

Re-enchanting Paul?

Revisiting the Use of the Curse in Gal 3:1–14

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Abstract

The Galatian community is disrupted with different notions of the gospel than Paul intended. Paul, surprised that this community is confused so easily, sets out in Gal 3 to explain what justification by faith entails. Paul and his letter to the Galatians are products of a first century CE context. The problem when faced with Galatians, particularly Gal 3:1–14, is that research on rhetoric abounds, but the curse language, which is embedded in Paul's context is often dismissed or ignored. My focus here is to trace Paul's meaning, specifically focusing on curse language in the argument of Gal 3 in order to show that Paul is embedded in a apotropaic imaginary as befits his socio-cultural setting and Greco-Roman discursive reality.

Keywords

Pauline theology – Galatians – curse – blessing – apotropaic – evil eye – magic

1 Introduction

A group of teachers talking about blessings and curses has disrupted the Galatian community – or so the story goes, as research on Galatians continues to produce questions regarding Paul and the rhetorical figuration of his opponents. The problem when faced with Galatians, and here particularly Gal 3:1–14, is that most interpretations seem relevant to a German setting during the Reformation. The text of Galatians has remained, for the most part, a mere text, without sufficient recognition of the people the letter was initially meant for; moreover, it has resulted in reading over (and for that matter, translating over)¹ concepts that can only be illuminated by a first-century background. In the case of this article, a magical and apotropaic background specifically will be the immediate focus of the discussion. The plea to read Galatians within its original context, among which “magic” would have been a common trope or

point of reference, is of course not especially new. But the question does arise: what is it that makes us keep on noticing and yet simultaneously managing to ignore the vital background?²

The topic of magic is controversial and it is notoriously difficult to define as the applications are vast.³ One of the greatest dangers in interpreting Paul is the assumption that Paul is one of “us.” In the plethora of Pauline studies, Paul is often interpreted from the vantage point of what “we” want Paul to be and to say.⁴ We often fail to emphasise, alongside topics like “justification,” that Paul’s soteriological vision is intrinsically related to his cosmological conceits regarding angels, demons, and powers, here drawing from existing representations from the Hellenistic-Roman context as well as Second Temple Judaism.⁵ Jennifer Eyl rightly reminds us that Paul, understood from a first-century perspective, would have been described among many ancient Greek speakers as a sorcerer, a magician, and a spell-caster.⁶ She elaborates that Paul proclaims a spiritual and bodily resurrection after death, so that he may be viewed as someone who specialises in the fate of the dead. Paul underscores that he works from the *power* of Christ, and this power has the ability to change the nature of things, e.g., the old self becomes the new self.⁷ This is not strange as Paul and the recipients of his letters lived in a world filled with powers and forces. A first-century world where the belief in evil spiritual beings existed entrenched a fear of evil powers unseen.⁸ What is rather strange is our attempt to see Paul as unique in the sense that somehow, he is not part of the first-century context.⁹ Of course, it must be stated that these practices are not the main concern of Paul’s writings. However, they are crucial in order to be able to truly understand the message of Paul.¹⁰

Accordingly, this article is an attempt to revisit the Paul’s language in Gal 3:1–14. In Gal 3:10, 13 Paul refers to the law as *a curse*. This is the only instance in Pauline literature (and by this I of course mean the seven authentic Pauline letters) in which Paul uses this language. It is uncertain how to interpret this use of the law as a curse and consequentially, Christ becoming a curse. Much has been written on the rhetoric of Gal 3. In order to truly understand Paul’s discourse, it is necessary to be aware of the fact that we are working with Paul’s perception of the situation in the church of Galatia. To truly understand the dialogue, we must understand the situation of the audience; and this also entails including potential notions or overtones of magic or apotropaic language which may be present. As notions of magic are often negated, this article will investigate the possibility of how it functions in Gal 3:1–14.

2 Abracadabra (Some Short Notes on “Magic” Appear)

A comprehensive discussion of magic is not the aim of this article, but it is worth reminding ourselves that the interactions between people and their gods were rich and complex. It especially centred around the idea of reciprocity, i.e., doing something in return for something else.¹¹ It would not have been strange to wear amulets to ward off evil, including amulets of the cross.¹² This is the world in which Paul lived and preached the gospel. In order to understand magical language¹³ in Paul, we need to avoid cross-cultural generalisations about the nature and quality of “magic” and focus instead on how the Greeks and Romans understood the term and where these practitioners of “magic” fit into their social world.¹⁴

However, here it must be mentioned that talking about magic (*mageia*) is problematic, especially as the term has largely had a derogatory and ambiguous interpretation.¹⁵ The origins might be traced from its etymological conceptual legacy positioning against Persia in fifth-century BCE Greece. Accordingly, it functions as a signpost of things different, dangerous, foreign, potentially powerful, and things done differently by others.¹⁶ The ambiguity is evident in Platonic literature, where it can be linked to θεόν θεραπεία (“worship of the gods”; *Alc.* 1.120e–122c) and simultaneously to φαρμακεία, sorcery (γοητεία), and blasphemy (ασέβεια; *Laws* 933c–e). It thus cannot easily be divorced from the history of suspicion and derision, a narrative that has been repeated at least since Pliny the Elder (*Hist. Nat.* 30.1–6).¹⁷

Hopfner has done the most extensive research on magic in the Graeco-Roman world and has classified Graeco-Roman magical activities in four categories.¹⁸ The first is protective and apotropaic magic; the second, aggressive and malevolent magic; the third is love magic and magic aimed at the acquisition of power and control; and the fourth is magical divination.¹⁹ The goals of Graeco-Roman magic, broadly characterised, were to provide protection, healing, success, and knowledge for magical practitioners and their clients and harm for their opponents.²⁰ The perception of practitioners of *mageia* as quacks, charlatans, and frauds stems from an uncritical reading of Greek and Roman authors.²¹ Magical practices and practitioners were generally illegal throughout the history of the Roman Empire, based especially on social rather than religious grounds.²²

It is noteworthy that Paul is particularly engaged with the question of including non-Jewish Christians as God's people and heirs of God's promises without the requirements of Jewish customs.²³ In Galatians 3, Paul sets out to explain what justification by faith entails. The Galatian community is disrupted by a group of teachers drawing on the language of curses and blessings. This group of teachers are probably Jewish Christians (probably from within the community),²⁴ promulgating the importance of the law as well as circumcision.²⁵ They argue their case based on scripture, particularly drawing on the Abraham narratives.²⁶ Paul is surprised (Gal 1:6) that the Galatians have so quickly turned to this different teaching. Paul founded the church in Galatia and it should not go unnoticed that he is outraged that they are considering information that is not his perception of the Christ event. He uses the verb μετατίθημι in the middle voice. Betz situates the language within the political sphere attributing μετατίθημι to express a partisan point of view.²⁷ Paul uses the verb καλέω which designates a divine summons.²⁸ Having turned to a different gospel (εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον), away from the one who called them "in grace" ἐν χάριτι, the Galatians have turned to the law as an apparently additional way of salvation.²⁹ He reacts and wants to persuade the Galatian community to believe the way he wants them to believe.

