
J. B. LIGHTFOOT

Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians

A Revised Text with Introduction, Notes, and Dissertations

Introduction: The Galatian People

Text and Notes: Chapter i

Detached Note: St Paul's Sojourn in Arabia

MIMHTAI MOY ΓΙΝΕCΘΕ ΚΑΘΩC ΚΑΓΩ ΧΡΙCΤΟΥ.

Excerpt · newly set from the edition of 1896

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This excerpt sets afresh, from the 1896 printing, Introduction I (pp. 1–8), the Text and Notes on chapter i (pp. 71–86) and the detached note on St Paul's sojourn in Arabia (pp. 87–90). The work is in the public domain in the United States (first published before 1930).

Greek, Hebrew and Arabic were checked against the page images of the original. Corrections are limited to evident misreadings and printer's slips; footnotes are renumbered continuously, and the readings printed in Lightfoot's margin are gathered beneath the Greek text. The index of Greek words was compiled for this excerpt; its references are to the pages of this edition.

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Παῦλος γενόμενος μέγιστος ὑπογραμμός.

CLEMENT

Οὐχ ὡς Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν· ἐκεῖνος ἀπόστολος, ἐγὼ
κατάκριτος· ἐκεῖνος ἐλεύθερος, ἐγὼ δὲ μέχρι νῦν δοῦλος.

IGNATIUS

Οὔτε ἐγὼ οὔτε ἄλλος ὅμοιος ἐμοὶ δύναται κατακολουθῆσαι
τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ ἐνδόξου Παύλου.

POLYCARP

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The Galatian People

WHEN St Paul carried the Gospel into Galatia, he was thrown for the first time among an alien people differing widely in character and habits from the surrounding nations. A race whose home was in the far West, they had been torn from their parent rock by some great social convulsion, and after drifting over wide tracts of country, had settled down at length on a strange soil in the very heart of Asia Minor. Without attempting here to establish the Celtic affinities of this boulder people by the fossil remains of its language and institutions, or to trace the path of its migration by the scores imprinted on its passage across the continent of Europe, it will yet be useful, by way of introduction to St Paul's Epistle, to sketch as briefly as possible its previous history and actual condition. There is a certain distinctness of feature in the portrait which the Apostle has left of his Galatian converts. It is clear at once that he is dealing with a type of character strongly contrasted for instance with the vicious refinements of the dissolute and polished Corinthians, perhaps the truest surviving representatives of ancient Greece, or again with the dreamy speculative mysticism which disfigured the half-oriental Churches of Ephesus and Colossæ. We may expect to have light thrown upon the broad features of national character which thus confront us, by the circumstances of the descent and previous history of the race, while at the same time such a sketch will prepare the way for the solution of some questions of interest, which start up in connexion with this epistle.

The Galatians an alien race.

*The names Celtæ,
Galatæ, and Galli.*

The great subdivision of the human family which at the dawn of European history occupied a large portion of the continent west of the Rhine with the outlying islands, and which modern philologers have agreed to call Celtic, was known to the classical writers of antiquity by three several names, *Celtæ*, *Galatæ*, and *Galli*. Of these, *Celtæ*, which is the most ancient, being found in the earliest Greek historians Hecatæus and Herodotus², was probably introduced into the Greek language by the colonists of Marseilles³, who were first brought in contact with this race. The term *Galatæ* is of late introduction, occurring first in Timæus, a writer of the third century B.C.⁴ This latter form was generally adopted by the Greeks when their knowledge was extended by more direct and frequent intercourse with these barbarians, whether in their earlier home in the West or in their later settlement in Asia Minor. Either it was intended as a more exact representation of the same barbarian sound, or, as seems more probable, the two are diverging but closely allied forms of the same word, derived by the Greeks from different branches of the Celtic race with which at different times they came in contact⁵. On the other hand, the Romans generally designated this people *Galli*. Whether this word exhibits the same root as *Celtæ* and *Galatæ*, omitting however the Celtic suffix⁶, or whether some other account of its origin is more probable, it is needless to enquire. The term *Galli* is sometimes adopted by

*Usage of Greek and
Roman writers.*

1 On these terms see Diefenbach *Celtica* II. p. 6 sq., Ukert *Geogr. der Griech. u. Röm. Th.* II. Abth. 2, p. 183 sq., Zeuss *die Deutschen u. die Nachbarstämme* p. 6 sq., Thierry *Histoire des Gaulois* I. p. 28.

2 Hecat. *Fragm.* 19, 21, 22, ed. Müller; Herod. II. 33, IV. 49. Both forms Κελτοὶ and Κέλται occur.

3 Diod. V. 32, quoted in note 5.

4 Timæus *Fragm.* 37, ed. Müller. Pausanias says (I. 3. 5) ὅψε δέ ποτε αὐτοὺς καλεῖσθαι Γαλάτας ἐξενίκησε. Κελτοὶ γὰρ κατὰ τε σφᾶς τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὠνομάζοντο. See also the passages in Diefenbach *Celt.* II. p. 8.

5 This seems the most probable inference from the confused notices in ancient writers. The most important passage is Diod. V. 32, τοὺς γὰρ ὑπὲρ Μασσαλίαν κατοικοῦντας ἐν τῷ μεσογείῳ καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς ἔτι δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τάδε τῶν Πυρηναίων ὁρῶν Κελτοὺς ὀνομάζουσι· τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς Κελτικῆς εἰς τὰ πρὸς νότον νεύοντα μέρη, παρὰ τε τὸν ὠκεανὸν καὶ τὸ Ἐρκύνιον ὄρος καθιδρυμένους καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐξῆς μέχρι τῆς Σκυθίας, Γαλάτας προσαγορεύουσι κ.τ.λ. See also Strabo IV. p. 189, and other passages cited in Ukert II. 2, p. 197 sq., Diefenbach *Celt.* II. p. 10 sq. At all events it seems certain that the Gauls in the neighbourhood of Marseilles called themselves *Celtæ*.

6 See Zeuss *Gramm. Celt.* p. 758.

later Greek writers, but, as a general rule, until some time after the Christian era they prefer *Galatæ*, whether speaking of the people of Gaul properly so called or of the Asiatic colony⁷. The Romans in turn sometimes borrow *Galatæ* from the Greeks, but when they do so it is applied exclusively to the Celts of Asia Minor, that is, to the Galatians in the modern sense of the term. The word *Celtæ* still remains in common use side by side with

7 Owing to the bearing of this fact, which has not been sufficiently noticed, on such passages as 2 Tim. iv. 10, I have thought it worth while to collect the following particulars. (1) Before the Christian era, and for two centuries afterwards, the form *Galatia* (*Galatæ*) is almost universally used by Greek writers to the exclusion of *Gallia* (*Galli*), when they do not employ *Celtice* (*Celtæ*). It occurs on the Monumentum Ancyranum (Boeckh *Corp. Inscr.* III. pp. 89, 90) erected by Augustus in the capital of Asiatic Gaul, where to avoid confusion the other form would naturally have been preferred, if it had been in use. It is current in Polybius, Diodorus, Strabo, Josephus, Plutarch, Appian, Pausanias, and Dion Cassius. It appears also in Athen. p. 333 D, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I. p. 359 (Potter), and Origen c. *Cels.* p. 335 B. Even Ælian (*Nat. An.* xvii. 19, referring however to an earlier writer) when speaking of the Asiatic people is obliged to distinguish them as Γαλάτας τοὺς ἑωούς. On the other hand St Basil (*Op.* I. p. 28, Garnier) describes the European Gauls as τοὺς ἐσπερίους Γαλάτας καὶ Κελτούς. In Boeckh C. I. no. 9764 the Asiatic country is called μικρὰ Γαλατία, 'Little Gaul.' (2) The first instance of *Gallia* (*Galli*) which I have found in any Greek author is in Epictetus (or rather Arrian), *Dissert.* II. 20. 17, ὥσπερ τοὺς Γαλλοὺς ἢ μανία καὶ ὁ οἶνος (probably not before A.D. 100). It occurs indeed in the present text of Dioscorides (I. 92, ἀπὸ Γαλλίας καὶ Τυρρηνίας), perhaps an earlier writer, but the reading is suspicious, since immediately afterwards he has ἀπὸ Γαλατίας τῆς πρὸς ταῖς Ἀλπεσιν. Later transcribers were sorely tempted to substitute the form with which they were most familiar, as is done in 2 Tim. iv. 10 in several mss. See below, p. 31, note 1. The substitution is so natural that it is sometimes erroneously made where the eastern country is plainly meant: e.g. Pseudo-Dorotheus. *Chron. Pasch.* II. p. 136, ed. Dind. The form Γαλλία occurs again in the Ep. of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons (Euseb. v. 1) A.D. 177, and in Theophil. *ad Autol.* II. 32 τὰς καλουμένας Γαλλίας. It is also common in Herodian. (3) In the 4th and 5th centuries the form 'Gallia' had to a very great extent displaced Galatia. See Agathem. II. 4, p. 37, τῶν Γαλλιῶν ἃς πρότερον Γαλατίας ἔλεγον, and Theod. Mops. on 2 Tim. iv. 10, τὰς νῦν καλουμένας Γαλλίας· οὕτως γὰρ (i.e. Γαλατίαν) αὐτὰς πάντες ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοί. Accordingly Athanasius (*Apol.* c. *Arian.* § 1, pp. 97, 98) in the same passage uses Γαλατία of Asiatic Gaul, Γαλλίαι of the European provinces. At a much earlier date than this Galen says (xiv. p. 80, Kuhn), καλοῦσι γοῦν αὐτοὺς ἔνιοι μὲν Γαλάτας ἔνιοι δὲ Γαλλοὺς, συνηθέστερον δὲ τὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ὄνομα, but he must be referring in the first two classes to the usage of the Greek and Roman writers respectively. See similar notices in Strabo IV. p. 195, Appian *Bell. Hisp.* § 1. The form Γαλατία of European Gaul still continued to be used occasionally, when Γαλλία had usurped its place. It is found for instance in Julian *Epist.* lxxiii, and in Libanius frequently: comp. Cureton *Corp. Ign.* p. 351. Ammianus (xv. 9) can still say, 'Galatas dictos, ita enim Gallos sermo Graecus appellat.' Even later writers, who use Γαλλίαι of the Roman provinces of Gaul, nevertheless seem to prefer Γαλατία when speaking of the western country as a whole, e.g. Ioann. Lydus *Ostent.* pp. 52, 54 (Wachsmuth), Hierocl. *Synecd.* app. p. 313 (Parthey).

the Galatæ of the Greek and Galli of the Roman writers, being employed in some cases as coextensive with these, and in others to denote a particular branch of the Celtic race¹.

Celtic migrations.

