GALATIANS 2:11–21 AND THE INTERPRETIVE CONTEXT OF "WORKS OF THE LAW"

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Christian theologians throughout church history have unanimously interpreted Gal 2:15–21 as a polemic against Peter's actions in Antioch recorded in 2:11–14. This traditional interpretation sees Peter implying works righteousness through his withdrawal from table fellowship with the Gentiles, hence Paul's confrontation of Peter and his subsequent argument in Gal 2:15–21 about justification coming through faith in Christ, not works of the law. The phrase "works of the law" in 2:16 has been understood as what Paul attributes to Peter in Antioch. Hence, "works of the law" refers to either meritorious works in general, or to works commanded in Torah.¹

In recent decades, advocates of the New Perspective on Paul (henceforth, "NPP") have subjected Gal 2:11–21 to a new reading. The effect of this new reading (explained in the next section) has resulted in a new understanding of the Antioch incident and, in particular, Paul's response to it. Most importantly, this new reading has prompted a new understanding of the phrase "works of the law" in Gal 2:16, which has been foundational for the NPP, especially in the work of J. D. G. Dunn and N. T. Wright. The purpose of this paper is first to demonstrate how Wright and Dunn rely on Gal 2:16 for their particular understanding of "works of the law," and subsequently to propose a new reading of 2:11–21, which, if correct,

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¹ The "meritorious works in general" position is mostly held by the Reformed tradition, and was classically stated by Martin Luther, who said, "works of the law" refers to good works in general, "that which is contrary to grace" (Martin Luther, *A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* [Bristol: Burleigh, 1953] 128); so also John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Epistles of Paul to the Galatians and Ephesians* (ed. Charles William Bingham; 23 vols.; Calvin's Commentaries vol. 21 (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2009) 68–69; William Perkins, *A Commentary on Galatians* (ed. Gerald T. Sheppard; Pilgrim Classic Commentaries; New York: Pilgrim, 1989) 102; Herman N. Ridderbos, *The Epistle of Paul to the Churches of Galatia* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1953) 99–100; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982) 137–38; Leon Morris, *Galatians: Paul's Charter of Christian Freedom* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1996) 85–86.

Those who interpret "works of the law" as works commanded in Torah are Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (trans. F. R. Larcher; Aquinas Scripture Series; Albany, NY: Magi Books, 1966) 54; John Eadie, *Commentary on the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1894) 164–65; Joseph Barber Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*. A Revised Text with Introduction, Notes, and Dissertations (6th ed.; London: Macmillan & Co., 1880) 114; Charles F. Hogg and William E. Vine, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1922) 88; George Simpson Duncan, *The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians* (MNTC; London: Camelot, 1944) 65; R. C. H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistles to the Galatians, to the Ephseians and to the Philippians* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1937) 105–6; Donald Guthrie, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Calatians* (Rermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979) 117; Richard N. Longenecker, *Galatians* (WBC 41; Dallas: Word, 1990) 86; G. Walter Hansen, *Galatians* (IVPNTC; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1994) 69; Thomas R. Schreiner, *Galatians* (ZECNT; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2010) 161.

would create a need for NPP advocates to reassess how they define "works of the law."

I. DUNN AND WRIGHT ON GALATIANS 2:16

Dunn and Wright are leaders among the various streams of the NPP.² Both Dunn and Wright rely on the polemical context of "works of the law" in Gal 2:16 for their understanding of the phrase. More specifically, they rely upon understanding the phrase polemically against Peter's actions in 2:11-14. Dunn defines "works of the law" as "what the law required of Israel as God's people. Works of the law, in other words, were what Israel's righteousness consisted of, Israel's part of the covenant which Yahweh had made with Israel in first choosing Israel as his special people 'Works of the law' is the Pauline term for 'covenantal nomism'...."3 Dunn believes the phrase in Gal 2:16 denotes the attitudes Paul has opposed in Gal 2:1–15 and that Paul in 2:16 is attempting to persuade Peter that no one can be justified by works of the law.⁴ The idea is therefore tied directly to the Antioch incident that "works of the law" are "not deeds done to attain righteousness, but commandments of the law practiced in order to maintain covenant righteousness, not least by separation from Gentiles."5 If this is the case, then Paul's threefold use of "works of the law" in 2:16 is polemical against Peter's actions in Antioch. Peter was attempting to maintain covenant righteousness by observing food laws and separating from the Gentiles.⁶ This understanding of "works of the law" is thus sociological rather than soteriological, the latter being the traditional understanding. Peter was not implying that one becomes righteous through "works of the law," but he was attempting to maintain the covenant righteousness which he already possessed by avoiding ritual defilement. Most importantly, Dunn then exports this understanding of "works of the law" to the rest of Galatians, assuming the same meaning in 3:2, 5, and 10.7 He subsequently exports the meaning to Romans, where he considers "works" to be shorthand for "works of the Law," although he does provide contextual arguments to coincide with this new understanding.8

Similarly, for Wright, the phrase "works of the law" does not denote the meritorious works "which the Reformation tradition loves to hate," but rather, "they are the things that divide Jew from Gentile: specifically, in the context of this passage (and we have no right to read Gal 2:16 other than in the context of

² See James D. G. Dunn, *The New Perspective on Paul* (rev. ed.; Grand Rapid: Eerdmans, 2008); N. T. Wright, *Justification: God's Plan & Paul's Vision* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2009). NPP advocates differ on various topics, such as Paul's treatment of the law and how to define "justification." For a solid treatment, see Stephen Westerholm, *Perspectives Old and New on Paul: The "Lutheran" Paul and His Critics* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004).

³ James D. G. Dunn, The Theology of Paul the Apostle (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 355.

⁴ Ibid. 359.

⁵ Ibid. 360.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ See ibid. 360-62.

⁸ Dunn, *New Perspective on Paul* 56, n. 224. See also ibid. 25–28 for Dunn's own account of Gal 2:11–21 as a foundation for understanding "works of the law."