The pericope can be separated into two parts, namely Gal 3:1–5 where Paul argues based on the experience of what the Galatians must have had in coming to faith and Gal 3:6–14 based on scripture – passages to which I turn to now.

3.1 Galatians 3:1–5

Paul is markedly harsh as he addresses the Galatians as ἀνόητοι "unintelligent." This is not the typical way that Paul addresses his audiences,³⁰ as Paul usually employs ἀδελφοί "brothers (and sisters)." However, Paul is clearly outraged and the interjection (ᾠ) underscores his rebuke.³¹ This is followed by Paul asking who has bewitched you (τίς ὑμᾶς ἐβάσκανεν)? The verb βασκαίνω is difficult to interpret. It is a *hapax legomena* with no use of it in the papyri.³² According to Spicq, βασκαίνω "emphasizes the magical value of a group, which relates properly to an evil spell."³³ In general usage, βασκαίνω may refer to casting an evil or envious eye or behaving in a miserly way; it may indicate an actual accusation of witchcraft, and it may function as a familiar rhetorical *topos* to discredit one's opponents.³⁴ BDAG and LSJ lists that it is employed metaphorically in Gal 3:1.³⁵ However, Neyrey³⁶ and Elliott³⁷ have argued from a cultural-anthropological perspective that the belief in the evil eye permeates our understanding of Galatians. Susan Eastman underlines the link between the Deuteronomic curse in Deut 28:53–57 and the evil eye.³⁸ She particularly makes a case that the echo of βασκαίνω seen in Deuteronomy is prevalent in Paul's argument that believers

have become God's children and thus heirs (Gal 4:1–7). This should be interpreted as part of the notion of restoration for the obedience of the law as the covenant theology precipitates in the adoption formula.³⁹

For Burton, inferring from Paul's use of *βασκαίνω* that he believed in the reality of magical powers is over-pressing the text.⁴⁰ Whether the interpretation of the verb is metaphorical, literal or rhetorical, the magical backdrop of the Galatian community must be understood in order to comprehend Paul's message. In Gal 1:8–9 Paul mentions that anyone who preaches the gospel contrary to the one you have received, let them be accursed. The noun used *ἀνάθεμα* ("accursed") is employed. The counter-curse found in Gal 1:8–9 read together with Gal 3:1 and the warning for sorcery in Gal 5:2 indicates the cultural world of counter-cursing and the evil-eye context of the Galatian conflict must be understood in order to comprehend Paul's message.⁴¹

The remedy for foolishness seen in Gal 3:1 for Paul is the proclamation of the crucified Christ.⁴² Much has been written on the verb *προγράφω*, which is usually interpreted as meaning to "proclaim publicly."⁴³ This forms part of Paul using visual aspects as *προεγγραφή* signals portrayal, but this is used by Paul to underline the vilification⁴⁴ and vehemence⁴⁵ of his argument. Heidi Wendt agrees with the translation of *προγράφω*, but convincingly sheds light on Paul being a product of the textual practices of his time. Paul forms part of a broader religious program seen in the contemporaneous self-authorized specialists in skills such as divination, initiation and healing, as his use of *προγράφω* signals textual prophecy.⁴⁶ In Gal 3:8, Paul also uses the notion of "foreseeing." Moreover, the distinction is made that the Galatians did not receive the Spirit because they observed the law, but as a result of the proclamation that has the power to elicit faith.⁴⁷

It is noteworthy that apart from the language of *βασκαίνω*, Paul also draws on the fact that the Galatians themselves received the spirit from God (*τὸ πνεῦμα ἐλάβετε*; Gal 3:2) and witnessed a miracle (*ἐνεργῶν δυνάμεις ἐν ὑμῖν*).⁴⁸ This proves the message – works of the law or message of faith had divine approval. The assumption throughout is that these divinely wrought signs attest to Paul's legitimacy and played a large part in convincing his audience that his message came with divine approval.⁴⁹

3.2 *Gal 3:6–14*

The second argument Paul uses in Gal 3:6–14 is saturated with scripture. Within a short space of Gal 3:1–14, Paul quotes explicitly from six texts, five from the Torah (Gen 15:6; 12:3; Deut 27:26; Lev 18:5 and Deut 21:23) and one text from Habakkuk 2:4. Gal 3:6 marks the first use of scripture as Paul employs an almost exact quote from Gen 15:6. The comparative conjunction *καθώς* indicates the

comparison with Abraham, but also functions as an introductory formula rendering the translation “as it is written.” Paul is not just using scripture for his argument, but also the figure of Abraham. On account of God’s action towards Abraham, it is possible to know the identity of Abraham’s children which is derived from faith. The focus on Abraham’s children is probably prompted by Paul’s reaction to what the opposing group might have said.

Paul uses the verb προοράω “to foresee”⁵⁰ which immediately brings to mind Gal 3:1. Scripture is now fulfilling this divining position as it foresaw that God would justify the Gentiles. Scripture is personified as something alive with eyes and a mouth.⁵¹ Scripture states that from faith the nation of God is righteous, and the figure of Abraham has proclaimed the good news in advance, proclaimed without the law.⁵² Paul quotes another scripture “all nations shall be blessed by you” (Gen 12:3; ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη), but his interpretation of the text is clear as he uses it indicate the inclusion of all gentiles.

