

English Reconstruction and Translation of Marcion's version of *To The Galatians*

by *Daniel Jon Mahar*

Abbreviations are provided in the right margin to indicate the Patristic sources for passages, a system borrowed from Paul-Louis Couchoud which he utilised for his translation of Marcion's gospel (*The Creation of Christ*, p.318ff, Watts & Company, 1939).

The abbreviations which occur most often:

T.- Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, Bk.V.

E. - Epiphanius, *Adversus Haeresies*, Section.42.

A.- Adamantius, *Dialog* (Parts I, II, V).

Rufin - The Latin version of Adamantius.

O. - Origen

Hier.- Hieronymus, cited from the notes of Zahn/Harnack in their reconstructions.

In the left hand margin, **SyP** = variant reading from the Syriac Peshitta.

This translation was generated from the Greek-English Interlinear of the reconstruction. Some notes of possible interest are provided. The English translation itself is admittedly conjectural in places, as also are the notes.

One such creative liberty is the name for the Marcionite Savior, "Isu Chrestos" - "Isu" derived on the designation of Syrian Marcionites, the spelling for "Chrestos" (=the Good *one*) derived from an ancient inscription to a Marcionite synagogue.

TO THE GALATIANS ¹

Prologue

Galatians are Greeks. These accepted the word of truth first from the Apostle, but after his departure were tempted by false Apostles to turn to the law and circumcision. These the Apostle recalls to the faith of the truth, writing to them from Ephesus.

| | | | |
|-----|-----|---|--------------|
| | 1:1 | Paul <i>an</i> apostle, not of men nor through man, | T |
| | | but through Isu Chrestos, who awakened <i>himself</i> from the dead; ² | T (Hier.) |
| | 2b | To the assemblies of Galatia : | |
| | 3 | Goodness to you and peace from God our Father and Lord Isu Chrestos, | |
| | 4 | Who gave himself for our sins, so that he might rescue us from this wicked Destiny, ³ according to the pleasure of God our Father. | |
| Syp | | | |
| | 6 | I marvel that you are so quickly transferred from Him Who called you in His goodness unto a different gospel: | T T T |

¹ Set first in Marcion's canon, Galatians contains ideas central to Marcion's theology, i.e., of Gospel vs. Law, of a true Apostle (Paul) vs. "false" apostles (Peter, James and John). This was probably the first Pauline writing to which Marcion was exposed in his native Pontus. The first bishop of that region, Philologus (cf. Rom.15:15) - possibly Marcion's father - was reported to have been a personal friend of Paul's (p.vii, *The Gospel of the Lord*, James Hamlyn Hill).

² Christ raised himself from the dead, the first of many such modalistic expressions present in Marcion's text.

³ **Gal 1:4** "that he might deliver (or, *extract*) us from this present evil aeon": Joseph Turmel (*Ecrits*, vol. III, p.82ff) sites the strong Marcionite tendency underlying this passage, suggesting this was originally a Marcionite redaction, yet without the "present aeon" (being a later Catholic addition) to read: "that he might extract us from the Evil", or the "Evil one" (cf. Jn.17:15 Eph.6:13). The word "present" indeed stands unattested in the Syriac Peshitta text, but the suggestion that "aeon" is a later insertion is unnecessary if interpreted as a representation of the creator god as was by Marcionites with 2Cor.4:4, Eph.2:2, rather than a literal "age". Turmel refers to Tertullian twice, AM I.23 ("Such a deliverer...kidnapper...is the character of Marcion's God, swooping upon an alien world, snatching away man from his God...") and AM I.25: "...the good God, in coming to combat sin and death, is of necessity indisposed against the creator God who is sovereign lord of sin and death, accordingly more so that the good God came to deliver man from the creator God. Thus the Marcionite Christ came...to "extract" them...He is given "for our sins" because he delivered us from the death to which the Evil one had condemned us because of our sins..." (Turmel, *ibid*).

| | | | |
|-------|----|--|------------------------|
| | 7 | Which is not <i>entirely</i> another according to my gospel ; but there are some who trouble you | T/A A/O/Chrys. A |
| Ephr. | | and would change (you) unto a different gospel of Chrestos. ⁴ | A A |
| | 8 | But even if an angel out of heaven should announce another gospel [to you], let him be accursed! | T T T |
| SyP | 9 | As I said before, so I say now again, If any one announces another gospel to you let him be accursed. | A(Rufin.) A(Rufin.) |
| | 11 | I make known to you, brethren, the gospel - that gospel announced by me, that it is not according to man. | |
| | 12 | For I neither from a man received it, nor was I taught, but by revelation of Isu Chrestos. | |