Gal 2:11–15) the 'works of the law' which specify, however different Jewish groups might have put it at the time, that 'Jews do not eat with Gentiles.'''⁹ Wright's words demonstrate his certainty that ''works of the law'' in Gal 2:16 must be interpreted within the context of the Antioch incident. Dunn even critiques the traditional interpretation of ''works of the law'' by arguing it ''hardly does justice to the concerns which must have weighed with Peter in the Antioch incident.''¹⁰ Thus, Gal 2:16, interpreted polemically against Peter's actions in 2:11–14, is a foundational pillar for the NPP's understanding of what Paul means by ''works of the law.''

In sum, the NPP deviates from the traditional interpretation of 2:11–21 by understanding Peter's actions at Antioch as an attempt to maintain covenant righteousness, which was a sociological issue rather than a soteriological one. However, they presuppose, along with the traditional view, that 2:15–21 is polemical against Peter. If Peter's actions were sociological and Paul describes Peter's actions as "works of the law," then it follows that "works of the law" is a sociological issue.

Our thesis is that Gal 2:15–21 is not aimed polemically at Peter, but at the Galatian opponents.¹¹ The three arguments to support this thesis are outlined as follows. (1) Peter's actions were sociologically, not soteriologically motivated. In this we agree with Dunn in particular, but we will argue that Peter's fault was fear-induced, implied ethnocentrism, rather than an attempt to maintain covenant right-eousness as Dunn argues. If Peter's actions were not soteriologically motivated, then we have less reason to believe that 2:16, which denies justification through works of the law, is aimed at Peter. (2) Paul's quotation to Peter does not continue beyond 2:14. This exceptical decision has created problems through the centuries, and if Paul's quotation extends beyond 2:14, then he is speaking (at least) 2:15–16 directly to Peter's face, which would invalidate our thesis. (3) Building upon the first two arguments, 2:15–16 functions to transition from Paul's defense of his apostolic authority to resuming his polemic against the Galatian opponents, which he left off in 1:9 to begin his autobiographical defense. We will argue for each of these three assertions in turn.

⁹ Wright, Justification 117.

¹⁰ Dunn, New Perspective on Paul 27, n. 102. This critique is aimed at Seyoon Kim.

¹¹ Since the term "Judaizer" can be confusing, especially given Paul's use of 'Iou $\delta \alpha' \zeta \omega$ in 2:14, the term "opponent" is more appropriate since they appear in the letter as opposing Paul's apostolic authority.

II. PETER'S IMPLIED ETHNOCENTRISM IN ANTIOCH12

Prior to the NPP, it was assumed that Paul rebuked Peter for teaching (through implication) works righteousness to the Gentiles. The phrase "how can you compel the Gentiles to live like a Jew ($iou\delta\alpha i\zeta\epsilon_{IV}$)" might suggest that Peter was compelling the Gentiles to convert to Judaism to be saved. Some additionally argue that Paul includes the Antioch incident in the letter because of its relevance to the Galatian situation: both Peter and the Galatian opponents were compelling Gentile Christians to fully convert to Judaism. Moreover, interpreters have assumed 2:15–21 is polemical against Peter, which means Peter was teaching justification by works of the law. However, each of these reasons is problematic and will be addressed in turn. Evidence will also be provided that Peter's actions were motivated by fear of zealous, Jewish Christians in Palestine who were persecuting Jews who fraternized with Gentiles, such as in table fellowship.

1. Galatians 2:11-14 as a defense of apostolic authority. Based upon the structure of Galatians 1-2, it would be incorrect to state that Paul includes the Antioch episode in the letter because of the relevance to the situation in Galatia.¹³ Such an assumption would lead the reader to understand the Antioch episode in light of the issue of works righteousness being espoused by Paul's opponents in Galatia. Under this assumption, Paul includes the episode in order to take a shot at his Galatian opponents, who stand condemned like Peter. But this interpretation does not fit the structure of Galatians 1-2. Paul quickly brings up the issue of abandoning the gospel in Galatia in 1:6 and concludes in 1:9 that they should accept no other gospel than his. But in verse 10, Paul shifts to the defensive. He recognizes that his apostolic authority has been challenged by his opponents in Galatia (1:7, 11), and he must defend his authority before he can make any arguments against the doctrine of the opponents. Any attempt to argue from Scripture before he had established his authority would have been fruitless if he had already been discredited in the eyes of the Galatians. Perhaps this is why he begins with emotive appeals in 1:6-9 rather than arguments, attempting to jar his audience a bit before proceeding to defend himself.

Thus, having expressed his emotional shock and having startled his audience, he begins his autobiographical, apostolic defense. The defense seeks to establish the equality of his authority with the Jerusalem apostles, including Peter. This point is important, since the opponents seem to have appealed to the authority of the

¹² Since the view of Origen and Chrysostom was an anomaly and has had no favor since their time, except through a few sporadic proponents, it will not be considered here. This view held that Paul and Peter staged the event in Antioch so they could teach a lesson about salvation through faith alone. For a summary, see Joseph Barber Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. A Revised Text with Introduction, Notes, and Dissertations* (6th ed.; London: Macmillan & Co., 1880) 128–32. He shows how the debate ended with Jerome and Augustine, the former eventually tacitly accepting the view of Augustine, who believed the event was not staged (ibid. 131–32). See also Thomas Aquinas's very structured review of the debate in his *Commentary on Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (trans. F. R. Larcher; Aquinas Scripture Series; Albany, NY: Magi Books, 1966) 49–52.

¹³ Contra Timothy George, Galatians (NAC; Nashville: B&H, 1994) 187; Wright, Justification 114.

Jerusalem apostles over Paul's. One can imagine their arguments: Paul did not even see the risen Christ; James still allows for circumcision and follows the laws meticulously; Paul used to kill Christians; Paul's theology is dependent on the Jerusalem apostles and like a poor disciple he has distorted it. These seem to be at least some of the charges to which Paul is responding with solemn oaths (1:20). Before Paul may respond to the opponents' teaching with Scripture, he fights for the legitimacy of his apostleship apart from the authority of Jerusalem.

