandments,*
“You shall not commit adultery;
you shall not kill;
you shall not steal;
you shall not covet,”
and whatever other command-
ment there may be,
are summed up in this saying,
(namely) “*You shall love your
neighbor as yourself.*”
¹⁰ Love does no evil to the neigh-
bor; hence, *love is the fulfillment
of the law.*

The interposition of Galatians accounts for the shift between 1 Corinthians 8 and Romans 14. In 1 Corinthians, the non-observance of the Law (in part) by Gentile Christians is the problem; the observance of the Law by Jewish Christians is assumed and encouraged. In Galatians, circumcision cuts one off from Christ (Gal 5:4) and observance of the Jewish calendar is idolatry (Gal 4:8-11). Christian observance of the Law has become a problem because someone has tried to force Gentile Christians in a group of Paul's churches to be circumcised (Gal 6:12). In Romans 14, the observance of the Law by Jewish Chris-

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tians is problematic and needs to be permitted. Locating Galatians between 1 Corinthians and Romans explains how the observance of the Law has become a problem by the time Paul writes Romans.

The alternative, locating 1 Corinthians between Galatians and Romans, plots three letters on an *a priori* linear trajectory. For example, Hans Hübner holds that Paul progresses from fighting on principle (the Antioch Incident and Galatians) to pastoral tolerance (1 Corinthians and Romans):

The reappearance in Rom 14f. of the tolerance which finds expression in 1 Cor 8f. is the circumstance which to me is decisive for the chronological priority of Galatians. If one sought to place Galatians in between these two letters, the result would be a zig-zag.¹⁵

In his trajectory, John W. Drane holds that Paul moves from a negative stance toward the Law to a positive one:

Paul's teaching on the Law in Galatians is very negative by comparison with his teaching on the same subject in Romans, even in the places where he seems to be saying the same things. If we compare, for instance, Rom 5:20ff. with Galatians 3:19a, the positive function of the Law as seen in the Romans passage is absent from Galatians. Now it is easy to understand how Paul could have had a very pessimistic view of the Law at a relatively early stage in his ministry, before he had experienced some of the immorality into which "free" Christians could fall. But it is almost impossible to think either that he initially held a positive attitude to it, which later changed, or that (as would be required if Galatians is dated close to 1 and 2 Corinthians and Romans) he could have held the two together at one and the same time.¹⁶

Hübner and Drane abhor "zig-zags" and the notion that Paul "could have held" the attitudes to the law represented in Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Romans "at one and the same time." Zig-zags are perfectly reasonable to acknowledge, when Paul's letters are recognized as occasional, contingent, and historical. And corraling all the

¹⁵ Hübner, *Law*, 91-92 n. 47.

¹⁶ Drane, *Paul*, 142-43.

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legal language and statements in the Corinthian correspondence and Romans together over and against those of Galatians hardly takes into account issues and recipients, much less language. If anything, analysis of language and issue would require grouping Galatians, Romans, and 2 Corinthians 1-9 together. Moreover, these authors do not show how the language, issues, and situation of 1 Corinthians account for the differences between Galatians and Romans. In other words, the interposition of 1 Corinthians does not illuminate the rhetorical shifts between Galatians and Romans. Thus, Drane argues that the views Paul counters in 1 Corinthians presuppose Galatians. He is unable to argue that Paul's own arguments in 1 Corinthians presuppose Galatians.¹⁷ 1 Corinthians presupposes that Paul is not "under the Law" (1 Cor 9:20) and circumcision is not required of Gentile Christians (1 Cor 7:17-19).¹⁸ Neither position necessarily presupposes Galatians. Hübner and Drane contrast abstractions and assume development from one pole to the other. This method is manifestly faulty. Triangulating letters to account for significant rhetorical diversity by noting the interplay of language, issue, and situation constitutes a better procedure.

Adam/Christ

Among the undisputed letters, the Adam/Christ typology is found only in 1 Corinthians 15 and Romans 5.¹⁹ In 1 Corinthians, countering

¹⁷ Drane, *Paul*, 100, 110-31.

¹⁸ One might argue that 1 Cor 15:56 presupposes Galatians. τὸ δὲ κέντρον τοῦ θανάτου ἡ ἁμαρτία, ἡ δὲ δύναμις τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ νόμος, "The sting of death is sin, and the power of sin is the law." Wilckens holds that the verse suspiciously resembles a scribal gloss, although he ultimately accepts it and suggests that it stems from Paul's disputes with the synagogue rather than with fellow Christians. Wilckens, "Entwicklung," 161. Indeed, the verse does have all the earmarks of a scribal gloss. If Paul wrote it, it would nevertheless not presuppose Galatians since that letter lacks any correlation among Sin, Death, and the Law. In Galatians, the Law does not give life (Gal 3:21), but it does not kill (cf. 2 Cor 3:6). (1 Corinthians obviously cannot presuppose 2 Corinthians 1-9.) A negative statement about the Law does not require the temporal priority of Galatians.

¹⁹ In Phil 3:21, Paul also reuses the language of 1 Corinthians 15, albeit without explicitly mentioning Adam.

1 Cor 15:49 (cf. vv. 21-22)

Phil 3:20-21

⁴⁹ καὶ καθὼς
ἐφορέσαμεν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ χοϊκοῦ,

²⁰ ἡμῶν γὰρ τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς
ὑπάρχει,

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the denial of bodily resurrection by some of the Corinthians, Paul contrasts present mortality with future life and bodily glory by means of this bipolar duality (1 Cor 15:21-22, 42-49). In Romans 5, Paul begins a new section of the letter (chaps. 5-8), which argues that freedom from the Law is not libertinism (cf. Rom 3:8) by contrasting two aeons. The aeon inaugurated by Adam, characterized by sin and death, is past; the aeon inaugurated by Christ, characterized by grace, righteousness, and life, is present and future.

Between 1 Corinthians and Romans, there are shifts in issue and time line. Between these two letters, the issue related to the Adam/Christ motif moves from the bodily resurrection (an issue specific to the context of 1 Corinthians) to the moral consequences of *absolute* freedom from the Law (an issue specific to the context of Galatians 4-6). The rhetorical situation of Galatians accounts for this new issue. In response to the attempt to require Gentile Christians to be circumcised, Paul rejects the observance of the Law by Gentile Christians and must therefore ground right conduct in new language.

Between 1 Corinthians and Romans, the time-line also shifts. Both contrast the past and the future. In Romans, there is also a radical disjunction between the past Adamic aeon and the present Christian one expressed in terms of dying with Christ and the crucifixion of ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος (“our old self”) with Christ.²⁰ In 1 Corinthi-

φορέσομεν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ
ἐπουρανίου.

1 Cor 15:49 (cf. vv. 21-22)

⁴⁹ *Just as we have borne the image of the earthly one, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly one.*

ἐξ οὗ καὶ σωτῆρα ἀπεκδεχόμεθα κύριον
Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,

²¹ ὃς μετασχηματίζει

τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ὑποτάξαι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα.

Phil 3:20-21

²⁰ But our citizenship is in heaven, and from it we also await a savior, the Lord Jesus Christ. ²¹ He will change our lowly body to conform with his glorified body by the power that enables him also to bring all things into subjection to himself.

²⁰ For further discussion of the motif of “dying with Christ,” see the next two chapters. My chief innovation with respect to other developmental schemes lies in the identification of Gal 2:19 as the point of origin of the motif versus the more traditional

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ans, there is no such disjunction; Christians are in Adam as well as in Christ. Interposing Galatians accounts for the shift because its literary and political context gives rise to the motif of the past radical disjunction between the aeons of Law/Flesh and Faith/Spirit, in terms of crucifixion with Christ (Gal 2:19-20) and of the flesh (Gal 6:14-16).²¹

1 Cor 15:22

²² ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ
πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν,
οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ
πάντες ζωοποιηθήσονται.

1 Cor 15:49

⁴⁹ καὶ καθὼς
ἐφορέσαμεν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ
χοϊκοῦ,
φορέσομεν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ
ἐπουρανίου.

1 Cor 15:22

²² For just as *in Adam* all die,
so too *in Christ* shall all be
brought to life.

Rom 5:17

¹⁷ εἰ γὰρ τῷ τοῦ ἐνὸς παραπτώματι
ὁ θάνατος ἐβασίλευσεν διὰ τοῦ
ἐνός, πολλῶ μᾶλλον
οἱ τὴν περισσεῖαν τῆς χάριτος καὶ
τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς δικαιοσύνης λαμ-
βάνοντες
ἐν ζωῇ βασιλεύσουσιν
διὰ τοῦ ἐνός Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Rom 6:5-6

⁵ εἰ γὰρ σύμφυτοι γεγόναμεν
τῷ ὁμοιώματι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως
ἐσόμεθα·
⁶ τοῦτο γινώσκοντες ὅτι
ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος συν-
εσταυρώθη, ἵνα καταργηθῇ τὸ
σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας,
τοῦ μηκέτι δουλεύειν ἡμᾶς τῇ
ἁμαρτίᾳ·

Rom 5:17

¹⁷ For if,
by the transgression of one
(person),

scheme of a “second conversion” in some kind of experience just before 2 Corinthians 1-9 or Philippians. I prefer a concrete, identifiable, rhetorical and political text/context to a nebulous, inaccessible, psychological experience as explanation.

²¹ For more discussion, see “Rhetorical Metamorphosis” in chap. 3.

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*death came to reign through that one,
how much more will
those who receive the abundance
of grace and of the gift of justifi-
cation
come to reign in life
through the one (person) Jesus
Christ.*

1 Cor 15:49

⁴⁹ Just as *we have borne
the image of the earthly one,
we shall also bear
the image of the heavenly one.*

Rom 6:5-6

⁵ For if *we have grown into union
with him through a death like his,
we shall also be united with him
in the resurrection.*

⁶ We know that *our old self
was crucified with him,
so that our sinful body
might be done away with,
that we might no longer be
in slavery to sin.*

Although there is a tidy parallel between 1 Cor 15:21 and Rom 5:17 (albeit with new language in Romans), there is a significant difference between 1 Cor 15:22, 49 and Rom 6:5-6. In 1 Corinthians (as in 1 Thessalonians and 2 Corinthians 10-13), the believer and the community participate in Christ and the Spirit, but not in the death of Jesus. In Romans, the believer and the community share in both persons and events. Indeed, throughout 1 Corinthians, the death of Jesus is an object of proclamation, rather than of participation. In Romans 5-6, Christians share in Christ's death through baptism. In 1 Corinthians, however, Paul preaches Christ crucified (1 Cor 1:18), the Lord's Supper proclaims the death of the Lord (1 Cor 11:26), and the Word of the Cross is God's power to those who are being saved (1 Cor 1:23).

The interposition of Galatians accounts for the shift in language connected to the Adam/Christ motif between 1 Corinthians and Galatians. In Galatians, Paul generated new language tied to the issue of the

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forced circumcision of Gentile Christians in a group of churches that he founded. To explain “death to the Law,” Paul creatively generates new language: “being crucified with Christ” (Gal 2:19). And in arguing that absolute freedom from the Law is not libertinism, he claims that those who belong to Christ have crucified the flesh with its passions and desires (Gal 5:24). If one locates 1 Corinthians between Galatians and Romans, one is hard pressed to explain why Adam’s death (1 Cor 15:22), rather than Christ’s, is shared. Further, the moral arguments of 1 Corinthians are grounded in participation in the substances/persons of Christ and the Spirit; participation in the event of the death of the Lord is absent. And as we shall see in the next section, the problem of the body has shifted.

Body of Christ

Among the undisputed letters, the Body of Christ motif appears only in 1 Cor 6:15, 10:17, 12:12-27, cf. 11:24, 29, and Rom 12:3-8.²² In 1 Corinthians, Paul uses the motif to prohibit sexual misconduct and idolatry, and to put the insubordinate tongue-speakers in their place (three of the main problems addressed by the letter). In Romans, the motif is reused as a minor, generic exhortation to unity. A motif specific to the context of 1 Corinthians has been reused as an *ad hoc* argument in Romans. At first glance, the reuse of this Corinthian motif in Romans does not advance the argument of this chapter.²³ Although the Body of

²² The role of the body of Christ in Rom 7:4 differs from the other uses in 1 Corinthians and Romans in that it does not concern the unity of the Church. Also, Paul exhorts the Philippians to stand in one spirit and one soul, rather than one body (Phil 1:27).

²³ The only connection to Galatians is indirect. Compare 1 Cor 12:9 to Rom 12:3c, 6.

1 Cor 12:9

⁹ ἐτέρῳ πίστις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι,
ἄλλῳ δὲ χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ
πνεύματι,

1 Cor 12:9

⁹ to another *faith* by the same Spirit; to

Rom 12:3c, 6

... ἐκάστῳ ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἐμέρισεν μέτρον
πίστεως. . .
⁶ ἔχοντες δὲ χαρίσματα
κατὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν διά-
φορα,
εἴτε προφητείαν κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς
πίστεως,

Rom 12:3c, 6

each according to the *measure of faith*

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Chrsit motif is clearly reused in an *ad hoc* manner, it provides no immediately obvious argument for the question of the sequence of 1 Corinthians and Galatians. Upon examination, however, the motif does point to a significant shift in language and issue, because of its relation to the Spirit/Flesh antithesis and the language for present Christian status.

In 1 Corinthians, the Body of Christ motif addresses primary issues of idolatry, sexual misconduct, and glossolalia (1 Cor 6:15, 10:17, 12:12-27, cf. 11:24, 29). It is related further to the Spirit/Flesh antithesis. The Corinthian slogans that Paul disputes express the view that for those who are spiritual the deeds of the body, in particular, eating and sexual activity (1 Cor 6:12-13, 8:8) are morally indifferent, but Paul responds by emphasizing the moral and eschatological value of the body.²⁴ The present body is corruptible, mortal, weak, and dishonored (1 Cor 15:43, 53-54); it is not evil. Bodies are members of Christ (1 Cor 6:15). In Romans, on the other hand, the body of sin has been destroyed (Rom 6:6). Sin takes advantage of the weakness of the flesh of non-Christians (Rom 7:13-25, 8:3). God rescues us from the body of death (Rom 7:23-24). Christians are no longer in the flesh; they are in the Spirit (Rom 8:5-10). The body of Christ motif plays only a minor, *ad hoc*, generic role (Rom 12:3-8). There has been a significant shift from 1 Corinthians to Romans in the uses of the Spirit/Flesh antithesis and the language for present Christian status.

Galatians accounts for the shift. Addressing the problem of the moral consequences of absolute freedom from the Law (a new issue), Paul adds a moral dimension to the Spirit/Flesh antithesis. The two are opposed to one another and lust against each other (Gal 5:17). The works of the flesh are contrasted to the fruit of the Spirit (Gal 5:19, 22).

another gifts of healing by the one
Spirit

that God has apportioned. . .

⁶ Since we have gifts that differ *according to the grace given to us*, let us exercise them: if prophecy, in proportion to the faith;

Oddly enough, Romans 12 introduces the notion of a measure or proportion of faith given to each. This new idea seems to anticipate the introduction of the strong and weak *in faith* in Romans 14. The shift from the strong/weak in conscience (1 Corinthians 8) to the strong/weak in faith (Romans 14) presupposes the shift in issue of Galatians.

²⁴ For the slogans, see Jerome Murphy O'Connor, O.P., "Corinthian Slogans in 1 Cor 6:12-20," *CBQ* 40 (1978) 391-6; and "Food and Spiritual Gifts in 1 Cor 8:8," *CBQ* 41 (1979) 292-98.

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In Romans, Paul radicalizes the Galatian antithesis. Christians are not only led by the Spirit (Gal 5:18), walk by the Spirit (Gal 5:16), and live by the Spirit (Gal 5:25) as in Galatians, they are no longer in the flesh, but in the Spirit (Rom 8:8-9). In both Galatians and Romans, the moral dualism expressed by the Spirit/Flesh antithesis is tied to the same issue: the moral consequences of absolute freedom from the Law. In 1 Corinthians, freedom from the Law is not absolute and the Spirit/Flesh antithesis is not morally dualistic. New language is tied to a new issue. The role played by the Body of Christ motif in grounding right conduct in 1 Corinthians is played in Romans by the motifs of dying with Christ and being in the Spirit. The Body of Christ motif has become a merely incidental and generic exhortation to communal unity.

One might argue that Paul suppresses the moral dualism of the Spirit/Flesh antithesis in 1 Corinthians, because it would not be helpful in countering the ontological dualism of the Corinthians. The problem is that 1 Cor 3:1-4 has the makings of the morally dualistic Spirit/Flesh antithesis. Misconduct characterizes the fleshliness of mere human beings; rivalry disqualifies the Corinthians from being spiritual. This argument, however, is incidental and undeveloped. Indeed, one wonders why idolatry and sexual misconduct are not “works of the flesh” in 1 Corinthians as they are in Gal 5:19-21. If Paul had already generated the language of Galatians 5, he could have used it prominently and effectively in 1 Corinthians.

In each of these three cases (Strong/Weak, Adam/Christ, Body of Christ), locating Galatians between 1 Corinthians and Romans illuminates, emphasizes, and accounts for the differences in issue and language found in these two letters. The alternative, interposing 1 Corinthians between Galatians and Romans, is hardly imaginable because it requires Paul systematically and for no apparent reason to avoid the motifs, to ignore the issues, and to contradict the language shared by Galatians and Romans. These cases supplement and support the primary argument for locating Galatians between 1 Corinthians and Romans on the basis of the shift in Paul’s characterization of his mission. The arguments of Chap. 3, locating Galatians between 2 Corinthians 10-13 and 2 Corinthians 1-9, will supplement and strengthen these arguments.

CHAPTER 3

2 Corinthians 10–13, Galatians, 2 Corinthians 1–9

This chapter interposes Galatians between 2 Corinthians 10–13 and 2 Corinthians 1–9. The argument for this position requires the treatment of three issues. First, Paul’s responses to one group of opponents at two stages of the same crisis are correlated; 2 Corinthians 1–9 refers back to 2 Corinthians 10–13. The case of the Offender (2 Cor 2:5–10, 7:11–12) must be differentiated from the principal crisis addressed by the Tearful Letter in order to respond to those who reject the Hausrath-Kennedy Hypothesis (i.e., the identification of 2 Corinthians 10–13 as the Tearful Letter).¹ Second, the two explicit references to Paul’s oppo-

¹ For an extremely helpful enumeration of partition theories, see R. Bieringer, “Teilungshypothesen zum 2. Korintherbrief. Ein Forschungsüberblick” in R. Bieringer and J. Lambrecht, *Studies on 2 Corinthians* (BETL 112; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1994) 67–105. Bieringer divides the major partition theories into three groups. First, he discusses the Hausrath-Kennedy hypothesis: chaps. 10–13 are the Tearful Letter and therefore precede chaps. 1–9. Bieringer presents four arguments against this hypothesis (p.78). a) Why would a redactor reverse the chronological order of the two letters, putting the later letter first? The answer is that the redactor wasn’t interested in chronology and the later letter was longer (cf. the canonical order of Paul’s letters to churches). b) 2 Corinthians 10–13 seems written in anger and not in tears. In response, one can argue that tears cover multiple emotional possibilities and since the letter grieved the Corinthians (2 Cor 7:8–12), an angry letter fits just as well. Further, Paul is rhetorically defending having written the letter and naturally describes his own emotions in the most flattering light. c) The Offender is not mentioned. I shall argue that there are two unrelated conflicts, so that the Offender is only obliquely mentioned among the προημαρτηκότες, “those who had sinned beforehand” of 2 Cor 12:20–13:3. Indeed, one only assumes the Tearful Letter principally concerned the Offender; Paul explicitly says only that the Corinthians punished him in response to that letter. d):

Zum anderen kommt im Rückblick des Paulus auf den Streit in Kap. 1–7 der eigentliche Inhalt von Kap. 10–13, die Abschüttelung der Rivalen nicht vor.

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nents in 2 Corinthians 1-9 are followed by new arguments that presuppose the context-specific language of Galatians and differ significantly from his characterization of them in 2 Corinthians 10-13. Third, Paul's characterization of his own authority in 2 Cor 10:12-18 requires discussion. Although Paul introduces the new context-specific notion of "jurisdiction," the authority claim not only does not reflect the influence of Gal 2:7-8, but stands in significant contrast to Paul's authority claims in 2 Corinthians 1-9.

The Opponents

The simplest and most comprehensive hypothesis for the partition and sequence of 2 Corinthians is that 2 Corinthians 10-13 is the Tearful Letter referred to in 2 Corinthians 1-9. Although both letters mention a second visit to Corinth by Paul and plan a third (2 Cor 2:1, 9:3-4, 13:1), 2 Corinthians 1-9 mentions the Tearful Letter whereas 2 Corinthians 10-13 does not. 2 Corinthians 1-9 presupposes two visits to Corinth by Titus and plans a third (2 Cor 7:5-8, 8:5-6, 10-11, 9:2), whereas

Auch bringt Paulus die Reaktion der Gemeinde auf die paulinische Polemik gegen die Überapostel in Kap. 1-7 nicht zur Sprache.

The Corinthian reaction to Paul's rhetoric against the Superapostles *is* recounted in 2 Corinthians 7 and they are no longer on the scene. They are mentioned (with reference to a past event) in 2 Cor 2:17-3:1 and 5:12-13. Paul's apologia (2 Cor 2:14-7:4) concerns his own honor sullied by the False Apostles, rather than present tense polemic against them (since they have departed). Second, he explains the Semler-Windisch Hypothesis (for Anglophones, this would be the Barrett-Furnish Hypothesis): 2 Corinthians consists of two letters, chaps. 10-13 follow chaps 1-9. As Bieringer points out ("Teilungshypothese," 84):

Alle Autoren, die in 2 Kor zwei Briefe in kanonischer Reihenfolge sehen, müssen zwei Phasen des Konflikts annehmen: eine erste, weniger heftige (vgl. Kap. 1-7) und eine zweite, in aller Schärfe geführte (vgl. 10-13). Über die eigentliche endgültige Versöhnung wie über den Verlauf der letzten Phase der Auseinandersetzung ist uns demnach nichts bekannt.

Bieringer notes that this hypothesis generates more and more hypotheses, based on the presupposed linear development of the conflict, from a more conciliatory to a more polemical. This hypothesis would become necessary only if there were no alternative to assuming that the Tearful Letter principally concerned the Offender. Third, the Weiss-Bultmann and Schmithals-Bornkamm hypotheses modify the Hausrath-Kennedy hypothesis by further partition (starting with separating 2 Cor 2:14-7:4 from its epistolary frame). Ockham's razor is easily invoked against these overly complicated proposals, since the Hausrath-Kennedy hypothesis can provide a comprehensive and more economical explanation. See also Thrall, *2 Corinthians*, 3-49.

2 Corinthians 10–13, Galatians, 2 Corinthians 1–9 · 51

2 Corinthians 10–13 presupposes only one (2 Cor 12:13–18). 2 Corinthians 10–13 directly addresses a crisis (*passim*); 2 Corinthians 1–9 is a letter of reconciliation after a crisis (2 Cor 2:17–3:1, 5:12–13, 7:2–16). 2 Corinthians 10–13 interrupts the collection in response to a charge of financial impropriety (2 Cor 11:7–15, 12:14–18), whereas 2 Corinthians 1–9 resumes it with precautions against such a charge (chaps. 8–9). The only major argument against identifying 2 Corinthians 10–13 as the Tearful Letter is the claim that the Tearful Letter (2 Cor 2:2–4, 9, 7:8, 12) principally addressed the case of the Offender (which the four chapter letter of 2 Corinthians 10–13 manifestly does not). Therefore, to substantiate the Kennedy-Hausrath Hypothesis, the Tearful Letter must primarily address the advent of the False Apostles (2 Cor 10:12–18, 11:4–6, 12:15, 22–24, 12:11–13) to Corinth rather than the mysterious case of the Offender (2 Cor 2:5–11, 7:11–12).²

In 2 Corinthians 1–9, Paul refers to opponents in two contexts (2 Cor 2:17–3:1, 5:12–13).³

2 Cor 2:17–3:1

¹⁷ οὐ γάρ ἐσμεν ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ
καπηλεύοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ,
ἀλλ' ὡς ἐξ εἰλικρινείας,
ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ θεοῦ κατέναντι θεοῦ
ἐν Χριστῷ λαλοῦμεν.

^{3:1} Ἀρχόμεθα πάλιν ἐαυτοὺς συν-
ιστάνειν; ἢ μὴ χρῆζομεν ὡς τινες

2 Cor 5:12–13

¹² οὐ πάλιν ἐαυτοὺς συνιστάνομεν
ὑμῖν ἀλλὰ ἀφορμὴν διδόντες ὑμῖν
καυχήματος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἵνα ἔχητε
πρὸς τοὺς ἐν προσώπῳ καυχωμέ-
νους καὶ μὴ ἐν καρδίᾳ. ¹³ εἴτε γὰρ
ἐξέστημεν, θεῷ· εἴτε σωφρονοῦ-
μεν, ὑμῖν.