(1:13 - 1:14)

| | | | |
|--|----|---|-------------------|
| | 15 | But when the Supreme God was well-pleased, having selected me from my mother's womb, ⁵ and having called <i>me</i> by His goodness, | A. A A A |
|--|----|---|-------------------|

⁴ **Gal 1:7** Origen, (*Comm. in John*, V.): “ ...[When] the Apostle says: "According to my Gospel in Christ Jesus;" he does not speak of Gospels in the plural...”.

Gal.1:7b, “and would change *you* unto a different gospel...” cf. Ephrem’s text and *Dialogues* : (*Der Paulustext*, Molitor, p.72): “You” in Ephr.’s text was the object of the “changing” or “perverting”, not the gospel.

⁵ **Gal.1:13-14** - Tertullian (AM V.1): “Even the book of Genesis promised me the apostle Paul...that Paul would arise out of the tribe of Benjamin, a voracious wolf...as a persecutor of the churches”. But Tert. continues: “Should you disapprove of these types, the Acts of the Apostles...have handed me this career of Paul, which you *should not refuse to accept*. Thence *I demonstrate that from a persecutor he became an apostle...thence do I find reason for rejecting your defence* of him”. Herein lies a possible implication that Marcion may not have accepted the portrayal of Paul as a former “persecutor” of the churches, a point which Tertullian is preoccupied to emphasize especially. Marcion either rejected or did not know the book of Acts, at least in the orthodox form which has come down to us. An interesting proposal was set forth by P.L. Couchoud and R.Stahl that *Acts* was the result of 2 authors, the premier edition consisting of the travels of Paul, occurring mostly in the 2nd half of the book - and the second edition, being the work of an orthodox redactor, who added the material about the 12 apostles (see “Les Deux Auteurs des Actes des Apotres”, *Premier Ecrits du Christianisme*). A common theory is that the epistle to Galatians underwent orthodox re-editing to comply it to the history in *Acts*.

16 to reveal his Son in me,
in order that I might proclaim him
among the nations,
immediately I did not confer
with flesh and blood. Hier.

17 Neither went I up into Jerusalem
to those who were before me apostles;
but I went into Arabia,
and again returned into Damascus.

(1:18 - 1:20)

21 Afterwards I came into the regions
of Syria and of Cilicia.

2:1 After fourteen years T
I went up to Jerusalem; T

2 But I went according to revelation,
and I set before them T
the canon of the gospel T
but apart to those of repute,
fearing that I should go or had gone (T)
for nothing. ⁶ (T)

3 But not even Titus, T
who was with me, T
being a Greek, T
was compelled to be circumcised: T

4 But because of those who crept in T
to spy out this liberty of ours T
which we enjoy in Chrestos, T
so that they might enslave us - T

5 To these not even for an hour T
we yielded in subjection,
That the truth of the gospel
might continue with you.

⁶ **Gal.2:2** Couchoud's rendering: *Do I run, or have I run in vain?* - not a statement of self-doubt by Paul insofar as his own ministry was concerned, but concerning the course of action he was pursuing in going to the Jerusalem apostles- would they be receptive to Paul's gospel? Or would Paul be wasting his time?

6 But from those reputed
to be something -
those of repute conferred nothing to me.

7a But against them,
when they had seen that I was entrusted
the gospel of the uncircumcision,

9b Peter, James and John , ⁷ (T) Hier.
who regard themselves pillars, (T)
gave to me the right of fellowship: (T)
- to me the nations
- to them the circumcision! ⁸

10 Only they would *have it*
that I should remember the poor;
which I had been cautious to do.

11 Now when Peter came to Antioch
I confronted him to the face, T
because he was to be blamed. (T)

12 Prior to certain ones coming from James,
he was eating with the nations;
But when they came,
He withdrew and segregated himself,
being afraid of those of the circumcision. T

14 When I saw they walked not honestly T
according to the truth of the gospel, T
I said to Peter before all,
If you, being a Jew, live like the nations,
Why do you urge the nations
to be judaizing?