Paul concludes and stresses (ὥστε) the reason why those from faith are blessed with Abraham, a man of faith. The portrait Paul paints of Abraham is different from the Genesis author, as Paul uses Abraham to illustrate a faithful person. The only link with the Genesis Abraham is the sense that “his mind was set at rest by the power of God’s promissory word.”⁵³

The argument in Gal 3:6–9 had focussed on blessing, but in Gal 3:10–12 the focus becomes the curse of the law. Paul introduces (as γάρ indicates) in Gal 3:10 that those who are of the works of the law (“Ὅσοι γὰρ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου εἰσὶν) are under a curse (ὑπὸ κατάραν εἰσὶν).⁵⁴ The preposition ὑπό + an accusative (ὑπό τινά εἶναι) indicates being under the power of something, an expression Paul uses 10 times in Gal 3–5. Throughout the argument in Gal 3:6–4:7, it becomes evident the dilemma of human beings is the fact that they are enslaved by powers that are not under their control.⁵⁵ The portrayal of the law here in Gal 3:10 is extreme as it has an enslaving power pronounced over all human beings.⁵⁶ The statement is emphatically negative. If a person is not blessed, then it is the equivalent of being cursed. Being cursed means divine harm or evil is invoked on a person. This includes Jewish Christians and Paul’s opponents who regard the Torah as a condition for salvation.

Paul provides the proof for his statement drawing on Deut 27:26. The quotation is marked with the formula γέγραπται γάρ (“as it is written”) and states cursed is everyone who does not remain in everything that is written in the book of the law, in order to do it (ὅτι ἐπικατάρατος πάς ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει πάσιν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτά). The quotation is problematic. It differs from both the LXX and the MT versions (see next page).

In the $\mu\tau$, “every” and “all” is omitted. It is not necessary for “every” to be before the relative pronoun $\eta\psi\kappa$ to indicate each and every violator of the law is cursed. The omission of all in reference to the law is more telling. Without “all” the curse pronouncement can be more leniently interpreted. Lightfoot mentions the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Syriac Peshitta includes “all.” Jerome even accused the Jews of wilfully omitting all in order to avoid the curse.⁵⁷

Another curiosity is the translation of קום (*qum*) being translated as $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega$. *Qum* means to rise up, to stand. In the *hif'il* it can mean “to cause to stand.” The verb $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega$ means to “stay in, continue.” The LXX use of $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega$ implies something of human being’s cleaving to the law. The Hebrew places emphasis on the law and the Greek emphasis on the action or situation of the man. There is also the use of the participial form of $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\omega$ in Gal 3:10 in place of $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\iota\varsigma$. Paul’s use of $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\rho\alpha\pi\tau\alpha\iota$ could be explained due to the influence of a legal formula which uses $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega$ plus a participle in the dative. The reference to $\beta\acute{\iota}\beta\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$ is unique to Gal 3:10. It may be due to the wording of Dt 28:58 that Paul had in mind. It could be that Paul used his own version of Dt 27:26 or relied on a version available to him.

But it should be added here that the quotation, quite simply, is strange and tendentious. The original text in Deuteronomy implies everyone is cursed and is not observant of the law.⁵⁸ Cowan points out that Deut 27:26 does not declare a curse on everyone who tries to obey the law, but rather on those who fail to obey the law.⁵⁹ The view that Paul has a corporate curse on the nation of Israel in view has become increasingly popular. Paul may be confused, but this seems unlikely as we know Paul to be a subtle exegete. More likely, Paul’s interpretation is that there are those who think they are observant of the law, and yet are actually falling short of full observance and thus under a curse.⁶⁰ But again, Paul often mentions the impossibility of humans to fully keep the law; his argument is that it is by faith that one is justified. It could be that Paul is quoting from one of the opposer’s texts as this text fits their agenda – as seen in 1:7; 4:17; 5:10. Different from the teachers, Paul accepts the text but interprets it differently as the law does not have the power to bless as the opposers claim.⁶¹ Rather, the law’s curse falls on both those who are observant and those who are not; by establishing the law as a curse, the inimical power is universal.⁶² It could also be that Paul quotes from an unknown version of the LXX or he could have quoted from memory. One can only speculate.

In Gal 3:11 Paul again draws on Scripture interpreting it himself first and then stating it. This time, the first $\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota$ clause indicates that no one is justified in law before God is evident. The particle $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ introduces an extra argument that places the verse more than just parallel with verse 10. The phrase $\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\tau\iota$ indicates interpretation of scripture and is connected with the quotation from Hab 2:4.

Gal 3:10 γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει ^{T*} πᾶσιν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτά
For all who rely on works of the law are under a curse; for it is written, “Cursed be everyone who does not abide by all things written in the Book of the Law, and do them.”

Dt 27:26^{LXX} ²⁶ Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ἄνθρωπος, ὃς οὐκ ἐμμενεῖ ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ νόμου τούτου τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτούς, καὶ ἐροῦσιν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς Γένοιτο.
“Cursed be any person who does not remain in all the words of this law to do them.” And all the people shall say, “May it be!”^a

MT ²⁶ אָמֵן וְהָיוּ לְאִשְׁמֵךְ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ כִּי לֹא יִשְׁמְרֵם בְּכָל דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת וְעָשׂוּ אֶת דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת וְעָשׂוּ אֶת דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת
²⁶ “Cursed is anyone who does not uphold the words of this law by carrying them out.”

Then all the people shall say, “Amen!”

a Melvin K.H. Peters, “Deuteronomion,” *NETS* (Deut 27:26 ^{LXX}).

Again, Paul interprets Hab 2:4 in a way that fits his thinking as he omits *μου* in the *LXX* version and interprets *ἐκ πίστεως* as a theological formula “by faith in Christ Jesus” (cf. 2:16).⁶³ The *LXX* already interprets the Hebrew version differently as it adds faithfulness to God.⁶⁴ Paul uses the conclusion from Hab 2:4, but simultaneously continues verse 10 with the argument that if the “men of the law” are under the curse, it is obvious that no one can be justified by the Law before God. Using the law as a means to be righteous means to be under a curse that ends in destruction (*φθορά*), as seen in 6:8 and cf. 5:10 and without having been saved.⁶⁵ Paul, already preparing for the rebuttal, quotes Lev 18:5. Again, he interprets the text before he cites the text. Paul states: and the law is not of faith (*ὁ δὲ νόμος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ πίστεως*), emphatically excluding the Torah. Lev 18:5 was a fundamental passage in Jewish religion expressing the condition for actualising the Deuteronomic blessing – obey the law and live (Sirach 45:5, Baruch 3:9, 4:1–2; 4 Ezra 14:30).⁶⁶ Most *LXX* versions of Lev 18:5 includes *ἄνθρωπος*. The Tannaitic period interpreted this to mean that the law could be adhered to even by Gentiles (cf. b. B. Qam 38a; Midr. Ps. 118; Num. Rab. 13.15–16).⁶⁷

The conjunction *ἀλλά* indicates the antithesis between Paul’s view of the law and faith. However, the extreme difficulty in the text lies in how to understand that Christ has become a curse and how is this deduction based on scripture?