The rare and fitful glimpses which we obtain of the Celtic peoples in the early twilight of history reveal the same restless, fickle temperament, so familiar to us in St Paul's epistle. They appear in a ferment of busy turmoil and ceaseless migration⁸. They are already in possession of considerable tracts of country to the south and east of their proper limits. They have overflowed the barrier of the Alps and poured into Northern Italy. They have crossed the Rhine and established themselves here and there in that vague and ill-defined region known to the ancients as the Hercynian forest and on the banks of the Danube. It is possible that some of these were fragments sundered from the original mass of the Celtic people, and dropped on the way as they migrated westward from the common home of the Aryan races in central Asia: but more probable and more in accordance with tradition is the view that their course being obstructed by the ocean, they had retraced their steps and turned towards the East again. At all events, as history emerges into broad daylight, the tide of Celtic migration is seen rolling ever eastward. In the beginning of the fourth century before Christ a lateral wave sweeps over the Italian peninsula, deluging Rome herself and obliterating the landmarks of her earlier history. Three or four generations later another wave of the advancing tide, again diverted southward, pours into Macedonia and Thessaly, for a time carrying everything before it. The fatal repulse from Delphi, invested by Greek patriotism with a halo of legendary glory, terminated the Celtic invasion of Greece.

*Sacking of Rome, B.C.
390.*

*Attack on Delphi, B.C.
279.*

The Gauls in Asia Minor.

The Gaulish settlement in Asia Minor is directly connected with this invasion⁹. A considerable force had detached

8 For the migrations of the Celts see the well-known work of Thierry *Histoire des Gaulois* (4th ed. 1857), or Contzen *Wanderungen der Kelten* (Leipz. 1861). They are considered more in their philological aspect in Diefenbach's *Celtica*, and in Prichard's *Celtic Nations* edited by Latham. The article 'Galli' by Baumstark in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie* is a careful abstract of all that relates to the subject. See also Le Bas *Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1863).

9 The chief authorities for the history of the Asiatic Gauls are Polybius v. 77, 78, 111, xxii. 16–24, Livy xxxviii. 12 sq., Strabo xii. p. 566 sq., Memnon (*Geogr. Min.* ed. Müller, 111. p. 535 sq.), Justin xxv. 2 sq., Arrian *Syr.* 42, Pausanias i. 4. 5. See other references in Diefenbach *Celt.* 11. p. 250. It formed the main subject of several works no longer extant, the most important of which was the *Γαλατικὰ*

themselves from the main body, refusing to take part in the expedition. Afterwards reinforced by a remnant of the repulsed army they advanced under the command of the chiefs Leonnorijs and Lutarius, and forcing their way through Thrace arrived at the coast of the Hellespont. They did not long remain here, but gladly availing themselves of the first means of transport that came to hand, crossed over to the opposite shores, whose fertility held out a rich promise of booty. Thence they overran the greater part of Asia Minor. They laid the whole continent west of Taurus under tribute, and even the Syrian kings, it is said, were forced to submit to these humiliating terms¹⁰. Alternately, the scourge and the allies of each Asiatic prince in succession, as passion or interest dictated, they for a time indulged their predatory instincts unchecked. At length vengeance overtook them. A series of disasters, culminating in a total defeat inflicted by the Pergamene prince Attalus the First, effectually curbed their power and insolence¹¹.

B.C. 230.

By these successive checks they were compressed within comparatively narrow limits in the interior of Asia Minor. The country to which they were thus confined, the Galatia of history, is a broad strip of land over two hundred miles in length, stretching from north-east to south-west. It was parcelled out among the three tribes, of which the invading Gauls were composed, in the following way. The Trocmi occupied the easternmost portion, bordering on Cappadocia and Pontus, with Tavium or Tavia as their chief town. The Tolistobogii, who were situated to the west on the frontier of Bithynia and Phrygia Epictetus, fixed upon the ancient Pessinus for their capital. The

Limits of Galatia.

of Eratosthenes in forty books. The monograph of Wernsdorff, *De Republica Galatarum* (Nuremb. 1743), to which all later writers are largely indebted, is a storehouse of facts relating to early Galatian history. See also Robiou *Histoire des Gaulois d'Orient* (1866). The existing monuments of Galatia are described by Texier, *Asie Mineure* (1839–1849), I. p. 163 sq. An article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1841), IV. p. 574, by the same writer, contains an account of the actual condition of this country with a summary of its history ancient and modern. See also his smaller book, *Asie Mineure* (1862), p. 453 sq. More recent is the important work *Exploration Archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie* etc. by Perrot and Guillaume. The account of the Monumentum Ancyranum in this work is very complete and illustrated by numerous plates. The ancient history of Galatia is also given at length.

¹⁰ Livy xxxviii. 16.

¹¹ The chronology is somewhat uncertain. See Niebuhr *Kl. Schrift.* p. 286. The date given is an approximation.

Tectosages settled in the centre between the other two tribes, adopting Ancyra as their seat of government, regarded also as the metropolis of the whole of Galatia¹².

*Galatia conquered by the
Romans,*

But though their power was greatly crippled by these disasters, the Gauls still continued to play an important part in the feuds of the Asiatic princes. It was while engaged in these mercenary services that they first came into collision with the terrible might of Rome. A body of Galatian troops fighting on the side of Antiochus at the battle of Magnesia attracted the notice of the Romans, and from that moment their doom was sealed. A single campaign of the Consul Manlius sufficed for the entire subjugation of Galatia.

B.C. 189;

From that time forward they lived as peaceably as their restless spirit allowed them under Roman patronage. No humiliating conditions however were imposed upon them. They were permitted to retain their independence, and continued to be governed by their own princes. The conquerors even granted accessions of territory from time to time to those Galatian sovereigns who had been faithful to their allegiance. It was not the policy of the Romans to crush a race which had acted and might still act as a powerful check on its neighbours, thus preserving the balance of power or rather of weakness among the peoples of Asia Minor. At length, after more than a century and a half of native rule, on the death of Amyntas one of their princes, Galatia was formed by Augustus into a Roman province.

*becomes a province,
B.C. 25.*

The limits of the province are not unimportant in their bearing on some questions relating to the early history of the Gospel. It corresponded roughly to the kingdom of Amyntas, though some districts of the latter were assigned to a different government. Thus Galatia, as a Roman province, would include, besides the country properly so called, Lycaonia, Isauria, the south-eastern district of Phrygia, and a portion of Pisidia¹³.

*Extent of the Roman
province.*

12 So Strabo xii. p. 567, Pliny *H. N.* v. 42, in accordance with ancient authorities generally and confirmed by the inscriptions, Boeckh III. nos. 4010, 4011, 4085. Memnon is therefore in error (c. 19), when he assigns the chief towns differently. The names of the three tribes are variously written (see Contzen, p. 221), but the orthography adopted in the text is the best supported.

13 The extent of the kingdom of Amyntas may be gathered from the following passages: Strabo xii. p. 568, Dion Cass. xlix. 32 (Lycaonia), Strabo xii. p. 569 (Isauria), p. 571 (Pisidia), p. 577 (part of Phrygia), xiv. p. 671 (Cilicia Tracheia), Dion Cass. xlix. 32 (part of Pamphylia). See Becker *Röm. Alterth.* III. i. p. 155, Cellarius *Not. Orb. Ant.* II. p. 182. Of the formation of the Roman province Strabo

Lycaonia is especially mentioned as belonging to it, and there is evidence that the cities of Derbe and Lystra in particular¹⁴ were included within its boundaries. When the province was formed, the three chief towns of Galatia proper, Ancyra, Pessinus, and Tavium, took the name of Sebaste or Augusta, being distinguished from each other by the surnames of the respective tribes to which they belonged¹⁵.

Thus when the writers of the Roman period, St Paul and St Luke for instance, speak of Galatia, the question arises whether they refer to the comparatively limited area of Galatia proper, or to the more extensive Roman province. The former is the popular usage of the term, while the latter has a more formal and official character.

Ambiguity of the name.

says, xii. p. 567, νῦν δ' ἔχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ταύτην [τὴν Γαλατίαν] καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ Ἀμύντῃ γενομένην πᾶσαν εἰς μίαν συναγαγόντες ἐπαρχίαν, and similarly p. 569. This sweeping statement however must be qualified. See Dion Cass. liii. 26, τοῦ δ' Ἀμύντου τελευτήσαντος οὐ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ὑπήκοον ἐσήγαγε· καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἡ Γαλατία μετὰ τῆς Λυκαονίας Ῥωμαῖον ἄρχοντα ἔσχε· τὰ δὲ χωρία τὰ ἐκ τῆς Παμφυλίας πρότερον τῷ Ἀμύντῃ προσνεμηθέντα τῷ ἰδίῳ νόμῳ ἀπεδόθη. Cilicia Tracheia was also separated and assigned to Archelaus, Strabo xiv. p. 671. On the subject generally see Perrot *de Gal. Prov. Rom.* Paris 1867.

14 The Lystreni are included by Pliny among the Galatian peoples, H. N. v. 42. That Derbe also belonged to Galatia may be inferred from Strabo xii. p. 569. See Böttger *Beiträge, Suppl.* p. 26.

15 Σεβαστὴ Τεκτοσάγων, Σ. Τολιστοβωγίων, Σ. Τρόκμων. See Becker *Röm. Alterth.* III. i. p. 156.

ΠΡΟΣ ΓΑΛΑΤΑΣ

Chapter i

i. 1-5

ΠΑΥΛΟΣ ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, ² καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοί, ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας. ³ χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ⁴ τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐξέλῃται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πονηροῦ κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν ⁵ ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.

⁴ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν.

The two threads which run through this epistle—the defence of the Apostle's own authority, and the maintenance of the doctrine of grace—are knotted together in the opening salutation. By expanding his official title into a statement of his direct commission from God (ver. 1), St Paul meets the *personal* attack of his opponents; by dwelling on the work of redemption in connexion with the name of Christ (ver. 4), he protests against their *doctrinal* errors. See the introduction, p. 63.

'PAUL AN APOSTLE, whose authority does not flow from any human source, and whose office was not conferred through any human mediation, but through Jesus Christ, yea through God the Father Himself who raised Him from the dead—together with all the brethren in my company—to the CHURCHES OF GALATIA. Grace the fountain of all good things, and peace the crown of all blessings, be unto you from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ, who gave Himself for our sins that He might rescue us from the tyranny of this present age with all its sins and miseries, according to the will of our God and Father, whose is the glory throughout all the ages. Amen.'

1. οὐκ ἄπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου] 'not of men, nor yet by man.' The first preposition denotes the fountain-head whence the Apostle's authority springs, the second the channel through which it is conveyed. Thus in the first clause he distinguishes himself from the false apostles, who did not derive their commission from God at all; in the second he ranks himself with the Twelve, who were commissioned directly from God. The prepositions therefore retain their proper sense. Διά, as distinguished from ἀπό, is used consistently in the New Testament to denote the *means* or *instrument*, especially as describing either (1) the operations of our Lord, as the Word of God, e.g. 1 Cor. viii. 6 εἰς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, or (2) the human agency employed in carrying out the divine purpose, e.g. 1 Cor. iii. 5 διάκονοι δι' ὧν ἐπιστεύσατε. The change of preposition ('of,' 'by') in this passage carries with it the change of number also ('men,' 'man'). Titles and offices which emanate from a body of men will be conferred by their single representative. The acts of the Senate took effect through the prince, those of the Sanhedrin through the high-priest. The transition to the singular moreover, independently of its own fitness, would suggest itself in anticipation of the clause διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, which was to follow.

ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] To what event does the Apostle here refer? When did he receive his commission from Christ Himself? In 1 Cor. ix. 1, he speaks of his having 'seen the Lord Jesus,' as a token of his apostleship; and this seems naturally to refer to the appearance on the way to Damascus, Acts ix. 3 sq. From this point of time therefore his commission dated. It was essentially this revelation of our Lord which set him apart for his high office, though the outward investiture may have taken place through human agency at a later date: see Acts ix. 15-17, xiii. 2, 3. The intervention of the prophets and Church of Antioch may perhaps have given a colouring to the false representation that he was an 'Apostle of men.' See p. 98.

καὶ Θεοῦ πατρός] It might be expected that the first preposition (ἀπὸ) would have been resumed here, as more appropriate. It is incorrect however to say that διὰ is loosely used; for if there be any laxity of expression, it is rather in the connexion of the sentences than in the use of the prepositions. At the same time the Apostle's language, as it stands, is more forcible. By including both clauses under the same preposition, he expresses with greater emphasis the *directness* of his divine commission. The channel of his authority (διὰ) coincides with its source (ἀπὸ). The point of the sentence would have been blunted by inserting ἀπό. Nor indeed is the extension of διὰ to the second clause a violation of its strict meaning, which is observed perhaps with greater precision in the New Testament than elsewhere, owing to its recognised function, as describing the *mediatorial* office of the Son. Ἀπό, though by far the most common, is not the only preposition which may be used in speaking of the Father. He is the beginning, middle, and end of all His works (ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτόν, Rom. xi. 36), and may therefore be regarded as the instrument, no less than the source, in the fulfilment of His own purposes. This mode of expression will be adopted especially, where the writer is speaking of God's manifestation of Himself in some special act, as here in the raising of Jesus from the dead. Comp. iv. 7, 1 Cor. i. 9, and see Winer, *Gramm.* § xlvii. p. 473 sq. Marcion (Hieron. ad l.) cut the knot by omitting καὶ Θεοῦ πατρός, and apparently reading ἐαυτὸν for αὐτόν.

Here the Apostle's words are 'By Jesus Christ *and* God the Father': immediately after he writes 'From God the Father, *and* our Lord Jesus Christ.' The one expression supplements the other: 'Thou, Father, in Me, and I in Thee' (John xvii. 21).

τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτόν ἐκ νεκρῶν] 'who raised Him from the dead.' This expression occurs elsewhere with a more general reference to Christian faith or Christian life: Rom. iv. 24, viii. 11; comp. 1 Cor. xv. 15. Here it has a special bearing on St Paul's apostleship,

as the context shows. 'I was commissioned by the risen and glorified Lord: I am in all respects an Apostle, a qualified witness of His resurrection, and a signal instance of His power.'

2. οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοί] 'all the brethren who are with me.' Probably the small band of his fellow-travellers is meant. See Phil. iv. 21, where he distinguishes 'the brethren who are with him' from 'all the saints,' i.e. from the resident members of the Church of Rome from which he is writing. For the bearing of this phrase on the date of the epistle, see p. 55. This company perhaps included Timothy (2 Cor. i. 1) and Erastus (Acts xix. 22). He may also at this time have been rejoined by Titus with the two brethren from Corinth (2 Cor. viii. 16-24), and may have had with him besides some of those who accompanied him afterwards on his return to Asia, as Tychicus and Trophimus for instance (Acts xx. 4, 5), if indeed they are not to be identified with the two brethren already mentioned.

The patristic writers, followed by several modern commentators, see in this expression a desire on the part of the Apostle to fortify his teaching by the sanction of others: 'Faciens eis pudorem, quod contra omnes sentiunt,' says Victorinus. Such a motive seems alien to the whole spirit of this epistle, in which all human authority is set aside. The Apostle in fact dismisses the mention of his companions as rapidly as possible in one general expression. He then returns to the singular, 'I marvel,' which he retains throughout the epistle. Paul's authority has been challenged, and Paul alone answers the challenge.

ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας] 'to the Churches of Galatia.' On this mode of address, as marking the earlier epistles, see 1 Thess. i. 1. The abruptness of the language here is remarkable. Elsewhere the Apostle adds some words of commendation. The Church of the Thessalonians, for instance, is 'in God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ' (1 Thess. i. 1, 2 Thess. i. 1): that of the Corinthians is composed of those 'sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints' (1 Cor. i. 2, comp. 2 Cor. i.

1). The omission of any expression of praise in addressing the Galatians shows the extent of their apostasy; see p. 64.

3. χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη, κ.τ.λ.] On this form of salutation see the notes 1 Thess. i. 1.

4. τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτόν, κ.τ.λ.] 'who gave Himself for our sins.' A declaration of the true ground of acceptance with God. The Galatians had practically ignored the atoning death of Christ: comp. ii. 21, v. 4.

περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν] The mss here, as in several other passages, are divided between *περὶ* and *ὑπὲρ*, though here the balance of authority is perhaps in favour of *περὶ*. Generally it may be said that *περὶ* is used of things, *ὑπὲρ* of persons, as 1 Pet. iii. 18 ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἅπαξ περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἀπέθανεν δίκαιος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων, but exceptions are very numerous, and in Heb. v. 3 we have *περὶ* ἑαυτοῦ προσφέρειν *περὶ* ἁμαρτιῶν (not *ὑπὲρ* ἁμαρτιῶν, as some read), though just before (ver. 1) the expression used is *προσφέρειν ὑπὲρ* ἁμαρτιῶν. Where *περὶ* is used of persons, it is frequently explained by some clause added, e.g. Matt. xxvi. 28 τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυννόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. With this compare the parallel passages Luke xxii. 19, 20 (*ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν*), Mark xiv. 24 (*ὑπὲρ πολλῶν*, the correct reading), where there is no explanatory clause. All this follows from the meaning of the prepositions, *ὑπὲρ* having a sense of 'interest in,' which is wanting to *περὶ*. The distinction is marked in Athenag. Resurr. 1, λόγων διττῶν τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας των δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας κ.τ.λ. (comp. § 11). Neither conveys the idea of a vicarious act (*ἀντί*), though such will frequently appear in the context. On *ὑπὲρ* and *περὶ* see Winer § xlvii. p. 479, and especially Wieseler's note here.

ἐξέληται] 'deliver' strikes the key-note of the epistle. The Gospel is a rescue, an emancipation from a state of bondage. See esp. iv. 9, 31, v. 1, 13.

τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστώτος πονηροῦ] the correct reading, in which the detached position of *πονηροῦ* is emphatic: 'with all its evils.'

Comp. Arist. Eth. Nic. i. 13 καὶ γὰρ τὰγαθὸν ἀνθρώπινον ἐζητοῦμεν καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀνθρωπίνην, Polit. ii. 9 τῶν γ' ἀδικημάτων ἐκουσίῳ τὰ πλεῖστα συμβαίνει κ.τ.λ. The reading of the received text, τοῦ ἐνεστώτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ, is grammatically simpler, but less forcible.

The author of the Clementines, who was certainly acquainted with this epistle (see p. 61), seems to have St Paul's expression in mind, *Epist. Clem.* 1, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνεστώτος πονηροῦ τὸν ἐσόμενον ἀγαθὸν ὄλω τῷ κόσμῳ μὲνυσας βασιλέα (where αἰῶνος found in some texts after πονηροῦ is evidently an interpolation). If so, he appears to have interpreted the words 'from the æon, the dominion, of the present evil one': comp. 1 John v. 19 ὁ κόσμος ὅλος ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ κεῖται, Barnab. § 2. At all events a possible interpretation is thus suggested. Comp. Polyb. xviii. 38. 5 τὸν ἐνεστώτα βασιλέα.

τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστώτος] The present transitory world, elsewhere ὁ νῦν αἰὼν, e.g. 1 Tim. vi. 17, ὁ αἰὼν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου Ephes. ii. 2, and most frequently ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος, e.g. Rom. xii. 2, as opposed to the other world, the world of eternity, ὁ αἰὼν ἐκεῖνος Luke xx. 35, ὁ αἰὼν ὁ ἐρχόμενος Luke viii. 20, αἰὼν μέλλων Hebr. vi. 5, and often in the plural, οἱ αἰῶνες οἱ ἐπερχόμενοι Ephes. ii. 7, οἱ αἰῶνες τῶν αἰώνων, and οἱ αἰῶνες simply. This age, this world, is under a 'god' (2 Cor. iv. 4) or 'rulers' (1 Cor. ii. 6) of its own, who are opposed to the Eternal God, the King of the ages, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων, 1 Tim. i. 17. See especially Ephes. ii. 2-7, and comp. [Clem. Rom.] ii. § 6 ἔστιν δὲ οὗτος ὁ αἰὼν καὶ ὁ μέλλων δύο ἔχθοροι. The Apostles speak of themselves and their generation as living on the frontier of two æons, the Gospel transferring them as it were across the border. The distinction of time between the two, which is the primary distinction, becomes lost in the moral and spiritual conception.

It has been proposed to take ἐνεστὼς here in the sense of 'impending,' as referring to the final apostasy. In other passages however ἐνεστώτα is plainly 'present' as opposed to

μέλλοντα 'future,' Rom. viii. 38, 1 Cor. iii. 22 (comp. Heb. ix. 9), in accordance with the sense it bears in the language of grammar, where ὁ χρόνος ὁ ἐνεστὼς is 'the present tense.' Comp. Philo de Plant. Noe ii. § 27, p. 346 Μ τριμεροῦς χρόνου, ὃς εἰς τὸν παρελθυθότα καὶ ἐνεστώτα καὶ μέλλοντα τέμνεσθαι πέφυκεν. Even in passages where it seems at first sight to have the sense 'impending, soon to come,' as in 1 Cor. vii. 26 διὰ τὴν ἐνεστώσαν ἀνάγκην, 2 Thess. ii. 2 ἐνέστηκεν ἡ ἡμέρα, its proper meaning is more appropriate.

κατὰ τὸ θέλημα] 'by the will of God' and not by our own merits. St Paul is still insisting on the dispensation of grace impugned by the false teachers. Compare τοῦ καλέσαντος, ver. 6.

τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν] Comp. Phil. iv. 20. Does ἡμῶν refer to Θεοῦ as well as πατρός, 'Our God and Father'? On the whole this seems probable; for the article, not being necessary before Θεοῦ, seems to be added to bind the two clauses together and connect both with ἡμῶν. The same construction is justified in the case of the similar expression, ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (2 Cor. i. 3, Ephes. i. 3), by John xx. 17, 'I ascend to my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God.' See Fritzsche on Rom. iii. p. 233. In ver. 1 the word 'Father' refers especially though not solely to Christ, in ver. 4 to mankind, while in ver. 3 it seems to be used absolutely.