16 A man is not justified T
by the works of the law, T
but by the faith. T

⁷ **Gal.2:9b-10** Hieronymous/ Ambrosiaster/Victorinus and some Greek texts (D,G) all attest to the order of the names, "Peter, James and John" (Zahn, *Geschichte*, p.499). Such a reading strongly suggests James, (of the triad "Peter, James and John" which appears throughout the synoptic gospels), the brother of John, who together comprise "the sons of thunder"; one legend has it that when James was executed by Herod in Acts 12, John was executed along with him. (see *Enigma of the Fourth Gospel*, chaps.15-16,pp.64f; Eisler). If this John was the actual writer of *Revelation*, then *Revelation* (at least in a more primitive form) dates back much earlier than assumed.

⁸ Following Couchoud (*The Creation of Christ*, v.I, p.53), the sarcastic tone of 2:9b is in keeping with the sense of the context (2:6, "those reputed to be something", 2:9 those "who consider themselves pillars"), in which there is little justification for switching to a conciliatory tone as so oft construed, so that Paul was solemnly bestowed the right hand of the Church. Note : "those reputed (δοκουυτων) to be something"(v.6) = those reputed (δοκουυτες) to be pillars (v.9, Peter, James, and John), "conferred *nothing to me*," aside from the empty gesture of the "hand of fellowship" .

17 But if seeking to be made upright in Chrestos
we were actually discovered to be sinners,
is even Chrestos sin s servant?
May it not be!

18 Because if I build again those things T
which I overthrew, ⁹ T
I prove myself to be a law-breaker.

Conj. 19 For myself, by *His* law to the law I died, ¹⁰
so for God I may be living.

20 With Chrestos I was crucified.
I live but it is no longer I living
but Chrestos [s life] with me.
That life which I now live in the flesh A
I live by the faith of the Son of God, A
who ransomed himself for me. ¹¹ A

3:1 O senseless Galatians - (T)
who bewitched you ? (T)
[Was it by one ?] before whose eyes
Isu Chrestos was crucified in plain view? ¹² (Hier.)

2 This only I wish to learn of you :
Received ye the spirit by the works of the law,
or by the hearing of faith?

3 Are ye so mindless?
Having begun with spirit within,
now ye are being perfected by flesh?

4 Did ye suffer so much for nothing?
Because certainly, it is for nothing! ¹³

⁹ **Gal.2:18** “[those things] which I pulled down” -what were those things which Paul “destroyed”? The church? -a very tempting possibility, which would resolve the question of authenticity concerning the portrayal of Paul as “persecutor of the churches” in Gal.2:13. Or may those things overthrown represent the OT law and it’s commandments, replaced by the “law of Christ” (Gal.2:19; 6:2; Lao.2:15)?

¹⁰ **Gal.2:19** - “by [His] law to the [OT] law” = “the law of Christ” (Gal.6:2). cf. Lao.2:15; Col.2:14 (SyP.).

¹¹ **Gal 2:20** Christ “gave himself” as the ransom-price- a doctrinal keystone with Marcion. Eznik (*Against Sects*): “ [Jesus] took Paul and revealed to him the victory, and sent him to preach, that we were bought with a price, and that all who believes on Jesus, were sold by the Just [God] to the Good [God]”.He bought us evidently as strangers, for no one ever purchases those who belong to him”.

¹² **Gal.3:1b** Hieronymus VII,4:18 (Zahn, *Geschichte*, p499): “to προεγραφε which he covers on the prediction of the OT: “*Interrogemus ergo hoc loco Marcionem, qui prophetas repudiat, quomodo interpretetur id quod sequitur*”, namely, 3:1”. προεγραφε = *interpretetur*, “openly-portayed”, or “set-forth”.conjunctural reading: “by those[or by one] whose before whose eyes” are those who saw Christ crucified” = the Jerusalem apostles.