² Oddly enough, the emphatic distinction between the case of the Offender and the conflict over the False Apostles has usually been associated with defense of the unity of canonical 2 Corinthians. See Bieringer, *Studies*, 159–61.

³ My treatment of the opponents relies on Furnish (except for the order of the letters). See Furnish, *2 Corinthians*, 48–54. My primary disagreement with Sumney's reconstruction of Paul's Opponents in 2 Corinthians is his emphasis on the role of the Holy Spirit. Sumney ("Servants of Satan," 129) states:

The evidence of 2 Corinthians 10–13 shows that Paul's opponents are Pneumatics. We may call them Pneumatics because they emphasize manifestations of the Spirit in Apostles, not because they teach some abstract belief about the Spirit that is different from Paul's.

The claims of the Opponents are primarily Christological (2 Cor 10:7, 13, 11:23, cf. 11:10, 13:3); the Spirit occurs in 2 Corinthians 10–13 only in 2 Cor 11:4, 12:18, 13:13. Of these, only 2 Cor 11:4 might be an allusion to opponents, but as Sumney persuasively argues it does not concern an aberrant pneumatology (pp. 123–24).

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συστατικῶν ἐπιστολῶν
πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἢ ἐξ ὑμῶν;

2 Cor 2:17-3:1

¹⁷ For *we are not like the many who trade on the word of God*; but as out of sincerity, indeed as from God and in the presence of God, *we speak in Christ*.
^{3:1} *Are we beginning to commend ourselves again?*
Or do we need, as some do, letters of recommendation to you or from you?

2 Cor 5:12-13

¹² *We are not commending ourselves to you again* but giving you an opportunity to boast of us, so that you may have something to say to those who boast of external appearance rather than of the heart.
¹³ For if *we are out of our minds*, it is for God; if we are rational, it is for you.

We can draw a number of conclusions from comparing these passages:

1. The opponents are not Corinthians, because they need letters of commendation (2 Cor 3:1b).
2. Paul had previously commended himself *vis-à-vis* these opponents (2 Cor 3:1a, 5:12).
3. Paul claims that the opponents boast in appearances (2 Cor 5:12).
4. Paul contrasts his financial probity to their peddling the Word of God (2 Cor 2:17).
5. Paul was beside himself on a prior occasion in relation to the opponents. Note the shift in tense from aorist to present in 2 Cor 5:13: εἴτε γὰρ ἐξέστημεν, θεῷ· εἴτε σωφρονοῦμεν, ὑμῖν (“For if we are [literally: were] out of our minds, it is for God; if we are rational, it is for you”).
6. Paul claims to speak in Christ (2 Cor 2:17).

All six of these points are easily correlated to 2 Corinthians 10-13:

2 Corinthians 10–13, Galatians, 2 Corinthians 1–9 · 53

1. The False Apostles are interlopers and not Corinthians (2 Cor 10:12–18).
2. Self-commendation is Paul's primary characterization of the False Apostles (2 Cor 10:12, 18, cf. 12:11) and the issue/expression appears only in these two letters (2 Cor 3:1, 5:12, 4:2, 6:4, 10:12, 18).
3. Paul quotes an opponent who criticizes his bodily presence (2 Cor 10:10).
4. The False Apostles charge Paul with financial impropriety in relation to the collection (2 Cor 11:7–15, 12:13–18).
5. The folly (ἄφροσύνη) of the Fool's Speech (2 Cor 11:16–12:10) perfectly suits the reference to being "beside himself" on a prior occasion in relation to opponents.
6. The False Apostles' authority claims are massively Christological (2 Cor 10:7, 13, 11:23, cf. 11:10, 13:3).

The explicit references to the Tearful Letter in 2 Corinthians 1–9 are completely compatible with equating the Tearful Letter with 2 Corinthians 10–13. In 2 Cor 2:3–4 and 7:8–9, Paul insists that the letter was painful to write and receive.

2 Cor 2:3–4

³ καὶ ἔγραψα τοῦτο αὐτό, ἵνα μὴ ἐλθὼν λύπην σχῶ ἀφ' ὧν ἔδει με χαίρειν, πεποιθὼς ἐπὶ πάντας ὑμᾶς ὅτι ἡ ἐμὴ χαρὰ πάντων ὑμῶν ἐστίν.
⁴ ἐκ γὰρ πολλῆς θλίψεως καὶ συνοχῆς καρδίας ἔγραψα ὑμῖν διὰ πολλῶν δακρύων, οὐχ ἵνα λυπηθῆτε ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀγάπην ἵνα γνῶτε ἣν ἔχω περισσοτέρως εἰς ὑμᾶς.

2 Cor 2:3–4

³ And I wrote as I did so that when I came I might not be pained by those in whom I should have

2 Cor 7:8–9

⁸ ὅτι εἰ καὶ ἐλύπησα ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, οὐ μεταμέλομαι· εἰ καὶ μετεμελόμην, βλέπω [γὰρ] ὅτι ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἐκείνη εἰ καὶ πρὸς ὥραν ἐλύπησεν ὑμᾶς, ⁹ νῦν χαίρω, οὐχ ὅτι ἐλυπήθητε ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐλυπήθητε εἰς μετάνοιαν· ἐλυπήθητε γὰρ κατὰ θεόν, ἵνα ἐν μηδενὶ ζημιωθῆτε ἐξ ἡμῶν.

2 Cor 7:8–9

⁸ For even if I saddened you by my letter, I do not regret it; and if I did regret it

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rejoiced, confident about all of
you
that my joy is that of all of you.
⁴ *For out of much affliction
and anguish of heart I wrote to
you
with many tears,
not that you might be pained
but that you might know
the abundant love I have for you.*

(for I see that that *letter saddened*
you,
if only for a while),
⁹ I rejoice now,
not because you were saddened,
but because
you were saddened into repen-
tance;
for you were saddened in a godly
way,
so that you did not suffer loss
in anything because of us.

In 2 Cor 2:9, Paul claims that he wrote the Tearful Letter for the express purpose of testing the Corinthians' obedience. In 2 Cor 7:12, Paul asserts that the Tearful Letter did not principally concern the mysterious Offender.

2 Cor 2:9

⁹ εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἔγραψα,
ἵνα γνῶ τὴν δοκιμὴν ὑμῶν,
εἰ εἰς πάντα ὑπήκοοί ἐστε.

2 Cor 7:12

¹² ἄρα εἰ καὶ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν, οὐχ
ἐνεκεν τοῦ ἀδικήσαντος οὐδὲ
ἐνεκεν τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος ἀλλ'
ἐνεκεν τοῦ φανερωθῆναι τὴν
σπουδὴν ὑμῶν τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πρὸς
ὑμᾶς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ.

2 Cor 2:9

⁹ For this is why I wrote,
to know your proven character,
whether you were obedient in
everything.

2 Cor 7:12

¹² So then even though I wrote to
you,
it was not on account of the one
who did the wrong,
or on account of the one
who suffered the wrong,
but in order that your concern for
us
might be made plain to you
in the sight of God.

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Thus, the simplest hypothesis for relating the two letters that make up 2 Corinthians is to posit that 2 Corinthians 1–9 refers back to a crisis over the False Apostles to which Paul had responded by writing 2 Corinthians 10–13, the Tearful Letter.

The Offender

The enigma of the Offender (2 Cor 2:5–11, 7:11–12) requires discussion because it provides the main argument for those who reject the identification of 2 Corinthians 10–13 as the Tearful Letter.⁴ If the Tearful Letter principally concerned the case of the Offender, rather than the False Apostles, then 2 Corinthians 10–13 cannot be that letter. Thus, it is crucial to distinguish the case of the Offender from that of the False Apostles.

The case of the Offender has given rise to innumerable hypotheses.⁵ Not only does Paul not explicitly state the nature of the offense in question, but he also appears to provide contradictory information about it (2 Cor 7:11–12):

¹¹ ἰδοὺ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ κατὰ θεὸν λυπηθῆναι πόσῃν κατεργάσατο ὑμῖν σπουδῇν, ἀλλὰ ἀπολογίαν, ἀλλὰ ἀγανάκτησιν, ἀλλὰ

⁴ For example, for Thrall (2 *Corinthians*, 16–18), the case of the offender is the “decisive” objection to the identification of chaps. 10–13 as the Tearful Letter:

The Painful Letter was concerned with one particular incident. In chaps. 10–13 there is no such single offender.

⁵ For a very useful summary of theories about the case of the Offender, see Thrall, 2 *Corinthians*, 61–69. Thrall sums up her objections to the identification of the Offender with the Incestuous Man of 1 Corinthians 5 (p. 65):

It has become apparent that the main argument in favour of the traditional view is the similarity of vocabulary in the relevant passages, whilst the chief contrary argument remains the disparity in Paul’s attitude to the offender in each case. A further contrary argument, however, has emerged from our preceding discussion of the interim events. For if Paul, in the interval between 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians 2 and 7, has visited Corinth and has also written a further letter, connection in 2 Corinthians 2 and 7 with the case of incest seems improbable : these passages are much more likely to refer to some other incident, related to Paul’s interim visit.

Since conflict over sexual misconduct is the only explicit “incident related to Paul’s interim visit” (2 Cor 12:20–13:4), her second argument lacks substance. It does, however, work as an answer to her first objection. The case of the Offender has changed in the interim: he repented after the Painful Visit and subsequently was punished in response to the Tearful Letter. For arguments, see chap. 5.

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φόβον, ἀλλὰ ἐπιπόθησιν, ἀλλὰ ζῆλον, ἀλλὰ ἐκδίκησιν. ἐν παντὶ συνεστήσατε ἑαυτοὺς ἀγνοῦς εἶναι τῷ πράγματι.¹² ἄρα εἰ καὶ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν, οὐχ ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἀδικήσαντος οὐδὲ ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος ἀλλ' ἕνεκεν τοῦ φανερωθῆναι τὴν σπουδὴν ὑμῶν τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ.

¹¹ For behold what earnestness this godly sorrow has produced for you, as well as readiness for *a defense*, and indignation, and fear, and yearning, and zeal, and *punishment*. *In every way you have shown yourselves to be innocent in the matter.* ¹² So then even though I wrote to you, it was not on account of the one who did the wrong, or on account of the one who suffered the wrong, but in order that your concern for us might be made plain to you in the sight of God.

The Corinthians punished the Offender in response to the Tearful Letter (2 Cor 7:11), but that letter did not principally concern him (2 Cor 7:12). Punishing the Offender was both the consequence of repentance and a proof of innocence (2 Cor 7:11). Usually these contradictions are collapsed: the Tearful Letter principally concerned the Offender (despite 2 Cor 7:12) and the Corinthians were communally guilty of supporting the False Apostles against Paul (despite 2 Cor 7:11). However, the contradictions are more apparent than real. Nothing in 2 Corinthians 1-9 requires the assumption that the Tearful Letter principally concerned the Offender. Instead, the contradictions can be resolved simply by distinguishing cases. The Tearful Letter principally concerned the crisis over the False Apostles; the Offender's misdeed was unrelated. Punishment of the Offender in response to the Tearful Letter proved the Corinthians ἑαυτοὺς ἀγνοῦς εἶναι τῷ πράγματι ("yourselves to be innocent in the matter"), namely, of siding with the False Apostles rather than with Paul (2 Cor 7:11). Moreover, the Corinthians' reception of Titus and response to the Tearful Letter make it highly unlikely that they had been in open revolt against Paul (2 Cor 7:11, 15). If they had been in open revolt against Paul, Titus would have encountered opposition and argument upon his return to Corinth, rather than prompt obedience, fear, and trembling: ἀναμνησκομένου τὴν πάντων ὑμῶν ὑπακοήν, ὥς μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρό-

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μου ἐδέξασθε αὐτόν (“as he remembers the obedience of all of you, when you received him with fear and trembling”) (2 Cor 7:15). On the other hand, the Corinthians repented of some kind of communal disobedience with respect to the Offender (2 Cor 7:9–12). The simplest and most comprehensive hypothesis is that these were two distinct issues.

2 Corinthians 10–13 conforms to this scenario fully; Paul clearly distinguishes two crises with distinct issues and occasions (2 Cor 12:20–13:3). Paul explicitly contrasts the Corinthians situation at the time of the Painful Visit: ἀκαθαρσία καὶ πορνεία καὶ ἀσελγεία (“impurity, [sexual] immorality, and licentiousness”) (v. 21) with the Corinthian situation at the time of writing 2 Corinthians 10–13: ἔρις, ζῆλος, θυμοί, ἐριθείαι, καταλαλιάι, ψιθυρισμοί, φυσιώσεις, ἀκαταστασίαι (“rivalry, jealousy, fury, selfishness, slander, gossip, conceit, and disorder”) (v. 20). Paul emphasizes the difference in occasions, not only by the tenses of verbs (present versus aorist and perfect), but also by the use of προ- (προημαρτηκότες, “those who sinned earlier”) in 2 Cor 12:21, 13:2 and προεἶρηκα καὶ προλέγω (“I warned . . . and I warn now”) in 13:2). The issues and occasions are distinct. Paul’s interim visit to Corinth was painful because of the unfinished business of 1 Corinthians (πορνεία, “immorality,” literally, sexual misconduct). In 1 Cor 5:1–8, Paul commands the Corinthians to punish a man cohabiting with his step-mother, and in 1 Cor 6:12–20, he exhorts them not to visit prostitutes. Paul does not punish these Corinthians on his second visit, but threatens to punish them on his next. At a later date, Paul responds to the news of the advent of the False Apostles and explicitly distinguishes between the cases of sexual misconduct that made the second visit painful, and the crisis over the False Apostles addressed by the Tearful Letter.⁶ Therefore, the case of the Offender can be solved by identifying 2 Corinthians 10–13 as the Tearful Letter; the offense involves sexual misconduct, the Painful Visit, and the unfinished business of 1 Corinthians (and nothing to do with the False Apostles).

Since Paul speaks of the Tearful Letter and the Offender in the same passages (2 Cor 2:5–11, 7:11–14), many scholars assume that the Tearful

⁶ The charge of financial impropriety is not only related to the False Apostles, but also to a recent visit to Corinth by Titus (2 Cor 11:7–15, 12:13–18), rather than to a recent visit by Paul. Further the Painful Visit preceded both the initial and the revised travel plans in 2 Cor 1:15–2:1. See chap. 5 below.

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Letter principally considered his case.⁷ Nevertheless, Paul does not say that the Tearful Letter principally concerned the Offender; rather, he says that the Letter aimed at obedience (2 Cor 2:3-4, 9, 7:12, cf. 2 Cor 12:20-13:3) and that the Corinthians responded to the Tearful Letter by punishing the Offender (2 Cor 7:11). One must *hypothesize* that the Offender was the principal issue in the Tearful Letter. Such an hypothesis leads to an interpretive dead-end. Assuming that 2 Corinthians 10-13 is not the Tearful Letter necessarily means that the case of the Offender is insoluble, that the Tearful Letter is lost, that 2 Corinthians 10-13 reflects a second reconciliation after a second crisis, and that a second confrontation over the False Apostles after 2 Corinthians 1-9 precedes Romans. It also encounters problems. The principal problem arises from the conflict over the False Apostles. Paul engaged in conflict over the False Apostles before writing 2 Corinthians 1-9 (2 Cor 3:1, 5:12). When? On the Painful Visit? 2 Cor 12:20-13:3 connects conflict over sexual misconduct to the Painful Visit and contrasts it to the present new crisis over social discord and rebellion. Indeed, the False Apostles are connected to Titus' work on the collection (2 Cor 11:7-15, 12:16-18) and not to Paul's Painful Visit.⁸

⁷ Francis Watson ("2 Cor. X-XIII and Paul's Painful Letter to the Corinthians," *JTS* n.s. 35 [1984] 340) notes the common objection concerning the absence of expected references to the offense and the Offender in 2 Corinthians 10-13:

These points are made again and again by opponents of the identification hypothesis and they are conceded by its adherents. It is our purpose to argue that they are unfounded: that outsiders were involved in the situation underlying the painful letter and that 2 Cor. x-xiii presupposes an offence by a member of the congregation against Paul. Our aim is to show that 2 Cor. x-xiii as a whole fits the description of the painful letter, and the allusions to it, in the earlier chapters of 2 Cor.

Watson succeeds in all these aims except for the identification of the Offender as the $\tau\iota\varsigma$ ["someone"] of 2 Cor 10:7-11. Paul can switch between the singular and the plural in referring to opponents (e.g., Gal 1:7 and 5:10) so that it is easier to suppose that the "someone" in question is one of the False Apostles rather than one of the Corinthians. Further, as Thrall points out, this person in claiming to be a "servant of Christ" certainly sounds like one of the rival missionaries. Thrall, *2 Corinthians*, 18. J. H. Kennedy (*The Second and Third Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians* [London: Methuen, 1900] xiv-xvi) had hypothesized that 2 Corinthians 10-13 is a letter fragment (and fragment concerning the case of the Offender is lost). This hypothesis is far too convenient.

⁸ For further discussion, see "Achaia" in chap. 5.

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Rhetorical Metamorphosis

Paul's characterization of his opponents and his rhetoric of self-commendation shift between 2 Corinthians 10–13 and 2 Corinthians 1–9. Comparing 2 Cor 11:21–29 and 2 Cor 3:1–18 demonstrates the change in Paul's rhetoric. On the one hand, Paul claims to be just as Jewish as his opponents; on the other, their belonging to the old covenant excludes them from the ministry of the new covenant. In one letter, ethnicity is a minor issue treated in a single verse (2 Cor 11:22: Ἑβραῖοί εἰσιν; καὶ γώ. Ἰσραηλῖται εἰσιν; καὶ γώ. σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ εἰσιν; καὶ γώ, "Are they Hebrews? So am I. Are they Israelites? So am I. Are they descendants of Abraham? So am I"). In the other letter, the antithesis of Jewish ministry to Christian fills a chapter of 18 verses (2 Corinthians 3). In the Tearful Letter, Paul claims to be just as much a minister of Christ (2 Cor 11:23: δῆκονοι Χριστοῦ εἰσιν; παραφρονῶν λαλῶ, ὑπὲρ ἐγώ· ἐν κόποις περισσοτέρως, "Are they ministers of Christ? [I am talking like an insane person.] I am still more"). In the letter of reconciliation, his ministry is primarily characterized by the Spirit (e.g., 2 Cor 3:6: ὃς καὶ ἱκάνωσεν ἡμᾶς διακόνους καινῆς διαθήκῃ, οὐ γράμματος ἀλλὰ πνεύματος τὸ γὰρ γράμμα ἀποκτείνει, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζωοποιεῖ, "who has indeed qualified us as ministers of a new covenant, not of letter but of spirit; for the letter brings death, but the Spirit gives life"). In the first letter, he compares himself with the opponents on their terms, whereas in the second, he is the glorious Moses-like exemplar of the ministry of the new covenant. Between two letters to the same community over the same conflict, Paul's rhetoric concerning the major issue of both letters shifts fundamentally.

Galatians accounts for this metamorphosis because the antithesis of two covenants used against rival Christian missionaries is specific to the context of that letter. In Gal 4:21–31, Paul allegorizes Abraham's wives and children as two antithetical covenants, one κατὰ σάρκα ("according to the flesh"), the other κατὰ πνεῦμα ("according to the Spirit") (v. 29). In Gal 2:16, Paul introduces the Law/Faith antithesis. In Gal 3:2–5, Paul asks the Galatians whether they received the Spirit through Faith or through the Law, correlating the Law/Faith antithesis with the Flesh/Spirit one. The crisis in Galatia, namely, Christian mis-

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sionaries attempting to force circumcision on Gentile Christians in a group of Paul's churches, accounts for the generation of this new language.

Although Paul's reference in 1 Cor 11:25 to the new covenant implies an old one, the phrase is clearly traditional and is left undeveloped by Paul. The new element in Galatians is the antithesis and its use against rival Christian missionaries. Indeed, the metamorphosis in Galatians is clearly visible. In 1 Thessalonians and 1 Corinthians, Paul's use of the Jew/Gentile distinction is neither antithetical, nor polemical (e.g., 1 Thess 2:14, 1 Cor 1:22-24, 7:18, 9:20-21, 12:13). The three sets of Jew, Gentile, and Christian in 1 Corinthians and Galatians (1 Cor 7:19, 10:32, Gal 5:6, 6:15) shift in the letters written after Galatians into the antitheses of Faith/Law, Spirit/Letter, and Two Covenants. In Galatians, Paul opposes the two covenants against other Christian missionaries. In 2 Cor 3:1-18, Paul reuses this motif of antithetical covenants against the Christian opponents of 2 Corinthians 10-13. In Romans, Paul defends the antithesis in relation to entry into the salvific community but removes the polemical dimension.

In 2 Corinthians 1-9, Paul refers to self-commendation *vis-à-vis* his opponents in two contexts (2 Cor 2:17-3:1, 5:11-12). Just as in 2 Cor 3:1-18 Paul reuses and reworks Galatian motifs to counter the opponents of 2 Corinthians 10-13, so likewise he mentions them in 2 Cor 5:11-12 and provides ἀφορμή καυχήματος ("grounds for boasting") that presuppose context-specific Galatian language: "dying with Christ," "new creation," and "Christ being made sin." In each case, the issues and flow of argument in Galatians account for the creative generation of unusual shared language. The "dying with Christ" motif in Gal 2:19-20 and 2 Cor 5:14-15 can be compared by means of the following chart:⁹

Gal 2:19-20

¹⁹ ἐγὼ γὰρ διὰ νόμου νόμῳ
ἀπέθανον,
ἵνα θεῷ ζήσω.
Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι·

2 Cor 5:14-15

¹⁴ ἡ γὰρ ἀγάπη τοῦ Χριστοῦ συν-
έχει ἡμᾶς, κρίναντας τοῦτο,
ὅτι εἶς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν,
ἄρα οἱ πάντες ἀπέθανον·

⁹ For the reverse argument, see the discussion of Borse's argument at the end of this chapter. The "dying with Christ" motif has been an important element in developmental theories, e.g., Hurd, "Pauline Chronology and Pauline Theology."

2 Corinthians 10–13, Galatians, 2 Corinthians 1–9 · 61

²⁰ ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ,
ζῇ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός
ὃ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί,
ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ
τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντός με καὶ
παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ.

Gal 2:19-20

¹⁹ For through the law
I died to the law,
that I might live for God.
I have been crucified with Christ;
²⁰ yet I live,
no longer I,
but Christ lives in me;
insofar as I now live in the flesh,
I live by faith in the Son of God
who has loved me
and given himself up for me.

creation of the new motif
conclusion
personal
context-specific
urgent
abrupt asyndetic declaration
requiring explanation

¹⁵ καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν,
ἵνα οἱ ζῶντες μηκέτι ἑαυτοῖς
ζῶσιν ἀλλὰ τῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
ἀποθανόντι καὶ ἐγερθέντι.

2 Cor 5:14-15

¹⁴ For the love of Christ impels
us,
once we have come to the conviction
that *one died for all*;
therefore, all have died.
¹⁵ He indeed died for all,
so that those who live
might no longer live for themselves
but for him who for their sake
died
and was raised.

reuse of that motif
introduction
general
not context-specific
solemn
abstract theologoumenon drawn
from a quasi-confessional formula

These passages are clearly related; 2 Cor 5:14-15 presupposes Gal 2:19-20. In 2 Cor 5:14-15, Paul solemnly begins (ἡ γὰρ ἀγάπη τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνέχει ἡμᾶς, κρίναντας τοῦτο, “For the love of Christ impels us, once we have come to the conviction”) his ἀφορμὴ καυχήματος (“opportunity to boast”) with theological consequences drawn from a quasi-

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confessional formula (ὁ Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν, “Christ died for all”). Unless the argument presupposes the prior existence of the motif of dying with Christ, it appears suddenly as a theological abstraction not clearly related to its context. How this impersonal theologoumenon functions as “grounds for boasting” is less than obvious. There is no dative (i.e., Paul does not die to the Law or to something else). In other words, 2 Cor 5:14-15 only loosely fits its context. In Gal 2:19-20, on the other hand, one can see how the new motif appears in the midst of an *ad hoc* argument about Paul’s relation to the Law.¹⁰ He has torn down the Law. He has even died to it in order to live for God. Without a conjunction, he abruptly declares: Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι, “I have been crucified with Christ”. The new motif demands an explanation, which is expressed in somewhat unusual language: Christ is in Paul (rather than the reverse) and Paul no longer lives. Moreover, Gal 2:20 appears to be tidied up in 2 Cor 5:15. The unusual notions disappear. The language is generalized, moralized, and used to emphasize life.