5. Speaking of the mercy of God, as shown in man's redemption through the death of Christ, the Apostle bursts out in an ascription of praise. 'Infinitis beneficiis infinita gloria debetur,' says Pelagius. For similar outbursts of thanksgiving see Rom. vii. 25, ix. 5, xi. 36, 2 Cor. ix. 15, Ephes. iii. 20.

ἡ δόξα] 'the glory, which is pre-eminently such, the glory which belongs to him': comp. Joh. xvii. 5. The article is almost universally found with δόξα in these doxologies. Contrast with this the absence of the article in Rom. ii. 10, 1 Cor. xi. 15. It is probable therefore that we should supply ἔστιν in such cases rather than ἔστω. It is an affirmation rather than

a wish. Glory is the essential attribute of God. See 1 Pet. iv. 11 ὃ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, and the doxology added to the Lord's prayer, Matt. vi. 13.

εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων] 'for endless ages,' opposed to the present finite and transitory age (ver. 4). Compare Ephes. ii. 2, 7, where this opposition is brought out more strongly.

i. 6-9

⁶ Θαυμάζω ὅτι οὕτως ταχέως μετατίθεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι Χριστοῦ εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον, ⁷ ὁ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο, εἰ μὴ τινὲς εἰσιν οἱ ταρασσοντες ὑμᾶς καὶ θέλοντες μεταστρέψαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ. ⁸ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ἡμεῖς ἢ ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εὐαγγελίζηται [ὑμῖν] παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. ⁹ ὡς προειρήκαμεν καὶ ἄρτι πάλιν λέγω, εἴ τις ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελίζεται παρ' ὃ παρελάβετε, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

An indignant expression of surprise takes the place of the usual thanksgiving for the faith of his converts. This is the sole instance where St Paul omits to express his thankfulness in addressing any church. See the introduction, p. 64.

‘I MARVEL THAT ye are so ready to revolt from God who called you, so reckless in abandoning the dispensation of grace for a different gospel. A different gospel, did I say? Nay, it is not another. There cannot be two gospels. Only certain men are shaking your allegiance, attempting to pervert the Gospel of Christ. A vain attempt, for the Gospel perverted is no Gospel at all. Yea, though we ourselves or an angel from heaven (were it possible) should preach to you any other gospel than that which we have preached hitherto, let him be accursed. I have said this before, and I repeat it now. If any man preaches to you any other gospel than that which ye were taught by us, let him be accursed.’

⁶. οὕτως ταχέως] ‘so quickly.’ If by ‘so quickly’ we understand ‘so soon,’ it must mean ‘so soon after your conversion,’ as the words following show. For the bearing of this expression on the date of the epistle see p. 41. It is possible however that ταχέως here may signify ‘readily,’ ‘rashly,’ i.e. quickly after the opportunity is offered, a sense which the present tense (μετατίθεσθε) would facilitate. See 1 Tim. v. 22 χείρας ταχέως μηδὲν ἐπιτίθει, 2 Thess. ii. 2 εἰς τὸ μὴ ταχέως σαλευθῆναι. In this case there will be no reference to any independent point of time.

μετατίθεσθε] ‘are turning renegades’; the middle voice, as may be seen from the passages quoted below. Μετατίθεσθαι is used (1) of desertion or revolt, i.e. of military or

political defection, as in Polyb. xxvi. 2. 6 ταχέως καὶ τοὺς πολιτευομένους μεταθέσθαι πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμαίων αἵρεσιν, and frequently (2) of a change in religion, philosophy, or morals, 1 Kings xxi. 25 ὡς μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν Ἰεζάβελ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, Iambl. Protrep. c. 17 μεταθέσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπλήστως καὶ ἀκολάστως ἔχοντος βίου ἐπὶ τὸν κοσμίως. Dionysius of Heraclea, who from being a Stoic became an Epicurean, was called μεταθεμένος, ‘turncoat’ (ἀντικρυς ἀποδὺς τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς χιτῶνα ἀνθινὰ μετημφιάσατο Athen. vii. p. 281 D). The word is frequently used however of ‘conversion’ in a good sense, as in Justin Apol. ii. pp. 83 B, 91 D, etc.

τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι] ‘Him who called you in grace.’ St Paul here states

the distinctive features of the true Gospel which the Galatians had set aside: first, as regards its source, that conversion comes of God ('Him that called you') and not of themselves; and secondly, as regards the instrument, that it is a covenant of grace, not of works. For the omission of Θεοῦ, see the note on i. 15.

Χριστοῦ] is generally omitted in the Latin authorities, while some others read Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, and even Θεοῦ. All these may possibly have been glosses to explain τοῦ καλέσαντος. Certainly the passage seems to gain in force by the omission. The implied antithesis between the true gospel of grace and the false gospel of works thus stands out in bolder relief: comp. Ephes. ii. 8 τῇ χάριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι. It is found however in the best mss, and is supported by such passages as Acts xv. 11, διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ πιστεύομεν σωθῆναι. If retained, it must be taken after χάριτι, and not with τοῦ καλέσαντος as in the Peshito, for ὁ καλέσας in St Paul's language is always the Father.

6, 7. εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγ., κ.τ.λ.] 'to a second, a different gospel, which is not another.' This is not an admission in favour of the false teachers, as though they taught the one Gospel, however perverted (comp. Phil. i. 15, 18). Such a concession would be quite alien to the spirit of this passage. 'It is not another gospel,' the Apostle says, 'for there cannot be two gospels, and as it is not the same, it is no gospel at all.' The relative ὁ cannot without harshness be referred to anything else but ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον.

ἕτερον] implies a difference of kind, which is not involved in ἄλλο. The primary distinction between the words appears to be, that ἄλλος is another as 'one besides,' ἕτερος another as 'one of two.' The fundamental sense of ἕτερος is most clearly marked in its compounds, as ἐτερόφθαλμος, 'one-eyed.' Thus ἄλλος adds, while ἕτερος distinguishes. Now when our attention is confined to two objects, we naturally compare and contrast them; hence ἕτερος gets to signify 'unlike, opposite,' as Xen. Cyrop. viii. 3. 8 ἦν μου

κατηγορήσης.....εἰσαυθις ὅταν διακονῶ, ἐτέρω μοι χρήσῃ διακόνω, i.e. 'changed,' where ἄλλω could not stand. In Exod. i. 8 ἀνέστη δὲ βασιλεὺς ἕτερος ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, it is a translation of שֵׁנִי 'novus'; and the idea of *difference* is frequently prominent in the word as used in the LXX. Thus while ἄλλος is generally confined to a negation of identity, ἕτερος sometimes implies the negation of resemblance. See 2 Cor. xi. 4, where the two words are used appropriately, as they are here. In many cases however they will be interchangeable: comp. Matt. xi. 3 with Luke vii. 20. Hesychius explains ἕτερον· ἄλλον· ἢ ἄλλοιον· ἢ ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν· ἢ ἀριστερόν, νέον, δεύτερον.

7. εἰ μὴ τινές, κ.τ.λ.] 'Only in this sense is it another gospel, in that it is an attempt to pervert the one true Gospel.' Εἰ μὴ seems always to retain, at least in this stage of the language, its proper *exceptive* sense, and is not simply *oppositive*, though it frequently approaches nearly to ἄλλά; see the note on i. 19. Here the following θέλοντες, which is slightly emphatic ('attempting to, though without success'), justifies the exception taken by εἰ μὴ.

τινές εἰσιν οἱ ταρασσόντες] a somewhat unusual construction for οἱ ταρασσουσιν. It occurs however even in classical writers, e.g. Soph. (Ed. Col. 1023 ἄλλοι γὰρ οἱ σπεύδοντες, Lysias pro Arist. bon. § 57 εἰσὶ δὲ τινες οἱ προαναλίσκοντες (the latter passage is quoted with others by Winer, § xviii. p. 136), and more commonly in the New Testament, e.g. Col. ii. 8 βλέπετε μὴ τις ἔσται ὁ συλαγωγῶν, Luke xviii. 9. See the note on iii. 21. For τινές applied by St Paul to his adversaries, see ii. 12, 1 Cor. iv. 18, 2 Cor. iii. 1, x. 2. Other interpretations of this clause have been proposed, all of which seem to do violence either to the sense or the grammar.

ταράσσοντες] not 'troubling your minds,' but 'raising seditions among you, shaking your allegiance,' a continuation of the metaphor of μετατίθεσθε. The phrase ταραττειν τὴν πόλιν is commonly used of factions, e.g. Aristoph. Eq. 863. See the note on v. 10.

μεταστρέψαι] properly, 'to reverse, to change to the opposite,' and so stronger than διαστρέψαι, which is simply 'to distort,' 'wrench': comp. Arist. *Rhet.* i. 15 καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ξενοφάνους μεταστρέψαντα φατέον κ.τ.λ. What was the idea prominent in the Apostle's mind when he called this heresy a 'reversal' of the Gospel may be gathered from iii. 3.

τοῦ Χριστοῦ] On the genitive see the notes on 1 Thess. ii. 2.

8, 9. The difference of moods in these two verses is to be noticed. In the former, a pure hypothesis is put forward, in itself highly improbable (εὐαγγελίζεται): in the latter, a fact which had actually occurred, and was occurring (εὐαγγελίζεται).

καὶ ἐάν] preserves its proper sense of 'etiamsi,' as distinguished from ἐάν καὶ 'etsi.' See Hermann *Viger* p. 832, Jelf *Gramm.* § 861. In other words, it introduces a highly improbable supposition. With this passage contrast the meaning of ἐάν καὶ as it occurs in vi. 1, ἐάν καὶ προλημφθῇ.

ἡμεῖς] 'we.' St Paul seems never to use the plural when speaking of himself alone. Here it would include those who had been his colleagues in preaching to the Galatians, such as Silas and Timothy. The latter especially would be referred to, as he seems to have been with the Apostle on both visits to Galatia, and was probably in his company when this letter was written. See the note on i. 2.

ὅτι] is doubtful, being found both before and after εὐαγγελίζεται in different texts, and in some omitted entirely.

παρ' ὃ] On the interpretation of these words a controversy on 'tradition' has been made to hinge, Protestant writers advocating the sense of 'besides' for παρὰ, Roman Catholics that of 'contrary to.' The context is the best guide to the meaning of the preposition. St Paul is here asserting the oneness, the integrity of his Gospel. It will not brook any rival. It will not suffer any foreign admixture. The idea of 'contrariety' therefore is alien to the general bearing of the passage, though independently of the context the preposition might well have this meaning.

