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WALKING IN THE SPIRIT IN GALATIANS:
COMPARING OBEDIENCE AND AGENCY
IN GALATIANS, 1QS, AND 4 MACCABEES

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WALKING IN THE SPIRIT IN GALATIANS:
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To my mom and dad,
through whom God has consistently
shown his grace to me.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
<i>BBR</i>	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BDAG	Bauer, W., F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature</i> . 3 rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BibInt</i>	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaftsmartyn
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CC	Concordia Commentary
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
<i>DBSJ</i>	<i>Detroit Baptist Seminary Journal</i>
DCLS	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>
FAT II	Forschungen zum Alten Testament 2
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion
HO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HvTst</i>	<i>Hervormde Teologiese Studies</i>

ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JJTP</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy</i>
<i>JS</i>	<i>Journal for Semitics</i>
JSHRZ III	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit Band III
JSJSUP	Supplements to Journal for the Study of Judaism
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LA	<i>Liber Annuus</i>
LNTS	The Library of New Testament Studies
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
MNTC	Moffatt New Testament Commentary
NAC	New American Commentary
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIGTC	The New International Greek Testament Commentary
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NTL	The New Testament Library
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>Presb</i>	<i>Presbyterion</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>

<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'Historire des Religions</i>
<i>RSR</i>	<i>Revue des Sciences Religieuses</i>
SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
SBLEJL	SBL Early Judaism and its Literature
<i>SJOT</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
<i>SwJT</i>	<i>Southwest Journal of Theology</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUNT I	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament I
WUNT II	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament II
ZECNT	Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZThK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

PREFACE

This dissertation, like any large project, has not been done in isolation. This work would not have been possible without the support and aid of many people throughout my time in the PhD program at The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. First and foremost, I am forever grateful for the never-ceasing encouragement, prayers, and financial support of my family, without which this dissertation would not be possible. In addition, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my friend and mentor Dr. Rod Elledge, who encouraged me to pursue a PhD and has been a means of encouragement, advice, and wisdom throughout my time in the program.

I am also very much indebted to the faculty and my fellow PhD students at SBTS that I have had the privilege of interacting with during my time in the PhD program. I am grateful to all of the faculty who have challenged and sharpened both my thinking and my writing ability through seminars and individual conversations. I am also very thankful for my fellow students who have provided me with encouragement and advice throughout my time as a PhD student. Finally, I would especially like to offer a very sincere and grateful thanks to my advisor, Dr. Jarvis Williams, whose encouragement, advice, insights, and conversations have been invaluable throughout this project.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Thesis

The focus of my research is on divine and human agency with regard to walking in the Spirit in Galatians.¹ I will give special attention to 5:16–25 since this is Paul’s main section concerning agency and walking in obedience. My focus on 5:16–25 will be with an eye towards how 5:17 figures into the conversation about agency. Most scholars writing on Galatians 5:16–25 comment on agency in their discussions on walking by the Spirit.² They focus on verses 16, 18, 25, and to a lesser degree 22, but do not discuss 5:17.³ My primary concern is to answer the following questions: what does Paul say about walking in the Spirit and agency in Galatians, especially in 5:17, and how does this compare to walking in obedience and agency in 1QS and walking in virtue and agency in 4 Maccabees?⁴

¹ Though in chapter 5 I argue that *πνεύματι* is an instrumental/means dative (“by the Spirit”) in 5:16, “walking in the Spirit” is still appropriate for this dissertation for two reasons. First, I agree with Gordon Fee that the instrumental dative in 5:16 also includes the idea of sphere (“in the Spirit”) (Gordon D. Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011], 430). Second, using “walking in the Spirit” covers “walking by the Spirit” (5:16), being led by the Spirit (5:18), and keeping in step with the Spirit (5:25) and allows for a parallel with walking in obedience, walking in the way of the spirit of truth (the Sermon of the Two Spirits), and walking in virtue (4 Maccabees).

² Most do not use the language of agency, though.

³ I understand that verse 26 ends the section beginning in 5:16. I limit my focus to 5:16–25 because scholars do not include verse 26 in discussions about agency.

⁴ Both Second Temple texts are similar to Galatians 5:16–25 in that they describe how the people of God should live (walking in obedience). These two works were chosen for comparison because they represent different views of agency within Second Temple Judaism. Though the divine and human agent are both active in each, 1QS, especially in 3.13–4.26, gives special focus to the actions of the divine agent while 4 Maccabees focuses on the human agent. These works were also selected because they are roughly contemporary to Paul and exist within a similar Second Temple milieu. Therefore, these texts are good conversation partners with Paul. The Sermon of the Two Spirits dates sometime during the end of the second or beginning of the first century BCE (see Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* [New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987], 7); A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning*:

My thesis is twofold. First, Galatians 5:17, in line with the rest of Galatians, presents both the divine and the human agent as distinctly active in walking in the Spirit, without competing or diminishing the other's agency. In light of Christ's work on the cross, the people of God (human agent) are to actively walk by the Spirit, not the flesh or the law, and the indwelling Spirit (divine agent) both guides and empowers them to do so.

According to Paul, the Christian must "do" the "desire of the Spirit," and the Spirit empowers the Christian to "walk by the Spirit."⁵ Thus, when Paul states *μη ἀ ἐὰν θέλητε ταῦτα ποιῆτε* (5:17), he means that human agency is controlled by God's divine action in Christ. This is so because God's action in Christ empowers the human agent to walk in obedience, through the indwelling Spirit. The Spirit now guides and empowers the human agent to walk in obedience. Therefore, the Christian must not do the desires of the flesh, for the Spirit opposes the flesh. Furthermore, obeying the law of Moses is not an option for the Christian for ethical guidance (5:18). The law does not enable one to conquer the flesh, because it too is a part of the present evil age and because its temporary role has come to an end with Christ (2:18–20; 3:2–6, 22–24; 4:21–31; 5:18). For the Christian, the only option for Christian freedom (5:13) and conquering the desire of the flesh is walking by (5:16) and being led by (5:18, 25) the promised, empowering

Introduction, Translation, and Commentary [Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966], 112–16; P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction*, STDJ 1 [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957], 7). Scholars typically date 4 Maccabees during the first or early second century C.E. DeSilva suggests a date between 19–72 C.E. is most likely (David A. deSilva, *4 Maccabees: Introduction and Commentary on the Greek Text in Codex Sinaiticus* [Leiden: Brill, 2006], xiv–xvii). DeSilva builds upon the work of Bickerman, who argues for a date around 40 C.E. (Elias Bickerman, *Studies in Jewish and Christian History. Part One, Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums Und Des Urchristentums*, IX [Leiden: Brill, 1976], 275–81. For an overview of the dating of 4 Macc., see deSilva (*4 Maccabees*, Guides to the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998], 14–18; *4 Maccabees: Introduction and Commentary*, xiv–xvii).

⁵ I understand that the term "Christian" is anachronistic since it was not adopted as a self-title by the followers of Christ until post-biblical times. Because of its common usage today, I am using this term as a reference to Christ followers. For the origin of the term "Christian," see Craig S. Keener, *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary*, vol. 4 (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 1847–50; Justin Taylor, "Why Were the Disciples First Called 'Christians' at Antioch? (Acts 11,26)," *HvTst* 53 (1994): 75–94.

Spirit. The Spirit, who was given through the work of Christ, now marks the people of God (3:13–14).⁶ Thus, the Christian (human agent) is not able to “do whatever you want.” He must “do” the “desire of the Spirit,” who (divine agent) empowers the Christian to do so.

Second, Galatians shows similarities to and dissimilarities with both 1QS and 4 Maccabees with regard to divine and human agency and walking in obedience, with the indwelling Spirit being the most distinct dissimilarity. Like Paul in Galatians, 1QS demonstrates both an active divine and human agent. In contrast, in 1QS the human agent walks in obedience by keeping God’s commands and law (1.13–17; 3.6–12; 5. 21–22, 24; 8.1–2, 12–18, 20–26; 9.1–19). It is the divine agent, though, who ensures the human agent will walk in obedience through predestination (3.15–16, 21–23; 4.15–16), a theme not mentioned when Paul discusses agency and walking in obedience in Galatians.⁷

Moreover, Paul and 4 Maccabees are similar in that both promote an active divine and human agent. They greatly differ, though, in that 4 Maccabees states that obedience to the law leads to virtue. Paul argues, however, that the Christian is no longer under the law. Rather, the Spirit is now the means for Christian obedience. In Galatians, the Spirit leads and empowers the human agent to walk in obedience. In 4 Maccabees, though, walking in obedience is enabled by God’s act of creation, in which he “planted” in man a mind to control the passions. Additionally, he gave to the mind the law to guide it (2:21–23).⁸ This “planting” allows one to walk in virtue by keeping the law.

⁶ The Spirit is not the only mark of the Christian. For persecution as a mark of the Christian, see John Anthony Dunne, *Persecution and Participation in Galatians*, WUNT II 454 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017).

⁷ The rewards for obedience (4.6–8) and punishment for disobedience (4.11–14) suggest that God’s predestining does not diminish the active role of the human agent in walking in obedience.

⁸ On this, see John M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE - 117 CE)* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 372; deSilva, *4 Maccabees*, 131–32.

Methodology

I will support my thesis with both an exegetical and comparative analysis of relevant texts in 1QS, 4 Maccabees, and Galatians.⁹ My comparative analysis will expound both the similarities and differences between the ways 1QS, 4 Maccabees, and Paul in Galatians present the roles of the divine and human agents with regard to walking in obedience. In my analysis, I will give specific attention to the distinct role the Spirit plays in Galatians in the act of walking in obedience in light of Christ's work on the cross. The purpose of my analysis is not to argue for a genealogical connection between Paul and these Second Temple texts.¹⁰ Rather, my purpose is to set Paul's discussion of agency and walking in obedience (walking in the Spirit) in conversation with that in 1QS (walking in obedience) and in 4 Maccabees (walking in virtue). This will be done to shine insight both on Paul's understanding of agency and walking in the Spirit in Galatians and the meaning of Gal 5:17.

A benefit of this comparison is that it allows Paul, in Galatians, to be understood in light of how he is similar and dissimilar to other works from a similar Second Temple milieu. Comparing Galatians with 1QS and 4 Maccabees reveals what Paul contributes to the conversation concerning agency and walking in obedience by seeing how he is similar and differs from those engaging in the same conversation.¹¹

⁹ My comparative study will be methodologically similar to works like John M. G. Barclay, *Paul and the Gift* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015); Jason Maston, *Divine and Human Agency in Second Temple Judaism and Paul: A Comparative Study*, WUNT II (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010); Kyle B. Wells, *Grace and Agency in Paul and Second Temple Judaism: Interpreting the Transformation of the Heart*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum 157 (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

¹⁰ The purpose of my comparison is not to establish a history for Paul's thoughts on agency and walking in obedience (walking in the Spirit). Rather, I am placing 1QS, 4 Maccabees, and Galatians in conversation in order to ascertain what areas of agreement and disagreement exist. This will be an analogical comparison, not genealogical. For a recent defense of the legitimacy of analogical comparisons as well as methodology, see the contributions to John M. G. Barclay and Benjamin G. White, eds., *The New Testament in Comparison: Validity, Method, and Purpose in Comparing Traditions*, Library of New Testament Studies 600 (New York: T&T Clark, 2020).

¹¹ By "engaging in the same conversation" I do not mean that these Jewish authors are explicitly engaging in a scholarly discussion about the theme of agency like modern scholars do. Rather, the "conversation" is created by comparing the ways various Second Temple texts present agency and walking in obedience. When comparing these texts, it will be important to read each text within its own social and textual context, rather than forcing a foreign context on them so that the results of this

Seeing how Paul differs from these Second Temple texts may draw out important aspects of Paul's understanding of agency and walking in obedience and aid in further understanding what Galatians, and especially 5:17, says about agency and walking in the Spirit.

Moreover, reading Galatians and 1QS in comparison against 4 Maccabees, Galatians and 4 Maccabees in comparison against 1QS, and 1QS and 4 Maccabees in comparison against Galatians allows for looking at the issue of divine and human agency and walking in obedience from multiple perspectives. Viewing the theme of agency and obedience from different perspectives allows for additional insight into what Paul says about agency and walking in obedience in Galatians.¹² For example, comparing the role of keeping the law in 4 Maccabees and in 1QS draws attention to the unique role of the Spirit in Galatians. Moreover, comparing the divine act of predestination through the two spirits in 1QS and the giving of a mind to control the passions in 4 Maccabees with human agency allows for further understanding of God's divine action through Christ and the giving of the Spirit and human agency in Galatians.

Because my method includes a comparison of agency/agents and walking in obedience, I will define these concepts. Regarding agency and agent, I have adopted Kyle Wells's definitions. An agent is "one who performs an act to bring about subsequent effects," and agency refers to "the faculty of an agent or of acting."¹³

I will use the phrase "walking in obedience" as a general reference to walking

comparison are not misleading.

¹² On the importance of perspective and having a "third thing" to compare to, see: Francis Watson, "Constructing an Antithesis: Pauline and Other Jewish Perspectives on Divine and Human Agency," in *Divine and Human Agency in Paul and His Cultural Environment*, ed. John M. G. Barclay and Simon J. Gathercole, T&T Clark Biblical Studies (New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 99–116; see also Simon J. Gathercole, "Resemblance and Relation: Comparing the Gospels of Mark, John, and Thomas," in *The New Testament in Comparison: Validity, Method, and Purpose in Comparing Traditions*, ed. John M. G. Barclay and Benjamin G. White, Library of New Testament Studies 600 (New York: T&T Clark, 2020), 173–92.

¹³ Wells, *Grace and Agency in Paul*, 16.

in the Spirit in Galatians, walking in the way of the spirit of truth found in the Sermon of the Two Spirits in 1QS,¹⁴ and the idea of walking in virtue in 4 Maccabees. I have chosen to adopt the language of “walking” from Paul’s use in Galatians 5:16. Paul’s use likely reflects the common use of הלך in the Old Testament to refer to how one lives or conducts his self, often in connection with the law(s), statutes, or way of God.¹⁵ Thus, by walking in obedience I am referring to living or conducting one’s self in the way God has established for his people. The giving of blessings/rewards for living and conducting one’s self in obedience and punishment for walking in disobedience reveals that the theme of walking in obedience plays a part in 1QS and 4 Maccabees.¹⁶ In Galatians, the “works of the flesh” (5:19–21) and “fruit of the Spirit” (5:22–23) demonstrate the theme of walking in obedience. This shared theme makes 1QS and 4 Maccabees good comparison partners with Galatians.

My dissertation will focus on the relationship between divine and human agency in Paul and these Jewish works. I have adopted Barclay’s three models for the relationship between divine and human agents as a grid for understanding the relationship between divine and human agents in the texts I am focusing on.¹⁷ I will argue that, though

¹⁴ The Sermon of the Two Spirits refers to 1QS 3.13–4.26.

¹⁵ For examples, see: Exod 16:4; 18:20; Lev 18:4; Deut 5:33; 11:22; Jer 44:23; Ezek 5:6–7. So A. Andrew. Das, *Galatians*, CC (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2014), 560; Martinus C. de Boer, *Galatians: A Commentary*, NTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2011), 351; Craig S. Keener, *Galatians: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2019), 491–92; Douglas J. Moo, *Galatians*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013), 352–53. Dunn argues that Paul adopts the “walking” language to reflect this Old Testament use in order to pose an “alternative understanding of how the people of God should conduct themselves – not by constant reference to laws and statutes, but by constant reference to the Spirit” (James D. G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, BNTC [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993], 295). Though the language of walking is not used in 4 Maccabees, as it is in Galatians (5:16) and 1QS (3.18, 20; 4.15, 24), the metaphor fits the prominent theme of law obedience found within it.

¹⁶ Rewards for obedience (4.6–8) and punishment for disobedience (4.11–14) are listed in 1QS. In 4 Maccabees, the martyrs gain divine inheritance (18:3) and stand before the divine throne living the life of the blessed age (17:15–18; cf. 17:5), having received pure and immortal souls (18:23) because of their obedience to the law and virtue. Though rewards/punishment do not play a part in Paul’s argument in Galatians 5:16–25, verse 21 does state that those who walk in the desires of the flesh “will not inherit the kingdom of God.”

¹⁷ Barclay’s three models are: (1) Competitive model: Divine and human actions are mutually independent and compete for prominence. The more one is active, the less the other is. (2) Kinship model:

there are important differences between them, 1QS, 4 Maccabees, and Galatians should all be grouped under the category Barclay calls “non-contrastive transcendence.”¹⁸ In each of these works, both the divine and human agent is active without competing against or diminishing the agency of the other. Where these texts differ is in the ways the divine and human agents are active in walking in obedience.

History of Research

In this history of research, I will discuss what major commentaries have said about agency in Galatians 5:16–25 and the main ways commentators have interpreted verse 17. I will then examine works that discuss agency in Galatians. The purpose of this will be to demonstrate that verse 17 is not included in their discussions. Finally, I will briefly discuss works that compare Paul to 1QS or 4 Maccabees, to show that, to my knowledge, comparing agency in Galatians 5:16–25 with 1QS or 4 Maccabees has not been the focus of any work.

Commentaries and Commentators

A brief survey of major critical commentaries on Galatians 5:16–25 shows that when agency and walking in the Spirit are discussed verse 17 is not introduced into the discussion. Rather, comments about agency are found in connection to walking by the Spirit in verse 16 (πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε), being led by the Spirit in verse 18 (πνεύματι ἄγεσθε), the fruit of the Spirit in verse 22 (though less frequently), and keeping in step

Because the divine and the human agent “share the same spectrum of being”, divine and human agency are indistinguishable from one another. The human agent operates as an extension of the divine agent. (3) Non-contrastive transcendence model: The divine and the human agent are mutually independent agents, but both are active at the same time without competing or diminishing the other’s agency. This is possible because God’s agency “grounds and enables” human agency; it does not control it. John M. G. Barclay, “Introduction,” in *Divine and Human Agency in Paul and His Cultural Environment*, ed. John M. G. Barclay and Simon J. Gathercole, T&T Clark Biblical Studies (New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 6–8.

¹⁸ Jason Maston, focusing on the works of Josephus, notes that views on divine and human agency were not uniform within Second Temple Judaism (Maston, *Divine and Human Agency in Second Temple Judaism and Paul*, 10–16).

with the Spirit in verse 25 (πνεύματι καὶ στοιχῶμεν).¹⁹ Even though these scholars do not explicitly bring 5:17 into the conversation about agency, some implications about divine and human agency can be observed from their interpretations of verse 17.

Most recent commentators argue for one of four main interpretations of 5:17. In two interpretations, the agency of the human and divine agents seem to be limited.²⁰ In one view, the flesh and the Spirit mutually thwart each other's attempts to influence the human agent, ending essentially in a stalemate.²¹ The flesh keeps the human agent from doing the good things he desires, and the Spirit keeps the human agent from fulfilling his fleshly desires. The second interpretation argues that the flesh frustrates the actions of the Spirit and keeps the human agent from doing the good they desire to do.²² In both views, the flesh hinders the actions of the divine agent and the human agent. When commenting on 5:18, scholars who hold one of these views often note that the Spirit ultimately triumphs over the flesh and succeeds in leading the Christian to do the

¹⁹ Though they usually do not use the language of agency, commentators typically make brief comments concerning agency and walking in the Spirit when commenting on these verses. For examples, see Das, *Galatians*, 562, 567, 587–88; David A. deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2018), 453–54, 456n50, 472; Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 296, 300; Frank J. Matera, *Galatians*, Sacra Pagina 9 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992), 200; Moo, *Galatians*, 357, 372.

²⁰ Betz comes close to removing human agency altogether when he notes that the “you” is “no longer the subject in control of the body,” rather the flesh and Spirit agents take hold of the person: Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), 279–80.

²¹ So C. K. Barrett, *Freedom and Obligation: Study of the Epistle to the Galatians* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1985), 76; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 245; Ernest De Witt Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1980), 300–302; Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 299–300; Richard N. Longenecker, *Galatians*, WBC, vol. 41 (Dallas: Word Books, 1990), 246.

²² So Jean-Noël Aletti, “Paul's Exhortations in Galatians 5:16-25: From the Apostle's Techniques to His Theology,” in *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, The Gospel, And Ethics in Paul's Letter*, ed. Mark W. Elliott et al. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014), 329–30; Troels Engberg-Pedersen, “A Stoic Concept of the Person in Paul? From Galatians 5:17 to Romans 7:14-25,” in *Christian Body, Christian Self: Concepts of Early Christian Personhood*, ed. Clare K. Rothschild and Trevor W. Thompson, WUNT 1 284 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 100n35; 102n39; J. Lambrecht, “The Right Things You Want to Do: A Note on Galatians 5,17d,” *Bib* 79 (1998): 522–32; Ronald Lutjens, “‘You Do Not Do What You Want’: What Does Galatians 5:17 Really Mean?,” *Presb* 16, no. 2 (1990): 116. J. C. O'Neill holds this view, but he argues that the flesh and the spirit are two parts of the human, rather than, for instance, the spirit being the Holy Spirit (“The Holy Spirit and the Human Spirit in Galatians,” *ETL* 71 [1995]: 107–20).

“desire” of the Spirit.²³

Other interpretations give a more obvious active role to the human agent and/or the divine agent. One such view argues that the Spirit acts to keep the Christian from doing the fleshly works he desires to do.²⁴ In this interpretation of 5:17, the divine agent plays an active role. The role of the human agent, though, is difficult to determine since the Spirit keeps him from acting upon fleshly desires. When put in the context of 5:16–18, though, there seems to be an active human agent since, along with being led by the Spirit (5:18), he actively walks by the Spirit (5:16).

The fourth interpretation of 5:17 most clearly attributes an active role to the human agent.²⁵ This view argues that, in light of the conflict between the flesh and the Spirit, the Galatians cannot follow both the flesh and the Spirit (ἵνα μὴ ἂ ἐὰν θέλητε ταῦτα ποιῆτε) because they are mutually opposed to one another. Rather, since they have the indwelling Spirit, they must follow the Spirit, not the flesh. This last view most clearly establishes both the divine and the human agent as active.²⁶

²³ So Aletti, “Paul’s Exhortations,” 329–30; Engberg-Pedersen, “A Stoic Concept of the Person,” 100n35, 102n39; Lambrecht, “The Right Things You Want to Do,” 522–32; Lutjens, “‘You Do Not Do,’” 116.

²⁴ So Charles H. Cosgrove, *The Cross and the Spirit: A Study in the Argument and Theology of Galatians* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1988), 164; de Boer, *Galatians*, 355; deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 456; Ben Witherington, III, *Grace in Galatia: A Commentary on Paul’s Letter to the Galatians* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 395.

²⁵ I have only given a general summary of this view. Those who hold this view argue for it in different ways, though. For example, Hong argues that, in light of the conflict between the flesh and the Spirit, the Galatians must choose to follow the flesh or the Spirit, they cannot follow both. They will ultimately choose the Spirit, though, since they have received the Spirit and have crucified the flesh (5:24) (In-Gyu Hong, *The Law in Galatians*, JSNTSup 81 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993], 186). In light of what he views as warfare language in verse 17 (ἀντίκειται), Barclay argues that the Galatians are caught up in the war between the flesh and the Spirit, “which determines moral choice.” Paul tells the Galatians that they cannot fight for both sides (“cannot do whatever you want”), rather, they must align themselves with the Spirit since they are already “walking by the Spirit” (5:16) (John M. G. Barclay, *Obedying the Truth: Paul’s Ethics in Galatians* [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988], 115). Matera is similar to Barclay (*Galatians*, 207). Fee argues that the flesh and the Spirit represent two different eras in salvation history and two different ways of living, therefore the Galatians cannot follow both the flesh and the Spirit (“cannot do whatever you want”). Walking by the Spirit (5:16) prohibits them from following the flesh (Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 434–37).

²⁶ This is true of Barclay, Fee, and Hong. Matera’s view that the flesh and the Spirit are two opposing ways of life seems to downplay the role of the divine agent, at least in 5:17.

Paul and Agency in 5:16–25

Scholars have engaged more directly with the issue of divine and human agency in Galatians 5:16–25. As noted above, 5:17 plays little or no role in their discussions on agency, though.²⁷ Engberg-Pedersen, in his chapter in *Divine and Human Agency in Paul and his Cultural Environment*, attempts to resolve an apparent tension regarding agency in Galatians 5:16–25.²⁸ The human agent appears to be active at times, while at other times the divine agent appears to be active. He argues that the human agent and the divine agent are not in opposition to or in competition with one another; rather they function together. This happens through cognition. Engberg-Pedersen notes that knowledge is generated by God. Though it is generated by God, any understanding or knowledge gained when “one has come to see something” is “so intimately one’s own that this fact in itself suffices to make also the acts that flow from it one’s own and hence also more broadly to render one responsible for one’s own ways.”²⁹

Applying this conclusion to Galatians 5:16–25, this means that when a person is being led by the Spirit (5:18), “they will themselves also see that that is the way to behave” and they will walk by the Spirit (5:16). Moreover, “when they themselves choose to walk by the pneuma [5:16], they are also being led by it [5:18].”³⁰ Though Engberg-Pedersen discusses agency in Galatians 5:16–25, he does not include 5:17 in his discussion.

Simeon Zahl addresses the issue of agency in Galatians 5:16–25 by applying

²⁷ Zahl references 5:17 in his discussion of agency, but only because of the “desire” language. He does not really engage 5:17 beyond noting its use of “desire” language, which is important for his understanding of divine and human agency (Simeon Zahl, “The Drama of Agency: Affective Augustinianism and Galatians,” in *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul’s Letter*, ed. Mark W. Elliott et al. [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014], 335–53).

²⁸ Engberg-Pedersen, “A Stoic Concept of the Person.”

²⁹ Engberg-Pedersen, “A Stoic Concept of the Person,” 96.

³⁰ Engberg-Pedersen, “A Stoic Concept of the Person,” 96.

what he calls “affective Augustinianism.”³¹ Central to affective Augustinianism is the idea that the affective capacities (emotions and affections) are the “most powerful and central” features of the person rather than rational capacities.³² Moreover, affective Augustinianism views willing and desiring as intertwined; what we will is essentially what we desire most. Desires and affections are “least subject to our deliberate control,” often being influenced by external factors.

Paul’s use of “desire” language in verses 16 (ἐπιθυμίαν) and 17 (ἐπιθυμεῖ, θέλῃτε) allows Zahl to read Galatians 5:16–25 through the lens of affective Augustinianism. Zahl argues that both the divine and human agent are active in 5:16–25 without contradiction or conflict. The Spirit (divine agent) actively influences the desires of the human agent, causing him to desire to follow the Spirit. This influence does not cancel or hinder the human’s active agency, though, since the human agent still accomplishes what he wills. Outside of noting the presence of “desire” language, though, Zahl does not interact with 5:17. This makes it difficult to know exactly what he thinks verse 17 adds to the discussion about divine and human agency in Galatians 5:16–25. His work would greatly benefit from him applying his insights on desire to an interpretation of 5:17.

Barclay, in his work “Grace and the Transformation of Agency in Christ,” examines the relationship between divine and human agency in Paul.³³ He does this by examining five passages in which both the divine and the human agent appear to be

³¹ Zahl, “The Drama of Agency.”

³² Zahl, “The Drama of Agency,” 338.

³³ John M. G. Barclay, “Grace and the Transformation of Agency in Christ,” in *Redefining First-Century Jewish and Christian Identities: Essays in Honor of Ed Parish Sanders*, ed. Fabian Udoh (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008), 372–89. See also John M. G. Barclay, “‘By the Grace of God I Am What I Am’: Grace and Agency in Philo and Paul,” in *Divine and Human Agency in Paul and His Cultural Environment*, ed. John M. G. Barclay and Simon J. Gathercole, T&T Clark Biblical Studies (New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 140–57. In this chapter, Barclay again discusses divine and human agency using the same five passages in “Grace and the Transformation of Agency in Christ.” He again applies his findings to 5:16–25, though without referencing verse 17.

active.³⁴ He then applies his findings to the work of the Spirit in Galatians 5 and concludes that the human agent both walks by and is led by the Spirit who “provides not only instruction but also empowering for a moral life.”³⁵ Thus, in Galatians 5:16–25, both the divine and human agent are at work, not in competition with each other, nor merely working side by side, so to speak. Rather, they are both at work in an intertwined relationship of “empowerment”, as Barclay calls it, where the divine agent empowers and enables the human agent.³⁶ Thus, Barclay argues that both divine and human agents are active in Galatians 5:16–25, but he does so without addressing 5:17.

Comparative Analyses

Since I will be comparing Galatians to 1QS and 4 Maccabees, a quick comment on other comparative readings with Paul is warranted. Though Galatians 5:16–25 has been compared to Jewish³⁷ and early Christian works,³⁸ to my knowledge, no one has done a thorough comparison of agency in Galatians 5:16–25 with 1QS or 4 Maccabees. Scholars have compared Paul to the Sermon of the Two Spirits in 1QS³⁹ and

³⁴ Rom 15:15–19; 1 Cor 15:10; 2 Cor 9:8–10; Gal 2:19–21; and Phil 2:12–14.

³⁵ Barclay, “Grace and the Transformation of Agency in Christ,” 383.

³⁶ Barclay, “Grace and the Transformation of Agency in Christ,” 384.

³⁷ Barclay, “By the Grace of God I Am What I Am.”

³⁸ Jonathan A. Draper, “The Two Ways and Eschatological Hope: A Contested Terrain in Galatians 5 and the Didache,” *Neot* 45, no. 2 (2011): 221–51.

³⁹ Lisa M. Bowens, *An Apostle in Battle: Paul and Spiritual Warfare in 2 Corinthians 12:1-10*, WUNT II 433 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 94–96, 207–10; Magen Broshi, “Predestination in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, vol. 2 (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), 235–46; Gerhard Dautzenberg, “Überlegungen zur Exegese und Theologie von 2 Kor 4,1-6,” *Bib* 82 (2001): 325–244; W. D. Davies, “Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit,” in *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, ed. Krister Stendahl (New York: Harper, 1957), 157–82; de Boer, *Galatians*, 353–54; Jan DuSek, “Hesed Dans La Regle de La Communauté et Charis Dans l’épître de Paul Aux Galates,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature*, ed. Jean-Sébastien Rey, STDJ 102 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 89–107; Sherman E. Johnson, “Paul and the Manual of Discipline,” *HTR* 48 (1955): 157–65; Karl G Kuhn, “New Light on Temptation, Sin, and Flesh in the New Testament,” in *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, ed. Krister Stendahl (New York: Harper, 1957), 94–113; John Pryke, “‘Spirit’ and ‘Flesh’ in the Qumran Documents and Some New Testament Texts,” *RevQ* 5 (1965): 345–60; Ryan E. Stokes, “The Origin of Sin in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *SwJT* 53 (2010): 55–67.

to 4 Maccabees,⁴⁰ but none of these interact with agency in Galatians 5:16–25.

Significance

The present study is significant in at least three ways. First, it will fill a void in research on Paul and agency in Galatians. Specifically, it will add to the conversation about Paul and agency by including Galatians 5:17 in the discussion on agency and walking in obedience. Second, and similar to the first point, this study will contribute to research in Galatians by offering a fresh reading of 5:17 that focuses more directly on the cross in Galatians and the question of agency and walking in the Spirit. Third, this dissertation will contribute to the discussion on Paul and Judaism by demonstrating how Paul's understanding of agency and walking in obedience in Galatians reflects as well as differs from the thoughts of some Second Temple authors.

Argument

My argument will proceed in five sections. I will begin with a critical analysis of 1QS in chapter 2, focusing especially on agency and walking in obedience. I will argue that 1QS demonstrates both an active divine and human agent in walking in obedience. To demonstrate an active divine agent, I will focus on the giving of knowledge by the divine agent and predetermination. Especially in the Sermon of the Two Spirits, God's act of predetermining plays an important part in walking in obedience. God created the works of man (3.15–16). Likewise, God gives to man two spirits in which to walk, the spirit of truth and of deceit (3.17–19). The spirit each person receives a greater share in

⁴⁰ Mary R. D'Angelo, "Ἐὐσεβεία: Roman Imperial Family Values and the Sexual Politics of 4 Maccabees and the Pastorals," *BibInt* 11 (2003): 139–65; deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 453–54; J. Gerald Janzen, "A New Approach to 'Logikēn Latreian' in Romans 12:1–2," *Encounter* 69 (2008): 45–83; J. Gerald Janzen, "Sin and the Deception of the Devout Desire: Paul and the Commandment in Romans 7," *Encounter* 70 (2009): 29–61; Jemna Dănuț-Vasile, "The *Aphtharsia* in the Pauline Thought. A Biblical Anthropological Perspective," *Sacra Scripta* 10 (2012): 69–97; Calvin L. Porter, "God's Justice and the Culture of the Law: Conflicting Traditions in Paul's Letter to the Romans," *Encounter* 59 (1998): 135–55; Petra Von Gemünden, "La Femme Passionnelle et l'homme Rationnel? Un Chapitre de Psychologie Historique," *Bib* 78 (1997): 457–80.

determines whether they will walk in obedience or disobedience (4.15–16). In light of this, predestination will be a focus of my analysis for the sake of understanding agency and walking in obedience in 1QS. Moreover, to demonstrate an active human agent, I will analyze the author’s focus on human action/work in connection with obedience, including the importance of law obedience for the community (1.2–3, 8–9, 16–17; 3.6–12; 5.8–9; 8.1–2, 21–23). Additionally, I will discuss the relationship between rewards for obedience and punishment for disobedience and human agency. I will conclude the chapter by discussing the relationship between the divine and the human agent using Barclay’s models of agency.

Chapter 3 will be a critical analysis of 4 Maccabees, focusing on agency and virtue. I will argue that, though the focus is on the human agent, 4 Maccabees demonstrates an active divine and human agent in walking in virtue. Obedience to the law plays a central role in the main argument of 4 Maccabees; that “devout reason” is the master of the passions (1:1, 9, 19, 30; 2:9, 6:31; 7:16; 13:1; 16:1; 18:2) and champion of virtue (1:7–9, 30). Because of this, my analysis will focus on the role of the law in order to shed light on what 4 Maccabees says about agency and virtue. The relationship between reason and virtue (1:7–9, 28–31), the law and reason (1:32–35; 2:8–16), and the law and virtue (2:9–16) are all important themes for understanding the role of the law in 4 Maccabees. Moreover, I will analyze the examples of the nine martyrs (chaps. 5–18), who exemplify the role of the law in virtue and the superiority of the law over the passions and shed light on agency and virtue in 4 Maccabees.⁴¹ Because of the importance of the law, I will discuss God’s act of giving the human agent a mind to rule over the passions and giving the law to guide the mind (2:21–23) and what that act contributes to the discussion in this chapter. In tandem with obedience, I will also discuss

⁴¹ Some important texts related to these martyrs that I will focus on are 5:34–35; 6:30; 7:17–23; 9:4–8, 17–18; 10:10; 11:2–12; 12:11–14; 13:1–9; 15:11–12, 29; 16:16–24; 17:11–18.

divine recompense in 4 Maccabees and what it reveals about agency and walking in virtue.

In chapter 4, to aid my interpretation of Galatians 5:17 and my discussion of divine and human agency in 5:16–25, I will discuss the importance of the cross and the giving of the Spirit for Paul’s argument in Galatians. Specifically, I will argue that Paul employs the cross as the turning point between the apocalyptic ages to argue against his opponents’s law-observing gospel. Before making this argument, though, I will first demonstrate Paul’s use of apocalyptic throughout his argument in Galatians. Paul uses the two apocalyptic ages to make his argument against the law. Through the cross, Christ brought an end to the present evil age (1:4) and inaugurated the new creation (6:14–15; 2:20). The inauguration of the new age is marked by the giving of the Spirit, through the cross (2:19–20; 3:1–5, 13–14; 4:4–6). The law belongs to the old age, and therefore no longer has a role in the new (4:21–31). Rather, the Spirit replaces the law as a mark and guide of the people of God in the new age. With the coming of the new age comes a transition from the law to the Spirit. This transition has implications for agency and walking in obedience, which I will discuss using 2:19–20 as an example.

Chapter 5 is where I will critically engage with Galatians 5:16–25, giving special attention to 5:17. Building upon the previous chapter, I will focus on interpreting Paul’s argument in 5:16–25 in order to shed light on what it says about agency and walking in the Spirit, giving special focus to verse 17. Specifically, I will argue that the centrality of Christ’s work on the cross forms the foundation for interpreting 5:16–25 and understanding what Paul says about agency and walking in obedience in 5:17. With the inauguration of the new age and the giving of the Spirit, the indwelling Spirit now guides and determines how the people of God live. This means that the Galatians “cannot do whatever they want,” namely, fulfill the desire of the flesh. They are to walk and be led by the Spirit. With the inauguration of the new age and the giving of the Spirit also comes a change in agency. The law represents human agency, while the Spirit represents divine

agency. This has direct implications for what 5:16–25, including verse 17, says about divine and human agency and walking in the Spirit.

Chapter 6 is where I will compare Paul in Galatians with 1QS and 4 Maccabees, before concluding this dissertation. Using my findings from my chapters on 1QS, 4 Maccabees, and Galatians 5:16–25, I will show how Paul is similar to and differs from these Second Temple Jewish texts. I will argue that Paul is similar to 1QS and 4 Maccabees in that all three texts view both the divine and the human agent as active in walking in obedience, without competing against or conflicting with one another. I will argue that the most notable way that Paul differs from 1QS and 4 Maccabees is that the divine agent himself, the Spirit, indwells the human agent to empower and guide him in walking in obedience. In contrast, the divine agent in 1QS and 4 Maccabees enables the human agent to walk in obedience through means external to the divine agent (i.e., the giving of knowledge, the two spirits, the giving of the mind, the giving of the law). With regard to 1QS, I will give specific attention to the role of the divine agent, especially through predetermination and the giving of the spirits, and how that compares to the role the divine agent plays in 4 Maccabees and Galatians. Regarding 4 Maccabees, I will especially focus on the role of the human agent and the function of the law in walking in obedience, and I will compare that to human agency in 1QS and Galatians 5:16–25, giving special attention to the role of the Spirit in Galatians.

CHAPTER 2

WALKING IN OBEDIENCE AND AGENCY IN 1QS

The *Serekh ha-Yahad*, the tradition behind the *Community Rule*,¹ appears to have been influential within the community based on the number of copies found.² The *Community Rule*,³ the most complete extant version of the *Serekh ha-Yahad* tradition, contains instructions for covenant renewal ceremonies, guidelines for entry into the community, standards for life within it, including penalties for breaking these standards, and descriptions of leadership roles. The *Rule* also contains the most complete version of the so-called Sermon of the Two Spirits (3.13–4.26), which largely addresses the problem of sin, and it ends with a hymn of praise to God for his sovereignty and benevolence (10.9–11.22).⁴ Due to the existence of both theology and community guidelines, 1QS

¹ Throughout this dissertation, I will use the *Community Rule* or the *Rule* as references to 1QS. I will use *Serekh ha-Yahad* when referring to the *Community Rule* tradition, found most fully in 1QS but also in other fragments (4QS^{a-j}; 5Q11). For a description of the various fragments of the *Serekh ha-Yahad*, see Philip S. Alexander, “The Redaction-History of *Serekh Ha-Yahad*: A Proposal,” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 437–56.

² Philip Alexander notes that eleven copies have been discovered that cover a period of 120 years palaeographically (“Predestination and Free Will in the Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Divine and Human Agency in Paul and His Cultural Environment*, ed. John M. G. Barclay and Simon J. Gathercole, T&T Clark Biblical Studies [New York: T&T Clark, 2008], 38). Alexander argues that the *Community Rule* was a guidebook for the Maskil of the community, rather than a document for the general community member (Alexander, “The Redaction-History,” 439).

³ Most scholars date 1QS to the first half of the 1st century BCE, typically around 100 BCE. So Alexander, “The Redaction-History,” 447; Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 7; A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966), 100; P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction*, STDJ 1 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957), 1–21.

⁴ Scholars agree that the hymn ends the *Community Rule* (ending at 11.22), but they differ on where it begins. Metzso suggests that 9.26 begins the hymn (Sarianna Metzso, *The Serekh Texts*, LSTS 62 [London: T&T Clark, 2007], 14). Leaney places its beginning at 10.1 (Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning*, 113). Alexander sees 10.5 as the start of the hymn (“The Redaction-History,” 454). Charlesworth, Klein, and Knibb have the hymn beginning at 10.9 (James H. Charlesworth, Henry W. L.

addresses both divine and human activity. In this chapter, I will argue that, though the focus of the Sermon of the Two Spirits and the rest of 1QS have different focuses, they both present an active divine and human agent in walking in obedience. Moreover, rather than being in competition to be active, the divine agent actively enables the active human agent to walk in obedience. To make my argument, I will first analyze the Sermon to demonstrate the role the divine agent and the human agent play in walking in obedience. I will then do the same with the rest of 1QS.

My justification for focusing on the Two Spirits on its own, apart from the rest of the *Rule* is twofold. First, a casual reading of 1QS reveals the unique nature of the Sermon of the Two Spirits in comparison to the rest of the document. While the rest of 1QS (apart from the concluding hymn) deals with issues related to life within the community, the Two Spirits focuses on the existence of sin in the world, especially among community members.⁵ Because of its uniqueness and the fact that it is absent from other copies of the *Serekh ha-Yahad* (i.e., 4QS^d, which begins with the material

Rietz, and Michael T. Davis, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Rule of the Community*, Photographic Multi-Language Edition [Philadelphia: American Interfaith Institute/World Alliance, 1996], 30; so also Anja Klein, “From the ‘Right Spirit’ to the ‘Spirit of Truth’: Observations on Psalm 51 and 1QS,” in *The Dynamics of Language and Exegesis at Qumran*, ed. Devorah. Dimant and Reinhard G. Kratz, FAT II 35 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009], 180; Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 144).

⁵ Stuckenbruck notes: “The Treatise provided its original community, and subsequently the Qumran community, with a theological framework that enabled these groups to come to terms with discrepancies between the ideology and identity they claimed for themselves on the one hand and realities of what they experienced on the other” (Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “Interiorization of Dualism within the Human Being: The Treatise of the Two Spirits (1QS III:13-IV:26) in Its Tradition-Historical Context,” in *Light Against Darkness: Dualism in Ancient Mediterranean Religion and the Contemporary World*, ed. Eric Meyers et al., *Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements* 2 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010], 168; similarly, James H. Charlesworth, “A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in 1QS III, 13-IV, 26 and the ‘Dualism’ Contained in the Fourth Gospel,” *NTS* 15 [1969]: 392–94; Florentino García Martínez, “Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, vol 1, *The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. John J. Collins [New York: Continuum, 1998], 169). Other scholars have noted the *Sermon* was intended to motivate the members to remain faithful to community standards (i.e., (i.e., Thomas P. Dixon, “Knowledge and Deeds in the Two Spirits Treatise,” *JSP* 24 [2014]: 87; Kamilla Skarström Hinojosa, *A Synchronic Approach to the Serek Ha-Yahad (1QS): From Text to Social and Cultural Context* [Umeå, Sweden: Umeå Universitet, 2016], 82; Marcus K. M. Tso, *Ethics in the Qumran Community: An Interdisciplinary Investigation*, vol. 292, WUNT II [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010], 155–56, cf. 179).

found at 1QS V), scholars debate whether the Sermon existed in the earliest forms of the *Serekh ha-Yahad* tradition,⁶ was a later addition,⁷ possibly pre-existing 1QS independently, or represents a redactional extension developed throughout the recension history of the *Serekh ha-Yahad*.⁸ Because of the uniqueness of the Sermon within 1QS and the lack of scholarly consensus on its recension history within the *Serekh ha-Yahad* tradition, the Two Spirits lends itself to being examined on its own.⁹

The Sermon should not be read completely removed from the context of 1QS, though. Even if the Two Spirits is a later addition, the compiler believed that it fit with the teachings of *Rule* enough to include it.¹⁰ Moreover, scholars have demonstrated the

⁶ So Alexander, “The Redaction-History,” 39; Devorah Dimant, “The Composite Character of the Qumran Sectarian Literature as an Indication of Its Date and Provenance,” *RevQ* 22 (2006): 630.

⁷ So Jean Duhaime, “Dualistic Reworking in the Scrolls from Qumran,” *CBQ* 49 (1987): 32–56; Charlotte Hempel, “The *Treatise on the Two Spirits* and the Literary History of the *Rule of the Community*,” in *Dualism in Qumran*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits, LSTS 76 (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 102–20; Armin Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran*, STDJ 13 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 126–28; Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*, STDJ 21 (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Jerome Murphy-O’Connor, “La Genèse Littéraire de La Règle de La Communauté,” *RB* 76 (1969): 528–49; Stuckenbruck, “Interiorization of Dualism,” 161.

⁸ So Peter Porzig, “The Place of the ‘Treatise of the Two Spirits’ (1QS 3:13-4:26) within the Literary Development of the Community Rule,” in *Law, Literature, and Society in Legal Texts from Qumran: Papers from the Ninth Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Leuven 2016*, ed. Jutta Jokiranta and Molly Zahn, STDJ 128 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 127–52.

⁹ Other scholars make similar arguments for focusing on the Sermon apart from the rest of 1QS. See Dixon, “Knowledge and Deeds in the Two Spirits Treatise,” 73; Stuckenbruck, “Interiorization of Dualism,” 161; Daniel C. Timmer, “Variegated Nomism Indeed: Multiphase Eschatology and Soteriology in the Qumranite Community Rule (1QS) and the New Perspective on Paul,” *JETS* 52 (2009): 341. Scholars debate the textual development of the Sermon and 1QS. 1QS represents one stage in the development of the so-called Serkha ha-Yahad tradition as shown by other fragments of the tradition (4QS^{a-j}, 5QS). I will not enter the debates over these issues since they are not relevant to my project. For my comparative analysis, I will focus on the form of the Serkha ha-Yahad tradition preserved in the extant copy labeled 1QS. Throughout this dissertation, I will use the *Community Rule* or the *Rule* to refer to the 1QS text unless otherwise noted. I will use “the Sermon of the Two Spirits,” “the Sermon,” and “the Two Spirits” all as references to 1QS 3.13–4.26 for stylistic variety. When I mention “the author,” I am not assuming that 1QS has a single author. Rather, I am merely speaking of whoever wrote the lines currently being discussed. For the textual development of the Sermon and 1QS as a whole, see the works cited in the previous three notes.

¹⁰ Wernberg-Møller makes this argument (“A Reconsideration of the Two Spirits in the Rule of the Community (IQSerek III,13 - IV,26),” *RevQ* 3 [1961]: 416–17).

consistency between the theology of the Sermon and the rest of 1QS,¹¹ as well as other Qumran texts.¹² Therefore, though it is legitimate to focus on the Sermon of the Two Spirits on its own, it should be read as the compiler intended—in connection with the *Community Rule*.

Second, the similarities between 1QS 3.13–4.26 and Galatians 5:16–25 are far greater than with the rest of 1QS. While the *Community Rule* outside of the Sermon addresses rules, rituals, and responsibilities for living in the community, the Sermon has a significantly different feel, as noted above. The Two Spirits presents a discourse on walking in the ways of the spirit of truth (walking in obedience) in contrast to walking in the ways of the spirit of deceit (walking in disobedience), with the goal of encouraging the community members to walk in obedience in order to avoid the end for those who walk in disobedience. Similarly, Galatians 5:16–25 addresses walking in obedience and places it in opposition to walking in disobedience (“walk by the Spirit and you will by no means fulfill the desire of the flesh,” Gal. 5:16) to encourage obedience (in the Spirit). In both texts, walking in obedience and walking in disobedience are represented by two opposing forces or beings.¹³ In the Sermon of the Two Spirits, walking in obedience is

¹¹ Hempel, “The *Treatise on the Two Spirits* and the Literary History of the *Rule of the Community*,” 113–19; Porzig, “The Place of the ‘Treatise,’” 133–44; Timmer, “Variegated Nomism Indeed”; Wernberg-Møller, “A Reconsideration,” 435–41.

¹² Alexander, “Predestination and Free Will,” 39–47.

¹³ Most scholars view the two spirits as entities or principles external to the human (so Alexander, 31; Charlesworth, “A Critical Comparison,” 395–98; Jörg Frey, “Paul’s View of the Spirit in the Light of Qumran,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature*, ed. Jean-Sébastien Rey, STDJ 102 [Leiden: Brill, 2014], 237–60; Hinojosa, *A Synchronic Approach*, 74; Herbert G. May, “Cosmological Reference in the Qumran Doctrine of the Two Spirits and in Old Testament Imagery,” *JBL* 82 [1963]: 3–4; Mladen Popović, “Anthropology, Pneumatology, and Demonology in Early Judaism: The *Two Spirits Treatise* (1QS III, 13–IV 26) and Other Texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls: John Collins at Seventy*, ed. Joel S. Baden, Hindy Najman, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, vol. 2, JSJSUP 175 [Leiden: Brill, 2017], 1042–45; E. Puech notes that the two spirits are external beings that are closely connected with and affect the disposition of humans [“L’Esprit Saint à Qumrân,” *LA* 49 [1999]: 286n10]). Some scholars, though, have argued that the two spirits represent two human dispositions rather than external beings (so Marco Treves, “The Two Spirits of the Rule of the Community,” *RevQ* 3 [1961]: 449–50; Wernberg-Møller, “A Reconsideration,” 422). Connecting 3.18–19 and 4.23, Wernberg-Møller notes that God created two spirits (3.18–19) and both spirits dwell in humans (4.23). He argues “We are therefore not dealing here with a kind of metaphysical, cosmic dualism represented by the two ‘spirits’, but with the

represented by the spirit of truth/light, which opposes the representative of walking in disobedience, the spirit of deceit/darkness (4.17–18). In Galatians, the Spirit and the flesh stand in opposition to each other (5:17), which represents walking in obedience and walking in disobedience, respectively. Moreover, both texts list characteristics of walking in obedience (1QS 4.2–6; Gal. 5:22–23) and disobedience (1QS 4.9–11; Gal. 5:19–21), as well as rewards/punishment for obedience and disobedience (1QS 4.6–8, 11–14; Gal. 5:21).¹⁴ Because of these similarities, it makes sense to compare 1QS 3.13–4.26 on its own with Galatians 5:16–25.

Following my evaluations of the Sermon of the Two Spirits and the rest of 1QS, I will then offer a conclusion. In this, I will briefly discuss the similarity or dissimilarity between divine and human agency in the Sermon and the rest of the *Community Rule*. Following this, I will comment on where the Two Spirits and the *Rule* fit within Barclay’s models of divine and human agency.¹⁵ I will then conclude with a summary of my findings in this chapter.

idea that man was created by God with two ‘spirits’—the Old Testament term for ‘mood’ or ‘disposition’” (Wernberg-Møller, 422). Viewing the two spirits in the Sermon as dispositions rather than external entities faces difficulties, though. This view does not fit well with the dominion of the Prince of Light and that of the Angel of Darkness (3.20–21). Dominion language adds a cosmological layer to the Sermon that makes more sense with two external entities rather than two human dispositions (so May, “Cosmological Reference in the Qumran Doctrine of the Two Spirits and in Old Testament Imagery,” 3). The language of 3.18 also suggests that these are two external entities, for God created “for him [man] two spirits in which to walk.” These spirits were created apart from man. They were created לו (for him), not בו (in him). This suggests these spirits are more than just human dispositions (so Charlesworth, “A Critical Comparison,” 389; Popović, “Anthropology, Pneumatology, and Demonology,” 1042–43). Regarding the two spirits being at war within the hearts of men (4.23), Charlesworth helpfully comments that “there is no suggestion that the two spirits dwell in man exclusively” (“A Critical Comparison,” 396).

¹⁴ Galatians 5:16–25 does not explicitly mention rewards for walking in obedience. A reward can be presumed, though, from the “punishment” noted for walking in disobedience: not inheriting the kingdom of God (5.21). Those who walk in obedience, who walk in and are led by the Spirit, will inherit the kingdom.

¹⁵ I am not claiming that the author of the Sermon or the rest of 1QS (if they differ) was thinking about agency or models of agency. Rather, I am employing Barclay’s models of agency to best describe the relationship between the divine agent and the human agent with regard to walking in obedience in 1QS

The Sermon of the Two Spirits

Within the *Community Rule*, 1QS 3.13–4.26 stands out as unique. Whereas the rest of the *Rule* (minus the concluding hymn) reads like a rulebook for entrance and life within the community, the Sermon of the Two Spirits reads more like a treatise on the nature of man and sin. The inclusion of the Two Spirits within 1QS appears largely to be for the purpose of motivating the community members to remain faithful to God, the community, and the community's standards.¹⁶ The Sermon focuses largely on the problem of sin, even within the sons of righteousness.¹⁷ The answer to the problem is God's sovereignty. Through appealing to God's sovereignty, the divine agent's role in man's walking in obedience emerges. In this section, I will argue that the divine agent is active in walking in obedience in the Sermon of the Two Spirits.¹⁸ This is demonstrated primarily through God's sovereign predetermination of all things, including the works of man, and his giving of the two spirits. It is also shown, though, through God's eschatological cleansing and destruction of deceit. This does not diminish human agency, though. The presence of rewards for obedience and punishment for disobedience suggests that the human agent plays an active role as well in walking in obedience.

Overview of the Sermon

As mentioned above, the Sermon largely deals with the problem of sin in the world, including among the sons of righteousness. This is done by focusing on God's creation of man and the two spirits in which man walks: the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit (3.15–19). Those who follow the spirit of truth are called the sons of righteousness/light/truth and are under the dominion of the Prince of Light. Those who

¹⁶ For other scholars who see a similar purpose to the Sermon, see note 5 in this chapter.

¹⁷ Sons of righteousness is the name given to the community members (3.20). Unless otherwise noted, all 1QS translations come from Charlesworth, Rietz, and Davis, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*.