In the passage from Galatians, Paul generates new language; in the passage from 2 Corinthians 1-9, it is presupposed. 1 Corinthians, written before Galatians, provides a substantially different word-picture. There, the only shared death is Adam’s: “we are all dying” (present tense) in Adam (1 Cor 15:22):

Generalized:

ἐγώ . . .

Ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ . . .

τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαν-

τός με καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν

ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ

οἱ πάντες . . .

οἱ ζῶντες μηκέτι ἑαυτοῖς ζῶσιν . . .

τῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντι καὶ

ἐγερθέντι

Moralized:

Ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ

οἱ ζῶντες μηκέτι ἑαυτοῖς ζῶσιν

¹⁰ In 2 Corinthians 1, Paul *begins* the letter with the motif of “sharing in Christ’s sufferings (and death)” and in 2 Corinthians 5, he *begins* his apologia with the motif of “dying with Christ.” This set of motifs is presupposed. In Galatians 2, Paul generates the motif of “dying with Christ” *at the end* of the narrative introduction to the letter.

2 Corinthians 10–13, Galatians, 2 Corinthians 1–9 · 63

Life Emphasized:

ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ . . . τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντός με καὶ παραδόντος ἐαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἑμοῦ	οἱ ζῶντες μηκέτι ἑαυτοῖς ζῶσιν . . . τῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντι καὶ ἐγερθέντι
--	---

Generalized:

I have been crucified with Christ . . . Yet <i>I live</i> , no longer <i>I</i> . . . Who has loved <i>me</i> and given himself up for <i>me</i>	All died . . . <i>Those who live</i> . . . Who <i>for their sakes</i> died and was raised
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Moralized:

Yet I live, no longer I . . .	those who live <i>might no longer live for them-</i> <i>selves</i>
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Life Emphasized:

by faith in the Son of God who has loved me and given himself up for me.	for him who for their sake died <i>and was raised</i>
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²¹ ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δι' ἀνθρώπου θάνατος,
καὶ δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν.

²² ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν,
οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ πάντες ζωοποιηθήσονται.

²¹ For since death came through a human being,
the resurrection of the dead came also through a human being.

²² For just as *in Adam all die* [or, *in Adam, all are dying*],
so too in Christ shall all be brought to life.

In 1 Corinthians, Christ's death is proclaimed, not shared (1 Cor 1:18, 23, 11:26). Indeed, in the letters prior to Galatians (1 Thessalonians, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians 10–13), one shares in persons/substances/spheres rather than events, whereas, in the letters written afterwards

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(Philippians, 2 Corinthians 1-9, Romans), both kinds of participation are found.

The “new creation” language may be compared in Gal 6:14-15 and 2 Cor 5:14-18.¹¹

¹¹ Udo Borse (*Der Standort des Galaterbriefes*, [BBB 41; Köln: Peter Hanstein Verlag 1972] 79-80) makes five points about the “new creation” motif:

- (a) Der Beleg des 2 Kor gehört dem Abschnitt 5,14-17 an, der durch drei weitere Spezifika [d.h., Sterben und Leben mit Christus] mit Gal 2,19-21 verbunden ist. Diese Übereinstimmungen legten das spätere Stadium des Gal nahe.
- (b) Die Tatsache, daß die vier zusammenhängenden Spezifika des 2 Kor [d.h., Sterben und Leben mit Christus und die neue Schöpfung] bei Gal nach 2,19-21 und 6,15 getrennt vorliegen, enthält einen positiven Hinweis für die Anordnung Gal-2 Kor [1-9].
- (c) Die “neue Schöpfung” bezeichnet eine neue Lebensweise in der Verbindung mit Christus (vgl. Röm 6,4; 8,10), die die Gemeinschaft mit seinem Tod voraussetzt. Für 2 Kor ist dieser Zusammenhang klar erkennbar (5,14f.). Auch in Gal betont Paulus die Todesgemeinschaft mit Christus (6:14), er sagt aber nicht, daß sie die Vorbedingung der neuen Schöpfung darstellt. Diese Wechselbeziehung setzt er anscheinend als gegeben voraus. Das fortgeschrittene Stadium der Gedankenführung möchte man deshalb eher bei Gal vermuten.
- (d) Wenn also der Begriff [d.h., die neue Schöpfung] einerseits aus dem Kontext des 2 Kor herauswächst—in seiner Verwendung durch Paulus, nicht etwa als Neuprägung—andererseits in Gal vorausgesetzt wird, liegt darin ein deutlicher Hinweis für eine Entwicklung von 2 Kor [1-9] zu Gal.
- (e) Das Spezifikum “neue Schöpfung” trifft Gal 6:15 mit der spezifischen Aussage von der Zweitrangigkeit von Beschneidung und Vorhaut zusammen (Gal 5,6; 1 Kor 7:9). Es erscheint gut vorstellbar, daß Paulus die Elemente des 1 Kor und 2 Kor [1-9] im späteren Gal zur vorliegenden Sentenz zusammenfaßte, wenig wahrscheinlich dagegen, daß er den Begriff “neue Schöpfung” aus dieser Sentenz herausgelöst, im späteren 2 Kor [1-9] allein verwendet und auch dort erst ausführlich erarbeitet haben sollte.

Borse, in points (a), (b), and (c), fails to ask the question of which context points to the *generation* of the motif. As I argue in the text, the scattered motifs in Galatians fit their argumentative situation and literary context, whereas in 2 Corinthians 1-9, they do not and are clustered together around self-commendation. On the other hand, Borse does come close to asking this question in (d). He argues that “new creation” flows from the context of 2 Cor 5:14-17:

er paßt zum Unterschied zwischen dem früheren Kennen “dem Fleische nach” und dem “jetzt” gegebenen anderen Kennen Christi (5,16) sowie zum Wechsel vom Alten zum Neuen (5,17b).

However, he does not account for the motif of “dying with Christ” in 2 Cor 5:14. Further, the “new creation” motif in Gal 6:15 is not “unvermittelt”; it flows naturally from v. 14,

¹⁴ ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι’ οὗ ἐμοὶ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται καὶ γὰρ κόσμῳ.

¹⁴ But may I never boast except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, through which the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world.

2 Corinthians 10–13, Galatians, 2 Corinthians 1–9 · 65

Gal 6:14-15

¹⁴ Ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι
εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ κυρίου
ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
δι' οὗ ἔμοι κόσμος ἐσταύρωται
καὶ γὰρ κόσμῳ.

¹⁵ οὔτε γὰρ περιτομή τί ἐστὶν οὔτε
ἀκροβυστία ἀλλὰ καινὴ κτίσις.

2 Cor 5:16-17

¹⁶ Ὡστε ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐδένα
οἶδαμεν κατὰ σάρκα·
εἰ καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν κατὰ σάρκα
Χριστόν,
ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκέτι γινώσκουμεν.

¹⁷ ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ,
καινὴ κτίσις·
τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρήλθεν,
ἰδοὺ γέγονεν καινά·

Gal 6:14-15

¹⁴ But may I never boast except in
the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ,
through which
the world has been crucified to
me,
and I to the world.

¹⁵ For
neither does circumcision mean
anything, nor does uncircumci-
sion,
but only *a new creation.*

2 Cor 5:16-17

¹⁶ Consequently, from now on
we regard no one according to the
flesh;
even if we once
knew Christ according to the
flesh,

yet now we know him so no
longer.

¹⁷ So whoever is in Christ
is *a new creation*:
the old things have passed away;
behold, new things have come.

In both Galatians and 2 Corinthians 1–9, the proximity of “past dying with Christ” (Gal 6:14, 2 Cor 5:14–15) to “new creation” (Gal 6:15, 2 Cor 5:16–17) connects the two images together. The connection is evident in Gal 6:14–15; the mutual crucifixion of Paul and the world generates the new expression. The connection of the two motifs in 2 Cor 5:14–17 is far less clear; both motifs appear out of nowhere in their immediate contexts.

And point e) is simply odd, considering Paul uses three *different* expressions to complete the formula concerning the indifferent character of περιτομή/ἀκροβυστία, “circumcision”/“uncircumcision,” i.e., τήρησις ἐντολῶν θεοῦ, “keeping God’s commandments” (1 Cor 7:19), πίστις δι’ ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη, “faith working through love” (Gal 5:6), and καινὴ κτίσις “new creation” (Gal 6:15). No single one of these expressions seems to be a fixed part of the expression; so Borse overstates the case.

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Not only is the *καινή κτίσις* (“new creation”) language unusual (cf. Romans 8), but it also differs markedly from the language of the *κόσμος* (“world”) language in 1 Corinthians.¹² In 1 Corinthians, the world is an “outside” category (1 Cor 1:18-3:3, cf. 5:10) and under condemnation (1 Cor 11:32, cf. 6:2). The schema of this world is passing away in the present tense, rather than the aorist (1 Cor 7:31b). There is no cosmic reconciliation and no major past disjunction between the two aeons. Gal 6:14-15 accounts for the argumentative diversity between 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians 1-9. Instead of the present overlap of the Adamic and Christian aeons, Paul’s crucifixion with Christ introduces a radical past disjunction between them.

The motif of “Jesus as sin/curse” may be compared by means of the following chart (1 Cor 12:3, Gal 3:13-14, and 2 Cor 5:21).¹³

1 Cor 12:3

³ διὸ γνωρίζω ὑμῖν ὅτι
οὐδεὶς ἐν πνεύματι
θεοῦ λαλῶν λέγει,
Ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς, καὶ
οὐδεὶς δύναται εἰπεῖν,
Κύριος Ἰησοῦς, εἰ μὴ
ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.

Gal 3:13-14

¹³ Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξη-
γόρασεν ἐκ τῆς
κατάρας τοῦ νόμου
γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν
κατάρρα, ὅτι γέγραπ-
ται, ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς
ὁ κρεμᾶμενος ἐπὶ
ξύλου,
¹⁴ ἵνα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἡ
εὐλογία τοῦ Ἀβραάμ
γέννηται ἐν Χριστῷ
Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα τὴν
ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύ-
ματος λάβωμεν διὰ τῆς
πίστεως.

2 Cor 5:21

²¹ τὸν μὴ γνόντα
ἁμαρτίαν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν
ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν,
ἵνα ἡμεῖς γενώμεθα
δικαιосύνη θεοῦ ἐν
αὐτῷ.

¹² Even within Galatians the rhetorical shift is evident. At the beginning of the letter, Christ died in order to rescue Christians from the present evil age (Gal 1:4), whereas at the end a present *καινή κτίσις* (“new creation”) occurs by means of the past mutual crucifixion of Paul and the world (Gal 5:14-15).

¹³ Borse (*Standort*, 75-76) sees no reason for locating either letter on the basis of the *κατάρρα/ἁμαρτία* (“curse”/“sin”) motif (except that he suggests that Gal 2:13 is closer to Rom 12:14 than 2 Cor 5:21).

2 Corinthians 10–13, Galatians, 2 Corinthians 1–9 · 67

1 Cor 12:3

³ Therefore, I tell you that *nobody speaking by the spirit of God says, “Jesus be accursed.”*

And no one can say, “Jesus is Lord,” except by the Holy Spirit.

Gal 3:13–14

¹³ *Christ ransomed us from the curse of the law by becoming a curse for us,*

for it is written, “Cursed be everyone who hangs on a tree,”
¹⁴ that the blessing of Abraham might be extended to the Gentiles through Christ Jesus, so that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith.

2 Cor 5:21

²¹ For our sake *he made him to be sin* who did not know sin, so that we might become the righteousness of God in him.

The basic notional structure of 2 Cor 5:21 is not at all unusual: Christ’s death confers a new status on Christians (e.g., 1 Thess 5:10, 1 Cor 5:7). The language used, however, is unusual and reminiscent of Gal 3:13. The difference between the two is that in Galatians the expression, γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα (“becoming a curse for us”), is embedded in a dense series of Scriptural arguments, whereas in 2 Corinthians 1–9 the phrase, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν (“for our sake he made him to be sin”), is completely unexpected. Again, 1 Corinthians takes a stand on viewing Jesus as accursed that differs substantially from 2 Corinthians 1–9. When writing 1 Corinthians, the notion that Jesus is accursed is rejected. Connecting Jesus to the Deuteronomic curses through citation of Deut 21:23 is Paul’s response to the rhetorical exigencies of the Galatian crisis and is embedded in a complex mosaic of Scriptural arguments. Once again, the shared language is context-specific to Galatians, but not to 2 Corinthians 1–9, and the interposition of Galatians accounts for the rhetorical diversity between 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians 1–9.

The clause, ἵνα ἡμεῖς γενώμεθα δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ (“so that we might become the righteousness of God in him”), is worth noting,

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because it mentions righteousness without the technical justification language found in Galatians.¹⁴ This absence is worth noting since Lightfoot, Wilckens, and Buck¹⁵ all use it to argue that 2 Corinthians 1-9 is less developed than Galatians. This is an argument from silence, and does not take into account the other Galatian language present in this section. Simple contingency arguments account for the absence of technical language of “justification by faith and not by works” in 2 Corinthians 1-9. First, this motif would be of no use to Paul in commending his ministry of reconciliation in 2 Cor 5:21. Second, this language is tied in the three letters where it appears to a single issue, an issue irrelevant to the situation in Corinth (i.e., conflict over circumcising Gentile Christians). Third, the Faith/Law antithesis is translated into hermeneutical categories suitable to the Corinthians in chap. 3 (Spirit/Letter, veiled reading/unveiled reading). The presence of several context-specific Galatian motifs is far more significant than the absence of technical justification language.

Paul’s rhetorical strategy in 2 Corinthians 3 and 5 is now manifest. He reworks Galatian language to fit the defense of his honor in Corinth. The parallel statements, 2 Cor 3:1 and 5:12, introduce sections of the letter markedly rich in Galatian motifs. Paul commends his ministry vis-à-vis the opponents of 2 Corinthians 10-13 with language

¹⁴ Since righteousness can appear without the technical language of Galatians (e.g., 1 Cor 1:30, 6:11), the context of 2 Cor 5:21 in a cluster of Galatian motifs is the significant difference.

¹⁵ For example, see Lightfoot (*Galatians*, 49):

But if on the other hand this sequence [2 Corinthians, Galatians, Romans] is altered by interposing the letters to the Corinthians between those to the Galatians and Romans, the dislocation is felt at once. It then becomes difficult to explain how the same thoughts, argued out in the same way and expressed in similar language, should appear in the Galatian and reappear in the Roman Epistle, while in two letters written in the interval they have no place at all, or at least do not lie on the surface. I cannot but think that the truths which were so deeply impressed on the Apostle’s mind, and on which he dwelt with such characteristic energy on two different occasions, must have forced themselves into prominence in any letter written meanwhile.

In addition to mistakenly treating the Corinthian correspondence as an indivisible unity, Lightfoot falsely assumes that the language common to Galatians and Romans is the very heart of Paul’s thought. On the contrary, the interposition of Philippians and 2 Corinthians between these letters shows that the reverse makes for a more coherent portrait of Paul. See also, Wilckens, “Entwicklung,” 163-64; and Buck and Taylor, *Saint Paul*, 98-99.

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that is not context-specific, but is fully at home and integrated in the arguments of Galatians. In 2 Cor 5:14–21, the ministry of reconciliation (vv. 18–19) is the motif that is context-specific; so also is the exhortation to be reconciled to God (vv. 20–21), that is, to his ambassador and slave, Paul. The language at the beginning and end of this section, however, is quite unusual. Galatian motifs are reused in a tight matrix around the issue of Paul's commendation of his ministry.

The metamorphosis of Paul's characterization of himself and of his opponents between the two letters can be further illuminated by examining 2 Cor 10:12–18. In this passage, Paul claims that his God-given jurisdiction extends as far as the Corinthians and boasts against οἱ ἐν προσώπῳ καυχώμενοι, those who boast in external appearances" (2 Cor 5:12), that he is no interloper in someone else's jurisdiction. This passage does not presuppose the Galatian claim of being the unique Apostle to the Gentiles (Gal 2:7–8). Not only is the ethnic dichotomy of the church's mission absent, but Paul's jurisdiction extends only to churches that he himself has founded. Others have jurisdictions he claims not to invade. Indeed, the opponents are interlopers, not subordinates; their right as apostles to found their own churches apart from Paul is not disputed. Paul claims no unique authority over the mission to the Gentiles. Such a claim recognized by the church in Jerusalem would be a powerful argument here. Furthermore, the claim to a jurisdiction (a notion only implicit in 1 Corinthians) is context-specific. Arguing against interlopers, Paul makes territorial claims. Thus, 2 Cor 10:12–18 does not presuppose the context-specific authority claims of Gal 2:7–8.¹⁶

In 2 Corinthians 1–9, Paul mentions the opponents only insofar as he commends his own ministry. Using the Galatian antithesis of two covenants, he characterizes himself as the unique example of the ministry of the new covenant. He is no longer an apostle among many as in 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians 10–13. He is, like Moses in the ministry of the old covenant, without peer. The interposition of Galatians accounts for this shift in his self-characterization. The new situation in Corinth accounts for the radicalization of Gal 2:7–8. Paul's authority is no longer unique merely in relation to the Gentiles; it is unique *tout court*.

¹⁶ Furnish (2 *Corinthians*, 471 and 481) emphasizes that the κανὼν in 2 Cor 10:13 refers both to Paul's authority and territory, and does not presuppose Gal 2:7–10.

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This chapter has argued for the interposition of Galatians between 2 Corinthians 10-13 and 2 Corinthians 1-9 on the basis of the metamorphosis of Paul's rhetoric concerning the principal issues of the two letters: Paul's own ministry and that of his opponents. In the second letter, motifs more at home in Galatians are clustered around the one issue of Paul's self-characterization of himself in relation to his opponents. The argumentative shift is further supported by the contrasting evidence from 1 Corinthians. Triangulation of the matrix of unusual motifs, particular issues, and individual communities yields a coherent relative sequence of these three letters.

The main alternative is to locate Galatians after 2 Corinthians 1-9, by positing doctrinal development schemes. Unfortunately, such traditional schemes have overemphasized the role of "justification by faith and not by works of the Law," so that the absence of technical justification language in 2 Corinthians 1-9 locates it before Galatians. As soon as one allows this motif to be one among many, the reverse order, Galatians before 2 Corinthians 1-9, is required. Udo Borse refines this position by locating 2 Corinthians 10-13 *after* Galatians. He proposes that canonical 2 Corinthians is one letter and that Galatians was written during a pause in dictation between chaps. 9 and 10. He compares passages from Galatians to parallel passages first in 1 Corinthians, then in 2 Corinthians 1-9, then in 2 Corinthians 10-13, and then in Romans (*Spezifika*).¹⁷ For example, Borse compares Gal 2:19-20 and 2 Cor 5:14-17 to use the motif of *Sterben und Leben mit Christus* to determine which letter precedes the other.¹⁸ He provides five arguments for the priority of 2 Corinthians 1-9:

- (a) Gal [2:19] kann demnach gut als Sonderfall der allgemeinen Erwägungen des 2 Kor [5:14] verstanden werden.

¹⁷ Borse, *Standort*, 29:

Als wichtigstes Instrument zur Bestimmung des Standortes des Gal kommt ein mehrstufiges Verfahren zur Anwendung: Die Frage nach einem sprachlichen oder gedanklichen Fortschritt wird für jeden Korintherbrief—zusätzlich getrennt nach 2 Kor [1-9] und 2 Kor [10-13]—gesondert gestellt ("Fortschrittsmethode"). Durch Vergleiche mit jeweils nur einem Brief soll geprüft werden, ob Gal oder aber der Vergleichsbrief das frühere bzw. spätere Stadium bietet.

¹⁸ Borse, *Standort*, 73-75.

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- (b) Die Todesgemeinschaft mit Christus wird in 2 Kor nicht allein auf die gesamte Menschheit bezogen, sondern sie gilt auch für jeden einzelnen Menschen in seiner gesamten Existenz . . . Im Unterschied dazu betrifft Gal den Sonderfall des mosaischen Gestezes.
- (c) Die straffere Gedankenführung des Gal spricht dafür, daß der Apostel im späteren der beiden Briefe zu größerer Konzentration seiner Überlegungen fortgeschritten ist.
- (d) Außer den drei Spezifika mit 2 Kor [1–9] liegen in Gal drei weitere Übereinstimmungen mit Röm vor; alle betreffen Gal 2,19. Sie lassen vermuten, daß Gal zwischen diesen Briefen eine Mittelstellung einnimmt.
- (e) Das Sterben für das Gesetz Gal 2,19 steht analog zum Sterben für die Sünde, das der Apostel Röm 6,2.10 erörtert. Sodann wird der Gedanke des Gal “in passivischer Formulierung Röm 7,4 . . . wiederholt”. Andererseits kommt der Begriff νόμος, der in Gal und Röm eine so beherrschende Rolle spielt, in 2 Kor überhaupt nicht vor. Diese drei Einzelbeobachtungen rücken den Gal in größere Nähe zu Röm, so daß eine Anordnung des Briefes noch vor 2 Kor [1–9] weniger wahrscheinlich klingt.

The primary weakness of each of these five arguments consists of assuming a linear development of Paul's thought and expression (d), thereby ignoring the interplay of language, issue, and situation. Borse does not address contingency issues, so that he thinks that similarity of language (e) juxtaposes Galatians and Romans, whereas similarity of language stems from similarity of issue. He assumes that the general precedes the particular (a/b) without asking how Paul might generate a new expression or how he might reuse it with respect to other issues. The general does not necessarily precede the particular, nor does the particular necessarily precede the general. Finally, he considers tighter, more concentrated expression to be a sign of development (c), although such a criterion cannot withstand examination. Although Borse does succeed in showing that Galatians, 2 Corinthians, and Romans share much similar language, his method is faulty. Moreover, if one were to adopt Borse's sequence, then the rhetorical metamorphosis during his hypothetical *Diktatpause* would be most strange. Paul would downplay his opponents' ethnicity from a chapter to a

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verse, would stop characterizing his ministry in terms of the Spirit, would demote himself from the peerless minister of the new covenant to an apostle among many, and would forget to use the “dying with Christ” motif. Borse’s sequence is backwards.

The precise difference between the arguments addressing the central issues of 2 Corinthians 10-13 and 2 Corinthians 1-9 (the nature of Paul’s ministry, the comparison with opponents, the defense of weaknesses/affliction)¹⁹ lies in the absence of context-specific Galatian language in the earlier letter and its presence in the later. The interplay of language, issue, and situation requires locating Galatians between 2 Corinthians 10-13 and 2 Corinthians 1-9.

¹⁹ For discussion of weakness/affliction, see the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

Galatians, Philippians, 2 Corinthians 1–9

By identifying Paul's opponents in Philippians 3 with his opponents present in Galatia, one can locate Philippians in the wake of Galatians. One can then triangulate Philippians between Galatians and 2 Corinthians 1–9 on the basis of the motif, "suffering/dying with Christ." This location can be further supported by recognizing the shift from the rhetoric of 2 Corinthians 10–13 concerning weaknesses to that of 2 Corinthians 1–9 concerning afflictions.

The Opponents of Philippians 3

Paul's opponents in Philippians 3 are somehow connected to circumcision. In Phil 3:2, Paul tells the Philippians to look at the mutilation (κατατομή), an obvious reference to circumcision (περιτομή):

Βλέπετε τοὺς κύνας, βλέπετε τοὺς κακοὺς ἐργάτας, βλέπετε τὴν
κατατομήν.

Beware of [literally, look at] the dogs! Beware of [literally, look at] the evil workers! Beware of the mutilation!

In Phil 3:3–4, Paul claims that he and the Philippians are the "real" circumcision because they do not put their confidence in (the circumcision of the) flesh (cf. v. 4):

³ ἡμεῖς γάρ ἐσμεν ἡ περιτομή,
οἱ πνεύματι θεοῦ λατρεύοντες

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καὶ καυχώμενοι ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐν σαρκὶ πεποιθότες,

⁴ καίπερ ἐγὼ ἔχων πεποίθησιν καὶ ἐν σαρκί.

Εἴ τις δοκεῖ ἄλλος πεποιθέναί ἐν σαρκί, ἐγὼ μᾶλλον.

³ For *we are the circumcision*,

we who worship through the Spirit of God,

who boast in Christ Jesus and do not put our confidence in flesh,

⁴ although I myself have grounds for confidence even *in the flesh*.

If anyone else thinks he can be confident *in flesh*, all the more can I.