Paul has argued that the law is a curse. The antidote becomes clear in Gal 3:13 as Christ has redeemed believers from the Law's curse (Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου γενόμενος), *becoming a curse on our behalf*. Humans are subjected to the curse of the law. This is an evil power that has an influence over them. Also noteworthy is that the first person plural ἡμᾶς "we" is employed. This is perplexing as to who is the "we" that is intended? Is the "we" included in the blessing of Abraham. Does Paul mean that Christ became the *object* of the curse in place of us, or a "curse offering" as a means of propitiation "for us"?⁶⁸ This statement presupposes sacrificial ideas which are, however, not spelt out. The aorist of the verb ἐξαγοράζω is used in order to indicate the redeeming action of Christ, as something that has already occurred. The cross is alluded to in the following phrase of Christ becoming a curse on our behalf (γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα).

The verb ἐξαγοράζω denotes the action of one person redeeming another by delivering him from slavery.⁶⁹ With this language Paul alludes to the redemption of slaves, but not to Greek sacral manumission.⁷⁰ Intrinsic to understanding ἐξαγοράζω (redemption) is that it is a commercial metaphor used in a religious setting and "becoming a curse for us" is language stemming from the sacrificial cultus.⁷¹ Christ's embodiment of the Law's curse was the act in which the Law is severed from its universal power to curse.⁷² The thought involved here is that of "an exchange curse."⁷³ The decisive fact is that Christ, appears as a purchaser, and stops all obligations to the law.⁷⁴ In Gal 4:5, Paul employs ἐξαγοράζω also with the notion that Christ "purchases" the freedom of all those "under the Law" (ὑπὸ νόμον, Gal 4:4,5). This freedom is also applicable to those "under the elements of the world" (4:9b*) to become adopted as "sons of God."⁷⁵ Paul's argument which speaks of the law as a power set over Israel, reflects the Jewish tradition that each nation has its own angelic ruler and guardian, while Israel comes under the direct sovereignty of God.⁷⁶ Paul likens Israel under the law to Gentiles under the *stoicheia* which is equivalent to the astrological meaning of a natural or cosmic order of things, expressed by fate (*moira*).⁷⁷

With the interpretation of Gal 3:13, it is difficult to step aside the reciprocal nature of Christ dealing with the curse. The "for us" phrase is noteworthy, even if Burton cautions to not press ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν "on our behalf" to mean "in our place" (ἀντί).⁷⁸ Gal 3:13 is reminiscent of Rom 8:32, which is of course linked with Rom 5:6–8. In Rom 8:32, 5:6–8, ὑπὲρ refers Christ's saving death, as it is the body of Christ that offers protection.⁷⁹ Paul uses the "dying for" formulae to indicate that believers have been warded off from the consequences of sin. Believers are saved from wrath.⁸⁰ Reading Galatians within an apocalyptic framework, is the law not also viewed as something that has an influence on a person as seen in Romans 5–8 and that on a cosmic stage a reality that has been dealt with

by Christ? But avoiding to reading too much into the text, it stays clear: Christ deals with the curse on the behalf of all humans.

Paul continues by citing again from Deuteronomy 21:23: ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου (“cursed be everyone who hangs on a tree”), but again he diverges from the LXX (see next page).

Deut 21:22–23 concerns legal regulations for the hanging of criminals. This forms part of the religious and social laws seen in Deut 12–28. When someone is hanged, they should be buried the same day as the land will not be polluted. This hanging entails the public display of the corpse of a criminal by impalement on a post, exposing the body after the execution itself (cf. 1Sam 31:10). The intention was to heap shame on the victim after his death. This would imply that such a person broke the covenant and was under God’s curse.

By quoting from a Greek version of his Scriptures (LXX), Paul links the “curse” referred to in his statement (κατάρα) with that of the quotation itself (ἐπικατάρατος). But the actual word used by all the LXX manuscripts at this place reads κεκατηραμένος and not the word ἐπικατάρατος that Paul uses in his quotation. The considerable difference between Paul’s quotation and LXX can be explained in several ways. Paul may have used a different *Vorlage*, or he may have made the changes himself.⁸¹

Gal 3:13 13 Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα,* ὅτι γέγραπται· ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου,

Deuteronomy 23 οὐκ ἐπικοιμηθήσεται τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου, ἀλλὰ ταφῆ θάψετε αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, ὅτι κεκατηραμένος ὑπὸ θεοῦ πᾶς κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου, καὶ οὐ μιανεῖτε τὴν γῆν, ἣν κύριος ὁ θεός σου δίδωσίν σοι ἐν κλήρῳ.

MT

אֵל־תִּלְתֵּי יָמִים יִתְּמָן בְּעֵץ
 אֲשֶׁר יִתְּמָן בְּעֵץ אֲשֶׁר יִתְּמָן
 אֲשֶׁר יִתְּמָן בְּעֵץ אֲשֶׁר יִתְּמָן
 אֲשֶׁר יִתְּמָן בְּעֵץ אֲשֶׁר יִתְּמָן
 אֲשֶׁר יִתְּמָן בְּעֵץ אֲשֶׁר יִתְּמָן

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Both the Hebrew and Greek versions of Deut 21:23 use a subjective genitive indicating being cursed in contrast to the objective genitive of the later rabbinic traditions. The association with Deut 21:22–23 with crucifixion rather than with post-mortem impalement may be seen in the evidence of the Dead Sea Scrolls, indicating that crucifixion was practiced also by Judaism and not just by the Romans.⁸² When Philo (*Spec. Leg.* 3.152) discusses Deut 21:22 f., he replaces κρεμάννυμι by ἀνασκολοπίζω, “impale,” “crucify.” Elsewhere (*Post. C.* 61; *Som.* 2.213) he associates ἀνασκολίζω with “nailing up” (προσηλόω), indicating that he has crucifixion in mind rather than impalement.⁸³ Philo is very close to the reading of LXX Deuteronomy 21:23 in *Posterity* 26.