ἀνάθεμα] is the common (Hellenistic), ἀνάθημα the classical (Attic) form. See Lobeck *Phryn.* pp. 249, 445, *Paralip.* p. 417. But though originally the same, the two forms gradually diverged in meaning; ἀνάθημα getting to signify 'devoted' in a good, and ἀνάθεμα in a bad sense. See Trench. *N. T. Synon.* § v. p. 14; Fritzsche on Rom. ix. 3. This is a common phenomenon in all languages, e.g. in English 'cant,' 'chant,' 'human,' 'humane,' with other examples given in Trench *Study of Words*, p. 156; see also Max Müller's *Science of Language*, 2nd ser. p. 262 sq. Such divergences of meaning are generally to be traced to the different sources from which the varying forms are derived. In the present instance the distinction seems to have arisen from the fact that the sense 'an accursed thing' would be derived chiefly through the Hellenist writers of the LXX, the sense 'an offering' mostly through classical authors. The distinction of meaning however is only general, not universal. Pseudo-Justin, *Quaest. et resp.* 121 (p. 190, Otto), assigns both meanings to ἀνάθεμα, as Theodoret (on Rom. ix. 3) does to ἀνάθημα. Ἀνάθημα occurs only once in the New Testament, Luke xxi. 5, and there in the sense of 'an offering,' in accordance with the distinction given above.

It is doubted whether ἀνάθεμα here means 'excommunicated' or 'accursed'; i.e. whether it refers to ecclesiastical censure or spiritual condition. The latter alone seems tenable; for (1) it is the LXX. translation of the Hebrew דָּרָס, e.g. Josh. vii. 1, 12. This word is used in the Old Testament of a person or thing set apart and devoted to destruction, because hateful to God. Hence in a spiritual application it denotes the state of one who is alienated from God by sin. But on the other hand it seems never to signify 'excommunicated,' a sense which is not found till much later than the Christian era. (2) In no passage is the sense of ecclesiastical censure very appropriate to ἀνάθεμα, ἀναθεματίζειν, where they occur in the New Testament, and in some, as Rom. ix. 3, 1 Cor. xiii. 3, it is obviously excluded. Here, for instance, it is inconsistent with the ἄγγελος

ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. In course of time ἀνάθεμα, like the corresponding ׀רן, underwent a change of meaning, getting to signify 'excommunicated,' and this is the common patristic sense of the word. It was not unnatural therefore, that the fathers should attempt to force upon St Paul the ecclesiastical sense with which they were most familiar, as Theodoret does for instance, on 1 Cor. xvi. 22, explaining ἀνάθεμα ἔστω by ἀλλύτριος ἔστω τοῦ κοινοῦ σώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

9. ὥς προειρήκαμεν] 'as we have told you before,' probably on the occasion of his second visit, when he already discerned unhealthy symptoms in the Galatian Church. See p. 25. The distinction between the singular (λέγω) where St Paul is writing in his own person, and the plural (προειρήκαμεν) where he is speaking of the joint labours of himself and

his colleagues, is to be observed. See the note on ἡμεῖς ver. 8.

καὶ ἄρτι πάλιν] 'so now again.' ἄρτι here denotes strictly present, as opposed to past time—a late use of the word. See Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 18 sq.

πάλιν] 'again' is not to be referred, as it is taken by some, to the preceding verse, in the sense 'I repeat what I have just said.' Against this interpretation two objections lie: (1) St Paul in that case would have used the singular προεἶρηκα (which indeed is found in some texts), as throughout the epistle he writes in his own person alone; and (2) The words καὶ ἄρτι mark some greater distinction of time than this interpretation would allow.

ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελίζεται] In classical writers this verb takes only a dative of the person, in later Greek it has indifferently a dative or an accusative. See Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 266 sq. and Ellicott on 1 Thess. iii. 6.

i. 10

10 ἄρτι γὰρ ἀνθρώπους πείθω ἢ τὸν Θεόν; ἢ ζητῶ ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκειν; εἰ ἔτι ἀνθρώποις ἤρεσκον, Χριστοῦ δοῦλος οὐκ ἂν ἦμην.

'LET HIM BE accursed, I say. What, does my boldness startle you? Is this, I ask, the language of a time-server? Will any say now that, careless of winning the favour of God, I seek to conciliate men, to ingratiate myself with men? If I had been content thus to compromise, I should have been spared all the sufferings, as I should have been denied all the privileges, of a servant of Christ.'

ἄρτι γάρ] What is the opposition implied in this now? It can scarcely be referred, as some refer it, to the time before his conversion. 'Conciliation' is no fit term to apply to the fierce bigotry of Saul, the persecutor of the Church of Christ. The errors of his early career are the offspring of blind zeal, and not of worldly policy (1 Tim. i. 13). The explanation is doubtless to be found in the charges of inconsistency brought against him by the Judaizers. They had misrepresented certain acts of his past life, and branded him as a temporiser. There shall be no doubt about his language now. He had formerly, they said, preached the Mosaic law, because forsooth he had

become as a Jew to the Jews. Let them judge now whether he would make concessions to conciliate those who had a leaning towards Judaism. This ἄρτι has therefore no connexion with the ἄρτι of ver. 9. The suppressed allusion to the Judaizers also explains the particle γάρ: 'I speak thus strongly, for my language shall not be misconstrued, shall wear no semblance of compromise.'

ἀνθρώπους πείθω ἢ τὸν Θεόν] 'do I conciliate, make friends of men or of God?' Though the idea of persuasion is not strictly applicable in the case of God (comp. 2 Cor. v. 11, ἀνθρώπους πείθομεν, Θεῷ δὲ πεφανερῶμεθα), yet πείθω is fitly extended

to the second clause in reference to the language of his enemies. 'You charge me with a policy of conciliation. Yes; I conciliate God.' 'De humano usu sumptum est,' says Jerome. On the article Bengel pointedly remarks: 'ἀνθρώπους, homines; hoc sine articulo: at mox τὸν Θεόν, Deum cum articulo. Dei solius habenda est ratio.' See also the note on iv. 31.

ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκειν] So 1 Thess. ii. 4: comp. ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι, Ephes. vi. 6, Col. iii. 22 (with the note).

ἔτι] 'still.' After what? 'After all that has befallen me: after all the experiences I have had.' Compare the ἔτι of v. 11. Both passages find an explanation in vi. 17; 'Henceforth let

no man trouble me.' See the introduction, p. 51. The ἔτι does not imply that St Paul ever had been a time-server. It is equivalent to, 'at this stage,' 'at this late date.' The insertion of γάρ after εἰ in the received text is one of the many attempts of transcribers to smooth down the ruggedness of St Paul's style.

Χριστοῦ δοῦλος οὐκ ἂν ἤμην] 'I should not have been a servant of Christ,' perhaps with an indirect reference to the marks of persecution which he bore on his body (τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, vi. 17); 'I should not have been branded as His slave, I should not have suffered for Him.' Comp. v. 11, 'If I yet preach circumcision, why am I yet persecuted?'

i. 11-12

11 Γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον. **12** οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου παρέλαβον αὐτὸ οὔτε ἐδιδάχθην, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

11 γνωρίζω γάρ. **12** οὐδὲ ἐδιδάχθην.

'I ASSURE YOU, brethren, the Gospel you were taught by me is not of human devising. I did not myself receive it from man, but from Jesus Christ. I did not learn it, as one learns a lesson, by painful study. It flashed upon me, as a revelation from Jesus Christ.'

11. Γνωρίζω ὑμῖν] 'I declare to you' introduces some statement on which the Apostle lays special emphasis, 1 Cor. xii. 3, xv. 1, 2 Cor. viii. 1. (Compare the similar phrase, 'I would not have you ignorant.') Both this phrase and the following, κατὰ ἄνθρωπον, are confined to the epistles of this chronological group.

The best authorities are nearly equally divided between δὲ and γάρ. The former, resuming the subject which has been interrupted by his defence of himself, is more after the Apostle's manner, while the latter would seem the obvious connecting particle to transcribers. On the other hand δὲ may possibly have been substituted for γάρ here, because it is found with γνωρίζω (-ζομεν) in 1 Cor. xv. 1, 2 Cor. viii. 1.

ἔστιν] is here only the copula. The present tense is used instead of the imperfect to show

the permanence and unchangeableness of his Gospel. See ii. 2.

κατὰ ἄνθρωπον] 'after any human fashion or standard.' See on iii. 15.

12. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ] 'For to go a step farther back, neither did I myself receive it from man.' The force of the particle οὐδὲ is best sought for in the context. Οὐδὲ ἐγὼ παρέλαβον answers to τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν, as παρὰ ἀνθρώπου answers to κατὰ ἄνθρωπον. Others explain it 'I as little as the Twelve,' 'I in whom perhaps it might have been expected': but such interpretations are not reflected in the context.

παρὰ ἀνθρώπου παρέλαβον] The idea in the preposition is sufficiently wide to include both the ἀπὸ and διὰ of ver. 1. I do not think the distinction given by Winer § xlvi. p. 463,

and others, between λαμβάνειν παρὰ Κυρίου and λαμβάνειν ἀπὸ Κυρίου (1 Cor. xi. 23), as denoting respectively direct and indirect communication, can be insisted upon. It is true, that while ἀπὸ contemplates only the giver, παρὰ in a manner connects the giver with the receiver, denoting the passage from the one to the other, but the links of the chain between the two may be numerous, and in all cases where the idea of transmission is prominent παρὰ will be used in preference to ἀπὸ, be the communication direct or indirect; so Phil. iv. 18 δεξάμενος παρὰ Ἐπαφροδίτου τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν: comp. Plat. Symp. 202 E. The verb παραλαμβάνειν may be used either of the ultimate receiver or of any intermediate agent, provided that the idea of transmission be retained; i.e. it may be either (1) to receive as transmitted to oneself, 2 Thess. iii. 6, or (2) to receive so as to transmit to others. In this latter sense it is used of the Apostles, who receiving the Gospel directly from the Lord

passed it to others. See 1 Cor. xi. 23, xv. 1, 3, and compare παραγγελία.

οὔτε ἐδιδάχθην] The authorities being nearly equally divided between οὔτε and οὐδέ, I have with some hesitation retained the former in the text, as being the less regular collocation (οὐδέ...οὔτε), and therefore more likely to be altered. In this case another οὔτε is to be understood before παρέλαβον, the δὲ of οὐδέ having reference to the former sentence. See Winer § lv. 6, p. 617, and esp. A. Buttmann p. 315.

ἐδιδάχθην is added to explain and enforce παρὰ ἀνθρώπου παρέλαβον, and thus to bring out the contrast with δι' ἀποκαλύψεως: 'I received it not by instruction from man but by revelation from Christ.' For a somewhat similar contrast see Cic. pro Mil. c. 4, 'Est enim haec, judices, non scripta sed nata lex; quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verum ex natura ipsa arripimus, hausimus, expressimus.'

i. 13-14

¹³ ἤκούσατε γὰρ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναστροφήν ποτε ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ, ὅτι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐδίωκον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐπόρθουν αὐτήν, ¹⁴ καὶ προέκοπτον ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ ὑπὲρ πολλοὺς συνηλικιώτας ἐν τῷ γένει μου, περισσοτέρως ζηλωτῆς ὑπάρχων τῶν πατρικῶν μου παραδόσεων.