¹³ **Gal.3:6-9**: Hieronymus VII,4:22 (Zahn, *Geschichte*, p.499 “From this place all the way up to where it is written “they which are of the faith, are blessed with faithful Abraham” (v.9), Marcion erased from his apostle...”. Tert., AM V.3: “...it becomes clear that what the heretic’s industry erased was the mention of Abraham’s name...” [thus missing was 3:6, 8, 9,14a, 16, 18, 29]; (AM V.4): “the last mention of

| | | |
|-------|---|---------------------------------|
| 10-12 | Learn that the righteous by faith shall live. ¹⁴ All those under the Law are under a curse; and the one doing those things lives in them. | E.T. E/T E E E E |
| 13a | The Chrestos ransomed us ¹⁵ from the curse of the law being made a curse for us; | A/(Hier.) (T) |
| 13b | For as it has been written: "Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree". | T/E T/E |
| 14b | We receive therefore the blessing of the Spirit through faith, | T T |
| 26 | For all, you are sons of God by the faith. ¹⁶ | T |

(Gal. 3:27 -28)

Abraham's name [4:22] he has left untouched".

¹⁴ **Gal 3:11** Note the train of thought with 3:2, "This only I wish to *learn* of you", and 3:10, "*Learn* that (etc.).

the righteous by faith shall live". Tert. AM V.3 : *quia iustus ex fide vivit* (the just out of faith shall live).

¹⁵ **Gal 3:13a** Hieronymus: (Harnack, Beil.III, p73): "In this place Marcion concerning the power of the [cruel] creator...claimed we were ransomed by Christ (*nos redemptos esse per Christum*), who was the son of the other, good God.

¹⁶ **Gal.3:10-26** - On the "blessing of the spirit", Couchoud (*Le Premier Edition de Saint Paul*) writes: "The thought is clear. The Christ, hung at the tree and becoming an accursed object, took on the glory of the ancient curse. Immediately we arrive to a blessing which does not apply to the flesh but to the spirit, for in it consists of becoming spiritual sons of God...The [orthodox] edition brings into this passage the blessing given to Abraham (3:6-9).Then it attenuates, in the first line "all those who are under the law" with "all those who are under the curse of the law". Then it disassociates "the blessing" and "the spirit". The blessing becomes the one given to Abraham; the spirit becomes the Holy Ghost which descent is reported in Acts. Finally the theme of the blessing to Abraham is developed in eleven verses, to the conclusion."

Gal.3:21-28 - J.Turmel (*Ecrits de St.Paul*, v.III,p87) thought to see an incompatibility between those passages concerning "the blessing of Abraham" (3:6-9,14,15-18) and those where the Law served as a "pedagogue"(3:21-28) until the coming of faith, in that the conditions for becoming "sons of God" and "sons of Abraham" differed from one another: with one, the terms are based upon the blessing and promise made to Abraham's posterity in Genesis, while with the other, by virtue of a "faith to come" escorted by the accompaniment of transgression and Law. In fact, both lines of thought concerning the "blessing of Abraham" and the portrayal of the law as "pedagogue" seem to interrupt the clear train of those lines known to have stood with Marcion.

The pedagogical law passages may be a catholic expansion specifically designed to defuse the harsh "curse of the law" and the "elements of the cosmos"(4:3f) passages, to establish against Marcion the providence of the OT Law. It is tempting to believe that Marcion would have found much to use with 3:19 where the law is given by angels, but there's no indication that he even knew this, and again, 3:19 would interrupt the order of 3:10-12/13/14b/26. The orthodox insertion of the law given by angels (which shares a parallel in Heb.2:2 - the same redactor?) was originally intended in a positive sense, to convey that the law was only imperfect in the manner in which it was delivered and prescribed, via means of angelic overseers. Needless to say, this catholic interpolation backfired somewhat when the gnostics got a hold of it .

| | | |
|------|---|-----------|
| 4: 3 | As a man I say, | T |
| | when we were barely-born, | T |
| | we were enslaved | T |
| | under the elements of the cosmos. ¹⁷ | T |
| 4 | But when the fulness of the time came, | T |
| | God sent forth his Son, ¹⁸ | T/(Hier.) |
| 5 | That he might purchase those under law, | T |
| | and that we may receive adoption. | (A) |
| 6 | God sent forth the Spirit of his Son | T |
| | into your hearts, crying, | T |
| | "Abba, Father". ¹⁹ | T |
| 8 | How is it then, when ye knew not God, (T) | |
| | you served those which are nature- gods, | T |
| 9b | that ye turn again | |
| | to the weak and beggarly elements, | T |
| | for which ye lust to slave again anew ? | |
| 10 | Ye observe days and months and times | T |
| | and years. ²⁰ | T |

¹⁷ Gal.3:15/Gal.4:3 (Tert.,AM V.4):*secundum hominem dico: dum essemus parvuli, sub elementis mundi eramus positi ad deseruiendum eis.* A natural opening to this section of chapter 4 , w/o vv.1-2.