In Phil 3:5, Paul begins his list of credentials as a Jew with his own circumcision on the eighth day (περιτομῇ ὀκταήμερος). The three times Paul states his Jewish privileges may be compared by means of the following chart.

2 Cor 11:22

²² Ἑβραῖοί εἰσιν;
καγὼ. Ἰσραηλῖταί
εἰσιν; καγὼ. σπέρμα
Ἀβραάμ εἰσιν; καγὼ.

Phil 3:5-6

⁵ περιτομῇ ὀκταή-
μερος,
ἐκ γένους Ἰσραήλ,
φυλῆς Βενιαμίν,
Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων,
κατὰ νόμον Φαρι-
σαῖος, ⁶ κατὰ ζῆλος
διώκων τὴν ἐκκλησί-
αν, κατὰ δικαιοσύνην
τὴν ἐν νόμῳ γενόμενος
ἄμεμπτος

Rom 11:1

Λέγω οὖν, μὴ ἀπόσατο
ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ;
μὴ γένοιτο· καὶ γὰρ
ἐγὼ Ἰσραηλῆτις εἰμί,
ἐκ σπέρματος
Ἀβραάμ, φυλῆς Βενια-
μίν.

2 Cor 11:22

²² Are they *Hebrews*?
So am I.
Are they *Israelites*? So
am I.
Are they *descendants*
of Abraham? So am I.

Phil 3:5-6

⁵ Circumcised on the
eighth day,
of the race of Israel,
of the tribe of Ben-
jamin,
a Hebrew of Hebrew
parentage,

Rom 11:1

I ask, then, has God
rejected his people?
Of course not! For I
too am an *Israelite*,
a descendant of Abra-
ham, of the tribe of
Benjamin.

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in observance of the
law a Pharisee,
⁶ in zeal I persecuted
the church,
in righteousness
based on the law I
was blameless.

In the two other instances of Paul boasting of his credentials as a Jew, circumcision is not even mentioned.¹ In Rom 11:1, Paul boasts of being Jewish to show that God has not abandoned his people. In 2 Cor 11:22, Paul claims to be just as Jewish as his opponents. All three share the terms, Ἰσραηλῖτης/ἐκ γένους Ἰσραήλ, “Israelite”/“of the race of Israel” and Ἑβραῖος, “Hebrew”. Two only share the terms, σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ, “descendant of Abraham” and φυλῆς Βενιαμίν, “of the tribe of Benjamin.” With all these common elements, the peculiar features in Phil 3:5 are conspicuous: *circumcision*, persecution, observance of the Law, and righteousness based on Law.² Circumcision is the disputed issue connected to Paul’s opponents in Philippians 3.³

These opponents are not in Philippi.⁴ Philippians 3 is something of an afterthought. If the opponents were somehow a threat in Philippi, one would expect them to be countered earlier in the letter, rather than in the midst of the concluding business. Indeed, the abrupt change in tone (Phil 3:1–2) and Paul’s weeping over present opposition (Phil 3:18) are at odds with the friendly tone of the rest of the letter. Moreover,

¹ This is not an argument for sequence because Paul could/would always have boasted of being a Jew.

² Of these, circumcision, observance of the Law, and righteousness according to the Law are clearly related to Galatians and Romans 1–4. Περιτομή (“circumcision”) appears in Galatians seven times, in Romans 15 times (14 times in chapters 1–4, once in Rom 15:8), and twice in Philippians 3. In the undisputed letters, it occurs only once apart from a context not dependent on Galatians (1 Cor 7:19). Although persecution appears prominently in Gal 1:13, 23, it also appears in 1 Cor 15:9. Νόμος (“Law”) occurs 74 times in Romans, 32 times in Galatians, thrice in Philippians 3, and only nine times in 1 Corinthians, in contexts that do not presuppose Galatians: five times (1 Cor 9:8, 9, 14:21, 34, 15:56) referring to Scripture, four times (1 Cor 9:20) in the formula, ὑπὸ νόμον, “under the Law.”

³ The invective of Phil 3:18–19 is too generic to be useful for reconstructing the opponents of Philippians 3; such language could apply to anyone.

⁴ Partition is often used to solve this “problem.” For discussion, see the end of this chap.

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Philippians 3 is too brief to counter opponents in Philippi. In Galatians, Paul needs six chapters to address opponents in Galatia; a single chapter of verbal abuse, self-defense, and generic invective is hardly adequate. Furthermore, Paul's boasting in his own circumcision would be counterproductive if the opponents were a threat in Philippi. The opponents could then rightly criticize Paul for claiming a privilege he denies to the Gentile Christians in his own churches. In Philippians 3, Paul does not argue against the circumcision of Gentile Christians, nor are there arguments from Scripture, as one would expect of direct polemics about the practice. Indeed, the arguments about the law are in the first person. In vv. 4-14, Paul does not argue against the circumcision of Gentile Christians; he argues about himself. And as Kilpatrick has shown, Paul is not warning the Philippians about the imminent arrival of the "dogs," but telling them to consider a bad example.⁵ In telling the Philippians to look at the "dogs," Paul is speaking about his own present painful circumstance (Phil 3:18), rather than countering opponents in Philippi:

πολλοὶ γὰρ περιπατοῦσιν οὓς πολλάκις ἔλεγον ὑμῖν,
νῦν δὲ καὶ κλαίων λέγω, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ

For many, as I have often told you
and now tell you even in tears,
conduct themselves as enemies of the cross of Christ.

Paul contrasts the many times in the past to the present, singular, and extreme occasion.⁶ Considering the contrast between the many times

⁵ George D. Kilpatrick, "ΒΑΕΠΙΕΤΕ, Phil 3,2," in *In Memoriam Paul Kahle* (ed. M. Black and G. Fohrer; BZAW 103; Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1968) 146-48. For a masterful rhetorical reading of Philippians, see Stanley K. Stowers, "Friends and Enemies in the Politics of Heaven: Reading Theology in Philippians," in Jouette M. Bassler, ed., *Pauline Theology, Volume I: Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, Philemon* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991) 105-21.

⁶ Phil 3:1 which occasions the change in tone in v. 2 is elliptical:

¹ Τὸ λοιπόν, ἀδελφοί μου, χαίρετε ἐν κυρίῳ.
τὰ αὐτὰ γράφειν ὑμῖν ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ὀκνηρόν, ὑμῖν δὲ ἀσφαλές.

² Βλέπετε τοὺς κύνας, βλέπετε τοὺς κακοὺς ἐργάτας, βλέπετε τὴν κατατομήν.

¹ Finally, my brothers, rejoice in the Lord.

Writing *the same things* to you is no burden for me but is a safeguard for you.

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and this time, v. 18 means that he is now informing them of a particularly painful instance of opposition as a negative example.⁷ The opponents are not a threat to the Philippians and present a new crisis to Paul.⁸

Since in Philippians 3, Paul is informing the Philippians of a crisis concerning opponents who call for circumcision somewhere other than Philippi, the Galatian crisis is the only known candidate for such a crisis (Gal 6:12–13, 1:6–7, 4:17, 5:7–10, 12, 3:1). Paul's opponents in 2 Corinthians do not call for the circumcision of Gentile Christians (or any other observance of the Law for that matter). The False Brothers at the Jerusalem Conference call for the circumcision of a single Gentile Christian, but James, Cephas, and John do not support their innovation (Gal 2:1–10). No need arises to hypothesize an unknown crisis over

² Beware of [literally, look at] the dogs! Beware of [literally, look at] the evil workers! Beware of [literally, look at] the mutilation!

Τὰ αὐτὰ γράφειν ὑμῖν (“to write the same things to you”) is less than clear; something is missing. One could supply πάλιν, “again.” In the light of v. 18, this would give the sense that Paul repeats a reference to the bad example of generic opponents, while informing them of a current, painful, new set. One could also supply ὡς περ ἔγραψα ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας, “as I wrote to the churches of Galatia.”

⁷ Paul can make enigmatic allusion to events of which the addressees of his letters know nothing (e.g., Phil 1:12–13). The letter-carrier would no doubt clarify such ambiguities.

⁸ My primary disagreement with Sumney's reconstruction of the Opponents in Philippians 3 concerns whether the opponents are in Philippi. Sumney (“Servants of Satan,” 175–76) argues for their presence in Philippi:

Furthermore, these traveling preachers have met little or no success at Philippi. Stowers may be correct that they have not even come to Philippi, though the level of the polemic makes this seem less likely.

Although the tone is quite harsh, the *polemic* is somewhat off target. It is easier to hold that the tone stems from Paul's recent experience. Stowers (“Friends and Enemies,” 116) is worth quoting on this point:

Thus Phil 3:2 does not warn of imminent dangers from judaizers or allude to current events but asks the readers to reflect upon the negative example of judaizing missionaries. The Philippians may well have never seen judaizers, but in Paul's rhetoric of friendship/enmity and antithetical exhortation, the Philippians have indeed *heard* of them.

Stowers cogently argues for a rhetorical understanding of Philippians as a letter of friendship in which the enemies heighten the rhetorical solidarity of the friends. I would supplement his argument by pointing out that the reuse of Galatian language, the harsh tone of chap. 3 and the clause νῦν δὲ καὶ κλαίων λέγω (“and now tell you even in tears”) in Phil 3:18 imply that the Galatian crisis is a recent event.

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circumcision, since we know of one from Galatians. The use of Ockham's razor identifies Paul's opponents of Philippians 3 as the opponents of Galatians *in Galatia*.

The Identity of the Opponents of Galatians and Philippians 3

The argument for identifying Paul's opponents of Philippians 3 as his opponents in Galatia rests on more than the principle of hypothetical parsimony. Not only does Paul refer to opponents who call for the circumcision of Gentile Christians in both letters, but context-specific Galatian language is reused and reworked in Philippians 3. The similarities and dissimilarities in language between Philippians 3 and Galatians may be compared by means of the following chart.

Philippians 3	Galatians
3:2c βλέπετε τὴν κατατομήν	5:12 Ὁφελον καὶ ἀποκόψονται οἱ ἀναστατοῦντες ὑμᾶς.
3:3a ἡμεῖς γάρ ἐσμεν ἡ περιτομή	6:15-16 οὔτε γὰρ περιτομή τί ἐστὶν οὔτε ἀκροβυστία ἀλλὰ καινὴ κτίσις. καὶ ὅσοι τῷ κανόνι τούτῳ στοιχήσουσιν, εἰρήνην ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔλεος καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ
3:3b οἱ πνεύματι θεοῦ λατρεύοντες καὶ καυχώμενοι ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐν σαρκὶ πεποιθότες	6:13b ἀλλὰ θέλουσιν ὑμᾶς περιτέμνεσθαι, ἵνα ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ σαρκὶ καυχήσωνται
3:6b κατὰ δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐν νόμῳ γενόμενος ἄμεμπτος	1:14 καὶ προέκοπτον ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ ὑπὲρ πολλοὺς συνηλικιώτας ἐν τῷ γένει μου, περισσοτέρως ζηλωτῆς ὑπάρχων τῶν πατρικῶν μου παραδόσεων
3:9 καὶ εὗρεθῶ ἐν αὐτῷ, μὴ ἔχων ἐμὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ νόμου	2:16 εἰδότες [δὲ] ὅτι οὐ δικαιούται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου εἰ μὴ

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ἀλλὰ τὴν διὰ πίστεως Χριστοῦ, τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπιστεύσαμεν, ἵνα δικαιωθῶμεν ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, ὅτι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ.

3:10b καὶ [τὴν] κοινωνίαν [τῶν] παθημάτων αὐτοῦ, συμμορφιζόμενος τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ

2:19c Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι·
5:24 οἱ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ [Ἰησοῦ] τὴν σάρκα ἐσταύρωσαν σὺν τοῖς παθήμασιν καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις
6:14 Ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ ἔμοι κόσμος ἐσταύρωται καὶ ἐγὼ κόσμῳ

Philippians 3

Galatians

3:2c Beware of [literally, look at] *the mutilation!*

5:12 Would that those who are upsetting you might also *castrate themselves!*

3:3a For we are *the circumcision*

6:15-16 For neither does circumcision mean anything, nor does uncircumcision, but only a new creation. Peace and mercy be to *all who follow this rule and to the Israel of God.*

3:3b we who worship through the Spirit of God, who boast in Christ Jesus and do not put our *confidence in flesh*

6:13b they only want you to be circumcised so that they may *boast of your flesh.*

3:6b in *righteousness based on the law I was blameless*

1:14 and *progressed in Judaism beyond many of my contempo-*

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raries among my race, since I was even more a zealot for my ancestral traditions.

3:9 and be found in him, *not having any righteousness of my own based on the law but that which comes through faith in Christ, the righteousness from God, depending on faith*

2:16 (yet) who know that *a person is not justified by works of the law but through faith in Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Christ Jesus that we may be justified by faith in Christ and not by works of the law, because by works of the law no one will be justified.*

3:10 to know him and the power of his resurrection and (the) sharing of his sufferings by *being conformed to his death*

2:19c *I have been crucified with Christ*
5:24 *Now those who belong to Christ (Jesus) have crucified their flesh with its passions and desires.*
6:14 *But may I never boast except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, through which the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world.*

While the similarities are manifest, the dissimilarities are also quite clear. In Galatians, Paul is directly addressing a crisis over circumcision; in Philippians, he speaks of such a crisis, but without locating it in Philippi. In Philippians, the language shared with Galatians is clustered and heaped around the reference to a crisis over circumcision and Galatian motifs are otherwise not integrated into the letter. In Galatians, the shared language is embedded in arguments addressing circumcision as the central issue of that letter. Paul generates the language in Galatians and reuses it in Philippians precisely where he refers to a crisis over circumcision which involves himself, but not his addressees.

There are two principal dissimilarities in the use of the shared language: the estimation of legal righteousness (first noticed by E. P.

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Sanders)⁹ and the issue addressed by the motif of “dying with Christ.”¹⁰ In Philippians, Paul has confidence in the flesh (i.e. in circumcision), albeit now surpassed by the knowledge of Christ (Phil 3:3-6). He claims to have been “in righteousness based on the law . . . blameless” (Phil 3:6). And he contrasts two kinds of righteousness (Phil 3:9). In Galatians, there is no righteousness from the Law (Gal 2:16, 21, 3:11) and wanting to be justified in the Law by circumcision entails being cut off from Christ and falling from grace (Gal 5:4).

Further, the “dying with Christ” motif is used differently in the two letters. In Galatians, Paul creatively generates the language in relation to past death to the Law (Gal 2:19). Crucifixion, of the flesh and to the world, also entails a past disjunction in status related to the new issue of *absolute* freedom from the Law (Gal 5:24, 6:14b). In Philippians, Paul speaks of the possibility of his own death in terms of ἡ κοινωνία τῶν παθημάτων αὐτοῦ, συμμορφιζόμενος τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ, “[the] sharing of his sufferings by being conformed to his death” in Phil 3:10-11. These rhetorical differences between Galatians and Philippians are readily explained by Paul’s reworking Galatian language in a new situation, for he grants righteousness to the Law when speaking of himself, just as in 2 Corinthians 3 he grants glory to the ministry of the old covenant when commending his own ministry. Moreover he applies the “dying with Christ” motif to new issues—present affliction and the possibility of his own death. Paul connects these issues to Christ three times. First, Paul’s death would mean his being “with Christ” (Phil 1:23). Second, the Philippians suffer “on behalf of Christ” (Phil 1:29). Third, it is only as Paul informs the Philippians of the Galatian crisis that he reworks the “dying with Christ” motif to apply to present suffering and the possibility of death (Phil 3:10-11), rather than to past disjunction in status. Paul, grappling with language in the new situations of Philippians and 2 Corinthians 1-9, reworks Galatian motifs in an *ad hoc* fashion.

The case for locating Philippians immediately after Galatians is strong. In Philippians, Paul refers to a crisis over circumcision in which he himself is engaged, somewhere other than Philippi, by reusing context-specific Galatian language.¹¹ The crisis appears to be recent

⁹ Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, 43-45.

¹⁰ Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 505-6; and *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, 137-41.

¹¹ The absence of the technical language of “works of the Law” and “to justify” is

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and intense (Phil 1:30, 3:18). The section begins on a very harsh note and ends with invective (Phil 3:2, 18). In between, Paul argues about himself (Phil 3:4-14), rather than against the circumcision of Gentile Christians. Since the unusual language of Philippians 3 is specific to the context of Galatians, and since the differences can be explained by Paul's situation in writing Philippians and parallel 2 Corinthians 3 (which also reworks Galatian language), the identification of the opponents of Philippians 3 as οἱ ἀναστατοῦντες ὑμᾶς ("those who are upsetting you") in Galatia (Gal 5:12) is clearly suitable.

The main alternative to this proposal requires partition of Philippians.¹² Phil 3:2-21 does not serve the purpose assigned to it in partition theories, since it does not argue against the circumcision of Gentile Christians. If one accepts partition, Philippians 3 would be a fragment of a letter resembling Galatians. Such a letter would require massive multiplication of speculative hypotheses. One would need hypotheses to account for the addressees of the letter, the crisis involved, the other contents of the letter, the location in sequence, and the redaction process necessary to produce canonical Philippians. Acceptance of the unity of Philippians requires far less speculation. Furthermore, Philippians 2 provides the occasion for the call to obedience in Phil 2:12-13; Paul calls for the Philippians' obedience as he faces disobedience elsewhere. The reference to the possibility of death in Phil 3:10 matches Phil 1:20-22 and 2:17. The awkward transition in Phil 3:1-2 would be a stronger argument for partition if the transition at Phil 3:21-4:1 were not so smooth.

The real motive for partition is that if one accepts the unity of Philippians, the angry outburst of Philippians 3 is not directly relevant to the situation of the Philippians. This obstacle is far from insurmountable. Kilpatrick argued cogently that Paul uses βλέπω ἀπό to warn against a threat, but uses βλέπω alone to command attention.

readily explainable in terms of brevity. I would imagine that polemics against "works of the Law" would entail discussion of the Christian bases for moral obligation (cf. Galatians 5-6, Romans 5-8). Likewise, the verb, "to justify," would entail Scriptural arguments (cf. Gal 3:11-12, Rom 1:17, 10:5, cf. Hab 2:4, Lev 18:5). Since the situation of Philippians 3 does not concern the addressees directly, the full panoply of language shared by Galatians and Romans 1-4 is not required.

¹² For a summary of partition theories, see Joachim Gnllka, *Der Philipperbrief*, (HTKNT 10/3; Freiburg: Herder 1987) 6-7.

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Thus, Philippians 3 should be understood not as a warning of an imminent threat, but as a reference to a negative example. The emotional intensity of Philippians 3 can be explained simply and easily as Paul's response to *his* situation rather than as his response to *theirs*. Partition creates more problems than it solves, and Philippians 3 makes perfect sense in its canonical location. Paul's opponents in Philippians 3 are not in Philippi; they are in Galatia.

The Treatment of Affliction

The situation of Philippians accounts for the application of the "dying with Christ" motif to the issue of present suffering. Since past sharing in Jesus' death in 2 Corinthians 5 presupposes Galatians, the extension of the notion of sharing Jesus' death to present suffering and affliction in 2 Corinthians 1 and 4 presupposes Galatians as well. In 2 Corinthians 1-9, he presupposes and combines the two partnerships of Philippians.

In Philippians, Paul speaks of two kinds of affliction: his partnership in affliction with the community and the possibility of his own death. Since he is in prison, and has received three gifts from the Philippians, both kinds are specific to their context. Although he does not actually expect to be put to death (Phil 1:24-26), he makes use of the possibility to speak of his relation to the Philippians. In order to understand the passages in question, they need to be situated in their contexts within Philippians and then compared with similar passages in 2 Corinthians 1-9. These motifs are at home in the rhetorical situation of Philippians; they are further reworked and combined in 2 Corinthians 1-9.

Paul speaks of his affliction to the Philippians in three passages: Phil 1:3-7, 28-30, and 4:14-16. These three passages help to interpret one another. The Philippians are Paul's partners in affliction because (a) they sent him some sort of gift while he was in prison and (b) they too have opponents.¹³ In addition to on-going financial support of his

¹³ The Philippians' opponents are unidentifiable, mentioned only in passing, and help to fill out the motif of partnership in affliction so that it is more than monetary. They do not appear to be much of a threat (cf. the letter's tone and lack of polemics outside chap.3). Although shared suffering is something of a commonplace (e.g., 1 Cor 12:26), the manner of expression (partnership) is contingently financial.

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mission (Phil 1:3-7), they also have joint-shares in his affliction (Phil 4:14-17).

Phil 1:3-7

³ Εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνηα ὑμῶν ⁴ πάντοτε ἐν πάσῃ δεῖσει μου ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑμῶν, μετὰ χαρᾶς τὴν δέησιν ποιούμενος, ⁵ ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν, ⁶ πεποιθὼς αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅτι ὁ ἐναρξάμενος ἐν ὑμῖν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐπιτελέσει ἄχρι ἡμέρας Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ. ⁷ Καθὼς ἐστὶν δίκαιον ἐμοὶ τοῦτο φρονεῖν ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑμῶν διὰ τὸ ἔχειν με ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμᾶς, ἐν τε τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ καὶ βεβαιώσει του εὐαγγελίου συγκαινωνούς μου τῆς χάριτος πάντας ὑμᾶς ὄντας.

Phil 1:3-7

³ I give thanks to my God at every remembrance of you, ⁴ praying always with joy in my every prayer for all of you, ⁵ *because of your partnership for the gospel from the first day until now.* ⁶ I am confident of this, that the one who began a good work in you will continue to complete it until the day of Christ Jesus. ⁷ It is right that I should think this way about all of you, because I hold you in my heart, *you who are all*

Phil 4:14-17

¹⁴ πλὴν καλῶς ἐποιήσατε συγκοινωνήσαντές μου τῇ θλίψει. ¹⁵ οἴδατε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς, Φιλιππησίοι, ὅτι ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὅτε ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, οὐδεμία μοι ἐκκλησία ἐκοινώνησεν εἰς λόγον δόσεως καὶ λήψεως εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς μόνοι, ¹⁶ ὅτι καὶ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ δις εἰς τὴν χρεῖαν μοι ἐπέμψατε. ¹⁷ οὐχ ὅτι ἐπιζητῶ τὸ δόμα, ἀλλὰ ἐπιζητῶ τὸν καρπὸν τὸν πλεονάζοντα εἰς λόγον ὑμῶν.

Phil 4:14-17

¹⁴ Still, it was kind of you *to share in my distress.* ¹⁵ You Philippians indeed know that *at the beginning of the gospel*, when I left Macedonia, *not a single church shared with me in an account of giving and receiving, except you alone.* ¹⁶ For even when I was at Thessalonica you sent me something for my needs, not only once but more than once. ¹⁷ It is not that I am eager for *the*

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partners with me in grace, both in my imprisonment and in the defense and confirmation of the gospel. gift; rather, I am eager for the profit that accrues to your account.

These two passages are clearly parallel: introduction/conclusion, prayer, reference to initial evangelization, and the κοινωνία language. In addition to the general partnership language (κοινωνία, συγκοινωνοί, κοινωνέω, συγκοινωνέω), Paul uses technical accounting language (εἰς λόγον δόσεως καὶ λήψεως, τὸ δόμα, τὸν καρπὸν τὸν πλεονάζοντα εἰς λόγον ὑμῶν). Acknowledging the financial assistance, Paul nevertheless denies that he is a charity case. The Philippians have made a sound investment by their gift to him in his imprisonment; their dividends are assured. Partnership in affliction (Phil 4:14, cf. Phil 1:7) appears to be a contingent development of the notion of partnership in the Gospel related to the gift sent by the Philippians and Paul's imprisonment and conflict over circumcision. In 1 Cor 9:23, Paul had spoken of his own partnership in the Gospel in relation to reward (i.e. the prize and incorruptible crown of vv. 24-26).

Paul speaks of the possibility of his own death three times in Philippians, in 1:21-26, 2:17, and 3:10-11.

Phil 1:21-26

²¹ Ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὸ ζῆν Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος. ²² εἰ δὲ τὸ ζῆν ἐν σαρκί, τοῦτό μοι καρπὸς ἔργου, καὶ τί αἰρήσομαι οὐ γνωρίζω. ²³ συνέχομαι δὲ ἐκ τῶν δύο, τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχων εἰς τὸ ἀναλῦσαι καὶ σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι, πολλῶ [γὰρ] μᾶλλον κρεῖσσον· ²⁴ τὸ δὲ ἐπιμένειν [ἐν] τῇ σαρκὶ

Phil 2:17

¹⁷ Ἀλλὰ εἰ καὶ σπένδομαι ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ καὶ λειτουργίᾳ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, χαίρω καὶ συγχαίρω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν·

Phil 3:10-11

¹⁰ τοῦ γινῶναι αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ [τὴν] κοινωνίαν [τῶν] παθημάτων αὐτοῦ, συμμορφιζόμενος τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ, ¹¹ εἰ πως καταστήσω εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν.

