

THE INTERNATIONAL CRITICAL COMMENTARY

A CRITICAL AND
EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY

ON

THE EPISTLE
TO THE GALATIANS

BY

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TO MY WIFE
FRANCES MARY BURTON
WHOSE FELLOWSHIP OF SPIRIT IN THIS TASK
HAS BEEN CONSTANT

PREFACE

WHEN in 1896 I began work upon the Epistle to the Galatians with definite reference to the preparation of this Commentary, it was with a clear conviction that if I was to make any appreciable contribution to the understanding of the epistle, it would be by confining myself to a few of the several lines of study which an interpreter might properly and profitably undertake. I decided not to attempt an exhaustive study of the history of the interpretation of the epistle, or of the rabbinic writings and method of exegesis. Convinced that, despite all that had been done in the study of the vocabulary of the New Testament, much remained still to be done, and strongly inclined to expect that such study would aid materially in the recovery of the primary elements of the thought of the apostle Paul, persuaded also that such lexicographical work would prepare the way for a clearer perception of the course of thought of the epistle, I determined, while not wholly neglecting other lines of study, to give my chief attention, first, to a fresh historical study of the vocabulary of the letter, and then to an endeavour to trace its course of thought with exactness and to state it with clearness.

When the study of the religions of the Roman empire, commonly known as the mystery religions, came into prominence, I gave some study to them, with the result that I became convinced that the contribution which a thorough investigation of them would make to the interpretation of this epistle, would not justify the postponement of the publication of this work for the period of years which such investigation would require.

Meantime, a growing sense of the close relationship between the experiences of the early Christian church, as these are disclosed in the letter, and those through which Christianity of our own day is passing, had greatly increased my sense of the practical value of the letter to the church of to-day, and begotten a strong desire to make this clear to my readers.

Whether I have been justified in thus emphasising these three things, meanings of words, course of thought, relation of the problems discussed by the apostle to those of our own day, others must judge. The choice at any rate was deliberately made and has been persistently followed.

Of the lexicographical studies which were made in pursuance of this plan, one, which consumed many months and was extended over years, proved in character and bulk unsuited to be included in this volume, and was published separately under the title, *Spirit, Soul and Flesh: The Usage of Πνεῦμα, Ψυχή and Σάρξ in Greek Writings and Translated Works from the Earliest Period to 180 A. D.; and of their Equivalents . . . in the Hebrew Old Testament*. Chicago, 1918. The other studies of this character the publishers have graciously consented to include in this volume, the longer ones in an appendix at the end of the volume, the shorter ones scattered through it.

In the quarter of a century in which I have made this Commentary the chief centre of my work as a student of the New Testament, I have called to my assistance in the collection of material and to a certain extent in the study of it, a goodly number of those who have been studying in my classes, chiefly Fellows of the University of Chicago. To all such I wish to express my appreciation of their services. But I desire especially to mention Professor Arthur Wakefield Slaten, Ph.D., of the Young Men's Christian Association College in Chicago, who for a period of nearly five years worked with me in almost daily fellowship, and to whom I am deeply indebted for his patient and skilful assistance, and Professor Benjamin Willard Robinson, Ph.D., of the Chicago Theological Seminary, who has generously read the proofs of the book, and made me many valuable suggestions. The list of others, authors whose books I have used, and colleagues whom I have consulted, is far too long to be printed here.

ERNEST D. BURTON.

July 1, 1920.

ABBREVIATIONS.

It is assumed that references to the books of the Bible and the O. T. Apocrypha, and to the classical and Jewish-Greek authors will be self-explanatory. The notation is that of the standard editions. In the references to Aristotle the figures first following the author's name refer to the Paris edition of his works, those in parenthesis to page, column, and line of the Editio Borussica (Berlin). In the case of Josephus the figures preceding the parenthesis refer to the books and sections of the edition of B. Niese, 7 vols., Berlin, 1887-95, those in parenthesis to the chapter and sections indicated in Whiston's English translation. In the case of Philo the figures before the parenthesis denote the sections of the edition of Cohn and Wendland, 6 vols., Berlin, 1896-1915, those in parenthesis the sections of the edition of Richter, to which also the notation of Yonge's English translation correspond. For explanation of the abbreviations employed in the text critical notes and not found in this list the reader is referred to the section on the Text, pp. lxxiv ff., and to the works on Textual Criticism there listed. References to authors, both ancient and modern, supposed to be easily interpreted by reference to the Bibliography are not included in this list. The titles of works infrequently referred to are in general not included in the following list but are printed fully enough for identification when the works are mentioned.