The "Elements of the cosmos": In reference to angelic beings, evil "matter", or "rules". see next page.

¹⁸ Gal.4:4 (Tert, AM V.4): *cum autem evenit impleri tempus, misit Deus Filium suum.*

Missing : "made of a woman", according to Hieronymus, Gal4:4 (p431, Zahn) : *Diligenter adtendite, quod non dixit "factum per mulierem", quod Marcion et ceterae haereses volunt, qui putativam Christi carnem simulant, sed "ex muliere" ut non per illam, sed ex illa natus esse credatur.*

¹⁹ Gal.4:6 (Tert., AM V.4): *misit spiritum suum in corda nostra clamantem: Abba Pater.*

²⁰ Gal.4:8-10 An allusion to Genesis 1:14? -(proposed by David Anderson).

Gal.4:3-9, THE ELEMENTS OF THE COSMOS (στοιχηεαι του κοσμου) : How did Marcion Interpret this ? Possible interpretations:

a) **elements = spirit beings**: in both pagan and Jewish cosmologies the forces of nature were in some manner deified;

while asserted by some scholars that Gal.4:1ff is concerned only with former pagans, sufficient evidence exists via the OT peudepigrapha concerning angelic forces which govern natural forces to support including adherents of a Jewish background into the scope of Paul's discussion as well. In *Jubilees* (2:1f) we read of "the angels of the spirit of fire..of the wind...of the clouds of darkness...of hail and hoarfrost...of the abysses...of thunder and lightning", etc.; I Enoch 59:15,20-23, "the spirit of the sea...of the frost...of hail...of snow...of mist...of dew...of rain...". From II Enoch (16:7): "...and spirits, and *elements*, and flying angels" (also 12:1;15:1; 19:3; 23). Test. of Sol. (8:2):"We are heavenly *elements* (esmen stoicheia), rulers of this world of darkness". see p.969-70, n.8a. in *O.T.Pseudepigrapha*, v.1, Charlesworth. II Enoch (prologue): "...of the incorporal hosts, and of the ineffable ministrations of the multitude of the *elements*...". Hymn I (Qumran scrolls): "Thou hast created all the spirits and hast established a statute and law for all their works...the mighty winds...the stars...the clouds...the thunderbolts and lightnings...treasuries of snow and hail...". This concept of *elements* may also apply to the 7 angels in Rev.16, exercising God's wrath "upon the earth"(v2), "the sea" (v3), "the rivers and fountains of waters" (v4), "the sun...(v8), "the air" (v17) "thunders, and lightnings, and a great earthquake" (v18), "great hailstones out of heaven"; also "the angel of waters" (v5). This account in John's Revelation may be all the more pertinent if this circulated in a primitive redaction at the time Paul wrote Galatians, raising the possibility that he was replying to this work ; thus his warning against "another gospel", if even from "an angel from heaven"(Gal.1:6-8), precisely

- 11 I am afraid of you,
lest somehow for nothing
I have laboured for you.
- 19 My children, (T)
of whom I travail *in birth* again (T)
until Chrestos be formed in you -
- 21 Tell me, ye who desire to be under law:
do ye not hear the law?

the source of John's revelation (Rev.1:1;22:8). Note Jesus' rebuke of James and John ("the sons of thunder", so aptly named) in Lk.9:54-55.

Gal.4:8- "ye served those which are in nature (*natura*) gods" - "nature-gods"? The latin *natura* can also mean *element*.