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ἀναγκαιότερον δι'
 ὑμᾶς. ²⁵ καὶ τοῦτο
 πεποιθὼς οἶδα ὅτι
 μενῶ καὶ παραμενῶ
 πᾶσιν ὑμῖν εἰς τὴν
 ὑμῶν προκοπὴν καὶ
 χαρὰν τῆς πίστεως,
²⁶ ἵνα τὸ καύχημα
 ὑμῶν περισσεύῃ ἐν
 Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ
 διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς παρου-
 σίας πάλιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

Phil 1:21-26

²¹ For to me life is
 Christ, and *death is*
gain. ²² If I go on
 living in the flesh, that
 means fruitful labor
 for me. And I do not
 know which I shall
 choose. ²³ I am caught
 between the two. *I*
long to depart this life
and be with Christ,
 (for) that is far better.
²⁴ Yet that I remain
 (in) the flesh is more
 necessary for your
 benefit.
²⁵ And this I know
 with confidence, that I
 shall remain and con-
 tinue in the service of
 all of you for your
 progress and joy in
 the faith, ²⁶ so that

Phil 2:17

¹⁷ But, even if I am
poured out as a liba-
tion upon the sacrifi-
cial service of your
faith, I rejoice and
 share my joy with all
 of you.

Phil 3:10-11

¹⁰ to know him and
 the power of his resur-
 rection and *(the) shar-*
ing of his sufferings by
being conformed to
his death,
¹¹ if somehow I may
 attain the resurrection
 from the dead.

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your boasting in
Christ Jesus may
abound on account of
me when I come to
you again.

Note how Phil 3:10–11 differs markedly from the other two passages. In Phil 1:21–26, Paul relates the possibility of death to the Philippians and uses financial language. In Phil 2:17, he uses cultic language to speak of the possibility of his death as a benefit for the Philippians. Whether he lives (Phil 3:10–11) or dies (Phil 2:17), Paul benefits the Philippians. This coheres with the motif of partnership in affliction. However, the possibility of death takes on a new and different aspect in the middle of a discussion of a recent crisis over circumcision (Phil 3:10–11). Paul does not connect his death to the Philippians but to Christ's suffering and death. He develops a new way of speaking in a positive manner about his suffering precisely in the context of the chapter that presupposes Galatians. Up to this point of the letter, the connections of Christ to suffering and the possibility of death are relatively weak. The motif of partnership in affliction does not presuppose the Christological connection; rather the reference to the Galatian crisis and the reworking of Galatian language generates the notion that Paul is a partner in Christ's afflictions. Thus, the various ways in which he speaks of affliction and death in Philippians are specific to the rhetorical context of that letter and appear to be *ad hoc* formulations.

In Philippians and 2 Corinthians 1–9, Paul speaks of affliction and the possibility of death in similar terms. Yet one can see how the language is specific to the context of Philippians and is reworked in 2 Corinthians 1–9. In Philippians, Paul is in prison and has just dealt with a crisis over circumcision. In 2 Corinthians 1–9, his principal affliction is having had to write a harsh letter. In Philippians, partnership in affliction fits the financial situation, whereas in 2 Corinthians 1–9, it is generic and unrelated to money. In Philippians, partnership between Paul and the community on the one hand, and between Paul and Christ on the other, are distinct; in 2 Corinthians 1–9, they are combined. In the two places where he speaks of his partnership in suffering with the Corinthians, he also speaks of the abundance of Christ's suf-

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ferings unto him (2 Cor 1:5), and his carrying around the death of Jesus in his body (2 Cor 4:10).¹⁴ Considering the Christological claims to authority of the opponents of the recent crisis (2 Cor 10:7, 13; 11:23; cf. 11:10; 13:3), the connection of the motif to Christ fits the context of an apologia in a letter of reconciliation. In 2 Corinthians 1-9, death is not an urgent issue, and 2 Cor 5:6-10 sits awkwardly in this context. In Philippians, the “dying with Christ” motif is the last and most direct connection of Christ to affliction and the possibility of death; in 2 Corinthians 1-9, the motif of “suffering/dying with Christ” is presupposed from the beginning of the letter. Thus, the language of “suffering/dying with Christ” shared by Philippians and 2 Corinthians 1-9 fits Philippians and is contingently reworked in 2 Corinthians 1-9.

The interposition of Philippians between Galatians and 2 Corinthians 1-9 accounts for the significant shift in expectation and the application of an unusual motif to a new issue. In Philippians, Paul faces the possibility of death before the parousia, unlike the earlier letters. In Philippians, Paul applies a Galatian motif to present suffering and the possibility of death. “Dying with Christ” is used to address both issues in 2 Corinthians 1-9: present suffering and the possibility of death from Philippians and past disjunction in status from Galatians. The only step left in this argument is to contrast the ways in which Paul grapples with language to speak positively of his weaknesses in 2 Corinthians 10-13 with the fully formed motif of suffering and dying with Christ in 2 Corinthians 1-9.

Paul’s Weaknesses in 2 Corinthians 10-13

In 2 Corinthians 10-13, Paul wrestles with language to find a positive way to speak of his weaknesses (2 Cor 10:10), for he does not have ready-made language for speaking of weakness as something desirable. In particular, he has no presupposed language connecting Christ’s afflictions directly to his own. This contrasts significantly with 2 Corinthians 1-9 where the Galatian motif of “dying with Christ” in the past and the Philippian reuse of that motif as “sharing in Christ’s

¹⁴ In both letters, affliction is ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, “for the sake of Christ” (Phil 1:29; cf. 2 Cor 12:10), or διὰ Ἰησοῦν, “for the sake of Jesus” (2 Cor 4:11).

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suffering and death” are both presupposed. We can see Paul creatively struggling with language in 2 Corinthians 10–13 in three ways: boasting in weaknesses, a thorn in the flesh, and sharing in Christ’s weakness. However, we do not see Paul speaking of sharing in the event of Christ’s death.

Until 2 Cor 11:30, Paul admits certain kinds of weakness only to claim a greater strength; he denies real weakness.¹⁵ In mid-argument (2 Cor 11:30), Paul’s folly shifts from competitive boasting to boasting in weaknesses.¹⁶ In other words, while competing in boasting with critics of his weaknesses, he then learns to parody their boasting by boasting of his own weaknesses. Thus, Paul is creatively struggling with language to deal with the demands of a new political and rhetorical situation for a positive way to describe his personal weaknesses.

2 Cor 12:7b–10 is a beautiful and useful passage at the end of the Fools Speech. In it, for the first time, Paul awkwardly connects Christ to his own weaknesses:

⁷ καὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ἀποκαλύψεων. διὸ ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρωμαι, ἐδόθη μοι σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί, ἄγγελος σατανᾶ, ἵνα με κολαφίζῃ, ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρωμαι. ⁸ ὑπὲρ τούτου τρίς τὸν κύριον παρεκάλεσα ἵνα ἀποστή ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ. ⁹ καὶ εἶρηκέν μοι, ἀρκεῖ σοι ἡ χάρις μου, ἡ γὰρ δύναμις ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τελεῖται. ἡδιστα οὖν μᾶλλον καυχῆσομαι ἐν ταῖς ἀσθενείαις μου, ἵνα ἐπισκηνώσῃ ἐπ’ ἐμέ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Χριστοῦ. ¹⁰ διὸ εὐδοκῶ ἐν ἀσθενείαις, ἐν ὕβρεσιν, ἐν ἀνάγκαις, ἐν διωγμοῖς καὶ στενοχωρίαις, ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ· ὅταν γὰρ ἀσθενῶ, τότε δυνατός εἰμι.

¹⁵ For example, 2 Cor 10:3–6 and 11:5–6 reflect the same approach as 1 Cor 2:1–6. Paul admits a relative weakness only in order to claim a greater power. Moreover, Paul’s discovery of boasting of weakness does not eliminate his general aversion to it. In Rom 5:2c–6 weakness characterizes pre-Christian status in contrast to Christian status *precisely* as he reworks the motif of boasting in weakness from 2 Corinthians.

¹⁶ Furnish (2 *Corinthians*, 539) correctly reads these verses as reinterpreting the “fool’s speech”:

[2 Cor 11:30–31] are perhaps best interpreted, however, as a comment on the “fool’s speech” as a whole. As it turns out, they also—along with vv. 32–33, which attach closely to them—effect a transition from the first, declaratory part of the speech (11:22–29) to the closing, narrative part (12:1ff).

These verses are a summary comment and a transition; they reinterpret what has gone before.

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⁷ because of the abundance of the revelations. Therefore, that I might not become too elated, *a thorn in the flesh* was given to me, *an angel of Satan, to beat me*, to keep me from being too elated. ⁸ Three times I begged the Lord about this, that it might leave me, ⁹ but he said to me, “My grace is sufficient for you, *for power is made perfect in weakness.*” *I will rather boast most gladly of my weaknesses, in order that the power of Christ may dwell with me.* ¹⁰ Therefore, I am content with weaknesses, insults, hardships, persecutions, and constraints, *for the sake of Christ*; for when I am weak, then I am strong.

Certain features of this text need to be underscored to compare it to other texts. First, the thorn/angel imagery is negative and not positive. Second, there are two straightforward connections of affliction to Christ: the overshadowing power of Christ, and afflictions on behalf of Christ. While affliction is commonly a bad thing in Paul’s letters, insofar as it calls for some explanation (e.g., testing in 1 Thess 2:4, 3:5), and is contrasted with good things (e.g., future glory in Rom 5:2, 8:18), it can itself be characterized in positive terms, notably grace and sharing in the sufferings of Christ. In 2 Corinthians 10-13, affliction is called σκόλωσ τῇ σαρκί, ἄγγελος σατανᾶ (“a thorn in the flesh. . . an angel of Satan”). It is an occasion for the power of Christ to overshadow Paul, for the Lord’s grace and power in Paul to be perfected by Paul’s weakness. In Philippians, the affliction itself is a grace and a sign of salvation (Phil 1:7, 28-30). One would expect Paul, in the midst of polemics, to marshal the best arguments available to him. Connecting Christ indirectly to a thorn in the flesh and an angel of Satan is awkward and weak compared to connecting Christ directly to the experience of suffering.

The Christological connections in 2 Cor 12:7b-10 are straightforward. A simple way for Paul to speak of affliction in a positive way is to say that it is ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, “on behalf of Christ” (2 Cor 12:10, Phil 1:29), or διὰ Ἰησοῦν, “because of Jesus” (2 Cor 4:11). Similarly, connecting his own weakness to Christ’s power is as one would expect, and 2 Cor 12:7b-10 fits the rhetorical situation of the letter. To connect a thorn in the flesh and an angel of Satan with grace and the power of Christ shows how Paul grapples with language to present his weakness and affliction in the best possible light. He does not presuppose the “dying with Christ” motif here.

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In 2 Cor 13:2–4, Paul threatens the Corinthians that he will not be weak when he returns to Corinth but will punish those who had not repented. In 2 Cor 13:4, Paul directly and explicitly connects Christ to weakness. To connect Christ directly to weakness is utterly unique. In 2 Cor 12:7b–10, the affliction itself is not connected to Christ’s weakness; on the contrary, it occasions the indwelling of his power. In 1 Cor 1:18–3:3, Paul claims God’s wisdom and power for himself in the midst of his own weakness; those who connect Christ to weakness are excluded as outsiders. In 2 Cor 13:3, Christ is not weak; the weakness of Christ appears shockingly in 2 Cor 13:4:

³ ἐπεὶ δοκιμὴν ζητεῖτε τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ λαλοῦντος Χριστοῦ,
ὅς εἰς ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀσθενεῖ ἀλλὰ δυνατεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν.

⁴ καὶ γὰρ ἐσταυρώθη ἐξ ἀσθενείας,
ἀλλὰ ζῇ ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ.
καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἀσθενοῦμεν ἐν αὐτῷ,
ἀλλὰ ζήσομεν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς.

³ since you are looking for proof of Christ speaking in me.
He is not weak toward you but powerful in you.

⁴ For indeed *he was crucified out of weakness,*
but he lives by the power of God.
So also *we are weak in him,*
but toward you we shall live with him by the power of God.

Paul suddenly deflects the accusation of weakness onto Christ with the result that connecting his own weakness to Christ’s allows him to claim Christ’s divine power. Paul does not directly connect Christ’s death to his own weakness (i.e., Paul does not speak of “dying with Christ”), rather, he is weak ἐν αὐτῷ “in him”. Being *in* Christ is extremely simple and common language for Paul. On the other hand, being/living/being raised *with* Christ is usually eschatological, future language (2 Thess 4:14, 5:10, Phil 1:23, 2 Cor 4:14, Rom 6:8), but in 2 Cor 13:4 refers to Paul’s *present* authority.¹⁷ The language is awkward and unusual. In 2 Corinthians 10–13, Paul is weak in Christ; in 2 Corinthians 1–9, Christ’s sufferings and consolation abound unto Paul and Jesus’ death is carried in Paul’s body. Indeed, in 2 Cor 13:3, the Corinthians

¹⁷ In Rom 8:17, Christians suffer with Christ in the present.

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seek proof of Christ speaking in Paul and in v. 5 Paul questions whether Christ is in them. 2 Cor 4:10-12 is a far better answer to those who seek proof that it is Christ who is speaking in Paul (2 Cor 13:3), than 2 Cor 13:4.

2 Cor 13:4 is a quasi-parenthetical second attempt (cf. 2 Cor 12:7b-10) to connect Christ somehow to weakness; it is awkward, tentative, and indirect. If the motif of dying with Christ were presupposed, one would expect it to be more prominent and less clumsy. After all, the motif addresses central issues in the letters in which it later appears (Galatians 1, 4, 6, Philippians 3, 2 Corinthians 1, 4, 5, Romans 5-8). Notice how 2 Cor 13:4 differs markedly from 2 Cor 1:5 and 4:10.

2 Cor 13:4

⁴ καὶ γὰρ ἐσταυρώθη ἐξ ἀσθενείας, ἀλλὰ ζῇ ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἀσθενούμεν ἐν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ ζήσομεν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς.

2 Cor 13:4

⁴ For indeed he was crucified out of weakness, but he lives by the power of God. So also *we are weak in him*, but toward you we shall live with him by the power of God.

2 Cor 1:5

⁵ ὅτι καθὼς περισσεύει τὰ παθήματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς, οὕτως διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ περισσεύει καὶ ἡ παράκλησις ἡμῶν.

2 Cor 1:5

⁵ For as *Christ's sufferings overflow to us*, so through Christ does our encouragement also overflow.

2 Cor 4:10

¹⁰ πάντοτε τὴν νέκρωσιν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι περιφέροντες, ἵνα καὶ ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι ἡμῶν φανερωθῇ.

2 Cor 4:10

¹⁰ always *carrying about in the body the dying of Jesus*, so that the life of Jesus may also be manifested in our body.

In 2 Corinthians 1-9, the connection of Christ's suffering and death to Paul's affliction is prominent, presupposed, and direct. In the first two passages treating affliction, Paul uses the "suffering/dying with Christ" motif. Indeed, it appears ready-made in the epistolary thanksgiving, where it is combined with the motif of partnership in affliction from Philippians. Since 2 Cor 5:14-15 presupposes the Galatian motif of

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“dying with Christ” as a past disjunction of two aeons, it is not difficult to understand how new forms of the motif appear in the first two instances of affliction, presupposing Philippians 3. Galatians and Philippians thus account for the new motif absent from the earlier letters to the Corinthians.

This new application of the Galatian motif of “dying with Christ” to the possibility of death has larger ramifications for the other undisputed letters. In 1 Thess 4:17 and 1 Cor 6:14 and 15:51-56, Paul expects to be alive at Jesus’ return. In 2 Corinthians 1-9, he speaks of the possibility of death (2 Cor 4:11-14, 5:1-10) and a recent death-sentence in Asia (2 Cor 1:8-11). Philippians accounts for the shift in expectation, since Paul is in prison and speaks directly of the possibility of his death. In earlier developmental schemes, this shift in expectation was attributed to a “second conversion.” Postulating “a spiritual crisis as a sort of second conversion,” Dodd explained the shift between 2 Corinthians 10-13 and 2 Corinthians 1-9 in psychological terms.¹⁸ Later scholars postulated that Philippians precedes 2 Corinthians 1-9 and also reflects this second conversion.¹⁹ Thus, the rhetorico-political situation of Galatians and the Philippian reuse of Galatian language replace a “spiritual crisis as a sort of second conversion” to explain the rhetorical shift between 2 Corinthians 10-13 and 2 Corinthians 1-9.

In chaps. 2-4, I have applied the intertextual method of context-specificity and triangulation to the question of the sequence of Paul’s undisputed letters. The letters dovetail in sequence: 1 Thessalonians, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians 10-13, Galatians, Philippians, 2 Corinthians 1-9, Romans. The letters difficult to locate (2 Corinthians 10-13, Philippians, and Galatians) fit neatly between 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians 1-9. It is now time to turn to the more traditional historical-critical examination of Paul’s journeys and his collection for Jerusalem.

¹⁸ Dodd, *New Testament Studies*, 81. Notice that in the next essay (p. 108), he locates the second conversion at the end of 2 Corinthians 10-13 (12:8-10).

¹⁹ Hurd, “Sequence of Paul’s Letters,” 195. Notice that this can occur only if one separates Philippians from Colossians and Ephesians (whether or not these are considered authentic).

CHAPTER 5

The Collections for Jerusalem

Charting the progress of the collections for Jerusalem from Romans to the Jerusalem Conference solves the problems of Paul's itineraries.¹ Rom 15:25-27 tells us that moneys from Macedonia and Achaia were successfully collected for Jerusalem, while 2 Corinthians 8-9 shows that the Macedonian collection was begun just prior to the writing of 2 Corinthians 1-9 and occasioned Paul sending Titus to complete the Corinthian collection. These chapters also indicate that Titus began the collection in earnest in the preceding calendar year and then returned to Paul, suspending the collection uncompleted. This visit to Corinth by Titus provides the key to sorting out Paul's visits, travel plans, and changes in itinerary. Moreover, analyzing the references to the collection in 1 Corinthians 16 and Galatians 2 clarifies the beginning of the fund-raising campaigns. This reconstruction of Paul's itineraries and financial affairs corroborates the arguments of the first four chapters for the sequence of letters: 1 Thessalonians (Jerusalem Conference), 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians 10-13, Philippians, 2 Corinthians 1-9, Romans.

Since I propose an innovative reconstruction of events, I ask the reader not to dismiss it out of hand. Following the arguments and judging them on the basis of their economy, persuasiveness, and com-

¹ For general studies of the collection, see Georgi, *Remembering the Poor*; Nickle, *The Collection*; and Buck, "The Collection for the Saints." All three of these studies rely heavily on Acts, which is most odd considering that Acts does not mention Paul's collection for Jerusalem. Verbrugge's reconstruction of the collection has a number of positive points of contact with the present study. Verbrugge, *Paul's Style*.

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prehensiveness requires first giving them a hearing. The arguments are admittedly complex, but the events alluded to are themselves complex. Indeed, the innovation of the proposed reconstruction consists principally in close attention to textual minutiae; older hypotheses were so concerned with the big questions (e.g., the unity/partition of 2 Corinthians and Paul's itineraries) that the little ones (e.g., Titus' role in fund-raising and his itineraries) remained in a muddle.

Macedonia

The Macedonians initiated their collection for Jerusalem on the visit during which Paul wrote 2 Corinthians 1-9. Paul explicitly says that the *Philippians* initiated their collection (2 Cor 8:1-4):

¹ Γνωρίζομεν δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δεδομένην ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Μακεδονίας, ² ὅτι ἐν πολλῇ δοκιμῇ θλίψεως ἡ περισσεΐα τῆς χαρᾶς αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ κατὰ βάθους πτωχεΐα αὐτῶν ἐπερίσσευσεν εἰς τὸ πλοῦτος τῆς ἀπλότητος αὐτῶν· ³ ὅτι κατὰ δύναμιν, μαρτυρῶ, καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν, αὐθαίρετοι ⁴ μετὰ πολλῆς παρακλήσεως δεόμενοι ἡμῶν τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς διακονίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους

¹ We want you to know, brothers, of the grace of God that has been given to the churches of Macedonia, ² for in a severe test of affliction, the abundance of their joy and their profound poverty overflowed in a wealth of generosity on their part. ³ For *according to their means, I can testify, and beyond their means, spontaneously*, ⁴ *they begged us insistently for the favor of taking part in the service to the holy ones*

Moreover, the Philippians inaugurated their collection for Jerusalem on the visit on which Paul wrote 2 Corinthians 1-9, because their request prompted Paul to send Titus to Corinth with that letter (v. 6):

εἰς τὸ παρακαλέσαι ἡμᾶς Τίτον, ἵνα καθὼς προενήρξατο οὕτως καὶ ἐπιτελέσῃ εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν χάριν ταύτην.

so that we urged Titus that, as he had already begun, he should also complete for you this gracious act also.

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The articular infinitive here indicates result (rather than purpose).² Thus, the Macedonian collection for Jerusalem does not predate Paul's visit to Macedonia during which he wrote 2 Corinthians 1-9.

Moreover, reading 2 Cor 8:5-6 closely together clarifies the meaning of the "first" in vs. 5:

⁵ καὶ οὐ καθὼς ἠλπίσαμεν ἀλλ' ἑαυτοὺς ἔδωκαν *πρῶτον* τῷ κυρίῳ
καὶ ἡμῖν διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ ⁶ εἰς τὸ παρακαλέσαι ἡμᾶς Τίτον,
ἵνα καθὼς προενήρξατο οὕτως καὶ ἐπιτελέσῃ εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν
χάριν ταύτην.

⁵ and this, not as we expected, but they gave themselves *first* to the Lord and to us through the will of God ⁶ so that we urged Titus that, as he had already begun, he should also complete for you this gracious act also.

The *πρῶτον* ("first") could mean three things:

- (a) "and, not as we expected, but they gave themselves *first to the Lord* and (then) to us"
- (b) "and, not as we expected, but they *first gave themselves* to the Lord and to us (and then gave us money)"
- (c) "and this, not as expected, but they gave themselves to the Lord and to us *first* (before you Corinthians)"

The first two options are hardly unexpected.³ One could anticipate that the Macedonians should give themselves first to the Lord and only then to Paul or that they should give themselves to the Lord before they would give Paul their money. The third option is both unexpected and revelatory, explaining the transition between vss. 5-6. Although Paul had expected the Corinthians to raise their collection first, to his surprise the Macedonians did so, *εἰς τὸ παρακαλέσαι ἡμᾶς Τίτον* ("so that we urged Titus") with the consequence that Paul sent Titus to Corinth to complete the expected but interrupted collection there.

The lack of any mention of the collection for Jerusalem in Philippians leads many scholars to hold that Philippians post-dates the collec-

² Thrall, *2 Corinthians*, 529.

³ For a discussion of these two options, see Thrall, *2 Corinthians*, 526-27. Thrall does not consider my third option.

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tion. For example, Hawthorne's first, and primary, objection to the Ephesian hypothesis for Philippians is the absence of any reference to the collection:

The silence of the letter about the "collection" for the poor in Jerusalem, a matter of supreme importance to Paul when his ministry in Ephesus was drawing to a close, is most difficult to explain. It is mentioned in every other letter known to have been written from this period. Thus it is hard to imagine that Paul, so ardent and single-minded in soliciting funds for the needy, would say nothing at all about this project to the Philippians, but would, on the other hand, accept their personal gift to him (Phil 2:26, 4:10-20).⁴

Hawthorne assumes that Paul himself initiated the collection in Macedonia before the visit on which he wrote 2 Corinthians 1-9. As I argued above, a close reading of 2 Cor 8:1-6 makes this standard narrative unlikely. Instead of an argument against the Ephesian Hypothesis, it is an argument for it. Because of the poverty of the Macedonians, and their generosity in giving him missionary support in Achaia and elsewhere (Phil 4:15-18, cf. 2 Cor 11:7-15), Paul had not previously initiated the collection for Jerusalem in Philippi or Thessalonica.

In Phil 4:15-16, Paul states that the Philippians were the first church to support him financially by sending him money as he was about to leave Thessalonica to evangelize Achaia.⁵ Indeed, they sent him money in Thessalonica on two distinct occasions:

¹⁵ Οἶδατε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς, Φιλιππησίοι, ὅτι ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὅτε ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, οὐδεμία μοι ἐκκλησία ἐκοινώνησεν εἰς λόγον δόσεως καὶ λήψεως εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς μόνοι, ¹⁶ ὅτι καὶ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ δις εἰς τὴν χρεῖαν μοι ἐπέμψατε.