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| <p>AJT. = <i>The American Journal of Theology</i>.</p> <p>Ambrst. = Ambrosiaster. Ca. 305 A. D. See Ltft., p. 232; DCB.</p> <p>ARV. = <i>The Holy Bible</i>, Revised, American Standard Edition. New York, 1901.</p> <p>Aug. = Aurelius Augustinus. Ca. 394. See Ltft., p. 232; DCB.</p> <p>AV. = <i>The Holy Bible</i>. Authorised Version of 1611.</p> <p>BDB. = Brown, Driver, and Briggs, <i>Hebrew and English Lexicon</i>. Boston, 1906.</p> | <p>Beng. = Bengel. See Bibliography, p. lxxxiii.</p> <p>BGU. = <i>Ägyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin: Griechische Urkunden I-IV</i>. Berlin, 1895.</p> <p>Boeckh, C. I. G. = <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum</i> edidit Augustus Boeckius, Berlin, 1828-77.</p> <p>Bl.-D. = Blass, F., <i>Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch</i>. Göttingen, 1896. Vierte völlig neugearbeitete Auflage, besorgt von Albert De Brunner, 1913.</p> |
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- BMT** = Burton, Ernest De Witt, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in New Testament Greek*. Third edition. Chicago, 1898.
- BSSF.** = Burton, Ernest De Witt, *Spirit, Soul, and Flesh*. Chicago, 1918.
- Butt.** = Buttmann, A., *A Grammar of the New Testament Greek*. E. T. by J. H. Thayer. Andover, 1873.
- Bous.** = Bousset, Wilhelm. See Bibliography, p. lxxxvi.
- Bous. Rel. d. Jud.** = Bousset, W., *Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*. Zweite Aufl. Berlin, 1906.
- BW.** = *The Biblical World*.
- BZ.** = *Biblische Zeitschrift*.
- Cal.** = Calov. See Bibliography, p. lxxxiii.
- Calv.** = Calvin. See Bibliography, p. lxxxiii, and S. and H., p. ciii.
- Cf.** = *Confer*, compare.
- Ch.AP.** = Charles, R. H., *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*. 2 vols. Oxford, 1913.
- Chrys.** = Joannes Chrysostomus. † 407. See Ltft., p. 228.
- Cremer** = Cremer, H., *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch der neutestamentlichen Gräcität*. Zehnte völlig durchgearbeitete Auflage herausgegeben von Julius Kögel. Gotha, 1911-15.
- Cyr.** = Cyril of Alexandria. † 444. See *DCB*.
- Cyr^{hr}** = Cyril of Jerusalem. † 386. See *DCB*.
- Dal.WJ.** = Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*. Edinburgh, 1902.
- Dam.** = Joannes Damascenus. † ca. 756. See S. and H., p. c.; *DCB*.
- DCB.** = *Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects, and Doctrines*. Edited by Wm. Smith and Henry Wace. 4 vols. London 1877-87.
- De.BS.** = Deissmann, *Bible Studies*. Edinburgh, 1901.
- de W.** = de Wette, M. L. See Bibliography, p. lxxxiv.
- Dib.Gwt.** = Dibelius, *Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus*. Göttingen, 1909.
- Did.** = Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων. Various editions.
- Ell.** = Ellicott, C. J. See Bibliography, p. lxxxiv.
- Encyc. Bib.** = *Encyclopedia Biblica*. Edited by T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black. 4 vols. London, 1899-1903.
- Epiph.** = Epiphanius. † 404. See *DCB*.
- Erasm.** = Erasmus. See Bibliography, p. lxxxiii.
- Est.** = Estius. See Bibliography, p. lxxxiii.
- E. T.** = English translation.
- Euthal.** = Euthalius. 459. See Ltft., p. 230, and *DCB*.
- Frit.** = Fritzsche, K. F. A. See Bibliography, p. lxxxiv.
- Gild. Syn.** = Gildersleeve, Basil L., *Syntax of Classical Greek from Homer to Demosthenes*. 2 vols. New York, 1900, 1911.