Gal.4:9b- "weak and beggarly elements"-Due to the loss of their authority over the christian as a result of Christ's cosmic victory over them, the *elements* are likened to the souls of men which lose their power at death; a common Heb. name for ghosts is *rephiam*, "feeble ones" (p.237, L.B.Paton, *Spiritism and the Cult of the Dead in Antiquity*, 1921).

b) **elements = evil matter**: Joseph Turmel (*Ecrits*, v.III, p74): "The cruel god who created the world had also made men the slaves of matter...the *stoicheai tou kosmou*...designates the material world which the dualistic philosophy held in horror". Tertullian many times sites the marcionites' disdain for the creator's works, but the best known:"To be sure" they say, "the world is a grand production, worthy of a god"(AM, I.13);"Even this handiwork of our God will please you, inasmuch as your own lord, that better god...for your sakes was at pains of descending from the third heaven to these *poverty-stricken elements*, and for the same reason was actually crucified in this sorry cell of the creator" (AM I.14). In the later marcionite myth reported by Eznik, the world was a joint production of both the Creator and Hyle (matter), and in their competition for worship, "Hyle filled the world with idolatry, so men ceased to adore the Lord of creation", resulting in the woes of the human race (pp 246-48, GRS Mead, *Fragments of a Faith Forgotten*). Cp. also Gal.1:4, "evil aeon".

c) **elements = rules, laws, rudimentary principles** : Tertullian (AM V.4): "By the Romans, however, the rudiments of learning are wont to be called elements. He did not seek, by any depreciation of the mundane elements, to turn them away from their God..(Gal.4:9b)...he censured the error of that of physical and natural superstition which holds the elements to be a God. He tells us clearly enough what he means by elements, even the rudiments of the law: "ye observe days, and months, and times, and years" - the sabbaths I suppose, and "the preparations", and the fasts, and the "high days"..."

Initially, one may receive the general impression that this is only Tertullian's own interpretation, rather than Marcion's .

Seemingly 4:9b ("gods") presents difficulty for this interpretation being *strictly* the case. Nonetheless, the interpretation of elements = rudiments, or laws, finds support elsewhere in the NT (Heb.5:12, "the elements of God's word"; Col. 2:8, "...human tradition, the elements of the cosmos...";Col 2:20 "since you died with Christ to the elements of the cosmos...why...do you submit to its rules?"; nonetheless there's much in this same section of Col. which would lend support for elements = spirit beings (Col. 2:15, "principalities and powers", and 2:18, "worship of angels").

Which interpretation did Marcion hold ? Given the strength of all three interpretations above, it is tempting to consider that "elements" may have encompassed all three. But the third, elements = rudiments, gains serious momentum on the basis of Marcion's reconstructed text. . 4:3-10 complements and even mirrors those ideas already expressed in 3:10/12 to 3:14b/26, which in turn, leaves little room for the "law delivered by angels/ law as pedagogue" (3:19-4:2) material; 4:1-2 (in agreement with Zahn, opposite Harnack), had to be missing, considering the combined 3:15/4:3 as it stood in the text. 3:19-4:2 is an orthodox interpolation, designed to water down the text's harsh portrayal of the law as a curse, by which all were enslaved all to it's precepts, and to re-assert the OT as imperfect only insofar as it's angelic system of delivery and execution was concerned, thereby preserving the Law's providence. When a marcionite read *stoicheai tou kosmou* , he/she understood "precepts of the creator-god", permitting that *κοσμος* is also a synonym for *αιωνος* = OT god.

| | | | |
|--------------|----|--|-------------------------------|
| | 22 | For Abraham had two sons, the one by a slave-maid, the other by a free-woman. | T T T |
| | 23 | But he who was of the slave-woman was born after the flesh; but he of the free-woman was by promise. ²¹ | T T T/E |
| | 24 | This is allegorized: ²² these are two revelations, ²³ indeed the one from Mount Sinai is the synagogue of the Jews, giving birth, according to the Law, into slavery; | T/(Hier.) T T T T |
| Eph. 1:21 | 26 | The other gives birth into freedom, Above every Principality, Power, Dominion, of every name that is named, not only in this destiny, but also in that which is to come- ²⁴ the holy assembly promised to us, which is our mother . | T T T T T T |
| | 31 | So then, brethren, we are not children of the slave-woman, T but of the free. ²⁵ | T T |

²¹ **Gal:4:22-23** (Tert.V.4), “the last mention of Abraham's name he left untouched” :

²² **Gal:4:24-25** Hieronymus, VII.473 (Zahn, p.502):“Here Marcion and Manichaeus, where the apostle said “which is allegorical”(quae sunt allegorica) and the rest which follows, hesitate not to remove from their codices, thinking the opposite we bequeath, that it is obviously the law which is understood, what is written”.