Paul continues in 2:1–10 to note that, not only was his authority and gospel given directly from the risen Christ and, thus, independently of Jerusalem (1:12), but the Jerusalem apostles even approved his gospel. Paul makes the point while carefully distancing himself from the appearance that he needed their approval (2:6, 8, 10). Having demonstrated his independence of the apostles, his direct commission from the risen Christ, and the apostles' approval of his gospel, Paul further strengthens his defense in 2:11–14. Paul's authority was such that he was not afraid to oppose even Peter when he erred from the truth of the gospel—Peter, the very foundation of the church and closest apostle to Jesus, to whose authority the opponents were probably appealing.

Thus, in the autobiographical defense, Paul seeks only to demonstrate the validity of his apostolic authority. Not until he has established this authority may he address the circumcision issue with the Galatians. He does not include the episode because it related to the Galatian situation through the issue of worksrighteousness.¹⁴ This means that, according to structure, there is no reason to read works-righteousness into the Antioch episode by supposing Paul used it to refute the Galatians.¹⁵ What then was it about?

2. "Hypocrisy," not heresy. The Antioch episode was about hypocrisy (ὑπόκρισις, 2:13), not heresy. The word in Attic Greek meant "playing a stage role" and by Paul's time carried only negative connotations, meaning "to create a public impression that is at odds with one's real purposes or motivations."¹⁶ Peter hosted Paul in Jerusalem for fifteen days in years past (1:18). He also extended to Paul the right hand of fellowship after discussing the nature of the gospel as it relates to circumcision (2:10). Peter and Paul were in agreement about the nature of the gospel and there is no indication otherwise, whether in history or in the text of Galatians.

¹⁴ This understanding of 2:11–14 assumes Paul's quotation does not extend beyond at 2:14, which we will argue below. Those who assume Paul included the episode here because of its relevance to the Galatian situation wrongly presuppose that 2:15–21 is polemical against Peter without arguing for such.

¹⁵ Galatians 2:1–10 does involve pressure to circumcise Titus and Paul's refusal to do so in order that he may preserve the truth of the gospel. However, it seems unlikely that Paul's purpose in including this account is even secondarily to argue against circumcision. This would be to put the cart before the horse. Until he has demonstrated the validity of his authority, even recounting how he withstands pressure to include circumcision in the gospel is not an argument against it, just the opinion of an inferior "apostle." Paul includes the episode because he laid out his gospel before the Jerusalem pillars (2:1–2) and they perceived the grace of God in Paul and extended to him the right hand of fellowship (2:9). Thus, after laboring to prove that his gospel was not from man, but of divine origin (1:11–24), he adds that even the "greatest" apostles approved his gospel. Circumcision was only coincidentally the issue around which his authority was being questioned.

¹⁶ BDAG s.v. ὑπόκρισις.

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Peter's problem, however, was his gradual withdrawal from table fellowship with the Gentiles after "certain men from James" came to him (2:12).¹⁷ Even worse, the rest of the Jewish Christians were led astray by Peter so that a rift was created between Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians in the Antioch church.

What worse way to depict the implications of the gospel than blatant ethnocentrism in the church? The word "implied" is important, since Peter was not intending to portray some innate sense of ethnic superiority.¹⁸ Yet this is the message that Peter's actions sent to the Gentiles. In effect, Peter and his followers were communicating to the Gentiles that the Jews' ritually clean lifestyle was morally superior. They were also building back up the "dividing wall of hostility" that Christ had broken down in his flesh to make one united people of God (Eph 2:14; cf. Gal 3:28). Despite Peter and Paul's agreement on the theological aspects of the gospel, Paul found Peter's actions to be inconsistent with the implications of the gospel. This is what Paul means when he says that Peter and his followers were "not acting rightly in accordance with the truth of the gospel" (2:14).¹⁹ By arguing that Paul believed Peter's actions had sociological implications rather than soteriological implications, we are in agreement with Dunn and Wright. But, as noted earlier, we understand Peter's fault here to be fear-induced, implied ethnocentrism, rather than an attempt to maintain covenant righteousness.

3. Political and religious climate: the cause of Peter's hypocrisy. To further emphasize the hypocritical (as opposed to heretical) nature of Peter's actions, we note that Peter's actions resulted from fear of the circumcision party ($\tau o \dot{v} \zeta \dot{\epsilon} \kappa \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \tau o \mu \eta \zeta$, 2:12).²⁰ Peter acted in a manner inconsistent with his beliefs based on fear. The circumcision party is not to be equated with the "certain men from James" (2:12), since Paul gives no such indication that they are the same group or that Peter feared the men from James.²¹ Paul does not record the purpose of their visit from

¹⁷ The two imperfects ὑπέστελλεν and ἀφώριζεν (2:12) suggest that Peter did not make an abrupt break with Gentiles in table-fellowship, but rather he gradually receded over a period of time (Bruce, *Galatians* 131).

¹⁸ Peter "feared" (2:12) the effect of his ritual impurity because of the circumcision party. This is argued below.

¹⁹ Οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσιν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, taking πρός as standard (BDAG s.v. πρός §3.e.δ.). Cf. J. P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains* (2d ed.; 2 vols.; New York: United Bible Societies, 1989) §41.36: "when I saw that they were not living right, in conformity with the truth [of the gospel]." By "gospel," Paul does not always mean the basic truths laid out in 1 Cor 15:3–4. Paul's gospel is holistic and includes these truths (death, burial, resurrection), but also the implications that such truths have on the lives of believers. This is probably most evident from Rom 1:15, where he tells *believers* that he is eager to preach the gospel to them. Thus, to walk according to the truth of the gospel means to walk according to all the implications of what Christ has accomplished.

²⁰ "The circumcision party" assumes this was a group with similar values and goals. They were probably a ritually strict group of Jewish Christians in the Jerusalem church, not simply "those of the circumcision," meaning any Jews who were circumcised (E. Earle Ellis, "Paul and His Opponents," in *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity: New Testament Essays* [Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2003] 110).