- GMT = Gildersleeve, Basil L., *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb*. Revised and enlarged. Boston, 1889.
- Grimm = Grimm, C. L. W., *Lexicon Græco-Latinum in Libros Novi Testamenti*. (Based on the *Clavis Novi Testamenti Philologica* of C. G. Wilke.) Editio secunda, emendata et aucta. Leipzig, 1879.
- Grot. = Grotius, Hugo. See Bibliography, p. lxxxi.
- HDB. = *Dictionary of the Bible*. Edited by James Hastings. 5 vols. Edinburgh and New York, 1898-1905.
- Hier. = Eusebius Hieronymus (Jerome). † 420. See Ltft., p. 232, and DCB.
- Hilg. = Hilgenfeld, Adolf. See Bibliography, p. lxxxiv.
- Introd. = Introduction.
- Iren. = Irenæus. † 190. See DCB.
- JBL. = *The Journal of Biblical Literature*.
- Jelf = Jelf, W. E., *A Grammar of the Greek Language*. Fifth edition. Oxford, 1881.
- JfpT. = *Jahrbuch für protestantische Theologie*.
- Just. Mart. = Justin Martyr. Ca. 150.
- Ka.AP. = Kautzsch, Emil, *Apocryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*. 2 vols. Tübingen, 1900.
- Kühner-Gerth = Kühner, Raphael, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*. Dritte Auflage in neuer Bearbeitung, besorgt von Bernhard Gerth. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1898, 1904.
- L. & S. = Liddell, H. G., and Scott, R., *Greek English Lexicon*. Seventh edition revised. New York, 1882.
- Ln. = Lachmann, C., *Novum Testamentum Græce et Latine*. (Ed. major) 2 vols. Berlin, 1842, 1850.
- Ltft. = Lightfoot, J. B. See Bibliography, p. lxxv.
- Luth. = Luther, M. See Bibliography, p. lxxxiii, and S. and H., p. ciii.
- Lxx = *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*. Quotations are from the edition of H. B. Swete. 3 vols. Cambridge, 1887-94.
- M. and M. Voc. = Moulton, J. H., and Milligan, G., *Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament*. 1914-.
- Mcion. = Marcion. See DCB.
- MGNTG. = Moulton, J. H., *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*. Vol. I. Prolegomena. Edinburgh, 1906.
- Mey. = Meyer, H. A. W. See Bibliography, p. lxxxiv.
- Moff. = Moffatt, Jas., *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*. Edinburgh and New York, 1911.

- ms., mss. = manuscript, manuscripts.
- Oecum. = Oecumenius. Tenth century. See Ltft., p. 234; S. and H., p. c.
- Ols. = Olshausen, H. See Bibliography, p. lxxxiv.
- Or. = Origenes. †253. See Ltft., p. 227, and DCB.
- Pap. Amh.* = *The Amherst Papyri*. 2 vols. Edited by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt. London 1900-1.
- Pap. Gd. Cairo* = *Greek Papyri from the Cairo Museum*. Edited by E. J. Goodspeed. Chicago, 1902.
- Pap. Kar.* = *Papyri from Karanis*. Edited by E. J. Goodspeed, in *University of Chicago Studies in Classical Philology*. Chicago, 1900.
- Pap. Lond.* = *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*. Vols. I, II, edited by F. G. Kenyon; vol. III, by F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell; vol. IV, by H. I. Bell. London, 1893-1910.
- Pap. Oxyr.* = *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. Vols. I-VI, X-XIII, edited by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt; vols. VII-IX by A. S. Hunt. London 1898-1919.
- Pap. Tebt.* = *The Tebtunis Papyri*. Vol. I edited by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and J. G. Smyly; vol. II by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and E. J. Goodspeed. London, 1902-7.
- Patr. Ap. = Apostolic Fathers.
- Pelag. = Pelagius. *Ca.* 410. See Ltft., p. 233; S. and H., p. ci; DCB.
- Pollux, *Onom.* = Pollux, Julius, *Onomasticon*, various editions.
- PRE.* = *Real-Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*. Dritte Auflage, herausgegeben von A. Hauck, 1896-1913.
- Preusch. = Preuschen, Erwin, *Vollständiges - Griechisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur*. Giessen, 1910.
- PTkR.* = *Princeton Theological Review*.
- q. v.* = *quod vide*, which see.
- Rad. = Radermacher, L., *Neutestamentliche Grammatik*. Tübingen, 1911.
- Ram. = Ramsay, W. M. See Bibliography, p. lxxxvi. Also *Introd.*, p. xxiv.
- Rob. = Robertson, Archibald T., *Grammar of the Greek New Testament*. New York, 1914.
- Rück. = Rückert, Leopold Immanuel. See Bibliography, p. lxxxiv.
- RV. = *The Holy Bible, Revised*. Oxford, N.T., 1881, O.T. 1884.
- S. and H. = Sanday, Wm., and Headlam, A. C., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*. Edinburgh and New York, 1895.