[26] This is why the lawgiver says in another place that “he that hangeth on a tree is cursed of God” (Deut. 21:23), for, whereas it behoves us to hang upon God, the man of whom we are thinking suspended himself from his body, which is a log-like mass in us. By doing so he gave up hope and took desire in its place, a grievous evil in place of a supreme good. For hope, being an expectation of good things, fastens the mind upon the bountiful God; whereas desire, infusing irrational cravings, fastens it on the body, which Nature wrought as a receptacle and abode of pleasures.⁸⁴

Both the LXX and Philo have the perfect participle (the LXX in the nominative, Philo in the accusative) + ὑπὸ θεοῦ, whereas Gal 3:13 uses the adjective ἐπικατάρατος and lacks ὑπὸ θεοῦ. Galatians might have omitted ὑπὸ θεοῦ due to theological reasons in order not to put the emphasis on *God's* cursing, but rather on the *fact* of being cursed when you hang on a cross.

Alternatively, its absence in Galatians might represent another textual tradition that steered away from the use of God's name – as it is already implied with the use of the perfect participle. However, in the latter part of the quotation, the LXX and Galatians are closer when both use πᾶς + praesens participle nominative (Gal 3:13 with the masculine article) – whereas Philo lacks πᾶς and follows the praesens participle accusative with the article. But Philo's use of this text should be classified, in this case, as a paraphrase rather than an explicit quotation. A case for this might be made from (1) the way in which the quoted words are introduced, lacking an expected ὅτι, (2) the consistent use of the accusative, and (3) from the position of φησίν, which appears only after the quoted words. If this is true, then Philo is probably closer to the original LXX text form in the first part of the quotation, but to Galatians in the second part.

Dt 21:23 οὐκ ἐπικοιμηθήσεται τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου, ἀλλὰ ταφῆ θάψετε αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, ὅτι κεκατηραμένος ὑπὸ θεοῦ πᾶς κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου, καὶ οὐ μιανεῖτε τὴν γῆν, ἣν κύριος ὁ θεός σου δίδωσίν σοι ἐν κλήρῳ.

Dtb27:26 Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ἄνθρωπος, ὃς οὐκ ἐμμενεῖ ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ νόμου τούτου τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτοῦς, καὶ ἐροῦσιν πᾶς ὁ λαός Γένοιτο.

What is more, this reading of Deut 21:23 as a reference to crucifixion is not unique to Paul. We also see this interpretation in Qumran. In Qumran however, the sources reflect Jewish polemic against the early church's confession of Jesus as God's Messiah.⁸⁵ Accordingly, a crucified criminal, necessarily enduring the curse of God, cannot possibly have been God's Messiah.⁸⁶ Whatever the origin, the passage proves for Paul that Christ's death on the cross fulfilled Scripture. It does not mean that Christ was a criminal, but that a curse became effective through the act of hanging on the cross.⁸⁷

But what does this redeeming action of Christ mean? Paul answers that question in two parallel purpose clauses.⁸⁸ In the first purpose clause that also indicates result, non-Jews are indeed part of Abraham's blessing as a result of being in Christ. The phrase ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ is important. The preposition ἐν designates a close personal relationship with regards to the referent of the ἐν-term functioning as the controlling influence.⁸⁹ It is through the power of Christ that the gentiles are included in the blessing of Abraham. Paul uses scripture to argue that this has always foreseen and foretold that Gentiles who come to believe are those blessed together with Abraham (cf. 3:8–9).⁹⁰

The second purpose clause "that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith." That we might receive the promise of the Spirit (τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος) is a metonymic phrase meaning the promised Spirit.⁹¹ Paul knows the Spirit to be one of the chief topics by which the opposers are currently leading the Galatians from true faith into the realm of superstition and magic.⁹² Paul actively swaps out the language of blessing which the opposing group probably used and swaps in his own selection, that is "promise." In the next subsection Paul elaborates on what promise entails, contrasting it sharply with the law.⁹³

4 Situating the Text: A Brief Comment on Recent Proposals

For too long Galatians has been interpreted without situating the text. In recent research, there have been some major advancements made that aid our understanding of Galatians. Particularly the work of Jennifer Eyl and Matthew Sharp

helps to navigate our language when trying to think of Paul within a first-century CE setting where forces and powers are a reality. But other recent work buttresses this aspect of Paul's texts, and specifically in relation to Galatians.

Brigitte Kahl for instance has done work on Galatians that forces us to rethink this text.⁹⁴ In Gal 3:1 Paul also addresses the audience as Γαλάται "Galatians" for the first time. The term Γαλατῆς refers to both "Gauls" and "Galatians" and it is notoriously difficult to pinpoint the exact location of Paul's audience as situated in Asia Minor. There is not enough evidence to convincingly accept Asia Minor, as it is possible that Paul could have written to the Roman province of Gallia, contemporary France.⁹⁵ Kahl illustrates that from a Roman perspective, the Gauls and Galatians were both Celtic peoples regarded as twin provinces. They were portrayed as the archetypal enemies of Rome and were both notoriously seen as subverting law and order.⁹⁶ Both the Gauls and Galatians had a reputation for uprisings. Eventually after five centuries they were subdued and incorporated into the god-willed system worldwide of Roman rule, but their lawlessness was always seen as just beneath the surface.⁹⁷ I am careful to consider Paul as being against the Empire as I understand Paul to work from an apocalyptic worldview. But this being said, Kahl draws attention to the depiction of the Gauls/Galatians with the sculptures of the Dying Gauls which were placed as powerful objects enforcing Roman rule and establishing them as "law-defying barbarians." These depictions become part of the propaganda of the legitimate rule of Rome, but also as justification of the Roman rule.⁹⁸ What is significant, is Kahl mentions that these statues embody hidden magic as it wards off evil. It is symbols reminding the Gauls/Galatians where their place is, but also reminding them of who it is that saved them.⁹⁹ Their existence is by the grace of the Emperor.