⁴ Gerald F. Hawthorne, *Philippians* (WBC 43; Waco, TX: Word, 1983) xxxix. See also, for example, John Knox, "On the Pauline Chronology: Buck-Taylor-Hurd Revisited," in Robert T. Fortna and Beverly R. Gaventa, *The Conversation Continues: Studies in Paul & John*. FS J. Louis Martyn (ed. Robert T. Fortna and Beverley R. Gaventa; Nashville: Abingdon 1990) 262; and Schnelle, *Wandlungen*, 31-32.

⁵ Paul normally expects churches to send (προπέμψω) him, and his co-workers, on their way (i.e., with provisions for the journey): Rom 15:24, 1 Cor 16:6, 11, 2 Cor 11:16. The Macedonians' gifts appear to be an extension of this expectation.

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- ¹⁵ You Philippians indeed know that *at the beginning of the gospel, when I left Macedonia, not a single church shared with me in an account of giving and receiving, except you alone.*
¹⁶ For even when I was at Thessalonica you sent me something for my needs, not only once but more than once.

In addition, Epaphroditus brought Paul financial support from Philippi while he was in prison, just before writing Philippians (Phil 2:25-30, 4:17-18). These statements leave open the real possibility that Paul received financial support from another church or other churches; 2 Cor 11:7-10 makes this possibility a certainty:

- ⁷ Ἡ ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησα ἑμαυτὸν ταπεινῶν ἵνα ὑμεῖς ὑψωθῆτε, ὅτι δωρεὰν τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγέλιον εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν; ⁸ ἄλλας ἐκκλησίας ἐσύλησα λαβὼν ὀψώνιον πρὸς τὴν ὑμῶν διακονίαν, ⁹ καὶ παρὼν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑστερηθεὶς οὐ κατενάρκησα οὐθενός· τὸ γὰρ ὑστέρημά μου προσανεπλήρωσαν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἐλθόντες ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, καὶ ἐν παντὶ ἄβαρῇ ἑμαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἐτήρησα καὶ τηρήσω. ¹⁰ Ἔστιν ἀλήθεια Χριστοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ ὅτι ἡ καύχησις αὕτη οὐ φραγῆσεται εἰς ἐμὲ ἐν τοῖς κλίμασιν τῆς Ἀχαΐας.
- ⁷ Did I make a mistake when I humbled myself so that you might be exalted, because I preached the gospel of God to you without charge? ⁸ *I plundered other churches by accepting from them* in order to minister to you. ⁹ And when I was with you and in need, I did not burden anyone, *for the brothers who came from Macedonia supplied my needs.* So I refrained and will refrain from burdening you in any way. ¹⁰ By the truth of Christ in me, this boast of mine shall not be silenced *in the regions of Achaia.*

Not only does Paul speak of robbing churches (plural), but Macedonian brethren came to Corinth, whereas the Philippians had sent Paul money in Thessalonica and the place of his imprisonment just prior to his writing Philippians (again, not Corinth).⁶ When Paul first evange-

⁶ Thrall (2 *Corinthians*, 685) sees the problem here:

The difficulty emerges when we try to correlate this reference to two or more Christian congregations with Paul's assertion in Phil 4:15 that when he set out from Macedonia on his continued mission it was *only* the church in

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lized Achaia, he received financial support from the Philippians; subsequently he received such aid from Philippi and another Macedonian church (or other Macedonian churches). His boast in 2 Corinthians 10-13 is precisely ἐν τοῖς κλίμασιν τῆς Ἀχαΐας, “in the regions of Achaia,” because in the regions of Macedonia he had received financial assistance (and there was as yet no collection for Jerusalem there). The absence of any reference to a collection in 1 Thessalonians further demonstrates that Paul did not initiate the Macedonian collection when he evangelized Macedonia. On the contrary, Paul received financial support from the Philippians when he left Thessalonica for Achaia for the first time, and subsequently from Philippi and at least one other Macedonian church.

In other words, Philippians pre-dates the Macedonian collection for Jerusalem; the Macedonians on their own initiative began the fund-raising for this collection on the visit during which Paul wrote 2 Corinthians 1-9. The correspondence of Phil 2:24 and 2 Cor 2:12-13, 7:5 is exact. In Philippians, he plans to journey to Macedonia; in 2 Corinthians 1-9, he describes this journey.

Achaia

Analysis of Titus' visits to Corinth is essential for sorting out the progress of the collection for Jerusalem, Paul's visits, travel plans, changes in itineraries, and events in Corinth. Indeed, Titus' travels have received woefully inadequate attention in the past.⁷ In 2 Corinthi-

Philippi that provided him with financial assistance. Is it the Philippians with whom he is less than honest, or is it the Corinthians?

The contradiction is more apparent than real. Paul could have received the money from the Macedonian brothers in Corinth, *on the Painful Visit*. Indeed, Paul plans in 1 Cor 16:1-5 to visit Corinth *via* Macedonia, and there is no reason to suppose he did not do so. Paul can be “less than honest,” but his honesty here need not be impuned.

⁷ For example, C. K. Barrett (“Titus,” in *Essays on Paul* [Philadelphia: Westminster 1982] 122) devotes an entire essay to Titus, but does not allow analysis of Titus' visits to disrupt his prejudices about Paul's visits to Corinth:

It will be helpful first to recall the dates of Paul's own movements in relation to Corinth, in order that those of Titus, as mentioned in 2 Corinthians, may be fitted into them.

Paul's itineraries are far more difficult to arrange in order than the straightforward visits of Titus.

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ans 1-9, Paul refers to sending Titus to Corinth in relation to the collection on two occasions.

2 Cor 8:6

⁶ εἰς τὸ παρακαλέσαι ἡμᾶς *Τίτον*, ἵνα καθὼς *προενήρξατο* οὕτως καὶ ἐπιτελέσῃ εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν χάριν ταύτην

2 Cor 8:6

⁶ so that we urged Titus that, *as he had already begun*, he should also complete for you this gracious act also.

2 Cor 8:10-11

¹⁰ καὶ γνώμην ἐν τούτῳ δίδωμι· τοῦτο γὰρ ὑμῖν συμφέρει, οἵτινες οὐ μόνον τὸ ποιῆσαι ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ θέλειν *προενήρξασθε ἀπὸ πέρυσι*.
¹¹ νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι ἐπιτελέσατε, ὅπως καθάπερ ἡ *προθυμία τοῦ θέλειν*, οὕτως καὶ τὸ ἐπιτελέσαι ἐκ τοῦ ἔχει.

2 Cor 9:2

² οἶδα γὰρ *τὴν προθυμίαν* ὑμῶν ἣν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καυχῶμαι Μακεδόσιν, ὅτι *Ἀχαΐα παρεσκέυασται ἀπὸ πέρυσι*, καὶ τὸ ὑμῶν ζῆλος ἠρέθισεν τοὺς πλείονας.

2 Cor 8:10-11

¹⁰ And I am giving counsel in this matter, for it is appropriate for *you who began* not only to act but to act willingly *last year*:
¹¹ complete it now, so that *your eager willingness* may be matched by your completion of it out of what you have.

2 Cor 9:2

² for I know *your eagerness*, about which I boast of you to the Macedonians, that *Achaia has been ready since last year*; and your zeal has stirred up most of them.

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In 1 Cor 8:6, Paul refers to Titus' first collection visit to Corinth. Since Titus had begun the collection beforehand, he should finish it. In 2 Cor 8:10-11 and 9:2, he gives further information concerning the collection and its need for completion. In the previous calendar year, the collection was organized in earnest and going well. The contrast between προενάρχομαι ("to begin beforehand") and ἐπιτελέω ("to complete") ties 2 Cor 8:10-11 to 2 Cor 8:6. And προθυμία ("desire") beginning ἀπὸ πέρυσι ("from last year") ties 2 Cor 9:2 to 2 Cor 8:10-11.⁸ The compound verb, προενάρχομαι ("to begin *beforehand*"), should be given its full weight, as this is its only appearance in the New Testament.⁹ The emphatic "before" indicates that the collection began before it was interrupted. At the writing of 2 Corinthians 1-9, Titus had just returned to tell Paul how the Tearful Letter had been received. Therefore, the crisis addressed by that letter is the most likely reason for the interruption of the collection. Indeed, the crisis must have concerned Titus, for otherwise, he would simply have completed the collection. Thus, Titus began the collection with great success, was interrupted by a crisis, and returned to Paul with news of that crisis. Paul then wrote the Tearful Letter and sent Titus to Corinth to deliver it.

2 Cor 7:6-8

2 Cor 7:13-15

<p>⁶ ἀλλ' ὁ παρακαλῶν τοὺς ταπεινοὺς παρεκάλεισεν ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ <i>Τίτου</i>, ⁷ οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ παρακλήσει ἣ παρεκλήθη ἐφ' ὑμῖν, ἀναγγέλλων ἡμῖν τὴν ὑμῶν</p>	<p>¹³ διὰ τοῦτο παρακεκλήμεθα. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ παρακλήσει ἡμῶν περισ- σοτέρως μᾶλλον ἐχάρημεν ἐπὶ τῇ <i>χαρᾷ Τίτου</i>, ὅτι ἀναπέπνυται τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ πάντων ὑμῶν· ¹⁴ ὅτι εἶ τι αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν</p>
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⁸ The contradiction Thrall (2 *Corinthians*, 564-66) finds between 2 Cor 9:2 and 8:10-11 is more apparent than real. In 2 Corinthians 8, Paul emphasizes the Corinthians' willingness to raise the funds in the preceding calendar year, while in 2 Corinthians 9, he boasts that they have been prepared to raise them in the preceding calendar year. The problem arises from reducing the enthusiasm of 2 Cor 8:10-11 to "little more than willingness," although nothing in the text requires such an interpretation. It is simpler to suppose that the collection was well under way when Titus interrupted it.

⁹ A number of other προ- verbs need to be emphasized. In particular, προεπαγγέλομαι ("to promise beforehand") in 2 Cor 9:5 and προαιρέω ("to decide") in 2 Cor 9:7 directly parallel the προενάρχομαι ("to begin beforehand") in 2 Cor 8:6, 10. Likewise, the προ- of προσαμαρτάνω ("to sin beforehand") in 2 Cor 12:21 and 13:2 has been insufficiently appreciated.

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ἐπιτόθησιν, τὸν ὑμῶν ὀδυρμόν, τὸν ὑμῶν ζῆλον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ὥστε με μᾶλλον χαρῆναι. ⁸ ὅτι εἰς καὶ ἐλύπησα ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, οὐ μεταμέλομαι· εἰ καὶ μετεμελόμην, βλέπω [γὰρ] ὅτι ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἐκείνη εἰ καὶ πρὸς ὥραν ἐλύπησεν ὑμᾶς

κεκαύχημαι, οὐ κατησχύνθην, ἀλλ' ὡς πάντα ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἐλαλήσαμεν ὑμῖν, οὕτως καὶ ἡ καύχησις ἡμῶν ἢ ἐπὶ Τίτου ἀλήθεια ἐγενήθη. ¹⁵ καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ περισσοτέρως εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐστὶν ἀναμιμνησκομένου τὴν πάντων ὑμῶν ὑπακοήν, ὡς μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου ἐδέξασθε αὐτόν.

2 Cor 8:16-17

¹⁶ Χάρις δὲ τῷ θεῷ τῷ δόντι τὴν αὐτὴν σπουδὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ Τίτου, ¹⁷ ὅτι τὴν μὲν παράκλησιν ἐδέξατο, σπουδαιότερος δὲ ὑπάρχων ἀνθαίρετος ἐξῆλθεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

2 Cor 8:23

²³ εἴτε ὑπὲρ Τίτου, κοινωνὸς ἐμὸς καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς συνεργὸς εἴτε ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν, ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν, δόξα Χριστοῦ.

2 Cor 7:6-8

⁶ But God, who encourages the downcast, encouraged us by the arrival of *Titus*, ⁷ and not only by his arrival but also by *the encouragement with which he was encouraged in regard to you*, as he told us of your yearning, your lament, your zeal for me, so that I rejoiced even more. ⁸ For even if I saddened you by *my letter*, I do not regret it; and if I did regret it ((for) I see that *that letter* saddened you, if only for a while),

2 Cor 7:13-15

¹³ For this reason we are encouraged. And besides our encouragement, we rejoice even more *because of the joy of Titus, since his spirit has been refreshed by all of you.*

¹⁴ For if I have boasted to him about you, I was not put to shame. No, just as everything we said to you was true, so our boasting before Titus proved to be the truth.

¹⁵ And *his heart goes out to you all the more, as he remembers the obedience of all of you, when you received him with fear and trembling.*

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2 Cor 8:16-17

2 Cor 8:23

¹⁶ But thanks be to God who put
the same concern for you into the
heart of Titus,

¹⁷ for he not only welcomed our
appeal but, since he is very con-
cerned, he has gone to you of his
own accord.

²³ As for Titus, he is my partner
and co-worker for you; as for our
brothers, they are apostles of the
churches, the glory of Christ.

In 2 Cor 7:7, 13-15, 8:16-17, Paul emphasizes Titus' lively emotions about the Corinthians and their change of heart: ἐν τῇ παρακλήσει ἡ παρεκλήθη ἐφ' ὑμῖν, "the encouragement with which he was encouraged in regard to you"; ἐπὶ τῇ χαρᾷ Τίτου ὅτι ἀναπέπαιται τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ πάντων ὑμῶν, "because of the joy of Titus, since his spirit has been refreshed by all of you"; τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ περισσοτέρως εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐστίν, "his heart goes out to you all the more, as he remembers the obedience of all of you, when you received him with fear and trembling"; τὴν αὐτὴν σπουδὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ Τίτου, "the same concern for you into the heart of Titus"; σπουδαιότερος δὲ ὑπάρχων αὐθαίρετος ἐξῆλθεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς "since he is very concerned, he has gone to you of his own accord". In 2 Cor 7:15, Paul states that the Corinthians greeted Titus with fear and trembling, and with perfect obedience. Paul emphasizes Titus' dignity and freedom of action (2 Cor 8:5, 16-17, 23). When Titus returns to Paul with this good news, Paul writes 2 Corinthians 1-9. All of these features strongly suggest that the crisis addressed by the Tearful Letter concerned Titus personally.

The standard choices for locating Titus' first collection visit in sequence are either before 1 Corinthians or during the Tearful Letter visit.¹⁰ The period before 1 Corinthians is implausible because the Corinthians' willingness and preparedness (2 Cor 8:10-11, 9:2), and Titus' role in initiating the collection (2 Cor 8:5), its interruption (2 Cor 12:14-18, cf. 11:7-15), its completion (2 Cor 8:5, 16-24), and the Tearful Letter (2 Cor 7:6-8, 13-15), would have to be excessively downplayed. Moreover, the peculiar προενάρχομαι ("to begin beforehand") of 2 Cor 8:6, 10-11 disqualifies the Tearful Letter visit mentioned in

¹⁰ Thrall, 2 *Corinthians*, 528, 536.

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2 Corinthians 7. The prefix, *προ-*, indicates that Titus began the collection *before* the crisis addressed by the Tearful Letter. Moreover, this hypothesis requires the combination of communal rebuke and encouragement for fund-raising that significantly weakens its appeal.¹¹ Both options minimize the time between 1 and 2 Corinthians 1-9 by positing only two visits by Titus, rather than three.¹²

Furnish sees the difficulty here and provides an unusual solution. Paul sent the Tearful Letter to resolve the crisis over the Painful Visit. Subsequently, he began to worry about the Corinthians' response to the Letter and wished to begin the collection for Jerusalem and so sent Titus to Corinth with the double purpose of delivering the letter and initiating the collection.¹³ Furnish's primary argument rests on reading 2 Cor 7:14 in such a way that it makes Titus' recent visit to Corinth his first:¹⁴

¹³ διὰ τοῦτο παρακεκλήμεθα. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ παρακλήσει ἡμῶν περισσοτέρως μᾶλλον ἐχάρημεν ἐπὶ τῇ χαρᾷ Τίτου, ὅτι ἀναπέπανται τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ πάντων ὑμῶν. ¹⁴ ὅτι εἴ τι αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κεκαύχημαι, οὐ κατησχύνθην, ἀλλ' ὡς πάντα ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἐλάλησαμεν ὑμῖν, οὕτως καὶ ἡ καύχησις ἡμῶν ἢ ἐπὶ Τίτου ἀλήθεια ἐγενήθη. ¹⁵ καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ περισσοτέρως εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐστὶν ἀναμιμνησκομένου τὴν πάντων ὑμῶν ὑπακοήν, ὡς μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου ἐδέξασθε αὐτόν.

¹³ For this reason we are encouraged. And besides our encouragement, we rejoice even more because of the joy of Titus, since his spirit has been refreshed by all of you. ¹⁴ For *if I have boasted to him about you, I was not put to shame. No, just as every-*

¹¹ Every proponent of the partition of 2 Corinthians sees that the fund-raising of chaps. 8-9 cannot go with the angry polemics of chaps 10-13. *Eo ipso*, Titus' fund-raising activity must be separated from his Tearful Letter visit to Corinth.

¹² Thrall (2 *Corinthians*, 528) correctly holds that there are three visits, but oddly enough tentatively locates the first one before 1 Corinthians. (Simply noting the relationship between 2 Cor 8:6 on the one hand and 2 Cor 8:10-11 and 9:2 on the other undermines the suggestion that Titus' first visit predates 1 Corinthians.) Moreover, Thrall (2 *Corinthians*, 854-57) correctly recognizes that this first visit is associated with the charge of financial impropriety (2 Cor 12:18-21). Although Thrall has thoroughly canvassed the secondary literature about the interim events, she has found little or nothing of interest to report about Titus. This lacuna is unfortunate.

¹³ Furnish, 2 *Corinthians*, 54-55, 394-95, 414-15.

¹⁴ Furnish, 2 *Corinthians*, 397-98.

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*thing we said to you was true, so our boasting before Titus proved to be the truth.*¹⁵ And his heart goes out to you all the more, as he remembers the obedience of all of you, when you received him with fear and trembling.

Furnish argues that since Paul boasted of the Corinthians, they could not be in open rebellion. Yet in Furnish's own reconstruction, this is indeed Paul's concern.¹⁵ His second argument rests on reading 2 Cor 7:15 to mean that the Tearful Letter had already been successful.¹⁶ Titus is a cipher in both of Furnish's arguments. If Titus' role in the crisis is substantial, neither argument holds. The Corinthians greeted Titus with fear and trembling because he had left them after an altercation interrupting the collection for Jerusalem and, upon Titus' return, they feared Paul's response to the crisis. Paul's initial boast to Titus concerning the Corinthians proved true on his return visit, albeit only *after* an altercation in Corinth suspended Titus' fund-raising for Paul's Jerusalem collection.

¹⁵ Furnish (2 *Corinthians*, 415) posits major tension between Paul and the Corinthians at this point in time:

Subsequent to the writing of 1 Corinthians, Paul had found it necessary to make a brief "emergency visit" to the Corinthian church to try to straighten out affairs. The visit failed to accomplish this, in part at least because of a gross injury sustained by Paul on that occasion (and alluded to in the present letter, 2:5-10; 7:11-12). There could hardly have been any effective implementation of the collection plan of 1 Corinthians during these troubled months—and it is not inconceivable that the collection project was at least one of the points in dispute between Paul and his congregation. In any case, it is quite possible that the *beginning* Titus succeeded in making for the collection was the *re*-commitment of the Corinthians to the project, and their pledge to implement the instructions Paul had already given them.

If the case of the Offender were so traumatic, it is unlikely that Paul would have expected Titus to be able to begin the collection immediately after the reception of the Painful Letter in Corinth. Note that Furnish must distinguish 2 Cor 8:6 from 8:10 and interpret the peculiar *προενάρχουαι* [to begin beforehand] as referring to two separate past events one recent, the other before 1 Corinthians! (p. 406). Notice the hesitancy ("it is not inconceivable", "it is quite possible") with which Furnish treats the reconstruction of the role of Titus. He apparently can be convinced of the major issues concerning the interim events without actually sorting out all the details. The role of Titus or the advent of the False Apostles (p. 52) are hesitantly fitted into his reconstruction of the letters and visits, rather than allowing all the necessary information to be treated at once.

¹⁶ Furnish, 2 *Corinthians*, 414-15. Because Furnish has misread 2 Cor 7:14, he is blinded to the possibility that the Corinthians were already obedient to Paul when Titus arrived and even before they had read the Tearful Letter.

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2 Corinthians 10-13 mentions a visit to Corinth by Titus *once* (2 Cor 12:13-18) and the charge of financial impropriety *twice* (2 Cor 11:7-8, 10-15; 12:16-18).

2 Cor 11:7-8, 10-15

⁷ Ἡ ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησα ἑμαυτὸν ταπεινῶν ἵνα ὑμεῖς ὑψωθῆτε, ὅτι *δωρεὰν τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγέλιον εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν*; ⁸ ἄλλας ἐκκλησίας ἐσύλησα λαβὼν ὀψώνιον πρὸς τὴν ὑμῶν διακονίαν . . . ¹⁰ ἔστιν ἀλήθεια Χριστοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ ὅτι ἡ καύχησις αὕτη οὐ φραγήσεται εἰς ἐμὲ ἐν τοῖς κλίμασιν τῆς Ἀχαΐας. ¹¹ διὰ τί; ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαπῶ ὑμᾶς; ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν. ¹² Ὁ δὲ ποιῶ, καὶ ποιήσω, ἵνα ἐκκόψω τὴν ἀφορμὴν τῶν θελώντων ἀφορμὴν, ἵνα ἐν ᾧ καυχῶνται εὐρεθῶσιν καθὼς καὶ ἡμεῖς. ¹³ οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι ψευδαπόστολοι, ἐργάται δόλιοι, μετασχηματιζόμενοι εἰς ἀποστόλους Χριστοῦ. ¹⁴ καὶ οὐ θαῦμα· αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Σατανᾶς μετασχηματίζεται εἰς ἄγγελον φωτός. ¹⁵ οὐ μέγα οὖν εἰ καὶ οἱ διάκονοι αὐτοῦ μετασχηματίζονται ὡς διάκονοι δικαιοσύνης, ὧν τὸ τέλος ἔσται κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν.

2 Cor 11:7-8, 10-15

⁷ Did I make a mistake when I humbled myself so that you might be exalted, because *I preached the gospel of God to you without charge*? ⁸ *I plundered other churches by accepting from them*

2 Cor 12:13-18

¹³ τί γὰρ ἐστὶν ὃ ἡσώθητε ὑπὲρ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐκκλησίας, εἰ μὴ ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐγὼ οὐ κατενάρκησα ὑμῶν; χαρίσασθέ μοι τὴν ἀδικίαν ταύτην. ¹⁴ Ἴδου τρίτον τοῦτο ἐτοιμῶς ἔχω ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ οὐ καταναρκήσω· οὐ γὰρ ζητῶ τὰ ὑμῶν ἀλλὰ ὑμᾶς, οὐ γὰρ ὀφείλει τὰ τέκνα τοῖς γονεῦσιν θησαυρίζειν ἀλλὰ οἱ γονεῖς τοῖς τέκνοις. ¹⁵ ἐγὼ δὲ ἥδιστα δαπανήσω καὶ ἐκδαπανηθήσομαι ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν. εἰ περισσοτέρως ὑμᾶς ἀγαπῶ[ν], ἦσον ἀγαπῶμαι; ¹⁶ ἔστω δέ, ἐγὼ οὐ κατεβάρησα ὑμᾶς ἀλλὰ ὑπάρχων πανοῦργος δόλῳ ὑμᾶς ἔλαβον. ¹⁷ μὴ τινα ὦν ἀπέσταλκα πρὸς ὑμᾶς, δι' αὐτοῦ ἐπλεονέκτησα ὑμᾶς; ¹⁸ παρ-εκάλεσα Τίτον καὶ συναπέστειλα τὸν ἀδελφόν· μήτι ἐπλεονέκτησεν ὑμᾶς Τίτος; οὐ τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι περιεπατήσαμεν; οὐ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔχνεσιν;

2 Cor 12:13-18

¹³ In what way were you less privileged than the rest of the churches, except that on my part I did not burden you? Forgive me this wrong! ¹⁴ Now I am ready to come to you this third time. And I

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in order to minister to you. . .