- Schm. = Schmiedel, P. W.
- Schr. = Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*. Vierte Auflage, 1901-9.
- Sd. = Soden, Hermann Freiherr von, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*. Göttingen, 1902-13. Handausgabe (*Griechisches Neues Testament*), 1913.
- Seml. = Semler. See Bibliography, p. lxxxiii.
- Sief. = Sieffert, F. See Bibliography, p. lxxxv.
- Sl.QN. = Slaten, Arthur Wakefield, *Qualitative Nouns in the Pauline Epistles*. Chicago, 1918.
- Smith, DB = *William Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*. Revised and edited by H. B. Hackett and Ezra Abbot. Boston, 1867.
- SNT. = *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, herausgegeben von J. Weiss. Zweite Auflage. Göttingen, 1907-8.
- Th.St.u.Krit. = *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*.
- Tdf. = Tischendorf, Constantin, *Novum Testamentum Græce*. Editio octava crit. maj. Leipzig, 1869-72.
- Tert. = Tertullian. † ca. 223. See DCB.
- Th. = Thayer, Joseph Henry, *A Greek English Lexicon of the New Testament*. New York, 1886. Rev. edition, 1889.
- Thdrt. = Theodoretus. † ca. 458. See Ltft., p. 230; DCB.
- Thphyl. = Theophylactus. Ca. 1077.
- TR. = Textus Receptus, the Greek text of the New Testament as commonly accepted from 1516 till the modern critical period.
- Tr. = Tregelles, *Greek New Testament*. London, 1857-79.
- u. s. = *ut supra*, as above.
- Vg. = Vulgate, text of the Latin Bible.
- Victorin. = C. Marius Victorinus. Ca. 360 A. D. See Ltft., p. 231; DCB.
- W. = Winer, G. B., *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*. Various editions and translations.
- WM. = Eng. translation of the sixth edition of the preceding (1867) by W. F. Moulton. Third edition revised. Edinburgh, 1882.
- WSchm. = Winer, G. B., *Grammatik*, etc., u. s. Achte Auflage neu bearbeitet von P. Schmiedel. Theil I. Göttingen, 1894.
- Weizs. = Weizsäcker, C., *Das apostolische Zeitalter*. Zweite Aufl. Freiburg, i. B. 1892. *Das Neue Testament*, übersetzt von C. Weizsäcker.
- Wetst. = Wetstein. See Bibliography, p. lxxxiii.
- WH. = Westcott, B. F., and Hort, F. J. A., *The New Testament in the original Greek*. London, 1881. Vol. I, Text; vol. II, Introduction and Appendix.