²¹ Paul Barnett oversteps the text when he presumes that James sent the "certain men" (Gal 2:12) to inform Peter that he should force the Gentiles to be circumcised if they would be justified (*Missionary of*

James or their message, but recent scholarship has looked to the political and religious climate of the region for a plausible explanation. Ritually strict, zealous Jews (including ultra-conservative Jewish Christians) in the region were increasingly persecuting other Jews who fraternized with Gentiles.²² This was occasioned by the rising sense of Jewish nationalism both inside and outside of Palestine.²³

Jewish nationalism was fueled by growing threats to Jewish religion and traditions within their territories.²⁴ In AD 40, Caligula pushed for the erection of a statue of himself in the Jerusalem temple.²⁵ During the reign of Cumanus (AD 48–52), Josephus reports that more than 20,000 Jews were killed in their own riot which began from fear of Cumanus's soldiers during a Passover festival.²⁶ Cumanus's soldiers on another occasion slew a great number of Jewish nationalists after the latter had killed some Galileans.²⁷ It is therefore understandable that zealous Jews (cf. Paul's self-description in Acts 22:3; Gal 1:14) in Jewish territories, especially Jerusalem, could have been promoting Jewish nationalism and violently threatening those who were fraternizing with Gentiles. Josephus in fact states that after Festus came to Judea, the entire region was overrun with λησταί ("robbers"), whom he identifies with the *sicarii* ("dagger men, assassins").²⁸

Herod Agrippa, during his reign over Palestine from AD 41 to 44, persecuted the Jerusalem church. He executed James the son of Zebedee and imprisoned Peter (Acts 12:1–19). Josephus and the Mishna report that Herod Agrippa's intention was to find favor with Torah-zealous Jews.²⁹ In the fifties, the Zealots grew in power and began persecuting Jews who had any relations with Greeks or Romans.³⁰ Isolated rebellions by the Jews had occurred under the procurator Ventidius Cumanus (AD 48–52), but under Antonius Felix (AD 52–60) the persecution became intense. With this evidence considered (and the evidence given here is cer-

Jesus [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008] 145–46). Barnett has read this idea into the text by allowing his historical reconstruction to control his exegesis. See also Ellis, "Paul and His Opponents" 110, n. 102.

²² "Persecuting" is a general term which allows for verbal abuse, social ostracism, physical threats, or anything else that would create fear within Peter.

²³ This theory, as far as this author is aware, was first formulated by Bo Reicke in his article "Der geschichtliche Hintergrund des Apostelkonzils und der Antiochia-Episode, Gal 2,1–14," in *Studia Paulina in Honorem Johannes de Zwaan Septuagenarii* (Haarlem, Netherlands: De Erven F. Bohn, 1953) 172–87. It has been followed and further developed by Robert Jewett, "Agitators and the Galatian Congregation," *NTS* 17 (1971) 198–212; Bruce, *Galatians* 31; Longenecker, *Galatians* 74; James D. G. Dunn, "The Incident at Antioch (Gal 2:11–18)," JSNT 18 (1983) 3–57; Morris, *Galatians* 77; Hansen, *Galatians* 63.

²⁴ This was not, however, limited to Jewish territories. See the evidence provided by Dunn for the same phenomena outside Palestine in "The Incident at Antioch (Gal 2:11–18)," in *The Galatians Debate: Contemporary Issues in Rhetorical and Historical Interpretation* (ed. Mark D. Nanos; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002) 205.

²⁵ Philo, Legat. 184–338; Josephus, J. W. 2.184–85; Ant. 18.261ff.; Tacitus, Hist. 5.9 (ibid. 204).

²⁶ Ant. 20.106–12.

²⁷ Josephus, Ant. 20.118–22.

²⁸ Ant. 20.209-10 (noted by Dunn, "Incident at Antioch (Gal 2:11-18)" 204); Ant. 20.186.

²⁹ Josephus, Ant. 19.292–334; m. Bik. 3.4; m. Sot. 7:8 (noted by Reicke, Re-Examining Paul's Letters, The History of the Pauline Correspondence [ed. David P. Moessner and Ingalisa Reicke; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2001] 20).

³⁰ Ibid. 21.

tainly not exhaustive), James Dunn is probably correct when he says, "wherever this new Jewish sect's [i.e. Christianity] belief or practice was perceived to be a threat to Jewish institutions and traditions, its members would almost certainly come under pressure from their fellow Jews to remain loyal to their unique Jewish heritage."³¹

If Peter did succumb to fear of persecution by Jewish nationalists, then his actions were simply cowardly, although understandably so. Peter caved to the same sort of fear following Jesus' arrest. Alternatively, the "certain men from James" could have brought word to Peter that his table-fellowship with Gentiles was causing persecution for his fellow Jewish Christians in Jerusalem. His action, although still misguided, would then have been out of love for his brothers in Jerusalem.

If pressure from the Jewish nationalists was not yet physically intense, Peter's fear of the circumcision party could have been missiological in nature. Peter's breaking bread with Gentiles would be a serious stumbling block for any ritually strict Jew coming to faith in Jesus. This could have been the message from James's men. If so, then Peter attempted to employ Paul's "all things to all people" mission strategy by being a Jew to the Jews and withdrawing from table fellowship with the Gentiles. Whatever the case, it seems that rising Jewish nationalism was the cause of Peter's fear. Whether he feared physical persecution for himself or his Jerusalem brothers, or whether his actions were missiologically motivated, Peter's actions were not in line with the truth of the gospel. Despite the difficult situation in which Peter was found, Paul still rightly rebukes him for his behavior because they were inconsistent with Peter's belief; he was a hypocrite.

4. *Toubaiζειν: Total conversion or living like a Jew?* One may object that, according to the text, Paul believes that Peter was implying works-righteousness. After all, Paul asks Peter, "If you, though a Jew (Τουδαῖος ὑπάρχων), live as a Gentile (ἐθνικῶς) and not as a Jew (Γουδαϊκῶς), how can you compel the Gentiles to live like a Jew (ἰουδαίζειν)?" (Gal 2:14). The word could be the antonym of ἐθνικῶς and mean "to live like a Jew," or it could denote a total conversion to Judaism. If Paul meant by the word ἰουδαίζειν a total conversion to Judaism so that the convert was subject to the entire Mosaic law, Paul would have believed this forced conversion implied that the gospel was lacking and needed to be supplemented by the law (i.e. works-righteousness).³²

However, given the context, ໄουδαΐζειν should be understood as referring generally to living like a Jew, with special reference here to Jewish food laws. Paul's expressions of living ἐθνικῶς³³ and Ἰουδαϊκῶς³⁴ seem to refer only to neglecting and keeping food laws, respectively, since the issue at hand is Peter's behavior during

³¹ Dunn, "Incident at Antioch (Gal 2:11-18)" 206.