¹⁰ By the truth of Christ in me, *this boast of mine shall not be silenced in the regions of Achaia.*

¹¹ And why? Because I do not love you? God knows I do! ¹²

And what I do I will continue to do, in order to end this pretext of those who seek a pretext for being regarded as we are in the mission of which they boast. ¹³ *For such people are false apostles, deceitful workers, who masquerade as apostles of Christ.* ¹⁴ *And no wonder, for even Satan masquerades as an angel of light.* ¹⁵ *So it is not strange that his ministers also masquerade as ministers of righteousness. Their end will correspond to their deeds.*

will not be a burden, for I want not what is yours, but you. Children ought not to save for their parents, but parents for their children. ¹⁵ I will most gladly spend and be utterly spent for your sakes. If I love you more, am I to be loved less? ¹⁶ *But granted that I myself did not burden you, yet I was crafty and got the better of you by deceit.* ¹⁷ *Did I take advantage of you through any of those I sent to you?* ¹⁸ *I urged Titus to go and sent the brother with him. Did Titus take advantage of you? Did we not walk in the same spirit? And in the same steps?*

When Paul first mentions not burdening the Corinthians, he explicitly counters the claim of the False Apostles. The next time, he vehemently defends himself and Titus, who had been sent to begin the collection. Paul nowhere mentions personally encountering the False Apostles. On the contrary, their charge of financial impropriety is related to Titus' fund-raising efforts on Paul's behalf. This visit can only be correlated to Titus' first collection visit (2 Cor 8:6). Thrall correctly argues against connecting it to Titus' second collection visit:

The accusation of financial exploitation was based on Titus's first collection visit to Corinth (8:6). It cannot relate to the second such visit (8:16-24), since Paul had taken precautions against suspicion of fraud on this occasion.¹⁷

Furthermore, Titus' visit mentioned in 2 Corinthians 10-13 cannot be identified as his visit related to the Tearful Letter since that visit was

¹⁷ Thrall, *2 Corinthians*, 856.

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entirely successful (2 Corinthians 7). From 2 Corinthians 1-9, we see that the Tearful Letter addressed a crisis related to Titus on his first collection visit to Corinth interrupting the fund-raising for Jerusalem. 2 Corinthians 10-13 functions as the Tearful Letter and identifies the crisis as a charge of financial impropriety made by the False Apostles against Paul *and Titus*.

The Change in Travel Plans

In 2 Cor 1:12-2:1, Paul makes a twofold defense for not visiting Corinth. First, he sets out his initial plans to visit Corinth (2 Cor 1:15-16) on the way to Macedonia, in relation to the collection, and denies that his failure to visit is a sign of vacillating affection for the Corinthians:

¹⁵ Καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πεποιθήσει ἐβουλόμην πρότερον πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν, ἵνα δευτέραν χάριν σχῆτε, ¹⁶ καὶ δι' ὑμῶν διελθεῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑφ' ὑμῶν προπεμφθῆναι εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν.

¹⁵ With this confidence *I formerly intended to come to you so that you might receive a double favor*, ¹⁶ *namely, to go by way of you to Macedonia, and then to come to you again on my return from Macedonia, and have you send me on my way to Judea.*

Secondly, he provides the reason for not visiting (2 Cor 1:23):

Ἐγὼ δὲ μάρτυρα τὸν θεὸν ἐπικαλοῦμαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν, ὅτι φειδόμενος ὑμῶν οὐκέτι ἦλθον εἰς Κόρινθον.

But I call upon God as witness, on my life, that it is *to spare you* that I have not yet gone to Corinth.

Paul defends not visiting Corinth both in relation to the collection (2 Cor 1:15-16) and in relation to the crisis addressed by the Tearful Letter (2 Cor 2:1-3). He then wrote a harsh letter in response to news of the situation in Corinth (without visiting), and went to Troas, rather than Corinth, on the way to Macedonia (2 Cor 2:1, 12-13).

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Allo correctly notes that it is the first leg of the proposed itinerary that is abandoned and replaced by a letter:

Il existe une liaison évidente entre les versets I, 15-17, et I, 23-II, 4: l'annonce d'un voyage, son défaut de réalisation, et son remplacement par une simple lettre.¹⁸

La simultanéité du renoncement au voyage et de l'envoi d'une lettre qui y fut substituée est bien marquée . . . par la coordination des deux aoristes ἔκρινα et ἔγραψα (que sépare seulement une parenthèse) et par le lien évident des versets II, 1 et 3 où ils se trouvent . . . Paul *écrivit pour ne pas venir*. (Italics original)¹⁹

As Allo shows, to place the change of itinerary *after* the first leg of the travel plans in 2 Cor 1:15-16 raises difficulties. It goes against the straightforward reading of 2 Cor 1:12-2:1, requires the Painful Visit to involve an unexplained change of travel plans from 1 Cor 16:1-5, and necessitates the bizarre characterization of the Painful Visit as a first “grace.”

Paul's initial itinerary (2 Cor 1:15-16) coheres with Titus' first collection visit to Corinth. Paul sent Titus to begin the collection and promised to visit Corinth twice in relation to the collection. These two graces (i.e., visits) were to prepare for the trip to Jerusalem with the collection. The crisis addressed by the Tearful Letter interrupted the collection and caused Paul *not* to make his two promised collection visits to Corinth. The other options, that the initial plans were given in 1 Corinthians or on the Painful Visit, are not convincing.

Paul's initial plans in 2 Cor 1:15-16 do not match the plans of 1 Cor 16:3-5.

1 Cor 16:3-5

2 Cor 1:15-16

³ ὅταν δὲ παραγένωμαι, οὗς ἐὰν δοκιμάσητε, δι' ἐπιστολῶν τούτους πέμψω ἀπενεγκεῖν τὴν χάριν ὑμῶν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ· ⁴ ἐὰν δὲ ἄξιον ᾖ

¹⁵ Καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πεποιθήσει ἐβουλόμην πρότερον πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν, ἵνα δευτέραν χάριν σχῆτε, ¹⁶ καὶ δι' ὑμῶν διελθεῖν εἰς Μακε-

¹⁸ E. B. Allo, O.P., *Saint Paul: Seconde Épître aux Corinthiens* (Paris: Gabalda, 1956) 63.

¹⁹ Allo, *Saint Paul: Seconde Épître aux Corinthiens*, 68.

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τοῦ καὶ πορεύεσθαι, σὺν ἐμοὶ πορεύονται.⁵ Ἐλεύσομαι δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅταν Μακεδονίαν διέλθω· Μακεδονίαν γὰρ διέρχομαι

δονίαν καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑφ' ὑμῶν προπεμφθῆναι εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν.

1 Cor 16:3-5

2 Cor 1:15-16

³ And when I arrive, I shall send those whom you have approved with letters of recommendation to take your gracious gift to Jerusalem.⁴ If it seems fitting that I should go also, they will go with me.
⁵ I shall come to you after I pass through Macedonia (for I am going to pass through Macedonia)

¹⁵ With this confidence I formerly intended to come to you so that you might receive a double favor,
¹⁶ namely, to go by way of you to Macedonia, and then to come to you again on my return from Macedonia, and have you send me on my way to Judea.

In 1 Corinthians, Paul plans to go to Macedonia before going to Corinth on his way to Jerusalem. In 2 Corinthians 1-9, his original plans do not match the travel plan at the end of the Painful Visit (2 Cor 13:1-2).

2 Cor 1:15-16

2 Cor 13:1-2

¹⁵ Καὶ ταύτη τῇ πεποιθήσει ἐβουλόμην πρότερον πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν, ἵνα δευτέραν χάριν σχῆτε,
¹⁶ καὶ δι' ὑμῶν διελθεῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑφ' ὑμῶν προπεμφθῆναι εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν.

Τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύρων καὶ τριῶν σταθήσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα.² προεῖρηκα καὶ προλέγω, ὥς παρὼν τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἀπὼν νῦν, τοῖς προημαρτηκόσιν καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσιν, ὅτι ἐὰν ἔλθω εἰς τὸ πάλιν οὐ φείσομαι

2 Cor 1:15-16

2 Cor 13:1-2

¹⁵ With this confidence I formerly intended to come to you so that

This third time I am coming to you. "On the testimony of two or

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*you might receive a double favor,
¹⁶ namely, to go by way of you to
 Macedonia, and then to come to
 you again on my return from
 Macedonia, and have you send
 me on my way to Judea.*

three witnesses a fact shall be
 established.”

² I warned those who sinned ear-
 lier and all the others, and I warn
 them now while absent, as I did
 when present on my second visit,
*that if I come again I will not be
 lenient*

At the end of the Painful Visit, Paul threatened a punitive visit (rather than a “double grace” and fund-raising) and did not mention Macedonia or Jerusalem. Indeed, at that time, the beginnings of the Achaian collection were deferred (since Titus began it afterwards) and the Macedonian collection had not yet begun at all, so a journey to Jerusalem was not on the horizon. The initial travel plans concerned the collection for Jerusalem, and the two visits are identified as a first and a “second grace.” This itinerary coheres with Paul’s plans for Titus’ first collection visit to Corinth after the Painful Visit rather than with the plans of 1 Corinthians or the Painful Visit.

Identifying 2 Corinthians 10-13 as the Tearful Letter explains why the defense of travel plans is so prominently placed in 2 Corinthians 1-9. In that letter, Paul threatens a visit to punish the Corinthians for welcoming the False Apostles (2 Cor 13:1-4). On this planned visit, he claims that he shall not be a financial burden (2 Cor 11:7-12, 12:13-18) and shall punish those who had sinned beforehand by sexual misconduct (2 Cor 13:2). Thus, Paul vehemently defends (even calling God as his witness) not visiting Corinth (2 Cor 1:23) after receiving news of the advent of the False Apostles, because, in the Tearful Letter, he had threatened to visit the Corinthians to punish them for welcoming his opponents. Indeed, if Paul had simply not paid the pleasant visits planned in 2 Cor 1:15-16 because he wished to spare them a punitive visit because of changed circumstances, he would not have needed to defend himself. Or, if he had changed his travel plans in the Tearful Letter itself, there would be no grounds to attack Paul’s reliability. The need to defend himself arises from the threat of a punitive visit contained in the Tearful Letter; Paul did not visit Corinth as he had threatened.

Following the money provides us with a great deal of information. The Macedonians initiated their collection, which causes Paul to send

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Titus to complete the Achaian collection. The False Apostles interrupted Titus' raising the Achaian collection by their charge of financial impropriety. Paul sent Titus with travel plans when Titus brought him news of the False Apostles. By now, the readers familiar with Pauline scholarship will have noticed that I am approaching the Interim Events in an unusual way. The standard approach begins with the Painful Visit, the Tearful Letter, and the case of the Offender, and rarely bothers to pay much attention to Titus' visits. In other words, the standard approach attempts to explain the obscure by the more obscure. In fact, Titus' three visits to Corinth and Paul's change in travel plans are fairly straightforward; the crisis of the Painful Visit and the contents of the Tearful Letter far less so.

The Painful Visit

In 1 Cor 16:1-9, Paul clearly intends to complete the collection himself. Therefore how can he subsequently send Titus *to begin* the collection? The answer is fairly obvious: contrary to Paul's intention in 1 Cor 16:1-9, he was not able even to begin, much less complete, the collection on his planned visit because other business was more pressing, namely the problematic sexual misconduct of 1 Corinthians (2 Cor 12:20-13:2, cf. 1 Cor 5:1-13, 6:12-20):²⁰

²⁰ φοβοῦμαι γὰρ μή πως ἐλθὼν οὐχ οἷους θέλω εὔρω ὑμᾶς καὶ γὰρ
εὐρεθῶ ὑμῖν οἷον οὐ θέλετε· μή πως ἔρις, ζῆλος, θυμοί, ἐριθείαι,
καταλαλῳαί, ψιθυρισμοί, φνσιώσεις, ἀκαταστασίαι· ²¹ μή πάλιν

²⁰ Gilchrist ("Paul and the Corinthians," 53) is misled at precisely this point in his reconstruction:

It is unlikely that the second visit of 2 Cor 13:1 is the 'painful visit', for the troubles are different: the visit of 2 Cor 2:1 concerned a personal insult to Paul by one man (2 Cor 2:6), whereas the second visit of 2 Cor. 13:1 concerned immorality by many (2 Cor 12:21).

He correctly reads 2 Cor 13:1 as referring to a visit whose crisis concerned sexual misconduct. He oddly postulates two interim visits to Corinth because he rejects the identification of 2 Corinthians 10-13 as the Tearful Letter, so that the Offender (the purported *raison d'être* of the Tearful Letter) has somehow insulted Paul on the Painful Visit (hence distinct from the sexual misconduct visit). One can dispense with this double vision if one sees that the Tearful Letter did not principally concern the Offender.

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ἐλθόντος μου ταπεινώσει με ὁ θεός μου πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ πενθήσω πολλοὺς τῶν προημαρτηκότων καὶ μὴ μετανοησάντων ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ καὶ πορνείᾳ καὶ ἀσελγείᾳ ἣ ἔπραξαν.^{13:1} Τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύρων καὶ τριῶν σταθήσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα.² προείρηκα καὶ προλέγω, ὥς παρὼν τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἀπὼν νῦν, τοῖς προημαρτηκόσιν καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσιν, ὅτι ἐὰν ἔλθω εἰς τὸ πάλιν οὐ φείσομαι,³ ἐπεὶ δοκιμὴν ζητεῖτε τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ λαλοῦντος Χριστοῦ, ὃς εἰς ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀσθενεῖ ἀλλὰ δυνατεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν.

²⁰ For I fear that when I come *I may find you not such as I wish, and that you may find me not as you wish; that there may be rivalry, jealousy, fury, selfishness, slander, gossip, conceit, and disorder.* ²¹ I fear that when I come again my God may humiliate me before you, and I may have to mourn over *many of those who sinned earlier and have not repented of the impurity, immorality, and licentiousness they practiced.* ^{13:1} This third time I am coming to you. “On the testimony of two or three witnesses a fact shall be established.” ² I warned *those who sinned earlier and all the others*, and I warn them now while absent, as I did when present on my second visit, that if I come again I will not be lenient.

Paul explicitly contrasts the conflicts of the Painful Visit (prior sexual misconduct) and the Tearful Letter (present communal discord and questioning of Paul’s authority). 2 Cor 12:20-13:3 unequivocally differentiates the issues and occasions of the Painful Visit and the Tearful Letter, and prevents any confusion of the two crises. The collection for Jerusalem was not organized during the Painful Visit, so Paul sent Titus to begin the collection in Corinth *afterwards*.

The standard reconstruction holds that Paul makes an unplanned emergency visit to Corinth to deal with the crisis addressed by the Tearful Letter. In other words, Paul does not make the planned visit of 1 Cor 16:1-9 and makes an unplanned, emergency visit to Corinth; neither of these changes in itinerary is explicitly mentioned in the text. He then returns to Asia for no apparent reason. All this is based on the *assumption* that the visit mentioned in 2 Cor 2:1 concerns the same crisis as the letter mentioned in 2 Cor 2:3 and the change in travel plans

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(2 Cor 1:23). The number of hypothetical consequences arising from this assumption alone should cause doubt; the clear contrast in 2 Cor 12:20-13:3 makes it inadmissible. All 2 Cor 2:1 tells us about Paul's Interim Visit is that it was painful. 2 Cor 12:20-13:3 tells us that it concerned the issues of 1 Corinthians and not those of 2 Corinthians.

The Offender

One last piece of the puzzle of the Corinthian correspondence needs to be put in place. There is a gap in the sequence of events between Paul's Painful Visit to Corinth and his sending Titus to Corinth to begin the collection (with the friendly, "double-grace," travel plans).²¹ What could cause this *volte-face* in Paul's relations with the Corinthians? The Painful Visit was such a fiasco because of sexual misconduct (2 Cor 12:20-13:3), and 1 Corinthians provides us with two such cases (1 Cor 5:1-13, 6:12-20). The general case of 1 Cor 6:12-20 was still an open question at the time of writing 2 Corinthians 10-13 because Paul threatens the Corinthians with punishment in 2 Cor 12:21:

μὴ πάλιν ἐλθόντος μου ταπεινώσῃ με ὁ θεός μου πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ πεν-
θήσω πολλοὺς τῶν προημαρτηκότων καὶ μὴ μετανοησάντων ἐπὶ τῇ
ἀκαθαρσίᾳ καὶ πορνείᾳ καὶ ἀσελγείᾳ ἣ ἔπραξαν.

I fear that when I come again my God may humiliate me before you, and I may have to mourn over *many of those who sinned earlier and have not repented of the impurity, immorality, and licentiousness they practiced.*

Since something must have happened in Corinth for Paul to initiate the collection after the disaster of the Painful Visit, that leaves the individual case of incest (1 Cor 5:1-13) as the only case related to sexual misconduct from 1 Corinthians whose resolution could be sufficient cause for the sudden turnaround in Paul's relations with the Corinthians. During the Painful Visit, the Corinthians disobeyed Paul's command to

²¹ Compare this hypothesis to the hypothetical "emergency visit" almost universally accepted by scholars. The hypothetical repentance of the Offender respects all the evidence at hand; the hypothetical "emergency visit" contradicts the plans of both 1 Corinthians 16 and 2 Corinthians 1.

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excommunicate the incestuous man (1 Cor 5:1-13). After the Painful Visit, the incestuous man repented and news reached Paul, who then sent Titus to begin the collection in earnest with the “double-grace” travel plans.

This simple hypothesis, that the news of the incestuous man’s repentance reached Paul after the Painful Visit and before he sent Titus to begin the collection, also resolves two traditional difficulties. Those who reject the identification of 2 Corinthians 10-13 as the Tearful Letter claim that it lacks any mention of the Offender. Yet Paul does indirectly mention the Offender in the Tearful Letter (2 Cor 12:21, 13:2). The incestuous man was one of the πολλοὶ τῶν προημαρτηκότων καὶ μὴ μετανοησάντων ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ καὶ πορνείᾳ καὶ ἀσελγείᾳ ἧ ἔπραξαν, “many of those who sinned earlier and have not repented of the impurity, immorality, and licentiousness they practiced.” Although he had not repented at the time of the Painful Visit, he did repent before Paul wrote the Tearful Letter (2 Corinthians 10-13).²²

Paul states explicitly that he did not write the Tearful Letter about the case of the Offender (2 Cor 7:12). One could think that Paul protests too much (and that the Tearful Letter had indeed concerned the Offender), but there would be no advantage for our understanding in doing so. If the Tearful Letter primarily concerned the Offender, one is left with too many loose ends, for one cannot identify the offense or the offender. Moreover, the travel plans of 2 Cor 1:15-16 would be left without explanation, since they match neither the plans of 1 Cor 16:1-5, nor the plans at the end of the Painful Visit (2 Cor 13:1-2). Furthermore, Titus would have no reason to initiate the collection. In this case, the Tearful Letter would be lost and 2 Corinthians 10-13 would need to be located after 2 Corinthians 1-9 (requiring a second crisis over the False Apostles and a second reconciliation). The simpler, more economical, and comprehensive hypothesis proposed here is that the Tearful Letter did not concern the Offender as Paul clearly states (2 Cor 7:12).

Those who reject the identification of the Offender as the incestuous man of 1 Cor 5:1-13 object that Paul would not call for the forgiveness of someone whom he had so vehemently commanded to be excommuni-

²² No resolution of the general case of sexual misconduct (1 Cor 6:12-20) appears in the Corinthian correspondence. Paul rebukes the Corinthians in 1 Corinthians and threatens them on the Painful Visit and in the Tearful Letter (2 Corinthians 10-13), but is otherwise silent.

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cated.²³ In my reconstruction, Paul has two reasons for forgiving him. Not only had the Offender repented in the calendar year preceding the writing of 2 Corinthians 1-9 (else Paul would not have sent Titus to begin the collection), but, at the time of writing, he was being punished as a scapegoat.²⁴ In other words, the Corinthians punished the Offender *in response to* the Tearful Letter (2 Cor 7:11), although that letter assumed that his case was already resolved (2 Cor 7:12, cf. 2 Cor 1:15-16, 12:20-13:2):

¹⁰ ἡ γὰρ κατὰ θεὸν λύπη μετάνοιαν εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀμεταμέλητον ἐργάζεται· ἡ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου λύπη θάνατον κατεργάζεται. ¹¹ ἰδοὺ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ κατὰ θεὸν λυπηθῆναι πόσην κατειργάσατο ὑμῖν σπουδὴν, ἀλλὰ ἀπολογίαν, ἀλλὰ ἀγανάκτησιν, ἀλλὰ φόβον, ἀλλὰ ἐπιπόθησιν, ἀλλὰ ζῆλον, ἀλλὰ ἐκδίκησιν. ἐν παντὶ συνεστήσατε ἑαυτοὺς ἀγνοῦς εἶναι τῷ πράγματι. ¹² ἄρα εἰ καὶ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν, οὐχ ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἀδικήσαντος οὐδὲ ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος ἀλλ' ἕνεκεν τοῦ φανερωθῆναι τὴν σπουδὴν ὑμῶν τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ.

¹⁰ For godly sorrow produces a salutary repentance without regret, but worldly sorrow produces death. ¹¹ For behold what earnestness this godly sorrow has produced for you, as well as readiness for a defense, and indignation, and fear, and yearning, and zeal, *and punishment. In every way you have shown yourselves to be innocent in the matter.* ¹² So then even though I wrote to you, *it was not on account of the one who did the wrong, or on account of the one who suffered the wrong, but in order that your concern for us might be made plain to you in the sight of God.*

This hypothesis explains how the punishment of the Offender can prove the Corinthians ἀγνοῦς εἶναι τῷ πράγματι (“to be innocent in the matter”) in 2 Cor 7:11 and at the same time be a sign of repentance in

²³ Thrall, *2 Corinthians*, 61-65; and Furnish, *2 Corinthians*, 164-66.

²⁴ Lars Aejmelaes identifies the Offender as a scapegoat (albeit for the Corinthians' real disobedience *vis-à-vis* the False Apostles). See Aejmelaes, *Streit und Versöhnung: Das Problem der Zusammensetzung aus 2. Korintherbriefen* (Helsinki: Kirjapaino Raamattutalo, 1987) 185-97.

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2 Cor 7:9-10. Since the Corinthians welcomed Titus “with fear and trembling” and with perfect obedience (2 Cor 7:15), the “matter” of the False Apostles must already have been resolved before the Tearful Letter arrived. As Paul writes:

¹⁵καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ περισσοτέρως εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐστὶν ἀναμνησκομένου τὴν πάντων ὑμῶν ὑπακοήν, ὡς μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου ἐδέξασθε αὐτόν. ¹⁶χαίρω ὅτι ἐν παντὶ θαρρῶ ἐν ὑμῖν.

¹⁵And his heart goes out to you all the more, as he remembers *the obedience of all of you, when you received him with fear and trembling*. ¹⁶I rejoice, because I have confidence in you in every respect.

The obvious solution to this puzzle is that the False Apostles had insulted Paul and Titus, and then left Corinth (after Titus' departure and before his return with the Tearful Letter).²⁵ In other words, there were no Corinthians to punish for open rebellion, because there had been no open rebellion. In response to the Tearful Letter, and as a sign of repentance, they belatedly punished the Offender, although he had already repented of his offense and was innocent of any personal involvement with the False Apostles. Indeed, Paul clearly distances himself from the punishment of the Offender, and claims no direct role for himself in the case of the Offender. The Apostle claims that the Corinthians are the injured party (2 Cor 2:5, 10), the ones who punish (2 Cor 2:6), and the ones who must forgive (2 Cor 2:7, 8, 10):

⁵Εἰ δέ τις λελύπηκεν, οὐκ ἐμέ λελύπηκεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ μέρους, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιβαρῶ, πάντας ὑμᾶς. ⁶ἱκανὸν τῷ τοιούτῳ ἡ ἐπιτιμία αὕτη ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν πλειόνων, ⁷ὥστε τοῦναντίον μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς χαρίσασθαι καὶ παρακαλέσαι, μή πως τῇ περισσοτέρᾳ λύπῃ καταποθῇ ὁ τοιοῦτος. ⁸διὸ παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς κυρῶσαι εἰς αὐτὸν ἀγάπην· ⁹εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἔγραψα, ἵνα γνῶ τὴν δοκιμὴν ὑμῶν, εἰ εἰς πάντα ὑπήκοοί ἐστε. ¹⁰ὧ δέ τι χαρίζεσθε, ἀγῶ· καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ὁ κεχάρισμαι, εἴ τι κεχάρισμαι, δι' ὑμᾶς ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ

²⁵ Those who reject the Hausrath-Kennedy Hypothesis necessarily downplay this verse (e.g., Thrall, 2 *Corinthians*, 500).