¹⁸ Throughout this dissertation, "walking in obedience" refers to the act of walking in obedience by the human agent.

follow the spirit of deceit are under the dominion of the Angel of Darkness and are called the sons of deceit (3.20–21). This modified-dualistic worldview does not match with reality, though, for even the Sons of Light veer from the path of the spirit of truth and sin at times.¹⁹ To make sense of this, the author explains that the Angel of Darkness also influences the sons of light. The sons of light stumble and fall into sin because of the Angel of Darkness and those under his dominion (3.21–23). God and his Angel of Truth aid the Sons of Light (3.24–25), though, for he loves the ways of the spirit of truth (3.26–4.1) but hates the spirit of darkness (4.1). In 4.2–14, the author lists the ways of the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit and the recompense for those who walk in each: rewards for those walking in the spirit of truth and punishment for those following the spirit of deceit. In the final section of the Sermon (4.15–24), the author first further explains the roles of the spirits of truth and of deceit in the lives of men. Both spirits exist within the hearts of men and wage war against one another (4.15, 23). The spirit one walks in and the works one does depend on which spirit he possesses a greater share in (4.15–16).

¹⁹ Scholars debate whether the Sermon of the Two Spirits exhibits dualism or not. Popovic, following Ugo Bianchi's definition of dualism in the *Encyclopedia of Religion*, defines dualism as: "a concept according to which two fundamentally opposed, causal principles underlie the existence of the world and its constitutive elements" (Mladen Popović, "Light and Darkness in the Treatise on the Two Spirits (1QS III 3–IV 26) and in 4Q186," in *Dualism in Qumran*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits, T & T Clark Library of Biblical Studies [New York: T&T Clark International, 2010], 149). To my knowledge, no scholar would suggest that the Sermon displays this definition of dualism. Most scholars suggest that the Two Spirits represents a "modified" dualism (e.g., Charlesworth, "A Critical Comparison," 401–2; Craig A. Evans, "Apocalypticism," in *Dictionary of New Testament Background*, ed. Craig A. Evans and Stanley E. Porter [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000], 49; Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 95; Metso, *The Serekh Texts*, 26–27; Popović, "Light and Darkness," 151; Stuckenbruck, "Interiorization of Dualism," 162; Emmanuel O. Tukasi, "Dualism and Penitential Prayer in the *Rule of the Community* (1QS)," in *Dualism in Qumran*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits, LSTS 76 [London: T&T Clark, 2010], 167). Though the Sermon presents two opposing principles (spirit of truth/light and of deceit/darkness: 3.18–19) under whom all humanity is divided (3.18–21), these cosmic beings are not "causal principles," for they were created by and are under the rule of God (3.18, 25). Other scholars think the Sermon of the Two Spirits should not be considered dualistic. For example, Heger questions the value of using even modified dualism language. Instead, he states: "I believe that what we are seeing in this source is really an issue of polarity... in other words, rather than dualism, this is the rational idea that every concept in human life has its opposite" (Paul Heger, "Another Look at Dualism in Qumran Writings," in *Dualism in Qumran*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits, LSTS 76 [London: T&T Clark, 2010], 55). I am inclined to think it is helpful to speak of modified dualism in the Sermon in light of the ever-present opposition between the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit and their battling for the hearts of humans.

Because of having both spirits, though they have a greater share in the spirit of truth, the sons of righteousness still sin at times because of the presence of the spirit of deceit waging war in their hearts and the influence of the Angel of Darkness and his dominion. This internal battle will not last forever, though, for in his appointed time God will put an end to the dominion deceit (4.18–20). All deceit will be destroyed (4.18–19), including those who walk in the way of deceit (4.13–14; cf. 3.23), and those who are righteous will be purified and given wisdom, knowledge, and Adam’s glory (4.20–23).

Determinism

Before looking at the role of the divine agent, one important issue that requires addressing is whether divine determinism is present within the Two Spirits. This is important because, as I will argue below, divine agency in the Sermon is demonstrated through God’s act of predetermining. On the issue of determinism within the Sermon, there is not a unanimous scholarly consensus.

Though most scholars see God acting deterministically,²⁰ a minority of scholars hold that determinism does not exist in the Sermon of the Two Spirits.²¹ For

²⁰ So Alexander, “Predestination and Free Will,” 48; Lisa M. Bowens, *An Apostle in Battle: Paul and Spiritual Warfare in 2 Corinthians 12:1-10*, WUNT II 433 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 90; George J. Brooke, “Some Issues Behind the Ethics in the Qumran Scrolls and Their Implications for New Testament Ethics,” in *Early Christian Ethics in Interaction with Jewish and Greco-Roman Contexts*, ed. Jan Willem van Henten and Joseph Verheyden, *Studies in Theology and Religion* 17 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 102; Magen Broshi, “Predestination in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, vol. 2 (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), 238; Martin. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine During the Early Hellenistic Period*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 218–24; Hinojosa, *A Synchronic Approach*, 73; Charlesworth, “A Critical Comparison,” 392; Årstein Justnes, “Predetermined for Predestination? On the Assumed Notion of Predestination in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *SJOT* 33 (2019): 89; Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 94–954; Karl G Kuhn, “Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion,” *ZThK* 49 (1952): 312; John R. Levison, “The Two Spirits in Qumran Theology,” in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, vol. 2 (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), 187; Martínez, “Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 169; Friedrich Nötscher, “Schicksalsglaube in Qumran und Umwelt,” *BZ* 3 (1959): 217–34; John Pryke, “‘Spirit’ and ‘Flesh’ in the Qumran Documents and Some New Testament Texts,” *RevQ* 5 (1965): 351; Timmer, “Variegated Nomism Indeed,” 351; James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 102–4.

²¹ Alfred Marx, “Y A-t-II Une Prédestination à Qumran?,” *RevQ* 6 (1967): 173–76; Wernberg-

instance, Alfred Marx argues that predeterminism does not exist in the sermon. What does exist in the Sermon is God's grace, which enables one to be able to become a son of righteousness. Though one cannot walk in the ways of the spirit of truth apart from God's grace, it "n'exclut nullement la participation humaine."²² When God appears to act deterministically in the Sermon, what is actually being shown is God's eternal decision that those who freely walk in the ways of the spirit of truth would be blessed and those who freely walk in the ways of the spirit of deceit would be cursed.²³

The language of the Sermon of the Two Spirits renders Marx's view problematic. In 3.15–16, the author of the Two Spirits states: "From the God of knowledge comes all that is occurring and shall occur. And before they came into being he established their designs; when they come into existence in their fixed times, they carry through their task according to his glorious design. Nothing can be changed." Since *all that happens* (הוֹיָה) and *shall happen* (וְנִהְיֶיהָ) comes from God, the author appears to mean something broader than just God deciding from eternity past to bless those who walk in righteousness and curse those who walk in deceit. This language indicates that God has determined all of history, not just the standard for receiving his blessing or his punishment. Furthermore, when man comes into existence, they *fulfill* (יִמְלְאוּ) their task without any change (לִהְשִׁנוֹת וְאֵין). Again, the language the author uses when describing God's creation work is deterministic.²⁴

Even among scholars who argue for the existence of determinism in the

Møller, "A Reconsideration," 421.

²² Marx, "Y A-t-Il Une Prédestination à Qumran?," 174.

²³ Marx, "Y A-t-Il Une Prédestination à Qumran?," 174.

²⁴ So Hinojosa, *A Synchronic Approach*, 73; Chad Martin Stauber, "Determinism in the Rule of the Community (1QS): A New Perspective," in *Celebrating the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Canadian Collection*, ed. Kyung S. Baek, Peter W. Flint, and Jean. Duhaime, *Early Judaism and Its Literature* 30 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 350.

Sermon, there are differing views regarding the relationship between God's determinism and the role of the human agent. Some scholars contend that God's all-encompassing determinism rids the human of any actual choice.²⁵ Philip Alexander comments that

everything is carried back to the mysterious power of God, who inscribed the whole unfolding drama before the creation of the world. He is the cosmic puppet-master who pulls everyone's strings. There is, apparently, little room here for independent human agency: the good and the bad, men, angels, and demons, act in the end only as agents of God's grand design. Divine agency is all.²⁶

In the Sermon, this means that whether one is a son of light and receives the blessings of walking in the way of the spirit of truth or a son of deceit and receives the punishment for walking in the way of the spirit of deceit is purely based on God's deterministic choice. One difficulty this view faces is how God can predetermine the works of all humans but then reward and punish them based on their works. Kuhn notes this difficulty:

Wenn Gott es ist, der die beiden Geister der Wahrheit und des Frevels geschaffen hat und der die Zugehörigkeit jedes Menschen zu jeweils einer der beiden Parteien vorherbestimmt hat und damit seine Taten und sein Endsicksal, dann erwächst das Problem: Wie kann Gott einerseits das Böse schaffen und Menschen dazu prädestinieren, so daß sie gemäß solcher Prädestination das Böse tun, und sie dann andererseits wegen dieser ihrer bösen Taten richten und verdammen?²⁷

It appears that the author either could not or was not concerned with answering

²⁵ So Alexander, "Predestination and Free Will," 48; Bowens, *An Apostle in Battle*, 90; Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1:218–24; Levison, "The Two Spirits in Qumran Theology," 187; Martínez, "Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 169; Stauber, "Determinism in the Rule," 348. Charlesworth notes that even joining the community was not a free choice of the human agent but rather "an appointed task carried through by one predestined by nature to be a son of light" Charlesworth, "A Critical Comparison," 392; similarly, Levison, "The Two Spirits in Qumran Theology," 187; Stauber, "Determinism in the Rule," 352–55).

²⁶ Alexander, "Predestination and Free Will," 48.

²⁷ "If it is God who created the two spirits, that of truth and of wickedness, and who predetermined to which of the two [spirits] every human would belong, and thus his deeds and his final fate, then the problem arises: How can God create evil on the one hand and predestine people to do evil, in accordance with such predestination, and then, on the other hand, judge and condemn them for their evil deeds?" Kuhn, "Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion," 313; similarly, Alexander, "Predestination and Free Will," 48; Stauber, "Determinism in the Rule," 328.

this question.²⁸ Or maybe the author did not answer this question because the question did not exist to him, since he viewed the human agent as active and morally responsible for his actions.

Other scholars agree that the Sermon presents God as acting deterministically, but they do not agree that the determinism ascribed to God removes choice or responsibility from the human agent.²⁹ This view, sometimes referred to as “compatibilism,”³⁰ holds that in some way or to some degree the human agent has free choice and is responsible for his actions while affirming the determinism contributed to God. Those who hold this position typically point to the emphasis on human deeds and the rewards or punishment they receive (especially in 4.2–14) as evidence.³¹ This view is consistent with what E. P. Sanders finds in his examination of providence and free will in the Dead Sea Scrolls, which includes sections of the *Community Rule*. Sanders notes:

I think that to the monotheist in particular, belief in divine determinism is easy and simple and that this is the thought that comes to mind when thinking of God or addressing him in prayer. But when a group of people gathers to discuss rules that will govern the group, they naturally think of human ability to make decisions and to take responsibility for their actions. Thus, a person who betrays the group is treated as a traitor, not as a poor victim of God’s caprice.³²

²⁸ Alexander, “Predestination and Free Will,” 48.

²⁹ So Brooke, “Some Issues,” 102; Justnes, “Predetermined for Predestination?,” 89; Nötscher, “Schicksalsglaube,” 217–34; Timmer, “Variegated Nomism Indeed,” 351. Hinojosa’s view is difficult to discern (*A Synchronic Approach*, 73). He notes that 3.15–17 “sets a deterministic tone,” but that viewing this “tone” as a “hard-core deterministic view on mankind” runs contrary to the rest of the Sermon. He then seems to argue that man fulfilling his task (3.16) should be understood in the same way as the plants and animals fulfilling their task in Gen. 1:22, which he states means they “create their own destiny by the way they act in the world.” He notes that this passage (3.15–17) should “not be taken in a deterministic way.” In light of this, it is unclear whether Hinojosa holds to the compatibilist view or sees no determinism in the Sermon.

³⁰ Stauber, “Determinism in the Rule,” 348.

³¹ For example, Justnes, “Predetermined for Predestination?,” 89; Timmer, “Variegated Nomism Indeed,” 351.

³² E. P. Sanders, “The Dead Sea Sect and Other Jews: Commonalities, Overlaps and Differences,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context*, ed. Timothy H. Lim (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 30.

The main objection given against this view questions how God can sovereignly predetermine the works of man and at the same time the human agent can have choice and responsibility. In other words, how can you have an active, sovereign divine agent and an active human agent? I will argue below that the author has a deterministic view of God, that God is the cause of and in control of all things. He also, though, views the human agent as active in walking in obedience. Rewards or punishment, then, are determined by the human agent's choices. What is important for the current section, though, is that determinism is ascribed to God by the author of the Sermon. This is important because God's divine action with regard to the human agent walking in obedience is directly tied to his deterministic action.

Divine Agency

Though the author does directly credit God with aiding the sons of light in walking in obedience (3.24–25), the divine agent is active in man's walking in obedience primarily through the act of predetermination. God's predeterminism appears in the overlapping acts of creation and the giving of the two spirits. Following the introduction, the Sermon begins by drawing attention to God's work of predetermination in creation (3.15–17).³³ “From the God of knowledge comes all that is occurring and shall occur... In his hands (are) the judgments of all things; and he is the one who sustains them in their affairs” (3.15, 17).³⁴ This includes the works done by humans. When people come into existence, they carry out “their task according to his [God's] glorious design” (3.16). God

³³ Alexander points out that the beginning of the Sermon (3.15–19) reflects a reading of the story of creation in Genesis (“Predestination and Free Will,” 29–30). Similarly, Hinojosa suggests that the Sermon draws from Genesis 1–2, but he also thinks it contains common features from Zoroastrian mythology (*A Synchronic Approach*, 70).

³⁴ The judgments in 3.16–17 probably refer to God's decrees that govern all of creation. So William Hugh Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline*. (New Haven, CT: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951), 14n28; Jacob Licht, “An Analysis of the Treatise on the Two Spirits in DSD,” in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Chaim Rabin and Yigael Yadin, 2nd ed., *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, IV (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1965), 91; Wernberg-Møller, “A Reconsideration,” 421.

predetermines the works of men, and these predetermined works cannot be changed (3.16). From the start of the Sermon, the divine agent is shown to be active in walking in obedience, and conversely in disobedience. For the deeds of men are preordained by God. Since all that happens and will happen comes from God and since God establishes the works (פעולתם) that man will fulfill (ימלאו), without change (3.16), it is reasonable to conclude that walking in obedience or disobedience is connected to God's act of predeterminism. When man walks in obedience, when he works and acts in ways that are in obedience to God, these deeds were predetermined by God.

This opening description of God preordaining the world and the paths of men is important for setting up the role of the two spirits. For, God also created two spirits for man to walk in (להתהלך) until the time of God's visitation: the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit (3.18–19).³⁵ The spirit one follows relates directly to walking in obedience or disobedience. Those who walk in the way of the spirit of truth walk in light (3.20), and those who walk in the spirit of deceit walk in darkness (3.21). Or in other words, those who walk in the ways of the spirit of truth walk in obedience; those who walk in the spirit of deceit walk in disobedience. This is evident by the rewards given to those who follow the spirit of truth (4.6–8) and the punishment for those following the spirit of deceit (4.11–14). It is also supported by the similarities between the ways of the spirit of truth

³⁵ Licht takes 3.18 (“and designed for him two spirits in which to walk”) to essentially mean that God designed and gave two spirits to determine man's behavior (“An Analysis,” 91). Wernberg-Møller understands this phrase as having a “decidedly ethical connotation” based on the Hithpael use of הלך in the OT. Rather than referring to God determining man's behavior, 3.18 merely emphasizes the way man should live (“A Reconsideration,” 423). I am inclined to think that there is truth to both views and that they are not contradictory. Considering the common use of “walk” language in the OT and the *Community Rule* to refer to the human agent walking in obedience (e.g., Exod 18:20; Lev 18:4; Isa 2:3; Jer 7:23; 1QS 1.8; 5.10; 9.12–13), I agree with Wernberg-Møller that the הלך language in 3.18 gives it an ethical connotation and refers to the manner in which one lives. I will discuss the use of הלך in both of my sections on human agency in this chapter. Against Wernberg-Møller, and in line with Licht, I think there is a deterministic aspect to this phrase when the rest of the Sermon is considered. As I argue in this section, the divine agent is active in man's walking in obedience because whether man walks in obedience or disobedience depends on the spirit in which God has given him a greater share. Alexander draws attention to the naming of these spirits as “truth and falsehood” rather than “good and evil.” The reason the author describes the spirits in intellectual terms, Alexander argues, is because “he believes that human wrongdoing is born of ignorance or rejection of the truth, human right-doing from knowledge and acceptance of the truth” (“Predestination and Free Will,” 29–30). This backs Wernberg-Møller's “ethical connotation” view and fits well with the rest of the *Community Rule*, which emphasizes knowledge and deeds, as I will discuss below.

(4.2–6) and the description of the community members in the rest of the *Rule* (cf. 2.23–24; 5.24–26; 8.2).³⁶ Moreover, the ways of the spirit of truth God loves for all times (3.26–4.1) and the ways of the spirit of deceit God hates forever (4.1). Since all that happens and will happen comes from God (3.15) and since God establishes man’s deeds (פעולתם) (3.16), it follows that whether one walks in the spirit of truth or the spirit of deceit is predetermined by God.

In the final section of the Sermon of the Two Spirits (4.15–26), following the descriptions of the ways of the spirits of truth and deceit (4.2–15), the author returns to the role of the two spirits in the life of the human agent. He notes that all the sons of man have a share/inheritance (ינחלו) in both the spirits. The way one walks (cf. 3.18) and deeds one does (פעולת מעשיהם; cf. 3.16: פעולתם), though, depends on how great or how little (למועט רוב) their share/inheritance (נחלת) is in each spirit (4.15–16). Leaney notes: “If a man has a preponderance of the spirit of truth, he will belong to that ‘host’ or army and, if a preponderance of the spirit of perversity, to the ‘host’ or ‘lot’ of Belial.”³⁷ Moreover, whether one is righteous, and therefore hates deceit, depends on their share (נחלת) in (the spirit of) truth. Whether one is evil, and therefore hates truth, is according to his inheritance in the lot (בגורל עול) of (the spirit of) deceit. (4.24–25). Whether one walks in obedience or walks in disobedience, then, is directly connected to which spirit one has a greater share in. Since God determines the share each person has of the two spirits, the work of the spirits in the human agent’s life demonstrates God’s active role in walking in obedience. The human agent walks in obedience because he has a greater share in the spirit of truth which was given by God.

It is worth noting that, along with God’s predetermining, the eschatological

³⁶ Hinojosa shows the similarities between the “ideal member” of the community and the ways of the spirit of truth (*A Synchronic Approach*, 78).

³⁷ Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning*, 155. Similarly, Klein, “Right Spirit,” 178n26; Armin Lange, “Wisdom and Predestination in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 2 (1995): 159.

purifying work of God reveals an active divine agent. In the appointed time, God will bring an end to the spirit of deceit (4.18–20). At this time, God will purify the works of men and will gather a people for himself (4.20). He will destroy the spirit of deceit from them and will purify them from all ungodly acts by his holy spirit (4.20–21). Those he purifies will then have “knowledge of the Most High and the wisdom of the sons of heaven” (4.22) They will receive understanding and the glory of Adam will be theirs (4.22–23). At the appointed time, when God destroys the spirit of deceit and those who walk in its ways (4.13–14), the sons of light will return to the state Adam had before sinning. When this happens, among other things, they will perfectly walk in obedience to God.³⁸

God’s predetermining the deeds of men and giving shares in differing proportions of the two spirits is the main way the Sermon presents the divine agent as active in walking in obedience. Those who walk in obedience do so because God has preordained the deeds they would do, works that are in line with walking in obedience. Furthermore, they walk in obedience because they walk in the spirit of truth, in which they received a greater inheritance from God. Conversely, those who walk in disobedience do so because God has preordained their works to be in line with walking in disobedience, and he has given them a greater share in the spirit of deceit. Even the sins of the sons of righteousness, which are caused by the Angel of Darkness, are according to

³⁸ Receiving the glory of Adam seems to refer to returning to the state Adam enjoyed prior to sinning (so Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 42 [Leiden: Brill, 2002], 95–97; Nicholas A. Meyer, *Adam’s Dust and Adam’s Glory in the Hodayot and the Letters of Paul: Rethinking Anthropogony and Theology*, NovTSup 168 [Leiden: Brill, 2016], 66–68; C. Marvin Pate, *The Glory of Adam and the Afflictions of the Righteous: Pauline Suffering in Context* [Lewiston, NY: Mellen Biblical Press, 1993], 69–70). The “glory of Adam” appears to be used in similar ways in 1QH^a 4.14-15 and CD 3.18-4.4. Similarly, 4QpPs^a 2.27-3.2 refers to the inheritance of Adam. Fletcher-Louis notes: “The Qumran community believed then, that it was their vocation to fulfill the responsibility originally given to Adam to embody God’s own Glory” (*All the Glory of Adam*, 97). Surely embodying God’s glory entails a return to status of perfect obedience Adam had prior to his disobedience.

God's mysteries" (3.23; cf. 4.18), which sounds like a cautious way of ascribing all things to God's sovereignty without directly attributing sin to God.³⁹ Along with God directly helping the sons of righteousness (3.24–25) and his act of predetermination, God's eschatological work of destroying deceit and purifying man reveals his active role in walking in obedience. For it is not until man is eschatologically purified that he will finally, fully walk in obedience, the way Adam did prior to being driven out of Eden.

Human Agency

The Sermon of the Two Spirits focuses largely on the work of the divine agent, especially on his work through the two spirits. God gives each person their share/inheritance in the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit, and whether one is righteous or evil depends on the share they receive (4.15–16, 24–25). Because of this, some scholars see little or no room for human agency in the Sermon. Florentino García Martínez, commenting on how the Two Spirits explains human sin, states: "Human life is seen as a battle between the forces of light and darkness, a violent conflict in which there is little left to human initiative."⁴⁰ These scholars are right to recognize the determinism ascribed to God, but in doing so they seem to overlook how the author of the Sermon credits real responsibility to the human agent with regard to walking in sin or walking in obedience.⁴¹ Though the Sermon spotlights God's sovereign predetermining work, the author does also speak to the role of the human agent in walking in obedience. In the Sermon of the Two Spirits, the focus on the manner in which one walks (הלך), specific

³⁹ Alexander observes that the author of the scroll "takes refuge in God's 'mysterious understanding and glorious wisdom' (4.18; cf. 3.23)," rather than directly stating God is the ultimate cause of sin and evil. He also comments that in the Sermon God is the ultimate cause of sin, not the proximate cause. The Angel of Darkness is the proximate cause ("Predestination and Free Will," 31–32).

⁴⁰ Martínez, "Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 169; similarly, Alexander, "Predestination and Free Will," 48.

⁴¹ I will address the apparent difficulty with viewing God's work as deterministic and seeing active human agency in the Sermon in the chapter conclusion.

references to works, and the presence of rewards and punishment evidences an active human agent in walking in obedience.

The so-called Sermon of the Two Spirits has been titled so because of the central focus on the two spirits God created for man to walk in (3.18). The author of the Sermon directly refers to man walking (הלך) in the ways of the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit a few times (3.18, 20–21; 4.15, 24). In the Old Testament, the term הלך often is used figuratively to refer to living or how one acts or lives. For instance, in Leviticus 20:23 the Lord commands those whom he brought out of Egypt to not “walk in the customs” (ולא תלכו בַּחֻקֹת) of the people whose land the Lord would give them.⁴² Frequently it refers to living in obedience to the laws and statutes of God.⁴³ Leviticus 26:3 talks about walking (תִּלְכוּ) in God’s statutes, Deuteronomy 8:6 speaks of walking (לִלְכֹת) in God’s ways, and 2 Chronicles 17:4 refers to walking (הִלְךָ) in God’s commandments.⁴⁴ This use of הלך is also found in the *Community Rule* outside of the Sermon. The members of the community were “to walk (להתהלך) perfectly (according to all revealed (laws))” (1.8). In 3.9–10, the author offers a blessing to those whose sins have been atoned for, stating: “May he establish his steps for walking (להלכת) perfectly in all God’s ways.” The Master/Instructor of the community was to teach and instruct the community members so that “they may walk (להלך) perfectly... in everything which has been revealed to them” (9.18–19). Members of the community were also to devote

⁴² See also: 1 Sam 8:3, 5; Ps 23:4; 101:6; 138:7; Prov 15:21; Isa 50:10; Ezek 3:14.

⁴³ הלך is the most common verb to describe the act or process of living in the OT and is commonly used to speak of walking in obedience or disobedience. On the metaphorical use of הלך, see F. J. Helfmeyer, “הלך,” in *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, ed. G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren, trans. John T. Willis, Geoffrey W. Bromiley, and David E. Green (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978); Eugene H. Merrill, “הלך,” in *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology & Exegesis*, ed. Willem. VanGemeren (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1997).

⁴⁴ See also Lev 26:3; 1 Kgs 6:12; 2 Chr 6:16; Neh 10:30; Ezek 11:20; 18:9. This metaphor is used in the negative too (not walking): e.g., 2 Kgs 10:31; Jer 44:10, 23; Ezek 5:6–7; 20:13; Dan 9:10.

themselves to “walking (להתלך) in his will” (5.10). Whether rejecting the customs of a foreign nation or keeping the statutes and commands of God, this metaphorical use of הלך describes an active agent who makes or is instructed to make a choice concerning the manner in which he will act or live. Often, the choice made determined if one would receive blessings (e.g., Lev 26:4; 2 Chr 17:5) or punishment from God (e.g., Deut 8:19–20), demonstrating that human agents are active and responsible for how they “walk” (הלך).

The Sermon of the Two Spirits uses הלך in this metaphorical way in connection with the ways of the two spirits (3.18; 4.6, 12, 15 cf. 3.20–21; 4.11, 24). Like in the Old Testament, “walking” refers to the manner in which one acts or lives in the Sermon. Specifically, הלך in connection with the two spirits refers to acting or living in a manner consistent with the ways of the spirit of truth or the spirit of deceit. In 4.2–6 and 4.9–11, the author describes the ways of each spirit. These “ways” relate to human conduct and character. The way of the spirit of truth includes respect for God’s precepts, patience, trust in God’s deeds, dependence upon his mercy, compassion for the sons of truth, and purity (4.2–6). In contrast, the ways of the spirit of the deceit involve greed, wickedness, falsehood, pride, a tongue of blasphemy, stiffness of neck, and hardness of heart (4.9–11).⁴⁵ When the author speaks of walking in the ways of the two spirits (3.18, 20–21; 4.14), this essentially refers to man conducting his life in a way that is in obedience or disobedience to God. Three things suggest this. First, “God takes pleasure in” the ways of the spirit of truth but hates the ways of the spirit of deceit (4.1). This suggests walking in the spirit of truth is walking in obedience to God and walking in deceit, in disobedience. Second, being righteous and being evil result from which spirit one walks in (4.23–24). Those who are righteous have a greater share in truth, while

⁴⁵ Stiffness of neck (Exod 32:9; 33:3, 5, 9; 2 Chr 30:8) and hardness of heart (Exod 7:14; 8:15; 9:34; 1 Sam 6:6) describe people who disobey or rebel against God.

those who are evil have a greater share in deceit. Finally, as I will discuss below, walking in the ways of the spirit of truth receives rewards, while walking in the ways of deceit earns punishment. Since the הלך language refers to how one acts or lives, both of which involve the human agent acting in ways that bring changes to or have consequences for his life, then walking in the ways of either spirit demonstrates an active human agent. When the human agent walks in the ways of the spirit of truth, he acts and makes choices that cause his life to line up with the ways of the spirit of truth and reject the ways of the spirit of deceit. These choices and actions, which are summarized as “walking” (הלך), then, receive the recompense they deserve from God.

In the Sermon, there appears to be a close connection between walking in the spirits and works, which further demonstrates an active human agent. In discussing God creating the world and preordaining all that happens, including the deeds of men, the author notes that God created two spirits for man to walk (להתהלך) in (3.15–18). When God created man, he preordained the works he would do and gave him two spirits to walk in. It appears that from creation there exists a connection between man’s deeds and the spirit in which he walks. Moreover, the way in which man walks (יתהלכו) and the works that he does (כול פעולת מעשיהם) are influenced by which spirit he has a greater share in (4.15–16). Walking in the ways of the spirit of truth and works appear to be synonymous, or at least overlap to some degree, for both are said to be rewarded at the visitation of God (4.6–8, 25). Whether walking in the ways of the spirit of truth and works are synonymous or just overlap to some degree, the connection between walking in the spirit of truth and works and the rewards they receive points to an active human agent in walking in obedience.

Human works are also directly mentioned when the author describes God’s appointed time to bring an end to the spirit of deceit. The works of men will be purged from all evil (4.20). God will purify those whom he collects from all ungodly acts (4.21). And every false work will be put to shame (4.23). At this time, the sons of man will be

rewarded for their (good) works (4.25). This focus on the works of man at the time of God's visitation suggests that works play an important eschatological role. Those who (primarily) do good works are rewarded and will be purged from evil and any ungodly acts so that deceit no longer has any effect on those who are a part of God's eternal covenant or their works. Closely related, those who are purified are referred to as the "upright ones" (שרים) and the "perfect in the way" (תמימי דרך) in 4.22. As I will argue below when I discuss human agency in the rest of the *Community Rule*, even these titles, which focus on works, suggest an active human agent. This focus on works, their purification from evil and the rewards they earn, points to an active human agent, specifically with regard to obedience and disobedience.

The strongest argument for an active agent in the Sermon is the presence of rewards and punishment (4.6–8, 11–14).⁴⁶ The inclusion of recompense for walking in the ways of the two spirits points to a human agent who is to some degree active in walking in obedience or disobedience and is therefore responsible for their actions. Those who walk in the ways of the spirit of truth (in obedience) will receive rewards at the visitation of God. Those who walk in the ways of the spirit of deceit (in disobedience) will receive punishment and will ultimately be destroyed (4.14). Simon Gathercole, in his monograph *Where is Boasting?*, states: "Nevertheless, despite this predeterminism, there is still a strong reward theology that implies that the community vigorously emphasized individual responsibility."⁴⁷

The author of the Sermon of the Two Spirits draws a correlation between

⁴⁶ This is the primary, and often only, evidence scholars who argue for an active human agent point to (e.g., Simon J Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?: Early Jewish Soteriology and Paul's Response in Romans 1-5* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002], 97; Justnes, "Predetermined for Predestination?," 89; Timmer, "Variegated Nomism Indeed," 351).

⁴⁷ Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?*, 97; similarly, Hinojosa, *A Synchronic Approach*, 73; Justnes, "Predetermined for Predestination?," 89; Nötscher, "Schicksalsglaube," 233–34; Timmer, "Variegated Nomism Indeed," 350–51.

actions and recompense. In 4.2–6, he lists the ways of the spirit of truth. This is followed by the rewards earned by walking in these ways (4.6–8). Walking in the spirit of truth is rewarded with “healing, great peace in a long life, and multiplication of progeny together with all everlasting blessings, endless joy in everlasting life, and a crown of glory together with a resplendent attire in eternal life” (4.6–8). The author makes the same connection between walking in the ways of the spirit of deceit and punishment. Those who walk in the ways of deceit, listed in 4.9–11, receive “many afflictions by all the angels of punishment, eternal perdition by the fury of God’s vengeful wrath, everlasting terror and endless shame, together with the disgrace of annihilation in the fire of the dark region” (4.11–14).

These lists of rewards and punishments for how one walks draw attention to the human agent. Recompense for human actions, which is at least in part eschatological,⁴⁸ suggests that the author of the Sermon viewed the human agent as responsible for his own actions. When one walks in the ways that God hates forever (4.1), they reap the punishment for their actions, namely the “fury of God’s vengeful wrath” (4.12). Walking in the ways of the one God loves forever (3.26) receives “endless joy in everlasting life” (4.7). In other words, the correlation between human actions and rewards or punishment points towards the human agent having an active role in walking in obedience or disobedience.

Receiving rewards for walking in the way of truth continues in the final section

⁴⁸ Rewards such as everlasting blessings, endless joy in everlasting life, and a crown of glory together with a resplendent attire in eternal light appear to be eschatological (4.7–8). Punishments like “eternal perdition by the fury of God’s vengeful wrath” (4.12) and “dreadful suffering and bitter misery in dark abysses until they are destroyed (4.13–14) suggest the punishments are eschatological. Other scholars view the rewards as eschatological, see: Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?*, 97–98; Hinojosa, *A Synchronic Approach*, 79; Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning*, 152; Marc Philonenko, “L’apocalyptique Quomrânienne,” in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12-17, 1979*, ed. David. Hellholm (Tübingen: Mohr, 1983), 214–15; Timmer, “Variegated Nomism Indeed,” 350–51; Tso, *Ethics in the Qumran Community*, 292:155–56.

of the Sermon of the Two Spirits (4.15–26). After God, in his appointed time, brings an end to deceit and those who walk in its ways (4.18–19; cf. 13–14), he will purify those who walk in the spirit of truth so that they might have “knowledge of the Most High,” “wisdom of the sons of heaven,” and “understanding” (4.22).

Those walking in the way of the spirit of truth will also be counted among God’s covenant people (4.22) and will receive the glory of Adam, which most likely refers to receiving all the blessings and the status of Adam in Eden (4.23).⁴⁹ Again, by mentioning rewards for obedience, the author draws attention to human responsibility. Those who walk in the spirit of truth, whose “works fall within their [the spirit’s] division” (4.15–16), are eschatologically rewarded. Conversely, the works of those who walk in the spirit of deceit “will be put to shame” (4.23). Rewards for walking in the spirit of truth suggest an active human agent in walking in obedience.

Scholars have noted the apparent tension between God predetermining all that is and will be (3.15) and humans being responsible for their actions, as evidenced by the existence of rewards and punishments.⁵⁰ I will discuss this tension more in the chapter conclusion below, but two brief comments are warranted here. First, this tension only exists if a model of agency is adopted that views the divine and human agents as competing against one another to be active or dominant. If the divine and the human agent are competing, that is if one agent being active means the other must be passive, then a real tension exists between divine and human agency. As I will discuss below, though, this apparent tension becomes less of a problem if a different model of agency is adopted.

Second, and directly related to the first comment, scholars have noted the

⁴⁹ So Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 95–97; Hinojosa, *A Synchronic Approach*, 79; Meyer, *Adam’s Dust and Adam’s Glory*, 66–68; Pate, *The Glory of Adam*, 69–70.

⁵⁰ So Alexander, “Predestination and Free Will,” 48; Kuhn, “Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion,” 313; Stauber, “Determinism in the Rule,” 328.

Sermon of the Two Spirits (and the rest of 1QS) was not intended to be a treatise on God's sovereignty and human agency.⁵¹ Moreover, the author of the Sermon did not seem to view God's sovereignty and an active, morally responsible human agent as a problem that needed to be worked out. For the author of the Two Spirits, God's sovereign predetermining does not nullify human action or responsibility.⁵²

In the Sermon of the Two Spirits, the human agent appears to be active in walking in obedience. The human agent is responsible for conducting their life and working in a manner consistent with the ways of the spirit of truth, which God takes pleasure in (3.26–4.1). Rewards earned by how the human agent “walks” and by his works demonstrate an agent that is responsible for his own actions. In other words, the presence of rewards for works shows that the human agent plays an active role in walking in obedience.

1QS 1.1–3.12; 5.1–11.22

A quick reading of the *Community Rule* reveals that a difference in emphasis exists between the Sermon and the rest of 1QS pertaining to divine and human agency. The actions of the divine agent, specifically through predestining, are emphasized in the Two Spirits. The human agent also appears to be active in 3.14–4.26, but even the actions of the human agent draw attention to the work of the divine agent. In the rest of the *Rule* (1.1–3.12; 5–11), the focus shifts from the actions of the divine agent to that of the human agent.⁵³ That being said, the *Community Rule*, outside of the Sermon of the Two

⁵¹ Justnes, “Predetermined for Predestination?,” 94.

⁵² So Brooke, “Some Issues,” 102; Justnes, “Predetermined for Predestination?,” 94; Nötscher, “Schicksalsglaube,” 234.

⁵³ The reason for this shift in focus is due to the different matters addressed by the Sermon and the rest of the *Rule*. The Two Spirits focuses on the existence of sin, especially among the community members. It looks to the “mysteries” of God and his sovereignty to explain the existence of sin in the world and how the “perfect of the way” still sin. The rest of the *Community Rule*, apart from the concluding hymn, covers life within the community, namely rules for entering, living in, and leadership among the

Spirits, does draw attention to the role of the divine agent in walking “perfectly” (walking in obedience).

Divine Agency

1QS 1.1–3.12; 5.1–11.22 primarily focuses on the role of the human agent in obedience. This makes sense considering the *Community Rule*, outside of the Sermon, focuses on rules for entering, living, and leadership within the community. The divine agent does play an active role, though, in walking in obedience. This active role is primarily seen through God giving knowledge to the human agent to equip him to walk in obedience and through God’s sovereignty, through which he preordains all things.

Knowledge in the *Community Rule* is often closely tied with deeds.⁵⁴ For example, community members are examined based on their knowledge *and* deeds to determine their place in the community (e.g., 5.21, 24; 6.13–14, 17–18). In 1QS 1.1–3.12; 5.1–11.22, knowledge, which is given by God, plays an important role in walking in obedience. The purpose of knowledge is to enable the community to “walk perfectly,” or in other words to walk in obedience. The enabling ability of knowledge for obedience is described in the preamble of the *Community Rule* (1.1–15). Lines 11–12 note that those who join the community shall bring their knowledge to the Community so that it may be perfected “by the truth of God’s statute.” The purpose of this “perfecting of knowledge” is so that the community will not “deviate from any one of all God’s commands” or “turn aside from his statutes (by) walking either (to) the right or (to) the left” (1.13–15).

Knowledge, having been perfected by the “truth of God’s statutes,” enables the community members to walk by God’s true statutes and not deviate from them.⁵⁵ In other

community.

⁵⁴ Thomas P. Dixon has helpfully demonstrated how knowledge and deeds are closely related in 1QS (“Knowledge and Deeds in the Two Spirits Treatise.”).

⁵⁵ Dixon comes to a similar conclusion (“Knowledge and Deeds in the Two Spirits Treatise,”

words, the perfected knowledge makes walking in obedience possible for community members. Conversely, the author connects walking in disobedience with the rejection of knowledge. He notes that the one who “walks in the stubbornness of his heart . . . detests instructions about knowledge of righteous precepts” (2.26–3.1).

Knowledge and instruction also play a role in the leadership guiding the community to walk in obedience. In 9.18, the author of the *Rule* notes that the Master should “guide them [the community] with knowledge and instruct them in the mysteries of wonder and truth.” The Master is to guide with knowledge and instruct the community in truth so that “they may walk perfectly” (9.19). Again, knowledge enables the community members to walk in obedience.

Similarly, insight and obedience are drawn together in the priest’s blessing (2.1–4) given during the entry and covenant renewal ceremony. The priest states, “may he [God] enlighten your heart with insight for living. May he favor you with eternal knowledge” (2.3).⁵⁶ While “eternal knowledge” may be eschatological (cf. 4.22), insight for living, in the context of the *Community Rule*, relates to walking (i.e., living) in obedience. Throughout the *Rule*, there is a focus on living obediently before God. For example, the members are to do what is right and good before God, as commanded through Moses (1.2–3), walk perfectly before God (1.8) and in all his ways (2.2; 3.9–10), and act according to all God commanded (1.16–17). Considering this emphasis on walking obediently before God, it seems reasonable that “insight for living,” is desired for the sake of walking in obedience.

The relationship between knowledge and obedience demonstrates an active divine agent because the author of the *Community Rule* understood that knowledge was a

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⁵⁶ Similarly, Heger references 1QS 2.3 when he notes that wisdom is significant for proper and virtuous living in many Qumran texts (Heger, “Another Look,” 90).

gift from God. This is made clear in two places in the *Rule*. In the priestly blessing mentioned in 2.1–4, mentioned above, which beseeched God to “enlighten your heart with insight for living . . . favour you with eternal knowledge” (2.3). This blessing demonstrates that the author viewed knowledge as a blessing from God. A blessing that enables the community to walk in obedience.

Moreover, in the concluding hymn of 1QS, the author acknowledges that knowledge comes from God. In 11.15–16, the hymnist declares: “Blessed are you, my God, who open for knowledge the heart of your servant.” Here again knowledge and obedience are closely connected. Immediately following this praise to God for knowledge, the author extols God to “Establish in righteousness all his [God’s servant] works” (11.16). Similarly, in 11.17–18 the author states that God has “taught all knowledge” immediately after acknowledging “no way can be perfect without you [God]” (11.17–18).

Thus, in the *Community Rule*, outside of the Sermon, the divine agent is active in human obedience through the gift of knowledge. Knowledge is what enables the community members to walk in obedience to God (1.11–15; 2.1–4; 9.18–19). It is God, though, who gives this enabling knowledge (2.3; 11.15–18).

Along with the divine agent acting through gifting knowledge, the author of the *Rule* directly acknowledges that God is active in the human agent’s act of walking in obedience through predetermination.⁵⁷ In the concluding hymn, which focuses largely on God’s work in making man righteous, the hymnist states that all things happen because of

⁵⁷ The rest of 1QS does not focus on predetermination the way the Sermon does. Rather, the rest of the *Rule* focuses on keeping the law and statutes of God and the rules of the community. Whereas the Sermon elaborates on the heart change that God’s act of predetermination produces through the two spirits (4.2–6, 20–22 [cf. Ezek 36:25–27]), the rest of the 1QS does not say much about heart change in relation to God’s work of predetermination. In the concluding hymn, the author acknowledges man’s inability to walk perfectly because he belongs to “wicked Adam, to the assembly of deceitful flesh” (11.9). Walking perfectly can only happen by the will of God, who predetermines all things (11.11, 17–18). The author does connect the ability to walk in the perfect of the way with knowledge in 11.17–18, both of which come from God, which fits with the role knowledge plays in obedience throughout 1QS. Moreover, the author also appears to relate the giving of knowledge with heart change (11.15–16) in the hymn.

God. In 11.11 the author says: “all which is occurring he [God] establishes by his design, and without him (nothing) shall work.” Similarly, in 11.17 the hymnist declares that everything occurs “by your [God’s] will” (11.18). If God establishes all that occurs and if everything happens by God’s will, then it follows that God also establishes man’s works. In other words, God enables man to walk in obedience.

The author also acknowledges that no one can walk in perfection apart from the work of the divine agent. In 11.10–11, the hymnist states that “A human cannot establish his step (דרכו); for to God (alone) belongs the judgment and from him is the perfection of the Way [הדרך].” Moreover, in 11.17–18, the author asserts that “no way [דרך] can be perfect without you [God].” Both passages ascribe to God a direct role in walking in obedience. Paul Garnet notes: “As a member of wicked humanity the Master confesses that he can do no good except by God’s grace (11:9–11). Even if he stumbles, God will restore him. His justification is through the righteousness of God who will set him on the right path again,”⁵⁸ Like the Two Spirits, the author attributes walking in “perfection” (11.10–11) to God’s sovereignty. Through predetermining the works of man and enabling him to walk in perfection, God plays an active, enabling role in walking in obedience.

God’s giving of knowledge and predetermining both demonstrate the divine agent’s active role in walking in obedience. Knowledge and obedience are directly connected in the *Community Rule*. For, the purpose of knowledge is to lead the community in walking perfectly (1.11–15; 9.18–19). Through this, the divine agent has an active role in man’s walking in obedience because the knowledge that leads to obedience comes from God (2.3; 11.15–18). Moreover, in the *Rule* God enables the human agent to walk in obedience, for all things occur according to his will (11.18) and

⁵⁸ Paul Garnet, *Salvation and Atonement in the Qumran Scrolls*, WUNT II 3 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1977), 76.

no one can be perfect apart from God (11.17). In the *Community Rule*, the divine agent enables the human agent to walk in obedience.

Human Agency

Since the purpose of 1QS was to regulate entering and living in the community, as mentioned above, 1QS 1.1–3.12; 5.1–11.22 focuses on the role the human agent plays in walking in obedience. Given this section of the *Community Rule* focuses primarily on rules and standards related to life in the community, it is through the expectations for living in the community that an active human agent appears. For instance, as I will discuss below, the author uses language throughout the *Rule* that focuses on human action in connection with obedience. Words like נדב, דרוש, הלך, and עשה all bring to light the responsibility of the human agent to walk in obedience. Moreover, the importance of the law of Moses and the commands of God within the community life again shows an active human agent, because the community members were expected to and responsible for keeping the law and commands, under threat of punishment. The responsibility of the human agent to walk in obedience is also demonstrated through the presence of recompense for obedience and disobedience in the *Rule*.

In the *Rule*, words like נדב, דרוש, and עשה draw attention to an active human agent in walking in obedience. These terms are often followed by concepts such as truth, turning away from evil, and walking in God's will. For instance, 1QS begins a string of purpose statements for the community with "to seek (לדרוש) God with [all the heart and with all the soul]."⁵⁹ In both the preamble to the *Community Rule* (1.1–15) and the

⁵⁹ Charlesworth reconstructs the first two partially corrupt lines to say: "In order to seek God with [all the heart and with all the soul], echoing Deut. 6:5 (*The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 56). Martinez creates a similar reconstruction (Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* [Leiden: Brill, 1999], 71). Newsom states that the use of a string of infinitives, rather than finite verbs, was stylistically strategic to stress purpose (Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*, STDJ 52 [Leiden: Brill, 2004], 109; similarly, Hinojosa,

introduction to the section on rules for community life (5.1–6.24), community members are described with “devote” language.⁶⁰ In 1.11, the members are “those devoting (הנדבים) themselves to his [God’s] truth.” In 5.1 they are described as those “who devote (המתנדבים) themselves to turn away from all evil and hold fast to all which he has commanded as his will.” Similarly, in 6.13–14 the one seeking to join the community “freely offers (מתנדב) himself” to join the community.⁶¹ Those entering the community are to “devote (המתנדבים) themselves together to his truth and to walking in his will” (5.10). Moreover, they are also to “perform (לעשות) truth and righteousness and justice upon the earth” (1.5–6) and to “act (לעשות) according to all which he [God] has commanded” (1.16–17).

The use of devote (נדב), seek (דרוש), and act (עשה) in 1QS emphasize the real actions the human agent takes in walking in obedience. Each of the examples listed above focuses on deeds the human agent has done or must do to live in obedience to God as his true community. They are to act by seeking after God and devoting themselves to walking obediently in what he has commanded.

A Synchronic Approach, 38–39).

⁶⁰ Stauber opposes the majority of scholarship in arguing that נדב language should not be translated as “devote” or “freely volunteer.” Rather, he states that “incited/inspired” is a better translation, which emphasizes divine action even in joining the community (Stauber, “Determinism in the Rule”). Considering the emphasis in the *Rule* on human action in living obediently to the community standards and God’s commands, though, the majority translation is preferred. In the Old Testament, נדב language is used with the idea of volunteering or devoting by a person to a task or role (i.e., Judg 5:2; 2 Chr 17:16) or of volunteering or devoting of objects (i.e., 1 Chr 29:5–6, 9, 14, 17; Ezra 3:5). Devorah Dimant argues that מתנדבים (5.1; cf. 1.11) is based on the free-will offering terminology in Lev 22:21 and that joining the community and “walking perfectly” constitutes a voluntary sacrifice comparable to bringing free-will offerings for the temple in 1 Chr 29; Ezra 1:6; 2:68–69; and Neh 11:2. She concludes her article, stating: “The absolute voluntary submission to God’s will, as represented by practising the Torah commandments in the framework of the communal life, constitutes the true voluntary sacrifice of the *mitnadevim* to the Qumran community” (“The Volunteers in the Rule of the Community: A Biblical Notion in Sectarian Garb,” *RevQ* 23 [2007]: 233–45, quotation taken from page 245). Anja Klein comes to a similar conclusion to Dimant’s (Klein, “Right Spirit,” 184–86).

⁶¹ Nötscher states that entrance into the community is the most fundamental expression of free will in 1QS (“Schicksalsglaube,” 218–19).

Human agency is also shown through the frequent use of “walk” (הלך) language, which refers to how one acts or lives.⁶² This word is commonly connected with the word תמים (perfect) throughout the *Rule*. In 9.5–6 and 9.8 (cf. 8.21), members of the community are described as those “who walk perfectly” (ההולכים בתמים).⁶³ Moreover, הלך and תמים are often combined to establish how community members were to live within the community. The *Community Rule* begins by stating that the purpose of the community is “to walk (להתהלך) perfectly (תמים) before him [God] (according to) all revealed (laws)” (1.8). In 3.9–11, following his discussion on the nature of atonement (3.6–9), the author declares: “May he [God] establish his [the atoned] steps for walking (להלכת) perfectly (תמים) in all God’s ways... and not turn aside, to the right or to the left, and not transgress a single one of all his commands.” Finally, in 9.19, the author notes that the purpose of the Master guiding the community with knowledge and instruction is so that the members may “walk (להלך) perfectly (תמים)... in everything which has been revealed to them.” Through the use of הלך and תמים together, the author demonstrates the role of the human agent: he actively strives to walk perfectly in all God’s ways.

The author of the *Rule* combines הלך with other concepts that emphasize the active role of the human agent. In 5.10, the members of the covenant are said to be those who “devote themselves together to his truth and to walking (ולהתלך) in his will (ברצונו).” Similarly, the first statute “by which the Master should walk (להתהלך)” is to “do God’s will, according to everything which has been revealed from age to age” (9.12–13). Again, the use of “walking” language connected to “God’s will” suggests that the

⁶² On the metaphorical use of הלך, see my discussion above (p. 6). Hinojosa notes: “The metaphors ‘way’ and ‘walking’ permeate IQS where the aim for the community is to be ‘those perfect of the way’ and for the individual to ‘walk perfectly.’ It seems they even labeled themselves ‘the Way.’ The metaphor ‘Way’ in IQS implies a specific regulated manner of living (according to the *serek*) that leads to perfection. Likewise are those not adhering to this way of life people who “walk in the stubbornness of their hearts” (Hinojosa, *A Synchronic Approach*, 77–78n380).

⁶³ Similarly, members are referred to as “the perfect of the way” (8.10; 9.9) and “men of perfect holiness” (8.20).

author believed the member were to take an active role in living obediently before God.

Conversely, the author uses הלך when speaking of those living in disobedience as well. In the preamble, the author notes that one purpose of the community is to “walk (ללכת) no longer in the stubbornness (בשרירות) of a guilty (אשמה) heart” (1.6–7). Moreover, the author desires for the soul of those who say “Peace be with me, for I walk (אלך) in the stubbornness (בשרירות) of my heart” to be destroyed, “without forgiveness” (2.14–15). And the members of the community should not “wander (ילך) in the stubbornness (בשרירות) of his heart.” Rather, he is to “circumcise the foreskin of ... [his] stiff neck” (5.4–5). Using הלך in connection with disobedience further reveals the role the human agent has in walking in obedience. The community members are to choose not to walk in the stubbornness of their hearts and to choose to walk in perfection; to walk in God’s will.

The *Rule of the Community*, outside of the Sermon, also demonstrates the human agent’s active role in walking in obedience through emphasizing obedience to the law of Moses and God’s commands.⁶⁴ The *Rule* opens with a string of infinitives stating the purpose of the community,⁶⁵ which begins: “In order to seek God with [all the heart and with all the soul] doing what is good and right before him, as he commanded through Moses and all his servants the prophets” (1.2–3). The author continues in the preamble (1.1–15) to note that the purpose of the community is to “walk perfectly before him [God] (according to) all revealed (laws)” (1.8–9) and to “not deviate from any one of all God’s commands... to not turn aside from his true statutes” (1.13–15). Considering the *Community Rule* begins by emphasizing keeping the law of Moses and the commands of God, walking in obedience is central to life within the community.

⁶⁴ The law of Moses and the commands of God are not two separate groups of commands. Rather, the law of Moses is a subset of the commands of God (i.e., 1.2–3; 8.15).

⁶⁵ On the use of the infinitive, see note 59 in this chapter.

The law of Moses and God's commands appear to be the foundation of the community. Those who entered the community must take a "binding oath to return to Moses's Torah" (5.8–9) and were expected to "act according to all which he [God] has commanded" (1.16–17). Only those who do not walk in the stubbornness of their heart but "humbles his soul to all God's statutes" can be purified and thus enter into the community (3.8–12). Community members were to "hold fast to all which he [God] commanded as his will" (5.1), and each member was examined for his "insight and his works in the Torah" (5.20–21).⁶⁶ Keeping the law of Moses and the commands of God was one of the standards for community leadership. The Community council members were to be "perfect in everything which has been revealed from the whole Torah (8.1–2),⁶⁷ and the Master must "perform (God's) will... and desire only God's will" (9.23–24). Moreover, anyone who *deliberately* transgressed the law of Moses was irreversibly banished from the community (8.21–23). Actively living in obedience to the law of Moses and God's commands was foundational for living in the community.

Finally, recompense received for human action also demonstrates an active human agent in walking in obedience (or disobedience). The human agent was considered active and responsible for walking in obedience in the community. Those who failed to keep the standards of God and the community faced punishment, up to expulsion from the community. Considering the foundation of the community, which saw itself as

⁶⁶ Similarly, members are examined based on "his insight and his works" (6.13–14). Members were elevated in status based on their "insight and the perfection of his way" (5.24). Those who err unintentionally will be examined for two years "as to the perfection of his way" to determine if he can return to the community (9.1–2). Metso states that "perfection of way" was required for the community members, but the presence of a penal code (6.24–7.25) attests to the fact that they still failed to walk in perfection (Metso, *The Serekh Texts*, 33).

⁶⁷ Leaney argues that the Community council does not refer to a leadership group within the community, but rather the council was the original group that would then grow into the sectarian community (*The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning*, 210–11). It is not necessary to determine if Leaney's view is correct for what I am arguing. Whether the council was a leadership group or the initial group that would develop into the community, what is important for my argument is the focus on perfectly keeping Torah.

the true community of God (8.1–10; 9.3–6), was obedience to God, the presence of a penal system (6.24–7.25) suggests that the human agent was viewed as active and responsible for walking in obedience.