³² So Longenecker, *Galatians* 78; Betz, *Galatians* 112; Schreiner, *Galatians* 147; Frank J. Matera and Daniel J. Harrington, *Galatians* (SacPag; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992) 87–88; W. S. Campbell, "Judaizers," in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters* (ed. Gerald F. Hawthorne, Ralph P. Martin, and Daniel G. Reid; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1993) 512–16.

³³ "In the manner of the nations" (BDAG s.v. ἐθνικῶς).

³⁴ "In a Judean (Jewish) manner" (BDAG s.v. Ἰουδαϊκῶς).

meals.³⁵ The structure of the verse places ἐθνικῶς and ἰουδαΐζειν in parallel, suggesting they should be taken as antonyms. F. F. Bruce is also correct in believing Ἰουδαϊκῶς ζῆς and ἰουδαΐζειν to be synonymous.³⁶ Since, in the context, Ἰουδαϊκῶς ζῆς refers only to food laws, then ἰουδαΐζειν, being synonymous, should be similarly understood. Thus, Paul in effect asks Peter, "If you, though a Jew, neglect food laws (ἐθνικῶς) instead of keeping them (ἰουδαΐζειν), how can you compel the Gentiles to keep food laws (ἰουδαΐζειν)?"

Those who deny that ἰουδαΐζειν is strictly synonymous with Ἰουδαϊκῶς ζῆς argue from other occurrences of ἰουδαΐζειν that it refers to a total conversion to Judaism rather than the general "live in the Jewish way." However, in Josephus and the Septuagint, circumcision (the final step in total conversion) must be specified alongside the verb to denote total conversion. Josephus tells of Miletus's total conversion to Judaism in *Wars of the Jews* 2.454, stating that he is saved from execution by his promise to live as a Jew (ἰουδαΐζειν) "to the point of circumcision" (μέχρι περιτομῆς). Similarly, in Esther 8:17 LXX, many of the Gentiles "were circumcised and lived as Jews" (περιετέμοντο καὶ ἰουδάιζον). These two passages show that ἰουδαΐζειν denotes the general "live in a Jewish way" and must be qualified if the writer wants to specify circumcision specifically. Ignatius's use (*Magn.* 10:3) is later than Paul's and employed in a different context, and therefore should not be used to determine Paul's meaning.

Therefore, when Paul claims that Peter is compelling the Gentiles to live as Jews, he does not mean that Peter is compelling them to make a wholesale conversion to Judaism, thereby implying works righteousness. He is rather charging Peter with forcing the Gentiles to keep Jewish food laws if they wish to share table fellowship with him. Peter is a Jew and (normally) neglects the food laws by eating with Gentiles. This action is consistent with the vision given him by God in Acts 10:9–16. Peter's compulsion upon the Gentiles amounts to hypocrisy, not heresy.³⁷ If the conclusions deduced so far are correct, then nowhere in Gal 2:11–14 is there a hint that Paul thought Peter was teaching works-righteousness through his actions, explicitly or implicitly. Rather, Paul confronted Peter because he was teaching an implied ethnocentrism which was destroying the unifying effect of Christ's death. To reiterate, the issue was sociological, not soteriological.

5. Sociological, not soteriological: false dichotomy? One might object to drawing such a firm line between sociological and soteriological implications of Peter's actions. But one must ask how the various groups at Antioch would have perceived Peter's actions. Some of these Gentiles may have been God-fearers who knew the OT and the Jewish laws but who did not wholly commit to Judaism through obedience to ceremonial law. Others would have been complete pagans. For this Gentile audience, Paul's law-free gospel that he preached in Galatia drew in Gentiles who, for

³⁵ So Ernest De Witt Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* (ICC; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920) 111; Longenecker, *Galatians* 78; Matera and Harrington, *Galatians* 87; Lightfoot, *Galatians* 114.

³⁶ Bruce, Galatians 133.

³⁷ Rightly, Hansen, "Galatians, Letter to The," in Dictionary of Paul and His Letters 331.

the first time, could be included in the people of God without subjecting themselves to ceremonial portions of Torah. Even more, Jews who never before would have eaten with Gentiles now sit at the same table and call them brothers. Paul's law-free gospel elevated Gentiles to social and religious equality with Jews.

So how would the Gentiles, from whom Peter withdrew, have perceived his actions? It is highly unlikely they would have perceived his actions as communicating "circumcision is necessary for justification." This idea, read in from verses 15–16 and the Galatian situation, is foreign to the episode. It also seems unlikely they would have perceived his actions as communicating "Gentiles must maintain Jewish food laws in order to be justified." Peter was certainly communicating the Gentiles need to keep Jewish food laws in order to sit with the Jews, but this does not mean automatically that they believed Peter was implying they must do this for justification or for inclusion in the church. Peter did not pronounce them pagans or expel them from the church; he went to eat his meals elsewhere, away from the "unclean" Gentiles.

It seems more likely that the Gentiles would have been offended by Peter's actions and felt "snubbed," as if they were being demoted to second-class citizens within the church. Paul's gospel had eradicated these class distinctions and the unity that resulted was incredible—Jews and Gentiles at table together! Thus, Peter's actions communicated to the Gentiles that the social equality, for which Paul had fought so adamantly, was now void. Jews once again were first-class citizens in the kingdom of God, with Gentiles relegated to the "unclean" table "over there."

In light of this, it seems that, as already stated, Paul's concern was the devastating implications that Peter's actions had for the unity of the church. Paul, as an apostle to the Gentiles (Gal 2:9), had special concern that they be considered equal within the church (3:28).³⁸ The offering which Paul was collecting for Jerusalem demonstrates his concern for Jew-Gentile relations later in his ministry, and he frequently addressed this same issue in his letters (1 Corinthians 8; Romans 14). Therefore, a good case can be made that the implications of Peter's actions were perceived by the offended parties (Paul and the Gentiles) as sociological and, more specifically, as destroying the ethnically unifying message of the gospel. There do not seem to be indications within the context of 2:11–14 that Peter's actions implied to anyone they needed to be justified through keeping Torah. The issue was about what Peter was suggesting the Gentiles needed to do to be first-class citizens in the church, *not* what they needed to do to be justified.