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⁵If anyone has caused pain, *he has caused it not to me*, but in some measure (not to exaggerate) to *all of you*. ⁶*This punishment by the majority* is enough for such a person, ⁷so that on the contrary you should forgive and encourage him instead, or else the person may be overwhelmed by excessive pain. ⁸Therefore, I urge you to reaffirm your love for him. ⁹For this is why I wrote, *to know your proven character, whether you were obedient in everything*. ¹⁰*Whomever you forgive* anything, so do I. For indeed what I have forgiven, if I have forgiven anything, has been for you in the presence of Christ

Paul orders the Corinthians to forgive the Offender, a most peculiar command, if he had just recently ordered them to punish him. Notice that in both 2 Cor 2:9 and 7:14, the point of the Tearful Letter is identified with the Corinthians' obedience to Paul, not with their punishment of the Offender. The Corinthians demonstrated their obedience (in response to the Tearful Letter) by punishing the Offender; Paul declares their decision excessive and calls for them to forgive him.

Thrall argues against identifying the Offender as the incestuous man of 1 Corinthians 5 by pointing to the events between the writing of 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians 1-9:

A further contrary argument, however, has emerged from our preceding discussion of the interim events. For if Paul, in the interval between 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians 2 and 7, has visited Corinth and has also written a further letter, connection in 2 Corinthians 2 and 7 with the case of incest seems improbable: these passages are much more likely to refer to some other incident, related to Paul's interim visit.²⁶

Nevertheless, we know that Paul's interim visit was painful on account of conflict over sexual misconduct (2 Cor 12:20-13:2). Moreover, Paul changed his travel plans in response to news from Corinth concerning the obedience due him (2 Cor 1:15-16, 23). The only gap in the puzzle is the repentance of the Offender which would lead Paul to send Titus to Corinth to begin the collection for Jerusalem.

²⁶ Thrall, *2 Corinthians*, 65.

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Galatia

Just as the Macedonian collection was the last of the collections Paul gathered for Jerusalem, the Galatian collection was the first. Compare Gal 2:9-10 and 1 Cor 16:1-4.

Gal 2:9-10

⁹ καὶ γνόντες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι, Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ δοκοῦντες στῦλοι εἶναι, δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν ἐμοὶ καὶ Βαρναβᾶ κοινωνίας, ἵνα ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν περιτομήν· ¹⁰ μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν, ὃ καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.

Gal 2:9-10

⁹ and when they recognized the grace bestowed upon me, James and Kephas and John, who were reputed to be pillars, gave me and Barnabas their right hands in partnership, that we should go to the Gentiles and they to the circumcised. ¹⁰ Only, we were to be mindful of the poor, which is the very thing *I was eager* to do.

1 Cor 16:1-4

Περὶ δὲ τῆς λογείας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους ὥσπερ διέταξα ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιήσατε. ² κατὰ μίαν σαββάτου ἕκαστος ὑμῶν παρ' ἐαυτῷ τιθέτω θησαυρίζων ὃ τι ἐὰν εὐοδῶται, ἵνα μὴ ὅταν ἔλθω τότε λογεῖται γίνωνται. ³ ὅταν δὲ παραγένωμαι, οὓς ἐὰν δοκιμάσητε, δι' ἐπιστολῶν τούτους πέμψω ἀπενεγκεῖν τὴν χάριν ὑμῶν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ· ⁴ ἐὰν δὲ ἄξιον ᾖ τοῦ κάμει πορεύεσθαι, σὺν ἐμοὶ πορεύονται.

1 Cor 16:1-4

Now in regard to the collection for the holy ones, you *also* should do as I ordered the churches of Galatia. ² On the first day of the week each of you should set aside and save whatever one can afford, so that collections will not be going on when I come. ³ And when I arrive, I shall send those whom you have approved with letters of recommendation to take your gracious gift to Jerusalem. ⁴ If it seems fitting that I should go also, they will go with me.

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The two italicized words demand attention. In Gal 2:10, the phrase, ὃ καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, is translated in the NAB as “which is the very thing I was *eager* to do.” It could be even better translated, “which is the very thing I *hastened* to do,” because the verb conveys no sense of non-fulfillment, but rather the sense of hurry, haste, zeal, eagerness, and conscientiousness.²⁷ The translation, “eager,” of the NAB takes Acts 15 into account, which delays the collection until after the so-called Second Missionary Journey. The simplest hypothesis is that Gal 2:10 refers to Paul’s successful completion of the Galatian collection for Jerusalem just after the Jerusalem conference on his way to the province of Asia.²⁸

1 Corinthians supports the translation of ἐσπούδασα in Gal 2:10, as “I hastened.” In 1 Cor 16:1, the καὶ in the phrase, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιήσατε (“you *also* should do”), implies that the Galatians had already done as Paul had instructed, otherwise the Corinthians could not *also* do it. Since Paul hastened to raise the collection in Galatia and instructed the Corinthians to do likewise, the more probable explanation is that Paul passed through Galatia on his way from the Jerusalem Conference to Ephesus (and the writing of 1 Corinthians) and had sent accredited delegates from the Galatian churches to Jerusalem with a collection. This helps to explain why Paul argued his independence of the church in Jerusalem in the first two chapters of Galatians; he had already completed the Galatian collection for the poor.

The collections can now be reconstructed from start to finish, rather than charting its course from its imminent completion in Romans backwards. At the Jerusalem Conference, Paul and Barnabas receive the right hand of fellowship from the pillars of the church and are encouraged to send money to the poor in Jerusalem from their respective missionary work among the Gentiles. Passing through Galatia, Paul hastens to remember the poor and sends accredited delegates with letters to Jerusalem. From the province of Asia, he sends 1 Corinthians to Corinth instructing the Corinthians to start setting aside money for Jerusalem. When he arrives in the fall as planned, the Corinthians have

²⁷ BDAG, σπουδάζω.

²⁸ Knox is very circumspect about locating the letters in sequence. Nonetheless, he locates 1 Thessalonians before the Jerusalem Conference and 1 Corinthians after it. Knox, *Chapters*.

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not punished the Incestuous Man of 1 Corinthians 5 and Paul does not begin the collection. When news reaches Paul that this man has repented, he sends Titus to begin the Corinthian collection in earnest and promises a double visit to Corinth. Titus begins the collection with some success but is interrupted by the arrival of the False Apostles who insult Paul. Titus returns to Paul without the collection but with news of scurrilous interlopers in Corinth. Paul writes 2 Corinthians 10-13, the Tearful Letter, in response. Titus delivers the Tearful Letter; the Corinthians receive him with fear and trembling and punish the Offender, *faute de mieux*. Paul changes his travel plans and goes to Macedonia, where the Macedonians volunteer to initiate their own collection for Jerusalem. Titus finds Paul in Macedonia and delivers the good news of Corinthian obedience. Paul writes 2 Corinthians 1-9 defending his honor and calling for the completion of the collection. In Romans, Paul reports that he has successfully raised funds from Achaia and Macedonia.

The itineraries of Philippians and 2 Corinthians 10-13 and 1-9 cohere on the basis of this reconstruction. 2 Corinthians 10-13 fits the expectations of the Tearful Letter as reconstructed on the basis of its role in the interruption of the Corinthian collection and in Paul's change in travel plans. In 2 Cor 1:8-11, Paul refers to a recent "affliction in Asia." This "death sentence" can be identified as the situation of Philippians (imprisonment and the possibility of death).²⁹ Paul did not wait for Titus in Asia, because he did not want to tarry there upon his release from prison.³⁰ In Philippians, Paul makes no mention of the collection (since it has not yet begun) and is about to make his third visit to Macedonia. Therefore, Philippians postdates 2 Corinthians 10-13 and predates 2 Corinthians 1-9. On the basis of this reconstruction of the collections for Jerusalem we are able to support the following sequence of letters: 1 Corinthians; 2 Corinthians 10-13; Philippians; 2 Corinthians 1-9; and Romans. Unfortunately for scholars interested in sequence, Paul mentions no travel plans in Galatians so that letter cannot be located on the basis of such plans. Since both Gal 2:10 and 1 Cor 16:1-4 presuppose that the Galatian collection for Jerusalem was

²⁹ For a standard discussion of the Ephesian Captivity Hypothesis, see Werner Georg Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1975) 324-32.

³⁰ For example, see Furnish, *2 Corinthians*, 55.

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successfully accomplished, Galatians must post-date 1 Corinthians on the basis of references to the collection. The Galatians would not be an example to follow in 1 Cor 16:1-4 if the Galatian crisis had broken out in the interval between Paul's visit to Galatia and the writing of 1 Corinthians in Asia. The results of the arguments of this chapter confirm the intertextual arguments of the preceding chapters.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

The reader will have noticed that this study assumes the use of Ockham's razor (the principle of hypothetical parsimony) throughout: *entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*. A necessary corollary for our work is that we begin with the evidence at hand, namely, the undisputed letters of Paul. Although the evidence is indeed incomplete, hypotheses can only begin to be formulated assuming that the evidence at hand is sufficient. To assume otherwise is a counsel of despair. Paul's letters give us glimpses of very short periods of Paul's life. History is not an exact science, but the attempt to give the most plausible, comprehensive, coherent, and economical account of the evidence of the past in terms of cause and effect. If one asks about the situation of a single letter of Paul's, *ipso facto* one asks about the situation of them all. Looking at the larger picture can correct our reconstructions of the situation of a given letter. Refusal to do so rejects the hermeneutical circle.

These arguments about sequence are not ends in themselves, but rather constructive illuminations of the radical contingency and substantial diversity of Paul's argumentation. They not only solve an old historical problem but also integrate Pauline biography and theology by using the same principles to assemble the pieces of the jigsaw puzzle that were used to disassemble them in the first place—historical contingency, the secondary character of Acts, and the demure reconstruction of opponents. In other words, I am merely applying the insights gained in the last thirty years of Pauline Studies in this monograph to the question of the sequence of letters and visits.¹

¹ And in chap. 5, I examine the neglected role of Titus in the Corinthian collection for Jerusalem.

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Locating Galatians is the crux of the matter. Interposing Galatians between 2 Corinthians 10-13 and Philippians respects the historical and theological integrity of Paul's letters: 1 Thessalonians; 1 Corinthians; 2 Corinthians 10-13; Galatians; Philippians; 2 Corinthians 1-9; and Romans. (Philemon remains unplaced.) On the one hand, Galatian issues, arguments, and motifs should not be retrojected into earlier letters, since the rhetoric of these letters differs substantially from that of Galatians. On the other hand, Galatian motifs are reused in later letters in an *ad hoc* manner so that Galatians cannot be considered a system of doctrine. In this way, the letters themselves are woven together; the rhetoric and situations of the letters form a coherent and integrated whole.

Precisely by allowing Paul's thinking to be innovative, creative, and responsive to its particular historical context, we gain a better view of understanding the Apostle's letters as (contextual) theology. By asking of Paul the same pragmatic and practical questions we would of any missionary—concerning money, authority, and travel—we have a better chance of contextualizing his thought. I hope the reader has not only been convinced of a new sequence for Paul's letters and journeys, but of a new way of reading Paul's undisputed letters *as a whole*. The richness of Paul's thinking should not be held captive by the straight-jacket of synthesis, but set free by the multiple nuances of concrete responses to divers circumstances. I hope this study provides a spring-board for discussion, new hypotheses, and new studies.

Relation of the Proposed Reconstruction to Acts

If one were so inclined, one could, to a certain extent, correlate the travels of Paul in the letters with the itineraries of Acts, with the aid of simple addition.² Travels found only in Paul's letters (e.g., the three years in Arabia-Gal 1:17-18) could be inserted into the itineraries of Acts; travels found only in Acts (e.g., the so-called First Missionary Journey-Acts 13:1-14:28) could be added to the list of Paul's journeys found in his letters. Indeed, at points there is even a kind of gratifying overlap. For example, Apollos goes to Corinth in Acts 19:1 between Paul's first and second visits there just as is presupposed in 1 Cor 1:12.

² For example, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J., "Paul," in *NJBC*, 1329-37.

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1 Cor 16:19 presupposes that Prisca and Aquila are in Ephesus and are known to the Corinthians; Acts 18:18-19 narrates that Priscilla and Aquila went from Corinth to Ephesus at just the right time. Nevertheless, simple addition does not always work. For example, in 1 Thess 3:1-2, Paul and Silvanus send Timothy to Thessalonica from Athens, whereas in Acts 17:14-15, Silas and Timothy remain in Beroea and Paul summons them to Athens. Thus, correlation by mathematics can cover some but not all of the cases.

The major issues concerning the relation of the sequence of journeys proposed in this study and the itineraries of Acts are the journeys to Jerusalem on the one hand and the journeys to Achaia and Macedonia on the other. In Acts, Paul makes four (or five) visits to Jerusalem:

Call Visit:	Acts 9:26-29
Famine Relief Visit:	Acts 11:29-30, 12:25
Conference Visit:	Acts 15:1-12
Implicit Visit:	Acts 18:22b
Final Visit:	Acts 21:15-23:30

Paul's letters, on the contrary, only permit three visits: the visit three years after his Call (Gal 1:17-18), the Conference Visit (Gal 2:1), and the proposed Final Visit to deliver the Achaian and Macedonian Collections (Rom 15:31). The first and the final visits correlate without problem. The Famine Relief Visit is excluded by Gal 1:18-2:1. Therefore, either Acts 15 is in the proper sequence and Acts 18:22b is unhistorical or *vice versa*. John Knox correctly solved this puzzle.³ The Jerusalem Conference of Acts 15 fits the narrative sequence of Acts and Lucan theology, but not the relative chronology of the letters. By locating the Conference in Acts 15, rather than in Acts 18:22b, Luke places Paul's independent ministry clearly under the aegis of the church united in all things and centered upon the apostles in Jerusalem. Assuming Marcan priority, Luke does something similar in moving the Rejection in Nazareth pericope (Mk 6:1-6, Mt 13:53-58) to the opening of Jesus' ministry in Lk 4:16-30 for narrative/theological reasons. Or again, compare the pericope of the repentant woman anointing Jesus in Lk 7:36-50 with the prophetic woman of Mk 14:3-11, Mt 26:6-16 (or Mary of Bethany in Jn 12:1-8).

³ Knox, *Chapters*, 69-73.

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A vital consequence of relocating Acts 15 after Acts 18:22b is that the evangelization of Macedonia and Achaia (and the writing of 1 Thessalonians) now precede the Jerusalem conference. In 1 Cor 16:1-9, the journey presupposed moves from Jerusalem, to Galatia, and then to Asia. Gal 2:1-14 and Acts 18:22-23 both imply the journey from Jerusalem, to Antioch, and then to Galatia. Of course, the biggest problem of all is that Acts, which makes no mention of Paul's collection for Jerusalem, requires Paul both to delay the collection, for no apparent reason, and then to begin it several years later, for no apparent reason. The simpler hypothesis is that Luke has creatively rearranged and reworked his source material.

In Acts, Paul makes two journeys to Macedonia and Achaia; Paul's letters require three. Where in Acts do we locate the missing journey? Paul made the interim journey to Macedonia and Achaia sometime during the period covered by Acts 19:1-20. Since Paul arrives in Asia in Acts 19:1 and his final journey to Macedonia and Achaia begins in Acts 19:21, the interim journey evidently falls here. Indeed, Paul sends Timothy and Erastus to Macedonia in Acts 19:22 and hopes to send Timothy to Philippi in Phil 2:19. Thus the major puzzles of correlating the proposed reconstruction of Paul's journeys with the itineraries of Acts are not particularly difficult to solve.

Acts was not written to provide background for Paul's letters; the information in Acts useful for reconstructing the period in which the letters were written is jejune, to say the least. 1 Thessalonians was written during Acts 18:1-17. 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians 10-13, Galatians, and Philippians were written in the period covered by Acts 19:1-21. 2 Corinthians 1-9 can be correlated with Acts 20:1-2, Romans with v. 3. While one could derive some useful conclusions from conflating these data, they would be at best, clearly supplementary.

Paul's Career Reconstructed from
the Undisputed Letters

(with the order of letters indicated by italics)

- Paul persecutes the church in Damascus (1 Cor 15:9, Gal 1:13, Phil 3:6).
- Jesus appears to Paul (1 Cor 9:1, 15:8, Gal 1:16).

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- Paul preaches in Arabia and returns to Damascus after three years (Gal 1:17).
- Paul escapes from Damascus (2 Cor 11:32-33). He goes to Jerusalem to confer with Cephas and also speaks with James (Gal 1:18-19).
- Paul preaches in Syria and Cilicia (Gal 1:21); he evangelizes Galatia, Macedonia, and Achaia with Silvanus and Timothy (1 Thess 1:1, Gal 4:18, 2 Cor 1:19).
- Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy found the church in Philippi; Paul is badly treated in Philippi (Phil 1:3-6, 1 Thess 2:2).
- Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy found the church in Thessalonica (1 Thess 1:1-5).
- At the end of his first stay in Thessalonica, Paul receives a personal gift from the Philippians (Phil 4:15-16).
- From Athens, Paul and Silvanus send Timothy to Thessalonica, and he returns with news of the Thessalonian situation (1 Thess 3:1-6).
- Paul, with Silvanus and Timothy, sends *1 Thessalonians* to address the issue of Christians who have died before the parousia (1 Thess 4:13-5:11) and to encourage the church in the midst of afflictions (1 Thess 1:3).
- Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy found the church in Corinth (1 Cor 1:14-16, 3:10, 4:15, 2 Cor 1:19).
- Subsequently, Apollos is active in Corinth (1 Cor 1:12, 3:4-6, 22, 4:6, cf. 16:12).
- Paul goes to Jerusalem with Barnabas and takes Titus along. A private meeting with the pillars of the church in Jerusalem is interrupted by false brethren who want Titus to be circumcised; he is not. The pillars recognize Paul and Barnabas as apostles and ask them to collect money for poor Christians in Jerusalem (Gal 2:1-10).
- Paul and Barnabas go to Antioch. Cephas arrives and eats with Gentile Christians. Some people from James arrive and point out that Cephas' conduct could cause public relations problems with non-Christian Jews in Jerusalem. Cephas withdraws from table-fellowship with Gentile Christians. Barnabas and other Jewish Christians follow Cephas' example. Paul rebukes Cephas for dividing the church (Gal 2:11-14).
- Paul initiates and completes the collection for Jerusalem in Galatia, and sends the money to Jerusalem with representatives of the Galatian churches (Gal 2:10, 1 Cor 16:1).

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- Paul writes the (lost) *Previous Letter* to Corinth concerning association with Christians who engage in misconduct (1 Cor 4:9).
- Paul sends Timothy to Corinth, probably *via* Macedonia (1 Cor 4:17, 16:10-11).
- Paul “fights with wild beasts” in Ephesus (1 Cor 15:22).
- Paul receives news of the situation in Corinth. Chloe’s people inform him of baptismal rivalry (1 Cor 1:11-12). Paul receives a letter from Corinth concerning (at least) questions of marriage and celibacy (1 Cor 7:1). Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus arrive (1 Cor 16:15). Paul receives unidentified oral information concerning a Christian who married his step-mother (1 Cor 5:1) and divisions at the Lord’s Supper (1 Cor 11:18).
- Paul, with Sosthenes, sends *1 Corinthians* in response to the news of the various problems in Corinth—baptismal rivalry (1 Corinthians 1-4), the case of the incestuous man (1 Corinthians 5), law suits in civil court (1 Cor 6:1-11), sexual misconduct/prostitution (1 Cor 6:12-20), marriage and celibacy (1 Corinthians 7), food offered to idols (1 Corinthians 8-10), abuses at worship (1 Corinthians 11-14), and the question of the bodily resurrection (1 Corinthians 15). He plans to stay in Ephesus until Pentecost and then to travel to Corinth *via* Macedonia (1 Cor 16:5). He makes simple arrangements for the collection, but is uncertain of going to Jerusalem to accompany it (1 Cor 16:1-4).
- Timothy presumably arrives in Corinth (1 Cor 16:10-11).
- Paul goes from Ephesus to Corinth *via* Macedonia in fulfillment of the plans in 1 Cor 16:5 (2 Cor 2:1, 12:13-16, 12:20-13:2). In Thessalonica, he receives his second gift from the Philippians (Phil 4:16).
- In Corinth, he discovers that some have not stopped engaging in the sexual misconduct he had condemned in 1 Cor 5:1-13 and 6:12-20 (2 Cor 12:20-13:2). A delegation from a Macedonian church other than Philippi (Thessalonica?) brings him a gift of money (2 Cor 11:7-9). He threatens that on his next visit he will not spare the unrepentant and leaves without completing the collection as he had planned (1 Cor 16:1-4; 2 Cor 12:20-13:2, 8:1-6).
- Paul goes to somewhere in Asia (2 Cor 1:15-16, 2:12-13, 7:5).
- Paul receives news that the incestuous man of 1 Corinthians 5 has repented. He sends Titus and another brother to Corinth to begin the collection in earnest (2 Cor 8:6, 10-11, 9:2, 12:18). At the same

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time, he boasts to Titus of the Corinthians' obedience and promises the Corinthians the "double grace" of two collection visits (2 Cor 1:15-16). He now plans on accompanying the completed collection to Jerusalem.

- Titus enjoys considerable success in organizing the collection during the calendar year preceding the writing of 2 Corinthians 1-9 (2 Cor 8:2, 10-11, 9:2).
- The False Apostles arrive in Corinth with a commendatory letter (2 Cor 2:5-11, 17, 3:1, 5:12, 7:11-12, 10:7, 10-12, 11:18); they accuse Paul of financial impropriety (2 Cor 11:7-12, 12:14-18).
- Titus returns to Paul with the bad news.
- Paul sends *2 Corinthians 10-13—the Tearful Letter* from somewhere in Asia (by the hand of Titus) commending himself against the False Apostles, and threatening a punitive visit in response (2 Cor 13:1-4). On this visit, he claims that he will not ask for money (2 Cor 11:7-12, 12:13-18), but will punish "those who sinned beforehand and have not repented" of their sexual misconduct (2 Cor 12:21, 13:2). Fourteen years previously, he had visited the third heaven/paradise (2 Cor 12:1-5).
- Paul receives news of the agitators for circumcision in Galatia. Paul sends *Galatians* in response, but does not go to Galatia.
- Paul, in prison, receives a personal gift from the Philippians brought by Epaphroditus (Phil 1:7, 13-14, 2:25, 4:18). Paul sends a (lost) *Thank-You Note*, which also informs the Philippians that Epaphroditus is ill (Phil 2:26-27). When Epaphroditus recovers, Paul sends him back with *Philippians*, which urges the "noble yokefellow" to help Euodia and Syntyche to come to terms (Phil 2:3) and informs them of the dispute in Galatia (Philippians 3) as well as some other dispute (Phil 1:15-18—the False Apostles in Corinth?).
- Paul goes to Troas instead of Corinth (2 Cor 1:15-16, 2:1-2, 12:19). He does not tarry in Asia upon his release from prison because of the "affliction in Asia" (2 Cor 1:8-11). He does not want to visit Corinth without first receiving from Titus news of the success or failure of the Tearful Letter. Paul proceeds to Macedonia (2 Cor 2:13, 7:5).
- The False Apostles depart from Corinth with a commendatory letter (2 Cor 3:1, 7:13-15).

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- Titus is received with fear and trembling by the Corinthians (2 Cor 7:13-15), who punish the Offender—the repentant incestuous man of 1 Corinthians 5—in response to the Tearful Letter (2 Cor 2:6, 7:11).
- Paul, with Timothy, sends 2 *Corinthians* 1-9 from Macedonia by the hand of Titus and two brothers (2 Cor 8:6, 16-24) to finalize the reconciliation with the Corinthians and complete the interrupted collection. He defends his change of travel plans, overturns the Corinthians' punishment of the Offender, commends his ministry against the False Apostles again. He plans to visit Corinth himself on the way to Jerusalem with the collection (2 Cor 9:5).
- Paul goes to Corinth. He completes the Macedonian and Achaian collection and plans to take them to Jerusalem (Rom 15:25-27). He sends *Romans* reworking Galatians in a more irenic direction (Romans 1-4), rejecting libertinism as a necessary consequence of freedom from the Law (Romans 5-8), and dealing with inappropriate behavior toward non-Christian Jews (Romans 9-11, especially 11:13-24) and toward Jewish Christians who observe the Law (Romans 14). He plans to visit Rome on his way to Spain (Rom 15:22-24, 26-28). Timothy sends greetings, but is not a co-sender of the letter (Rom 1:1, 16:21).

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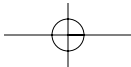
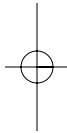
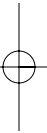
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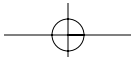
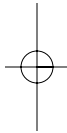
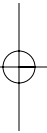
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