Wies. = Wieseler, Karl. See Bibliography, p. lxxxv.	<i>ZntW.</i> = <i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.</i>
Ws. = Weiss, Bernhard. See Bibliography, p. lxxxviii.	<i>ZwTh.</i> = <i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.</i>
<i>ZhTh.</i> = <i>Zeitschrift für historische Theologie.</i>	<i>ZkWkL.</i> = <i>Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben.</i>

INTRODUCTION

I. GALATIA AND THE GALATIANS

Greek authors use the terms *Κελτοί*, *Κέλται*, and *Γαλάται*, Latin authors the similar terms *Celtæ*, *Galatæ*, and *Galli*, without clear discrimination.* In Polybius and Pausanias *Κελτοί* and *Γαλάται* are used synonymously, as in Greek writers generally *Κέλται* and *Γαλάται* are.† Thus Polybius though commonly using the name *Κελτοί* (see 3. 40, 41, 60, 67-74; cf. 3. 59) of the people whom he describes in 3. 37 as occupying the country from Narbo to the Pyrenees, yet occasionally calls them *Γαλάται* (3. 40; cf. 3. 3), and their country *Γαλατία* (3. 59). In 3. 62, 65, he uses the adjective *Γαλατικός*. Similarly Pausanias 10^{19a} uses *Κελτοί* and *Γαλάται* interchangeably of the Gauls who invaded Greece. Diodorus Siculus, 5. 32¹, however, distinguishes between the *Γαλάται* of the north and the *Κέλται* of the south.‡

On the question whether the names *Κελτοί*, *Κέλται* and *Γαλάται* were etymologically variant forms of the same name or of diverse origin, scholars have been divided, Niese, for example, identifying them,§ Contzen,|| Tarn,¶ and apparently most other modern philologists regarding them as of diverse origin. D'Arbois de Jubainville** apparently regards the words

* *Κελτοί*: Hdt. 2¹¹; Xen. *Hell.* 7. 1¹⁴; Pausan. 1⁴; Polyb. 3. 60, etc. *Κέλται*: Strabo, 4. 1¹. *Γαλάται*: Pausan. 1¹, 4¹; Polyb. 2. 15. *Celtæ*: Cæsar *B. G.* 1¹. *Galatæ*: Cic. *ad Att.*, VI 5¹; Tacit. *Ann.* 15⁶. *Galli*: Cæsar *B. G.* 1¹. Various compounds occur both in Greek and Latin. Thus *Κελτολίγυες*: Strabo, 4. 6¹. *Κελτοσκύθαι*: Strabo, 1. 2¹⁷; *Ἑλληνογαλάται*: Diod. Sic. 5. 32². *Γαλλογραικοί*, *Γαλλογραικία*: Strabo, 2. 5¹¹; 12. 5¹ (cited by Woodhouse, *Encyc. Bib.*). *Gallogræcia*: Livy 38¹¹; *Gallogræci*: Livy 38¹¹.

† Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 141, f. n. 11.

‡ Niese, art. "Galli" in *Pauly-Wissowa*, discounts this passage in Diodorus as late evidence. Tarn, *op. cit. ibid.*, takes issue with Niese on this point, holding that Diodorus is here quoting Posidonius. Even so, however, the evidence would be later than Polybius.

§ Art. "Galli" in *Pauly-Wissowa, init.*

|| *Die Wanderung der Kelten*, Leipzig, 1861, p. 3.

¶ *Op. cit.*, p. 141.

** "Les Celtes, les Galates, les Gaulois," in *Revue Archéologique*, xxx 2 (1875), p. 4 ff.

as etymologically distinct, but the people as ethnographically identical.

Related to this linguistic question, but not identical with it, is that of the nature of the tie uniting the various tribes which were grouped together under the terms *Κέλται* or *Γαλάται*, or both. Was the basis of this grouping racial, the tribes being of ultimately common origin; or linguistic, tribes of perhaps different origin having come to speak related languages; or cultural, different races sharing in a common civilisation; or economic and military, the several tribes participating in a common migratory movement? Related to this in turn is the question, whence and when these Celtic or Gallic peoples came into western Europe. All these questions pertain to a period long previous to that with which we are concerned, and lie outside the scope of an introduction to Paul's Epistle to the Galatians.