Paul knows the Galatian community and their context. In this regard, Jeremy Wade Barrier plausibly argues that the Galatians are using circumcision as an apotropaic device which he convincingly evinces within Judaism and Greco-Roman culture. The story of Sarai is significant as Paul draws on the figure of Abraham. The story revolves around Abraham and Sarai having many children. Sarai has the evil eye as this influences fertility; the evil eye is prominent in conception and influences both men and women as the Pharaoh's house is affected when Sarai is there.¹⁰⁰ Circumcision is however featured in the story as a preventative measure. In a similar fashion, the research of Breytenbach and Zimmerman should also be marked. Breytenbach and Zimmermann have argued, based on the gravestones found in Lycaonia and adjacent areas, that the practice of consignment had an "apotropaic function," and this practice of signing the crucified Christ on the forehead may be drawn from Gal 3:1 as a way to ward off bewitchment (βασκαίνω).¹⁰¹ Accordingly, Paul uses various ways to speak about being saved; for example, in Rom 5:6–8 he employs an

apotropaic understanding along with a traditional understanding. In Galatians, the text explicitly indicates the use of the evil eye. The Celts were known to have spread the knowledge of the evil eye and Paul's use of scripture along with drawing on the figure of Abraham forces us to potentially reread the nature of the curse.

5 Conclusion

The Galatian believers borrowed their belief in the curse as an efficacious divine power of the one God from Judaism, but they were also familiar with the notion of divine wrath and curse from Graeco-Roman culture. A curse removes an individual from the beneficent divine presence. Cursing implies the belief that the gods will encounter the one cursed with wrath and punish him, thus restoring justice and order. An early example of the use of a divine curse in Christianity appears in Paul's letter to the Galatian churches: at the very beginning of the letter, Paul repeatedly levels curses at the troublemakers in those churches (Gal 1:8–9).¹⁰² It is thus difficult to look at Gal 3:13 and not think of Hopfner's category of apotropaic magic. Christ does ward off the calamity of the curse. Along with the redeeming action of Christ, the verb in itself denotes a purchase. In the ancient world, there were many people going about offering their services in order to provide healing and an assortment of things. The curse formula sketches a picture of how Galatian believers engaged in a dialogue with God. The non-believer reader becomes aware of the power of the Christian God to avert evil, lagging in no way behind the Graeco-Roman gods.¹⁰³ Moreover, it is prevalent in the way Paul cites scripture which he adapts and changes to fit his message. He sees himself as a prophet, working through the power of Christ. Paul's claim to legitimacy, because of this prophetic authority, does not derive from widespread culturally acknowledged sources such as ritual investment or initiation, specialised training with a priest who had a connection to imperial or local power. The point of all this is that if we are to truly understand the text, we need to understand the text within its environment. Whether a mere metaphor, a device for vilification in a rhetorical argument, or something more enchanted, Paul is a product of his time, a time in which the belief of powers and forces which could be manipulated and warded off existed. And if we desire to work with the texts, then the social world as the reference point for language cannot be ignored as it remains an embedded complex system underneath the textual phenomena we research.

- 1 E.g., John H. Elliott, "Social-Scientific Criticism: Perspective, Process and Payoff: Evil Eye Accusation at Galatia as Illustration of the Method," *HTS Theologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 67, no. 1 (2011): 5, <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v67n1.858>, mentions how the *evil eye* seen in Gal 3:1 is barely translated into English, with the original context lost to the modern reader.
- 2 Troels Engberg-Pedersen, *Cosmology and Self in the Apostle Paul: The Material Spirit* (Oxford; New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2010) voices the need for truly reflecting on the worldview of Paul. Paul is busy with God, like so many others in his time, but it is not the same God of our modern understanding. Pedersen, e.g., opts that much of what we read as metaphorical should be interpreted as cosmological. In this regard, I refer to the fact that most commentaries will mention βασιλείω as merely metaphorical. This is not incorrect, but the interpretation results in dismissing a nuanced grappling with the source domain. Metaphors are based on concepts and form an intrinsic part of human thought and reasoning. Here I merely want to make the point that language is a complex embedded phenomena. Magic cannot be seen as a "belief-system" reflecting a "magical worldview" as per Frazer. Recent scholarship has sought to steer away from overly modern, coherentist, or dualistic framings of these dynamics, turning towards the embeddedness of "religion" within material "practices"; see, e.g., David Frankfurter, "The Materials of Ancient Magic: Introduction," in *Guide to the Study of Ancient Magic*, ed. David Frankfurter, RGRW 189 (Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2019), 279–282, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004390751_013.
- 3 Bernd-Christian Otto and Michael Stausberg, eds., *Defining Magic: A Reader* (Abingdon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2014), 3, point to the "fuzziness of discourses" concerning the semantic overlap concerning the term "magic."
- 4 Robert B. Brandom, "Hermeneutic Practice and Theories of Meaning," *SATS: Nordic Journal of Philosophy* 5, no. 1 (2004): 3, coins the phrase "hermeneutical ventriloquism" referring to the reader making the text say what the reader is saying.
- 5 Christfried Böttrich, "Selbstverständnis, Weltbild, Dämologie," in *Paulus Handbuch*, ed. Friedrich W. Horn (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 387; Guy Williams, *The Spirit World in the Letters of Paul the Apostle: A Critical Examination of the Role of Spiritual Beings in the Authentic Pauline Epistles*, FRLANT 231 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009).
- 6 Jennifer Eyl, *Signs, Wonders, and Gifts: Divination in the Letters of Paul* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2019), 116. Matthew Sharp, *Divination and Philosophy in the Letters of Paul*, Edinburgh Studies in Religion in Antiquity (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023), 2, remarks that Pauline scholarship has up until this point been without an appropriate analytical classification for approaches of divine communication in Paul's historical context.
- 7 Eyl, *Signs, Wonders, and Gifts*, 116.
- 8 Sang Meyng Lee, *The Cosmic Drama of Salvation: A Study of Paul's Undisputed Writings from Anthropological and Cosmological Perspectives*, WUNT 2.276 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 155.
- 9 It is problematic to speak of "Christianity" within the first century as it is anachronistic. Paul did not set out to start a new "religion." It is also problematic to assume that the ancients did not have "beliefs." Religious practices and beliefs were deeply embedded and widely dispersed across all facets of daily life. Something like the modern idea of "secular" simply did not exist; cf. Eyl, *Signs, Wonders, and Gifts*, 13. What was different for Jesus believers (and the development of understanding themselves as separate from Jewish groups is difficult to pinpoint. Christianity is a later development) were that their views weren't related to nationality. Graeco-Roman "religion" (Greeks had no comprehensive term for religion as a distinct socio-cultural phenomenon) "consisted of three

major types: (1) state cults, (2) mystery cults, and (3) philosophical sects or schools"; cf. David E. Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity," in idem, *Apocalypticism, Prophecy, and Magic in Early Christianity: Collected Essays* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2016), 381.