If these conclusions are correct, then there is no *a priori* reason to believe Gal 2:15–21 is polemical against Peter. Paul's highly confessional and polemical statement in 2:16—that justification comes not through works of the law, but through faith in Christ—does not relate to what happened in Antioch. It does, however, relate to the contemporary situation in Galatia. At this point, then, it should not be assumed that 2:15–21 is polemical against Peter, and the possibility

³⁸ Of course, he still left a place for Jews as "first" in the salvation-historical sense (Rom 1:16). But this did not carry over into seating at meals, as if the best seats were reserved for the Jews.

exists that it might be a return to addressing the Galatian situation. But it is still possible that 2:15–16 is included in Paul's speech to Peter, which would invalidate our thesis, so we must argue that the speech does not extend beyond 2:14.

III. GALATIANS 2:14: THE END OF PAUL'S DIRECT SPEECH

If Paul's direct speech to Peter continues beyond Gal 2:14, then "works of the law" in 2:16 was addressed to Peter's face and must therefore be interpreted as directly polemical against Peter's actions.³⁹ Prior to the 1950s, interpreters unanimously believed Paul's speech continued beyond 2:14, finding the end variously at verse sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, or twenty-one.⁴⁰ In the last 60 years, however, scholars have almost unanimously found the speech to end at 2:14.⁴¹ Even Dunn and Wright find the speech to end at 2:14.⁴²

Hanz Betz's Galatians commentary has increased the likelihood that 2:14 is the end of Paul's speech and that 2:15–21 is its own unit. Betz applied rhetorical criticism to Galatians using Greco-Roman rhetoric and epistolography. ⁴³ He labeled 1:12–2:14 as the *narratio* and 2:15–21 as the *propositio*, which indicates both a structural and rhetorical break between 2:14 and 2:15.⁴⁴ Betz's structural analysis has been influential and provides one reason to see 2:14 as the end of the quotation.⁴⁵

Whether or not Paul intended to write Galatians with standard Greco-Roman rhetorical categories, Betz's classification of 2:15–21 as the *propositio* is quite accurate. This section, especially 2:16, puts forward succinctly the main contention of the following chapters: justification cannot be achieved through works of the law, but must come through faith in Christ. The Antioch episode has been understood as a springboard for Paul to launch his polemic against the Galatian opponents, but if our sociological reading of the situation is correct, then it is unlikely Paul uses the

³⁹ The speech would make no sense to conclude at the end of 2:15, and certainly 2:15–17 belongs together since Paul shifts from second person singular (2:14) to first person plural (2:15–17).

⁴⁰ Quote ends at verse 16: Luther, *Galatians* 143. Calvin, *Galatians and Ephesians* 70. Calvin sees the direct speech to the end of the verse, while Luther interestingly believes it ends just before the ὄτι-clause. Quote ends at verse 17: Lightfoot, *Galatians* 114; Duncan, *Galatians* 69. Both make this suggestion tentatively and base it on Paul's switch to the first person in 2:18. Quote ends at verse 18: Hogg and Vine William, *Galatians* 94. Quote ends at verse 21: Perkins, *Galatians* 116; Eadie, *Galatians* 159–61; Lenski, *Galatians* 102. Eadie states that most commentators take this position, presumably meaning during his time (1869).

⁴¹ Ridderbos, *Galatia* 98; Guthrie, *Galatians* 86; Betz, *Galatians* 114, n. 14; Bruce: "[Paul moves] smoothly from the personal occasion to the universal principle, from *Individualgeschichte* to *Weltgeschichte*" (*Galatians* 136); Longenecker, *Galatians* 81; Hansen, *Galatians* 68; Morris, *Galatians* 83. Schreiner is an exception, who finds the speech to run through 2:21 (*Galatians* 150).

⁴² Dunn, *Galatians* 132; Wright, *Justification* 115. However, Dunn believes 2:15–21 is a restatement of Paul's argument to the Jewish Christians at Antioch.

⁴³ Betz, Galatians 14.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 16-23.

⁴⁵ Richard Longenecker demonstrates the influence of Betz by following his rhetorical structure outright in Galatians 2 (*Galatians* 81).

episode in such a way. It is more likely, we believe, that 2:15–21 points forward (as a *propositio* does) rather than backward to the Antioch incident.

Thus, because Peter was not attempting to be justified by works of the law (or teaching such) there is no reason to suppose 2:16 is aimed at him, and rhetorical analysis suggests 2:15–21 acts as the letter's thesis to be unpacked in the following chapters, which address the Galatian opponents. Finally, we turn to our third reason why 2:15–21 is polemical against the opponents.

IV. GALATIANS 2:15–16: TRANSITION FROM APOSTOLIC DEFENSE TO GALATIAN POLEMIC

As William Walker has pointed out, Paul uses the first person plural in Galatians in three ways: (1) referring to all Christians, regardless of ethnicity (inclusive); (2) referring to Jewish Christians, but immediately using language afterward to include Gentiles in Galatia (implicitly inclusive); (3) referring to himself and perhaps one or more of his coworkers (exclusive).⁴⁶ The third usage (exclusive) always distinguishes Paul from other people and all uses occur prior to 2:11–14 (1:8–9; 2:4–5, 9–10). If Paul uses this third sense in 2:15, it is used by Paul to create a dichotomy. On the one hand, are "we Jews who know that we are justified by faith [alone]" (allowing 2:16 to qualify who Paul means by "we"). On the other hand are the "others," who in this case would be "Jews who do *not* know that we are justified by faith [alone]."⁴⁷ This exclusive use of "we" seems likely since (1) the same use occurs twice immediately prior to the passage (2:5–6, 9–10); and (2) it makes good sense of the passage.