Two other places in the *Rule* mention recompense for human action. First, as mentioned above, the community saw itself as the true people of God. As the true people of God, they viewed themselves as having been “chosen by (divine) pleasure to atone for the land and to repay the wicked their reward” (8.6–7). Through walking in perfection, the community would both atone for the land and would be the ones to repay the wicked according to their works.⁶⁸ The punishment the wicked would receive was based on their works. This shows that the human agent was viewed as active and responsible for walking in obedience or disobedience. In 10.18, the hymnist proclaims that “the judgment of every living being (resides only) with God, and he (alone) shall pay man his reward.” Though the hymnist brings up God’s recompense as his reason for not repaying the evil done to him, God’s recompense includes blessings for those who walk in obedience (11.5–8). The actions of the human agent are what earn and determine the recompense received. Those who walk in disobedience are punished, but those who walk in obedience are rewarded. Since human actions are what earn recompense, these “rewards” given by God for human actions demonstrate an active, morally responsible human agent.⁶⁹

In the *Community Rule*, apart from the Sermon of the Two Spirits, there is an emphasis on the work of the human agent. Faithful living within the community, which had obedience to God as its foundation, was based on the works of the members. This

⁶⁸ The author of 1QS viewed their lives as the true people of God, the “perfect ones of the Way”, as a proper sacrifice, even “without the flesh of burnt-offerings” (9.1–6). This apparently was their answer to the problem of not having the temple for offering sacrifices to God.

⁶⁹ Gathercole also notes that the recompense language in 10.18 implies an emphasis on human responsibility (*Where Is Boasting?*, 97).

emphasis on the human agent's works (עשה, הלך, דרוש, נדב) in connection to walking in obedience suggests that the author of 1QS viewed the human agent as making real choices towards living obediently, choices for which they were held accountable. Every step the human agent takes with regard to living in the community was grounded in walking in obedience. From entering the community, to rising in status, to the leadership, to punishment, the focus is on the human agent choosing to actively walk in obedience rather than in the stubbornness of his heart. Moreover, the presence of recompense for human actions both from the community and from God demonstrates that the human agent is active in and responsible for walking in obedience.

Conclusion

In this conclusion, I will discuss the following. First, I will consider how divine and human agency in the Sermon compares and/or contrasts with divine and human agency in the rest of 1QS, with regard to walking in obedience. Second, I will address the apparent tension between an active, predetermining divine agent and an active human agent in the Two Spirits and the rest of the *Rule*. Using Barclay's models of agency as a grid for understanding the relationship between the divine and the human agent in walking in obedience, I will offer a solution to this tension. Finally, I will briefly summarize my findings about the roles of the divine and human agents in walking in obedience.

Comparison/Contrast

When agency and walking in obedience in the Sermon and the rest of 1QS are compared, at least two conclusions can be made. First, there is an obvious difference in emphasis between the Two Spirits and the rest of the *Rule*. In the Sermon, divine action is prominent. It is God who causes all things, he is the one who has ordained the deeds of men, which they will do without change. He is the one who gave two spirits to man

which determine the manner in which he walks. As mentioned above, the human agent appears to play an active role in walking in obedience in the Sermon. The focus of 1QS 3.13–4.26, though, rests on God’s acts of predetermination (especially through the two spirits) and his eschatological works.

If the Sermon is intended to be a treatise on sin within the sons of righteousness, as noted above, then an emphasis on the divine agent makes sense. God gave man two spirits, the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit. The sons of righteousness, who are the upright ones and the perfect in the way (4.22), stumble because of the spirit of deceit (3.21–22, 24), which happens “according to God’s mystery” (3.23). Thus, even when the sons of light, who are to walk in the ways of the spirit of truth, fall into iniquity, it is somehow in line with God’s sovereignty.⁷⁰ Moreover, if the Sermon is intended to motivate the community members to remain faithful to community standards, then focusing on divine action makes sense because God will ultimately bring an end to the dominion of deceit (4.18–19) and those who walk in the ways of deceit will be punished (4.11–14). The difficulties the community members face with keeping the strict rules of the community will pale in comparison to the recompense waiting for those who walk in the ways of the spirit of deceit at God’s appointed time.

In the rest of 1QS, though, the emphasis lies on the human agent. Again, this makes sense since the *Community Rule*, outside of the Sermon, focuses on standards for entering, living in, and leadership within the community. In other words, the rest of the *Rule* focuses on how the community members, human agents, are to live within the community. As argued above, the divine agent is still active in the rest of 1QS, but the purpose of the rest of the *Community Rule* focuses on the human agent.

⁷⁰ So Alexander, “Predestination and Free Will,” 31. Alexander notes that the Angel of Falsehood is presented as the proximate cause of sin in the sons of righteousness, but God is the ultimate cause “since the Angel of Falsehood acts according to his design” (Alexander, “Predestination and Free Will,” 31–32).

Second, though there is a difference in emphasis between the Sermon and the rest of 1QS, they are still consistent with one another in how they present the role of the divine and human agents in walking in obedience. Both the Two Spirits and the rest of the *Rule* present an active divine agent. Whether through giving knowledge or giving the two spirits or sovereignly guiding man's steps, the divine agent plays an active role in man's walking in obedience in both the Two Spirits and the rest of 1QS. Similarly, the human agent in both the Sermon and the rest of the *Community Rule* plays an active role in walking in obedience. Both the emphasis on human works and the rewards or punishment for these actions demonstrate an active human agent.

Apparent Tension and Barclay's Models

As mentioned above, some scholars appear to deny an active human agent, at least in the Sermon, because of the emphasis on God's sovereign act of predetermination. The apparent problem some see in having an active human agent alongside a predetermining, sovereign God is countered by the difficulty that arises from rewards and punishments given to passive human agents. It is difficult to see how an agent is morally responsible for their actions if they are not active and therefore lack the power of choice when it comes to obedience or disobedience. These apparent problems are only truly problematic if one adopts what Barclay calls a competitive model for divine and human agency.⁷¹ In this model, the divine agent and the human agent essentially compete over being active. The more active one is, the less active the other. This is not the only model of agency, though. If one takes seriously the emphasis on God's actions and on human works and their recompense, then another model for understanding agency is needed.

Again, Barclay is helpful. The model that best fits how the Sermon and the rest

⁷¹ John M. G. Barclay, "Introduction," in *Divine and Human Agency in Paul and His Cultural Environment*, ed. John M. G. Barclay and Simon J. Gathercole, T&T Clark Biblical Studies (New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 6.

of 1QS present the role of the divine and the human agent in walking in obedience is what Barclay calls the non-contrastive transcendence model.⁷² In the non-contrastive transcendence model, the two agents are not equal. Barclay notes: “God is radically distinct from human agency and not an agent within the same order of being or in the same causal nexus.”⁷³ God’s agency, though, does not reduce human agency, rather it enables human agency. Thus, in the non-contrastive transcendence model, “if God is everything, humanity is nothing without God—but may be both powerful and effective as a created agent in dependence on God.”⁷⁴

The non-contrastive transcendence model works well with what we have seen in the Sermon and the rest of 1QS. In both sections, as I have argued above, the human agent is shown to be active through an emphasis on human works and the rewards or punishments given for these works. The human agent, though, is dependent on the sovereign work of God. God is accredited with enabling the human agent to walk in obedience. He bestows knowledge (2.3; 11.15–18), which enables man to walk in obedience. All that occurs, including the deeds of men, is established by God (11.11), and he enables man to walk in the way of perfection (11.10–11, 17–18). In the Sermon, God establishes the deeds that man will accomplish (3.15–16) and gave to them two spirits, which guide or enable the human agent in all their tasks (4.15–16). Thus, both the divine and the human agent are active in walking in obedience. The roles the divine and the human agents play in walking in obedience fits Barclay’s non-contrastive transcendence model well because the divine agent is “radically distinct” from the human agent and

⁷² Again, I am not claiming that the author of the Sermon or the rest of 1QS (if they differ) was thinking about agency or models of agency. Rather, I am employing Barclay’s models of agency to best describe the relationship between the divine agent and the human agent with regard to walking in obedience in 1QS.

⁷³ Barclay, “Introduction,” 7.

⁷⁴ Barclay, “Introduction,” 7.

enables human agency, rather than limiting it.⁷⁵ The active divine agent enables the active human agent to walk in obedience.

Summary

Having examined the Sermon of the Two Spirits and the rest of 1QS, a few conclusions can be made. The Sermon of the Two Spirits and the rest of 1QS are consistent in displaying an active divine agent as well as an active human agent. The relationship between these two agents is better understood when Barclay's model of non-contrastive transcendence is employed. The divine and human agents are not competing against one another to be active. Rather, the divine agent, through his sovereignty, enables the human agent to walk in obedience. The human agent, though enabled by and dependent on the divine agent, is actually an active, responsible agent. That is why he receives either rewards or punishment for the manner in which he walks. Barclay's insights again prove valuable when he notes that, "there can be stronger or weaker versions of human freedom advanced—to be free is not necessarily to be independent or autonomous (in a modern sense), and a voluntary act is not necessarily at the same time spontaneous (in the sense of being wholly self-initiated)."⁷⁶ Thus, the active divine agent in the Sermon and the rest of 1QS does not nullify an active human agent. Rather, the divine agent enables the human agent to be active, along with the divine agent, in walking in obedience.

⁷⁵ Barclay, "Introduction," 7.

⁷⁶ Barclay, "Introduction," 5–6.

CHAPTER 3

WALKING IN VIRTUE AND AGENCY IN 4 MACCABEES

In this chapter, I will examine how the author presents the roles of the divine agent and the human agent with regard to walking in virtue in 4 Maccabees.¹ I will begin this chapter by looking at the relationship between νόμος, (ὁ εὐσεβῆς) λογισμός,² and ἀρετή in 4 Maccabees and will discuss how the author appears to use them interchangeably when talking about the reason the martyrs suffer and die. After discussing the relationship between the law, reason, and virtue, I will examine what the meta-narrative of 4 Maccabees reveals about the roles of the divine and the human agent in walking in obedience, focusing on 3:19–4:26. Following my analysis of the meta-narrative, I will then focus on the story of the nine martyrs (5:1–18:24) to consider what the author reveals about the role of both the divine and the human agent in walking in virtue. I will then end this chapter by applying Barclay’s models of agency to 4 Maccabees. I will argue that, through the meta-narrative and the story of the nine martyrs, the author presents both the human agent and the divine agent as active in walking in obedience. Moreover, the active roles of both agents are consistent with Barclay’s non-

¹ Throughout this chapter, I will use “walking in virtue” and “walking in obedience” interchangeably. Within 4 Maccabees, the concept of virtue, at least in part, refers to obedience to God which comes through keeping the law. Virtue is attached to keeping the law in 4 Maccabees (2:10; 17:11–18; cf. 11:5) as well as to obedience to God (9:8; 12:14).

² The author of 4 Maccabees appears to use reason (λογισμός) as shorthand for godly reason. This becomes evident right away when the author notes his topic is godly reason (ὁ εὐσεβῆς λογισμός) and whether it is master of the passions (1:1). Following the announcement of his topic, the author then begins talking about reason (λογισμός) without the qualifier εὐσεβῆς (e.g., 1:3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 13–15). The author defining λογισμός basically as adherence to the law (1:15–17) further suggests that the author uses λογισμός as shorthand for ὁ εὐσεβῆς λογισμός. Because of this, I will use “(godly) reason” in this section to represent the author’s use of λογισμός, with or without εὐσεβῆς, to denote godly reason.

contrastive transcendence model.

The author begins 4 Maccabees by stating the issue he seeks to address: “whether godly reason is the absolute master of the passions” (1:1).³ David deSilva correctly recognizes, though, that the mastery of godly reason over the passions is not the primary focus of this work. At the heart of 4 Maccabees is the promotion of Torah obedience among Diasporic Jews who are being tempted (forced) to abandon their Jewish way of life and adopt Hellenistic culture and practices.⁴ The main way the author sets out to demonstrate that godly reason is the master of the passions is through the example of nine martyrs: Eleazar, seven brothers, and the mother of these brothers (1:8–11).

Following the introduction (1:1–13) and the author’s definition of reason and passion (1:14–35), 4 Maccabees can generally be broken into two main sections. In the first section (2:1–3:18), the author discusses the relationship of the law and reason with respect to mastering the passions and gives examples of biblical figures (e.g., Joseph,

³ All translations of 4 Maccabees are my own unless otherwise noted and are translated from Alfred Rahlfs, *Septuaginta: Id Est Vetus Testamentum Graece Iuxta LXX Interpretes* (Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935). I agree with Barclay that “godly reason” is the best translation of ὁ εὐσεβῆς λογισμὸς because it “brings out most clearly the relationship to God which is central to the author’s use of the term” (John M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE - 117 CE)* [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996], 373n70). Scholars have also suggested that ὁ εὐσεβῆς λογισμὸς refers to reason that is in line with Torah or reason that is faithful to God’s law and the Jewish religion and tradition (see David C. Aune, “Mastery of the Passions: Philo, 4 Maccabees and Earliest Christianity,” in *Hellenization Revisited: Shaping a Christian Response within the Greco-Roman World*, ed. Wendy E. Helleman (New York: University Press of America, 1994), 135; Roger A. Bullard, *A Handbook on 3-4 Maccabees*, UBS Handbook Series (Miami, FL: United Bible Societies, 2018), 196–97; Mary R. D’Angelo, “*Εὐσέβεια*: Roman Imperial Family Values and the Sexual Politics of 4 Maccabees and the Pastorals,” *BibInt* 11 (2003): 150; David A. deSilva, *Fourth Maccabees and the Promotion of the Jewish Philosophy Rhetoric, Intertexture, and Reception*. (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2020), 47; P. Dijkhuizen, “Pain, Endurance and Gender in 4 Maccabees,” *JS* 17 (2008): 62; Stephen D Moore and Janice C. Anderson, “Taking It Like a Man: Masculinity in 4 Maccabees,” *JBL* 117 (1998): 252; Tessa Rajak, “Torah in the Fourth Book of Maccabees,” in *The Early Reception of the Torah*, ed. Kristin De Troyer et al., DCLS 39 (Boston: de Gruyter, 2020), 160). The phrase ὁ εὐσεβῆς λογισμὸς appears to be found only in 4 Maccabees (so Aune, “Mastery of the Passions,” 135; S Lauer, “Eusebes Logismos in 4 Macc,” *JJS* 6 (1955): 170–171).

⁴ David A. deSilva, “The Noble Contest: Honor, Shame, and the Rhetorical Strategy of 4 Maccabees,” *JSP* 13 (1995): 36n12, 56–57; cf. Paul L. Redditt, “The Concept of *Nomos* in Fourth Maccabees,” *CBQ* 45 (1983): 249; Jarvis J. Williams, *Christ Redeemed “Us” from the Curse of the Law: A Jewish Martyrological Reading of Galatians 3:13*, LNTS 524 (London: T&T Clark, 2019), 84.

Moses, David) who overcame their passions by means of godly reason.⁵ The second, and largest, section of 4 Maccabees focuses on nine martyrs (3:19–18:24). Following a brief historical overview to establish the context of these martyrs (3:19–4:26), the author tells the story of nine martyrs, Eleazar (5:1–7:23), seven brothers (8:1–14:10), and the brothers’s mother (14:11–17:8), to demonstrate that godly reason masters the passions. The book closes by praising these martyrs for their examples of godliness and faithfulness to the law and for what they accomplished through godly reason (17:2–18:24).

The Law, Reason, and Virtue

Because of the importance of the law, (godly) reason, and virtue for understanding divine and human agency in 4 Maccabees, it is necessary to discuss these topics and the relationship between them before looking at the issue of divine and human agency. First, νόμος refers to the Torah. This is evident by the author’s casual references to Jewish laws as νόμος.⁶ For example, in 1:33–34 (cf. 5:27), the author states that reason gives the ability to abstain from foods forbidden by the law: seafood, fowl, quadrupeds (Lev 11:4–13; Deut 14:4–20).⁷ In 2:5–6, the author quotes an abbreviated form of Exodus 20:17 and refers to it as the law.⁸ And in 2:9, when one is overcome by the law, they

⁵ Barclay notes that 1:10–3:18 functions “only as a ‘trailer’ to the ‘main feature’ to come” (*Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 369).

⁶ So John J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 206; David A. deSilva, “4 Maccabees,” in *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible*, ed. James D. G. Dunn and John W. Rogerson (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 85; Rajak, “Torah in the Fourth Book of Maccabees,” 164; Redditt, “The Concept of *Nomos* in Fourth Maccabees,” 250. Redditt lists five major functions of the law in 4 Maccabees: teaching, enabling rational living, encouraging, condemning/not condemning, and commanding/prohibiting (251).

⁷ David A. deSilva, *4 Maccabees: Introduction and Commentary on the Greek Text in Codex Sinaiticus* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 93.

⁸ DeSilva, 95; Moses Hadas, *The Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees* (New York: Harper, 1953), 153n5.

move from being stingy to adhering to the harvest laws in Leviticus 19:9–10 (cf. Deut. 24:20).⁹ In 9:2, the author also relates the law to Moses. Along with using νόμος to refer to the Jewish law, the author also describes the law as virtuous (11:5) and several times refers to it as the divine law (θείω νόμω: 5:16; θείου νόμου: 9:15; 11:27; cf. 13:22; 17:16). In light of these descriptions of the law, it seems that to keep the law is to be virtuous and to walk in obedience to God since the law is both virtuous and divine.

In 4 Maccabees, (godly) reason (ὁ εὐσεβῆς λογισμός) and the law (νόμος) share a close connection. When the author defines what he means by “reason,” he essentially narrows it down to keeping the law.¹⁰ Reason is defined as a mind preferring “the life of wisdom” (1:15). Wisdom, then, “is the knowledge of divine and human matters and the cause of these,” which “amounts to training in the law” (1:16–17).¹¹ Thus, at the heart of reason lies the law.¹² The author even notes that God gave the law to the mind to rule over the passions (2:21–23), which sounds similar to godly reason being the absolute master of the passions (1:1).

Throughout 4 Maccabees, (godly) reason and the law appear to interchangeably enable one to overcome the passions for the sake of virtue. This is most evident in 2:1–3:18. Throughout this section, the author repeatedly states that both reason and the law enable one to overcome the passions. In 2:2–3, Joseph overcame sexual temptation by his reason. In 2:5–6, the author claims that reason can overcome desires

⁹ DeSilva, *4 Maccabees: Introduction and Commentary*, 98; Hadas, *The Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees*, 154n9.

¹⁰ Aune, “Mastery of the Passions,” 135; Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 205; deSilva, *Fourth Maccabees and the Promotion*, 47; Stephen Westerholm, *Law and Ethics in Early Judaism and the New Testament*, WUNT I 383 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 93.

¹¹ David deSilva notes that wisdom is defined in “the exact terms of Stoic philosophy (cf. Cicero, *Tusc. Dis.* 4.25.57)” (*Fourth Maccabees and the Promotion*, 47).

¹² Paul B. Decock, “Virtue and Philosophy in 4 Maccabees,” *JS* 24 (2015): 307, 312; Westerholm, *Law and Ethics*, 90.

because the law commands not to covet. In 2:7, reason enables one to overcome gluttony and drunkenness. In 2:8, embracing a life in accordance with the law subdues the love for money. Affection for family or friends that may lead one to abandon virtue is overcome through the law (2:10–13). Reason even overcomes the more aggressive passions such as the love of power, vanity, boasting, arrogance, envy, and anger (2:15–16). The author even gives Moses (2:17), Jacob (2:19–20), and David (3:7–18) as examples of reason overcoming the passions.

In 2:1–3:18, the author interchangeably switches back and forth between the law and reason as the means for overcoming the passions. There even appears to be a circularity in the relationship between law and reason. The law (*διὰ τὸν νόμον*) enables reason, which in the context of 2:14, allows one to overcome enmity. In 2:9, reason (*διὰ τὸν λογισμὸν*), in turn, appears to allow one to adhere to the law so that he may overcome stinginess. Since, as mentioned above, adherence to the law is at the heart of the definition of reason, it seems that the author feels free to appeal to reason and the law interchangeably as the means for overcoming the passions. Thus, it appears that the author uses (*ὁ εὐσεβῆς*) *λογισμός* as another way of saying “adherence to the law” since reason is instructed by the law.¹³ Because of the connection between *νόμος* and *λογισμός*, Redditt notes that there is an “equation or at least close affinity” between *νόμος* and *εὐσεβῆς*. Godly reason is reason that is “properly related to *nomos* (7:18; 15:29; 9:6–7), which instructs believers in *eusebeia* (5:24).”¹⁴ In 4 Maccabees, then, *νόμος*, *λογισμός*, and *εὐσεβῆς* seem to share the role of mastering the passions and guarding virtue.

The author must assume that his audience knows what he means by virtue (*ἀρετή*) since he does not define virtue, as he does reason (1:15–17). As there is with law and reason, there appears to be some overlap between virtue and the law and virtue and

¹³ DeSilva, “The Noble Contest,” 37; Westerholm, *Law and Ethics*, 93.

¹⁴ Redditt, “The Concept of *Nomos* in Fourth Maccabees,” 259.

reason. The law (6:27, 30; 13:9), reason (9:6, 29; 11:20; 14:6; 15:12; 16:13; 17:7; 18:3), and virtue (1:8; 7:22; 11:2) almost interchangeably are at different times stated as the object for which the martyrs endured torture and died. The author also notes that the martyrs died for the sake of God (10:20; 16:19, 25), thus connecting obedience to the law, (godly) reason, and virtue with obedience to God. The author also notes that the law keeps one from betraying virtue (2:10) and refers to the martyrs's perseverance for the sake of the law as a test of virtue (17:11–18), further demonstrating the close relationship between the law and virtue. Moreover, the author also notes that the law itself is virtuous (11:5). It seems, then, that the connection between the law, (godly) reason, and virtue is that the law enables (godly) reason (2:14; cf. 2:9, 21–23) and both the law and (godly) reason lead to virtue (cf. 2:10; 12:14; 17:11–16).

The purpose of this section is to demonstrate the close relationship between the law, (godly) reason, and virtue. This close connection allows the author to seemingly use law (*νόμος*), (godly) reason (*ὁ εὐσεβῆς λογισμός*), and virtue (*ἀρετή*) interchangeably as the object for which the martyrs's endured torture and death. The martyrs's faithfulness to the law, (godly) reason, and virtue are all ways the author speaks of the martyrs walking in obedience. This will be important for discussing human agency in 4 Maccabees because the author emphasizes the actions of the martyrs with respect to their obedience to the law, (godly) reason, and virtue.

Divine and Human Agency and the Meta-narrative

Following the author's introduction (1:1–35), and his discussion of the ability of the law and godly reason to rule over the passions, using general and biblical examples to make his point (2:1–3:18), the author of 4 Maccabees offers a brief meta-narrative to give the background to the story of the martyrs (3:20–5:3). In this meta-narrative, the author establishes the events leading up to Antiochus's torturing and killing of the martyrs for refusing to abandon the law and eat pork in defiance of Jewish customs and

the state of the Jewish people prior to these events. The narrative leading up to the story of the martyrs finds its conclusion in 17:20–24, following the martyrs’ role in the story. Through this meta-narrative, the author displays the roles the human agent and the divine agent play in walking in obedience.

The author of 4 Maccabees starts by setting the contrast between the way things were before and the way things are during the time of the nine martyrs. He notes that the “fathers” enjoyed profound peace (*βαθεῖαν εἰρήνην*) because of their loyalty to the law (*εὐνομίαν*).¹⁵ The author emphasizes this point by stating that even Seleucus Nicanor, the king of Asia, set aside money for their temple service and recognized their polity (3:20).¹⁶ This peace would not last, though, because “certain ones attempted a revolution against the common harmony and suffered many disasters” (3:21).

The narrative begins with a man named Simon, who opposed the noble high priest, Onias. Simon went to the governor of Syria, Phoenicia, and Cilicia and told him of private funds being kept in the temple that belonged to the king. He told the governor of these funds so that he would seize them (4:1–3). When Apollonius, the governor, took a strong military force to seize these funds, angels on horseback came and defeated Apollonius and his force (4:9–1). Under the good leadership of Onias, the Lord intervened to protect the people from invading forces.

When King Seleucus died, though, Antiochus Epiphanes succeeded him. Antiochus Epiphanes removed Onias from the high priesthood and placed a man named Jason in his place (4:15–16).¹⁷ Jason agreed to pay Antiochus an annual fee in exchange

¹⁵ Williams notes that “in 4 Maccabees *εὐνομία* is in close association with *νόμος* and *Ιουδαϊσμός* (‘a Jewish manner of life’) (2:5–6, 10; 5:18–21; 8:25; cf. 2 Macc 2:21; 14:38).” Williams, *Christ Redeemed “Us,”* 87.

¹⁶ Scholars note that the author confuses Seleucus IV Philopater with Seleucus I Nicanor (deSilva, *4 Maccabees: Introduction and Commentary*, 112; Hadas, *The Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees*, 161).

¹⁷ The author mistakenly calls Antiochus Seleucus’s son when in fact he was his brother (deSilva, *4 Maccabees: Introduction and Commentary*, 112; Hadas, *The Third and Fourth Books of*

for the high priesthood (4:17–18). He changed the nation’s way of life and polity in violation of the law (4:19). Jason attempted to Hellenize the nation by building a gymnasium on the citadel of the fatherland and abolishing temple services (4:20). These acts provoked divine justice to cause Antiochus to wage war against the people (4:21). Antiochus plundered the people and declared that anyone living according to the ancestral law would die (4:23), to the point that women who circumcised their children were killed along with their children (4:25). When Antiochus’s decree failed to subvert loyalty to the law, he decided to use torture to coerce the people to turn from the ways of Judaism (4:26). It is at this point the story of the nine martyrs begins, which I will discuss more below. Each martyr is tortured in various ways and dies rather than transgressing the law. The author then concludes the narrative by stating that the martyrs revived loyalty to the law in the fatherland (18:4), the enemies did not prevail over the nation and the fatherland was purified because the martyrs became a ransom for the sins of the nation (17:20–23).

In this meta-narrative, the Deuteronomic blessings for obedience and curse for disobedience motif is evident.¹⁸ In 4 Maccabees, especially in the historical narrative (3:19–4:26), it appears that various individuals act as representatives for the Jewish people. Specifically, Onias, the good high priest, Jason, the corrupt, illegitimate high priest, and the nine martyrs.¹⁹ Under the leadership of Onias, who was faithful to God, the nation enjoyed peace and even God’s protection against enemies (4:4–12). When

Maccabees, 165).

¹⁸ So deSilva, “4 Maccabees,” 2003, 895; David A. deSilva, *4 Maccabees*, Guides to the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 135–36; Brian J. Tabb, *Suffering in Ancient Worldview: Luke, Seneca and 4 Maccabees in Dialogue*, LNTS 569 (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017), 113. For a discussion of the Deuteronomic blessings and curses motif in 4 Macc, see Williams, *Christ Redeemed “Us,”* 84–96.

¹⁹ Williams notes that the appellation “accursed” for Simon (4:5) establishes him as the subject of the Deuteronomic curses because of his failure to observe the law. The appellation also “anticipates the Deuteronomic curses that will soon fall on the entire nation in the narrative” (Williams, *Christ Redeemed “Us,”* 90).

Jason was placed as high priest by Antiochus and sought to turn the nation away from the law and towards Hellenistic culture, the nation faced God's punishment in the form of Antiochus.²⁰ Thus, when the representative of the nation is obedient to God and the law, the nation enjoys the blessings of God. When the representative of the nation turns from God and the law, they suffer the punishment of God. Just as Onias and Jason stand as representatives of the nation, the nine martyrs act as representatives of the nation. The martyrs represent the nation returning to the Law, and through their examples of obedience to the law, they revived loyalty to the law among the people (18:4).²¹ DeSilva notes that the author of 4 Maccabees combines the blessings and curses from Deuteronomy with the "sacrificial language of Leviticus (e.g., 17:11)."²² The martyrs not only represent the nation's return to God, but they also represent the nation in their suffering and death for the sins of the nation.²³ The martyrs as representatives led God to be merciful to the nation (5:28), they brought about its purification (17:21), and they restored peace (18:4). Because of their actions the nation experienced the Deuteronomic blessing.²⁴

With regard to walking in obedience, the focus of the meta-narrative is largely on the role of the human agent. Within the Deuteronomic blessings and curses motif, human agents are held responsible for their actions. In 4 Maccabees, when the actions of those who represent the nation are in line with the law, God blesses the nation, but when they transgress the law, the nation faces God's punishment. The fact that the blessings

²⁰ DeSilva, *Fourth Maccabees and the Promotion*, 57–58.

²¹ DeSilva, *4 Maccabees*, 1998, 136; Angelo P. O'Hagan, "The Martyr in the Fourth Book of Maccabees," *LA* 24 (1974): 104.

²² DeSilva, "4 Maccabees," 2003, 895.

²³ Tabb, *Suffering in Ancient Worldview*, 111. Williams argues that the Deuteronomic curses are personified in the torture of the martyrs (Williams, *Christ Redeemed "Us,"* 92–94).

²⁴ Williams, *Christ Redeemed "Us,"* 88, 94–96.

and curses are based on the human agent's actions shows that he is responsible for his actions and thus plays an active role in walking in obedience or disobedience.

The divine agent plays a less direct active role in the meta-narrative of 4 Maccabees. It appears, though, that the divine agent works through the Deuteronomic blessings and curses motif, both at a national level and at an individual, eschatological level. Since I will discuss recompense in 4 Maccabees below, I will only make brief comments here regarding blessings and punishment within the meta-narrative. The divine agent influences obedience through blessings and punishment. When the nation or the individual walks in obedience to God, they receive God's blessing, but when they turn from God and walk in disobedience, they receive divine punishment.²⁵ These blessings are intended to keep the nation faithful to the law and to God, and the punishment is intended to bring the nation back to being obedient. This second brother appears to have understood this. For, after the death of his oldest brother and in the face of his own death, the second brother urges his five other brothers to fight the noble fight for godliness. The reason for this urging is because "the just Providence of our fathers may become merciful to the nation and punish the accursed tyrant" on account of their godliness (9:24; cf. 6:28; 12:14–17). Viewing themselves as representatives of the nation,²⁶ the second brother believed that their faithfulness to the law, symbolic of the nation returning to law obedience,²⁷ would turn back the punishment of God and again gain his blessing. Thus, the blessings and curses motif act as a motivator for the brothers, and through them for the nation (18:4), to remain faithful to the law and therefore walk in virtue.

²⁵ The martyrs were aware that obedience was rewarded by blessings (e.g., 15:3) and disobedience was punished (e.g., 13:15).

²⁶ O'Hagan, "The Martyr," 104.

²⁷ DeSilva, *4 Maccabees*, 1998, 136.

The Nine Martyrs and Human Agency

Following the historical section (3:19–4:26), the author moves on to the primary focus of 4 Maccabees, the nine martyrs (5:1–18:24). The author tells the story of these nine martyrs to demonstrate the truth of his thesis, that godly reason rules over the passions. In this story, he tells how an elderly man, Eleazar, seven brothers, and the brothers's mother were tortured by Antiochus to coerce them to transgress the law. The martyrs, though, were able to withstand the tyrant's torture, even unto death, because of their godly reason and their devotion to the law and to godliness.

In this section, I will focus on the stories of these martyrs and what these stories reveal about the role the human agent plays in walking in virtue in 4 Maccabees. I will begin, though, by giving a brief overview of the account of each martyr. In these overviews, I will draw attention to how the author presents the actions of each martyr as being guided by godly reason. Throughout the narrative of the martyrs, there lies an emphasis on the efforts of the martyrs. They are driven by godly reason (5:31; 6:30, 34; 7:13–14, 16; 8:1; 13:3, 16, 27; 15:1, 23; 16:4) to remain virtuous (1:7–10; 7:22; 10:10; 11:2; 12:14) and godly (5:31, 38; 6:22; 9:6–7, 29–30; 11:20; 14:3, 6; 15:12, 14, 32; 16:13; 17:7; 18:3) and to remain faithful to the law (5:34, 36; 6:21, 30; 9:15; 11:12; 13:9, 13, 17; 15:9–10; 16:16, 24) and to God (9:8; 10:20; 15:8; 16:18–19, 24). It is through this emphasis on the efforts of the martyrs to remain virtuous and obedient to the law and God that the author demonstrates the role that the human agent has in walking in obedience.

Then to make his point, that godly reason is the master of the passions, the author tells the story of these nine martyrs. It appears that the author chose these stories because they represent those who would not be expected to stand up to such torture and suffering.²⁸ Eleazar is an elderly man, past the prime of his physical strength. The seven brothers are all young and would likely be expected to “lack control over impulses and

²⁸ Edd Rowell, “Fourth Maccabees,” in *Mercer Commentary on the Bible*, ed. Watson E. Mills and Richard F. Wilson (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1995), 936.

passions (see Aristotle, *Rhet.* 2.12).²⁹ The most shocking example, though, would be the mother. In 14:11, the author states: “Do not consider it amazing if reason had control over those men during their tortures when *even* the mind of a woman despised more diverse agonies” (cf. 16:1). The author presents women as “more prone to be led by their passions, and less naturally well-equipped for mastery of the passions.”³⁰ The point the author essentially makes by using these martyrs as examples is that, if a weak old man, some unrestrained youth, and *even* a woman can overcome the passions through godly reason, godly reason must be the master of the passions.

When Antiochus attempted to compel Eleazar to defy the law by eating pork (5:6), he began by trying to reason with him by stating that Eleazar should eat the meat because it was a gift from nature (5:8–9). He even states that the “overseeing power” of Eleazar’s religion would excuse his transgression since he would be committing it under duress (5:13). Eleazar responds by sayings that he considers “no compulsion by force more forcible than our ready obedience to the law” (5:16) and that he did not consider eating defiling food to be a minor sin because “to transgress the law in matters small or great is of equal consequence” (5:20). Because of his unwillingness to transgress the law, Antiochus put Eleazar through horrendous torture, but the elderly man remained faithful to the law. Eleazar states that he will not abandon the law (5:33–34) nor godliness (5:31, 38) to avoid further torture or death and that he chooses to die for the sake of the law rather than saving himself (6:27). He even encourages the nation to “die nobly for the

²⁹ Samuel I. Thomas, “4 Maccabees,” in *Fortress Commentary on the Bible: The Old Testament and Apocrypha*, ed. Gale A. Yee, Hugh R. Page Jr., and Matthew J. M. Coomber (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2014), 1113. Similarly, Stanley K. Stowers, “4 Maccabees,” in *The Harper’s Bible Commentary*, ed. James L. Mays (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), 930.

³⁰ Dijkhuizen, “Pain, Edurance and Gender,” 67–68. So also David A. deSilva, “The Perfection of ‘Love for Offspring’: Greek Representations of Maternal Affection and the Achievement of the Heroine of 4 Maccabees,” *NTS* 52 (2006): 254; Moore and Anderson, “Taking It Like a Man,” 266; Judy Newman, “4 Maccabees,” in *The Women’s Bible Commentary*, ed. Carol A. Newsom, Sharon H. Ringe, and Jacqueline E. Lapsley, rev and upd. ed. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2012), 458; Rowell, “Fourth Maccabees,” 936; Stowers, “4 Maccabees,” 932; Thomas, “4 Maccabees,” 1115. On the mother of the seven brothers in 4 Maccabees, see deSilva, “‘Love for Offspring’”; Robin Darling Young, “The Woman with the Soul of Abraham,” in *Women like This: New Perspectives on Jewish Women in the Greco-Roman World*, ed. Amy-Jill Levine, SBLEJL 1 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 67–81.

sake of godliness” (6:22). Eleazar credits his (godly) reason for the ability to withstand torture (5:38). Moreover, the author also notes that Eleazar stood firm under torture unto death in defense of the law (6:30; cf. 7:5–7) and that he did so through godly reason (6:31; 7:16).

After Eleazar dies, Antiochus brings forth seven brothers and their mother. Antiochus encourages the brothers not to follow the example of Eleazar and attempts to bribe them with positions of leadership if they disown their ancestral law and embrace the Greek way of life. He threatens them with torture if they refuse to comply (8:5–11). They replied, in unison, to the tyrant that they would rather die than transgress the law (9:1–9). After their response, Antiochus brings forth each brother one by one and attempts to torture them into defying the law.

When the oldest of the brothers is brought forth, he proclaims that the tyrant is killing him not because of any just reason but because he has “defended divine law” (9:15). Defying the king, he states that “children of the Hebrews alone are invincible for the sake of virtue” (9:18). Having said this, the first brother is tortured to death, but before he dies, he exhorts his brothers to “fight for godliness” (9:24).

Following the first brother’s example, the second brother also refuses to defy the law and is tortured. Before he dies, the second brother tells Antiochus that he will not overcome his devotion to godliness and that any death for the sake of godliness is “sweet” (9:29–31). Prior to his death, when the third brother was being tortured because he too refused to transgress the law, he acknowledged that the reason he and his brothers were being tortured and killed was because of their faithfulness to the law and to divine virtue (10:10).³¹

After giving a speech in defiance of the tyrant’s commands, Antiochus cuts off

³¹ I take training (*παιδείαν*) to refer to training in the law as in 1:17. So deSilva, *4 Maccabees: Introduction and Commentary*, 185.

the tongue of the fourth brother, which leads the brother to say: “Gladly, for the sake of God, we let our bodily members be mutilated” (10:20). Following the fourth brother, the fifth brother jumped up and declared that he would not “beg to be excused from torture for the sake of virtue” (11:2). He stated that suffering the tyrant’s tortures allowed the brothers to show their “endurance for the law” (11:12).

The sixth brother, whom the author notes was a young boy (*μειρακίσκος*), also defied the tyrant. He declared that even though he may be just a young boy, in his mind he is equal to his older brothers. Before he too dies, he tells the tyrant that *ἡ εὐσεβῆς ἐπιστήμη* (“godly knowledge”)³² is invincible and that the brothers are governed by the law, not his violent acts (11:20–27). Finally, the seventh brother declared that his brother fulfilled their duty of piety towards God by dying for the law and that he would not “abandon the valor” of his brothers (12:14–15). Having said this, he cast himself into one of the frying pans and died (12:19).

Having told the story of how each of the seven brothers stood up to the tyrant and was tortured to death for defying his command, the author then praises the brothers for their actions. He draws attention to the brothers’s commitment to die for the sake of the law (13:9) and to not be cowardly in their “demonstration of piety” (13:10). He further notes that the brothers consecrated themselves to God and used their bodies as a bulwark for the law (13:13). The author notes several times that the brothers were able to withstand torture for the sake of the law because of godly reason (13:1, 3, 16; 14:1–5; 15:1).

What Eleazar and the seven brothers all have in common is that each one endured the tortures of Antiochus rather than transgress the law. They believed obedience to the law superseded any thoughts of self-preservation since it was their duty to God (e.g., 10:20; 12:14). The emphasis of the stories is on the efforts of the martyrs to remain

³² I take *ἡ εὐσεβῆς ἐπιστήμη* to be basically synonymous with or at least closely related to *ὁ εὐσεβῆς λογισμός* in this context (cf. 11:27).

faithful to God. The martyrs choose to act in obedience to God (10:20; 12:14; 13:13) by resisting torture for the sake of the law (5:33–34, 36; 6:21, 30; 9:15; 11:12; 13:9, 13, 17; 15:9–10; 16:16, 24), godliness (5:31, 38; 6:22; 9:6; 9:24, 30; 11:20; 13:10, 12; 14:3, 6; 15:3, 12, 14, 32; 16: 13, 14, 17; 17:7; 18:3), and virtue (1:8; 7:22; 10:10; 11:2; 12:14). This choice of obedience over self-preservation demonstrates an active agent with regard to walking in obedience. The martyrs faced a real choice. They could choose to transgress the law by eating the pork, acting in disobedience to God, and save themselves from torture and death or they could endure these things for the sake of obedience to God, through obedience to the law. Commenting on Eleazar’s response to Antiochus, though his observation is fitting for all the martyrs, Westerholm states that, “a very real moral *choice* is involved and that the Jews may well be tempted *not* to live up to their convictions when their lives are at stake...”³³ Even Eleazar acknowledged that he had the real choice to save himself from torture and death but chose not to for the sake of the law (6:27). Again, these choices point to morally responsible human agents who choose to obey God and suffer torture and death rather than transgress the law.

Moreover, the emphasis on (godly) reason (5:31, 38; 6:30, 34; 7:13–14; 8:1; 9:17; 13:3, 16; 15:1, 23; 16:4) in the story of these martyrs also points to an active human agent. Though godly reason guides or enables the martyrs to remain steadfast for the law in the face of torture and death, the human agent is still active in the choices he makes, which are guided by godly reason. Consequently, godly reason reveals the active human agent specifically because it aids the actual choices and actions of the human agent.

Following the stories of Eleazar and the seven brothers, who accepted torture and death over abandoning the law, the author of 4 Maccabees tells his audience to “not think it amazing that reason had control over these men” because “even the mind of a woman despised more diverse agonies” (14:11). The mother’s trial was not physical

³³ Westerholm, *Law and Ethics*, 97.

torture, though, rather it was emotional. A few times the author comments on the nature of the mother's love for her sons, noting that a parent's love for their children, especially that of a mother, is great (14:13–20; 15:4–7, 13). The mother did not face physical torture like Eleazar's and all but the youngest of her sons's, rather her torture was the pain brought on by her motherly love for her children as she watched each of her sons be tortured and murdered one by one (15:15–22; 16:3).³⁴ The mother's trial was the decision she had to make between telling her sons to eat the meat and save themselves or to remain faithful to God and to endure torture and death rather than transgress the law (15:1–3, 11–12, 25–32).³⁵ Because the mother feared God (15:8) and because of her godliness (15:1–3, 14), she spurred her sons on to death rather than transgressing the law (16:16–23) for the sake of the godliness (15:12, 14; 16:13) and obedience to God (16:18–19). The mother was able to overcome the passions of motherly affection because of pious reason (15:11; 16:1, 4), which gave her “manly courage” (*ἀνδρειώσας*) that enabled her to disregard her parental love (*φιλοτεχνίαν*) and enabled her to watch her sons die (15:22–24). In the end, the mother threw herself into the fire so that her body would not be defiled (17:1).

Like the stories of Eleazar and the seven brothers, the story of the mother focuses on her choices and actions. The author emphasizes two things throughout her story, the intensity of her motherly affection and the power of her godly reason to overcome her motherly passions. The mother had two moral choices before her: to walk in the passions and encourage her sons to eat the meat and transgress the law or to overcome the passions and champion virtue by encouraging her sons to remain faithful to

³⁴ Newman, “4 Maccabees,” 458. Rowell notes that “the mother's sacrifice was not just different in kind but in extent. She sacrificed more, much more” (Rowell, “Fourth Maccabees,” 936).

³⁵ Newman comments: “The choice lies between enduring the emotional torment of watching her children suffer and relinquishing them to death, which paradoxically ‘preserves them for eternal life’ (15:9-10)” (Newman, “4 Maccabees,” 458).

the law to the very end. Through this moral choice, the author reveals the active nature of the human agent in walking in obedience. The mother made the conscious choice to act in a manner that was virtuous and obedient to God and the law. This demonstrates that the human agent plays an active role in walking in virtue, for the choices the mother made kept her on and encouraged her sons down the path of virtue.

One other way 4 Maccabees presents the human agents as being active in walking in obedience is through the use of contest and fight language.³⁶ Both the first brother and the mother motivated the sons to fight in defense of the law (9:24; 16:16). Moreover, the martyrs's struggle against the tyrant for the sake of the law and godliness is described as a contest (*ἀγών*) multiple times (11:20; 15:29–30; 16:16; 17:11), and the martyrs are referred to as champions (12:14; 15:29–30) and athletes (17:15, 16) who were victorious (15:29; 17:15). By using language that describes the martyrs as fighters and champions in a metaphorical athletic contest in defense of the law, the author draws attention to the actions of the human agents. As in any athletic competition, the focus is on the actions of the athletes. By using this fight/contest language to focus on the actions of the martyrs, the author draws attention to the active role the human agents play in walking in obedience.

Recompense and Human Agency

Along with describing the noble resilience the martyrs displayed in the face of torture and death for the sake of obedience to God, the author, through both personal commentary and comments by the martyrs, sheds light on the results of the martyrs's deaths. The author discusses the benefit the martyrs's deaths had for the nation, the rewards the martyrs received for their faithfulness, and the punishment Antiochus received for his actions against the law and the virtuous martyrs. Each of these results

³⁶ On the use of contest metaphors, see deSilva, *4 Maccabees: Introduction and Commentary*, 192–94.

demonstrates that the human agent plays in walking in obedience in 4 Maccabees. This section will focus on the results of the martyrs's deaths with an eye towards what they reveal about the role of the human agent with regard to walking in virtue.

As mentioned above, throughout the story of the martyrs the Deuteronomic theme of blessings for obedience and curses for disobedience is apparent. The nation, under ungodly leadership (4:16–20), falls under divine punishment (4:21). The martyrs, though, as representatives of the nation,³⁷ renew God's mercy upon the nation (6:27–29; 9:24; 12:17) and they again enjoy the peace their fathers enjoyed (18:4; cf. 3:20). By remaining faithful to the law and obedient to God, even unto death, the martyrs saw their deaths as a means of invoking God's mercy to restore the peace of the nation.³⁸ For example, in the face of his impending death Eleazar beseeched God to “be merciful to your people; be satisfied with our punishment on their [the nation's] behalf” (6:28). The oldest brother, when his death was imminent, exhorted his brothers to remain obedient to God even unto death so that he “may become merciful to our nation and punish the accursed tyrant” (9:24). Similarly, before dying the youngest brother called upon God to be merciful to the nation and punish Antiochus (12:17). Their sacrifices lead God to be merciful to the nation. Because of the martyrs's sacrifices that led God to be merciful, the nation was purified, the sins of the nation were atoned for, the tyrant was punished, and peace was restored.³⁹

One of the achievements of the martyrs's deaths was the purification of the nation (1:11; 6:28–29; 17:20–22).⁴⁰ In 4 Maccabees, there is a connection between the

³⁷ For scholars who also view the martyrs as representatives of Israel, see footnote 21 above.

³⁸ DeSilva, “4 Maccabees,” 2003, 136; O'Hagan, “The Martyr,” 104; Tabb, *Suffering in Ancient Worldview*, 84; Jarvis J. Williams, *Maccabean Martyr Traditions in Paul's Theology of Atonement: Did Martyr Theology Shape Paul's Conception of Jesus's Death?* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2010), 44–46.

³⁹ Tabb, *Suffering in Ancient Worldview*, 84, 111.

⁴⁰ O'Hagan, “The Martyr,” 98; Anders Klostergaard Petersen, “Dissolving the Philosophy-Religion Dichotomy in the Context of Jewish *Paideia*: Wisdom of Solomon, 4 Maccabees, and Philo,” in

cultic purification of the nation and the defeat of Antiochus (e.g., 17:20–22). Twice, the author notes that the death of the martyrs brought purification to the fatherland. In the introduction, the author notes that the martyrs “conquered the tyrant by means of their endurance so that the fatherland was purified (καθαρισθῆναι) through them” (1:11). Then, in 17:20–22, the author notes that because of the martyrs, their enemies did not prevail over them, “the tyrant was punished, and the fatherland was purified (καθαρισθῆναι) since they became, as it were, a ransom for the sins of the nation.” Eleazar even saw his death as a means of purification for the nation. When Eleazar knew his death was imminent, he called out to God and implored him to be merciful to the nation and to accept his suffering on behalf of the people and “make [his] blood their purification” (6:28–29).⁴¹ In line with the Deuteronomic theme of blessings and curses, the author of 4 Maccabees presents the deaths of the martyrs as a means of cultic purification for the nation. In turn, this cultic purification moved God to remove his punishment from the nation.

The reason the deaths of the martyrs achieved cultic purification for the nation is that their deaths atoned for the sins of the nation.⁴² Two texts, in particular, attest to the

Second Temple Jewish Paideia in Context, ed. Jason Zurawski and Gabriele Boccaccini, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 228 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 199; David Seeley, *The Noble Death: Graeco-Roman Martyrology and Paul’s Concept of Salvation*, JSNTSup 28 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 97; Tabb, *Suffering in Ancient Worldview*, 84; Williams, *Maccabean Martyr Tradition*, 46–48.

⁴¹ Tabb comments on the association of blood with cultic cleansing and atonement for sin in the Old Testament (*Suffering in Ancient Worldview*, 85–86, 111–12). So also Williams, *Maccabean Martyr Tradition*, 46–48. Καθαρίζω and its cognate words are used with reference to moral or cultic cleansing. See BDAG, s.v. “καθαρίζω” 3 b.

⁴² Many scholars have commented on the atoning nature of the martyrs’ death in 4 Maccabees: Bullard, *A Handbook on 3-4 Maccabees*, 196, 495; Marinus de Jonge, *Jesus, the Servant-Messiah* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991), 44–47; deSilva, *4 Maccabees*, 1998, 137–41; David A. deSilva, *Introducing the Apocrypha: Message, Context, and Significance* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002), 354, 357; Christian Grappe, “De l’intérêt de 4 Maccabées 17.18-22 (et 16.20-1) Pour La Christologie Du NT,” *NTS* 46 (2000): 342–57; Daniel J. Harrington, *Invitation to the Apocrypha* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 216; O’Hagan, “The Martyr,” 103–19; Petersen, “Dissolving the Philosophy-Religion Dichotomy,” 199; Rajak, “Torah in the Fourth Book of Maccabees,” 164; Tabb, *Suffering in Ancient Worldview*, 85, 111–12; Michael Tuval, *From Jerusalem Priest to Roman Jew: On Josephus and the Paradigms of Ancient Judaism*, WUNT II 357 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 58; Williams, *Maccabean Martyr Tradition*, 43–49, 58–63. A few scholars argue the martyrs’ deaths are not presented as atoning sacrifices in 4 Maccabees, see Seeley, *The Noble Death*, 83–99; Sam K. Williams, *Jesus’ Death as Saving Event: The Background and Origin of a Concept*, HDR 2 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1975), 165–97.

atoning nature of the martyrs' deaths. First, in light of his voluntary choice to die rather than transgress the law,⁴³ Eleazar petitions God to be satisfied with the martyrs' punishment on behalf of the nation (ὕπερ αὐτῶν). Then, after requesting that his blood purify the nation, Eleazar asks that God takes his life in exchange (ἀντίψυχον) for theirs (6:27–29). The connection of blood with purification and atonement for sin is common in the Old Testament,⁴⁴ and deSilva helpfully notes that the “connection of blood and the exchange of a life (*antipsuchos*) recalls the stipulations of LXX Lev. 17.11 for atonement...”⁴⁵ By choosing to die rather than transgress the law and save his life, Eleazar presents himself as an ἀντίψυχον for the nation so that his punishment may be sufficient to pay for the nation's sins.

In 17:20–22, the author summarizes the achievements of the martyrs' deaths for the nation:

And these, then, who have been consecrated by God have been honored... in that, on account of them, our enemies do not rule over our nation, the tyrant was punished, and the fatherland was purified, since they became, as it were, a ransom (ἀντίψυχον) for the sins of the nation. And through the blood of those godly ones and their propitiatory deaths (τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου τοῦ θανάτου αὐτῶν), divine Providence preserved Israel, which had previously been afflicted.⁴⁶

⁴³ DeSilva states that the voluntary nature of Eleazar's death and his loyalty to the law even to the point of death is the basis for Eleazar's request that his blood would purify the nation and that his life be in exchange for the nation (*4 Maccabees*, 1998, 138).

⁴⁴ So Tabb (*Suffering in Ancient Worldview*, 85). Tabb references Exod 30:10; Lev 8:15; 14:14–31; 16:19 (*Suffering in Ancient Worldview*, 85n107).

⁴⁵ DeSilva, *4 Maccabees*, 1998, 138.

⁴⁶ I am aware of the textual variant at 17:22. Alexandrinus and Venetus (A) read τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου θανάτου αὐτῶν, with the attributive adjective ἱλαστήριος. Sinaiticus (S) differs by using the substantive ἱλαστήριον and adding an article: τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου τοῦ θανάτου αὐτῶν. DeSilva, Hultgren, Klauck, and van Henten follow variant A (deSilva, *4 Maccabees: Introduction and Commentary*, 250; Stephen Hultgren, “*Hilasterion* (Rom. 3:25) and the Union of Divine Justice and Mercy. Part I: The Convergence of Temple and Martyrdom Theologies,” *JTS* 70, no. 1 [2019]: 89n82; Hans-Josef Klauck, *4. Makkabäerbuch*, JSHRZ III 6 [Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1989], 753; Jan Willem van Henten, “The Tradition-Historical Background of Rom. 3.25: A Search for Pagan and Jewish Parallels,” in *From Jesus to John: Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology in Honour of Marinus de Jonge*, ed. Martinus de Boer, JSNTSup 84 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993], 123n2). Bailey and Williams agree with Rahlfs by following variant S (Daniel P. Bailey, “Jesus as the Mercy Seat: The Semantics and Theology of Paul's Use of *Hilasterion* in Romans 3:25” [PhD diss., Cambridge University, 1999], 93; Williams, *Maccabean Martyr Tradition*, 59). The A reading has more manuscript evidence, but S has the earliest manuscripts and is the more difficult reading. I slightly prefer the S reading (For a discussion of the textual evidence and a defense of the S reading, see: Bailey, “Jesus as the Mercy Seat: The Semantics and Theology of Paul's Use of *Hilasterion* in Romans 3:25,” 114–23.), but I agree with Williams that the textual variant is insignificant for

Because of their faithfulness to the law, even unto death, the martyrs are honored with the defeat of the tyrant and the purification of the nation. The author notes that the martyrs, through their deaths, became a ἀντίψυχον for the sins of the nations and that God preserved the nation through their blood and τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου τοῦ θανάτου αὐτῶν.⁴⁷ Like 6:29, the author’s use of ἀντίψυχον recalls atonement and the Day of Atonement with the use of ἀντι τῆς ψυχῆς in Leviticus 17:11.⁴⁸ He continues to use sacrificial language by speaking of the blood of the martyrs and referring to their deaths as τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου. Bullard notes that the martyrs’s atoning for the sins of the nation through their sacrificial deaths “could be compared to what happened on the Day of Atonement (Lev 16:1–34).”⁴⁹ By using both τοῦ αἵματος and τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου, the author describes the deaths of the martyrs in a manner that resembles the Day of Atonement in Leviticus 16. Leviticus 16:15 describes the sin offering given for the people on the Day of Atonement, where a goat is killed and its blood is sprinkled ἐπὶ τὸ ἱλαστήριον (upon the cover of the Ark of the Covenant)⁵⁰ for the purification of the people.⁵¹ By speaking of τοῦ αἵματος and τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου τοῦ θανάτου αὐτῶν, the author describes the deaths of the

“determining the meaning of ἱλαστήριον in 4 Macc 17:22 since both variants could support the view that the martyrs’s deaths were atoning sacrifices and a saving event for Israel” (Williams, *Maccabean Martyr Tradition*, 59).