²³ “promises” - Harnack proposed “exhibitions” (Couchoud, "manifestations"); Zahn suggested “promises” (*Geschichte*, p.502: “επαγγελλεσθαι must set the basis for the *repromittere*, as επαγγελια = *repromissio*. It should recall with the Tanfgelubde to cf. Ignatius S.509of, Caspari, Quellen zu Gesch.d.Taufsymbols I.26;63”.

²⁴ The insertion of Eph.1:21 at this place is also also attested with Ephrem (*Comm.in Epistolas d. Paul*, p.298), as noted by Clabeaux (p.3, *A Lost Edition of the Letters of Paul*), though inconveniently overlooked in Molitor’s reconstruction of Ephrem.

²⁵ **Gal:4:31** (Tert.V.4): “by reason of which he adds in conclusion”: *fratres, non sumus ancillae filii, sed liberae*.

PL Couchoud, from *The Premier Edition de St.Paul*, notes the inconsistencies in the orthodox version of Gal.4:46-31: “[The Apostolikon version of 4:24-31] opposes, by two mystical plans, the synagogue of the Jews and the holy church. The [orthodox version] pretends to save the Jews. It replaces the two “manifestations”...radically different, by two “alliances” [“testaments”] and, in the end, with two Jeruselems. It confuses in striving to explain how Agar, mother of the pagan Arabs, nevertheless represents the Jews. Finally it is no longer the law and grace which are opposed, nor even two alliances, but the Jerusalem slave of the Romans and the Jerusalem on high described in the Apocalypse (Rev.). This perspective is completely warped....”.

| | | |
|-----|---|----------------------|
| 5:1 | In the liberty wherewith Chrestos made us free, Stand firm - and be not entangled again in the weight of slavery. | T T (T) (T) |
| 2 | Behold, I Paul say to you, that if ye be circumcised, Chrestos shall gain you nothing. | |
| 3 | But I testify again that a man circumcised is a debtor to fulfil the whole law. | E E |
| 4 | Nothing [comes] from Chrestos, [for] whosoever in law are justified - you have fallen from goodness. | |
| 6 | For in Chrestos neither circumcision makes any impact, nor uncircumcision; but faith perfected through love. ²⁶ | T T T T |
| 7 | Ye did run well; who hindered you to not be yielding to the truth? | |
| 8 | This enticement comes not from him Who calls you. | |
| 9 | A little leaven spoils the whole loaf. | E |
| 10 | But he distressing you shall bear the judgement, whosoever he is. ²⁷ | T/A T/A A |
| 11 | But I, brethren, if I still proclaim circumcision, why yet am I persecuted? Then abolished is the offence of the cross. | |
| 12 | I would also that they castrated themselves who throw you into confusion ! ²⁸ | (Hier.) (Hier.) |
| 13 | For ye were called for liberty, brethren; only not liberty for the urging by the flesh, but by love [to] serve one another. | |
| 14 | For all the law in you is fulfilled: love thy neighbour as thyself. | T/E T/E |
| 15 | But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed | |

²⁶ **Gal.5:6a** (Tert.) *illius fidei quam dicendo per dilectionem perfici* (that faith which he says by love is perfected).

²⁷ **Gal.5:10** (Tert.) *Qui autem turbat vos iudicium feret.* (But the one who troubles you shall bear his judgement).

²⁸ **Gal.5:12** , Hieronymus (Zahn, p503): Secretly, they say, Peter lacerated (lacerat), of whom previously he wrote to the face resisted.

that ye be not consumed of one another.
 16 But I say, walk ye by spirit,
 and in no wise should ye fulfil
 the desire of flesh.
 17 For the flesh desires against the spirit,
 yet the spirit against the flesh;
 Now these are opposed to one another,
 so that ye cannot do the things
 that ye would.
 18 But if by spirit ye are led,
 ye are not under law.
 19 Now manifest are the works of the flesh, E
 which are fornication, uncleanness, E
 20 wantonness, idolatry, enchantment, E
 enmities, strifes, jealousies, furies, E
 21 contentions, divisions, sects, envies, E
 drunkenness, revels, E
 [and things like these],
 which I predicted to you E
 as I also said before, E
 that whoever does such things E
 shall not be enjoying God's kingdom. ²⁹ E
 22 But the fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace,
 long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faith,
 23 meekness, self-control :
 against such things there is no law.
 24 But those of the Chrestos crucified the flesh E
 together with the passions and desires. ³⁰ E