'MY EARLY EDUCATION is a proof that I did not receive the Gospel from man. I was brought up in a rigid school of ritualism, directly opposed to the liberty of the Gospel. I was from age and temper a staunch adherent of the principles of that school. Acting upon them, I relentlessly persecuted the Christian brotherhood. No human agency therefore could have brought about the change. It required a direct interposition from God.'

13. ἤκούσατε] 'ye heard,' 'I told you, when I was with you.' The history of his past career as a persecutor formed part of his preaching: see Acts xxii. 2-21, xxvi. 4-23, 1 Cor. xv. 8-10: comp. Phil. iii. 6, 1 Tim. i. 13. The A.V., 'ye have heard,' gives a wrong meaning.

ἀναστροφήν ποτε] for the more usual ποτε ἀναστροφήν, as ver. 23 ὁ διώκων ἡμᾶς ποτέ. Similar displacements of words, which would ordinarily come between the article

and substantive, are frequent in the New Testament. See on 1 Thess. i. 1; and Winer § xx. p. 169 sq.

Ἰουδαϊσμῷ] 'observance of Jewish rites.' The word does not in itself imply any disparagement. Comp. 2 Macc. ii. 21 τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ φιλοτίμως ἀνδραγαθήσασιν, xiv. 38 σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ παραβεβλημένος, and Ἰουδαίειν Gal. ii. 14. Though perhaps originally coined by the

heathen and, as used by them, conveying some shadow of contempt, it would, when neutralised among the Jews themselves, lose this idea and even become a title of honour. The case of Χριστιανός, likewise a term of reproach in the first instance, is a parallel.

ἐπόρθουν κ.τ.λ.] 'I devastated the Church,' as Acts ix. 21 οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πορθήσας ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους κ.τ.λ. Compare ἐλυμναίετο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, Acts viii. 3.

14. **συνηλικιώτας**] 'of my own age,' who embraced the religion of their fathers with all the ardour of youthful patriotism. The Attics use the simple form ἡλικιώτης, while the compound belongs to the later dialect. Compare the similar instances of πολίτης (συμπολίτης, Ephes. ii. 19), φυλέτης (συμφυλέτης, 1 Thess. ii. 14), etc. In this class of words the later language aims at greater definiteness. The rule however is not absolute, but only expresses a general tendency. See Lobeck *Phryn.* pp. 172, 471.

ἐν τῷ γένει μου] 'in my race,' i.e. among the Jews, an incidental proof that St Paul is addressing Gentile converts. See p. 26, note 3. In the same way, Rom. xvi. 7, 21, he mentions certain Jews as his 'kinsmen' (συγγενεῖς). Comp. also Rom. ix. 3 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου τῶν συγγενῶν μου κατὰ σάρκα.

περισσότερως ζηλωτής ὑπάρχων] The adverb περισσότερως, which is frequent in St Paul, seems always to retain its

comparative force. Here it is explained by ὑπὲρ πολλούς. For ζηλωτής ὑπάρχων comp. Acts xxi. 20 πάντες ζηλωταὶ τοῦ νόμου ὑπάρχουσιν. St Paul seems to have belonged to the extreme party of the Pharisees (Acts xxii. 3, xxiii. 7, xxvi. 5, Phil. iii. 5, 6), whose pride it was to call themselves 'zealots of the law, zealots of God.' To this party also had belonged Simon, one of the Twelve, thence surnamed the zealot, ζηλωτής or καναναῖος, i.e. כַּנְזִי. A portion of these extreme partizans, forming into a separate sect under Judas of Galilee, took the name of 'zealots' *par excellence*, and distinguished themselves by their furious opposition to the Romans: Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 1, 6. See Ewald *Gesch. des Volkes Isr.* v. p. 25 sq, p. 322, vi. p. 340.

τῶν πατρικῶν μου παραδόσεων] 'of the traditions handed down from my fathers.' It is doubtful whether the law of Moses is included in this expression. In Josephus τὰ ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν πατέρων (*Antiq.* xiii. 10. 6), ἡ πατρῴα παράδοσις (*ib.* 16. 2), are the Pharisaic traditions, as distinguished from the written law. See also Matth. xv. 2, 3, 6, Mark vii. 3, 5, 8, 9, 13. These passages seem to show that the word παράδοσις, which might in itself include equally well the written law, signified in the mouth of a Jew the traditional interpretations and additions (afterwards embodied in the Mishna), as distinguished from the text on which they were founded and which they professed to supplement.

i. 15-17

15 ὅτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν ὁ ἀφορίσας με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου καὶ καλέσας διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ 16 ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, εὐθέως οὐ προσανεθέμην σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι, 17 οὐδὲ ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους, ἀλλὰ ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀραβίαν, καὶ πάλιν ὑπέστρεψα εἰς Δαμασκόν·

17 οὐδὲ ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἱερ.

'THEN CAME MY conversion. It was the work of God's grace. It was foreordained, before I had any separate existence. It was not therefore due to any merits of my own, it did not spring from any principles of my own. The

revelation of His Son in me, the call to preach to the Gentiles, were acts of His good pleasure. Thus converted, I took no counsel of human advisers. I did not betake myself to the elder Apostles, as I might naturally have done. I secluded myself in Arabia, and, when I emerged from my retirement, instead of going to Jerusalem, I returned to Damascus.'

15. ὁ ἀφορίσας] 'who set me apart, devoted me to a special purpose': Rom. i. 1 ἀφορισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον Θεοῦ. See also Acts xiii. 2 ἀφορίσατε δὴ μοι κ.τ.λ. The words ὁ Θεὸς of the received text are to be struck out as a gloss, though a correct one. Similar omissions are frequent in St Paul; see i. 6, ii. 8, iii. 5, v. 8, Rom. viii. 11, Phil. i. 6, 1 Thess. v. 24.

Observe how words are accumulated to tell upon the one point on which he is insisting—the sole agency of God as distinct from his own efforts: εὐδόκησεν, ἀφορίσας, ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου, καλέσας, χάριτος αὐτοῦ.

ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου] 'from before my birth, before I had any impulses, any principles of my own.' For the expression see Judges xvi. 17 ἅγιος Θεοῦ ἐγὼ εἰμι ἀπὸ κοιλίας μητρός μου, Is. xlv. 2, 24, xlix. 1, 5 ὁ πλάσας με ἐκ κοιλίας δοῦλον αὐτῶ, Psalm lxx. 6 ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου σύ μου εἶ σκεπαστής, and frequently in the LXX. The preposition seems to be merely temporal. The A. v., 'who separated me from my mother's womb,' obscures, if it does not misinterpret, the sense.

καλέσας διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ] See the note on i. 6.

16. Three separate stages in the history of the Apostle's consecration to his ministry seem to be mentioned here. *First*, the predestination to his high office, which dated from before his birth (ὁ ἀφορίσας με κ.τ.λ.); *Secondly*, the conversion and call to the Apostleship, which took place on the way to Damascus, Acts ix. 3 sq (καλέσας διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ); and *Thirdly*, the entering upon his ministry in fulfilment of this call, Acts ix. 20 sq, xiii. 2, 3 (ἀποκαλύψαι ἐν ἐμοὶ ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι).

The distinction of these three stages seems well marked; and if so, this determines the meaning of ἐν ἐμοί. It does not speak of a revelation made inwardly to himself, but

of a revelation made through him to others. The preposition ἐν is used in preference to διὰ, because St Paul was not only the instrument in preaching the Gospel, but also in his own person bore the strongest testimony to its power. He constantly places his conversion in this light; see ver. 24 ἐδόξαζον ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸν Θεόν, 1 Tim. i. 16 διὰ τοῦτο ἡλεήθη ἵνα ἐν ἐμοὶ πρώτῳ ἐνδείξηται Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς τὴν ἄπασαν μακροθυμίαν πρὸς ὑποτύπωσιν τῶν μελλόντων πιστεῦειν κ.τ.λ., 2 Cor. xiii. 3 τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ λαλοῦντος Χριστοῦ, Phil. i. 30. The rendering of ἐν ἐμοὶ 'within me,' i.e. 'in my heart,' seems neither to suit the context so well, nor to be so natural in itself.

εὐθέως οὐ προσανεθέμην κ.τ.λ.] 'forthwith, instead of conferring with flesh and blood, etc., I departed to Arabia.' On ἀνατίθεσθαι see the note ii. 2. In the double compound προσανατίθεσθαι the idea of communication or consultation is stronger. The use of the word in heathen writers indirectly illustrates its sense here. It is employed especially of consulting soothsayers, and the like, as in Chrysippus (in Suidas, s.v. νεοττός) προσαναθέσθαι ὀνειροκρίτῃ, Diod. Sic. xvii. 116 τοῖς μάντεσι προσαναθέμενος περὶ τοῦ σημείου. Comp. Lucian *Jup. Trag.* § 1 (ii. p. 642) ἐμοὶ προσανάθου, λάβε με σύμβουλον πόνων. See the note ii. 6.

For σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι compare our Lord's words to St Peter, Matt. xvi. 17 'Flesh and blood did not reveal it unto thee.'

17. ἀνῆλθον] 'I came up.' This verb and ἀναβαίνειν are used especially of visiting Jerusalem, situated in the high lands of Palestine, as κατέρχεσθαι, καταβαίνειν, are of leaving it. See Luke x. 30, Acts xi. 27, xii. 19, xv. 1, 2, xxi. 15, xxv. 1, 6, 7, and especially Acts xviii. 22, xxiv. 1. In the two last passages ἀναβαίνειν and καταβαίνειν are used

absolutely without any mention of Jerusalem, this being implied in the expressions 'going up,' 'going down.' Here the various reading ἀπῆλθον has great claims to a place in the text. Both words occur in the context and it is difficult to say in favour of which reading the possible confusion of transcribers may more justly be urged. Perhaps however it is improbable that St Paul should have written ἀπῆλθον twice consecutively, as the repetition makes the sentence run awkwardly; though in Rom. viii. 15, 1 Cor. ii. 13, Heb. xii. 18, 22, something of the kind occurs.

τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους] 'those who were Apostles before me,' possibly including others besides the Twelve, especially James. See below, p. 95, note 4. For the expression compare Rom. xvi. 7, οἵτινές εἰσιν ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις οἱ καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ γέγοναν ἐν Χριστῷ, where however the construction is doubtful.