⁴⁷ DeSilva notes that the author combines the Deuteronomic blessings and curses ‘with the sacrificial language of Leviticus (e.g., 17:11) as a means of interpreting the significance of these martyrdoms (“4 Maccabees,” 203, 895).

⁴⁸ In Leviticus 17:11, YHWH forbids the people from eating any blood. In the context of the Day of Atonement, YHWH explains that the reason the people are to refrain from eating blood is that “it is the blood itself that atones for the soul” (τὸ γὰρ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξιλάσεται). Thus, the compound word ἀντίψυχον recalls the Day of Atonement and atonement through blood. So deSilva, *4 Maccabees: Introduction and Commentary*, 147, 249–50; Tabb, *Suffering in Ancient Worldview*, 85; Williams, *Christ Redeemed “Us,”* 151.

⁴⁹ Bullard, *A Handbook on 3-4 Maccabees*, 495.

⁵⁰ In the Old Testament, ἱλαστήριος refers to the cover of the ark of the covenant: see Exod 25:17–22; 31:7; 35:12; 38:5, 7–8; Lev 16:2, 13; Num 7:89.

⁵¹ Gordon J. Wenham, *The Book of Leviticus*, New International Commentary on the Old Testament (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 1979), 232.

martyrs as both the means of atonement⁵² and the metaphorical place where God's wrath is appeased.⁵³ In essence, the deaths of the martyrs atoned for the sins of the people and it is through their deaths that the nation was purified (1:11; 17:21) and enjoyed peace again (18:4).⁵⁴

Before moving on to discuss the recompense Antiochus received, it is worth pausing to discuss the achievements of the martyrs for the nation in connection with the focus of this chapter. The renewal of God's mercy and the purification of the nation

⁵² Williams, *Maccabean Martyr Tradition*, 59–63.

⁵³ Tabb, *Suffering in Ancient Worldview*, 96.

⁵⁴ Daniel P. Bailey, in his unpublished Cambridge dissertation, challenges the widely held view that ἱλαστήριον in 17:22 describes the martyrs as atoning sacrifices (Bailey, "Jesus as the Mercy Seat: The Semantics and Theology of Paul's Use of *Hilasterion* in Romans 3:25." All stand-alone page numbers in this footnote come from this dissertation. For a summary of Bailey's work, see deSilva, *4 Maccabees: Introduction and Commentary*, 251). Through an extensive lexical study (31–75), Bailey argues that "neither ἱλαστήριον nor any other -τήριον word in the singular regularly denotes an action or an event; the suffix τήριον is very concrete and specific" (12). In light of this, Bailey contends that ἱλαστήριον in 4 Macc 17:22 should not be understood as "cultic" or "sacrificial" and is "not distinctly Jewish or biblical" (123). Rather, the author uses ἱλαστήριον in the Hellenistic manner to denote a "propitiatory votive offering" (135–42). Thus, rather than acting as an atoning sacrifice, the deaths of the martyrs were propitiatory offerings to bring reconciliation between God and Israel.

Bailey's view, though, has been rightly critiqued (see: Stephen Finlan, *The Background and Content of Paul's Cultic Atonement Metaphors*, Academia Biblica 19 [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004], 200–204; Williams, *Maccabean Martyr Tradition*, 61–63; Williams, *Christ Redeemed "Us,"* 154–55). Scholars have noted that Bailey relies so heavily on his lexical work that he does not adequately allow the context of 4 Maccabees to shape the meaning of ἱλαστήριον in 17:22 (so Williams, 154; see also Finlan, *Atonement Metaphors*, 201). Concepts and terminology connected to atonement and the Day of Atonement in Leviticus 16–17 (i.e., purification, ransom, judgment, blood, vicarious death) surround ἱλαστήριον in 17:22 (similar terminology is found in 6:28–29), suggesting that the author is using ἱλαστήριον because of its connection to the Day of Atonement (cf. Lev. 16:14–15) and thus the martyrs' deaths are at least in some way responsible for the atonement for the nation (others have noted this atonement language. So Finlan, 202–3; Williams, *Christ Redeemed "Us,"* 155; deSilva appears to at least partially agree with Bailey's view, though he notes the presence of atonement language and views the result of the propitiatory gift as "fundamentally the same as the sacrifice of atonement: 4 Maccabees: Introduction and Commentary, 59, 250–51). Moreover, Bailey also seems too quick to dismiss the idea of a metaphorical use of ἱλαστήριον in 17:22 (99–100). Finlan notes that "the biblical ἱλαστήριον is the geographic center of the whole sacrificial cult" and that its use in connection with other cultic imagery suggests the author is using it as a "sacrificial metaphor" (Finlan, *Atonement Metaphors*, 201). Since the temple services had been stopped (4:20), the martyrs took the place of the temple sacrifice, and their death functioned as the "place of atonement" (Finlan, 202–3; Hultgren interprets ἱλαστήριον similarly in Rom 3:25, in connection with Christ, but he does not interpret 4 Macc 17:22 in this way because he follows the A reading; Hultgren, "*Hilasterion* Part I," 73; Stephen Hultgren, "*Hilasterion* (Rom. 3:25) and the Union of Divine Justice and Mercy. Part II: Atonement in the Old Testament and in Romans 1–5," *JTS* 70, no. 2 [2019]: 591; Bailey notes that -τήριον words often denote a place [237–38]). Thus, rather than reading ἱλαστήριον against a Hellenistic background as Bailey does, it should be read with the Day of Atonement as its background.

It should be acknowledged, though, that my argument works with Bailey's reading as well. Because of their obedience to the law, the deaths of the martyrs as propitiatory votive offerings cause God to act in favor of the nation. The human agents' actions are what cause the divine agent to act, which demonstrates an active human agent.

through the martyrs atoning deaths for the sins of the nation all demonstrate an active human agent in walking in virtue. The reason that the martyrs were able to purify the nation by atoning for their sins was because of their steadfast obedience to the law and their sacrificial death in defense of the law and in obedience to God. As mentioned in the previous section, there is a strong emphasis on the actions of the martyrs and their choices to remain faithful to the law and to God rather than save their own lives. That same emphasis on the martyrs's actions is present in the dialogue about the purifying, atoning nature of their deaths. Eleazar based his petition to God on the fact that he was voluntarily dying for the sake of the law instead of transgressing it to save himself (6:27). The author's comments about the purifying and atoning nature of the martyrs's death in 17:20–22 flow from his discussion of the divine contest the martyrs participated in (17:11–19). The martyrs's perseverance was tested (17:10) as they contended for the law (17:16), which resulted in even the tyrant marveling at their endurance (17:17). Their perseverance throughout this divine contest ended with the martyrs being rewarded with eternal life (17:18) and the preservation of Israel (17:22). Because of the martyrs's faithfulness to the law, even to the point of death, God accepted their deaths as atoning for the nation.⁵⁵ This demonstrates an active human agent. It is because of the martyrs's active choices to remain faithful to the law and to God that their lives were accepted as a ransom for the people and their deaths atoned for the nation. Thus, the purification and preservation of the nation through the deaths of the martyrs reveals an active human agent in 4 Maccabees, with regard to walking in virtue.

It is worth briefly mentioning Antiochus, the contrast to the martyrs.

Antiochus stands in opposition to the martyrs and God by hating virtue (11:4) and killing the martyrs because of their devotion to God and his law (11:5; 12:11). Even though

⁵⁵ David J. Elliot, "4 Maccabees," in *The Apocrypha*, ed. Martin Goodman, John Barton, and John. Muddiman, Oxford Bible Commentary (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 242.

Antiochus received his kingdom and gifts from God, Antiochus still chose ‘to kill those who faithfully serve God and to stretch on the wheel those who practice godliness’ (12:11). Because of the faithfulness of the martyrs unto death and because of Antiochus’s “ungodliness and bloodguilt” (9:8–9), he will receive “unending torment” (10:11; see also 9:9, 32; 10:21; 12:12; 18:22; cf. 13:15), both in life and after death (12:18; 18:5). Antiochus’s punishment is the final accomplishment of the martyrs’s death for the nation (17:20–22).⁵⁶ The tyrant’s actions resulted in divine punishment, because “the danger of eternal torment lies before those who transgress the commandment of God” (13:15). Like the martyrs, Antiochus’s actions incited divine action. This demonstrates an active human agent with regard to walking in disobedience. The tyrant was held accountable for and received divine judgment because of the choices he actively made. Like the martyrs, Antiochus shows the active role human agents play in obedience, or disobedience, in 4 Maccabees.

One last result of the martyrs’s deaths demonstrates an active human agent in walking in virtue, namely, individual rewards. Because the martyrs remained faithful to the law and to God rather than transgressing the law to avoid torture and death, not only did the martyrs atone for the nation and restore peace but they also were rewarded for their actions. For their steadfastness to the law, even to the point of death, the martyrs inherited the prizes awarded to virtue (9:8; 18:23), divine inheritance (18:3), and immortality (7:1–3, 18–19; 14:5; 15:3; 16:13, 25; 17:12; 18:23). The promise of the eternal rewards awarded to those who remain virtuous helped motivate the martyrs to suffer for the sake of virtue (9:7–9).⁵⁷ The mother also trusted in the promised reward granted to the virtuous (15:3), which allowed her to encourage her sons to endure the

⁵⁶ Tabb lists five achievements of the martyrs’s deaths: “(1) divine mercy because of satisfied divine judgment; (2) purification of the polluted *πατρίς*; (3) a life-in-exchange for the nation’s sin; (4) the downfall of the tyrant; and (5) renewed peace and Law observance in Israel” (*Suffering in Ancient Worldview*, 111; similarly Harrington, *Invitation*, 215; Rajak, “Torah in the Fourth Book of Maccabees,” 164).

⁵⁷ Tabb, *Suffering in Ancient Worldview*, 119; Thomas, “4 Maccabees,” 1114.

tyrant's tortures even to the point of death.⁵⁸ By urging her sons on to die instead of transgressing the law, the mother spurred her sons on so that they would receive the rewards given to godliness (16:13, 25).

As with the benefits given to the nation through the deaths of the martyrs, the individual rewards enjoyed by the martyrs also reflect an active human agent. Throughout 4 Maccabees, there is a direct connection between the actions of the martyrs and the reward they will receive. The martyrs are said to receive prizes accorded to virtue (9:8), divine inheritance (18:3), and immortality (7:1–3, 18–19; 14:5; 15:3; 16:13, 25; 17:12; 18:23) because they died for God (16:25) and because of their virtue (9:8; 17:11–12) and godliness (7:1–3, 18–19; 14:3–5; 15:3; 16:13; 17:15; 18:3). The relationship between the actions of the human agents and rewards suggests an active human agent. Each of the nine martyrs chose to remain faithful to the law and to God, rather than transgress the law to save their lives. The martyrs were rewarded because of their choice to remain faithful. The rewards given for faithfulness to the law and to God demonstrate that the human agent plays an active role in walking in virtue in 4 Maccabees.

The relationship between divine action/recompense and human actions in 4 Maccabees demonstrates an active human agent with regard to walking in obedience (and disobedience). Each of the martyrs made an active choice to remain obedient to the law and to God and to endure torture and death rather than transgress the law. The actions of the martyrs are what brought purification and peace to the nation, and the reason that the martyrs received immortality was because of their steadfast faithfulness. Even the punishment of Antiochus exhibits this connection between human action and recompense, for the tyrant was punished in life and in the afterlife (12:18; 18:5) because of his ungodliness (9:32; 10:11) and his killing of the law obedient martyrs (12:11–12; 18:20–22). This connection between the actions of the human agent and recompense

⁵⁸ Bullard, *A Handbook on 3-4 Maccabees*, 446.

demonstrates that the human agent plays an active role in obedience (and disobedience) in 4 Maccabees. It is because the martyrs, the human agents, actively chose to walk in obedience to the law and not transgress the law that they were rewarded. Thus, the presence of rewards (and punishment) in 4 Maccabees evidences an active human agent in walking in virtue.

Divine Agency in 4 Maccabees

Though the focus of 4 Maccabees is on the human agent, primarily through the actions of the nine martyrs, the divine agent does play a role in walking in obedience in 4 Maccabees. In this section, I will examine the role the divine agent plays in walking in virtue. Primarily, I will focus on God's act of giving to man a mind to control the passions and the law to guide the mind, recompense, and the use of *πρόνοια* as an appellation for God in 4 Maccabees.

The primary way the divine agent is shown to play an active role in walking in obedience is through creation in connection with the giving of the law. In 2:21–23, the author states that when God created man, he placed in him their passions (*τὰ πάθη*) and disposition (*τὰ ἦθη*). At the same time, he also “enthroned the mind (*νοῦν*) among the senses as a sacred governor over them all.” To the mind, then, he gave the law, so that the one who lives in accordance with the law will “rule a kingdom that is temperate, just, good, and courageous.” God gave man a mind to control his passions and the law to enable his mind to do so. The combination of the mind and the law recalls the common theme of godly reason throughout 4 Maccabees (5:31; 6:30–31, 33–45; 7:1, 4, 12, 16; 8:1; 9:17–18; 11:25–27; 13:1, 16; 14:11; 15:11, 23; 16:1, 4; 18:2). The author appears to be explaining the divine origin of godly reason. For the mind's control over the passions and dispositions evokes the mastery over the passions by godly reason (1:30, 6:31; 13:1; 18:2), and, as mentioned above, there is a close connection between the law and reason.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ See the section above on the law, reason, and virtue for my discussion of the connection

God gave the law to guide reason, and it is this godly reason that enabled the martyrs to overcome the tyrant's torture (6:30; 7:4; 11:27; 13:3; 16:4; cf. 7:16; 13:27). Notably, though, the author acknowledges the need for the human agent to adopt a law-observing life in order for the mind to enable him to walk in obedience. In 4 Maccabees, then, the divine agent plays an active role in walking in obedience through the creation-act of enthroning the mind of man over the passions and then giving the law to enable the mind to rule over the passions. To enable the human agent to be able to walk in obedience, God gave to man his mind and the law so that, if one chooses to follow the law, he may be guided by godly reason and walk in virtue.

Along with God's work in creation that enables the human agent to walk in obedience, the presence of divine recompense also reveals an active divine agent in walking in obedience. Since I have already discussed the role of the divine agent in the meta-narrative and have discussed recompense and human agency, I will keep my comments brief here. The divine agent in 4 Maccabees works through the promise of rewards and the threat of punishment. Not only does the divine agent enable the human agent to walk in virtue by giving him the law, but he also motivates the human agent through the promise of eternal rewards given to the virtuous and eternal punishment given to those who transgress God's law. The martyrs knew this truth. For example, after the tyrant attempted to get the brothers to transgress the law through promises of appointed positions and threats of punishment, the brothers responded by telling Antiochus to put them to the test, for through suffering and endurance they "shall gain prizes given for virtue and shall be with God" (9:7–8). Moreover, their mother too knew that God promised eternal life to those who are godly, and because of this, she urged her sons to die for the sake of godliness rather than transgress the law to preserve their lives (15:2–3, 11–12). The martyrs also understood that God punishes those who transgress the

between the law and reason.

law (13:14–15), and therefore trusted that the tyrant would be punished for his acts against the martyrs and against God (9:9, 32; 10:11, 21; 12:12, 18).⁶⁰ God’s promise of divine rewards for obedience and eternal punishment for disobedience motivates the human agents to walk in obedience and thus suggests that the divine agent plays an active role in the Christ-follower’s act of walking in virtue.

One other way an active divine agent may be revealed is through the author’s use of *πρόνοια* as an appellation for God. Throughout 4 Maccabees, God is referred to as just Providence (9:24); all-wise Providence (13:19), and divine Providence (17:22). By describing God as *πρόνοια*, the author not only establishes God as the one who watches over all creation but also as the one who watches over the nation. For it is the just Providence who will defeat the nation’s enemies (9:24) and will preserve the people (17:22). In light of this, the martyrs are motivated to “fight the sacred and noble fight for godliness” (9:24) because the just, divine Providence is able to preserve the nation and defeat their enemies. It is worth noting that the mother points to the providence of God to motivate her sons to remain faithful to God, though she does not refer to God as *πρόνοια*. The mother reminds the sons that they have “a share in the world and have enjoyed life” because of God, and therefore they should endure suffering for his sake (16:18–19). Thus, the use of *πρόνοια* as a reference for God (and the providence of God in general) demonstrates the active role the divine agent plays in the martyrs’s obedience. It is because the martyrs know that God is in control of things as the just, divine *πρόνοια* that they are motivated to remain faithful to God in the face of torture and death. In other words, because God is the just *πρόνοια*, who will preserve the nation and punish the tyrant, the martyrs resist the coercion of Antiochus and continue to walk in virtue.

Though the focus of 4 Maccabees is on the human agents and their actions, the

⁶⁰ Williams connects the martyrs’s hope in the promise of eternal life for Torah-obedience and the promise of death for disobedience with the Deuteronomic promise of blessings for obedience and a curse for disobedience (Williams, *Christ Redeemed* “Us,” 95).

divine agent does play an active role in walking in obedience. The divine agent enables the human agent to walk in obedience by giving him a mind to control his passions and the law that enables his mind to rule over the passions. Moreover, the divine agent not only enables the human agent to walk in obedience, but also motivates him to do so through the promise of divine rewards for godliness and eternal punishment for transgressing the law. Furthermore, the acknowledgment of the divine agent as *πρόνοια* motivates the martyrs to remain faithful because they know that the just *πρόνοια* will preserve the nation and defeat its enemies. Thus, in 4 Maccabees the divine agent plays an active role in walking in virtue.

Conclusion

In this conclusion, I will first use Barclay's models of agency to better understand the relationship between the divine and the human agent with regard to walking in virtue. I will argue that Barclay's non-contrastive transcendence model best fits 4 Maccabees. I will then conclude the chapter by summarizing it.

Barclay's Models of Agency

Applying Barclay's models of agency, there does not appear to be a competitive relationship between the divine and the human agent in 4 Maccabees. Though the author emphasizes the role of the human agent in the book, this does not appear to be at the expense of the divine agent. In other words, the active human agent in 4 Maccabees does not render the divine agent passive. Moreover, the two agents in 4 Maccabees remain two individual agents, rather than human agency being in some way bound up within divine agency, as in Barclay's kinship model.⁶¹

Rather, Barclay's non-contrastive transcendence model most accurately

⁶¹ For Barclay's discussion of the different models of agency, see John M. G. Barclay, "Introduction," in *Divine and Human Agency in Paul and His Cultural Environment*, ed. John M. G. Barclay and Simon J. Gathercole, T&T Clark Biblical Studies (New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 6–7.

describes the relationship between the divine and human agent with regard to walking in virtue. The actions of the human agents are the focus of 4 Maccabees. The human agent is shown to be active in walking in obedience through the martyrs's active efforts to resist the tyrant's attempt to coerce them into transgressing the law and through their choices to remain steadfast for the law and virtue. This in no way diminishes the actions of the divine agent, though, nor does it contradict an active divine agent. Though less attention is given to the divine agent, he still appears to play an active role in walking in virtue. The divine agent acts by enabling and motivating the human agent. Through the giving of a mind that rules over the passions and the law that empowers the mind, the divine agent enables the human agent to walk in virtue. Moreover, through the promise of rewards for obedience, the divine agent also motivates the human agent to walk obediently. The divine agent also motivates the human agent as the divine πρόνοια. In this, the divine and the human agent are not competing to be active, rather the divine agent actively equips and motivates the human agent to actively walk in virtue.

Conclusion

In 4 Maccabees, both the human agent and the divine agent have an active role in walking in virtue. The role of the human agent in walking in obedience is revealed primarily through focusing on their actions and the results of these actions. Whether it be the representatives of the nation in the meta-narrative or the nine martyrs, the choices and actions of the human agents had direct consequences for the nation and for themselves. In the meta-narrative (3:19–4:26), when the representatives of the nation were faithful to the law and to God, the nation lived in peace (3:20; 18:4). When their representatives turned from God and transgressed his law, though, the nation faced divine punishment (3:21; 4:21). This connection between the actions of the representatives and the status of the nation demonstrates that the human agent in 4 Maccabees makes real choices and is responsible for their actions with regard to walking in obedience (or disobedience).

The story of the nine martyrs reveals this same pattern. The actions of the martyrs, who in some way view themselves as representatives for the nation (6:27–29; 9:24), brought about real consequences for the nation. Because of their obedience to the law and to God, the martyrs brought about the purification and preservation of the nation. Again, the direct connection between the actions of the human agent and the status of the nation suggests that the role the human agents play in walking in obedience is active. Because of the active choices of the martyrs to remain obedient to the law and to God, the nation was purified and preserved. Moreover, the recompense the human agents receive also shows that the human agent has an active role in walking in obedience (or disobedience). Because the martyrs remained faithful to the law and virtuous to the point of suffering torture and death, they received divine rewards (prizes awarded to virtue: 9:8; 18:23; divine inheritance: 18:3; immortality: 7:1–3, 18–19; 14:5; 15:3; 16:13, 25; 17:12; 18:23). Moreover, because of his actions against the martyrs and against virtue, the tyrant Antiochus received eternal punishment (9:9, 32; 10:11, 21; 12:12, 18; 18:5, 22). The direct relationship between actions and recompense argues that the human agent is active, and because they are active, they are responsible for their actions and receive either rewards for them (the martyrs) or punishment (the tyrant). The fact that the actions of the human agents, concerning obedience or disobedience, move God to act in direct response to these actions, whether it be to bless or to punish, suggests that the human agent plays an active role in walking in obedience (or disobedience).

The role of the divine agent in walking in obedience receives less direct attention than that of the human agent, but the divine agent is still shown to be active in 4 Maccabees. The two primary ways the divine agent plays an active role in obedience are through enabling the human agent and motivating him to walk in virtue. God enables the human agent to be active by gifting him a mind that has the power to overcome the passions, a mind that is guided by the law and godly reason (2:21–23). It is this law-guided mind and divine reason that enables the human agent to walk in obedience to God.

By enabling the human agent to walk in obedience, the divine agent plays an active role in walking in virtue. The divine agent does not just enable the human agent to walk in obedience, he also motivates him to do so. Through the promise of rewards for obedience (9:7–8; 15:2–3, 11–12) and punishment for disobedience (13:15), the martyrs are motivated by God to remain faithful to him and to the law. Moreover, the fact that God is the divine *πρόνοια*, who is able to preserve the nation and defeat its enemies, also motivates the martyrs to fight for virtue. The active role of the divine agent does not contradict or rule out the active role of the human agent; rather the divine agent enables and encourages the human agent to walk in virtue.

CHAPTER 4

WALKING IN THE SPIRIT, THE CROSS, AND AGENCY IN GALATIANS

Throughout Galatians, Paul employs his apocalyptic perspective to make his argument against his opponent's law-observing Gospel.¹ Specifically, Paul argues that, through the cross, Christ brought an end to the old age and inaugurated the new.² Moreover, through the cross, the people of God receive the indwelling Spirit, a mark of the new age. Since the law belongs to the old age, it no longer has power or authority over the people of God. Rather, the Spirit now guides and empowers those who are in Christ. Therefore, those who are in Christ should not place themselves under the law, for to do so would be to place oneself back under the present evil age (1:4). Furthermore,

¹ By apocalyptic/apocalyptic perspective, I am referring to Paul's use of themes commonly found in Jewish apocalyptic genre writings (i.e., two ages, 1:4; 6:14–15; new creation, 6:15; cf. 2:19–20; divine invasion, 1:12, 16; 4:4–5; resurrection, 1:1; etc.), through which he views the Christ event. I will discuss my use of apocalyptic below. For others who use apocalyptic similarly, see J. Christiaan Beker, *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 145–52; Ben C. Blackwell, John K. Goodrich, and Jason Maston, “Paul and the Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction,” in *Paul and the Apocalyptic Imagination*, eds. Ben C. Blackwell, John K. Goodrich, and Jason Masto (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2016), 5–18. J. P. Davies, *Paul Among the Apocalypses?: An Evaluation of the 'Apocalyptic Paul' in the Context of Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Literature*, LNTS 562 (New York: T&T Clark, 2016), 28–35; Martinus C. de Boer, *Galatians: A Commentary*, NTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2011), 31–36; Brant Pitre, Michael P. Barber, and John A. Kincaid, *Paul, A New Covenant Jew* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2019), 66–67; N. T. Wright, *Paul and His Recent Interpreters: Some Contemporary Debates* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015), 137–44, 216–18. For other discussions of apocalyptic themes in Galatians, see Richard B. Hays, “Apocalyptic Poiēsis in Galatians: Paternity, Passion, and Participation,” in *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, The Gospel, And Ethics in Paul's Letter*, ed. by Mark W. Elliott et al. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014), 206–09; J. Louis Martyn, “The Apocalyptic Gospel in Galatians,” *Interpretation* 54 (2000), 252–59; *Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 97–104.

² I use “cross” or “cross of Christ” generally to refer to the work of Christ on the cross (e.g., 1:4; 3:13; 4:4–5).

with the transition from the law to the Spirit comes a change in agency. The law represents human agency, while the Spirit represents divine agency. Thus, with the shift from obedience through the law in the old age to obedience through the power of the indwelling–Spirit in the new comes a transition from human agency to divine agency with regard to walking in obedience.

The focus of this chapter will be to demonstrate the above paragraph from Paul’s argument in Galatians. To do so, I will first establish Paul’s use of apocalyptic in his argument against his opponents’s law-observing gospel.³ I will then discuss Paul’s use of the cross in his argument against his opponents. Specifically, I will argue that Paul uses the cross as the turning point between the ages and the giving/receiving of the Spirit to argue against turning to the law. Finally, I will discuss the implications of Paul’s argument from the cross and the giving/receiving of the Spirit for divine and human agency in Galatians.

The purpose of this chapter is to aid my discussion about divine and human agency and walking in obedience in 5:16–25 in the next chapter, as well as shedding light on divine and human agency and walking in obedience in Galatians. Discussing Paul’s use of apocalyptic will have implications for my discussion of divine and human agency in 5:16–25. Specifically, I will argue that Paul’s difficult phrase *ἵνα μὴ ἂ ἐὰν θέλητε ταῦτα ποιῆτε* in verse 17 is best understood when read through Paul’s apocalyptic perspective in Galatians.⁴ Moreover, understanding what verse 17 contributes to the

³ In Galatians, Paul argues against the Galatians turning from the Gospel he preaches to the gospel preached by his opponents (1:6–9). Considering how frequently Paul argues against turning to the law (2:11–21; 3:1–5, 10–14; 4:8–10; 5:1–6), especially through receiving circumcision (3:3; 5:1–6; 6:12–15), law obedience must have been a part of Paul’s opponents’s gospel. Therefore, I will interchangeably speak of Paul arguing against the law, his opponents, and his opponents’s gospel throughout this dissertation.

⁴ When I call this phrase difficult, I mean it is difficult for modern interpreters. The difficulty of this phrase for modern interpreters is demonstrated by the multiple interpretations that scholars have offered. See my next chapter for a brief overview of the different interpretations of verse 17.

discussion about divine and human agency in 5:16–25 will be aided by the discussion of Paul’s use of apocalyptic in Galatians. Additionally, the cross as the turning point between the ages, the giving/receiving of the Spirit, and the change in agency all have implications for divine and human agency with regard to walking in obedience in 5:16–25.

Apocalyptic in Galatians

Before examining the central role that the cross plays in Paul’s argument against his opponents’s law-observing gospel, I will first discuss Paul’s use of apocalyptic in his argument. The reason I will begin with a discussion of apocalyptic in Galatians is twofold. First, when I discuss the role the cross plays in Paul’s argument against the law, I will specifically argue that Paul uses the cross as the turning point between the two apocalyptic ages to argue against turning to the law. Within Galatians, Paul views everything within two apocalyptic ages, the present evil age (1:4) and the age of the new creation (6:14–15; cf. 4:21–31). The cross inaugurated the end of the old age and the beginning of the new. Thus, when he argues against the law, part of his argument is that the law belongs to the old age, and therefore should no longer be turned to for righteousness and no longer marks the people of God, in light of Christ’s work on the cross.

In my view, Paul interprets the Christ event through the lens of his apocalyptic perspective so that he can connect the law, the flesh, and the στοιχεῖα (4:3) together without equating the character of the law with the sinful flesh or the στοιχεῖα. This allows him to relate the gentile Galatians’s situation before Christ to being enslaved under the law. Thus, for instance, Paul can tell the Galatians that their desire to be under the law is a desire to be enslaved by the στοιχεῖα again (4:7–10). Because the law and the στοιχεῖα are both part of the present evil age, being enslaved to the στοιχεῖα is akin to being under the curse of the law (4:3–5), as I will argue below. This is why I think it is appropriate to

read Paul's argument through his apocalyptic lens and why, in order to argue that Paul uses the cross as the turning point between the ages in his argument against the law, I must first demonstrate Paul's use of apocalyptic, and specifically the two apocalyptic ages, in Galatians. The second reason I begin with a discussion of apocalyptic in Paul, as I mentioned above, is to aid my interpretation of 5:16–25 in the next chapter.

One important point of clarification is warranted before discussing Paul's use of apocalyptic in Galatians. When I say Paul employs Jewish apocalyptic in his argument in Galatians,⁵ I am agreeing with the so-called "apocalyptic Paul" scholars, who argue that Galatians, rather than being apocalyptic genre, includes themes commonly found in apocalyptic literature (i.e., two ages, 1:4; 5:14–15; new creation, 5:15; divine invasion, 1:12, 16; resurrection, 1:1; etc.).⁶ In my view, though, these "apocalyptic Paul" scholars (at times) create false dichotomies that force them to ignore or argue against certain aspects in Galatians (i.e., apocalyptic eschatology/*salvation history*; cosmological

⁵ Scholars note that Paul employs a "modified" Jewish apocalyptic eschatology. This, in part, is because Paul focuses on the eschatological present more than the future since he sees the new age as already inaugurated in Christ. So Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, 145–46; Michael F. Bird, *An Anomalous Jew: Paul among Jews, Greeks, and Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 2016), 124; Richard B. Hays, "Apocalyptic Poiēsis in Galatians: Paternity, Passion, and Participation," in *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, The Gospel, And Ethics in Paul's Letter*, ed. Mark W. Elliott et al. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014), 215–16; Sang Meyng Lee, *The Cosmic Drama of Salvation: A Study of Paul's Undisputed Writings from Anthropological and Cosmological Perspectives*, WUNT II 276 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 301; Vincent M. Smiles, *The Gospel and the Law in Galatia: Paul's Response to Jewish-Christian Separatism and the Threat of Galatian Apostasy* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998), 74–75.

⁶ Some of the more recent influential "apocalyptic Paul" scholars are Douglas A. Campbell, *The Deliverance of God: An Apocalyptic Rereading of Justification in Paul* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009); Martinus C. de Boer, *The Defeat of Death: Apocalyptic Eschatology in 1 Corinthians 15 and Romans 5.*, JSNTSup 22 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988); "Paul, Theologian of God's Apocalypse," *Interpretation* 56 (2002): 21–33; "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," in *Apocalyptic and the New Testament: Essays in Honor of J. Louis Martyn*, ed. Joel Marcus and Marion L. Soards (Bloomsbury Academic, 2015); *Galatians*; Beverly Roberts Gaventa, "The Singularity of the Gospel: A Reading of Galatians," in *Pauline Theology*, vol 1, *Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, Philemon*, ed. Jouette M. Bassler (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 147–59; *Our Mother Saint Paul* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007); J. Louis Martyn, "Apocalyptic Antinomies in Paul's Letter to the Galatians," *NTS* 31 (1985): 410–24; *Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible 33A (New York: Doubleday, 1997); "The Apocalyptic Gospel in Galatians," *Interpretation* 54 (2000): 246–66.

invasion/*unveiling God's abiding presence*; soteriology of deliverance/*forensic justification*).⁷ I agree with scholars like J. P. Davies who argues against these dichotomies, noting that throughout both Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature both elements of these dichotomies can be found held in tension together.⁸ Thus, by arguing that Paul uses his apocalyptic perspective to argue against his opponents, I am not denying that Paul employs other themes such as salvation history or forensic justification in his argument in Galatians; he does.

Apocalyptic Two Ages

Paul bookends his letter to the Galatians echoing the Jewish apocalyptic theme of two ages. He opens by greeting the Galatians with grace and peace from God the Father and “the Lord Jesus Christ, who gave himself for our sins in order to deliver us from the present evil age” (1:3–4). In 6:14–15, Paul closes his letter with a reference to the new age by speaking of the death (crucifixion) of the present world (i.e., the present age) and the new creation (*καινή κτίσις*). Jewish apocalyptic writers envisioned two ages

⁷ I rely on Davies for these dichotomies (Davies, *Paul Among the Apocalypses*, 2). The ignored/argued against aspects are in italics.

⁸ For a good argument against these false dichotomies typically held by those in the apocalyptic Paul camp, see: Davies, *Paul Among the Apocalypses?* Other scholars see both elements of some or all of these false dichotomies, such as salvation history and apocalyptic, in Galatians: James D. G. Dunn, “How New Was Paul’s Gospel? The Problem of Continuity and Discontinuity,” in *Gospel in Paul: Studies on Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans for Richard N Longenecker*, LNTS 108 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 260; Jörg Frey, “Demythologizing Apocalyptic? On N. T. Wright’s Paul, Apocalyptic Interpretation, and the Constraints of Construction,” in *God and the Faithfulness of Paul: A Critical Examination of the Pauline Theology of N. T. Wright*, ed. Christoph Heilig, J. Thomas Hewitt, and Michael F. Bird (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2017), 522–24; Hays, “Apocalyptic Poiēsis,” 205; Michael J. Gorman, “The Apocalyptic New Covenant and the Shape of Life in the Spirit According to Galatians,” in *Paul and the Apocalyptic Imagination*, ed. Ben C. Blackwell and Jason Maston (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2016), 320; Bruce W. Longenecker, *The Triumph of Abraham’s God: The Transformation of Identity in Galatians* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998), 90–95 (though Longenecker prefers to use the term “eschatology” rather than “apocalyptic,” since he thinks apocalyptic is vague); David Starling, *Not My People: Gentiles as Exiles in Pauline Hermeneutics*, BZNW (New York: De Gruyter, 2011), 209–213; Brant Pitre, Michael P. Barber, and John A. Kincaid, *Paul, A New Covenant Jew*, 64–94; N. T. Wright, *Paul and His Recent Interpreters*, 135–218; “Apocalyptic and the Sudden Fulfillment of Divine Promise,” in *Paul and the Apocalyptic Imagination*, ed. Ben C. Blackwell and Jason Maston (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2016), 111–34. For an apocalyptic-salvation history reading of Galatians, see Bird, *An Anomalous Jew*, 246–66.

(4 *Ezra* 7:50): the present age and the age to come. Sin and evil characterize the present age (e.g., 4 *Ezra* 7:113–114; 2 *Bar* 44:8–151; CD 6.10, 14; 12.23; 15.7; QpHab 5.7–8), and it is often under the dominion of a malevolent force or malevolent forces (i.e., Belial, 1QS 1.18; 2.19). In a future time, though, the present age will be replaced by the age to come (e.g., 1 *En* 71:15; 4 *Ezra* 4:27–30, 6:9; 7:12–13, 50, 113–114; 8:1; 2 *Bar* 14:13; 15:8; 44:8–15; 83:4–9), an age without evil or corruption, that is characterized by righteousness (e.g., 1 *En* 91:15–17; 4 *Ezra* 7:113–114; 2 *Bar* 44:8–15).⁹ Bookending the letter this way seems to imply that the theme of the two apocalyptic ages will play a role in Paul’s argument throughout the letter. Moreover, the fact that Paul mentions deliverance from the present evil age in the greeting suggests that, in some way, it’ll factor into Paul’s argument throughout the letter.¹⁰

Paul opens his letter stating that a purpose (ὄπωϛ) of Christ’s death was to deliver “us” from the present evil age (1:4). Deliverance from the present evil age also implies that the age to come has been inaugurated.¹¹ This means that those things that characterize the present evil age no longer characterize the people of God, for they have been delivered from the old age into the new age. Comparing 1:4 to other places in the letter that mention the purpose of Christ’s death reveals at least some of what

⁹ References come from de Boer, *Galatians*, 30. See de Boer for a helpful discussion about the two ages (*Galatians*, 31–35).

¹⁰ Similarly, Longenecker, *The Triumph*, 46; Douglas J. Moo, *Galatians*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013), 71.

¹¹ Others argue that deliverance from the present evil age implies the inauguration of a new age in light of the two-age theme. So de Boer, *Galatians*, 30; Martyn, *Galatians*, 98. Scholars note that the ages in Galatians overlap (So Davies, *Paul Among the Apocalypses?*, 106; Susan Grove Eastman, *Recovering Paul’s Mother Tongue: Language and Theology in Galatians* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007], 159, 165; Gordon D. Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011], 376; G. Walter Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians: Epistolary and Rhetorical Contexts*, JSNTSup 29 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989], 149–50; Lee, *The Cosmic Drama of Salvation*, 300). Paul demonstrates this reality himself, for, though he still lives in the time of the present evil age (1:4), he demonstrates that the age of new creation has been inaugurated because he himself is a new creation (2:20; cf. 6:14–15). Susan Eastman also notes that “by telling the Galatians that they belong to the ‘Jerusalem above,’ Paul emphasizes the incursion of future apocalyptic events into the present time” (*Paul’s Mother Tongue*, 159; similarly, Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians*, 149–50).

characterizes the present evil age. Paul speaks of Christ's death as redeeming (ἐξηγόρασεν) from the curse of the law (3:13), bringing "us" out from under the law (3:22–26; cf. 2:21),¹² "redeeming" (ἐξαγοράσῃ) "those under the law" (4:5), and setting those in Christ free from being enslaved to the law (5:1–6). Thus, the law, the curse of the law, and slavery, things that characterize the present evil age, no longer characterize the people of God.

Paul also alludes to the two ages in his allegorical interpretation in 4:21–31. Through his allegorical interpretation (ἀλληγορούμενα) of the two mothers of Abraham's children, Paul reveals characteristics of each age. The slave woman and the free woman represent the two covenants (4:24), as well as the two apocalyptic ages. The slave woman, Hagar, represents the old covenant (the law) and corresponds to the present Jerusalem. The present Jerusalem represents those under the law,¹³ being part of the old age. This age is characterized by the flesh (4:23), slavery (4:24–25), and the law (4:24–25).

On the other hand, the free woman, representing the new covenant and the new age, corresponds to the "Jerusalem above" (4:26). Both Second Temple Jewish and Christian writers looked forward to a future age that was represented by a new, future, heavenly Jerusalem (e.g., Isa 65:17–19; 4 Ezra 7:26; 10:25–27, cf. 10:7; 13:35–36; 2 Bar

¹² Though Christ's death is not explicitly mentioned in 3:22–26, it is assumed based on the mention of justification (v. 24; cf. 3:10–14), faith (vv. 23–26; cf. 3:13–14), and sonship (v. 26; cf. 4:4–6).

¹³ So A. Andrew. Das, *Galatians*, CC (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2014), 498–99; David A. deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2018), 399. Das notes that though Paul's comments were primarily against his Jewish-Christian opponents, they were fitting also of Judaism itself (*Galatians*, 499). Contra, de Boer, Martyn, and Matera, who believe the present Jerusalem represents the Jewish Christians (de Boer, *Galatians*, 300–301; Martyn, *Galatians*, 439, 459–66; Frank J. Matera, *Galatians*, Sacra Pagina 9 [Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992], 177). Against this view, Paul does not limit his comments to just the Jewish Christians, nor is there reason to think that they apply to Jewish Christians beyond Paul's opponents and those in line with them. Rather, Paul notes that it is those "under the law" (4:24) and in slavery (4:25; cf. 3:22–23; 4:3) who are represented by the "present Jerusalem." This description better fits those who do not give the honor due to Christ because of the importance they place on law obedience. So Das, *Galatians*, 498–99; deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 399.

4:2–6; 6:9; 4 Bar 5:35; LXX Tobit 13:17–18; Heb 11:10, 16; 12:22; 13:14; Rev. 3:12; 21:2, 20–21).¹⁴ Therefore, by relating her to the heavenly Jerusalem, Paul reveals that the free woman represents the new age, as well as the new covenant (4:24).¹⁵ This age is characterized by “the promise” (4:23, 28), the Spirit (4:29), and freedom (4:26, 30–31; cf. 5:1).

These elements that characterize these two women (covenants/ages) are found in Paul’s argument throughout Galatians. Paul urges the Galatians not to turn/return to the law (2:16–21; 3:2, 5, 10–13, 21–25; 4:4–10; 5:1–6, 18; 6:12–15), the flesh (3:3; 5:13, 16–24; 6:7–8, 12–15), and slavery (3:22–25; 4:8–10; 5:1; cf. 5:13).¹⁶ Moreover, Paul employs the promise (2:17–29; cf. 4:23, 28), the Spirit (2:20; 3:2–6, 14; 4:6; 5:5, 16–25; 6:7–8; cf. 4:29), and freedom (2:4; 5:1, 13; cf. 4:26, 30–31) to argue against accepting his opponents’s law-obedient gospel. The fact that these elements that characterize the two ages in Paul’s allegorical interpretation frequently appear in his argument throughout Galatians suggests that the two ages play a key role in Paul’s argument.

The primary way Paul speaks of the new age in Galatians is through the imagery of new creation.¹⁷ By using new creation imagery for the new age, Paul reflects Jewish apocalyptic. In Jewish apocalyptic writings, the author looks forward to a future time when a new creation, representing the new age, will replace the present age (e.g., *Jub* 4:26; *1 En* 72:1; *4 Ezra* 7:75; *2 Bar* 32:6; 1QS 4.25).¹⁸ In Galatians, the language of

¹⁴ These references come from Das, *Galatians*, 500; 500n116.

¹⁵ Moo, *Galatians*, 307.

¹⁶ Hong comments that, in 3:23–24, the law enslaves everyone under it (In-Gyu Hong, *The Law in Galatians*, JSNTSup 81 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993], 155–56).

¹⁷ So Bird, *An Anomalous Jew*, 162; Robert A. Bryant, *The Risen Crucified Christ in Galatians*, SBL Dissertation Series 185 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 160; de Boer, *Galatians*, 402–3; T. Ryan Jackson, *New Creation in Paul’s Letters: A Study of the Historical and Social Setting of a Pauline Concept*, WUNT II 272 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 91; Douglas J. Moo, “Creation and New Creation,” *BBR* 20 (2010): 48.

¹⁸ References are taken from de Boer, *Galatians*, 402. Scholars note that one major difference between Paul’s apocalyptic and Jewish apocalyptic is that Paul views the age to come as having already

“new creation” is found only in 6:15, though the concept can be found in other verses (e.g., 2:20). In contrast to his opponents boasting in “the flesh” of the Galatians (6:12–13), Paul notes that he boasts only in the cross of Christ, “through which the world has been crucified to [him], and [he] to the world” (6:14).¹⁹ The reason for his boasting in the cross rather than in “the flesh” is because neither circumcision nor uncircumcision matters (6:15), rather, for Paul, what matters is new creation (6:15).²⁰

been inaugurated. So Edward Adams, *Constructing the World: A Study in Paul’s Cosmological Language*, Study of the New Testament and Its World (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 227; Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul’s Letter to the Churches in Galatia*, Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), 320; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 273; Das, *Galatians*, 643–44; James D. G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, BNTC (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993), 343; Moo, “Creation and New Creation,” 59; C. Marvin Pate, *The Reverse of the Curse: Paul, Wisdom, and the Law*, WUNT II 114 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 178–79. That Paul viewed the new age as already inaugurated can be seen by the fact that believers have already “put on Christ” (3:37 [i.e., new creation]) and have already received the Spirit prophesied about (3:14; 4:6; cf. Isa 32:15; 44:3; 59:21; Ezek 11:19; 36:26–27; 37:1–14; 39:29). Das also notes that Paul’s use of the perfect ἐσταύρωται in 6:14 and the present tense ἐστίν in 6:15 affirms the already-not-yet dimension of the new creation (*Galatians*, 643–44; so also Adams, *Constructing the World*, 227).

¹⁹ “Flesh” here refers to circumcision. So Das, *Galatians*, 634, 634n38; de Boer, *Galatians*, 397–98; Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 336; Martyn, *Galatians*, 651; Moo, *Galatians*, 392.

²⁰ Scholars debate whether “new creation” in 6:15 refers to cosmic renewal or individual renewal. Some scholars argue that “new creation” does not refer to cosmic renewal, but that it refers to individual renewal. Jeff Hubing (Jeff Hubing, *Crucifixion and New Creation: The Strategic Purpose of Galatians 6.11-17*, LNTS 508 [New York: Bloomsbury, 2015], 117) notes:

Those who favor an anthropological interpretation emphasize the connection between the emphatic personal pronouns of 6:14 (ἐμοὶ...ἐμοὶ...καὶ γὰρ) and the issue of circumcision and uncircumcision addressed throughout the passage as the key contrasting idea for new creation, rather than focusing on the entirety of the κόσμος. This view is also in keeping with Gal. 5.6 and 1 Cor. 7.19, where the parallel expressions involving circumcision and uncircumcision are complemented by anthropologically and ethically oriented concepts such as ‘faith working through love’ (Gal. 5.6) and “[the] keeping of [the] commandments of God” (1 Cor. 7.19).

For others who hold this view, see Betz, *Galatians*, 319–20; John Anthony Dunne, *Persecution and Participation in Galatians*, WUNT II 454 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 117–22; Moyer V. Hubbard, *New Creation in Paul’s Letters and Thought*, SNTSMS 119 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 222–26; Richard N. Longenecker, *Galatians*, WBC, vol. 41 (Dallas: Word Books, 1990), 296; Franz Mußner, *Der Galaterbrief*, 5th ed., Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, IX (Freiburg: Herder, 1988), 414.

I agree with those who see Paul’s new creation reference as referring to cosmic renewal, which includes the renewal of the individual. T. Ryan Jackson (Jackson, *New Creation in Paul*, 89) states:

The attempt to explain ‘the world’ in Gal 6:14 as Paul’s inner experience does not do justice to the real effects of the cross of Christ on the cosmos. Furthermore, such an individual focus would represent a unique usage of κόσμος in the Pauline corpus. As Minear astutely argues in his criticism of Bultmann, the separation between history and nature erroneously reflects a modern cosmology in

It is worth briefly noting that Galatians 6:14–15 relates to 1:4 through the deliverance and cross imagery. Christ delivered “us” from the present evil age by giving “himself for our sins” in 1:4. Moreover, Paul boasts in the cross, rather than circumcision (i.e., the law), because through the cross Paul was delivered from the old age (“the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world,” v. 14) and became part of the new creation (καινή κτίσις, v. 15). Considering both passages speak of Paul being delivered from the old age through the cross, this further suggests that new creation in 6:15 should be regarded as the antithesis to the present evil age, that is, as the new age.²¹

New creation imagery is also found in 2:19–20. Paul writes, “I have been crucified with Christ, and I no longer live, but Christ lives in me. And the life I now live in the flesh, I live by faith in the Son of God who loved me and gave himself for me.” Through his co-crucifixion with Christ, the old Paul died. Now, because of being crucified with Christ, Paul the new creation lives. Two things suggest that Paul speaks of himself as a new creation in 2:20. First, he notes a drastic change in how he lives: “It is no longer *I* who live, but *Christ* who lives *in me*.” Second, when Paul says, “the life I *now* live,” he implies that his life after being co-crucified is something different than his life before. Galatians 2:19–20, then, describes Paul’s deliverance from the present evil age (1:4) (I have been crucified with Christ) and his entrance into the new age as a new creation (“It is no longer *I* who live, but *Christ* who lives *in me*. . . the life I *now* live”).

Divine Invasion of the Cosmos

which an interpreter is compelled to choose between either an “objectivistic cosmology or an existentialist anthropology.”

Scholars who hold this view also argue that the contrast between κόσμος and κτίσις suggests a cosmic new creation. For other scholars who hold this view, see Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 342–43; Martyn, *Galatians*, 570–74; Matera, *Galatians*, 231; Moo, “Creation and New Creation,” 51–56; Jeffrey A. D. Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, LNTS 101 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 170; Ben Witherington, III, *Grace in Galatia: A Commentary on Paul’s Letter to the Galatians* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 451.

²¹ So also Bryant, *Risen Crucified Christ*; Jackson, *New Creation in Paul*, 91.

God's divine act of invading the present age by means of the Son marks the turning point between the present evil age (1:4) and the age of new creation (6:14–15; cf. 2:20). In 4:4–5, Paul notes that “when the fullness of time had come, God sent forth his son, having been born of a woman, having been born under the law, in order to redeem those who were under the law.” God's divine invasion of the cosmos through the sending of the Son to redeem those under the law was the apocalyptic act that marked the end of the present evil age and the beginning of the age of new creation (6:14–15).²² By taking on the curse of the law to redeem those under the law (3:13; 4:5), Christ defeated the enslaving power of the old age (3:13, 22–26; 4:7; 5:1; cf. 4:21–31). Moreover, through Christ's work on the cross, the people of God received the Spirit (3:14; 4:6; cf. 2:20), a mark of the new age. This age-changing work of Christ, though, begins with God's apocalyptic invasion of the cosmos through his sending of the Son.

It is worth briefly noting that this act of divine invasion does not represent a clean break with the past that rejects or discredits a salvation-historical framework. Paul's use of Abraham as an example (3:6–8) and his reference to the blessing of Abraham (3:9, 14) demonstrates that Paul views Christ's work in line with salvation history. Moreover, J. P. Davies, commenting on Galatians 4:4, states that “Paul's use of the expression τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου places him in the context of the apocalypses, but his use of this eschatological phrase is to invoke a redemptive-historical framework.”²³ Thus, Paul employs his apocalyptic perspective in line with his view of salvation history.

Along with the sending of the Son (4:4), God's revelation of the Son “in” Paul

²² Others comment on the apocalyptic nature of 4:4–5. So Bird, *An Anomalous Jew*, 157–58; Das, *Galatians*, 409; Davies, *Paul Among the Apocalypses?*, 106; de Boer, *Galatians*, 262; Martyn, *Galatians*, 99.

²³ Davies, *Paul Among the Apocalypses?*, 109; similarly, N. T. Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2013), 877. Williams, appears to see the connection of salvation history and apocalyptic in Paul in his reading of Gal. 4:4–6 (Jarvis J. Williams, *Christ Redeemed “Us” from the Curse of the Law: A Jewish Martyrological Reading of Galatians 3:13*, LNTS 524 [London: T&T Clark, 2019], 121–22).

marks God’s apocalyptic invasion of the cosmos. Paul begins his argument against his opponents by giving a defense of his gospel. He states that his gospel is not “according to man” (κατὰ ἄνθρωπον) (1:11), nor did he receive it from man or be taught it by man (1:12). Rather, Paul’s gospel has a divine origin and represents God’s act of invading the world through his Son, Jesus. Paul states that he received his gospel “through a revelation of Jesus Christ” (δι’ ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) (1:12). Das notes that the noun ἀποκάλυψις, and its related verb ἀποκαλύπτω, “refer to the revelation of hidden, heavenly secrets about God’s plan for human beings.”²⁴ In this case, the content of this revelation was Christ.²⁵

A few verses later in 1:16, Paul further explains this ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. He states that God, who separated him from birth and called him by his grace (1:15), “revealed his Son in me (ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί) that I might preach him among the Gentiles” (1:15–16). Interpreters have differed on how to translate the prepositional phrase ἐν ἐμοί. Some translators, like those for the New Revised Standard Version and those for the English Standard Version, translate the prepositional phrase essentially as the equivalent to a dative indirect object: “to me.”²⁶ The problem with this interpretation, though, as Dunn points out, is that “when Paul wanted to use a dative with the verb ‘reveal’ he did so (1 Cor. ii.10; xiv.30; Phil. iii.15).”²⁷ Thus, to take this

²⁴ Das, *Galatians*, 120; Moo, *Galatians*, 95.

²⁵ I agree with those scholars who view Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ as an objective genitive (e.g., Bryant, *Risen Crucified Christ*, 148; Das, *Galatians*, 121; Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 53; Gordon D. Fee, *Pauline Christology: An Exegetical-Theological Study* [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2007], 229). Thus, God is the orchestrator of revelation and Christ is the context of it. Verse 16 clarifies that Christ is the object of revelation. Das also notes that God is always the subject of “reveal” verbs (ἀποκαλύπτω) in Paul (*Galatians*, 121).

²⁶ In his structural analysis of Galatians, Blich notes that revelation goes to Paul and then to the Gentiles (John Blich, *Galatians in Greek: A Structural Analysis of St. Paul’s Epistle to the Galatians, with Notes on the Greek* [Detroit: University of Detroit Press, 1966], 94).

²⁷ Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 64.

prepositional phrase as essentially the equivalent of a dative indirect object would be to argue that Paul uses a construction in 1:16 that he does not use anywhere else with ἀποκαλύπτω (in any form) in place of a construction he does use elsewhere, a simple dative indirect object.²⁸ This seems unlikely. Instead, ἐν ἐμοί is best translated as “in me.”²⁹

God’s revelation of the Son happens *in* Paul. The purpose clause in the last part of the verse helps to clarify what this means. Paul notes that the Son was revealed *in* him so that he might “preach him among the Gentiles” (1:16). In other words, God reveals himself to the Gentiles through his revelation of the Son *in* Paul.³⁰ The ἀποκαλύψεως of Christ (1:12) was no mere revealing of something previously hidden but was a life-changing invasion in the life of Paul that had eschatological significance.³¹ Paul, through the life transformation that happened in him following his encounter with Christ (Acts 9:1–28), was a means through whom God chose to reveal his Son.³² Fee notes,

Thus he [Paul] emphasizes here [1:16] that he himself is the locus of that revelation, meaning in context that the revelation of/from Christ that he has spoken of in v. 12 has taken place *in Paul* in such a way that both the gospel of Christ and Paul’s apostleship should be visible to others as the revelation of the Son takes place in him. That the implacable enemy is now a promoter of what he once sought to destroy is for Paul supreme evidence of ‘the grace of God.’³³

Thus, the revelation of the Son *in* Paul marks God’s apocalyptic invasion into the present evil age (1:4).³⁴ Along with God sending the Son to “ransom those under the

²⁸ Das makes this point (*Galatians*, 132).