³⁰ **Gal 5: 24** It is tempting to consider the possibility that 5:19-21, attested by Epiphanius, as a later interpolation, in view of how well the order of passages (5:14/6:2) work together if following only Tertullian's witness: (5:14) *For all the law in you is fulfilled: love thy neighbour as thyself.* (6:2) *Bear ye one another's burdens, and thus fulfil the law of Christ.*

The problem, however, is that 5:19-21 may just as easily be considered a marcionite addition as a Catholic insertion. Indeed, such was Turmel's opinion (*Ecrits*, v.III, p.80ff), holding that 5:13-26; 6:7-10 was of marcionite origin, as indicated by "chastity" in v.23 (in view of the celibacy practiced by marcionites), and of the (heavenly) "Kingdom of God" (v.21) promised to the servants of the spirit - "eternal life" (6:8), but without a resurrection of the flesh. The internal, human qualities listed as fruit of the spirit would certainly be considered characteristically Pauline, in contrast to the external, heavy, violent, Holy Spirit characteristic of the Jerusalem apostles in Acts, as noted by Couchoud and Stahl (p.185, "Les deux auteurs des Actes", *Premiers Ecrits*).

| | | |
|-----|--|--------------------------|
| 6:2 | Bear ye one another's burdens, and thus fulfil the law of Chrestos. ³¹ | T T |
| 6 | Let him that is taught in the utterance share with him that teaches in all good. ³² | (Hier.) (Hier.) |
| 7 | Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man may sow, that shall he also reap. | T/A T/A T/A |
| 8 | For he that sows to his own flesh from the flesh shall reap corruption; but he that sows to the Spirit from the Spirit shall reap life eternal. | (T) (T) (T) (T) |
| 9 | But let us not become weary in doing good: but in due season we shall reap, not fainting. | (T) (T) (T) |
| 10 | As we might have opportunity, let us do good. ³³ | (T) (T) |
| 11 | Behold with the large-sized letters I have written to you with my own hand. | |
| 12 | As many as wish to make a fair show in flesh, these urge you to be circumcised, only they are persecutors of the cross of Chrestos. | |
| 13 | For neither they who are themselves circumcised are maintaining law, but they would have you circumcised, that in your flesh they might boast. ³⁴ | E E E |
| 14 | But may it not be for me to boast, but only in the cross of our Lord Isu Chrestos; Yet also to me is the world crucified, and I to the world. | T T |

³¹ **Gal.6:2** "The law of Christ": the body of those precepts declared in the "Sermon on the Mount"(Lk.6:17ff) abolished the creator's law: "Having abolished the law of commandments by His own precepts (δογμασι, Laod.2:15).

³² **Gal.6:6** (Hieronymus): "Marcion so interprets this place, reckoning this should speak of the faith and catechism together, that the master communicated to his disciples, which is indeed to be the maxim carried forth, in respect to that which follows: "In all good" (*In omnibus bonis*)".

³³ **Gal.6:8-10**, Considering the frequency of the word "good" in this section (6:6, 9, 10), it is not difficult to see why Turmel (n.45) regarded these passages a marcionite addition !

³⁴ **Gal.6:13b** (also 6:12, 14; cp. Phil.3:18): Tertullian (AM V.4) makes mention of "persecutors of Christ" (*persecutores vacat Christi*), which must allude those rebuked by Paul in 6:12-14. Cp. also 6:17.

- 15 For in Chrestos Isu
neither circumcision is of any impact,
nor uncircumcision,
but a new creation.
- 17 As for all the others, A
not without reason A
I cause nuisance! ³⁵ A
For I carry the scars of Chrestos (T)/Theod/(Clem.)
in my body. A(T)
- 18 Brethren, the grace of our Lord Isu Chrestos
be with your spirit.

Amen.

³⁵ **Gal 6:17** “the others” = the Jerusalem apostles : “The corrector lenified, by suppressing “cause” and by replacing “the others” with “the rest”. “Henceforth I cause no one nuisance”. -PL Couchoud, *Le Premier Edition de St.Paul*.