εἰς Δαμασκόν] A danger which threatened St Paul's life on this occasion seems to have left a deep impression on his mind, and is mentioned by him in another epistle, nearly contemporaneous with this, 2 Cor. xi. 32.

i. 18-24

¹⁸ ἔπειτα μετὰ ἔτη τρία ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἱστορῆσαι Κηφᾶν, καὶ ἐπέμεινα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμέρας δεκαπέντε· ¹⁹ ἕτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον, εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Κυρίου. ²⁰ ἃ δὲ γράφω ὑμῖν, ἰδοὺ ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ ὅτι οὐ ψεύδομαι. ²¹ ἔπειτα ἦλθον εἰς τὰ κλίματα τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας. ²² ἤμην δὲ ἀγνοούμενος τῷ προσώπῳ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἰουδαίας ταῖς ἐν Χριστῷ, ²³ μόνον δὲ ἀκούοντες ᾗσαν ὅτι Ὁ διώκων ἡμᾶς ποτὲ νῦν εὐαγγελίζεται τὴν πίστιν ἣν ποτὲ ἐπόρθει, ²⁴ καὶ ἐδόξαζον ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸν Θεόν.

¹⁸ μετὰ τρία ἔτη.

'NOT TILL THREE years were past did I go up to Jerusalem. My object in doing so was to confer with Cephas. But I did not remain with him more than a fortnight; and of all the other Apostles I saw only James the Lord's brother. As in the sight of God, I declare to you that every word I write is true. Then I went to the distant regions of Syria and Cilicia. Thus I was personally unknown to the Christian brotherhood in Judæa. They had only heard that their former persecutor was now preaching the very faith which before he had attempted to destroy: and they glorified God for my conversion.'

¹⁸ ἔπειτα μετὰ ἔτη τρία] From what point of time are these three years reckoned? Probably from the great epoch of his life, from his conversion. The 'straightway' of ver. 16 leads to this conclusion; 'At first I conferred not with flesh and blood, it was only after the lapse of three years that I went to Jerusalem.'

Ἱεροσόλυμα] is generally a neuter plural. In Matt. ii. 3 however we have πᾶσα Ἱεροσόλυμα. See A. Buttmann *Gramm.* p. 16.

On the forms Ἱεροσόλυμα and Ἱερουσαλήμ see the note iv. 26.

ἱστορῆσαι Κηφᾶν] 'to visit Cephas.' ἱστορῆσαι is somewhat emphatic: 'A word used,' says Chrysostom, 'by those who go to see great and famous cities.' It is generally said of things and places; less commonly, as here, of persons: comp. Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* vi. 1. 8 ἀνὴρ ὧν ἐγὼ κατ' ἐκείνον ἱστόρησα τὸν πόλεμον, and *Clem. Hom.* viii. 1, etc. St Peter is mentioned by St Paul only in this epistle

and 1 Corinthians. Κηφᾶν is the right reading here, though there is respectable authority for Πέτρον. If the existing authorities are to be trusted, St Paul seems to have used the Aramaic and Greek names indifferently. Allowance ought to be made however for the tendency to substitute the more usual Πέτρος for the less common Κηφᾶς, e.g. here and ii. 9, 11, 14. In the Peshito Version Cephas, as the Aramaic name, is not unnaturally adopted throughout this epistle.

δεκαπέντε] A later form for the more classical πεντεκαίδεκα. This and the analogous forms of numerals occur frequently in the MSS of Greek authors of the post-classical age, but in many cases are doubtless due to the transcribers writing out the words at length, where they had only the numeral letters before them. The frequent occurrence of these forms however in the *Tabulae Heracleenses* is a decisive testimony to their use, at least in some dialects, much before the Christian era. They are found often in the LXX.

St Paul's visit on this occasion was abruptly terminated. He left on account of a plot against his life (Acts ix. 29) and in pursuance of a vision (Acts xxii. 17–21).

19. εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον] Is James here styled an Apostle or not? Are we to translate, 'I saw no other Apostle save James,' or 'I saw no other Apostle but only James'? It will be seen that the question is not whether εἰ μὴ retains its *exceptive* force or not, for this it seems always to do (see note on i. 7), but whether the exception refers to the whole clause or to the verb alone. That the latter is quite a possible construction will appear from Matth. xii. 4, Luke iv. 26, 27, Gal. ii. 16, Rev. xxi. 27; see Fritzsche on Rom. iii. p. 195. But on the other hand the sense of ἔτερον naturally links it with εἰ μὴ, from which it cannot be separated without harshness, and ἔτερον carries τῶν ἀποστόλων with it. It seems then that St James is here called an Apostle, though it does not therefore follow that he was one of the Twelve (see the detached note, p. 95). The plural in the corresponding account Acts ix. 27, 'He brought

(Paul) to the Apostles,' is also in favour of this sense, but this argument must not be pressed.

20. ἰδοὺ ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ] A form of asseveration equivalent to 'I call you to witness,' and so followed by ὅτι. See 2 Tim. ii. 14, iv. 1 διαμαρτύρεσθαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ. For ἰδοὺ elsewhere in the New Testament is an interjection or adverb, never a verb, so that there is an objection to making it govern ὅτι here. Perhaps however the occurrence of ἰδε ὅτι in the LXX, Ps. cxix. 159, Lam. i. 20, may justify such a construction here. The strength of St Paul's language is to be explained by the unscrupulous calumnies cast upon him by his enemies. See the note 1 Thess. v. 27.

21. In the corresponding narrative of St Luke it is related that the brethren at Jerusalem, discovering the plot against St Paul's life, 'took him down to Cæsarea and despatched him to Tarsus' (Acts ix. 30); and later on, that Barnabas went to Tarsus and sought out Saul, and having found him brought him to Antioch, where they taught for a whole year before returning to Jerusalem (xi. 25–30). The Cæsarea mentioned there is doubtless *Stratonis*, and not *Philippi*, as some maintain. Not only was this the more probable route for him to take, but St Luke's language requires it; for (1) The words κατήγαγον, ἐξαπέστειλαν, imply a seaport and an embarkation: and (2) Cæsarea, without any addition to distinguish it, is always the principal city of the name. It appears therefore that St Luke represents St Paul as sailing from Cæsarea on his way to Tarsus; and comparing this account with the notice here, we must suppose either (1) That St Paul did not go direct to Tarsus but visited Syria on the way; or (2) That he visited Syria from Tarsus, and after preaching there returned again to Tarsus where he was found by Barnabas; St Luke having, on either of these hypotheses, omitted to record this visit to Syria; or (3) That St Paul's words here 'Syria and Cilicia' are not intended to describe the *order* in which he visited the two countries. This last is the most probable supposition. Cilicia has geographically a greater

affinity with Syria than with Asia Minor. See Conybeare and Howson, i. p. 130. The less important country is here named after the more important. 'Cilicia,' says Ewald, 'was constantly little better than an appendage of Syria,' *Gesch. des V. Isr.* vi. p. 406. At this time however it was under a separate administration. The words τὰ κλίματα seem to show that 'Syria and Cilicia' are here mentioned under one general expression, and not as two distinct districts.

τὰ κλίματα] Rom. xv. 23, 2 Cor. xi. 10. A comparatively late word, see Lobeck *Paral.* p. 418. It is found in Pseudo-Aristot. *de Mundo* c. x, and several times in Polybius.

22. ἤμην ἀγνοούμενος κ.τ.λ.] 'I remained personally unknown.' A strong form of the imperfect, as ἀκούοντες ἦσαν 'they kept hearing' (ver. 23): see Winer, § xlv. 5, p. 437 sq.

ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις κ.τ.λ.] 'unknown to the Churches of Judæa' generally, as distinguished from that of Jerusalem; comp. John iii. 22. To the latter he could not have failed to be known, as might be inferred from the account here, even without the narrative of his energetic preaching in the Acts. From Jerusalem he was hurried off to Cæsarea, and there embarking he left the shores of Palestine. The other churches of Judæa therefore had no opportunity of knowing him. Judæa is here distinguished from Jerusalem, as Italy is frequently distinguished from Rome, e.g. probably Hebr. xiii. 24. The addition ταῖς ἐν Χριστῷ was necessary when speaking of the Christian brotherhoods of Judæa; for the unconverted Jewish communities might still be called 'the Churches of Judæa.' See the note on 1 Thess. ii. 14, τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν οὐσῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

23. ὅτι] introduces an abrupt change from the oblique to the direct mode of speaking, e.g. Acts xiv. 22, xxiii. 22. So it is used frequently in introducing a quotation, e.g. Gal. iii. 10.

Ὁ διώκων ἡμᾶς ποτέ] 'Our persecutor of former times'; ὁ διώκων being used as a substantive, i.e. without reference to time, as Matt. xxvii. 40 ὁ καταλύων τὸν ναόν: see

Winer, § xlv. 7, p. 444. On the position of ποτέ, see the note on ver. 13.

τὴν πίστιν] It is a striking proof of the large space occupied by 'faith' in the mind of the infant Church, that it should so soon have passed into a synonym for the Gospel. See Acts vi. 7. Here its meaning seems to hover between the Gospel and the Church. For the various senses of πίστις, see the notes on iii. 23, vi. 10, and the detached note on the term 'faith.'

24. ἐν ἐμοί] See the note ver. 16, and comp. Is. xlix. 3 δοῦλός μου εἰ σὺ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐν σοὶ ἐνδοξασθήσομαι. 'He does not say,' adds Chrysostom, 'they marvelled at me, they praised me, they were struck with admiration of me, but he attributes all to grace. They glorified God, he says, in me.'

DETACHED NOTE

St Paul's Sojourn in Arabia

Obscurity of the incident.

A veil of thick darkness hangs over St Paul's visit to Arabia. Of the scenes among which he moved, of the thoughts and occupations which engaged him while there, of all the circumstances of a crisis which must have shaped the whole tenour of his after life, absolutely nothing is known. 'Immediately,' says St Paul, 'I went away into Arabia.' The historian passes over the incident without a mention. It is a mysterious pause, a moment of suspense in the Apostle's history, a breathless calm which ushers in the tumultuous storm of his active missionary life.

Yet it may be useful to review the speculations to which this incident has given rise, even though we cannot hope to arrive at any definite result; for, if such a review bears no other fruit, it will at least bring out more clearly the significance of the incident itself.

Conjectures as to the place.

Of the place of the Apostle's sojourn various opinions have been held. Arabia is a vague term, and affords scope for much conjecture.

(1) El Belka.

1. The Arabic translator¹, whose language gives him a fictitious claim to a hearing on such a point, renders the passage 'Immediately I went to El Belka.' In like manner in Gal. iv. 25 he translates, 'This Hagar is Mount Sinai in El Belka, and is contiguous to Jerusalem.' Now the only district, so far as I can discover, which bears or has borne the name of El Belka, is

¹ The Arabic version of the Polyglotts, which was made directly from the Greek. The translator not unfrequently gives geographical comments. See Hug *Einleit.* § cix, 1. p. 431. The other Arabic version, the Erpenian, translated from the Syriac, retains 'Arabia.'

the region lying to the east and north-east of the Dead Sea². If so, how are we to account for this translation of Ἀραβία by El Belka? That the same rendering of the word in both passages arose from the translator's connecting them together in some way, can scarcely be doubted. Was his starting-point then a misapprehension of the meaning of συνστοιχεῖ in the second passage, which he renders 'is contiguous to³,' and arguing from this, did he suppose that part of Arabia to be meant in both passages, which was nearest to Jerusalem? Or on the other hand, did he start from some tradition of St Paul's preaching in 'El Belka,' and having thus defined from the first passage the meaning of 'Arabia,' did he apply it to the second passage also? But in any case how could he talk of Mount Sinai in 'El Belka'? Was this ignorance of geography? or must we resort to the improbable supposition that some wandering Arab tribe, which gave its name to the country in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea, at one time occupied the region about Sinai? At all events the tradition here preserved about St Paul, if it be a tradition, is of little worth, as the translator seems to have lived at a comparatively late date⁴.