²⁹ So Das, *Galatians*, 132–33; Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 64; Fee, *Pauline Christology*, 221–22.

³⁰ Timothy George notes that ἐν ἐμοί could be translated as “in and through me” in this context (*Galatians*, NAC 30 [Nashville: B&H Publishing, 1994], 120).

³¹ So de Boer, *Galatians*, 78–82; Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 53.

³² Similarly, Das, *Galatians*, 133; Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 64; Fee, *Pauline Christology*, 221–22.

³³ Fee, *Pauline Christology*, 221–22.

³⁴ Others view God’s revelation of Christ as an apocalyptic event through which God invades

law” (4:4), God’s revelation of the Son in Paul, so that the Gospel might be preached among the Gentiles (1:16), demonstrates God’s invasion of the present evil age. Das comments that “The Gospel is God’s invasion of a lost cosmos to break the grasp of the enslaving powers of sin and the law (1:4; 3:23).”³⁵ This divine invasion indicates the end of the old age and the inauguration of the age of new creation (6:14–15; cf. 2:20). Thus, God’s invasion through Christ marks the turning of the ages.

One final apocalyptic theme warrants discussion: the resurrection.³⁶ Christ’s resurrection demonstrates divine invasion through the apocalyptic act of defeating death. Michael Bird notes that “resurrection, the great apocalyptic act that defeats death, set to transpire at the end of human history, proleptically invades the present by the raising up of the Son of God.”³⁷ In his greeting, Paul indicates that the death (1:4) and resurrection (1:1) of Christ was the event that brought an end to the old age and inaugurated the new age.³⁸ Through the death and resurrection of Christ, the people of God have been transferred from the old age into the new (1:4; 3:27–28).

Though Paul only mentions Christ’s resurrection once (1:1), he often assumes or implies the resurrection when speaking of or alluding to Christ’s live-giving death. In 2:19–20, Paul explains his deliverance from the old age into the new by speaking of his co-crucifixion with Christ (v. 19) that led to his new life (the life I *now* live), empowered by the indwelling Spirit (Christ lives in me) (v. 20). This metaphor only makes sense if

the present evil age. So Bird, *An Anomalous Jew*, 131; Das, *Galatians*, 121n21; cf. 120; de Boer, *Galatians*, 78–79; Moo, *Galatians*, 104.

³⁵ Das, *Galatians*, 120.

³⁶ For a helpful discussion of the resurrection in Galatians, see N. T. Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003), 219–25.

³⁷ Bird, *An Anomalous Jew*, 125–26.

³⁸ Similarly, Das, *Galatians*, 78; Wright, *Resurrection*, 219. Noting that Romans 1:4 and Galatians 1:1 are the only times Paul mentions the resurrection in his greetings, Das suggests that this signals “a key emphasis of the letter” (*Galatians*, 78n36).

Paul assumes the resurrection when alluding to the death of Christ.³⁹ Similarly, in 6:14–15, Paul uses crucifixion imagery to speak of his death to the old age and his new life in the new creation through Christ’s death only makes sense if he’s also assuming the resurrection.⁴⁰ Moreover, when Paul speaks of eternal life, he implicitly alludes to Christ’s resurrection, since the life-giving power of the indwelling Spirit comes through Jesus’s death and resurrection (cf. 2:20; 3:13–14; 5:6; 6:8).⁴¹

In this section, I have argued that Paul uses apocalyptic to argue against his opponents in Galatians. When examining the different apocalyptic themes found in Paul’s argument against the law, the cross plays a part in each theme. Paul credits the cross for deliverance from the present evil age (1:4) and for the new creation (6:14–15; cf. 2:19–20). Christ’s work on the cross directly relates to God’s divine invasion of the cosmos through sending the Son (4:4–5) and the revelation of the Son *in* Paul (1:16; cf. 1:12). Moreover, the Father raising the Son (1:1) follows Christ’s death on the cross. The cross, then, appears to play a significant part in Paul’s apocalyptic perspective, which he employs to argue against the Galatians turning to the law.

The Cross and the Sending of the Spirit

The climax of the two ages in Paul’s apocalyptic perspective in Galatians comes with the death and resurrection of Christ. God’s divine act of invading the present evil age (1:4) by sending the Son (4:4), whose death and resurrection delivered the people of God from the present evil age (1:4) into the new age (6:14–15), inaugurated the end of the old age, the age of the law (4:24–26), and the beginning of the new age, the age of the

³⁹ Similarly, Wright, *Resurrection*, 220–21.

⁴⁰ Commenting on 6:14–15, Wright says, “The death and resurrection of Jesus reshaped both his vision of the renewed world and his understanding of what it meant to live in the present in light of the future” (*Resurrection*, 223–24).

⁴¹ So Williams, *Christ Redeemed “Us,”* 105; similarly, Das, *Galatians*, 78.

Spirit (2:19–20; 3:14; 4:4–6).⁴² With the turning of the ages through the cross of Christ, two important changes take place. First, the people of God are no longer to look to the law for righteousness (which was never able to give life, 3:21), because justification now comes through faith in Christ (2:16; 3:13; 4:4–5).⁴³ Second, Christ’s work on the cross brings the indwelling Spirit to both Jews and Gentiles, by faith. The Spirit, rather than the law, now marks and guides the people of God (2:19–20; 3:14; 4:4–6; 5:1–6, 16–25).

In light of the cross being the means through which God inaugurated the end of the old age and the beginning of the new, the focus of this section will be to demonstrate Paul’s use of the cross as the turning point between the ages to argue against his opponents’s law-observing gospel in Galatians. Moreover, I will give special attention to the connection of the cross and the giving of the Spirit in Paul’s argument against his opponents. Typically, when Paul looks to the cross to argue against turning to the law, he also mentions the giving of the Spirit through Christ’s work on the cross (e.g., 2:19–20; 3:1–6, 10–14; 4:4–10; 5:1–6). The purpose of this section is twofold. First, Paul’s argument from the cross as the turning point between the ages and the giving of the Spirit has implications for understanding divine and human agency in Galatians. Thus, examining Paul’s argument from the cross and the Spirit will aid our understanding of divine and human agency in walking in obedience. Second, implications from Paul’s argument from the cross and the giving of the Spirit will aid my interpretation of 5:16–25, especially verse 17, in the next chapter.

⁴² So Williams, *Christ Redeemed “Us,”* 105. I will use “old age” and “present evil age” (1:4) interchangeably. I will also use “new age,” “age of new creation,” and “age of the Spirit” interchangeably.

⁴³ It is beyond the scope and limits of this dissertation to enter the debate *πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* (2:16). I take *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* to be an objective genitive, but my argument works the same even if it is a subjective genitive. See Das for a summary of the arguments for each view (*Galatians*, 250–53). See also Michael F. Bird and Preston M. Sprinkle, eds., *The Faith of Jesus Christ: Exegetical, Biblical, and Theological Studies* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2010); David A. Brondos, *Jesus’ Death in New Testament Thought*, vol. 2 (Mexico City: Comunidad Teológica de México, 2018), 730–32; Kevin McFadden, *Faith in the Son of God: The Place of Christ-Oriented Faith within Pauline Theology* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2021), 183–238.

Though Paul does not mention the law in the opening to Galatians, he does allude to the cross. In verse 4, Paul states that Jesus “gave himself for our sins to deliver us from the present evil age.” Paul’s reference to the “present evil age” (1:4) reflects apocalyptic Jewish writings that viewed the present age as wicked and looked forward to a future age cleansed of all wickedness (e.g., 4 *Ezra* 6:9; 7:12–13; 2 *Bar* 15:8; 44:11–15; CD 6.10, 14; 12.23; 15.7; 1QpHab 5.7–8).⁴⁴ By mentioning Christ’s apocalyptic deliverance through the cross in his greeting, Paul indicates to the Galatians that the death of Christ will play an important role in his letter.⁴⁵ The importance of the cross in Galatians is further indicated by the fact that only in Galatians does Paul mention the death of Christ in his greeting.⁴⁶

Moreover, if Paul’s unique reference to the cross in his greeting indicates the importance of the topic for his letter, then specifically Christ’s apocalyptic deliverance through the cross will play a key role in his argument in Galatians. The fact that Paul bookends the letter with a reference to the new creation (6:14–15), the new age, further demonstrates that the cross as the turning point between the ages will be a key part of Paul’s argument against his opponents.⁴⁷ Thus, when Paul points to the cross to urge the Galatians not to turn to the law throughout the letter (2:15–20; 3:1–5, 10–14; 4:4–10; 5:1–6; 6:12–15) they will be reminded of their deliverance from the present evil age (1:4) and, implied, their deliverance into the new age through Christ’s work on the cross, from Paul’s greeting.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ References are taken from Das, *Galatians*, 84.

⁴⁵ So Das, *Galatians*, 83; Longenecker, *The Triumph*, 36–46; Frank J. Matera, “The Death of Christ and the Cross in Paul’s Letter to the Galatians,” *Louvain Studies* 18 (1993): 286; Moo, *Galatians*, 71.

⁴⁶ So Matera, “The Death of Christ,” 286.

⁴⁷ So Longenecker, *The Triumph*, 46; Moo, *Galatians*, 71.

⁴⁸ Reflecting apocalyptic Jewish writings, Paul mentioning deliverance from the present evil age in 1:4 implies the inauguration of and deliverance into a new age. Similarly, Bird, *An Anomalous Jew*,

In Galatians 6:12–15,⁴⁹ Paul points to the cross of Christ as the turning point between the ages to make his argument against those who are trying to compel the Galatians to follow their law-observing gospel.⁵⁰ In these verses, Paul attacks his opponents’s law-observing gospel in two ways. First, he points out the hypocrisy of the opponents themselves. Those who are coercing the Galatians to be circumcised in obedience to the law do not keep the law themselves (6:13). Paul states that those who try to force (*ἀναγκάζουσιν*) the Galatians to be circumcised do so merely to avoid persecution for being Christ-followers (6:12).⁵¹ They seek to avoid persecution by boasting in their efforts to circumcise the Galatians (6:13).

Second, Paul shows the futility of circumcision by pointing to Christ’s work on the cross, which inaugurated the end of the present evil age (1:4) and the beginning of the age of new creation (6:14–15; cf. 2:20). Paul begins by stating, in opposition to his opponents, that his boasting will only be in the cross of Christ (6:14). The reason why Paul only boasts in the cross is that the death and resurrection of Christ inaugurated the

129; Bryant, *Risen Crucified Christ*, 145; Longenecker, *The Triumph*, 45; Martyn, *Galatians*, 101; Smiles, *The Gospel and the Law in Galatia*, 72. Betz and Kwon deny that the new age is inaugurated with Christ’s death and resurrection (Betz, *Galatians*, 42; Yon-Gyong Kwon, *Eschatology in Galatians: Rethinking Paul’s Response to the Crisis in Galatia*, WUNT II 183 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004], 156–61). Primarily they deny this because Paul never says that the new age has come, indeed he does not even explicitly mention the new age at all. They fail to see, though, that Paul alludes to the inauguration of the new age through the motif of new creation (i.e., 2:19–20; 6:14–15) and the coming of the sign of the new age, the Spirit (i.e., 2:20; 3:14; 4:6; 5:16–25).

⁴⁹ Though sequentially 6:12–15 is the last of the texts I will focus on in this section, I am discussing it first for two reasons. First, since the mention of the new creation (6:15) bookends Galatians with Paul’s mention of the present evil age in 1:4, it makes sense to discuss 6:12–15 right after 1:4. Second, 1:4 and 6:12–15 are the only two texts discussed in this section where Paul does not mention the Spirit in his argument. It makes sense (to me), then, to discuss 6:14–15 after 1:4.

⁵⁰ Circumcision appears to be the main issue concerning law obedience that Paul addresses in Galatians (5:2–3, 6; 6:12–15; 3:3 is probably an allusion to circumcision), but his argument is against the whole law, not just circumcision (2:16, 19, 21; 3:2, 5, 10–13, 18–26; 4:4–5; 5:3–4, 18; 6:13). Thus, it is fair to see Paul’s argument against circumcision as an argument against law observance as well.

⁵¹ Paul does not specify what persecution he is talking about, though it appears to be persecution from non-Christian Jews. It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to discuss this issue; for a discussion on it see Das, *Galatians*, 635–37; Craig S. Keener, *Galatians: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2019), 565–67.

new age (6:15; cf. 1:4). Moreover, through the cross, Paul was delivered from the present evil age (“the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world,” 6:14) and now belongs to the new creation (6:15; cf. 2:19–20). Therefore, Paul can then say in 6:15 that neither circumcision nor uncircumcision matters; rather only new creation matters (6:15). Since the law (i.e., circumcision) belongs to the old age (4:21–31), the people of God are no longer marked by the law in light of Christ’s inaugurated the new age (6:14–25).

Therefore, the Galatians do not need to be circumcised to be a part of the people of God. Moreover, if the Galatians accept circumcision to be justified, they will be severed from Christ (5:4) and the new creation (6:14–15). Rather, the Galatians should boast in the cross, through which they have been delivered from the present evil age (1:4) and are members of the new creation (6:14–15; cf. 2:19–20), by faith.

The cross as the turning point between the two ages forms Paul’s argument against justification coming from the law in 2:15–21 (esp. 2:19–20). Leading up to his discussion about justification by faith, Paul recounts a time when he confronted Peter for not acting in line with the gospel. Rather, because he feared “the circumcision group” who came from James (2:12) he was acting in line with Paul’s opponents’ law-observing gospel (2:11–13). This moves Paul to confront Peter and to remind him of the true gospel, that justification does not come by works of the law but by faith in Jesus (2:16).⁵²

Verses 17–19a are difficult to interpret, and scholars have offered multiple interpretations of them. It is beyond the focus of this dissertation to dive into an in-depth analysis of these verses, so what follows will be my brief interpretation for the sake of better understanding 2:19–20. Having just stated that justification is by faith in Christ rather than the law (2:16), Paul goes on to ask the question, which likely derives from

⁵² I take *ἔργων νόμου* to refer to actions or deeds that are demanded by the law. For a defense of this meaning of *ἔργων νόμου*, see Das, *Galatians*, 245–49; de Boer, *Galatians*, 145–48; Douglas J. Moo, “‘Law,’ ‘Works of the Law,’ and Legalism in Paul,” *WTJ* 45 (1983): 92–94; Thomas R. Schreiner, “‘Works of Law’ in Paul,” *NovT* 33 (1991): 217–44.

accusations against his Gospel, “If, while seeking to be justified in Christ, we are found to be sinners, does that make Christ a minister of sin?” To this he answers: *μὴ γένοιτο* (2:17)! Rather, Paul states that if he rebuilt what he had torn down, then he would prove himself to be a transgressor (2:18).

Paul appears to be saying that Christ is not a minister/promoter of sin, even if Paul’s opponents or non-Christian Jews deem him to be a sinner for seeking to be justified by faith in Christ, apart from the law.⁵³ Christ is not a minister/promoter of sin, though Paul is deemed a sinner, because those who accuse Paul of being a sinner do so based on a false standard, namely, law obedience. Rather, Paul believes the opposite of the accusations against him to be true. He states that by re-establishing the law, in this context probably specifically those that divide Jews from Gentiles such as table fellowship (2:11–14), he would indeed be a transgressor.⁵⁴ Rather than being a sinner for seeking to be justified by faith, apart from the law, by seeking to be justified by the law, Paul would truly be a transgressor. The following verses explain Paul’s claim in verses 17 and 18.

In verse 19, Paul says, “For through the law I died to the law so that I might live to God.”⁵⁵ What exactly Paul means when he says that he died to the law *through the law* is difficult to understand,⁵⁶ but the point he appears to be making is that he would be

⁵³ Others offer similar interpretations of verse 17. So Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 140–41; de Boer, *Galatians*, 156–57; deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 242–44; Martyn, *Galatians*, 253–54; Moo, *Galatians*, 163–65. Das argues that the second premise (we are found to be sinners) should be assumed to be true based on the other instances where Paul uses the phrase *μὴ γένοιτο*. He notes that in 13 of his 14 uses of the phrase, “the forceful ‘by no means!’ (*μὴ γένοιτο*) denies a false conclusion ‘from premises that Paul takes to be correct.’ Paul would agree that ‘we were found to be sinners,’ but would deny that that fact makes Christ an agent of sin” (*Galatians*, 259).

⁵⁴ Similarly, Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 142; Das, *Galatians*, 262–66; deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 244–45; Martyn, *Galatians*, 255–56; Moo, *Galatians*, 166–67.

⁵⁵ I take both *νόμῳ* and *θεῷ* as datives of respect. So Das, *Galatians*, 267; Moo, *Galatians*, 168.

⁵⁶ I agree with Das that dying through the law most likely refers to being united with Christ in his death, who was born under the law (4:4) and died to redeem from the curse of the law (3:13). Das comments, “The Law orchestrated Christ’s death and now no longer holds sway over those who share in

a transgressor if he placed himself under the law again because living to God requires first dying to the law.⁵⁷ Paul ends verse 19 with a statement that sets up the crux of his argument, which is found in verse 20: “I have been crucified with Christ, and I no longer live, but Christ lives in me. And the life I now live in the flesh, I live by faith in the Son of God who loved me and gave himself for me” (2:19–20).⁵⁸ With this statement, Paul justifies and explains what he said in verses 17–19a using his apocalyptic perspective.

Paul uses the cross as the turning point between the ages to explain why Christ is not a minister/promoter of sin, though Paul is deemed a sinner (v. 17), why Paul would be a transgressor if he placed himself under the law again (v. 18), and why Paul had to die to the law to live to God (v. 19). The reason is that Paul died to the old age, to which the law belongs, and now lives as a new creation through being crucified with Christ.⁵⁹ In light of his crucifixion with Christ, Paul says, “I no longer live, but Christ lives in me. And the life I *now* live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me” (2:20). The old Paul, the one who lived under the law (1:13–14),

that death” (*Galatians*, 268; so also John M. G. Barclay, *Obedying the Truth: Paul’s Ethics in Galatians* [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988], 80n14; de Boer, *Galatians*, 160; deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 246–47; Richard B. Hays, “The Letter to the Galatians,” in *The New Interpreter’s Bible Commentary vol. IX: Acts, Introduction to Epistolary Literature, Romans, 1 & 2 Corinthians, Galatians*, ed. Leander E. Keck [Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2000], 242–43; Martyn, *Galatians*, 257). That being said, I think interpreters would be wise to follow Richard Hays’s words of caution: “We may be well advised to concede that we do not know exactly what Paul meant by the aphoristic statement ‘through the Law I died to the Law’ (‘The Letter to the Galatians,’ 243). For a discussion of the different interpretations of this statement, see Hays, 242–43; Moo, *Galatians*, 168–69.

⁵⁷ Similarly, de Boer, *Galatians*, 160; deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 245–46; Moo, *Galatians*, 167.

⁵⁸ I agree with those who understand Paul’s “I” statements in 2:18–20 as a paradigm for the experience of all who are in Christ. So Charles H. Cosgrove, *The Cross and the Spirit: A Study in the Argument and Theology of Galatians* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1988), 122; Fee, *Pauline Christology*, 223; Hubbard, *New Creation in Paul*, 194–95; Smiles, *The Gospel and the Law in Galatia*, 164–65.

⁵⁹ Similarly, de Boer, *Galatians*, 161. Others think Paul speaks of new creation in 2:20. So deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 161; Gaventa, “The Singularity of the Gospel: A Reading of Galatians,” 197; Gorman, “The Apocalyptic New Covenant and the Shape of Life in the Spirit According to Galatians,” 329; Sarah Harding, *Paul’s Eschatological Anthropology: The Dynamics of Human Transformation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015), 203; Longenecker, *The Triumph*, 66.

died, and now the new Paul lives by faith in the Son of God through the power of the indwelling Spirit (Christ in me).⁶⁰ Therefore, because the law belongs to the old age (4:21–31), Paul died to the law to live to God (2:19). As a new creation, the Spirit now guides Paul, not the law. Therefore, if Paul placed himself under the law again, he would be a transgressor (2:18). Through the cross, Paul has been transferred from the age of the law to the age of the Spirit.⁶¹

To argue against his opponents’s law-observing gospel, then, Paul points to the cross as the turning point between the ages and the receiving of the Spirit. With the cross came the changing of ages. Since the law belongs to the old age, living to God means dying to the law (2:19). Therefore, rather than seeking to be justified through works of the law, justification comes through faith in Christ (2:16). Moreover, the people of God are those who have been crucified with Christ and are now a new creation (the life I *now* live, 2:20), indwelled by the Spirit (Christ in me, 2:20), a mark of the new age. Because the law belongs to the old age, it is no longer the standard for the people of God. Instead, those who are in Christ are guided by the indwelling Spirit. Therefore, to turn to the law would be to turn from God (2:19) and the Spirit (2:20) to that which is passing, proving oneself to be a transgressor (2:18).

It is worth briefly noting that Paul’s argument in 2:19–20 closely resembles

⁶⁰ I agree with those who think “Christ lives in me” is most likely shorthand for “Christ through his Spirit lives in me.” So Betz, *Galatians*, 124; Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 144; Cosgrove, *The Cross and the Spirit*, 173, 193–94; Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 145–46; Mehrdad Fatehi, *The Spirit’s Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul: An Examination of Its Christological Implications*, WUNT II 128 (Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 216, 218; Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 373–74; Harding, *Paul’s Eschatological Anthropology*, 199–200; Hubbard, *New Creation in Paul*, 125–26; Kwon, *Eschatology in Galatians*, 178; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 93. Fee argues that “Paul usually thinks of believers as ‘in Christ,’ whereas ‘indwelling’ is common language regarding the Spirit.” He gives Romans 8:9–10 as an example (*God’s Empowering Presence*, 374). Paul’s similar phrase in 4:6 also supports this interpretation. He says that God sent “the Spirit of his Son” (Christ [through his Spirit]) into the hearts (lives in me) of those who are now sons.

⁶¹ Longenecker comments, “Union with Christ, then, is the mechanism whereby believers are incorporated into the sphere of new creation, the process whereby those enslaved to suprahuman powers become sons of the sovereign God” (*The Triumph*, 66).

Paul's statement against his opponents in 6:14–15.⁶² In 6:14, Paul notes that he will only boast in the cross because it is through the cross that the world, which represents the present evil age (1:4),⁶³ has been crucified to him and he to the world. As a result of being crucified to the world, Paul became a new creation (6:15; cf. 2:19–20).⁶⁴ Thus, just as Paul died to the world (which represents the old age) and became a new creation in 6:14–15, Paul also died to the law and the old age through being crucified with Christ and became a new creation in 2:19–20. The similarity between these verses suggests that 2:19–20 speaks of new creation.

In 3:1–6, Paul employs the cross, through which the Galatians received the Spirit, to argue against turning to the law. After rebuking the foolishness of the Galatians, whose desire to turn to the law makes them seem bewitched, Paul begins chapter 3 by acknowledging that the Galatians know about Christ's work on the cross through his vivid preaching (3:1).⁶⁵ Following his discussion concerning dying to the law, being crucified with Christ, and becoming a Spirit-indwelled new creation (2:19–20), Paul's reference to the cross in 3:1 would likely have brought to mind the turning of the ages through the cross of Christ. The Galatians would have recalled their own deliverance from the present evil age (1:4), to which the law belongs, and their reception of the Spirit, who marks their membership in the new age, through the cross (2:19–20).

⁶² Jackson notes a connection between 2:19–20 and 6:14–15 based on the crucifixion and resurrection language (*New Creation in Paul*, 103–4).

⁶³ Others see the world as representing the present evil age (1:4). So Das, *Galatians*, 641–42; deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 509; Moo, *Galatians*, 396.

⁶⁴ Paul's use of crucifixion language in 6:14 implies that he was crucified to the world when he was crucified with Christ (2:19).

⁶⁵ I agree with those who understand οἷς κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς προεγράφη ἐσταυρωμένος as referring to Paul's vivid preaching about the cross (so Das, *Galatians*, 287; de Boer, *Galatians*, 171–72; deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 268, 268n12; Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 152; Keener, *Galatians*, 212–14; Martyn, *Galatians*, 283; Moo, *Galatians*, 182). Some suggest that Paul may be making a play on words between ἐβάσκανεν (“cast the evil eye”) and κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς (“before the eyes”) (so Das, *Galatians*, 286; Moo, *Galatians*, 182).

With this reminder of their transfer from the age of the law to the age of the Spirit in mind, Paul then asks the Galatians three rhetorical questions to argue against turning to the law: (1) “Was it by works of the law or hearing by faith that you received the Spirit?” (3:2);⁶⁶ (2) “Having begun by the Spirit, are you now finishing by the flesh?” (3:3);⁶⁷ (3) “Does he who supplies the Spirit to you and works miracles among you do so by works of the law, or by hearing with faith?” (3:5). Paul gives the answer to his first and third rhetorical questions through the example of Abraham (3:6–9).⁶⁸ The Galatians received the Spirit by faith, just as Abraham was counted righteous by his faith.

⁶⁶ I am aware that scholars debate the meaning of ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως in 1:3, 5, offering interpretations such as “hearing with faith” (Das, *Galatians*, 289–93; Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians*, 110–11; Stephen Kerry, “An Exegetical Analysis of Galatians 3:1-5, with Particular Reference to Pneumatological Themes That Relate to the Onset and Continuation of Christian Identity, with Respect to Law and Gospel,” *Journal of Biblical & Pneumatological Research* 2 [2010]: 77; Chee-Chiew Lee, *Blessing of Abraham, the Spirit, and Justification in Galatians: Their Relationship and Significance for Understanding Paul’s Theology* [Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2013], 26–27; Moo, *Galatians*, 182–83) or “the message that evokes faith” (de Boer, *Galatians*, 174–77; Richard B. Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ: The Narrative Structure of Galatians 3:1-4:11*, 2nd ed. [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002], 129–31; Keener, *Galatians*, 217; Martyn, *Galatians*, 86–88; Mußner, *Der Galaterbrief*, 105). I agree with those who interpret this phrase as “hearing with faith.” Either translation works with my argument, though, because they both connect the receiving of the Spirit to the cross of Christ (3:1) no matter if the emphasis is on the hearing or the actual message. On the possible meanings of ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως, see Das, *Galatians*, 289–93; de Boer, *Galatians*, 174–77; Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ*, 24–132; Lee, *Blessing of Abraham*, 25–27.

⁶⁷ Scholars note that Paul’s use of σαρκί in 3:3 likely has a double referent. They agree that it refers to circumcision but slightly differ on the second meaning. They have offered suggestions such as the cosmic power of the present evil age (so Das, *Galatians*, 294; Lee, *Blessing of Abraham*, 29), the law (so deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 275), and human effort/striving (so Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 155; Hays, “The Letter to the Galatians,” 252; Moo, *Galatians*, 184–85; similarly, Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 385). I agree that σαρκί probably does have a double referent, or at least a double purpose, including an illusion to circumcision (cf. 6:13). In my view Paul also uses σαρκί in 3:3 to make a correlation between the law and the present evil age and to show the relationship between the law (4:24; 5:18) to the other elements that represent the present evil age in Galatians (i.e., the curse of the law [3:10, 13], the τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου [4:3, 9], slavery [4:22–24, 30; cf. 3:22–23], human striving apart from Christ [3:12], and sinful desires that oppose the Spirit [5:19, 24]). Therefore, with σαρκί, Paul alludes to the fact that trying to be completed by the law (i.e., circumcision) is to place oneself under the old age and to align oneself with the other elements of the present evil age. In 3:3, I agree with those who see σαρκί as a reference to the law, which inherently includes human striving (3:12). Das notes that some Second Temple Jewish authors viewed circumcision as the “antidote to the evil inclinations of the flesh” (i.e., 1QS V 4–5); so Paul’s use of σαρκί as an illusion to circumcision would likely have been shocking (*Galatians*, 294).

⁶⁸ Others see Abraham’s example as the answer to Paul’s rhetorical questions. So deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 277; Martyn, *Galatians*, 296–97; Moo, *Galatians*, 187–88; Mußner, *Der Galaterbrief*, 213–14. Scholars note that 3:6 is a Janus verse, using the example of Abraham’s faith to connect 3:1–5 with what follows (Das, *Galatians*, 302; Moo, *Galatians*, 187).

Therefore, the Galatians need not turn to the law, because the law has no role in justification (the moment they received the Spirit).⁶⁹ Rather, like Abraham, the Galatians were justified and received the Spirit by faith.

Before pointing to Abraham's example, though, Paul had already tipped his hand and shown the answer to these questions. By reminding the Galatians of the cross, Paul gives them the answer to his rhetorical questions in 3:2 and 3:5. The Galatians were justified (2:16) and received the Spirit through faith in Christ (2:19–20). Therefore, the Galatians know that they received the Spirit through "hearing with faith" (3:2). Similarly, they know that the one who "supplies the Spirit to you and works miracles among you" does so by "hearing with faith," rather than "work of the law" (3:5). Because the Galatians received the Spirit by faith, rather than by works of the law, they should not place themselves under the law. Moreover, in light of Paul's cross reference in 3:1 likely recalling their deliverance from the present evil age (1:4) and their reception of the Spirit as members of the new creation (2:19–20), the Galatians know that the law, being part of the old age, could never provide them with the Spirit, who belongs to and marks the new age.

Likewise, because Paul begins by reminding the Galatians of the cross, they also know how they should answer his second rhetorical question. Paul asks the question, which he'll essentially pick up again in 5:16–25, "having begun by the Spirit, are you now finishing by the flesh?" (3:3). Paul essentially wants to know why the Galatians think they are to finish by the law, specifically by circumcision (*σαρξί*), even though they began by the Spirit. Again, Paul's reference to the cross in 3:1 provides the Galatians

⁶⁹ Paul's discussion about the Spirit is essentially a discussion about justification, which Paul explicitly mentions in 3:8, 10–12. Since the people of God receive the Spirit when they were justified (2:16–20; 3:13–14; 4:4–6), when Paul asks the Galatians how they received the Spirit, he essentially asks them how they were justified. Das comments that, when Paul asks about the Spirit, he's asking about the Galatians's conversion to faith in Christ, since receiving the Spirit happens at the beginning of the Christian life, like justification (*Galatians*, 288).

with the answer to his rhetorical question.

Recalling their deliverance from the present evil age (1:4), to which the law belongs, and their reception of the Spirit through being crucified with Christ (2:19–20), the Galatians should know that, having begun by the Spirit, they will also finish by the Spirit, not the law. Since the law is part of the old age (4:21–31), it no longer guides or “completes” (ἐπιτελείσθε; 3:3) the people of God. Rather, as members of the new age, the indwelling Spirit now guides and “completes” the people of God, by faith (2:20). The Galatians are foolish (ἀνόητοι) to try to finish by the law (3:3) because turning to the law not only means returning to the old age (3:19–26; 4:1–9, 21–31), but by turning to the law the Galatians essentially deny that they belong to the new age as Spirit-filled new creatures through Christ’s work on the cross (2:19–20). Therefore, the Galatians are to “finish” by the Spirit, who indicates they belong to the new creation (2:20; cf. 6:14–15).

In 3:1–6, then, Paul argues against his opponent’s law-observing gospel using the cross. The cross brought an end to the age of the law for those in Christ. Moreover, the cross inaugurated the new age, the age of justification by faith (2:16) and the Spirit (2:19–20).⁷⁰ Thus, just as their justification (when they received the Spirit) did not come through works of the law (2:16; cf. 3:2), the Galatians’s life in Christ also should not be marked by works of the law (i.e., circumcision) (3:3). Rather, they are to “finish” by faith through the power of the indwelling Spirit (3:3; cf. 2:20, 3:2, 5), who marks their belonging to the age of new creation (2:20; 3:13–14; 4:4–6, 21–31). Thus, Paul employs the cross as the turning point between the ages and the reception of the Spirit to argue against turning to the law.

In 3:10–14, Paul continues his argument against turning to the law. Here, the cross again plays an important role in Paul’s argument against his opponents. After

⁷⁰ The Spirit marks the inauguration of the new age (so Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 395; Michael J. Gorman, *Apostle of the Crucified Lord: A Theological Introduction to Paul and His Letters*, 2nd ed. [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2017], 152).

stating that “those of faith,” not those of works of the law, are the true sons of Abraham (3:7–9), Paul explains why this is.⁷¹ Those who rely on works of the law are under a curse because the law curses all who are under the law. Paul states: “For all who rely on works of the law are under a curse; for it is written, ‘Cursed is everyone who does not abide by everything written in the book of the law’” (3:10). He then continues, saying, “no one is justified before God by the law.” Rather “the righteous will live by faith” (3:11), but “the law is not of faith,” it depends on doing (3:12).⁷²

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to get into the different interpretations of Paul’s use of Deuteronomy 27:26 in 3:10.⁷³ I agree with the traditional view that argues Paul implies the premise that no one can/does obey the law to the degree it requires.⁷⁴ The implied premise view fits with Paul’s comment about being obligated to keep the whole law in 5:3. Thus, in 3:10–12, Paul ultimately says that righteousness is by faith because doing the works of the law only leads to a curse. Those who “rely on the works of the law” (3:10) are unable to keep the law to the extent necessary to be justified and avoid the curse of the law because the law was never able to give life (2:21; 3:21). Rather, because the law is part of the present evil age (3:21–26; 4:3–5, 21–31; 6:13–15) it

⁷¹ I take the γὰρ as explanatory. So Das, *Galatians*, 310; Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 170; Moo, *Galatians*, 201.

⁷² Scholars debate whether ἐκ πίστεως in 3:11 modifies the verb ζήσεται (so deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 292n78; Moo, *Galatians*, 206–07) or the noun ὁ δίκαιος (so Das, *Galatians*, 320–21; Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 174–75). I slightly prefer taking the prepositional phrase with the verb, but in my view, the two positions are very similar. In both cases, righteousness is connected to faith rather than the law.

⁷³ Most scholars note that Paul conflates Deuteronomy 27:26 with other passages in Deuteronomy (e.g., 28:58; 29:20; 30:10). On this, see Das, *Galatians*, 312–13; Christopher D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature*, SNTSMS 69 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 240–41.

⁷⁴ For this view, see Das and those cited by Das (*Galatians*, 311–16). Williams references Norman H. Young, who suggests the implied premise be understood as an implied condition: “if they do not do all the requirements of the law” (Williams, *Christ Redeemed “Us,”* 108–9; Norman H Young, “Who’s Cursed—and Why? (Galatians 3:10-14),” *JBL* 117 [1998]: 79–92, esp. 86).

only imprisons people under sin (3:22) and the curse (3:10).⁷⁵ This is why Paul warns the Galatians not to turn to the law. The law, being part of the present evil age, cannot give life and produce true sons of Abraham. Rather, the law places a curse on all who “rely on works of the law” (3:10).

Paul turns to the cross of Christ to argue that those of faith, rather than those relying on works of the law, are the true sons of Abraham. Rather than establishing one as a son of Abraham, the law only curses those who rely on it for righteousness (3:10–12). Through the cross, Christ redeems “those who are of faith” (3:9) from the curse of the law (3:13). Since the law and its curse are both a part of the old age (3:22–25; 4:21–31; 6:12–15), by saying that “Christ redeemed ‘us’ from the curse of the law,”⁷⁶ Paul

⁷⁵ Williams makes a similar point (*Christ Redeemed “Us,”* 108–10).

⁷⁶ Scholars debate who the referents of ἡμᾶς in verse 13 and the “we” subject of λάβωμεν in verse 14 are. I agree with those scholars who argue that the “us”/“we” in these verses refer to both Christian Jews and Gentiles (so Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 167; James D. G. Dunn, “‘Under the Law’ in Paul,” in *Paul, John, and Apocalyptic Eschatology: Studies in Honour of Martinus C. de Boer*, ed. Jan Krans and et. al, NovTSup 149 [Boston: Brill, 2013], 48–60; Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians*, 122–23; Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ*, 95–117; B. Hudson McLean, *The Cursed Christ: Mediterranean Expulsion Rituals and Pauline Soteriology*, JSNTSup 126 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996], 119; Williams, *Christ Redeemed “Us,”* 117–18; Sam K. Williams, “Justification and the Spirit in Galatians,” *JSNT* 29 [1987]: 91–92). Jarvis Williams notes that “the ‘us’ for whom Christ died refers to both Jews and Gentiles since Paul asserts in 3:9 that ‘those from faith’ (οἱ ἐκ πίστεως) (Jews and Gentiles) receive the blessing with faithful Abraham and since he states in 3:10 that ‘as many as’ (ὅσοι) are from works of law experience the curse” (*Christ Redeemed “Us,”* 118).

Other scholars argue that the “us”/“we” in verses 13 and 14 refer only to Jewish Christians, typically noting that only the Jewish people were under the law’s curse (so Hong, *The Law in Galatians*, 141; Peter J. Leithart, *Delivered from the Elements of the World: Atonement, Justification, Mission* [Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2016], 201; Rodrigo J. Morales, *The Spirit and the Restoration of Israel: New Exodus and New Creation Motifs in Galatians*, WUNT II 282 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010], 105, 113–14; Witherington, III, *Grace in Galatia*, 236; N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991], 151–55). This view, though, fails to see the law within Paul’s apocalyptic perspective in Galatians. Since the law is part of the old age, Paul can relate being under the law with being under the τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (4:3). As a conclusion to his metaphor about the child heir (4:1–2), Paul comments that “we, while we were children, were enslaved to the elements of the world” (4:3). The solution to this enslavement appears to be found in the next two verses: God sent Christ “to redeem those who were under the law” (4:4–5). In doing so Paul relates being enslaved to τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, to which both Jews (the first-person plural in 4:3 includes Paul) and gentiles were enslaved (4:8–9), to being under the law. Paul’s warning to the Galatians that observing the Jewish calendar would lead to *again* being enslaved to the τὰ στοιχεῖα supports seeing a connection between being under τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου and being under the law. Thus, Paul can say that Christ redeemed the Gentile Christians from the curse of the law because the law, as a part of the present evil age, curses all who are a part of the present evil age (1:4). This is why Paul can say that the law “imprisoned

essentially repeats what he said in 1:4: Christ delivered “us from the present evil age.” The curse of the law came upon Christ because he was born under the law, rather than because he transgressed the law (2 Cor 5:21).⁷⁷ Christ was “born under the law” to redeem “those who are of faith” (3:9) from the law and its curse (4:4–5), delivering them from the present evil age (1:4). Those redeemed by Christ from the curse now belong to the new age and have been marked as a member of the new creation (6:14–15; 2:20) by the indwelling Spirit, whom they received by faith (3:14). Moreover, because “Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law” (3:13), the blessing of Abraham has now come to the Gentiles.⁷⁸ The true sons of Abraham, then, are those who, by faith, have been redeemed from the curse of the law and received the indwelling Spirit, a sign of the age of new creation (6:14–15; cf. 2:20), rather than those who rely on works of the law, a sign of the old age (3:21–26; 4:3–5, 21–31; 6:13–15).

Thus, the reason why “those who are of faith” are the true sons of Abraham (3:9), rather than those of the law, is because the law, being part of the present evil age, only leads to a curse (3:10). Rather, justification, becoming a true son of Abraham, comes through faith in Christ (3:8, 11), who took on the curse to redeem those under the law from the curse of the law (3:13). Those whom Christ redeemed from the curse of the law have been delivered from the present evil age (1:4) and have received the Spirit, by faith

everything under sin” (3:22), not just the Jewish people. For a history of interpretation on 3:13 going back to the church fathers, see David A. Brondos, “The Cross and the Curse: Galatians 3.13 and Paul’s Doctrine of Redemption,” *JSNT* 81 (2001): 3–10; see also his discussion on 3:13 in Brondos, *Jesus’ Death*, 2:787–96.

⁷⁷ So Williams, *Christ Redeemed “Us,”* 119, 122, 125.

⁷⁸ It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to enter the debate over what the blessing of Abraham in 3:14 is. Some scholars argue that the Spirit is the blessing of Abraham (so Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ*, 182–83; Smiles, *The Gospel and the Law in Galatia*, 127). In my view, the blessing of Abraham is closely linked with the Spirit but refers to being declared righteous by faith and becoming the offspring of Abraham (3:6–9) (so Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 393–94; Lee, *Blessing of Abraham*, 186; Leithart, *Delivered from the Elements*, 196). For an overview of the different views on the relationship between the Abrahamic blessing and the Spirit in 3:14, see Lee, *Blessing of Abraham*, 4–11.

(3:14), who marks their membership in the new age as true sons of Abraham (3:7, 9, 14).⁷⁹ Here again, Paul points to the cross as the turning point between the ages to argue against turning to his opponents' law-observing gospel. Moreover, Paul argues against turning to the law by mentioning the receiving of the Spirit, who now marks the people of God (3:14; cf. 2:19–20). Paul, then, urges the Galatians to not turn to the law by pointing to the cross, through which they received the Spirit, by faith.

In Galatians 4:4–10, Paul uses the cross as the turning point between the ages to argue against turning to the law, which he aligns with being enslaved to the τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου.⁸⁰ He begins chapter 4 using a child heir as a metaphor. He notes that, though

⁷⁹ Others make similar arguments. So Bird, *An Anomalous Jew*, 155–56; Bryant, *Risen Crucified Christ*, 177; Morales, *Spirit and the Restoration*, 224.

⁸⁰ The connection between being enslaved to the τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου and being under the law is demonstrated by Paul's seamless transition from talking about being enslaved to the τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (4:3), to speaking of Christ being sent to redeem those under the law (4:5), back to asking how the Galatians can turn *again* to the enslaving στοιχεῖα (4:9) by turning to the law, using the example of observing the Jewish calendar (4:10). Other have made similar observations. So Adams, *Constructing the World*, 229; Hubbard, *New Creation in Paul*, 205; Lee, *The Cosmic Drama of Salvation*, 272; McLean, *The Cursed Christ*, 118; Frederick J. Murphy, *Apocalypticism in the Bible and Its World: A Comprehensive Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012); George H. van Kooten, *Cosmic Christology in Paul and the Pauline School: Colossians and Ephesians in the Context of Graeco-Roman Cosmology, with a New Synopsis of the Greek Texts*, WUNT II 171 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 325; similarly, Jens Schröter, *Von Jesus zum Neuen Testament: Studien zur urchristlichen Theologiegeschichte und zur Entstehung des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, WUNT I 204 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 197.

Scholars differ over what Paul means by τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου in 4:3. Some argue that the στοιχεῖα are spiritual beings, whether deities or malevolent spirits (so Peter Oakes, *Galatians*, Paideia [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2015], 135–36; Adams, *Constructing the World*, 228–30, respectively). This view fits with Paul calling the στοιχεῖα “those things that by nature are not gods” (4:8). It is difficult, though, to understand how returning to the law would be returning to these deities or malevolent spirits (Das makes a similar critique, *Galatians*, 442).

A second view is that the στοιχεῖα are fundamental/elementary principles or teachings (so David R. Bundrick, “Ta Stoicheia Tou Kosμου (Gal 4:3),” *JETS* 34 [1991]: 362–63; deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 250–53; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 165–66; Matera, *Galatians*, 150, 155; Witherington, III, *Grace in Galatia*, 285–87). In the context of Galatians, the στοιχεῖα would be rudimentary religious teachings, both Jewish and pagan. In this view, Paul argues against turning to law by informing the Galatians that placing themselves under the law would be to enslave themselves again to the στοιχεῖα Christ freed them from (4:8–10). Though this view does fit Paul's teaching in Galatians, the main difficulty it faces is that in Paul's day τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου most often referred to the basic elements/building blocks of the world: earth, air, fire, water (so Das, *Galatians*, 442–43; Keener, *Galatians*, 328). Moreover, Keener comments that this interpretation explains στοιχεῖα, but does not explain Paul's use of the phrase τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (328; similarly, Das, *Galatians*, 440).

A third view takes τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου the way it was most commonly used in Paul's day, as a reference to the elements/building blocks of the world (so Das, 442–44; de Boer, *Galatians*, 252–56;

an heir, a child is practically no different than a slave. For, as a child, the heir remains under guardians and managers until a time appointed by his father (4:1–2). Paul then states that “we” were like this heir, “enslaved to the elements of the world” (4:3) as children.⁸¹ In verses 4–6, Paul gives the solution to this enslavement.

Paul writes that “when the fullness of time came, God sent forth his Son, having been born of woman, having been born under the law, in order to redeem those under the law so that we might receive adoption as sons” (4:4–5).⁸² In the fullness of

Martyn, *Galatians*, 395; Moo, *Galatians*, 262–63). Those holding this view apply it to Galatians 4:3 in slightly different ways. I agree most with Das’s view. After mentioning that the elements were often considered opposing pairs, Das comments that the mention of the τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (4:3) following three opposing pairs (Jew/Greek/; slave/free; male/female, 3:28), which represent life under the old age, is not coincidental (*Galatians*, 443). Moreover, the only other time Paul mentions the κόσμος in Galatians, he again notes an opposing pair (circumcised/uncircumcised, 6:14–15) and contrasts the κόσμος (6:14) with new creation (6:15). Das comments that “Paul rejects the pairs of opposites constituting a ‘cosmos’ that has been crucified (with Law and without Law) in favor of a ‘new creation’ (καινή κτίσις, 6:15)” (*Galatians*, 443). He concludes that the τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου “should be understood as the ‘constituting elements of the present evil age’ (1:4), the ‘cosmos/world’ that is crucified (6:14–15)” (*Galatians*, 443). Paul likely uses this phrase to draw a connection between the Galatians’ former pagan life, in which they likely worshiped the elements (cf. Wis Sol 13:1–2) and observed a similar calendar (4:10) (so Das, *Galatians*, 444), with life under the law, both being elements of the present evil age (similarly, Schröter, *Von Jesus*, 197). Thus, Paul can equate adopting the Jewish calendar with a *return* to enslavement under the στοιχεῖα that formerly enslaved the Galatians (so Das, *Galatians*, 444). For a discussion on the different views on the τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου in 4:3, see Bundrick, “Ta Stoicheia,” 356–63; Das, *Galatians*, 439–44; Keener, *Galatians*, 326–33.

⁸¹ Scholars typically interpret the switch between the first and second person in 4:1–7 similarly to how they interpret the switch between “us”/“we” in 3:13–14, with the “us” referring to Jewish Christians and the “you” to gentiles or with both referring to Jewish and Gentile Christians. I think Paul is referring to both Jewish and Gentile Christians here (see note 76 in this chapter). Though Das views both Jewish and Gentile Christians in view in verses 4–7, he argues that the “we” in 4:3 refers to Gentile Christians, while ethnic Jews are the heir in the metaphor (4:1–2) (*Galatians*, 405–6). Das, though, does not explain why Paul uses ἡμεῖς in 4:3, which grammatically includes himself, an ethnic Jew. Ἰμεῖς would make more sense if Paul were referring only to Gentile Christians. Moreover, Paul has shown that when he wants to refer to a specific ethnic group he clearly does so (i.e., he and Peter as Jews in 2:15). Rather, Paul seems to equate, or at least align, being under guardians and managers with being enslaved to the τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου.

⁸² Paul blends his apocalyptic perspective with his view of salvation history in 4:1–11 to make his argument against turning to the law. He places God’s apocalyptic invasion within salvation history (the fullness of time) and notes that those redeemed from the law are both adopted as sons and receive the Spirit. Moo notes that being adopted as sons is being adopted into the position that Israel enjoyed as God’s son (i.e., 4:22; see also 2 Sam 7:14, cf. 2 Cor 6:18). Paul even uses a form of the same word for the Galatians (υἱοθεσίαν) that he uses for Israel in Rom 9:4 (υἱοθεσία) (*Galatians*, 268). To receive the Spirit is to receive the sign of being a part of the new age as a new creation (2:20; cf. 6:14–15; see also 4:21–31). Davies makes a similar argument focusing on 4:4 (*Paul Among the Apocalypses?*, 108–10).

time, set by the Father, God sent his Son to redeem those under the law (who are those enslaved to τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, 4:3), so that they are no longer slaves but sons and heirs (4:4–7). Through God’s apocalyptic invasion of the cosmos in Christ,⁸³ those who were imprisoned under the law (4:5; cf. 3:22–23) and enslaved under the τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (4:3) have now been set free through Christ’s redeeming act on the cross (4:4, 7; cf. 1:4; 2:19–20; 3:13; 6:14).

Moreover, those who have been redeemed, who have been freed from slavery (4:3; cf. 5:1), are now a part of the new age as new creatures.⁸⁴ Paul mentions that those who have been redeemed from the curse of the law and from life under the law have also received adoption as sons, and, because they are sons, “God has sent the Spirit of his son into [their] hearts, crying, ‘Abba! Father!’” (4:6). Those whom Christ redeemed from the law now bear a mark of membership in the new age, the Spirit (2:20; 3:13–14; 4:21–31). The deliverance of those imprisoned under the law and enslaved by τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου and the giving of the Spirit, who now marks the people of God, indicates the passing of the present evil age (1:4), to which the law belongs, and the inauguration of the age of the Spirit (cf. 2:19–20; 3:14; 4:26–29).

Having reminded the Galatians of the freedom, sonship, and Spirit they received by Christ’s work of the cross (4:4–7), Paul exhorts the Galatians to not turn to the law in verses 8–10.⁸⁵ Paul begins by reminding the Galatians of their situation before knowing God (4:8) and of the freedom and sonship they have received (4:9).⁸⁶ He then

⁸³ Others note the apocalyptic nature of 4:4: Das, *Galatians*, 409; Davies, *Paul Among the Apocalypses?*, 106; de Boer, *Galatians*, 262; Martyn, *Galatians*, 99.

⁸⁴ Hays notes that ἐξαγοράση in 4:5 echoes ἐξηγόρασεν in 3:13 (“Apocalyptic Poiēsis,” 210n22).

⁸⁵ I think, in part, Paul’s question in verse 9 is meant to urge the Galatians to not turn to the law.

⁸⁶ Rosner argues that being known by God can mean belonging to God, being loved/chosen by God, and being a son of God. He states that the idea of being a son of God is what is most evident in Gal 4:9. Brian S Rosner, “‘Known by God’: The Meaning and Value of a Neglected Biblical Concept,” *Tyndale*

asks the Galatians how, in light of receiving freedom and sonship, they can return to being enslaved to the *στοιχεῖα* by turning to the law, using Jewish calendar observance as an example (4:9–10). Paul wants to know why the Galatians would even consider turning to the law (4:10), which represents a return to slavery (4:8–9; cf. 5:1), since they have been freed by the cross of Christ (4:5, 7) and have received sonship and the Spirit (4:5–7), who marks their membership in the new age. Thus, to argue against turning to the law, Paul reminds the Galatians of their deliverance from the present evil age (the law/*τὰ στοιχεῖα*) and their reception of the Spirit through the cross of Christ.

One final text of importance related to this section is 5:1–6. Here Paul again appeals to the cross as the turning point between the ages to argue against returning to the law. Paul begins his argument against the law, specifically against circumcision, by reminding the Galatians that Christ has set them free (5:1).⁸⁷ In light of this freedom,⁸⁸ he then exhorts them to stand firm and not return to the yoke of slavery.⁸⁹ Paul tells the Galatians to not turn from the freedom they have in Christ to slavery under the law, specifically by being circumcised (5:3). He gives the reason for his exhortation in the

Bulletin 59 (2008): esp. 217–18.

⁸⁷ Scholars view 5:1 as a “Janus verse,” both concluding the previous section (4:21–31) and beginning a new section (5:1–12). So Das, *Galatians*, 517; Moo, *Galatians*, 319.

⁸⁸ Most scholars agree that the dative *Τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ* denotes purpose. So Betz, *Galatians*, 255; Das, *Galatians*, 518; deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 410; Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 261–62; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 224; Moo, *Galatians*, 320. Betz notes a parallel between 5:1 and 5:13 (*Galatians*, 255–56). Freedom refers to freedom from the present evil age (1:4), which includes the law and its curse (3:13, 22–26; 4:5, 21–31) and the *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου* (4:3; cf. 4:9). Similarly, Das, *Galatians*, 519; Moo, *Galatians*, 320.

⁸⁹ Keesmaat suggests that Paul’s yoke-breaking language points to the “new creation” (6:15). She notes that yoke-removal imagery is used for Israel’s future deliverance from exile and happens in connection with restoration to the land, which is often described as bountiful. Keesmaat proposes that Lev 26:13; Isa 10:24–29, and Ezek 34:27, in which yoke-removal imagery occurs, form the intertextual background for Gal 5:1. She argues, then, that if Paul is thinking of this yoke-removal imagery in connection with restoration to the land, an illusion to the new creation (cf. 6:15), which represents that restoration, seems likely. Sylvia C. Keesmaat, *Paul and His Story: (Re)Interpreting the Exodus Tradition*, JSNTSup 181 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 171–73.

following verses.

Paul warns the Galatians that for anyone who attempts to be justified by the law, specifically by being circumcised (5:2), Christ no longer benefits him (5:2), for he has been cut off from Christ (5:4). Rather than having freedom in Christ, anyone who accepts circumcision is “obligated to keep the whole law” (5:3).⁹⁰ By turning from Christ to the law, through accepting circumcision, the Galatians would be condemning themselves to the curse of the law. Attempting to keep the law, which they would be obligated to do, only leads to being cursed (3:10).⁹¹ Paul reminds the Galatians (as a warning) that justification does not come through the law (2:16); thus, neither circumcision nor uncircumcision counts towards righteousness (5:6). Rather, those in Christ eagerly await the hope of righteousness by means of the empowering Spirit and by faith.⁹² Therefore, the Galatians should not accept circumcision because justification does

⁹⁰ Commentators note Paul’s wordplay between no advantage/benefit (ὠφελήσει) and being obligated (ὀφειλέτης) to keep the law. So Das, *Galatians*, 525; de Boer, *Galatians*, 312; deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 417; Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 265. Baugh demonstrates that the use of the infinitive in the aorist emphasizes the result. S. M. Baugh, “Galatians 5:1-6 and Personal Obligation: Reflections on Paul and the Law,” in *The Law Is Not of Faith: Essays on Works and Grace in the Mosaic Covenant*, ed. Bryan D. Estelle, J. V. Fesko, and David VanDrunen (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2009), 251–57.