Thus, with this exclusive sense of "we," Paul has transitioned from his apostolic defense, which ends with a quotation to Peter, to resuming in 2:15 his address of the Galatian situation. By "we," he most likely means himself and one or more of his coworkers who know that justification is by faith alone, which would include Peter. It has already been argued that Peter's contact with Paul and his extension of the right hand of fellowship in Jerusalem communicate theological agreement on the nature of the gospel between the two apostles.⁴⁸ Peter was not a heretic at Antioch but a hypocrite. Therefore, "we" in 2:15 can certainly include Peter, and we suggest this makes much more sense of the passage than the idea that Paul here pitted himself against Peter theologically.⁴⁹ But who would be the "others," who do not know that justification comes through faith [alone]? The "others" would be the

⁴⁶ William O. Walker, "Does the 'We' in Gal 2.15–17 Include Paul's Opponents?," NTS 49 (2003) 561.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 562.

⁴⁸ It is frequently noted that a number of "Paulisms" occur in 1 Peter, which further strengthens the contention that theological agreement existed between the two and perhaps theological influence occurred from one to the other during their historical meetings and discussions.

⁴⁹ The idea that Paul is pitting Peter against himself is too often read into 2:15–16 because of the remnants of F. C. Baur's thesis regarding a schism between Gentile Christianity (Paul) and Jewish Christianity (Peter), which was later reconciled in early Catholicism (the result of which is Luke's portrait of the church in Acts).

Galatian opponents, who teach that justification comes through full conversion to Judaism, including circumcision.

The effect is that Paul's apostolic defense does not end at 2:14 by showing his ability to confront Peter. Rather, he decides to end his apostolic defense by stating his theological agreement with a leading Jerusalem apostle, as he did in 2:1–10. At the same time, feeling that his authority has been adequately defended, Paul merges the conclusion of his defense with a return to the Galatians' situation in order to defend justification by faith apart from works of the law taught by the opponents. Now, however, Paul does not fight this theological battle alone as he began to do in 1:6–9. Peter, the Jerusalem pillar to whom the opponents were probably appealing, now stands at Paul's side. Thus, the use of the first person plural in 2:15–16 creates a dichotomy between, on the one hand, Paul and Peter, and on the other hand, the opponents; 2:15–16 also resumes the polemic against the opponents which began in 1:6–9.

From here, the logic of the following verses becomes clearer. In 2:17, Paul continues to speak polemically against the Galatian opponents. It is possible the opponents had been claiming that if Jewish Christians are justified by faith apart from the law in the same way as Gentiles, then Jewish Christians must also be labeled "sinners" as the Gentiles are (2:15). If the opponents were employing this argument, they were attempting to persuade the Galatians to be circumcised and avoid being labeled "sinners." This problematic verse makes much more sense as a counter of the opponents' teaching since Peter was not "seeking to be justified" at Antioch.⁵⁰ Paul's adamant declaration in 2:16 that justification comes by faith alone and not through works of the law is aimed against the opponents in Galatia, who were distorting the gospel (1:7) and causing the Galatians to desert it (1:6).

Verses 15–16 therefore act as a transition from the Antioch incident, but the fundamental point of our thesis is that verses 15–16 transition *forward* to the issue of the Galatian opponents, rather than transitioning to reflect *backward* on the Antioch incident. Most have seen it simultaneously pointing backward and forward, but we have argued there is no reason to see it pointing backward at Peter. By showing his authority to be on par with Peter's, and by then "redeeming" Peter by reminding the audience of their theological agreement, Paul has established his authority and is ready to begin launching his theological polemic against the teaching of the opponents.

1. Possible objection based on the grammatical structure of Gal 2:15–16a.⁵¹ It is possible that Dunn would object to our proposed understanding of 2:15–16a based upon his syntactical and text-critical decisions. Since there is no verb in verse 15, one must be supplied. Some interpreters supply $\dot{\epsilon}\sigma\mu\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ ("we are") and take it as a sepa-

⁵⁰ Contra Hansen (*Galatians* 71), the Antioch incident is probably not in view here. Hansen believes Peter and Paul are considered "sinners" because they share table fellowship with Gentiles and defile themselves, but Paul says that being found a sinner occurs "while seeking to be justified" (temporal $\zeta\eta\tau\sigma0\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, 2:17). It is definitely not the case that Peter was seeking to be justified by breaking table fellowship.

⁵¹ Appendix A contains sentence diagrams of the two grammatical proposals discussed.

rate sentence, while others supply ὄντες ("being") to take verses 15–16 as one sentence. Commentators unanimously understand εἰδότες ("knowing") in verse 16 to modify the indicative verb at the end of the verse, ἐπιστεύσαμεν ("we believe"). Dunn, however, supplies ἐσμέν in verse 15, takes the adverbial participle εἰδοτές in verse 16 as modifying the supplied ἐσμέν, and omits δέ as unoriginal.⁵² The result is the following: "We are [ἐσμέν] Jews by nature, ... knowing [εἰδοτές] that no human being is justified by works of the law but only through faith in Jesus Christ, and we have believed [ἐπιστεύσαμεν] in Christ Jesus." According to Dunn's rendering, Paul believes in justification by faith in Christ alone *because* of his Jewish heritage rather than in spite of it. This understanding of the passage seems to be unique to Dunn, but provides grammatical-textual support for his NPP thesis. Moreover, if Dunn is correct, then Paul cannot be speaking against Jewish opponents who teach justification through works of the law—Paul says here that [all] Jews know justification comes through faith, hence none would be teaching such a thing.

While the structure is difficult and commentators vary in their treatment, Dunn's exegesis is unlikely. Eiδοτές in verse 16 most naturally modifies the explicit verb, ἐπιστεύσαμεν (2:16), rather than a supplied ἐσμέν in 2:15. If ὄντες is supplied in verse 15 rather than ἐσμέν,⁵³ then εἰδοτές cannot modify 2:15, but must modify ἐπιστεύσαμεν. Dunn is also on weak ground by deleting δέ to rid the sentence of its adversative force. Although δέ is omitted in \mathfrak{P}^{46} and a few fifth- and sixth-century manuscripts, it is found in \mathfrak{R} B C D* H, among others.⁵⁴ The authenticity no longer seems to be doubted by textual critics.⁵⁵ One might object that \mathfrak{P}^{46} is weighty and may support the unoriginality of δέ. But, in Galatians, \mathfrak{P}^{46} omits καί in 1:15 (with B, but against \mathfrak{R} A D), is the only manuscript to omit οὐδέ in 4:14, and omits μέν in 4:23 (with B, but against \mathfrak{R} A C D). These omissions suggest a scribal tendency to omit small conjunctions throughout Galatians, which is most likely what happened in 2:16.