2. Arabia, in the widest use of the term, might extend to the gates of Damascus, and even include that city itself. 'You cannot any of you deny,' says Justin, arguing against his Jew as to the interpretation of a passage in one of the prophets, 'that Damascus belongs and did belong to Arabia, though now it has been assigned to Syrophœnicia⁵.' Thus no very distant

(2) *The country near Damascus.*

2 See Burckhardt *Trav. in Syria* App. III, Ritter *Erdkunde* XII. p. 426 sq. Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine* pp. 95, 319.

3 For this rendering however he might plead the authority of several ancient commentators. See the notes on iv. 25.

4 Hug l. c. states that the translator has unexpectedly revealed his country by his rendering of Acts ii. 10, τὰ μέρη τῆς Λιβύης τῆς κατὰ Κυρήνην, 'and the territories of Africa which is *our country*.' There can scarcely be a doubt however that here كورينا 'our country' is a corrupt reading of كورينا 'Cyrene,' the change involving only a slight alteration in one letter. See Lagarde *de N. T. ad vers. Orient. fidem edendo*, Berl. 1857, p. 3, referred to in Bleek's *Einl.* p. 737. Such geographical notices as that of El Belka point to a more eastern origin.

5 *Dial. c. Tryph.* p. 305 A. See also other authorities in Conybeare and Howson, I. p. 117, 118. Tertullian (*adv. Jud.* c. 9 and *adv. Marc.* iii. 13) obviously copies Justin and must not be considered an independent authority. The words of Justin εἰ καὶ νῦν προσενέμεται τῇ Συροφονικῇ λεγομένη seem to refer to the arrangement of these provinces by Hadrian. See Becker and Marquardt *Röm. Alterth.* III. 1, p. 195 sqq and comp. [Bardesanes] *de Fato*, in Cureton's *Spicil. Syr.* p. 30. On the limits of Arabia see also Ephr. *Syr. Op. Syr.* I. p. 464 sq.

journey would be necessary to reach Arabia. A retirement in the immediate neighbourhood of Damascus would suffice, and such a visit, especially if it were brief, might well be passed over by the historian as a merely temporary interruption of the Apostle's long residence in that city, which was unknown to him, or which knowing, he did not care to record. Into these wild regions then, beyond the sway of Roman dominion, beyond the reach of civilization, far away from all his old haunts and associations, it is thought that the Apostle plunged himself in the first tumult of his newly-acquired experiences⁶.

This explanation however is open to objection. It gives to 'Arabia' an extension, which at all events seems not to have been common, and which even the passage of Justin shows to have required some sort of justification. It separates the Arabia of the first chapter from the Arabia of the fourth. And lastly, it deprives this visit of a significance which, on a more probable hypothesis, it possesses in relation to this crisis of St Paul's life.

(3) *Mount Sinai.*

3. For if we suppose that the Apostle at this critical moment betook himself to the Sinaitic peninsula, the scene of the giving of the law, then his visit to Arabia becomes full of meaning. He was attracted thither by a spirit akin to that which formerly had driven Elijah to the same region⁷. Standing on the threshold of the new covenant, he was anxious to look upon the birthplace of the old: that dwelling for a while in seclusion in the presence of 'the mount that burned with fire,' he might ponder over the transient glories of the 'ministration of death,' and apprehend its real purpose in relation to the more glorious covenant which was now to supplant it. Here, surrounded by the children of the desert, the descendants of Hagar the bondwoman, he read the true meaning and power of the law⁸. In the rugged and barren

*Significance of this
sojourn.*

6 See the instructive passage in Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Isr.* vi. p. 398. Ewald however, though he takes St Paul into this region, guards against the objections which I have alleged in the text, by supposing him to travel as far as Sinai also (p. 400).

7 1 Kings xix. 8–18. It is worth noticing that this region is connected with Damascus in the history of Elijah as well as of St Paul; 'Go return on thy way to the wilderness of Damascus.'

8 A stronger argument for St Paul's visit to Sinai might be drawn from his reference to Hagar, the supposed Arabic name of Sinai (Gal. iv. 25), which he was not likely to have heard anywhere but on the spot; comp. Stanley *Sinai and Palestine* p. 50. But the reading and the interpretation alike are highly doubtful. See the notes there.

region, whence it issued, he saw a fit type of that bleak desolation which it created and was intended to create in the soul of man. In the midst of such scenes and associations, his spirit was attuned to harmony with his divine mission, and fitted to receive fresh 'visions and revelations of the Lord.' Thus in the wilderness of Sinai, as on the Mount of the transfiguration, the three dispensations met in one. Here Moses had received the tables of the law amid fire and tempest and thick darkness. Here again Elijah, the typical prophet, listened to the voice of God, and sped forth refreshed on his mission of righteousness. And here lastly, in the fulness of time, St Paul, the greatest preacher of Him of whom both the law and the prophets spoke, was strengthened and sanctified for his great work, was taught the breadth as well as the depth of the riches of God's wisdom, and transformed from the champion of a bigoted and narrow tradition into the large-hearted Apostle of the Gentiles⁹.

What was the length of this sojourn we can only conjecture. The interval between his conversion and his first visit to Jerusalem, St Paul here states to have been three years. The notices of time in St Luke are vague, but not contradictory to this statement¹⁰. From Damascus St Paul tells us he went away into Arabia, whence he returned to Damascus. St Luke represents him as preaching actively in this city after his conversion, not mentioning and apparently not aware of any

Its duration.

⁹ The significance of Sinai, as the holy place of inspiration, will be felt by readers of *Tancred*.

¹⁰ The notices of time in the narrative of the Acts are these: He remained with the disciples in Damascus some days (ἡμέρας τινάς) and straightway (εὐθέως) he began to preach (ἐκήρυσσεν)... and Saul was the more strengthened... and when many days (ἡμέραι ἱκαναί) were accomplishing (ἐπληροῦντο) the Jews took counsel to slay him, in consequence of which he left and went to Jerusalem (ix. 20–26). Ἡμέραι ἱκαναί is an indefinite period in St Luke, which may vary according to circumstances; Acts ix. 43, xviii. 18, xxvii. 7. Certainly the idea connected with ἱκανός in his language is that of largeness rather than smallness; comp. Luke vii. 12, Acts xx. 37 (ἱκανός κλαυθμός). In the LXX it is frequently employed to translate מִּיָּד 'mighty,' e.g. Ruth i. 20, 21. Again the wide use of the Hebrew יָמִים, which St Luke is copying, allows of almost any extension of time. Hence πολλὰ ἡμέραι in the LXX denotes any indefinite period however long; Gen. xxxvii. 34, 2 Sam. xiv. 2, 1 Kings iii. 11 ('a long life'). Even Demosthenes, de Cor. p. 258, can speak of the interval between the battles of Haliartus and Corinth as οὐ πολλὰ ἡμέραι, though they were fought in different years and many important occurrences happened in the mean time. The difference between the vague 'many days' of the Acts and the definite 'three years' of the Epistle is such as might be expected from the circumstances of the two writers.

interruption, though his narrative is not inconsistent with such. It seems probable then that St Paul's visit to Arabia took place early in this period before he commenced his active labours¹¹. 'Immediately,' he says, 'instead of conferring with flesh and blood, I went into Arabia.' The silence of the historian is best accounted for on the supposition that the sojourn there was short; but as St Luke's companionship with the Apostle commenced at a much later date, no great stress must be laid on the omission. Yet on the other hand there is no reason for supposing it of long duration. It was probably brief—brief enough not to occupy any considerable space in the Apostle's history, and yet not too brief to serve the purpose it was intended to serve.

Its purpose.

For can we doubt that by this journey he sought seclusion from the outer world, that his desire was to commune with God and his own soul amid these hallowed scenes, and thus to gather strength in solitude for his active labours? His own language implies this; 'I conferred *not with flesh and blood*, but departed into Arabia.' The fathers for the most part take a different view of this incident. They imagine the Apostle hurrying forth into the wilds of Arabia, burning to impart to others the glad tidings which had so suddenly burst upon himself. 'See how fervent was his soul,' exclaims Chrysostom, 'he was eager to occupy lands yet untilled; he forthwith attacked a barbarous and savage people, choosing a life of conflict and much toil¹².' This comment strikes a false note. Far different at such a crisis

11 It must in this case be placed before the notice of his active preaching, ix. 20 καὶ εὐθέως, κ.τ.λ. Some have put it later and seen an indirect allusion to it in the expression μᾶλλον ἐνεδυναμοῦτο, ver. 22; but there is no trace of a chronological notice in these words, and such an allusion is scarcely natural.

12 Similarly also Victorinus, Hilary, Theodore Mops., Theodoret, Primasius, and the Œcumenian commentator. Some of the Latin fathers might have been helped to this view by a curious blunder arising out of the Latin translation 'non acquievi carni et sanguini,' 'I did not *rest* in flesh and blood,' which Victorinus explains, 'Omnino laboravi carnaliter,' adding 'Caro enim et sanguis homo exterior totus est.' Tertullian however, *de Resurr. Carn.* c. 50, quotes the passage, 'Statim non retulerit ad carnem et sanguinem,' explaining it, 'id est ad circumcisionem, id est ad Judaismum.' Jerome supposes that St Paul preached in Arabia, but that his preaching was unsuccessful. His comment is curious. Why, he asks, is this visit to Arabia, of which we know nothing, which seems to have ended in nothing, recorded at all? It is an allegory from which we must extract a deep meaning. Arabia is the Old Testament. In the law and the prophets St Paul sought Christ, and having found Him there, he returned to Damascus, 'hoc est ad sanguinem et passionem Christi.' So fortified, he went to Jerusalem, 'locum visionis et pacis.' This interpretation is doubtless borrowed from Origen.

must have been the spirit of him, whose life henceforth was at least as conspicuous for patient wisdom and large sympathies, as for intense self-devotion. He retired for a while, we may suppose, that

‘Separate from the world, his breast
Might duly take and strongly keep
The print of Heaven¹³.’

And what place more fit for this retirement than that holy ground,

‘Where all around, on mountain, sand, and sky,
God’s chariot wheels have left distinctest trace¹⁴’?

¹³ *Christian Year, 13th Sunday after Trinity*, said of Moses.

¹⁴ *Christian Year, 9th Sunday after Trinity*, said of Elijah.

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