⁹¹ I agree with those who think Paul is talking about perfect obedience to the law (so Das, *Galatians*, 266–67; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 226–27; Moo, *Galatians*, 322–25). Dunn argues that no Jew “thought of the Jewish way of life as a perfect life, that is, without any sin or failure.” Rather the Jewish life had a means of “dealing with sin” through atonement and sacrifices. He also notes Paul’s consideration of himself as “blameless” in Phil 3:6 (*The Epistle to the Galatians*, 266–67; similarly, deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 418n37). Das notes, though, that Paul considers his “blamelessness” rubbish compared to knowing Christ (3:7–8). Whatever he meant by “blameless” he now considers rubbish in the age of Christ. For a response to Dunn, see Das, *Galatians*, 524–25; though not responding to Dunn, see also Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, 62–64.

⁹² Considering Paul’s use of the noun (δικαιοσύνη) (2:21; 3:6 [referencing Gen 15:6], 21) and the cognate verb (δικαιώω) (2:16, 17; 3:8, 11, 24; 5:4) elsewhere in the letter and the fact that what Paul says in 5:5 explains why (γὰρ) those attempting to be justified (δικαιοῦσθε) by the law are severed from Christ (5:4), I hold “righteousness” to refer to justification. Most commentators take δικαιοσύνης as an objective genitive, meaning the righteousness (i.e., the full benefits of righteousness) that is hoped for (see esp., Ronald Y. K. Fung, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, NICNT [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988], 225; so also Das, *Galatians*, 528–29; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 228–29; Matera, *Galatians*, 182). Though grammatically this is possible, and if Paul uses δικαιοσύνης to refer to “the full benefits of righteous,” then it does fit the context. Considering 5:5 explains why those who seek to be justified by the law are severed from Christ (5:4), though, I think δικαιοσύνης more likely is exegetical or appositional: “the hope that is

not come through the law, rather it comes through faith (2:16; 3:2–6, 11–12, 21–26).⁹³

To make his argument against turning the law, Paul again employs the cross as the turning point between the ages. Through the cross, Christ has freed the Galatians from the present evil age (1:4), the age of the law and the curse of the law (5:1). As Spirit-indwelled people (5:5), the Galatians must not turn to the law (5:1). Since the law is part of the old age, righteousness does not come through the law (5:4–5; cf. 2:21; 3:21). Rather, by turning the law, the Galatians would be severed from Christ (5:4) and under the curse of the law (3:10). Instead, those who are in Christ “eagerly wait for the hope of righteousness” through the Spirit, by faith (5:5). To argue against turning to the law, then, Paul alludes to the cross (5:1) and points to the indwelling Spirit in 5:1–6.

In this section, I have argued that Paul builds his argument against turning to the law upon the cross. Specifically, I have contended that Paul employs the cross as the turning point between the apocalyptic ages in his argument against his opponents’s law-observant gospel. This does not mean that Paul does not use other motifs to make his

righteousness” (so de Boer, *Galatians*, 316; Martyn, *Galatians*, 472; Moo, *Galatians*, 328; Witherington, III, *Grace in Galatia*, 369–70; this also appears to be the position of, Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 231–32). The hope they eagerly await is the final declaration of “righteous” at the final judgment. Keener perceptively notes that hope does not mean “a wish,” as it can in English. He suggests that “expectation” or “expectancy” better represents Paul’s thought (*Galatians*, 457). The expectation of the final declaration of righteousness does not mean that the Galatians have not already been justified, they have (3:1–14). Paul’s focus in 5:5 is not on when the Galatians were justified. Rather, his point is that, since they have received freedom in Christ (5:1), they must continue in Christ, through the Spirit, by faith, until they receive that final declaration of “righteous” on the last day, rather than seeking justification by the law (similarly, Moo, *Galatians*, 328). Moo helpfully comments that “Paul’s real concern in 5:5 is not to tell us something new about justification or righteousness but to insist that our right standing with God is finally confirmed for us through the Spirit and by means of faith” (328). Paul speaks of awaiting the “hope of righteousness” in 5:5 to contrast the future hope of being declared righteous before God by keeping the law (“you who are seeking to be justified by the law”) in 5:4.

⁹³ Ἐκ πίστεως could be adjectival, modify πνεύματι (so Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 269). Ἐκ πίστεως could also be adverbial, modifying ἀπεχδέχομεθα (so Das, *Galatians*, 538; Moo, *Galatians*, 328–29). I agree with those who take ἐκ πίστεως adverbially. Since 5:5 explains why those who seek to be justified by the law are severed from Christ (5:4), taking ἐκ πίστεως adverbially would make it contrast ἐν νόμῳ in 5:4. Some interpreters take ἐκ πίστεως as referring to Christ’s faithfulness, similar to the debate in 2:16 (so Campbell, *The Deliverance of God*, 887–92; de Boer, *Galatians*, 538). For an argument against this view, see Das, *Galatians*, 529–30.

argument, like salvation history. The focus of this section, though, has been to demonstrate that Paul utilizes the cross as the turning point between the ages to make his argument against the law.

I have also demonstrated that when Paul employs the cross in his argument against his opponents's gospel (2:19–20; 3:2–6 [cf. 3:1], 10–14; 4:1–11; 5:1–6), he typically does so in connection with the Spirit. Beyond 1:4 and 6:12–15, whenever Paul uses the cross to argue against turning to the law, he also notes the sending/receiving of the Spirit through the cross. Throughout Galatians, Paul argues against turning to the law by alluding to the fact that the law is part of the old age, the present evil age (1:4), and is no longer over those who are a part of the new age. Since Christ, through the cross, delivered the Galatians from the present evil age and the curse of the law (3:13), the Galatians must not place themselves under the law. Rather, as part of the new creation, the Galatians now have the empowering Spirit living in them (2:20; 3:3; cf. 4:5; 5:5, 16, 18), who guides them rather than the law. Paul's argument against the law demonstrates that, with the cross, through which the new age was inaugurated (6:14–15; cf. 2:19–20), a transition happens from life under the law to life guided by the indwelling Spirit (2:20). This transition has consequences regarding divine and human agency in walking in obedience, which will be discussed in the following section.

The Cross, the Spirit, and Agency

Having examined Paul's use of the cross as the turning point between the ages and the giving of the Spirit in his argument against his opponents, I will now utilize my findings from the previous section to aid in understanding what the cross as the turning point between the ages and the giving of the Spirit reveal about divine and human agency and walking in obedience.⁹⁴ In this section, I will argue (1) that the cross inaugurated a

⁹⁴ I am not suggesting that Paul was thinking in terms of divine and human agency, rather my goal is to read Paul with these categories in mind to see what we can learn about divine and human agency

change in divine and human agency with regards to obedience and (2) that the divine agent now plays a direct, active role in guiding the human agent through the indwelling Spirit, but this does not diminish the active agency of the human agent. In Galatians, 5:16–25 reveals the most about Paul’s understanding concerning the role of the divine and the human agent in walking in obedience. Since 5:16–25 will be the focus of the next chapter, in this section I will focus on 2:15–20 (esp. vv. 19–20) to demonstrate this change in agency and the relationship between the divine and the human agent in walking in obedience in light of the cross and the giving of the Spirit.⁹⁵

The Changing of the Ages and Agency

As argued in the previous section, the cross of Christ as the turning point between the ages plays a key role in Paul’s argument against turning to the law. Paul’s overall argument against the law can be summarized as follows. In the fullness of time, the Son was born under the law in order to redeem those under the law (4:4–5) by taking on the curse of the law and dying on the cross (3:13). Through the cross, Christ inaugurated the end of the present evil age and the beginning of the age of new creation (6:14–15; cf. 2:20), which is marked by the giving of the Spirit (2:20; 3:14; 4:5–6).

Though these two ages overlap in time (already-not-yet), the cross divides the two ages. Therefore, that which makes up and represents the old age (i.e., the law, the flesh, slavery; cf. 4:21–31) has no part in the age of new creation. When those who are in

regarding walking in obedience from Paul’s argument against the Galatians turning to the law.

⁹⁵ The active divine agent may also be seen elsewhere in Galatians (i.e., 3:3; 4:6; 5:5). Of these verses, 3:3 relates the most to walking in obedience. The answer Paul expected to his rhetorical question would be something like this: “We are finishing by the Spirit, just as we began by the Spirit, not the flesh.” In this, Paul appears to be talking about the progression of the Christian life, or in other words, walking in obedience (so Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, 85; Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 385; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 103–4; Moo, *Galatians*, 183–85). Thus, Paul essentially tells the Galatians, through the use of a rhetorical question, that their life in Christ, which began by the Spirit, is to be lived out by the power of the indwelling Spirit (cf. 2:19–20). With the changing of the ages and the coming of the indwelling Spirit, the divine agent (the Spirit) plays an active role in the human agent walking in obedience.

Christ were delivered from the present evil age (1:4), redeemed from the curse of the law (3:13), and delivered from being under the law (4:5), they were transferred out of the old age and into the new age as participants in the new creation (2:19–20; 3:22–29; 5:1–6; 6:14–15).⁹⁶ As a result of their deliverance from the present evil age (1:4) into the age of the new creation (6:14–15), that which represents the old age no longer has power or authority over the people of God (i.e., the law; *τὰ στοιχεῖα*; the flesh). Therefore, the law no longer marks or guides the people of God; the law has been replaced by the Spirit (2:19–20; 4:4–6; 5:1–6, 18). The fact that Paul typically argues against turning to the law by pointing to the giving/receiving of the Spirit, through the cross (3:13–14; 4:4–6; cf. 2:19–20), demonstrates this transfer from the law to the Spirit as a mark and guide for the people of God (2:16–20; 3:1–6, 10–14; 4:4–10; 5:1–6, 18). With the changing of the ages came a transfer from the law to the Spirit, and with this transfer also comes a transfer in agency.

The giving of the Spirit through the cross brought about a change in agency. Through the cross and the giving of the Spirit came a shift from obedience through keeping the law to obedience through being empowered by the indwelling Spirit. In Galatians, the law represents human action, i.e., human agency. When Paul speaks of obedience through the law, he often refers to it as “works of the law” (2:16; 3:2, 5, 10), drawing attention to human actions/agency.⁹⁷ Galatians 3:11–12, though, most clearly demonstrates that the law represents human agency. In verse 11, Paul states that no one is justified by works of the law because righteousness comes by faith. In the next verse, he notes that the law is not “by faith,” but rather by “doing” (3:12). The law, then, because it

⁹⁶ Putting on Christ is new creation imagery. Das and de Boer comment that the putting on of Christ means the putting on of a new identity for the Christian, which, in the context of Galatians, means they’ve become a new creation (Das, *Galatians*, 382–83; de Boer, *Galatians*, 243).

⁹⁷ As noted above (note 52), I take “works of the law” to refer to actions or deeds that are demanded by the law.

is by “doing” rather than “by faith,” represents human action/agency.

The coming of the Spirit represents a new way to relate to God.⁹⁸ The people of God are no longer to live by the law (human agency) but by the Spirit (2:20; 3:3; 5:18; cf. 4:6; 6:7–8), the divine agent. Therefore, when Paul argues against turning to the law, which is part of the old age, he also implicitly argues against returning to the agency of the old age for walking in obedience, human agency. With the changing of the ages and the coming of the Spirit comes a change in agency with regard to walking in obedience. The Spirit of Christ (4:6; cf. 2:20) represents divine agency, and, as I will argue below from 2:19–20, the Spirit, not the law, now guides and empowers the human agent in walking in obedience, or as Paul will later call it, walking by the Spirit (5:16).

Galatians 2:20 and the Role of the Divine Agent

Beyond 5:16–25, Galatians 2:19–20 most clearly demonstrates a change in agency in this letter. In these verses, Paul notes a life-altering transition from his old life under the law (2:18–19; cf. 1:13–14; Phil 3:6) to his new life in the Spirit (2:20).⁹⁹ He credits this transition to the cross of Christ. Paul says that he has “been crucified with Christ” (2:19) and, because of his co-crucifixion with Christ, Paul no longer lives but Christ (through his Spirit) lives in him (2:20). Thus, when Paul was crucified with Christ there was a transition from the old Paul living by means of the law (no longer I who live, v. 20; cf. v. 18–19) to Paul the new creation living by means of the indwelling Spirit (Christ who lives in me, v.20; cf. 3:3). Paul’s new life of walking in obedience (the life I *now* live) is now empowered and guided by the indwelling Spirit, the divine agent. This transfer from a life lived by the law to a life lived by means of the indwelling Spirit

⁹⁸ So Bryant, *Risen Crucified Christ*, 154; Gorman, “The Apocalyptic New Covenant and the Shape of Life in the Spirit According to Galatians,” 327; similarly, Kwon, *Eschatology in Galatians*, 178.

⁹⁹ See note 60 in this chapter for my argument that “Christ in me” is shorthand for “Christ through his Spirit in me.”

reveals a change from human agency to divine agency in walking in obedience.

This does not mean, though, that the Spirit's active agency renders the human agent passive. Paul continues in verse 20 to say, "Now the life *I* live in the flesh *I* live by faith in the Son of God."¹⁰⁰ In this one verse, Paul notes that both the Spirit lives in him and that he also lives. These two agencies at work in Paul should not be viewed as in competition or conflict with one another, though.¹⁰¹ Rather, the Spirit (the divine agent) should be viewed as enabling Paul (the human agent) to live, i.e., to walk in obedience (cf. 3:3; 5:16). With the coming of the new age and the sending of the Spirit, then, a transfer from the law (human agency) to the Spirit (divine agency) occurs. The active divine agent does not render the human agent passive, though. Rather, Paul actively lives (the life *I* live) empowered by the indwelling Spirit (Christ in me), demonstrating that both the divine agent and the human agent play an active role in walking in obedience.¹⁰²

Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued for four things, each building upon the previous: (1) Paul's use of apocalyptic in Galatians; (2) that Paul frequently turned to the cross as the turning point between the ages to argue against his opponents' law-observing gospel; (3) when Paul employed the cross in his argument against the law, he typically did so in connection with the giving/receiving of the Spirit; (4) that with the turning of the ages came a transition from the law (representing the old age) to the Spirit (representing the

¹⁰⁰ So Susan Grove Eastman, *Paul and the Person: Reframing Paul's Anthropology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2017), 162; Christopher R. J. Holmes, "The Spirit and the Promise: On Becoming Aligned with the Way Things Really Are," in *Apocalyptic and the Future of Theology: With and Beyond J. Louis Martyn*, ed. Joshua B. Davis and Douglas Harink (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2012), 220; Kyle B. Wells, *Grace and Agency in Paul and Second Temple Judaism: Interpreting the Transformation of the Heart*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum 157 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 298.

¹⁰¹ See Barclay's discussion of different models of agency ("Introduction," in *Divine and Human Agency in Paul and His Cultural Environment*, ed. John M. G. Barclay and Simon J. Gathercole, T&T Clark Biblical Studies [New York: T&T Clark, 2008], 7).

¹⁰² Similarly, Eastman, *Paul and the Person*, 154–55.

new age), which reveals a change in agency with regard to walking in obedience.

Utilizing his apocalyptic perspective, Paul frequently turns to the cross as the turning point between the two apocalyptic ages to argue against his opponent's law-observing gospel (2:15–20; 3:1–6, 10–14; 4:4–10; 5:1–6, 18; 6:12–15; cf. 3:22–26). Christ gave himself to deliver God's people from the present evil age (1:4), marking the end of the old age and the inauguration of the new (6:14–15; cf. 2:19–20). Moreover, the sending of the Spirit through Christ's work on the cross further demonstrates the dawning of the new age. This inauguration of the new age has important ramifications for the people of God. The law, which belongs to the old age, no longer has power or authority over the people of God. Rather, through the cross, the Spirit replaces the law for those in Christ (2:20; 3:1–6, 10–14; 4:4–6, 21–31; 5:1–6, 16–15). As the Spirit-indwelted people of God (2:20; 3:14; 4:6), who have been delivered from the present evil age (1:4), those who are in Christ must not seek to “finish” (3:3) or be justified by the law (5:5; cf. 2:15, 21; 3:31), for by doing so they will be severed from Christ and back under the curse of the law (5:1–5; cf. 3:10–14). Rather, the indwelling Spirit now marks and guides the people of God. This transfer from the law to the Spirit reveals a change in agency.

The law, which belongs to the old age, represents human agency (2:16; 3:2, 5, 10–12), for the “law is not by faith” but is by doing (3:11–12). The Spirit, who marks the people of God in the new age, represents divine agency (2:20; 3:3; 4:6; 5:16–25; cf. 4:6). Through the sending of the Spirit, the divine agent now plays a direct, empowering role in walking in obedience; something the law, which was dependent on human action, did not do. The Spirit's active role in obedience, though, does not render the human agent passive. Rather, the active divine agent empowers the active human agent to walk in obedience, that is, to walk by the Spirit (5:16).

CHAPTER 5
WALKING IN THE SPIRIT AND AGENCY
IN GALATIANS 5:16–25

Galatians 5:16–25 most clearly reveals Paul’s understanding of the roles of the divine and the human agent in walking in obedience.¹ The focus of this chapter, then, will be to critically engage with Gal 5:16–25 to understand what Paul says about the topic in focus,² with an eye toward gaining a fresh insight regarding divine and human agency and walking in obedience from verse 17. I will argue that 5:17, like the rest of 5:16–25, demonstrates an active divine and human agent with regard to walking in obedience. To do so, I will first do an exegetical analysis of 5:16–25, keeping the theme of agency and walking in obedience in focus. I will give special attention to 5:17, offering a fresh interpretation of the verse for the sake of gaining new insights into the role of the divine and the human agent in walking in the Spirit. Following this analysis, I will then discuss what can be understood about the role of the divine and the human agent in walking in obedience in 5:16–25. I will give special attention to what verse 17 adds to the conversation about divine and human agency, which, to my knowledge, has not been included in the discussion about agency and walking in obedience in Galatians.³ Before concluding the chapter, as with my chapters on 1QS and 4 Maccabees, I will use

¹ As stated before, I am not claiming that Paul was thinking in terms of agency. Rather, I am reading Paul with the category of agency in mind to determine what can be understood from Gal 5:16–25 (esp. v. 17) concerning divine and human agency and walking in obedience.

² I am aware this section ends in verse 26. In my view, 5:13–26 makes up a complete section. I will briefly discuss 5:13–15 to establish the context of 5:16–25, but verses 13–15 and verse 26 do not seem to directly contribute to the discussion about divine and human agency and walking in obedience. Paul’s emphasis on walking/being led by the Spirit to avoid fulfilling the desire of the flesh and on the fruit of the Spirit makes 5:16–25 quite beneficial for determining the role of the divine and the human agent in walking in obedience in Galatians.

³ See my history of research for those who discuss divine and human agency in Gal 5:16–25.

Barclay’s models of agency to better understand the relationship between the divine agent and the human agent in walking in obedience, or as Paul says, walking by the Spirit.⁴

Context

Galatians 5 picks up the theme of freedom from Paul’s allegorical interpretation in 4:21–31.⁵ In verses 1–12, Paul uses the theme of freedom to argue against turning to the law, specifically accepting circumcision, to be justified. He reminds the Galatians that Christ has given them freedom and exhorts them not to “submit again to a yoke of slavery” (5:1). He warns them that Christ will no longer benefit them if they accept the circumcision his opponents promote (5:2–4 cf. 5:10–12; 6:12–13). For in Christ circumcision is of no importance, rather what matters is “faith working through love” (5:6). Those in Christ “eagerly wait for the hope of righteousness” through the Spirit and by faith (5:5), not by the law.

In 5:13–26, Paul continues his discussion of freedom,⁶ but in this section, he focuses on how the Galatians use their freedom.⁷ In verses 13–15, Paul instructs the Galatians not to use their freedom “as an opportunity for the flesh.” Rather, their freedom should be used to serve each other through love (5:13).⁸ Dunn comments, “The

⁴ Since I view walking by the Spirit to mean one is walking in obedience, I will use “walking in obedience,” “obedience,” and “walking by the Spirit” interchangeably in this chapter.

⁵ Freedom refers to freedom from the “present evil age” (1:4) and all that is a part of it (4:21–31), namely the law with its curse (2:19; 3:10–13, 22–26; 4:5) and τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (4:1–9).

⁶ Matera notes that the γὰρ beginning verse 13 shows that Paul is continuing the theme of freedom from 5:1–12 but “from a different vantage point” (*Galatians*, Sacra Pagina 9 [Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992], 192).

⁷ Some suggest that Paul is warning against libertinism (e.g., F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, NIGTC [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982], 240). More likely, Paul is addressing concerns (actual or potential) about how to live faithfully before God apart from the law, especially in light of his opponents promoting a law-observing gospel (similarly, John M. G. Barclay, *Obeying the Truth: Paul’s Ethics in Galatians* [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988], 70–74, 217; Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul’s Letter to the Churches in Galatia*, Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979], 273; David A. deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, NICNT [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2018], 447; Peter Oakes, *Galatians*, Paideia [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2015], 168).

⁸ Martyn rightly suggests “the flesh” is probably an abbreviation for “desires of the flesh” (*Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible 33A [New York:

expression of true (or Christian) freedom is not self-indulgence but subordination of mere self-assertiveness to meeting the needs of others.”⁹ Paul then warns what will happen if the Galatians use their freedom “as an opportunity for the flesh.” Using their freedom in “fleshly” ways will lead to biting, devouring, and, if left unchecked, ultimately consuming one another (3:15), the opposite of serving one another through love.¹⁰ In verses 16–25, then, Paul will tell the Galatians how they should use their freedom so that they avoid using it to serve the flesh.

Exegetical Analysis of 5:16–25

In this section, I will critically engage with 5:16–25. I will analyse the text with an eye toward what it says about agency. Since special attention is being given to verse 17, I will discuss the main interpretations given for the verse before offering my own interpretation. The purpose of this exegetical analysis is to aid my discussion of divine and human agency in walking in obedience.

Verse 16

In verse 16, Paul continues the discussion he started about freedom in 5:13.¹¹ In verses 16–26, he teaches the Galatians how they are to use their freedom by contrasting two ways of living: by the Spirit and by the flesh. Paul has already told the Galatians that they are not to use their freedom “as an opportunity for the flesh,” but rather they are to use it to serve one another through love (5:13). In verse 16, then, Paul

Doubleday, 1997], 485–86; so also Martinus C. de Boer, *Galatians: A Commentary*, NTL [Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2011], 337).

⁹ James D. G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, BNTC (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993), 287.

¹⁰ Scholars differ on whether Paul speaks of conflict actually happening among the Galatians or hypothetical conflict in 5:15. On this topic, see Moo, who cautiously suggests some degree of conflict exists in the Galatian churches (*Galatians*, BECNT [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013], 349).

¹¹ The $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ suggests that verse 16 continues the discussion begun in verse 13 but makes a new argument (so A. Andrew. Das, *Galatians*, CC [Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2014], 560; deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 452n33; Moo, *Galatians*, 350).

instructs the Galatians on how to use their freedom in a way that avoids serving the flesh. Rather than using their freedom in “fleshly” ways that lead to biting and devouring (5:15), Paul tells them to “walk by the Spirit and you will not carry out the desire of the flesh” (5:16).

Reflecting the common Old Testament use of $\gamma\lambda\eta$, which depicts a manner of living, Paul exhorts the Galatians to walk (περιπατεῖτε), or live, by the Spirit.¹² It is worth noting that the present imperative περιπατεῖτε , especially in the context of Galatians (cf. 3:3), should be understood as exhorting the Galatians to *continue*, rather than to begin, walking by the Spirit.¹³ The issue is not that the Galatians need to start walking by the Spirit, for they’ve already started (cf. 2:19–20; 3:1–5; 4:21–31; 5:1–5). Rather, Paul reminds the Galatians that only by walking by the Spirit, which they have already begun to do, can they avoid using their freedom to fulfill the desire of the flesh. Betz comments that “Paul’s advice, therefore, amounts to the rather laconic ‘continue to do what you have been doing.’”¹⁴

¹² E.g., Exod 16:4; 18:20; Lev 18:4; Deut 5:33; 11:22; Jer 44:23; Ezek 5:6–7. Others make this connection. So Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 243; de Boer, *Galatians*, 351; deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 453, 453n39; Craig S. Keener, *Galatians: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2019), 491–92; Oakes, *Galatians*, 173; Ben Witherington, III, *Grace in Galatia: A Commentary on Paul’s Letter to the Galatians* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 393. Longenecker notes that even though πορεύομαι is more commonly used to translate $\gamma\lambda\eta$, περιπατέω is occasionally used as well (*Galatians*, WBC, vol. 41 [Dallas: Word Books, 1990], 244). Das (*Galatians*, 560) thinks Paul may be reflecting the common OT phrase “walk according to the Law/the LORD’s statutes” (e.g., Exod 16:4; Lev 18:4; Jer 44:23; Ezek 5:6–7). Das’s view fits well with 5:16–25. The law was thought to be the remedy for the flesh by some Second Temple Jewish writers (i.e., Sir 21:11; 1QS 5.4–6. References are from de Boer, *Galatians*, 352; see also Das, *Galatians*, 294; deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 453, 457). Paul appears to intentionally use “walk by the Spirit” to reflect the OT idea of walking according to the law in order to demonstrate that the Spirit has replaced the law in the fight against the flesh for those who are in Christ (cf. v. 18). Dunn makes a similar observation (*The Epistle to the Galatians*, 295).

¹³ Wallace states that the customary present imperative often has the idea of “continue” and can refer to an action that is already being done (Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996], 722). Others view the imperative as having the idea of “continue walking.” So Betz, *Galatians*, 277–78; Das, *Galatians*, 556; de Boer, *Galatians*, 352; deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 453n38; Herman N. Ridderbos, *The Epistle of Paul to the Churches of Galatia*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1953), 203. Rabens argues for a similar view as well (“‘Indicative and Imperative’ as the Substructure of Paul’s Theology-and-Ethics in Galatians? A Discussion of Divine and Human Agency in Paul,” in *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, and Ethics in Paul’s Letter*, ed. Mark W. Elliott et al. [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014], 303).

¹⁴ Betz, *Galatians*, 278.

In the context of chapter 5 (and the whole of Galatians), Paul’s exhortation to walk by the Spirit to avoid fulfilling the desire of the flesh is also, implicitly, a statement against his opponents’ law-keeping gospel. Rather than urging the Galatians to walk according to the law, he tells them to walk by the Spirit. Dunn states that Paul uses “walking” language, which is often used in connection with the law or statutes of God in the Old Testament (e.g., Exod 16:4; Lev 18:4; Jer 44:23; Ezek 5:6–7), to intentionally contrast the Spirit as an alternative to the law.¹⁵ This implies what Paul will later make clear in verse 18 (cf. 5:1–5): the Spirit, not the law, is the guide and defense against the flesh. For those whom Christ has set free, only by walking by the Spirit will they avoid using their freedom “as an opportunity for the flesh” (5:13), not by keeping the law.

Scholars disagree on how Paul uses the dative πνεύματι. Scholars have offered various suggestions such as dative of formal cause,¹⁶ dative of rule,¹⁷ dative of manner,¹⁸ dative of sphere,¹⁹ etc. Most likely, πνεύματι is a dative of means/instrumental.²⁰ The

¹⁵ Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 295.

¹⁶ So John Bligh, *Galatians in Greek: A Structural Analysis of St. Paul’s Epistle to the Galatians, with Notes on the Greek* (Detroit: University of Detroit Press, 1966), 200; Witherington, III, *Grace in Galatia*, 393n8.

¹⁷ David deSilva suggests that πνεύματι could be a dative of rule, but notes Wallace’s arguments against πνεύματι this use (*Beyond the Basics*, 158). DeSilva suggests this could be a dative of means as well (*The Letter to the Galatians*, 453n38).

¹⁸ So Moo, *Galatians*, 353; Oakes, *Galatians*, 172–73. Moo argues that πνεύματι is more than a dative of means in light of the fruit of the Spirit. The Spirit directs how one lives. He argues that Paul’s use of πνεύματι is probably similar to other constructions with περιπατέω: according (κατὰ) to the Spirit (Rom. 8:4); not according (κατὰ) to the traditions (2 Thess. 3:6); in (ἐν) newness of life (Rom. 6:4); in (ἐν) love (Eph. 5:2); in (ἐν) wisdom (Col. 4:5). Oakes notes that Paul usually uses περιπατέω with a modifier when referring to a manner of living. He suggests that πνεύματι is likely synonymous with κατὰ πνεῦμα in Rom. 8:4.

¹⁹ So Betz, *Galatians*, 277–78; Matera, *Galatians*, 206. Das suggests this as an option, though he seems to prefer dative of means (*Galatians*, 561–62; 561n26). Wallace also suggests this is an option but argues for a dative of means (*Beyond the Basics*, 158, 166).

²⁰ So Keener, *Galatians*, 491n101; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 244; Wallace, *Beyond the Basics*, 166. This seems to be the view Das prefers (*Galatians*, 561–62). Though deSilva argues for a dative of rule, he seems to lean towards an instrumental dative in light of Wallace’s argument against it being a dative of rule (see note 7 in this chapter) (*The Letter to the Galatians*, 453n38). Fee helpfully notes that πνεύματι is probably instrumental, but also includes the idea of sphere (*God’s Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011], 430).

Spirit empowers the Galatians to live in a way that refrains from fulfilling the desire of the flesh. This view fits well with 2:20, where Paul states that the indwelling Spirit empowers the life of those who have been crucified with Christ (“no longer I who lives, but Christ [by his Spirit] lives in me”).²¹

Rather than using their freedom for fleshly desires or turning to the law to keep them from fulfilling the desire of the flesh, the Galatians are to walk by the Spirit, who empowers them to refrain from fulfilling the desire of the flesh. It is only by walking by the Spirit that the Galatians most certainly will not (οὐ μὴ) fulfill the desire of the flesh. David deSilva notes that Paul uses an emphatic future negation construction, a construction used for the strongest assertions, to stress that the Galatians will never fulfill the desire of the flesh as long as they walk by the Spirit.²² This emphatic statement emphasizes the incompatibility of walking by the Spirit and the desire of the flesh.²³

Σάρξ

In light of Paul’s focus on the flesh in this section, a brief comment on Paul’s use of σάρξ in Galatians is warranted. Paul’s (at times) unclear and varying use of σάρξ in Galatians, especially in 5:13–26, has led scholars to offer different meanings for σάρξ. In line with the apocalyptic imagery in Galatians (i.e., 1:4; 4:4; 6:14–15) and the flesh’s opposition to the Spirit, some scholars suggest that σάρξ is the “Evil Inclination” found in some Jewish literature (i.e., Sir 17:31; 25:24; 27:5–6; 1QS 5.4–6),²⁴ personified as an evil

²¹ See my discussion of “Christ who lives in me” being shorthand for “Christ through his Spirit lives in me” in my previous chapter (note 60).

²² DeSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 454; similarly, Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, 111; Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 243; Betz, *Galatians*, 278; Das, *Galatians*, 562; Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 432; Keener, *Galatians*, 497; Witherington, III, *Grace in Galatia*, 393.

²³ Keener, *Galatians*, 497.

²⁴ References from de Boer, *Galatians*, 337. De Boer states that the idea of the “evil inclination” has its origins in Gen 6:5 and 8:21. The “evil inclination” is what makes humans inclined to sin when given the choice between good and evil (de Boer, *Galatians*, 337).

force set against God.²⁵ Dunn suggests that *σάρξ* refers to the weakness of the human condition as part of this world in contrast to divine power. Specifically, “the dependency of the creature on the satisfaction of bodily appetites, and the tendency of the physical body to decay and corrupt.”²⁶ DeSilva suggests that *σάρξ* “is the sum total of the impulses, urges, and desires that lead human beings away from virtue toward self-promotion and self-gratification,” which often stands against the purposes of God and the good of the community.²⁷ He states that the flesh resembles what Greco-Roman ethical writers called “the passions,” which must be controlled by reason.²⁸ Other scholars note that it refers to the human condition, specifically the sinful, self-serving human condition that stands in opposition to the Spirit.²⁹

Throughout Galatians, Paul uses *σάρξ* in various ways.³⁰ Through Paul’s allusion to circumcision (3:3; 6:12, 13),³¹ *σάρξ* refers to the law, which connotes human action/agency (3:12).³² *σάρξ* represents the old age, in contrast and opposition to the new age, represented by the Spirit, and, though unclear, may also be intended to represent human action/planning in contrast to God’s action/plan (4:23, 29).³³ Moreover, *σάρξ*

²⁵ So de Boer, *Galatians*, 335–39; Martyn, *Galatians*, 485–86, 492–93.

²⁶ Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 287; similarly, Betz, *Galatians*, 272n16. Russell’s view shares similarities with Dunn, focusing on human weakness apart from God. Rather than speaking of the flesh as the weakness of the human condition, Russell argues that the flesh refers to the “flesh community” (in contrast to the “Spirit community”) that is characterized by human weakness, unaided by God’s Spirit (Walter Bo Russell, III, *The Flesh/Spirit Conflict in Galatians* [Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1997], 2, 158).

²⁷ DeSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 447; similarly, C. K. Barrett, *Freedom and Obligation: Study of the Epistle to the Galatians* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1985), 73.

²⁸ DeSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 447, 447n12.

²⁹ Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, 209; Das, *Galatians*, 549; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 240; Matera, *Galatians*, 196; Moo, *Galatians*, 344.

³⁰ Paul also uses flesh as a reference to humans (1:16; 2:16) and the mortal body (2:20).

³¹ In these verses, *σάρξ* also alludes to the body (i.e., the foreskin of the penis being cut off during circumcision). So de Boer, *Galatians*, 336.

³² See my discussions on 3:1–9 and 6:12–15 in the previous chapter.

³³ Cf. Gen 16:1–5; 17:18–21. Ishmael represents Abraham (Abram) and Sarah’s (Sarai) attempt to create an offspring. Isaac represents God’s action to establish a covenant with and offspring for

signifies human desires and passions that stand in opposition to the Spirit and the fruit the Spirit produces (5:16, 17, 19–21, 24; 6:7–8), which cause conflict within the community (5:13–15, 20). Finally, *σάρξ* appears to be quasi-personified as an evil force that opposes the divine Spirit (5:17), which fits Paul’s apocalyptic perspective in Galatians.³⁴

When Paul mentions *σάρξ* in Galatians, he typically speaks of it in opposition to the Spirit (so 3:3; 4:23, 29; 5:16, 17, 19–25; 6:7–8). Since the flesh represents the old age and the Spirit signifies the new age inaugurated by Christ, the flesh and the Spirit are found in opposition to one another as representatives of two different ages (4:21–31). Moreover, usually, when Paul speaks of *σάρξ*, he does so in connection with human action or desires: keeping the law (3:3; 6:12, 13); producing an offspring (4:23, 29);³⁵ self-centered desires and passions (5:13, 16, 17, 19–25; 6:7–8). At least three things, then, characterize *σάρξ* in Galatians: 1. Being part of/representing the present evil age; 2. Standing in contrast/opposition to the Spirit; 3. Representing human action in contrast to divine action. Thus, whatever Paul specifically means in context each time he uses *σάρξ* (i.e., the law, sinful human desire, etc.), generally Paul uses *σάρξ* as a representative of the present evil age (1:4), in opposition to the Spirit and the new age, which focuses on human action (i.e., the law, the works of the flesh) in contrast to divine action (i.e., the Spirit and the fruit the Spirit produces).

Verse 17

In verse 17, Paul explains (*γὰρ*) why walking in the Spirit will keep the

Abraham.

³⁴ So Das, *Galatians*, 588; deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 455–56. I got the term “quasi-personified” from Das.

³⁵ Galatians 4:23 and 29 are difficult to categorize. The contrast between being born according to the flesh and according to the promise (v. 23)/Spirit (v. 29) appears to be, in part, a contrast between human action and divine action, which, as I argue in the previous chapter, reflect the old age and the new age, respectively. In Paul’s allegorical interpretation, the child born according to the flesh was born through the will/action of Abram and Sarai via Hagar (Gen 16:1–5), and the child born according to the promise/Spirit was born through the promise/action of God via Sarah (Gen 17:18–21).

Galatians from fulfilling the desire of the flesh.³⁶ Paul states: “For the flesh desires against the Spirit and the Spirit [desires] against the flesh, for these oppose one another so that you may not do whatever you desire.” The multiple interpretations put forth by commentators for verse 17 demonstrates the difficulty of this verse.³⁷ Most commentators agree that *σάρξ* and *πνεῦμα* do not represent two natures of man,³⁸ but that the *πνεῦμα* is the Spirit of God and the *σάρξ* in some way represents humanity apart from or in opposition to God.³⁹ Moreover, most scholars agree on the meaning of the first three clauses in verse 17. The first two state that the desire of the flesh and the desire of the Spirit conflict with one another, with the third clause summarizing the first two.⁴⁰ The main difficulty comes with the final *ἵνα* clause: *ἵνα μὴ ἂ ἐὰν θέλητε ταῦτα ποιῆτε*.

Since understanding what Paul says about agency in verse 17 depends on

³⁶ So Das, *Galatians*, 563; de Boer, *Galatians*, 353; Moo, *Galatians*, 353–54.

³⁷ Moo notes the difficulty of interpreting verse 17 and states that the “crux of the difficulty” comes in the fourth clause (*Galatians*, 354).

³⁸ Some scholars argue that *σάρξ* and *πνεῦμα* refer to the old nature and the new, redeemed nature of the person, respectively (so R. C. H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of St. Paul’s Epistles to the Galatians, to the Ephesians and to the Philippians* [Columbus: The Wartburg Press, 1946], 280–81; J. C. O’Neill, “The Holy Spirit and the Human Spirit in Galatians,” *ETL* 71 [1995]: 107–20). Lenski argues that when Paul speaks of the Spirit of God he does so using a genitive construct (i.e., God’s Spirit; Christ’s Spirit), but in 5:16 the anarthrous *πνεύματι* refers to the human spirit. The article with *πνεύματος* in 5:17 should be understood as an article of “previous reference.” O’Neill’s view in 5:16–17 is similar to Lenski’s, but he argues that *πνεύματι* refers to the Spirit of God in 5:18. Van Kooten seems to suggest Paul speaks of two human natures in 5:16 (George H. van Kooten, *Paul’s Anthropology in Context: The Image of God, Assimilation to God, and Tripartite Man in Ancient Judaism, Ancient Philosophy and Early Christianity*, WUNT I 232 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008], 384). Oakes, who cites van Kooten, suggests there are anthropological overtones in verse 17 and thinks Paul’s audience would have heard flesh/spirit as two natures. In his comments on verse 18, he notes that Paul has switched back to refereeing to the external Spirit (*Galatians*, 174–75). Combs agrees with those who think that *πνεῦμα* in 5:16–17 refers to the Holy Spirit, who renews and creates a new nature in believers. He suggests, though, that we should not drive a wedge between the Holy Spirit and the new nature he imparts to believers (William W. Combs, “Does the Believer Have One Nature or Two?,” *DBSJ* 2 [1997]: 90–92). Against *σάρξ* and *πνεῦμα* referring to two human natures, Das rightly argues that throughout Galatians *πνεῦμα* refers to the Spirit of God (e.g., 3:2, 14; 4:6, 29), and there is no indication that Paul has changed his referent for *πνεῦμα* in 5:16–25 (*Galatians*, 561–62).

³⁹ See above for my discussion on the meaning of *σάρξ*.

⁴⁰ Ronald Lutjens offers a different view of verse 17. Rather than taking the first two clauses together, showing the conflict between the flesh and the Spirit, he reads the second clause together with the third and views them as parenthetical. In Lutjens’s view, the first clause together with the final clause make up the main statement of verse 17. I will discuss his view more below. Ronald Lutjens, “You Do Not Do What You Want’: What Does Galatians 5:17 Really Mean?,” *Presb* 16, no. 2 (1990): 114–15.

understanding what he is saying in this verse, I will first discuss and critique the most common interpretations of verse 17 before offering my own fresh interpretation of the verse. One interpretation of verse 17 views the indefinite relative clause (ὃ ἐὰν θέλητε) as referring to both good and fleshly desires. In this view, the opposition between the flesh and the Spirit ultimately ends in a stalemate. The flesh frustrates the Spirit so that the person cannot do the good he desires to do, and the Spirit impedes the flesh so that he does not do the fleshly things he desires to do.⁴¹ Dunn states that 5:17 is similar to Rom 7:14–8:30 and describes this conflict as “one of inward contradiction, of an individual pulled in two different directions.”⁴² Some who hold this view argue that verse 18 demonstrates that the Spirit will ultimately enable the Galatians to defeat the flesh, which makes the law unnecessary.⁴³

This interpretation has two major problems. First, this view does not support, and even undermines, Paul’s statement in verse 16. If the flesh frustrates the Spirit, then

⁴¹ So Betz, *Galatians*, 279–80; Ernest De Witt Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1980), 300–302; Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 299–300; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 246. This also seems to be the view of Barrett, *Freedom and Obligation*, 76; Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 244–45.

Thomas Schreiner’s view shares similarities with this view, though, rather than ending in a stalemate, a view he rejects, the Christ follower triumphs over sin. Instead of taking the ἵνα as denoting result, he argues that it indicates purpose. Thus, the final clause of verse 17 explains *why* the flesh and the Spirit oppose one another, so that the flesh and the Spirit both keep the believer from fulfilling the other’s desire. He states that “walking in the Spirit is not the same thing as coasting along in a fair breeze, for the flesh wars against the Spirit and the Spirit wars against the flesh.” There is though, “substantial, significant, and observable victory over the flesh” for those who walk by the Spirit. Schreiner then argues that verse 18 offers the resolution to the flesh/Spirit conflict in verse 17. He states that “those who are led by the Spirit triumph over sin because they are no longer under the law.” Thomas R. Schreiner, *Galatians*, ZECNT (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Academic, 2010), 343–45.

Though Schreiner rightly attempts to remove the stalemate argued for by those noted above in this footnote, the difficulty with his view is that verse 18 does not clearly resolve the conflict between the flesh and the Spirit. Though not impossible, it requires a good deal of reading into Paul’s seemingly abrupt mention of the law in a section where the flesh, rather than the law, is the focus. Paul merely noting that those being led by the Spirit are not under the law is a vague way to state the resolution of the flesh/Spirit conflict. As I will argue below, verse 18 is better taken as a continuation of Paul’s statement in verse 16, with verse 17 explaining why walking by the Spirit keeps one from fulfilling the desire of the flesh. Rather than giving the outcome of the flesh/Spirit conflict, Paul connects his discussion about the Spirit’s ability to give the Christ-follower triumph over the flesh to a major focus of his letter, the law. Walking by the Spirit means no longer turning to the law to combat the flesh, since the Spirit does what the law never did, enable the people of God to defeat the flesh.

⁴² Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 299–300.

⁴³ So Betz, *Galatians*, 281; Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 300.

how does walking in the Spirit keep the Galatians from fulfilling the desire of the flesh?⁴⁴ Moreover, in light of the Galatians being indwelt by the empowering Spirit (2:20; 3:2–3, 5; 4:6, 29; 5:5), would Paul argue that the flesh, which the Galatians have crucified with its passions and desire (5:24), could frustrate the work of the Spirit?

Another interpretation of the final clause in 5:17 suggests that the indefinite relative clause refers to the good one desires to do. In this view, the flesh frustrates the Spirit, keeping the person from doing the good they want to do.⁴⁵ Some who argue for this interpretation see 5:17 as parallel to Rom 7:14–25.⁴⁶ This view suffers from the same problems as the previous interpretation. Rather than explaining and supporting what Paul says in verse 16, it undermines it.⁴⁷ Moreover, Moo rightly questions why Paul would use an indefinite clause to denote “the good things you want.”⁴⁸ This view also does not do justice to the equal attention Paul gives to both the flesh and the Spirit in the first part of 5:17. Paul notes that both the flesh *and* the Spirit oppose one another, so why is it only the flesh that keeps “you” from doing the things desired?⁴⁹

A third view swaps the flesh with the Spirit as the one keeping the Galatians

⁴⁴ Others offer this critique. So Jean-Noël Aletti, “Paul’s Exhortations in Galatians 5:16–25: From the Apostle’s Techniques to His Theology,” in *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, The Gospel, And Ethics in Paul’s Letter*, ed. Mark W. Elliott et al. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014), 325; Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, 113; Das, *Galatians*, 563–64; deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 455; George Simpson Duncan, *The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians*, MNTC (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1934), 167; Keener, *Galatians*, 500; Matera, *Galatians*, 206–7.

⁴⁵ So Bligh, *Galatians in Greek*, 202; Timothy George, *Galatians*, NAC 30 (Nashville: B&H Publishing, 1994), 387–88; Ridderbos, *Galatians*, 203–4. O’Neill holds this view, but he thinks that ἡ σὰρξ and τὸ πνεῦμα refer to two human natures (O’Neill, “The Holy Spirit and the Human Spirit in Galatians,” 110–12). It is worth noting that this is also the view of Augustine, Luther, and Calvin. For references, see Lutjens, ““You Do Not Do,”” 105–6; Moo, *Galatians*, 355.

⁴⁶ So George, *Galatians*, 387; O’Neill, “The Holy Spirit and the Human Spirit in Galatians,” 110–11.

⁴⁷ So also Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, 113; Das, *Galatians*, 564; Keener, *Galatians*, 500; Matera, *Galatians*, 206–7; Moo, *Galatians*, 355; Witherington, III, *Grace in Galatia*, 394.

⁴⁸ Moo, *Galatians*, 355.

⁴⁹ Das and Moo offer this critique for the next interpretation I will discuss, but the point is valid here as well. Das, *Galatians*, 564; Moo, *Galatians*, 356.

from doing what they want to do. This interpretation argues that the relative clause refers to fleshly desires and that the Spirit thwarts the flesh to keep the Galatians from doing the fleshly things they desire.⁵⁰ Unlike the previous two views, this interpretation does make verse 17 support verse 16. In this view, the reason the Galatians will not fulfill the desire of the flesh if they walk by the Spirit is that the Spirit will frustrate the flesh and keep them from doing fleshly things. Nevertheless, this view has some difficulties. Like the previous view, this interpretation does not account for the parallel between the flesh and Spirit in verse 17. In this case, why does the Spirit alone influence the Christ follower?⁵¹ Moo raises the same question about this interpretation as he did in the previous view: Why would Paul use an indefinite relative clause to refer to fleshly desires rather than being more specific?⁵² Related to Moo's point, the main difficulty with this interpretation is the implication that the Galatians only desire (ἃ ἐὰν θέλητε) fleshly things (*whatever* they desire = only fleshly things).⁵³ This is difficult to reconcile with the fact that "those who belong to Christ have crucified the flesh with its passions and desires" (5:24), which includes the Galatians since, at least in general, Paul believes they are in Christ since they have the Spirit (3:1–6; 4:6, 31; 5:5).

J. Louis Martyn offers a fourth interpretation of 5:17 in his influential commentary on Galatians. Drawing attention to the plural θέλητε, Martyn focuses on the communal aspect of the verse. He argues that "you" does not refer to all of the Galatians,

⁵⁰ So de Boer, *Galatians*, 354–55; deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 456; Robert Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms: A Study of Their Use in Conflict Settings*, AGJU (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 106–7; Witherington, III, *Grace in Galatia*, 395.

⁵¹ So Das, *Galatians*, 564; Matera, *Galatians*, 206–7; Moo, *Galatians*, 356.

⁵² Moo, *Galatians*, 355. DeSilva translates the relative clause as whatever you desire "under the influence of the flesh" (*The Letter to the Galatians*, 456). Would the Galatians have read the indefinite relative clause with such a specific idea in mind, though? And why would Paul imply that with a relative clause instead of stating it more explicitly?

⁵³ Others offer this critique. So Barclay, *Obedying the Truth*, 114; Das, *Galatians*, 564; Keener, *Galatians*, 501; J. Lambrecht, "The Right Things You Want to Do: A Note on Galatians 5, 17d," *Bib* 79 (1998): 519.

rather “you” refers to the group who have accepted the teaching of Paul’s opponents, who Martyn calls the Teachers. This group tries to obey both Christ and the law, the practice the Teachers promote. In doing so, however, they are actually following the flesh, and because of this, they cannot avoid doing the things they do not want to do.⁵⁴ It is difficult, though, to see how “you” refers to a specific group based on Paul’s unqualified use of the second person plural *θέλητε*.⁵⁵ In the flow of chapter 5, the “you” Paul addresses in 5:17 is the same “you” who Paul believes will not turn from his teaching to that of his opponents (5:10).

As mentioned above, Ronald Lutjens takes a different structural approach to verse 17. Structurally, most commentators take the first two clauses together, showing the conflict between the flesh and the Spirit. The third clause, then, summarizes the first two, and the final *ἵνα* clause modifies (typically as purpose or result) what precedes it in verse 17. Lutjens suggests that the first clause and the fourth clause should be read together, with the second and third clauses being parenthetical.⁵⁶ Thus, the verse would essentially read: “For the flesh desires what is contrary to the Spirit (and the Spirit what is contrary to the flesh for they are in conflict with each other) in order that you might not do what you want.”⁵⁷

Lutjens believes that Paul’s point in verse 17 is to explain the hostility of the flesh to the Galatians’s life in Christ. Picking up from his comment about the flesh at the

⁵⁴ Martyn, *Galatians*, 491–95, 525–32. Walter Russell III’s view shares similarities with Martyn’s. He also suggests a communal approach to verse 17. He views *σὰρξ* and *πνεῦμα* as two competing identities in Galatia for the people of God, which represent two different eras. Those who live according to the flesh are unable to do the “right things” they desire to do because they are living in opposition to the Spirit, the only means for not fulfilling the desire of the flesh. Russell, III, *The Flesh/Spirit Conflict*, 2–4, 157–58.

⁵⁵ Das offers this critique (*Galatians*, 565).

⁵⁶ Lutjens, ““You Do Not Do,”” 114–16. Lutjens gives several examples of parenthetical thoughts in Paul, noting that Rom 1:13, 7:1, 1 Cor 16:15, Gal 3:13, and 1 Thess 4:1 are parallel to 5:17 (116).

⁵⁷ Lutjens, ““You Do Not Do,”” 115.

end of verse 16, Paul explains the evils of the flesh and why the Spirit opposes it in verse 17 so that the Galatians know what they are up against.⁵⁸ Paul, then, warns the Galatians in 5:17 that the flesh opposes the Spirit so that the Galatians are unable to do the good things (which flow from the Spirit) they desire to do.⁵⁹ Paul, however, according to Lutjens, cannot speak of the flesh's attempt to thwart the good that the Spirit is doing in the Galatians without noting the other side of the conflict: "The Spirit also tries to subvert the flesh!"⁶⁰ Verse 18, then, shows that Spirit ultimately overcomes the flesh by asserting the Galatians's ability to defeat the ongoing desires of the flesh through the Spirit, not the law.

Lutjens offers the least problematic proposal thus far discussed, but this view is not without difficulties.⁶¹ First, would Paul's audience have picked up on the second and third clauses being parenthetical? Paul does give parenthetical statements, as Lutjens argues, but in all the examples he offers the parenthetical statement is more obvious. In each of the examples given (see footnote 18), the parenthetical statement more obviously disrupts Paul's train of thought. In 5:17, the alleged parenthetical clause does not obviously interrupt Paul's train of thought and even relies on an assumed verb implied from the first clause, which makes the first two clauses appear to go together.

Second, Lutjens weakens 5:17 as an explanation for what Paul states in verse 16. As I argue above, in 5:16 Paul instructs the Galatians on how to use their freedom so that they do not give opportunity for the flesh (5:13), which leads to conflict within the

⁵⁸ Lutjens, "You Do Not Do," 113, 115.

⁵⁹ Lutjens argues that the *iva* clause denotes the "negative intention" of the flesh ("You Do Not Do," 115).

⁶⁰ Lutjens, "You Do Not Do," 115.

⁶¹ Others offer interpretations similar to Lutjens's. They appear to be unaware of Lutjens's work since they do not mention or reference him. So John J Kilgallen, "The Strivings of the Flesh . . . (Galatians 5,17)," *Bib* 80 (1999): 113–14; Otfried Hofius, *Exegetische Studien*, WUNT I 223 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 161–72. Aletti follows both Kilgallen and Hofius (Aletti, "Paul's Exhortations," 329–30). Das states that Lutjens's view and Barclay's view (discussed below) are both promising. He does not appear to pick one view over the other (*Galatians*, 565–66).

community (5:15). He tells the Galatians to walk by the Spirit and in doing so they will not fulfill the desire of the flesh, and, as I will discuss below, continues in verse 18 to state that walking by the Spirit means the Galatians no longer need the law to combat the flesh. Verse 17, then, seems to more naturally explain why walking in the Spirit will keep them from fulfilling the desire of the flesh, rather than being a comment on the danger of the flesh. Taking clauses b and c as parenthetical weakens the verse's support for 5:16, for it makes Paul's explanation of verse 16 parenthetical rather than the main point of the verse.⁶²

Finally, Lutjens's argument that verse 18 shows that the Spirit will enable the Galatians to ultimately overcome the flesh lacks much-needed explanation. He states that "the *iva*-clause of v. 17 sets out the problem of which v. 18 is the resolution," but he does not explain *how* verse 18 is the resolution.⁶³ Rather, he just states that if the Galatians follow the Spirit, "they will be able to thwart the intentions of the flesh which can only swamp the believer if he orients himself to the principle of the old order: the law."⁶⁴ He does not explain how he comes to this conclusion. Considering the walk/led by the Spirit connections, the *ei de* seems to more naturally continue from verse 16 rather than be a resolution to verse 17: "Walk by the Spirit and you will not fulfill the desire of the flesh

⁶² Lutjens does not think 5:17 explains why the Galatians will not fulfill the desire of the flesh if they walk in the Spirit (5:16). Lutjens states that the focus of 5:13–18 is on Christian freedom from the law. He takes verse 16 as a clarification/repetition (*λέγω δε*) of Paul's command to love in 5:13, so that the Galatians do not turn it into an external command, like the law ("You Do Not Do," 111). Essentially what Paul says in 5:16 is "walk by the Spirit, who empowers you to love, and you will not fulfill the desire of the flesh." In Lutjens's view, the reason the Spirit "thwarts" the flesh is because of the hostility of the flesh to God, Christ, the Spirit, righteousness, and love. Verse 17, then, describes the hostility of the flesh against those in Christ (113–115). This reading does not take account of 5:15. Paul's comment in verse 16 more naturally reads as a contrast to 5:15 (which contrasts Paul's exhortation to serve in love in 5:13). Paul tells the Galatians not to use their freedom as an opportunity for the flesh but to serve one another in love (5:13). If they choose to use their freedom for fleshly things, rather than loving service, the result will be conflict within the community: biting and devouring (5:15). Instead of using freedom in a way that leads to biting and devouring, Paul exhorts the Galatians to walk by the Spirit, which will keep them from fulfilling the desire of the flesh (5:16). Verse 17, then, explains why walking by the Spirit will keep the Galatians from fulfilling the desire of the flesh.