10 Eyl, *Signs, Wonders, and Gifts*, 2.

11 Eyl, *Signs, Wonders, and Gifts*, 212.

12 Aune, "Magic," 293.

13 I use "magical language" as a means to navigate the argument. However, it must be noted that we cannot work with "magic" as an "object" in the same way that the surge of "etic" research from 1978 did. The blending of the "emic" and "etic" is more complex as regards early Christianity, cf. David Frankfurter, "Ancient Magic in a New Key: Refining an Exotic Discipline in the History of Religions," in *Guide to the Study of Ancient Magic*, ed. David Frankfurter, RGRW 189 (Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2019), 3, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004390751_002. Versnel succinctly and starkly puts it: "magic does not exist, nor does religion," Henk S. Versnel, "Some Reflections on the Relationship Magic-Religion," *Numen* 38, no. 2 (1991): 177, <https://doi.org/10.1163/156852791X00114>. "Magic" here functions as a heuristic term, David Frankfurter, "Dimensions of a Category Magic: Introduction," in *Guide to the Study of Ancient Magic*, ed. David Frankfurter, RGRW 189 (Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2019), 606, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004390751_022.

14 Christopher D. Stanley, *Paul and Asklepios: The Greco-Roman Quest for Healing and the Apostolic Mission*, LNTS 639 (London; New York, NY: T&T Clark, 2023), 55.

15 The interpretation of magic in modern times has been misrepresented along with deep roots in Western notions of cultural and racial superiority, Stanley, *Paul and Asklepios*, 52.

16 Otto and Stausberg, *Defining Magic*, 3.

17 Eyl, *Signs, Wonders, and Gifts*, 118.

18 I merely use Hopfer as a point of reference; there have been many more extensive studies on "magic" following Hopfer; what remains problematic is literature assigned as "magic" is often determined from a modern perspective, see David Frankfurter, "The Materials of Ancient Magic: Introduction," 279–282.

19 Aune, "Magic," 379. See Theodor Hopfner, "Mageia," in *RE* 14.1: 378, https://alexikon.ch/RE/XIV,1_301.

20 Aune, "Magic," 379.

21 Stanley, *Paul and Asklepios*, 52.

22 Aune, "Magic," 379.

23 G.M.M. Pelsler, "The Opposition Faith and Works as Persuasive Device in Galatians (3:6–14)," *Neotestamentica* 26, no. 2 (1992): 393, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43048045>.

24 Jeremy Wade Barrier, *Witch Hunt in Galatia: Magic, Medicine, and Ritual and the Occasion of Paul's Letter to the Galatians*, Paul in Critical Contexts (Lanham, MD; London: Lexington Books, 2020), 3, argues that the group of opponents could possibly be a group of insiders as there is nothing in the text that suggests that the group are outsiders.

25 It is notoriously difficult to determine exactly who these opponents in Galatians were. John M.G. Barclay, "Mirror-Reading a Polemical Letter: Galatians as a Test Case," *JSNT* 10, no. 31 (1987): 73–93, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X87010031>, points out the problem of mirror reading and the difficulties in assessing the opponents.

26 Barclay, "Mirror-Reading," 88.

- 27 Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1979), 47. But I wonder if there is not perhaps reason to question if there is more to the surface in terms of magical language. It is listed as figurative language. The only other occurrence of the middle voice is found in the Martyrdom of Polycarp, "turn away from evil to good" (MPol 111); BDAG, 642. Might this be an instance of substance that has changed? Paul speaks of being "in Christ" and through the power of Christ a believer has a new life. Is it possible that the Galatians have turned away, resulting in a substance change?
- 28 Jost Eckert, "Καλέω," in *EDNT*:2, 242.
- 29 Eckert, "Καλέω," 243.
- 30 Paul uses ἀνόητος in Rom 1:14 in contrast with σοφοίς. It does not function as an address.
- 31 BDF § 146(2).
- 32 Ceslas Spicq, "βασκαίνω," *TLNT*:1, 272.
- 33 Spicq, "βασκαίνω," 272.
- 34 A *Baskania* is an evil spell. Plato, *Phd.* 95b: "Beware lest some evil eye turn our argument around backward"; Spicq, "βασκαίνω," 272.
- 35 *BDAG*, 171. *LSJ*, 310.
- 36 Jerome H. Neyrey, "Bewitched in Galatia: Paul and Cultural Anthropology," *CBQ* 50, no. 1 (1988): 72, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43717590>, argues βασκαίνω is a common term for the evil eye in the LXX and Greek literature.
- 37 Elliott, "Social-Scientific," 1–10, sheds light on the fact that the evil eye ritual and practices was especially associated with the Celts of *Galatai* who aided in the spread of the evil eye and strategies for counteracting it.
- 38 Susan Eastman, "The Evil Eye and the Curse of the Law: Galatians 3:1 Revisited," *JSNT* 24, no. 1 (2001): 69–87, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0142064X0102400104>.
- 39 Marvin C. Pate, *The Reverse of the Curse: Paul, Wisdom, and the Law*, WUNT 2.114 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 148.
- 40 Ernest De Witt Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, ICC (New York, NY: C. Scribner's Sons, 1920), 144.
- 41 Barrier, *Witch Hunt*, 7. In Galatians 4 there are ample indications of the understanding of the evil eye permeating in this community. We read that the Galatians did not "spit," ἐκπτύω (Gal 4:14). In Theocritus 6.29; 20.11; Pliny, *Natural History* 28.39, the ritual to spit three times in the presence of someone who is thought of to be an evil eye possessor was employed as protection. Furthermore, the Galatians would rather have torn out their eyes and given them to Paul: εἰ δυνατόν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑμῶν ἐξορύξαντες ἐδώκατέ μοι (Gal 4:15); and 4:17–20, Paul depicting the readers as "children." It is especially children who were deemed susceptible to the evil eye.
- 42 Martyn, *Galatians*, 282.
- 43 This is the logical conclusion as the use is seen in Aeschines ii.60 f.; Plutarch *Cam.* 11; 1 Macc 10:36; Josephus *Ant.* x.254. Horst Balz, "προγράφω," in *EDNT*:3, 153–154, here 154.
- 44 For more detail on the vilification of Paul's argument, see D. Francois Tolmie, "Paulus se retoriēse strategie in Galasiērs 3:1–14," *Verbum et Ecclesia* 23, no. 1 (2002): 209–225, <https://doi.org/10.4102/ve.v23i1.1219>.
- 45 Andrie du Toit, "Galatians and the περί ἰδεῶν λόγος of Hermogenes: A Rhetoric of Severity in Galatians 1–4," *HTS* 70, no. 1 (2014): 10, <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v70i1.2738>, uses Hermogenes to shed light on the vehemence seen in the rhetoric of Gal 3:1–5.
- 46 Heidi Wendt, "Galatians 3:1 as an Allusion to Textual Prophecy," *JBL* 135, no. 2 (2016): 369–389, <https://doi.org/10.15699/jbl.1352.2016.2968>.