Of more immediate interest, however, are the eastward movements of the Gauls, which led to the ultimate settlement of a portion of the race in Asia Minor and the establishment of an eastern Gaul in which, or in an extension of which bearing its name, Paul was in process of time to preach the gospel and found churches. The stages of the process seem to have been as follows:

1. Under a chieftain whose name or title was Brennus the Gauls invaded Italy in B. C. 390 and captured Rome, although the capitol itself resisted the siege successfully (Polyb. 2. 18). The attack upon Rome seems to have been a punitive expedition, and when it was completed and indemnity extorted from the Romans the invaders retired (Livy 5^{34ff.}; Polyb. 2. 19-21). Polybius calls these Gauls *Γαλάται* and *Κέλτοί* (cf. 2. 22 f.), their country *Γαλατία*.

2. A second Brennus, about 281 B. C., led another eastward movement which had as its object the finding of a new home for the overcrowded Gauls. Routed by the Ætolians at Delphi, the Gauls withdrew from Greece and, joining an-

* Ripley, *Races of Europe*, pp. 124-128; 470-475; 490-492; McCulloch, art. "Celts" in *Hastings, Dict. Rel. and Eth.*

other detachment of the same general stream of eastward moving Celts, invaded Asia Minor (Livy 38⁶).

Tarn, *op. cit.* pp. 439 ff. holds that the common treatment of the Gallic attack upon Delphi as constituting the invasion of Greece is incorrect. He regards the latter as part of a general home-seeking movement of the Gauls, of which the former was an incident. He bases his opinion upon the Koan decree of B. C. 278, which distinguishes between two divisions of the Gauls who invaded Greece, one of which attacked Delphi. Tarn admits, however, that the events were very early confused. The source for our knowledge of the details of these events is Pausanias, Bk. 10 *passim*, esp. 10^{23ff.}

3. At first overrunning the whole peninsula, they were later, about 239 B. C., defeated by Attalus I, king of Pergamum. As a result of this defeat they were confined to a territory somewhat north and east of the centre, bounded on the north by Bithynia and Paphlagonia, on the east by Pontus, on the south by Cappadocia and Lycaonia, and on the west by Phrygia, and traversed by the rivers Halys and Sangarius. In 189 B. C. this eastern Gaul, called by the Greeks Galatia, or Gallogræcia, shared the fate of the rest of Asia Minor and came under the power of the Romans, its status being that of a dependent kingdom (Strabo, 12.5¹).

4. In the latter half of the first century B. C. Galatia was materially increased in extent. On the death of Deiotarus, king of Galatia, about B. C. 40, Antony conferred the kingdom of Galatia with the eastern part of Paphlagonia, on Kastor, son-in-law of Deiotarus, and to Amyntas, secretary of the late Deiotarus, gave a new kingdom, comprising portions of Pisidia and Phrygia. A few years later, B. C. 36, Kastor died, and his Paphlagonian dominion was given to his brother, but his Galatian realm to Amyntas, who also retained his Phrygio-Pisidian dominion. In the same year he also received a part of Pamphylia. To unite these two separated territories, Galatia and Phrygio-Pisidia, Amyntas was given, also, Lycaonia, or a considerable portion of it. After the battle of Actium Augustus gave to Amyntas the country of Cilicia Tracheia.*

* Ramsay, *Com. on Galatians*, pp. 101, 109 ff.; Perrot, *De Galatia Provincia Romana*, cap. II, esp. pp. 42 f.

5. When in B. C. 25 Amyntas was killed in the war with the Homonades, his kingdom was converted into a Roman province, but the part of Pamphylia which had belonged to him was restored to that province, and Cilicia Tracheia was given to Archelaus. In B. C. 5 a large part of Paphlagonia was added to Galatia, and at some time before, or in, the reign of Claudius (41-54 A. D.), the territory of the Homonades.*

This situation gave rise to a double use of the term *Γαλατία* as applied to a territory in Asia Minor, the newer, official sense, not at once or wholly displacing the older, ethnographic sense. The former is found in the following passages from Pliny, Tacitus, and Ptolemy:

Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 5. 146, 147 (42): Simul dicendum videtur et de Galatia, quæ superposita agros maiori ex parte Phrygiæ tenet caputque quondam eius Gordium. Qui partem eam insidere Gallorum Tolistobogi et Voturi et Ambitouti vocantur, qui Mæoniæ et Paphlagoniæ regionem Trogmi. Prætenditur Cappadocia a septentrione et solis ortu, cujus uberrimam partem occupavere Tectosages ac Toutobodiaci. Et gentes quidem hæ. Populi vero ac tetrarchiæ omnes numero CXCv. Oppida Tectosagum Ancyra, Trogmorum Tavium, Tolistobogiorum Pisinuus. Præter hos celebres Actalenses, Alasenses, Comenses, Didienses, Hierorenses, Lystreni, Neapolitani, Cædenses, Seleucenses, Sebasteni, Timoniacenses, Thebaseni. Attingit Galatia et Pamphylia Cabaliam et Milyas qui circa Barim sunt et Cyllanicum et Oroandicum Pisidiæ tractum, item Lycaoniæ partem Obizenen.

Tacitus, *Hist.* 2^o: Galatiam ac Pamphyliam provincias Calpurnio Asprenati regendas Galba permiserat.

Tacitus, *Ann.* 13^o: Igitur dimissis quibus senectus aut valetudo adversa erat, supplementum petivit. Et habitus per Galatiam Cappadociamque dilectus.

Ptolemy 5⁴: 'Η Γαλατία περιορίζεται ἀπὸ μὲν δύσεως Βιθυνία καὶ μέρει τῆς Ἀσίας κατὰ τὴν ἐκτεθειμμένην γραμμὴν ἀπὸ τῆς μεσημβρίας Παμφυλίας ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰρημένου πρὸς τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πέρατος ἕως τοῦ κατὰ παράλληλον ἔχοντος ζα δ' λβ' γιβ ἀπὸ δὲ ἀναταλῶν Καππαδοκίας μέρει τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰρημένου πέρατος μέχρι τοῦ Πόντου.

It appears also in Boeckh, *C. I. G.* 3991:

Ἐπίτροπον Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ καὶ Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Γαλατικῆς ἐπαρχείας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ εὐεργέτην καὶ κτίστην.

* *Encyc. Bib.* vol. II, col. 1591.

On the other hand, Memnon, a resident of Asia Minor, writing in the second century, refers to the land inhabited by the Celtic tribes as "the now so-called Galatia."

οὗτοι δὲ πολλὴν ἐπελθόντες χώραν αὐθις ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ τῆς αἰρεθείσης αὐτοῖς ἀπετέμνοντο τὴν νῦν Γαλατίαν καλουμένην, εἰς τρεῖς μοῖρας ταύτην διαιεῖμαντες. *Fragg. Hist. Græc.* Ed. Didot. III 536.

Other inscriptions (C. I. G. 4016, 4017, 4031, 4039, p. 102), bear no decisive testimony, being capable of interpretation in either sense. See Perrot, *op. cit.*, p. 102. Cf. Sief. *Kom.* p. 11; *contra* Zahn, *Introd.* pp. 184 ff., and Ram. in *Stud. Bib. et Eccl.* IV 26-38.

II. WHERE WERE THE GALATIAN CHURCHES?

A. *The Alternative Opinions.*

The facts narrated in the preceding paragraphs respecting the gradual extension of the term Γαλατία over larger areas, show that in the period when Paul was writing his letters the term was used in more than one sense of an eastern territory, denoting, on the one hand, the district of which the people of Gallic blood who came from the West had gained control before the incoming of the Roman power, and, on the other hand, the whole of the territory which constituted the Roman province of Galatia, including both the district just named and the adjacent portions of Lycaonia, Pisidia, and Phrygia. These two usages being both in existence in Paul's day, he may have used it in either sense. In itself the answer to the question in which sense he employed the word would not of necessity determine the location of the churches of Galatia to which our epistle was addressed, since churches in either part of Galatia, or a group partly in one and partly in the other, would be in the province. But it happens that the statements of the Book of Acts concerning the apostle's missionary journeys in Asia Minor and the relation of these statements to the evidence of the epistle are such that, if we assume the historicity of the former, the determination of Paul's use of the word Galatia will determine also the location of the churches.