⁶³ Lutjens, "You Do Not Do," 116.

⁶⁴ Lutjens, "You Do Not Do," 117.

... And if you are led by the Spirit, you are not under the law.”

One final view interprets ἂ ἐὰν θέλητε as referring (in some way) to human choice. Since the desires of the flesh and the Spirit conflict, the Galatians cannot choose to follow both the flesh and the Spirit. This view has a few variants. Some argue that ἂ ἐὰν θέλητε refers to human free will.⁶⁵ The battle between the flesh and the Spirit to influence the person suppresses his free will. Because of this, the Galatians are unable to act on their own (unable to do whatever they want), rather they can only do what the flesh or the Spirit desires. Therefore, the Galatians must choose to follow either the flesh or the Spirit. By choosing the Spirit, then, the Galatians will not fulfill the desire of the flesh (5:16). Against this interpretation, Fee rightly argues that 5:17 lacks any inability language concerning the Galatians’s ability to act.⁶⁶ Moreover, does arguing that the flesh/Spirit conflict suppresses the Galatians’s free will do justice to Paul’s exhortation to not use freedom as an opportunity for the flesh (5:13)? In 5:13–15, to which 5:16–26 is Paul’s response, the problem does not appear to be with inability, for Paul tells the Galatians what will happen if they use their freedom for fleshly things. Finally, would Paul tell the Galatians to choose between following the Spirit or the flesh since they are Spirit-indwelled people (3:1–6; 4:6, 31; 5:5)?

John Barclay offers a second variant to this view.⁶⁷ Barclay speaks of warfare

⁶⁵ So Peter Dschulnigg, “Überlegungen zur Bedeutung und Funktion der Geistaussagen im Galaterbrief,” in *Pneuma und Gemeinde: Christsein in der Tradition des Paulus und Johannes. Festschrift für Josef Hainz zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. J. Eckert, M. Schmidl, and H. Steichele (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 2001), 24; Ronald Y. K. Fung, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 250–52; In-Gyu Hong, *The Law in Galatians*, JSNTSup 81 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 186–87; Franz Mußner, *Der Galaterbrief*, 5th ed., Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, IX (Freiburg: Herder, 1988), 377–78; Udo Schnelle, *Apostle Paul: His Life and Theology*, trans. M. Eugene Boring (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005), 295–96. Moo sees problems with this view, but he “reluctantly” holds this view, stating it has the fewest problems (*Galatians*, 356). Engberg-Pedersen holds a similar view (“A Stoic Concept of the Person in Paul? From Galatians 5:17 to Romans 7:14-25,” in *Christian Body, Christian Self: Concepts of Early Christian Personhood*, ed. Clare K. Rothschild and Trevor W. Thompson, WUNT I 284 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011], 162–64).

⁶⁶ Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 435n234.

⁶⁷ Barclay, *Obedying the Truth*, 112–15. Matera follows Barclay (*Galatians*, 206–07).

that is going on inside the believer because of the conflict between the flesh and the Spirit. The warfare language (*ταῦτα γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἀντίκειται*), according to Barclay, shows that the Galatians are caught up in this conflict because they have the Spirit. If the Galatians walk by the Spirit, they do not have the freedom to do whatever they want. Being on the side of the Spirit sets them against the flesh and means that they must only use their freedom to walk by the Spirit. The advantage of Barclay's variant over the previous is that Paul does not tell the Galatians to choose between following the flesh or the Spirit, they must follow the indwelling Spirit. The difficulty with this view is the lack of specific warfare language in 5:17. Keener notes the clear presence of a conflict in 5:17, but states that the verse lacks any specific military language.⁶⁸

Gordon Fee presents a final variant of this view, which is most similar to the interpretation I will give. Fee argues that Paul does not speak of the helplessness of the Galatians to act because of the flesh (or the Spirit). Rather, he argues that 5:17 should be understood within Paul's theological framework of eschatological salvation, which he unpacks throughout Galatians.⁶⁹ He states that verse 17 describes the incompatibility of walking in the Spirit with living by the flesh. The flesh and the Spirit represent two completely different ways of life, and to live in one makes living by the other not an option.⁷⁰ Thus, the Galatians are not free to do whatever they want because walking by the Spirit prohibits living by the flesh. This is why Paul can confidently tell the Galatians that if they walk in the Spirit they will not fulfill the desire of the flesh (5:16) since walking in the Spirit excludes the freedom to live by the flesh.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Keener, *Galatians*, 499. Fee also notes the lack of military language (*God's Empowering Presence*, 435).

⁶⁹ Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 435.

⁷⁰ Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 434–35. Fee says that this view goes back to Chrysostom (436n238). Fee's view is similar to Duncan, *Galatians*, 166–69.

⁷¹ Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 436.

I largely agree with Fee's interpretation, but I think it would be strengthened by grounding it in Paul's apocalyptic perspective, which, as I argued in the previous chapter, plays an important role in his argument in Galatians. The importance of the Spirit within Paul's apocalyptic perspective in Galatians suggests that apocalyptic should aid the interpretation of 5:17. The giving of the Spirit (2:19–20; 3:1–5, 13–14; 4:4–5, 21–31) is part of God's apocalyptic act in which, in the fullness of time (4:4), he inaugurated the end of the old age (1:4; 3:22–26) and the beginning of the new age (2:19–20; 6:14–15) through Christ (1:4; 3:13; 4:4–5). Moreover, Paul often contrasts the Spirit, as a representative of the new age, with the old age.⁷² The one born of the promise/Spirit represents the new age in Paul's allegorical interpretation (4:21–31), in contrast to the one born of the flesh, representing the old age. Throughout the letter, the Spirit is put in opposition to the law (3:2; 4:4–6; 5:1–6) and the flesh (3:3; 4:23, 29; 5:16–25; 6:7–8), which are part of the old age (4:21–31). Considering Paul's apocalyptic two-ages framework in Galatians, through which he contrasts the law/flesh with the Spirit throughout the letter, it only makes sense to read 5:17, where he again contrasts the flesh and the Spirit, through this apocalyptic perspective.

As I stated above, 5:16 is Paul's response to the Galatians (actually or potentially) using their freedom as an opportunity for the flesh (5:13), which leads to division within the community (5:15). To avoid giving an opportunity to the flesh, Paul tells the Galatians to "walk by the Spirit" so that they "will not fulfill the desire of the flesh" (5:16). Verse 17, then, clarifies why walking by the Spirit will keep the Galatians from fulfilling fleshly desires.

In verse 17, Paul states that the desires of the flesh and the desires of the Spirit, which represent two conflicting powers, stand in opposition to one another. Paul informs

⁷² Though Paul typically discusses the Spirit in connection with his apocalyptic perspective, he does also connect the Spirit to salvation history through the example of Abraham (3:13–14; 4:21–31).

the Galatians, in 5:17, that the result of the opposition between the flesh and the Spirit is that *μὴ ἂν ἐὰν θέλητε ταῦτα ποιῆτε*.⁷³ Why is this? It is not because the flesh overpowers the Spirit so that the Galatians cannot do the good things of the Spirit that they desire to do. Nor is it because the Spirit thwarts the flesh so that the Galatians cannot fulfill their fleshly desires. It is also not because the Galatians must choose a side in the war/conflict between the flesh and Spirit. Rather, the reason the Galatians cannot do whatever they desire is that, within Paul's apocalyptic perspective in Galatians, the flesh and the Spirit exist in and represent two different ages, and therefore they and their desires stand in opposition to one another.

The flesh and Spirit existing in two different ages means that the Galatians cannot walk by both the Spirit and the flesh (or the law in 5:18). To walk by one means to walk in opposition to the other. Since the Galatians, as new creations, are Spirit-indwelled people (3:2–5; 5:5; cf. 4:31), they now exist as part of the new age. This means that living in the old age, and by its ways, is no longer an option for the Galatians. Moreover, because the Galatians are Spirit-indwelled people, this means that their lives are now empowered by the Spirit (2:20) and to be lived in line with the Spirit (5:16, 18, 22–23, 25). To fulfill the desire of the flesh would be to live in line with the present evil age, from which they were delivered (1:4), and in opposition to the Spirit. Thus, the reason why Paul tells the Galatians that *μὴ ἂν θέλητε ταῦτα ποιῆτε* as a result of the Spirit's opposition to the flesh (and vice versa) is because, as part of the new age, they have received the Spirit, who now defines how they must live and use their freedom, which is not in line with the flesh. The Galatians cannot use their freedom to do whatever they want; they must use it in line with the Spirit.

This, then, explains why walking by the Spirit will keep the Galatians from

⁷³ I take the ἵνα to show result. So also de Boer, *Galatians*, 354–55; Hong, *The Law in Galatians*, 186; Martyn, *Galatians*, 494; Matera, *Galatians*, 199. The result of the opposition of the flesh to the Spirit and vice versa is that the Galatians cannot use their freedom to do whatever they want.

fulfilling the desire of the flesh. The conflict between the flesh and the Spirit and their desires, as representatives of two different ages, means the Galatians are not able to live by the flesh (in the old age) and the Spirit (as part of the new age). To live by one means to live in opposition to the other. By walking by the Spirit, then, the Galatians will be walking in opposition to the flesh and therefore will not fulfill the desire of the flesh.

A strength of this interpretation is that it closely relates to and continues Paul's teaching found elsewhere in Galatians. For example, in 2:19–20, as a result of being crucified with Christ, Paul notes that he no longer lives but the Spirit lives in him. If Paul presents himself as a paradigm for the Galatians, as I suggest above, then the Galatians not being able to do whatever they want (5:17) reflects what Paul says in 2:20. Just as the indwelling Spirit guides Paul (and the Galatians) in his new life in 2:20, the Spirit also guides the Galatians in 5:17. Paul's tells the Galatians that, in light of the conflict between the flesh and the Spirit, *μη ἀ ἐὰν θέλητε ταῦτα ποιῆτε*. As Spirit indwelt people, as in 2:20, the Spirit now guides the Galatians. The result of this is that the Galatians cannot do whatever they want. Specifically, because the indwelling Spirit guides the Galatians and because the Spirit opposes the flesh, the Galatians cannot (and will not) live according to the flesh.

Paul's rhetorical question in 3:3 seems to almost foreshadow Paul's discussion in 5:16–26. In 3:3, Paul asks the Galatians if, having begun by the Spirit, they are now finishing by the flesh. Following an inquiry about the discernment of the Galatians (*οὕτως ἀνόητοί ἐστε*), or lack-there-of, Paul's rhetorical question means to highlight the absurdity of the idea. Finishing by the flesh, after beginning by the Spirit, would be rejecting the Spirit that, like with Paul, lives in them (2:20). Moreover, the fact that the flesh and the Spirit exist in two different ages further demonstrates the absurdity of this notion. To turn to the flesh would be to return to the "present evil age" they were delivered from (1:4) and to turn away from the new age and the indwelling Spirit. In 5:17, then, Paul essentially answers his rhetorical question. Having begun by the Spirit, the Galatians

cannot finish by the flesh. The reason for this is that the flesh and the Spirit, which represent two different ages, oppose one another, resulting in the Galatians not being able to do whatever they want. Namely, they are not able to live by the flesh, which would mean living as part of the old age, because, as a part of the new age, they now live by and in line with the indwelling Spirit.⁷⁴

This reading also fits well with Paul's allegorical interpretation of Sarah and Hagar. In 4:21–31, Paul warns those “who desire to be under the law” that turning to the law would place them back in slavery because the law enslaves those who are under it. Through his allegorical interpretation, Paul demonstrates how the flesh and the Spirit exist in two different, opposing ages.⁷⁵ Living in the old age (4:25), which the law (4:24–25) and the flesh represent (4:23, 29), means living under the law's enslaving power (4:24–25). Those who live in the new age (4:26), which the promise (4:28) and the Spirit (4:29) represent, live in freedom (4:26, 31). For the Galatians to turn to the law, then, would be to turn from the new age back to the old age, from the Spirit to the flesh, from freedom to slavery. Similarly, in 5:17, Paul demonstrates the opposition of the two ages by noting the conflicting desires of the flesh, representing the old age, and the Spirit, representing the new. The result of the Spirit's opposition to the flesh, and vice versa, is that the Galatians are not free to do whatever they want. They cannot live in both ages. Therefore, as Spirit-indwelled people, the Galatians cannot fulfill the desire of the flesh because to do so would be to return to the old age and to act in opposition to the Spirit.

⁷⁴ I agree with those who think *σαρκί*, in part, alludes to circumcision (representing the law) in 3:3. Though Paul uses *σὰρξ* in different ways in 3:3 (alluding to circumcision) and 5:17 (sinful desires that oppose the Spirit), I think my point still stands. In 3:3, like in 5:17 and throughout Galatians, “flesh” generally stands for that which represents the present evil age (1:4). Thus, just as the Galatians must not live by the sinful desires that represents the old age (5:17), they also must seek to “finish” by living by the law (3:3), which also represents the old age. In light of Paul's use of apocalyptic in Galatians, I think he intentionally uses *σὰρξ* in different ways to show the connection between the law, the *στοιχεῖα*, and human sinful desires/striving apart from/in opposition to God as part to the present evil age (1:4). On the use of *σαρκί* in 3:3, see my discussion of “flesh” above.

⁷⁵ The inclusion of the two Jerusalems suggests that Paul speaks of two different ages in 4:21–31. On the two Jerusalems, see my section on the apocalyptic two ages in the previous chapter.

Rather, as new creations, the Spirit now guides how they live and, because the Spirit opposes the flesh, keeps the Galatians from fulfilling the desire of the flesh.

It is also worth noting that this interpretation of Paul's argument in 5:17 resembles his argument against circumcision in 5:1–6 (esp. 2–4). Following an exhortation to not turn from the freedom they received from Christ back to slavery (5:1), Paul warns the Galatians that if they accept circumcision then they are obligated to keep the entire law (5:3) and Christ no longer benefits them (5:2). The reason why Christ would no longer benefit them if they accepted circumcision (and thus the entire law, 5:3), is because, by doing so, they would place themselves back under the law and its curse (3:10–13), back under the present evil age from which Christ delivered them (1:4). Similarly, the Galatians are not free to do whatever they want because the indwelling Spirit now guides their lives. Since the flesh is part of the old age, to live by the flesh would be to live according to the old age and in opposition to the Spirit, who represents the new age. Rather, as new creations, the Spirit now guides how the Galatians live and use their freedom, which is not for the flesh. Indeed, because the desires of the Spirit oppose those of the flesh, walking by the Spirit means walking in opposition to the flesh.

Admittedly, the fact that my interpretation reiterates Paul's teachings elsewhere in Galatians does not prove my interpretation of 5:17 to be correct. Paul very well could be expanding on his teaching in Galatians regarding the flesh and the Spirit by explaining how the flesh keeps the Galatians from doing the good they desire to do, or the Spirit keeps them from fulfilling their fleshly desires, or both. Moreover, Paul could be expanding on his teaching by informing the Galatians of the conflict between the flesh and the Spirit and their need to choose a side, namely the Spirit's side since they are Spirit-indwelled. However, it does strengthen my interpretation of 5:17 by demonstrating that my interpretation both lines up with Paul's apocalyptic perspective in Galatians and essentially reiterates Paul's teachings found elsewhere in the letter, in a way that fits the context of 5:16–25. Beyond chapter 5, Paul does not explicitly mention the flesh keeping

the Galatians from doing the good things of the Spirit, nor the Spirit keeping the Galatians from doing the things of the flesh, nor the Galatians having to choose a side in the war/conflict between the flesh and the Spirit.

To summarize Paul's argument so far, beginning in 5:13, Paul exhorts the Galatians to use their freedom to serve one another, not "as an opportunity for the flesh" (5:13). Using their freedom in fleshly ways leads to conflict and division and threatens the community (5:15). To avoid using their freedom for the flesh, the Galatians must walk by the Spirit, who will keep them from fulfilling the desire of the flesh (5:16). The reason that walking by the Spirit ensures that the Galatians will not fulfill the desire of the flesh is that the flesh and the Spirit, as part of two different ages, oppose one another (5:17). Because the Galatians are Spirit-indwelted new creations, the Spirit now guides how they live and use their freedom (2:20). Since the Spirit opposes the ways of the flesh, by walking by the Spirit the Galatians will be walking in opposition to the flesh, and therefore will not fulfill the desire of the flesh.

Verse 18

Commentators have noted the seemingly unexpected transition Paul makes from the flesh (vv. 13, 16, 17), which he will return to again in verses 19–25, to the law in verse 18.⁷⁶ In 5:18, though, Paul continues instructing the Galatians on how they can avoid using their freedom as an opportunity for the flesh, which he began in 5:16.⁷⁷ In

⁷⁶ E.g., Das, *Galatians*, 566–67; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 428; Fung, *Galatians*, 131. Witherington comments that the switch was not random or abrupt. For him to feel the need to make this comment suggests Paul's transition to the law in verse 18 seems unexpected (*Grace in Galatia*, 396).

⁷⁷ I take δε as connective (so also Das, *Galatians*, 566; deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 456; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 246). Contra Moo, who takes the δε as adversative. He argues that verse 18 stresses the Spirit's victory over the flesh so that the Galatians do not think the battle between the flesh and the Spirit is equal in verse 17 (*Galatians*, 356); so also Betz, *Galatians*, 281; Fung, *Galatians*, 131; Lutjens, "You Do Not Do," 116–17). It is unclear to me how Paul's comments in v. 18 stress the Spirit's victory over the flesh. Moreover, verses 16 and 18 seem to be connected through the repeated imagery of walking by/being led by πνεύματι. Verse 18 connecting back to verse 16, rather than verse 17, also makes more sense of Paul's sudden and brief mention of the law. If walking by the Spirit means the Galatians will not fulfill the desire of the flesh, then they do not need the law to combat the flesh. This allows Paul to easily connect his discussion of the flesh in 5:16–25 with his argument against the law throughout Galatians: not only do you have no need for the law in the fight against the flesh if you walk by the Spirit, but if you are

verse 16, he tells them to walk by the Spirit to avoid acting on fleshly desires and then explains why walking by the Spirit will keep the Galatians from fulfilling the desire of the flesh in verse 17. Now in verse 18, Paul brings the conversation back to one of the central focuses of the letter: the law. Because the Galatians are led by the Spirit, they are no longer under the law. Therefore, they should not and need not turn to the law as a means of avoiding fulfilling the desire of the flesh. The Spirit is now their only aid (and the only effective aid) in combating the flesh.

In verse 18, Paul essentially repeats the protasis of his conditional clause in verse 16: “And if you are led by the Spirit.”⁷⁸ In verse 18, however, Paul balances what he states actively in verse 16 (πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε) by restating it passively (εἰ δὲ πνεύματι ἄγεσθε).⁷⁹ This balance emphasizes the Spirit’s leading role but also suggests that being led by the Spirit is an active choice.⁸⁰ Thus, those who choose to walk by the Spirit (v. 16) also choose to be led by the Spirit.⁸¹

Paul completes his conditional statement by telling the Galatians that they are not under the law if they are led by the Spirit. Paul’s solution for avoiding fulfilling the desire of the flesh is to walk by the Spirit, rather than turning to the law. The Galatians

led by the Spirit, you are indeed no longer under the law. Das notes that if a contrast is intended it is only with the flesh’s opposition to the Spirit (*Galatians*, 566).

⁷⁸ So Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 245; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 246. This is a first-class condition, meaning the condition is assumed true for the sake of the argument (see Wallace, *Beyond the Basics*, 690–94). As I mentioned in my discussion of v. 16, Paul believes the Galatians are already walking by and being led by the Spirit.

⁷⁹ So Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 300; Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 438; Fung, *Galatians*, 131; Matera, *Galatians*, 200. Against most scholars, who view ἄγεσθε as a passive verb, Witherington suggests that it is probably middle, which shows that being led is an active choice (*Grace in Galatia*, 396). Whether ἄγεσθε is middle or passive, the end result is essentially the same. Either way, the subject is led by the Spirit, and either way, in light of verse 16, being led should be viewed as an active choice.

⁸⁰ So Fung, *Galatians*, 131; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 246; Matera, *Galatians*, 207.

⁸¹ As in v. 16, I take πνεύματι to be a dative of means in verse 18 (so also Das, *Galatians*, 567). DeSilva makes a case for this being a dative of agency, suggesting that it satisfies all the criteria Wallace gives for a dative of agency (Wallace, *Beyond the Basics*, 164). DeSilva admits it could be a dative of means “with God being the unexpressed agent doing the leading by means of the Spirit...” (*The Letter to the Galatians*, 456n50).

need not put themselves under the law, not only because it is part of the old age, but also because the Spirit gives all the guidance they need to fight against the flesh.⁸² In this, Paul both reminds the Galatians that the Spirit empowers them to stand firm against the flesh and he urges them (against his opponents) to not turn to the law to battle the flesh.⁸³

Paul's comment in verse 18 reflects his view that the law is unable to make one righteous (2:21; 3:21).⁸⁴ Because of the law's inability to safeguard against the flesh, the law, as Das notes, essentially "becomes an ally of the flesh."⁸⁵ This, indeed, fits with Paul's apocalyptic perspective in Galatians. As part of the present evil age (1:4), the law cannot protect the Galatians from the flesh, and therefore only (unintentionally) allows the desire of the flesh to be fulfilled.⁸⁶ Moreover, to turn to the law to combat the flesh would be to turn from the Spirit and the new age back to the old age and slavery.⁸⁷ Rather, since the Galatians are new creations indwelt by the Spirit, who leads and empowers them in the fight against the flesh, they are no longer under the law.⁸⁸

⁸² Others make this point. So Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, 116; deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 457; Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 300; Moo, *Galatians*, 357.

⁸³ DeSilva suggests that Paul brings up the law in verse 18 because he still has his opponents's teachings in view (*The Letter to the Galatians*, 457).

⁸⁴ So Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 245; Das, *Galatians*, 567; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 428; Fung, *Galatians*, 131–32; Lutjens, "'You Do Not Do,'" 117.

⁸⁵ Das, *Galatians*, 567. Similarly, Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 245; Lutjens, "'You Do Not Do,'" 117.

⁸⁶ DeSilva notes that Paul "clearly aligns 'flesh' and 'Torah' on the same side of the fence—opposite the Spirit (*The Letter to the Galatians*, 457n52; similarly, Russell, III, *The Flesh/Spirit Conflict*, 151).

⁸⁷ So Aletti, "Paul's Exhortations," 332; Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 245; Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 301; Matera, *Galatians*, 207; Moo, *Galatians*, 357. Witherington suggests that Paul intentionally used a verb (ἄγεσθε) related to παιδαγωγός (3:24) to demonstrate that the Galatians are no longer under the pedagogue because they are led by the Spirit (*Grace in Galatia*, 396).

⁸⁸ Similarly, Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, 116–17; deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 457; Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 300; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 437–38; Moo, *Galatians*, 357. Wilson thinks "under the law" means "under the curse of the law" (Todd A. Wilson, *The Curse of the Law and the Crisis in Galatia: Reassessing the Purpose of Galatians*, WUNT II 225 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007], 117–20). Those under the law are indeed under the law's curse (3:10–13), but Wilson's view ignores the "guardian" role of the law in Galatians (3:23–24; 4:1–2). Rather, as Moo notes, "under the law" in Galatians means to be "subject to the rule of the law" (*Galatians*, 357; similarly John M. G. Barclay, *Paul and the Gift* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015], 431n22; Keener follows Barclay, *Galatians*, 503n214).

Verses 19–23

In verses 19–23, Paul essentially contrasts what it looks like to fulfill the desire of the flesh (vv. 19–21) with what walking by the Spirit (vv. 22–23) looks like, regarding the actions and characteristics each produces. Paul’s lists of the works of the flesh and of the fruit of the Spirit demonstrate the incompatibility of the flesh with the Spirit, which he noted in verse 17.⁸⁹ Since it does not serve the focus of this chapter to discuss the individual works of the flesh or the fruit of the Spirit, I will only make a few comments on 5:19–23.

Paul begins his section on the flesh (vv. 19–21) with a phrase that would have sounded familiar to his audience, although slightly different: τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκός. Paul’s choice of the phrase “works of the flesh” to characterize fleshly actions was certainly intended to resemble “works of the law” (ἔργων νόμου, 2:16; 3:2, 5, 10).⁹⁰ De Boer states that Paul’s use of ἔργον with σάρξ, which up to this point in the letter has always been connected to νόμος, suggests an alliance between the flesh and the law.⁹¹ This demonstrates even further why those who are led by the Spirit are no longer under the law (v. 18). To rely on the law to avoid fleshly desires is, in actuality, to place oneself on the same level (and under the same age) as the flesh.⁹² Thus, rather than being the solution to the desire of the flesh, the law merely adds to the problems, demonstrating the law’s inability to produce righteousness.⁹³

In contrast to the works of the flesh, Paul lists the fruit of the Spirit. For the

⁸⁹ DeSilva notes that Paul’s lists of works of the flesh and fruit of the Spirit are not intended to be exhaustive (*The Letter to the Galatians*, 464). Witherington (*Grace in Galatia: A Commentary on Paul’s Letter to the Galatians* [Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998], 398) and de Boer (*Galatians*, 356) state that the list of works of the flesh is not exhaustive.

⁹⁰ So Das, *Galatians*, 567; de Boer, *Galatians*, 357; Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 301; Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 440–41; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 252–53; Witherington, III, *Grace in Galatia*, 396.

⁹¹ De Boer, *Galatians*, 357; similarly, Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 441.

⁹² So Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 301.

⁹³ So Keener, *Galatians*, 507–8; Oakes, *Galatians*, 175.

purpose of this chapter, two observations are worth noting. First, it is the Spirit that produces the fruit.⁹⁴ Paul employs a genitive of source (τοῦ πνεύματός) to show that the Spirit is the source of the fruit. The Spirit being the source of the fruit, however, does not necessarily make the Spirit-indwelled person merely a passive vessel through whom the Spirit produces fruit. Rather, Paul exhorting the Galatians to actively walk by the Spirit (v. 16) suggests that the Spirit-indwelled person plays a role in fruit production, through the power of the Spirit.⁹⁵

Second, Paul's switch from ἔργον, as in τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκός, to ὁ καρπός seems significant. Paul does not switch to ὁ καρπός because he thinks making a connection between "works" and the Spirit-indwelled people would be inappropriate (see 5:6; 6:4, 10; cf. Eph 2:10; 1 Thess 1:3).⁹⁶ Rather, there appear to be two reasons for this switch. First, because Paul intended for "works of the flesh" to resemble "works of the law," speaking of the "works of the Spirit" would make the connection between the law and the flesh unclear. Moreover, Paul's switch from "works" to "fruit" switched the focus from human action to the actions of the indwelling Spirit.⁹⁷ Again, this is not to say that the Spirit-indwelled person does not take part in fruit production, but Paul's change in terminology demonstrates a focal change from the human to the Spirit. Thus, just as the Spirit plays a role in walking (vv. 16–17) and being led (v. 18), the Spirit plays a role in the fruit production of those who are in Christ.

⁹⁴ Most commentators agree that the Spirit produces the fruit. So Barrett, *Freedom and Obligation*, 77; Das, *Galatians*, 578; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 443–44; Fung, *Galatians*, 136; Keener, *Galatians*, 516–17; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 259; Matera, *Galatians*, 202; Oakes, *Galatians*, 176, 210.

⁹⁵ Similarly, Betz, *Galatians*, 286–87; Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 251; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 443–44; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 259–60.

⁹⁶ So also Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 444n263; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 259.

⁹⁷ Similarly, Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 443–44; Fung, *Galatians*, 136; Keener, *Galatians*, 517; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 259.

Verses 24–25

Verses 24 and 25 resemble Paul’s statement in 2:19–20 and act as support for Paul’s declaration in 5:16.⁹⁸ Like in 2:19, Paul employs crucifixion language in 5:24. Rather than speaking of the individual being crucified, in verse 24 he says “the flesh with its passions and desires (ἐπιθυμίαις; cf. ἐπιθυμίαν, v. 16; ἐπιθυμεῖ, v. 17)” is crucified. Most scholars note that the aorist (ἔσταύρωσαν) demonstrates that this crucifixion was a one-time, decisive action,⁹⁹ suggesting that, based on the shared crucifixion imagery, the crucifixion of the flesh happened when the Galatians were crucified with Christ (2:19), when they became a new creation (2:20; cf. 6:14–15). Moreover, Paul likely uses the active ἔσταύρωσαν, rather than the passive συνεσταύρωμαι like in 2:19, to reflect the Galatians’s participation in Christ’s crucifixion.¹⁰⁰

The reason for the active voice in 5:24, rather than the passive like in 2:19, seems to be so that Paul can continue to focus on the Galatians’s role in the fight against the flesh. As mentioned above, verses 16–25 explain how the Galatians can avoid using their freedom as “an opportunity for the flesh” (v.13). In Paul’s explanation, the Galatians play an active role in the fight against the flesh, while being guided and empowered by the Spirit, not the law (5:18). In verse 24, Paul continues to focus on the part the Galatians play in the battle against the flesh, which began when they participated in Christ’s crucifixion (cf. 2:19).¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ So also Das, *Galatians*, 586. Fee notes that verse 24 gives the theological premise for verse 16. Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 455. Paul mentioning the flesh’s ἐπιθυμίαις (v. 24) connects 5:24–25 with verse 16 (ἐπιθυμίαν) and resembles verse 17 (ἐπιθυμίαν), which, as I argue above, supports Paul’s exhortation in 5:16.

⁹⁹ So Das, *Galatians*, 586; de Boer, *Galatians*, 367; deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 470; Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 315; Fung, *Galatians*, 142; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 264; Moo, *Galatians*, 368. Contra, Bligh, *Galatians in Greek*, 205; Witherington, III, *Grace in Galatia*, 412, who argue for an inceptive aorist. They view the crucifixion as something that began in the past and continues in the present.

¹⁰⁰ So Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, 117; Das, *Galatians*, 586; Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 314; Fung, *Galatians*, 142; Moo, *Galatians*, 367–68; Oakes, *Galatians*, 211; Witherington, III, *Grace in Galatia*, 412.

¹⁰¹ This does not mean the Galatians will never act upon their fleshly desires, as Paul’s comments in 5:26 and 6:1 suggest. It does mean that the flesh no longer enslaves the Galatians, who have

Verse 25, then, essentially restates what Paul says in 2:20, but in a way modified for its context.¹⁰² In 2:20, after noting his co-crucifixion with Christ (2:19), Paul states that he no longer lives, but “Christ lives in me”, which, as I argued in my previous chapter, is shorthand for “Christ lives in me through his Spirit.” Paul continues to say, “And the life I now live in the flesh, I live by faith in the Son of God” Similarly, those who crucified the flesh in verse 24 (cf. “crucified with Christ”) are those who live by means of the Spirit in verse 25 (cf. “Christ lives in me”).¹⁰³ And because they live by the Spirit, Paul exhorts them to live keeping in step with the Spirit (στοιχῶμεν) (cf. “the life I live . . . I live by faith”).¹⁰⁴ Thus, those whose lives are empowered by the Spirit (live by the Spirit), now live their lives actively keeping in step with the empowering Spirit.

Verse 25 also brings Paul’s discussion back around to where he began in verse 16. The verbiage differs, but conceptually verse 25 ends the way verse 16 begins: “let us keep in step with the Spirit.”¹⁰⁵ By circling back to verse 16, Paul further explains why

freedom in Christ. Moreover, it suggests that as long as they do not veer from waking by the Spirit, they will not fulfill the desire of the flesh. Others make similar comments: Barrett, *Freedom and Obligation*, 78; Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 456; Moo, *Galatians*, 368.

¹⁰² Admittedly, the connection between verses 24 and 25 in chapter 5 is not the same as the connection between 2:19 and 20. Galatians 2:20 grammatically continues what Paul begins in 2:19 with the δὲ. Galatians 5:25 is a first-class condition, with no grammatical connection to verse 24. There is, however, a conceptual connection between verses 24 and 25, which reflects the connection between 2:19–20: crucifixion (2:19; 5:24) leading to new life empowered by the Spirit and lived by faith (which keeping in step with the Spirit demonstrates) (2:20; 5:25). Moreover, Paul intending 5:24–25 to essentially reiterate what he said in 2:19–20, though in a way suited for the context of 5:16–26, explains why Paul brings up Christ and crucifixion in this section, which has been entirely focused on the Spirit and the flesh.

¹⁰³ The first-class condition statement only assumes the protasis to be true for the sake of argument, but, as I state in my discussion of verse 18, Paul would certainly consider the protasis to be true of the Galatians. Most scholars agree that the first πνεύματι in 5:25 is a dative of means/instrument. For example, J. Christiaan Beker, *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 222; Moo, *Galatians*, 372; Oakes, *Galatians*, 204. De Boer takes the first πνεύματι as a dative of means, however, he makes the case that it could be a dative of advantage or relation (*Galatians*, 370–71).

¹⁰⁴ The verb στοιχῶμεν means to “walk in line” or “keep in step.” In verse 25, it emphasizes the fact that the Spirit leads and the Spirit’s moral guidance. So Barrett, *Freedom and Obligation*, 77; Betz, *Galatians*, 293–94; Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 257; Das, *Galatians*, 588; Matera, *Galatians*, 204; Witherington, III, *Grace in Galatia*, 413.

¹⁰⁵ Commentators note that, in the context of 5:16–25, περιπατεῖτε (v. 16) is essentially synonymous with στοιχῶμεν (v. 25). So Fung, *Galatians*, 142; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 265; Moo,

walking by the Spirit will keep the Galatians from fulfilling the desire of the flesh. In 5:24–25, Paul gives two reasons why the Spirit will keep the Galatians from fulfilling the desire of the flesh. This first reason is that being Spirit-indwelt demonstrates that one has crucified the flesh, with its passions and desires (5:24), thus defeating the controlling power of the flesh. The second reason, which essentially reiterates 5:16, is that those who live by the Spirit are now guided by the Spirit (5:25). By keeping in step with the Spirit, who stands in opposition to the flesh, the Spirit will guide the Galatians and keep them from fulfilling the desire of the flesh.¹⁰⁶

In light of the interpretation of verse 17 that I offer, it is worth briefly noting that Paul’s statement in verses 24–25 is grounded in his apocalyptic perspective. By mentioning the crucifixion of the flesh (cf. 2:19; 6:14), Paul grounds the defeat of the controlling power of the flesh in the cross of Christ, through which the Galatians received the empowering, guiding Spirit, who now keeps them from fulfilling the desire of the flesh. Moreover, those who participate in crucifixion, as in 2:19–20 and 6:14–15, are now a new creation. The connection of 5:24 with 2:19 and 6:14 via the crucifixion imagery suggests that Paul’s statement, “If we live by the Spirit,” refers to eschatological/soteriological life, being a new creation.¹⁰⁷

Galatians, 272. Some scholars argue that Paul uses *στοιχῶμεν* because of its resemblance to *στοιχεῖα* (4:3, 9), recalling that the Galatians “walked in line” with the *στοιχεῖα* before being set free by Christ. So de Boer, *Galatians*, 372; deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, 472; Witherington, III, *Grace in Galatia*, 413. Against argument, Keener argues that these words appear too far apart for such an intentional resemblance and that *στοιχεῖα* and *στοιχῶμεν* “belong to a different semantic domain” (*Galatians*, 527; similarly, Oakes, *Galatians*, 178).

¹⁰⁶ Scholars differ on the meaning of the second *πνεύματι* in verse 25. Some argue that it is a dative of association (so de Boer, *Galatians*, 372; Moo, *Galatians*, 372). De Boer also makes an argument for an instrumental dative and notes that locative dative is also an “attractive alternative” (*Galatians*, 371; 371n482). Das suggests *πνεύματι* is an instrumental dative (*Galatians*, 588n128). Any of these options fit the context of 5:16–25 and would have similar meanings. If *πνεύματι* is instrumental, then it may be intended to serve as the implied object of the verb as well as being instrumental: “keep in step [with the Spirit] by means of the Spirit.”

¹⁰⁷ Beyond speaking of Christ being crucified (i.e., 3:1; cf. 3:13), Paul only uses crucifixion imagery in 2:19, 5:24, and 6:14. Paul’s crucifixion imagery in both 2:19 and 6:14 leads to the mention of new life (2:20)/new creation (6:14). This suggests that Paul’s mention of “living” in 5:25 has the same eschatological, soteriological meaning. Keener (*Galatians*, 525) and Fee (*God’s Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011], 457) also suggest “live”

Divine and Human Agency and Walking in Obedience

Since the focus of this dissertation is especially on what verse 17 contributes to the conversation about divine and human agency and walking in obedience in Galatians 5:16–25, I will discuss verse 17 on its own. I will begin this section by examining what 5:16–25, apart from verse 17, contributes to the topic in focus, interacting with scholarship along the way. Following this, I will use my interpretation of 5:17 to discuss what verse 17, in relation to the rest of the text, adds to the discussion about divine and human agency and walking in obedience in 5:16–25, which, to my knowledge, scholars do not include in their discussions on this topic.

In Galatians 5:16–25, Paul presents both an active divine agent and human agent when it comes to walking in obedience. In verse 16, Paul urges the Galatians to continue walking by the Spirit to avoid using their freedom as an opportunity for the flesh. In this exhortation, Paul demonstrates the active role of the divine agent in obedience. Paul states that the Spirit (by the Spirit) empowers and enables the Galatians to live in a way that avoids fulfilling the desire of the flesh.¹⁰⁸ Paul’s argument here reflects his comments in 2:20, in which he says, “it is no longer I who lives, but Christ in me.” Having become a new creation (2:19), Paul’s new life is empowered by the indwelling Spirit. Similarly, in 5:16, the Spirit empowers the lives of the Galatians. Specifically, the Spirit empowers the Galatians to enable them to refrain from fulfilling the desire of the flesh. Stated positively, then, by walking by the Spirit, the Galatians will walk in obedience. Thus, in verse 16, the active role of the divine agent, the Spirit, enables those in Christ to walk in obedience.

As mentioned above, *περιπατεῖτε* reflects the Old Testament use of *הלך*, which often has the law or God’s statutes as its object. If Paul intended this language to reflect a

refers to eschatological/soteriological life.

¹⁰⁸ See my exegesis of v. 16, above, for my discussion on the use of the dative (*πνεύματι*).

transition from the law to the Spirit as the means for obedience for the people of God, as I argued above, then we can see a kind of transfer in agency in verse 16 as well.¹⁰⁹ The law, being part of the present evil age (1:4), represents human agency since it depends on “doing” (3:12). In the new age, however, a transition happens from the law and human agency to the empowering Spirit and divine agency. No longer does the human agent *do* the law, rather, those who are a new creation are now *empowered* and *led* by the indwelling Spirit to walk in obedience.

The active, empowering role of the indwelling Spirit does not diminish the active role of the human agent when it comes to walking in obedience. While the Spirit does enable the human agent to walk in obedience, verse 16 also presents the human agent as active. Paul’s exhortation for the Galatians, the human agents, to *continue* walking by the Spirit (cf. 3:3) demonstrates the active role of the human agent. Paul does not tell the Galatians to sit back and let the Spirit do his work, but rather, he tells them to actively walk. The reason Paul thought it appropriate and necessary to exhort the Galatians to walk is because the Galatians play an active role in walking in obedience. In verse 16, then, the human agent plays an active role in walking in obedience, for they must choose to actively walk by the Spirit, who empowers them to refrain from fulfilling the desire of the flesh.

Paul begins verse 18 essentially mirroring how he began verse 16, but with one important difference. In verse 16, the human actively walks by the Spirit, thus drawing attention to human action. In verse 18, the Spirit actively leads the human agent, thus focusing more on the leading role of the Spirit. Paul’s switch from the actively-walking human agent to the actively-leading divine agent demonstrates the balance between an

¹⁰⁹ Dunn (*The Epistle to the Galatians*, 295) also suggests that Paul’s language demonstrates a transition from the law to the Spirit: “By speaking instead of a ‘walk by the Spirit’ Paul is deliberately posing an alternative understanding of how the people of God should conduct themselves – not by constant reference to laws and statutes, but by constant reference... to the Spirit; and not to the Spirit as norm, but to the Spirit as resource.”

active human agent and an active divine agent when it comes to walking in obedience, or, as Paul puts it, walking by the Spirit.¹¹⁰

Most likely the main reason Paul switches to the passive, which focuses on the Spirit's leading, is to contrast the Spirit and the law, but this switch also re-emphasizes the fact that walking in obedience does not happen by human effort alone.¹¹¹ This is an important point for Paul's argument in Galatians. Throughout Galatians, Paul's argument against the law demonstrates that the law relies upon human action (3:12; 5:3; cf. "works of the law" [2:16, 3:2, 5, 10]).¹¹² Though walking by the Spirit involves human action, the focus is not on human action alone. Rather, walking by the Spirit involves the Spirit's empowerment ("by the Spirit") and leading (v. 18). The balance between verse 16 and verse 18, then, demonstrates that the Spirit both enables (v. 16) and leads (v. 18) the human agent, who actively walks in obedience.

In verses 19–23, Paul contrasts the works of the flesh and the fruit of the Spirit. In this section, along with unpacking what the desires of the flesh and the Spirit are (v. 17), Paul contrasts human action with divine action. The fact that the phrase "works of the flesh" closely resembles "works of the law" (2:16; 3:2, 5, 10) suggests that both the flesh and the law are aligned against the Spirit as part of the present evil age and that the works of the flesh, like the works of the law, represent human action.¹¹³ Thus, by contrasting the works of the flesh with the fruit of the Spirit, Paul contrasts human action

¹¹⁰ Others make this point. So Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 300; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 438; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 246; Matera, *Galatians*, 200, 207.

¹¹¹ I say re-emphasize, because, as I argue above, even in verse 16 the Spirit's active role is demonstrated.

¹¹² On the meaning of "works of the law," see Martinus C. de Boer, "Paul's Use and Interpretation of a Justification Tradition in Galatians 2.15-21," *JSNT* 28 (2005): 197–201; Douglas J. Moo, "'Law,' 'Works of the Law,' and Legalism in Paul," *WTJ* 45 (1983): 73–100; Thomas R. Schreiner, "'Works of Law' in Paul," *NovT* 33 (1991): 217–44.

¹¹³ DeSilva (*The Letter to the Galatians*, 457n52) and Russell (*The Flesh/Spirit Conflict*, 151) also note Paul's alignment of the flesh and the law against the Spirit.

and agency with divine action and agency.¹¹⁴ The works of the flesh are produced by the human, but the Spirit produces fruit in those who are in Christ.

The focus on the work of the Spirit, the divine agent, in producing the fruit of the Spirit does not render the human agent merely passive in the process of fruit production. Rather, the fact that the human agent actively walks by the Spirit (v. 16) and actively follows the lead of the Spirit (v. 18, 25) suggests that they also play an active role as well in fruit production (cf. 6:8), being enabled by the Spirit. The human agent, then, does not appear to be merely passive with the Spirit alone producing fruit in him. Rather, the Spirit enables the human agent to actively produce fruit.¹¹⁵

Regarding the role of the divine and the human agent in walking in obedience in Galatians, verses 19–23 demonstrate that with the changing of the ages came a change in agency. Whereas the works of the flesh, like the works of the law, represent human action and agency in the old age, in the new age, the divine agent works in and enables the human agent to actively produce fruit.¹¹⁶ Thus, the focus shifts from the human agent in the old age to the divine agent, who empowers the active human agent, in the new age.

Finally, verses 24–25 also demonstrate an active divine agent and human agent in walking in obedience. As mentioned in the exegesis of 5:24–25, verse 25 brings Paul’s argument back to verse 16. Just as the imperative (*περιπατεῖτε*) does in verse 16, so also the hortatory subjunctive (*στοιχῶμεν*) in verse 25 reveals the human agent’s active role in walking in obedience.¹¹⁷ Paul exhorts the Galatians (the human agent) to actively keep in

¹¹⁴ Similarly, Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 443–44; Fung, *Galatians*, 136; Keener, *Galatians*, 517; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 259.

¹¹⁵ Barclay makes this point (*Obeying the Truth*, 226). Others argue for the active role of the human agent in producing the fruit of the Spirit. So Betz, *Galatians*, 286–87; Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 251; Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 443–44; Keener, *Galatians*, 517; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 259–60.

¹¹⁶ On the contrast between the works of the flesh and the fruit of the Spirit, Dunn insightfully comments that “The flesh *demands*, but the Spirit *produces*” (*The Epistle to the Galatians*, 308 [italics original]; similarly, Matera, *Galatians*, 202).

¹¹⁷ So Fung, *Galatians*, 142–43; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 265.

step with the Spirit. One difference between verse 16 and verse 25, however, is that in verse 16 the focus is on the walking action of the human agent, though the divine agent still plays an active role. In verse 25, Paul focuses on the leading role of the Spirit,¹¹⁸ while at the same time demonstrating the active role of the human agent. As with the rest of Galatians 5:16–25, the active role of the divine agent does not diminish the active role of the human agent in walking in obedience. Rather, the divine agent guides the human agent, who actively walks in step with the Spirit.¹¹⁹

Before examining what verse 17 adds to the discussion of agency and walking in obedience in Galatians, I will briefly summarize what can be determined about the role of the divine and the human agent in walking in obedience in 5:16–25, excluding verse 17. In the context of the flesh/Spirit conflict in verses 16–25, Paul demonstrates the Spirit’s active role in the Galatians’s walking in obedience. Paul exhorts the Galatians to walk *by the Spirit*, which demonstrates the Spirit’s role of empowering the Galatians to walk obediently. He also notes the Spirit’s role of leading (vv. 18, 25) and the Spirit’s role of producing fruit in those who are Spirit indwelt. Thus, the Spirit empowers, leads, and produces fruit in those who are in Christ, demonstrating the divine agent’s role in walking in obedience.

The Spirit’s active role does not diminish the human agent’s responsibility to act. Paul’s exhortation for the Galatians to “walk by the Spirit” (v. 16) and to “keep in step with the Spirit” (v. 25), as well as his statement about being led by the Spirit, demonstrate that the human agent plays an active role in walking in obedience. Moreover, the Galatians’s active role in walking, being led, and keeping in step suggests that they also play an active role in producing the fruit of the Spirit (v. 22–23; cf. 6:8).

¹¹⁸ So Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 257; Das, *Galatians*, 588.

¹¹⁹ Others make similar points. So Betz, *Galatians*, 293; de Boer, *Galatians*, 372; Fung, *Galatians*, 142–43; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 265.

Thus, through walking, being led, producing fruit, and keeping in step, all through the empowerment of the Spirit, Galatians 5:16–25 demonstrates an active human agent with regard to walking in obedience. Moreover, Paul’s switch in emphasis between the actively-walking human agent (v. 16) and the actively-leading divine agent (vv. 18, 25) demonstrates that the active role of the divine agent and the active role of the human agent are not in conflict with each other. Rather, the active divine agent empowers and guides the active human agent in walking in obedience.¹²⁰

What, then, does verse 17 add to the discussion in Galatians about divine and human agency and walking in obedience? To my knowledge, no one includes verse 17 in this discussion. Rather, when discussing agency in Galatians 5, scholars comment on verses 16, 18, 25, and to a lesser degree 19 and 22, or some combination of these verses. The exclusion of verse 17 from the conversation about agency in Galatians 5 is probably in part due to the difficulty in interpreting the final *ἵνα* clause, which the multiple interpretations I discussed above demonstrate. That being said, when read through the apocalyptic lens Paul employs throughout Galatians, verse 17 contributes to the conversation and lines up well with what can be understood about divine and human agency and walking in obedience in the rest of 5:16–25.

In line with the rest of this section, verse 17 shows the divine agent as being active in walking in obedience. Paul notes that the opposition between the Spirit and the

¹²⁰ Scholars have made similar observations. So John M. G. Barclay, “Grace and the Transformation of Agency in Christ,” in *Redefining First-Century Jewish and Christian Identities: Essays in Honor of Ed Parish Sanders*, ed. Fabian Udoh (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008), 383; Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, 226; Charles H. Cosgrove, *The Cross and the Spirit: A Study in the Argument and Theology of Galatians* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1988), 164; Das, *Galatians*, 562; Engberg-Pedersen, “A Stoic Concept of the Person,” 95; Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 433; Hong, *The Law in Galatians*, 187; Simeon Zahl, “The Drama of Agency: Affective Augustinianism and Galatians,” in *Galatians and Christian Theology: Justification, the Gospel, And Ethics in Paul’s Letter*, ed. Mark W. Elliott et al. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014), 343. Volker Rabens sees both the Spirit and the human agent as active in walking in obedience, but he seems to have a different view of the Spirit’s role. Rather than enabling/empowering and leading the human agent to walk in obedience, the Spirit acts by drawing the human agent into an “empowering relationship with God and the community of faith.” These empowering relationships, in turn, aid the human agent in walking in “the values set forth by Paul’s gospel” (“‘Indicative and Imperative’,” 303–05). I’ll discuss the relationship between the divine and human agent a little more when I apply Barclay’s models of agency to the discussion, below.

flesh results in the Galatians not being able to do whatever they want. Since the Spirit and the flesh represent two different, conflicting ages (4:21–31), the Spirit-indwelled person cannot live in both ages. Thus, the Galatians, who have been delivered from the present evil age (1:4), no longer live as part of the old age. Rather, the Spirit now guides and determines (even limits) how they live in the new age.¹²¹ This is why the Galatians cannot do whatever they want. As new creations, the way they live and use their freedom (5:1, 13) is now determined by the guiding, indwelling Spirit (5:18, 25). By guiding and being the standard for how the Spirit-indwelled human agent lives, thus keeping him from fulfilling the desire of the flesh, the divine agent, the Spirit, plays an active role in walking in obedience.¹²²

The focus on the Spirit in verse 17, who now determines and guides how those who are new creations live in the new age, thus keeping them from fulfilling the desire of the flesh (v. 16), does not mean that 5:17 demonstrates a merely passive human agent. An active human agent is implied by the focus of the argument. Paul’s argument in 5:16–26 focuses on how the Galatians should use their freedom, more specifically how to avoid using it “as an opportunity for the flesh” (5:13). When Paul tells the Galatians they cannot do whatever they want, he ultimately tells them how to use their freedom. This, then, suggests that the human agent plays an active role, for the implication is that the Galatians do actively use their freedom. With the final *ἵνα* clause in 5:17, Paul explains to the Galatians the limits to how they actively use their freedom. Specifically, they cannot use their freedom to fulfill the desire of the flesh, rather they must use it to walk by the guiding and empowering Spirit.¹²³ Thus, through the focus on how the Galatians use their

¹²¹ I do not use “determines” to mean that the human agent no longer has the power to choose, but that the Spirit and what the Spirit desires represent the standard or guideline for how those who are Spirit-indwelled should live.

¹²² I take walking by the Spirit to at least mean one is walking in obedience.

¹²³ Martyn makes a similar point, however, he makes it in the context of the war between the Flesh and the Spirit (*Galatians*, 532). In his interpretation of 5:17, Betz seems to remove active agency from the human. He states that “Man is the battlefield of these forces [the flesh and the Spirit] within him,

freedom, verse 17 demonstrates an active human agent in walking in obedience.

Verse 17 demonstrates that by leading (v. 18, 25), the Spirit also determines how those in Christ use their freedom. In light of the inauguration of the new age, the Spirit is now the standard and guide for how those in Christ are to live their lives. Since the desires of the flesh and the Spirit stand in opposition to one another, those who are Spirit indwelt are kept from fulfilling the desire of the flesh by the guiding Spirit. In 5:17, then, the divine agent plays an active role in walking in obedience by guiding, and even limiting, how the human agent uses their freedom. The Spirit keeps the human agent from fulfilling the desire of the flesh and guides them to actively use their freedom to fulfill what the Spirit desires. In this, the human agent also plays an active role in walking in obedience. The human agent actively uses their freedom, being guided and empowered by the Spirit, to walk in obedience, not fulfilling the desire of the flesh.

Conclusion

Before concluding this chapter, I will discuss the relationship between the divine and the human agent in Galatians using Barclay's models of agency. I will argue that his non-contrastive transcendence model best fits Galatians. I will then end by summarizing the chapter.

Model of Agency and Galatians 5:16–25

When comparing Barclay's models of agency to Galatians 5:16–25, a few observations can be made. First, Barclay's competitive model does not fit what we have seen in Galatians 5:16–25. Both the divine and the human agent are active, but nothing suggests that their agencies compete against one another to be active. In other words, the presence of an active divine agent in this passage does not diminish the presence of an

preventing him from carrying out his will... As a result, the human 'I' is no longer the subject in control of the body" (*Galatians*, 279–80).

active human agent in walking in obedience, or vice-versa. Similarly, 5:16–25 does not suggest that human agents in any way “participate in the nature of God,” as in the kinship model.¹²⁴ Though the Spirit indwells and empowers the human agent, nothing in this text indicates that the divine agent and the human agent exist together in such a way that they share the same agency.

On the other hand, Barclay’s non-contrastive transcendence model explains well what we’ve seen in Galatians 5:16–25. The Spirit’s agency does not reduce human agency, it enables the human agent.¹²⁵ Within this model, Barclay notes that “the more the human agent is operative, the more (not less) may be attributed to God.”¹²⁶ This description fits well with Galatians 5:16–25 since the human agent depends on the divine agent, the Spirit, who empowers and leads the active human agent. The Spirit empowers the human agent to actively walk (v. 16), guides and is the standard for the human agent to actively follow (v. 17), leads the human agent (v. 18, 25), and enables the human agent to produce fruit (v. 22). In all of this, however, the human agent still actively walks (v. 16), uses their freedom (v. 17), and chooses to follow (v. 18, 25), which suggests that the human agent also plays an active role in producing fruit as well (v. 22; cf. 6:8). Thus, rather than competing or sharing the same agency, the divine and the human agent are both active regarding walking in obedience. The Spirit empowers and leads the human agent who actively chooses to walk by and be led by the Spirit.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ For Barclay’s descriptions of the competitive model and the kinship model, see “Introduction,” in *Divine and Human Agency in Paul and His Cultural Environment*, ed. John M. G. Barclay and Simon J. Gathercole, T&T Clark Biblical Studies (New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 6–7, quote from 7.