- 47 Martyn, *Galatians*, 281.
- 48 Sharp, *Divination*, 170.
- 49 Sharp, *Divination*, 170.
- 50 Same use in Philo *Imm.* 2.9; Josephus *BJ.* i.69. Wilhelm Michaelis, “προοράω” in *EDNT*:3, 159.
- 51 Martyn, *Galatians*, 300.
- 52 This is the only occurrence of the verb προευγγελίσατο in the NT and is not used in the LXX or Jewish apocryphal writings. It does appear in Philo and Sophist materials to indicated “to proclaim good news in advance,” Longenecker, *Galatians*, 115.
- 53 Martyn, *Galatians*, 302.
- 54 Betz, *Galatians*, 144.
- 55 Martyn, *Galatians*, 308.
- 56 Martyn, *Galatians*, 307.
- 57 J.B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul’s Epistle to the Galatians* (London; New York, NY: MacMillan & Co, 1921), 138.
- 58 The MT reads “Cursed is he who does not keep the words of this law, in order to do them,” Betz, *Galatians*, 147.
- 59 J. Andrew Cowan, “The Curse of the Law, the Covenant, and Anthropology in Galatians 3:10–14: An Examination of Paul’s Use of Deuteronomy 27:26,” *JBL* 139, no. 1 (2020): 212, <https://doi.org/10.15699/jbl.1391.2020.11>.
- 60 Martyn, *Galatians*, 310.
- 61 Martyn, *Galatians*, 311.
- 62 Martyn, *Galatians*, 311.
- 63 Betz, *Galatians*, 147.
- 64 Martyn, *Galatians*, 313.
- 65 Betz, *Galatians*, 147.
- 66 Pate, *Reverse of the Curse*, 149.
- 67 Pate, *Reverse of the Curse*, 149.
- 68 Betz, *Galatians*, 150.
- 69 Martyn, *Galatians*, 317.
- 70 Rolf Dabelstein, “ἐξαγοράζω,” *EDNT*:2, 1.
- 71 Longenecker, *Galatians*, 121. All of this, it seems, suggests that what we have here is a pre-Pauline, Jewish Christian confessional statement regarding Jesus’s death as a redeeming and atoning self-sacrifice.
- 72 Martyn, *Galatians*, 321.
- 73 Longenecker, *Galatians*, 121.
- 74 Dabelstein, “ἐξαγοράζω,” 1.
- 75 Betz, *Galatians*, 149.
- 76 Lee, *Cosmic Drama*, 162.
- 77 Lee, *Cosmic Drama*, 162.
- 78 Burton, *Galatians*, 172. See further on 1:3, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν.
- 79 See Annette Potgieter, *Contested Body: Paul’s Metaphors of Dominion in Romans 5–8*, HTS Religion & Society Series 7 (Durbanville: AOSIS, 2020), <https://doi.org/10.4102/aosis.2020.BK248>.
- 80 In Romans, Paul makes the argument that believers are standing in God’s Favour. In Gal 1:6 believers are ἐν χάριτι [Χριστοῦ].
- 81 Betz, *Galatians*, 151–152.
- 82 See for example the Temple Scroll that reads: “you shall hang him on the wood so that he dies” (11 QT 64.8,10–11 also 4QpNah 3–4.1.7–8).

- 83 F.F. Bruce, *The Epistle To The Galatians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1982), 164–165.
- 84 In Philo, *On the Cherubim. The Sacrifices of Abel and Cain. The Worse Attacks the Better. On the Posterity and Exile of Cain. On the Giants*, trans. F.H. Colson and G.H. Whitaker, LCL 227 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929), 343.
- 85 Martyn, *Galatians*, 320.
- 86 Martyn, *Galatians*, 320.
- 87 Betz, *Galatians*, 152.
- 88 Martyn, *Galatians*, 321.
- 89 *BDAG*, 327.
- 90 Betz, *Galatians*, 152.
- 91 Burton, *Galatians*, 176.
- 92 Martyn, *Galatians*, 284.
- 93 Martyn, *Galatians*, 323.
- 94 See Brigitte Kahl, *Galatians Re-Imagined: Reading with the Eyes of the Vanquished*, Paul in Critical Contexts (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2014).
- 95 Kahl, *Galatians*, 1–2.
- 96 Kahl, *Galatians*, 2.
- 97 Kahl, *Galatians*, 3.
- 98 Kahl, *Galatians*, 80.
- 99 Kahl, *Galatians*, 80.
- 100 Barrier, *Witch Hunt*, 15–19.
- 101 Cilliers Breytenbach and Christiane Zimmermann, *Early Christianity in Lycaonia and Adjacent Areas: From Paul to Amphilochius of Iconium*, AJEC 101; ECAM 2 (Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2018), 17.
- 102 Breytenbach and Zimmermann, *Early Christianity*, 516.
- 103 Breytenbach and Zimmermann, *Early Christianity*, 517.

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