The best solution for these two verses is to retain $\delta \epsilon$ as adversative, take είδοτές as causally modifying ἐπιστεύσαμεν ("we believe because we know"), and supply a concessive ὄντες in 2:15 to match the adversative force of $\delta \epsilon$.⁵⁶ Thus, 2:15 acts as the subject of 2:16 and the two verses form one sentence: "We, although we are Jews by nature ... yet because we know that a man is not justified by works of the law, but through faith in Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Christ Jesus."⁵⁷

⁵² Dunn, Galatians 131.

⁵³ As do Burton, *Galatians* 119; Schreiner, *Galatians* 152; Bruce, *Galatians* 137; Matera and Harrington, *Galatians* 92–93.

⁵⁴ According to NA²⁷.

⁵⁵ Bruce Metzger (*A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* [New York: United Bible Societies, 1971]) does not even discuss it, nor does UBS³. The authenticity is also supported by Schreiner, *Galatians* 154, n. 11; Longenecker, *Galatians* 82; Lightfoot, *Galatians* 114.

⁵⁶ Contra Schreiner (*Galatians* 152, 154) and J. Louis Martyn (*Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB; New York: Doubleday, 1997] 246), who render εἰδοτές as an indicative verb rather than subordinating it to an actual verb.

⁵⁷ Burton suggests the exact same syntax as proposed here (*Galatians* 119). Bruce also supplies ὄντες and understands 2:15 to be the subject of 2:16, forming one sentence, although he omits δέ from his translation (*Galatians* 137).

Paul's language therefore suggests that he and Peter believe in justification through faith in Christ alone *in spite of* his Jewish heritage, not because of it. His Jewish opponents, on the other hand, are Jews that are still espousing justification by works of the law because they do not know the true gospel. Hence, verse 16 could be rendered interpretively, "We, *like our opponents*, are Jews by nature and not Gentile sinners, yet *unlike our opponents*, because we know that a man is not justified by works of the law, but through faith in Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Christ Jesus."

Dunn seems first to accept a historical reconstruction of the Second Temple period and then seeks to make Paul's letters fit that reconstruction, in this case by awkward syntax and the deletion of a barely questionable $\delta \dot{\epsilon}$. Hence, Dunn inverts the meaning traditionally found in 2:15–16. However, a better methodology is to consider Paul's letters on their own terms and then seek to reconcile Paul's view of Judaism during his time with the rest of the Second Temple documents. It certainly seems that in 2:15–16, Paul suggests Jews by nature (at least during his time) were predisposed to believe (or, at least, to act as if) justification comes through works of the law. However, if we are correct in our reading of 2:15–16, Paul is aiming this statement only at the Galatian opponents, so whether it has wider application to all Jews of his day we cannot be certain.⁵⁸

V. CONCLUSIONS

Peter did not imply works-righteousness through his actions at Antioch, nor did Paul perceive it that way. Paul perceived Peter's compulsion upon the Gentiles to "live like a Jew" to be implying ethnocentrism, which contradicted the ethnically unifying effect of the gospel. Paul uses this episode to defend his apostolic authority—even Peter, one of Jesus' inner circle, was subject to Paul's rebuke. Yet, after summarizing his speech to Peter in 2:14, Paul is quick to redeem this Jerusalem pillar. Paul enlists Peter's support as he returns his attention to the Galatians in 2:15 and resumes his attack on the false gospel of the Galatian opponents which he began in 1:6–9. Paul, with Peter at his side, denounces justification by "works of the law" (2:16), directly opposing the distorted gospel of the opponents. "Works of the law" in 2:16 is therefore not employed polemically against Peter.

If these conclusions are correct, then the meaning of "works of the law" in 2:16 should be interpreted in the context of the situation of the opponents in Galatia, not by Peter's actions at Antioch. Since the opponents were advocating circumcision, which is commanded by Torah as a necessary means of inclusion in the people of God, the phrase probably refers to commandments of Torah which are performed meritoriously, that is, to attain justification. The result of seeking to be justified through "works of the law" is that faith in Christ is belittled and considered insufficient in itself for justification. NPP advocates are correct to emphasize Paul's thoroughly Jewish nature and understanding this reference to the law to refer

⁵⁸ Our point here is not to solve the entire issue of the NPP, but simply to point out how one's methodology affects the exegesis of this difficult passage.

to Torah. Contrary to many in Luther's wake,⁵⁹ the context seems to demand a reference to works of Torah, not to meritorious works in general. But we disagree with Dunn and Wright that the phrase should be understood as sociological, rather than something done to attain merit. The above argumentation suggests that, in Gal 2:16, the meritorious works of Torah espoused by the Galatian opponents are in view. These "works of the law" were not simply "what the law required *of Israel as God's people*," as Dunn puts it.⁶⁰ These "works of the law" were being pitched as a supplement to the gospel, thereby distorting the apostolic message that Paul and Peter preached.

Although these conclusions challenge all interpreters to reevaluate their approach to Gal 2:15–21, it is most relevant for the NPP. Wright's statement that "we have no right to read Galatians 2:16 other than in the context of Galatians 2:11–15" is incorrect if our thesis is even remotely plausible.⁶¹ If our thesis is correct, the implication is that the treatment of 2:16 by Dunn and Wright, which is so foundational for their New Perspective position, is found to be in error and should be reevaluated.⁶²

⁵⁹ See n. 2.

⁶⁰ Dunn, Theology 355.

⁶¹ Wright, Justification 117.

⁶² I would like to thank my former professor, Aaron Son, for initially suggesting in class something similar to the thesis of this article. I would also like to thank various colleagues at Westminster, especially Mark Giacobbe, for insightful critique and feedback which has allowed me to improve the article.

APPENDIX A DIAGRAMS OF PROPOSED STRUCTURES OF GALATIANS 2:15–16B

Figure 1: Scacewater's Structure