¹²⁵ For Barclay’s description of the non-contrastive transcendence model, see Barclay, “Introduction,” 7.

¹²⁶ Barclay, “Introduction,” 7.

¹²⁷ Barclay comes to a similar conclusion about 5:16–25, but he does not comment on verse 17 (“Grace and the Transformation of Agency in Christ,” 383). See Barclay’s discussion of the views of Martyn and Engberg-Pedersen, which represent two different sides of the spectrum regarding divine and human agency in Paul, including Galatians 5:16–25 (“By the Grace of God I Am What I Am’: Grace and Agency in Philo and Paul,” in *Divine and Human Agency in Paul and His Cultural Environment*, ed. John M. G. Barclay and Simon J. Gathercole, T&T Clark Biblical Studies [New York: T&T Clark, 2008], 153–

Conclusion

Galatians 5:16–25 demonstrates both an active divine agent and human agent in walking in obedience. The Spirit, the divine agent, empowers the human agent to walk (v. 16), leads the human agent (vv. 18, 25), and enables the Spirit-indwelted agent to produce fruit (v. 22). In a non-competitive way, the human agent plays an active role as well. The imperatives in verses 16 and 25 demonstrate that the human agent actively walks by the Spirit (v. 16) and follows the Spirit's lead (v.25; cf. v. 18).

I argued that verse 17, which to my knowledge scholars do not include in their discussions about divine and human agency in Galatians 5:16–25, contributes to the discussion as well. In my interpretation of 5:17, I suggested that when Paul tells the Galatians that they cannot do whatever they desire, as a result of the desires of the flesh and the desires of the Spirit conflicting, he means that the Galatians are not free to use their freedom (5:1, 13) any way they choose. This is because, in light of the inauguration of the new age through the cross of Christ, the Spirit, who represents the new age, is now the standard for living in the new age for those who are in Christ. Thus, the Galatians cannot do whatever they want because the Spirit guides how they use their freedom.

From my interpretation, I argued that verse 17 demonstrates that both the divine and the human agent are active in walking in obedience. In light of the inauguration of the new age with the cross of Christ and the giving of the Spirit, the Spirit now guides and determines how those who are in Christ live. The Spirit keeps the human agent from fulfilling the desire of the flesh and guides them to fulfill what the Spirit desires (cf. v. 22, the fruit of the Spirit). In this, the divine agent plays an active role with regard to the human agent walking in obedience.

56). Martyn emphasizes the divine agent at the expense, to some degree, of the human agent (see *Galatians*, esp. 531–32; 534–35). Engberg-Pedersen emphasizes the human agent at the expense, to some degree, of the divine agent (see *Paul and the Stoics* [Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2000], esp. 158–59; 167; 342n15). See also the conversation between Martyn and Engberg-Pedersen on the issue (J. Louis Martyn, “De-Apocalypticizing Paul: An Essay Focused on Paul and the Stoics by Troels Engberg-Pedersen,” *JSNT* 24 [2002]: 61–102; Troels Engberg-Pedersen, “Response to Martyn,” *JSNT* 24 [2002]: 103–14).

The divine agent's active role in walking in obedience does not limit or diminish human agency, though. When Paul tells the Galatians they cannot do whatever they want in verse 17, he's referring to how they use their freedom (v. 13). In light of being new creations living in the inaugurated new age, the Spirit-indwelled person cannot use their freedom for anything they desire. Namely, they cannot use their freedom to fulfill the desire of the flesh (v. 13, 16, 17; cf. v. 24), or even to turn to the law to combat the flesh (v. 18). Rather, the Spirit is now the guide and standard for how the human agent uses their freedom. This demonstrates an active human agent in verse 17 since Paul's teaching focuses on how the Galatians use their freedom. The human agent actively uses their freedom, but how they use their freedom is guided and determined by the Spirit that indwells them. Thus, the Spirit guides the human agent to actively use their freedom to walk in obedience and keeps them from using it to fulfill the desire of the flesh. In 5:17, then, the divine agent and the human agent are both active in walking in obedience, as they are in the rest of Galatians 5:16–25.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

To conclude this dissertation, I will first summarize my findings about divine and human agency and walking in obedience in 1QS, 4 Maccabees, and Galatians 5:16–25, giving a special focus to verse 17. Following these summaries, I will do a comparative analysis of divine and human agency and walking in obedience in the three works in focus. I will then conclude this chapter and this dissertation by summarizing my findings in connection with my thesis.

Summaries

Before doing a comparative analysis, I will first summarize my findings from 1QS, 4 Maccabees, and Galatians 5:17. I will begin by briefly reviewing the role that both the divine agent and the human agent play in walking in obedience in each chapter. I will then end each summary by reviewing where each work fits within Barclay's models of agency.

1QS

Though the Sermon of the Two Spirits and the rest of 1QS have a different emphasis with regard to divine and human agency and walking in obedience, they each demonstrate that both the divine and the human agent are active in walking in obedience. The author of the Two Spirits emphasizes the role of the divine agent. Through God's act of predetermining and his eschatological cleansing work, primarily, the Sermon demonstrates an active divine agent. The author of the Sermon states that God created (3.15) and sustains (3.17) all things and has predetermined all things (3.15–16). God's predetermination includes the deeds of all men, which he establishes through the two

spirits he created for man (3.18–19). Those who have a greater share in the spirit of truth walk in obedience and those with a greater share in the spirit of deceit walk in disobedience (4.15–16). Thus, through predetermination, the divine agent plays an active role in walking in obedience, and in some way, disobedience (3.23).¹

Along with predetermining, the divine agent also plays an active role in walking in obedience through his eschatological cleansing works. God’s act of eschatological cleansing will enable “the upright ones,” who at times stumble (3.21–24), to perfectly walk in obedience. God’s eschatological work includes both destroying the spirit of deceit and those who walk in its ways (4.13–14, 18–20), so neither can influence the upright ones anymore, and purifying the upright ones of the spirit of deceit and all ungodliness (4.20–23). Thus, through this cleansing act, God will enable the upright ones to perfectly walk in obedience, demonstrating the active role the divine agent plays in walking in obedience.

As mentioned in my section on human agency in the Sermon, the emphasis on the active divine agent does not diminish the human agent’s role. The author of the Two Spirits demonstrates that the human agent plays an active role in walking in obedience through the presence of rewards for obedience and punishment for disobedience, based on the works/actions of each man. The presence of rewards for obedience (4.6–8, 22–23, 25) and punishment for disobedience (4.11–14, 21) suggests that the human agent is responsible for his actions. The works and actions of each person determine whether he will be rewarded or punished, thus suggesting that the human agent plays an active role in walking in obedience.

The emphasis in the rest of 1QS (1.1–3.12; 5.1–11.22) switches to the active human agent.² The *Community Rule* demonstrates an active human agent through the

¹ On God’s role in predestining disobedience in the Sermon, see footnote 39 in chapter 2.

² Throughout this section on the summary of divine and human agency in 1QS, for simplicity, I

emphasis on human action in connection with walking in obedience. Obedience to the law played an important role in the community (1.13–17; 3.6–12; 5. 21–22, 24; 8.1–2, 12–18, 20–26;). Additionally, throughout the *Rule*, the author uses language that focuses on human action in connection to walking in obedience (e.g., נָדַב [to devote], 1.11; 5.1; 6.13–14; דָּרַשׁ [to seek], 1.1; הֵלֵךְ [to walk], 1.8; 3.6–9; 5.10; 9.5–6, 8; עָשָׂה [to do/act], 1.5–6, 16–17), demonstrating the active role the human agent plays in obedience.

Moreover, 1QS, like the Sermon, demonstrates an active human agent through the presence of recompense for human action. The presence of a penal code in the *Rule* (6.24–7.25) suggests that the community members understood each member to be active in walking in obedience or disobedience. Additionally, the community viewed themselves as the vessel for God’s punishment for the wicked, who would be repaid for their works (8.6–7). In the concluding hymn, the author notes that God will judge all men and give them recompense based on their deeds (10.18), which in the context could be negative (10.18–20) or positive (11.5–8). The inclusion of rewards for obedience and punishment for disobedience demonstrates that the human agent plays an active role in walking in obedience in 1QS.

As with the Sermon of the Two Spirits, the divine agent plays an active role in walking in obedience in the *Rule*. An active divine agent is demonstrated in two ways. The first is the giving of knowledge (2.3; 11.15–18). Throughout 1QS, knowledge and obedience are directly connected, for the purpose of knowledge is to lead the community in walking perfectly (1.11–15; 9.18–19). The second way is through predetermining. Like the Sermon, the divine agent predetermines the ways of men (11.17–18), and apart from God no one can walk perfectly in the way (11.10–11, 17–18). Through both recompense and predetermination, the divine agent plays an active role in the *Community Rule*

As I stated in my chapter on 1QS, Barclay’s non-contrastive transcendence

will use 1QS, the *Community Rule*, and the *Rule* as references to 1QS 1.1–3.12; 5.1–11.22.

model best describes what the author of the Sermon and the author of the rest of 1QS (if they differ) demonstrate about divine and human agency in walking in obedience. For both the Sermon and the rest of the *Rule*, I argued that the human agent plays an active role, demonstrated by the emphasis on the human agent's works/actions and the rewards and punishment they receive. At the same time, the divine agent also plays an active role in walking in obedience. These two agents are not in competition to be active, however, resulting in an active divine agent diminishing human agency or vice versa. Rather, it appears that both agents are active and that the divine agent enables or aids the human agent in walking in obedience. The divine agent bestows knowledge, which plays a direct role in walking in obedience (2.3; 11.15–18), and enables man to walk in the way of perfection (11.10–11, 17–18). The divine agent also guides the human agent through establishing the deeds of men (3.15–16) and giving to them the two spirits, which guide or enable the human agent in all their works/actions (4.15–16). Thus, rather than competing, the active divine agent aids and even enables the active human agent to walk in obedience. This fits Barclay's non-contrastive transcendence model well, because the divine agent is "radically distinct" from the human agent, and the divine agent enables human agency, rather than limiting it.³

Fourth Maccabees

Fourth Maccabees demonstrates both an active divine agent and an active human agent in walking in obedience, however the author focuses on the role of the human agent. The emphasis on human action in connection with obedience to God demonstrates an active human agent. Since the promotion of Torah obedience lies at the heart of 4 Maccabees, the author repeatedly mentions the martyrs suffering and dying for

³ John M. G. Barclay, "Introduction," in *Divine and Human Agency in Paul and His Cultural Environment*, ed. John M. G. Barclay and Simon J. Gathercole, T&T Clark Biblical Studies (New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 7.

the sake of the law (e.g., 5:33–34, 36; 6:21–11, 30; 13:9, 13; 16:16, 24). Almost interchangeably, the author also repeatedly mentions the martyrs dying for the sake of God (e.g., 10:20; 12:14; 13:13), godliness (*εὐσέβεια*) (e.g., 5:31, 38; 6:22; 11:20; 13:10; 15:2–3, 12; 16:13, 17; 18:3), and virtue (e.g., 1:8; 7:21–22; 10:10; 11:2; 12:14), demonstrating the connection between keeping the law and walking in virtue. This emphasis on keeping the law and obedience points to an active human agent. Moreover, the repeated notion that the martyrs were able to endure suffering and death, rather than transgress the law, because of godly (*εὐσεβής*) reason (5:31, 38; 6:30, 34; 7:13–14; 8:1; 9:17; 13:3; 15:23; 16:4) also draws attention to an active human agent. Through their reason (guided by the law), they were able to remain obedient to God and the law in the face of suffering and death.

Moreover, the martyrs suffering and dying for the sake of the law, God, godliness, and virtue demonstrates an active human agent in walking in virtue through the rewards the martyrs received for their faithfulness and obedience. Because of their obedience to the law, the martyrs were crowned as victorious athletes (17:15) and received the prizes accorded to virtue (9:8; 17:12). They also received divine inheritance (18:3) and immortality (7:1–3, 18–19; 14:3–5; 15:3; 16:13; 17:11–15; 18:23). The fact that the martyrs were rewarded for their actions, namely their obedience to God and the law, suggests that they played an active role in their obedience.

Finally, the effects that the martyrs's death had for the nation demonstrate an active human agent, as well. As a result of the deaths of the martyrs, the nation was preserved and their enemies did not prevail over them (17:20–22), the nation was purified (1:11; 17:21; cf. 6:28–29), and Israel enjoyed peace again (18:4). The reason for this was because, through their obedience to Torah (6:27; 17:16), their deaths became a ransom for the sin of the nation (17:10, 21–22; cf. 6:28–29). Thus, the fact that these benefits for the nation came as a result of the martyrs's actions, namely their suffering and dying for the sake of obedience to the law, demonstrates the human agent plays an active role in

walking in virtue.

The emphasis on the active human agent does not mean that the divine agent does not play an active role in obedience in 4 Maccabees. One major way the divine agent plays an active role in walking in obedience in 4 Maccabees is through his giving of the mind to the human agent, which governs over the passions (2:21–23). The mind, then, is aided by the law and, through godly reason, enables the human agent to master the passions and, thus, walk in virtue. Through giving the human agent a mind, along with the law, the divine agent enables the human agent to walk in obedience, demonstrating an active divine agent in walking in obedience.

The presence of recompense for human actions in 4 Maccabees also demonstrates an active divine agent. The divine agent seems to be active with regard to obedience in the meta-narrative (3:20–5:3), which sets the scene for the story of the martyrs, through the Deuteronomic blessings and curses motif. The divine agent influences obedience through blessings and punishment. When the nation or the individual walks in obedience to God, they receive God's blessing (3:20), but when they turn from God and walk in disobedience, they receive divine punishment (3:21; 4:21). The second brother appears to have understood this Deuteronomic blessings and curses motif and, in light of it, urges his remaining living brothers to fight for godliness so that "the just Providence of our fathers may become merciful to the nation and punish the accursed tyrant" on account of their godliness (9:24; cf. 6:28; 12:14–17). Thus, God's motivation through the Deuteronomic blessings and curses points to an active divine agent in walking in obedience.

Similarly, the divine agent plays an active role in walking in obedience in the story of the martyrs through the motivation of rewards and punishment. Throughout the story of Eleazar, the seven brothers, and the mother of the brothers, the knowledge of future rewards appears to motivate the martyrs to remain faithful to God and the law, at least to some degree, even in the face of terrible suffering and death (9:7–8; 13:17; 15:2–

3, 11–12). Moreover, the knowledge that the tyrant would be punished for his actions also seems to spur the martyrs on to obedience to God and the law (9:9, 32; 10:21; 12:12, 18; 13:15). Thus, through motivating the martyrs to remain faithful to God and the law by the promise of divine recompense, 4 Maccabees appears to demonstrate an active divine agent in walking in obedience.

When compared to Barclay's models of agency, there does not appear to be a competitive relationship between the divine and the human agent in 4 Maccabees. The author focuses on the actions of the human agent does not render the divine agent passive. Moreover, two individual agents are present in 4 Maccabees, rather than human agency being bound up within divine agency, as in the kinship model.

Barclay's non-contrastive transcendence model seems to fit the relationship between the divine and the human agent in 4 Maccabees, even considering that the role of the divine agent receives little attention compared to the role of the human agent. The author demonstrates an active human agent throughout the book through the emphasis on the human agent's obedience to God and Torah. The story of the nine martyrs especially demonstrates an active human agent in walking in obedience through the author's focus on their acts of faithfulness to the law and God, even to the point of enduring suffering and death. The divine agent enables the human agent to walk in obedience by giving him a mind that allows him to control the passions through godly reason. Moreover, God gave the law to the mind to aid the human agent in controlling the passions and walking in virtue. Thus, while the author focuses on the actions of the human agents, he appears to suggest that they are only able to remain faithful to God (and the law) because of the active work of the divine agent.

Galatians

I argued that Galatians 5:16–25 demonstrates both an active divine agent and an active human agent in walking in obedience. Since 5:16–25 is Paul's response to how

the Galatians should use their freedom, specifically how they should use it in order to avoid giving an “opportunity for the flesh” (5:13), which leads to conflict within the community (5:15), Paul focuses on human actions. Paul’s exhortations to the Galatians demonstrate the active role they are to play in walking in obedience. He tells them to walk by the Spirit (5:16) and to keep in step with the Spirit (5:25). These exhortations for the Galatians to act suggest that Paul views the Galatians, the human agents, as more than just passive agents in the fight against the flesh.⁴ Rather, the Galatians are to actively walk by the Spirit and keep in step with the Spirit to avoid fulfilling the desire of the flesh. Moreover, Paul also acknowledges that the sufficiency of the Spirit in the fight against the flesh renders the law unnecessary, if the Galatians actively follow the lead of the Spirit (5:18; cf. v. 16). Based on the interpretation I offered of verse 17, Paul even tells the Galatians how to use their freedom by noting the limits of their freedom in light of the flesh/Spirit conflict (5:17). By focusing on how the Galatians must actively use their freedom to avoid fulfilling the desire of the flesh, Paul demonstrates the active role the human agent plays in walking in obedience in Galatians 5:17.

Paul’s focuses on the active role the human agent plays in walking in obedience does not mean the divine agent is passive. To the contrary, Paul seems to emphasize the role of the Spirit (especially in contrast to the law) in 5:16–25. The divine agent plays an active role through empowering, guiding, and being the standard for how the Galatians are to live. When Paul exhorts the Galatians to walk by the Spirit, he means to walk by the power of the indwelling Spirit. Moreover, Paul demonstrates the leading role of the Spirit when he speaks of the Galatians being led by the Spirit (5:18) and exhorts them to keep in step with the Spirit (5:25). Paul also notes the active role the Spirit plays in producing fruit in the Galatians (5:22).

⁴ As stated before, I’m not suggesting that Paul thought in terms of agency, rather I am interpreting what Paul said through the lens of agency.

Finally, in verse 17, I argue that when Paul tells the Galatians that they cannot do whatever they want, in light of the opposition of the flesh to the Spirit and vice versa, he's referring to the fact that the Spirit is now the standard for how they live and use their freedom in the new age. In light of the inauguration of the new age and the giving of the Spirit through the cross of Christ, those who are in Christ no longer live as part of the old age, which the flesh and the law represent. Rather, as Spirit-indwelled new creations, the Spirit is now the standard for how those belonging to the new age live. Thus, when Paul tells the Galatians they cannot do whatever they desire, he specifically means they cannot live by the flesh, for the Spirit opposes the flesh and the Spirit now guides and determines how they live in the new age. In verse 17, then, the divine agent guides and limits how the human agent lives, keeping him from fulfilling the desire of the flesh. Thus, along with an active human agent, Paul presents an active divine agent in walking in obedience in Galatians in verse 17, as he does in all of 5:16–25.

Turning to Barclay's models of agency, Paul does not present a conflicting relationship between the divine and the human agent in Galatians 5:16–25. The active human agent does not diminish the presence of an active divine agent and vice versa. Moreover, though the Spirit indwells and empowers the human agent to walk in obedience, there still exists two active agents rather than human agency in some way being wrapped up in divine agency, as in the kinship model.

Barclay's non-contrastive transcendence model fits well with Galatians 5:16–25. Rather than competing against each other, the divine agent guides and empowers the human agent to walk in obedience. The human agent actively walks but is only able to do so because of the indwelling Spirit. Thus, applying a paraphrase of Barclay to 5:16–25, the more active the human agent is, the more the Spirit, who empowers and guides the human agent, is active in walking in obedience.⁵

⁵ I'm paraphrasing the following statement from Barclay: "The more the human agent is

Comparative Analysis

In this comparative analysis, I will first discuss what all three works have in common with regard to divine and human agency and walking in obedience. I will then discuss the similarities of two of these works in contrast to the third (e.g., 1QS and Galatians in contrast to 4 Macc) in order to view each work from different points of view. I will then conclude with a summary of this comparative analysis.

Comparison of All Three Works

One thing that all three works all have in common is that the divine agent and the human agent are both active in walking in obedience. Though 1QS, 4 Maccabees, and Galatians all demonstrate this in different ways and may even focus primarily on one agent or the other, both agents appear to be active in walking in obedience in each work. Moreover, in each of the selected writings, the relationship between the divine and the human agent does not appear to be one of competition. Rather, to some degree, the divine agent enables or aids the human agent to walk in obedience. In 1QS, the divine agent aids and enables the human agent to walk in obedience through predetermination and the giving of knowledge. The divine agent in 4 Maccabees enables the human agent to walk in virtue through giving him the mind to control the passions and giving the law to enable the mind to do so. The divine agent in 4 Maccabees also motivates the human agent to walk in obedience through the promise of recompense. In Galatians, the divine agent enables the human agent to walk by the Spirit by empowering him, enabling him to produce fruit, and leading him. In verse 17, the divine agent enables the human agent to walk in obedience by limiting how he uses his freedom. Specifically, the Spirit keeps the human agent from using his freedom to fulfill the desire of the flesh. Thus, in 1QS, 4 Maccabees, and Galatians the active divine agent does not reduce or render passive human agency, rather the divine agent enables and aids the human agent in walking in

operative, the more (not less) may be attributed to God (“Introduction,” 7).

obedience.

Comparison of 1QS and Galatians

When Galatians and 1QS are compared, a few similarities can be seen with regard to divine and human agency and walking in obedience. In both Galatians and the Sermon of the Two Spirits, God gives the human agent a s/Spirit that enables him to walk in obedience. As I will discuss below, there are important differences between the s/Spirits, still in both works the s/Spirit enables the human agent to walk in obedience. In the Sermon, God gives to man the spirits of truth and deceit, and the spirit he has a great share of determines if he will walk in obedience or disobedience (4.15–16). The human agent who has a greater share in the spirit of truth will walk in obedience because the spirit leads him to do so, and the one with a greater share in the spirit of deceit will walk in disobedience.

Likewise, in Galatians, the Spirit enables the human agent to walk in obedience. The human agent actively walks in obedience, and the indwelling Spirit empowers the human agent to do so (5:16). The indwelling Spirit also leads the human agent in walking in obedience (5:18, 25) and is the standard for how they live, thus keeping him from fulfilling the desire of the flesh (5:17). Moreover, the divine agent enables the human agent to produce the fruit of the Spirit (5:22). Thus, though in different ways, the Spirit in Galatians enables the human agent to walk in obedience like the spirit of truth does in the Sermon.

Another similarity worth noting between 1QS and Galatians is the presence of a conflicting agent with regard to walking in obedience. In 1QS, this conflicting agent is the spirit of deceit. In contrast to the spirit of truth, the spirit of deceit leads the human agent to walk in disobedience. The spirit of deceit causes the Sons of Righteousness to stumble, and their sinful works are because of it (3.21–25). Moreover, the works of those who walk in the ways of the spirit of deceit oppose the works of those who walk in the

ways of the spirit of truth (4.17–18) and are hated by God (4.1, 11–14, 18–19). The spirit of deceit, then, opposes the spirit of truth and causes the human agent to veer from walking in obedience.

In Galatians 5:16–25, the flesh represents the conflicting agent. The desires of the flesh oppose the desires of the Spirit (5:17), which the works of the flesh (5:19–21) and the fruit of the Spirit (5:22–23) demonstrate. This conflict means that the Galatians cannot do whatever they want (5:17). Namely, as Spirit-indwelted people they cannot follow the flesh. Paul does not attribute the sins of the Galatians to the flesh, as the author of the Sermon does with the sins of the Sons of Righteousness to the spirit of deceit. He does, however, warn the Galatians that using their freedom “as an opportunity for the flesh” (5:13) would result in conflict within the community (5:15), which resembles the works of the flesh (cf. 5:20). Additionally, because the flesh stands in opposition to the Spirit, fulfilling the desire of the flesh results in not inheriting the kingdom of God (5:21). Paul warning the Galatians against using their freedom to fulfill the desire of the flesh suggests that the flesh, which stands in opposition to the Spirit, represents a threat to the human agent with regard to walking in obedience.

In both Galatians 5:16–25 and the Sermon of the Two Spirits, the divine agent enables the human agent to walk in obedience through giving him a s/Spirit. The s/Spirit in both works represents an internal guide that aids and enables the human agent to walk in obedience. In contrast to Galatians and the Sermon, 4 Maccabees does not speak of an internal s/Spirit that enables the human agent to walk in obedience. Rather, the external law guides the human agent in walking in obedience. The author of 4 Maccabees does speak of the divine agent giving to man a mind to rule the passions, but it is the law that guides the mind so that it can control the passions. Those who choose to adopt a life that follows the law are able to master the passions and walk in virtue. Consequently, Galatians 5:16–25 and the Sermon of the Two Spirits are similar in that the human agent is enabled to walk in obedience by the s/Spirit he received. In this, they differ from 4

Maccabees, which focuses on the law, which guides the mind, as the means to walking in obedience, rather than a given s/Spirit.

Comparison of 4 Maccabees and Galatians

Fourth Maccabees and Galatians seem to have little in common. In fact, the emphasis on keeping the law in 4 Maccabees even seems to resemble the teaching of Paul's opponents. However, when 4 Maccabees and Galatians are compared together and against 1QS a similarity can be seen. The main thing that stands out when 4 Maccabees and Galatians are compared together in contrast to 1QS is that neither speak of God predetermining the actions of man. In the *Community Rule*, the divine agent primarily plays an active role in walking in obedience through predestination. The Sermon begins by acknowledging that all things happen and will happen because of God and that nothing he has determined can be changed (3.15–17). The acknowledgment of God's work of predetermination leads to the author's discussion of the two spirits that God gave to man (3.17–19). These spirits demonstrate the role the divine agent's predetermination plays in walking in obedience because the spirit each man receives a greater share in (from God) determines if he will walk in obedience or disobedience (4.15–16). Similarly in the rest of 1QS, while the focus is on the human agent, the author acknowledges that walking in obedience only happens if God wills it (11.11, 17–18).

In contrast to 1QS, neither 4 Maccabees nor Galatians 5:16–25 credit walking in obedience to God's predetermination work. Fourth Maccabees notes that God gave to man a mind to control the passions and the law to guide the mind but does not speak of the divine agent predetermining the human agent to walk in obedience. Rather, 4 Maccabees focuses on walking in obedience through keeping the law.

In Galatians 5:16–25, Paul also does not speak of the diving agent being active in walking in obedience through predeterminism. The Spirit, in a way, determines how the human agent uses his freedom (5:17), keeping him from fulfilling the desire of the

flesh, but this is because the Spirit is the standard for how those in Christ live as part of the new age rather than relating to predetermination. Rather, Galatians focuses on the active role of the human agent both walking and being led by the empowering and guiding power of the Spirit, rather than through predetermination. Therefore, by lacking a predetermining divine agent, 4 Maccabees and Galatians differ from 1QS. In contrast, both in the Sermon and the rest of the *Community Rule*, the divine agent plays an active role in walking in obedience in 1QS through predetermination.

Comparison of 1QS and 4 Maccabees

When 1QS and 4 Maccabees are compared against Galatians, the biggest similarity they share against Galatians is their emphasis on obedience to the law. While the Sermon in the *Community Rule* does not mention the law, keeping the law plays an important role in the rest of 1QS.⁶ From the beginning of the work, the author notes that the purpose of the Community is to seek God and to do what is “good and right before him” by keeping what was commanded through Moses (the law) and the prophets (1.2–3). In light of this, to enter the Community one must vow to keep the law (5.8–9; cf. 1.8–9, 16–17). For those on the Community council, being perfect in the law is required (8.1–2), with those who break the law being banished from the council (8.21–23). Moreover, part of the requirement to be atoned before God and join the community, for the one who refuses to enter the covenant of God and walks in “the stubbornness of his heart” (2.26), is to humble his soul to all of God’s statutes and to walk perfectly in his commands (the law) (3.6–9). With its emphasis on keeping the law to be part of the Community and its acknowledgment that doing what is good before God by keeping the law is the purpose of the Community, 1QS emphasizes the role the law plays in walking in obedience.

⁶ The appellation “Perfect in the Way” (4.22) alludes to the law in light of its use in the rest of 1QS (e.g., 4.22; 8.10, 21; 9.9 cf. 9.5–6, 8) and the relationship between walking perfectly and keeping the law (e.g., 1.8; 3.9–11; 9.19) in the rest of the *Rule*.

In 4 Maccabees, the author focuses on walking in virtue through keeping the law (e.g., 2:23; 11:12, 27; 13:9, 13; 15:29–32; 16:16;18:1). Throughout the book, obedience to the law is connected to with virtue (2:10; 10:10; 11:1–27) and godliness (εὐσέβεια) (5:31–38; 6:21–22, 30; 11:1–27; 13:9–10; 16:13–17, 24), or in other words, walking in obedience. Moreover, when the martyrs (or the author) state the reason why they are willing to suffer and die, they seemingly interchangeably state it is for the sake of the law (6:20–21; 13:9; 16:24), virtue (1:8; 10:10; 11:2) and godliness (6:22; 11:20; 15:12; 16:13; 18:3). This demonstrates that by keeping the law, the human agent walks in obedience.

This emphasis on walking in obedience through keeping the law in both 1QS and 4 Maccabees lines up more with the teaching of Paul’s opponents than with Paul’s teachings in Galatians.⁷ Throughout the letter, Paul argues against turning to the law, rather than keeping the law to walk in obedience (e.g., 3:2–5; 5:1–6). Moreover, in Paul’s apocalyptic perspective, the law and the Spirit represent two different ages. The law represents the present evil age that the Galatians had been delivered from (1:4), while the Spirit represents the new age. In Galatians 5:16–25, Paul even states that if the Galatians are led by the Spirit, then they are no longer under the law (5:18). Hence, while the *Community Rule* and 4 Maccabees exalt the law as the means to walking in obedience, for Paul, the law stands in opposition to walking in obedience, which is done by walking and being led by the Spirit.

Directly related to their focus on law obedience, another similarity between 1QS and 4 Maccabees is the important role of the works/deeds of the human agent with

⁷ DeSilva suggests that the reasoning behind 4 Maccabees may lie behind the teaching of Paul’s opponents. He states, “In addition to providing scriptural arguments for the necessity of circumcision and Torah observance, the rival teachers may have argued that Torah provides what was lacking in the Galatians’ initial evangelization: a reliable means of making progress in virtue and the righteousness that God seeks in God’s people.” This line of teaching fits well with Paul’s rhetorical question in 3:3. David A. deSilva, *Introducing the Apocrypha: Message, Context, and Significance* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002), 372.

regard to walking in obedience. Along with the emphasis on keeping the law in 1QS and 4 Maccabees, the presence of divine recompense demonstrates the important role of human works/deeds. The presence of rewards for obedience and punishment for disobedience, especially in conjunction with keeping the law, shows that works/deeds are a fundamental part of the human agent walking in obedience in both 1QS and 4 Maccabees.

In 1QS, those who walk in the way of the spirit of truth (in obedience) will be rewarded (4.6–8, 22–23, 25), but those who walk in the way of the spirit of deceit (in disobedience) will be punished (4.11–14, 21). The rest of the *Rule* follows suit: rewards for obedience (10.16–18; 11.5–8) and punishment for disobedience (6.24–7.25; 8.6–7; 10.16–18; cf. 10.18–20). Thus, based on his works, the human agent will either be rewarded or punished, demonstrating the importance of human works in walking in obedience in 1QS.

In 4 Maccabees, rewards for obedience and punishment for disobedience are present as well (7:1–3, 18–19; 9:8; 14:3–5; 15:3; 16:13; 17:11–15; 18:3, 23). As with 1QS, recompense for human actions, in tandem with the book’s focus on law obedience, emphasizes the importance of human works/deeds for walking in virtue. The martyrs understood the importance of their actions and understood that by keeping the law, rather than transgressing it to avoid suffering and death, they would receive divine rewards and blessings (e.g., 9:8, 24). This focus on human works/deeds in relation to walking in obedience emphasizes human agency in these Jewish works.

In contrast, human works are not central to Paul’s argument in Galatians 5:16–25. Paul does focus on human action, but he focuses on human action that is continuously empowered and guided by the divine agent. Moreover, Paul contrasts human works (works of the flesh) with divine action (fruit of the Spirit) in 5:19–23.⁸ When Paul

⁸ The only time Paul mentions a form of divine recompense is in connection with the works of

discusses the active role of the human agent in walking in obedience, it is always in connection with the empowering, guiding Spirit (5:16, 17, 18, 22, 25). Paul, then, emphasizes the work of the Spirit, not human works/deeds (or the law), in walking in obedience. Therefore, rather than human works being a central part of the human agent walking in obedience in Galatians 5:16–25, the human agent actively walks in obedience by means of human action that is empowered and guided by the divine agent, the Spirit.

This contrast, concerning human works/deeds, seems to demonstrate a difference in focus regarding agency between Galatians and these Jewish texts.⁹ The divine agent plays an active, even enabling, role in walking in obedience in 1QS and 4 Maccabees, but the focus seems to be on human agency through the human agent's work of keeping the law to walk in obedience.¹⁰ In contrast, the human agent plays an active role in Galatians 5:16–25, but the emphasis, to some degree, appears to be on the divine agent, who enables and guides the human agent to walk in obedience. Thus, whereas 1QS and 4 Maccabees seem to emphasize human agency, Paul, to some degree, emphasizes divine agency in Galatians 5:16–25.

Arguably, the biggest difference between Galatians and 1QS/4 Maccabees is demonstrated by the means the divine agent uses to enable the human agent to walk in obedience. When these three works are compared, the fact that the divine agent plays an active role in walking in obedience through indwelling the human agent himself, rather

the flesh (5:21).

⁹ Admittedly, this difference in focus may be due to each author's purpose for writing, but the difference is still worth noting.

¹⁰ Though the Sermon of the Two Spirits does emphasize the role of the divine agent, when read in the context of the rest of 1QS, the inclusion of the Sermon is because of the overall emphasis on the human agent in the *Community Rule*. The focus of the *Community Rule* is on the work of the human agent to keep the law and commandments of God, which is the purpose of the Community, as well as to keep the Community's rules. In light of this, the Sermon appears to have been added to answer an important question: why do the Sons of Righteousness, who have the law, still sin? Or in other words, why are those who have taken an oath to perfectly keep the law unable to do so? Thus, even though the Sermon focuses on the role of the divine agent, its inclusion in 1QS is because of the emphasis on the human agent in the rest of the *Rule*.

than through external (to himself) means, arguably makes Galatians the most unique from 1QS and 4 Maccabees. As noted, in 1QS, the divine agent enables the human agent to walk in obedience through predetermination (primarily through the giving of the two spirits), through the giving of knowledge, and (implicitly) through the law. In 4 Maccabees, the divine agent plays an active role through giving the human agent a mind that can control the passions and by giving the law to guide the mind so that the human agent will walk in virtue. The divine agent also motivates the human agent to walk in obedience through the promise of recompense for their actions. In all of these ways (the two spirits, the law, knowledge, the mind, and recompense), the divine agent plays an active role in walking in obedience through external (to himself) means in both 1QS and 4 Maccabees.

In Galatians 5:16–25, the divine agent himself, the Spirit, indwells the human agent and empowers and guides him to walk in obedience. Moreover, the Spirit is the standard for how those in Christ should live, keeping them from fulfilling the desire of the flesh (5:17). Rather than enabling the human agent to walk in obedience through external means (i.e., two spirits; a mind to control the passions) or giving the human agent an external guide for him to actively follow (the law), the divine agent himself is the one who empowers and guides the human agent. In this, the divine agent in Galatians appears to play a more direct role in walking in obedience. The indwelling Spirit continuously empowers and guides the human agent, rather than just giving him a spirit (the Sermon), knowledge (the rest of the *Rule*), or a mind (4 Maccabees) to enable him to walk in obedience and the law to guide him in doing so.

Conclusion

By comparing these three works together, as well as comparing two works together in contrast to the third, many similarities and differences can be observed with regard to the role of the divine and the human agent in walking in obedience. One

similarity all three texts share is that both the divine and the human agent play an active role in walking in obedience. Moreover, in each of these works, the divine agent and the human agent are both active in a non-competitive way. Rather than diminishing human agency, the divine agent enables and aids human agency. Some major differences are seen between these works, as well. Whereas both in 1QS and Galatians the divine agent enables the human agent to walk in obedience by giving him a certain s/Spirit, the divine agent in 4 Maccabees does not. Furthermore, predetermination plays an important part in the divine agent's role in walking in obedience in 1QS but is absent from 4 Maccabees and Galatians.

The biggest differences between 1QS/4Maccabees and Galatians, however, are the means by which the divine agent enables the human agent to walk in obedience and the agent emphasized in each work. In both 1QS and 4 Maccabees, the divine agent enables the human agent to walk by giving him something that is external to the divine agent (a spirit; knowledge; a mind). The divine agent also gives the human agent the law to guide him in walking in obedience. In contrast, the divine agent himself indwells the human agent and empowers him to walk in obedience in Galatians. Furthermore, rather than giving the law to guide the human agent, the divine agent, the Spirit, replaces the law as the guide for walking in obedience. Moreover, the Spirit, himself, is the standard for how the Spirit-indwelled Galatians should live, keeping them from fulfilling the desire of the flesh (5:17).

Considering the empowering and leading role the indwelling Spirit plays in walking in obedience, there seems to be an emphasis, to some degree, on the divine agent in Galatians 5:16–25. In contrast to Galatians, both 1QS and 4 Maccabees appear to emphasize human agency in light of the important role human works/deeds play in walking in obedience. By focusing on Torah obedience and the presence of rewards for obedience and punishment for disobedience, both 1QS and 4 Maccabees demonstrate that human works/deeds are central to walking in obedience, hence, emphasizing human

agency. Thus, 1QS and 4 Maccabees seem to emphasize human agency, while Galatians 5:16–25 emphasizes, to some degree, divine agency.

Conclusion

I began this project by stating that the purpose of this dissertation will be to answer the following question: “What does Paul say about walking by the Spirit and agency in Galatians, especially in 5:17, and how does this compare to walking in obedience and agency in 1QS and walking in virtue and agency in 4 Maccabees?” To answer this question, I examined what 1QS, 4 Maccabees, and Galatians 5:16–25, with a special focus on verse 17, say about divine and human agency and walking in obedience. Following these examinations, I then compared my findings from each work together.

In chapters 2 and 3, I examined the role of the divine and the human agent in walking in obedience in 1QS and 4 Maccabees, respectively. I argued that both the divine and the human agent play an active role in walking in obedience in both 1QS and 4 Maccabees. The primary ways the divine agent plays an active role in walking in obedience in 1QS are through predetermination (3.15–17; 11.11, 17–18) and the giving of knowledge (2.3; 11.15–18). In the Sermon, God’s work of predetermination primarily comes through the giving of the two spirits. Whichever Spirit each person has a greater share in (predetermined by God) determines whether they walk in obedience or disobedience. In the rest of the *Rule*, along with predetermination, God’s act of giving knowledge, which enables the human agent to walk perfectly (1.11–15; 9.18–19), demonstrates the divine agent’s active role in walking in obedience.

The main ways I argued that 1QS demonstrates an active human agent are through the emphasis on law obedience, the author’s use of language that emphasizes human action in connection with walking in obedience, and the presence of recompense for human actions. Since the purpose of the Community was to seek God and to do what is right before him by doing everything he commanded through Moses (the law) and the

prophets (1.1–2; cf. 1.8–9, 13–15), obedience to the law is an important part of being in the Community (3.8–12; 5.8–9; 8.1–2, 21–23). Moreover, the author’s use of language that focuses on human action, such as נָדַב (to devote: 1.11; 5.1; 6.13–14), דָּרוּשׁ (to seek: 1.1), הֵלֵךְ (to walk: 1.8; 3.6–9; 3.18; 4.6, 12, 15; 5.10; 9.5–6, 8), and עָשָׂה (to do/act: 1.5–6, 16–17), in connection with obedience suggests that the human agent plays an active role in obedience. Finally, throughout the *Rule*, the fact that the human agent receives recompense for his actions (4.6–8, 11–14, 21–25; 6.24–7.25; 10.18), both from God and the Community, demonstrates the active role the human agent plays in walking in obedience.

In 4 Maccabees, I argued that the presence of rewards and punishment (9:7–9, 32; 10:21; 12:12, 18; 13:15–17; 15:2–3, 11–12), along with the Deuteronomic blessings and curses motif in the meta-narrative section (3:20–5:3), demonstrates the divine agent’s active role in walking in obedience. Arguably, though, the primary way that 4 Maccabees demonstrates an active divine agent is through the giving of the mind and the law (2:21–23). The author states that God gave to man a mind to rule over the passions. To the mind, then, he gave the law as a guide. Through the mind, using divine reason, and the law, the human agent is able to master the passions and walk in virtue. Thus, by giving the mind and the law, the divine agent enables the human agent to walk in obedience.

I argued that 4 Maccabees focuses on the active human agent. The author demonstrates an active human agent through the book’s emphasis on Torah obedience (5:33–34, 36; 6:21–11, 30; 13:9, 13; 16:16, 24), which is closely related to virtue (1:8; 7:21–22; 10:10; 11:2; 12:14) and godliness (5:31, 38; 6:22; 11:20; 13:10; 15:2–3, 12; 16:13, 17; 18:3). The story of the nine martyrs focuses on the martyrs’s faithfulness to the law, even to the point of enduring torture and death. The rewards the martyrs received (7:1–3, 18–19; 9.8; 14:3–5; 15:3; 16:13; 17:11–15; 18:3, 23) for their obedience to the law further demonstrates the active role the human agent plays in walking in virtue, and also emphasizes the importance of human works/deeds for walking in obedience.

Moreover, the fact that the deaths of the martyrs cleansed and restored the nation (1:11; 17:10, 16, 20–22; 18:4; cf. 6:28–29) because of their Torah obedience also reveals an active human agent.

When compared to Barclay’s models of agency, I suggested that neither 1QS nor 4 Maccabees demonstrated competing divine and human agencies. In both works, the presence of an active divine agent does not diminish the active role of the human agent and vice versa. Moreover, both 1QS and 4 Maccabees demonstrate two active agents, rather than human agency somehow being wrapped up in divine agency, as in the kinship model. Barclay’s non-contrastive transcendence model fits both Jewish works. In both the *Rule* and 4 Maccabees, the active divine agent enables and aids the active human agent in walking in obedience.

In chapter 4, to aid my interpretation of Galatians 5:17 in chapter 5, I first discussed the importance of the cross and the Spirit for Paul’s argument in Galatians. Specifically, I argued that Paul points to the cross as the turning point between the ages, through which the Spirit was given, to argue against his opponents’ law-observing gospel. Before making this argument, I first demonstrated that Paul uses apocalyptic to make his argument throughout Galatians. Paul builds his argument upon the two apocalyptic ages, the present evil age (1:4) and the age of new creation (6:14–15; cf. 2:19–20). To the old age (present evil age) belong the law (3:19–26; 4:21–31), the flesh (4:21–31), the *στοιχεῖα* (4:3, 8–9), and slavery (4:21–31). The Spirit (2:19–20; 3:14; 4:4–6, 21–31) and freedom (4:21–31; 5:1–6) belong to the new age. God’s divine act of sending the Son “in the fullness of time” to redeem those who are imprisoned under the law (4:4–5) brought an end to the present evil age and inaugurates the new age. Thus, the cross is the turning point between the ages. Through Christ’s death on the cross, those who are in Christ have been delivered from the law (4:5), the curse of the law (3:13), and the *στοιχεῖα* (4:3, 8–9). Along with bringing an end to the present evil age, the Spirit was also given through Christ’s work on the cross (2:19–20; 3:1–5, 14; 4:4–6). God’s action

through Christ brought about a change in both human and divine agency. The Spirit, rather than the law, now guides those who are in Christ.

In light of God's apocalyptic work through Christ and the giving of the Spirit, in chapter 5 I argue that the reason Paul tells the Galatians *μη ἀ ἐὰν θέλητε ταῦτα ποιῆτε* (5:17) is because the Spirit now guides and determines how they use their freedom. As Spirit-indwelled new creations, the Galatians are now guided by the empowering Spirit. Thus, in light of the opposition of the flesh to the Spirit, and vice versa, the Spirit-indwelled Galatians cannot use their freedom for the flesh. Moreover, because the desires of the flesh and the Spirit oppose one another, the Spirit keeps the Galatians from fulfilling the desire of the flesh (5:16). Since the Spirit now guides and determines how the Galatians live and use their freedom, by walking by the Spirit they are walking in opposition to the flesh, and therefore not fulfilling the flesh's desire.

From this interpretation, I argued that in verse 17 both the divine and the human agent play an active role in walking in obedience. Since Paul's discussion in 5:16–25 focuses on how the Galatians are to use their freedom, specifically how to avoid using their freedom "as an opportunity for the flesh" (5:13), 5:17 demonstrates an active human agent. In verse 17, Paul tells the Galatians how they are not to use their freedom. They cannot use their freedom to do whatever they want. Namely, they cannot use their freedom to fulfill the desire of the flesh because they are Spirit-indwelled people, and the Spirit opposes the flesh. Thus, by telling the Galatians how to use their freedom, Galatians 5:17 demonstrates an active human agent in walking in obedience. For, the Galatians are actively using their freedom, but they must use it in line with the desires of the Spirit, which means they are not able to fulfill the flesh's desires.

Moreover, I argued that verse 17 also demonstrates an active divine agent in walking in obedience. Since the Spirit is now the standard and guide for how those who are a part of the new age live, the Spirit limits how the Galatians can use their freedom. Namely, the Spirit, because he opposes the flesh, keeps the Galatians from fulfilling the

desire of the flesh. By keeping the Galatians from fulfilling the desire of the flesh, verse 17 demonstrates that the divine agent plays an active role in walking in obedience.

The presence of both an active divine and human agent in walking in obedience in verse 17 is consistent with the rest of Galatians 5:16–25. Paul’s exhortations for the Galatians to walk by the Spirit (5:16) and to keep in step with the Spirit (5:25) demonstrate that the human agent is active in walking in obedience. Moreover, Paul’s comment about the Galatians being led by the Spirit in verse 18 demonstrates an active human agent, in light of verse 16. Just as the Galatians must actively walk by the Spirit, they must also actively be led by the Spirit. I also suggest that Paul’s exhortations to walk by the Spirit (5:16) and keep in step with the Spirit (5:25; cf. 5:18) imply that the Galatians also play a role in producing the fruit of the Spirit (5:22), through the power of the Spirit.

The presence of an active human agent in walking in obedience does not diminish the role of the divine agent. Though Paul exhorts the Galatians to walk (5:16), it is the indwelling Spirit (“by the Spirit”) that empowers them to do so. Similarly, though Paul speaks of the Galatians being led (5:18) and exhorts them to keep in step (5:25), it is the Spirit who guides them. Moreover, the Spirit produces the “fruit of the Spirit” (5:22), and, as I suggested, enables the human agent to be active in fruit production as well.

I concluded this chapter by examining my findings concerning divine and human agency in walking in obedience through the lens of Barclay’s models of agency. I argued that divine agency is not in competition with human agency in Galatians 5:16–25. The active divine agent does not render the human agent passive. Moreover, Galatians demonstrates two, distinct agents, rather than somehow binding human agency up in divine agency, as in the kinship model. While the Spirit indwells and empowers the human agent, they are both distinct agents. Rather, I suggested that Barclay’s non-contrastive transcendence model fits well with Galatians 5:16–25. Rather than being in competition, the active divine agent empowers the active human agent to walk in

obedience.

In chapter 6, when comparing my findings regarding divine and human agency and walking in obedience in 1QS, 4 Maccabees, and Galatians, both similarities and differences between these works became apparent. One similarity shared among all three works is that both the divine and the human agent play an active role in walking in obedience. While each work demonstrates the agents's active roles in different ways, they are still both active. Moreover, divine agency and human agency do not compete against one another to be active. The presence of one active agent does not diminish the active role of the other. Rather, in all three works, the divine agent in some way enables and aids the human agent in walking in obedience.

When two of these works were compared together in contrast to the third, more similarities and differences came into view. For instance, in both 1QS and Galatians 5:16–25, the human agent is enabled to walk in obedience through receiving a s/Spirit. Though these s/Spirits are drastically different, the human agent receives an internal s/Spirit that enables him to walk in obedience. In 4 Maccabees, the divine agent enables the human agent to walk in obedience by giving him a mind to control the passions and the law to guide the mind, rather than a spirit.

When comparing 4 Maccabees and Galatians, the main similarity they share in contrast to 1QS is the lack of predetermination. In 1QS, the divine agent enables the human agent through his act of predetermination. Specifically, in the Sermon, the divine agent determines what spirit each person will have a greater share in, and the spirit they receive a greater share in determines if they will walk in obedience or disobedience. The divine agent in both 4 Maccabees and Galatians enables the human agent to walk in obedience, but they do not do so through predetermination.

One major difference both 1QS and 4 Maccabees have in common with Galatians is the importance of human works/deeds in walking in obedience. The emphasis on Torah obedience in both works and the existence of rewards for obedience

and punishment for disobedience demonstrates the significant role human works/deeds play in obedience. In contrast, Paul does not emphasize human works/deeds. The human agent is active, but Paul always discusses human action in connection with the indwelling Spirit, who empowers and guides the human agent to walk in obedience.

This contrast between 1QS/4Maccabees and Galatians demonstrates a difference in emphasis with regard to divine and human agency and walking in obedience. Both the *Rule* and 4 Maccabees emphasize human agency through the important role human works/deeds (especially law obedience) play in walking in obedience. In contrast, rather than emphasizing human works/deeds, Galatians emphasizes the role the Spirit plays in walking in obedience. Paul's solution for how the Galatians can avoid using their freedom as an opportunity for the flesh (5:13) is the Spirit. Everything the Galatians must do to avoid fulfilling the desire of the flesh directly relates to the Spirit. The Galatians must walk by the power of the Spirit (5:16), they must only use their freedom in line with the desires of the Spirit (5:17), they are led by the Spirit (5:18), they produce fruit by means of the Spirit (5:22), and they are to keep in step with the Spirit (5:25). Through Paul's focus on the empowering Spirit, Galatians, to some degree, emphasizes divine agency.

I argued that the divine agent indwelling the human agent to empower and guide him to walk in obedience is what makes Galatians most unique when compared to 1QS and 4 Maccabees. In both the *Community Rule* and 4 Maccabees, the divine agent enables the human agent to walk in obedience through external (to himself) means. In 1QS, the divine agent gives the human agent the spirits (the Sermon) and knowledge (the rest of the *Rule*). In 4 Maccabees, the divine agent gives the human agent a mind to control the passions and the law to guide the mind. Moreover, the divine agent in 4 Maccabees motivates the human agent to walk in obedience through the promise of divine recompense for human actions. In all of these things (the spirits, knowledge, the mind, the law, recompense), the divine agent in 1QS and 4 Maccabees uses external (to

himself) means to enable the human agent to walk in obedience.

In contrast, the divine agent in Galatians indwells the human agent to empower and guide him in walking in obedience. The indwelling Spirit empowers the Galatians to avoid fulfilling the desire of the flesh (5:16), guides and determines how they use their freedom (5:17), leads them (5:18, 25), and enables them to produce fruit (5:22). Rather than enabling the human agent to walk in obedience by external (to himself) means, the divine agent himself, the indwelling Spirit, empowers and guides the human agent to walk in obedience in Galatians 5:16–25.

In conclusion, to briefly answer the question I opened this dissertation with, in Galatians 5:17, as well as the rest of 5:16–25, both the divine and the human agent play an active role in walking by the Spirit. The human agent actively walks, uses his freedom, and is led by means of the empowering and guiding indwelling Spirit, the divine agent. How does this compare to walking in obedience and agency in 1QS and walking in virtue and agency in 4 Maccabees? Galatians is similar to these Jewish texts in that all three works demonstrate an active divine and an active human agent in walking in obedience. Galatians, however, differs from 1QS and 4 Maccabees in two important ways.¹¹ First, 1QS and 4 Maccabees emphasize human agency, whereas Galatians, to some degree, emphasizes divine agency. Moreover, the divine agent in 1QS and 4Maccabees enables the human agent to walk in obedience through means external to himself, while the divine agent, the Spirit, indwells the human agent to empower and guide him in walking in obedience in Galatians 5:16–25.

¹¹ As discussed above, Galatians differs from 1QS and 4 Maccabees in more ways than just these two. In this brief concluding paragraph, I am listing what I think are the two most significant ways Galatians differ.

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ABSTRACT

WALKING IN THE SPIRIT IN GALATIANS: COMPARING OBEDIENCE AND AGENCY IN GALATIANS, 1QS, AND 4 MACCABEES

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The focus of this work is on divine and human agency and walking in obedience. This dissertation examines what Paul says about divine and human agency with regard to walking by the Spirit in Galatians, focusing on 5:16–25, with an eye toward what 5:17 specifically adds to the conversation. Divine and human agency in Galatians is then compared to 1QS and 4 Maccabees. Chapters 2 and 3, examine what can be determined about the role the divine and the human agents play in the human agent's act of walking in obedience in 1QS and 4 Maccabees, respectively. Chapter 4 analyses the role the cross plays in Paul's argument against the law. Specifically, it examines the cross as the turning point between the two apocalyptic ages (cf. 1:4; 6:14–15), through which the Spirit was given, and what implications the turning of the ages and the giving of the Spirit have for divine and human agency and walking in obedience. Chapter 5 turns to Galatians 5:16–25 and examines what can be understood about divine and human agency with regard to walking in obedience, giving special focus to what verse 17 adds to the conversation, which scholars do not interact with when discussing agency in 5:16–25. In chapters 2, 3, and 5, I use John Barclay's models of divine agency to better understand the relationship between the divine and human agent in each work. Before concluding this dissertation, chapter 6 compares my findings about divine and human agency in walking in obedience in 1QS, 4 Maccabees, and Galatians. In this, I

compare all three texts together as well as two of the texts with the third in order to compare my findings from various points of view to better understand how divine and human agency in Galatians compares and contrasts to the Jewish texts.

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